

ARTEMON AND ANACREON: NO TEXT WITHOUT CONTEXT

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Il faut chercher des rapprochements, d'autres exemples, mettre ce cas dans une série, dans un ensemble.

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WE KNOW VERY LITTLE about the circumstances surrounding the actual performance and composition of Greek lyric poetry of the classical period. In antiquity too the same could be true, so that we cannot be sure that those ancients who attempt to supply what is now lost and what for them was also lost, are worthy of the credit they seem to deserve. They were especially liable to be deceived by dramatic poetry, since they themselves were scholars of a literary culture, and I offer an example in confirmation of this.

The historian Demeas¹ began his authoritative life of Archilochus with a story which he claims took place in the life of an archon whom he names—the stone is defaced at this point—and he cites a poem of Archilochus as evidence. In this very year a Milesian pentekonter with one Koiranos aboard was wrecked in the Naxian channel, i.e., just off the coast of Paros, and he alone was saved by a dolphin. This is important for us, not because the story is obviously not true, but because it almost certainly belongs to a ritual of some cult as an aitiology, in this case probably of Poseidon. The name Koiranos, and the dolphin rescue show that the story belongs with the other myths that deal with the return of the king from afar after some disaster; we may compare Dionysus and the dolphin at Delos, Arion at Tarentum, Melikertes at the Isthmus and Dionysus at the Anthesteria, as well as the other examples assembled and interpreted most recently by Walter Burkert.² We can therefore deduce that Archilochus told a dramatic cult story in such a way that later Greeks on reading it could misunderstand it as historically true and put it in a definite year in the poet's lifetime. They seem to have done much the same with the poems about Neobule and Lycambes, as M. L. West has convincingly suggested on other grounds.³

If we speculate on the possible contexts for our fragments of early Greek poetry, we must bear in mind the anthropological parallels adduced

¹Archilochus fr. 192W = Test. 5 Tarditi.

²*Homo Necans* (Berlin 1972) 218 ff.

³*Studies in Greek Elegy and Iambus* (Berlin 1974) 25 f.; Rosler *RhM* 119 (1976) 289 ff. is already obsolete.

by Dover,⁴ conventions imposed by social considerations, especially in the symposium,⁵ and the rituals of which song, especially dramatic-mimetic song and dance, frequently formed part.⁶ In addition we have to recognize that poetry indulges in outright lies in order to achieve effect and emphasis. Archilochus wrote a poem in which he says he cannot write a poem because of grief; Catullus did the same. An elegiac *adespoton* sings: "I do not care for song".⁷ We recognize a poetic conventional untruth. A related problem arises when we consider that a first person may not represent the poet or any real person; male poets speak in the feminine, female in the masculine. It follows that no first person can ever be certainly equated with the poet unless a name or biographical particulars are attached.

In view of these unknown quantities, there are naturally very few poems where we should feel competent to hazard a guess about the circumstances of performance, the intended audience, and the relation of the poem to the author. One of the most interesting of these few is Anacreon fr. 82 Gentili, the well known description of Artemon. My interpretation falls into three parts, biography, transvestism, and sympotic aischrology, and I shall assume that readers have the text and testimonia of Gentili before them.

Who was Artemon? The ancients identified him with reckless confidence.⁸ Ephorus managed to confuse him with the engineer who helped Pericles take Samos, and invented or repeated a delightful story that he was lame and had to be carried around everywhere in the siege. Heracleides Ponticus pointed out with evident relish this monstrous anachronism, but went on to perpetrate another *déformation historique*; he maintained that Artemon was a weak coward who was beaten and sat at home with two

⁴In *Archiloque* (Geneva 1963, *Entretiens Hardt* 10) 181 ff.

⁵I have myself tried to illustrate various solutions to literary and artistic problems associated with the symposium, most recently in *HSCP* 80 (1976) 161 ff.

