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GOLD HAIR AND GREY, OR THE GAME OF LOVE: ANACREON FR. 13:358 *PMG*, 13 GENTILI

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σφαίρῃ δηὖτέ με πορφυρῇ
βάλλων χρυσοκόμης Ἔρως
νήνι ποικιλοσαμβάλῳ
συμπαίζειν προκαλεῖται·
ἡ δ', ἐστὶν γὰρ ἀπ' εὐκτίτου
Λέσβου, τὴν μὲν ἐμὴν κόμην,
λευκὴ γάρ, καταμέμφεται,
πρὸς δ' ἄλλην τινὰ χάσκει.

The poem, which may very well be complete, is a miracle of construction. This reinforces the thrust of its point, while contributing to the irony of its tone.[1]

[1]The following works may be referred to hereafter by the name of the author only: H. W. Smyth, *Greek Melic Poets* (London 1900) 288; U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Sappho und Simonides* (Berlin 1913) 116; F. Lasserre, *La figure d'Eros dans la poésie grecque* (Lausanne 1946) 44–45; L. M. Positano, "Sul frammento 5 di Anacreonte," *PP* 1 (1946) 370–372; D. L. Page, *Sappho and Alcaeus* (Oxford 1955) 143 and note 3; A. W. Gomme in *JHS* 77 (1957) 259, note 13; B. Gentili, *Anacreon* (Rome 1958) 12; J. A. Davison, "Anacreon fr. 5 Diehl," *TAPA* 90 (1959) 40–47 = *From Archilochus to Pindar* (London 1968) 247–55; C. M. Bowra, *Greek Lyric Poetry* (Oxford 1961²) 284–86; M. Wigodsky, "Anacreon and the Girl from Lesbos," *CP* 57 (1962) 109; C. del Grande, ΦΟΡΜΙΓΞ: *Antologia della lirica greca* (Naples 1963³) 205–206; G. Wirth, "Anacreon 5D," in *Miscellanea Critica* 1 (Leipzig 1964) 295–306; D. A. Campbell, *Greek Lyric Poetry* (London 1967) 320–21; B. Marzullo, *Frammenti della lirica greca* (Florence 1965) 157–58; G. Perrotta and B. Gentili, *Polinnia* (Messina and Florence 1965²) 248–50; G. Giangrande in *L'épigramme grecque* in *Entretiens Hardt* 14 (Geneva 1960) 112; D. E. Gerber, *Euterpe* (Amsterdam 1970) 229–30; M. L. West in *CQ* N.S. 20 (1970) 209; B. Gentili, "La ragazza di Lesbo," *QUCC* 16 (1973) 124–28; G. Giangrande, "Anacreon and the Lesbian Girl," *QUCC* 16 (1973) 129–33; M. Campbell, "Anacr. fr. 358P.," *MCr* 8/9 (1973–1974) 168–69; G. Giangrande, "Zwei hellenistische Epigramme," *RhM* N.F. 117 (1974) 66–71; G. M. Kirkwood, *Early Greek Monody* (Ithaca, N.Y. 1974) 166–67; H. Fränkel, *Early Greek Poetry and Philosophy* (New York and London

Like archaic poems generally, this one has a definite setting, probably of a convivial kind.[2] This may have been at the court of Polycrates of Samos, to which the Lesbian girl, who is prominent in it, might have found her way as a refugee from the Persian ascendancy on the mainland opposite, or it may have been at the court of the Peisistratids at Athens, where Anacreon later arrived, at an age that might be supposed to account for his mention of white hair in the poem. Certainly Anacreon, like others, found in the courts both a patron and a platform, and we can guess that the sophisticated tastes found there may have been a factor in the climate that produced this deft and subtle poem.

