

STUDIES IN THE SYMPOSIUM

By

Robert Garland, B.A.

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AUTHOR: Robert Garland, B.A. (Manchester University)  
SUPERVISOR: Dr. W.J. Slater  
READERS: Dr. G.M. Paul, Dr. D. Shepherd  
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R.S.J.G.

## PREFACE

I wish to state here briefly something of the limits and aims of my study. Most importantly, it has not been possible to include within its scope any discussion concerning the origin and development of sympotic procedure. Nor have I examined social organizations, such as clubs or schools of philosophy, which regularly held symposia for their members. As a result, I have not attempted any evaluation of the institution in cultural or historical terms. Its social significance for the Greeks must therefore necessarily remain implicit, though in one or two places I have indicated the widespread nature of its appeal.

Instead, my main center of interest is with the functioning of the symposium, and the question which I have been chiefly concerned to answer in the first three chapters is simply, "What exactly happened when a symposium took place?" The bulk of the evidence is drawn from Greek rather than Roman sources, and it is to be understood that what I have to say is primarily with reference to Greek procedure. On the other hand, two of my principal sources, Athenaeus and Plutarch, are Roman antiquarians seeking to recover a lost tradition, with the result that it is not always wise to insist upon a firm dividing line between the two.

The final chapter, however, which forms a kind of appendix to the work as a whole, views the symposium in purely literary terms, as a setting for various poetic topoi, and draws from Greek and Roman verse without discrimination. It includes references from epic, tragic and comic sources, as well as lyric and elegiac.

All abbreviations have been taken from the Oxford Classical  
Dictionary.

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## CHAPTER I

### SYMPOSIUM: A DEFINITION

The word "symposium" refers to the communal drinking of wine that took place at the conclusion of a grand dinner.<sup>1</sup> Only after the tables had been cleared away, libations performed, and a paean sung, was it permitted, according to Greek custom, to begin drinking.<sup>2</sup> In this opening chapter I am concerned primarily with the spirit and atmosphere of such gatherings generally. The evidence I shall produce will consist of explicit statements on the nature and purpose of the symposium, a discussion of key words commonly located in a sympotic context, and descriptions of symposia such as we find in Plato, Xenophon, and Lucian. Finally, there are the admonitory sympotic *topoi* purporting to give advice to drinkers on how to conduct themselves at a symposium.

Before proceeding, however, I should like to sound a note of warning: the kind of symposium approved of by Plato and Plutarch would have had little appeal to men like Dicaeopolis and Philocleon. The traditional Platonic picture of learned gentlemen delivering protreptic utterances over a bowl of wine is therefore to be regarded with a certain degree of caution. There cannot have been many Greeks or Romans who had either the inclination or the ability to conduct a particularly elevated discourse when flushed with wine. On the other hand, it is reasonable to assume, κατὰ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον, that a sizeable percentage of the population did in fact find relaxation upon such occasions in the arms of a flute-girl.

Plutarch defines a symposium as, "a passing of time over wine, which, guided by gracious behavior, ends in friendship".<sup>3</sup> The fellow-diner, he says, shares not only cooked food, wine, and delicacies, but also paidia and euphrosyne, sportive play and good cheer, which are conducive to the promotion of friendship.

The words paidia and euphrosyne will require some discussion, for they are both intimately connected with the spirit of the symposium. Euphrosyne refers to the condition of warm-heartedness and well-being which overtakes the mind when the body's craving for sensual delight has been duly gratified.<sup>4</sup> We must not forget that the symposium was designed to make an overpowering appeal to all of the senses through flowers, perfumes, delicacies, music, and the luxury of reclining in congenial company, pleasures greatly enhanced by the intake of wine. As Plutarch eloquently puts it, "When the body is comfortable and at peace, then at last the soul, released from care and servitude, can devote itself to its own pleasures and feast on ideas, learning, inquiries, and speculation about unusual questions."<sup>5</sup> He claims it is a condition to which even men of baser instincts are subject, though we might question whether it would affect them in precisely the same way as Plutarch and his learned colleagues. To induce euphrosyne, it was necessary to preserve an atmosphere of tranquility and calm. Accordingly, it was a general rule that there should be no display of violent emotion at the symposium.<sup>6</sup> The symposiarch is therefore advised to allow discussion only of matters which serve to bring out that portion of the soul which is "fairest and most cultured".<sup>7</sup> A ban is also placed upon songs that speak of wars, the subject being considered unsuitable for the mood of a festive gathering.<sup>8</sup>

Next let us consider the implications of the word paidia. Exhortations to drink are quite regularly introduced by the formula  $\pi\lambda\upsilon\epsilon$ ,  $\pi\alpha\lambda\zeta\epsilon$ .<sup>9</sup> In this context  $\pi\alpha\lambda\zeta\epsilon$  may simply mean  $\epsilon\upsilon\phi\alpha\lambda\upsilon\upsilon\sigma\upsilon$ , "Be merry!",<sup>10</sup> but the verb can also contain an erotic connotation, as when Eros summons Anacreon to be his play-fellow.<sup>11</sup> Paidia also typifies the light-hearted and carefree approach to life which epitomises all sympotic verse. A good deal of playful banter passed among the guests at such parties, and it was an essential principle that all joking be taken in good part.<sup>12</sup> In accordance with the characteristic Greek fondness for antithesis, paidia is often paired with spoude, the blending of which was thought to produce a suitably convivial atmosphere.<sup>13</sup> Finally, in addition to its connection with good cheer, erotic delight, and sportive fun, paidia sometimes conveys the idea of culture, a meaning normally reserved for the closely related word paideia. As we shall see later, a familiarity with the works of the poets was a requisite of a regular party-goer.<sup>14</sup> It is this ambiguity which Plato utilizes in the first two books of the Laws, where it is his contention that the symposium, if rightly conducted, is an important element in education.<sup>15</sup>

Drinking and love-making were closely connected in antiquity, and it is not surprising to discover that the symposium was as much the concern of Aphrodite and her child Eros as it was of Dionysus himself. Wine was seen both as a awakener of desire and as a cure for love-sickness,<sup>16</sup> and frequently both deities are invited to attend a drinking-bout.<sup>17</sup> Love was a popular topic of conversation among drinkers<sup>18</sup> and the act of love often concluded a night of drinking.<sup>19</sup> Judging from several epigrams in the Greek Anthology, one of the readiest targets for affection was the wine-pourer, whose desirability was proverbial.<sup>20</sup>

In discussing the elements which combined to give the symposium its unique character, we must always remember that, for the Greeks at least, the taking of wine was also a religious act, akin in some ways to the taking of communion in the Christian church. The religious aspect is prominent in the description of the origin of wine which we read in Nonnus' Dionysiaca,<sup>21</sup> where the vine is said to have sprung from the body of Ampelos, Dionysos' dead favorite, for whom the god shed bitter tears. As he drank in the fruit of the vine, which contained all the beauty and grace of the dead youth, his heart was made glad within him and he forgot his sorrow. Nonnus is admittedly a late writer, but he is merely putting in myth form what is in fact a much older view: the idea that the gods invented wine in order to release man from his cares.<sup>22</sup>

Every stage of the symposium was marked by a traditional religious act.<sup>23</sup> Before the drinking began, the first few drops of unmixed wine were poured in honor of the Agathos Daimon. This ceremony was followed by three libations. It was also customary to sing a hymn to the gods, either during or after the libations. Again, before the party broke up, a triple paean was sung in honor of Apollo, followed by a hymn to the goddess Hygieia. Some kind of purificatory rite was also performed at the close of a symposium, and possibly before its commencement as well. So ingrained was the sense of religious occasion in the Greeks that even Hesiod, as he sits alone under his shady rock in the heat of summer, his belly filled with good food, does not fail to make a libation before drinking.<sup>24</sup>

Correct behavior at the symposium was governed by a strict system of ethics, the enforcement of which was in the hands of the symposiarch<sup>25</sup>

who had the power to inflict a penalty for any infringement of the rules. Though their works have not survived, at least three writers in antiquity compiled books of sympotic laws.<sup>26</sup> It is significant, regarding this, that the symposium should have provided Theophrastus with such a fertile source for characterization. Among many other instances of bad form, he notes that it was the mark of a buffoon to drop his cup while the company was at prayer and burst out laughing, to tap or whistle an accompaniment while the flute-girl was playing, or to spit across the table at the wine-pourer.<sup>27</sup> An epigram in the Anthology also makes it a rule that no poet should recite his own verses at the symposium, and that there should be no discussion of grammatical matters.<sup>28</sup> We may also recall the scene in Aristophanes' Wasps where Bdelycleon educates his father on how to conduct himself with decorum at a smart symposium. He points out, for instance, that it was a mark of politeness in a guest to admire the household furniture.<sup>29</sup> Finally, there was a popular saying *μισεῖν μνημόνα συμπτώκην*,<sup>30</sup> the meaning of which, as Plutarch suggests, was that there should be an amnesty "for all that is said and done during the drinking".<sup>31</sup>

While observing that a certain code of behavior prevailed among the majority of party-goers, we must not ignore the considerable body of evidence suggesting that many symposia simply degenerated into drunken revels.<sup>32</sup> In the first instance, this might be due to the arrival of "gatecrashers" from a party elsewhere late in the evening. The symposium given by Agathon, for example, which is otherwise a model for restrained and orderly behavior, suffers invasion from a crowd of revelers who set the place in an uproar and force everyone to drink enormous quantities of wine.<sup>33</sup> We may also recall the scene in Propertius<sup>34</sup> where Cynthia

unexpectedly bursts in upon a symposium at which the poet is entertaining one of her rivals, and launches a vicious attack upon the guilty pair, utilizing both tooth and nail. Disorderly behavior among the guests themselves could also lead to rioting. It seems to have been a stock joke in antiquity that the most unsocialized and equally the worst-behaved guests at a symposium were the philosophers.<sup>35</sup> Of all the philosophical schools, it is the Cynics who appear in the worst light. In Lucian's Symposium,<sup>36</sup> which is a description of a banquet modelled on the example of Perithöos' wedding-feast, Alcidas the Cynic is the chief instigator of the bloody rumpus which leads to a broken head, a smashed jaw, a gouged-out eye, and several broken teeth.

In the light of this somewhat conflicting evidence, it would be unwise to rely upon any single authority for a statement of intent on the institution as a whole. Its wide range of possibilities is nowhere better reflected than in the wide variety of pursuits and entertainments available to symposiasts, which forms the subject of Chapter 3 below.

NOTES

<sup>1</sup>As is the case with many specialized words, however, which extend their meaning as time passes, ultimately "symposium" was used to refer to the dinner as well, and deipnon came to include "symposium". What facilitated the change was the Roman practice of drinking wine concurrently with the meal, cf. Ath. 9,393 d.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Plat. Symp. 176 a.

<sup>3</sup>Quaest. conv. 1, 4, 3 p. 621 c.

<sup>4</sup>For euphrosyne and its associate thalia in a sympotic context, see Hom. Od. 9, 5 ff.; Hom. Hymn to Hermes, 482; Pind. Ol. 1, 91; 6, 98; 7, 11; 14, 8; 14, 15, etc. (see Bundy, E. L., Studia Pindarica I [Berkeley 1962], 2); Theog. 1063-8; Sol. fr. 3, 9 f. D; Sapph. fr. 2, 15 LP (ὁμ(με)μέλχμενον θαλίῳ νεκτάρ ); Xenophanes fr. 1, 4 D B fr. 1, 4, Vol. 1, 126 DK.

<sup>5</sup>Quaest. conv. 5 p. 673 a.

<sup>6</sup>See below p. 65 f.

<sup>7</sup>Plut. Quaest. conv. 3 p. 645 c.

<sup>8</sup>See below p. 66.

<sup>9</sup>Cf. Amphis fr. 8 (ap. Ath. 8, 336 c) 2, 238 K; Ion of Chios fr. 2 PLG 4; inscription on Sardanapalus' tomb (ap. Ath. 12, 530 c).

<sup>10</sup>E.g. Luke 12, 19.

<sup>11</sup>358, 4 PMG. Anac. 417, 5 PMG also uses it to describe his Thracian filly, almost certainly in an erotic context (κοῦφά τε σκιρτώσα πάλιν εἰς ). Cf. also, AP 12, 37 and Bk. 12 passim.

<sup>12</sup>References to σκώμματα at drinking-parties are very common. Hdt. (2, 173-74) describes Amasis of Egypt, when a private citizen, as a φιλοπότης ... καὶ φιλοσκώμων καὶ οὐ κατεσπουδασμένος ἀνὴρ. Parasites, in particular, complain of the agonies they had to undergo in return for a good meal, cf. Alciphro. Epist. Bk. 3 passim. One, for instance, complains (12, 2 ff.) that his head was covered with pitch and his eyes spattered with sauce; then, having picked up what he thought was a flat-cake, he found himself nibbling at stones smeared with honey; finally, a whore filled a bladder with blood and brought it down on his head.

<sup>13</sup>E.g. Plut. Quaest. conv. 1, 4, 2 p. 620 d; ibid. 7, 7 p. 710 f. et al. Cf. also, Hor. Carm. 4, 12, 27 (misce stultitiam consiliis brevem); Auson. Prof. Burd. 15, 5 (tam seniorum quam iocorum particeps); ibid. Parent. 7, 11 (ioca seria mixti).

<sup>14</sup>See below p. 45.

<sup>15</sup>641 d. Moreover, when Pindar (Ol. 1, 16 f.) praises Hieron for being a well-educated man, he does so by referring to the intellectual atmosphere of his symposia.

<sup>16</sup>See below p. 66.

<sup>17</sup>E.g. Sapph. fr. 2, 13 LP; Anac. fr. 357 LP. Cf. Hor. Carm. 3, 21, 21 and Eur. Alc. 788 ff. Dionysus is described as τὸν ἐρώμενον Κυθήρης (Anacreontea 38, 6) and Phales is addressed as ἔταλρε Βακχίου (Ar. Ach. 263).

