

ANACREONTIC OR DIONYSIAN?:  
ETHNIC AND GENDER AMBIGUITY ON THE ANACREONTIC VASES

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A Thesis submitted to the faculty of  
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In partial fulfillment of  
the requirements for  
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Master of Arts

In

Classics

by

Stephanie Danielle Polos

San Francisco, California

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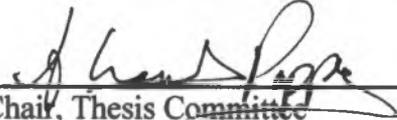
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ANACREONTIC OR DIONYSIAN?:  
ETHNIC AND GENDER AMBIGUITY ON THE ANACREONTIC VASES

Stephanie Danielle Polos  
San Francisco, California  
2019

This thesis is an investigation of the “Anacreontic” vases, produced in late-sixth and early-fifth century Athens, with a particular focus on their iconography, background, and whether the men depicted on them are dressing in Eastern or feminine costume. However, the themes of gender and ethnic ambiguity, which are the primary feature of the vases, extends more deeply. I look at the context of the vases particularly related contemporary iconography, aspects of the Greek symposium, and traditions surrounding Dionysus and his cult in order to trace a broader theme of “Anacreontism,” and I conclude that the debate of “Eastern” vs. “feminine” regarding the Anacreontic vases disregards a more complex background for these vases and their iconography. Instead, I argue that the vases represent a tradition of sympotic indulgence in Dionysian ambiguity.

I certify that the Abstract is a correct representation of the content of this thesis.

  
Chair, Thesis Committee

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Date

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## INTRODUCTION

In this thesis, I look at a series of “Anacreontic” vases produced in Athens in the late-sixth and early-fifth centuries BCE. The vases depict men in *komoi*, post-sympotic parades through the city, wearing a very specific costume: a long flowing robe (*chiton*), a draped cloak (*himation*), and a wound turban (*mitra*) or, more often, a smaller cap (*sakkos*). In addition, many of the komasts carry a parasol (*skiadion*). While the appearance of the men on these vases is certainly interesting, the interpretation of these figures is the truly compelling part.

Interpretation, largely based on iconographic analysis, falls into two categories: scholars who believe that the figures are emulating Eastern luxury fashions, particularly from Lydia, and those who argue that the vases represent men dressing in feminine costume in a sort of ritual cross-dressing. John Boardman, Donna Kurtz, Leslie Kurke, Keith DeVries, and Hans van Wees are among those who have advanced the Easternizing theory.<sup>1</sup> They argue that the distinctive elements of Anacreontic dress, such as the sleeved *chiton* and the parasol, came from the Near East and therefore were used to symbolize elite status and wealth among Athenian men. They argue that this change in dress accompanied a wider trend of Orientalization in elite Athenian society in the seventh and sixth centuries, which brought new practices from the Near East such as lyric poetry and reclining symposia.<sup>2</sup> According to this argument, the Anacreontic figures are

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<sup>1</sup> Kurtz and Boardman 1986, pp. 35-70; DeVries 1973; Kurke 1992; van Wees 1998, pp. 333-378.

<sup>2</sup> Morris 2000, pp. 179-85.

adopting Eastern leisure trends in order to show their elite social status, but the practice is not inherently feminine.

On the other hand, the interpretive approach taken up by scholars such as Françoise Frontisi-Ducroux, François Lissarrague, and Margaret Miller sees the male figures as emulating feminine fashions of the time.<sup>3</sup> These scholars do not deny the Eastern origin of the Anacreontic *trousseau*, but they emphasize what they believe is its inherent femininity. For example, Frontisi-Ducroux and Lissarrague argue that the vases show an appropriation of femininity, and ultimately connect it to the worship of Dionysus,<sup>4</sup> and Miller aims to show that many aspects of Anacreontic dress, particularly the parasol, were considered mostly, if not exclusively, feminine in late-sixth and early-fifth century Athens.<sup>5</sup> For the most part, the scholars in the feminizing camp claim that the vases connect to cross-dressing sympotic rituals.<sup>6</sup> From this perspective, the symposium, which is the setting in which all of these images were viewed, was a place of indulgence in Dionysian femininity.<sup>7</sup>

This thesis argues that neither of these interpretations are entirely accurate. Both arguments unnecessarily restrict interpretations to being *either Eastern or feminine*, and

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<sup>3</sup> Boardman (1975, pp. 219, 222) also initially identified these vases as “transvestite men” and claimed that they depicted a “drag performance,” before adjusting his position to say that they showed the adoption of Eastern fashions.

<sup>4</sup> Frontisi-Ducroux and Lissarrague 1990.

<sup>5</sup> Miller 1992, pp. 91-105.

<sup>6</sup> Frontisi-Ducroux and Lissarrague 1990; Miller 1999.

<sup>7</sup> Interestingly, Kurtz, Boardman, and van Wees, three proponents of the Easternizing view, do not completely reject the claim of femininity embraced by their opponents. They recognize that fifth-century Athenian men dressed this way would have appeared feminine, which in some sense undermines the argument that the fashion was exclusively emulating Eastern style; Kurtz and Boardman 1986, p. 55; van Wees 1998, p. 362.

thereby neglect the possibility that both qualities are present in the Anacreontic vases. In addition to looking at the iconography of the vases and the related scholarship, I look at their social context, specifically the symposium and Dionysian traditions which I believe to be intimately related to the iconography, as represented in literature and contemporary vase-painting. By placing the Anacreontic vases in a broader cultural context, I argue that their iconography is distinctly Dionysian, incorporating gender and ethnic ambiguity similar to that of the god.

For this study I have selected a corpus of thirty Anacreontic vases, which is certainly not an exhaustive study of the category. The Beazley Archive categorizes sixty-one total pieces as “Anacreontic,” and the most popular and recognized corpus is that compiled by Kurtz and Boardman in “Booners,” which contains forty-six vases.<sup>8</sup> I have used these collections and to put together my own limited corpus of pieces that I believe best show the characteristic features of Anacreontic vases, excluding some that are, in my opinion, misidentified or too fragmentary to be useful to this study.<sup>9</sup> I also supplement this corpus with literary evidence, texts that are contemporaneous with the vases or that appear later but still have some bearing on them, as well as contemporary iconographic evidence.

Chapter 1 reviews the scholarly arguments based on iconography that the Anacreontic figures are dressed either in Eastern style or in feminine style. The chapter

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<sup>8</sup> Kurtz and Boardman 1986, pp. 47-50.

<sup>9</sup> See Appendix 1 (pp. 97-98) for a full list and Table 1 (pp. 99-100) for a chart of iconographic features; <http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/xdb/ASP/dataSearch.asp>.

includes my own comparative analysis of the iconography on Anacreontic vases, which centers on three diagnostic elements: *chitons* and *himatia*, *mitrai* and *sakkoi*, and parasols. I compare these three elements to parallels in Near Eastern art and contemporary Greek vase painting and incorporate a selection of literary sources on the nature of clothing and Athenian attitudes toward the *chiton*. I conclude that, iconographically, the figures blend attributes that are distinctly Eastern and distinctly feminine, and therefore the vases cannot be classified as strictly one or the other. The Anacreontic clothing is ambiguous in ethnicity and gender.

Chapter 2 focuses on the symposium and explores whether it has a similar trend of ambiguous ethnic and gender expressions. This chapter looks primarily at episodes of ambiguity in literature, including sympotic poetry from the sixth and fifth centuries BCE and later Classical representations of symposia and sympotic activities. Through the lens of works by Sappho, Anacreon, Alcaeus, Plato, and others, we see that that the environment of the symposium allowed for the loosening of certain social restrictions, particularly those involving traditional masculinity. The symposium had distinct Eastern connections through the historical origins of its practices, such as reclining and lyric poetry, but also involved gender ambiguity through the reperformance of female poetry and the temporary adoption of feminine personae. As such, the physical adoption of a simultaneously Eastern and feminine appearance during a symposium or a *komos* neatly fits a sympotic model of ethnic and gender ambiguities.

Chapter 3 explores the unifying theme of the thesis: Dionysus. The god of wine, theater, and general dissolution of boundaries is the divine embodiment of ethnic and

gender ambiguity. This chapter reviews his mythological origins, the iconographical representations of him and his followers, and evidence from his cult practices in order to demonstrate that the god's qualities accord with those of the Anacreontic figures. As the patron god of the symposium, the ethnic and gender ambiguities that characterize both the god and the Anacreontic figures suggests a closer connection between the two.

If I am right that the competing interpretations of the Anacreontic vases as "Easternizing" or "feminizing" are both ultimately incorrect and that the vases in fact represent a tradition of indulgence in Dionysian ambiguity particularly at symposia and in *komoi*, this adds another facet to our understanding about these events and about late-Archaic and early-Classical Athenian sympotic, poetic, and religious customs, particularly regarding ideas of ethnicity and gender.

## CHAPTER 1: ANACREONTIC VASES AND THEIR ICONOGRAPHY

The so-called “Anacreontic” vases are a series of vases produced in Athens in the late-sixth and early-fifth centuries BCE that feature men in *komoi*, or post-symposium processions, dressed in *chitons* and *himatia*, carrying various instruments of leisure and sympotic activity. They appear at an important time in Athenian history when political structures were shifting from tyranny to democracy and social classes were redefining themselves in relation to each other. The debate over what the vases actually portray is an interesting one: various scholars have interpreted the images as men dressed in Eastern clothing or in feminine clothing, or even some combination of the two, since they are not always easily distinguished. In this chapter, I aim to show that the distinctions that these scholars have drawn is not quite so straightforward as they have made them. These vases cannot be defined as strictly Eastern or feminine, but are a blend of Eastern, Athenian, masculine, and feminine elements. This ambiguity of appearance can be connected to the political and social shifts of the time, as Athenian views of “otherness” in many different forms (ethnicity, gender, class, etc.) were changing and influencing artistic norms. Before looking closely at the vases themselves, it is helpful to review why they are called “Anacreontic.”<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> All translations are my own unless otherwise noted; all pottery dates are from the institutions with ownership or the Beazley Pottery Archive Database, in which case they are marked (B).

### Anacreon, Athens, and the East

At the time of the production of the Anacreontic vases, Athens was experiencing an episode of transformation for its elite class. In the seventh and sixth centuries BCE, there was a vibrant cultural trade between Athens and the Near East, especially with Lydia and Ionia.<sup>11</sup> Lydia was particularly famous throughout the Aegean for its wealth and as a source of luxurious traditions (ὑβρισθῆναι), which spread throughout Anatolia and beyond to the Greeks and Persians.<sup>12</sup> Because the region had such an influence on the Greek mainland, Lydia came to be scapegoated as the instigator of the “degenerate” habits adopted by parts of the Greek world, especially by Athenian elites, in the sixth century.<sup>13</sup> This was the view of ancient authors such as Xenophanes, and has been reiterated by modern scholars like John Boardman and Leslie Kurke. Xenophanes famously criticized the men of his native Colophon for their indulgence in luxury, for changing their way of living and wearing fancy clothes and perfumes.<sup>14</sup> Xenophanes references a particularly important aspect of this Eastern influence on the Greek world, namely the adoption of Eastern dress by elite men.



Figure 1 A komast in a sakkos carrying a parasol and a barbiton inscribed “ANAKPE-”, Red-Figure Calyx Krater Fragments c.525-475 (B)

<sup>11</sup> Miller 1997, pp. 85, 91, 104.

<sup>12</sup> Redfield 2002, p. 40.

<sup>13</sup> Kurke 1992, p. 93; Boardman 1999, p. 97.

<sup>14</sup> Xenophanes 3; see p. 31 and chapter 2, pp. 53-54.

The Anacreontic vases begin to appear shortly after the arrival of the Ionian poet Anacreon in Athens, whom the tyrant Hipparchus brought from Samos in the late 520s BCE.<sup>15</sup> Anacreon's association with the vases is twofold. Most importantly, one of the earliest vases in the corpus features a *barbiton* with most of Anacreon's name inscribed on its frame: ANAKPE–



Figure 2 Detail of Barbiton inscribed "ANAKPE-", Red-Figure Calyx Krater Fragments, c.525-475 (B)

(figs. 1 and 2). On the fragments, a bearded male figure wearing what appears to be a *chiton* and *himation*. The figure is presumably on a *komos* of some sort, carrying a parasol over his left shoulder in addition to his *barbiton*. The visual identification is coupled with two pieces of literary evidence, one contemporary with the vases and one produced later. The first is Anacreon's poem on Artemon, whom he describes as dressed up with feminine accessories like earrings and a parasol (Anac. 388 Campbell, 8-12):

...κόμην  
 πώγωνά τ' ἐκτετιλμένος:  
 νῦν δ' ἐπιβαίνει σατινέων, χρύσεια φορέων καθέρματα,  
 πάις Κύκης, καὶ σκιαδίσκην ἔλεφαντίνην φορεῖ  
 γυναιξὶν αὐτως.

...having had his head hair  
 and beard plucked,  
 now he goes about in a carriage, wearing gold earrings,  
 a slave of Cyke, and he carries an ivory parasol  
 as women do.<sup>16</sup>

The second source which connects Anacreon with the iconography seen on these vases is

<sup>15</sup> Campbell 1982, pp. 313-14; Nagy 2007, p. 226.

<sup>16</sup> See chapter 2, pp. 54-55 for full text and translation.

Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazousae* (411 BCE), in which the playwright Agathon, having been accused of dressing effeminately by some onlookers, invokes Anacreon and other sympotic poets who indulged in "Ionian fashions" (160-163):

...σκέψαι δ' ὅτι  
 Ἴβυκος ἐκεῖνος κάνακρέων ὁ Τήιος  
 κάλκατος, οἱ περὶ ἀρμονίαν ἐχόμισαν,  
 ἐμιτροφόρουν τε καὶ διεκλῶντ' Ἴωνικῶς...

...But consider  
 Ibycus and Anacreon of Teos  
 And Alcaeus, who made beautiful music,  
 They wore *mitrai* and followed Ionian fashions.

The word *Ἴωνικῶς* can be interpreted in two different ways: the first is its simplest meaning, "Ionic" or "Ionian," which may refer to Anacreon's homeland of Teos in Ionia. However, Aristophanes is evoking an alternate, more culturally-specific use of the term as "effeminate." These passages, with their distinct connection to Anacreon, have encouraged some scholars like Margaret Miller, Françoise Frontisi-Ducroux, and François Lissarrague to proclaim the femininity of the male figures on the Anacreontic vases.<sup>17</sup> However, the interpretation of these passages is just as problematic as that of the vases. While both give valuable insight into common ideas in the sixth and fifth centuries, the authors seem to have meant them to ridicule their subjects. Because of this context, textual sources cannot be taken at face value since they skew the interpretation of the Anacreontic vases toward farce and insult. For now I will focus on the iconography of the vases and return to the issue of literary sources later on.

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<sup>17</sup> Frontisi-Ducroux and Lissarrague 1990; Miller 1999.

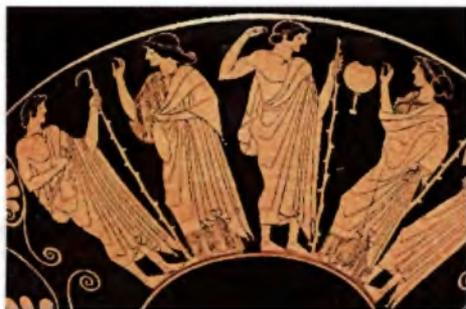


Figure 3 Men in himatia and women in chitons, Red-Figure Cup B, detail, c. 480-470 BCE



Figure 4 King Aegeus and Poseidon, in Chitons with fillets and rods, greet Theseus, in a Tunic, Red-Figure Column Krater, detail, c. 500-450 BCE (B)



Figure 5 Man and Youth on Komos, wearing Himatia Red-Figure Oinochoe c. 475 BCE

### Anacreontic Vases: An Overview

The best way to identify how the Anacreontic vases stand out is first to look at how Athenian men were generally portrayed on vases of the late sixth and early fifth centuries BCE. Based on the iconography of contemporary Attic red-figure vases, adult men, recognizable by their bodies and beards, are generally covered by a *himation* or wear a short tunic (figs. 3 and 4). This seems to reflect standards of dress for men at the time.<sup>18</sup> When men are at a symposium, they are often portrayed slightly differently but nevertheless along the same lines: they are nude, sometimes with a *himation* draped over their shoulders. This tends to be the standard style for showing a typical symposiast or komast, as seen in figure 5, although it is difficult to set a standard for portrayals of symposiasts. In typical Attic vase-painting, it seems that the men who generally wear the *chiton* are old or have a high status, such as a king or god (fig. 4).<sup>19</sup> These figures often

<sup>18</sup> DeVries 1973, p. 34; Lee 2015, pp. 108-109.

<sup>19</sup> DeVries 1973, p. 34; Geddes 1987, pp. 308-309; Geddes agrees that in Greek iconography before the Classical period, a full Ionian *chiton* is generally reserved for important figures such as kings and gods and is not often used in representations of “ordinary” people.

carry staffs or scepters and do not have their heads covered, although they sometimes have a tied fillet or wreath (figs. 4 and 7).

Now that we have established what the Anacreontic vases do *not* show us, namely representations of “typical” Athenian men, we can move on to what they do show us. The main recurring element is the Anacreontic komast himself: an adult, bearded man dressed in a long-sleeved *chiton* and *himation* (fig. 6). Fifty-six true Anacreontic figures and fourteen women appear on the thirty Anacreontic vases surveyed for this study, which include a variety of sympotic shapes.<sup>20</sup> The headdresses worn by the figures are also important: only one Anacreontic figure wears no headdress whatsoever, and three wear simple tied headbands; the remaining figures all wear *mitrai*, the wound turban with a Lydian flair, or *sakkoi*, a more compact style of headdress.<sup>21</sup> The images also include other standard Athenian sympotic imagery: the cups, staffs, and lyres that the komasts carry are typical of sympotic scenes in general, and are mixed in with more obscure elements. Eight Anacreontic komasts carry a staff or walking stick or have one nearby;



Figure 6 Three Anacreontic Komasts in Chitons and Sakkoi (far right, center left, center right), with two women and a child with a parasol, Red-Figure Cup B, detail, c. 480 BCE.

<sup>20</sup> This survey consists of six amphorae, seven kraters, eight cups and cup fragments, four pelikes, one unidentified fragment, one hydria, one lekythos, one skyphos, and one stamnos. See Appendix 1 (pp. 97-98) for a full list and chart of iconographic features.

<sup>21</sup> Except in some specific circumstances, such as fig. 1, the terms *mitra* and *sakkos* are often used interchangeably in scholarship, making it difficult to distinguish between the two types of head coverings. This issue is further addressed below, pp. 19-24.

thirteen carry a *lyre* or *barbiton*; seventeen carry parasols. The Ionian *chiton*, the *mitra* and *sakkos*, and the parasol are each a key element in the debate over how to interpret Anacreontic vases.<sup>22</sup>

In the remainder of this chapter I will discuss three iconographic elements which are commonly argued to be of Eastern origin: the sleeved *chiton*, the *mitra*, and the parasol (*skiadion*). Each of these elements is brought up in arguments for both Eastern and feminine interpretations, which undermines any effort to determine if the Anacreontic vases can be seen as strictly one or the other. I aim to demonstrate that they cannot be viewed simply as Eastern or feminine, but are a distinct combination of the two.

