

FROM RAGS TO RICHES: ANACREON'S ARTEMON

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"You'd be cross too, if you'd a wig like mine," the wasp went on. "They jokes at one. And they worrits one. And then I gets cross. And then I gets cold. And I gets under a tree. And I gets a yellow handkerchief. And I ties up my face—as at the present."

Lewis Carroll, "The Wasp in a Wig."

AMONG THE EXTANT fragments of Anacreon two concern a certain Artemon, frs 8 and 82 Gentili = 372 and 388 *PMG*.¹ The first is only two lines long, but the second is the most extensive piece of Anacreon that we possess.

Critics have generally seen fr. 82 as an abusive or satiric poem, a reading which seems incongruous with the usual view of Anacreon as the elegant poet of love and wine.² The singularity of the Artemon-poem, however, is illusory; there are other fragments of an abusive nature, but their importance has been

¹The fragments are quoted below, 7 and 6. The following will be cited by author or author and short title: C. M. Bowra, *Greek Lyric Poetry*² (Oxford 1961) 297–300; D. A. Campbell, *Greek Lyric Poetry: A Selection* (London 1967) 323–325; M. Davies, "Artemon transvestitus? A Query," *Mnemosyne* 34 (1981) 288–299; E. Degani and G. Burzacchini, *Lirici greci* (Florence 1977) 272–276; H. Fränkel, *Dichtung und Philosophie des frühen Griechentums*² (Munich 1962) 342–343 = *Early Greek Poetry and Philosophy* tr. M. Hadas and J. Willis (Oxford 1975) 300–301, and *Wege und Formen frühgriechischen Denkens*³ ed. F. Tietze (Munich 1968) 60 n. 4; B. Gentili, "Anacreonte," *Maia* 1 (1948) 284–285, also *Anacreon* (Rome 1958), and "L'interpretazione dei lirici greci nella dimensione del nostro tempo," *QUCC* 8 (1969) 14; D. E. Gerber, *Euterpe* (Amsterdam 1970) 232–234; C. del Grande, *ΦΟΡΜΙΓΞ: Antologia della lirica greca*³ (Naples 1963) 215–217; J. Henderson, *The Maculate Muse* (New Haven, Conn. and London 1975); G. M. Kirkwood, *Early Greek Monody* (Ithaca, N.Y. 1974) 174–175; B. Lavagnini, *Nuova antologia della lirica greca* (Palermo 1932) 217–218; B. Marzullo, *Frammenti della lirica greca* (Florence 1965) 167–169; G. Perrotta and B. Gentili, *Polinnia*² (Messina and Florence 1965) 258–261; C. Picard, "Art et littérature. II Anacréon et l'inconnu à l'ombrelle," *REG* 61 (1948) 344–349; W. J. Slater, "Artemon and Anacreon: No Text without Context," *Phoenix* 32 (1978) 185–194; H. W. Smyth, *Greek Melic Poets* (London 1900) 290–291; B. Snell, *Die Entdeckung des Geistes*³ (Hamburg 1955) 91 = *The Discovery of the Mind* tr. T. G. Rosenmeyer (Cambridge, Mass. 1953) 49–50; J. Taillardat, *Les images d'Aristophane*² (Paris 1965). My best thanks are due to Professors E. Robbins, M. B. Wallace, and L. Woodbury and Mr. Drew Griffith for criticizing this paper in draft and offering a number of useful suggestions.

²This was the ancient view of the poet: e.g., Ath. 13.600d; Diog. Babyl. *ap.* Philod. *De mus.* 14.8 ff., p. 79 Kemke; Cic. *Tusc. disp.* 4.71. On the biographical tradition, see J. M. Bell, *QUCC* 28 (1978) 31 n. 7. Modern commentators have called attention to the singularity of fr. 82: cf. Campbell 324, Del Grande 215, Gerber 232, Kirkwood 175, Lavagnini 217; contrast Fränkel, *Wege* 60 n. 4.

obscured by the absence of any systematic study. We shall therefore preface our discussion of fr. 82 with an examination of other fragments with affinities with the invective of the iambists and Old Comedy.³

I

One fragment deals explicitly with effeminacy, fr. 54 Gentili = 424 *PMG* = iamb. 7 West:

καὶ θάλαμος, ἐν τῷ κείνος οὐκ ἔγνημεν, ἀλλ' ἐγῆματο.

This line, which has often been cited in connection with the Artemon-poem,⁴ plays on the implications of the active and middle usages of *γαμεῖν*.⁵ The source of the line is Ps.-Ammonius who dispels any doubt over interpretation by saying 'Ανακρέων διασύρων τινὰ ἐπὶ θηλύτητι'.⁶ The nearest parallels are to be found in Aristophanes;⁷ for example, at *Clouds* 680, in the play on genders at the expense of Cleonymus.

Sexuality is often depicted graphically and brutally by the iambists.⁸ Anacreon is generally more allusive and eschews direct sexual reference,⁹ but there are at least two passages that suggest depiction of sex in the iambists' manner, fr. 43 Gentili = 407 *PMG*:

ἀλλὰ πρόπινε
ῥαδινούς, ὦ φίλε, μηρούς

and fr. 124 Gentili = 439 *PMG*:

πλέξαντες μηροῖσι πέρι μηρούς

A close parallel to fr. 124 is to be found in Archilochus fr. 112 Tarditi = 119 West:¹⁰

καὶ πεσεῖν δρήστην ἐπ' ἄσκον καπὶ γαστρὶ γαστέρα
προσβαλεῖν μηρούς τε μηροῖς'

³I omit one of the more striking examples, fr. 44 Gentili = 432 *PMG* = iamb. 5 West, which I propose to treat elsewhere.

⁴E.g., by Bowra 297 and Campbell 324.

⁵Cf. Antiph. fr. 46 Kock. Euripides makes a similar play on *γαμεῖν* in *Medea*, where Medea uses the middle of Jason (262, which Page needlessly deletes following Lenting) and the active of herself (606).

⁶Ps.-Ammon. *De adfin. uocab. diff.* 120 (p. 31 Nickau).

⁷Cf. K. J. Dover, *Greek Homosexuality* (London 1978) 139, and Henderson 219.

⁸Cf. Arch. frs 27, 29, 35, 42, 44, 52, 70, 143, 180, 198, 224 Tarditi = 48, 42, 49, 34, 41, 44, 67, 152, 43, 252, 40 West; Sem. fr. 17 West; Hippon. frs 2a, 16, 17, 21, 22, 56, 57, 70, 84, 104 West; Hermipp. fr. 5 West.

⁹Recent attempts to interpret fr. 13 Gentili = 358 *PMG* in a specifically sexual way are unconvincing: see L. Woodbury, *TAPA* 109 (1979) 277–287.