<sup>18</sup>Persaeus of Citium (ap. Ath. 13, 607 b) in his book Συμποτικά Ὑπομνήματα says that one should talk of sexual matters ἡμέρως τε καὶ μετρίως, not θηριωδῶς καὶ ἀπλήστως, cf. the encomia on Eros which the drinkers in Plato's Symposium deliver. Zopyrus (ap. Plut. Quaest. conv. 3, 6, 1 p. 653 e) says, "Among one's companions and friends, wine-cup at hand, . . . how can it be shameful to say and to hear anything useful [εἰς συνουσίας χρῆσιν ]?"

<sup>19</sup>Anacreontea 36, 12 ff. (ἐμοὶ γένοιτο πίνειν . . . ἐν δ' ἄπαλλῃσι κοίταις / τελεῖν τὰν Αφροδίταν ); Anac. 396 PMG (φέρ' ὕδωρ, φέρ' οἶνον . . . ὥς δὴ πρὸς Ἑρωτᾷ πυκταλίζω ); Ion of Chios fr. 2 PLG (οὐτλινά δ' εὐελδῆς

19 Cont'd.

μίμνει θήλεια πάρευνος, / κείνος τῶν ἄλλων κυδρότερον πίετακ ). Cf.

also the effect of the pantomime upon the drinkers at the close of Xen.

Symp. 9, 7 ("those who were unwedded swore that they would become so and those who were rode home to their wives [ὅπως τούτων τυχοῖεν]" ).

<sup>20</sup>E.g. Hebe and Ganymede, cf. Strato AP 12, 175; ibid. 12, 180 and 199; Lucian Symp. 15; Ath. 13, 603-4.

<sup>21</sup>12, 173 ff.

<sup>22</sup>Cf. Hom. Il. 7, 261 ( οἶνόν τοι, Μενέλκε, πόλησιν ἄριστον /  
θυητοῖς ἀνθρώποισιν ἄποσκεδάσκει μελεδῶνκς ).

<sup>23</sup>The significance of the various observances is discussed below  
p. 19 ff.

<sup>24</sup>Op. 592 ff.

<sup>25</sup>For an account of the duties and responsibilities of this officer,  
see below p. 19 f.

<sup>26</sup>They are Xenocrates, Speusippus and Aristotle, cf. Ath. 1, 3 f.  
Cf. the humorous Leges Convivales in Buecheler, F., Petronii Saturae ed. 8  
(Berlin 1963), 344 f.

<sup>27</sup>11, 10 f. cf ibid. 9, 3; 13, 4; 15, 10; 19, 4.

<sup>28</sup>AP 11, 10. Aulus Gellius was obviously unfamiliar with this law. Cf. also, the three προβλήματα at the beginning of Plut. Quaest. conv. 9 p. 736 d - 739 a.

<sup>29</sup>1214-15. Cf. Ath. 6, 236 b and Hom. Od. 4, 43 f.

<sup>30</sup>Adesp. 1002 PMG; AP 11, 31 (τρῶν . . . μύθων μνήμονας ὕδροπόρας); Luc. Symp. 3, 1, 2; Mart. 1, 27, deftly turns the proverb against a companion who remembered his non sobria verba inviting him to dinner the following day. Cf. also, Theog. 295 ff.

<sup>31</sup>Quaest. conv. 1 p. 612 c.

<sup>32</sup>One of the most entertaining descriptions of drunken behavior in antiquity is that given by Timaeus of Tauromenium (ap. Ath. 2. 37), explaining how a certain house in Agrigentum earned the nickname "trireme". It appears that during a drunken spree which took place in the upstairs room of a house, some young men imagined that they were on board a ship. As the ship became progressively rockier, they found it necessary to eject various articles of household furniture in order to prevent their ship from capsizing. This they did to the huge delight of the local inhabitants who managed to salvage pieces of wreckage as they flew out the window. In the morning, still at

32 Cont'd.

sea or sea-sick (ἐπὶ ναυτικῶντες -- a delightful touch), the young men appeared before the local magistrates who sentenced them never to drink too much and let them go.

<sup>33</sup>Plat. Symp. 223 b. Martin, J., Symposium (Paderborn, 1931) 127 f., sees the Streitmotiv at the symposium as deriving from Hom. Od. 18, 403 f.

<sup>34</sup>4, 8, 51-70, cf. Yardley, J.C., "Comic Influences in Propertius", Phoenix, 26 (1972), 134 ff. Yardley suggests that the motif derives from New Comedy. Cf. also, Theoc. Id. 14, 34 ff.

<sup>35</sup>Cf. Alciph. Epist. 3, 19, 6 ff., "Now the other guests observed, from the beginning of the party to the end, a similar or identical etiquette, but the philosophers, as the dinner progressed and the loving-cup swept constantly on its rounds, exhibited, each in turn, his brand of τερπνεία ." (Trans. Benner in Loeb text.)

<sup>36</sup>44-45, also 46 and 34 ( εὐρείᾳ ἐν τῇ μέσῃ οὐκ κλιδύμενος τὰς γυναικας ). Cf. Alciph. Epist. 3, 19, 9, and Plut. Brut. 34, 4, 8.

## CHAPTER II

### CEREMONY AND RITUAL

In this chapter we shall be concerned with practical details involved in the running of a symposium; the necessary preparations, organization, and general management; the order in which the various ceremonies, religious or otherwise, were performed; and finally the nature and significance of these acts themselves.

A symposium might be held in celebration of a variety of events, including birth,<sup>1</sup> marriage,<sup>2</sup> or death;<sup>3</sup> the departure or arrival of a friend from abroad;<sup>4</sup> victory won at the games,<sup>5</sup> in a dramatic contest,<sup>6</sup> or in battle;<sup>7</sup> a feast-day sacred to one of the gods;<sup>8</sup> or the birthday of some illustrious personage.<sup>9</sup> In most cases, however, no such pretext was required, and the majority of symposia were doubtless informal gatherings convened purely on hedonistic grounds.<sup>10</sup>

Symposia were organized in a number of ways: first, there were those where everything was provided by the host; sometimes instead, the host provided the first course and most of the second, while the guests were expected to contribute various small delicacies to the dessert course;<sup>11</sup> finally, there were pure contribution-banquets where everything was provided by the guests, either in cash or in kind. Contributions in cash, known as *συμβολαί*, were collected beforehand and intrusted to one of the party who acted as the nominal host and was responsible for purchasing the necessary provisions.<sup>12</sup> This type of banquet corresponded approximately to the Homeric eranos or Spartan phidition. Alternatively, each guest

brought along his share of food in a small basket known as a στυρίς or στυρίδιον.<sup>13</sup> Representations of these baskets, hanging on the walls behind symposiasts, feature on several Greek vases.<sup>14</sup> It was the duty of the guest who omitted to bring along his subscription to entertain the others by telling amusing stories.<sup>15</sup> In addition to these private symposia, there were also a number of religious festivals at which a free distribution of food and wine would take place.<sup>16</sup>

Invitations were issued in the following manner: the host inscribed upon a wax tablet the names of all the guests, together with the day and the hour appointed for the banquet, and then handed the tablet to one of his slaves.<sup>17</sup> The normal time for dining, both for the Greeks and for the Romans, was the ninth hour,<sup>18</sup> sometimes merely specified by the measurement of the length of the shadow at that hour upon a sundial.<sup>19</sup> The slave, whose official title was δελπνοκλήτωρ, then contacted each of the guests in turn.

The number of persons invited to attend a symposium naturally varied according to the importance of the function, but for informal gatherings the ideal number, including the host, was about eight or nine.<sup>20</sup> In the fourth century, however, the size of these parties must have increased considerably, for we learn of a commission in Athens known as the γυναικονόμοι whose duties included the inspection of symposia in order to insure that the number of guests nowhere exceeded that which was permitted by the law.<sup>21</sup>

Although in the Homeric poems women take their places at dinner beside their husbands,<sup>22</sup> it became the rule in later Greek times that only hetairai<sup>23</sup> were permitted to attend such gatherings. These hetairai are not to be thought of as mere prostitutes; many of them were trained dancers

and musicians and some were highly cultured as well. We learn of one, an Arcadian named Lastheneia,<sup>24</sup> who was the pupil of Plato, and of another called Leontion<sup>25</sup> who was the pupil of Epicurus. As a result of their training, hetairai were far more accomplished than the average Greek woman, whose education was almost totally neglected. On occasions when freeborn women were permitted to accompany their husbands out to dinner, they normally dined alone in a special part of the house known as the γυναικεῖον.<sup>26</sup> Children, likewise, were excluded from symposia, except under certain conditions.<sup>27</sup> In the fourth century, however, the rules were rather more flexible, and family dinner parties became a fairly normal event.<sup>28</sup> The privilege of reclining at table, however, was still reserved exclusively for the menfolk and their hetairai.

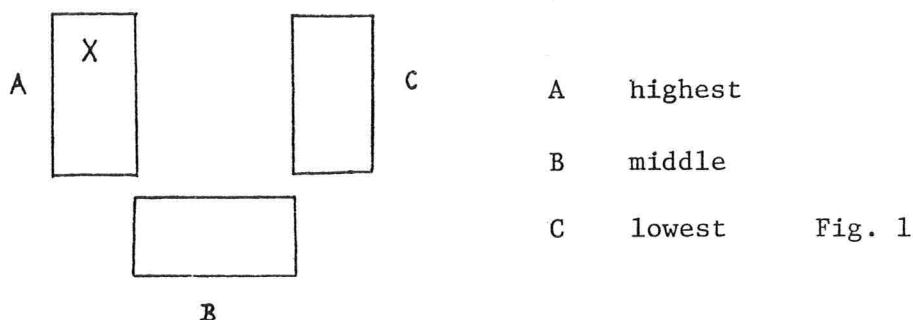
The presence of one or more uninvited guests (ἄκλητοι) at symposia became such a widespread phenomenon in the fourth century that Antiphanes remarked, "Just as at Olympia a special ox is sacrificed to the flies, so ought they on all occasions slaughter one first to the uninvited guests."<sup>29</sup> By way of apology the uninvited guest would perhaps quote the line from Hesiod:<sup>30</sup> αὐτόματοι δ' ἄγαθοὶ ἄρχεσθων ἐπὶ δαίτας ἔενταλ . In addition to ἄκλητοι , there were also ἐπὶ κλητοι or secondary guests, sometimes called "shadows" (σκίαι or umbrae), owing to the fact that they followed in the wake of some great man.<sup>31</sup> It was the custom, if invited out to dinner by one's patron, to flatter him constantly and make a point of attending to his smallest needs.<sup>32</sup> We are reminded of a certain character in Theophrastus, who, whenever his patron made a joke, stuffed his chlamys into his mouth as if he was dying of laughter.<sup>33</sup> Thus a social class emerged whose only source of livelihood, it seems, was the invitations

which they received for dinner. These parasites<sup>34</sup> figure prominently in New Comedy, where they are represented as the type of people who make exaggerated and totally unjustified claims on behalf of their dependability as friends.<sup>35</sup> In Alciphron's Letters of Parasites, in which the hazards of the profession are treated to a detailed study, a certain Capnosphrantēs ("Smoke-sniffer") has the temerity to declare, "Without parasites, a wedding wouldn't be any festivity at all; it would be a gathering not of men, but of swine."<sup>36</sup>

Prior to his departure for a symposium, a guest was expected to take a bath.<sup>37</sup> Even Socrates, who, we are told,<sup>38</sup> was not normally fastidious about matters of personal hygiene, did not fail to perform this small act of courtesy before setting out for Agathon's banquet. It was, moreover, the host's first duty upon his guests' arrival to provide a slave to attend to the washing of their feet.<sup>39</sup> Both prior to the commencement of dinner and at the conclusion of each course, another slave would bring round water for hand-washing.<sup>40</sup> This practice, the Greek for which is τὸ ἀπὸ χειρὸς,<sup>41</sup> was conducted in the following manner: a slave poured water over the diner's hands beneath which a basin had been placed.<sup>42</sup> Sometimes soda (λίτρον) was mixed in the water to help remove the dirt.<sup>43</sup> Alternatively, soap (σμήμα) was used.<sup>44</sup> Where hand-towels were not provided, the guests merely rubbed their hands on scraps of bread known as κυνάδες ἀπομαγδάλλαι, which were afterwards tossed to the dogs.<sup>45</sup> Another method of drying the hands was to smear them with perfume.<sup>46</sup>

At large parties a special slave called the ὀνομακλήτωρ was appointed to assign the guests their places at table.<sup>47</sup> The seat of honor (προνομή) was at the left end of the "highest" couch (marked with an "X"

in fig. 1 below).<sup>48</sup> The order of seniority passed in an anti-clockwise direction down to the right end of the "lowest" couch, a place traditionally occupied by the host out of politeness to his guests.<sup>49</sup> It was, however,



quite usual for the company to switch places in the course of a symposium.<sup>50</sup> Normally there would be three couches,<sup>51</sup> arranged as in the diagram above, with two or three persons per couch.<sup>52</sup> In post-Homeric times, it was the custom for men to recline barefoot, leaning on the left elbow and using the right hand for eating.<sup>53</sup> In the initial stages of the banquet, however, the company remained seated.<sup>54</sup>

At the close of the meal, before the regular drinking had begun, a small quantity of unmixed wine<sup>55</sup> was drunk as a toast in honor of the Agathos Daimon and known simply as the Ἀγαθοῦ Δαίμονος.<sup>56</sup> The purpose of this toast, according to Theophrastus,<sup>57</sup> was to serve as "a reminder, through a mere taste, of the strength in the god's generous gift". "Having bowed three times," he continues, "they take it from the table (λαμβάνουσιν ἅπὸ τῆς τραπέζης), as though supplicating the god that they may do nothing indecent or have too strong a desire for the wine."