### **The *Chiton***

The *chiton* is the most distinctive feature of Anacreontic dress. All of the Anacreontic figures wear the sleeved garment, with a *himation* draped over the left or both shoulders. As opposed to the pinned Doric *peploi* and tunics that were common earlier in the Archaic period, the *chiton* was sewn on both sides, featured long sleeves, and was worn by men and women alike in the late Archaic period.<sup>23</sup> Miller claims that the *chiton*, imported from Ionia, was new to Greeks at that time and may have been made

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<sup>22</sup> The instruments carried by the komasts are alternately identified as a *lyre* (Athenian) or a *barbiton* (Eastern) and are sometimes used in further arguing for or against Eastern interpretations. However, due to the difficulty of establishing a firm difference between the two, I have chosen to focus on the elements that are more clearly distinctive.

<sup>23</sup> How and Wells 1949, pp. 48-49; Cleland et al. 2007, p. 32.

fashionable by musicians and poets.<sup>24</sup> If Miller's theory of entertainment-based import is correct, it aligns well with evidence of elite dabbling in Eastern imports, especially at symposia which provided influential Athenian men an opportunity to interact with Ionian styles of dress and entertainment.

If the Anacreontic figures are merely replicating the costume of men in the Near East, particularly Lydia and Ionia, it follows that there must be similar representations of Lydian and Ionian men in similar dress. Examples of this can be found in both Greek and Near Eastern art. An Athenian red-figure amphora shows the Lydian king Kroisos as he sits on



Figure 7 Kroisos on the Pyre, Red-Figure Amphora, detail, c. 500-490 BCE

the pyre to be burned alive after being captured by the Persians (fig. 7).<sup>25</sup> Kroisos does in fact wear a sleeved *chiton*; however, he wears no wrapped headdress, which sets him apart from the men on the Anacreontic vases. Instead, a laurel wreath, a reference to Apollo, sits atop his head, and he holds a scepter in his left hand. His appearance thus corresponds more to the contemporary depictions of high-status men on Greek vases who wear a *chiton* (fig. 4). This is likely because it is an Athenian portrayal of an Eastern king, and therefore conforms to Athenian ideas of the associated iconography. The image of Kroisos demonstrates an Athenian idea of the *chiton* as a marker of elite Eastern identity, but sheds little light on its meaning in an Anacreontic context.

<sup>24</sup> Miller 1997, pp. 156, 163.

<sup>25</sup> Herodotus 1.86; Musée du Louvre G917.

Eastern representations of the *chiton* fill out the picture further, if not completely. The reliefs at Persepolis are roughly contemporary with the production of the Anacreontic vases, produced under the reign of Darius I (521-486) and Xerxes (486-465), and represent many different ethnic and regional groups of the Eastern Mediterranean. There is some difficulty in comparing the clothing in the Persepolis reliefs to the Anacreontic vases due to stylistic differences: the reliefs are all in profile and modeled in stiff poses, unlike the dynamic figures on the vases. Nevertheless, some comparisons can be drawn between them.



*Figure 8 Darius and Persian Attendants, Central Relief of the North Stairs of the Apadana, Persepolis, detail, c.521-486 or 486-465 BCE.*

For my purposes, the most relevant groups from the Persepolis reliefs are the Persians, the Ionians and the Lydians.<sup>26</sup> Due to their influence on Greek politics and culture in the late Archaic period, these groups are the most likely candidates for the

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<sup>26</sup> The author of the excavation reports from Persepolis, Erich Schmidt (1953), identifies one group as “Syrians,” but due to the distinct wrapped headdress (see below, fig. 9), Michael Roaf (1974) concludes that they are actually Lydians.

origin of the Eastern style of dress. We can quickly rule out the Persians as the source of the *chiton* seen on Anacreontic vases. A relief of Darius and his Persian attendants (fig. 8) shows that the typical elite Achaemenid dress was long and similar to the *chiton*, but had large bell-like sleeves and was worn without a *himation*. The Ionians and Lydians at Persepolis are much more promising as possibilities for the originators of the garment (figs. 9 and 10). They wear a similar long *chiton*



Figure 9 Lydian Tribute Bearers, East Stairs, Apadana, Persepolis, detail c. 521-486 BCE

with a *himation* draped over the left shoulder. Moving to the Lydian sphere of influence, a wall painting from an early fifth-century Lycian tomb in Karaburun shows a symposium-like scene (fig. 11).<sup>27</sup> A reclining man wears a brightly colored Ionian *chiton* and *himation* draped over his left shoulder, and an embroidered hat or wreath on his head.



Figure 10 Greek/Ionian Tribute Bearers, East Stairs, Apadana, Persepolis, detail, c. 521-486 BCE

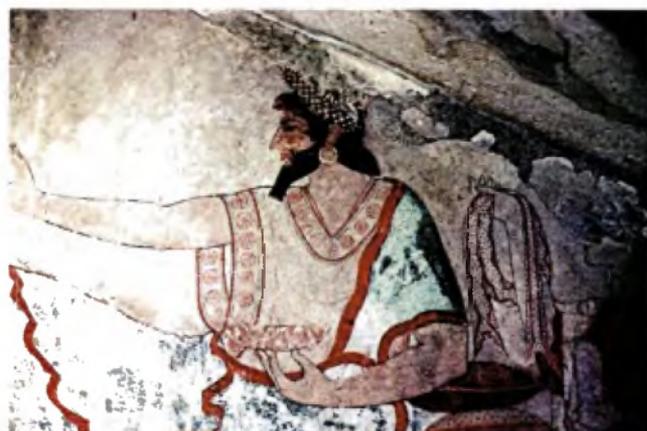


Figure 11 A banqueting man in a tomb fresco from Karaburun (Lycia), c. 480-470 BCE

<sup>27</sup> DeVries 1973, p. 37.

With the exceptions of the shorter sleeve, the details of the headdress, and the vivid decoration of the *chiton*, the clothing is nearly identical to that on the male figures on the Anacreontic vases.

Even if depictions of the *chiton* in Greek art do not line up in every detail with depictions in Near Eastern art, we observe that the same, or at least an extremely similar, style of dress was present in Lydia and Ionia when it was adopted into the Greek wardrobe. The reliefs from the Persepolis Apadana and the Lycian tomb painting are strong evidence that the Greeks adopted the *chiton* through contact with the Near East, and that at least in those contexts these images are in no way feminine.

However, in Greek art the *chiton* is not limited to appearing on elite men. From the end of the sixth century BCE and onwards, roughly contemporary with the Persepolis reliefs, vase-painting frequently portrayed women in *chitons* and *himatia* (fig. 12).<sup>28</sup> As a luxury garment the *chiton* is associated with men and women in late Archaic and Classical Athens, but women continued to wear the garment after it had been abandoned by young men in favor of just a *himation* or nudity, at least in iconography if not in life.<sup>29</sup> Women were shown in *chitons* in many contexts, including everyday life and ritual activities, as seen throughout this thesis. Even Miller's analysis of the sleeved *chiton* as an Eastern luxury in the fifth century associates it mostly with women, while also connecting it with male entertainers.<sup>30</sup> Thus, in certain contexts, it had a distinctly

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<sup>28</sup> Miller 1997, p. 158.

<sup>29</sup> Lee 2015, pp. 107, 110.

<sup>30</sup> Miller 1997, pp. 156-165.

feminine association.

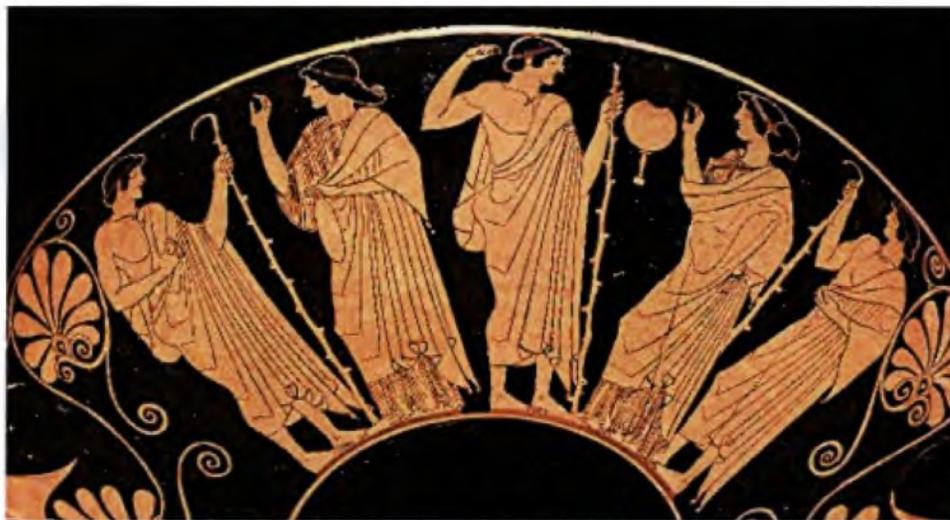


Figure 12 Women in chitons and himatia with men in himatia. Red-Figure Cup B. c. 480-470 BCE

### The *Chiton* in Literature

The *chiton* has its own unique mythology in Greek literature. The fact that multiple authors comment on its origin in Athens suggests that it was a controversial topic in some circles. In the 420s BCE, Herodotus recounted one tale of the Ionian *chiton*'s significance in the *Histories*. Here the historian describes the aftermath of the defeat of the Athenians after they attempted to steal statues from Aegina (Hdt. 5.87):

...πυθομένας δὲ τὰς γυναῖκας τῶν ἐπ' Αἴγινα στρατευσαμένων ἀνδρῶν, δεινὸν τι ποιησαμένας κείνον μοῦνον ἐξ ἀπάντων σωθῆναι, περίξ τὸν ἄνθρωπον τοῦτον λαβούσας καὶ κεντεύσας τῆσι περόνησι τῶν ἱματίων εἰρωτᾶν ἐκάστην αὐτέων ὄκου εἶη ὁ ἐωυτῆς ἀνὴρ. [3] καὶ τοῦτον μὲν οὕτω διαφθαρήναι, Ἀθηναῖοισι δὲ ἔτι τοῦ πάθεος δεινότερόν τι δόξαι εἶναι τὸ τῶν γυναικῶν ἔργον. ἄλλω μὲν δὴ οὐκ ἔχειν ὅτεφ ζημιώσωσι τὰς γυναῖκας, τὴν δὲ ἐσθῆτα μετέβαλον αὐτέων ἐς τὴν Ἰάδα: ἐφόρεον γὰρ δὴ πρὸ τοῦ αἰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων γυναῖκες ἐσθῆτα Δωρίδα, τῇ Κορινθίῃ παραπλησιωτάτην: μετέβαλον ὧν ἐς τὸν λίνεον κιθῶνα, ἵνα δὴ περόνησι μὴ χρέωνται.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>31</sup> This story is found in Hdt. 5.83-87, but there is no clear date for the event. Strassler (Herodotus and

...[It is said that] when the wives of the soldiers who went to Aegina heard about it, they were horrified that that man alone was saved out of all of them, and they seized this man and stabbed him with the pins from their clothes as each woman asked him where her husband was. And that he was killed, and, to the Athenians, the deed of the of the women seemed more terrible than the event that caused it. They had no other way with which to punish the women, but to change their clothing to the Ionian style; for before this time the women of Athens used to wear Dorian clothes, which is much like the Corinthian style; they changed to the linen *chiton* in order that they not have access to pins.

At least according to Herodotus, the *chiton* was introduced to women from Ionia, and therefore must have had distinctly feminine connotations in the fifth century BCE.

Herodotus makes no mention of the type of clothing men wore at the time, whether they already wore the *chiton* or still wore tunics traditional for the Archaic period.

Thucydides' *History of the Peloponnesian War* has an alternate origin story for the *chiton* (1.6.3):

ἐν τοῖς πρώτοι δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι τὸν τε σίδηρον κατέθεντο καὶ ἀνειμένη τῇ διαίτῃ ἐς τὸ τρυφερώτερον μετέστησαν. καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι αὐτοῖς τῶν εὐδαιμόνων διὰ τὸ ἀβροδίαιτον οὐ πολὺς χρόνος ἐπειδὴ χιτῶνάς τε λινοῦς ἐπαύσαντο φοροῦντες καὶ χρυσῶν τεττίγων ἐνέρσει κρωβύλον ἀναδούμενοι τῶν ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ τριχῶν: ἀφ' οὗ καὶ Ἴωνων τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους κατὰ τὸ ζυγγενὲς ἐπὶ πολὺ αὕτη ἡ σκευὴ κατέσχευε.

The Athenians were the first to lay down their swords and change to a more delicate way, because they had given up their way of living. And it has not been long since the old men stopped wearing linen *chitons* for the sake of luxury and binding gold cicada ornaments in their hair; this apparel spread from here to the old men of the Ionians and through their kinsmen for a long time.

This account reflects the iconographic evidence seen on vases of older or high-ranking men wearing Ionian *chitons* but neglects any mention of women or other men. Clearly by

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Strassler 2007) suggests that the event happened shortly before 498 BCE, which likely long postdates the actual adoption of the *chiton* into Athenian society.

the time of the Peloponnesian War in the late fifth century, the style was well out of fashion. It is notable also that Thucydides claims that the luxury fashion began in Athens and spread outwards from there, instead of originating in the Near East. It is interesting that both historians reject, or at least do not explicitly reference, the supposed origin of the *chiton* as an Athenian indulgence in specifically Eastern luxury. Herodotus considers it to have originated in the East, and to have become a feminine fashion, while Thucydides connects it with luxury but places its origin in Attica. Thucydides does connect the style to “delicate living” (ἀβροδαίτων), which echoes other authors’ characterization of Eastern luxury, but he makes no explicit link.<sup>32</sup> Thus the *chiton*, at least in the fifth century, had multiple associations. It could be a mark of feminine dress or of elite status and Eastern luxury.

### **The *Mitra* and the *Sakkos***

While the *chiton* is perhaps the most recognizable feature of the figures on the Anacreontic vases, there are other important elements. One of these is the distinct headdress worn by most of the Anacreontic figures, either the *mitra* or the *sakkos*. The fact that they wear full headdresses at all contrasts with the typical portrayal of men on Attic vases, who are usually bare-headed or wear a headband. However, the “Easternness” of these headdresses is debatable. Most scholars agree that the *mitra* came

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<sup>32</sup> Aeschylus associates ἀβροδαίτων with the Lydians, *Pers.* 41; Xenophanes associates ἀβροσύνας with the Colophonians, 3.1; see below, pp. 30-31, for further analysis.

from the Near East, usually placing its origin in Lydia.<sup>33</sup> Sappho's poetry tells us as much when she speaks of the multicolored *mitra* from Sardis:

μ]ιτράναν δ' ἀρτίως κλ[  
ποικίλαν ἀπὸ Σαρδίω[v]  
πρὸς Ἴαονίας πόλ[ε]ις [  
(Sappho Fr. F 98a, 10-12)

but recently a headband  
of varied colors from Sardis  
[towards] Ionia's cities ...<sup>34</sup>

Likewise, in the *Thesmophoriazusae*, Agathon mentions the *mitra* as an accessory of Eastern sympotic poets Anacreon and Alcaeus, who “wore the *mitra*” (ἐμτροφόρον).<sup>35</sup>

If the *mitra* is in fact a typical Lydian headdress, we can compare the headdresses on the vases to the wrapped headdresses worn by Lydians in the Persepolis reliefs (fig. 13). The Lydian tribute-bearers wear a conical wrapped turban, almost identical to the turban worn by the figure in the earliest vase identified as Anacreontic (fig. 1).<sup>36</sup> These representations of the Lydian *mitra* are the standard against which the rest of the Anacreontic headwear will be measured.



Figure 13 Lydian Tribute Bearer, East Stairs, Apadana, Persepolis, detail c. 521-486 BCE

<sup>33</sup> Boardman 1975, p. 219; DeVries 2000, p. 359.

<sup>34</sup> Text and translation from Ferrari 2010, p. 3-4.

<sup>35</sup> Ar. *Thesm.* 163.

<sup>36</sup> This is another correlation with the Anacreon poem, as the first line describes Artemon as once wearing a tightly wound or “wasp-like” headdress (καλύματτ' ἐσφηκωμένα). See chapter 2, pp. 54-55, for further analysis of this poem.

The other headdresses worn by the Anacreontic figures seem to be wrapped (fig. 14), folded or pleated (fig. 15), or untextured (fig. 16).<sup>37</sup> A fourth type is the “open” headdress, which features long hair wrapped and pulled through the top (fig. 17). If the *mitra* is a tall, conical turban, these certainly are not *mitrai*. While they are no less distinct, these headdresses are considerably different than the Lydian style seen in the reliefs at Persepolis.



Figure 14 A “wrapped” sakkos Red-Figure Cup C fragment, detail, c. 460-450 BCE



Figure 15 A “folded” sakkos Red-Figure Cup B, detail c. 480 BCE



Figure 16 A “flat” sakkos Red-Figure Column Krater, detail, c. 470-460 BCE



Figure 17 An “open” sakkos, Red-Figure Neck Amphora, detail, c. 460-450 BCE

Although it can be difficult, it is important to differentiate these various types of headwear. Other than identifying the origin of the *mitra* in the Near East, literary evidence gives little insight into how the *mitra* and *sakkos* are different. The *LSJ* defines the *sakkos* only as a cloth woven of coarse hair and any garment made of that cloth.<sup>38</sup> There is a wide range of styles that are alternately identified as *mitrai* and *sakko*i by scholars, and the terms are often used interchangeably. Kurtz and Boardman refer to all of the headdresses worn by Anacreontic figures as *mitrai*, while DeVries calls all of the

<sup>37</sup> The folded or pleated headdresses may in fact be wrapped, but do not have the distinct appearance of wrapping so I have separated them.

<sup>38</sup> “σάκκος,” The Online Lidell-Scott-Jones Greek-English Lexicon (Thesaurus Linguae Graecae).

headwear *sakkoi*.<sup>39</sup> There is no firm consensus on what the difference is, but for the purpose of distinguishing one from the other I am calling anything similar to the tall, conical style seen on the Anacreon vase (fig. 1) and the Lydian procession at Persepolis (fig. 13) a *mitra*, and considering those types more closely related to the more compact styles as examples of *sakkoi*.

Just like the *chiton*, we can find some examples of similar headgear in Near Eastern art. Outside of the Lydians, the reliefs at Persepolis do not provide any particularly convincing comparisons for the Anacreontic headdresses. A Median in sculpted relief at Khorsabad wears a headdress wrapped close to his head (fig. 18), similar to some of the Anacreontic *sakkoi*. From a Greek perspective, DeVries has



Figure 18 A Median Groom wearing a wrapped headdress, Relief at Khorsabad, detail c. 722-705 BCE

identified an earlier Attic black-figure oenochoe as showing a “Lydian drinking party.”<sup>40</sup> We can compare the ridged headdresses on these Lydians to some figures on the Anacreontic vases with similar headwear. Markus Wäfler’s study of representations of Neo-Assyrians also provides some analogous headwear, but nothing that confirms that the styles are firmly part of an Easternizing trend.<sup>41</sup> The folded or pleated *sakkos* and the wrapped *sakkos* are the most similar to some Eastern styles (figs. 15 and 16). As such there is no apparent parallel to the open *sakkos*. It seems that for some styles of *sakkoi*,

<sup>39</sup> DeVries 1973; Kurtz and Boardman 1986, p. 66.

<sup>40</sup> DeVries 2000, pp. 358-363, fig 13.10; National Archaeological Museum 1045, Athens.

<sup>41</sup> Wäfler 1975; Kurtz and Boardman 1986, p. 66.

there are similar versions in the Near East, but it is difficult to tell if the styles were widespread or isolated.