¹⁰On this fragment, see D. E. Gerber, *Phoenix* 29 (1975) 181–184.

Fr. 48 Gentili = 427 *PMG* refers to a woman named Gastrodore:

μηδ' ὥστε κῦμα πόντιον
λάλαξε τῇ πολυκρότῃ
σὺν Γαστροδῶρῃ καταχύδην
πίνουσα τὴν ἐπίστιον.

This fragment has been called by Gerber (237), “One of the few examples of Anacreon’s biting tongue.” The abuse centres on the name,¹¹ which is a comic compound of a sort well evidenced in the remains of the iambists and Old Comedy.¹² Critics have generally seen Gastrodore characterized as loquacious (cf. Gerber 237), but the *γαστήρ*-component of the name suggests a reproach for gluttony, a common subject for abuse.¹³ The epithet *πολυκρότῃ* is said to mean “noisy” or “sly” in *LSJ*, but it seems more pointed to understand it as meaning “much-pounded” and referring to Gastrodore’s promiscuity.¹⁴

The well-known fragment concerning the loss of a shield suggests the invective of Old Comedy; fr. 85 Gentili = 381 (b) *PMG*:

ἀσπίδα ῥίψ' ἐς ποταμοῦ καλλιρόου προχοάς

Commentators have often assumed that this line refers to the loss of Anacreon’s own shield, pointing to his expressed distaste for war.¹⁵ They have further supposed that the loss of a poet’s shield was a *topos* of ancient poetry, comparing Archilochus fr. 8 Tarditi = 5 West, Alcaeus fr. 401B Voigt = 428 L-P, Horace *Carm.* 2.7.9-10.¹⁶ Yet only Archilochus became notorious for the loss of his shield.¹⁷ Alcaeus was never regarded as a coward by later antiquity, and this suggests that he did not dwell on his own misfortune, but

¹¹*γαστήρ* is attested as an abusive term as early as Hes. *Th.* 26. Cf. also *γάστρων* at Alc. fr. 429 Voigt, Ar. *Ra.* 200, Herod. 5.1: see W. Headlam and A. D. Knox, *Herodas: the Mimes and Fragments* (Cambridge 1922) 228. U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Sappho und Simonides* (Berlin 1913) 155 n. 1, plausibly suggests that the woman’s real name was something like Metrodore: cf. Radt on Soph. fr. 564.3.

¹²See the important discussion by M. G. Bonanno, *MH* 37 (1980) 65–88.

¹³Cf. Arch. fr. 119 Tarditi = 124 (b) West, Ath. 10.415d *ad* Arch. fr. 162 Tarditi = 167 West; Sem. fr. 7.6, 46 f., 56 West; Hippon. frs 26, 114c, 118, 128 West; Ar. *Eq.* 956–958, 1290–1299, Av. 289. See Taillardat 94–96.

¹⁴For *κροτέω* in a *sensus obscaenus*, see Henderson 171 n. 88, Ussher on Eur. *Cycl.* 179–182, and P. G. Maxwell-Stuart, *AJP* 96 (1975) 10. This interpretation of the epithet would be supported by the common association of gluttony with sex: see D. E. Gerber, *HSCP* 82 (1978) 161–165. I am indebted to an anonymous reader for this suggestion.

¹⁵E.g., Campbell 145, Gerber 15, Kirkwood 220, Marzullo 7, B. Seidensticker, *GRBS* 19 (1978) 5. We should note the caution concerning Anacreon expressed by E. Fraenkel, *Horace* (Oxford 1957) 11, and R. G. M. Nisbet and M. Hubbard, *A Commentary on Horace: Odes* 2 (Oxford 1978) 113. For Anacreon on war, see frs 56 and 126 Gentili = eleg. 2 West and 504 *PMG*.

¹⁶A further example may be *Adesp. Iamb.* 38 West: see M. Treu, *Archilochos* (Munich 1959) 185 f.

¹⁷See the *testimonia* to Tarditi’s text.

gave the circumstances and effects of the rout full treatment.¹⁸ Horace is almost certainly looking directly at Archilochus.¹⁹

With Anacreon the case is different. No ancient source refers to him as a coward or mentions the loss of his shield or even reports that he served as a soldier;²⁰ his shield-line is quoted for reasons of metre by Atilius Fortunatianus (*Gramm.* 6 p. 301.8 Keil). Anacreon merely says that someone threw a shield into a river. As Gentili notes (*ad loc.*), Anacreon may be pointing out the cowardice of someone else—the verb could be first person or third.²¹ Gentili's suggestion gains some support from the phrasing of the line, which implies that the shield had been spurned rather than abandoned. The expression ἀσπίδα ῥίψ' suggests the term ῥίψασπις which the poets of Old Comedy employed to abuse Cleisthenes.²² Although we cannot be certain about a line quoted out of context, it is very possible that fr. 85 belonged to a poem in which Anacreon assailed someone for cowardice.

Among the fragments there is some indication that Anacreon dealt satirically with a number of types.²³ Fr. 20 Gentili = 354 *PMG* refers to an unfaithful woman; fr. 72 Gentili = 347.11-18 *PMG* may give a satiric picture of a ἑταῖρα;²⁴ fr. 89 Gentili = 387 *PMG* may mock a bald μυροποιός who cannot use his own wares; fr. 113 Gentili = 394 (b) *PMG* depicts a chronic suitor; fr. 119 Gentili = 364 *PMG* possibly makes fun of someone for homosexual behaviour,²⁵ and a similar view can be taken of fr. 3 Gentili = 366 *PMG* (cf. Henderson 175).

From the foregoing discussion it seems reasonable to conclude that poetry of

¹⁸This would explain why he proved a suitable source for later historians. See D. Page, *Sappho and Alcaeus* (Oxford 1955) 152 ff.

¹⁹This position would be strengthened by accepting Zielinski's restoration of Arch. fr. 122 Tarditi = 95 West: see Nisbet-Hubbard (above, note 15) 107 f.

²⁰Anacreon's cowardice and flight have been deduced from fr. 105 Gentili = 437 *PMG* (cf. Campbell 145): ἐγὼ δ' ἀπ' αὐτῆς φεύγω ὥστε κόκκνξ. But it seems more probable that the narrator speaks of flight not from battle (understanding a noun like μαχή), but from an undesirable woman: see Gentili, *Anacreon* (Rome 1958) 201.

²¹The same ambiguity exists with the text adopted by Page: ἀσπίδα ῥίψας ποταμοῦ καλλιρόου παρ' ὄχθας.

²²Ar. *Eq.* 1372, *Nu.* 353, *V.* 19, 822, *Pax* 446, 673 ff., 1295 ff., *Av.* 290, 1473 ff.; *Eupol.* fr. 100 Austin.

