

# **SHOES, SLIPPERS AND SANDALS**

**FEET AND FOOTWEAR IN CLASSICAL ANTIQUITY**

Edited by  
Sadie Pickup and Sally Waite



‘This innovative volume is a welcome addition to studies on ancient dress, an exciting field of growing importance. The editors have collected a number of excellent essays on the significance of feet and footwear in archaeological, art historical and literary contexts from ancient Greece and Rome, on such diverse topics as footwear at the symposium, shoemakers in ancient society, monosandalism, shoes on Attic vases, brooches in the shape of shoes from Roman Britain, and podiatric shoes from Vindolanda. A fresh look at the evidence for ancient shoes, this important new book will be invaluable for historians of clothing, art, and social history, as well as those interested in the history of dress more generally.’

Kelly Olson, University of Western Ontario, Canada

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# Shoes, Slippers and Sandals

This edited volume groups research on the significance of ancient feet and footwear, much of which was presented, discussed and reviewed at the conference: Shoes, Slippers and Sandals: Feet and Footwear in Antiquity, held at Newcastle University and the Great North Museum from 29 June–1 July 2015.

Ancient dress and adornment have received significant consideration in recent scholarship, though, strikingly, feet and footwear have featured relatively little in this discussion. This volume aims to rectify this imbalance through its fifteen chapters covering a wide range of aspects associated with feet and footwear in classical antiquity. Contributions are grouped under four headings: ‘Envisaging footwear’, ‘Following footprints’, ‘One from a pair’ and ‘Between representation and reality’, reflecting the broad range and interdisciplinary nature of the approaches undertaken.

**Sadie Pickup** is currently a lecturer at the University of Reading, UK, having previously taught at Christie’s Education, London/University of Glasgow, UK. She has also worked at the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, UK. She completed her DPhil in Classical Archaeology at Oxford in 2012 and has since published on this subject. She co-edited *Brill’s Companion to Aphrodite* (2010) and was lead author for Volume 30 of the *Corpus of Cypriote Antiquities* series: *Cypriote Antiquities in Reading, The Ure Museum at the University of Reading and the Reading Museum (Reading Borough Council)*, published in 2015. Her book: *The Life and Afterlife of the Knidian Aphrodite: From Ancient to Modern*, is forthcoming.

**Sally Waite** is a lecturer in Greek Art and Archaeology at Newcastle University, UK. She has worked extensively with the Shefton Collection of Greek and Etruscan Archaeology in the Great North Museum, UK, and is joint editor of *On the Fascination of Objects: Greek and Etruscan Art in the Shefton Collection* (2016). Her research is primarily on Attic red-figure pottery and she has a particular interest in the history of collecting. She has published on the Kent Collection: *Acquiring Antiquity: Greek and Cypriot Pottery from the Harrogate Collection* (2014) and ‘Ancient art in a museum context: the Kent Collection in Harrogate’ in *Greek Art in Context* edited by Diana Rodríguez Pérez (Routledge 2017).

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## Feet and Footwear in Classical Antiquity

**Edited by Sadie Pickup and Sally Waite**

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# Abbreviations

<i>ABV</i>	Beazley, J. D. (1956) <i>Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters</i> . Oxford.
<i>Agora XII</i>	Sparkes, B. and Talcott, L. (1970) <i>The Athenian Agora XII, Black and Plain Pottery of the 6th, 5th and 4th Centuries BC</i> . Princeton.
<i>Agora XXIII</i>	Moore, M. B. and Philippides, M. Z. P. (1986) <i>The Athenian Agora XXIII, Attic Black-Figured Pottery</i> . Princeton.
<i>Agora XXX</i>	Moore, M. B. (1997) <i>The Athenian Agora XXX, Attic Red-Figured and White-Ground Pottery</i> . Princeton.
<i>ARV<sup>1</sup></i>	Beazley, J. D. (1942) <i>Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters</i> . Oxford.
<i>ARV<sup>2</sup></i>	Beazley, J. D. (1963) <i>Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters</i> (Second Edition). Oxford.
<i>Add</i>	Burn, L. and Glynn, R. (1982) <i>Beazley Addenda. Additional References to ABV, ARV<sup>2</sup> and Paralipomena</i> . Oxford.
<i>Add<sup>2</sup></i>	Carpenter, T. H. et al. (1989) <i>Beazley Addenda. Additional References to ABV, ARV<sup>2</sup> and Paralipomena</i> (Second Edition). Oxford.
<i>BAPD</i>	<i>Beazley Archive Pottery Database</i> , <a href="http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk">www.beazley.ox.ac.uk</a> .
<i>BNP</i>	Brill's New Pauly.
<i>CIL</i>	<a href="http://cil.bbaw.de/cil_en/index_en.html">http://cil.bbaw.de/cil_en/index_en.html</a>
<i>CSE</i>	<i>Corpus Speculorum Etruscorum</i> .
<i>CSIR</i>	<i>Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani</i> .
<i>CVA</i>	<i>Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum</i> .
<i>DNP</i>	Der Neue Pauly.
<i>LIMC</i>	<i>Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae</i> . (1981–1997) Zürich, Munich and Dusseldorf.
<i>LSCG</i>	Sokolowski, F. (1969) <i>Lois sacrées des cites grecques</i> . Paris.
<i>OCD</i>	<i>The Oxford Classical Dictionary</i>
<i>Para</i>	Beazley, J. D. (1971) <i>Paralipomena. Additions to Attic Black-Figure Painters and Attic Red-Figure Painters</i> . Oxford.
<i>RICIS</i>	Bricault, L. (2005) <i>Requiel des inscriptions concernant les cultes isiaques</i> . Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, 31. Paris.
<i>ThesCRA</i>	<i>Thesaurus Cultus et Rituum Antiquoru</i> .
<i>TLG</i>	<i>Thesaurus Linguae Graecae</i> .

