

## 2 Foreign Bodies

Is **this** a foreign body? A man lies on a sturdy bed or couch, with a thick draped mattress. A lion standing on its hind legs, forepaws either side of the man's head, leans forward over him, head turned towards the viewer. At the foot of the bed stands another figure leaning forward over the corpse, this time a naked male figure of sorts, arms apparently stretched forward to push against the lion. Whether or not there is a head behind these outstretched arms has been much disputed; certainly where we would expect to find his head we find instead the prow of a ship.<sup>1</sup> This scene is the relief on **a grave stone** found in the Dipylon cemetery at Athens. A unique gravestone like no other. What is going on here?

The stone is headed by a **Greek inscription** which records the name 'Antipatros son of Aphrodisias of Askalon' and goes on, 'Domsalôs son of Domano of Sidon dedicated this'. This same information is then repeated in Phoenician. Bilingual inscriptions are not common at Athens, either among grave stones or more generally, but such bilingual inscriptions as we have are dominated by bilingual Greek and Phoenician inscriptions. There are in total nine bilingual Greek-Phoenician gravestones.<sup>2</sup> They variously translate or transliterate the names: here Aphrodisias is a Greek translation of Abdestart, but Antipatros is simply a Greek name in place of Sem, while Domsalôs' names are essentially transliterated.<sup>3</sup>

But if we can identify the deceased as a hellenizing Phoenician that hardly offers an immediate explanation for the imagery of the relief. Some sort of explanation, however, is afforded by a **further inscription** below the scene. Here we find an epigram in verse, of which the first two lines and last two lines are hexameters, the third is a pentameter and the

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<sup>1</sup> *CAT* 3.410; Stager (2005) is the fullest description; compare Bäbler (1998) 136–7 (not known to Stager) on exactly what we should reckon to be visible here.

<sup>2</sup> Bäbler (1998) 131.. There is also one, third century, decree with the main text in Phoenician and a concluding line in Greek which identifies the resolution as being by the 'community of the Sidonians' (probably in fact a cult association worshipping Baal); *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 2946; Bäbler 125–7, Amelung (1990)),

<sup>3</sup> Bäbler (1998) 123, Herzog (1897).

fourth two half lines which do not metrically fit together. Metrical irregularity is not unparalleled on gravestones,<sup>4</sup> but here the Greek too is full of oddities of spelling and usage, although the sense is clear. It says:

‘Let no one of men wonder at this image, that a lion and a prow stretch against me. For a hostile lion came wanting to tear me apart, but my friends defended me and provided me with a tomb here, friends whom in my love I wanted, coming from a sacred ship. I left Phoenicia; I have concealed my body in this land.’<sup>5</sup>

The link between text and image is direct, with the text explicitly seeking to explain the image. But what are we to make of this story of a man attacked by a lion, and whose body is saved for burial by friends on a sacred ship? Most commentators take the story literally, looking for the place closest to Attica where a lion is plausible (North Africa? Asia Minor) and supposing that Antipatros was attacked, mauled, rescued, taken away by his friends (either dead or dying) and given burial in Athens on arrival. Since lions are hard to come by around the Mediterranean at this time, some suppose, disregarding the picture, that the beast must really have been a panther. Bäbler, however, has insisted, following a suggestion a century ago, that the image can only be understood ‘in the light of Semitic pictorial symbols’, and in particular the oriental portrayal of underworld demons as lions, and Stager thinks both prow and lion figure Astarte.<sup>6</sup> On these interpretations Antipatros was ‘saved from the lion’s mouth’ of death demons or the goddess Astarte by being buried by his friends, and the prow-headed man may refer to Phoenician ships carrying protecting statues.<sup>7</sup> We might alternatively think of the story and image as less specifically symbolic, but as alluding to the risk a dead foreigner faced of not being given an adequate burial, a fate from which Antipatros on his decease has been saved because he has friends who have buried him.

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<sup>4</sup> Tsagalis (2008) 297–99

<sup>5</sup> *CEG* 596; cf. Tsagalis (2008)

<sup>6</sup> Bäbler (1998) 138–42 following Usener; Stager (2005) 439–43.

<sup>7</sup> Herodotos 3.37.2

What would an Athenian viewer have made of this stele? In formal terms the stele as a whole conforms closely to Athenian practice. The shape of the stele with its pediment is a **standard** one. The combination of recessed image and inscription above and/or below is regular. Epigrams are not found on most Athenian gravestones, but they are not rare, and some are found arranged very much as is this one. However, an Athenian who looked at all closely at this image and read its epigram would find it strange in all its details. The use of ‘dedicated’ of the putting up of a grave stone for someone else is unattested on other stelai. All other stelai for Phoenicians, whether offering a bilingual text or not, limit their identification of the deceased to patronymic and city ethnic, not otherwise playing with Phoenicians being quintessential sailors from lands of exotic animals. What looks like a standard stele proves on examination to be odd both in image and text.