The first of two matching and tightly-woven strophes provides a picture of the setting in which metaphor is combined with description. The girl is picked out by a single, compelling epithet, restored to us by a palmary conjecture, made by J. F. A. Seidler from the *débris* presented to us by the manuscripts of Athenaeus, whose quotation preserves the poem for us.[3] The phrase, *νήνι ποικιλοσαμβάλῳ* is Ionic, in keeping with the poem's metre and ethos, but the second part of the compound appears to be Aeolic,[4] and it is an easy conjecture that the remarkable sandals by which she is distinguished came from Lesbos, just as she did. Shoe-styles evidently owed much to the barbarians up-country, and especially to the Lydians and the Persians.[5] Xenophanes finds fault with the useless indulgence in luxuries that the citizens of Colophon imported from Lydia and Sappho shows herself acutely aware of the availability of imports from Sardis. The great Greek cities of Anatolia, including Lesbos, are therefore likely to have been supplied, at a price, with Lydian and Persian shoes imported

1975) 292–93 (first published in the German original, *Dichtung und Philosophie des frühen Griechentums* at New York in 1951); G. Giangrande, "On Anacreon's Poetry," *QUCC* 21 (1976) 43–46; B. Gentili, "Addendum," *QUCC* 21 (1976) 47; M. Komornicka, "A la suite de la lecture 'La regazza di Lesbo'," *QUCC* 21 (1976) 37–41; E. Degani and G. Burzacchini, *Lirici greci* (Florence 1977) 248–50; P. Easterling, "Literary Tradition and the Transformation of Cupid," *Didaskalos* 5 (1977) 318–37; K. J. Dover, *Greek Homosexuality* (London 1978) 182–83. For bibliographies of Anacreon, see the edition of B. Gentili (above) xxxi–xli and D. E. Gerber in *CW* 61 (1968) 323–25 and 70 (1976) 119–22. I am indebted also to Douglas Gerber and to Anne Giacomelli for a number of references.

[2]Wilamowitz has a lively recreation of the convivial setting. Davison prefers to think of a *pannychis*.

[3]Athenaeus' manuscripts give us *ποικίλος λαμβάνω*. Seidler was a pupil of G. Hermann.

[4]See E. Schwyzer, *Griechische Grammatik* I[2] (Munich 1953) 303, W. Headlam and A. D. Knox, *Herodas: The Mimes and Fragments* (Cambridge 1922) 346, and LSJ s.v. *σάνδαλον*. The word is used by Sappho fr. 110.2 L–P.

[5]E.g., foot-gear is Lydian in Sappho fr. 39 L–P and slippers are "Persians" in Aristophanes (*Nub.* 151, *Thesm.* 734, *Eccl.* 319). It may be relevant that the Persian attendant at Bacch. 3.48 is *ἀβροβάταν*.

from the east, or manufactured on the spot on imported lasts.[6] What the style of her sandals was, apart from their elaborateness, we are not told and cannot guess very profitably,[7] though it is possible for the reader to take satisfaction by contemplating a contemporary vase-painting representing the figure of a girl tying her sandals with intricate lacings over and above the ankles.[8] No doubt, the sandals worn by the Lesbian girl are to be thought equally elegant and attractive, and presumably they are the height of imported fashion. She is sufficiently identified by the epithet, certainly as a type, and possibly as a person known individually at the court of Samos or of Athens.[9]

That the situation is a love-challenge is proved both by the throwing of the ball by Eros and the "challenge to play games" with the sandalled girl. The first recalls the practice of tossing an apple as a means of picking up a partner[10] as well as the figure of Eros as a games-player.[11] The second provides in *συμπαίζειν* a word of clearly erotic sense, though the meaning of this word, like that of *προκαλεῖται*, may very well convey also a competitive implication. The situation, though certainly erotic in its flavour, is also definitely challenging.[12] The speaker is presented with a standard to come up to and a partner to match.

[6]On the variety of styles available, see Herodas 7.56 ff. and the commentary of Headlam and Knox *ad loc.* O. Masson, *Les fragments du poète Hipponax* (Paris 1962) 125, writing of *σαμβαλίσκον*, says, "l'origine orientale est probable."

[7]Sappho fr. 39 L–P uses *ποίκιλος* of Lydian foot-gear and repeats the epithet in connection with other luxuries (frr. 44.9 and 98a.10–11). A variety of colours is also possible: cf. Luc. *Amores* 41, *ἀνθοβαφῆ πέδιλα*, Headlam and Knox on Herodas 7.28, Philostr. *Ep.* 36, and A. S. F. Gow and D. L. Page, *The Greek Anthology: Hellenistic Epigrams* 2 (Cambridge 1965) 355.

