SHORTER NOTES

A NOTE ON ANACREON 388

Anacreon 388 (Gentili fr. 82) is transmitted to us by Athenaeus 12.533f–534, who uses the narrative to explain why Artemon is called *περιφόρητος* ('carried on a litter') by Chamaeleon of Pontus. This poem, one of Anacreon's longest, is an attack on the nouveau riche Artemon, who also appears in Anacreon fr. 8 (Gentili), and both times is the object of the poet's libel. Artemon has been variously identified with historical figures,[1] but is perhaps best understood as a caricature of a social climber trying to fit into elite society. Anacreon 388 is of particular interest because it represents one of the few examples of Anacreon's abusive poetry, and for its unique diction. The diction, specifically that used for three items of Artemon's wardrobe, has caused some controversy among scholars. In what follows I will seek to clarify three aspects of Artemon's attire: his *καλύμματ' ἐσφηκωμένα* (wasped cap) in line 1; his *ξυλίνους ἀστραγάλους* (wooden knucklebone earrings) in line 2; and his cloak, which is described as *νήπλυτον εἴλυμα κακῆς ἀσπίδος* ('the unwashed covering of a worthless shield') in line 4. These three elements of Artemon's clothing illustrate his former lowly status and produce a comical image of a poor man wearing a cheap imitation of normal komast garb. Instead of praising Artemon's new rich status, Anacreon focusses on the man's former impoverished state, abusing Artemon and denying him the smooth entry to high society that he desires. But what, precisely, are the material objects represented?

'To make like a wasp' is the basic meaning of *σφηκόω*, generally interpreted to mean 'pinched at the waist' from the segmented shape of a wasp's body.[2] The verb has given rise to the metrical term *σφηκίας* ('wasp-like'), indicating a verse divided by a caesura into parts containing an equal number of syllables.[3] However, the verb in Homer is used to describe the binding-up of hair, where 'pinched at the middle' does not seem to be the meaning.[4] I would argue that the image stems from the shape of the abdomen of the wasp, which bulges and then

[1] Cf. Plut. *Per.* 27; Ar. *Ach.* 850; Chamaeleon of Pontus *Περὶ Ἀνακρέοντος*.

[2] Cf. Ar. *Plut.* 561, where it clearly has this meaning.

[3] Ps.-Plu. *Metr.* 2.

[4] Cf. *Il.* 17.52: *πλοχμοί θ', οἵ χρυσῶι τε καί ἀργύρωι ἐσφήκωντο*. At the Acropolis treasure from Mycenae, coils of gold wire were found which may be connected with this passage (Nat. Mus. 2588). Cf. Thomas (1942), 72–4. Also Poll. 2.25: *κόμη ἐσφηκωμένη*. Some editors take *καλύμματ' ἐσφηκωμένα* to be referring to Artemon's 'wrappings', i.e. his coat; see Gulick (2004); Kirkwood (1974); Bowra (1961). However, given that there is no *καί* following *βερβέριον*, the phrase must be in apposition with *καλύμματ' ἐσφηκωμένα* (Smyth 2878). Slater (1978), 187 discusses the hapax *βερβέριον*, and translates it as 'scallop-shaped headgear'. But he assumes that it must be 'tied tightly so as to bulge above and below the bindings'. This description does not conform to the extant iconography of komasts or of Greeks wearing 'eastern' attire.

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comes to a point.[5] Such seems to be the case in the context of other types of headgear. In Aristophanes and Sophocles, for example, a *σφήκωμα* (from the same root *σφήξ*) is the point of a helmet where the plume is fixed.[6] Here the image is obviously that of a bulge (the helmet itself analogous to the wasp's abdomen) with the point at the top of the head (the wasp's stinger). Thus, we may interpret *καλύμματ' ἐσφηκωμένα* here to mean a hat which bulges and comes to a point like the stinger of a wasp. This description fits well the iconography we have of komasts and of Anacreon himself. For example, the so-called 'Curtius Krater'[7] by the Kleophrades painter shows a komast with his head adorned with just such a garment, resembling a tightly wound turban.[8]