The reason that I want to differentiate *mitrai* and *sakkoi* is that the headdresses that I have identified as *sakkoi* on the Anacreontic vases appear frequently on women in contemporary Attic vase painting. Extremely similar, if not identical, styles of *sakkoi* appear in portrayals of women, including the untextured or flat *sakkos* (fig. 19), the folded *sakkos* (fig. 20, right), the wrapped *sakkos* (fig. 20, left), and the open *sakkos* (fig. 21). It is reasonable to assume that these styles of headwear may have been adopted through contact with the Near East, like the *chiton*. However, the visual evidence seems to show that they were more commonly associated with women than with men in Athenian society. This suggests that, in addition to Eastern-inspired clothing, the male figures on Anacreontic are also adopting aspects of dress that were distinctly feminine in fifth-century Athens.



Figure 19 A woman in a "flat" *sakkos*. Red-Figure Cup B. detail, c. 480-470 BCE



Figure 20 Women, one in a "wrapped" *sakkos* (left) and one in a "folded" *sakkos* (right), Red-Figure Cup, detail, c. 500 BCE



Figure 21 Woman in an "open" *sakkos*. Red-Figure Hydria fragment. detail, c. 500-475 BCE

## The Parasol

At this point it seems clear that the *chiton* and *mitra* are Eastern imports, and that the *sakkos*, which appears more frequently in Anacreontic imagery than the *mitra*, is more closely related to feminine appearance. The final element left to examine is the parasol, or *skiadion*. The Anacreontic vases show eighteen male figures carrying parasols (e.g. figs. 1 and 22). Scholars often use this element to argue that the images are Easternizing or feminizing. In general, the use of the parasol indicated elite status and leisure in iconography as early as the Bronze Age.<sup>42</sup> It was likely adopted along with the Ionian *chiton* as an item of Eastern luxury that demonstrated a separate, elite status for Athenian men in the seventh and sixth centuries BCE.<sup>43</sup> Like the *chiton*, it can be seen as a representation of indulgence in Eastern luxury practices.



Figure 22 Anacreontic man with a parasol, Red-Figure Column Krater, detail, c. 470-460 BCE

The parasol has clear parallels in Eastern art. It appears in relief sculptures of palaces at Nimrud in the eighth century (fig. 23) and at Persepolis in the fifth century (fig. 24), generally as symbol of elite or royal status. Margaret Miller notes that the parasol is mostly used by royal figures, and that kings never carry the parasol themselves, but a servant holds it instead.<sup>44</sup> However, the Anacreontic figures almost always carry their

<sup>42</sup> Miller 1992, pp. 92-93.

<sup>43</sup> Van Wees 1998, p. 360.

<sup>44</sup> Miller 1992, pp. 93-94.

own parasols.<sup>45</sup> It is notable that the examples from Eastern relief sculpture are all in contexts that emphasize the status and power of the figure standing below, such as hunt scenes (fig. 23), war scenes (as in a now destroyed relief of Sennacherib from Nineveh), or on palace walls (fig. 24). The Anacreontic parasols are a striking contrast to this representation. These scenes emphasize leisure and celebration, and presumably the men holding the parasols have been drinking and therefore it indicates loss of control and decorum rather than power and authority. The parasols on Anacreontic vases may indicate elite status, but certainly not to the same extent as depictions of Eastern kings.

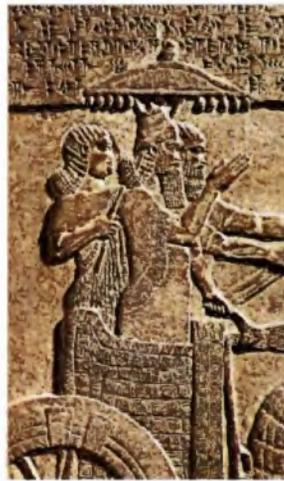


Figure 23 Relief, Tiglath-pileser III, Nimrud, showing a king under a parasol, detail, c. 730-727 BCE.



Figure 24 Xerxes under a parasol, Palace of Xerxes, Persepolis, c. 470 BCE

In an interesting twist, the parasol is not necessarily associated with femininity in Athenian vase painting at this time period. Miller claims that in unambiguous contexts it was primarily an instrument of elite, leisurely women in late-Archaic and Classical Athens.<sup>46</sup> However, vases from the late sixth and early fifth centuries paint a different picture. Between 525 and 425 BCE, according to the Beazley Archive database, the only Attic vases depicting parasols were Anacreontic, with three exceptions: three *stamnoi* by

<sup>45</sup> The exception is a parasol that is held over a komast by a child, seen in fig. 6.

<sup>46</sup> Miller 1992, p. 96; Miller 1997, p. 195.

the Villa Giulia painter from the first half of the fifth century (fig. 25), each of which shows one woman carrying a parasol, in the company of other women on some sort of procession, possibly one similar to a *komos*.<sup>47</sup> However, the iconographic elements, such as sympotic-style drinking cups, and the Dionysian scenes on the opposite sides of two of the *stamnoi* (fig. 25) indicate that they may actually be maenad scenes, or at least involve some sort of Dionysian ritual.<sup>48</sup> Thus, the parasol clearly has Eastern origins, but after it was adopted in Athens its meaning shifted to represent leisure and Dionysian revelries among men and women rather than royal status and power of men.



Figure 25 Example of one of three *stamnoi* showing women in a procession, one carrying a parasol, and women performing a ritual on the reverse, Red-Figure *stamnos*, detail, c. 450 BCE

### Dionysus and the Maenads

One surprisingly neglected topic has been the Dionysian aspect of the Anacreontic vases. Many of the vases themselves were made for the symposium, which had its own Near Eastern connections.<sup>49</sup> This institution was the height of elite

<sup>47</sup> The two *stamnoi* not pictured are at the Detroit Institute of Art 63.12 and the Museo Archeologico Etrusco (Florence) 4005; all three date to between 475–450 BCE. Miller (1997, p. 196) adds one more, for four examples of female autophoretic parasol use.

<sup>48</sup> See chapter 3, pp. 81–82 for more on the “Lenaia” vases.

<sup>49</sup> Fisher 1988, p. 1170; Burkert 1991, p. 8; Miller 1997, p. 206; Murray 2009, pp. 513–514.

indulgence in Eastern luxury, and it had a divine patron to match. Dionysus, the god of wine and all things festive and luxurious represented a similar blend of Near Eastern and Greek traditions. An Archaic hymn to Dionysus, which Martin West tentatively places as early as 650 BCE, denies that he is from any Greek land, but says that Zeus bore him in the Near East (*Homeric Hymn 1 to Dionysus*, 6-9):<sup>50</sup>

...σὲ ἔτικτε πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε  
πολλὸν ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων, κρύπτων λευκώλεον Ἥρην.  
ἔστι δέ τις Νύση, ὕπατον ὄρος, ἀνθέον ὕλη,  
τηλοῦ Φοινίκης, σχεδὸν Αἰγύπτιοιο ῥοάων...

...The father of men and gods bore you  
Far away from mankind, hiding you from white-armed Hera.  
It is a certain Nysa, the highest mountain, which is flourishing with woodlands,  
In far-off Phoenicia, near the rivers of Egypt...

Some two centuries later in Euripides' *Bacchae* (405 BCE), Dionysus tells Pentheus (464):

Λυδία δέ μοι πατρίς.

Lydia is my fatherland.

Thus, by the time of the production of the *Bacchae*, Dionysus had a firm Near Eastern background. It is significant that on late sixth- and early fifth-century Attic vases he wears the Ionian *chiton* (fig. 26), reflecting this Near Eastern connection. Like Ionia, he is both Greek and Eastern. As we will see in chapter 3, in fifth-

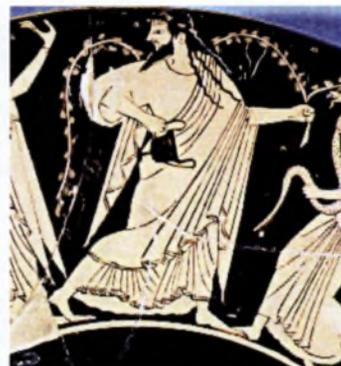


Figure 26 Dionysus on a komos, with satyrs and Maenads, Red-Figure Cup, detail, c. 510 BCE

<sup>50</sup> West 2011, p. 34.

century literature and iconography Dionysus was often characterized by multiple layers of ethnic and gender ambiguity.

Setting aside the nature of Dionysus himself, a more intriguing iconographical comparison arises when the Anacreontic figures are compared to maenads on Athenian vases of the early fifth century. Like other portrayals of Athenian women, maenads usually wear an Ionian *chiton* and some version of the *sakkos*, features which they also share with most of the Anacreontic figures (figs. 27 and 28). They often carry an ivy-wrapped staff called a *thyrsos* and occasionally an ivy branch to symbolize their association with Dionysus. Another frequently occurring element, although neither exclusive to nor universal in maenad imagery, is the particular pose they strike: the maenad is striding one way but turns her head back to look behind her. The pose has a sense of lyrical movement or dancing along to symphonic music. It is a common pose in Greek vase painting, but according to my research, it appears more often in Dionysian



Figure 27 A Maenad in a chiton  
Red-Figure Cup, c. 480-470 BCE



Figure 28 A Maenad, in a chiton and  
sakkos, Red-Figure Cup, detail, c. 490-  
480 BCE

and sympotic imagery than in scenes of everyday life, such as household or civic activities (figs. 3, 4, 19-21).

Many of the Anacreontic figures themselves strike these maenadic poses. Almost half of the komasts are turning to face backward, and some even replicate poses of the maenads and Dionysus almost exactly (fig. 29).

In place of the maenads' *thyrsoi* and ivy branches, the Anacreontic komasts carry parasols, lyres, *auloi*, and cups, all more

appropriate to the symposium and *komos*. T.B.L. Webster goes so far as to claim that the Anacreontic vases show "maenad dances," where komasts impersonated the followers of Dionysus.<sup>51</sup> Certainly there are many common elements to both, including the setting, a processional celebration, and their appearance. I believe this Dionysian element is where the Easternizing and feminizing arguments overlap. We will return to the relationship between the Anacreontic vases and Dionysus and his followers in chapter 3.

### Literary Perceptions of Easternness and Femininity

After evaluating the iconographic evidence informing both scholarly perspectives, it remains to evaluate what light contemporary literary evidence can shed on the issue.



Figure 29 Three Anacreontic men mirroring maenad poses Red-Figure Column Krater, detail, c. 470-460 BCE

<sup>51</sup> Webster 1972, pp. 54-55.

One challenge in connecting literary evidence to the Anacreontic vases is that each author skews their work toward their own opinions and outlook. Even with this difficulty, writings from the sixth and fifth centuries can still give insight into different attitudes about Eastern dress and femininity in the Archaic and early Classical periods. Literary references often depict Lydia as a center of wealth and luxury. At the beginning of the Classical period, Aeschylus's *Persae* (472 BCE) describes the sight of Lydians on the battlefield (41, 45-48):

ἀβροδιαίτων δ' ἔπεται Λυδῶν

....

καὶ πολύχρυσοι Σάρδεις ἐπόχους  
πολλοῖς ἄρμασιν ἐξορμῶσιν,  
δίρρυμά τε καὶ τρίρρυμα τέλη,  
φοβερὰν ὄψιν προσιδέσθαι.

And a crowd of luxurious Lydians followed,

....

and Sardis, rich in gold, sent them to war  
mounted upon many chariots,  
in two- and three-horse columns,  
a fearful sight to see.

This description contrasts with the usual sense of the Lydians that prevails in later fifth-century literature. Their luxury is combined with military might, as opposed to the later stereotype of Lydian softness and femininity.<sup>52</sup> However, there is a distinct emphasis on the “luxuriousness” (ἀβροδιαίτων) commonly associated with Lydia. Around the end of the Archaic period, Xenophanes provides a more familiar description when he blames the

<sup>52</sup> Sappho 16 also mentions the Lydian military (τὰ Λύδων ἄρματα κὰν δπλοισι/πεσοδομ]άχεντας, 19-20) in comparison to a lover's face, which she considers more beautiful (16-20); she does not describe explicitly the Lydians themselves, but implies that some might consider them, like other military things, to be most beautiful (οἱ μὲν ἰππήων στρότον οἱ δὲ πέσδων/οἱ δὲ νάων φαῖσ' ἐπ[ι] γᾶν μέλαι[ν]αν/Ἐ]μμεναι κάλλιστον...1-3).

Lydians for the corruption of Colophonian men (Xenophanes 3 Campbell):

ἀβροσύνας δὲ μαθόντες ἀνωφελέας παρὰ Λυδῶν,  
 ὄφρα τυραννίης ἦσαν ἄνευ στυγερῆς,  
 ἦϊσαν εἰς ἀγορὴν παναλουργέα φάρε' ἔχοντες  
 οὐ μείους ὥσπερ χίλιοι εἰς ἐπίταν,  
 αὐχαλέοι χαίτησιν ἀγαλμένοι εὐπρεπέεσσιν  
 ἀσκητοῖς τ' ὀδμήν χρίμασι δευόμενοι.

But after they learned useless luxury from the Lydians  
 While they were free from hateful tyranny  
 They went into the agora wearing purple clothes  
 Not less than a thousand altogether,  
 Vain, showing off their beautiful hair  
 Drenching their scent in curious oils.

Again, luxury (ἀβροσύνας) is clearly associated with Lydian character. Likewise, a scholiast on Aeschylus' *Persae* references a poem in which Anacreon equates living luxuriously (ἡδουπαθεῖς) with living "like a Lydian" (λυδοπαθεῖς).<sup>53</sup> It is clear that such a lavish lifestyle, explicitly associated with the Lydians, was already an object of suspicion in Athens by the end of the sixth century.

The issue remains whether sixth- and fifth-century Greek authors saw Lydian luxury as expressly effeminate. Boardman and van Wees, despite their arguments for an Eastern interpretation of the Anacreontic figures, readily admit that they would also appear feminine in contemporary Athenian society.<sup>54</sup> Unfortunately, there is not much literary evidence from the period of 525 to 450 that sheds light on the vases. Aeschylus praises the military might of luxurious Lydians, while Xenophanes derides the silliness of

<sup>53</sup> [ἀβροδιαίτων Λυδῶν] ἀβροδιαίτοι δὲ οὗτοι ὄθεν καὶ τὸ παρὰ Ἀνακρέοντι Λυδοπαθεῖς τινες ἀντι τοῦ ἡδουπαθεῖς; Anac. Fr. 134 Edmonds, from a scholion on Aesch. *Pers.* 42.

<sup>54</sup> Boardman 1975, p. 219; Kurtz and Boardman 1986, p. 65; van Wees 1998, p. 362.

the luxurious Colophonians. More pointedly, Anacreon makes his remarks about Artemon, who had plucked out his hair and carries an ivory parasol, which he says is more appropriate for women (Anac. 388 Campbell). But there is no mention of how Artemon dresses in the present, whether he wears a *chiton* or not, nor any indication of who he was or where he originated.<sup>55</sup> Scholars analyzing the poem pay less attention to the geographical background of Artemon's appearance than the sexual ambiguity and social implications.<sup>56</sup> Moreover, if he was from the Near East these attributes may not have been unusual. The poem may not have been meant to ridicule someone indulging in a luxurious lifestyle but may have been about a man who was exceptional even to Eastern minds.

Other references to Eastern dress and femininity appear later in the fifth century. In the 420s BCE, Herodotus wrote that the Lydians became effeminate after their defeat by Cyrus in the mid-sixth century. Kroisos, having been saved by Cyrus's mercy, advises the king to subject the Lydians to humiliation instead of a more severe punishment (Hdt. 1.155):

ἄπειτε μὲν σφι πέμψας ὄπλα ἀρήγια μὴ ἐκτῆσθαι, κέλευε δὲ σφέας κιθῶνάς τε ὑποδύνειν τοῖσι εἵμασι καὶ κοθόρνους ὑποδέεσθαι, πρόειπε δ' αὐτοῖσι κιθαρίζειν τε καὶ ψάλλειν καὶ καπηλεύειν παιδεύειν τοὺς παῖδας, καὶ ταχέως σφέας ὧ βασιλεῦ γυναῖκας ἀντ' ἀνδρῶν ὄψαι γεγονότας, ὥστε οὐδὲν δεινοί τοι ἔσονται

<sup>55</sup> The first line of the poem talks about how Artemon used to wear "a ragged costume" (πρὶν μὲν ἔχων βερβέριον); notably his *mitra*-like headdress (καλύμματ' ἐσφηκωμένα, also in line 1) is part of Artemon's earlier appearance. The two time periods are separated by a νῦν δ' in line 10; see chapter 2, pp. 54-55, for full text and translation.

<sup>56</sup> Davies (1981) and Brown (1983) both criticize Slater's (1978) conclusion that Artemon (and by association Anacreon) is part of a feminine club, but do not argue that he is Eastern. Davies points to arguments for Eastern interpretations of the Anacreontic vases, but does not elaborate; Brown makes a connection to Easternizing trends in Athens, but then reverts back to an interpretation through the lens of feminization in old comedy.

μη ἀποστέωσι.

[Kroisos] told [Cyrus] to send [a message] and tell them that they cannot possess weapons of war, and order them to wear *chitons* under their cloaks and leather boots, and tell them to play the kithara and pluck their hair and teach their children to be merchants. And soon, my king, you will see them become women instead of men, so that they will not be terrifying, lest they revolt.

This passage identifies plucked hair, the lack of weapons, and *chitons* (κιθῶνάς) as feminizing elements.<sup>57</sup> In Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazusae*, Mnesilochus experiences a similar humiliation to the Lydians, as his body hair is plucked and he is forced to dress like Agathon, who was described as blending Easternness and femininity earlier in the play.<sup>58</sup> The common feminizing theme in all of these texts seems to be dressing in a Lydian fashion (assuming that Cyrus's Lydians were already dressing this way), plucking one's hair out, and laying aside symbols of masculinity like weapons. Van Wees also identifies this last feature as part of the Easternizing "conspicuous leisure" trend in Athens, and suggests that the gradual abandonment of weapons for more luxurious items like parasols had a feminizing effect in Athenian society.<sup>59</sup> However, the Anacreontic figures do not entirely conform to this model of effeminacy. They wear Lydian-style clothes and carry leisure items, but their presence at a symposium and the fact that they still wear full beards and often carry staffs indicate that they have not entirely relinquished their masculinity. Instead, they are blending their traditional Greek masculinity with other elements, whether feminine, Eastern, or both simultaneously.

<sup>57</sup> *LSJ* lists κιθῶνάς as an Ionic variation of χιτών (*chiton*).

<sup>58</sup> The transformation of Mnesilochus is found in Ar. *Thesm.* 212-267.

<sup>59</sup> Van Wees 1998, p. 362.

## Conclusion

All of the evidence reviewed in this chapter points to the conclusion that the Anacreontic figures are neither strictly Eastern nor strictly feminine. Some parts of their costume have distinctly Eastern origins, such as the *chiton* and the *mitra*, while some have overt feminine connotations, such as the *sakkos*, and some blur the line, such as the *parasol*. Previous interpretations working from a modern perspective have tried to separate these two elements into a binary system, Eastern or feminine, that did not necessarily exist in the late sixth and early fifth centuries. While Athenians at the turn of the fifth century might have scoffed at the perceived femininity of elite dress, within those elite circles the blending of Eastern and feminine identities was normative. In the next two chapters I aim to show that the mixing of identities on Anacreontic vases is distinctly connected to the symposium and, more specifically, to Dionysian ritual practice.