[8]Louvre G2: *CV* 3.1c, plate 26b. A photograph is provided by J. Marcadé, *Eros Kalos* (Geneva 1963) 158, 161 and by Gentili in *QUCC* 16 (1973) facing 128.

[9]Some kinds of sandals might be recognised as the dress of *ἑταῖραι*: see Pollux 7.92, *Περσικαὶ, λευκὸν ὑπόδημα μᾶλλον ἑταιρικόν*. So too, perhaps, the "Thracian filly" and "the girl in the golden dress" in Anacr. frr. 72:417 and 73:418 *PMG*, 78 and 74 Gentili, were recognisable, at least generally (though the latter has been thought to be a goddess: see Gentili in *QUCC* 16 (1973) 134–35).

[10]Cf. B. O. Foster, "Notes on the Symbolism of the Apple in Classical Antiquity," *HSCP* 10 (1899) 39–55, and A. R. Littlewood, "The Symbolism of the Apple in Greek and Roman Literature," *HSCP* 72 (1967) 147–81.

[11]On Eros as ball-player, see Apoll. Rhod. 3.125 ff. and Meleager ap. *Anth. Pal.* 5.214: fr. 53: 4268 ff. *HE* Gow-Page. Balls, as playthings now left behind, are dedicated by youths and by a girl in Leonidas fr. 45:2245, Theodorus fr. 1:3594, and Anon. 3826–27 *HE* Gow-Page. A ball is the gift of a lover in Glaucus fr. 1:1811 *HE* Gow-Page. On the game of love, cf. Anacr. frr. 12.4:357 and 53:398 *PMG*, 14.4 and 111 Gentili. Eros plays both with knuckle-bones and with a ball in Apoll. Rhod. *Argon.* 3.117 ff. and 132 ff. A ball, because of its movements here and there, is likened to an *hetaira* by Artemidorus 1.55.

[12]Cf. Anacreont. 15.24–25 *PLG*.

Still, we hear nothing of the throwing of an apple as the means of the challenge, but find only a highly-coloured description of the god with his golden hair casting his purple ball. The pictorial effect points to a mythical description, and this inference is borne out by reflection on the meaning of the epithets. For the hair of Eros is surely made of gold, as the hair and other appurtenances of the gods should be, and χρυσοκόμης is not simply a colour-epithet ("golden in colour") or one of commendation ("golden-head").[13] And the "purple," or "many-hued," or "iridescent" ball[14] which is his play-thing is an attribute of gods and princes, and notably of Eros' mother, Aphrodite.[15] The image, borrowed from the myths, is a metaphor for the incidence of *erôs*. It describes the object of the *frisson* of recognition felt by the speaker, not merely the action of the girl, whether at a symposium or elsewhere.

The second strophe dispenses with mythical emblems and the poet's psychology and turns wholly to the description of the girl and her actions. Like its companion-stanza, it is periodic in construction, but this time to a degree hardly paralleled in archaic usage.[16] It begins with the pronoun that is its subject and ends, after balancing two major clauses and interjecting two parentheses, at last with its long-expected verb. The poet's delicate command of his language and metre has made a strophe that is unmatched for intricacy, neatness, and point.[17]

[13]Eros is χρυσοκόμας at Eur. *Iph. Aul.* 548 and χρυσοχαίτης at Anacreont. 41.12 *PLG*. For other gods, cf. M. L. West's note on Hesiod's *Theogony* 947–48 in his commentary on the poem (Oxford 1966) and LSJ s.v. χρύσεος. Add, e.g., Pind. *Ol.* 6.41 and 7.32, *Pyth.* 2.16, *Isth.* 7.49, *Paeans* 5.41, and other instances in *Lexicon to Pindar*, ed. W. J. Slater (Berlin 1969) 549–51.

