

Anacreontic Vases Reconsidered

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A CURIOUSLY-DRESSED LYRE PLAYER begins to appear on Attic vases towards the end of the sixth century, during the final years of the Pisistratid tyranny.¹ His costume often includes an oversized turban, chiton, boots, and a long,

¹ The following will be cited by authors' names: J. D. BEAZLEY (with L. D. Caskey), *Attic Vase Paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston II* (Boston 1954) 56–61; J. BOARDMAN, *Excavations in Chios 1952–1955, Greek Emporio* (=BSA Suppl. 6 [Oxford 1967]); "A Curious Eye Cup," *AA* 91 (1976) 281–90; (with D. C. Kurtz), "Booners," *Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum 3* (=Occasional Papers on Antiquities 2 [Malibu 1986]) 35–70; R. M. COOK, *Greek Painted Pottery*² (London 1972); K. DEVRIES, "East Meets West at Dinner," *Expedition* 15 (1973) 32–39; C. DUGAS, *Délos XXI: Les vases attiques à figures rouges* (Paris 1952); G. FRANZIUS, *Tänzer und Tänze in der archaischen Vasenmalerei* (diss.Göttingen 1973); A. FRICKENHOU, *Lenäenvasen* (=Winckelmannsprogramm 72 [Berlin 1912]); J. R. GREEN, "A Representation of the Birds of Aristophanes," *Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum 2* (=Occasional Papers on Antiquities 3 [1985]) 295–118; A. GREIFENHAGEN, *Alte Zeichnungen nach unbekanntem griechischen Vasen* (=SBMünch 1976.3); I. JUCKER, "Frauenfest in Corinth," *AntK* 5–6 (1962–63) 47–62; L. B. LAWLER, *Dance of the Ancient Greek Theatre* (Iowa City 1964); W. G. MOON, *Greek Vase Painting in Midwestern Collections* (Chicago 1979); K. D. MORROW, *Greek Footwear and the Dating of Sculpture* (London 1985); H. PAYNE, *Necrocorinthia* (Oxford 1931); *Perachora: The Sanctuaries of Hera Akraia and Limenia II* (Oxford 1962); E. R. PRICE, "Pottery of Naukratis," *JHS* 44 (1924) 180–222; E. F. SCHMIDT, *Persepolis I* (Chicago 1953); A. SEEBERG, *Corinthian Komos Vases* (London 1971); K. SCHEFOLD, *Die Bildnisse der antiken Dichter, Redner, und Denker* (Basel 1943); F. VILLARD, *La céramique grecque de Marseille* (Paris 1960); E. WALTER-KARYDI, *Samos VI.1: Samische Gefässe des 6. Jahrhunderts v.Chr., Landschaftsstile ostgriechischer Gefässe* (Bonn 1973); T. B. L. WEBSTER, *The Greek Chorus* (London 1970); D. WILLIAMS, "Aegina, Aphaia-Tempel: V, the Pottery from Chios," *AA* 98 (1983) 155–86.

unkempt beard (PLATE 1).² At the turn of the century he is joined by bearded companions also dressed in turbans, elegant long chitons, and himatia, and carrying parasols or walking sticks (PLATE 2).³ These scenes, beginning *ca* 520–510 and continuing through the mid-fifth century, thus span almost seventy years.⁴ Considerable diversity in dress is apparent on the earliest vases, but after the turn of the century standardized turbans or tied headcloths, long robes, and parasols supersede the earlier variations. Early fifth-century painters occasionally add earrings or substitute a woman's *sakkos* for the turban.⁵ On the basis of the name "Anakreon," written along one arm of the lyre in a fragment of the Kleophrades krater in Copenhagen. Beazley identified the revellers as the lyric poet Anacreon and his "boon companions."⁶

The poet and his elegant friends sing and dance, occasionally in the setting of a symposium but more often in the revel that would follow the feast. The poet plays an Asiatic lyre, the *barbiton*, though pipers may also provide music for these antics. Occasionally the revelers keep time to the music with small percussion instruments (*krotala*). The presence of large

² Malibu, John Paul Getty Museum 77.AE.102, 78.AE.5, Attic black figure kyathos, attributed by Donna Kurtz to a contemporary of Psiax: Boardman (1986) no. 2, fig. 1a.

³ Copenhagen, National Museum 13365, red figure calyx krater (fragmentary) by the Kleophrades Painter (=ARV² 185, 32; Boardman [1986] no. 5, figs. 13a–b; CVA Denmark 8, Copenhagen 8 [III,1] pl. 331–33 fig. 2).

⁴ The chronology for 'Anacreontic' vases in the following discussion is that established by Boardman (1986: 65), *ca* 520–450 B.C.: "The representation on Athenian vases from the 520's on brings all these [Anacreontic] elements together and demonstrates them in a komos setting in which the turbaned chitonized figures, with the *barbiton*, boots, parasol, and sometimes even earrings, strike a distinctive and indeed discordant note beside the traditional near-naked males of the drinking party.... The series ends before the middle of the fifth century." The interpretation proposed here is based on "Anakreon: a New Role?" (M.A. thesis, Bryn Mawr College 1986), which developed ideas first presented in a paper in 1984.

⁵ Earrings: Cleveland 26, 549, red figure column krater by the Pig Painter (=ARV² 563, 9; Boardman [1986] no. 33, fig. 25; CVA USA 15, Cleveland 1, pl. 25–26); Basel, Cahn Collection 60, red figure cup by the Dokimasia Painter (ARV² 414, 30, and *Para.* 372=Boardman no. 19); woman's *sakkos*: Florence 3987, red figure pelike (=Boardman no. 6); CVA Italy 13, Florence 2 (III, 1) pl. 31.1, 33.1–2.

⁶ Beazley 55–61; *supra* n.3.

drinking vessels held aloft by the dancing komasts testifies to their dexterity and their bottomless thirst. Women and youths dressed like the revellers may participate, and an occasional scantily-clad male joins them.⁷ The vases representing these festivities are now conventionally called "Anacreontic."

Previous interpretations of these Anacreontic scenes have followed two schools of thought: one holds that the revellers represent men impersonating women, the other that the figures are Eastern males. Beazley (55–61) proposed the first interpretation when in 1954 he defined the series and identified the scenes as a special *komos* of Anacreon and his companions, disguised as women. Almost twenty years later, DeVries offered an alternative explanation, based on the Eastern character of the individual elements of the Anacreontic costume.⁸ He concluded that the paintings reflect the impression made on Athenian society by the poet Anacreon and the fashionable East Greek expatriates who accompanied him about Athens.

More recently, Kurtz and Boardman (50–67) have greatly enlarged the series from Beazley's original twenty-eight to a total of forty-six vases. They relate the Anacreontic series to earlier material by pointing out that a similar oriental headdress is worn by East Greek komasts on Chiot chalices of *ca* 580–550. These dancing revellers wear padding and often sport carefully detailed pointed turbans. Further, a hydria in Sweden and a Siana cup in Amsterdam show dancing choruses wearing wom-

⁷ Women in Anacreontic scenes: Malibu, Getty Museum S.82.AE.293, red figure cup by the Briseis Painter (Boardman [1986] no. 20, figs.22a–b; *Para.* 372, 8 *bis*; here, PLATES 4–5); Chiusi C 1836, red figure cup by the Painter of Philadelphia 2449 (School of Makron): (Boardman no. 23; *ARV*² 815, top 2; *CVA* Italy 60, Chiusi 2, pl. 22.3–4, 23.1–4); a youth in Anacreontic vase scenes: Adria B 497, B 537, fragmentary red figure column krater, found near Adria (Boardman no. 29; *CVA* Italy 28, Adria 1 [III,1] pl. 5.5); scantily-clad male: Munich 2647, red figure cup from Vulci by Douris (Boardman no. 15; *ARV*² 438, 132; *Jdl* 31 [1916] pl. 3).

⁸ DeVries 32–39. W. J. Slater, "Artemon and Anakreon: No Text with Context," *Phoenix* 32 (1978) 185–94, reopened the question of the Anacreontic revels. He accepted Beazley's interpretation of the costume as feminine dress but argued that the komasts were members of a private cult in Athens whose ritual included wearing women's clothes. H. A. Shapiro, "Courtship Scenes in Attic Vase Painting," *AJA* 85 (1981) 133–43, prefers to associate Anacreon with the social climate of Pisistratid Athens reflected in the courtship scenes on Attic vases from *ca* 550 to the end of the sixth century; see further n.111 *infra*.

en's costumes (PLATES 3a, 8a).⁹ Boardman argues that the latter should be taken as early Attic precursors of the Anacreontic vases. On this argument, the series is linked to representations of choruses connected with the beginnings of the Greek theater.¹⁰ But it remains unclear whether in Boardman's interpretation the implication of performance applies also to the Anacreontic revellers. It is crucial to the question of the origin of the series to establish whether or not Anacreon and his companions are performers like their predecessors or simply oddly-clad Easterners familiar in the streets of Athens.

Like DeVries, Boardman recognizes that every detail of the revellers' dress—turban, long chiton and himation, boots, earrings, parasols, even the long-necked *barbiton*—originated in the male world of Ionia and Anatolia. While he does not agree that the characters are impersonating women, he suggests that they must have looked like women to contemporary Athenians. He may be correct in interpreting the Anacreontic figures as effeminate Easterners, but it is uncertain why vase painters remained preoccupied over so long a period with the elaborate imagery of Oriental males. There is further uncertainty regarding the nature of the relationship between the Anacreontic revellers and the early sixth-century East Greek komasts and Attic dancers who appear to play some rôle in the development of Greek comedy.¹¹ And are we justified in connecting Anac-

⁹ Amsterdam 3356, Siana cup from Greece by the Heidelberg Painter (*ABV* 66/57; *CVA Pays Bas I*, Musée Scheurleer I [III, He], pl. 2, 4–5; Green 99 fig. 4a–b); Swedish private collection, black figure hydria (Green 100 fig.5). See n.81 *infra*.

¹⁰ Cf. Green 95–118 and n.9 *supra*.

¹¹ I use the term 'comedy' to refer to early Old Comedy and its preceding phase, which grew up in the shadow of tragedy in late sixth and early fifth-century Athens. Although evidence for Old Comedy is lacking before 487/6, when the archon first awarded a chorus to comic poets, an earlier phase is indicated by Aristotle's statement that comedy already had a form and was performed before the granting of a chorus. The nature and forms of such early stage performances remain unknown. It should be noted that the connection of the Anacreontic revellers with performance was first made by Webster (84): "[they] would seem to be a very special kind of symposium performance." For the beginnings of Greek comedy see Pickard-Cambridge and Webster, *Dithyramb, Tragedy and Comedy*² (Oxford 1962) 132–94; J. Henderson, *The Maculate Muse* (New Haven 1975). For possible connections of Old Comedy to the iambic tradition see R. W. Rosen, *Old Comedy and the Iambographic Tradition* (Atlanta 1988) and "Hipponax, Boupalos, and the Conventions of

reon, the historical figure and poet, with these vases?

The discrepancy between Anacreon's long life in the sixth century and the fifth-century date of the majority of the vases has never been explained satisfactorily.¹² The only textual evidence for the poet's activities after the downfall of the tyranny in Athens is Lucian's comment (*Macr.* 26) that he lived 85 years, which would place his death *ca* 485, while all but the earliest vases were painted after Anacreon fled Athens in 510. The notion that Anacreon returned to Athens after the installation of the new democracy has no support beyond the Anacreontic series itself. Use of the vases as evidence for the poet's presence in fifth-century Athens depends on the circular assumption that the scenes show the actual Anacreon as he appeared in the streets of the city.

Further, Frontisi-Ducroux and Lissarague have pointed out the ambiguity inherent in representations on Greek vases of scenes that appear readily comprehensible to the modern viewer but whose complexities and deeper meanings may elude

the *Psogos*," *TAPA* 118 (1988) 29–41.

¹² The *Suda* (s.v. Ἀνακρέων) places Anacreon's birth at Teos in the 52nd Olympiad (572–568). After the city fell to the Persians he moved to Abdera and then to the tyrant Polycrates' court at Samos, where he lived a wordly life in Eastern luxury (Hdt. 3.121). For the chronology of Anacreon's stay in Samos see, e.g., J. P. Barron, "The Sixth Century Tyranny at Samos," *CQ* n.s. 14 (1964) 210–29; M. L. West, "Melica," *CQ* n.s. 20 (1970) 207f; B. M. Mitchell, "Herodotus and Samos," *JHS* 95 (1975) 75–80. Both Barron and Mitchell mention the possibility that Anacreon may have come to Samos under Polycrates' father, and stayed on. The poet visited Athens at the invitation of Hipparchos *ca* 522 after the assassination of Polycrates (Hdt. 5.65) and became one of a number of poets welcomed into the artistic circle that surrounded the court at Athens in the late sixth century. Hipparchos was murdered in 514; the tyranny ended when Hippias was expelled in 510 (Pl. *Hipparch.* 228). During the subsequent period of political unrest, Anacreon may have fled to Thessaly: C. M. Bowra, *Greek Lyric Poetry*² (Oxford 1961) 300f. Anacreon's Thessalian interlude, in Bowra's view, is supported by two epigrams: a dedicatory inscription for the king of Pharsalus attributed to Anacreon and an epigram on the queen of Thessaly accompanying a dedication. Bowra further suggested (301 n.17) that Pausanias' report (1.25.1) of a statue of Anacreon on the Athenian Acropolis near that of Xanthippus, Pericles' father, indicated a friendship between the two. See also P. E. Easterling and B. M. W. Knox, ed., *The Cambridge History of Classical Literature* I (Cambridge 1985) 744f.

the closest scrutiny.¹³ They note that in the case of the Anacreontic series, accurate decipherment is further complicated by the sexual ambivalence of figures who appear simultaneously as men (heavy beards) and as women (elegant robes and coif). This antithetical juxtaposition of hyper-virility and charming femininity raises the question whether the series is to be taken as simple representation or as parody, whether it presents Anacreon as person or as caricature.

It should also be emphasized that not all scenes in which Anacreon is represented are 'Anacreontic'. The series is defined not by the poet's presence but by the reveller's distinctive costume, of which the Eastern wrapped turban (or alternatively a loose one-piece woman's *sakkos*) is the chief diagnostic feature. In addition to the krater in Copenhagen, two other early red figure vases identify a lyre player as "Anacreon": a cup by Oltos in London and a lekythos by the Gales painter in Syracuse (PLATE 3b).¹⁴ Only the Copenhagen krater has been included in the series, although the costume on the lekythos is close enough to the traditional Anacreontic dress to warrant consideration. But the Anacreon on the Oltos cup is ineligible, for he wears a himation of moderate length, with a wreath on his head.

On the other hand, it is not clear that every lyre-player in this series represents the poet Anacreon. Did the Kleophrades painter name his particular lyrist "Anacreon" in order to distinguish him from other heavily-bearded, long-robed, and turbaned musicians of the period? Or should we assume that every lyrist dressed like the Copenhagen Anacreon must represent the historical poet? At the very least, it seems reasonable to ask whether some of the unnamed musicians in the Anacreontic series may not represent other Ionian lyric poets, or even simply a generic 'type'. Beazley acknowledged some doubt about the identity of the lyrist on an early plate by Psiax, for the dancing figure wears a costume noticeably

¹³ F. Frontisi-Ducroux and F. Lissarrague, "De l'ambiguïté à ambivalence, un parcours dionysiaque," *AnnArchStAncNap* 5 (1983) 11-32, esp.11f.