²³Cf. Anacr. fr. 179 Gentili, and Perrotta-Gentili 258.

²⁴See Gentili *ad loc.* and the discussion on pages 213 ff. of his edition. Anacreon seems elsewhere to have subjected prostitutes to satiric treatment. At fr. 60.13 Gentili = 346, fr. 1.13 *PMG* a woman is denounced as λεωφορός, which is glossed as an abusive term for a πόρνη (see Gentili's *testimonia*). In addition to this we have a collection of words with similar implications: πανδοσία, μανιόκηπος, πολύνυμος (frs 163–165 Gentili = 446 *PMG*). A comparable collection exists for Archilochus: δῆμος, ἐργάτις, μυσάχηνη (frs 241, 244, 258 Tarditi = 207–209 West).

²⁵This interpretation is offered somewhat doubtfully. It seems unusual to apply ἐμμελέως to throwing this discus, unless δισκεῖν is being used metaphorically. It may refer to homosexual behaviour, as δίσκος does in Rufinus *A.P.* 5.19.2 = 6.2 Page: cf. Maxwell-Stuart (above, note 14) 10, and B. Baldwin, *Phoenix* 34 (1980) 339. ἐμμελέως is certainly suited to an erotic context

an abusive, satiric, and sexual nature, with links to early iambus and Old Comedy, formed part of Anacreon's *oeuvre*.

II

Both Artemon fragments are preserved by Athenaeus (12.533f) on account of their subject-matter rather than because of any grammatical, lexical, or metrical oddity. We should, therefore, begin our discussion of fr. 82 by considering Artemon and the circumstances which may have brought about the survival of the poem. The true identity of Artemon must remain a mystery, but he was significantly misidentified (full *testimonia ad* fr. 8 Gentili). Plutarch tells us that Ephorus identified him with an Artemon who was an engineer working under Pericles during the siege of Samos (ca 441 B.C.).²⁶ Difficulties of chronology are raised by this identification, since that Artemon would probably have been born too late to be the target of Anacreon's abuse, but it is significant for the survival of frs 8 and 82. It is known that Anacreon visited the court of the Peisistratids after Samos fell to the Persians; the Platonic *Hipparchus* (228c) tells the story of the poet being brought to Athens on a penteconter sent specially by the tyrant. Once at Athens Anacreon's poetry made a great impression, and his impact is vividly conveyed by Critias (88 B 1 VS).²⁷ Anacreon's poetry remained popular and his poems continued to be sung at symposia (cf. Ar. fr. 223 Kock). From Aristophanes we infer that the Artemon poems were well known, for he calls Cratinus *ὁ περιπόνηρος Ἀρτέμων* (Ach. 850), which is probably a conflation of *περιφόρητος* in fr. 8 and *πονηρός* in fr. 82.5. It is not unlikely that the Athenian popularity of the Artemon poetry was due to its being attached to another Artemon. If there is any truth to the story told by Ephorus that Pericles' engineer was lame, he may well have been satirized on the comic stage as *ὁ περιφόρητος Ἀρτέμων*, with the comic poets playing on the literal meaning of *περιφόρητος* ("carried-about").²⁸ We owe the Artemon fragments ultimately to Chamaeleon of Pontus, who with his usual taste for gossip and scandal may have used this misidentification to write an anachronistic and unsavoury chapter of his *On Anacreon*.²⁹

The Artemon-poem, as we have it, consists of one sentence of twelve lines

like Machon 12.171 Gow, where it is a very probable conjecture of Cobet for *εὐμελῶς*; cf. M. Marcovich, *QUCC* 12 (1971) 118.

²⁶Plut. *Pericl.* 27 = Ephorus, *FGH* 70 F 194. A similar identification is made by Schol. Ar. Ach. 850 (fr. 8, *test.* ii), but in this case the engineer is synchronized with Aristides the Just.

²⁷On Anacreon's stay at Athens, see Schmid-Stählin, *GGL* 1.1.433, S. Papaspyridi-Karouzou, *BCH* 66 (1942) 248–254, and C. A. Trypanis, *CQ* n.s. 1 (1951) 31–34.

²⁸This is the interpretation of *περιφόρητος* offered by Cham. Pont. fr. 36 Wehrli. Diphilus used the phrase *ὁ περιφόρητος Ἀρτέμων* in his *Emporos*, fr. 36 Kock. The expression seems to have been sufficiently popular to become proverbial: see fr. 8, *test.* iv.

²⁹Fr. 36 Wehrli = Ath. 12.533f. It is not certain that Chamaeleon knew this tradition, but the description of Artemon as *περιφέρεσθαι ἐπὶ κλίνης* may suggest it. On Chamaeleon, see L. Woodbury, *Phoenix* 21 (1967) 161, and A. Momigliano, *The Development of Greek Biography* (Cambridge, Mass. 1971) 70.

written in a combination of choriambic tetrameters anaclastic and iambic dimeters (cf. Gentili, *Anacreon* 111). Here is the text (after Gentili):

πρὶν μὲν ἔχων βερβέριον, καλύμματ' ἔσφηκωμένα,
καὶ ξυλίλους ἀστραγάλους ἐν ᾧσιν καὶ ψιλὸν περὶ
πλευρῇσι (δέρριον) βοός,
νήπλυτον εἴλυμα κακῆς ἀσπίδος, ἀρτοπώλισιν
5 κάθελοπόρνοισιν ὁμιλέων ὁ πονηρὸς Ἀρτέμων,
κίβδηλον εὐρίσκων βίον,
πολλὰ μὲν ἐν δουρὶ τιθεὶς αὐχένα, πολλὰ δ' ἐν τροχῷ,
πολλὰ δὲ νῶτον σκυτίνῃ μᾶστιγι θωμιχθεὶς, κόμην
πώγωνά τ' ἐκτετιλμένος·
10 νῦν δ' ἐπιβαίνει σατινέων χρύσεια φορέων καθέρματα
πάϊς Κύκης καὶ σκιαδίσκην ἐλεφαντίνην φορέει
γυναξὶν αὐτῶς (---).

It is uncertain whether the passage preserved represents the complete poem. Fränkel has drawn attention to a parallel between the opening and closing lines: two lists each containing three items.³⁰ This parallel may suggest that the poem is complete, but, after the long section on Artemon's old style (1–9), one would naturally expect a corresponding account of his present way of life. The parallel noted by Fränkel may reinforce our expectations, and we may conjecture that two further stanzas followed the description of Artemon's new finery.³¹ The question of completeness, however, does not affect the argument advanced in the present paper.

