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***MHAËN AΓAN: CONVIVIALITY AND EXCESS IN THE
SYMPOSIUM***

by

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**B.A., CLASSICAL STUDIES AND ANTHROPOLOGY,
UNIVERSITY OF NEW MEXICO, 2014**

**M.A., CLASSICS, EMPHASIS IN CLASSICAL
ARCHAEOLOGY, UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA, 2016**

THESIS

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Dedication

To one of the true *agathoi*:

Victor Munoz

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Μηδὲν Ἄγαν: Conviviality and Excess in the Symposium

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Abstract

This multi-disciplinary project demonstrates that the archaic and classical Greek symposium was a moralizing and educative space that governed the consumption of wine through the social protocol of the *metron* “measured restraint.” In Chapter One, I investigate sympotic drinking behavior contextualized within this concept of the *metron* as described by Theognis. Utilizing literary evidence and art historical representations of drinking at the symposium, I argue that a specified drinking protocol encouraged the community to benefit the male aristocratic citizen and ultimately their place in the *polis*. The symposium was an educative and moralizing space that encouraged communal harmony and discouraged base behavior and selfish endeavors, including excessive drinking. These ideals are particularly well-expressed in the *Theognidea* and scenes of sympotic events on drinking vessels. Chapter Two explores how excessive drinking separates an individual from the larger community. Textual evidence demonstrates that these overly intoxicated individuals and their behaviors are disparaged within the sympotic community, while the art historical evidence often depicts the excessively drunk individual physically separated from the group of symposiasts.

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INTRODUCTION

The Greek Symposium and Drinking Behavior: A Transdisciplinary Approach

The archaic and classical Greek symposium was an important institution that developed along with the rise of the *polis*. Like many other drinking events, it was a place in which the male citizen could build upon social relationships and political power; it was a type of social technology that served the people who were part of the group of active participants.¹ This event typically took place in an *andrōn*, a room in someone's house that was partially closed-off from the rest of the residence with an off-set door.² While the setting and built environment of the *andrōn* may suggest the symposium was a private event, I argue in this thesis that it was actually semi-private, meaning that there was always a communal aspect tied to the civic sphere in the symposium. While the symposium took place in a domestic space rather than a public one as other communal feasting and drinking events, the fact that participants, as male citizens, made up the political body, and that there was a fairly explicit social protocol for drinking behavior in sympotic poetry shows that this space was not completely private and carefree. Such binary categorization of space, public versus private, is problematic when trying to understand a more nuanced and fluid space better described as placed on a spectrum or sliding scale with private and public on each end. In order to better understand the symposium functioning as an educative and moralizing space and microcosm of the *polis*, I make use of textual, art historical, and anthropological evidence to provide the most holistic picture possible.

1 For a further discussion on feasting as a social technology, see Hayden 2001: 29-35.

2 For archaeological examples of the *andrōn*, see Cahill's 2002 report on the ones found at Olynthos.

The purpose of this thesis is to better understand the socio-political implications of the sympotic space, and in order to do this, I look to archaic Greek poetry as my textual evidence. My primary source is the *Theognidea*, since it not only provides a wealth of examples of Greek morality in a sympotic contexts; moreover, it was also a widely popular text wherein both archaic and classical authors appropriated the name and poetic authority of Theognis by incorporating more verses into this work under his name. Theognis' sympotic poetry, framed as an educating *paideia* addressed to the young aristocrat and citizen-in-the-making Kyrnos, provides much insight into the symposium as a space in which an individual should be just as mindful of his conduct as he would be in a public space. I use a specific concept in the *Theognidea*, that is the concept of the *metron* "measured restraint" with regards to drinking behavior, as a lens to read sympotic images on drinking vessels.

Supplementing my interpretation of Theognis and the concept of the *metron*, I look at archaic and classical drinking paraphernalia, including the *kylix* and *krater*. I consider scenes of sympotic harmony and discord caused by excessive drinking and overindulgence, specifically involving individuals who have had too much wine and consequently are depicted vomiting, defecating, or urinating in a separate space from the group of symposiasts. Theognis is particularly helpful for his definitions of the opposite groups that serve as the two moral poles of the participating symposiasts: *agathoi* "noble men" and *kakoi* "base men." These are groups by which a male citizen is defined, and represent the company he keeps. In addition to this textual and art historical analysis, I use Dietler and Hayden's categorization of a diacritical feast to show anthropologically that this social event was both important and politically charged and how the *agathoi* marked themselves as a special unit,

indicating the importance of the group as a whole unit and the aversion to individualistic and selfish endeavors.

Researching such a multidisciplinary topic was admittedly a challenging process. To investigate and find many different kinds of information across various disciplines and then fitting the evidence together was a challenge in and of itself. Providing equal attention to each discipline was tricky and it was impractical to provide the in-depth analyses for each one in the course of this project. While transdisciplinary studies provide a broader understanding of the archaic and classical Greek symposium, the nature of this methodology ultimately neglects some deeper aspects of one or more of the multiple fields of study. As such, my thesis provides a suitably comprehensive analysis of the Greek symposium utilizing both material and textual evidence, and any minor gaps in my analysis of one discipline or another do not undermine the entirety of my argument.