¹⁴ Copenhagen 13365 (*supra* n.3); London E 18, red figure cup from Vulci by Oltos (*ARV*² 62, 86; Schefold 50 fig. 1-2); Syracuse 26967, red figure lekythos from Gela by the Gales Painter (*ARV*² 36, 2; Schefold 50 *infra*).

different from his later counterparts.¹⁵ Hence there are two options: (1) every robed and turbaned lyre-player is Anacreon; (2) Anacreon is one of several lyric poets depicted by the figure of a heavily-bearded, robed, and coifed musician. Finally, it seems possible that the type of the Ionian lyric poet, as an elegantly dressed lyre-player distinguished by his Eastern turban, existed prior to the appearance of Anacreon and his companions. In this case, the historical Anacreon would have been adapted to an already existing type of the Ionian poet popular under the Pisistratid tyranny.

I. Characteristic Elements in Anacreontic Scenes

(a) *Costume*

If the scenes reflect early Attic burlesque performances, both the revellers' costumes and their activities should indicate as much. Boardman's examination of Anacreontic dress (1986: 65) points to a dual association with Eastern male clothing and late sixth-century female fashions in Athens. Further investigation may clarify the two-generation development of the dress as a costume and explain its long popularity with Athenian audiences.

The first phase—as we indicated at the outset—covers the final decades of the sixth century B.C. and the earliest decade of the fifth, while the second extends from the early fifth century to the end of the series, *ca* 450. Throughout, the costume relies on the Oriental turban and chiton, worn by heavily-bearded revellers. Variations that appear in the first phase—enlarged turbans, boots, and chitons ranging from short to long (PLATE 1)—die out later.¹⁶ The scenes on the late sixth-century krater in Copenhagen introduce the new costume that becomes standard: turban or *sakkos*, long chiton and himation, and parasol (PLATE 2; *supra* n.3). Earrings are occasionally added (see

¹⁵ Beazley 57; early Psiax plate: Basel, Antikemuseum, Käppeli 421, black figure plate (*ABV* 294, 21 and *Para.* 128; Boardman [1986] no. 3, fig. 9).

¹⁶ Vases that show chitons of various lengths: Rhodes 12200, black figure amphora from Camirus, manner of Lydos (*ABV* 115/3; Boardman [1986] no. 1, figs. 10a–b); Malibu, Getty Museum 77.AE.102, 78.AE.5, Attic black figure kyathos: see *supra* n.2; Basel, Antikenmuseum, Käppeli 421, black figure plate by Psiax: *supra* n.13.

supra n.4). But why this universal change to long chiton, himation, and parasol?

In the early phase, the turban is often exaggerated in size and decoration. The oversized example worn by the padded lyre-player on the Getty kyathos is out of scale with the reveller's head and body (PLATE 1; *supra* n.2). Even when a *sakkos* is substituted for the more traditional turban, the shape may be distorted. On a red figure pelike in Florence (*supra* n.4), the lyrist wears a *sakkos* whose length equals that of his elegant *barbiton*. Clearly the vase-painters of the period meant to stress the importance of the headdress as an element of costume.

Boots appear only in the first stage, but are neither common nor standardized. Three vases show three different boot types. The padded musician on the Getty kyathos wears a distinctive pair of *endromides* (PLATE 1).¹⁷ On the Psiax plate, he capers in boots resembling *kothornoi*—soft, cuffed footwear without a front opening.¹⁸ And on a white lekythos in Paris, a reveller muffled in his cloak runs to the left wearing boots that may be *persikai*.¹⁹ The form of the boot worn by the revellers appears to have been as variable as the many decorative turbans that crowned their heads. And like the turbans, boots must have represented effeminate Oriental affectation to contemporary Athenians, hence effective elements of satire.

A similar element of humor may be found in the long robes and parasols of the later costume, for elements of Anacreontic dress appear also in the clothing of *korai* from the Athenian Acropolis at the end of the sixth century.²⁰ Paint or dilute glaze,

¹⁷ See *supra* n.2. The *endromis* was a soft boot with a front opening and arching tongue: Morrow 39–42.

¹⁸ See *supra* n.13; *kothornoi* appear only in Archaic vase paintings: Morrow xxiv. Simon suggests that the use of *kothornoi* on stage would determine how an actor would walk. Such predetermined steps would add an element of individuality visible at a great distance: see E. Simon, *The Ancient Greek Theatre* (London 1982) 5.

¹⁹ Paris, Petit Palais 336, white-ground lekythos (ARV² 305, 1; Boardman [1986] no.13; CVA France 15, Petit Palais, pl. 33.3f. *Persikai* were soft, formless shoes, closest to modern socks: Morrow 42; cf. K. E. Dohan, *Hypodemata: the Study of Greek Footwear and its Chronological Value* (diss. Bryn Mawr 1982) 251.

²⁰ H. Payne and G. M. Young, *Archaic Marble Sculpture from the Acropolis* (New York 1951) pl. 40f, 43.3–4, 44.3–4, 65.1–2, 66.1ff, 91.1, 96.4. Geddes

applied in wavy lines, depicts the crinkled texture of the long lightweight chitons beneath the mantles worn by the revellers, similar in appearance to the chitons of the *korai*.²¹

The turbans, boots, earrings, and parasols are easily recognizable as elements of costume. Less obvious, on every vase for almost seventy years, are the false beards, recognized as such by Buschor over fifty years ago.²² These may be longer than ordinary beards, as on the black figure kyathos in Malibu, or bushier, as on the Copenhagen krater (PLATES 1, 2).²³ They may even be untrimmed, with long wisps hanging from the main body, as on the revellers in a red figure cup by the Briseis Painter in Malibu (PLATES 4–5).²⁴ A comparison of Anacreontic beards with the short, trimmed beards of ordinary revellers

points out that before the fifth century wealthy Athenians and Ionians wore long linen chitons over which a shawl might be draped. In the fifth century, however, the long chiton was not a normal costume for rich Athenian men. Regular garb for men might include a woollen cloak worn over a short chiton; sometimes in art and possibly also in real life a woollen mantle might be worn without an undergarment. Charioteers, priests, actors and musicians, kings, and gods continued to be represented wearing long robes into the fifth century. But A. G. Geddes points out ("Rags and Riches: the Costume of Athenian Men in the Fifth Century," *CQ* NS. 37 [1987] 307–33) that by the fifth century Ionians had a reputation for softness, weakness, cowardice, and sexual license associated with their wealth and luxurious living—characteristics often contrasted with Greek poverty and toughness. Such assumptions about the character of Ionians and Eastern peoples were transferred to the Eastern style of clothing. Cf. the unusual statue of a draped male, dressed in robes similar to the Anacreontic figures from the Acropolis (Acropolis no. 633; Payne and Young pl. 102); the subject is unknown.

²¹ Madrid 11009, red figure stamnos (Boardman [1986] no. 10, fig. 16; *CVA* Spain 2, Madrid 2 (III, 1c) pl. 6ff); Cleveland 26549 (*supra* n.4); Mykonos, red figure neck amphora from Rheneia and Delos, manner of the Aegisthus Painter (*ARV*² 508, 4; Boardman [1986] no. 26; Dugas pl. 22 no. 57, pl. 24); Chiusi, C 1836 (*supra* n.7). It seems unlikely that the clothing of the *korai* was imaginary, rather than based on women's dress of the period.

²² E. Buschor, "Das Schirmfest," *JdI* 38–39 (1923–24) 132. Buschor found the beards unrealistic, believing the figures to be women wearing false beards.

²³ See *supra* nn.2–3, 19; blacker, bushier beards: Rhodes 13129, red figure pelike from Camirus by the Pig Painter (*ARV*² 564, 28; Boardman [1986] no. 34, fig. 26a–b; *CVA* Italy 9, Rhodes 1 (III, 1c) pl. 3.

²⁴ Malibu, Getty Museum S.82.AE.293 (see *supra* n.7); Cleveland 26, 549 (*supra* n.5).

within the work of individual vase painters makes it clear that the Anacreontic type is, as a rule, longer, blacker, fuller, and more unkempt.²⁵ It may be objected that false beards are unlikely, since there are no visible attachment strings; but examination of the figures shows that in most cases it would be a simple matter to attach them invisibly under the Oriental headdress, behind the wearer's ears, with the effect—along with the long robes and Oriental turbans—of stressing the outlandish aspect of the costume.

Perhaps most appealing visually are the parasols, which become so common in the last thirty years of the Anacreontic series that Webster argued that such scenes of dancing figures with parasols must have been inspired by a well-known painting of *ca* 490.²⁶ We should at least consider the possibility that the popularity of the parasol in the later Anacreontic scenes was connected with contemporary events. As Boardman points out (1986: 64f), the parasol was the symbol of male authority in the East, as attested by representations of the Persian Great King shaded by a parasol held by his servant. The red-figure cup in the Getty Museum (PLATES 4–5; *supra* n.6) may provide a clue to the increasing frequency of the parasol-dancers after *ca* 480. Here a fragmentary figure and a young girl hold up parasols to shield the revellers in the manner of servants holding a sunshade for the Great King.²⁷ It is possible that this scene was meant to parody the dress and customs of the Persians at a period when Athens was at war with Persia. Like the Anacreontic figures, the Persian ruler wore long robes and

²⁵ For beards on a column krater by a follower of the Aegisthus Painter see Bologna 247 (*ARV*² 508, 1; *CVA* Italy 5, Bologna 1 [III, 1c] pl. 23.2–3): the scene shows two symposiasts with short trimmed beards; for examples by the Pig Painter see Harvard 60346, column krater from Agrigento (*ARV*² 563, 8; *CVA* USA 7, Robinson Collection [III, 1] pl. VI f): the scenes show several ordinary revellers with short trimmed beards; New York 41162.86, column krater (*ARV*² 564, 24; *CVA* USA 8, Fogg and Gallatin Collections, pl. 57.1a–b): on side A, a man with a short and evenly-trimmed beard hands a lyre to a youth; Adria B 209, fragmentary column krater (*ARV*² 564, 25; *CVA* Italy 28, Adria 1 [III, 1] pl. 5.3): a man with short, trimmed beard and moustache.

²⁶ Webster 83f; Buschor (*supra* n.22) had proposed a Feast of Parasols at the Skirophoria, an Athenian women's festival.

²⁷ Schmidt pl. 75–76 A–B; Madrid 11009 (*supra* n.21); Chiusi, C 1836 (*supra* n.7); Malibu, Getty Museum S.82.AE.293 (*supra* n.7).

earrings, and the parasol, held by a servant, was a symbol of his rank. The evolution of Anacreontic dress—from a group of variable elements with Eastern connections, to the conventional turban or *sakkos* and long Ionian robes and parasol—probably stems from observation of Persian dignitaries and represents timely satire under the young democracy that would defeat the great Persian forces at Marathon and Salamis.

(b) *Music and Dance*

Anacreontic activities are also appropriate to a context of performance, and allusions to song, music, or dance are characteristic of our vases.²⁸ Singing is indicated in several ways: by small symbols emerging from the singer's lips or by the open mouths of the revellers.²⁹ The very presence of a musician with a *barbiton* implies that a song is forthcoming, the only purpose of the lyre being to accompany the human voice.³⁰ Only one vase in the series suggests what the poet might be singing. Immerwahr proposed that the inscription partially preserved over the top of the lyre on a fragment of the Copenhagen krater may reproduce a song by an earlier poet.³¹ From the

²⁸ To my knowledge the only vase that does not contain an allusion to song, music, or dance is the red figure kalpis attributed to the Nikoxenos Painter in Kassel, which shows two reclining symposiasts, one in traditional Anacreontic dress. Only the leaping black-figure satyr on the old-fashioned calyx krater in the center of the scene alludes to dance: Kassel, Hessisches Landesmuseum A Lg 57, attributed to the Nikoxenos Painter (Boardman [1986] no. 4, fig. 12; P. Gercke, ed., *Funde aus der Antike: Sammlung Paul Dierichs* (Kassel 1981) 109, fig. 56.

²⁹ Both the Cleveland column krater (n.4) and the calyx krater in Copenhagen (n.3) show small circles emerging from the singers' mouths. For a clear illustration of the latter see H. R. Immerwahr, "Inscriptions on the Anacreon Krater in Copenhagen," *AJA* 69 (1965) 152ff, pl. 42.

³⁰ The *barbiton* carried by the poet was a rather special instrument, for its low range of tone was in the same register as the human voice. The long-necked lyre usually contained seven strings and was ideally suited to walking musicians, since it could be held against the left hip and strummed without interfering with a normal walking stride. See D. Paquette, *L'instrument de musique dans la céramique de la Grèce antique* (Paris 1984) 173.

³¹ Immerwahr (*supra* n.29). Theognis composed sympotic elegies shortly after the mid-sixth century. Like Anacreon he was associated with aristocratic circles and given to open statements about his emotions; a reference to his poetry would be appropriate to an Anacreontic scene. See E. L. Bowie, "Early

characters ENIEΣ he restored [π]ενίεις, or “poverty,” and suggested the first line of a song by Theognis, “I shall drink caring not for life-destroying poverty” (1129). Immerwahr points out that it must have been a joke to allude to poverty in a scene of obvious wealth and plenty—in effect exposing the pretentious Ionian setting and the komasts’ elegant Oriental dress.

Further satire may be detected in the use of *krotala* to accompany the songs and dances. Both male and female revellers are shown playing these instruments, which resembled Spanish castanets (PLATE 4)³² and are associated in the ancient sources with a festal context: Herodotus mentions that *krotala* were played by women celebrating the festival of Artemis in Egypt, and Athenaeus mentions them in connection with the festival attached to the games at Daphnae.³³ Dicaearchus (Ath. 636C-D) speaks of *krotala* as being extremely popular with women engaged in song and dance. When played as an accompaniment to the poet’s song, the effect would have been both exotic and effeminate.

In addition to song and rhythm, a lyre or an *aulos* is often played by long-robed females (PLATES 4–5).³⁴ Sometimes empty

Greek Elegy, Symposium and Public Festival,” *JHS* 106 (1986) 13–35.

³² Although men occasionally use *krotala*, they are usually played by women, muses, maenads, and courtesans: see Paquette (*supra* n.30) 205; male Anacreontic *krotala* player: Malibu, Getty Museum S.82.AE.293 (*supra* n.7); female *krotala* player: Rome, Capitoline Museum 176, red figure pelike, by the Painter of Louvre G 238, *ARV*² 283.4 (Boardman [1986] no. 11; *CVA* Italy 39, Rome, Capitoline Museum II [III, 1] pl. 22.1–2, 23.1). Attic komasts, maenads, and satyrs also played *krotala*: satyrs (Paris, Bibl. Nat. 576, red figure cup by Brygos [*ARV*² 371.14; J. Boardman, *Athenian Red Figure Vases* (London 1983) fig. 255]), maenads (Paris, Louvre G 94 *bis*, red figure cup by a Painter near Epiktetos [*ARV*² 80.2, 1624; *CVA* France 28, Louvre 19 (III, 1b) pl. 71]), Attic komasts (Toledo Museum of Art 64.126, red figure kylix by the Foundry Painter [*Para.* 370.12 *bis*; *CVA* USA 17, Toledo 1, 35, pl. 55f]).

³³ Hdt. 2.60; Ath. 176 A.