The usual interpretation of the poem is that it denounces the *parvenu* Artemon by contrasting his past life (1–9) with his present splendour (10–12).³² Snell compares Archilochus' famous poem on the two generals (fr. 96 Tarditi = 114 West), where the proud general is condemned by a comparison with the small one who is "full of heart" (Snell 91 = 49 f.). Another comparison is with the fourth epode of Horace, in which a slave who has risen to wealth and power is vigorously attacked.³³ Yet rather than simplify matters, these comparisons underline the difficulty of this interpreta-

³⁰Fränkel, *Dichtung* 334 n. 8 = 293 n. 8; cf., however, Kirkwood 175. B. Snell, *Frühgriechische Lyriker* 3 (Berlin 1976) 114, marks the poem *incipit* only.

³¹We are perhaps too much under the influence of Fränkel's notion of the "reihende Stil" in early Greek poetry (*Wege* 70 ff.), to which precise, symmetrical structure is alien. While this style may be characteristic of a poet like Solon (whose fr. 1 Gentili-Prato = 13 West is the best example), it is not as evident among the monodists, whose poems are often carefully structured: cf. L. Woodbury, *TAPA* 109 (1979) 277–287 (on Anacr. fr. 13 Gentili = 358 *PMG*), E. Robbins, *TAPA* 110 (1980) 261 (on Sapph. fr. 31 Voigt), T. McEvilley, *Phoenix* 25 (1971) 1–11 (on Sapph. fr. 94 Voigt).

³²Gentili, "L'interpretazione" 14, has effectively described the working of the poem: "Nell'ode di Anacreonte per Artemone la caratterizzazione del villano arricchito è visualizzata in una serie paratattica di atti e modi di vita che contrappongono in forte antitesi l'Artemone del prima e del poi."

³³Cf. E. Fraenkel (above, note 15) 58 n. 2, and Degani-Burzacchini 273.

tion. Both Archilochus and Horace are careful to pass judgement on their victims themselves: Archilochus by stating his preference (ἀλλά μοι, 3), and Horace by clearly displaying his hostility in the opening lines. In the surviving fragment of the Artemon-poem, however, all we have is the comparison made without comment from the poet, carefully articulated with the *πρὶν μὲν* (1) ... *νῦν δέ* (10) construction. This arrangement fails to make the implications of Anacreon's comparison explicit.

Many critics have sought to explain the poem by appealing to fr. 8:

ξανθῇ δ' Εὐρυπύλῃ μέλει
ὁ περιφόρητος Ἀρτέμων.

It has long been noted that Eurypyle is named as one of Anacreon's lovers by Dioscorides (*A.P.* 7.31.10 = 19.10 *HE* Gow-Page) and Antipater Sidonius (*A.P.* 7.27.5 = 15.5 *HE* Gow-Page). Smyth suggested (290) that Eurypyle preferred Artemon to Anacreon, and that fr. 82 was an invective written in reaction to the poet's unhappy love-affair. Although this theory has been favoured by a number of scholars,³⁴ there is nothing in the evidence to make it compelling.³⁵ We may suspect that underlying this theory is the story of Anacreon's rivalry with Polycrates over the boy, Smerdies,³⁶ but this story seems also to have arisen through a misunderstanding of Anacreon's poetry.³⁷

Bowra rejects Smyth's view and replaces it with another based on fr. 8. He argues (300) that "Artemon's prosperity comes from being kept by Eurypyle, and the sharp edge of Anacreon's satire is that in this affair Artemon is more like a woman than a man." Although ingenious, this theory seems to rest solely on Bowra's translation of fr. 8 (page 299): "Fair-haired Eurypyle looks after the notorious Artemon." That *μέλει* can imply "look after" in the sense of "maintain" is very doubtful; nor does the fragment provide enough of a context to make this a reasonable inference. The use of *μέλει* here seems to be erotic.³⁸ Furthermore, there is nothing in fr. 82 to suggest that Artemon's rise to wealth was due to his becoming a gigolo. It seems unlikely that Eurypyle was a wealthy woman who could maintain a gigolo, for her name suggests that she is in fact a prostitute.³⁹

³⁴Cf. del Grande 215, Gerber 233, Lavagnini 217, Marzullo 168, and Picard 349.

³⁵Smyth wrongly asserts that Antipater mentions the rivalry.

³⁶See the *testimonia* to fr. 26 Gentili, and Schmid-Stählin, *GGL* 1.1.431 n.10.

³⁷See Fränkel, *Dichtung* 336 = 295. Cf. also the motif of hair-cutting on the Douris cup (*ARV*² 428.13): see E. Olshausen, *AA* (1979) 17–24.

³⁸See Anacr. fr. 51 Gentili = 440 *PMG* and *μέλημα* at Alc. fr. 3.74 *PMG*, Sapph. fr. 163 Voigt, Pind. *Pyth.* 10.59 and fr. 95.4 Snell-Maehler, Ar. *Ecc.* 973; cf. Ibyc. fr. 288.2 *PMG*. *cura* is used similarly in Latin: cf. *TLL* 4.1475.42 ff.

³⁹The name literally means "wide-gate." *πύλη* occurs in a *sensus obscaenus* at Ar. *Lys.* 250, 265, 423, 1163; *CAF adesp.* 805: see Henderson 137 and Taillardat 77. An early example of this may be Arch. fr. 196a 21 West, *Delectus*: cf. R. Merkelbach and M. L. West, *ZPE* 14 (1974) 106. On the names of *ἐταῖραι* Taillardat 107 observes, "Les noms ordinairement portés par les courtisanes peuvent désigner la courtisane elle-même."

Bowra is right, however, to emphasize Artemon's effeminacy in the concluding lines of the poem. Kirkwood seems to suggest that the last line refers to lecherous behaviour by translating "with the women" (174), and by further asserting that fr. 8 "mentions Artemon in similar setting" (277 n. 45). This interpretation attributes doubtful sense to *γυναιξιν αὐτως*, whether we supplement *ἐμφορῆς* with Schoemann or *ταῖς ἀβραῖς* with Rupprecht. The phrase almost certainly means "in the manner of women" or something very similar.⁴⁰ A close, though not precise, parallel can be found in the *Iliad*, where Hector speculates on what would happen were he to face the charging Achilles unarmed and suspects that Achilles would kill him *αὐτως ὡς τε γυναῖκα* (22.125).

Scholars, then, have usually seen the poem as an attack on a *parvenu*, with most holding that Artemon is depicted as in some way effeminate in the concluding lines. Yet problems remain. It is generally agreed that the poem works through contrasting the two life-styles of Artemon, but no one has convincingly explained the point of the comparison or how the two parts are related.