⁶There is an urgent need for a collection of all the testimonia on ancient cult and generic song; for example, Cairns's *invocatio ad cenam* (*Generic Composition in Greek and Roman Poetry* [Edinburgh 1972] index s.v.) ought to be called a *synkletikon*. There is a provisional list of epigraphic evidence in Wilamowitz's note in the addenda to E. Norden, *Agnostos Theos* (Leipzig 1923) 392. The problem of the "dramatic-mimetic" element in Greek poetry has been most recently discussed by P. Fedeli in *Il Carme 61 di Catullo* (Freiburg 1971) 17 f., and by H. Herter, *WS* 69 (1956) 33 ff. (= *Kleine Schriften*, [Munich 1975] 106 ff.) with different results. The question deserves a fuller treatment than space here allows.

⁷Archilochus 215W; Catullus 68.19; *Adesp. Eleg.* 8W.

⁸The testimonia have been usefully assembled below the text by Gentili, fr. 8, with the exception of the archaeological evidence. For *περιφόρητος* = *περιβόητος* cf. Ammonius 136N with Valckenaer's note; *περιβόητος* (*CAF adesp.* 120K), *περίφοιτος* (Callimachus *Ep.* 28.3 and *Ep.* 38.2; Krafft, *RhM* 120 [1977] 17 ff.), and *περίδρομος* (Theognis 581) are all used disparagingly of those of loose morals.

servants holding a bronze shield above his head to prevent things falling on him, but if he had to go out it was on a litter, whence his name *Periphoretos*. Now this rubbish must have some basis, and most of it seems to be a misunderstanding, wilful or otherwise, of Anacreon's own words. First *εἶλυμα* was derived from *εἶλω*—to cover or protect—and became a protective cover, held above him Prometheus-like at home because he is, as Anacreon says, lazy and effeminate. Again Anacreon tells us he went in a coach, normally a feminine mode of travel; the alleged litter is a result of combining this fact with a false explanation of the term *periphoretos*, which was proverbial. The word may be either analogous to *περιβόητος* "with a bad reputation" or to *περίφοιτος* "a wanton gadabout." There is some confirmation from the testimonia on Artemon; a scholiast⁹ says that the proverb was used of beautiful boys who were available. Given Anacreon's attested interest in beautiful boys, we may warily proceed on the assumption that Artemon was such a person.

However, fr. 82 Gentili at first glance does not accord with this. We learn that Artemon used to wear a *berberion*, a word only appearing here. The dictionaries tell us it means a shabby garment,¹⁰ which is what they think it ought to mean here, wrongly. The only word like it is *berberi*, a foreign word meaning a mollusc; this leads me to think that it means here some sort of scallop-shaped headgear, and in fact Anacreon describes it as some sort of tightly bound head-covering. Artemon also wears wooden earrings and an old leather jacket after which the texts let us down; he keeps company with tarts (male or female?), he has often been beaten and in the stocks, his hair and beard have been plucked. Plainly this Artemon according to Anacreon was a disreputable character. As for earrings, the Greeks, according to Herter, regarded them as the utmost sign of effeminacy.¹¹ Artemon earns a *kibdelos bios* because he dresses in

⁹ΣAr. Ach. 850; from Athenaeus 12.533c it appears very probable that the ancients had no more evidence than the two quotations about Artemon which we have.

¹⁰H. Fränkel, *Dichtung und Philosophie*² (Munich 1962) 343, translates "Spitzhut;" C. M. Bowra, *Greek Lyric Poetry*² (Oxford 1961) 298, mistranslates the first line, since "wasped headgear" must be in apposition to *berberion*, and *σφηκῶ* is normally used of hair. G. M. Kirkwood, *Early Greek Monody* (Ithaca 1974) 174, follows him in error, though most editors (e.g., Campbell, Gentili, Lavagnini) get it right. J. Boardman, "A curious eye cup," *Arch. Anz.* 1976 284 n. 7, suggests that *berberion* describes a mitra, but the poem, I think, demands that it be a poor substitute for a mitra, and so is unlikely to appear on the vases. If, however, we are right in relating it to the seashell *berberi* which was well known in Asia Minor and is described as smooth and scalloplike by Androsthenes *ap.* Athen. 93b, we can form an idea of what it could have been, tied tightly so as to bulge above and below the bindings. Attempts at an etymology can be found in *Glotta* 36 (1958) 245.