# Introduction

## Surveying shoes, slippers and sandals

*Sadie Pickup and Sally Waite*

This volume explores the significance of feet and footwear in archaeological, art historical and literary contexts from ancient Greece and Rome. Its contents derive largely from presentations and subsequent discussions undertaken at the conference: Shoes, Slippers and Sandals: Feet and Footwear in Antiquity, held at the University of Newcastle upon Tyne and the Great North Museum from 29 June – 1 July 2015.

Although ancient textiles, dress and adornment have gained significant consideration in recent scholarship (for example, Llewellyn-Jones 2002; Cleland *et al.* 2005, 2007; Harlow and Nosch 2014; Olson 2017), strikingly, feet and footwear have featured relatively little in this discussion. For example, in her 2015 book *Body, Dress and Identity in Ancient Greece*, Mirelle M. Lee offers a thorough examination of dress in antiquity, considering its social and political nuances and also aspects of adornment. Only a short section is given over to footwear and a few further examples are surveyed under the banner of accessories. Likewise, Alex Croom's (2002) *Roman Clothing and Fashion*, Kelly Olson's (2008) *Dress and the Roman Woman: Self-Presentation and Society* and Ursula Rothe's (2009) *Dress and Cultural Identity in The Rhine-Moselle Region of the Roman Empire* prioritise dress over shoes. An exception is Norma Goldman's chapter on Roman footwear, which does cover the subject in some significant detail, as part of Judith-Lynn Sebesta and Larissa Bonfante's (1994) volume: *The World of Roman Costume*.

When considered, ancient footwear is often discussed in relation to its development through the ages. In Giorgio Riello and Peter McNeil's (2006) edited volume *Shoes: A History from Sandals to Sneakers*, the topic is covered from Classical Greece to the modern day and has one brief introductory chapter on ancient Greek footwear by Sue Blundell. Olaf Goubitz, Carol van Driel-Murray and Willy Groenman-Van Waateringe's (2007) *Stepping Through Time: Archaeological Footwear from Prehistoric Times until 1800* similarly presents a typological catalogue of shoes, although it includes only ancient Roman examples, and not Greek.

Circumstances of survival mean a limited number of physical examples of ancient 'shoes' are today extant. One of the most profitable sites for leather examples is the Roman fort of Vindolanda in Northumberland. Some of the finds

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from Vindolanda are covered here in Chapter 15. Footwear survives in various regions of the western reaches of the empire, where the damp, anaerobic conditions of the soil have preserved leather footwear, absent elsewhere. These pieces are often practical and would have been reinforced with hobnails and studs for walking; van Driel Murray has published extensively on Roman leatherwork and shoes. Roman examples of shoes are undoubtedly more numerous than those from ancient Greece. Greek shoes (albeit not frequently) are found in graves, as far apart as Argos in mainland Greece to South Russia and Alexandria in Egypt, some examples of which have been published by Eve Touloupa (1973).

An overview of the current state of evidence and our understanding of feet and footwear is therefore necessary and timely, in light of new archaeological discoveries and supported through discussion of literary and artistic sources. The objective of this book is to bring together the research of a number of scholars working on feet and footwear across several disciplines.

Much as other clothing, sandals, slippers, shoes and boots are functional, sometimes indicative of status or gender, and they are also decorative. Their style and appearance can define sculpture chronology. When represented, footwear often forms an important metaphor in both literary and visual narratives related to themes of mobility, transition and transformation. Feet and footwear may have an erotic, apotropaic or votive function, or be linked to space and to concepts of public and private. At times, footwear may appear out of place, as discussed in the context of Aphrodite in Chapter 10. Or they may be found singularly, with one shoe or sandal being taken off or worn, known as '*monosandalism*' (Robertson 1972). This is an important and little discussed topic for an English audience, covered here in both Greek and Roman contexts in Chapters 9 and 11.