In line 2 of the poem, Anacreon tells us that Artemon wears *ξυλίνους ἀστραγάλους* (wooden earrings). This term has caused some confusion, since it is the only instance of *ἀστράγαλοι* in Greek literature used as earrings. The word means knucklebones (usually from sheep or goats) but is commonly used to indicate dice, since these were often shaved down on the sides to make game pieces.[9] Thus we have wooden dice used as earrings. Most scholars who have worked on this poem, it seems, have overlooked the archaeological evidence we have for such attire.[10] We have many actual knucklebones worked and bored for use as earrings, bracelets or necklaces, as well as decorative *astragaloi* made from crystal and ivory.[11] A pair of golden *astragaloi* was found in a Lydian girl's tomb in Ephesus from the second half of the seventh century.[12] Brein (1982), discussing the issue in the poem, identifies these types of earrings as hanging pendants attached to the perforated earlobe by a wire.[13] That Artemon's earrings are made of wood is

[5] Cf. Immerwahr (1965), 153 f. 5; Brown (1983), 11, who says that the term may also refer to the bindings which resemble the stripes of a wasp.

[6] Ar. *Pax.* 1216; Soph. fr. 341.

[7] Copenhagen National Museum #13365. cf. also Side B of a red-figure amphora by the Flying Angel Painter from the early fifth century B.C. (Louvre G220). The figure on Side A, who is holding a lyre and a wine krater, has been tentatively identified as Anacreon himself.

[8] This type of hat is variously described as a *σάκκος*, a vague term meaning any kind of coarse cloth made out of hair, cognate with English 'sack'. Brandenburg (1966), Tafel 2 calls this a 'mitra'. For a full discussion of the Curtius Krater, see Caskey and Beazley (1954), 2.57–8.

[9] An *astragalos* is actually not a knucklebone at all, but the rounded bone at the end of a joint found on the hind leg of quadrupeds and as part of the heel of a human. For the differences between *astragaloi* and *kuboi*, cf. Kurke (1999), 283–95. Of course, *astragaloi* were also used as religious dedications. At the Corycian Cave 22,771 knucklebones were found. cf. Amandry (1984). For use as votives elsewhere, cf. Simon (1986), 379–83.

[10] Brown (1988), 12 calls the term 'problematic'. Slater (1978) does not address the issue of the type of earrings.

[11] Actual knucklebones: (Delos) *Délos* XVIII, 331, pls XCIII, XCIV; (Sardis) *unpublished catalogued objects* Archaeological Exploration of Sardis: BI65.005, BI06.004, BI06.008; ivory: (Ephesos) Hogarth (1908), 190; crystal: (Ephesos) ibid. 211, pl. 46. 7–10, 13, 16.

[12] Greifenhagen (1965), 13; id. (1970) 1, p. 28, pl. 8.8.

[13] We have many other examples of artificial *astragaloi* used as jewellery: nineteen gold beads in the shape of *astragaloi* with holes for stringing into a necklace from the seventh–sixth century B.C. found in a grave at Sardis (Curtis 24, no. 44, pl. 4); sixteen gold *astragalos* beads made into a necklace from 'Lydia/Phrygia?' from the seventh–sixth century (Rudolph [1995], 62–3); a swivel ring from the Hellenistic Period, found in a grave in Taranto, is set with a carved pink chalcedony in the shape of an *astragalos*, thought to have been an amulet (De Juliis [1984], 282 Cat. 189). Looted from a tomb near Güre was found an assemblage of goldsmithing tools, including a former for producing astragal beads (cf. Özgen and Öztürk [1996], 61, 227 and 230; pl. 213), similar to those found in the so-called 'Tomb of the Carian Princess', (cf. Özet [1994], 95, fig. 15).