³⁴ Female aulists: Malibu, Getty Museum S.82.AE.293 (*supra* n.7); Paris, Louvre C 10813, red figure skyphos by the Brygos Painter (*ARV*² 381, 175; Boardman [1986] no.18; female lyrists: Bologna 239, red figure column krater by the Alkimachos Painter (*ARV*² 532.50; Boardman [1986] no. 40; G. Pellegrini, *Catalogo dei vase dipinti dalle necropoli felsinee* [Bologna 1912] 96 fig. 57); Malibu, Getty Museum 86.AE.386, red figure cup fragment by a follower of Douris (Boardman [1986] no.24, fig. 23; *Greek Vases* [Molly and

flute-cases appear in the background, implying that the instrument has been removed and is in use.³⁵

The Anacreontic dance first appears on the Copenhagen krater (*supra* n.3; PLATE 2). At the turn of the fifth century, such scenes of dancing become more numerous, although the solitary figure of the strolling lyre-player continues through the end of the series. Vases painted in the first three decades of the fifth century generally show a fast, lively dance. Towards mid-century, the dance takes on a more processional appearance; the figures walk or stride, often muffled in their cloaks, with hand on hip.

It is worth noting several conventions used to indicate dancing. It is not unusual to find steps that resemble a common walk or run, with arms, torso, and head in normal positions. But when music is indicated, the figure should be considered to be following a musical rhythm that would transform the walk or run into a dance. Lawler points out that complicated poses difficult to illustrate are simplified, and violent movement is usually toned down.³⁶ Rapid movement forward may result in the backward turn of the head, a convention noticeable among Anacreontic dancers (PLATE 4). Finally, it should be noted that many Anacreontic figures dance holding their attributes—walking sticks, drinking cups, flute cases, and parasols. Even the lyre player may carry a parasol.³⁷

It seems clear, then, that the Ionian poet and his friends are not only depicted wearing effective stage costumes, but are also consistently engaged in song and dance appropriate to a public performance.

Walter Bareiss Collection, Getty Museum: under former inventory no. S. 80. AE.13] 82 no. 191); vase from Chiusi (now lost), described by Beazley, no. 28, but not in Boardman (1986).

³⁵ Munich 2647 (*supra* n.7). The substitution of case for piper may have been a space-saving device of painters, who could thereby include additional figures while indicating the presence of music.

³⁶ L. Lawler, *The Dance in Ancient Greece* (London 1963) 19; cf. M. Emmanuel, *The Antique Greek Dance* (New York 1916) 35.

³⁷ See Madrid 11009 (*supra* n.21); Berlin F 2351, red figure neck amphora from Orvieto (Boardman [1986] no. 25; Greifenhagen pl. 19–22).

II. Eastern Revellers

The argument for identifying the Anacreontic figures more specifically as burlesque performers is strengthened by their relationship to an earlier group of East Greek padded dancers on vases from Chios belonging to the first half of the sixth century. Boardman has pointed out that both the Anacreontic revellers and the Chiot figures wear the characteristic Eastern turban. What Boardman has not made clear, as we noted earlier, is whether the Eastern turban implies a context of performance when adopted for the later Attic Anacreontic figures. It seems likely that an identical costume element implies a relationship between the two groups, although the lengthy chronological gap and vast differences in artistic rendering argue against mere borrowing. It will be helpful to take a closer look at the Chiot dancers, their costume, and their activities in order to determine whether the sum of the elements depicted on the Chiot chalices adds up to a context of performance.³⁸ (A list of Chiot chalices with figures wearing Eastern turbans appears in the

³⁸ The chalice is the most characteristic shape in Chiot pottery (Boardman [1967] 119). Williams (156, 186) points out that the figured chalices, like those in the earlier Animal Style, fall into two main types corresponding to chalice kraters and drinking cups. In decorative style, the careless black figure technique with hasty incision was the most common form of decoration on the smaller thin-walled chalices. The black figure style was contemporary with the Chiot Chalice style, a technique which set a single black figure animal or human figure, sometimes two, on either side of the chalice without filling ornament (Cook 126). In the second quarter of the sixth century, a fine polychrome technique (Boardman's "Grand Style") appeared at Naucratis, combining the outline technique with the use of color for figured chalices: J. Boardman, "Chiot and Naucratis," *BSA* 51 (1956) 56–60; Price pl. 5–6; see also *fig. 7*. The place of manufacture of Chiot pottery has long been controversial. When quantities of Chiot pottery first came to light at Naucratis in 1886, W. M. F. Petrie (*Naucratis I* [London 1886] 23) made the reasonable assumption that the vases were made locally in Egypt. Boardman (1956) suggested the existence of an independent Chiot pottery at Naucratis, in which immigrant potters produced vases made from clay imported from Chios. Williams (182) disagrees, although he does not entirely rule out the possibility of local potteries. For further discussions see C. Bayburtluoglu, "Les céramiques Chiotes d'Anatolie," in *Les céramiques de la Grèce de l'est et leur diffusion en occident* (=Colloques internationaux du CNRS, Sciences humaines no. 569 [Paris 1978]) 27–30; F. Salviat, "La céramique de style Chiot à Thasos," *ibid.*, 87–92.

Appendix *infra*.)³⁹

The often cursory painting on these chalices has caused scholars to dismiss the figures as hasty, small-scale adaptations of sixth-century Middle Corinthian padded dancers.⁴⁰ But despite the careless execution, the Chiot dancers show certain distinctive characteristics—the Eastern turban being the most obvious—that set them apart from the Corinthian figures, as well as those in other local styles.⁴¹ Although some Chiot

³⁹ The Appendix is not exhaustive, since many unpublished fragments appear in major Western collections and in the excavations and collections of South Russia: Price 180, 220. On the pottery from Naucratis R. M. Cook writes (*CVA Great Britain* 13, British Museum 8, 61), "Perhaps a hundred or more other museums (besides large well known institutions such as the British Museum and others) and private subscribers in all five continents received gifts of sherds from the Egyptian Exploration Fund."

⁴⁰ Cook 126; Payne (1931: 123) also believes that in some cases non-Corinthian padded dancers may be considered artistic adaptations of Corinthian figures. Seeberg (4), however, notes that the type was widespread in Greece, and that if a regional type of padded dancer is stylistically independent of the Corinthian dancers, the independent traits must convey a meaning inherent in the regional type.

⁴¹ If the Chiot dancers were a stylistic adaptation of the padded dancers on Middle Corinthian vases, as suggested by Cook, the two sets of dancers should correlate in proportions, dress, attributes, and gestures (*supra* n.40). This is rarely true, although some stylistic similarities to the Corinthian vases occur. Rosettes appear in the field on some fragments (Appendix nos. 8, 27); both Chiot and Corinthian padded dancers are seen with women in full-length chitons and with some similarities in the dance steps and gestures: *cf.* Berlin 4856, Corinthian pyxis (Jucker pl. 22.2, 4–5, 7). Corinthian padded dancers, however, are far more substantial, of squat proportions, and with bellies overhanging their belts. The slim Chiot komasts display no apparent padding in front. The haste of the painter cannot account for the differing proportions of the two groups, for it takes no more time to paint a fat silhouette than a slender one. Moreover, there is no precise correlation between the costumes of the two groups: the Chiot komast wears only a diagonal garland, well-pronounced buttock pads, and often a turban, while the pads of a Corinthian dancer are, as a rule, covered by his sleeveless chiton. Now and then Corinthian komasts wear a low close-fitting cap like those of women on Corinthian vases, but the conical turban of Chiot dancers does not appear on Corinthian vases. See Rhodes 13672, alabastron (*ClRh* 6, pl. 1, figs. 5–9: padded dancers with caps); Corinthian women with hats: Louvre E 603, olpe (Jucker pl. 21.4–5); Karthago, Musée Lavignerie, alabastron (Jucker pl. 20.3–4). There is no correspondence in other attributes: Corinthian padded dancers do not carry pomegranates or wreaths; in many of their escapades they carry drinking horns, which are never seen on Chiot chalices (Seeberg 73

revellers wear a turban while others do not, all perform the same antics and appear side by side on the same chalice. Dancing figures may have red hair flying out behind them (PLATE 7a), or they may appear with shoulder-length hair similar to that of many Corinthian padded dancers.⁴² Two vases show hatless figures wearing knee pads, and in one case heel pads as well.⁴³ We may conclude that the dance was an especially vigorous one in which the dancers might drop to their knees, thrust out their heels, or execute rapid spins.

The Chiot dancers who wear the headdress may be bearded and wear earrings. The finest examples occur on polychrome fragments from Naucratis in the British Museum.⁴⁴ One of these preserves the upper torso of a man whose turban is clearly depicted as a conical wrapped headdress (PLATE 6a). In addition to his turban, the form of the beard and the gesture of the upraised hand connect the wearer with later Anacreontic

pl. 14: Tarquinia RC3500, aryballos). Some similarities do occur in the dance steps and gestures, yet Chiot figures add variations unknown to the latter group and omit others popular on Corinthian vases. The dancing of Corinthian padded dancers, for example, occasionally becomes disorderly and ribald; as yet, no evidence of ribaldry on Chiot vases exists. Corinthian dancers often point to their buttocks with finger tip or thumb; Chiot figures seldom make the gesture (Franzius 15 no. 7: "Gesässberühren"; Appendix no. 25). No Chiot komast is found in the most popular Corinthian dance pose, Seeberg's position A: "legs parallel, feet on the ground." Altogether, the Chiot komasts do not copy literally the Corinthian padded dancers in bodily proportion, dress, attributes, or dance steps.

⁴² Chiot dancers with red hair: London 88.6-1, 548, black figure chalice (Appendix no. 1); Chios, black figure chalice from the excavations at Kato Phano (Appendix no. 14). Corinthian vases showing padded dancers with shoulder-length hair: Bonn 799, from Thebes (Seeberg no. 32, pl. 5b); Oxford 1947.237, round aryballos (Seeberg no. 132b, pl. 7b). Chiot chalices showing komasts with shoulder-length hair: bowl in British Museum, from Naucratis: Walter-Karydi pl. 99 no. 732.

⁴³ Knee pads: London 1924.12-1, 190, heavy-walled chalice from Aegina (Williams 159 figs. 3-4); fragmentary Chiot chalice from Naucratis, Price pl. 9.2; heel pads: London 88.6-1, 493; fragmentary chalice from Naucratis, Williams 161 n.16 (Price pl. 9.4): fr. *b* shows the lower torso and legs of a dancer with heel pads.

⁴⁴ London 88.6-1, 567, 788, Chiot chalice in outline technique from Naucratis (Appendix no. 2); London 88.6-1503, fragmentary Chiot chalice in outline technique from Naucratis (Appendix no. 3).

figures. A curved, fringed line in the upper left corner of this fragment suggests that he is dancing in front of a woman holding a wreath.⁴⁵ More completely preserved fragments show that the dancers wore well pronounced buttock pads with what appear to be visible attachment strings (PLATE 7a).⁴⁶

The majority of preserved chalice fragments show only one reveller dancing or hopping on one leg; drinking vessels, while not common, may also be included.⁴⁷ The figures often flourish a wreath or a pomegranate in one hand.⁴⁸ A fragment from Tocra shows two dancers wearing turbans and boots; one offers the other a pomegranate.⁴⁹ Several chalices depict multiple dancers who move in step with each other; a fragment from Emporio shows two revellers dancing vigorously in front of a female piper and another long-robed female (PLATE 6a).⁵⁰ The presence of a lyre on a fragment from Marseilles indicates that song accompanied these activities.⁵¹ Costume (buttock pads),

⁴⁵ The curved, fringed line is similar to that of a wreath held by a standing woman on another polychrome fragment from Naucratis: Price pl. 6.18. The scene may be similar to that on the Chiot chalice fragment from Emporio (no. 748; PLATE 6a; Appendix no. 18). Williams (162 n.23) mentions several unpublished fragments in the British Museum showing the same juxtaposition of Chiot padded dancers and women.

⁴⁶ London 88.6-1, 548, Chiot chalice fragments from Naucratis (Appendix no. 1).

⁴⁷ Drinking vessels: London 88.6-1, 515f, fragmentary Chiot chalice in outline technique from Naucratis (Price pl. 5.27). Williams (162) suggests that the fragments in outline technique showing kantharoi on the ground between pairs of dancing legs may belong with the fragments of a bearded dancer wearing a turban and diagonal garland. See Appendix no. 2.

⁴⁸ Padded dancers holding wreaths: Chiot chalice from Olbia in Leningrad, Appendix no. 27; fragmentary Chiot chalice from Bertezan, Appendix no. 29.

⁴⁹ Padded dancers holding pomegranates: Tocra, Chiot chalice fr.787 (Appendix no. 20); London 88.6-1, 548, 1924.12-1, 363, 207 (all joining; Appendix no. 1).

⁵⁰ Fragments of a Chiot chalice in the British Museum show a file of dancers holding pomegranates: London 88.6-1, 548, 1924.12-1, 363, 207 (Appendix no. 1). Fragments from the excavations at Kato Phano show part of a line of dancing figures—red haired revellers, some wearing a turban: Chios, black figure chalice (Appendix no. 14). Two revellers dancing in front of women: Chios, fr.748 from Emporio (Appendix no. 18).

⁵¹ Chiot chalice fragment from Marseilles, Appendix no.24. Villard (38, pl. 19.3) reported seeing part of a lyre held by the komast on this fragment, but it

music, drinking vessels, and women are all elements appropriate to performances at religious festivals. As Williams has pointed out, the evidence suggests that the Chiot revellers were comic performers at such occasions, when they danced and clowned with a chorus of women.⁵²

Although Chiot dancers are often treated together with dancers on Fikellura ware, they should be considered separately, since in most cases the Chiot figures predate their neighbors by several decades.⁵³ And although the revels on Fikellura vases often revolve around drinking, with cups and kraters a common feature, the participants seldom wear a hat. Occasionally dancers appear to wear a low cap, but this may simply be the painter's method of rendering the hairline.⁵⁴ Only one example of Fikellura ware shows dancers that may be related to the exuberant Chiot komasts. On the shoulder of an amphora from Histria (late third quarter of the sixth century) a padded, bearded chorus dances in file formation to the music of a piper (PLATE 7b).⁵⁵ Their hats are not the conical turban worn by the Chiot dancers, but a lower, unstriated variety closer to a woman's *sakkos*, from the crown of which springs a leafy twig. A distinctive hat appears to be an important element of costume for this particular Fikellura chorus.

The Chiot revellers, then, should be considered an indepen-

is difficult to detect on the small illustration.

⁵² Jucker 47–62; Williams 163.

⁵³ Franzius (71–78) has included the Chiot padded dancers with later East Greek dancers on Fikellura ware under the category "Ostgriechenland." G. Schaus believes that the Fikellura komast scenes may begin just before 540 and end by *ca* 510: "Two Fikellura Vase Painters," *BSA* 81 (1986) 251–96.

⁵⁴ Altenburg 191, amphora (R. M. Cook, "Fikellura Pottery," *BSA* 34 [1933–34] pl. 5f); Berlin, fragments of an amphora shoulder bought in Egypt but said to be from Cyprus: Cook (1933–34) pl. 9.