¹¹RAC s.v. "Effeminatus," but the point of course had not escaped Beazley (below, n. 12). The poem makes it clear that criminal and disreputable associations attach to "lower-class" transvestism, but does not say that the same was true of "upper-class"

transvestite fashion: formerly he did so in a cheap and degenerate fashion, but now he does so with excessive elegance, with gold bangles and a sunshade.

We could go no further if it were not that good fortune has preserved for us a group of vases¹² which owe their decoration to the popularity of the poetry of Anacreon. They show the poet and other komastic males in female dress; there are also some females for comparison. Three of these vases come from the poet's lifetime and one bears his name. Now Agathon in the *Thesmophoriazusae* says: "It's disgusting to see a poet all hairy and wild. Look how Ibycus and Anacreon and Alcaeus ἐμυτροφόρουν . . . Ἰωνικῶς" (162 f.). Brandenburg and Webster saw that this has a specific sense;¹³ these poets were above all associated with sympotic songs and Aristophanes' audience, who knew Anacreon from his poetry and such vases as survived, associated him with the wearing of a mitra; that is, they

transvestism. This could indicate that the same double standard pertained as in homosexuality, for Aeschines' first speech demonstrates that no stigma attached to "upper-class" relationships, whereas relations involving money are pictured against a squalid background with serious legal consequences. K. de Vries writes (*Expedition* 15.4 [1973] 32): "transvestite dinner parties . . . are hard to imagine in the intensely male Greek society of the time." I do not follow the reasoning. Is transvestism supposed to be more easily imagined in a heterosexual society?

¹²J. D. Beazley in Beazley-Caskey, *Greek Vases in Boston* (Oxford 1954) 2.55–61, the basic discussion; H. Brandenburg, *Studien zur Mitra* (Basel 1964) 77 ff.; T. B. L. Webster, *Potter and Patron* (London 1972) 110. Most recently A. Greifenhagen, *SB-Munich* 1976.3 22–24 with Abb. 19, gives further additions, bringing the series to over thirty examples; he agrees completely with Beazley in connecting these vases with Anacreon. J. M. Snyder, *Hermes* 102 (1974) 244–246, equates the description of Agathon in the *Thesmophoriazusae* with Anacreontic dress; she must be at least in part correct.

¹³Brandenburg (above, n. 12) 57; Webster (above, n. 12) 54, cf. Boardman (above, n. 10) 284. The precise nomenclature of these sympotic and komastic headdresses probably will never be resolved, especially since there is considerable variety even within our series of vases. *Mitrae* I suspect to be a general term: there is, for example, no artistic representation of a victor wearing anything like the turban of Ionizing symposiasts, but Pindar and Bacchylides call it a *mitra*. Perhaps they mean the Ionic headbands which were fashionable for about a hundred years from 550 onwards with symposiasts also, illustrated in A. Krug, *Binden in der griechischen Kunst* (diss. Mainz 1968) as type 6, and explained 112, 134. *Kurbasia*, *Kidaris*, and *Tiara* are all elaborate Persian headdresses known to Attic Greeks, who also knew a turban-like *Kordyle* (*ΣAr. Nub.* 10; Semonides fr.35W means ὄγκος, and *LSJ* is wrong s.vv. κορδύλη and ἐγκορδύλεω). See *RE*, "Haartracht," 7 (1912) 2133 f. A r.f. kalpis on display in Kassel, Antikenabteilung (not as far as I see in *CVA* or Beazley, *ARV*) tentatively attributed to the Nikoxenos painter ca 500 shows a Greek and a "Persian" symposiast on either side of a krater. This latter has a sleeved chiton and a turban like that worn by the symposiast on Boardman's Ashmolean vase: he plays cottabus, and I take him to be an Ionian, whom the artist distinguishes as a "foreigner." Why Plutarch *Mor.* 622a calls the symposiarch "king of the Assyrians" I should like to know. (See also below, 194.)