Socrates' choice on occasion to wander barefoot (*anypodēsia*) is well attested. The relationship of the cobbler, specifically the well-documented 'Simon the Shoemaker', with Socrates is considered in a sociological and philosophical setting in Chapter 5. Simon's shop was located near the Athenian Agora and has been plausibly identified archaeologically. Indeed Plato includes cobblers as essential workers in the ideal city since they provide for the needs of the body;<sup>1</sup> yet shoemakers are only occasionally depicted on Athenian painted pottery.<sup>2</sup> There is a rare representation of a shoemaker's workshop on a fourth-century BC relief dedication from the Agora,<sup>3</sup> dedicated by Dionysios the cobbler (Elderkin 1941, 387; Camp 2004, 129–133). Another fourth-century votive relief was found on the south slopes of the Acropolis.<sup>4</sup> Attached to the stele is a separately carved piece of marble in the shape of the sole of a sandal, with cuttings for the bronze straps and a figure carved in relief in the centre of the sole. It was dedicated by Silon, tentatively also identified as a cobbler (Camp 2004, 134). The late fifth-century BC marble grave relief of Xanthippos<sup>5</sup> appears to represent his profession through the shoemaker's last he holds and a cinerary urn of the shoemaker Donatus from Altino in Italy similarly shows the tools of his trade (van Driel-Murray 2007, 339). Shoemakers are also depicted at work on a number of Roman tombstones from Gaul and Germany (van Driel-Murray 2007, 338).

Any attempt to study ancient Greek and Roman feet and footwear is, however, imbued with difficulties. With so few physical examples surviving, it is necessary to look to visual and written resources, these in themselves sometimes arbitrary in nature. For the former, sculpture would seem an obvious choice of focus. However, much ancient sculpture was originally painted, including its footwear, and this embellishment is invariably now lost. In many instances, only the soles of shoes are now visible, with painted strap work absent, when not rendered in relief. Many sculptures are also without their feet, as marble tends to break at weak points. A lack of visibility can also be problematic. Shoes may be hidden under long garments, or simply not represented.

Shoes can appear when a figure is otherwise naked. For example, Kleobis and Biton,<sup>6</sup> two of the earliest examples of the male nude, dating from the first quarter of the sixth century BC, are naked bar their calf-length boots. Archetypal examples of early Greek kouroi (male youths), they contrast markedly from many of their contemporaries who are unshod. This single aspect of dress demarking them as travellers. With few ancient shoes for comparison, we are left to assume that sculptural versions are indicative of contemporary fashions. Katherine Dohan Morrow's comprehensive study on the topic, *Greek Footwear and the Dating of Sculpture* published in 1985, is still the volume of reference. She uses footwear as an instrument to date works, covering all of the major known examples. The Parthenon frieze today provides some of the greatest diversity of types, indicating the potential range of styles, from the *krēpides* (boots) worn by the charging cavalry<sup>7</sup> to the thick-soled sandals of the female processional figures.<sup>8</sup> Even when examples are no longer extant, literary evidence also gives us some pointers. Pliny tells us Phidias' magnificent chryselephantine Athena Parthenos ('Athena the Virgin') had platform sandals decorated with the battle of Lapiths and Centaurs.<sup>9</sup>

Today, much surviving Roman sculpture derives from, or 'copies', Greek models. Undoubtedly, Roman copyists put their own slant on their sculpture, both in appearance and adornment, including footwear. The distinction is therefore blurred between Greek and Roman types, with different styles and patterns clearly in vogue at different times. One of the best exemplars of this problem is the famous sculpture of Hermes and the Infant Dionysos<sup>10</sup> by Praxiteles. According to Pausanias, the sculpture was set up in the sanctuary to Hera at Olympia.<sup>11</sup> The discovery of the pair in the spot he describes seems to validate its authenticity. However, the intricate sandals worn by Hermes are identified as more Roman in style and appearance than Greek, surely therefore indicating that the image is a Roman copy of the Praxitelean work.

In practical senses, shoes are necessary, as today, to undertake journeys from place to place and to signal a shift in environment, particularly during ritual activity. Shoes must be worn for the movement or transition to sacred space, to be removed on arrival as part of ritual purification, most famously exemplified by the image of Nike unbinding her sandal<sup>12</sup> from her temple on the Athenian Acropolis and included here on a number of occasions. The fabulous dress of the Greek korai (statues of young women), found in number on the Athenian

Acropolis, also reflect the variety of outfits and particularly footwear worn by those most likely venerating Athena and infiltrating this sacred space. One of the most interesting in this context is the so-called 'red shoe kore'.<sup>13</sup> This small-scale example wears a diaphanous, close-fitting chiton with unique red-coloured soft shoes, markedly different than the more frequently sported yolk sandal, commonly seen with a varying sole thickness. Described as *akatia*, soft red Laconian shoes, similar examples were also worn by men in the symposion context. They are undoubtedly a symbol of wealth and status, not only because of their colour but also their style. They offer a distinct lack of practicality, suggesting they were expensive rather than functional.