[14]The ball with which the Phaeacians play at *Od.* 8.372–73 is "purple," as is Aphrodite herself at Anacr. fr. 12.3:357 *PMG*, 14 Gentili; cf. Sappho fr. 54 L–P. Hesychius, s.v. πάλλα has: σφαῖρα ἐκ ποικίλων νραμάτων πεποιημένη. Cf. also the note of Perrotta-Gentili, p. 249. However it is understood, πορφύρεος must comprise a range of hue, intensity, and light. The god's ball therefore exhibits the same ποικιλία as the girl's sandals. Cf. A. Castrignano, "Ancora a proposito di πορφύρω - πορφύρεος," *Maia* 5 (1952) 118–21; R. d'Avino in *RicLing* 4 (1958) 108–11; and P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire Etymologique de la langue grecque* 3 (Paris 1968) 930.

[15]See M. Reinhold, *The History of Purple as a Status Symbol in Antiquity* (Brussels 1970) 23 ff.

[16]H. Fränkel, *Wege und Formen frühgriechischen Denkens* (Munich 1955) 60, inclines to characterising the grammatical construction as λέξις εἰρομένη, but he agrees that Anacreon has in other respects outgrown the style.

[17]M. Campbell's judgment of the construction of the second strophe, though correct in its analysis, seems to me to fall short in its general appraisal of Anacreon's periodic wholeness. He speaks of "a disjointed, almost staccato, style" (similarly, Perrotta-Gentili 248), whereas I should prefer to call this a closely-woven texture, in recognition of its highly-articulated unity. This quality is conferred on it by the inevitability of its progress to its predestined conclusion.

For this reason it is the more surprising that modern readers have often differed strenuously concerning the movement of the thought and the point to which this moves. Given the elegant construction of the verses, it is a plausible explanation that the vagaries of the interpreters are attributable to something external to the poem itself. This in fact appears to be a sexual prejudice of one kind or another.

The oldest prejudice of this kind found an incompatibility between good Greek poetry and Greek homosexuality. On this view the poem, because it is good, cannot be homosexual, and a tiny change in the last line gives πρὸς δ' ἄλλον τινα χάσκει with a clear and unambiguous object and an innocently heterosexual situation. The reading, which seems to have been first proposed by Barnes, then by de Pauw, and was later approved by Bergk and Edmonds, became common, but was swept away, along with the prejudice that produced it, by the change in sexual attitudes that has marked the social history of the present century since the First World War.[18]

This change made the relation between Sappho and her poetry for more than a generation into a battle-field, on which the old prejudice, which was championed by Wilamowitz and others, was eventually forced to yield possession to the newer attitudes. Lesbian female sexuality might, it was conceded, after all be homosexual and might have produced the poetry of Sappho. It is often made evident by scholars' judgments on Sappho during the past generation that this outcome brought them much psychological relief, but it must be added that it often gave rise also to a new dogmatism and self-righteousness about sexual attitudes in poetry.

The controversy over Sappho was to have consequences for the interpretation of Anacreon's poem because of its allusion to "well-founded Lesbos." Thus, the late Sir Denys Page held,[19] on the evidence of the poem, that "Lesbos was a byword for these practices (female homosexuality) . . . in the generation after Sappho," although he conceded to Wilamowitz that the ancient world did not speak of "lesbianism" in the modern sense.[20] "Anacreon, having prepared the way by the apparently casual mention of her native island, turns his rebuff to her discomfiture by the unexpected jest

[18]The case for ἄλλον was still thought tenable by Davison 44–45 = 252–54 in 1959.

[19]Page 143 and note 3.

[20]Wilamowitz 72; cf. W. Kroll in *RE* 24 (1925) 2100–2102, s.v. "Lesbische Liebe," and Davison. Whatever Catullus' reason may have been for calling the lady "Lesbia," it seems incredible that he attached the modern sense to the epithet. K. Quinn, *Catullus: The Poems* (London 1970) xv, writes: "Most likely, he chose the name Lesbia as an *innocent-sounding* substitute for his mistress's real name" (my italics).

at the end—the real reason for her scorn is not that he is *old*, but that he is a *man*."[21]