After this, the slaves entered in order to remove the tables once more and sweep the floor.<sup>58</sup> The flutes were warmed, and if the guests were intending to play the game of cottabus, the equipment would now be

carried in and set up in the middle of the room.<sup>59</sup> Meanwhile, a further supply of hand-water was brought in, and the company performed their final ablutions.<sup>60</sup>

The *μετάλυτρον* or *μεταυλπίς* was a drink which, as its name implies, was poured out after the final washing of hands. Its exact nature, however, remains a mystery. Hesychius,<sup>61</sup> who believed it was a libation, observes that "others take it to mean the last drink". In fact both meanings of the word can be vouched for in references to it elsewhere. As a libation, it was offered both to the *Agathos Daimon* and to Zeus *Soter*;<sup>62</sup> as a toast, on the other hand, it was associated with the goddess Hygieia, whose name was pronounced over the cup.<sup>63</sup>

No specific moment seems to have been fixed for the distribution of wreaths and perfumes. At Athenaeus' banquet, they are handed round after several hours of drinking,<sup>64</sup> almost immediately prior to the departure of one of the guests.<sup>65</sup> We are told that in earlier times, however, the fetching of wreaths and perfumes preceded the "second table".<sup>66</sup> At the sumptuous marriage feast given by Caranos,<sup>67</sup> on the other hand, the guests received gold tiaras as soon as they entered the banqueting room, and another distribution of wreaths took place at the end of the main meal. Even in antiquity, the origin of the custom of wearing garlands upon the head had long been forgotten. Among the variety of explanations put forward in ancient times, the earliest and the most plausible is that given by Sappho,<sup>68</sup> who says that it was done in order to entice the Graces to attend. In later times, however, various medical theories were advanced as well. Aristotle,<sup>69</sup> for instance, was of the opinion that bandages tied around the head served as a cure for headaches brought on by wine, and were employed

in this capacity by early man; sometime later, the garland was invented, a more pleasing device to look upon but still intended to serve the same purpose.<sup>70</sup> The flowers and leaves most commonly used<sup>71</sup> in the weaving of garlands were the rose,<sup>72</sup> the ivy,<sup>73</sup> celery<sup>74</sup> and myrtle.<sup>75</sup> There was also another type of garland, called ὑποθυμῖς, which was worn around the neck.<sup>76</sup> After the distribution of garlands, slaves circulated around the room bearing perfumes in alabaster bottles and other containers which the guests sprinkled on their hair and on their breasts.<sup>77</sup> Frequently rose-petals and other flowers were strewn on the floor or thrown around in sport,<sup>78</sup> and for this purpose a handy supply in a bowl was sometimes placed beside each of the guests.<sup>79</sup>

Before the company could turn its mind to drinking came the performing of the σπονδαί or libations,<sup>80</sup> a ritual which was repeated with the mixing of each new crater of wine, though doubtless with increasing informality as the evening wore on. It is uncertain, however, in which order the libations were made. Philochares<sup>81</sup> and Philonides<sup>82</sup> both assert that the first was in honor of Zeus Soter, "of all gods by far the most useful to mankind".<sup>83</sup> Elsewhere,<sup>84</sup> however, we learn of the order being as follows: the first libation to Zeus Olympius and the other Olympians, the second to the Heroes, and the third to Zeus Soter. In view of this discrepancy, it is possible that the order was not firmly established.<sup>85</sup> After the libations had been performed, a paean or hymn to the gods was sung,<sup>86</sup> usually to the accompaniment of the flute.<sup>87</sup>

Next came the appointment of a symposiarch,<sup>88</sup> a kind of master of ceremonies who had control over all that now followed during the course of the evening. Election to this office was normally made on a throw of

dice,<sup>89</sup> so that the duty often befell one of the guests. It was the symposiarch's job to impose a penalty, known as a "command",<sup>90</sup> for failing to solve a riddle and so forth, or for any infringement of the drinking rules which he established.<sup>91</sup> In exceptional cases, he might even order a guest to depart.<sup>92</sup> His inaugural duty was to determine the proportion of parts in the mixture of wine and water, a decision which, clearly, did much to affect the mood and tone of the whole evening.<sup>93</sup> It was also left to the symposiarch to fix in advance how many cups should be drunk by each of the party,<sup>94</sup> for only rarely, as at Agathon's party, was an individual allowed to determine the quantity of his own drinking.<sup>95</sup> Furthermore, this officer could, if he desired, call for larger cups, after the drinking had been in progress some while.<sup>96</sup> Finally, it was the symposiarch's duty to propose the various entertainments.<sup>97</sup>

Such a man should, we are told, be "the quintessence of conviviality" (συμπότικώτατος),<sup>98</sup> neither inclined to drunkenness nor averse to drinking; he must be familiar with both spoude and paidia alike; he must know how each of the drinkers is affected by wine, so that each one may receive the amount appropriate to his mood and disposition; above all, he should be cordial and friendly, and make himself objectionable to no-one.

There was no consensus in antiquity as to the most suitable mixture of wine and water.<sup>99</sup> Homer praises a much-diluted blend,<sup>100</sup> and Hesiod recommends three parts water to one part wine.<sup>101</sup> The drinking of equal parts of water and wine (ἴσον ἴσῃ) is commonly referred to in Comedy,<sup>102</sup> some regarding this mixture as "excessive and dangerous",<sup>103</sup> others judging anything less potent as "absolutely watery" (παντελῶς ὑδαρῇ).<sup>104</sup> Solutions which contained a predominance of wine, though rare, are occasionally

found.<sup>105</sup> In specifying the strength desired, the general ruling seems to have been to refer first to the proportion of water, as, for instance, when Alcaeus calls for a cup of "one and two".<sup>106</sup> We may conclude, then, that the proportion of wine to water was by and large a matter of personal preference, to be determined by the character and mood of the occasion,<sup>107</sup> and ultimately left to the discretion of the symposiarch.<sup>108</sup>

Sometimes food was served with the wine in order to promote thirst and give added flavor to the wine. The dishes, which were extremely simple, consisted of honey, cheese, fruit, onion, garlic, and in particular salted cakes (ἐπίπρασκα).

It was a common practice at Greek symposia for the company each in turn to drink one another's health (προσπίνειν φιλοτιμίας) in a cup of almost undiluted wine.<sup>110</sup> The order of so doing was as follows: either the host drank to the health of the most distinguished member of the symposium who, in turn, drank to the next most distinguished and so on down, or else the symposiarch simply drank to the man on his right and so on round in an anti-clockwise direction (ἐπιδεξιὰ).<sup>111</sup> Each toast presented a challenge to the person named to empty his cup by drinking to the health of the next man down.<sup>112</sup> On special occasions the cup might be given as a present to the person whose health was drunk.<sup>113</sup> The custom was forbidden in Sparta where it was regarded as a provocation to drunkenness,<sup>114</sup> for not only was the proportion of water negligible in such toasts, but the company was also compelled to drink rapidly.<sup>115</sup> In addition, larger cups were sometimes provided at this stage.<sup>116</sup>

It was also usual to drink to the health of one's mistress or

boyfriend.<sup>117</sup> A special type of love-toast was the "drinking to the name",<sup>118</sup> whereby one cup was drunk for every letter in the person's name.

If invited to a very lavish banquet, it was quite in order for a guest to bring along his own napkin or even his own basket, in which he could wrap up small pieces of food to carry away and consume later.<sup>119</sup> Food that was removed in this way was known as ἀποφόρητα. At banquets where the practice was forbidden, thieving occasionally took place.<sup>120</sup> It was, moreover, considered most improper for a guest to pass large quantities of food over his shoulder to the slave who waited on him behind his chair.<sup>121</sup>

Towards the close of the symposium, the company uttered a refrain known as the triple paean (τὸ ἑὶς πάλιν), the significance of which is unknown.<sup>122</sup> Unfortunately, Athenaeus' description of the closing moments of a symposium is not fully preserved,<sup>123</sup> but the general outline was as follows. Slaves now entered carrying a censer and the host performed the rite of purification (θυσιαστήριον) with frankincense, praying "to all the gods and goddesses". He then made a final libation, giving the remainder of the unmixed wine to the server. The close was marked by the singing of a paean to the goddess Hygieia,<sup>124</sup> which began with the following words: "Hygieia, most revered of the blessed gods, with thee may I dwell for the rest of my life, and be thou gracious inmate of my house." Finally, as each of the guests departed, accompanied by a slave carrying a lamp, the host embraced them warmly.

# NOTES

<sup>1</sup>E.g. Ar. Av. 493 (a tenth-day feast); Xen. Symp. 1, 1; Alciphrr. Epist. 2, 15; Tib. 1, 7; Hor. Carm. 4, 11, 17.

<sup>2</sup>E.g. Isae. de Pyrrhi hered. 70; Lucian Symp. 5.

<sup>3</sup>E.g. I.G. 2<sup>2</sup>, 1368 (from the laws of the Society of Iobacchi, a text dating from shortly before 178 AD): "If any Iobacchus die, a wreath shall be provided in his honor not exceeding five denarii in value, and a single jar of wine shall be set before those who have attended the funeral; but any who has not attended may not partake of the wine." (Tod's translation). Cf. also the by-laws of a Roman Burial Society in Lewis and Reinhold, Roman Civilization Vol. 2 (New York 1966) 274 ff.

<sup>4</sup>E.g. Plut. Per. 7; Plut. Quaest. conv. 4, 3, 1 p. 666 f; Hor. Carm. 1, 36; 2, 7; 3, 14. Of particular interest is Theoc. Id. 7, 63 ff. where Lycidas on Cos boasts that he will celebrate the safe arrival of Ageanax at Mytilene on the very same day as he arrived. Cairns, F., Generic Composition in Greek and Roman Poetry (Edinburgh 1972), 76, comments "The concept of a welcoming banquet held at the place where the traveller has left, to celebrate not his return but arrival at his destination, is unique." In addition, of course, as Cairns points out, Lycidas could not have learnt of Ageanax' arrival till long after the event.

<sup>5</sup>E.g. Bacchyl. 9, 102 ff.; 10, 52 ff.; 13, 67 ff. (refs. are to Snell's edition in Teubner series); Pind. Ol. 4, 3, 2; 5, 51, etc.; Antiphon Noverc. 16.

<sup>6</sup>E.g. Plat. Symp. 173 a, Alciph. Epist. 3, 12, 1.

<sup>7</sup>E.g. Hor. Carm. 1, 37 (strictly speaking, in celebration of the anniversary of Cleopatra's death); Ep. 9 (dramatic setting of poem is eve of battle of Actium, a victory which, the poet confidently predicts, he will soon be celebrating with his patron).

<sup>8</sup>E.g. Philodemus AP 11, 44, 3; Hor. Carm. 3, 28, 1 ff.

<sup>9</sup>Plut. Quaest. conv. 8, 1, 1 p. 717 b.

<sup>10</sup>See below p. 64 . Amongst the more curious reasons given is Horace's desire to commemorate the anniversary of the day of his escape from destruction by a falling tree (Carm. 3, 8).

<sup>11</sup>Cf. Ar. Ach. 1085 ff. This was known as the δεύτερα τραπέζια or secundae mensae. Athenaeus (14, 641 f) says that, "An egg was always offered at the second table, as also hares and thrushes . . . together with honey cakes."

<sup>12</sup>Cf. Ter. Eun. 3, 4.

<sup>13</sup>This type of dinner was known as τὸ ἄπὸ σπυρίδος δέλπνον , cf. Ath. 8, 365 a. Cf. also Ar. Vesp. 1251; Pherecrates fr. 52 (ap. Ath. 8, 365 a) 1, 159 K; RE, 3 A, (1929) 1891 f. s.v. Σπυρίς. The same type of basket was used for removing ἀποφόρητα (see above p. 22), cf. Ath. 4, 129 b and Alciph. Epist. 3, 20, 1.

<sup>14</sup>See Dar.-Sag. fig. 6696.

<sup>15</sup>Cf. Antiphanes fr. 124, 13, vol. 12, 60 K.

<sup>16</sup>E.g. at the Anthesteria, the oldest festival of Dionysus at Athens. The scholiast on Hes. Op. 368 comments that on the day of Πρωτόγεια (the first day of the festival) a banquet took place from which neither slave nor hired laborer could be barred. See further, Pickard-Cambridge, Dramatic Festivals at Athens (Oxford, 1968<sup>2</sup>), 1-25.

<sup>17</sup>Cf. Ath. 4, 171 b.

<sup>18</sup>Cf. Philodemus, AP 11, 44; Cic. ad Fam. 9, 26, 1; Hor. Ep. 1, 7, 71; Mart. 4, 8. Sometimes the tenth hour was chosen, cf. Mart. 1, 108, 9; 7, 51, 11 f.

<sup>19</sup>Cf. Ar. Ecc. 652 (where the specification given is twenty foot);  
Eubulus fr. 119 (ap. Ath. 1, 8 b) 2, 206 K; Men. fr. 304 KT.

<sup>20</sup>Cf. Varro, ap. Aulus Gellius 13, 11: "Convivarum numerum oportere a Gratiarum numero et progredi ad Musarum." There are eight present at Agathon's party (Plat. Symp.), for instance.

<sup>21</sup>Cf. Ath. 6, 245 b. This law, which Menander (fr. 238 KT) describes as new, is probably to be associated with the sumptuary legislation of Demetrius of Phalerum. The Lex Fannia of 161 BC ordained that "not more than three persons outside the family should be entertained, and on market days not more than five". (Ath. 6, 274 c, cf. Pliny, HN 10, 71).

<sup>22</sup>Cf. the presence of Helen at a banquet in Od. 4 and of Aretê in Od. 7.

<sup>23</sup>See in general RE. 8 s.v. Hetairai.

<sup>24</sup>Ath. 12, 546 d.

<sup>25</sup>Ath. 13, 588 b.

<sup>26</sup>Cf. Plat. Symp. 176 e. Isae., de Pyrrhi hered. 14 says, "Married women do not accompany their husbands out to dinner, and consider it improper to dine in the presence of strangers."

<sup>27</sup>In Xen.'s Symp. the boy Autolycus is permitted to attend the party given in his honor, but seated and not reclining (1, 8), and he has to retire before the final pantomime. Cf. also Suet. Claud. 32; Tac. Ann. 13, 6.

<sup>28</sup>Cf. Men. fr. 209 KT; Euangelus (ap. Ath. 14, 644 e) 3, 376 K; Lucian Symp. 8.

<sup>29</sup>Fr. 230 (ap. Ath. 1, 4 f) 2, 112 K.

<sup>30</sup>Fr. 264 M-W, cf. Bacchyl. fr. 4, 21 ff. Sn. and Plat. Symp. 174 b. Another oft-quoted line was Hom. Il. 2, 408 (τὸν Μενέλαον αὐτόμακτον ἦκοντα), cf. Lucian Symp. 12.