The **easiest element** in the image to parallel is the ship’s prow, featured prominently on the famous stele of Demokleides, where a young warrior, his helmet and shield behind him, sits on the deck of a ship behind the prow.<sup>8</sup> **Lions** can also be paralleled in an Athenian funerary context.<sup>9</sup> The element that is most strange is the naked body lying on the couch. There is nothing foreign about the body as such, but the presence of a dead body is itself foreign. For although from the **earliest figure scenes** on Athenian pottery, and the great Geometric funerary markers put up in this very Dipylon cemetery, onwards, scenes of mourners gathered around the body of the deceased at the laying out of the corpse have been regularly shown on painted pottery, and they continued to be shown in the classical period on

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<sup>8</sup> *CAT* 1.330.

<sup>9</sup> They are prominent in archaic Attic funerary iconography, but can also be found in some classical monuments, see *CAT* 1 (stele for Leon of Sinope, first half of fourth century), 3 (from Dipylon cemetery; mid fourth century)

certain shapes of pot associated with funerary ceremonies, such scenes have never been shown on **grave reliefs**: the moment they mark is a different one<sup>10</sup>

The decision to show the corpse goes together with the decision to show and tell, in however allegorical a form, the fate of the dead person. Grave epigrams regularly refer to the way in which death has snatched the deceased from life and from family, often referring to fate, Hades, Hermes, and other metaphysical paraphernalia, but, unlike some archaic personal epigrams and classical epigrams for the war dead as a whole, classical personal epigrams do not tell the events leading up to the burial. The closest we get to that is epigrams which indicate age at death (100, 24, 90, 70, 21).<sup>11</sup> Notwithstanding the opening injunction of the epigram, and indeed encouraged by it, Athenians would surely have wondered at this scene, even after they had read the verses.

Domsalôs, in setting **up this memorial** to Antipatros, chose to use an Athenian form of monument – and presumably an Athenian sculptor – but to inscribe upon it both in his own language and in what we can only assume to be his own inflection of Greek. He chose to present in his verse and in the sculpted panel an image which tied in to a way of thinking about the world which was not Athenian, but the treatment of the figures in the sculpted image is not oriental but Greek. And if the expert in the field is right about the date of the letter forms, Domsalôs chose to take advantage of his foreign status to put up a sculpted funerary stele during a period, after the legislation of Demtrios of Phaleron, when Athenians were banned from putting up such monuments.<sup>12</sup> This is neither a case of a foreigner bringing his own practices to a city in which he is temporarily resident, nor of a foreigner choosing to

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<sup>10</sup> Kurtz (1984), Oakley (2004) 76–87. While no clothing is shown on male corpses in Geometric images, later archaic and classical paintings show the dead clothed or covered with a sheet.

<sup>11</sup> Clairmont (1970) 55bis, 56, 58, 72, 73 (= *CEG* –, 590, 531, 554, 580). Cf. Tsagalis (2008) 198–208.

<sup>12</sup> Stephen Tracy's dating is quoted at Stager (2005) 427. For Demetrios' of Phaleron's ban on elaborate grave monuments and for the continued presence of some elaborate monuments to non-Athenians see Bähler (1998) 205f.

adopt the practices of his city of temporary residence. This is a foreigner who chooses to display his identity by introducing into a monument, whose form and whose forms conform to local practice, conceptions and manners of expression which are quite alien. In the language which post-colonial studies have made fashionable, this monument is marked by hybridization. In the terms of one of my colleagues, we see here ‘the stickiness of synthesis’.<sup>13</sup>

At first sight, what is odd is that the synthesis was so sticky. Phoenicians were well integrated into Athenian society. The Phoenician merchants of Cypriot Kition were granted, albeit hesitatingly, permission to acquire land and build a temple of Aphrodite.<sup>14</sup> Athenian banking seems to have been strongly Phoenician. We know that a Phoenician Pythodoros effected introductions to the banker Pasion, and that other Phoenicians, Theodoros and an Antipater of Kition, were creditors of the bank.<sup>15</sup> We are almost certain that the banker Pasion himself and his slave protégé Phormio were Phoenicians too.<sup>16</sup> And Pasion and Phormio are the only clear examples we have of men who began life at Athens as slaves and ended as citizens.<sup>17</sup> And plausibly one of the advantages the Phoenicians enjoyed was having bodies indistinguishable in physical features, if not in circumstances, from the bodies of citizens.

For in theory many Greeks maintained that the world was mapped onto the bodies of its human residents. By placing in the very last chapter of his history the observation by Kyros the Great, founder of the Persian empire, that ‘soft lands breed soft men’, Herodotos

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<sup>13</sup> I owe this phrase to Caroline Vout.

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<sup>15</sup> Pythodoros, Isokrates 17.4; Theodoros, Dem. 34.6; Antipater of Kition, Dem. 35.32–3.

<sup>16</sup> Trevett (1992) 1; the evidence for the Phoenician origin is circumstantial: Phormio was non-Greek (Dem. 45.73, 81), which makes it highly likely that Pasion was, and since Phoenicians are the non-Greeks most closely associated with the bank, Phoenician is the most likely non-Greek origin. Apollodoros, son of Pasion, like Pythodoros, bears a name typical in form of Greek versions of Phoenician names (and cf. Antipater); cf. Diller (1937) 197–8, Bäbler (1998) 120–21.