A radically different interpretation has been proposed by Slater, who argues that the central contrast of the poem is not one between two different ways of life, but rather one between low-class and high-class transvestism. His arguments take the form of an attempt to show that Artemon is described as dressed in woman's clothing in lines 1–9, and that the poem can only be properly understood when it is recognized that in antiquity "transvestism was widespread, and was a phenomenon without social stigma if justified by cult or ritual" (191). On Slater's reading, Artemon "is the object of the good-humoured abuse of his friend and perhaps admirer Anacreon. ... the abuse is not for effeminacy *per se*, but for cheap and low-class effeminacy; perhaps Artemon is now being complimented tongue-in-cheek on his new superior attire."⁴¹

Slater sees Artemon and Anacreon as belonging to a cultic organization, at whose meetings "female dress, mitras, parasols, and earrings were *de rigueur*" (192). Substantiation for this claim is sought from an interpretation of a contemporary series of vases, which depict male komasts wearing some form of tightly wrapped headdress, long *χιτῶνες* covered by *ἱμάτια*; some of these figures wear earrings and carry parasols.⁴² Anacreon's name appears on one of the vases, which suggests that the poet is in some way associated with what is

⁴⁰The *LSJ* entry seems to suggest that *αὐτως* can govern the dative by itself, but offers no other examples. Bergk, however, created one at Theogn. 1249 through emendation.

⁴¹Slater 193. Here, as elsewhere in his paper, Slater curiously uses effeminacy as a synonym for transvestism: cf. Davies 291.

⁴²See the illuminating discussion by Beazley in J. D. Beazley and C. L. Caskey, *Greek Vases in Boston* (Oxford 1954) 2.55–61. For a more up-to-date collection, see A. Greifenhagen, *SBMunich* (1976) 22–24.

depicted.⁴³ Slater follows Beazley, who, with some hesitation, concluded that the vases represent men dressed as women.⁴⁴ As a result, Slater infers that Anacreon himself must have practised transvestism, and, consequently, that the usual view of the poem must be incorrect. Yet this interpretation of the vases is unlikely. It has been shown that the dress on the vases is of eastern origin and in no way specifically feminine.⁴⁵ It is probable that the figures so dressed represent orientalizing Greeks who imported this style to Athens from Asia Minor.⁴⁶ This style may have had a certain vogue at Athens, and, as a result, was depicted on a number of vases.

This view accords well with what we know of Ionian fashion and Greek attitudes towards the East in the late sixth century. From Xenophanes (fr. 3 Gentili-Prato) and Asius (fr. 13 Kinkel) we learn that contemporary Colophonians and Samians wore their hair long and dressed in luxurious clothes of purple adorned with ornaments of gold;⁴⁷ Thucydides (1.6.3) and Aristophanes (*Eq.* 1321–1334, *Nu.* 984–985) tell us that the men of the Marathonian age dressed similarly.⁴⁸ The Greeks of this period looked to the East for style: Xenophanes says that the Colophonians learnt their taste for luxury *παρὰ Λυδῶν*, and Sappho speaks of desirable fashions from Lydia (frs 39 and 98 Voigt).⁴⁹ Once we have understood this, there is no need to regard the vases as depicting transvestites.⁵⁰

⁴³ARV² 185.32. Davies 294 reports an observation of J. Boardman that it is not the figure holding the lyre which is designated “Anacreon,” but the lyre itself. Davies infers that it is misleading to view the vase as depicting “Anacreon and his friends,” but offers no explanation for the curious appearance of the name. It seems to be an unavoidable conclusion that Anacreon or his poetry was associated with the style depicted.

⁴⁴This conclusion may have forced itself upon Beazley as a result of the incorrect identification of the headdress as a *σάκκος*; it is in fact a *μίτρα*: cf. H. Brandenburg, *Studien zur Mitra* (Basel 1964) 130 ff.

⁴⁵See K. de Vries, *Expedition* 15.4 (1973) 32–39, and J. Boardman, *AA* (1976) 283–285 (cf. *The Greeks Overseas*² [London 1980] 97 f.). Slater’s treatment of the vases has been criticized by H. A. Shapiro, *AJA* 85 (1981) 140 and Davies 291 ff.

⁴⁶Anacreon may have coined *Λυδοπαθεῖς* (fr. 158 Gentili = 431 *PMG*) to describe those adopting this style: cf. Boardman, *AA* (1976) 286. Against the possible suggestion that the term may have been pejorative, we should note that it seems to have been suggested by the phrase *ἀβρὰ παθεῖν* (Sol. fr. 18.4 Gentili-Prato = 24.4 West, *Theogn.* 474; cf. *κἀλ’ ἐπάσχομεν*, Sapph. fr. 94.11 Voigt), which means “to have a good time.”

⁴⁷On both these passages, see C. M. Bowra, *CQ* 35 (1941) 119–126 and *Hermes* 85 (1957) 391–401 = *On Greek Margins* (Oxford 1970) 109–121, 122–133, and, on the Asius passage, see J. N. O’Sullivan, *GRBS* 22 (1981) 329–333.

⁴⁸Although Thucydides, with characteristic Athenian chauvinism, says that the Ionians adopted the fashion from Athens, the reverse is more probable: see A. W. Gomme, *Hist. Comm. Thuc.* 1.103.

⁴⁹Cf. the remarks of L. Woodbury, *TAPA* 109 (1979) 278 f.

⁵⁰The literary and inscriptional evidence offered by Slater 189–191 lends his thesis no support. All of it is too late to be probative for our period. Much of the evidence concerns transvestism in wedding and initiation rites, for which transvestism in various forms is well attested and meaningful: see W. Burkert, *Griechische Religion der archaischen und klassischen*

To interpret the poem within this alleged social framework Slater attempts to demonstrate that the outfit which Artemon is said to wear in lines 1–4 is in fact “cheap and low-class” feminine apparel. Yet the only piece of evidence offered is the reference to ἀστράγαλοι in the second line. Slater argues that, according to Herter,⁵¹ earrings were regarded by the Greeks as “the utmost sign of effeminacy” (187). Yet Herter’s statement is a paraphrase of the Elder Pliny (*HN* 11.136), a late source, and the other passages that Herter brings to bear on the earring-question are (with the exception of the Anacreon-passage) equally late and few.⁵² It is hazardous to make later generalizations applicable to early Greek society.⁵³ What little early evidence we have suggests that, like the

Epoche (Stuttgart 1977) 390 ff. and *Structure and History in Greek Mythology and Ritual* (Berkeley 1979) 29 ff. Yet for the purpose of interpreting the Artemon-poem Slater seeks to establish that transvestism was a “widespread” practice at symposia. It is difficult to see any support for this in the evidence adduced. The transvestism of Deinomenes of Messene is seen by Plutarch (*Vit. Flamm.* 17) as aberrant behaviour arising from excessive drinking. Similarly, that Polystratus’ behaviour (Athen. 13.607f) was considered noteworthy suggests that it too was aberrant. In *De gen. Socr.* 30 (596d) Plutarch says simply that on a given occasion conspirators assumed feminine apparel to escape detection: this disguise is certainly not ritual transvestism. Moreover, it is extremely unlikely that the practice of a flute girl (Sen. *Contr.* 1.2.10) could be considered representative of the male guests at a symposium. As Slater 190 n. 22 admits, the interpretation of the cult regulation from Tlos (F. Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées de l’Asie mineure* [Paris 1955] no. 77; F. Kolb, *ZPE* 22 [1976] 228–230) is far from certain. Slater seems to suggest a link with the local cult of Heracles, but transvestism in that cult is unlikely before the fourth century B.C.: see L. R. Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults and Ideas of Immortality* (Oxford 1921) 141.