⁵⁵ Bucharest V 1224 (formerly B 1900), fragmentary Fikellura amphora (P. Alexandrescu, *Histria* IV [Paris 1978] pl. 18, 166; M. F. Lambrino, *Les vases archaïques d'Histria* [Bucharest 1938] 317ff no. 1, figs. 302f, pl. 4); *CVA* Great Britain 13, British Museum 8, 2; shoulder: six dancers and piper; belly: two zones of crescents; komos: one reveller plays a double flute, while the others dance, crowned with hats decorated with branches, and wearing loincloths. One komast holds a rhyton; all appear to be bearded. Purple on hair and buttocks (loincloth).

dent phenomenon. They may represent dancers who performed on Chios and perhaps at the trading centers visited or inhabited by Chiot merchants in the first half of the sixth century. The Oriental turban, not worn by the padded dancers of Corinth, Athens, Laconia, nor by later revellers from East Greece, is a distinctive part of their costume, with a specific meaning for Chiot painters and their customers.

As for the significance of the Chiot costume, the buttock pads worn by all these revellers probably identify them as performers. It has been suggested that the Chiot dancers are either actual transvestites or male performers acting out female rôles.⁵⁶ But since the turban was a recognizable Oriental accessory, it is possible that the turbaned dancers may be padded performers wearing a headdress associated with Easterners on the neighboring coast of Anatolia, or further east, perhaps Lydia. The inhabitants of Chios, aware of the wars waged by the Lydians on the west Anatolian coast in the first half of the sixth century, must have feared an attack and perceived the Lydians as a constant threat to their security and their prosperous trade.⁵⁷ DeVries has suggested that Lydian dress included the turban, as it appears on the Apadana reliefs from Persepolis several generations later.⁵⁸ No doubt such a hat would have

⁵⁶ T. B. L. Webster (*Greek Theatre Production* [London 1956] 156) concluded that the Chiot dancers were men representing women. Williams (159, 163 pl.) has suggested that the revellers may be males dressed as women, performing in a transvestite chorus at a religious festival. He based his argument on the file of dancing padded figures, wearing earrings and with long red hair flowing out behind, on the interior rim of a heavy-walled chalice from Aegina. His interpretation of the figures as transvestites rests, in part, on the "strange buttock pads," which he points out are not feminine garments, but conceal the genitals. Although his argument revolves around the hatless red-haired dancers on the Aegina chalice, Williams believes turban-wearing revellers to be part of the same group of transvestite dancers. But note PLATE 7a (London 1888.6-1, 548), where the pads cover only the back of the figure.

⁵⁷ According to Herodotus (1.17-28) the citizens of Chios sent help to the embattled Milesians whose city was under constant attack by the Lydians in the early sixth century. Later Croesus, after bringing the coastal cities under control, planned to attack the islanders.

⁵⁸ DeVries 34f. Although Schmidt (pl. 32) had identified the tribute-bearers with turbans on the Apadana reliefs as Syrians, DeVries believes them to be Lydians on comparison with the façade reliefs from the tombs of Darius I and Artaxerxes.

appeared effeminate, and hence funny, to a Chiot audience, for by the third quarter of the sixth century Chiot women are represented in sculpture and vase scenes wearing the *sakkos*.⁵⁹ Contemporary Chiot pottery shows women carrying wreaths or pomegranates, hence padded dancers wearing turbans and carrying these same attributes may have parodied women as well as their Eastern neighbors.⁶⁰

The padded figures with long flowing red hair and occasional earrings or turbans (*cf.* the hatless red-haired figure on a chalice from Aegina who wears a garland across her chest in the position of a brassiere)⁶¹ may be the female counterparts of the men wearing turbans. Red wigs may have been used to heighten the burlesque effect, as among circus clowns today. Dancers without red hair or turban may simply represent characters other than Easterners.⁶²

⁵⁹ Boardman found terracotta votive figures of women wearing the *sakkos* at Emporio: (1967) 201 nos. 127, 130, 136, pl. 81 no.127, pl. 82 nos. 130, 136. A Chiot chalice in the British Museum shows women doing a chain dance. All wear *sakkoi*: London 88.6-1, 520; Walter-Karydi pl. 100 no. 700.

⁶⁰ Williams (162 n.25) cites several unpublished fragments of Chiot chalices on which women hold pomegranates like the padded dancers. A good example of women holding wreaths occurs on a fragment of polychrome ware from Naucratis: Walter-Karydi pl. 96 no. 794. Wreaths and pomegranates carried by women also appear in other parts of Greece in the early sixth century. Cult statues of female divinities and votive figures dedicated to a goddess may hold a pomegranate as an attribute. Muthmann mentions the statue of Aphrodite in Sicyon (Paus. 11.10.4) and Polyclitus' chryselephantine statue of Hera (Paus. 11.17.4ff). Terracotta models of pomegranates were offered to Hera at the Heraeum at Samos from the ninth to the seventh century: F. Muthmann, *Der Granatapfel* (Bern 1982) 39. One of the earliest *korai* from the Athenian Acropolis holds a wreath in one hand and a pomegranate in the other. The sculptor was perhaps trying to imitate an earlier image: see Athens Acropolis Museum 593 (*ca* 560-550); B. S. Ridgway, *The Archaic Style in Greek Sculpture* (Princeton 1977) 115 fig. 29.

⁶¹ Williams 159, top illustration, reveller on right.

⁶² They may appear, however, in a chorus formation that seems to be poking fun at women's choruses. A bowl from Naucratis shows eight hatless Chiot revellers, who dance in procession with their hands linked as though doing a chain dance (Walter-Karydi pl. 99, no. 732). On the far side of the bowl a similar komast with a wreath in his hand runs toward a krater. The argument might be made that the revellers represent a male chorus, although at present male choruses are known for Attica and Argos but not Chios. See R. Tölle, *Frühgriechische Reigentänze* (Waldsassen-Bayern 1984) no. 2 (Athens),

In the exuberant costumed dancers preserved on fragments of Chiot chalices we may see an early form of East Greek burlesque. The Anacreontic scenes are directly linked to their East Greek predecessors by the use of the turban as the chief element of a distinctive costume; its purpose was to parody Easterners in a new Attic burlesque, whose distinct echo may still be heard in the Old Comedy of Aristophanes (cf. Webster's conjecture of an early comedy called *Anakreontes* on the basis of a later *Archilochoi*).⁶³ A considerable interval remains, however, between the Chiot dancers of the first half of the sixth century and the later Anacreontic revellers. Developments in early Attic black figure during the intervening decades will clarify the transmission of the Eastern turban from the Chiot dancers to the poet Anacreon and his companions.

III. Eastern Scenes on Attic Vases *ca* 560–520

From the generation separating the majority of East Greek dancers from the Anacreontic revellers, three Attic vases depict figures with costumes similar to the latter group. These apparently represent an independent iconographic tradition in the second and third quarters of the sixth century that leads to the Anacreontic scenes.⁶⁴

The first two, connected by Green to the beginnings of theater in Greece, have been cited by Boardman as predecessors of the Anacreontic series because of the chitons worn by the dancing choruses.⁶⁵ One is a black figure Siana cup by the

83f (Argos).

⁶³ T. B. L. Webster and A. D. Trendall, *Illustrations of Greek Drama* (New York 1971) 20, 1–8.

⁶⁴ The three Attic vases fall in the period *ca* 560–520: Amsterdam 3356 (*supra* n.9); Swedish Private Collection, black figure hydria (*supra* n.9); Oxford 1974.344, black figure eye cup with foot in form of male genitals (Boardman [1976] 282 fig. 1–4, 283 fig. 5, 285 fig. 8).

⁶⁵ Green (see *supra* n.10), esp.99f; Boardman (1986). Green lists and provides illustrations for a number of scenes that he associates with early comic choruses.

Heidelberg Painter in Amsterdam (PLATE 8a).⁶⁶ Both sides of the cup show an aulist and two dancing half-choruses who wear variations of an exotic headdress of unknown origin. It seems likely, however, that all such hats were associated by Athenians with foreigners.⁶⁷ The dress worn by the dancers is also difficult to identify. Three groups of the four wear long chitons with short sleeves, a banded hem, and a central panel. One half-chorus on side B wears knee-length chitons with central panel. Representations of women's garments from the Mycenaean period down into the sixth century show that the central panel was a well-known decorative feature of female dress in Greece, hence the dancers would have looked effeminate.⁶⁸ Moreover,

⁶⁶ For Amsterdam 3356 (*supra* n.9) see H. A. G. Brijder, "A Pre-dramatic Performance of a Satyr Chorus by the Heidelberg Painter," *Enthousiasmos* (= *Allard Pierson Museum Series 6* [1986]) 69–81, esp. 70f. The dancing choruses on this cup have stimulated much discussion. In Brijder's view the cup represents an early choral performance by men dressed as satyrs, on the assumption that the vertical objects worn in the headdress of the left-hand trio on side A are donkey's or horse's ears. For Green (99) the figures are members of half-choruses from an early Attic comedy. His theory is very close to that of Webster, who postulated that the figures represented a drilled chorus in a stage version of Anacreon and his friends, although overlooking that Anacreon was only a child in the 560s and could not have been known in Athens: see *supra* n.12. Webster did, however, recognize the affinity of the effeminate-looking dancers on the cup with later Anacreontic revellers and the dramatic character of the dancers. Earlier, Webster proposed that the figures resembled the *ithyphalloi* described by Semos of Delos in the second century: see Pickard-Cambridge (*supra* n.11) 81; cf. Ath. 621A-B for *ithyphalloi* wearing chitons with a white stripe down the middle.

⁶⁷ On side B of the Siana cup both half choruses wear red pointed caps with a black headband over the ears. The left-hand chorus on side A wears a headdress with side flaps and two feather-like projections on either side of the head; the right-hand dancers have pointed black caps provided with side flaps—a headdress often referred to as a 'Phrygian' cap but also worn by Scythians, Amazons, and Persians on Attic vases: L. Roller, "The Greek View of Anatolia," in *Ancient Greek and Related Pottery* (Amsterdam 1984) 260.

⁶⁸ E. Harrison, "Notes on Daedalic Dress," in *Essays in Honor of Dorothy Kent Hill* (Baltimore 1977) 42. The fragment from Emporio (fig. 6; Appendix no. 18) shows Chiot women wearing long chitons with central panel. In addition to a costume that looks feminine, some of the gestures or dance steps of the dancing choruses on the Siana cup in Amsterdam are also seen in vase representations of women. To the left of the piper on Side A, the dancers advance, one hand raised in greeting, the other holding up her skirt at the knee. The following Attic vase scenes show a woman holding up her skirt

the figures appear to be padded, to judge from the large rounded buttocks beneath their chitons. The Amsterdam Siana cup shows the first known Attic representation of bearded males with feminine garments and a foreign headdress, and is among the first Attic vase scenes to parody a foreigner by means of female costume. Another vase may shed some light on the nature of the dance.

On the shoulder of the black-figure hydria in Sweden of about the same date (PLATE 3a), four bearded men dance in step to music provided by a piper to the left. Each wears a long chiton and an exotic headdress, with a puzzling projection on either side of the headband.⁶⁹ A drawing of a red-figure pelike provides a clue to another context in which the headdress might be worn (PLATE 8b).⁷⁰ A wreathed piper is shown playing for a female dancer, whose headdress resembles that worn by the male dancers on the hydria. Greifenhagen identified the female dancer's skirt and decorative overblouse with cross-bands as Ionian dress. Although he was unable to explain the headband with projections, he pointed out that it was worn by a female dancer, probably in a religious context. This same headdress worn by a file of long-robed bearded males suggests

with one hand: Michigan 2599 (Kelsey Museum), Attic black figure neck amphora from Bolsena: a *sakkos*-wearing woman holds up her skirt as she dances (Moon 1226, 72 side B); Berlin Ha 166a (Sammlung Feoli), dinos mouth from Tarquinia: a maenad in a *thiasos* holds up her skirt as she dances (CVA Germany 39, Würzburg 1, pl. 44.6); Cleveland 66.114, Attic white ground lekythos: Atalanta, pursued by Eros, holds up her skirt as she flees (CVA USA 15, Cleveland 1, pl. 33.2).

⁶⁹ Green (100) identified similar projections as feathers on the Siana cup in Amsterdam, although he believes them to be animal ears on the vase under discussion. Brijder (*supra* n.66) interprets the vertical objects as horse's or donkey's ears.

⁷⁰ Athens, National Museum 1187, now lost (CC 1271; Greifenhagen 46ff no.23, fig. 39). An anonymous reader has pointed out the strange headdresses depicted on two Attic red-figure bell kraters: Harvard 1960.344, Manner of the Peleus Painter (=ARV² 1041.10); Copenhagen Chr. VIII 939 (CVA Denmark 4, Copenhagen 4, pl. 147; both are illustrated in E. Simon, *Festivals of Attica* [Madison 1983] pl. 22.2, 23.2). These headdresses seem related to the one worn by the woman on the pelike in Athens, although each has either additional projections from the headband or an added protrusion in the center over the forehead.

that the men may mimic Ionian women dancing at a festival. The same must hold true for the figures on the Siana cup, some of whom wear a similar headband with two projections (PLATE 8a). Thus Attic vase painters appear to have adopted the device, first seen on Chiot chalices, of using a distinctive headdress as part of a costume intended to parody foreigners.

Almost forty years later, *ca* 520 or shortly thereafter, the theme of the effeminate-looking foreigner appears on an unusual black figure eye cup in the Bomford Collection in Oxford (*supra* n.64). The entire interior field is decorated with a gorgoneion tondo surrounded by two circular zones representing a symposium scene with overhanging grape vines. Of the six men shown at dinner on couches, three—apparently Ionians—wear colorful himatia and carefully-drawn turbans; two wear wreaths, while only the male piper is bareheaded. The figures hold drinking cups of various types: a kantharos, stemless cups, and a kylix. To the right of the piper a symposiast is singing; a lyre hangs above him in the field.⁷¹ The cup stands both chronologically and stylistically close to the Anacreontic group. Two factors set this scene apart: almost all early vases in the Anacreontic group include a figure holding a lyre, while here the instrument is hung on the wall; and when pipers are present, they are consistently female, as opposed to the male shown here. While the Bomford cup may simply be an exception to these conventions, it seems preferable, until additional evidence appears, to regard it as related to the series by theme and costume, and to consider the symposiasts as Ionian revellers but not necessarily representing the poet and his friends.

These three Attic vases suggest that the basic framework for the Anacreontic costume had been established by Attic black figure vase painters in the half century preceding the earliest

⁷¹ Boardman (1976) 281 n.2. The painter decorated their mantles by adding red stripes that alternate with other stripes containing four-dot rosettes. Red also appears on alternate bands of their turbans and alternate wreath leaves. The shape betrays the influence of East Greece: the foot of the vessel is in the form of male genitals, as in several early examples of genital vases or vases with genital additions apparently of East Greek manufacture: Boardman 288. Other eastern motifs include pairs of eyes, interiors in concentric zones, and a central gorgoneion: Walter-Karydi 36; D. A. Jackson, *East Greek Influence on Attic Vases* (=JHS Suppl. 13 [London 1976]) 59.

Anacreontic scenes: a chorus of effeminate-looking foreigners, marked by a distinctive hat and dress associated with women by Athenian citizens. The Bomford cup shows that individual elements of Anacreontic iconography were in place *ca* 520: a costume, distinguished by turban and elaborate himation, a variety of drinking cups, and a symposium setting with music and song.