<sup>17</sup> On the origins of slaves indicated in Athenian sources see Miller (1997) 82–3.

lends to that claim a potential explanatory power for the whole of his histories: the course of history is determined by who lives where and what the natural environment has differentially done to human physical and mental constitutions. The classic exposition of the importance of the environment for the human constitution comes in fifth-century the Hippocratic treatise *Airs, Waters, Places*. After an opening theoretical discussion of how climate affects the human body, the author turns to the distinction between Asia and Europe, aiming to show why the form of the peoples is so different. The equable blending of the climate of Asia, he maintains, makes everything grow finer and larger (ch.12), but the absence of variation in the climate also means that they are lacking in courage and lacking in spirit (ch.16). Variations within Asia are admitted, but they are attributed to climate (ch.16).<sup>18</sup>

Even in *Airs, Waters, Places*, however, the physical environment is not the only factor influencing human appearance and health. Men are able to mould their appearance, literally, by their customs, as with the Macrocephali ('Long-heads') who 'used to mould the head of the newly-born children with their hands and to force it to increase in length by the application of bandages', though now children inherit this appearance from their parents (ch.14). Or take the Skythians, who 'grow up flabby and stout for two reasons. First, because they are not wrapped in swaddling clothes, as in Egypt, nor are they accustomed to horse-riding as children which makes for a good figure. Second, they sit about too much... The girls get amazingly flabby and podgy' (ch.20 trans. Chadwick and Mann).

The point of *Airs, Waters, Places* is to convince 'whoever would study medicine aright' of the need to consider the effect of seasons, winds and water, so the major rôle played by custom is surprising. And we clearly cannot take Herodotus' concluding chapter to indicate environmental determinism on his part: for the whole rationale of his history is that one can understand present and past events only if one understands the customs of those

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<sup>18</sup> Thomas (2000) 90ff.; note the parallel passage in Aristotle *History of Animals* 606b17–20 cited by Thomas (2000) 96.

involved. So when Xerxes and Demaratos discuss what makes the Greeks, and in particular the Spartans, what they are, both men acknowledge the force of qualities consciously cultivated as well as the force of natural circumstances.<sup>19</sup> The roles of *phusis* and *nomos*, nature and culture, were a topic of debate among late fifth-century intellectuals, but it is hard to find anyone who maintained that nature alone was wholly determinative.

Something of the same discourse on the role of original habitat and custom in distinguishing human bodies is to be seen in Athenian painted pottery. Painters distinguish various non-Greek groups by their bodily features. In particular they may distinguish slaves by their miniature bodies, or by showing them with the colour or facial or other features distinctive to black Africans. They may distinguish Thracians by tattoos and Egyptians by circumcision. But all these distinctions are made in particular contexts.

Most frequently the context in which **ethnic origin** is indicated by showing particular bodily forms is mythological, and, as with Antipatros' stele, it is the frame, not the central characters, who carry the ethnic information. It is in the context of the myths of Bousiris and of Andromeda and of Memnon, that the ruler's servants may be shown, in the sixth century and first third or so of the fifth century, as African. Memnon himself, although literary sources make him of African origin, and in the *Aeneid* he will be explicitly a black African, is never so portrayed in vase painting. Similarly, although **Andromeda** is the daughter of Kepheus, ruler of Ethiopia, neither daughter nor father are shown as black Africans, though those who bind Andromeda may be so shown.<sup>20</sup> Both in the sixth and the fifth century the Egyptians who, on the orders of Bousiris, attempt to sacrifice Herakles, may be shown as black Africans, and on a pelike by the **Pan Painter**, of c. 460 the short garments that the

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<sup>19</sup> Hdt. 7.101–4; see Thomas (2000) 109–111.

<sup>20</sup> Bérard (2000)

Egyptians wear are parted to reveal circumcised genitals.<sup>21</sup> The status of being a protagonist with a name evidently precludes being given a foreign body.

While these myths seem to have been thought systematically to demand setting in a world of foreign bodies, scenes relating to daily life are only occasionally so set. Some figures are marked as **slaves** by unrealistically diminutive bodies, recalling the habit of referring to any slave as ‘child’; other figures are marked as slaves by black African features as well as by role or size. They appear as servants at the symposium, carrying wine or accompanying women in graveside rituals.<sup>22</sup> But generally identification of figures as slaves in pot painting, and indeed on grave stelai, on the basis of physical features is most often highly problematic. Among figures not marked by colour, hair, or facial features as black Africans, scholars have sometimes interpreted a short haircut, along with minor differences in stature, as indicative of servile status, but such distinctions are in practice extremely difficult to make.<sup>23</sup> The truth is that there is no systematic attempt to suggest that slaves are physically different sorts of people. Whatever Aristotle would maintain in *Politics* 1, pot painters did not show slaves different by nature.<sup>24</sup>

Black Africans appear also in two particular classes of pot, the so-called ‘negro alabastra’ and the ‘head vases’. The former are a group of small pots intended as containers of perfumed oil. **Alabastra** are made and decorated in a number of different techniques and styles, but a group of alabastra in the white-ground technique mark their exotic content with scenes involving those who are ‘other’. These alabastra show black Africans, wearing trousers, along with Amazons and in one case a Persian, all figures anomalous in terms of

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<sup>21</sup> Miller (2000).