## CHAPTER 2: ANACREONTIC THEMES IN SYMPOTIC LITERATURE

If the Anacreontic vases show Dionysian activity, it is important to place them in an appropriate context: the symposium. In this chapter I explore the possibility that the vases are related to a sympotic tradition of indulgence in different identities, including Easternness and femininity.<sup>60</sup> Separate from the strict boundaries of Athenian public life, the symposium provided a space for elite men to adopt different identities temporarily without compromising their civic and public status. The activities of symposiasts and the institution of the symposium itself reflect the ethnic and gender ambiguity that we have seen on the Anacreontic vases themselves. This chapter looks at themes of ambiguity in sympotic literature, particularly lyric and elegiac poetry as well as prose, and the poetic voice and reperformance.

### **The Symposium and the East**

The institution of the symposium itself inherently includes a certain amount of ethnic ambiguity. Modern scholars generally accept that Near Eastern practices had some influence on the Athenian symposium. Walter Burkert describes the evidence for drinking practices in the Near East up to the Bronze Age, and the similarities to the Greek symposium: according to him, there are “more contrasts than parallels,” meaning that the symposium has some shared characteristics with Eastern customs but is also distinct from

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<sup>60</sup> Some of the ideas in this chapter are adapted from Polos 2018.

them.<sup>61</sup> Oswyn Murray points out that this ritual male drinking likely went back to Homeric times, with the tradition of reclining on couches being an Eastern introduction.<sup>62</sup> Likewise Marek Wećowski finds parallels between Homeric epic and Classical symposia, such as Odysseus circulating *epidexia* (“to the right,” much like sympotic drinking cups) around the suitors’ banquet, and finds some of the most important elements of symposia, particularly “rigorous separation of food from drink, nocturnal dining, and assembling in a strictly male group,” to be absent from Eastern traditions.<sup>63</sup> According to Kathleen Lynch, a Corinthian black-figure vase depicting Herakles at the court of Eurytos, c. 600 BCE, is the first representation of reclining drinkers.<sup>64</sup> The recording of Homeric epic and this early depiction of sympotic activity both occur during the Orientalizing period in the eighth and seventh centuries BCE, when Greek cities were adopting and adapting Near Eastern trends in art and society. While not necessarily explicitly Eastern, these sympotic origins have some Eastern connections and influence.

Even if the symposium itself was not an explicitly Eastern institution, in the late sixth and early fifth centuries, when the Anacreontic vases were being produced, the occasion of aristocrats gathering together to drink and indulge in luxury would have been connected with the idea that such luxuriating tendencies had ties to Near Eastern and tyrannical influences. Certainly the entertainment of the symposium often had Eastern implications: many early and renowned sympotic poets, such as Anacreon and Alcaeus,

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<sup>61</sup> Burkert 1991, p. 8.

<sup>62</sup> Fisher 1988, p. 1170; Murray 2009, pp. 513-514; Lynch 2012, p. 527.

<sup>63</sup> Wećowski 2002, p. 630; Wećowski 2014, p. 156.

<sup>64</sup> Lynch 2012, p. 537; Musée du Louvre, Paris, E 635.

were from the Near East or served at the court of Near Eastern or East Greek tyrants.<sup>65</sup> As such, an Athenian symposiast could recite the poetry of an Eastern poet and temporarily gain an Eastern identity as he adopted the poetic *ego* in a poem's reperformance.

However, outside of reclining and Eastern-inspired or Eastern-imported poetry, scholars like Murray, Weçowski, and Burkert do not find evidence that the symposium as a whole was adapted from the Near East. Instead it seems to have developed out of Greek elite traditions, such as those depicted at Homeric banquets, and at some point adopted the leisurely Eastern attribute of reclining while drinking.

The Eastern attributes of the symposium relate to a larger theme of ambiguity concerning ethnicity in the late sixth and early fifth centuries BCE. In the midst of the Persian Wars, it was around this time Athenians were forming a Greek identity in opposition to the Near East. Part of this involved associating Eastern identity with another identity opposed to that of the ideal masculine Athenian: femininity. This conflation of identities is evident in some later fifth-century texts, particularly Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazusae*.

### **Eastern vs. Feminine - Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazusae***

Outside of the symposium, attitudes toward the Near East and femininity were less flexible in fifth-century Athens, and the two identities were often conflated. A clear example of this opinion appears in Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazusae* (411 BCE), in an

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<sup>65</sup> Campbell 1982.

interaction between the poet Agathon and the onlooker Mnesilochus. As he and Euripides watch Agathon performing a ritual in his garden, a bewildered Mnesilochus questions the poet's appearance (136-143):

ποδαπὸς ὁ γύννης; τίς πάτρα; τίς ἡ στολή;<sup>66</sup>  
 τίς ἡ τάραξις τοῦ βίου; τί βάρβιτος  
 λαλεῖ κροκωτῶ; τί δὲ λύρα κεκρυφάλω;  
 τί λήκυθος καὶ στρόφιον; ὡς οὐ ξύμφορον.  
 τίς δαὶ κατόπτρου καὶ ξίφους κοινωνία;  
 τίς δ' αὐτὸς ὃ παῖ; πότερον ὡς ἀνὴρ τρέφει;  
 καὶ ποῦ πέος; ποῦ χλαῖνα; ποῦ Λακωνικάι;  
 ἀλλ' ὡς γυνὴ δῆτ': εἶτα ποῦ τὰ τιθία;

Where is this womanish man from? What is his country? What is his dress?  
 What is the confusion in his life? Why does he play a *barbiton*  
 in a saffron robe? And why a *lyre* in a hairnet?  
 Why is there a *lekkythos* and a breast band? Truly it is indecent.  
 What is there in common between a mirror and a sword?  
 But what are you child? Were you raised as a man in the first place?  
 And where is your member? Where is your cloak? Where are your Laconian  
 shoes?  
 But of course you were raised as a woman. But then where are your breasts?

In this passage Mnesilochus identifies many examples of Eastern, feminine, and masculine attributes. The Eastern and sympotic nature of the barbiton and the lyre provide contrast for the femininity of the *krokotos* and breast band. The feminine nature of the mirror is balanced by the masculinity of the sword, and the sexual nature of the contrast is heightened by the use of *κοινωνία* (“relation” or “sexual intercourse”). The description of masculine attributes is useful as a representation of how Athenian men of the late fifth century may have dressed: a *chlaina* instead of a *himation*, and Laconian

<sup>66</sup> Aristophanes is parodying the same line in Aesch. Fr. 61 (*Edonians*); in the *Edonians* it is Lycurgus talking about Dionysus; see chapter 3, p. 68.

shoes, as addressed in chapter 1.<sup>67</sup> This lines up well with Thucydides' implication that, following the Persian Wars, Athenian men rejected Ionian dress in favor of Spartan styles (1.6.4):<sup>68</sup>

μετρία δ' αὖ ἐσθῆτι καὶ ἐς τὸν νῦν τρόπον πρῶτοι Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐχρήσαντο καὶ ἐς τὰ ἄλλα πρὸς τοὺς πολλοὺς οἱ τὰ μείζω κεκτημένοι ἰσοδιαίτοι μάλιστα κατέστησαν.

But the Lacedaimonians first adopted a moderate dress in the current fashion and those who had more made themselves equal with the masses in other ways.

Agathon's response to Mnesilochus' comments is significant for two reasons. He first comments that in order to write convincing characters properly, specifically female characters, a poet must take on feminine appearance and experience (*Ar. Thesm.* 148-152):

ἐγὼ δὲ τὴν ἐσθῆθ' ἅμα γνώμη φορῶ.  
 χρὴ γὰρ ποιητὴν ἄνδρα πρὸς τὰ δράματα  
 ἂ δεῖ ποιεῖν πρὸς ταῦτα τοὺς τρόπους ἔχειν.  
 αὐτίκα γυναικεῖ' ἦν ποιῆ τις δράματα,  
 μετουσίαν δεῖ τῶν τρόπων τὸ σῶμ' ἔχειν.

I dress in accordance with my mind.  
 For a poet must adopt the costumes which  
 Which he makes for his characters.  
 For example, what you make a feminine costume,  
 It is necessary to experience the styles on one's own body.

Following his endorsement of adopting a feminine appearance to better understand his characters, Agathon describes the proper appearance of a poet, and specifically names Ibycus, Anacreon, and Alcaeus, three poets known for their sympotic themes (*Ar. Thesm.*

<sup>67</sup> Chapter 1, pp. 10-11; it is important to note that this evidence from the *Thesmophoriazusae* cannot be taken as absolute proof due to the nature of Aristophanic comedy, but even so it gives some insight on principles of proper dress for fifth-century Athenian men.

<sup>68</sup> Lee 2015, p. 108.

159-167):

ἄλλως τ' ἄμουσόν ἐστι ποιητὴν ἰδεῖν  
 ἀγρεῖον ὄντα καὶ δασύν: σκέψαι δ' ὅτι  
 Ἴβυκος ἐκεῖνος κἀνακρέων ὁ Τήιος  
 κάλκαϊος, οἱ περὶ ἁρμονίαν ἐχύμισαν,  
 ἐμιτροφόρουν τε καὶ διεκλῶντ' Ἴωνικῶς,  
 καὶ Φρύνιχος, τοῦτον γὰρ οὖν ἀκήκοας,  
 αὐτός τε καλὸς ἦν καὶ καλῶς ἡμπέσχετο:  
 διὰ τοῦτ' ἄρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ κάλ' ἦν τὰ δράματα.  
 ὅμοια γὰρ ποιεῖν ἀνάγκη τῇ φύσει.

Anyway it is disharmonious for a poet to appear  
 As boorish and shaggy; but consider  
 Ibycus and Anacreon of Teos  
 And Alcaeus, who made beautiful music,  
 They wore *mitrai* and followed Ionian fashions.  
 And Phrynichus, for certainly you have heard him,  
 He was beautiful and clothed himself beautifully;  
 Because of this then his plays were beautiful.  
 For it must be that they are the same by nature.

In the world of Aristophanes, Agathon's appearance is entirely feminine to the average Athenian. However, the character of the poet himself ties the trend back to some of the great sympotic poets of the sixth century and their Eastern connections. Alcaeus, from Lesbos, and Anacreon, from Teos in Ionia, were both from the Near East, and Anacreon and Ibycus were both active at the court of the tyrant Polycrates at Samos.<sup>69</sup> He also refers to the Greek playwright Phrynichus, who began his career at the end of the sixth century, near the end or shortly after the reign of the tyrant Hippias and Anacreon's time in Athens, when Athens was confronting the tendencies of the Easternizing elites and creating a new Greek identity.<sup>70</sup> In Aristophanes' portrayal at least, at the end of the fifth

<sup>69</sup> Edmonds 1924, pp. 121-136; Campbell 1982, pp. 285-288, 305-306, 313-315.

<sup>70</sup> Buckham 1827, pp. 16-22.

century there is a strong link between perceptions of the East and of femininity, and both are connected to poetry, drama, and performance.

### The Symposium and Gender

The symposium was certainly an institution influenced by Eastern customs and adapted to Athenian values and principles. However, in addition to its cultural ambiguities, it also invited gender ambiguities. The issue of gender at the symposium was dictated by issues of gender in the *polis*, where the divide between masculinity and femininity was portrayed as much more definite.

In fifth-century Athens, the public persona of a citizen male was strictly defined in opposition to anything “other.” In addition to being opposed to young, old, and foreign, an Athenian citizen was expected to embody masculinity in distinct opposition to femininity.<sup>71</sup> Unsanctioned indulgence in femininity was a serious offense to the civic ideal of masculinity. One fourth-century example of this is seen in Aischines’ oration *Against Timarchus*, in which the defendant is accused of playing the role of a woman (*In Tim. 1.111*):

ὁ μὲν ἀνὴρ ἔστιν Ἡγήσανδρος ἐκεῖνος νυνί, ἔφη, ἄπροτερον δ’ ἦν καὶ αὐτὸς  
Λεωδάμαντος γυνή: ἡ δὲ γυνή Τίμαρχος οὐτοσί.

The man is that man Hegesandros now, he said, but earlier the same man was a woman of Leodamos; and the woman is this here Timarchos.

In this case, an accusation of femininity could be damaging in court, degrading the civic

<sup>71</sup> Zeitlin 1996, pp. 3-4; McNiven 2000, p. 83.

status of a public figure. If masculinity represented self-control and moderation, femininity implied extreme emotion and a lack of self-control. Timothy McNiven argues that the binary between masculine and feminine was strengthened after the development of Athenian democracy at the end of the sixth century, the same period as the production of the Anacreontic vases.<sup>72</sup> However, this strict gender structure was sometimes more theoretical than practical; John Winkler describes the restrictions on masculinity as being “selectively applied and rarely enforced,” dependent on social factors such as wealth and status.<sup>73</sup> If this is true, then, at least among the elite class, there may have been some room for latitude in appearance.

In a society that discouraged androgyny and femininity, the symposium represented the ideal place for temporary experiences of deviance. The occasion was centered around moderate indulgence in drink and behavior, and a Dionysian liberation from social constraints.<sup>74</sup> As such, elite male citizens, sheltered in a space of shared status and interest, could shed parts of their public identity and try on attributes of otherness, within moderation, particularly femininity.

Even the physical space of the symposium cannot be classified as a distinctly masculine or feminine space. Social customs proscribed strict separation of masculine and feminine, and in theory this extended to the private house; Xenophon and Lysias both describe Athenian houses as being divided between male and female space.<sup>75</sup> However,

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<sup>72</sup> McNiven 2012, p. 515.

<sup>73</sup> Davies 1981, p. 290; Winkler 1990, 197.

<sup>74</sup> Pellizer 1990, p. 178; Jameson 1993, p. 63.

<sup>75</sup> Xenophon *Oec.* 9.5; Lysias 1.9.

as the *polis* outside was the realm of men and masculinity, the *oikos* was the domain of women and femininity.<sup>76</sup> The *andron*, the room specifically designated for all-male symposia, was generally nestled into a corner of the house near the front door and separated from the sights and sounds of feminine domestic space by a hallway.<sup>77</sup> This specific location of a room devoted to male activities is significant, as it was in a way a liminal space between the masculine, civic world of the *polis* and the feminine, domestic realm further within the *oikos*.

In fact, unconventional femininity was the only kind allowed at the symposium. Respectable Athenian women were excluded from participation, and the only women allowed inside were there for entertainment, such as flute-girls and dancers, like those described in Xenophon's *Symposium*, or *hetairai* for sexual and philosophical pleasure.<sup>78</sup> Women being present were one way to incorporate femininity into the symposium, although it still remained a masculine-centered event; another way was for the men to become women themselves. There is evidence that suggests that the symposium was far from a bastion of Athenian civic masculinity. The opportunity to have drunken escapades, to cavort with *hetairai* and prostitutes, and to be separated from their social identity within the privacy of the *andron* loosened, if only temporarily, the conventional expectations placed on men.

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<sup>76</sup> Corner 2011, pp. 60-61.

<sup>77</sup> Murray 2009, p. 512; Corner 2011, p. 62; Lynch 2012, p. 531; Tsakirgis 2016, pp. 445-46.

<sup>78</sup> Fantham et al. 1994, p. 103; Xen. *Symp.* II.1.

### Sympotic Femininity

There are examples of men becoming feminine at symposia. Generally, the only evidence for the physical femininity of men is the Anacreontic vases themselves, which, as we have seen in chapter 1, is not so clear-cut as men dressing in women's clothing. However, there is also a certain metaphorical feminization, in which male symposiasts take on a feminine persona.

The most notable example of this symbolic feminization appears in Plato's *Symposium*, set in 416 but written c. 385-370. In the penultimate speech on Love, Socrates takes on the voice of Diotima to give the ultimate explanation of the nature of *eros*.<sup>79</sup> It is significant that Diotima is a foreigner from Mantinea, and therefore not an Athenian citizen woman who would be discouraged from attending the symposium. Socrates is not only becoming female, but also foreign (although not, in this case, Eastern). This transformation could have been avoided if the philosopher had simply described his initiation into the rituals of love, but instead he repeats the conversation word for word, projecting a woman's voice through his own mouth. At one point in the speech the Mantinean woman's words almost reflect the performative context itself (Pl. *Symp.* 208b):

ταύτη τῆ μηχανῆ, ὃ Σώκρατες, ἔφη, θνητὸν ἀθανασίας μετέχει, καὶ σῶμα καὶ  
τᾶλλα πάντα...

By this contrivance, Socrates, she said, a mortal thing takes part in immortality, both in the body and in all other things...

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<sup>79</sup> Pl. *Symp.* 201d-212a.

Socrates is not taking part in immortality, but he is using a peculiar contrivance (μηχανῆ) to take part in womanhood. Diotima goes on to discuss how men can become pregnant in their soul and give birth to philosophy and noble ideas (Pl. *Symp.* 208e-209e). Here Socrates is not only appropriating a woman's voice, but also the uniquely female experience of giving birth. David Leitão discusses the philosophy of this part of the dialogue as a descendent of male birth mythology, such as Zeus's birth of Athena and Dionysus, and a twisting of a traditionally feminine experience into a masculine narrative.<sup>80</sup> In a similar occurrence, Socrates again appropriates feminine identity and experience in his *Theaetetus*, although not explicitly at a symposium (Pl. *Tht.* 150b):

τῆ δέ γ' ἐμῆ τέχνη τῆς μαιεύσεως τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ὑπάρχει ὅσα ἐκείναις, διαφέρει δὲ τῶ τε ἀνδρας ἀλλὰ μὴ γυναῖκας μαιεύεσθαι καὶ τῶ τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν τικτούσας ἐπισκοπεῖν ἀλλὰ μὴ τὰ σώματα.

Such things as are proper to those practices of midwifery are also proper to my craft, but mine differs by serving as midwife to men but not women and by looking at their souls while they give birth but not their bodies.<sup>81</sup>

David Halperin suggests that this appropriation of the feminine power of procreation required a feminine voice to have any sort of authority.<sup>82</sup> Like Agathon tells Mnesilochus and Euripides in the *Thesmophoriazusaē* (155-156):

....ἃ δ' οὐ κεκτήμεθα  
μίμησις ἤδη ταῦτα συνθηρεύεται.

Imitation then gains [for us] those things  
Which we have not acquired [naturally].

<sup>80</sup> Leitão 2012, p. 200; for more analysis of Zeus' power to give birth, see chapter 3, pp. 62-64.

<sup>81</sup> See Leitão 2012, pp. 227-270 for more extensive exploration of Socratic midwifery.

<sup>82</sup> Halperin 1990, p. 277.

While the setting of the *Theaetetus* is ambiguous, Plato appropriately stages the feminization of Socrates as Diotima at a symposium. The feminine voice of authority and boundary-crossing would be inappropriate for public discourse in the masculine civic sphere. However, in the world of the symposium, men could experiment with this alternate identity if so inclined.

This adoption of the feminine voice at the symposium was certainly not exclusively philosophical. There is evidence for at least one female sympotic poet in the fifth century: Praxilla of Sikyon was “well-known” for drinking songs around 451 BCE, according to Eusebius.<sup>83</sup> In the third century CE, Athenaeus described her long-lasting legacy (Ath. 15.49):

καὶ Πράξιλλα δ' ἡ Σικυωνία ἐθαυμάζετο ἐπὶ τῆ τῶν σκολίων ποιήσει.

Praxilla the Sikyonian was admired for her composition of *scolia*.