We can now attempt to trace the link between Attic developments and elements from the East Greek tradition that produces the Anacreontic iconography. In the second quarter of the sixth century the Oriental turban appears in Chiot ware as a distinctive costume element in representations of burlesque performances by padded dancers at religious festivals. Meanwhile on the Greek mainland, Attic black figure scenes reveal that Athenians had adopted an exotic headdress as a device to characterize early comic choruses of foreigners, and added effeminate-looking dress (PLATES 3a, 8a; *supra* n.9). Several decades later the shoulder of a Fikellura amphora shows a file of padded, bearded men who wear *sakkos*-like hats with leafy branches springing from the crowns (PLATE 7b).⁷² Once again, the distinctive element of costume is the headdress.

The two iconographical traditions, East Greek and Attic, meet in the padded man on the black figure kyathos in the Getty Museum (PLATE 1; *supra* n.2). On the obverse a small lyre-player stands alone, wearing an oversized turban. His heavy beard contrasts with his effeminate dress: a short chiton of crinkly material, a garland around his neck, and elegant boots. Like his counterparts on the Fikellura amphora (PLATE 7b; *supra* n.53), the figure is padded and has a leafy branch protruding from his hat. This, however, is not the close-fitting variety worn by the Fikellura dancers, but an enlarged Oriental turban that recalls the headdress worn by Chiot figures. The painter has combined two headdresses worn by padded dancers from different regions of East Greece; he has added a chiton in the Attic tradition and a red beard considerably longer than those of his predecessors. The lyre held by the padded

⁷² Bucharest V 1224 (formerly B 1900; *supra* n.55). The cap does not appear to be formed by a long band wound around the head but by a piece of cloth shaped into a cap similar to a feminine *sakkos*.

figure suggests that he is a performer of lyric poetry, and his eastern dress suggests that he is an Ionian, although there is no evidence that Anacreon is specifically designated. He stands close to the beginning of a series that I shall argue represents burlesque scenes near early Old Comedy, but whose roots can be found in earlier performances by padded dancers in East Greece.

IV. The Attic Series: *ca* 515–450

(a) *The Wider Context of Anacreontic Vases*

The connection of revellers with earlier East Greek padded dancers argues strongly in favor of the Anacreontic figures as burlesque performers.⁷³ But can we be sure that the Getty lyre-player, or indeed any of the uninscribed turbaned lyre players that decorate Athenian vases for the next fifty years, specifically depict the poet Anacreon? What proof have we that these entertaining figures may not represent other Ionian poets of the day, or earlier ones known to Athenian audiences, or even a recognizable type of Eastern poet-figure? Only one scene in the Anacreontic series names the poet (*supra* n.3). We must at least consider the possibility that uninscribed vases may represent a different Ionian poet.

An Attic black figure amphora found on Rhodes, dated to the third quarter of the sixth century, illustrates the ambiguity surrounding the identity of the poet.⁷⁴ The three figures on side B are participating in a *komos*. The middle figure, playing the cithara, moves to the right; both he and the youth on his right are naked. The figure to the left of the scene, however, wears a close-fitting turban, sleeveless chiton, and soft boots with turned-down cuffs. Unusually, he holds a drinking horn in one hand and pulls up his skirt with the other. It is assumed that he is Anacreontic—one of Anacreon's circle—but since his dress

⁷³ Cf. Simon (*supra* n.18) 29f: "From these [padded] dances it should be emphasized once more, there is no way leading to satyr play and tragedy, but there is probably a direct path to Old Comedy.... The chorus of comedy could equally well be composed of 'padded dancers.'"

⁷⁴ Rhodes 12200 (*supra* n.16). Boardman dates the vase *ca* 540–530. Beazley (60) did not include the Rhodes amphora in the Anacreontic series, but considered it a forerunner in the third quarter of the sixth century.

differs considerably from accepted Anacreontic conventions, it may be that the Rhodian komast parodies a type of reveller linked to a different poet—with Eastern accessories—already familiar to Athenian viewers. If the amphora predates Anacreon's arrival in Athens in 522, it follows that the 'Ionian poet' iconography was in place by the third quarter of the sixth century, and that Anacreon and possibly other well-known Ionian lyric poets were subsequently adapted to this pre-existing iconography. The unscribed lyre-players on the Getty kyathos and the Psiax plate may thus satirize a generic 'type' of lyric poet or any of a number of Ionian poets familiar to Pisistratid Athens⁷⁵—perhaps Alcaeus, Ibycus, or Simonides.

Aristophanes' Old Comedy parodied a variety of poets whose renown and elegant language made them suitable objects of caricature. In *Birds* 904–54, the playwright ridicules the parasitic tendency of poets who live on the bounty of the state, offering only their nonsensical verses in return for their keep. In *Frogs* 1119–1363, the well-known contest between the ghosts of Euripides and Aeschylus parodies the literary style of each. And in *Thesmophoriazusae* 95–165, the character of Agathon appears to be a satire on the type of the Ionian poet and on the tragic poet Agathon. The evidence from these scenes and from later Old Comedy indicates that the Anacreontic series should be enlarged to include representations of other Ionian poets as well as Anacreon.

(b) *Additions to the Series*

The figure of an Ionian lyric poet appears on six additional vases. From the same decade as the padded lyric player on the Getty kyathos (*ca* 520–510) comes another vase with an unusual lyrist. A black figure mastoid skyphos in Wisconsin shows on either side a seated musician, wearing a long himation and

⁷⁵ See *supra* nn.2, 15. Webster (13) suggests the possibility of early Attic performances featuring other poets: "We do not know of any comedy called *Anakreontes* but Kratinos wrote an *Archilochoi* and Telekleides wrote a *Hesiodoi*. Presumably the plural titles mean that the actor and the chorus wore the same mask, so that the title might be translated 'Archilochos, etc., and his boon companions.'"

exaggerated turban (PLATE 9a).⁷⁶ As he plays, small letters spill out of his mouth. His long beard recalls the lyre players on the Getty kyathos and the Psiax plate.⁷⁷ The figure cannot be positively identified as Anacreon but does represent the well-defined type of Ionian lyre player, distinguished by his characteristic turban, to which the representations of Anacreon belong.

Two early fifth-century black figure lekythoi by the Haimon Painter (in New York and Princeton) show strolling *barbiton* players accompanied by smaller females (PLATE 9b).⁷⁸ The vines that twine in and around the background establish the Dionysiac context of the scene; and in view of the exaggerated turbans and long robes of the musicians on both vases, they clearly belong to the series traditionally termed Anacreontic.⁷⁹ It should be noted that the long beards of the male lyrists are red, like the earlier poet on the Getty kyathos (PLATE 1). Perhaps the strolling *barbiton* players represent a chorus of Ionian lyric poets.

Joining fragments of an unpublished early fifth-century Attic red-figure column krater are in the Cahn Collection in Basel (PLATE 10a).⁸⁰ A strolling lyre player is the only preserved

⁷⁶ Elvehjem Museum of Art, University of Wisconsin at Madison 1979.22, Cyril Winston Nave Endowment Fund purchase (ex Collection Von Sodenstern, Germany), Attic white-ground footed mastoid skyphos (ca 515), attributed by Donna Kurtz to a contemporary of Psiax (Moon 122 fig. 70).

⁷⁷ See *supra* nn.2, 15.

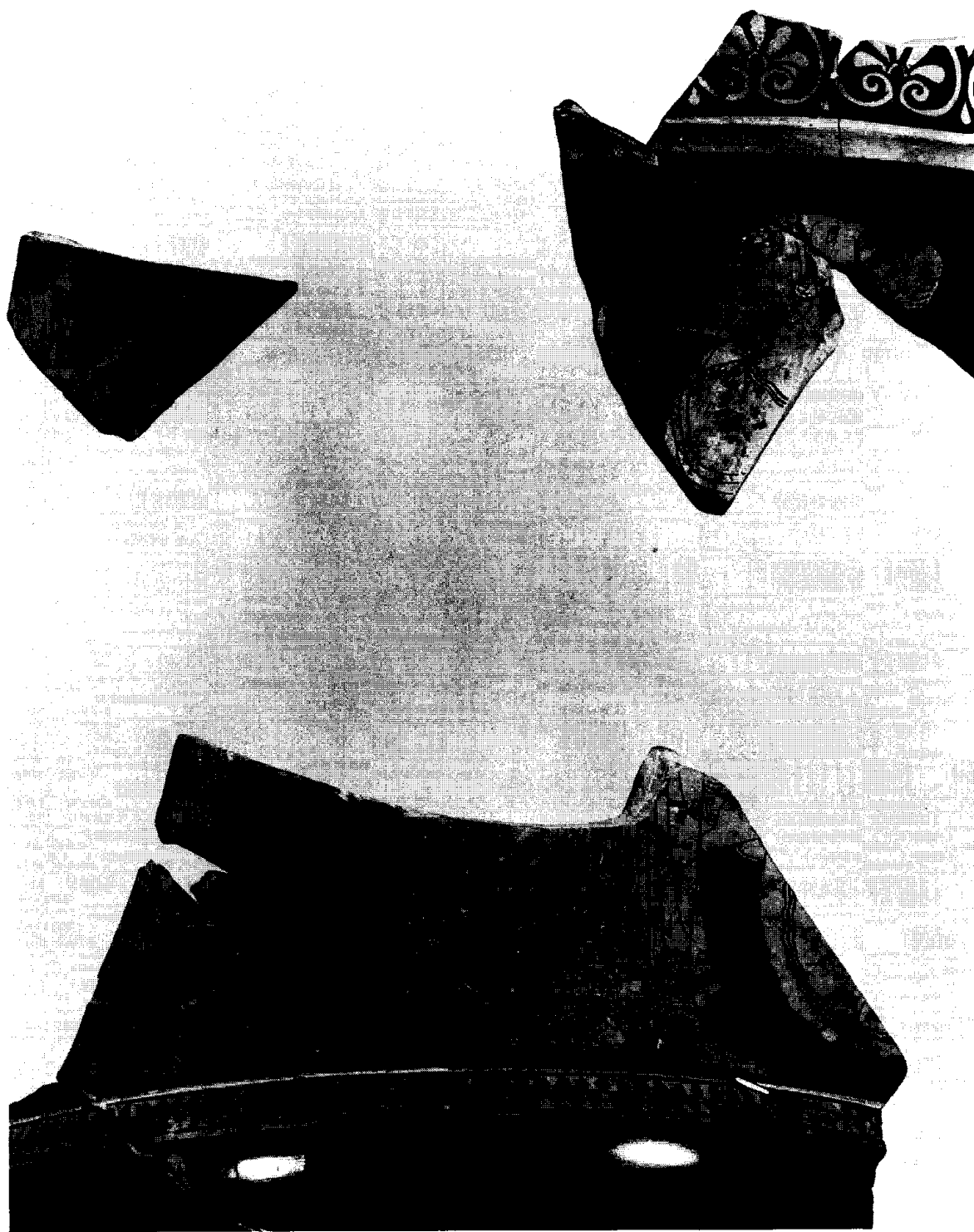
⁷⁸ New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 41.162, 13, Attic black figure lekythos by the Haimon Painter (ABV 538.1; *Aspects of Ancient Greece* [Allentown Art Museum, Allentown 1979] 64f no.29; CVA USA 1, Hoppin and Gallatin Collections pl. 7f); Princeton 51.43, Attic black figure lekythos by the Haimon Painter (ABV 538.1; *Record of the Princeton Art Museum* 11 [1952] 5).

⁷⁹ The careless execution of the figures suggests that the male lyre players may be the hasty reduplication of the figure of the poet with the smaller figures as space fillers. A red figure pelike in Rome, which shows the poet between two women who play the *krotala*, provides a parallel within the known Anacreontic vases for the figure of the lyre player between female komasts: Rome, Capitoline Museum 176, red figure pelike by the Painter of Louvre G 238 (*supra* n.32). At least one of the small females plays the *krotala* on the black figure lekythos in New York (see *supra* n.78).

⁸⁰ Basel, Collection Cahn HC 776, fragmentary red figure column krater attributed to the Pig Painter by Herbert A. Cahn. My thanks to Dr Cahn for sending me the photograph of this fragment from his private collection and



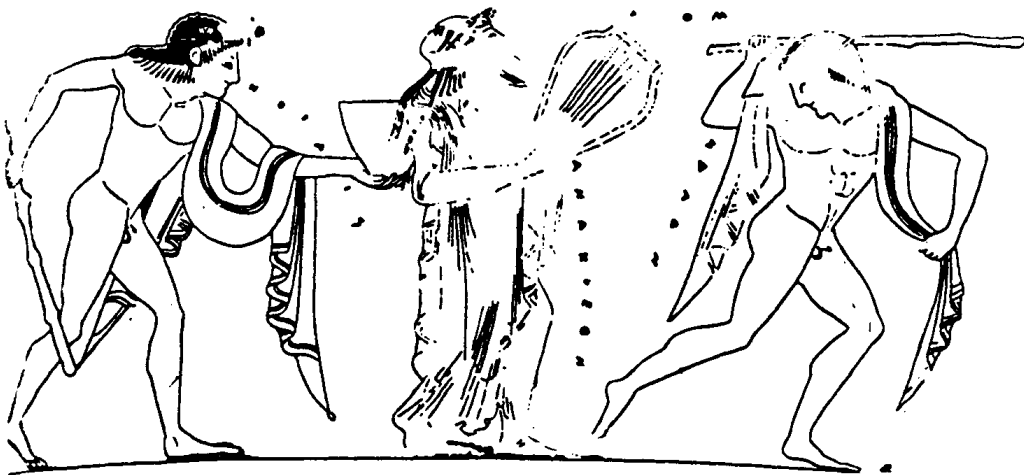
MALIBU, J. PAUL GETTY MUSEUM 77.AE.102 AND 78.AE.5,
Attic white-ground kyathos. Photo J. Paul Getty Museum.



COPENHAGEN 13365, RED FIGURE CALYX KRATER
by the Kleophrades Painter. Photo National Museum, Copenhagen.