<sup>31</sup>Cf. Hor. Sat. 2, 8, 22; Ep. 1, 5, 28. In Plat.'s Symp. (174 a) Socrates invites Aristodemus along to Agathon's party and then orders him to go on ahead while he concludes his meditations standing in a doorway, "thus causing the shadow to precede its own light", as Plut. (Quaest. conv. 7, 6, 1 p. 707 a) aptly observes. Apparently in Plutarch's time, the custom had got completely out of hand, so that "nowadays . . . we make over our dinner parties to others to fill with whomever they please, whether polite company or not". (Quaest. conv. 7, 6, 2 p. 707 d). Cf. Lucian Symp. 9, 11, and 36.

<sup>32</sup>Cf. Theophr. Char. 2, 10 and 5, 5.

<sup>33</sup>Theophr. Char. 2, 4. Flattery was particularly rife at court.

The tyrant Dionysius, for instance, kept a whole team of flatterers (known as Διουνοσκολάκες ) who, in deference to their master's poor eyesight, groped for their food as if they could not see, letting Dionysius guide their hands towards the plates (Ath. 6, 249 f).

<sup>34</sup>Athenaeus, who discusses parasites at great length (6, 234 c-248 c), produces epigraphical evidence in support of the contention that the name of παράσιτος was originally σεμνὸν καὶ ἑρὸν (6, 234 c) and belonged to an officially elected body with certain religious responsibilities.

<sup>35</sup>E.g. Timocles fr. 8 (ap. Ath. 6, 237 d) 2, 454 K; Antiphanes fr. 80 (ibid. 237 f); Aristophon fr. 4 (ibid. 238 b) 2, 277 K; Antiphanes fr. 195 (ibid. 238 d) 2, 94 K. Cf. Men. Dysk. where at 58 ff. the parasite Chairephon affirms his reliability in the cause of his lovesick friend, and at 129 ff. disappears at the first sign of trouble.

<sup>36</sup>Alciph. Epist. 3, 13, 3.

<sup>37</sup>As Arist. fr. 175 Rose<sup>2</sup> (ap. Ath. 5, 178 f) puts it, ἀπρεπὲς γὰρ ᾗν ἦκεν εἰς τὸ συμπόσιον σὺν ἰδρωτὶ πολλῷ καὶ κουλοπτῷ . Cf. Ar. Plut. 614; Xen. Symp. 1, 7; Mart. 11, 52; Alciph. Epist. 3, 7, 1. Even in Homeric times, the bath was among the necessary preliminaries to dinner, e.g. Od. 4, 48 ff.

<sup>38</sup>Plat. Symp. 174 a.

<sup>39</sup>Plat. Symp. 175 a. Bury in his commentary (Cambridge, Heffer, 1932) ad loc. notes that the use of the definite article indicates that a special slave performed this duty. Cf. also Plut. Phoc. 20; Petron. Sat. 31; Luke 7, 44; John 13, 5.

<sup>40</sup>Schol. Ar. Eq. 412; Ar. Av. 463 f.; fr. frr. 427 and 502; Hom. Il. 24, 302 ff.

<sup>41</sup>Aristophanes of Byzantium (p. 251 N) ridiculed those who could not distinguish between the expression τὸ κατὰ χερρὸς, the ceremonial act which took place before the meal commenced, and τὸ ἀπολύψασθαι the final washing of hands at the end. The distinction is denied without cause in Ath. 9, 408 f. Cf. Ar. Vesp. 1216 f.

<sup>42</sup>Hom. Od. 1, 136-7.

<sup>43</sup>Plato fr. 69, 3 (Ath. 15, 665 b) 1, 620 K.

<sup>44</sup>Ath. 9, 409 d.

<sup>45</sup>Ar. Eq. 415; Ath. 9, 409 d.

<sup>46</sup>Ath. 9, 409 d.

<sup>47</sup>Ath. 2, 47 e. But cf. Plut. Quaest. conv. 1, 2, 3 p. 616 e where, in the interests of equality, it is decided that guests should be left to select their own places.

<sup>48</sup>Cf. Plat. Symp. 175 c with Bury's note ad loc. At a Roman banquet, on the other hand, the place of honor was the lowest seat of the lectus medius, normally called the locus consularis, cf. Plut. Quaest. conv. 1, 3 p. 619 b.

<sup>49</sup>Cf. Plat. Symp. 175 c; Theophr. Char. 21, 2; Stob. Flor. 13, 36.

<sup>50</sup>Cf. Plat. Symp. 222 e; Ath. 2, 47 e.

<sup>51</sup>Hence, of course, the name triclinium.

<sup>52</sup>Instead of three couches, there might be a single large one in the form of an arc, known as a sigma or stibadium. The places of honor were at the two ends. A stibadium could accommodate up to nine people, but seven or eight was a more usual number, cf. Mart. 10, 48, 6; 14, 86.

<sup>53</sup>The practice of reclining comes under criticism in Athenaeus (1, 18 b and 10, 428 b) as being an example of modern degeneracy. Cf. Cato of Utica, who, as a mark of self-denial, vowed to eat seated as long as the tyranny of Julius Caesar lasted (Plut. Cato Min. 56). In Lucian's

53 Cont'd.

Symp. (13), Alcidas the Cynic refuses either a couch or a chair, terming it as γυναικέλιον καὶ μαλθακόν to settle on either, and instead stretches out full length on the floor. According to Varro (ap. Isid. Orig. 20, 11, 9), the custom of reclining was a late introduction at Rome.

<sup>54</sup>Ath. 11, 459 and 461 e.

<sup>55</sup>But cf. Ath. 15, 693 e where a κράσις to the Agathos Daimon is spoken of.

<sup>56</sup>For a discussion as to the nature of this divinity, cf. Rohde, E., Psyche (New York 1966) 207<sup>133</sup>. Rohde, who ascribes it a place among the chthonic deities worshipped by the Greeks, suggests that it may be a generic term for the soul of an ancestor who became the guardian spirit of his house. Philonides (ap. Ath. 15, 675 b) erroneously identifies it with Dionysus.

<sup>57</sup>3, 199 Wimmer.

<sup>58</sup>Xenophanes fr. 1 DK (the adj. καθαρός may refer to some ceremonial purification of the floor prior to the commencement of the drinking); Xen. Symp. 2, 1; Nicostratus fr. 20 (ap. Ath. 15, 693 b) 2, 225 K.

<sup>59</sup>Plato fr. 69, 4 f. (ap. Ath. 15, 665 b) 1, 620 K.

<sup>60</sup>Cf. note 41 above.

<sup>61</sup>S.v. μεταύλητον. We should like to know whether he means "last of all" or "last before something else".

<sup>62</sup>Antiphanes fr. 137 (ap. Ath. 11, 487 a) 2, 68 K and Diphilus fr. 69 (ibid. 487 a) 2, 564 K.

<sup>63</sup>Callias fr. 6 (ap. Ath. 11, 487 a) and Philetairus fr. 1 (ibid. 487 a) 2, 230 K. The actual phrasing of the toast was τῆς ὑγείας.  
Cf. "Your health!"

<sup>64</sup>15, 676 e.

<sup>65</sup>Ath. 15, 686 b.

<sup>66</sup>Ath. 15, 685 c. For "second table", see above note 11.

<sup>67</sup>Ath. 4, 128 c and 128 e.

<sup>68</sup>Fr. 81 (b) LP.

<sup>69</sup>Ar. fr. 95 Rose (ap. Ath. 15, 674 b).

<sup>70</sup>Yet another theory (Plut. Quaest. conv. 3, 1, 3 p. 647 c) was that garlands provided protection against drunkenness, the scent of flowers dispelling the effluence of the wine, which, it was thought, produced intoxication.

<sup>71</sup>For an exhaustive list, cf. Ath. 15, 676 c-685 c. On the subject of garlands generally, cf. Köchling, J., De Coronarum apud Antiquos Vi atque Usu (Nurenburg 1913).

<sup>72</sup>Plutarch (Quaest. conv. 3, 1, 2 p. 646 e) says that a garland of roses was sacred to the Muses, as Sappho implies in fr. 55 LP: Anacreontea 44, 3 ff., however, connects the garland of roses with Eros.

<sup>73</sup>Being sacred to Dionysus, the ivy was especially appropriate. The god was believed to have taught his Bacchantes to wreath their brows with ivy, "because ivy quenches drunkenness by its moisture". (Plut. Quaest. conv. 3, 1, 3 p. 647 a, cf. Ath. 15, 675.)

<sup>74</sup>Cf. Anac. 410 PMG; Theoc. Id. 3, 21 ff.; Hor. Carm. 1, 36, 16; 4, 11, 3; Virg. Ecl. 6, 68 (where celery is described as vivax, "long-lasting").

<sup>75</sup>Cf. Hor. Carm. 1, 4, 9; 1, 38, 5. Sometimes myrtle was intertwined with other leaves or flowers, e.g. Hor. Carm. 2, 7, 23 ff. (myrtle and parsley); ibid. 3, 4, 18 (myrtle and laurel); ibid. 3, 23, 15 f. (myrtle and rosemary).

<sup>76</sup>Alc. 362 LP; Sappho 94, 15 LP; Ath. 15, 674 c and 688 c.

<sup>77</sup>For perfume applied to the head, cf. Hor. Carm. 1, 4, 9; 2, 7, 7; Epist. 1, 14, 32; Tib. 1, 7, 51; Ov. Epist. 21, 166; Strato, AP 11, 19, 3 f. For perfuming the breast, cf. Alc. 362 LP; Anac. 363 PMG. Cf. also Xen. Symp. 2, 3 (where Socrates turns down Callias' offer of perfume); Ath. 15, 686 c and 692 a.

<sup>78</sup>Hor. Carm. 3, 19, 21 f.; Prop. 4, 8, 40; Ov. Fast. 5, 336 and 360; Plut. Quaest. conv. 1, 1, 4 p. 614 f.

<sup>79</sup>Ov. Am. 1, 2, 40.

<sup>80</sup>Plat. Symp. 176 a. Libations were made to the accompaniment of the flute, cf. Plut. Quaest. conv. 7, 8, 4 p. 713 a.

<sup>81</sup>Ath. 2, 38 d.

<sup>82</sup>Ath. 15, 675 c.

<sup>83</sup>Alexis fr. 232 (ap. Ath. 15, 692 f) 2, 382 K. Zeus Soter was ἀρχηγός ὄμβρον (Ath. 15, 675) and therefore the god whom one invoked when caught in a storm at sea.

<sup>84</sup>E.g. Schol. Plat. Phileb. 66 d; Poll. 6, 15, 100.

<sup>85</sup>Other libations might also be performed from time to time. In the time of Augustus' principate, for instance, the senate enjoined that a libation should be made to Augustus at both public and private banquets. The formula accompanying this ceremony ran as follows: "Et bene nos, patriae, bene te, pater optime, Caesar!" Cf. Dio Cass. 51, 19 and Ov. Fast. 2, 637.

<sup>86</sup>The Greek expression was παλαινίζειν or ὑμνεῖν τοὺς θεοὺς , cf. Plat. Symp. 176 a; Xen. Symp. 2, 1; Antiphanes fr. 4 (ap. Ath. 15, 692 f) 2, 14 K; Ath. 4, 149 c; Alcman 3 PMG. Athenaeus (14, 628 a) says that οἱ ἀρχαῖοι included this ritual ὅπως καὶ διὰ τούτων (i.e. the gods) τηρήτηκε τὸ καλὸν καὶ σωφρονικὸν ἥμῶν . At Athens, the laws of Charondas (sixth century B.C.) are said to have been sung at symposia, perhaps for the same reason, cf. Hermippus FHG 3, 37.

<sup>87</sup>Cf. Plut. Quaest. conv. 7, 8, 4 p. 713 a.

<sup>88</sup>συμποσιάρχος (Plut. Quaest. conv. 1, 4, 1 p. 620 a); βασιλεὺς συμποσίου (Plut. Quaest. conv. 1, 4, 3 p. 622 a) or ἄρχων τῆς πόσεως (Plat.

88 Cont'd.

Symp. 213 e) in Greek; arbiter bibendi (Hor. Carm. 2, 7, 25) or magister convivii (Varro Ling. Lat. 5, 122) in Latin.

<sup>89</sup>The throw required was known as a "Venus". This occurred when all four tali turned up showing different numbers (Tali were of oblong shape, marked only on the four long sides). Cf. Hor. Carm. 1, 4, 17 and see Nisbet and Hubbard op. cit. ad loc.; ibid. 2, 7, 25; Prop. 4, 8, 45.

<sup>90</sup>Cf. Hesych. s.v. κελεύματα .

<sup>91</sup>Plut. (Quaest. conv. 1, 4, 3 p. 622 a) says that the "commands" he imposes should be conducive to pleasure and profit, and be designed to display the talents of the performer, i.e. he should order the musical to sing, orators to declaim, philosophers to resolve some crux, poets to recite their own verses. Less suitable "commands" would be ordering a stammerer to sing, a bald man to comb his head, or a lame man to dance on a greased wineskin (ibid. 621 e). Other examples given by Lucian are telling one man to shout out something disgraceful about himself, and another to dance naked, pick up the flute-girl, and carry her three times round the house (Saturn. 4).

<sup>92</sup>Cf. the dictum, "Aut bibat, aut abeat," (Cic. Tusc. 5, 41, 118).

<sup>93</sup>Cf. the leges insanae of Hor. Sat. 2, 6, 69; Cic. II Verr. 5, 11, 28.

<sup>94</sup>This practice of drinking to order was known as πίνειν πρὸς βίαν (Plat. Symp. 176 b). Cf. Alciph. Epist. 2, 30 (where the penalty for not drinking is to give a party the next day).

<sup>95</sup>Plat. Symp. 176 e. Cf. also, Theog. 484 ff. . . . μὴ πλὴν' οἴνου ὑπερβολήν, / ἀλλ' ἢ πρὶν μεθύειν ὑπκνίστασο . . . / ἢ παρῶν μὴ πίνε.