associated sympotic song with what could be for them transvestite garb.¹⁴ Though the mitra is attested only once in the fragments of Anacreon,¹⁵ it is commonly associated with Dionysus and his followers.¹⁶ In the *Bacchae* of Euripides, Pentheus, asked to wear a mitra in Dionysiac rites, retorts that he will not wear female cloths,¹⁷ and Aeschylus calls Dionysus a γυνῆς for much the same reason.¹⁸ Elsewhere in Greek cult the transvestite priest of Heracles at Cos wore just such a mitra.¹⁹

The Artemon poem shows that Anacreon was aware that the komastic apparatus which he attributes to Artemon and which we see on the vases was feminine; this suggests that the attitude of Aristophanes' audience and that of the vase painters was shared by Anacreon's own audience, although this does not preclude the likelihood that such komastic transvestism was cultic, and from another viewpoint could have a serious and formal function. We have therefore a poem of Anacreon, mentioning a man wearing feminine headgear, earrings, and a parasol. We also have a series of contemporary vases showing men wearing what is as far as we know feminine headgear, earrings, and parasols, and a singer on one vase is called Anacreon. No interpretation of Artemon save that of Beazley and the archaeologists who follow him has sought to bring the two together. But I submit that they must be brought together, and that their connection leads to an interpretation at variance with the literary view hitherto offered which is content to make Artemon an object of personal abuse motivated by enmity; one cannot help but wonder why Anacreon would choose to vilify someone for carrying a sunshade, when a vase painter could represent him in the company of men who did precisely that.

Under what circumstances, then, will it be reasonable to attribute transvestism to Anacreon and his group, including Artemon? We can answer this only when we know roughly what the average Greek's attitude toward this phenomenon was. Since the evidence has not yet

¹⁴Beazley (above, n. 12) had already argued that though mitrae could possibly be considered as eccentric foreign fashion, earrings were always unambiguously effeminate. It follows, I think, that mitra, female dress, earrings, and parasol constitute a complete *mutatio vestis* as far as a Greek of the time could achieve it, and I know of no evidence that would allow one to call parasols merely "Ionic finery."

¹⁵Gentili fr. 37.2; Brandenburg (above, n. 12) 57 n. 19 sees here a reference to Eros in the garb of victor; if so, it has nothing to do with our problem. But I do not myself think his view is right.

¹⁶Brandenburg (above, n. 12) 133 ff.; J. Roux, *Euripide, les Bacchantes* (Paris 1972) on 821; Dodds on *Ba.* 854. Hence Dionysus *mitrophoros*, first in Soph. *OT* 209; and see the important discussion of J. Marcadé, *BCH* Suppl. 4 (1977) 400 ff.

¹⁷*Ba.* 833. Diocles fr. 5K seems to have a similar reference.

¹⁸Aesch. fr. 61N².

¹⁹W. R. Halliday, *The Greek Questions of Plutarch* (Oxford 1928) 217; Brandenburg (above, n. 12) 56.

been properly assembled, I give here a few examples. Philostratus (*Imag.* 1.2) describes a picture wherein is shown a wedding *komos*, the men dressed as women, the women as men, as is normal, he adds. In Plutarch (*Vit. Flam.* 17) Deinomenes of Messene went as ambassador to Flamininus at Rome, but after the symposium he danced and sang in women's clothing. In the *De Gen. Socr.* 30 the conspirators dress as komasts, some male, some female, in order to go through the streets of Thebes without attracting attention—not of course pretending to be females, since they are wearing armour. Vase paintings illustrate such transvestite komasts.²⁰ Lucian (*Calumn.* 16) tells us that Demetrius the Platonist was reprimanded by Ptolemy because he drank water and would not wear *gynaikeia* in the rites of Dionysus; the philosopher was forced to dance with a tambourine while wearing a *tarantidion*, a dance of the seven veils. Seneca (*Contr.* 1.2.10) says that a flute girl will be dressed now as a girl now as a boy as part of her profession at symposia. Polystratus, nicknamed "the Etruscan" (actually a Peripatetic), dressed as a flute girl; I assume that this belongs to the abuse of the school under Lycon for over-sympotic indulgence.²¹