Very little of Praxilla’s poetry remains for us to analyze the importance of her voice at the symposium, and there are few details about her life which give insight into how she became such a popular sympotic composer. Some scholars, including Wilamowitz, have suggested that she was a *hetaira*, a status which allowed her to attend symposia.<sup>84</sup> Even if she was not a *hetaira*, the fact that she was from Sikyon, not Athens, may have had some bearing on her popularity, since as a non-Athenian woman she would have been more welcome in sympotic space, whether she was there physically or metaphorically.

Although Praxilla may be the only well-known composer who wrote poetry and

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<sup>83</sup> Campbell 1982, p. 446.

<sup>84</sup> Snyder 1989, p. 56.

scolia specifically for performance at symposia, there were certainly other female poets who composed in styles popular at the event. Jane McIntosh Snyder describes the work of Praxilla, Sappho, and three other fifth-century female poets, Myrtis of Anthedon, Korinna of Tanagra, and Telesilla of Argos.<sup>85</sup> Notably, none of these women are Athenian. For the two whose poetry was certainly performed at symposia, Sappho and Praxilla, the performance and reperformance of their words blended the feminine and the foreign.

Another source of sympotic poetry by women is Sappho of Lesbos. Although her poems were likely composed for female choruses instead of Athenian, male-centered symposia, Sappho's poetry became a standard at the events even within her lifetime and remained so for centuries.<sup>86</sup> There are clear parallels between some of her poems and those of male sympotic poets. Sappho's address to Attis, for example, contains similar language and themes to Anacreon's "purple ball" poem (Sappho 49 Campbell):

ἠράμαν μὲν ἔγω σέθεν Ἄτθι πάλαι ποτά...  
σμίκρα μοι πάις ἔμμεν' ἐφαίνεο κᾶχαρις.

I once loved you long ago, Atthis,  
[But now] you seem to me to be a small and graceless child.

In this poem, Sappho reminisces about a former love whom she now sees as immature and fickle. Anacreon's poem similarly describes his love for a young girl, coincidentally (or perhaps not) from Lesbos, whose youth causes her to ignore him in favor of a younger competitor (Anac. 358 Campbell):

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<sup>85</sup>Snyder 1989, pp. 1-63.

<sup>86</sup>Hallett 1979, pp. 458-461; Walker 2000, pp. 231-232; Nagy 2010, pp. 177-178.

σφαίρη δηῦτέ με πορφυρῆ  
 βάλλων χρυσοκόμης Ἔρως  
 νήνι ποικιλοσαμβάλῳ  
 συμπαίζειν προκαλεῖται·  
 ἢ δ', ἐστὶν γὰρ ἀπ' εὐκτίτου  
 Λέσβου, τὴν μὲν ἐμὴν κόμην,  
 λευκὴ γάρ, καταμέμφεται,  
 πρὸς δ' ἄλλην τινὰ χάσκει.

Golden-haired Eros, striking  
 Me again with his purple ball,  
 Calls me to play with  
 The young girl in embroidered sandals.  
 But she, for she is from well-built  
 Lesbos, dislikes my hair,  
 For it is white,  
 And she ogles another.

Both of these poems relate the love a poet has for a girl who is immature and inattentive to the narrator. Meanwhile, Sappho's ode to "limb-relaxing Eros" is comparable to Archilochus' similar couplet in language and sentiment (Sappho 130 Campbell):

Ἔρος δηῦτέ μ' ὁ λυσιμέλης δόνει,  
 γλυκύπικρον ἀμαχανὸν ὄρπετον.

Limb-relaxing Eros agitates me,  
 Bittersweet, impossible beast.

Sappho's language in this poem, composed in the late seventh or early sixth century, echoes Archilochus' "limb relaxing desire" from half a century earlier (Archilochus 118 Campbell):

ἀλλά μ' ὁ λυσιμελής, ὧ ἑταῖρε, δάμναται πόθος.

But limb-relaxing desire overpowers me, friends.

Sappho's poetry alludes to themes and language common in other sympotic poetry, and certainly fits alongside poems by sympotic poets like Anacreon and Archilochus;

Gregory Nagy even suggests that there was a sort of dialogue between the poetry of Sappho and that of her contemporary Alcaeus, and later that of Anacreon.<sup>87</sup> This suggests that Sappho was well-acquainted with sympotic poetry and purposefully interacted with it, confirming her place as a female voice at symposia.

In addition to her sympotic-style poetry, Sappho is also portrayed in vase-painting in a style similar to the figures on the Anacreontic vases. Franco Ferrari and Dimitrios Yatromanolakis discuss three vessels depicting the poet from the late sixth and early fifth centuries.<sup>88</sup> Yatromanolakis notes that vases depicting Sappho appear at roughly the same time as vases showing Anacreon, and suggests that her appearance on sympotic vases shows that her poetry was a popular subject at the event.<sup>89</sup> To support her connection to the symposium further, one unusual vessel depicts Sappho and Alcaeus on one side, and Dionysus and a woman on the reverse.<sup>90</sup> In each representation, Sappho carries what Yatromanolakis identifies as a *barbitos*, and wears traditional feminine clothing, a *chiton* and a *himation*, as well as a *sakkos* on a *kalyx* krater by the Tithonos painter.<sup>91</sup> These depictions of Sappho in sympotic and komastic contexts support her connection to the symposium, and shed light on the Anacreontic vases as well. Since Sappho represents both Eastern and feminine identity, the similar appearance seen on the Anacreontic komasts can be connected more closely to both Eastern and feminine iconography.

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<sup>87</sup> Nagy 2007, p. 230.

<sup>88</sup> Yatromanolakis 2008, figs. 1, 3a-3b, 4a; Ferrari 2010, pp. 99-109, figs. 1-4.

<sup>89</sup> Yatromanolakis 2008, n.p.

<sup>90</sup> Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen, 2416; Yatromanolakis 2008, fig. 3a; Yatromanolakis notes that the art is sympotic, but the vase shape (a kalathos/psykter) perhaps is not.

<sup>91</sup> Bochum, Ruhr-Universität, Kunstsammlungen, S 508; Yatromanolakis 2008, fig. 4a.

It is important to recognize the work of Praxilla, Sappho, and other possible female sympotic poets because their poetry gave male symposiasts an opportunity to speak with a feminine voice and to adopt a feminine persona for the period of performance. Like Socrates' appropriation of Diotima's voice in the *Symposium*, the use of female-authored poetry means that men, otherwise discouraged from any sort of feminine experience, would be reciting the words of women and female experiences in front of a group of peer men. Nagy even suggests that reperformance at the symposium, specifically in the case of Sappho, involved recomposition by the performer, with symposiasts using the character of the poet to create new verses.<sup>92</sup> However, it is important to note that among these women's poems there are not many examples where the author draws attention to her gender. The different forms of *ἐγώ* are gender neutral, and specifically feminine adjectives and participles in reference to the speaker are rare. One exception is in Sappho 94, where the narrator is explicitly identified as a woman (1-5):

τεθνάκεν δ' ἀδόλως θέλω·  
 ἃ με ψισδομένα κατελίμπανεν  
 πόλλα καὶ τόδ' ἔειπέ [μοι·  
 'ἔμ' ὡς δεῖνα πεπ[όνθ]αμεν·  
 Ψάπφ', ἧ μάν σ' ἀέκοισ' ἀπυλιμπάνω.'

But I honestly wish she had died;  
 She left me weeping  
 And she said this to me many times:  
 "Alas we have suffered terrible things,  
 Sappho, truly I leave you unwillingly."

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<sup>92</sup> Nagy 2007, p. 228.

Due to the lack of surviving evidence, it is impossible to say whether the omission of explicit female referents was broadly conventional. These poems certainly possess elements of feminine identity in that their authors were women, and, in some cases, they were meant for a female audience. As such, this may have meant that a man reciting the poems at a symposium implicitly took on a female identity. The presence of a feminine voice in poetry and reperformance supports the idea that there were elements of gender ambiguity at symposia.

Female-authored poetry was not the only source of feminine speech at the symposium. There are at least three male-authored poems that are written in an unspecified feminine voice, two attributed to Theognis and one to Alcaeus. In the first Theognidean passage, the speaker is a mare complaining about her driver (Thgn. 257-260 Edmonds):

ἵππος ἐγὼ καλὴ καὶ ἀεθλίη, ἀλλὰ κάκιστον  
 ἄνδρα φέρω, καὶ μοι τοῦτ' ἀνηρότατον:  
 πολλάκι δ' ἠμέλλησα διαρρήξασα χαλινὸν  
 φεύγεν, ἀπωσαμένη τὸν κακὸν ἠνίοχον.

I am a beautiful and prize-winning mare, but I carry  
 The worst man, and this thing is most grievous to me;  
 But often I was about to run away, to escape  
 The bit, throwing off the evil charioteer.

This poem contains a female speaker and an implicitly sexual aspect: the passive feminine figure, perhaps a wife saddled by a loveless marriage, is literally mounted by the dominant male, the charioteer, against her will. By reciting this poem, a symposiast temporarily becomes a woman and the passive figure of the pair, and gives voice to an

experience that he would otherwise never know according to social conventions in Archaic and Classical Athens.

Our second Theognidean passage also gives voice to a feminine persona; this time her gender is only identified by a single word, *αὐτομάτη* (Thgn. 861-864 Edmonds):

οἱ με φίλοι προδιδούσι καὶ οὐκ ἐθέλουσι τι δοῦναι  
 ἀνδρῶν φαινομένων: ἀλλ' ἐγὼ αὐτομάτη  
 ἔσπερὶ τ' ἔξειμι καὶ ὀρθρὴ αὐτίς ἔσειμι,  
 ἦμος ἀλεκτρυόνων φθόγγος ἐγειρομένων.

My loved ones betray me and did not wish to give me anything  
 When men appear; but on my own I  
 Go out in the evening and come in again in the morning,  
 With the sound of the roosters awakening.

The *ego* of this poem is not explicitly identified, but it is certainly feminine.<sup>93</sup> The imagery of leaving in the evening and returning in the morning invites comparison to the *komoi* that appear on Anacreontic and other sympotic vases, when men leave their symposia on a parade through town. In addition to its connection to sympotic themes like *komoi*, the important point here is again the placement of a feminine voice into men's mouths via sympotic poetry. The comical thought of being pushed outside when guests arrive is far from the gendered ideal, since women retreated further into the safety and privacy of the house when men arrived. This creates a contrast between the poem and the social conventions of Archaic and Classical Athenian society.

Our final female narrator comes from a fragment by Alcaeus. Once again, the subject is not explicitly identified, but its gender is provided by a feminine adjective,

<sup>93</sup> In the commentary of *Elegy and Iambus*, Edmonds suggests it may be “a harlot’s cat,” forced outside when clients come to visit; Edmonds 1931, p. 331 fn. 4.

δείλαν, and participle, πεδέχοισαν (Alc. 86 Edmonds):

ἔμε δείλαν, ἔμε παίσαν κακοτάτων πεδέχοισαν

[Look at] me a wretched girl, me having a share in all miseries.

Without more of the poem it is impossible to determine the meaning. Perhaps it is an erotic poem in the style of Sappho, mourning unrequited love. What matters is the context: if this poem was performed at symposia, we see how it would have invited male attendants to produce a feminine voice.

### Sympotic Easternness

If the symposium follows the same patterns of ambiguity as the Anacreontic vases, we might expect sympotic poetry to have ethnic ambiguity in the same way it has gender ambiguity. However, the same sort of analysis concerning feminine voices cannot be applied to Eastern voices at symposia. While there were many poets with Eastern origins or connections, these factors did not necessarily become part of their poetic identity in the same way that femininity did for female poets. When sympotic poets draw attention to ethnicity, it generally seems to be a point of derision of others, not celebration of themselves. Xenophanes' discussion of his fellow Colophonians certainly does not take pride in the luxurious trends of his native land (Xenophanes 3 Campbell):

ἀβροσύνας δὲ μαθόντες ἀνωφελέας παρὰ Λυδῶν,  
 ὄφρα τυραννίης ἦσαν ἄνευ στυγερῆς.  
 ἦσαν εἰς ἀγορὴν παναλουργέα φάρε' ἔχοντες,  
 οὐ μείους ὥσπερ χίλιοι εἰς ἐπίταν,  
 ἀυχαλέοι, χαίτησιν ἀγαλλόμενοι εὐπρεπέεσσιν,  
 ἀσκητοῖς ὁδμήν χρίμασι δευόμενοι.

But after they learned useless luxury from the Lydians  
 While they were free from hateful tyranny  
 They went into the agora wearing purple clothes  
 Not less than a thousand altogether,  
 Vain, showing off their beautiful hair  
 Drenching their scent in curious oils.

Xenophanes was from Colophon in Ionia and lived c. 570-478 BCE.<sup>94</sup> This places the composition of this poem in the early fifth century at the latest, which means that this luxurious habit was already associated with femininity at that time and probably earlier. He describes the men as one would describe women focused on their appearance, emphasizing their vanity. Similarly, Anacreon's poem on Artemon, from the second half of the sixth century BCE, describes a man indulging in luxurious habits (Anac. 388 Campbell; Ath. 12.533f):

πρὶν μὲν ἔχων βερβέριον, καλύμματ' ἔσφηκωμένα,  
 καὶ ξυλίνους ἀστραγάλους ἐν ὠσὶ καὶ ψιλὸν περὶ  
 πλευρῆσι δέρριον βοός,  
 νήπλυτον εἴλωμα κακῆς ἀσπίδος, ἀρτοπόλισιν  
 κάθελοπόρνοισιν ὀμιλέων ὁ πονηρὸς Ἀρτέμων,  
 κίβδηλον εὐρίσκων βίον,  
 πολλὰ μὲν ἐν δουρὶ τιθεὶς ἀνχένα, πολλὰ δ' ἐν τροχῷ,  
 πολλὰ δὲ νῶτα σκυτίνῃ μάλιστα θωμιχθεὶς, κόμην  
 πάγωνά τ' ἐκτετιλμένος:  
 νῦν δ' ἐπιβαίνει σατινέων, χρύσεια φορέων καθέρματα,  
 πάις Κύκης, καὶ σκιαδίσκην ἔλεφαντίνην φορεῖ  
 γυναιξὶν αὐτως ...

Earlier he wore a ragged costume, a wasp-like hat,  
 And wooden blocks in his ears and had a worn skin  
 Of leather around his ribs,  
 An unwashed case for a bad shield,  
 The knave Artemon associated with baker-women and catamites,  
 He led a dishonest life,  
 He frequently put his neck into the stocks, and onto the wheel,

<sup>94</sup> Campbell 1982, p. 331.

And whipped his back with a leather scourge, and  
 Plucked his hair and beard;  
 But now he goes around in a chariot, wearing golden earrings,  
 The slave of Cyke, and he carries an ivory parasol,  
 Like women...

The poem does not specify where Artemon comes from, but certain elements point to an Eastern origin: the description of a wasp-like headdress (καλύμματ' ἐσφηκωμένα) recalls images of the Lydian *mitra* (Ch. 1, figs. 1 and 14) and the parasol (σκιαδίσκην ἑλεφαντίνην). The headdress could be associated with Artemon's possible Eastern background, and the phrase is not part of the distinctly feminizing theme that appears in the second half of the poem, but the parasol is explicitly associated with femininity. He is certainly carrying himself in the luxurious fashion associated with the Near East. The reference to plucked hair is also reminiscent of Herodotus' description of Cyrus' punishment of the Lydians (Hdt. 1.155; see chapter 1, pp. 32-33), a story with which Anacreon must have been familiar, and of Agathon's description of poets as not being rough and hairy according to Eastern style (Ar. *Thesm.* 159-163; see above, pp. 39-40). Once again, these attributes are associated both with Easternness and femininity, and in these cases the poet never associates himself with them. Instead, Eastern poets seem to distance themselves from these trends.

Since these poets do not generally explicitly associate themselves with an Eastern identity, the reperformance of their poetry only gives symposiasts an Eastern identity by implication. Unlike the female voice, which uses feminine adjectives and participles, there are no distinct linguistic markers inherent to an Eastern identity. Furthermore, since some of these poets seem to ridicule Eastern luxury and its associations with femininity,

it seems unlikely that symposiasts would take on an Eastern persona without also adding in the implication of feminine. The association of an Eastern identity with femininity creates an internal conflict in the identity of the poet, and therefore the performer. However, later authors like Aristophanes associate these poets with the same Eastern trends, so it is difficult to tell if it was part of their personae or not. Nevertheless, this review demonstrates that there is some aspect of ethnic ambiguity at the symposium in the form of literature by Eastern poets, although the evidence is not as strong as that for gender ambiguity.

### **Conclusion**

Similar to the iconography of the Anacreontic vases, exploring ambiguities of gender and ethnicity in sympotic literature is far from straightforward. Like the vases, the symposium certainly contains some degree of ethnic and gender ambiguity. Certain Eastern customs and the work of Eastern poets gave the event a foreign aspect, but, in Athens at least, it remained a unique institution. The popularity of Eastern-born poets like Alcaeus and Anacreon overlaps the popularity of female poets like Praxilla and Sappho. The appropriation of the feminine voice, though, stands alone; I have not found any examples of symposium-related literature that appropriate an Eastern voice in the same way. There is certainly a mix of masculine, feminine, Greek, and Eastern identities at the symposium, but not to such an obvious extent as on the Anacreontic vases, and the evidence of ambiguity is overshadowed by the body of evidence for the normative behavior of Athenian men in sympotic poetry.

However, when one puts the literary alongside the material evidence, the suggestion that there was a tradition of boundary-crossing at symposia gains strength. Visual ambiguity on the Anacreontic vases in the forms of dress and activity complements the literary ambiguity of voice in sympotic poetry. The conclusion that the Anacreontic vases represent a tradition of mixing gender and ethnicity supports the possibility of the symposium doing the same, and vice versa.

There is still an additional piece of the puzzle of ethnic and gender ambiguity at symposia to consider. As I will highlight, the symposium has an inherent element of ambiguity because of its connection to Dionysus. The god, as well as his cult practices and his followers, display significant ethnic and gender ambiguity in the late sixth and early fifth centuries. These cult practices and traditional beliefs about the nature of the god and his attendants may shed more light on the nature of the Anacreontic vases and their role in the symposium. We turn to this in the following chapter.

### CHAPTER 3: ANACREONTIC THEMES IN DIONYSIAN TRADITIONS

So far, we have determined that a common theme of ethnic and gender ambiguities characterize the Anacreontic vases and, to a certain degree, the symposium. The final step of this investigation is to determine whether or not this theme of ambiguity, which appears in vase painting and sympotic literature, is visible in other features of late-sixth and early-fifth century Athenian society. While not necessarily limited to these contexts, ethnic and, in particular, gender ambiguity seem to be especially connected to practices and traditions related to the god Dionysus.

The connection of the Anacreontic vases to Dionysus has not been thoroughly explored. Some scholars have made connections between the vases and different elements of the Dionysian world, such as ritual cross-dressing and iconographic similarities between the Anacreontic figures and the god and his followers.<sup>95</sup> As sympotic vessels connected to wine drinking there is an inherent connection between them and the god. However, I believe that the connection to Dionysus deeper, encompassing the god's ethnic and gender ambiguities and traditional cult practices.

#### **Dionysus and his Background**

As briefly noted in chapter 1, Dionysus himself has an uncertain origin.<sup>96</sup> There is a variety of different stories of the god's birthplace in a number of places. *Homeric Hymn*

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<sup>95</sup> Webster 1972; Frontisi-Ducroux and Lissarrague, 1990; Surtees 2014.

<sup>96</sup> See chapter 1, pp. 26-29.