This thesis study considers ancient representations that articulate an ideal of commensality within the symposium as represented on both drinking vessels and in archaic verses. I argue that the archaic and classical Greek symposium functioned as a moralizing and educative space for the male citizen so that they might perpetuate their place in the larger *polis*. As a way to analyze this quality of the sympotic space, I look primarily to archaic Greek poetry and specifically the *Theognidea*, to better understand the concept of the *metron* “measured restraint” and how it applies to drinking practices within the group of symposiasts. The *metron* served as a sort of social protocol; if individuals followed the *metron* and drank wine with moderation, they would foster the group’s relationships and contribute to the harmony of the symposium among the *agathoi*. If, however, an individual has ignored the *metron* and guzzled down more than their fair share of wine, they are seen to

be acting against the interests of the group and are essentially removed, marked as one of the *kakoi*. Art historical interpretation helps supplement the textual information since the removal of one who has overindulged in wine is well expressed in the imagery of drinking cups. The excessively drunk individual is depicted as physically separated from the space of harmonious symposiasts, usually vomiting, defecating, or urinating on their own.

This thesis provides a transdisciplinary approach to understanding the socio-political implications of the symposium as an institution. Because I draw from many scholarly traditions concerning the ancient Greek symposium, it is necessary that I map out these traditions, showing how they converge and interact, as well as placing my own research within this prolific and longstanding trajectory of inquiries. In this introduction, I outline how the developments of scholarship on the Greek symposium, feasting within an anthropological framework, and art historical investigations are contextualized within the study of the symposium. I then elaborate on the most influential theoretical framework that I use for this thesis, that is the categorization of the diacritical feast, as coined and defined by Dietler and Hayden.³ Following the descriptions of the theoretical frameworks influential for my analyses, I provide chapter summaries of this thesis.

Trends in Symptotic Scholarship and Drinking Culture

In order to show the interdisciplinary nature of my research and the various threads of scholarship upon which I have drawn, I discuss three different pieces of symptotic scholarship in this section. Naturally, I begin with archaic Greek poetry in relation to symptotic performance. Classical feasting and drinking culture have been topics of interest for scholars

³ Dietler and Hayden 2001.

since the Renaissance;⁴ however, the primary focus was placed on the Roman *convivium* and *cena* rather than the Greek symposium, which was not truly closely studied until the 1980s when German and Italian scholars sought to better understand archaic poetry and its performance in sympotic events. Here I highlight three particular scholars. Rösler focuses on Alcaeus in his investigation of archaic Greek lyric, its performance and audience, seeking to elucidate the intimate and private nature of Alcaeus' work, meant only for an intimate group of drinking companions.⁵ Rossi also investigates performance in the archaic and classical Greek symposium, as well as the symposium as a political institution.⁶ Vetta identified evidence for the *skolion* in Theognis, a performative and communal aspect of Greek sympotic poetry.⁷ Bowie's work is another example of tying early Greek poetry to performance and the symposium.⁸ All of these scholars provided a better understanding of poetic performance in the archaic and classical Greek symposium, as well as the social and political implications deeply entwined in this space shared by drinking companions. While Theognis as a sympotic poet has not received as much attention as others, the most comprehensive work in which scholars engage with the *Theognidea* is from Figueira and Nagy's edition from the 1980s.⁹ In this insightful work, scholars such as Levine seek to better understand the *Theognidea* in its socio-political context.¹⁰

4 See Chacón (originally published in 1590) *De triclinio: sive de modo convivandi apud priscos Romanos, & de conviviorum apparatu* and a supplement to this work in a later Amsterdam edition, Hieronymus Mercurialis 1664 *De accubitus in cena antiquorum origine dissertatio*.

5 Rösler 1980.

6 Rossi 1983.

7 Vetta 1984. See also Vetta 1992 and 1996 for discussions of poetic performance in the symposium. For a more detailed outline concerning the developments of the Greek aristocratic banquet see Węcowski's 2014 Introduction in *The Rise of the Aristocratic Banquet*.

8 Bowie 1986.

9 Figueira and Nagy 1985. The most recent printed text of Theognis that is complete with French translation and commentary is by Carrière 2003.

10 Levine 1985.

Anthropological investigations into drinking culture maintain a long-standing tradition and, for the purposes of this introduction, one that must be extensively simplified. Systematic studies of feasting culture within an anthropological framework began a few decades earlier in the 1960s when anthropologists began to understand the social dynamics, complexities, and mechanisms behind drinking and feasting rituals; for example, Lévi-Strauss offers his analysis, heavily influenced by structuralism, of North and South American myths and their relation to drinking culture.¹¹ Of course I would be remiss to ignore Murray's multi-disciplinary contribution to the Greek symposium. Murray not only categorized different types of meals in ancient society, but he also acknowledged that the symposium was an event for pleasure in an all-male group and discussed pleasure as contextualized within a social group: "Even if we admit the autonomy of pleasure, we must nevertheless accept that pleasure exists within a social context, and will be subject to manipulation and development for social ends."¹² The socio-political importance of the symposium was recognized by Murray, whose foundational argument involved a shift from the Homeric warrior-elite class from enjoying feasts of martial merit to feasts of leisure; he further argued that the symposium was a space in which individuals could consolidate their identity in a way that was marked through ritualized drinking.¹³ Dietler and Hayden's seminal work on feasting culture seeks to better understand the political aspects of human feasting behavior from an archaeological and ethnographical perspective.¹⁴ Since Dietler and Hayden's framework of