The only passage that may indicate transvestism in connection with Dionysiac ritual (though it is uncertain whether the occasion is in fact a symposium) is Luc. *Calumn.* 16. Yet if this passage is to be taken at face value (a risky assumption in a work dealing with various forms of slander), it is probable that the rites in question were peculiar to the Ptolemaic court: see P. M. Frazer, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* (Oxford 1972) 2.344 n. 112. Slater gives one piece of evidence an appearance of early authority by saying (191): “The transvestite dance with mitra mentioned by Solon is clearly another cult aitiology” (my italics). The reference is to Plut. *Sol.* 8, which does not appeal to the authority of Solon. This passage deals with the famous ruse of Solon on the shores of Salamis, when the Athenian soldiers disguised themselves as women to ambush the Megarians. Slater offers no argument to support his assertion, but the case is less clear than he supposes. Even were we to concede that the incident is not historical, it would require some discussion to establish a ritual origin for the manner of disguise and even more discussion to establish a link with the symposium.

It has become fashionable nowadays to seek ritual or cultic explanations for phenomena in the ancient world in the most arbitrary manner. Yet ritual behaviour must, at some level, be meaningful. In attempting to establish a case for ritual transvestism at the symposium Slater has offered neither compelling evidence for the period in question nor any suggestion of its possible function and significance.

⁵¹*RLAC* 4.631. Slater misrepresents Herter somewhat. What Herter says is: “Ganz fremdartig ... ist Ohrschmuck.” This may be closer to the truth.

⁵²Σ Dan. Verg. *Aen.* 1.130; Sext. Emp. *Pyr.* 3.203; Agath. 3.28.

⁵³It is noteworthy that the dress of the Samians was later regarded as effeminate. See Bowra, *Greek Margins* (above, note 47) 128 f.

clothing depicted on the vases, earrings reflect eastern influence.⁵⁴

A more general objection to Slater's treatment of lines 1–9 is that the transvestite-reading of those lines is at variance with his own thesis. Slater alleges that transvestism is a phenomenon of ritual, therefore an exception to one's normal behaviour. But it is very difficult to view the first part of the poem in any way other than as a description of Artemon's *customary* way of life.⁵⁵ Moreover, the explicit comparison of Artemon in his new style to women in the last line would be very peculiar if the point of the passage was that he had simply upgraded his transvestism.

The interpretation of this poem hinges largely on the correct understanding of the details of the description of Artemon and their implication.

Artemon is first said to wear a *βερβέριον*. *LSJ* translate this as a "shabby garment," but, as has often been remarked, this is almost certainly wrong, since *καλύμματ' ἐσφηκωμένα* is in apposition. The *βερβέριον* must be some sort of headgear,⁵⁶ but it is difficult to determine precisely what sort is implied; the word occurs only here, and its etymology is obscure.⁵⁷ From its modifier we may guess that it is some form of headwear that is striped like a wasp, bound tightly with bands resembling the stripes of a wasp, or shaped like a wasp's abdomen. The parallel adduced from the *Iliad* (17.52: *πλοχμοὶ θ', οἳ χρυσῷ τε καὶ ἀργύρῳ ἐσφήκωντο*) could be used to support any of these suggestions. Slater argues (187 n. 10) that "the poem ... demands that it be a poor substitute for a mitra." This is pressing the evidence too far, for Slater is interested in importing feminine associations to the *βερβέριον* from the *mitra*.⁵⁸ Even if we were to accept Artemon's headgear as a form of *mitra*, this reading cannot support the transvestite-interpretation of lines 1–9. In his detailed study of the *mitra* Brandenburg has shown the many and various applications of the word that arise from its basic meaning "band."⁵⁹ The word is neutral and can refer to both male and female headwear; even a specific phrase like *Λυδία μίτρα* can be

⁵⁴Cf. Xen. *Anab.* 3.1.31: *ἐγὼ αὐτὸν εἶδον ὥσπερ Λυδὸν ἀμφοτέρα τὰ ὦτα τετυνημένον*. On the well-known vase depicting Croesus on the pyre (*ARV*² 171.47) the Lydian king wears earrings, which are clearly visible in the reproduction in de Vries (above, note 45) 38. On the basis of the *ἀσπράγαλοι* Beazley (above, note 42) 56, notes that Anacreon "doubtless implies that Artemon was a barbarian or not distinguishable from one."

⁵⁵There is no evidence to suggest that *ἀρτοπώλιδες* were a regular feature of the ritual symposium.

⁵⁶See especially the discussion of Lavagnini 223 f.

⁵⁷K. Forbes, *Glotta* 36 (1958) 245, attempts to support *LSJ*, but fails to account for *καλύμματ' ἐσφηκωμένα*. Slater 187 n. 10 suggests that the word may be related to *βέρβερι* (Androstenes *ap.* Athen. 3.93b), a type of seashell, and that Artemon's headwear may have been "tied tightly so as to bulge above and below the bindings."

⁵⁸It is referred to as "feminine headgear" by Slater 189.

⁵⁹Brandenburg (above, note 44), for the etymology see 9–11. For further etymological discussions, see Frisk, *GEW* 2.246, and Chantraine, *DELG* 2.706 f. Cf. also Gow on Theocr. 17.19.

used of male headdress⁶⁰ as well as female.⁶¹ The only reference to the mitra in Anacreon, fr. 37 Gentili,⁶² seems to form part of a description of Eros as victor.⁶³

If the precise identification of the *βερβέριον* is impossible, we may at least determine what it connotes. Most critics agree that the first nine lines depict Artemon living in the lowest stratum of society, and this may be reinforced by the description of him wearing some form of tightly-fitted headwear. In many descriptions of the aristocracy in early Greek society we find an emphasis on long, luxuriant hair:⁶⁴ the familiar epithet for the Achaeans in epic is *κάρη κομόωντες* (*Il.* 2.11 *et al.*); Archilochus' haughty general is *βοστρύχοισι γαῦρος* (fr. 96.2 Tarditi = 114.2 West); Xenophanes criticizes his fellow-Colophonians as *χαϊτήσιν ἄγαλλομεν εὐπρεπέεσσιν* (fr. 3.5 Gentili-Prato); Asius depicts the hair of the Samians as long and wind-blown (fr. 13 Kinkel). Even in fifth-century Athens young aristocrats distinguished themselves by wearing their hair long.⁶⁵ This fashion has its roots in social snobbery, since only the wealthy could afford not to work and so keep their long hair well-groomed (in this respect it is rather like the habit of Chinese mandarins who grew their finger-nails long to show that they performed no manual labour).⁶⁶ That Artemon went about with his hair covered suggests that he belonged to the lower class.