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Miller (1997) 212.

<sup>23</sup> Oakley (2000) on maids. For problems of the identification of slaves more generally see Himmelmann (1971), (1994), Lewis (2002) 28–35, 79–81, 138–41.

<sup>24</sup> Recent scholarship has argued that ‘natural slavery’ was a theory developed by Aristotle specifically in the context of his overall argument in *Politics* book 1. See Schofield (1990), Garnsey (1996), and, *contra*, Millett (2007).



Athenian tradition. In two cases Greek youths in elaborate cloaks (*himatia*) are combined with Amazons<sup>25</sup> Head vases are pots whose bodies are shaped in the form of human heads. Various heads are used, including heads of black Africans, white women, Herakles, the god Dionysos and satyrs. Strikingly absent from head vases are white men.<sup>26</sup>

The ‘Negro Alabastra’ and the head vases show how imagery *can* create the sorts of polarised oppositions which texts inevitably generate. The alabastra set up oppositions, showing a series of contrasting individuals and including as one pole of opposition the Athenian youth. The head vases, drinking vessels for use at symposia, show a range of heads – human, hero, god, or satyr – all of which share the quality of not being heads of Athenian men. The practice on both classes of pot is undoubtedly discriminatory – classification and discrimination are what they are about – but although physical characteristics are the key discriminator in the head vases, physical characteristics are just one of the ways in which discrimination is made on the ‘Negro alabastra’, and the discriminations are in neither case discriminations of social status.<sup>27</sup> But whereas texts inscribe discrimination upon a world that is only observed, these pots effect an invitation to assimilate to that different world: alabastra entice the user to think that by putting on perfume they make themselves other, the head vases encourage the thought that alcohol opens up another world. The pot users’ own actions are framed as foreign.

Like natural differences, **acquired physical attributes** are depicted to frame actions. Just as it is in a mythological context that Egyptians are once marked out by circumcision, so in mythological contexts, when they attack Orpheus or act as servant to Herakles Thracian

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<sup>25</sup> Neils (1980).

<sup>26</sup> Standard red-figure imagery is to be found in decorated portions of some of these pots, near the rim. On head vases see briefly Osborne (2008).

<sup>27</sup> To such an extent is this the case that Bérard (2000) 409–411 claims that these vessels are ‘beyond ideology’ and that ‘neither the perfumes of Aphrodite nor the wines of Dionysos put up with racism’.

women appear with tattoos.<sup>28</sup>The tattoos both serve to indicate the geographical context, and put a distance between the women who perform these extreme and cruel acts and other women. When, more rarely **these tattoos** appear in contexts of Athenian life, as in the appearance of women at a fountain or a funeral, they mark the women as slaves and offer a social context.<sup>29</sup>

Thracian men were picked out in vase painting not by tattoos but by their **clothing**.<sup>30</sup> They are one among several groups of foreigners distinguished not by their bodies but by what they cover their bodies with. Thracians wear a distinctively patterned cloak (*zeira*), animal-skin cap (*alopekis*), and boots with turned-down tops.<sup>31</sup> Pot-painters employ these items individually or together to mark out Thracians in myths, whether as framing figures, listening to Orpheus or the Thracian Thamyras performing, or protagonists (the Thracian king Lykourgos, the personified North Wind, the Thracian Boreas, the Thracian goddess Bendis).<sup>32</sup>

There are a large number of non-mythological figures on Athenian vases, however, who wear one or more items of Thracian costume, in particular the cloak and the boots. Some of these dress items may mark out their wearers as themselves Thracian. Thracians became extremely famous as **light-armed** 'peltast' troops, and when an Athenian painter shows in the tondo of a cup a light-armed soldier complete with all the elements of Thracian costume there seems no reason to deny that the figure would be seen as itself Thracian.<sup>33</sup> But in many other cases the context makes it certain, or all but certain, that the costume element does not imply Thracian origin or ethnicity. So Douris shows a **satyr** wearing the cloak and boots but

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<sup>28</sup> The attack on Orpheus is supposed to have been the origin of the tattoos.

<sup>29</sup> Tsiafakis (2000) 372–6; Bérard (2000) 391, Oakley (2000) 241–3.

<sup>30</sup> And perhaps occasionally by their hair colour: see Tsiafakis (2000) 371–2.

<sup>31</sup> The costume is described by Herodotos at 7.75.

<sup>32</sup> Tsiafakis (2000) 376–88.