Sarcophagi can also survive in shoe form.<sup>14</sup> Representations of footwear on Roman sarcophagi are explored in Chapter 12. The appropriate footwear was deemed essential for the long journey to Hades and also for its potential use in lieu of payment to the ferryman Charon in order to cross the Styx, river of the Underworld. Hermes, himself psychopompos ('leader or guider of souls'), is always easily identifiable by his winged boots, useful in this role. His divine position giving him little need to touch the ground. On Greek grave reliefs of the later fifth century BC women often wear sandals, most famously exemplified on the grave stele of Hegeso.<sup>15</sup> On another example,<sup>16</sup> the woman, again wearing sandals, literally steps out of the frame as if making the transition from life to death (Richter 1936).

The signalling of status or position through footwear is much less overt in Greek society compared with Roman. The highly ideological and imperial iconography infiltrating public monuments reflects the use of footwear to indicate position, particularly within the Roman military sphere. Hans Goette's (1988) article presents a detailed study on the array of Roman, predominantly male, shoes in use. One of the best known are the *calcei* (boots), worn by the equestrian, senatorial and imperial classes, in themselves denoting these ranks. Their variety in colour, further emphasising the position of their wearer, with purple, much as today, indicating royal, or in this case imperial, rank. Trends were clearly widespread, exemplified by the appearance of Laconian shoes with Roman laces, as discussed by Nicholas Sekunda (2009). In appearance Roman shoes were often openwork; liners may have been necessary in the cooler climates of northern Europe. Examples from Roman sculpture show they were made of animal skin or pelt, being increasingly elaborate further up the social strata. Decoration on footwear is not often available for our analysis. However, in the few instances it is present, decorative elements must surely be symbolic, as discussed here in reference to the Antonine monument from Ephesus in Chapter 13.

Aside from Sue Blundell's (2006) chapter, footwear on vases has equally been little explored. The majority of figures on Athenian painted pottery are conventionally shown as barefoot. This in part reflects the difficulty of rendering footwear small scale, but also in reality there were plenty of occasions when men and women would have been barefoot, aside from the emphasis on male heroic nudity (Blundell 2002, 164 n.18; Bonfante 1989). The addition of

footwear in some representations, whether worn on the feet, held in the hand or hanging in the background, is therefore surely significant. Both gods<sup>17</sup> and goddesses<sup>18</sup> may be represented wearing shoes. Shoes are clearly not gender specific, although in genre images they are more often represented on men, surely reflective of their role beyond the household. Worn by men, shoes appear in a variety of contexts such as the symposion (drinking party) and komos (drinking procession),<sup>19</sup> as well as pederastic<sup>20</sup> and heterosexual courtship.<sup>21</sup> In such images women go barefoot,<sup>22</sup> despite the prevalence of boots in scenes of washing and an emphasis on sandal binding in images of dressing. Occasionally in images of heterosexual intercourse the man keeps his shoes on, as if to indicate that he does not belong indoors (Blundell 2002, 148).<sup>23</sup> Shoes, on vases, do not often seem to define status; they are worn by both the bearded symposiast and by the bearded older lover but they are also worn by the youth whilst his bearded companion goes barefoot on a cup in Malibu.<sup>24</sup> Likewise, we can contrast the bearded trainer<sup>25</sup> with the youthful shopper (citizen or slave?) on a cup in a private collection in Oxford.<sup>26</sup> The status of the flute-girl wearing shoes on a cup in Berlin<sup>27</sup> is easier to determine; her servile status is indicated by both her occupation and short hair. Since citizen women were generally represented as (ideally) confined to the household, the flute-girl's shoes perhaps relate to her mobility. Iconographically shoes are clearly not restricted to citizen women.<sup>28</sup> Shoes are particularly favoured by Onesimos (Williams 1991) and the Brygos Painter and his circle, and feature in the work of Douris too. Unlike the sandal, shoes are rarely portrayed hanging on a wall. A single shoe appears beside two pairs of hanging sandals on a column krater in Palermo<sup>29</sup> and shoes occasionally appear suspended beside an athlete.<sup>30</sup>