The reference here to εὐκτίτου Λέσβου recalls the repeated occurrence in Homer of Λέσβον ἐυκτιμένην and ἐυκτιμένῃ ἐνὶ Λέσβῳ.[22] Anacreon has adapted the epic phrase to the Ionic dialect and metre and conferred thereby an ironic dignity on the line.[23] The dignity of the expression is likely to be a recognition of the qualities of Lesbian women: their beauty, their culture and elegance, and their sexual sophistication.[24] In the *Iliad* the women of Lesbos are praised for their beauty in the same breath as a mention of their "well-built" city, and some of them are evidently the most prized of the female captives taken by the Greeks.[25] The poetry of Sappho is, of course, a powerful witness to their beauty and cultivation, while the beauty-contests of Lesbos were famous.[26] Lesbian music and poetry also enjoyed a celebrity,[27] and Sappho's poems show that refinement of dress and manners was the fashion. For the hearer of the poem, who has already learned of the girl's elaborately-intricate sandals, the mention of her Lesbian origin is likely to have conveyed a set of associations such as these. A somewhat similar pattern of associations, combining with sexual attraction and versatility both the high culture and the *haute couture*, might be conveyed in English by calling a girl in a similar poem a *"Parisienne"* from *"la ville lumière."* The contemporary sense of "lesbian" in English does not appear to be earlier than the nineteenth century,[28] and the reference to Lesbos here cannot therefore be taken to impose this meaning on the poem.

The argument has a similar application to the most recent interpretation, which has found a number of supporters since it was first propounded in

[21]The "lesbian" interpretation has been accepted by Bowra, D. A. Campbell, Easterling, Gerber (who has now abandoned it), Kirkwood, Marzullo, and West.

[22]*Il.* 9.129 and 271; *Od.* 4.342, 17.133. Cf. also ἐύκτιτον Αἰπύ at *Il.* 2.592 and *Hom. H. Apoll.* 423. See Solon fr. 36.8 *IEG* for the use for patriotic purposes of a similar epithet (πατρίδ' ἐς θεόκτιτον).

[23]A. E. Harvey in *CQ* N.S. 7 (1957) 213 recognises in the use of the epithet here "a note of mock-solemnity."

[24]Giangrande in *QUCC* 16 (1973) 133 writes unaccountably, "Lesbian girls were not reputed in antiquity to have any more young admirers at their disposal than, say, Athenian or Spartan girls."

[25]*Il.* 9.129–30: Λέσβιδας, ἄς, ὅτε Λέσβον ἐυκτιμένην ἕλεν αὐτός, / ἐξελόμην, αἳ κάλλει ἐνίκων φῦλα γυναικῶν. Cf. also 9.664.

[26]Alc. fr. 130.32–35 L-P and Page 168, note 4.

[27]Cf., with Fränkel 292, note 4, Sappho fr. 106 L-P and Cratinus fr. 243 Kock and Edmonds.

[28]See Gentili in *QUCC* 16 (1973) 125, note 4. The earliest instance of "lesbianism" recognised by the *Supplement* to the Oxford *NED* is dated 1890.

1962.[29] It shifts the focus, as it were, from the abnormal to the obscene. Basing itself on a number of texts from Athenian comedy and later sources,[30] it finds that Lesbian women were especially known for their practice of *fellatio* rather than that of *copulatio*[31] and that "being a Lesbian girl in antiquity was synonymous with being a *fellatrix*." But this is to go beyond the evidence, which attests to no more than the reputation of Lesbian women, in a later age and at a different place, for the possession of this sexual skill. It would be possible to enumerate the forms of sexual variance or perversion that are attributed in English to French women, and no doubt the other way about as well, but this exercise would do nothing to prove that the use of the term "French woman," or *"femme anglaise,"* is "synonymous" with some sexual practice or that it of itself imposes an interpretation in this sense. To be a Lesbian was held in Athens to be compatible with being a *fellatrix,* but nothing shows that the one was a synonym of the other, even in Attic speech. The interpretation is possible, but nothing compels our acceptance of it.

We shall act with prudence, if we forego whatever satisfactions are to be felt in providing public proof of our emancipation by recognising immediately, in one or another allusion, a certain indication of the abnormal or the obscene interpretation. It is certainly safer, and probably wiser, to insist instead on the closest possible reading of the whole poem and to permit it in this way to speak for itself.

The strophe's construction divides into two principal clauses, clearly articulated by the use of μὲν and δὲ, and by the semantic antithesis of τὴν μὲν ἐμὴν κόμην and πρὸς δ' ἄλλην τινὰ. The careful symmetry of the construction requires that κόμην be supplied in the last phrase.[32] In conceptual terms the only possible opposite to "*my* head of hair"[33] is "*some other* head of hair." To introduce "some other *girl*" at this late point in the poem is syntactically possible but structurally ruinous.