11 Lévi-Strauss 1968.

12 Murray 1990: 5. It should also be noted that Murray 1983 brought attention to the Spartan *sysstition*, a drinking institution analogous to a mess hall that still receives much less attention than the Atheno-centric symposium. Note that Murray 1983: 196 conflates the practices of the *sysstition* with that of the symposium in order to discuss archaic and classical Greek drinking practices as similar cultural phenomena. For more information on communal drinking and eating practices associated with the *sysstition*, see Rabinowitz 2009.

13 See Murray 1983a, 1983b, and 1990.

14 Dietler and Hayden 2001.

the diacritical feast is so influential for not only my own work, but that of many other scholars, I discuss their contribution and their categorization of the diacritical feast in the following section. My analysis of ancient Greek feasting and drinking culture is not the first to utilize Dietler and Hayden's model on commensal politics; therefore I am indebted to the interdisciplinary classical archaeologists who have adopted this theoretical framework in other areas of the ancient Greek world. This includes Wright who analyzed the Mycenaean state-sponsored feast with Dietler and Hayden's model in mind.¹⁵ I was also heavily influenced by Rabinowitz's work focusing on early Greek communities in the archaic period.¹⁶

Art historical scholarship traditions are immensely important to my research on providing a more holistic understanding of the archaic and classical Greek symposium. An important underlying theory to my interpretation of the sympotic scenes I examine for my thesis is that these visual representations are to be read as a type of narrative. All of the vessels I analyze for this thesis are vessels that would have been used at a symposium or drinking party, including the *kylix*, *krater*, and *dinos*. The vessel that is examined most often in this thesis is the specialized drinking cup, the *kylix*, because it contains the majority of scenes in which I am interested for my study. These *kylikes* typically include a generic and stereotypical sympotic scene on the exterior, with men reclining and drinking together in a harmonious atmosphere. This exterior scene is sometimes juxtaposed with a very different scene in the tondo, or the interior bottom, of the drinking cup, where a single male symposiast, sometimes accompanied by an attendant, is depicted vomiting, defecating, or

¹⁵ Wright 2004.

¹⁶ Rabinowitz 2004 provides an in-depth analysis of commensality and the Spartan *syssitia* in archaic Greek communities in both South Italy and Sparta. Rabinowitz 2009 focuses on archaic Spartan drinking culture.

urinating after what I interpret to be drinking too much. I believe that these scenes, exterior and interior, were read together as a narration, and so it is important for me to discuss the theoretical framework behind my interpretation of these vessels.

Paramount to my reading of these visual scenes is Stansbury-O'Donnell's approach to analyzing visual media as a narrative by looking at the experience and relationship between the artist, viewer, and object.¹⁷ Supplementing my method of reading sympotic scenes as narratives, I look to other important scholars who have contextualized drinking vessels and their scenes within a symposium. Lissarrague's work on analyzing sympotic imagery on drinking paraphernalia was extremely influential for my own work.¹⁸ Boardman's comprehensive study of Greek vases, including their shapes and uses, provide a foundational understanding of drinking vessels in the Greek symposium.¹⁹ In addition to the work of Lissarrague and Boardman on Greek vases, Mitchell's recent analysis of Greek humor as it is portrayed on drinking vessels informs my research on other interpretations of the overly indulged symposiast.²⁰ The online database provided by the Beazely Archives remains immensely helpful in finding additional information for the drinking vessels that I investigate.

Furthermore, it is important to understand the relationship between painter and buyer when it comes to reading these sympotic images. While the level of personalization at the request of specific clients and their agency in driving certain visual representations is still

17 Stansbury-O'Donnell 1999. See also Robertson 1991: 10 who briefly discusses his narrative approach in reading mythological scenes on pottery.

18 Lissarrague 1990a.

19 Boardman 2001.

20 Mitchell 2009: 91 argues that the symposium provided "institutionalized moments of pleasure;" Mitchell 2009: 8 notes that the vessels portraying a symposiast vomiting, defecating, or urinating (or any combination of those three) fall into a type of category of humor that is provoked by a toxic stimulus, in this case, alcohol.

under debate, it seems that much of the Greek market was not based on customization.²¹ Some of the vessels I look at come from Etruria and Magna Graecia, but these vessels still represent images that would have resonated with Greeks, especially those in Attica. Indeed, Johnston postulates that some of the vessels traded far beyond Athens may have been sold in a process of second-hand trade, although he recognizes that this is a difficult question to answer.²² It seems to me that these vessels were sought after for their connection to the wealthy Greek symposium. The buyer would appear prestigious with their possession of an item tightly bound with luxurious and indulgent Greek drinking culture.