The literary evidence is confirmed by inscriptions. A cult regulation from Tlos²² forbids any man to wear women's clothes when entering, not for fear of intruders like Euripides or Clodius, but because the wearing of female clothes was reserved for the upper hierarchy. Tlos is in Asia Minor, where such cults are first associated with the Lydian Heracles, and his exchange of clothes with Omphale.²³ But transvestism is widespread and associated especially with marriage rituals, like the Cretan *Ekdusia* at Phaistos, possibly to be associated with the transvestite hero Leucippus. At Argos, Sparta, and Cos transvestism is found at weddings.²⁴ Famous even in antiquity were the Argive *Hybristika*, where the bride wore a false beard. Wherever we hear of transvestite heroes, we may suspect rites involving transvestism, especially with Heracles, Achilles, Leucippus, and Hymenaeus. If we know that the shaman seers of the Scythians were transvestite in the fifth century, we can suspect that the stories of Teiresias' bisexuality belong in the same framework.²⁵

²⁰A. W. Pickard-Cambridge, *Dithyramb, Tragedy and Comedy*², T. B. L. Webster (ed.) (Oxford 1962) plates 6a and 6b; the interpretation is not absolutely secure. K. Kerényi, *Dionysus* (Munich 1976) plates 104, 105 and page 269 with notes on page 375. T. B. L. Webster, *Greek Theatre Production* (London 1956) 32 ff.

²¹H. Herter, *JAC* 3 (1960) 103 n. 610; Athenaeus 13.607f.

²²F. Kolb, *ZPE* 22 (1976) 229, though Albert Henrichs has now convinced me that other interpretations are possible.

²³H. Herter, *Kleine Schriften* (Munich 1975) 38 ff. and 543 n. 20.

²⁴Halliday (above, n. 19) 217.

²⁵Herodotus 1.105; Hippocr. *De Aere* 22.

The transvestite dance with mitra mentioned by Solon is clearly another cult aitiology²⁶ and we know that at the Oschophoria two boys dressed as girls led the way. This should not be suspected,²⁷ for there is a well-known volute crater from Tarentum showing festivities connected with the Doric Karneia, doubtless transferred from Sparta. It shows what are apparently girls in hooped skirts performing with *kalathiskoi*. Martin Robertson²⁸ has acutely observed, however, that the vase in fact shows boys dressing up in these costumes, and that the performers are boys. On the vase are depicted also what appear to be satyr plays in honour of Apollo Karneios. We remember that at Athens the rites of Dionysus on the Athenian stage not only consisted in the ritual abuse of comedy but the ritual transvestism of acting; *magodia* and *lysiodia* involved changes of clothing.²⁹ Before they acquired their evil reputation, *kinaidoi* seem to have been only dancers.³⁰

I have offered these examples only to show:

(1) that transvestism was widespread, and was a phenomenon without social stigma if justified by cult or ritual;

(2) that it was associated particularly with Dionysus in komastic performance.

I add that private cults could, of course, include transvestism, and poets and their friends belonged to such cults. A cult table³¹ reveals that Philonides and Amphitheos belonged to a cult of Heracles. Sophocles, we are told, was associated with the cult of the hero Dexion. We have the evidence of the vases that Anacreon could have belonged to a similar cult association.

We can now put our evidence together. Immerwahr,³² discussing the Copenhagen fragments with Anacreon's name on them, made an important observation. Anacreon stands close to a figure carrying a parasol. Parasols as well as earrings are in fact a feature of these vases, so much so that Buschor, who first collected them, had the odd idea that they provided evidence for an umbrella festival.³³ Immerwahr, however, pointed

²⁶Plutarch *Solon* 8. L. Lawler, *Dance in Ancient Greece* (London 1964), illustrates in the frontispiece what she calls a transvestite dance for Heracles; there is no justification for this; the dancers are Nereids. See E. Simon, *Die griechische Vasen* (Munich 1976) pl. xxi.