<sup>96</sup>This custom, originally Greek, was later taken over by the Romans, cf. Eur. Ion, 1178 ff. and Hor. Ep. 9, 33. For a brief discussion, cf. Fraenkel, E., Horace (Oxford, 1966), 73<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>97</sup>Cf. Plut. Quaest. conv. 1, 4, 2 p. 621 a-621 b, where the ideal program of entertainment is described as εὐκράτος , with sufficient spoude and paidia alike to appeal to all.

<sup>98</sup>Plut. Quaest. conv. 1, 4, 2 p. 620 c. Plato Leg. 1, 640 d says that an ἄρχων μεθύοντων should be sober and wise, "for he has both to preserve the friendship which already exists among the company and to see that the present gathering promotes it still further".

<sup>99</sup>The drinking of unmixed wine (ἄκρατον ) was regarded by the Greeks

99 Cont'd.

as a characteristic of barbarians, cf. Plat. Leg. 1, 637 e. Zaleucus is said to have enacted a law among the Locrians condemning to death any person who indulged in the practice without the authority of his physician, cf. Ael. V.H. 2, 37. The Spartans attributed the madness of Cleomenes to his habit, acquired from the Scythians, of drinking neat wine, cf. Hdt. 6, 84. Unless the adjective ἄκρατος is added to it, οἶνος by itself always implies a mixture, cf. Plut. Conjug. Praec. 20. For a fanciful explanation of the origin of the custom, cf. Philonides ap. Ath. 15, 675 a-675 e.

<sup>100</sup>Od. 9, 209.

<sup>101</sup>Op. 593. This particular mixture was known as a τρικύκθου, cf. Anac. fr. 383 PMG. It is described in Plutarch (Quaest. conv. 3, 9, 1 p. 657 c) as νηφάλιος καὶ ἀνδραγῆς κρᾶσις fit only for sensible magistrates as they sit in the prytaneum or logicians with contracted brows who meditate upon syllogisms.

<sup>102</sup>Cf. references in Ath. 10, 430 f-431 a.

<sup>103</sup>Ar. Plut. 1132.

<sup>104</sup>Alexis fr. 230 (ap. Ath. 10, 431 b) 2, 381 K.

<sup>105</sup>E.g. Philetairus fr. 16 (ap. Ath. 10, 430 d) 2, 334 K; Pherecrates fr. 70 (ap. Ath. 10, 430 e) 1, 164 K, where a mixture of four parts wine to two parts water is described as "fit only for serving to frogs".

<sup>106</sup>Fr. 346, 4 LP. Cf. Anac. 409 PMG.

<sup>107</sup>Cf. Plat. Symp. 176 a, where Pausanias requests that the drinking should be light as he has not yet recovered from the previous night's bout. In Lucian Symp. 14, the host directs his slave to mix a specially strong drink for Alcidamas, in the hope of quietening him down.

<sup>108</sup>There was, however, a Greek proverb which ran as follows: ἡ πέντε πίνειν ἢ τρεῖς ἢ μὴ τέσσαρα. Opinions differ, however, as to its explanation. Athenaeus (10, 426 d) takes this to mean that one should drink two parts wine to five of water, or one part wine to three of water, cf. Eust. on Od. 9, 209. Plutarch (Quaest. conv. 3, 9, 1 p. 657 c), on the other hand, say that a "five" is a drink consisting of three parts water to two of wine, that a "three" is in the ratio of two to one, and that a "four" is in the ratio of three to one. We know next to nothing about the strength of wine usual among the Romans. Cf. Mart. 1, 106.

<sup>109</sup>Ar. Eq. 103, 1089.

<sup>110</sup>The custom was such a common practice at Greek banquets that

110 Cont'd.

when it was introduced later at Rome, it acquired the title Graeco more bibere, cf. Cic. II Verr. 1, 26, 66; Plaut. Curc. 2, 3, 81. The Latin equivalent for προπίνειν is propinare or more rarely praebibere. For the custom generally, cf. Alciph. Epist. 3, 55; Ath. 9, 498 c and 432 d.

<sup>111</sup>Cf. Ath. 11, 463 f-464 a. This order of drinking is expressed in Latin by the phrase a summo.

<sup>112</sup>Cf. Cic. Tusc. 1, 96 Graeci enim in conviviis solent nominare, cui poculum tradituri sunt. In Latin, the phrase used was "bene te" or "bene tibi", followed by the person's name, cf. Plaut. Stich. 5, 4, 27.

<sup>113</sup>Cf. Satyrus FHG 3, 160, where Alcibiades is described as bursting in upon a symposium given by one of his lovers and pledging half his drinking-cups to his own favorite Thrasyllus.

<sup>114</sup>Cf. Ath. 10, 432 d.

<sup>115</sup>Ath. 12, 537 e.

<sup>116</sup>Cf. Cic. II Verr. 1, 26 on which Pseudo-Asconius comments, "Est autem Graecus mos, ut Graeci dicunt, συμπίνειν κυθαίβοις, cum merum cyathis libant salutantes primo deos, deinde amicos suos nominantes, nam toties merum bibunt, quoties et deos et caros suos nominatim vocant."

<sup>117</sup>Cf. Callimachus, AP 12, 51; Theoc. Id. 14, 18 ff. This, too, is the context of Hor. Carm. 1, 27, 10 ff.

<sup>118</sup>The Latin phrase is bibere nomen, bibere litteras or bibere ad numerum. Cf. Mart. 1, 72; 8, 51; 11, 36, 7; 14, 170. Alternatively, the drinkers might honor their mistresses with three cups, if they chose the Graces as their patrons, or with nine, if they chose the Muses, cf. Hor. Carm. 3, 19, 11 ff.

<sup>119</sup>Cf. Ath. 4, 130 b; Alciph. Epist. 3, 20, 1. Sometimes the host distributed gifts among his guests as well, cf. Petron. Sat. 56.

<sup>120</sup>Mart. (2, 37, 11) rebukes a guest who has stored away a pile of food in his napkin with the words: "Cras te, Caeciliane, non vocavi". Cf. Alciph. Epist. 3, 11, 1, where a parasite prides himself on having "lifted" a silver pitcher.

<sup>121</sup>Theophr. Char. 9, 3.

<sup>122</sup>For a few suggestions, cf. Ath. 15, 701 c-701 f.

<sup>123</sup>Ath. 15, 701 f-702 b. However, no such rites are performed at the close of the symposia described by either Plato, Xenophon or Lucian.

<sup>124</sup>PMG 813. It was composed by Aripbron of Sicyon, who lived ca. 400 BC. Though doubtless there were other paeans to Hygieia, this one seems to have remained popular for centuries. Lucian, Pro Laps. inter Salut. 6, describes it as τὸ γνωρίμωτατον ἐκείνου .

### CHAPTER III

#### ENTERTAINMENTS AND GAMES

Having already<sup>1</sup> alluded to the inadvisability of regarding a "philosophical" symposium as the final word on the subject of convivial entertainment, I wish now to investigate further the various forms of recreational activity to which a party might resort after the election of the symposiarch.

Story-telling has always been a popular pastime among drinkers, but at fashionable symposia it was essential to know the right kind of stories to tell. Most of the instruction which Philocleon receives on how to conduct himself elegantly at a symposium is devoted to the art of sympotic narration.<sup>2</sup> It was the duty of the parasites to entertain the rest of the company by recounting amusing anecdotes.<sup>3</sup> In Demosthenes' time, however, there existed at Athens a society of sixty professional γελωτοποιοί,<sup>4</sup> whose fame was so great that Philip of Macedon is said to have sent a present of one gold talent in return for a collection of their sayings.<sup>5</sup> Trenkner<sup>6</sup> points out that these γελωτοποιοί must have combined story-telling with dancing and pantomime, for when their jokes misfired, they were able to put on a pantomime instead.<sup>7</sup>

Another popular entertainment was the singing of lyric poetry. The verses of Theognis, for instance, like most lyric poetry, not only have a sympotic setting but were also designed to be delivered at the symposium, as the poet himself expressly states.<sup>8</sup> Towards the end of the fifth century, however, the fashion seems to have changed. Pheidippides, when

handed a lyre by his father and ordered to sing a lay of Simonides, objects to the practice as being archaic, "the kind of thing which an idle old man does while spinning",<sup>9</sup> and when asked to recite from Aeschylus, delivers instead a ῥῆσις from Euripides.<sup>10</sup> It is difficult to assess to what extent a recitation from dramatic poetry generally supplanted the singing of lyric poetry at this period,<sup>11</sup> more especially because the word does not necessarily imply a speech from drama.<sup>12</sup> At a later date recitations from Homer, too, seem to have enjoyed a certain popularity at the symposium,<sup>13</sup>

Lyric poetry was generally sung to the accompaniment of music.<sup>14</sup> The instruments most commonly played were the lyre and the flute. The lyre was somewhat severe and solemn in tone, whereas the flute was high-pitched and exciting,<sup>15</sup> and the two were often played together.<sup>16</sup> Discussing the suitability of music at a symposium, Plutarch<sup>17</sup> condones the playing of the lyre on account of its long association with the institution,<sup>18</sup> provided that the musician omits dirges and laments and sings only cheerful songs. The flute, on the other hand, was indispensable both for libations and for the paeon,<sup>19</sup> and therefore could not be banished.

A notable feature of the symposium in fifth century Athens was the singing of drinking-songs known as scolia. A certain Artemon of Cassandreia, whom Athenaeus quotes,<sup>20</sup> explains the origin of the word by distinguishing the following three types of song sung at social gatherings: first, those which were sung by everyone in chorus; second, those which were sung as solos by each member of the company in regular succession; third, those which were sung only by men who were skilled, no longer in regular order, but in criss-cross fashion, presumably at the arbitrary command of the

symposiarch.<sup>21</sup> Since this last method implied "a kind of disorder",<sup>22</sup> such songs were referred to as "crooked". It was the custom to pass a myrtle bough ( $\alpha\lambda\omega\kappa\kappa\omicron\varsigma$ )<sup>23</sup> to the person required to sing, though, as Bowra notes,<sup>24</sup> this formality is not observed by Bdelycleon, when he instructs his father in the singing of such songs.<sup>25</sup> Usually the singer would accompany himself on the lyre, but occasionally he might be accompanied on the flute.<sup>26</sup> Evidently scolia were sufficiently popular in Aristophanes' day to be considered an important part of a symposiast's repertoire, but by the time of Antiphanes (388-311 B.C.), they had passed out of fashion.<sup>27</sup> Bowra accounts for their loss of popularity by explaining it to be "essentially an aristocratic art, not ideally suited to democratic conditions".<sup>28</sup>

An extremely popular amusement among drinkers was the "capping-game",<sup>29</sup> which could be played in a number of ways. Clearchus of Soli,<sup>30</sup> who is our best authority on ancient word games, records the following variations: either the first player recited a verse from iambic or epic poetry and the second had to "cap" it by quoting the next line; or, one player recited a passage of poetry and the next had to provide an instance from another poet who had spoken to similar effect; or finally, each player had to tell the name of a Greek or Trojan leader beginning with the letter "a", and so on down the alphabet.<sup>31</sup> It goes without saying that such games could only become popular in a cultured society which had an easy familiarity with the works of its own poets.<sup>32</sup>

As a nation, the Greeks delighted in riddles,<sup>33</sup> and it is not therefore surprising to discover that they often used to pose them at symposia. Both ainigma and griphos mean riddle in Greek, and Pollux<sup>34</sup> explains the difference in terminology by claiming that an ainigma was

essentially jocular, whereas a griphos posed a serious problem. In the examples which have survived, however, no such distinction is made, and it is likely that the words were interchangeable. In fact there are passages where the name griphos is given to the most ludicrous type of joke.<sup>35</sup> Clearchus, who defines a griphos as a πρόβλημα... πικιστικόν, προστακτικόν τοῦ διὰ ζητήσεως εὔρεν τῇ διανοίᾳ,<sup>36</sup> says that the solving of these problems is not unlike the tackling of philosophical questions.<sup>37</sup> The earliest examples of riddles in Greek literature are that of the chimaera<sup>38</sup> and the sphinx.<sup>39</sup> The reward for solving riddles was a kiss, and the penalty suffered by those who failed was having to drink unmixed wine,<sup>40</sup> or worse, wine mixed with brine which had to be consumed at one draught (ἀμυστί).<sup>41</sup>

Another type of entertainment was the "jesting comparison" (σκώπτειν δι' ἐκόνων),<sup>42</sup> whereby one man would compare another to something amusing, such as an animal, and his victim would then compare him to something in return.<sup>43</sup> In Plato's Meno,<sup>44</sup> for instance, when Meno has compared Socrates to an electric ray, the latter replies, "I know why you have compared me . . ., it's so I should compare you in return." Again, in the Symposium,<sup>45</sup> Alcibiades, who compares Socrates to an ugly Silenus figure which can be opened up to reveal all kinds of beauty inside, carefully explains before beginning that the comparison he is about to make is not done purely for amusement's sake.