Dietler and Hayden and the Diacritical Feast

Dietler and Hayden provide a framework of commensal politics from which to study the Greek symposium. They demonstrate that drinking and feasting events work as a type of social technology in which individuals engage in an event that has the potential to provide them with certain advantages or accessibility. Some of these advantages, as listed by Hayden, have important socio-political implications, which include the creation of alliances, consolidation of political power through built social networks and reciprocity, and providing a platform for procuring desirable marriages, friendship bonds, and wealth.²³ The socio-political importance of the symposium is not a novel idea; just prior to the publication of

21 For further discussion about the market of Athenian vessels, see Johnston 1991.

22 Johnston 1991: 218-221.

23 Hayden 2001: 29-30. Hayden 2001: 26 uses the term “social technology” to describe social benefits provided at feasting events that includes “the creation and maintenance of social relationships that are predicted on securing access to resources, labor, or security.”

Dietler and Hayden's work, Henderson noted the important opportunities and relationships facilitated in this space:²⁴

Analysis of the poetry sung at symposia confirms that the symposion of the early Greek society served as the occasion and place for a group to establish, confirm and communicate its own identity through codes of conduct. Like-minded men gathered to reaffirm their alliances and allegiance.

Thus, the importance of this space for the male citizen seeking to perpetuate his status within the politics of the *polis* was noticed and described by Henderson. However, Dietler and Hayden contextualized feasting within a theoretical framework of commensal politics, a model that has proved to be immensely helpful for our understanding of human behavior and motivations in feasting and drinking events with important political undertones. Through archaeological case studies and ethnographic analogies, Dietler and Hayden created three different types of feasts: entrepreneurial feasts, patron-role feasts, and diacritical feasts. These categories were developed earlier by Dietler in his analysis of prehistoric European societies.²⁵ I apply the categorization of the diacritical feast model to the archaic and classical Greek symposium.

Dietler's model of the diacritical feast is developed and explained from his own ethnographic analyses of commensality and politics in an African context.²⁶ He defines the diacritical feast as follows:

The third major mode of commensal politics, which I will call the "diacritical feast," involves the use of differentiated cuisine and styles of consumption as a diacritical symbolic device to naturalize and reify concepts of ranked differences in the status of social orders or class... Diacritical stylistic distinctions may be based upon the use of rare, expensive, or exotic foods or food ingredients. Or they may be orchestrated through the use of elaborate food-service vessels and implements or architectonically

²⁴ Henderson 1999: 12.

²⁵ Dietler 2001: 67. See also Dietler 1990 and 1996 for further discussion of commensal politics and his development of these categorizations.

²⁶ Dietler 2001: 65-114.

distinguished settings that serve to “frame” elite consumption as a distinctive practice even when the food itself is not distinctive.²⁷

Essentially, the diacritical feast helps define the identity of a group: the diacritical feast sets the parameters for who are the *agathoi*, that is, the noble men who are a part of the in-group, and who are the *kakoi*, the base men who are outside of the group. The group consisting of *agathoi* defines itself as superior within the sympotic space through their exclusive access to wine, entertainment, and even relationships among fellow male citizens. Rabinowitz adds that access to these convivial events could even downplay hierarchical roles, and could also increase the opportunity to form relationships and engage in camaraderie, especially with the consumption of alcohol, since “diacritical drinking helped define the *agathoi* and consolidate their claims to political agency.”²⁸ The use of alcohol was extremely important for forming social bonds among symposiasts and guests were expected to drink wine in order to participate with their fellow symposiasts.²⁹

Chapter Synopsis

In Chapter One, I establish how the stereotypical symposium functions, both generally and as a space that encouraged social relationships and potential political bonds, according to Theognis and other sympotic poets. I construct this convivial space as an educating institution for the *polis*, in which the moralistic verses of Theognis and other sympotic poets who offered an authoritative voice on the matter could be recited. This is made especially clear with the ship of state imagery that appears in archaic Greek poetry.

²⁷ Dietler 2001: 85-86.

²⁸ Rabinowitz 2009: 161.

²⁹ Moderation is a major concern throughout the *Theognidea*. A symposiast should not drink too much, but just enough to be a part of the group. See lines 837-844 as an example.

One of the most important features of this space is that it is set up to encourage equality in harmony; a harmonious citizen body keeps the ship of state afloat just as the harmonious symposiasts are kept at an even keel at a symposium. I also supplement these observations of harmony and community by analyzing stereotypical scenes of the symposium on drinking vessels. This idea is perpetuated by the concept of the *metron*. With regards to the *metron*, I focus on its application for drinking behavior to better understand the group dynamics of the symposium. That is, an individual must drink enough to be a part of the festivities, but not so much that they become overly intoxicated and shift the group's focus onto themselves. I also explore how group characteristics are made stronger by experiencing "the Other," that is, by appropriating characteristics from groups of people that are not male, Greek, or even human. This creates a stronger identity of the in-group by defining what that group is not, namely female, foreign, or satyr.