Dionysos<sup>31</sup> and satyrs<sup>32</sup> both wear boots, which are also worn in a theatrical context.<sup>33</sup> Boots are frequently worn by youths (hunters or ephebes) in images of departure (both from the household and at the graveside). Boots appear too in images of the komos<sup>34</sup> and at the symposion, placed beneath the couch, sometimes replaced by a shoe<sup>35</sup> or alongside a sandal,<sup>36</sup> as discussed in Chapter 2. Boots also hang in the background above an image of heterosexual intercourse where a youth wields a sandal.<sup>37</sup> The boot is linked with female nudity in the context of dressing<sup>38</sup> or washing, where it is held in the hand, put on or appears in a pair on the ground beside the louterion (basin).<sup>39</sup> John Beazley (1989, 94) explicitly links the boots to location, suggesting they offer protection where the ground is rough and hot underfoot. The status of these women as brides, athletes or prostitutes is much debated (Hosoi 2007; Stähli 2013). Boots in images of dressing and washing are a popular motif in the work of the aptly named Boot Painter. In other images the louterion is replaced by the podanipter (foot bath) and a naked woman carries boots; here the link with the symposion is more explicit.<sup>40</sup> In an image of courtship on a cup in Oxford<sup>41</sup> a woman carries a pair of boots. Likewise, on a pyxis lid in Paris,<sup>42</sup> a woman carries a boot in each hand in a feminine scene with caskets and kalathoi (wool baskets) where the women are accompanied by Eros. On the tondo of a cup in Naples<sup>43</sup> a naked woman appears to clean a boot with a sponge (Kilmer 1993, 26).



Sandals were the most common form of Greek footwear (Blundell 2006, 32) and they are worn by both men and women in various contexts. Countless vases depict men and youths wearing high-laced sandals or boots (*endromides*) as warrior and ephebe in images of departure and pursuit. On the famous cup signed by Peithinos<sup>44</sup> the older lovers wear sandals in a scene of pederastic courtship on the obverse, whilst the objects of their affection go barefoot. On the reverse, the courted women are barefoot and the youths again wear sandals (Levine 2005, 67; Blundell 2002, 147–148, 2006, 34). As with shoes, women, aside from goddesses,<sup>45</sup> are less frequently represented wearing sandals. On the well-known white-ground lekythos in the British Museum<sup>46</sup> an elaborately dressed woman, holding a distaff and spindle, wears sandals. The identity and status of this figure as goddess (Williams 1982, 1993, 94–95), wife (Lyons 2008, 83) or courtesan (Fischer 2011, 13–14) is debated.

A number of images represent men binding (or unbinding) their sandals, often in the context of the symposion, as discussed in Chapter 3.<sup>47</sup> The gesture is also a popular one for women within the typology of toilette,<sup>48</sup> particularly within the context of bridal toilette<sup>49</sup> where in some images Eros assists.<sup>50</sup> Within the context of marriage the sandal binding motif takes on a deeper significance, representing both the physical movement and impending journey from the bride's home to the groom's, and the accompanying transition from girl to bride (Sutton 1981, 206; Barringer 1995, 128; Blundell 2006, 41).<sup>51</sup> The bride is depicted in sandals on the well-known epinetron attributed to the Eretria Painter.<sup>52</sup> Later literary evidence recounts the existence of special bridal shoes (*nymphides*) offered to the bride by the groom for her journey to her new home (Rutherford Roberts 1978, 189, n.50; Oakley and Sinos 1993, 16; Sgourou 1994, 138; Sutton 1998, 36). On a hydria in New York<sup>53</sup> we may have a representation of these bridal slippers presented to the bride by Eros.

In another series of images the sandal is used for beating in a sexual context<sup>54</sup> or for chastisement.<sup>55</sup> Sandals also frequently appear hanging on the wall and the significance of this motif is the subject of Chapter 1. Very occasionally sandals appear on the ground rather than on the wall, on a cup in London<sup>56</sup> they appear propped against a footstool under a couch in an image of the symposion, belonging either to the hetaira (courtesan) or youth who share the couch. They appear again underneath a couch, although this time in a domestic context, on a pyxis in Athens,<sup>57</sup> where a woman with a frontal face rests on the couch, a hanging alabastron in the field behind. Equally infrequently sandals are depicted held in the hand; a naked athlete on the tondo of a cup in Florence<sup>58</sup> holds a pair of sandals by their strings. In another image of a naked athlete on a pelike in Berlin,<sup>59</sup> one sandal is shown suspended whilst a crouched slave boy cleans the other. This motif is repeated on the tondo of a cup in Munich<sup>60</sup> where a naked woman cleans a sandal with a sponge. On an alabastron in Glasgow<sup>61</sup> one sandal is suspended and a veiled woman holds out the other in her hand.

Feet and legs are one of the few body parts to form vase shapes (Morrow 1985, 3–22). The less well documented foot vases and their painted appearance

and function are discussed in Chapter 8. Often too small to have a practical purpose, these vessels are not a perfunctory choice. Such vases may be found in grave assemblages and model terracotta shoes or boots have been excavated in geometric graves at Eleusis, in Athens and in a fifth-century grave near Athens, as well as further afield.<sup>62</sup> Ann Haentjens (2002, 179ff.) draws attention to the fact that these model examples of footwear are found in female graves and suggests a possible link between the *nymphides* of the bride and the fertility of the wife. A girl's grave from Athens, dating to the late fifth century BC, contained a group of terracottas: a 'doll' on a throne, a miniature epinetron, a miniature lebes gamikos and a miniature pair of boots.<sup>63</sup> Here the nuptial connotations are explicit, perhaps in recompense for a premature death. Miniature sandals are also found in a sanctuary setting (Klinger forthcoming).