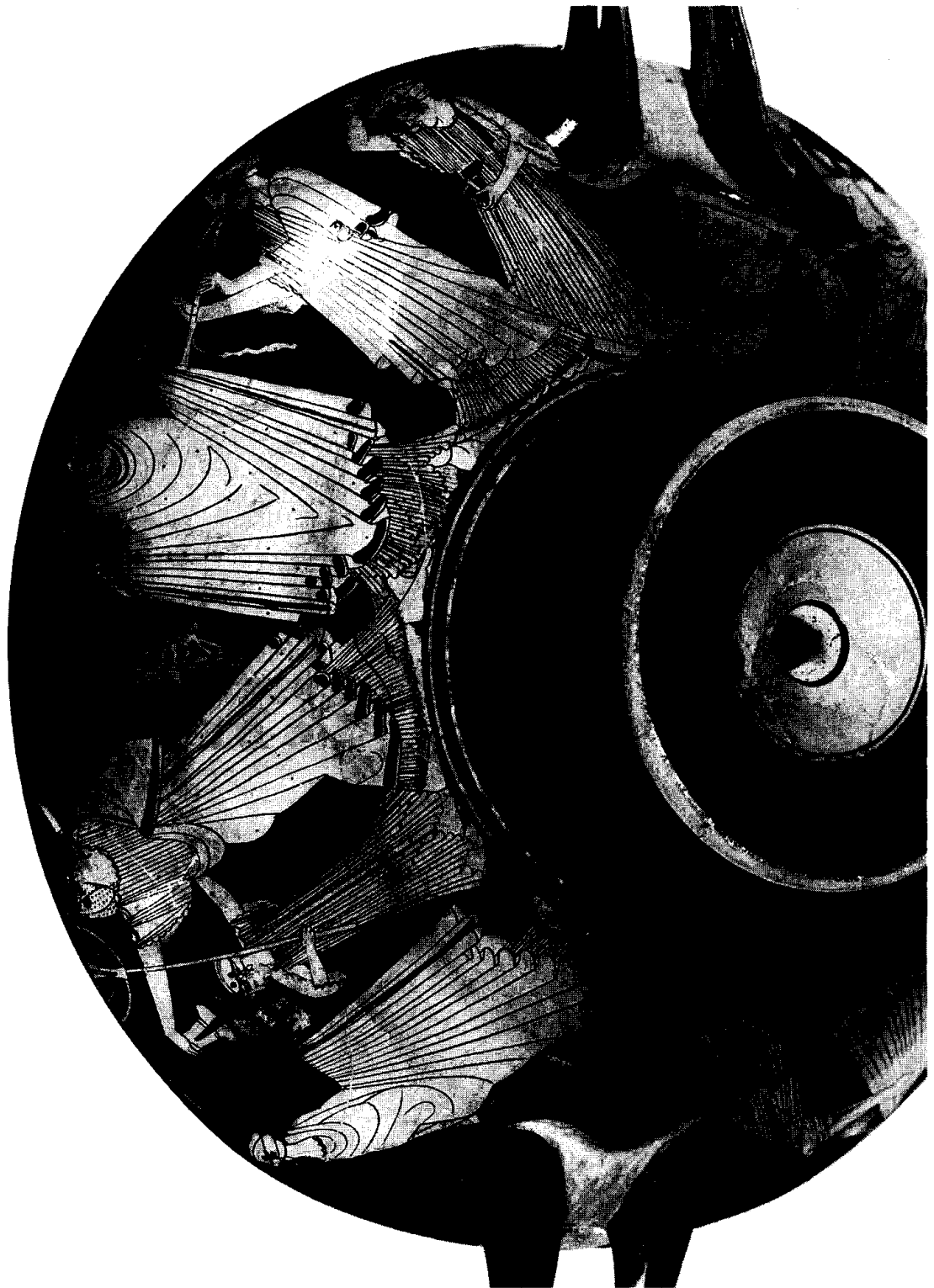
(a)



(b)

(a) SWEDISH PRIVATE COLLECTION, BLACK FIGURE HYDRIA
Drawing of figures on shoulder, after J. R. Green.

(b) SYRACUSE 26967, RED FIGURE LEKYTHOS
by the Gales Painter (ARV² 36,2), after K. Schefold.



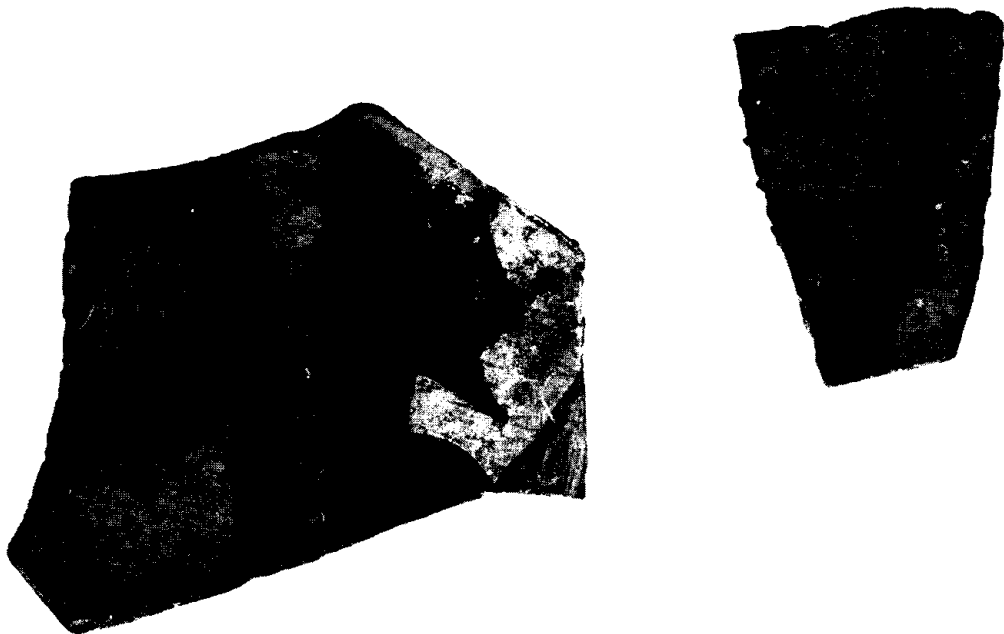
MALIBU, J. PAUL GETTY MUSEUM 86.AE.293
Red figure cup by the Briseis Painter (side A).
Photo J. Paul Getty Museum.



SIDE B OF PLATE 4



(a)



(b)

(a) CHIOS, BLACK FIGURE CHALICE FROM EMPORIO
Appendix no. 18; after John Boardman.

(b) LONDON 88.6-1,507 AND 788, CHIOTE CHALICE FROM NAUCRATIS
Photo Trustees of the British Museum.



(a)



(b)

(a) LONDON 1888.6-1,548, CHIOTE BLACK FIGURE CHALICE FROM NAUCRATIS (fragment). Photo Trustees of the British Museum.

(b) BUCHAREST V 1224, FIKELLURA AMPHORA FROM HISTRIA after M. F. Lambrino.

PLATE 8 PRICE



(a)



(b)

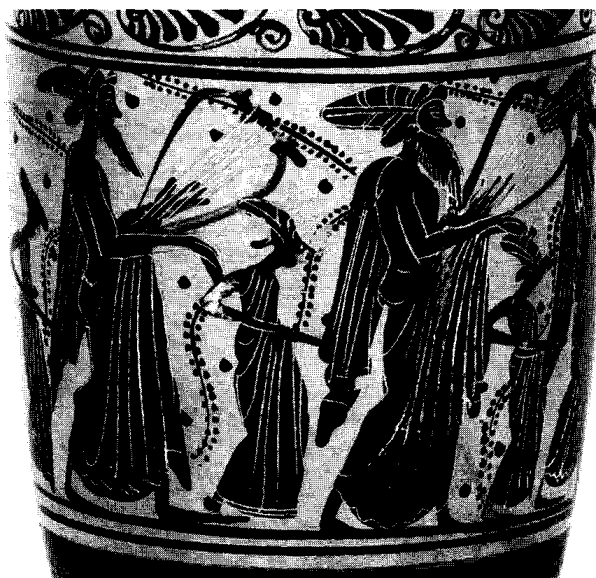
(a) AMSTERDAM 3356, SIANA CUP (SIDES A AND B)
by the Heidelberg Painter. Drawings courtesy H. A. G. Brijder.

(b) ATHENS, NATIONAL MUSEUM 1187 (CC1271)

Red figure pelike, after A. Greifenhagen.



(a)



(b)

(a) MADISON, ELVEHJEM MUSEUM OF ART 1979.22
White-ground mastoid cup. Photo Elvehjem Museum of Art.
(b) NEW YORK, METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART 41,162,13
Attic black figure lekythos by the Haimon Painter.
Photo courtesy Rogers Fund 1941.



(a)



(b)

- (a) BASEL, CAHN COLLECTION HC 776, RED FIGURE COLUMN KRATER (fragmentary). Photo courtesy Dr Herbert A. Cahn.
(b) MALIBU, J. PAUL GETTY MUSEUM 87.AE. 296, RED FIGURE KYLIX (TYPE B) by the Sabouroff Painter. Photo J. Paul Getty Museum.

figure; his pose and costume recall all other Anacreontic representations of a strolling poet from the early fifth century.

A lively Anacreontic scene decorates one side of a cup by the Oedipus Painter in a collection in Germany.⁸¹ Of the four bearded long-robed men, two wear turbans and dance as a pair, with heads bowed and toes pointed towards each other. The left-hand figure, muffled in his mantle and wearing a polka-dotted turban, raises an oversized skyphos; his partner wears only a sleeveless chiton with horizontal pleats—an unusual variation on Anacreontic costume. Their two wreathed companions wear traditional vertically-pleated long chitons under mantles. The figure to the far right holds a kylix in his left hand.

Finally, in view of the vases just described, the figure of the lyre player lekythos by the Gales Painter should be reconsidered (PLATE 3b).⁸² Although it is well known as one of three vases inscribed with Anacreon's name, the vessel has never been included in the Anacreontic series. The nature of the poet's headdress is unclear given the damaged state of the vase.⁸³ Beazley describes "a wreath and a fillet," but mentions

for his permission to publish this exciting addition to the Anacreontic series. He reports that he has some badly preserved fragments of side B of the krater, which show an athlete carrying two spears.

⁸¹ Private collection, red figure cup attributed to the Oedipus Painter by K. Sommer (illustrated in W. Hornbostel and L. Stege, *Aus der Glanzzeit Athens. Meisterwerke griechischer Vasenkunst in Privatbesitz* [Hamburg 1986] 111–14 no. 53). My thanks to J. R. Green for the reference to this vase. Side A: Dionysus and three revelling satyrs; Side B: four dancing Anacreontic revellers; I: Maenad attacking a satyr with her thyrsus. At present only one other representation of a pair dance is known within the Anacreontic series: Getty Museum 76.AE.102.29–30, fragmentary red figure pelike attributed to the Pan Painter by von Bothmer (Boardman [1986] no. 28 fig. 24). There two turban-wearing dancers also bow their heads towards each other.

⁸² Syracuse 26967 (*supra* n.14). In addition to the six vases under discussion, the fragment of a red figure cup by Douris, formerly Boulogne 157, is certainly to be included in the Anacreontic vase series. Beazley (*ARV*² 444, 244) describes it: "Komast ('Anakreontic' in long chiton and himation, with cup and parasol (restored)." D. Buitron of the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Boulogne-sur-Mer states *per litteras* that the vase was destroyed in World War II. No illustration is available.

⁸³ For three vases inscribed with the name of Anacreon see *supra* n.14.

that he once thought he detected a *sakkos*.⁸⁴ All that remains are the two strings from the fillet that hang down the poet's back and part of the wreath jutting out in front. In the traditional Anacreontic series, a fillet is shown wrapped around the headdress worn by the lyre-playing poet on the column krater in Cleveland.⁸⁵ It therefore seems possible that early in the series a fillet may have been added to the *sakkos* or used as an alternative headdress to the turban or the tied headcloth. Since the long chiton and himation of the poet on the Syracuse lekythos belong to the established Anacreontic costume, the fillet may be an early variation. The evidence suggests that the six vases under discussion belong in an Anacreontic series expanded to include other Ionian lyric poets.

(c) *Evidence for Dramatic Representation*

Specific elements within the scenes indicate a context of burlesque performance, including the consistent presence of music and dance. Some dance steps and gestures find parallels in the dances of earlier padded dancers and Old Comedy. Anacreontic revellers with one arm raised in greeting recall their predecessors on Chiot chalices (PLATE 6b).⁸⁶ A reveller on the stamnos in Madrid (*supra* n.20) performs a dance with both arms raised skyward. Corinthian padded dancers perform a similar gesture in their dances around a wine krater; this scheme also appears in an early Attic chorus on the black figure

⁸⁴ Beazley 61: "The poet wears a long chiton, a himation (shawl-wise), a wreath and a fillet, perhaps shoes. The head, which is much damaged, is thought to be bald, and may be so. Once a long time ago I thought I made out a *sakkos*: so I lay no stress on my old note, but should like to re-examine the original."

⁸⁵ Cleveland 26, 549 (*supra* n.5). In this instance, the ends of the fillet are tied in a decorative bow, similar to the fillet worn by a female flute player on an early red figure kylix fragment in the Bowdoin College collection: Bowdoin College Museum of Art 1913.14, fragmentary red figure kylix attributed to Olto (ARV² 59, 55; D. Buitron, *Attic Vase Painting in New England Collections* [Cambridge (Mass.) 1972] 69 no. 30).

⁸⁶ Example of Anacreontic reveller with one hand raised: Vienna 770, red figure column krater by the Agrigento Painter (ARV² 576, 33; Boardman [1986] no. 39, fig. 27); Chiot padded dancer with one hand raised: London 88.6-1, 507, 788, Chiot chalice in outline technique from Naucratis. See Appendix no. 2, PLATE 6b.

Siana cup in Amsterdam connected to the beginnings of Greek theater (PLATE 8a).⁸⁷

A distinctive Anacreontic dance step is the backward kick with one leg (PLATE 5). Seeberg identified this move as one of the most frequent positions used by earlier Corinthian padded dancers.⁸⁸ The pose has been taken to be a step called the *mothon*, a figure of the *kordax*, one of the most famous comic dances in antiquity.⁸⁹ Aristophanes' well-known statement in the *Clouds* that he will refrain from using old men dancing the *kordax* shows that it was a common device of early Old Comedy.⁹⁰ It seems likely that the poet's companions are performing a *kordax*-like dance, in the course of which the reveller leaps up and kicks his buttocks with one foot.⁹¹

A red figure neck amphora on Mykonos and a red figure cup in Chiusi show revellers who hold up a stick as a focal point in the dance.⁹² Sticks appear to play a part in what must have been horseplay between the revellers and the aulist. On a red figure cup in Paris, Douris depicts a reveller dancing with a flute case hanging from the tip of a walking stick held over his shoulder,

⁸⁷ Corinthian padded dancers with both arms up: Perachora 2528, Corinthian kotyle (Payne [1962] 2528a pl. 104, 111); early Attic chorus with both arms up: Amsterdam 3356 (*supra* n.9).

⁸⁸ Getty Museum S.82.AE.293 (*supra* n.7); Seeberg 2: position C is described as "one leg kicked up behind."

⁸⁹ H. Schnabel, *Kordax* (Munich 1910) 19. For the *mothon* see Lawler 75f.

⁹⁰ *Nub.* 540, 555. In the same passage he mentions that Eupolis devised a dramatic scene in which tipsy old women danced the *kordax*. Pausanias (6.22.1) mentions that the dance was performed in honor of Artemis at a shrine in Elis. The dance was characterized by a suggestive rotation of the hips and abdomen: Ath. 631D; Lawler 71.

⁹¹ Schnabel (*supra* n.89) 19. A red figure column krater from Tarquinia contains a well-known scene of three dancing padded figures, two of whom wear grotesque masks. According to Schnabel they are dancing the *kordax*. The pose of the masked middle figure, muffled in his cloak, is very close to that of the Anacreontic revellers who dance with one foot kicked up behind on the calyx krater in Copenhagen and on the red figure cup in Malibu. Cf. Tarquinia RC 8261, red figure column krater from Tarquinia by a member of the Syriskos Group (ARV² 260, 12); M. Bieber, *The History of the Greek and Roman Theater* (Princeton 1961) 42f, fig. 180.