In Chapter Two, I explore what happens when a symposiast does not follow the rules of the *metron* and drinks too much at a party. I consider the Greek idea of *koros*, a complicated term that means satiety to an excessive point, especially from the perspective of Theognis. I supplement this information with visual images of symposiasts who have become excessively intoxicated, having reached the point of *koros* and beyond. These individuals are depicted as vomiting, defecating, or urinating on the drinking vessels that I analyze; moreover, what is most striking about these images, is that these individuals are almost always in a physically separated space from the rest of the sympotic scene. This selfishness displayed by the individual sets the wine-guzzling symposiast up as one of the *kakoi* that Theognis warns about in his verses. This individual acts against group dynamics and harmony and is therefore acts as a threat against the *polis*. In this chapter, I also explore the

woman as “the Other” and her experience in the sympotic space since she is also depicted urinating in the tondo of a drinking vessel.

While the symposium was a place of pleasure, I conclude my study by considering the omnipresent concern of symposiasts to fit in with the others at the gathering and to follow the social protocols when it came to obeying the *metron*; this is often made explicit through poetic performance and sometimes hinted at with visual representations. If an individual does not act in accordance with the rest of the group, they expose themselves as self-interested and antithetical to the communal group sentiment. This is seen as a potential threat to the conviviality of the sympotic space and, by extension, the *polis*.

CHAPTER ONE: Conviviality and Communal Space in the Symposium

This chapter considers the archaic and classical Greek symposium and its social implications as an aspect of drinking culture. Through their participation, symposiasts could foster relationships that would, on a practical level, accomplish several functions as Hayden claims for feasting:

There are nine basic types of practical benefits that I would suggest occur most commonly. Feasting can: 1. mobilize labor; 2. create cooperative relationships within groups, or conversely, exclude different groups; 3. create cooperative alliances between social groups (including political support between households; 4. invest surpluses and generate profits; 5. attract desirable mates, labor, allies, or wealth exchanges by advertising the success of a group; 6. create political power (control over resources and labor through the creation of a network and reciprocal debts; 7. extract surplus produce from the general populace for elite use; 8. solicit favors; 9. compensate for transgressions.³⁰

On a less obviously pragmatic level, the symposium also had a religious element, in that this convivial affair not only supported human relationships, but it also maintained cosmic order.³¹ Many rituals enacted throughout the symposium demonstrate this religious aspect. The institution of the symposium was especially advantageous for the aristocracy who, at least by the classical period, were the main contributors in this indulgence of poetry, conversation, and drinking. Henderson discusses how essential these sympotic practices were to a community of male citizens:

Analysis of the poetry sung at symposia confirms that the symposion of the early Greek society served as the occasion and place for a group to establish, confirm and communicate its own identity through codes of conduct. Like-minded men gathered to reaffirm their alliances and allegiance.³²

30 Hayden 2001: 29-30. For more on the socio-political factors that drive humans to participate in feasts, see pages 29-35.

31 On the religious aspects of the earliest Greek drinking parties, see Wright 2004: 6. For a thorough discussion of sacrifice, community, and feasting, see Detienne and Vernant 1989.

32 Henderson 1999: 12.

Clearly this was an event held in a physical space that facilitated relationships among the male aristocracy. While the symposium was held in a closed-off domestic space called the *andrōn*, there were still implicit codes of conduct that any citizen would have to learn to navigate in order to keep a position in their particular group of companions.

Specific social conventions governed the sympotic space, as it served as a microcosm of the Greek *polis* encompassing both its community and domestic aspects.³³ These protocols were important for anyone navigating the sympotic space, which was only semi-private as the participant would engage with one's peers, community members, and potential political allies. As such, the symposium is an event that straddles the public and private spheres: although it takes place in one's private *andrōn*, the room in one's household used for hosting such events, the participants would include politically-active citizens.³⁴ Because of its relationship to the *polis*, the symposium acted as a didactic space for proper civic behavior as well as a release valve where one could drink for pleasure, experience "the Other,"³⁵ and carouse with *hetairoi* "companions."

The sympotic space provided a release from what was deemed proper social behavior in the public sphere. For example, it allowed the male citizenry to explore "the Other," including the appropriation of the cultures and personae of the feminine and the foreign.³⁶

³³ For a thorough and in-depth analysis on the multi-dimensional relationship between the Greek polis and feasting as an institution through the Early Iron Age to Imperial Age, see Blok, van den Eijnde, and Strootman (eds.) 2018.

³⁴ In his discussion about the domestic built environment of excavated houses at Olynthus, Cahill 2002: 180 notes that the events occurring in the *andrōn* would be visible, or at least heard, by those passing by on the street.

³⁵ I use the term "the Other" to distinguish anyone that is either not Greek, not male, not aristocratic, or not a citizen of a particular city-state, or any combination of these groups. This is borrowed from Henderson 1999 and Lissarrague 1990a: 11-14 who separately discuss the Greek male citizen's ability to experience "the Other" in the safety of the sympotic space. Dionysus, a god who is often associated with "otherness," is discussed by Seaford 2006: 6-10. For an extensive discussion about the modern reception and interpretation of Dionysus, see Heinrichs 1993.