A less intellectual pastime among drinkers was the game of cottabus, which merely required a certain dexterity of the arm. The method of playing was as follows:<sup>46</sup> a piece of wood was fixed into a hole in the floor or some kind of support, and a cross-beam was placed on top with a shallow

vessel (πλάστιγγ) at either end. "Cottabus" seems actually to refer to the arrangement of upright and cross-beam.<sup>47</sup> Under each of the vessels stood a platter (λεκανίσκη) filled with water with an object called Manes<sup>48</sup> fixed upright in the center. The purpose of the game was to aim a drop of wine (λάτκγξ or λατκγγ) from a cup into one of the pans, causing it to descend and strike the head of the statue, thus making a loud noise. The word for this cup was ἄγκύλη, so called because the right arm was bent in the toss.<sup>49</sup> As he made his throw, the player spoke the name of his beloved.<sup>50</sup> The winner was the one who spilled the least wine and made the most noise.<sup>51</sup> Variations on the game were cottabus κατακτός (descending), in which the apparatus was suspended like a chandelier from the roof;<sup>52</sup> and cottabus ἐκὺβάφων (small cups), where the object was to sink small cups floating in a basin of water by flipping wine drops in the manner described.<sup>53</sup> Prizes, known as cottabia, included kisses and small delicacies such as eggs, cakes, nuts and raisins.<sup>54</sup> The game was supposedly invented in Sicily, and Athenaeus records that the Greeks of that island had rooms specially constructed for it.<sup>55</sup>

When the company comprised epheboi and hetairai, it was common for drinkers to perform various ὀρχήσεις παρόντοι or συμποτικά.<sup>56</sup> Most famous of all was the lewd cordax,<sup>57</sup> originally a comic dance but later popular at symposia. It was the kind of dance, which, says Theophrastus,<sup>58</sup> only a senseless man would dance when sober. Many sympotic dances involved "an imitation of acts which can be interpreted by words".<sup>59</sup> One such was the Bathyllic, praised by Socrates<sup>60</sup> and described as "a danced interpretation of Echo or some Pan or Satyr revelling with Eros".<sup>61</sup> Other sympotic dances, of which only the titles have survived, were the "Messenger",

the "Ionic", and the "Setting-the-World-on-Fire".<sup>62</sup> We can be certain at any rate that these dances involved some energetic movements. A sympotic dance known as the "Phrygian", for instance, performed by peasants to the music of flutes, required "violent and strenuous leaps in the air."<sup>63</sup> We are reminded, too, of the chorus' encouragement to Philocleon and the sons of Carcinus at the close of the "Wasps": "Whirl round, punch yourself in the belly, hurl your leg sky-high, become spinning-tops."<sup>64</sup> All the more remarkable, in view of this, is the story of a certain master of Egypt, who, though unable even to leave the room in order to ease himself unless supported by two men, leapt up from his couch as soon as he heard the sound of the flute, and executed the figures "in a more lively manner than those who regularly trained".<sup>65</sup> Sympotic dances performed to the accompaniment of the flute, castanets, and tambourine are frequently represented on vases.<sup>66</sup> As an alternative, the drinkers might execute extraordinary tours de force in order to demonstrate they were still in control of their bodies. This again is a popular subject for vase-painters, particularly movements involving cup-balancing exercises.<sup>67</sup>

On the subject of hired entertainers, Socrates in the Protagoras<sup>68</sup> is made to deliver the following statement: "Where the drinkers are men of worth and culture, you will find no girls piping or dancing or harping. They are quite capable of enjoying their own company without such frivolous nonsense, using their own voices in sober discussion and each taking his turn to speak or listen -- even if the drinking is really heavy."<sup>69</sup> Xenophon's Symposium, on the other hand, with its portrait of a Socrates delighting in the acrobatics of the hired entertainers and even deigning

to make a spectacle of himself by emulating their movements,<sup>70</sup> seems intentionally designed to correct what is perhaps an over-fastidious characterization of the master in Plato.

A very popular addition to a symposium was a flute-girl, who usually entered and began playing immediately after the libations had been performed.<sup>71</sup> Dancing-girls were also frequently hired. On Greek vases they are characteristically represented holding castanets with one hand raised at the front, one hand lowered at the rear.<sup>72</sup> Normally they were dressed in short thin tunics, but sometimes they danced completely naked.<sup>73</sup>

Tumblers, or κυβλοτήται , are mentioned as early as Homer.<sup>74</sup> The art of tumbling consisted basically in supporting the weight of the body on the hands with the body bent back in such a way that the ankles almost touched the head. The dancer made a series of rapid revolutions, substituting his feet for his hands as they passed over his head.<sup>75</sup> Sometimes, with his feet in the air, the dancer mimed dance steps or gesticulated with his feet.<sup>76</sup> In Xenophon's Symposium, the dancer leaps head-first into a circle of knives, and then clears it again by making the movement in reverse.<sup>77</sup>

Xenophon's Symposium ends with a pantomime performance of the story of Dionysus and Ariadne.<sup>78</sup> It is likely that a large number of dances and pantomimes, which represented the stories of gods or heroes and whose names alone survive today, were also performed at symposia. We also learn that in Plutarch's time the livelier Platonic dialogues were occasionally presented in dramatic form.<sup>79</sup>

The wide range of activities that could be accommodated within the framework of the symposium is sufficient proof in itself of the popularity of the institution among all sections of society. Such flexibility naturally comes as the result of having served many classes of people, each of whom, in their own way, informed it with a character distinct from the rest.

NOTES

<sup>1</sup>Above p. 1. The first question raised in Plut.'s Quaest. conv. is whether philosophy is suited to a drinking-party, but the word is used more with reference to the exercise of σωφροσύνη than to discourse on philosophical matters (cf. esp. ibid. 1, 1, 3 p. 613 f). Moreover, few of the subjects raised are what we might term "philosophical". Mainly they are προβλήματα on which to exercise ingenuity and erudition. Cf. also Lucian Symp. 39 where philosophy is banned as being a topic most likely to stir up faction among the adherents of the different sects.

<sup>2</sup>Ar. Vesp. 1174 ff. When, for instance, Philocleon starts to tell the tale of the cat and the mouse, Bdelycleon interrupts and suggests that he give an account of the time he went as theorus to Delphi, or tell a sporting story, or describe his most valiant or impudent deed. Cf. also, Xen. Cyr. 2, 2; 8, 4, 20-3 (the officers at Cyrus' banquet amuse each other with stories).

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Alciph. Epist. 3, 7, 2 (a parasite speaking), "We furnished amusement to him (i.e. the host) and his dinner guests, slapping one another in turn to the accompaniment of sonorous anapaests crammed full of real salty jests, true Attic witticisms and sly innuendo." (Trans. Benner in Loeb text.) Cf. also Xen. Symp. 1, 2; Plaut. Stich. 400 and 454 f. For the punishments that befell parasites whose jokes had failed, cf. Eupolis fr. 159, 12 ff., vol. 1, 301 K.

<sup>4</sup>Ath. 6, 304 d.

<sup>5</sup>Ath. 6, 304 e.

<sup>6</sup>The Greek Novella (Cambridge, University Press, 1958), index s.v.

<sup>7</sup>Cf. Xen. Symp. 1, 13.

<sup>8</sup>Theog. 293 ff.: "You will be present at every feast and banquet, lying upon the lips of many men, and lovely youths with clear-throated flutes will sing about you in proper harmony," (addressed to Cynos, to whom his poems are dedicated). Likewise, Critias (fr. 8 D) dubs the poet Anacreon *συμποσίων ἐρέθισμα*.

<sup>9</sup>Ar. Nub. 135.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid. 1371. The MSS for this line have ἥσ' , ἥσ or ἥσεν (Εὐριπίδου ῥῆσίν τιν' ) which Dover in his Commentary (Oxford, Clarendon, 1968), ad loc. emends to ἥγ' on the grounds that "nowhere else does one sing a speech." This expression is not without a parallel, as Dover notes.

<sup>11</sup>Dover in his note on l. 1357 categorically states: "There are no grounds for thinking that in Ar.'s time recitation from tragedy was normal after dinner. Strepsiades is compromising by not demanding a song

11 Cont'd.

to the lyre; but he preserves appearances by the myrtle-branch." For the custom of holding a myrtle branch while singing, see below n. 23.

<sup>12</sup>Which type of ῥήσις, for instance, is Theoph.'s Ὀψιμάτης (Char. 27, 2) struggling to learn? Cf. also Lucian Symp. 17. Recitations from either tragedy or Old Comedy were considered unsuitable by Plutarch (Quaest. conv. 7, 8, 3 p. 711 f), the one because it contains "too much passion and sorrow", the other because of its "obscene jests and unintelligible allusions". New Comedy, on the other hand, was so well-suited to a symposium "that one could more easily chart one's course (δρακυβερνήσει τὸν πότον) without wine than without Menander" (ibid. p. 712 B).

<sup>13</sup>Cf. AP 11, 20; Ath. 14, 620 b; Hor. Carm. 1, 17, 17 ff.

<sup>14</sup>Cf. Theog. 293 ff.

<sup>15</sup>They are referred to respectively as ἡ Δωριότης and ἡ Φρυγιοτή after their place of origin (see T.E. Page's note in his Commentary on Hor. Ep. 9, 5).

<sup>16</sup>Cf. Hom. Il. 18, 495; Theog. 533-4.

<sup>17</sup>Quaest. conv. 7, 8 4 p. 712 f-713 d.

<sup>18</sup>Cf. Hom. Od. 8, 99; ibid. 17, 270-1 (φόρμυξ ἡπύει, ἣν ἄρα  
δακτύλῳ θεοὶ πόλῃσιν ἐτάλρην ).

<sup>19</sup>See above p. 19.

<sup>20</sup>FHG 4, 342 (ap. Ath. 15, 694 b). Artemon actually speaks of  
"three types of scolia", but it is clear he means to reserve the term  
exclusively for the third type. Among songs in the first category should  
be included the dithyramb, which was sung noisily and orgiastically ἐν  
ὄλῳ καὶ μέθῃ (Ath. 14, 628 b). Cf. Archib. 1, 233 D; Epicharmus fr.  
115 Kaibel. It was sung in honor of Dionysus.

<sup>21</sup>The same explanation of scolium is given by the scholiast on  
Ar. Vesp. 1231. Cf. also, Plut. Quaest. conv. 1, 1, 5 p. 615 b.

<sup>22</sup>Pollux (6, 108), on the other hand, says that the myrtle bough  
(see note below) passed from left to right (ἐπὶ δεξιᾷ). We must remember  
that the explanations of grammarians are not to be trusted, cf. R.  
Reitzenstein Epigramm und Skolion (Giessen, 1893) 3 ff.

<sup>23</sup>There is some disagreement as to whether myrtle or laurel was  
used, though myrtle, on the whole, seems more likely. Hesychius s.v. κίλακος  
says the word refers "either to the laurel branch sacred to Apollo which  
each of the guests held in their hand while singing the paeon, or to the

23 Cont'd.

myrtle". The laurel was obviously appropriate to Apollo, the god of music, but it has been suggested that the myrtle might have been an emblem of democratic virtue, since the Tyrannicides hid their swords in a myrtle wreath (see scolia 10 and 12 in Ath.'s selection 15, 694 c). The scolia themselves, however, are thought to be aristocratic in origin. In cult the myrtle was associated with both Aphrodite and Dionysus, cf. Schol. Ar. Ran. 330 f. Cf. also, Ar. fr. 430 and Nub. 1353.

<sup>24</sup>Greek Lyric Poetry (Oxford, Clarendon, 1961), 397.

<sup>25</sup>Ar. Vesp. 1222 ff. The procedure adopted by Bdelycleon is altogether very odd: he himself sings the first line of a scolium and then asks his father to "cap" it (δέξετ' δὲ οὐ , 1225) with another appropriate to the character of the person he is impersonating.

<sup>26</sup>Scholiast on Ar. Vesp. 1238-9 quotes a line from Cratinus about a man who tried to sing the scolium called Cleitagora, while the flautist played the Admetus.

<sup>27</sup>Fr. 85, 3-5, vol. 2, 45 K. Antiphanes describes scolia as ἀπηρχλωμένα .

<sup>28</sup>Op. cit. p. 397.

<sup>29</sup>Cf. Certamen Homeri et Hesiodi in T.W. Allen, Homeri Opera 5 (Oxford, Clarendon, 1965), 229 f. and Ar. Ran. 1182 ff.

<sup>30</sup>FHG 2, 317 (ap. Ath. 10, 457 c).

<sup>31</sup>Athenaeus, after quoting Clearchus, suggests his own *recherché* variations on this game, such as quoting Homeric verses whereof the first and last syllables together reveal names of utensils e.g. ὀλλυμένων. . . θύμος giving ὀλ-μός (mortar).

<sup>32</sup>We must not assume, however, that this kind of entertainment was to everyone's taste, cf. Lucilius AP 11, 134 (the poet threatens to bore Heliodorus to death if he suggest that they πᾶλιν ποιήματα) and ibid. 11, 140.

<sup>33</sup>The Romans, on the whole, do not appear to have taken much pleasure in riddles. It is true that Aulus Gellius presents Romans engaged in solving riddles, but the scene is set at Athens. In this context, it is perhaps significant that there is no word for riddle in Latin; instead, the Romans borrowed aenigma and griphus. Ausonius wrote a lost work called Griphus ternarii numeri, and Apuleius another entitled Liber Ludicrorum, which may have contained riddles, cf. Apul. Flor. 9, 12 Kr.; Gell. 12, 6.

<sup>34</sup>6, 107,

<sup>35</sup>E.g. Ar. Vesp. 20.

<sup>36</sup>Ath. 10, 448 c.

<sup>37</sup>It is a sign of the times, Clearchus reflects bitterly, that the kind of γρῆφος that is popular with the modern generation is τῶν ἀφροδισιαστικῶν συνδουκῶν ἥδιστος.

<sup>38</sup>Cf. Hom. Il. 6, 179; 16, 328; Hes. Theog. 319 ff.

<sup>39</sup>Cf. RE 1 A (1920) s.v. Rätsel, 62 ff. and esp. 90.

<sup>40</sup>Clearchus fr. 86 W<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>41</sup>Antiphon fr. 74, 10 ff. (ap. Ath. 459 b) 2, 41 K. Drinking a cup of neat wine without pausing to take breath was itself a type of sympotic game, cf. Suidas s.v. ἀμυστή; Ath. 11, 783 e; Plut. Quaest. conv. 3, 3 p. 650 c; Lucian Lexiph. 8; Schol. Ar. Ach. 1229; Hor. Carm. 1, 36, 12.

<sup>42</sup>For a detailed discussion, see Monaco, G., Paragoni Burleschi degli Antichi (Palermo 1966), 73 ff.

<sup>43</sup>Ar. Av. 804-8; Vesp. 1308-13; Xen. Symp. 6, 8-10.

<sup>44</sup>80 c.

<sup>45</sup>215 a.

<sup>46</sup>See Taillardat, J., Suétone (Paris 1967), 166-7, and RE 11, 2 (1922), s.v. Kottabos. My description in the main follows that given by Suet. Περὶ πάλαιων 5-6, (ap. Tzetzes Var. Hist. 6, 875-883). To complicate matters, however, as Taillardat notes, "La description de Suétone ne corresponde à rien de connu, ni dans les peintures de vases, ni dans les objets trouvés dans les fouilles" (op. cit. p. 167).

<sup>47</sup>Critias fr. 8, 9 f. D.