<sup>33</sup> Best (1969); Tsiafakis (2000) 267–72.

also carrying the caduceus, to indicate that he has assumed the role of the god Hermes.<sup>34</sup> But **Thracian** cloaks, boots and headgear appear in a wide range of other scenes, involving drinking and horsemanship; even **some riders** on the Parthenon frieze, who must stand for Athenian cavalry, wear elements of Thracian dress.<sup>35</sup>

Clothing likewise distinguishes **Skythians**. Skythians had no certain place in Greek mythology, unlike the Thracians, although some artists included them in scenes of the Kalydonian boar hunt when Atalanta was present.<sup>36</sup> But Scythians became associated with horsemanship and fighting as archers. Athenian vases painted between the middle of the sixth century and the end of the century show a very large number of figures equipped with one or all of the soft Scythian cap, the tight-fitting all-over garment and the bow and quiver of the archer.<sup>37</sup> Such a figure becomes virtually indispensable in **scenes involving hoplites**, a constant spectator, at least, in the arming, inspection of the liver of the sacrificial victim, departure, and combat of the heavily armed hoplite soldier.

But were these figures thought of as representing men hailing from Scythia? Texts attest to the presence of Scythian archers as a police force maintaining law and order at Athens from perhaps the second quarter of the fifth century.<sup>38</sup> But by that time painters of pottery had largely ceased to portray Scythians.<sup>39</sup> There is, indeed, an inverse relationship between the representation of Scythians on Athenian painted pottery and the presence of Scythians in Athens. For although there may have been Scythians employed as specialist troops in the sixth century, it was only in the fifth and fourth centuries that Scythians were regularly present in Athens. Yet the Scythian who appears all over late sixth-century black-

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<sup>34</sup> ARV 446.262

<sup>35</sup> e.g. the *alopekis* in N. XLIV, and the whole of the first rank of six riders on the South frieze (S I–II), on which see Harrison (1984) 231.

<sup>36</sup> Barringer (2004).

<sup>37</sup> Vos (1963), Lissarrague (1990).

<sup>38</sup> Bäßler (2005).

<sup>39</sup> Vos (1963) 81

figure pottery is conspicuously absent from fifth-century red-figure imagery, particularly after the first two decades of the century.<sup>40</sup> One scholar who has recently re-examined the data has concluded that it is an error to think that Skythian costume elements have anything at all to do with identifying actual Skythians or anything to do with ethnicity.<sup>41</sup>

Much of the explanation for the disappearance of the Scythian lies in the changing relationship of the Athenians to their own army. The extent to which Athenians had themselves been militarily engaged during the tyranny of Peisistratos and his sons is uncertain, but there is no doubt that the creation of the ‘people’s army’, and its startling successes first against the Boiotians and Chalkidians and then, at Marathon, against the Persians, came to be one of the features of the Kleisthenic revolution of which Athenians were most proud.<sup>42</sup> Whereas black-figure imagery of warfare had been heavily symbolic and laden with epic overtones, red-figure imagery rapidly comes to make explicit reference to contemporary warfare, not least in choosing to depict combat between Greek and Persian. As long as representations remained heavily symbolic, the Skythian served to point up the contrast between hoplite and light-armed troops, just as the Thracian helped to point up contrasts between hoplite and cavalry. But once going out to fight became part of what it was to be Athenian, the focus ceased to be on ideal warfare and the particular status of the heavily armed infantryman. Indeed all representation of light-armed troops and of cavalry fades, as the hoplite figure is made on pots to stand for all military enterprise.<sup>43</sup>

The essential independence of representation of Skythians on Athenian pottery from the presence of Skythians in Athenian experience, is further revealed by the other major context in which Skythian elements appear in the imagery of vase painting: the **symposion**.

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<sup>40</sup> Osborne 2004b; cf. Lissarrague (1990) 132–6.

<sup>41</sup> Ivanchik (2005).

<sup>42</sup> cf. Herodotos 5.78.

<sup>43</sup> Osborne (2000) 34–40, (2004). I discuss changes in the way soldiers are represented on Athenian red-figure pottery more fully in Osborne (forthcoming).

Skythians had a particular, if paradoxical, reputation for drinking. Herodotos both records that the Skythians were milk-drinkers, drinkers of blood, and drinkers of neat wine.<sup>44</sup> Some, he says, ascribed the madness of King Kleomenes of Sparta to the fact that he had acquired from some Skythian ambassadors the habit of drinking his wine unmixed.<sup>45</sup> Athenaios, who himself refers to Herodotos' testimony, notes that 'Skythian-style' was used to refer to a strong mix of wine, and quotes from the late archaic poet Anacreon, who contrast 'Skythian drinking' to 'gentle drinking with noble hymns'.<sup>46</sup>

Some painters at the beginning of the fifth century include a man or youth wearing the Skythian bonnet in an otherwise ordinary sympotic scene.<sup>47</sup> **One Athenian painter**, active at the same period and notable for his execrable style and for finding his market to a much larger extent than is common in parts east, rather than in Etruscan Italy, had a particular line in showing in the tondo of cups a solo symposiast, seen in back view with Skythian bonnet and drinking horn.<sup>48</sup>

The Scythian bonnet is not the only element of foreign costume to be sported at the symposion or in connection with drinking. The '**turban**' or 'headscarf', 'mitra' or 'sakkos' which is worn by women in various scenes on pots is worn by men only in the context of drinking, either in the symposion or in the revelling of the *komos*.<sup>49</sup> In some scenes we find the headscarf worn by otherwise naked drinkers, in others it is combined with wearing not

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<sup>44</sup> Herodotos 4.2 (milk), 4.64 (blood). Hartog (1980) 176–85.