The meaning attributed to footwear from a written perspective is considered in Chapter 4. The frequency of footwear in a range of sources from epic poetry to the comedies of Aristophanes in the fifth century BC suggests a wide demographic coverage and implied usage, both for men and women. Arthur Bryant's (1899) article is still the standard work on the literary evidence for footwear in ancient Greece, whilst the epigraphic evidence is collated by W. Kendrick Pritchett and Pippin (1956) in 'The Attic Stelai II'. Daniel Levine's comprehensive 2005 chapter on the erotics of feet in ancient Greece attempts to remedy the relative lack of research done in this area.

Jan Bremmer's seminal work of 1991 on walking, standing and sitting in ancient Greece highlights the significance of feet. When fighting the Persians in 479 BC the Athenian hoplite Sophanes stood with his feet firmly rooted on the ground; apparently his shield device aptly depicting an anchor (Bremmer 1991, 23–24). In contrast, Achilles' epithet was 'swift-footed' and shield motifs are also linked to ideas of movement and speed. Sandals feature as a shield motif on a red-figure cup in Princeton.<sup>64</sup> The significance of the foot is considered in Chapter 7, here as a mechanism for communication with the divine. The dedication of sculpted feet, with or without sandals, as well as footprints, which are known from ichnos inscriptions, are well attested (Dunbabin 1990; Petridou 2009). Such votives can be associated with healing, protection and initiation. The Roman shoe brooch, discussed in Chapter 14, seems to have served a similar function. Footprints also served to epitomise divine presence on earth (Petridou 2016, 78), and are imbued with symbolism embodying the confrontation of presence and absence as highlighted in Chapter 6.<sup>65</sup> All the topics discussed reflect the diverse evidence for footwear in ancient Greece and Rome and the potentially fruitful avenues for further discussion beyond those covered in this volume.

## Notes

1 Pl. *Resp.* 369D.

2 There are only a handful of representations of shoe-makers on Athenian painted pottery: black-figure pelike, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum G247, *ABV* 396.21, *BAPD* 302990; black-figure amphora, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 01.8035, *BAPD* 2188;

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- red-figure cup, London, British Museum E86, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 786.4, *BAPD* 209681; red-figure fragment, Athens, National Museum 1957NAK1002, *BAPD* 9022435.
- 3 Athens, Agora I7396.
  - 4 Athens, National Museum EM2565.
  - 5 London, British Museum GR1805.7–3.183.
  - 6 Delphi, Archaeological Museum.
  - 7 London, British Museum, Parthenon, North Frieze.
  - 8 London, British Museum 1816,0610.24.
  - 9 Plin. *HN* 36.18–19.
  - 10 Olympia, Archaeological Museum. *LIMC* V, 321, no. 394.
  - 11 Paus. 5.17.3.
  - 12 Athens, Acropolis Museum 973.
  - 13 Athens, Acropolis Kore 683.
  - 14 Palermo, Museo Nazionale di Palermo.
  - 15 Athens, National Museum 3624.
  - 16 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 36.11.1.
  - 17 Cups: Berlin, Antikensammlung F2290, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 462.48, *BAPD* 204730 and Paris, Cabinet des Médailles 576, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 371.14, *BAPD* 203913 (Dionysos).
  - 18 Cup, New York, Metropolitan Museum 2008.1.1, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 60.66, *BAPD* 200502 (Aphrodite).
  - 19 For example: cups, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 95.27, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 325.76, *BAPD* 203223; Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 408.36, *BAPD* 204434; Oxford Ashmolean Museum 1967.305, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 408.37, *BAPD* 204435.
  - 20 For example: cups, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1967.304, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 378.137, *BAPD* 204034 and Munich, Antikensammlung 2631, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 443.224, *BAPD* 205269; here the older lovers wear shoes in contrast to the youths' bare feet. Cup, Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale 698, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 423.117, *BAPD* 204662; here a youth wears shoes and a boy goes barefoot.
  - 21 For example: cup, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 0.343, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 438.141, *BAPD* 205187 where a figure wearing shoes and hanging sandals are combined in an image of heterosexual courtship.
  - 22 The youths all wear shoes on a cup in Frankfurt (Museum für Vor- and Frühgeschichte 102, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 396.12, *BAPD* 204279) in a scene of courtship whilst the woman goes barefoot.
  - 23 Cups: Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 408.36, *BAPD* 204434 and Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1967.305, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 408.37, *BAPD* 204435.
  - 24 Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 86.AE.285, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 360.74*ter*, *BAPD* 46454. On another cup in Malibu (J. Paul Getty Museum 82.AE.121, *BAPD* 28783) shoes are worn by both a bearded and youthful komast on the exterior whilst their companions go barefoot. On the tondo a bearded flutist wears shoes.
  - 25 Cup, New York, Metropolitan Museum 58.11.4, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 378.138, *BAPD* 204035.
  - 26 On loan to the Ashmolean Museum, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 445.252, *BAPD* 205299.
  - 27 Berlin, Antikensammlung F255, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 428.12, *BAPD* 205056.
  - 28 Cup, Newcastle upon Tyne, Great North Museum, Shefton Collection 606, here two women, apparently of citizen status, are engaged in ritual, one wearing soft shoes.
  - 29 Palermo, Museo Archeologico Regionale V792, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 275.58, *BAPD* 202655.
  - 30 Cups: Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale RC1916, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 366.85, *BAPD* 203877 and New York, Metropolitan Museum 14.1057, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 366.81, *BAPD* 203873.
  - 31 For example: chous, Tübingen, University S101382, *BAPD* 5698. See Barringer (2003, 251, n.58).
  - 32 For example: column krater, Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 551.8, *BAPD* 206283.
  - 33 Oinochoe fragment, Athens, Agora Museum P11810, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 495, 1656, *BAPD* 205573.