*I to Dionysus*, possibly dating from the seventh century BCE,<sup>97</sup> describes a number of the purported locations of Dionysus' birth and upbringing (1-9):

...οἱ μὲν γὰρ Δρακάνῳ σ', οἱ δ' Ἰκάρῳ ἠνεμοέσση  
 φάς', οἱ δ' ἐν Νάξῳ, δῖον γένος, εἰραφιῶτα,  
 οἱ δέ σ' ἐπ' Ἀλφειῷ ποταμῷ βαθυδινηέντι  
 κυσαμένην Σεμέλην τεκέειν Διὶ τερπικεραύνῳ:  
 ἄλλοι δ' ἐν Θήβησιν, ἄναξ, σε λέγουσι γενέσθαι,  
 ψευδόμενοι: σὲ δ' ἔτικτε πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε  
 πολλὸν ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων, κρύπτων λευκώλενον Ἥρην.  
 ἔστι δε τις Νύση, ὕπατον ὄρος, ἀνθέον ὕλη,  
 τηλοῦ Φοινίκης, σχεδὸν Αἰγύπτιοιο ῥοάων...

For some say that you [were born] at Dracanum, and others say in  
 Windy Ikaros, and still others in Naxos, heaven-born, stitched-in,<sup>98</sup>  
 And others that at the deep-swirling river Alpheius  
 Pregnant Semele bore you to thundering Zeus;  
 And others say, lord, that you were born in Thebes,  
 But they are wrong; the father of men and gods bore you  
 Far away from mankind, hiding you from white-armed Hera.  
 It is a certain Nysa, the highest mountain, which is flourishing with woodlands,  
 In far-off Phoenicia, near the rivers of Egypt...

These locations are geographically diverse: Drakanon or Ikaros (Ikaria) near Ionia; Naxos in the Cyclades; near the river Alpheius in the Peloponnese; and Thebes in Boeotia, which was the home of Dionysus' mother Semele. Spread throughout the Aegean, these locations reflect longstanding differences in the origin myths of Dionysus, but the author of this hymn settles on Mount Nysa in Phoenicia as the "true" birthplace of the god.<sup>99</sup>

<sup>97</sup> West 2011, p. 34.

<sup>98</sup> Translation of εἰραφιῶτα from Ruden and Murnaghan 2005, p. 1; West (2011, p. 30) translates it as "bull god."

<sup>99</sup> The location of Mount Nysa itself is the subject of some disagreement; Hesychius of Alexandria's fifth- or sixth-century CE *Γλῶσσαι* provides a list of possible locations of the mountain (<Νῦσα): "It is not in one place, for it is in Arabia, Ethiopia, Egypt, Babylon, Erythraea, Thrace, Thessaly, Cilicia, India, Libya, Macedonia, Naxos, and Syria."

This is repeated in *Homeric Hymn 26 to Dionysus*, which describes Dionysus' upbringing by the nymphs of Mount Nysa (1-5):<sup>100</sup>

κισσοκόμην Διόνυσον ἐρίβρομον ἄρχομ' αἰεΐειν,  
 Ζηνὸς καὶ Σεμέλης ἐρικυδέος ἀγλαὸν υἱόν,  
 ὃν τρέφον ἠύκομοι Νύμφαι παρὰ πατρὸς ἄνακτος  
 δεξάμεναι κόλποισι καὶ ἐνδυκέως ἀτίταλλον  
 Νύσης ἐν γάλοις...

I begin to sing about loud-shouting, ivy-crowned Dionysus,  
 Splendid son of Zeus and beautiful Semele,  
 Whom the lovely-haired Nymphs raised for his lordly father,  
 Having received him into their laps they raised him gently  
 In vales of Nysa...

If these hymns do date from the Archaic period, they show that at the time of the production of the Anacreontic vases there was a strong connection between Dionysus and the Near East at that time.<sup>101</sup>

This tradition continued in the Classical period. In particular, there was a distinct connection between Dionysus and Lydia, the source of luxurious customs, in the fifth century BCE. In Aeschylus' fragmentary *Edonians*, Lycurgus describes Dionysus' Eastern garb very clearly (Fr. 59):<sup>102</sup>

ὄστις χιτῶνας βασσάρας τε Λυδίας

<sup>100</sup> Miguel Herrero de Jáuregui suggests that *Homeric Hymn 26* may be a Hellenistic addition to the *Homeric Hymns*, and notes that there has not been much effort provide a date for it (2013, p. 239).

<sup>101</sup> The *Homeric Hymns* are a difficult category of evidence due to the difficulty providing a secure date for their composition. If Hymns 1 and 26 do not date from the Archaic period, as some argue, then that may be evidence that Dionysus' Eastern ethnicity is a later construct. Fortner (2011) argues that Dionysus only became Easternized in the fifth century, after the Persian Wars when the ethnic identity of the Greeks became more sharply contrasted with the East. I think that Dionysus' Eastern connections go back further, at least into the sixth century, based on the iconographic portrayals of Dionysus. West (2011) also places Hymn 1 before the classical period, as far back as the seventh century BCE, based on the presence of the myth of Dionysus' and Hephaestus' arrival on Olympus in Archaic literature and poetry.

<sup>102</sup> The date of the *Edonians* is unknown but must be sometime in the first half of the fifth century BCE; Sommerstein's commentary (Aeschylus and Sommerstein, 2008), following West, suggests that it is after 467.

ἔχει ποδήρεις...

He who wears Lydian *chitons* and fox skins  
Down to his feet...

This is an explicit association between Dionysus and Near Eastern attributes, specifically the Lydian *chiton*. In Euripides' *Bacchae* (405 BCE), Dionysus, in disguise as a priest of his own cult, travels through the Near East to Thebes to visit his mother's homeland. His first speech is dotted with references to his Near Eastern travels, beginning in Lydia (13-22):

λιπὼν δὲ Λυδῶν τοὺς πολυχρύσους γῆρας  
Φρυγῶν τε, Περσῶν θ' ἠλιοβλήτους πλάκας  
Βάκτριά τε τείχη την τε δύσχιμον χθόνα  
Μήδων ἐπελθὼν Ἀραβίαν τ' εὐδαίμονα  
Ἀσίαν τε πᾶσαν, ἣ παρ' ἄλμυρὰν ἅλα  
κεῖται μιγάσιν Ἑλλήσι βαρβάροις θ' ὁμοῦ  
πλήρεις ἔχουσα καλλιπυργῶτους πόλεις,  
ἐς τήνδε πρῶτον ἦλθον Ἑλλήνων πόλιν,  
τάκεῖ χορεύσας καὶ καταστήσας ἐμὰς  
τελετὰς, ἵν' εἶην ἐμφανῆς δαίμων βροτοῖς.

Having left the rich lands of the Lydians  
And the Phrygians, and the sunny plains of Persia  
And the Bactrian walls and troublesome land  
Of the Medes and having passed through wealthy Arabia  
And all of Asia, which lies beside the  
Salty sea, filled with towering cities  
With Greeks and barbarians mixing together similarly,  
I have come first to this city of Greece,  
Having danced there and established my  
Rites, so that I might be familiar among mortal men.

Later in the *Bacchae*, when questioned by Pentheus, Dionysus (still disguised as a priest) tells him that he hails from Lydia (Λυδία δέ μοι πατρίς, 464). Archaic and Classical literary evidence thus shows that at the time of the Anacreontic vases, there was a distinct

connection between the sympotic god Dionysus and the Near East, especially Lydia.

However, Dionysus' origins also involve elements of gender ambiguity. One notable version of how he was born inverts the “natural order” of childbirth: similar to how men could symbolically adopt a female identity at symposia, Zeus undergoes the experience of giving birth to Dionysus.<sup>103</sup> Apollodorus' *Bibliotheca* from the second century BCE gives a detailed account of the story, which also appears in fifth-century literature and vase painting.<sup>104</sup> Semele, pregnant with Dionysus, asked her lover Zeus to reveal himself in his true form (Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.4.3):

Σεμέλης δὲ διὰ τὸν φόβον ἐκλιπούσης, ἕξαμηνιαῖον τὸ βρέφος ἕξαμβλωθὲν ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς ἀρπάσας ἐνέρραψε τῷ μηρῷ....κατὰ δὲ τὸν χρόνον τὸν καθήκοντα Διόνυσον γεννᾷ Ζεὺς λύσας τὰ ράμματα, καὶ δίδωσιν Ἑρμῆι.

And after Semele died from fear, [Zeus,] snatching the six-month miscarried fetus from the fire, sewed it into his thigh.... And at the proper time Zeus, loosening his sutures, birthed Dionysus, and gave him to Hermes.

The *Homeric Hymn 1 to Dionysus* also refers to this story of male birth with Dionysus' epithet “stitched-in” (εἰραφιῶτα, line 2), as well as a verb of Zeus giving birth (ἔτικτε, 6).<sup>105</sup> These references indicate that the tale of Zeus' child-bearing ability dates back at least to the early Archaic period. In the fifth century Pherecydes also tells the story, which survives from a Homeric scholiast (FGrH 3F 90b):

Ζεὺς ἐκ τοῦ μηροῦ γεννηθέντα Διόνυσον ταῖς Δωδωνίσι νύμφαις τρέφειν ἔδωκεν...

<sup>103</sup> Notably Zeus is a male god who has given birth to two children, Dionysus and Athena, both of whom are known for a certain element of androgyny; for my analysis of male adoption of feminine identity, see chapter 2, pp. 43-53.

<sup>104</sup> Leitão (2012, pp. 58-99) summarizes the evidence for this myth from the fifth century BCE and argues that the myth of the thigh birth was largely absent in literature and vase painting before 470 BCE.

<sup>105</sup> Translation of εἰραφιῶτα from Ruden and Murnaghan 2005, p. 1; Plato uses the same verb (τίκτω) in the *Theaetetus* and the *Symposium* when referring to male pregnancy.

Zeus gave Dionysus, born from his thigh, to the Dodonian nymphs to raise...

Euripides also repeats the story multiple times in the *Bacchae*.<sup>106</sup> One such occasion is in a choral ode to Dirke (521-529):

σὺ γὰρ ἐν σαῖς ποτε παγαῖς  
τὸ Διὸς βρέφος ἔλαβες  
ὄτε μηρῷ πυρὸς ἐξ ἀ-  
θανάτου Ζεὺς ὁ τεκνῶν ἦρ-  
πασέ νιν, τὰδ' ἀναβοάσας:  
Ἴθι, Διθύραμβ', ἐμὸν ἄρ-  
σενα τάνδε βᾶθι νηδύν:  
ἀναφαίνω σε τόδ', ὦ Βάκ-  
χιε, Θήβαις ὀνομάξειν.

When you (Dirke) took into your streams  
The newborn son of Zeus  
When Zeus snatched him from  
The immortal fire [and put him]  
Into his thigh, he cried the following:  
“Go, Dithyramb-maker, come into  
This masculine womb of mine;  
I proclaim this, that you, Bacchus,  
[Will be] famous in Thebes.

This passage is notable for its explicit reference to Zeus’s “masculine womb” that gestated Dionysus. We can compare this description directly to Socrates transforming himself into Diotima or a midwife to give birth to knowledge and ideas (Pl. *Symp.* 208e-209e; Pl. *Tht.* 150b). In both cases, a male figure is appropriating the female experience of childbirth, although Zeus is birthing an actual child instead of knowledge. This connection between the appropriation of feminine experiences supports the suggestion that there is a continuous tradition of appropriating female identity in Dionysian contexts.

<sup>106</sup> Eur. *Bacch.* 88-104, 242-245, 521-529.



Figure 30 Dionysus with Satyrs and Maenads: Red-Figure Cup, detail, c. 480-470 BCE



Figure 31 Dionysus in a chiton with Hermes, satyr, and bearded man (Hephaestus?), Red-Figure Stamnos, c. 480-470 BCE

Aspects of gender ambiguity continue into Dionysus' childhood. Pherecydes (FGrH 3F90c) and Apollodorus note that after Zeus gave birth to the demigod, he was entrusted to Semele's sister Ino. Apollodorus' version of the story, although late, includes the detail that Dionysus was raised in secret by concealing his gender (Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.4.3):

ὁ δὲ κομίζει πρὸς Ἰνώ καὶ Ἀθάμαντα καὶ πείθει τρέφειν ὡς κόρην.

And [Hermes] carried him to Ino and Athamas and persuaded them to raise him as a girl.

It is unclear whether this feminizing element of the story dates back to the Classical period, when other feminine portrayals of Dionysus are common, or whether it is a late addition. However, in the Classical period, and possibly earlier, this feminine aspect extends to portrayals of the god as an adult in iconography and literature.

### Dionysus as an Anacreontic Figure: Iconographic Portrayals

The association of Dionysus with femininity and the Near East endures in iconographic representations of the god, as well as literary portrayals (see below). In the late Archaic and early Classical periods, vase-painters generally depicted the god in the same style as the Anacreontic representations: a bearded figure dressed in an Ionian *chiton* and *himation* (figs. 26, 30, 31, 33, 35).<sup>107</sup> This style was common in depictions of “senior male deities,” the first generation of Olympians, just as it was common for senior men of Athenian society, but its appearance on a younger god is notable.<sup>108</sup> Other “junior” gods at the time, such as Hermes and Hephaestus (fig. 31) wear tunics and cloaks; only Dionysus wears the long *chiton*. As noted in chapter 1, the *chiton* is associated with older, more authoritative figures. On a young figure such as Dionysus, this connects him more with the Eastern aspect of the garment than with the authority and power of the “senior” Olympians.

One can draw a number of parallels between Anacreontic portrayals and those of the god on figures 26, 30, 31, and 33. The most conspicuous overlap is in costume and appearance: bearded men in a *chiton* and *himation*, which is the basic definition of an Anacreontic figure as noted in chapter 1. On these vases Dionysus is also in a komastic procession, similar to those on the Anacreontic vases, carrying his signature *kantharos*, a deep, vertical-handled drinking cup commonly held by the god. Sixteen of the

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<sup>107</sup> Jameson 1993, p. 48.

<sup>108</sup> Kurtz and Boardman 1986, p. 58; Carpenter 1993, p. 204; Carpenter 1997, pp. 72-73.

Anacreontic men also carry drinking cups of a variety of styles.<sup>109</sup> There is a direct parallel between the appearance of the Anacreontic figures, wearing *chitons* and *himatia*, holding drinking cups, and walking in *komoi*, with common depictions of Dionysus in early fifth-century red-figure vase painting.

In addition, some of the Anacreontic figures are directly associated with Dionysian imagery on the vases themselves. One *kylix*, a shallow drinking cup, in the Munich Antikensammlungen has an Anacreontic figure in the tondo, and a scene of Dionysus, satyrs, and maenads around the exterior.<sup>110</sup> In this case, there is a direct spatial relationship between the Anacreontic komast within and the god who sits just on the other side of a thin boundary.

While all drinking cups and sympotic vessels have an inherent connection to Dionysus as the god of wine, the iconographic connections between portrayals of Dionysus and the Anacreontic figures are more complex. The similarity between their appearance and those of the god and his followers, which I elaborate below, is evidence for a more deliberate purpose for the decoration.

It is important to add that at the end of the fifth century, at the same time that Athenian drama was heightening the focus on the Eastern and feminine aspects of Dionysus' nature, the iconographic traditions for portraying him were shifting. Beginning in the last quarter of the fifth century, the emphasis changed to a more youthful, heroic

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<sup>109</sup> See Appendix 1 (pp. 97-98).

<sup>110</sup> Munich, Antikensammlungen J793.

Dionysus.<sup>111</sup> Painters often abandoned his *chiton*, *himation*, and beard in favor of nudity and a youthful, beardless appearance (fig. 32). While representations of Dionysus with a beard or a *chiton*, but not necessarily both as seen in the sixth and fifth centuries, did not completely disappear, there seems to be a marked preference



Figure 32 Youthful, beardless, nude Dionysus with Ariadne, Red-Figure Pelike, detail, c. 370-350 BCE

for the youthful model from the fourth century into the Hellenistic period. The decline of this iconographic style suggests that as drama moved to emphasize Dionysus' feminine side, so too did vase painting by employing a younger, more delicate, more feminine model for him. Drama was also emphasizing his Easternness, but iconography conspicuously moved away from this.

### Dionysus as an Anacreontic Figure: Literary Portrayals

Literary references elaborate Dionysus' ambiguities further. As noted above, one explanation for his appearance is his Easternizing mythology in the late Archaic period. However, there are few literary references connecting Dionysus' Easternness to his appearance, with Lycurgus' description of the god wearing a Lydian *chiton* and fox skins being one significant exception (Aesch. *Edonians* Fr. 59, above pp. 60-61). On the other hand, there are a handful of references connecting his appearance to his androgynous

<sup>111</sup> Carpenter 1997, p. 85; Surtees 2014, p. 282.

nature and femininity. These date from later in the fifth century than the Anacreontic vases, but still shed light on perceptions of the sympotic god.

Classical tragedy provides the best-known characterizations of Dionysus as an effeminate foreigner. In the earliest example, Aeschylus' *Edonians*, Lycurgus describes Dionysus as effeminate at least once (Fr. 61):

ποδαπὸς ὁ γύννις; τίς πάτρα; τίς ἡ στολή;

Where is this womanish man from? What is his country? What is his dress?<sup>112</sup>

Earlier in the play (Fr. 59, above) Lycurgus' words emphasize Dionysus' Eastern appearance, calling attention to his Lydian *chiton* and fox skins, but here his femininity is the focus. Similarly, in Euripides' *Bacchae* the narrative emphasizes the contrast between Dionysus' Near Eastern origins and his perceived feminine appearance. This is the best-known literary representation of Dionysus' ambiguity. In one passage the god comes to the city of his cousin Pentheus disguised as a worshipper from the Near East (233-238):<sup>113</sup>

λέγουσι δ' ὡς τις εἰσελήλυθε ξένος,  
γόης ἐπωδὸς Λυδίας ἀπὸ χθονός,  
ξανθοῖσι βοστρύχοισιν εὐοσμῶν κόμην,  
οἰῶπας ὄσσοις χάριτας Ἀφροδίτης ἔχων,  
ὃς ἡμέρας τε κεῦφρόνας συγγίγνεται  
τελετὰς προτείνων εὐίου νεάνισιν.

They say that some foreigner has come,  
A singing sorcerer from the land of Lydia,  
Sweet-smelling in his hair with yellow locks,

<sup>112</sup> Aristophanes parodies this line word-for-word in the *Thesmophoriazousae*, when Mnesilochus sees Agathon (136); Agathon, who claims to be dressing like the great poets, must look similar to Dionysus' traditional appearance, but Mnesilochus mistakes this Eastern appearance for women's clothing. See chapter 2, p. 38, for further analysis.

<sup>113</sup> Zeitlin 1990, p. 63.

Having in his eyes the dark delights of Aphrodite,  
Who, in daytime and nighttime, meets with  
Young girls while performing Bacchic rites.

Pentheus rebukes the god, calling him a “womanly foreigner” (τὸν θηλύμορφον ξένον, 353). His description of the god when they meet face-to-face provides some insight into perceptions of his appearance. While the previous passage associates him with the Near East, Pentheus focuses on his feminine appearance (453-460):

ἀτὰρ τὸ μὲν σῶμ' οὐκ ἄμορφος εἶ, ξένε,  
ὥς ἐς γυναῖκας, ἐφ' ὅπερ ἐς Θήβας πάρει:  
πλόκαμός τε γάρ σου ταναός, οὐ πάλης ὕπο,  
γένυν παρ' αὐτὴν κεχυμένος, πόθου πλέως:  
λευκὴν δὲ χροιάν ἐκ παρασκευῆς ἔχεις,  
οὐχ ἡλίου βολαῖσιν, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ σκιάς,  
τὴν Ἀφροδίτην καλλονῇ θηρώμενος.  
πρῶτον μὲν σὺν μοι λέξον ὅστις εἶ γένος.