³⁶ This is analogous to the female bacchanal where women could experience freedoms from strict social expectations in the *polis*. This level of female freedom is, of course, antithetical the polis. In Euripides'

While a male citizen may act only according to male citizen values in the public sphere, he could explore other personae in the sympotic space, within a certain set of agreed-upon boundaries.³⁷ In this chapter, I provide examples of the Greek symposiast playing a role other than the publicly appropriate male citizen. Even though the semi-private space of the symposium allowed men to explore “otherness,” it was only a temporary experience that encouraged group solidarity and reinforced the values of aristocratic men.³⁸ They revert back to their male citizen roles after only just touching upon “the Other.” Even as this activity provided a release from strict social expectations, it also reinforced what is male, aristocratic, and Greek in the sympotic space. Drinking parties also allowed symposiasts to engage in pleasurable pursuits, such as drinking, sex, and games, in a way that would not be appropriate in a public space: that is, it is hard to imagine the formal civic space of the Athenian stoa as a place where some citizens were fornicating and playing *kottabos* while others were politicking.³⁹ However, while the symposium functioned as a safe space to blow off steam, it was also an educative space in that it maintained social harmony and a perceived equality among the guests. Paramount to this equalizing space is drinking etiquette, which I qualify further in the following section of this chapter. This social protocol is best expressed by sympotic poetry, and especially Greek elegy, most famously by Theognis whose

Bacchae, the maenads, female followers of the wine god, leave their homes and duties to worship the god in the mountains – a space that is physically separated from the *polis* (lines 114-119). In this space, the maenads ritualistically chant and dance in frenzied fashion characterized by leaping (lines 155-165). What’s worse is that the wine god does not prevent women from experiencing sexual liberation, a major threat to this patriarchal society (lines 315-316). The most striking feature of the maenads is their animalistic behavior, particularly when Pentheus’ own mother tears him to pieces in a frenzied state of bloodlust with her fellow bacchantes (lines 1114-1152).

³⁷ For a further discussion on the male-citizen’s exploration of different identities at a symposium, particularly the identity of the foreigner through Scythian behavior, see Osborne 2007.

³⁸ For a more general observation of the symposiast’s appropriation of otherness to solidify identity and relations within a group, see Henderson 1999.

³⁹ Kurke 1997 analyzes the relationship between sex and politics at the symposium through the monetization and exchange of hetaerae, female courtesans, between the male elite as a response to a shift to coinage in the late archaic period. Hammer 2007 is highly critical of Kurke’s analysis and provides opposing viewpoints.

eponymous work details how a symposiast ought to behave and how their conduct extends to the socio-political sphere in the *polis*.⁴⁰ While the *Theognidea* is the primary text used for understanding conviviality and proper social behavior during the activity of drinking, my analysis draws from other sympotic works as well, including fragments from Archilochus, Dionysius Chalcus, and Sappho, as well as Anacreon's *Anacreontea*. That poetry and drinking are closely related is expressed in a fragment by the fifth-century Athenian poet, Dionysius Chalcus: ὕμνων οἶνοχοεῖν ἐπιδέξια σοί τε καὶ ἡμῶν, "wine-pour the hymns from left to right for yourself and for us."⁴¹ The hymns are literally "wine-poured" forth from the poet with a compound verb that contains the word for wine, οἶνος. The connection between drinking culture and sympotic poetry is explicit in this example and suggests that the hymns and wine would be passed around from left to right, evoking imagery of the *skolion*.⁴²

In order to create a more holistic picture of community at the symposium, I also look at sympotic images on vessels that would have been used at such events. For the most part, the imagery I analyze comes from the *kylix*, the drinking cup *par excellence*.⁴³ The drinking cup looks like a wide, shallow bowl with an open mouth attached to a long stem with a foot. It often has two-handles, although not always. The drinking cup is often decorated along the exterior body of the vessel as well as the central interior portion called the tondo. This vessel

40 For the most complete and in-depth analysis on Theognis and the relationship between his poetry and the *polis*, see Figueira and Nagy (eds.) 1985. I later discuss Levine 1985, who provides a particularly insightful chapter on the symposium and how it relates to the *polis*. For a general discussion of the *Theognidea*, particularly with regard to archaic elegy, see West 1971. One of the more recent published commentaries and translations for the *Theognidea* is provided in French by Carrière 2003.

41 Dionysius Chalcus fr.4.1, ed. West 1971. All translations are my own unless otherwise noted.

42 The *skolion* is a sympotic song recited by guests who would alternate in participation. For more information on the *skolion* and how it relates to Theognis' poetry, see Collins' chapter "The Attic Skolia, Theognis, and Riddles" (2004: 111-134).

43 For an overview of Greek drinking vessels, see Boardman 2001. For a discussion of sympotic pottery found in an archaeological context, see Lynch 2011. This vessel seems to have been primarily used for the symposium; although, its earlier Late Bronze Age form is associated with extra-domestic cultic activity (see Wright 2004; Stocker and Davis 2004; Romano and Voyatzis 2015).

is ideal for communal drinking as it can hold large amounts of wine, it can be easily passed around and held by its stem or handles, and it can be used to play drinking games such as *kottabos*.⁴⁴ The imagery on these vessels helps to illuminate information missing in the textual evidence about the ideal sympotic experience and vice versa.