The first principal clause fills three lines of the strophe and so builds up the pressure that is to be released by the second clause in the fourth line. It is twice interrupted by parenthetical, subordinate clauses introduced by γὰρ.

[29]By Wigodsky. Add now Gentili, Giangrande, Komornicka. The quotation is from Giangrande in *QUCC* 21 (1976) 43; but in *RhM* N.F. 117 (1974) 70 the same scholar finds that Λεσβίς in *Anth. Pal.* 6.211.2:1960 *HE* Gow-Page indicates, not the *fellatrix,* but the τριβάς.

[30]Notably Aristoph. *Vesp.* 1345 ff. and Theopompus fr. 35. Cf. Kroll in *RE* 24 (1925) 2100, E. Degani in *Maia* 12 (1960) 194–95, J. Taillardat, *Les images d'Aristophane* (Paris 1965²) 105, 428–29, and J. Henderson, *The Maculate Muse* (New Haven 1975) 183–84.

[31]Wilamowitz 73, note 1; Dover 182–83 and notes. On designations of national and civic variants, cf., in addition to λεσβιάζω, λακωνίζω, σιφνιάζω, χαλκιδίζω, κτλ.

[32]So M. Campbell, Gentili, Giangrande, Smyth.

[33]Cf. the Homeric phrase, κάρη κομόωντες (*Il.* 2.11, etc.).

These offer complementary comments on the two figures in the scene, the girl and the speaker: it is because she is Lesbian that she can act as she does[34] and it is because his hair is white that he is spurned by her.[35] Her Aeolic beauty and sophistication make it possible for her to pick and choose lovers as she likes, whereas the speaker's white hair puts him low in the scale of eligibility.

The construction of these lines is quite inappropriate both to the abnormal and to the obscene interpretation, for neither can account for λευκὴ γὰρ. Neither a lesbian nor a *fellatrix* would have reason to rebuff the man because of his white hair. The one might possibly be said to reject male facial hair, and the other male cephalic hair, but the Greek words, though brief, are clear and convey neither sense. In addition, the abnormal interpetation has to force into the last line an unnecessary and unanticipated "girl," while the obscene alternative seeks to extract from "some other head of hair" the sense, "some other (than cephalic, i.e., pubic) hair."[36] Neither interpretation can be shown to be adequate to the structure of the strophe.

The poem finds its point in a contrast between two heads of hair, of which one is spurned by the girl because of its whiteness, while the other is the object of her open-mouthed desire.[37] The κόμη signifies both the person[38] (just as κεφαλή, κάρηνον, and κάρα often have that significance[39]) and the object of love. In this combination of meanings the

[34]So Davison and West.

[35]Giangrande in *QUCC* 21 (1976) 44 writes strangely, "the girl neglects Anacreon's cephalic hair not because it is white . . ."

[36]Giangrande in *QUCC* 21 (1976) 45, note 4, adduces later texts to show that Anacreon uses ἐμὴν "in order to oppose himself to his *mentula* (envisaged as his opposite living being)," but the practice does not seem to be early.

[37]For χάσκει the best parallel is Aristoph. *Nub.* 996: πρὸς ταῦτα κεχηνὼς (of the boy who frequents the house of the flute-girl). Cf. also Solon fr. 13.36 *IEG* and Aristoph. *Eq.* 651 and 804. Some have found in the use of the word here the suggestion of stupidity or imperceptiveness (like West, who believes that "the girl is deep in trivial conversation with her friend" and unaware of Anacreon's song about her) or "naive, open-mouthed wonder" (Kirkwood). The supporters of the obscene interpretation discover a brutal sexual meaning, illustrated by the vase-paintings (Davison, Wigodsky, Giangrande). Cf. also the discussion of the Aristophanic usage of χάσκω by Taillardat, *Images*[2] 264–65, and Henderson, *Mac. Muse* 209 ff., Index s.v.