<sup>48</sup>Suet. (Taillardat op. cit. p. 69, 4-5, line 13) describes these Manetes as statuettes in human form (ἄνδρακιν ἄνθρωποι). Cf. Eur. fr. 537 N<sup>2</sup>, "With many shots of Bacchus, I aimed at the head of the old man." It is possible that this scene may represent an indignity laid upon the aged Oineus, and that the game itself may have originated in the use of a slave as target for the wine. Cf. also, schol. Lucian, Lexiph. 3 and schol. Ar. Pax 343 and 1244.

<sup>49</sup>Ath. 15, 667 b. In Suet.'s description, however, the players toss the wine with the mouth. (Taillardat op. cit. p. 69, 4-5, line 15.) Cf. Schol. Lucian, Lexiph. 3.

<sup>50</sup>Ath. 15, 668 b.

<sup>51</sup>Antiphanes fr. 55 (ap. Ath. 15, 666 f) 2, 33 K. The game in play is represented on the wall of a recently discovered Lucanian tomb, cf. Napoli, M., La Tomba Del Tuffatore (Bari, De Donato, 1970), pl. 20.

<sup>52</sup>Cf. Ath. 15, 666 e. The significance of the term κατακτύς is, however, disputed. Cf. Pollux 6, 109 and Taillardat (op. cit.) p. 167.

<sup>53</sup>Ath. 15, 667 e.

<sup>54</sup>Ath. 15, 667 d; Plato fr. 46, vol. 1, 612 K.

<sup>55</sup>Ath. 15, 668 e.

<sup>56</sup>Dancing at the conclusion of a banquet was a common pastime even in Homer's day, cf. Od. 1, 421 and 521; 17, 605; 18, 305.

<sup>57</sup>Cf. Hesych. s.v. κόρδαξ : εἶδος ὀρχήσεως ἀσέμνως κλυούσης  
<τὴν ὄσφυν> .

<sup>58</sup>Char. 6, 3.

<sup>59</sup>Ath. 1, 15 e.

<sup>60</sup>Xen. Symp. 2, 15 ff.

<sup>61</sup>Plut. Quaest. conv. 7, 8, 3 p. 711 f.

<sup>62</sup>Ath. 14, 629 f.

<sup>63</sup>Lucian Salt. 34.

<sup>64</sup>Ar. Vesp. 1525 f. It is interesting that Philocleon, when drunk, should choose to imitate the tragic style of dancing. Are we to think of this as a personal aberration on his part? Cf. also, the story of Hippocleides (Hdt. 6, 126 ff, esp. 129).

<sup>65</sup>Posidonius (ap. Ath. 12, 550 b) fr. 77 Kidd.

<sup>66</sup>See Dar,-Sag. figs. 6694 and 6695.

<sup>67</sup>Plat. Prot. 347 c. Cf. Plat. Symp. 176 e and Rep. 2, 373 a. Pliny the Younger (Epist. 9, 17, 2) says, "I confess I admit nothing of this kind (sc. hired entertainers) at my own house; however, I tolerate it in others."

<sup>68</sup>This, too, is the type of symposium which Plut. recommends (Quaest. conv. 7, 8 4 p. 713 d).

<sup>69</sup>Plat. Prot. 347 d.

<sup>70</sup>Cf. Plat. Symp. 176 e. It is interesting to note that one of the earliest laws regulating hours of labor refers to the hire of flute-girls according to three separate shifts: from dawn until noon, noon until after dark, and from after dark until early dawn. The law, which was passed in Colophon, was intended to protect the profession against the excessively lengthy symposia to which the inhabitants of that town were prone (see Ath. 13, 526 c). We also learn (Arist. Ath. Pol. 50, 2) that in Athens in the fourth century it was forbidden to charge more than two drachmas a time for the hire of a flute-girl.

<sup>71</sup>E.g. Dar. and Sag. fig. 4971.

<sup>72</sup>E.g. Dar and Sag. fig. 6072.

<sup>73</sup>Il. 18, 605; Od. 4, 18.

<sup>74</sup>Cf. Plat. Symp. 190 a.

<sup>75</sup>I interpret the description of Hippocleides' dancing at Cleisthenes' banquet (Hdt. 6, 129) as referring to this art.

<sup>76</sup>2, 11, cf. Xen. Mem. 1, 3, 9; Plat. Euthyd. 294 e.

<sup>77</sup>9, 2 to end.

<sup>78</sup>Characteristically Plut. (Quaest. conv. 7, 8, 4 p. 712 e) rejects this kind of entertainment on the grounds that the action is too prolonged and demands too much equipment.

<sup>79</sup>Plut. Quaest. conv. 7, 8, 1 p. 711 b. At Trimalchio's banquet (Petron. Sat. 59) the Homeric poems are recited with action.

## CHAPTER IV

### TOPOI OF SYMPOTIC VERSE

I wish to conclude this study with a brief survey of the symposium as a background for certain poetic topoi. Since the limits of this work make it impossible for me to conduct a full investigation into every topos connected with drinking, I shall confine myself to what I consider to be the dominant themes of sympotic verse. Hence I shall omit such topoi as "the bibulous women",<sup>1</sup> "the rustic symposium",<sup>2</sup> and others which are of minor importance for sympotic poetry as a whole.

The simplest type of sympotic poem consists of an exhortation to drink followed by a suitable pretext for drinking. As an additional enticement, the delights offered by a symposium are sometimes enumerated in catalogue form. There may then follow some piece of advice on the subject of procedure at the symposium — how to conduct oneself, how much to drink, and so forth. Sometimes, however, this introductory stage is omitted altogether and we are confronted straightway with an admonition whose nature makes it self-evident that the context of the poem is a symposium. Finally, there may be an allusion to the benefits and so forth which will accrue as a result of the drinking.

Taking this to represent the basic structure of all sympotic verse,<sup>3</sup> let us consider these themes in order. The exhortation to drink is no more than a simple imperative, addressed by the poet to the rest of the party, usually in the form  $\pi\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon$  or  $\pi\acute{\iota}\nu\omega\mu\epsilon\upsilon$ .<sup>4</sup> As an alternative, however, the poet sometimes addresses his slave, whom he orders to fetch the wreaths,

perfume, wine and similar extras.<sup>5</sup> A deferential variation to the exhortation to drink is the formal vocatio ad cenam ("invitation to supper"),<sup>6</sup> which, unlike the other motifs examined here, does not have the symposium as its setting.

The exhortation to drink is normally followed by a pretext under which sympotic indulgence can be justified. The most serviceable, and therefore the commonest, is the  $\theta\nu\eta\rho\acute{o}\varsigma \epsilon\acute{\iota}$  motif,<sup>7</sup> — its argument being that the brevity of human life makes it imperative that we should enjoy ourselves to the full while the fates allow.<sup>8</sup> Old age is not seen as any bar to drinking; on the contrary, the older a man grows, the more it behoves him to concentrate upon sensual pleasures.<sup>9</sup> Alternatively, the poet may simply refer to the season,<sup>10</sup> or to the weather,<sup>11</sup> or to the time of day,<sup>12</sup> as providing the justification for drinking. This motif derives from Hesiod,<sup>13</sup> who, after declaring that wine is best in summertime, requests it especially at midday. Its most versatile exponent, however, is Alcaeus, who, as Athenaeus<sup>14</sup> complains, uses any excuse to justify drinking: the heat, the cold, or merely the fact that night is approaching.<sup>15</sup>

The "sympotic catalogue" is the enumeration, in catalogue form of the chief delights pertaining to a symposium. The topos occurs first in Homer,<sup>16</sup> who mentions the following: euphrosyne, the sound of the flute, tables laden with bread and meat, and wine brimful in a crater. It is common in the fragments of New Comedy in the form of a "shopping-list"<sup>17</sup> presented to a slave itemizing all the purchases he must make for the symposium. Horace, who exploits the motif on a number of occasions,<sup>18</sup> is at pains to disguise its basic catalogue-form beneath detailed descriptions of the individual items. Thus instead of referring simply to

wine and garlands, the poet talks of "a jar of Alban wine that is nine years old, and parsley, growing in my garden, to deck our hair with".<sup>19</sup>

Admonitory sympotic *topoi*, which divide into four principal categories, represent advice to drinkers, perhaps to be imagined as delivered by the symposiarch himself. First let us consider the *topos* advocating moderation in wine-drinking. Though the dangers of drunkenness were well-known to Homer,<sup>20</sup> the early lyric poets tended to ignore its harmful aspect altogether and it is Theognis who is the first poet to dwell upon the topic at length. His key-word on the subject of drunken behavior is αἰδώς, a decent sense of shame which forsakes a man when he drinks to excess, thereby causing him to speak and act in a way that would put him to shame if sober.<sup>21</sup> The limit, or μέτρον, of wine is defined by Xenophanes<sup>22</sup> as being the point at which a man is not prevented by his drinking from reaching home unassisted. Sometimes the dangers of excessive drinking are expressed in the form of a simple arithmetical progression describing the effects of drinking cup by cup.<sup>23</sup>

The principal admonition issued to drinkers by Horace is not to fret or worry about what the future holds in store, knowledge of which is forbidden to us;<sup>24</sup> we should recognise that life is governed wholly by chance,<sup>25</sup> and give up the futile study of astrology;<sup>26</sup> accordingly let us concentrate upon whatever joy the moment has to offer,<sup>27</sup> and leave everything else<sup>28</sup> in the care of the gods. In Greek, this *topos* regularly takes the form of a statement or question instead of a command, introduced by the words [οὐ μοι μέλει...] or [τί μοι μέλει].<sup>29</sup>

Thirdly, there is the request that there be no riotous behavior or abusive language over drinking,<sup>30</sup> which are worthy only of savage peoples

like the Scythians and Thracians.<sup>31</sup> Equally common is the banning of all reference to war,<sup>32</sup> the topic being thought unsuited to the desired atmosphere of euphrosyne,<sup>33</sup> and also perhaps likely to cause a disturbance through putting the drinkers in mind of warlike deeds.

Finally, in post-Alexandrian times, we meet the theme of what Giangrande<sup>34</sup> calls the "anti-literary symposium", in which readings from poetry, discussion of grammatical matters, and capping games all come under a ban.<sup>35</sup> This topos seems to be confined to the Hellenistic epigram.

We conclude this chapter with a brief summary of the various effects which in antiquity were attributed to wine. Before proceeding, it is worth noting that a certain ambivalence of attitude can be detected from the start. In a memorable passage which leaves us not quite certain whether he is criticizing or praising Dionysus' gift, Odysseus describes wine as ἡλείος, in that "it sets the wisest man singing and giggling like a girl; it lures him on to dance and it makes him blurt out what were better left unsaid".<sup>36</sup>

The benefit for which wine is most widely praised is as an antidote to pain and sorrow, whatever they might be due to.<sup>37</sup> In particular, wine is recommended as a remedy for love-sickness,<sup>38</sup> though its success in such circumstances was by no means guaranteed.<sup>39</sup> In addition to banishing the cares of love, wine was also accorded the power of causing the opposite effect, that of awakening desire or inflaming it further.<sup>40</sup> It was regarded as an inducement to truth-telling<sup>41</sup> because it catches men off their guard and makes them reveal dark secrets. The ancients believed that wine-drinking was a source of inspiration to a poet, or, as Cratinus<sup>42</sup> has it, "a mighty horse to the witty bard". The earliest occurrence of this topos is in Archilochus,<sup>43</sup> who says, "I know how to begin the dithyramb [συγκερᾶν ~

ωθεις φρένας οἷνῳ] ". This idea seems to derive from the observation that intoxication induces fantasy and inclines the mind to illusion.<sup>44</sup> Pindar<sup>45</sup> describes this effect in terms of an unruffled sea upon which the mind, wandering freely, sails towards "the shore of delusion". Finally, wine is credited with the power of making the body lively and teaching it how to dance.<sup>46</sup> We may, for instance, recall Philocleon's amazing rejuvenation at the close of the Wasps, which is attributed to the power of wine.<sup>47</sup>

Wine, which, as we have seen, was greatly praised among the ancients as a source of numerous blessings, was also feared as being a cause of either temporary or permanent insanity.<sup>48</sup> As early as Homer,<sup>49</sup> the god of wine is accorded the epithet μαινόμενος. When Philocleon becomes drunk and starts dancing, he cries out, "Here's the beginning of the dance figure!", to which a slave replies, "The beginning of madness, more likely!",<sup>50</sup> and a little later he orders him to drink hellebore, a well-known cure for madness.

The significance of the symposium as a vital element both in Greek life and Greek literature can hardly be over-estimated. Nor was its popularity during the Roman era in any way diminished: the comissatio afforded one of the principal backgrounds for the Odes of Horace and was a constant source of social comment for Martial in much the same way as its ancestor the symposium had served Anacreon and Theophrastus. Its prominence as a setting for love-poetry was unrivalled in ancient literature. This continued popularity and usefulness must surely have been due to the combination of sensual delight, elegance, grace, and peacefulness of spirit, which were the professed aims of a well-ordered symposium. It is a reflexion on the society we live in that no comparable equivalent exists today.

# NOTES

<sup>1</sup>See Giangrande, G., "Symptotic Literature and Epigram" in Entretiens Sur L' Antiquité Classique 14 (Geneva, Fondation Hardt, 1968), 152-156.

<sup>2</sup>E.g. Hes. Op. 588 ff; Theoc. Id. 7, 63 ff; 14, 12 ff; Philodemus, AP, 11, 44; Hor. Carm. 1, 38.

<sup>3</sup>I should like to point out that although these are the principal members used in the construction of all sympotic poetry, to the best of my knowledge there is not a single poem in either Greek or Latin literature which conforms in all particulars to the pattern I have laid down. Nor did the distribution of members necessarily correspond to the order that I have established. Hor. Carm. 3, 21, for instance, develops in the following manner: effects of wine (1-4); justification for drinking (5-12); further effects of wine (13-20); exhortation to drink (21-24). The poem is further complicated by the fact that it is addressed to a wine-jar, which means that the justification for drinking takes the form of a justification for being drunk out of!