But you are not unshapely in body, foreigner,  
Much like women, for which you have come to Thebes.  
Your hair is loose, but not from fighting,  
Flowing over your face, full of longing.  
And you have pale skin on purpose,  
Not from the sun's rays, but from shade,  
Because you chase Aphrodite with your beauty.  
But first, tell me who your family is.

These passages elaborate the intersections between femininity and Easternness as expressed in the figure of Dionysus. The first shows that Dionysus had a distinctly Eastern appearance, and Pentheus' reaction to seeing him in person shows that he equates this Easternness with femininity, pointing out traits that he regards as particularly feminine. Carpenter suggests that the *Bacchae* is the result of a longstanding iconographical tradition for Dionysus, which means that this appearance was associated

with Dionysus well before Euripides' descriptions in the late fifth century.<sup>114</sup> When we compare these passages to figures 26, 30, 31, and 33, we see how closely the material record matches Pentheus' description: Dionysus' Ionian *chiton* matches the costume of the female figures in the scenes, but not the male figures; in figures 26 and 31 his hair is loose and flowing, but it is tied up in a feminine bun in figures 30 and 33. Due to the nature of red-figure vases, it is impossible to tell if he is pale-skinned, although in black-figure vase painting he usually has the dark skin marking a male figure (fig. 35).<sup>115</sup> On the Anacreontic vases, the figures also wear this *chiton*, which, as seen in chapter 1, can be alternately interpreted as feminine and Eastern. Their hair is never loose and flowing but always bound up in *mitrai* or iconographically feminine *sakkoï*. It is important to note that Dionysus is not exclusively depicted with flowing locks, but sometimes has bound hair as well (figs. 30 and 33). Most notably with respect to this passage, they often carry parasols to symbolically shield themselves from the sun. In chapter 1 I argued that the parasol was a mark of Eastern luxury which, during the Classical period, was often associated with women and Dionysian *komoï*. Pentheus notes Dionysus' pale skin, which Xenophon and Aristophanes connect to the appearance of women in the Classical period.<sup>116</sup>

Later in the *Bacchae*, the roles are reversed when Dionysus convinces Pentheus to go see the maenads in a feminine costume. The god disguises his cousin in loose hair,

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<sup>114</sup> Carpenter 1997, p. 104.

<sup>115</sup> For a black-figure example of Dionysus and maenads, see fig. 35 or the vase by the Amasis Painter, Cabinet des Médailles, Paris, 222, c. 540-530 BCE.

<sup>116</sup> Xen. *Oec.* 10.2; Ar. *Eccl.* 878.

an ankle-length *peplos*, and a *mitra* (831-836):

D: κόμην μὲν ἐπὶ σῶ κρατὶ ταναὸν ἐκτενῶ.  
 P: τὸ δεύτερον δὲ σχῆμα τοῦ κόσμου τί μοι;  
 D: πέπλοι ποδήρεις: ἐπὶ κάρᾳ δ' ἔσται μίτρα.  
 P: ἢ καὶ τι πρὸς τοῖσδ' ἄλλο προσθήσεις ἐμοί;  
 D: θύρσον γε χειρὶ καὶ νεβροῦ στικτὸν δέρας.  
 P: οὐκ ἂν δυναίμην θῆλυν ἐνδύναι στολήν.

D: I will spread your hair loose over your head.  
 P: And what is the second part of the adornment for me?  
 D: A *peplos* down to your feet; and there will be a *mitra* on your head.  
 P: And in addition to these things what else will you put on me?  
 D: A *thyrsos* in your hand and spotted fawn skin.  
 P: But I could not dress in women's clothing.<sup>117</sup>

Froma Zeitlin notes that Pentheus is here disguised as a maenad, but these attributes also reflect his own description of Dionysus earlier in the play.<sup>118</sup> The *peplos* in particular is interesting, since it is a garment distinctly identified with women (and maenads in particular), unlike the *chiton* which both men and women wear.<sup>119</sup> However, there is one indication, combined with traditional representations of the god, that Dionysus wears a *chiton* in the *Bacchae*. In line 821, he talks about dressing Pentheus in linen clothes (στεῖλαι νυν ἀμφὶ χρωτὶ βυσσίνουσι πέπλους). The god is describing a linen *peplos*, but traditional *peploi* were generally wool, while *chitons* were generally linen.<sup>120</sup> Euripides seems to be combining the two garments, calling it a *peplos* but giving it characteristics of a *chiton*. Since Dionysus describes himself as from the Near East (specifically, Lydia,

<sup>117</sup> Euripides oddly describes Pentheus as dressed in a *mitra* in addition to sporting loose hair, which are not necessarily compatible, as seen in fig. 1; perhaps Euripides' *mitra*, often loosely translated as "headband," is more similar to the fillet-like headband seen on Dionysus in fig. 30.

<sup>118</sup> Zeitlin 1990, p. 63.

<sup>119</sup> Carpenter 1986, pp. 37, 83; Kurtz and Boardman 1986, p. 58.

<sup>120</sup> Cleland et al. 2007, pp. 32, 143.

Eur. *Bacch.* 461-464) and is traditionally represented wearing a linen *chiton*, there is no reason to think that he was wearing a *peplos* instead of a *chiton*. The reference to a linen *peplos* recalls the nature of Dionysus' traditional costume.

Zeitlin argues that it is Dionysus' ability to be both masculine and feminine that gives him power; in the *Bacchae*, his power to transcend the binaries of Eastern-Greek and masculine-feminine is the key to his triumph.<sup>121</sup> Pentheus is revolted at the thought of losing his masculinity by dressing in feminine clothing (οὐκ ἂν δυναίμην θῆλυον ἐνδύσαι στολήν, 836); he ultimately loses his life not only because of his refusal to acknowledge Dionysus' power, but also his inability to replicate it. Pentheus' failure to be androgynous and blend in with the maenads leads to his death.

Although Euripides produced the *Bacchae* in 405 BCE, I believe that this theme of Dionysian power directly relates to the Anacreontic vases nearly a century earlier. If the symposium, and by extension the *komos*, was an opportunity for Athenian men to cross the boundaries of social norms temporarily, the character of Dionysus provides a model for them. The god had the ability to be simultaneously masculine and feminine, Eastern and Greek. The komasts on the Anacreontic vases may be emulating this quality of Dionysus, which would explain the iconographic similarities between portrayals of the god and the Anacreontic figures.

Aristophanes also refers to Dionysus' femininity, although his portrayal is of course much more comical than Euripides'. In the *Frogs*, produced in 411 BCE, Heracles

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<sup>121</sup> Zeitlin 1990, pp. 64-66.

notes Dionysus' feminine appearance (45-46):

ἀλλ' οὐχ οἷός τ' εἶμι' ἀποσοβῆσαι τὸν γέλων  
ὄρων λεοντῆν ἐπὶ κροκωτῷ κειμένην.

But how could I possibly keep myself from laughing,  
Seeing a lion-skin thrown over your *krokotos*.

In comedy, particularly Aristophanes' plays, the *krokotos*, a saffron-colored robe, is especially marked as feminine.<sup>122</sup> Here there is a clear juxtaposition between ideal masculinity, embodied in Heracles' lion-skin, and femininity, represented by Dionysus' saffron gown. It is unclear what type of garment the *krokotos* is, and vase-painting does not help in that it does not represent the color of clothing.<sup>123</sup> A third-century BCE fragment of Callixenus of Rhodes describes a statue of Dionysus wearing a *chiton* and a *krokotos* on top (*Fragmenta*, 134-136; Ath. 5.198c-d):

...ἐπὶ δὲ ταύτης ἐπὶ ἄγαλμα Διονύσου  
δεκάπηχυ, σπένδον ἐκ καρχησίου χρυσοῦ, χιτῶνα πορ-  
φυροῦν ἔχον διάπεζον, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ κροκωτὸν διαφανῆ.

...Then [they] went to the statue of Dionysus,  
ten cubits long, pouring from a gold cup, wearing a  
purple *chiton* to its feet, and a sheer *krokotos* on top of it.

According to Callixenus, the *chiton* and *krokotos* are distinct garments, both of which are worn by the god's statue. In this case, the *krokotos* may be similar to a *himation*, and the *chiton* retains its traditional ambiguous nature. However, if the *krokotos* is in fact a colored *chiton*, it may have been largely reserved for women after men moved on to other

<sup>122</sup> See also Ar. *Lys.* 44, 219; Ar. *Eccl.* 879; Loraux 1990, p. 36; Jameson 1993, p. 50; Carpenter 1997, p. 107; Cleland et al. 2007, pp. 106-107.

<sup>123</sup> Carpenter 1997, p. 107.

styles in the Classical period, as Mireille Lee suggests.<sup>124</sup> This would mean that Aristophanes' portrayal of Dionysus would be entirely appropriate, since he was associated with the Eastern *chiton* and its feminine aspects by the late fifth century.

### Ambiguity among Dionysus' Followers

Dionysus himself was not the only figure who was characterized by ambiguity; his followers similarly represented the contradictory nature of the god. In sixth- and fifth-century vase-painting Dionysus is often accompanied by male and female attendants: satyrs and maenads.<sup>125</sup> The satyrs, which indicate the wild and reckless nature of Dionysian culture, are not particularly at issue



Figure 33 Dionysus, Front-Facing Satyr, and Maenad, Red-Figure Cup, c.490-480 BCE

regarding the Anacreontic vases; the iconography does not overlap with one exception.<sup>126</sup> Front-facing figures in vase painting are often satyrs (fig. 33), actors, gorgons, and Dionysus himself, or some representation of him (fig. 36). All of these, with the exception of gorgons, have a distinct connection to Dionysus, which Carpenter, Frontisi-

<sup>124</sup> Lee 2015, p. 107.

<sup>125</sup> Jameson 1993, p. 45.

<sup>126</sup> Carpenter 1997, p. 96; Carpenter points out that the vital difference is the "terrible face" of the gorgon vs. the comical and possibly apotropaic faces of Dionysus and satyrs.

Ducroux, and Lissarrague argue is the reason for their outward gaze.<sup>127</sup> Frontisi-Ducroux connects this frontality specifically to the phallic altar of Dionysus seen on the so-called “Lenaia” vases, which some scholars believe show rites performed by women at the Lenaia festival for Dionysus (see below, pp. 81-83 fig. 36).<sup>128</sup> The same front-facing imagery appears once in this corpus of Anacreontic vases: a *kylix* tondo in which a dancing komast looks out at the viewer.<sup>129</sup> If this pose was largely reserved for Dionysiac figures, this provides another possible connection between the Anacreontic vases and the cult of Dionysus.

The maenads, Dionysus’ female followers, are more relevant for making comparisons between the world of Dionysus and the Anacreontic vases. Carpenter argues that the iconographic trend of showing maenads, instead of nymphs, as the companions of Dionysus became more popular in the late sixth century, when production of the Anacreontic vases began, although female



Figure 34 Maenad, Red-Figure Cup detail, c. 500-470 BCE

attendants to Dionysus, whether maenads or nymphs, certainly appeared earlier in black-figure pottery (fig. 35).<sup>130</sup> As seen in chapter 1, the costumes and poses of Anacreontic figures often mimic those of maenads in vase-painting. However, the comparison can be

<sup>127</sup> Lissarrague 1990, p. 55; Frontisi-Ducroux referenced in Lissarrague 1990, p. 55; Carpenter 1997, pp. 96-97.

<sup>128</sup> Frontisi-Ducroux, 1991, pp. 67-100.

<sup>129</sup> Brussels, Musée Royaux R332, c.500-450.

<sup>130</sup> Carpenter 1986, pp. 79-80.

taken further by looking more closely at the maenads themselves.

In late-sixth and early-fifth century red-figure vase painting, maenads often mirror Dionysus in appearance: they wear the long *chiton* and *himation* (figs. 27-28 and 33-34). At times their hair is loose around their shoulders, but more often they look like typical depictions of women, wearing a *chiton*, *himation*, and often a *sakkos*, with the addition of a *thyrsos*, musical instruments, or ivy decoration. However, maenads invert the gendered ambiguity of Dionysus. While the god is a male figure who is feminized yet retains his power due to and in spite of this reversal, the maenads are female figures who have been masculinized by independence and violence, and they gain power from this change. Zeitlin proposes that in drama, “feminized males are countered by masculinized women.”<sup>131</sup> Similarly, an effeminate Dionysus is complemented by his masculine maenads. Although they are visually similar, the maenads are the reverse image of Dionysus, expected to be feminine according to gender norms but masculinized into a state of androgyny.

Like Dionysus, the maenads also have ambiguous geographical origins.

Euripides’ Dionysus calls them “barbarian women” (βάρβαροι γυναῖκες, *Bacch.* 604), and describes how they came to follow him (55-61):

ἀλλ', ὧ λipoῦσαι Τρωῶλον ἔρυμα Λυδίας,  
θίασος ἐμός, γυναῖκες, ἃς ἐκ βαρβάρων  
ἐκόμισα παρέδρους καὶ ξυνεμπόρους ἐμοί,  
αἴρεσθε τάπιχώρι' ἐν πόλει Φρυγῶν  
τύμπανα, Πέας τε μητρὸς ἐμά θ' εὐρήματα,  
βασίλειά τ' ἀμφὶ δώματ' ἔλθοῦσαι τάδε  
κτυπεῖτε Πενθέως, ὡς ὄρᾳ Κάδμου πόλις.

<sup>131</sup> Zeitlin 1990, pp. 66.

But, you women who have left Tmolus, defender of Lydia, behind,  
 My revelers, whom I gained from barbarians  
 As associates and fellow travelers,  
 Take up your *tympana*, native in the city  
 Of Phrygia, the invention of mother Rhea and of mine,  
 And going around the kingdom of Pentheus with these things  
 Make them ring out, so that the city of Kadmus sees it.

In this context, Dionysus brought his band of merry women with him from Mount Tmolus in Lydia.<sup>132</sup> The use of *βάρβαροι γυναῖκες* means they are certainly not Greek. In sixth-century vase-painting maenads often wear Doric *peploi*, a distinctly Greek and feminine garment (fig. 35).<sup>133</sup> However, in late sixth- and fifth-century vase-painting, the maenads often wear *chitons*

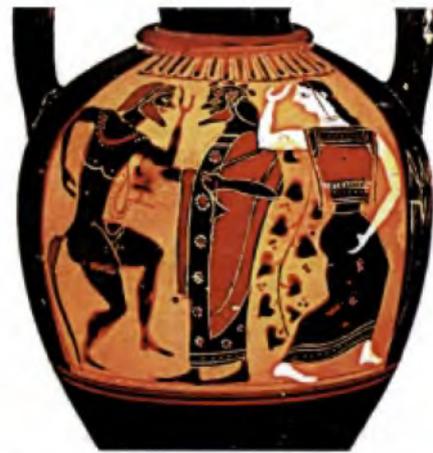


Figure 35 Satyr, Dionysus in a chiton, and maenad in a peplos. Black-Figure Neck Amphora detail, c. 550-540 BCE

and *himatia* identical to those of Dionysus and to those worn by Athenian citizen women (e.g. figs. 3, 6, 12). As noted earlier, Euripides indicates that the maenads of the *Bacchae* wear an amalgamation of Eastern linen *chitons* and *peploi*, when he describes Dionysus disguising Pentheus as one of his followers.<sup>134</sup> Even if Euripides was the earliest surviving author to give the maenads an Eastern origin, a Near Eastern association makes sense with the literary and iconographic background of Dionysus.<sup>135</sup> At least in the

<sup>132</sup> See also Eur. *Bacch. Pp.* 64-68.

<sup>133</sup> Carpenter 1986, p. 83; Kurtz and Boardman 1986, p. 58; Lee 2015, p. 106.

<sup>134</sup> See above, pp. 70-71.

<sup>135</sup> It is worth noting that earlier references to maenads by Aeschylus and Sophocles deem them Theban women, according to Gantz (1993, pp. 142-143); their Eastern identity may first appear in Euripides *Bacchae*. If this is the case, Eastern maenads were a late addition to Dionysian mythology and supports the

context of the *Bacchae*, the maenads share Dionysus' gender and ethnic ambiguity, blending Near Eastern with Greek and feminine with masculine.

### The Wider Dionysian World

Gender ambiguity is not only restricted to the Dionysian mythology. In sixth- and fifth-century Athenian society the ambiguity associated with the god influenced some particularly important social events. As the god of wine, he is inextricably connected with the symposium and its activities. Alcaeus of Lesbos, a popular sympotic poet, described the significance of the patron god of symposia (346 Campbell 3-4):

οἶον γὰρ Σεμέλας καὶ Δίος υἱὸς λαθικάδεον  
ἀνθρώποισιν ἔδωκ'...

For the son of Semele and Zeus gave  
Mankind care-relieving wine...

Some sympotic activities were directly associated with the activities of the god, such as the *komoi* seen on the Anacreontic vases. A fragment associated with Anacreon describes a komast (Anac. 124 Edmonds):

κωμάζει δ' ὡς Δεόνυσος

He revels (lit. *partakes in a komos*) just like Dionysus.<sup>136</sup>

When this fragment is paired with iconographic evidence for the god and for symposia, it shows that the *komos* is an integral part of Dionysian festivities and reflects the nature of

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argument that the Eastern aspect of Dionysus was being intensified in Athenian drama at the end of the fifth century, as seen in Fortner 2011.

<sup>136</sup> Edmonds' note on a scolion from an edition of the *Odyssey* is ambiguous about whether this fragment is attributed to or written about Anacreon.

the god and his ritual celebrations. In the third-century CE *Imagines*, an admittedly late source, Philostratus describes typical komasts (1.2):

συνεξαίρεται δὲ καὶ πολλὸς γέλως καὶ γυναῖκα μετ' ἀνδρῶν ἴεται καὶ ὑποδεῖται καὶ ζώννυται παρὰ τὸ οἰκεῖον· συγχωρεῖ δὲ ὁ κῶμος καὶ γυναικὶ ἀνδρίζεσθαι καὶ ἀνδρὶ θῆλυν ἐνδύειν στολὴν καὶ θῆλυ βαίνειν.<sup>137</sup>

But much laughter rises and women go along with men and their shoes and dress according to their fashion; and the *komos* meets up and a woman dresses like a man and a man puts on a feminine dress and walks like a woman.

This source postdates the Anacreontic vases by some eight centuries, but the description of a *komos* as an episode of gender ambiguity is valuable; it follows the trend seen in Classical sources of worshippers of Dionysus embracing gender ambiguity, with women being masculinized and men being feminized.

Outside of the private symposium, too, the realm of Dionysus was particularly suited to express his ambiguities. Particularly in the fifth century, the theater was one of the few other places in which gender ambiguity was condoned, although under strict circumstances. Drama took the theatricality of the symposium and magnified it for a public audience. Like the symposium, all of the main players were men, and citizen women were deemed unacceptable. In the world of Classical drama, social norms did not allow women to appear on the stage, and all female roles were therefore played by men, requiring them to dress in feminine clothing and adopt a feminine persona.<sup>138</sup>

Aristophanes references this in the *Thesmophoriazusae* when Agathon talks about the

<sup>137</sup> Note that θῆλυν ἐνδύειν στολὴν is the same phrase that appears in Euripides' *Bacchae* 836 (above, p. 71), when Pentheus objects to wearing feminine clothing.