[38]Smyth early recognised that ἄλλην implies κόμην, but he took the whole phrase to be the equivalent of πρὸς δ' ἄλλου τινὸς κόμην, because he did not take κόμην, "head of hair," as signifying "person" in itself. Gentili combines the personal sense of κόμη with the obscene interpretation: *"una diversa chioma (pubica), evidentemente nera, di un altro convitato."*

[39]See, e.g., *Il.* 8.281, 18.114, 23.94 and *Od.* 1.343, 11.549–50, 22.463. Cf. also the Homeric κάρηνον and Soph. *Ant.* 1: ὦ κοινὸν αὐτάδελφον Ἰσμήνης κάρα. At Alcm. fr. 1.70 *PMG* the phrase ταὶ Ναννῶς κόμαι appears in a list of proper names, evidently as a periphrasis for

word resembles Homer's *φίλη κεφαλή* and Horace's *tam cari capitis*.[40] But Homer's and Horace's purposes do not need the addition of hair, which has a well-known erotic value.[41] In early Greek generally hair, in springing from the head, may be thought of as growing from the seeds that run from the brain down the backbone to the sexual organs.[42] Its luxuriant growth is therefore a sign of the man's vitality, including his sexual energies,[43] while its loss of colour and thickness indicates a corresponding failure. The combination of the ideas of "self" and "head of hair," which we postulate here in a unified form, is given an analytical expression in Pindar's *ὅντιν' ἀθρόοι στέφανοι χερσὶ νικάσαντ' ἀνέδησαν ἔθειραν* (*Isth.* 5.8–9), in which the pronoun, signifying "self," is specified by the addition of *ἔθειραν*.

The girl, in turning from one head to another in the search for a suitable object of her *erôs*, may be compared with the drunken Alcibiades, who, towards the end of Plato's *Symposium* (213d,e), seeking a beloved upon whom to confer his garland, turns from the head of the conventionally beautiful Agathon to that of the truly beautiful Socrates (*ἵνα ἀναδήσω καὶ τὴν τούτου ταυτηνὶ τὴν θαυμαστὴν κεφαλήν*). If it was the custom at a symposium for the girl to crown with her garland the man whose advances she was willing to receive,[44] then the prominence of *κόμη* in the poem reflects a fact of its social setting, for it is regular in Greek verse that a crown is placed upon the *κόμη* or *χαίτη* or *ἔθειρα*. The head of hair in that case is a

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Nanno herself, and *Anth. Pal.* 7.27: Antipater fr. 15:265 *HE* Gow-Page offers *Σμερδίεω πλόκαμον* with which compare 5.198: Meleager fr. 24:4124 *HE* Gow-Page. See also the discussion of the head and the hair by R. B. Onians, *The Origins of European Thought* (Cambridge 1954²) 97 ff. B. L. Gildersleeve, commenting on Pind. *Ol.* 14.24 (*ἐστεφάνωσε κυδίμων ἀέθλων πτεροῖσι χαίταν*) in his *Pindar: The Olympian and Pythian Odes* (New York 1885), makes the discerning remark, "The middle (O.7.15), though natural, is not necessary. *χαίταν* represents *ἓ αὐτόν*." It is not uncommon in archaic verse to find similar "periphrases" for the notion of self. E. R. Dodds, in his edition of Euripides' *Bacchae* (Oxford 1944), commenting on line 494 and the practice of growing hair in order to dedicate it, writes as follows: "the hair was felt as a detachable and therefore conveniently dedicable, extension of its owner's personality."

[40] *Il.* 8.281 and Hor. *Odes* 1.24.2. Cf. also *Il.* 18.114 and Aesch. *Agam.* 905.

[41] See Anacr. frr. 2:347, 34:379, 69:414, and 75:420 *PMG*, 71, 84, 26, and 77 Gentili. At *Il.* 3.55 Paris's *κόμη*, like his *εἶδος*, is one of the "gifts of Aphrodite."

[42] See Onians, *Origins*² 232–33 and 530–31; and 156, note 2, on gold as seed.

[43] Anacreon prefers *κόμη* to *κεφαλή* here because his point is sexual and he is committed to the image of the god as *χρυσοκόμης* and to the contrast with his own white hair. It is worth noticing that in Aristophanes (*Nub.* 348 and 1100) *κομήτης* takes a distinctly sexual meaning. Cf. also *Lys.* 381 and the discussion of hair in Dover 38, 78–79, 138, 172.