<sup>45</sup> Herodotos 6.84.

<sup>46</sup> Athenaios 427a–c, elsewhere he notes that one Hieronymos of Rhodes, who wrote a work *On Drunkenness* claimed that the reason why Skythians are associated with heavy drinking is that their name is close to the name of a large drinking vessel, the skyphos: 499e–f. See further Miller (1991) 67–8

<sup>47</sup> Lissarrague has suggested that this marks the figure out as a 'peerless drinker' or as the symposiarch, (1987) 16, (1999) 30. On Scythian costume at the Athenian symposium see further Miller (1991).

<sup>48</sup> Works of the Pithos Painter, ARV 139.23–141.63; Lissarrague (1987) 86

<sup>49</sup> Kurtz and Boardman (1986) 50–56, Frontisi-Ducroux and Lissarrague (1983).

just a himation, but a himation with a chiton under it.<sup>50</sup> Herodotos will have the Lydians encouraged by Kroisos to wear chitones under their clothes, soft boots (*kothornoi*), and to play the kithara so as to feminise them and dispel Persian fear that they might revolt.<sup>51</sup> We should surely see both effeminate and Lydian connotations to the dress choice of these drinkers.

Unlike Scythians, Lydians were associated not with a particular style of drinking but with a particular, soft and luxurious, style of life. **A series of pots** showing men in headscarves, wearing chitons under their himatia, and often sporting parasols or the form of lyre known as a barbitos, have become known as ‘Anacreontics’ because Beazley identified such figures with the barbitos as the lyric poet Anakreon.<sup>52</sup> Before coming to Athens Anakreon had spent time at the court of the Samian tyrant Polykrates, which became renowned for its emulation of ‘soft Lydian ways’.<sup>53</sup> It is not clear from the three images that explicitly make reference to him that the Athenians thought of Anakreon in these specifically Lydian terms, but there is little doubt that his popularity and the popularity of the Lydianising trend to some extent went together. The characteristics which mark out these ‘booners’ are the combination of marks of delicacy (the parasol, the chiton, the soft boots) with marks of ecstasy – the thrown-back head, the frontal face – induced by music, dancing, and drink. The exotic dress serves to mark a life-style choice, and painters use figures so dressed to explore particular aspects of the social life of the symposion and the revel.

The Lydian style first appears on Athenian pots in the 520s and in black-figure technique; it attracts two of the finest artists of early fifth-century red-figure, Douris and the

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<sup>50</sup> For the former see the Kleisophos’ painter’s oinochoe, Athens NM 1045, *ABV*186, with de Vries (2000) 360, who also draws attention to the boots worn by one drinker; for the latter, the Nikoxenos painter’s kalpis, Kassel A Lg 57.

<sup>51</sup> Herodotos 1.155–6.

<sup>52</sup> Caskey and Beazley (1954) 55–61. On the parasol see Miller (1992).

<sup>53</sup> Kurtz and Boardman 67–9. Athenaios 515d–516c, 540f for Lydian ways and the court of Polykrates.

Brygos painter, and continues to be represented in the ‘mannerists’ of the decades immediately after the Persian war. But by 450 painters have lost interest in these figures, who disappear from the iconography. Although the pictorial life of the Lydian was not as intense as the pictorial life of the Skythian, nor did the Lydian disappear from view quite so precipitately, nevertheless the history of the image cannot correspond with the history of Lydian presence in Athens or Athenian knowledge of the Lydians. Back in the middle of the sixth century one fine Athenian black-figure pot painter signed himself ‘Lydos’, ‘Lydos’ became thought of as a stock slave name, found among those sold off in the Attic Stelai, and Euripides has Pheres in the *Alkestis* treat ‘Lydian’ as the equivalent of ‘bought’ and ‘worthless’.<sup>54</sup> Six fourth-century **gravestones** of Lydians are known, all of them plausibly monuments to slaves or freedmen, and all but one to women.<sup>55</sup> The one monument with a relief is of low quality, and marked as foreign not simply by the parental name given but by the fact that that name is a mother’s name, but there is nothing foreign about its imagery of a woman on a couch approached by another woman.<sup>56</sup> A Lyde is among those listed in the manumissions marked by dedications of *phialai* on the third quarter of the fourth century at Athens.<sup>57</sup> As with Skythians, what it is to look Lydian on Athenian pots is quite a different matter from being Lydian.<sup>58</sup>

More remarkably, what it is to look Persian on a pot is quite different from being Persian. Athenian artists show various items of Persian origin, particularly the sleeved chiton, the sleeved jacked known as the *kandus*, and the tunic known as the *ependytes*.<sup>59</sup> The *ependytes* seems to have been taken up in Ionia when Persian conquered the area in the sixth century, and it is unclear to what extent it was thought of as Persian when initially shown as

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<sup>54</sup> *ABV* 107–20; Cicero *Pro Flacco* 65; *ML79*, p. 247; Euripides *Alkestis* 675

<sup>55</sup> Bäßler (1998) cat. no.s 24–8.