²⁷L. Deubner, *Attische Feste* (Berlin 1932) 143.

²⁸*History of Greek Art* (Cambridge 1975) 1.429; Trendall, *RLCS* 54 f.

²⁹*RE*, "Σιμφοδοί," 3 A 1 (1927) 159 f.

³⁰*RE*, "Κιναιδος," 11 1 (1921) 459 ff.

³¹*IG* 2² 2343; cf. J. G. Griffith, *Hermes* 102 (1974) 367-369.

³²H. Immerwahr, *AJA* 69 (1965) 152 n. 4; see Brandenburg (above, n. 12) pl. 1-3 for the best picture of the Copenhagen fragments, which he had cleaned. Beazley (above, n. 12) first made the connection and drew the conclusion.

³³Deubner (above, n. 27) 49 n. 7; he wrongly alleges that Wilamowitz was persuaded.

to Artemon and his parasol, the same Artemon who is elsewhere said to be loved by blonde-haired Eurypyle (fr. 8G). Is fr. 82 then the uncontrolled savagery of satire,³⁴ as Bowra thought? The truth, I think, is far different.

Artemon is, I suggest, a member of Anacreon's group, perhaps an *orgeon* or *thiasos*, a form of gathering that he himself may have been influential in promoting at Athens.³⁵ At their meetings female dress, mitras, parasols, and earrings were *de rigueur*. Artemon is accused of having worn in the past a cheap transvestite costume and of having a criminal past; now he wears a splendid assortment of female accoutrements, complete with matching transportation.

But there is still something wrong. Why should Anacreon say such rude things of a fellow komast? The answer is simple. In a komastic-sympotic ambience it was expected that one should utter rude remarks especially of one's friends and if possible in poetry. The literary evidence for it is overwhelming.

Archilochus, with the sole exception of Lycambes and his daughters, directed his abuse at people whom we know to have been his best friends.³⁶ Sappho, according to Maximus of Tyre, abused and satirized her girl friends.³⁷ Other evidence has been assembled by Reitzenstein³⁸ and by West,³⁹ and more could be added⁴⁰ to show that the drinking of wine at the symposium was accompanied by friendly abuse, often obscene. It requires no great effort of the imagination to recognize that male abuse consists to a good extent of accusations of effeminacy; indeed another poem of Anacreon does just that.⁴¹

It may be best to give two examples where the context of komastic

³⁴So Bowra (above, n. 10) 298, repeated by Kirkwood (above, n. 10) 174 as "thorough-going and unsparing satire;" de Vries (above, n. 11) 32 calls Artemon Anacreon's "personal enemy." So did Beazley, and it is precisely on this point that I take issue with all previous interpretations. From poetic abuse one cannot deduce personal enmity in ancient Greece, but one may suspect intimate friendship.

³⁵So Boardman (above, no. 10) and Webster (above, n. 12). A referee rightly points out that Artemon has a beard, and that our vases show no youths.

³⁶Fr. 295d W; Glaucus, fr. 96, 117 cf. fr. 247; Charilaos, fr. 167, 168 cf. fr. 124b; Pericles, fr. 124.

³⁷Max. Tyr. 18.9 = Sappho fr. 219 Voigt.

³⁸*Epigram und Skolion* (Giessen 1893) 26 n. 2.

³⁹(Above, n. 3) 16.

⁴⁰Critias 6.9W; *Adesp. Eleg.* 27.5W; cf. the injunction of Persaeus of Citium (Athen. 13.607b) that it is appropriate to talk about *erotica* when we drink. Alex. Aetolus fr. 7.2 Powell has:

μισογέλως καὶ τωθάζειν οὐδὲ παρ' οἴνῳ μεμαθηκώς

⁴¹Fr. 54G, which looks like *fescennina iocatio*.