In this chapter, I briefly discuss the most basic features of the symposium before exploring how the symposium simulates the *polis* and how it works as a didactic space for the male citizen. This chapter then demonstrates how mastering the *ars bibendi*⁴⁵ was an important quality that mirrored an individual's mastery of civic duty and how these elements tie into the idea about the *metron*, prudent measurement, in reference to drinking wine.⁴⁶ After establishing how one ought to heed the *metron* in order to properly engage in drinking activities, I show how the poet uses their persona and authoritative voice to convey this information. Finally, I discuss women's role at symposia and how their varied levels of participation added to this communal, and largely male, space.

⁴⁴ The drinking game *kottabos* tests a symposiast's accuracy and precision since their goal is to hurl the wine dregs from their drinking cup onto a target. For ancient references to this game, see Atheneus' *Deipnosophistae* 11.478d-e (ed. Kaibel 1965-1966) and Suetonius' *Περὶ παιδιῶν* 4.5 (ed. Taillardat 1967). For archaeological and art historical evidence for this drinking game, see Sparkes 1960, Csapo and Miller 1991, and Scaife 1992.

⁴⁵ The *ars bibendi*, literally "art of drinking," refers to a mastery of drinking culture. Miller 2018 uses this phrase and demonstrates how mastery extends of the *ars bibendi* extends to mastery of the *ars vivendi*, or "art of living," for citizens in his article focused on the moral instruction of Anacreon's verse. In this thesis, I use the term to mean the craft of drinking according to the *metron*. Theognis uses a similar phrase in the *Theognidea*: *πίνειν ἐπισταμένως*, "to drink wisely" in a conditional sentence that contrasts this skill of moderation with excessive indulgence (lines 211-212).

⁴⁶ Levine 1985: 180-182 discusses the sympotic ideals of moderation used throughout the *Theognidea* through specific terminology including *meson* "middle," *metron* "middle," and *meden agan* "nothing excessively." Levine 1985: 181, in his analysis of Theognidean measurement and restraint, states: "Only the *agathoi* know how to keep the *metron* 'measure' in speech and all things, as opposed to the *kakoi*, who chatter excessively." He defines the *metron* as a measurement of all things in life; however, he also notes its important implications when it comes to navigating satiability and excessive behavior, including drinking.

The Quintessential Symposium

Before discussing how the symposium builds community and perpetuates the *status quo* within the *polis*, it is important to briefly adumbrate what this event was like in archaic and classical Greece, with the caveat that this is a description of an idealized sympotic experience: while the symposium in practice evinced essential characteristics, they certainly varied from *polis* to *polis* and even *oikos* to *oikos* discouraging assumptions of complete homogeneity when it comes to sympotic culture. The symposium of archaic and classical Greece, along with all of its complexities and nuances, has received much attention in the past few decades, particularly thanks to the extensive scholarship of Fisher, Murray, Slater, Valavanis and Kourkoumelis, Hobden, and Węcowski.⁴⁷ Essentially, it was an intimate drinking party that involved a small number of guests who would recline on *klinai* “couches” while conversing, reciting poetry, and playing games such as *kottabos*. The drinking party took place in a section of the house called the *andrōn*, the “men’s room” or “man cave,” if you like; however, Cahill discusses the difficulty in ascribing a space’s use to one gender; the idea that the *andrōn* is exclusively used by men on every occasion is largely passed down in the literary tradition through an Athenocentric perspective.⁴⁸ This space would be aligned

47 Fisher 1988 engages in a comparative analysis of the symposium with other ancient Greek clubs. Murray 1990 discusses the many cultural aspects of the archaic and classical Greek symposium through anthropological, archaeological, philosophical, and historical lenses. Slater 1991 offers a general overview of eating and drinking culture throughout the ancient Mediterranean world. Valavanis and Kourkoumelis 1996 discuss the symposium in an archaeological context. Hobden 2013 looks at the symposium as a form of rhetoric, analyzing representations of symposia and performance across different textual genres. Węcowski 2014 endeavors to better define the nebulous term “aristocracy” and the sort of power politics were at play at symposia.

48 Cahill 2002: 180-190 describes the standard features of an *andrōn* in his larger discussion of excavated houses at Olynthus, a site that contains the most archaeologically intact evidence for these drinking rooms. He discusses 34 total *andrōn* rooms that have been excavated at this site alone. Archaeological evidence shows that a standard size *andrōn* would hold seven couches and some houses even have two of these dining rooms. Many these rooms would have been decorated with painted walls, some even with mosaic floors. A typical *andrōn* is separated by the rest of the house through an anteroom, often just as elaborate. Cahill’s 2002: 191-193 most important observation for the purposes of this paper is that, generally speaking, Greek domestic architecture

with *klinai* facing the center of the room so that no seat has precedence over another. It was an arrangement of space that not only encouraged the appearance of equality, but also offered an ideal space for viewing entertainers from equal vantage points. Entertainers including musicians and sex workers would be present, as well as slaves who would tend to the needs of the symposiasts in every imaginable manner. Moreover, the built environment of the symposium also encouraged participants' engagement in different kinds of competitive performance, including poetry recitation or game-playing, which slightly undermines the egalitarian nature of the event. The symposiasts would start on equal footing at the beginning of the event, but as the night progresses, certain symposiasts would stand out through their poetic and game-playing capabilities. The symposium, on the whole, was a community-oriented space that provided a level playing field for participants.