<sup>56</sup> The stele of Malthake daughter of Magadis: Clairmont 2.457; Bäßler (1998) 90–92.

<sup>57</sup> Lewis (1959) Face A line 328.

<sup>58</sup> NEEDS SOMETHING ON FETISHISING COLONIAL GAZE, TOURISM ETC

<sup>59</sup> For what follows see Miller (1997) 153–87.

clothing of goddesses on sixth-century and early fifth-century Athenian pottery.<sup>60</sup> But fifth-century Athenian painters certainly considered the *ependytes* to be an **oriental garment** given the frequency of its appearance after the period of the Persian Wars on Amazons, Persians, and generic Easterners.<sup>61</sup> The garment is then found in a wide range of contexts, worn by men and women in funerary scenes, by **soldiers** in departure scenes, by dancers, by women in ritual scenes, and by a variety of figures in mythological scenes. Sleeved chitons appear in classical red-figure vases in a similar range of scenes, and from the last quarter of the fifth century there is an **outbreak** of *kandus*-wearing by small children and women in scenes with ritual overtones (particular scenes on choes), as well as in identifiably Persian scenes.<sup>62</sup>

There were, once more, Persians living in Athens. Along with nine other grave stelai of Persians, several bearing reliefs indistinguishable from reliefs commemorating Athenians, there is **one** stele with entirely Achaemenid iconography.<sup>63</sup> We do not know whether this hybrid stele, with its Attic workmanship as well as findspot, in fact commemorated a Persian, since the stele bears no name. The lower scene on the stele is paralleled by the reverse of an Athenian red-figure pot painting of late fifth-century date, showing a fleeing man in Persian dress, and Athenian artists played with Persian imagery in a variety of circumstances. Similarly there is no reason to think that the fragment of a torso wearing items of Persian dress, which comes from a grave terrace in the Kerameikos, in fact commemorated a Persian.

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<sup>60</sup> e.g. Andokides Painter, ARV 4.10; early fifth-century Panathenaics no.s 24, 38–9, 45 in Neils 1992..

<sup>61</sup> Miller (1997) 171. This is almost certainly true of the wearing of the *ependytes* by aulos players in festival or sympotic contexts from 490–480 onwards: Miller (1997) 175 n.157 lists the images. There had been a forty-year gap since the earliest *ependytes*-wearing auletai, whose connotations may have been merely Ionian.

<sup>62</sup> Miller (1997) REF

<sup>63</sup> Bäbler (1998) cat. no.s 41–50; for standard Attic iconography see no.s 44, 45, 47, 48. The Achaemenid iconography appears on the ‘Kamini’ stele, Bäbler (1998) no.41 and pp. 109–11, on which see also Miller (1997) 56.



A **stele** showing a figure in a *kandys* who bears the name ‘Myttion’ appears to commemorate a slave, but not one for whom there is reason to postulate Persian origin.<sup>64</sup>

The burden of my argument will have become clear. Athenian artists, whether sculptors or pot painters had a large number of resources at their disposal to differentiate rôle, status, and ethnicity. Status indicators they seem to have chosen to deploy rather rarely, picking out e.g. only some countrymen as workers by their use of the fur hat and only **some female** figures on funerary lekythoi as maids.<sup>65</sup> Indicators of ethnicity were employed readily enough to identify mythological scenes, but rarely was it relevant to set scenes relating to daily life in a specific ethnic context, and artists rather employed identifiably foreign clothes and accoutrements to mark styles adopted by Athenians themselves than to identify foreigners. The Xenophontic *Constitution of the Athenians* notes that the Athenians were peculiar in deriving their dress from barbarian as well as Greek sources.<sup>66</sup> Whatever the relationship between life and art, there is no doubt that Athenian artists expected their viewers to be familiar with a highly variegated language of clothes. But only in the case of slaves are ethnic indicators employed in scenes that relate to life, and there the desire seems to be to indicate status rather than to determine a particular ethnic origin.

The representations of **Memnon and of Andromeda** are significant here. In both cases there is a clear and strong desire, on the one hand, to indicate that these are exotic characters. On the other, there is a clear avoidance of making the central figure, whether Memnon or Andromeda, a black African. The decision in both cases to show the servants as black but to leave the protagonist as white manages to retain the association of blackness with slavery, while hinting at an exotic origin for the figure around whom the story turns. We may, in fact, have some evidence for Athenians themselves showing some consciousness of the

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<sup>64</sup> Bäbler (1998) 26–32, *CAT* 1.224,

<sup>65</sup> See Pipili (2000) on hats,

<sup>66</sup> [Xenophon] *Constitution of the Athenians* 2.8.

peculiarity of this move. In **a scene** which has never been satisfactorily explained, the white-ground lekythos in Athens which Haspels made the ‘name vase’ of the ‘Beldam Painter’ shows a woman with distinctively African features and pendulous breasts, tied to a tree and being beaten and variously tortured by satyrs. I suggest that this painter is here, in the spirit of satyr play, reversing the conventions for the representation of Andromeda by making the heroine black.