⁹² Chiusi C 1836 (*supra* n.7); Mykonos, red figure amphora (*supra* n.21).

fishing-pole fashion.⁹³ Examples of stick dances are rare, but do exist. Lawler has identified one such in the ancient Greek theater, mentioned by both Athenaeus and Pollux. She explains the move, known as ξύλου παράλεψις (literally, 'taking hold of the wood'), as the real or mimetic use of a wooden club or staff to enact a beating or to threaten someone. Such an action is suggested by the lekythos by the Gales Painter, where the right-hand youth raises his walking stick as if to deliver a blow to Anacreon (PLATE 3b).⁹⁴

Although we may never positively identify the dance steps executed by the poet and his companions, the kylix in Malibu provides evidence that the performance was a vigorous one. Three komasts wear heel pads, rendered as small triangular shaded areas on the dancer's heel (PLATES 4–5). Such a device was earlier worn by a padded Chiot dancer, whose pronounced forward thrust indicates that the dance was extremely spirited.⁹⁵ A fifth-century parallel exists on the Sabouroff cup in Malibu, in which several bald dancers wear heel pads in addition to their long effeminate tunics and fillets (PLATE 10b).⁹⁶ The scene has been consistently associated with a dramatic performance.⁹⁷ It seems likely that the revellers traditionally associated with Anacreon were also engaged in a vigorous dance requiring heel

⁹³ Louvre G 286, fragmentary red figure cup by Douris (ARV² 443, 229; Boardman [1986] no. 14, fig. 17).

⁹⁴ Syracuse 26967 (*supra* n.14). Although the boy looks back at the poet, it is unclear whether the blow is intended for the lyre-player or for the second youth. Beazley (61) believed that the youth was simply flourishing the stick with no threat intended, but both the position of the stick and the boy's backward glance imply that a blow will follow. Cf. Lawler 37, 80, noting the earlier use of beating scenes in Old Comedy implied by Aristophanes' remarks (*Nub.* 541f, *Pax* 741f) that he has driven beatings from the comic theater.

⁹⁵ Getty Museum S.82.AE.293 (*supra* n.7); London 88.6–1, 493 (*supra* n.43).

⁹⁶ Getty Museum 86.AE.296 (Ex.: Swiss Private Collection), red figure cup, Type B, by the Sabouroff Painter (ARV² 837, 10; *Greek Vases* (Molly and Walter Bareiss Collection, Getty Museum) 80 no.162 (under former inventory no. S.80.AE.1).

⁹⁷ Simon (*supra* n.18: 14) suggests that the dancers belonged to a comic chorus, such as that connected with the *Effeminate* (*Malthakoi*) by Cratinus. Similarly Green (105 n.7), who emphasizes the phallus-pole on Side B, notes that their dress is reminiscent of the *ithyphalloi* described by Semos.

pads, in the context of a performance.

We have seen that satire, an important element in later Old Comedy, is equally noticeable in Anacreontic scenes. Although it is not as easy to detect as effeminacy, it may be recognized in the exaggeration of certain features of costume and in the contrast of the dress with the character of the wearer: the huge size of the turbans worn by the early poets, as on the Getty kyathos and the mastoid-skyphos in Wisconsin, for example (PLATES 1 and 9a); or the fine detailing of the costumes worn by the bearded lyre-player on the lekythos in Syracuse and the Madrid stamnos (PLATE 3b).⁹⁸ Among other elements of humor are the parasols, *krotala*—popular with women—and oversized drinking cups of the sort that Critias claimed to be a Lydian invention.⁹⁹

ἄγγεα Λυδῆ χειρ εὖρ' Ἀσιατογενής.
καὶ προπόσεις ὀρέγειν ἐπὶ δεξιᾶ, καὶ προκαλεῖσθαι
ἔξονομακλήδην, ὧι προπιεῖν ἐθέλει.

Anacreontic revellers are often engaged in a *komos* that involved a procession through the streets to the accompaniment of singing, music, and merrymaking (PLATES 2, 4–5). Aristophanes' Old Comedy gives ample evidence that rhythmic

⁹⁸ Getty Museum 77.AE.102, 78.AE.5 (*supra* n.2); Elvehjem Museum 1972.22 (*supra* n.76); Florence 3987 (*supra* n.5); Syracuse 26967 (*supra* n.14); Madrid 11009 (*supra* n.21). Henderson (*supra* n.11: 219f) comments on effeminacy as an element of Old Comedy that the “lowest in respectability and most ridiculous of all homosexuals in comedy are the effeminate, men who actually dress as women.”

⁹⁹ 81B6.15ff D.-K.; I owe this reference to Alice Donohue. Cf. Athenaeus 461, 636, who associates such cups with foreigners. Certainly Dionysus and others may carry oversize drinking cups. In the case of Dionysus the oversize vessels may serve to emphasize the tradition that links his origin to the East. W. Burkert writes (*Greek Religion*, tr. J. Raffan [Cambridge (Mass.) 1985] 163), “The Greek tradition associates Dionysos very closely with Phrygia and Lydia, the Asia Minor kingdoms of the eighth/seventh and seventh/sixth centuries, and also with Kybele, the Phrygian Mother of Gods.” See also the description of Dionysos given by the Bacchic chorus in Euripides' *Bacchae*. Although there is no certainty, it is also possible that excessively large drinking cups/vessels carried by others, including ordinary Attic komasts, may have Eastern connotations. See the komast on the interior of the Attic red-figured cup, Madrid 11676 (CVA Spain 2, Madrid 2 [III, 1 C] pl. 2.3).

processions were likely targets of satire.¹⁰⁰ It is worth recalling the observation of Aristotle (*Poet.* 1447a) that in dancing, piping, and lyre-playing it is possible to display the diversities of human nature, and that even with rhythm alone the dancer enacts his imitation of men's characters.

We still need to relate the devotees of Ionian poetry, their dance, and their effeminacy to elements known to exist in fifth-century Athenian theater. Webster has supplied this link in proposing that Anacreontic revellers were imitating maenads, both the wing-sleeved variety and the later matronly types of the 'Lenaia' vases.¹⁰¹ Maenads muffle their hands in the ends of their chiton sleeves; the Anacreontic figures use the ends of their mantles, but the gestures are similar. Among the most common Anacreontic dance steps are the backward kick and a similar movement in which a figure moving in one direction looks back at his upraised heel.¹⁰² These postures have many parallels in the bacchic dances performed by Attic maenads.¹⁰³

¹⁰⁰ Procession scenes in Old Comedy: *Ran.* 316–459; *Vesp.* 863–74; *Thesm.* 1136–59.

¹⁰¹ Webster 19, 83, and *Potter and Patron in Classical Athens* (London 1972) 54. He observes that several vases show Anacreontic revellers holding out the ends of the mantle while performing a vigorous dance, a scheme similar to maenad dances of the early fifth century. M. W. Edwards, "Representations of Maenads on Archaic Red-figured Vases," *JHS* 80 (1980) 83, suggests that when a maenad clutches the ends of her chiton sleeves, it was a "natural gesture in cases of rapid movement, strong wind, and cold." Maenad with muffled hands: Munich 2645 (J.332), white-ground cup from Vulci by the Brygos Painter (*ARV*² 371, 15; E. Simon, *Die griechischen Vasen* [Munich 1981] no. 145); Anacreontic revellers with muffled hands: Chiusi C 1836 (*supra* n.7); Brussels R 332, red figure cup by the Brygos Painter (*ARV*² 380, 169; Boardman [1986] no. 16, fig. 19; CVA Belgium I, Brussels I [III, 1c] pl. 1, Z); Paris, Petit Palais 336 (*supra* n.19); Getty Museum S.82.AE.293 (*supra* n.7); Bologna 239 (*supra* n.34). Euripides' use of a chorus of maenads in *Bacchae* seems not to have been an innovation without precedent: cf. Aeschylus' *Xantriai* and *Bassarai*, perhaps a *Bacchae* (*TrGF* III [Radt] 22–25, 168–172b).

¹⁰² This dance step occurs on five Anacreontic vases: Madrid 11009 (*supra* n.21); Paris, Petit Palais 336 (*supra* n.19); Chiusi C 1836 (*supra* n.7); Mykonos, red figure amphora (*supra* n.21); Cleveland 26, 549 (*supra* n.5).

¹⁰³ Maenad who steps forward while looking back at her upraised heel: Nikosthenic amphora in the Nelson Gallery-Atkins Museum, Kansas City, *ABV* 219/23 (Moon 64 no. 38); black figure pelike at the University of Chicago, *AJA* 75 (1971) pl. 93, fig. 1 side A; maenad doing backward kick

Several late Anacreontic scenes also show poses and stances that recall the processional scenes on later Lenaia vases.¹⁰⁴ At least two maenads in the Lenaia series carry parasols, like so many Anacreontic figures. And female lyrists provide the music for the Lenaia maenads as well as for Anacreon's drinking companions.¹⁰⁵

V. Conclusion

It is proposed here that the traditional series of Anacreontic vases belongs to a wider context in which the figure of the

with one leg: Leiden PC 15, black figure neck amphora from Vulci (CVA Netherlands 3, Leiden 1, pl. 40.3-4, 51.15). Seeburg (2, *cf. supra* n.88) identified this move as one of the most frequent positions used by earlier Corinthian padded figures. Webster (83) pointed out that this was a frequent dance step on Anacreontic vase scenes. See also *supra* 162f.

¹⁰⁴ Although it is by no means certain that the scenes represent festivities connected with the Lenaia, the stamnoi do show stately maenads celebrating some ritual in honor of Dionysos, as in the following vase scenes: London E 451, red figure stamnos from Vulci by the Villa Giulia Painter (*ARV*² 621, 33; Frickenhaus 8f no. 19 B); Rome, Villa Giulia 983, red figure stamnos from Falerii by the Villa Giulia Painter (*ARV*² 621, 33; Frickenhaus pl. 3, no. 17 B); Boston 90.155 (R 418), red figure stamnos by the Villa Giulia Painter (*ARV*² 621, 34; Frickenhaus pl. 3, no. 16); Chicago 1889.22 from Capua by the Chicago Painter (Moon 197 no. 11); Louvre G 108, red figure stamnos from Vulci by the Villa Giulia Painter (*ARV*² 621, 39, 1662; Frickenhaus pl. 3 no. 17 B). The Anacreontic figures muffled in their long mantles on a column krater in Bologna recall similarly muffled women from procession scenes on the stamnoi from London, Rome, and Chicago listed above. Anacreontic vases with processional scenes: Bologna 239 (*supra* n.34); Bologna 234, red figure column krater by the Orchard Painter (*ARV*² 523, 20; Boardman [1986] no. 41, fig. 28; *Jdl* 38-39 [1923-24] 130).

¹⁰⁵ Maenads carrying parasols: Louvre G 408, Boston 90155 (R 418); see *supra* n.104; female lyre players on Anacreontic vases: *supra* n.34; female lyre players on red stamnoi: Vatican, red figure stamnos by the Persephone Painter, *ARV*² 1012, 4 (B. Philippaki, *The Attic Stamnos* [Oxford 1967] pl. 45.1); Genoa 26, red figure stamnos (Philippaki pl. 44.2-3); Hamburg 1895.214, red figure stamnos by the Painter of the Louvre Centauromachy (*ARV*² 1090, 41; Philippaki pl. 44.1); New York 6.1021.178, red figure stamnos by the Menelaos Painter (*ARV*² 1077,1; G. M. A. Richter and L. Hall, *Red-Figured Athenian Vases* II [New Haven 1936] pl. 112. Webster (70, 84) notes that the earlier choruses of the *Bacchae*, the only preserved maenad play, are in ionics—a meter suiting the dances of Anacreon and his companions.

Ionian lyric poet became a standard type as the subject of popular burlesque. It is further proposed that the poet and his revelling companions were actors in a series of performances that first became popular in Athens in the final decades of the sixth century. Although the archon did not award a chorus to comic poets until 487/6, Aristotle's statement (*Poet.* 1449b) that comedy was performed before the granting of a chorus implies an earlier phase whose forms remain unknown. It seems likely that comedy as a dramatic genre evolved alongside tragedy during the late sixth and early fifth centuries in Athens, with a growing popularity finally given official recognition.

Anacreontic scenes span two generations, allowing us glimpses of what appears to be a variety of these early performances. The earliest representations suggest that the performance usually focused on an actor in the rôle of a poet, singing, dancing, or playing the lyre (PLATES 1, 9a). Around the turn of the century, or shortly thereafter, actors join in (PLATE 2). Two early fifth-century black figure lekythoi by the Haimon Painter suggest a chorus of lyre-playing Ionian poets, costumed alike and stepping in unison with smaller females (PLATE 9b).¹⁰⁶ It is possible, moreover, that scenes depicting multiple singing and dancing revellers also represent an early chorus. Such a chorus would be distinguished from ordinary Athenian komasts by their Eastern costume: turban, Ionian chiton, himation, heavy beard, and parasol. It is significant that three Anacreontic vases with a chorus of parasol-dancers and accompanying musicians appear in the decade *ca* 480–470, and thus fall within the period when comic choruses are believed to have existed.¹⁰⁷ To the

¹⁰⁶ New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 41, 162, 13, Attic black figure lekythos by the Haimon Painter, and Princeton 51.43, Attic black figure lekythos by the same (*supra* n.78). Green has assembled scenes that apparently represent early choruses; see also G. M. Sifakis, *Parabasis and Animal Choruses* (London 1971). On the form of early comedy, Pickard-Cambridge, *DFA*² 149–53, observes that its structure was looser than tragedy from the beginning, citing with approval the tradition that Cratinus reduced the disorderliness and fixed the number of regular actors at three.

¹⁰⁷ Anacreontic scenes with parasol dancers: Madrid 11009, red figure stamnos (*supra* n.21); Chiusi C 1836, red figure cup, Painter of Philadelphia 2449 (School of Makron), and Malibu, Getty Museum S.82.AE.293, red figure cup (both *supra* n.7). On early comic poets see Pickard-Cambridge (*supra* n.11) 189–94.

objection that these choruses seldom move in unison may be offered the explanation that they are tipsy from drinking, suggested by the many drinking cups and occasional krater present in the scenes (PLATES 4–5).¹⁰⁸ Representations after the turn of the century that show the poet alone, one or two revellers, or even a dressed komast with a scantily-clad male or youth probably represent individual actors in sequences popular with audiences of the period. All this suggests that the performances satirized an Ionian lyric poet who accompanied his singing with the lyre. The symposium and revel that followed the feast provided the most popular occasion for these scenarios (PLATES 1, 10b).

It is possible that vestiges of these early parodies survive in Old Comedy. Snyder recognized that Agathon's stage costume of women's chiton and turban mirrors that of Anacreon, first rendered by the Kleophrades Painter on the Copenhagen vase (PLATE 2).¹⁰⁹ When questioned, Agathon informs Euripides and Mnesilochus that he must dress in an Ionian manner and adopt Eastern ways like Anacreon, Alcaeus, and Ibycus in order to write beautiful poetry (Ar. *Thesm.* 159–63):

ἄλλως τ' ἄμουσόν ἐστι ποιητὴν ἰδεῖν
 ἀγρεῖον ὄντα καὶ δασύν· σκέψαι δ' ὅτι
 Ἴβυκος ἐκεῖνος κ' Ἀνακρέων ὁ Τήσιος
 κ' Ἀλκαῖος, οἵπερ ἄρμονίαν ἐχύμισαν,
 ἐμιτροφόρουν τε καὶ διεκινούθ' ὠδέ πως.

It may be that Agathon's composing-scene may also reflect earlier burlesques of Ionian poets and their chorus of effeminate companions. Aristophanes brings Agathon on stage to play the rôles of both actor and chorus alternately. The nature of the chorus remains ambiguous, as played by Agathon in his long Ionian chiton. An Athenian audience, however, would have had no difficulty recognizing his "chorus of maidens" as

¹⁰⁸ Green (105 with n.7) argues that the tradition of scenes of comic choruses is based on "careful representation of costume," although he notes that small variations in costume may occur. He points out, however, that such choruses usually show uniformity of step. Although the vase is fragmentary, the revellers on the Copenhagen calyx krater appear to move in unison.