<sup>138</sup> Keuls 1984, p. 287; Zeitlin 1996, 343; Zelenak 1998, p. 38; Ley 2006, p. 38.

need to understand characters deeply in order to create them (148-152, above, p. 39). In order to take on a feminine persona, an actor, or in the case of the Anacreontic vases a komast, needed to perform feminine experience. Like the symposium, the theater was a space of sanctioned othering, although a public one.

There is evidence of gender swapping in cult practices too. Zeitlin suggests that gender inversion was a common theme of festivals, citing the Ekdusia for Leto on Crete and the Hybristika for Hera in Argos.<sup>139</sup> Leitão and Richard Seaford each look at “transvestism” as a common theme in initiatory rites; Leitão focuses on the Ekdusia as a transition from boyhood under a mother’s care to independent manhood, while Seaford sees religious transvestism as an initiate shedding his previous identity to become a blank slate for introduction to divine mysteries.<sup>140</sup> With an ambiguous figure like Dionysus, who blends multiple elements of background and personality, it makes sense that his cult and rituals would include aspects that reflect his own inversion. Since firm evidence for mystery cults and their rituals is scarce, Seaford connects the dramatic events of the *Bacchae* to Dionysian rituals: Pentheus is stripped of his masculine identity to become an initiate in Dionysus’ mysteries and the cult of the Bacchae, which requires his death (in this case literally instead of symbolically).<sup>141</sup> Additionally, Seaford identifies a three-stage process of Pentheus’ initiation: the πομπή (“procession”), in which Pentheus is brought through town in his ritual feminine dress; the ἄγων (“test”), the actual initiation

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<sup>139</sup> Zeitlin 1990, p. 66.

<sup>140</sup> Seaford, 1981, 259; Leitão 1995.

<sup>141</sup> Seaford 1981.

process; and the κῶμος, his triumphant return to Thebes.<sup>142</sup> The *komos*, if he had ever accomplished it, would be Pentheus' moment of victory, since he used Dionysus' ambiguity to conquer the god and his followers. However, his initiation cost him his life and he never made a triumphant return to Thebes. If Seaford is correct and the *Bacchae* represents long-standing Archaic ritual practices connected to the cult of Dionysus, then the evidence for these rituals can be connected back to the Anacreontic vases. While they may not be direct representations of Dionysian ritual activity, they still may be closely connected. Pentheus' feminization in his attempt to pass as an androgynous follower of Dionysus reflects the imagery on the Anacreontic vases, where the figures are similarly portrayed androgynously in Dionysian contexts, mimicking the *komoi* of maenads.

Additional evidence for Dionysian rituals suggests that his cult was particularly tended to by women. Multiple scholars argue that the relationship between Dionysus and



Figure 36 Lenaia Vase, with maenad carrying a thyrsos and offerings to an altar of Dionysus, Red-Figure Stamnos, c. 470-450 BCE

<sup>142</sup> Seaford 1981, p. 267.

female worshippers was unlike that of any other male god; Michael Jameson suggests that this is due to the effect Dionysian worship had on “liberating” women from male power.<sup>143</sup> Due to its nature, it seems that role of women in the cult of Dionysus was largely secret, and as a result the specific roles and rites of women have largely been lost.<sup>144</sup> There is some evidence, however, of their rites in the material record. For example, the Attic *stamnoi* called the “Lenaia” vases, c. 460-440, often show a *komos* on one side and on the other side depict women making or taking libations at a phallic altar to Dionysus, a column topped with a mask of the god and a *himation*-like cloth draped around it (figs. 25 and 36).<sup>145</sup> The Lenaia, a dramatic festival for Dionysus, was one in which women played a prominent ritual role.<sup>146</sup> The interpretation of these vases, like the Anacreontic vases, varies. While some scholars argue that these women represent mortal worshippers, Carpenter sees them as nymphs, rather than the wilder maenads, and Sarah Peirce generally agrees but also shows evidence that they may be mortal women, e.g. the lack of *thyrsos*, loose hair, and wild poses.<sup>147</sup> Some of the vases, such as figure 36, contradict this, since they clearly represent maenads, or women mimicking maenads, as demonstrated by the presence of *thyrsos*. Whether or not these vases show mortal women, more importantly they show elements of Dionysian cult ritual. Peirce recognizes that the rituals depicted (a *thysia* or “offering,” *symposion*, and *komos*) are remarkable in that

<sup>143</sup> Jameson 1993, p. 61; Surtees 2014, p. 282.

<sup>144</sup> James 1993, p. 61; Valdéz Guía 2013, pp. 104, 113-114.

<sup>145</sup> The “Lenaia” vases include the three *stamnoi* by the Villa Giulia painter mentioned in chapter 1; for a broader corpus of the “Lenaia” vases, see Frontisi-Ducroux 1991, pp. 67-100 and Peirce 1998; dates are from Frontisi-Ducroux 1991, p. 67, and Peirce 1998, pp. 86-91.

<sup>146</sup> Fantham et al. 1994, p. 87.

<sup>147</sup> Carpenter 1997, pp. 60, 79-82; Peirce 1998, p. 66.

they are typically performed by men; she argues that the figures in the scenes are temporarily given the status of men, in keeping with the gender inversion characteristic of Dionysus.<sup>148</sup> If these rituals were performed by mortal women playing the role of nymphs and maenads, the same status change would be extended to them. The inverted models of these masculinized women are the feminized men on the Anacreontic vases. Since the cult of Dionysus was so predisposed to femininity and women, the figures on the Anacreontic vases may be adopting the appearance of these women, whether they be nymphs, maenads, or mortals, in order to become the appropriate followers of the god and initiated into his mysteries. The Anacreontic figures must emulate the androgyny of the god and his followers, just as Pentheus did, to take part properly in the ritual activity, in this case the symposium and *komos*.

### Conclusion

The realm of Dionysus as a whole is marked by the crossing of gender and, to a lesser extent, ethnic boundaries. Dionysus and his followers, particularly the female figures (nymphs, *bacchai*, and maenads), exemplify this ambiguity in mythology, iconography, and activity. In addition, Dionysian ritual and cult practices, including the symposium and *komos*, were some of the few institutions in which such ambiguities were acceptable and even embraced. When paired with the iconography of the Anacreontic vases and the nature of the symposium, the character of Dionysus and his world provides

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<sup>148</sup> Peirce 1998, pp. 60, 85.

a context for the Anacreontic vases to point to Dionysian sympotic ritual involving gender and ethnic ambiguity in emulation of the god and his followers. When the vases are considered along with the Dionysian trend of gender and ethnic ambiguity, the arguments for an Eastern or feminine interpretation of their iconography becomes less important. The same idea of ambiguity that is in the vases can also be seen at symposia and, ultimately, in the wider world of Dionysus. The ambiguous nature of the god and of nearly everything associated with him opens up an entirely new avenue of interpretation for the Anacreontic vases, namely that they are images of distinct Dionysian and sympotic activity involving elements of both Near Eastern and feminine identities.

## CONCLUSION

In this thesis I have argued that the scholarly classification of the Anacreontic vases simply as “Easternizing” or “feminizing” is incomplete and misrepresents the nature of the vases and their iconography. I believe that the vases represent both Eastern and feminine aspects and are representations of sympotic practices emulating the god Dionysus.

Chapter 1 reviewed the scholarly arguments for Eastern and feminine interpretations and proposed that they are overly simplified. Some elements of the Anacreontic costume were certainly Eastern-leaning, such as the Ionian *chiton* and *mitra*, but others, such as the *sakkos* and parasol, had a more feminine connotation at the end of the sixth century and the beginning of the fifth century. The Anacreontic figures blend Greek and Near Eastern ethnicities and masculine and feminine genders to create a fluid, boundary-crossing character.

Chapter 2 examined whether Athenian symposia also followed this Anacreontic trend of ethnic and gender ambiguity. In a society that discouraged citizen men from publicly taking on feminine characteristics, the symposium provided an occasion for a loosening of social norms. If men could metaphorically adopt ambiguous identities by reciting the poetry of women and Near Eastern men or by waxing philosophical through the voice of a female character, there is a distinct possibility that these symposiasts also adopted physically ambiguous identities through a blend of Eastern and feminine clothing.

Finally, chapter 3 considered the nature of the god of the symposium himself. Dionysus was an Eastern-born god whose appearance and mythology focused distinctly on ethnic and gender ambiguity. He often appeared in nearly identical dress to the Anacreontic symposiasts, a *chiton* and *himation*, in similar komastic imagery. In addition to Dionysus, his female followers, the maenads, have an even more similar appearance to the Anacreontic figures: they dance in *komo*i with Dionysus and satyrs, wearing *chitons*, *himatia*, and *sakkoi*, and carrying their *thyrsoi* just like the Anacreontic men carry their parasols. Dionysus's cult practices also emphasized the role of women as worshippers and some spaces sacred to him, such as the theater, represented the limited situations in which men could become feminine without social censure.

The decline in production of the Anacreontic vases is roughly contemporaneous with the cultural shift that followed the end of the Persian Wars. At this time there was a movement, particularly in Athens, to define Greek identity against perceived Eastern barbarism; this included the rejection of conspicuous displays of elite luxury.<sup>149</sup> We can see this trend in literary references from the late fifth century: in the *Bacchae*, Pentheus ridicules Dionysus for his feminine appearance, just as Mnesilochus does of Agathon in the *Thesmophoriazusae*, and Herodotus describes the punishment of the Lydians by the Persians as total emasculation.<sup>150</sup> The fact that the waning popularity of this decorative theme comes shortly after the end of the Persian Wars, possibly as part of a decline in elite indulgence in Eastern luxury, supports the argument that it conveys Eastern

<sup>149</sup> Van Wees 1998, p. 639.

<sup>150</sup> Eur. *Bacch.* 453-59; Ar. *Thesm.* 136-43; Hdt. 5.87.

influence but it does not necessarily contradict the argument that it also depicts femininity. If anything, the association of Eastern luxury with femininity only emphasizes the already distinctly feminine aspects of the vases. As traditional Athenian masculinity became the ideal, the blend of Eastern and feminine styles on the Anacreontic vases quickly disappeared.

This thesis has by no means been a definitive investigation of the Anacreontic vases. Its conclusions open up many avenues of future research. Regarding the vases themselves, I would like to explore their provenance further; they are all Athenian vases but were discovered at sites in both Greece and Etruria. Their use in the Etruscan market could be significant for an interpretation of their iconography, but the limitations of this study prevented further examination of this topic. In addition, if I were to pursue my investigation of the vases further, it would be useful to create a more precise chronology for them. Due to the broad nature of dates from the Beazley Archive and my own lack of experience in pottery dating, in addition to the lack of access to high-quality images of the vases or the pots themselves, it has been impossible to put together a more precise timeline of the vases.

Further paths of study need not only be archaeological. The theme of gender ambiguity in particular leads to a wide range of topics. In mythology, a handful of important figures other than Dionysus involve narratives of ambiguous gender. In particular, the story of Herakles dressing in women's clothing at the court of Omphale, queen of Lydia, who wears his lionskin, is ripe for exploration. While Dionysus's femininity and ambiguity were a source of power for him, Herakles is portrayed as

weakened by his emasculation in Lydia. The contrast between his masculine nature and feminine appearance is similar to the Anacreontic figures who blend masculine and feminine qualities. Because Herakles can be temporarily feminized but still ultimately retain his heroic masculinity, he serves as proof that men could indulge in female identity without losing their masculine status.<sup>151</sup> Likewise Achilles, the most heroic of the Greeks at Troy, had an episode of female identity. When Odysseus found the hero at the court of Lycomedes, Achilles was disguised as a maiden of the court to prevent him from joining the Trojan War, providing another example of heroic feminization.<sup>152</sup> If the sources allow, an investigation into the feminine side of mythical heroes, particularly Herakles and Achilles who also have sympotic connections, may make interesting contributions to further study of the Anacreontic vases and gender ambiguity in fifth-century Athens.

There is also the connection between gender ambiguity and the theater, which was only partially explored as a part of Dionysian ritual in chapter 3. The theater was one of a handful of places where the practice of men adopting a feminine identity was condoned, and even encouraged. Not only was it inappropriate for respectable women to appear on stage, but the actors' inherent status as men gave their female characters an element of masculine authority which the average Athenian woman did not possess. In addition, a connection between the theatrical *komos* and the sympotic *komos* as parallels in practice and meaning remains to be elaborated.

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<sup>151</sup> Some exploration of the myth of Herakles and Omphale can be found in Polos 2018.

<sup>152</sup> The earliest extant version of this is in Statius' *Achilleid*, c. 95 CE.

This thesis is thus a starting point for an exhaustive investigation of the Anacreontic vases based on Athenian socio-cultural contexts. I have focused on iconography, symposia, and Dionysian myth and cult, but these could be expanded to include a variety of other topics that would further elucidate what I believe to be a compelling and ambiguous facet of late Archaic and early Classical Athenian society.

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APPENDIX 1  
ANACREONTIC VASE CORPUS, FROM THE BEAZLEY ARCHIVE POTTERY  
DATABASE (SOME NOT PICTURED)

1. Red-Figure Amphora C, c. 500-450 BCE, Paris, Musée du Louvre G220 (BAPD 202714).
2. Red-Figure Calyx Krater fragments, c. 525-475 BCE, Copenhagen, National Museum 13365 (BAPD 201684).
3. Red-Figure Column Krater fragment, c. 500-450 BCE, Adria, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 22.120 (BAPD 10140).
4. Red-Figure Column Krater fragment, c. 500-450 BCE, Athens, Agora Museum P7242 (BAPD 206480).
5. Red-Figure Column Krater fragment, c. 500-450 BCE, Cambridge MA, Arthur M. Sackler Museum 1959.125 (BAPD 206479).
6. Red-Figure Column Krater, c. 500-450 BCE, Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico 234 (BAPD 205900).
7. Red-Figure Column Krater, c. 500-450 BCE, Cleveland, Museum of Art 1926.549 (BAPD 206434).
8. Red-Figure Column Krater, c. 500-450 BCE, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum 770 (BAPD 206634).
9. Red-Figure Cup B, c. 475-425 BCE, Chiusi, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 1836 (BAPD 210087).
10. Red-Figure Cup B, c. 500-450 BCE, Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 86.AE.293 (BAPD 275963).
11. Red-Figure Cup B, c. 500-450 BCE, Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen 2647 (BAPD 205178).
12. Red-Figure Cup C fragment, c. 475-425 BCE, Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 86.AE.386 (BAPD 30358).
13. Red-Figure Cup fragment, c. 500-450 BCE, Basel, H. Cahn HC 60 (BAPD 204512).
14. Red-Figure Cup, c. 500-450 BCE, Brussels, Musée Royaux R332 (BAPD 204066).
15. Red-Figure Cup, c. 500-450 BCE, Paris, Musée du Louvre G285 (BAPD 204067).
16. Red-Figure Cup, c. 500-450 BCE, Paris, Musée du Louvre G286 (BAPD 205275).
17. Red-Figure Fragment, c. 500-450 BCE, Corinth, Archaeological Museum CP998 (BAPD 206599).
18. Red-Figure Hydria, c. 500-450 BCE, Kusnacht, Hirschmann Collection G56 (BAPD 9426).
19. Red-Figure Lekythos, c. 500-450 BCE, Adalpheck, Schloss Fasanerie 56 (BAPD 11533).

APPENDIX 1  
ANACREONTIC VASE CORPUS, FROM THE BEAZLEY ARCHIVE POTTERY  
DATABASE (SOME NOT PICTURED)

20. Red-Figure Neck Amphora, c. 475-425, Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 41.162.13 (BAPD 207400).
21. Red-Figure Neck Amphora, c. 475-450 BCE, London, British Museum E308 (BAPD 207891).
22. Red-Figure Neck Amphora, c. 500-450 BCE, Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen 2317 (BAPD 202222).
23. Red-Figure Neck Amphora, c. 500-450 BCE, Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen 2326 (BAPD 202850).
24. Red-Figure Neck Amphora, c. 500-450 BCE, Mykonos, Archaeological Museum (BAPD 205712).
25. Red-Figure Pelike, c. 500-450 BCE, Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 13129 (BAPD 206457).
26. Red-Figure Pelike, c. 500-450 BCE, Rome, Musei Capitolini 176 (BAPD 202565).
27. Red-Figure Pelike, c. 500-450 BCE, Switzerland, private collection (BAPD 201679).
28. Red-Figure Pelike, c. 525-475 BCE, Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco 3987 (BAPD 14506).
29. Red-Figure Skyphos fragment, c. 500-450, Paris, Musée du Louvre CP10813 (BAPD 202433).
30. Red-Figure Stamnos, c. 500-450 BCE, Madrid, Museo Arqueológico Nacional 11009 (BAPD 9514).

TABLE 1:  
ANACREONTIC VASE CORPUS, FROM THE BEAZLEY ARCHIVE POTTERY  
DATABASE

Appendix 1 #	BAPD #	Date (Beazley)	# An. Komasts	# Sakkoi (on An. Komast)	# Open Sakkoi (on An. Komast)	# Parasols	# Lyre/ Barbiton	# Mitra	# Chiton (on An. Komast)	# Staffs	# Male Non-An. Komasts	# Female Komasts	# Cups (Male Komast)	Notes
1	202714	500-450	2	1		1	1	1?	2				1	
2	201684	525-475	2			1	1	1	2					
3	10140	500-450	1	1	1	1			1			1		
4	206480	500-450	1				1		1		1			*reverse features non-An. komast
5	206479	500-450	1	1			1		1					
6	205900	500-450	3	3		2			3			1	1	
7	206434	500-450	3	3		1	1		3				1	
8	206634	500-450	2	2		1	1*		2			1	1	*held by woman
9	210087	475-425	4	4		1			4				2	*one more parasol is held by a figure unidentifiable as male or female
10	275963	500-450	6			2*			6	1		3	2	*neither parasol held by a male komast
11	205178	500-450	1	1					1	1	1		1	
12	30358	500-450	1	1			1*			1*	2	1		*staff held by non-An. komast
13	204512	500-450	1	1			1		1					
14	204066	500-450	1						1	1				
15	204067	500-450	1	1		1			1	1				

TABLE 1:  
ANACREONTIC VASE CORPUS, FROM THE BEAZLEY ARCHIVE POTTERY  
DATABASE

Appendix I #	BAPD #	Date (Beazley)	# An. Komasts	# Sakkoi (on An. Komast)	# Open Sakkoi (on An. Komast)	# Parasols	# Lyre/Barbiton	# Mitra	# Chiton (on An. Komast)	# Staffs	# Male Non-An. Komasts	# Female Komasts	# Cups (Male Komast)	Notes
15	204067	500-450	1	1		1			1	1				
16	205275	500-450	1	1					1	1			1	
17	206599	500-450	1	1					1					
18	9426	500-450	1	1	1				1		1		1	a sympotic not komastic scene
19	11533	500-450	1	1			1		1	1				
20	207400	475-425	2	2			1		2	1				
21	207891	475-425	1	1	1		1*		1	1*	1			*held by non-Anacreontic komast
22	202222	500-450	1	1	1		1		1					
23	202850	500-450	1	1?		1			1					
24	205712	500-450	1	1					1	1		1		
25	206457	500-450	3	3	2				3			1	2	
26	202565	500-450	1	1			1		1			2		
27	201679	500-450	1	1					1			1		
28	14506	525-475	2	1	1		1		2				1*	*identified as a drinking horn
29	202433	500-450	1	1			1		1			2		
30	9514	500-450	8	6	3	7	1	2	8				2	
	Totals		56	41	10	17	13	3	55	8	6	14	16	