Concern with status distinctions is, on this account, a stubborn feature of Athenian pot painting. That is, while distinctions between slave and master or mistress are far from being always salient, there are roles which are reversible only in the sort of carnivalesque situations created by the introduction of the satyr. By contrast those indicia of ethnicity that consist in clothing are free floating and may be worn reversibly by individuals identified by their context as barbarian or as Greek. This is in stark contrast to the picture which is created by classical texts.

Greeks distinguished, and expected others to distinguish, both between those who belonged to a city community and those who did not, by dividing the world between *politai* and *xenoi*, and between those who spoke their own language and those who did not, classifying the latter as *barbaroi*. Herodotos provides us with explicit guidance on this, reporting that ‘the Egyptians call men of other languages *barbaroi*’ and drawing attention to the oddity that the Spartans call the Persians *xenoi* rather than *barbaroi*.<sup>67</sup> The world of texts is a world of complex polarities. Scholars who base themselves on textual sources find the Athenians distinguishing themselves from others not simply by the invention of the barbarian – where the absence of the concept of the barbarian from Homer coincides with the absence

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<sup>67</sup> 2.158.5 for Egyptians; 9.11.2 for Spartans (but note that the Spartans are made to use *barbaroi* of the Persians at 8.142.2 and 5). Flower and Marincola (2002) *ad loc.* seem to get things precisely backwards in their note on 11.2 when they claim that failing to distinguish between non-Greeks and Greeks from other *poleis* is a mark of their xenophobia. On use of *xenos* in fifth-century texts see Gauthier (1971).

of the word itself – but by insisting on such marks of separation as their own autochthony. If it took the pressure of the Persian invasions to compel a sense of Hellenicity, of their being a common quality of being Greek,<sup>68</sup> the defeat of the Persians offered the Athenians the opportunity to insist not simply that the world of the barbarians was quite other than the world of the Greeks but that they were Greeks like no others. The common blood upon which along with the common manners, language and religion, according to Herodotos, they had insisted in 480 in explaining that they would never side with the Persians, was now distinguished into an unmixed Athenian stream and other mixed streams,<sup>69</sup> The processes of division, upon which Plato will insist that knowledge depends, get employed to produce the knowledge that to be Athenian is not to be Spartan or Boiotian or Argive or Thessalian, or indeed a member of any of the cities allied to Athens in the Delian League.

Such division and the very creation of categories by negation that is an inseparable part of the world of language, is alien to the world of images. Images can be modified in various ways, but none of those modifications negates the original image. By analogy with language we learn that a picture with a line or a cross through it means that what is pictured is banned or has ceased to be true, but there is nothing one can do to an image which implies that the world divides between those who possess a certain quality and those who lack that quality. Where language offers binaries, images are resolutely plural.

This is not simply true of the pictures created by artists, it is even more true of all that is seen by the eyes. Language eschews the particular, ascribing the thing referred to a class, but everything seen by the eye is particular, potentially ascribable to any number of classes. But such a classification can only be on the basis of observable features – which might be features of nature or of culture, features displayed on the body or features displayed by what the body wears or carries. Potentially both slave status and foreign status might, unlike non-

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<sup>68</sup> Hall 2002.

<sup>69</sup> Herodotos 8.144.

citizen status, be written on the body, Athenians might have discriminated on the basis of facial or bodily features or on the basis of clothes. But did they? Pictures are useful to the historian in indicating the sorts of ways in which the world that was seen was actually ascribed into classes. And when we look for pictures of foreign bodies, and find instead the language of clothes being played with independently of any distinctive bodily features, we have good evidence that Athenian priorities did not in fact lie with separating the world into Athenians and *xenoi* or Athenians and *barbaroi*. Athenian priorities lay much more with discriminating roles within their own community. Not for the last time in history, the language of the politicians did not translate into the language of the people. For the historian, as for the lesser mortal, believing the politicians can seriously damage your worldview.

If **Antipatros** listened to the politicians he had reasons to believe that on his death the lions would have him. But Domsalôs was able to prove that there were not at Athens simply Athenians and foreigners, there were many different ways of being in the community. The framework of civic life was like the framework of the stele with small recessed relief panel (*Bildfeldstele*), there were broad conventions which had to be accepted to count as a member of the community at all, but once those conventions were accepted, it was possible to combine elements in ways that were quite new, create a life which was unique, even make others realise aspects of life which they had systematically repressed. Within the conventions of the symposion, with its careful regulation of the consumption of wine mixed in due proportion with water, the Skythian raised the question of whether one should not be drinking wine unmixed (or drinking milk!). Within the conventions of a festival, the Anthesteria, at which infants were recognised as persons in their own right, the Persian *kandus* asked what guarantees there were that this infant would observe local conventions. Within the conventions of the standard Athenian gravestone which might show a couch, naked young men, an animal, a ship's prow, but would never put on display the circumstances of death or

the way a man met his fate, Domsalôs created an image which forced the Athenians to confront just that. Against a verbal politics which imaged an Athens in which the foreign was the negation of the Athenian, the visual politics of life and art conspired to insist that the place to look for the foreign body was always within the body of the citizens. If writers see the foreign by holding up a mirror to the familiar, artists suggest that anyone who looks closely into mirror will always find there his own body foreign.