aischrology adds to our understanding.⁴² A newly-published inscription⁴³ from an early fifth-century vase from Syracuse reads: *τουτον τον σκυφον Πορκος αποδιδωτι ες τον θιασον τον π[. . .]ν αι δε φιλε Φρυναν ουκ αλλος κ' αγε οδε γραψας τον αννεμωτα πυγχιχει*. The vase is made for the cult, and as the members drank, the final insulting words of the Porkos who donated the vase become visible. Forssman has neatly paralleled the insult from various graffiti of Roman times, of the general tenor: *amat qui scribit, predicatur qui legit*.⁴⁴ It is most interesting that a topos of Greek cult abuse should be maintained in Latin vulgar language five hundred years later. More interesting still is that Catullus has made literary use of this in his poem to his friends Furius and Aurelius, who had as Kroll puts it "seine Männlichkeit angezweifelt."⁴⁵ In poem 16 he threatens to demonstrate his virility: *pedicabo ego vos*. Of course this is good-humoured abuse; but it is more. If we compare our formulary graffito it is clear that Catullus is making another point, that he is in love while those who merely read and criticize will have unmentionable things done to them; they are useless *pathici*.

Artemon, then, is the object of the good-humoured abuse of his friend and perhaps admirer Anacreon. We observe that the abuse is not for effeminacy *per se*, but for cheap and lower-class effeminacy; perhaps Artemon is now being complimented tongue-in-cheek on his new superior attire. It seems that by convention the object of abuse and especially of rude remarks and enquiries about masculinity tends to be much younger than the poet, as Megylla's brother from Opus is younger than Horace. Anacreon, then, portrays himself as belonging to that category of *severi*,⁴⁶ who made sympotic life uncomfortable for young men by a combination of obscene abuse and jokes, as older men still do in Greek *kapheneia*.

The poem of Anacreon thus fits well enough into a traditional social and

⁴²Wilamowitz, *Der Glaube der Hellenen*³ (Darmstadt 1959) 287 n. 2, rightly saw that Semonides' poem on women only makes sense in the context of ritual abuse; recent commentators seem to have overlooked this crucial point, which fits in well with what we now know of Hipponax.

⁴³G. Manganaro, *Kokalos* 14/15 (1968/9) 197 ff.; B. Forssman, *MSS* 34 (1976) 39. Can Porkos be related to Alkman's sea deity and so to the "symposium at sea," a concept well attested in Sicily?

⁴⁴Forssman cites *CIL* 4.2360 = *Carm. Epigr.* 45 Buecheler; *CIL* 4.4008 = *CE* Supp. 1864; *CIL* 4.1798; *CIL* 13.10017. 40.

⁴⁵Kroll *ad loc.* rightly warns against taking the poem too seriously.

⁴⁶Kroll on Cat. 5.2; F. Cairns, *CQ* n.s. 21 (1971) 205. O. Hetzel, *Catull und das griechischen Epigramm* (Stuttgart 1932) 49 n. 5, briefly alludes to this "needling" but not in his section on Aischrology (39 ff.). This seems to me to separate two things that in practice belong together. The most relevant commentary on our inscription is in Plut. *Quaest. Conv.* 631c ff., esp. 633 f.; cf. M. Wellmann, *Hermes* 51 (1916) 2 n. 2, with Ar. *Nub.* 992.

cultural framework that persists throughout the classical period. If there is a moral to be drawn, it is this: that purely literary interpretations, so common in modern language studies, are not only of dubious value, but can be positively misleading when applied without care to antiquity; and that there is no text without context, even if we do not know it and cannot imagine it.⁴⁷

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⁴⁷Douglas Gerber first made me put these ideas on paper; since then several university audiences have heard and criticized them to my profit. Donna Kurtz was kind enough to discuss with me the subject of the Anacreon-vases.

ADDENDUM

R. Tölle-Kastbein, "Zur Mitra in klassischen Zeit" (*RA* 1977.23–26), also maintains that the classical mitra was a headband. The Kassel kalpis appeared in the Katalog der Münzen und Medaillen AG, Basel, Kunstwerke der Antike, Auktion 51 (14–15 March 1975) page 64 no. 152 plate 35, as Dr. Friederike Naumann, Kassel, informs me.