[44] It is suggestive to compare with Plato, *Symp.* 213d,e, passages such as Anacreont. 1.12–16 *PLG* and *Anth. Pal.* 5.288, in which the poet is possessed by love after the imposition of a garland. Dover 93–96 refers to scenes in vase-paintings (R627 and R295 especially) which may illustrate this practice.

symbol, not only of sexual power and attraction, but also of eligibility.

The marked and unusual emphasis that Anacreon has given here to the head and its hair had been prepared for by his choice of the epithet χρυσοκόμης in the mythical description of the first strophe. To say that Eros has "hair of gold" is to speak of the vitality, endurance, and value of the affection itself.[45] Used as it is used here, the phrase presents the speaker's own perception of the passion, its power, and its importance. This perception by the speaker is then brought into an ironical contrast, in the second strophe, with the girl's cool and confident appraisal of the desirability of her would-be lover, as measured by the debility of *his own* "head of hair."[46] The theme acts powerfully to unify the little poem and is the means by which it is enabled to achieve its tone of rueful but detached irony.

The purpose of the poem is not then, as has been thought, satirical, whether in a playful or in a savage spirit. Anacreon's subject is the speaker, surely himself, whom he regards with an ironical eye.[47] The theme of love as a game is introduced explicitly at the beginning,[48] where it is supported by the motifs of recognition (δηῦτε), many-sidedness (πορφυρέῃ), and variegation (ποικιλο-). Everything points away from a single-minded absorption or infatuation and towards an aloof and delighted contemplation. By contrast with this light and exquisite key-note at the beginning, the rough and clumsy χάσκει, which signifies the actual outcome of the anticipated game, strikes at the very end a harsh note of dissonance. The combination of tones, and the self-regarding irony, recur in other verses by the poet and appear to be more characteristic of him, and of his metre, than the satirical mode.

The Lesbian girl, who is thus removed from the centre of focus to a point nearer its periphery, appears now in a new light and perspective. No longer

[45]Love may be golden from *Il.* 3.64 on. Cf. LSJ s.v. χρύσεος.

[46]A very similar contrast, between the golden-winged Eros and the greying Anacreon, is offered by fr. 34a:379a *PMG,* 84 Gentili: ὑποπόλιον γένειον χρυσοφαέννων, and by fr. 73:418 *PMG,* 74 Gentili: κλῦθί μεο γέροντος χρυσόπεπλε κοῦρα (cf. Fränkel 302 and Gentili in *QUCC* 16 [1973] 134–35). On the theme of the poet's grey hair, see frr. 50.1:395 and 75:420 *PMG,* 36 and 77 Gentili. Cf. *Anth. Pal.* 5.26.3–4, 5.48, 5.112 and 5.264; Philodemus fr. 18:3270 *GP* Gow-Page.

[47]The self-regarding irony of the poem is well recognised by Fränkel 293.

[48]The tone appears to be struck as early as δηῦτε (Seidler's conjecture for δεῦτε) in the first line. The expression recurs in erotic contexts (e.g., Sappho fr. 1.15, 16 and 18, frr. 22.11, 130.1 L–P, Ibycus fr. 6.1:287 and Anacr. fr. 11a6 and b1:356, 31:376, 49b:391, 55:400, 68:413, 83:428 *PMG,* 33, 94, 113, 35, 25, 46 Gentili). On the semantics of the expression, see Page 13, B. Snell, *The Discovery of the Mind* (Cambridge, Mass., 1953) 57–58, and G. A. Privitera in *QUCC* 4 (1967) 43–44. It signifies that the experience of *erôs* is familiar because seen to be repeated. This recognition makes possible some detachment from the immediacy of the emotion itself.

the depreciated object of scorn or derision, she becomes the type of an experience of elderly lovers, and indeed of all lovers, for she personifies at once both the power to excite *erôs* in the lover and the power to find him unworthy of its return. It is Anacreon's contemplation of this general fact, in its particular setting, and his savouring of its bitter-sweet flavour that make the poem. The ball, he notices, has bounced into another court, as it were, and towards the hands of another player.