- 34 For example: column krater, Syracuse, Museo Archeologico 12781, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 551.16, *BAPD* 206291.
- 35 Cup, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 76.47, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 625.103, *BAPD* 207259.
- 36 Cup, London, British Museum E68, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 371.24, *BAPD* 203923.
- 37 Cup, Orvieto, Museo Civico 453, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 339.51, *BAPD* 203485.
- 38 For example, cups: Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1927.4501, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 821.9, *BAPD* 210169; Waiblingen, Oppenlander, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 378.122, *BAPD* 204020; Rome, Museo Torlonia 161, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 821.3, *BAPD* 210163; Cannes, Private Collection, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1646.25ter, *BAPD* 275185; Kriens, market, *BAPD* 6779, Basel, market, *BAPD* 30310; once Berlin, F3218, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 390.44, *BAPD* 204190; Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 10572, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 821.5, *BAPD* 210165.
- 39 For example, cups: Munich, Antikensammlung 2668, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 821.2, *BAPD* 210162; Rome, Museo Torlonia 161, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 821.3, *BAPD* 210163; Warsaw, National Museum 142313, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 821.4, *BAPD* 210164; hydria, London, British Museum E201, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 189.77, *BAPD* 201723; stamnos, Munich, Antikensammlung 2411, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1051.18, *BAPD* 213649; column krater, Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico 261, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1089.28, *BAPD* 214616; column krater, Milan, Banca Intesa 316, *BAPD* 10413; amphora, Prague, Museum of Applied Arts Z260.7, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1016.38, *BAPD* 214215; pelike, Syracuse, Museo Archeologico 20065, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 238.5, *BAPD* 202175 – here the louterion is replaced by a krater. On a cup in Berlin (Antikensammlung 3757, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 404.11, *BAPD* 204391) a naked woman urinates into a krater and boots hang in the field behind.
- 40 Cups: St Petersburg, Hermitage B3375, *BAPD* 9030175; Godalming, Charterhouse School Museum 1960.74, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 479.330, *BAPD* 205013; Athens, Agora Museum P24131, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1584.12, *BAPD* 200608.
- 41 Oxford, Ashmolean Museum G279, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 785.8, *BAPD* 209671.
- 42 Paris, Musée Rodin 922, *BAPD* 10892.
- 43 Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale STG5, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 32.4, *BAPD* 200173.
- 44 Berlin, Antikensammlung F2279, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 115.2, *BAPD* 200977.
- 45 Squat lekythos, London, British Museum E697, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1324.45, *BAPD* 220599 (Aphrodite); here the sandals are another form of adornment.
- 46 London, British Museum D13, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 403.38, *BAPD* 204379.
- 47 See too Young (2015).
- 48 Squat lekythoi: Paris, Louvre CA254, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 461.20, *BAPD* 220617; London, Victoria and Albert Museum C2500.1910; hydria, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1942.2, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1040.23, *BAPD* 213521.
- 49 Pyxides: London, British Museum E774, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, *BAPD* and E775, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, *BAPD* 220648; Oxford G302, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, *BAPD* 220654; lebes gamikos, Athens, National Museum 1659, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1322.11, *BAPD* 220560.
- 50 With Eros: pyxis, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum 20.23, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, *BAPD* 12721; acorn lekythos, Boston 95.1402, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1326.71, *BAPD* 220627; cup, Oxford Ashmolean Museum 552, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, *BAPD* 23021; hydria, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 19.192.86, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, *BAPD* 214962; squat lekythos, Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 86.AE.259, *BAPD* 29168; lekanis, St Petersburg, Hermitage ST1983, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1499.2, *BAPD* 230843. Eros as sandal binder appears on a hydria in Braunschweig (Herzog Anton Ulrich Museum 219, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1037.2, *BAPD* 213487) in an image of musicians; one of whom is inscribed Kleophonis kale bringing into question her status although Maas and McIntosh Snyder (1989, 90 and 118) identify her as the bride. See too the lebes gamikos in Athens (National Museum 1659, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1322.11, *BAPD* 220560) where a woman bends to tie her sandal and Eros offers an alabastron.
- 51 This type also appears on four grave stelai of the fourth century including that of Ameinokleia (Margariti 2018, 127–128).
- 52 Athens, National Museum 1629, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1250.34, *BAPD* 216971.