¹⁰⁹ Ar. *Thesm.* 137ff, 160–63; J. M. Snyder, "Aristophanes: Agathon as Anacreon," *Hermes* 102 (1974) 244ff.

effeminate males costumed like Agathon, for the scenes on vases indicate that Anacreontic performances lasted at least until the mid-fifth century. In the final ode, his chorus (as enacted by Agathon) sings of their own "excellent masculine song" to the Asian lyre, mother of hymns, and to Agathon as the son of Leto (123–29):¹¹⁰

σέβομαι Λατώ τ' ἄνασσαν,
κίθαρίν τε ματέρ' ὕμνων,
ἄρσενι βοᾷ δοκίμῳ·
τᾷ φῶς ἔσσυτο δαμονίοις ὄμμασιν,
ἡμετέρας τε δι' αἰφνιδίου ὀπός·
ὦν χάριν ἄνακτ' ἄγαλλε Φοῖβον τιμᾶ.
χαῖρ', ὄλβιε παῖ Λατοῦς.

This identification of the poet and his friends as costumed burlesque performers also resolves the apparent conflict between the longest fragment of Anacreontic verse (318 *PMG*) and the scenes of the poet's revellers in their Ionian finery. In

¹¹⁰ While modern critics agree that the player Agathon alternates rôles as actor and chorus, they differ on the significance of the parody. Cantarella interprets the scene as a literary parody of the tragic poet Agathon and his art. Rau suggests that the passage represents a musical parody of the new Attic dithyramb. He recognizes that Agathon's clever, lascivious lyrics are appropriate to the effeminate figure of the poet, noting the Phrygian harmony produced by the Asiatic lyre, and comments on the paradoxical use of the Asiatic lyre next to Leto. To dedicate their song to the lyre, as the mother of hymns, in the same breath as a dedication to Leto, mother of two gods, may be a clue that this is no ordinary chorus of Greek maidens. See R. Cantarella, "Agathon und der Prolog der *Thesmophoriazusen*," and P. Rau, "Das Tragödienspiel in den *Thesmophoriazusen*," in *Aristophanes und die alte Komödie* (Darmstadt 1975) 324–38 and 339–56, esp. 329, 343. It may be significant that the cult of Leto was probably not Greek, but originated in Lycia and Phrygia: F. R. Wehrli, *RE Suppl.* 5 (1931) 555–58 *s.v.* "Leto." Furthermore, Leto's name does not appear in the second processional sequence in *Thesmophoriazusae* (947–1000), when the Greek women at the assembly sing processional hymns to a variety of Greek gods and goddesses, including Apollo, Artemis, Hera, Pan, Hermes, and Dionysus. Who would be more likely to sing to Leto than a chorus of Ionian maidens? And if the Ionian maidens were Agathon's male chorus, dressed in effeminate Ionian robes, Aristophanes would only be recalling an earlier Athenian comic chorus, as he had with the bird and insect choruses in his productions of *Birds* and *Wasps*.

the surviving lines Anacreon ridicules Artemon, who appears to have been a parvenu given to pretentious ways and effeminate dress:

πρὶν μὲν ἔχων βερβέριον, καλύμματ' ἔσφηκωμένα,
καὶ ξυλίλους ἀστραγάλους ἐν ὧσὶ καὶ ψιλὸν περὶ
πλευρῆισι (- Ὢ-) βοός,
νήπλυτον εἴλυμα κακῆς ἀσπίδος, ἀρτοπώλισιν
κάθελοπόρνοισιν ὁμιλίῳν ὁ πονηρὸς Ἄρτέμων,
κίβδηλον εὐρίσκων βίον,
πολλὰ μὲν ἐν δουρὶ τιθεὶς ἀνχένα, πολλὰ δ' ἐν τροχῶι,
πολλὰ δὲ νῶτον σκυτίνῃ μᾶστιγι θωμιχθεὶς, κόμην
πῶγωνά τ' ἐκτετιλμένος·
νῦν δ' ἐπιβαίνει σατινέων χρύσεια φορέων καθέρματα
†παῖς Κύκης† καὶ σκιαδίσκην ἔλεφαντίνην φορεῖ
γυναιξὶν αὐτῶς (- Ὢ-).

Although Boardman sees no intended criticism in Anacreon's description of Artemon's behavior, merely evidence that they both belonged to the same oriental culture, both Beazley and DeVries comment on the irony of a poem by Anacreon that criticizes Artemon's costume, when the poet appears on vase paintings with the same accessories: parasol, earrings, and turban.¹¹¹ In discussing the discrepancy, critics have considered the figures of Anacreon and his drinking companions as portraits or actual representations of the poet and his friends. But if the scenes are interpreted as comic caricatures of sixth-century lyric poets, including Anacreon, the conflict between the Artemon fragment and the vases disappears.

¹¹¹ Boardman (1986) 69; Beazley 57. Others offer different points of view. DeVries (33) likens the situation to the "pot, Anacreon, calling the kettle, Artemon, black," suggesting that Anacreon was chiefly objecting to Artemon's luxurious tastes in view of his meteoric rise from rags to riches. Slater, on the other hand (*supra* n.8: 185-94), believes Anacreon's criticism of Artemon was a well-known ritual practice in fifth-century Athens within a symposium, and suggests that Artemon and Anacreon belonged to the same cult circle, whose rituals included transvestism and ritual abuse of fellow members. Shapiro (*supra* n.8: 133-43) disagrees, without offering an alternative theory. He associates Anacreon with the social climate of Pisistratid Athens reflected in the courtship scenes on Attic vases from ca 550 to the end of the sixth century, suggesting that the Greek lyric poets, Theognis and Anacreon among them, inspired such courtship scenes during this period.

One question remains: why did the scenes enjoy such enormous popularity for over sixty years? For an answer, we need to view the figure of the Ionian lyric poet, as typified by Anacreon, against the political and social changes of the period. Before his Athenian sojourn, the poet had lived some years at the court of Polycrates of Samos, a ruler known for his love of luxury and oriental ways (*supra* n.12). Anacreon came to Athens at the invitation of the Pisistratids, whose court reflected a sympathy towards the luxurious tastes and customs of Ionia, including lyric poetry. Anacreon thus had connections with two tyrannies, a form of rule that had become increasingly unpopular by the late sixth century in Athens.

The appearance of the Ionian lyric poet, as a comic type, on the Getty kyathos and Psiax Plate probably coincides with the fall of the tyranny at Athens in 510. His turban, boots, and long false beard emphasize his foreign origins; his feminine-looking attire completes the picture. At the outset, the dramatic performance in question is likely to have been a satire of a familiar favorite under the unpopular Pisistratid tyranny. Early performances may have included more than one version of the literary burlesque with political overtones.

After the downfall of the tyranny, a new production may have appeared with the poet and his friends in full oriental regalia. The new costume—turban or *sakkos*, combined with long Ionian robes—was surely an immediate hit, for vase painters abandoned all earlier costume variations. The pretentious ways and high-flown language of Ionian lyric poets must have been a rich source of humor under the young democracy. The witty Athenian who produced the new comedy dressed the poet and his chorus of friends as prestigious and effeminate easterners: a double-edged commentary on Pisistratid and Persian mores.

Subsequently, in the 480's, the Persian Wars and Athens' ultimate victory probably gave fresh impetus to the tradition. Such mockery of political and social figures, well known in the later plays of Aristophanes, appears to have been an important ingredient of Old Comedy from the start.

Appendix: List of Chiot Chalices

1. London 88.6-1, 548; 1924.12-1, 363; 1924.12-1, 207. Chiot black figure chalice from Naucratis (joining fragments). Revellers carrying pomegranates. At least one dancing reveller wears a turban with hair flowing behind; he also wears buttock pads and garland diagonally across chest. See PLATE 7a. Price, pl. 11, top right corner; bottom row, second from right. Listed by Williams 162 nn.17, 20.
2. London 88.6-1, 507, 788. Chiot chalice in outline technique from Naucratis (joining fragments). Bearded dancing figure with a turban and garland worn diagonally across chest and left hand raised. See PLATE 6b. Price, pl. 5, 13. Williams 162 n.18.
3. London 88.6-1503. Chiot chalice in outline technique from Naucratis (fr.). Bearded male head, wearing a turban and what appear to be earrings. Price, pl. 5, 12. Williams 162 n.19 (erroneously citing Price pl. 5, 11).
4. Oxford G115.5 D.G.H. Chiot black figure chalice from Naucratis (fr.). Parts of two revellers: (1) capped head (turban), right arm, and buttocks of first komast; (2) only the hand of the second dancer. CVA Great Britain 9, Oxford 2 (11D), pl. 5, 46.
5. Oxford 1925, 608e E.E.F. Chiot black figure chalice from Naucratis (fr.). Fingers and top of head of reveller. CVA Great Britain 9, Oxford 2 (11D), pl. 5, 48.
6. Oxford G115.10, 14 D.G.H. Chiot black figure chalice from Naucratis (frs.). Two fragments of the same chalice. Heads of revellers. Red paint used for hair of dancers, incision for turbans and details. CVA Great Britain 9, Oxford 2 (11D), pl. 5, 53a-b.
7. Cambridge N.95. Chiot black figure chalice from Naucratis (fr.). Fragment from the rim of a chalice: dancing komast wearing a turban and a garland diagonally across chest. CVA Great Britain 11, Cambridge 2, pl. 17, 63.
8. Cambridge N.92. Chiot black figure chalice from Naucratis (fr.). Fragment from the rim of a chalice: dancing reveller wearing a turban and a garland diagonally across his chest. CVA Great Britain 11, Cambridge 2, pl. 17, 64.
9. Cambridge N.96. Chiot black figure chalice from Naucratis (fr.). Dancing reveller wearing a turban. CVA Great Britain 11, Cambridge 2, pl. 17, 65.
10. Cambridge N.93. Chiot black figure chalice from Naucratis (fr.). Dancing reveller wearing a turban. CVA Great Britain 11, Cambridge 2, pl. 17, 66.
11. Heidelberg 1.48. Chiot black figure chalice (fr.). Upper body of a dancer, wearing a turban, who looks backward while hurrying to the right. Diagonal garland across chest. CVA Germany 10, Heidel-

- berg 1, pl. 3, 15–16.
12. Boston 88.932 (14). Chiot black figure chalice from Naucratis (fr.). Reveller dancing to the right with head turned to left, wearing a turban. A. Fairbanks, *Catalogue of Greek and Etruscan Vases* (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston 1928) pl. XXXII, 310.4.
 13. Chios, black figure chalice from the excavations at Kato Phano (frs.) (probably in the Chios Museum). Two fragments from the same chalice: dancing komast wearing a turban and a garland diagonally across his chest; part of the chest and an arm of a second reveller. *ArchDelt* 2 (1916) fig. 10, p.193.
 14. Chios, black figure chalice from the excavations at Kato Phano (fr.) (probably Chios Museum). Two revellers dancing: left figure wears a turban and garland diagonally across his chest; right figure has his hair tied with a band flying out behind and a similar garland. The hair of the second reveller is red. *ArchDelt* 2 (1916) fig. 11.2, p.196.
 15. Chios, black figure chalice from the excavations at Kato Phano (fr.) (Chios Museum?). Head and part of the chest and diagonal garland of a similar reveller. *ArchDelt* 2 (1916) fig. 11.1, p.196.
 16. Chios, black figure chalice from the excavations at Kato Phano (fr.) (Chios Museum?). Dancing reveller wearing a turban, garland, and buttock pads. *ArchDelt* 2 (1916) fig. 13, p.193.
 17. Chios, black figure chalice from the excavations at Kato Phano (fr.) (Chios Museum?). Head of a reveller wearing a turban. W. Lamb, "Excavations at Kato Phano in Chios," *BSA* 35 (1934–35) pl. 37.11.
 18. Chios, black figure chalice, fr.748 from the excavations at Emporio. Chios Museum. Two revellers wearing turbans, garlands, and buttock pads, dance to the left. A third figure in a long chiton (probably a woman) stands to the right of the revellers, playing the pipes before a similarly clad figure, who holds two wreathes. See PLATE 6a. Boardman (1967) fig. 108, no. 748.
 19. Chios, black figure chalice, fr.749 from the excavations at Emporio (Athena Temple Terrace, period 1). Chios Museum. Partial reveller wearing turban. Boardman (1967) pl. 59, no. 749.
 20. Tocra, Chiot black figure chalice, fr.787 from the excavations at Tocra. Two revellers wearing turbans and boots. The one on the left turns his head and holds a pomegranate in his left hand. J. Boardman and J. Hayes, *Excavations at Tocra 1963–1965: The Archaic Deposits I* (=BSA Suppl. 4 [Oxford 1966]) pl. 44, no. 787.
 21. Tocra, Chiot black figure chalice, fr.788 from the excavations at Tocra. Part of two revellers: partial head with turban and torso of one, hand and foreleg of the other. Boardman and Hayes pl. 44, no. 788.

22. Tocra, Chiot black figure chalice, frr.790–91 from the excavations at Tocra. Revellers possibly both from the same vessel or from frr. 788–89 (*supra* n.21; fragment 789 from Tocra is not included here because it does not include a figure with a turban; it shows part of a woman, or aulist, and the foot of a reveller (?) to right: Boardman and Hayes plates 44, 789). Figures are slim-waisted with sketchy incision. Boardman and Hayes pl. 44, nos. 790–91.
23. Old Smyrna, Chiot black figure chalice (fr.) from the excavations at Old Smyrna (Trench C, Burnt House floor). Fr.2: revellers with buttock pads, garlands, and turbans; fr.3: one dancer has purple hair. *BSA* 60 (1965) pl. 43, nos. 2–3.
24. Marseilles, Chiot chalice that combines black figure technique with outline drawing from the excavations at Marseilles (fr.). Fragment shows remains of a komast-lyre player to the left; part of a woman faces him and offers him a cup. Only part of the lyre and the incised turban of the left-hand reveller remain. Villard pl. 19.3.
25. Naucratis, Chiot black figure chalice from the excavations at Naucratis (fr.). Fragment shows a dancer with his left hand raised and right arm behind. He wears a garland, buttock pads, and a turban. W. M. Petrie, *Naukratis* I (London 1886) pl. 5, no. 42.
26. Olbia, Chiot black figure chalice (fr.) from excavations at Olbia (probably in a museum at Leningrad). Dancer runs to the right: head with turban, upper torso, most of his left arm and leg preserved. E. Levi, "Terracotta Archaic Head Found in Olbia," *SovArch* (1941) 315 fig.4.3.
27. Leningrad, Chiot black figure chalice from excavations at Olbia. Single running dancer moves to the right, while looking behind. He wears a turban and carries a wreath in either hand. This is one of the few well-preserved chalices. Walter-Karydi pl. 95, no. 759.
28. Berezan, Chiot black figure chalice (fr.) from excavations at Berezan. Partial torso and head of dancer wearing a turban. Dancer moves to left. V. M. Skudnova, "Chiot Chalices from the Excavation on the Island of Berezan," *SovArch* (1957.4) 135 fig. 7.4.
29. Berezan, Chiot black figure chalice (fr.) from the excavations at Berezan. Reveller, wearing a turban, runs to the left, holding a wreath in his right hand. Left leg and hand missing. Skudnova (no. 28 *supra*).¹¹²

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