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a clear sign of his low status and that his costume is farcical and cheap. Slater points to Artemon's wearing of earrings as 'the utmost sign of effeminacy'.[14] The emphasis here, however, is not on the effeminacy of wearing jewellery, but on the overall tawdriness of his attire. The invective against Artemon is directed not at his clothing as an indication of effeminate or barbarian status, for Anacreon himself is depicted as komast in eastern attire; rather, the issue is that he cannot afford to wear the proper raiment of a komast. This is further emphasized in contrast with Artemon's later good fortune when he wears *χρύσεα καθέρματα* in line 10.[15]

Artemon is also described (lines 2–3) as wearing an animal skin, which has been worn smooth with age. Such was the customary attire of country people and clearly marks Artemon as an outsider in an elite affair such as a symposium or a komos.[16] Furthermore, the skin fits *περὶ πλευρῇσι*. A rather unpleasant image is presented of a garment which does not fit, but rather hangs off the body. At the beginning of the second stanza (line 4), we are told that his cloak is actually *νήπλυτον εἴλυμα κακῆς ἀσπίδος* ('the unwashed covering of a worthless shield'). From Aristophanes (*Ach.* 574) we learn that Greek soldiers, like Roman soldiers (Caes. *B Gal.* 2.21), carried their shields in sacks called *σάγματα*, which were removed upon inspection by the general or when entering battle. An *εἴλυμα* here is likely to be one of these bags which foot soldiers used to carry their shields.[17] This rare word is used in *Od.* 6.178–9 in the Nausikaa episode where it means a wrapper for clothing: *δὸς δὲ ῥάκος ἀμφιβαλέσθαι | εἴ τί που εἴλυμα σπείρων ἔχες ἐνθάδ' ἰοῦσα* ('give me a rag to put round myself, if you have any wrapping for the clothes when you came here'). Odysseus asks the young girl to point the way to the city and provide him with something to wear if they brought an *εἴλυμα* in which to wrap the clothes they are washing in the river. We can also compare Apollonius Rhodius 2.1128–9 (beseeching Zeus): *αἴ κε πίθησθε | δοῦναι ὅσον τ' εἴλυμα περί χροός* ('if you would be persuaded to grant some kind of covering for our skin'); in all three instances it is used to describe a makeshift garment to clothe someone destitute. In this case, *νήπλυτον* tells us that Artemon is not only poor, but also filthy. It is another hapax,[18] the negated form *νή* + *πλυτός*, also a rare word. There might be a pun here with *πλοῦτος*, i.e. he is also not-rich.

Anacreon 388 gives us insight into the depth of Anacreon's poetry, greater than his reputation allows. As Anacreon has been typecast as the poet of love and wine, he has been assigned a field of specialization, to which this poem is anomalous. Since Artemon is also the subject of 424, we can assume there may

[14] Slater (1978), 187. Caskey and Beazley (1954), 2.56 claim rather that by portraying him with earrings, Anacreon 'implies that Artemon was a barbarian or not distinguished from one'. Cf. Xen. *An.* 3.1.31.

[15] *Astragaloi* also have a particular relevance to the symposium (a likely venue for this poem) given their association with Eros, a common theme of symposiastic conversation and song. Cf. Anacreon 398 (Gentili 111): *ἀστραγάλαι δ' Ἔρωτός εἰσιν μανίαι τε καὶ κυδοιμοί*. Also, in Delos an *astragalos* was found with the name *Ἔρως* inscribed upon it; *Délos* 18, 333 fig. 420.

[16] Brown (1983), 13 cites a similar passage in Theognis: *ἀλλ' ἀμφὶ πλευραῖσι δορὰς αἰγῶν κατέτριβον* (55).

[17] Also cf. Xen. *An.* 1.2.16; Eur. *Andr.* 617. It certainly does not refer to the layers of hide on shields we read about in Homer (*Il.* 7.219–23, 12.294–7, 13.804, 17.492–3, 20.275–6), since these were out of use by 650 B.C.; rather, Anacreon must be referring to a hoplite shield which was made entirely of wood (sometimes faced with bronze, and a leather thong *ἀντιλαβή* for a handle). cf. Snodgrass (1964), 61–7, who bases his reconstruction on actual examples from Olympia. My sincere thanks to Benjamin Sullivan for the reference in Xenophon.

[18] There are six hapax legomena in total.

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have been more Artemon poems, which would clarify his character and the nature of Anacreon's abuse. In 388 Anacreon shows a remarkable skill in creating two contrasting visual images of Artemon in komast dress, which are equally ridiculous. Both his former low status and his new putting on airs mark him as an outsider in Anacreon's circle.[19]

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