The *ἀστράγαλοι* are problematic, since the word is not used elsewhere of earrings.⁶⁷ It is probably significant that what Artemon wears is described as "knuckle-bones" and not "earrings."⁶⁸ Again it seems reasonable to suppose that Anacreon is characterizing his social status. The dice seem to correspond to and contrast with the *χρυσέα καθέρματα* of line 10. We have already seen that earrings belonged to elegant style; this suggests that the dice represent a crude approximation to elegance.

⁶⁰Pind. *Nem.* 8.15: cf. A. Köhnken, *Die Funktion des Mythos bei Pindar* (Berlin 1971) 28 n. 32. Pindar often uses *μίτρα* of the garland of the victor; for examples, see W. J. Slater, *Lexicon to Pindar* (Berlin 1969) 337.

⁶¹Alcm. fr. 1.67–68 *PMG*.

⁶²The authenticity of this fragment has been questioned. Page, *CR* 9 (1959) 234, following Bergk against Gentili, placed it among the *Anacreontea*. Recently, however, Snell (above, note 30) 107, has accepted it as genuine.

⁶³See Brandenburg (above, note 44) 57 n. 19. Slater 189 n. 15 disagrees, but offers no arguments. The close parallel at Bacch. 6.7 ff. supports Brandenburg's interpretation.

⁶⁴For a general discussion of hair-styles in antiquity, see C. Ehrhardt, *CN&V* 15 (1974) 14–19.

⁶⁵Ar. *Nu.* 14 with Dover's note.

⁶⁶For aristocratic contempt for labour, cf. Hdt. 2.166.2, 5.6.2; Arist. *Pol.* 1278a, 1326a, 1331b.

⁶⁷In Anacr. fr. 111 Gentili = 398 *PMG* the word occurs in the feminine with reference to the dice of Eros.

⁶⁸The precise manner in which Artemon wore the knuckle-bones is obscure. An *ἀστράγαλος* could conceivably be used to make a pair of earrings, since it was often broken in half to form *tesserae hospitales* (σύμβολα): see R. G. Bury, *The Symposium of Plato*² (Cambridge 1932) 63.

The characterization of Artemon's social status is furthered by the description of his garment (2–4). The wearing of skins was associated with rustics, who were considered by the aristocracy to be the lowest of the low. In a famous passage Theognis points out goat-skin garments as indicative of the low origin of the class that rose to dominate the aristocracy in Megara.⁶⁹ We find a striking contrast to Artemon's garb in Asius' description of the long, flowing, white raiment of the Samian aristocrats (fr. 13.3 Kinkel). Moreover, Aristophanes underlines the dichotomy between upper and lower classes by opposing the wearing of leather to that of the *ξυστίς*.⁷⁰

In what follows Anacreon moves from the description of Artemon's apparel to that of his life-style. We are told that Artemon consorted with "breadsellers and willing whores" (4–5).⁷¹ This company is as unsavoury as his outfit and firmly fixes him in the lowest level of society. As commentators often note, the *ἀρτοπώλιδες* had a reputation rather like that of the notorious Billingsgate fishwives and are often depicted in comedy as foul-mouthed and coarse.⁷² It is likely that "willing whores" imports similar connotations. The precise reference of *ἐθελόπορνοι*, however, is difficult to determine, since it is a two-termination adjective.⁷³ The term may imply free prostitutes (as opposed to slaves) or amateur prostitutes⁷⁴ or possibly both meanings. The *ἐθελο*-prefix seems to intensify the disreputable connotations of the noun.⁷⁵ Among prostitutes *πόρνοι* and *πόρναι* formed the lowest class.⁷⁶

With the phrase *κίβδηλον εὐρίσκων βίον* (6) Anacreon tells us that Artemon's life-style was not only low-class but criminal. *κίβδηλος* properly refers to base metal or counterfeit coin, but can be used metaphorically of dishonesty (cf. Perrotta-Gentili 260): Aristophanes uses *κίβδηλία* to mean "dishonesty" (*Av.* 158); Theognis calls the dishonest man *κίβδηλος* (117) and warns against those who possess the *κίβδηλον ἦθος* (965).⁷⁷ In the present passage *βίος* seems to mean "livelihood" (cf. *LSJ* s.v.II.), and the phrase should be translated "he made his living by crime."

The theme of Artemon's criminal life is continued in the following triad (7–9). Most commentators point out that Pollux (10.177) records that dishonest traders were put on the rack (*δόρυ*) and whipped. From Aristophanes

⁶⁹Theogn. 55: *ἀλλ' ἀμφὶ πλευραῖσι δορὰς αἰγῶν κατέτριβον*. Cf. van Groningen *ad loc.*

⁷⁰Ar. *Nu* 70 ff. with Dover's note. Cf. also Men. *Dysk.* 415; *Epir.* 229, 328 (Sandbach).

⁷¹Cf. the collocation of *ἀρτοπώλια* and *πορνεία* at Ar. *Ra.* 112 f.

⁷²Cf. Ar. *V.* 1388 ff., *Ra.* 857 f., Taillardat 237 f.

⁷³The ambiguity is recognized by Degani-Burzacchini 274, who incline to a male reference.

⁷⁴Cf. *ἐθελορήτωρ* ("would-be rhetor") in A.B. 95.18 and *ἐθελοφιλόσοφος* ("would-be philosopher") in *EM* 722.17.

⁷⁵Other compounds in *ἐθελο*- have a pejorative force: e.g., *ἐθελόδουλος*, Pl. *Resp.* 562d; *ἐθελοκακέω*, Hdt. 1.127; *ἐθελοκάκησις*, Polyb. 3.68.10; *ἐθελόκακος*, D.H. 9.7; *ἐθελοπρόξενος*, Thuc. 3.70.3.

⁷⁶On male prostitutes, see Dover (above, note 7) 31 ff., and on female, see S. B. Pomeroy, *Goddesses, Whores, Wives, and Slaves* (New York 1975) 88 ff. H. D. Jocelyn, *PCPS* 26 (1980) 24, notes that *πόρνος* is especially abusive when applied to men.