<sup>4</sup>Cf. Alc. 38 LP; 346 LP; 347 LP; 401 a LP; 401 b LP; Theog. 763, 989, 1042, 1043, 1047; Simon. 512 PMG; Ion of Chios fr. 2, PLG; Panyassis fr. 12 Kinkel; Anacreontea 8, 12 f.; Amphis fr. 8, vol. 2, 238 K; Alexis fr. 25, 4 f, vol. 2, 306 K; Asclepiades, AP 12, 50; Leonidas AP 7, 452, 2; Strato, AP 11, 19; Epictetus 3, 24, 8; Tib. 3, 6, 17; Prop. 2, 33 b; 36; Hor. Carm. 1, 37, 1.

<sup>5</sup>Anac. 356 a PMG; Anacreontea, 47, 10 ff; ibid. 48 and 52 b. Tib. 3, 6, 5 ff; Catull. 27, 1 ff; Hor. Carm. 3, 2, 18 ff; 3, 7, 23 ff; 3, 14, 21 ff; 3, 19, 10 ff; 3, 28, 2 ff; Ep. 9, 33 and 13, 6.

<sup>6</sup>For a full discussion of this topos, cf. Cairns, F., Generic Composition in Greek and Roman Poetry (Edinburgh, University Press, 1972), 240 ff. The vocatio can be addressed either to an equal, who is often asked to bring his contribution (above p.13) along with him, or to a superior, to whom the host apologises for the meagre quality of his food and wine, cf. Catull. 13; Hor. Carm. 4, 12, 13 ff (addressed to equals); AP 11, 44; Hor. Carm. 1, 20 and Ep. 1; Sid. Carm. 17 (addressed to superiors).

<sup>7</sup>The θυνητός ἐστι topos occurs throughout Greek literature and is by no means confined to sympotic verse, cf. Hom. Il. 16, 440; Sim. 521 PMG; Hdt. 7, 46, 3; Eur. Alc. 799 ff.

<sup>8</sup>Cf. Alc. fr. 122 PLG; Theog. 973 ff; Alexis fr. 219 (ap. Ath. 11, 463 c) 2, 377 K; Amphis fr. 8 (ap. Ath. 8, 336 c) 2, 238 K; Apollinides, AP 11, 25, 5; Argentarius, AP 11, 28, 5 f; Asclepiades AP 12, 50, 7 f; Palladas, AP 11, 56, 1 f; 11, 62, 1 f; Strato, AP 11, 19, 1 f; Hor. Carm. 1, 11, 6 ff and 2, 3, 21 ff. Cf. Petron. Sat. 34, where Trimalchio produces a silver skeleton as an encouragement to his guests to enjoy life's pleasures while they may. For the same reason, some Romans had the floors of their triclinia decorated with mosaics of skeletons. Cf. also the cup with embossed skeletons from Bosco Reale which is illustrated in Sedgwick's ed. of Cena Trimalchio opp. p. 32. Sedgwick cites Hdt. 2, 78. In the Greek Anthology,

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this topos is occasionally enlivened by a touch of wry humor. Strato (AP 11, 19), for instance, makes a pun on the dual function of garlands and scent as both offerings to the dead and appurtenances of the symposium, thereby creating an emphatic and arresting juxtaposition between sensuality and death. Cf. also, Asclepiades, AP 12, 50, 6 ff; Zonas, AP 11, 43; Anacreontea 32. It is interesting to note that the topos also occurs in Egyptian verse. The following extract is from a poem (quoted in The Ancient Egyptians edited by Erman, A. [Harper, New York, 1966] 250) that was found in the tomb of a Theban priest: "Spend the day merrily, O Priest! Put unguent and fine oil together to thy nostrils, and garlands and lotus flowers . . . on the body of thy sister whom thou favourest (i.e. your beloved), as she sits beside thee. Set singing and music before thy face. Cast all evil behind thee, and bethink thee of joy, until that day comes when one reaches port in the land that loves silence." (Trans. Aylward Blackman).

<sup>9</sup>Cf. Agathias Scholasticus AP 11, 57; Palladas AP 11, 54; Philodemus AP 11, 41. An obscene meaning is often attributed to Anac. 50 PMG. Horace, on the other hand, seems to have felt that there came a time in a man's life when he should renounce the world of pleasure. Cf. Carm. 3, 15, where an inveterate drinker is told he should stop chasing young girls and concentrate upon his "knitting". Cf. also, Ep. 13, 4.

<sup>10</sup>Cf. Theog. 1039 f; Anacreontea 60 b, 13.

<sup>11</sup>Anacreontea, 38, 13 f; Hor. Carm. 1, 9, 1 ff and Ep. 13, 1 ff.

Nisbet and Hubbard, Commentary on Horace Odes Book I (Oxford, Clarendon, 1970) 121 comment, "It was a convention of sympotic poetry to say that 'a storm is raging outside but the gods will still it, and with it our present troubles'."

<sup>12</sup>Cf. Catull. 5, 5 with Kroll's note ad loc., quoting Moschus 3, 99. Cf. also, Asclepiades, AP 12, 50 with Giangrande (op. cit.) p. 129.

<sup>13</sup>Op. 584-93.

<sup>14</sup>10, 430.

<sup>15</sup>347, 338 and 346 LP respectively.

<sup>16</sup>Od. 9, 5 ff. The most extensive catalogue occurs in Xenophanes B fr. 1, 1 ff, vol. 1, 126 DK. Cf. also, Ar. Ach. 1089 ff; Alexis fr. 250 (ap. Ath. 14, 642 e) 2, 389 K; Amphis fr. 9 (ibid. 642 a) 2, 238 K; Nicostratus fr. 26 (ibid. 685 d) 2, 227 K.

<sup>17</sup>Cf. Nisbet and Hubbard (op. cit.) p. 422 for references.

<sup>18</sup>E.g. Carm. 1, 36, 9-15; 3, 14, 17-24; 3, 29, 1-5; 4, 11, 1-12. Cf. Prop. 4, 8, 33-42; Tib. 1, 7, 43-48.

<sup>19</sup>Carm. 4, 11, 1-3.

<sup>20</sup>It was wine that overpowered the Cyclops (Od. 11, 454) and acted as an aphrodisiac upon the Centaurs (Od. 21, 295). Cf. also, Od. 21, 293 ff.

<sup>21</sup>Theog. 479 ff, cf. 502, 507 ff, 837-40. One should drink ἐπισηρκμένως Theog. 211 f, Panyassis fr. 12, 3 Kinkel. Another poet who lectures sternly on the subject of excessive drinking is Horace, cf. Carm. 1, 18, 7 ff; 3, 19, 15 ff. Horace is probably influenced by the philosophic tradition that begins with Aristotle's "Συμπόσιον ἢ Περὶ Μέθης".

<sup>22</sup>B fr. 1, 17 f, vol. 1, 126 DK. Cf. Panyassis fr. 13, 5 and 14, 5 Kinkel.

<sup>23</sup>Eubulus fr. 94 (ap. Ath. 2, 36 b) 2, 196 K says that the first cup is to health, the second to love and pleasure, the third to sleep, the fourth to violence, the fifth to uproar, the sixth to drunken revel, the seventh to black eyes, the eighth to the summoner, the ninth to bile, and the tenth to madness and throwing chairs around. Cf. also, Ar. Vesp. 1253 ff; Epicharmus fr. 118 Kaibel; Apul. Flor. 20, 33 Kr.

<sup>24</sup>Hor. Carm. 1, 11, 1 f and 3, 29, 29-32, cf. Anacreontea 38, 20.

<sup>25</sup>Hor. Carm. 3, 29, 49-52, cf. Eur. Alc. 795; Palladas AP 11, 56, 5.

<sup>26</sup>Hor. Carm. 1, 11, 2 f, cf. Anacreontea 3, 10 f and 4, 10; Phoen. Coloph. fr. 3, 1 D.

<sup>27</sup>Hor. Carm. 1, 11, 8; 3, 8, 27 f; 3, 29, 32 f and 41 ff; 3, 19, 5-8.

<sup>28</sup>Sometimes merely adumbrated by "cetera" (τὰ ἄλλα in Greek), e.g. Hor. Carm. 3, 29, 33 ff and Ep. 13, 7; Eur. Alc. 788 ff. Sometimes referred to generally as the future, e.g. Hor. Carm. 1, 9, 13; Theog. 1048. Sometimes described in detail, e.g. Hor. Carm. 1, 11, 1 f (one's appointed end); 2, 11, 1-4; 3, 8, 17-24; 3, 29, 25-29 (plots of war being hatched against Rome).

<sup>29</sup>Anacreontea 3, 10; 4, 10; 8, 9; 38, 24; Antipater, AP 11, 23; Macedonius, AP 11, 59, 4.

<sup>30</sup>E.g. Theog. 493 ff and 763; Phocylides fr. 14 D; Dionysius Chalcus fr. 2, 3 D; Cratinus Min. fr. 4; Anacreontea 42, 13. Cf. also, Bielohlawek, K., "Gastmahls und Symposionslehren bei griech. Dichtern", Wien. Stud. (58, 1940) 22.

<sup>31</sup>Anac. fr. 356 b PMG; Hor. Carm. 1, 27, 1-8.

<sup>32</sup>E.g. Xenophanes B fr. 1, 21 ff. vol. 1, 126 DK; Anac. fr. 96 D. It is for this reason that the panoply of war was considered an unsuitable subject to engrave upon a drinking-cup, cf. Anacreontea 4. Similarly, the

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lyre, which, as we have seen (above p. 44) often graced the symposium, was not permitted to rehearse the theme of war, cf. Bacchyl. 14, 12 ff Snell; Hor. Carm. 2, 12, 1-9. (The antithesis between epic and lyric poetry quickly became a topos, whose best example is Ov. Am. 1, 1.) Cf. also, Ar. Ach. 979 ff (the Chorus refuse to allow Polemos to attend their symposium).

<sup>33</sup>Cf. Pind. Nem. 9, 48 (ἡσυχία δὲ φιλεῖ μὲν συμπόσιον). Cf. Hor. Carm. 3, 19, 15 (the Graces fear brawls).

<sup>34</sup>Op. cit., p. 140. Cf. Pohlenz, M., Kleine Schriften 2 (Hildesheim, Olms 1965), 18.

<sup>35</sup>Cf. Lucilius, AP 11, 10; 11, 134; 11, 137; 11, 394.

<sup>36</sup>Hom. Od. 14, 463 ff.

<sup>37</sup>E.g. Hom. Il. 6, 261 and 7, 261; Theog. 883 f; Pind. Paeon 4, 25 f; Soph. fr. 295 N<sup>2</sup>; Eur. Bacc. 282 ff; Antidotus fr. 4 (ap. Ath. 1, 28 e) 2, 411 K; Adesp. AP 10, 118, 5; Antipater AP 11, 24; Paulus Silentarius AP 11, 60; Anacreontea 38, 13; 45, 1 f; 48, 1 f; Hor. Carm. 1, 7, 31; 1, 18, 3 ff; 2, 11, 17; 3, 21, 17; Ep. 13, 11 ff; Tib. 1, 3, 1; Nonnus, Dionys. 12, 117 ff; Jeremiah 16, 7; Proverbs 31, 6.

<sup>38</sup>E.g. Meleager AP 12, 49; Asclepiades AP 12, 50; Tib. 1, 2, 1 ff; Mart. 1, 106, 7.

<sup>39</sup>E.g. Anacreontea 18 a; Tib. 1, 5, 37 and 3, 6.

<sup>40</sup>E.g. Strato AP 12, 175, 3; 12, 180; 12, 199; 12, 253.

<sup>41</sup>The topos first occurs in Alcaeus (fr. 333 LP) who describes wine as ἀνθρώπῳ δόκιμον. Cf. Theog. 500; Pind. Nem. 9, 49; Theoc. Id. 29, 1; Hor. Carm. 3, 21, 14 ff. It is also found in prose, e.g. Plat. Symp. 217 e and schol. ad loc.; Plut. Quaest. conv. 7, 10, 2 p. 715 f; Ath. 2, 37 e f. Cf. also, Plat. Leg. 1, 650 a, where wine is recommended as "a playful method of inspecting a man's character".

<sup>42</sup>Fr. 199, vol. 1, 74 K.

<sup>43</sup>Fr. 77 D. Simonides (647 PMG) ascribes the same origin to wine and literature, and according to one theory (Ath. 2, 40 a) both Comedy and Tragedy were inspired ἀπὸ μέθης. Aeschylus is said to have composed while drunk, a circumstance which occasioned Gorgias to observe that it was not so true that one of his plays was "full of Ares" as that all of them were full of Dionysus (Plut. Quaest. conv. 7, 10, 2 p. 715 e). In a similar vein, Propertius (2, 30 b, 40 ff) declares that without the docta thyrsus of Bacchus the poet's art fails. For further discussion, cf. Flashar, H.,

43 Cont'd.

"Die Lehre von der Wirkung der Dichtung in der griechischen Poetik", Hermes (84, 1956), 45<sup>2</sup> and Wehrli, F., Theoria und Humanitas. (Zurich, Artemis Verlag, 1972), 103<sup>12</sup>.

<sup>44</sup>Cf. Bacchyl. fr. 20 b, 5 ff Snell; Ar. Eq. 92 ff; Anacreontea 50; Prop. 4, 8, 30.

<sup>45</sup>Fr. 124, 7 f. Snell.

<sup>46</sup>Hom. Od. 14, 465; Anacreontea 49 and 53.

<sup>47</sup>Ar. Vesp. 1474 ff.

<sup>48</sup>Od. 21, 295-8; Hdt. 6, 84, 3; Argentarius, AP 11, 26, 4; Meleager, AP 12, 115, 1; Posidippus, AP 12, 120, 3 f; Ov. Metam. 12, 219. Sometimes the madness of wine is actually sought, cf. Anacreontea 9, 3 ff (θέλω, θέλω μανῆναι); Hor. Carm. 2, 7, 27; 3, 19, 18 (iuvat insanire). Plutarch records that this form of madness is explained by the Egyptians as follows: wine is the blood of the enemies of the gods from whose bodies the earth which covers them brought forth the vine (Mor. de ls. et Os. 6, p. 353 b, cf. Pliny HN 14, 58).

<sup>49</sup>Il. 6, 132. Cf. Nonnus, Dionys. 32, 114; Genesis 9, 20. For a discussion on the significance of this title, cf. Ath. 14, 613 a-613 c.

<sup>50</sup>Ar. Vesp. 1486.

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