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- 53 New York, Metropolitan Museum 17.230.15, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>1104.16, *BAPD* 216183.  
54 See Chapter 1. On a cup once in Berlin (F3168, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>428.13, *BAPD* 205057) Eros pursues youths with what appears to be a sandal, although Olshausen (1979) argues it is in fact a barber's knife.  
55 See Chapter 1.  
56 London, British Museum E68, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>371.24, *BAPD* 203923 – one shown in profile, the other flat. See too the fragmentary cup in Paris (Cabinet des Médailles L243A, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>372.28, *BAPD* 203926) with shoes and sandals beneath a couch shared by two men.  
57 Athens, National Museum 1584, *BAPD* 7898 – one shown in profile, the other flat.  
58 Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco PD269, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>453, *BAPD* 205383 – one shown in profile, the other flat.  
59 Berlin, Antikensammlung 4560, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>246, *BAPD* 202464.  
60 Munich, Antikensammlungen 2606, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>64.102, *BAPD* 200535.  
61 Glasgow, Sir William Burrell Collection 19.9, *BAPD* 19947.  
62 See Young (1949, pls 67, 70 and 71) for geometric boots from Eleusis (Isis grave) and the Athenian Agora (P19249 and P19250). Haetjens (2002, 173) lists further examples from Athens. Miniature shoes, identified as *nymphides*, were also found in a fourth century girl's grave in Thebes (Sabetai 2011, 156, n.81).  
63 London, British Museum GR1906.3–14.1 to 5.  
64 Princeton University 33.41, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>74.39, *BAPD* 200483.  
65 This confrontation of presence and absence is seen too in footwear itself. Nowhere is this more poignantly represented than in the 25,000 empty shoes displayed at Auschwitz.

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## **Part 1**

# **Envisaging footwear**

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# 1 Sandals on the wall

## The symbolism of footwear on Athenian painted pottery\*

*Sally Waite and Emma Gooch*

An unpublished, oversize cup in the Shefton Collection (Figure 1.1), attributed to the Splanchnopt Painter and dated between 470 and 460 bc, forms the starting point for this chapter.<sup>1</sup> At 36 cm in diameter, the size of the Shefton cup is noteworthy.<sup>2</sup> The function of these large-scale cups has been debated. In Greece the majority were unearthed in sanctuary contexts.<sup>3</sup> Athena Tsingarida (2009, 195ff.) argues convincingly for a link between late archaic large-scale cups and the Theoxenia festival,<sup>4</sup> where a table and banqueting couch is laid out for a heroic or divine guest who, larger than life, would require an oversize drinking cup.<sup>5</sup> In such a setting the cups could be displayed or handled to intimate the presence of the gods or heroes (Tsingarida 2011, 59ff.). The Etruscan provenance of a number of these large-scale cups indicates their appeal to an Etruscan audience; here in a funerary context they can be seen to be indicative of status but also perhaps to honour the underworld gods or ‘heroise’ the deceased (Tsingarida 2009, 198; forthcoming).<sup>6</sup> The Shefton cup has no known provenance and its iconography, composition and execution are not suggestive of an intended audience of heroic or divine status. Rather, it seems more suited to the generic symposium (drinking party).<sup>7</sup> Oversize cups do appear in use in a sympotic context<sup>8</sup> but their exaggerated size may be symbolic rather than realistic.<sup>9</sup> Certainly these large-scale cups would be difficult to hold and drink from without spillage (Tsingarida forthcoming) but that may have been part of their appeal.<sup>10</sup>

### The iconography of the Shefton cup

The enigmatic tondo image (Figure 1.2) is bordered by meanders and represents, to the left, part of an altar with ovolo frieze and volute. A woman, in chiton (tunic) and mantle, with her hair bound up by a band, stands facing a youth, wearing a cloak, leaning on his stick with his legs crossed. Between them in the background hangs a small pouch, often identified as a purse.

The scene is unusual and has few parallels amongst the known oeuvre of the Splanchnopt Painter<sup>11</sup> or indeed other painters.<sup>12</sup> It is especially noteworthy in the association it draws between the purse and an altar. Though conversation or