⁷⁷For similar expressions with *ἦθος*, cf. Theogn. 1244, 1302; Critias 88 B 6.13–14 VS.

we learn that adulterers suffered depilation.⁷⁸ The implication of adultery seems present in the Anacreon-passage (cf. Degani-Burzacchini 273). When Aristophanes accuses Cratinus of adultery, he calls him ὁ περιπόνηρος Ἀρτέμων (*Ach.* 850), a clear allusion to Anacreon. This suggests that we are to infer from the Anacreon-passage that Artemon's behaviour was in some way adulterous. In fr. 8 περιφόρητος seems to mean "notorious," but there may be some implication of lasciviousness, as an Aristophanic scholiast suggests.⁷⁹

In the first section of the poem Anacreon depicts Artemon as socially low, criminal, and sexually loose. When we next see him, he is miraculously changed, no longer crass and inelegant, but outfitted in golden jewellery, carrying a parasol, and riding on σατῖναι. If it were not for the last line, we might suppose that Anacreon is merely describing Artemon dressed as an Ionian aristocrat, but the phrase γυναιξίν αὐτως makes the reference to effeminacy explicit. What we have of the poem does not allow us to say with any precision in what way Artemon is effeminate,⁸⁰ but it is undeniable that something about his new life-style is woman-like. His effeminacy is underlined by the appellation παῖς Κύκης (11).⁸¹ It has been suggested that this phrase indicates that Artemon is of illegitimate birth, which would be appropriate to his low origins.⁸² This is plausible, but it is more relevant to note the basic ambiguity of the word παῖς, which can be used of either sex,⁸³ and here its collocation with the name of the mother suggests a female child.⁸⁴

The point of the comparison becomes apparent when we consider the behavioural implications of the two descriptions. In lines 1–9 Anacreon depicts Artemon as an active, aggressive type: he associates with the dregs of society, commits crimes, indulges in adultery. In lines 10–12 Artemon is portrayed as effeminate, and to the Greek mind this implies a passive type. Dover has recently discussed the significance of dominant and subordinant behaviour in Greek society; he has stressed the importance attached to being a

⁷⁸Cf. *Ar. Nu.* 1083 with Dover's note.

⁷⁹Schol. *Ar. Ach.* 850 (fr. 8, *test.* ii) notes that the phrase ὁ περιφόρητος Ἀρτέμων was applied ἐπὶ καλοῦ καὶ ἀρπαζομένου πρὸς πάντων παιδός. Slater 186 n. 8 adduces a number of similar words, which are "all used disparagingly of those of loose morals:" περιβόητος, *CAF adesp.* 120; περίφοιτος, *Callim. Ep.* 28.3 (cf. A. Henrichs, *HSCP* 83 [1979] 209 n. 6) and 38.2 Pf.; περιδρομος, *Theogn.* 581 (also at *Phocyl.* fr. 4.2 Gentili-Prato).

⁸⁰It may be noteworthy that the σατῖνη was a woman's carriage. The word occurs elsewhere only at *h. Aphr.* 13, *Sapph.* fr. 44.13 Voigt, *Eur. Hel.* 1311. See the discussion of M. Leumann, *Hermes* 68 (1933) 359–360 = *Kl. Schr.* 206–207.

⁸¹If we read παῖς with Gentili and others, the word is emphasized by the break in the metrical pattern.

⁸²Perrotta-Gentili 261; D. Young, *Phoenix* 27 (1973) 413.

⁸³Translators obscure the word-play by rendering παῖς "son."

⁸⁴Cf. *Eur. El.* 934 ff. and fr. 1064 Nauck². Jebb, on *Soph. El.* 365–367, remarks, "In the case of a son, τὸ μητρός καλεῖσθαι conveyed a reproach of effeminacy." See also Pearson on *Soph.* fr. 564.3 (the reading of this line, however, is uncertain: see Radt's text and *apparatus* in *TrGF* iv).

man (dominant), even in homosexual relations, and the disgrace of becoming a woman (passive).⁸⁵ In fr. 82 Artemon passes from man to woman; the term *παῖς* in fact refers to the passive partner in a homosexual relationship.⁸⁶ In the other fragment which deals with effeminacy, fr. 54 Gentili = 424 *PMG* (discussed above), the manner of abuse is the same: the victim is said not to marry like a man, but be married like a woman. If fr. 82 is not a complete poem, the implications of Artemon's new style may have been made clearer in the lost lines.

The point of the Artemon-poem is best understood in terms of Old Comedy. There effeminacy is regularly equated with passive homosexual behaviour, and it is an underlying assumption of much comic humour that men achieve success by becoming pathics.⁸⁷ Within this framework the significance of Anacreon's poem becomes clear. Anacreon juxtaposes Artemon's unsuccessful life of poverty with his luxurious life of effeminacy. The implication, like that of so many pathic jokes in Aristophanes, is that Artemon gained his success by changing his sexual habits.

It may be objected that the proposed interpretation of fr. 82 is at variance with fr. 8, which seems to attribute normal heterosexual behaviour to Artemon. The purpose of fr. 82, however, is to abuse Artemon, and the substance of Anacreon's attack need not have a basis in fact; we are no more entitled to infer details of Artemon's biography from the poem than we are to suppose that all of Aristophanes' derisive accusations are true. Yet it is interesting to note that fr. 8 is phrased in such a way as to specify only Eurypyle's interest in Artemon; we are told nothing of Artemon's attitude towards the situation. In view of the fact that *ὁ περιφόρητος Ἀρτέμων* was applied to promiscuous boys, it is possible that the point of the poem to which fr. 8 belonged lay in Artemon's failure to respond to Eurypyle.⁸⁸

The Artemon-poem, then, belongs to a definable aspect of Anacreon's poetry, which forms part of a tradition of abuse and invective that is first evidenced in the remains of Archilochus and culminates in the comedy of the Attic stage. It is in this light that Schmid can justly say of Anacreon, "Denn er ist nicht nur Erbe der Lesbier, wo er von Wein und Liebe singt, sondern auch Erbe des archilochischen Spottgeistes."⁸⁹

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⁸⁵Dover (above, note 7) 100–109. Cf. also Burkert, *Structure* (above, note 50) 29 f.

⁸⁶See Dover 85–86. Artemon is said to have had a beard (*πάγων*, 9), which makes it very unlikely that *παῖς* in line 11 refers to age.

⁸⁷See Henderson 209 and 219. A salient example is the successful Agyrrhius who is called a woman at *Ecc.* 103 f. Significantly, the scholiast glosses *γυνή* with *εὐνπρωκτός*, the usual abusive term for a passive homosexual: cf. Henderson 210.

⁸⁸See note 79, above. In Old Comedy promiscuity is a dominant feature of passive homosexuals: see Henderson 220.

⁸⁹Schmid-Stählin, *GGL* 1.1.435.