The symposium, like many other celebrations throughout the Greek world, had religious overtones.⁴⁹ For example, the symposiarch would lead an inaugural toast and chant *ἀγαθοῦ δαίμονος*.⁵⁰ The first drink of wine was not mixed with water and it served as a religious libation: perhaps this undiluted pour marks unmixed wine, that is, wine in its purest form, as only being appropriate for the gods while men could only handle a diluted version. After all, we know what happens when the followers of Dionysus overindulge in wine; his maenads rage in a frenzy that is opposed to civic values in every way. Not only are the maenads women, but they are also wild, uncivilized, and uncontrollable. Dionysus, with his association with wine and revelry, enjoys a constant presence in sympotic poetry and pottery,

does not seem to be divided into spaces for men and women, for example, with an *andrōn* and *gunaikeion* respectively. For further discussion on archaeological evidence for the symposium, see Nevett 2010.

49 For a thorough discussion on Dionysus and his association with wine, see Anghelina 2017. See Detienne and Vernant 1989 for a discourse on sacrifice, community, and feasting in the ancient Greek world.

50 For example, there is an inaugural shot of unmixed wine made to the *ἀγαθοῦ δαίμονος*, which is described in multiple places in Aristophanes' works (*Kn.* 85 and *Wasps* 525) and Plutarch (*Quaes. Conv.* 735d-e).

and could be invoked at the start of the symposium. For example, the poet-philosopher Xenophanes demonstrates how a drinking party should be initiated with divine engagement in these archaic verses (fr. B1, lines 13-16, ed. West 1971):

*χρῆ δὲ πρῶτον μὲν θεὸν ὑμνεῖν εὐφρονας ἄνδρας
εὐφήμοις μύθοις καὶ καθαροῖσι λόγοις,
σπεύσαντάς τε καὶ εὐζαμένους τὰ δίκαια δύνασθαι
πρήσσειν' ...*

It is necessary that cheerful men first sing praise to the god
with good-omened speeches and pure words,
after they have made libations and prayed that they are able to achieve the things
that are just...

This fragment demonstrates the god's omnipresence, not only within the drinking party itself, but also within the participants' abilities to accomplish just things (*τὰ δίκαια*, line 15). The *δίκαια* are translated as "things that are just," and it is a term that holds significant value in a civic context that can also refer to civilized customs or those who observe what is socially right.⁵¹ Notably, forms of the adjective *δίκαιος* or the noun *δίκη* are ubiquitous throughout the *Theognidea* to signify what a good male citizen, or an *agathos*, ought to seek or become.⁵² Just after Xenophanes declares this duty entrusted to symposiasts, he tells us that drunkenness is not an outrage or divine violation⁵³ so long as a symposiast can make his way home without an attendant (lines 17-18). Xenophanes goes on to say (fr. B1.19-23):⁵⁴

*ἀνδρῶν δ' αἰνεῖν τοῦτον ὃς ἐσθλὰ πίων ἀναφαίνη,
ὥς οἱ μνημοσύνη καὶ τόνος ἀμφ' ἀρετῆς,
οὗ τι μάχας διέπειν Τιτήνων οὐδὲ Γιγάντων
οὐδὲ < > Κενταύρων, πλάσμα <τα> τῶν προτέρων,
ἢ στάσιας σφεδανάς· τοῖς οὐδὲν χρηστὸν ἔνεστιν ·*

⁵¹ See the *LSJ* entry for *δίκαιος*.

⁵² See lines 29 (*ἔργμασι... ἀδίκωσιν*), 45, 54, 132, 146 (*ἀδίκως*), 147-148, 197, 199 (*ἀδίκως*), 200, 207, 255, 268, 279, 292, 313-314, 330, 378, 380 (*ἀδίκωσιν ἔργμασι*), 385, 395, 465, 543-544, 547, 688, 737-739, 743-746, 749 (*ἀδίκως*), 751, 753, 793, 899-900, 938, 948 (*ἀδίκωσιν ἀνδράσι*), 1121, 1139, 1147 (*ἀδίκων ἀνδρῶν*) in Book 1 of Theognis' elegies, for example. Theognis advises his audience to avoid certain types of behavior, particularly in terms of *dikē* and its privative forms.

⁵³ Xenophanes uses the term *ἄβρις* (line 17).

⁵⁴ This translation is based on the emendations suggested by Lesher 1992.

Praise that one of men, whoever after drinking reveals good things,
 as there is for him memory and energy concerned about excellence.
 Do not discuss at all the battles of Titans nor of Giants
 nor even of Centaurs, the fictions of earlier men,
 nor violent discord. In these things there is nothing useful.

A noble man is concerned about his religious and civic duties; he drinks an appropriate amount so that he can exhibit his excellence (*ἀρετή*, line 20). He will not discuss topics that are antithetical to the sympotic and civic spirit, including discordant and violent battles (lines 21-22). Values, such as *δίκη* and *ἀρετή*, expressed by an individual's reverence for the gods and the *polis*, are expected to be demonstrated by the symposiasts. The drinking party ultimately reflects the values of the "noble men," the *agathoi* that Theognis thinks all young men should model themselves after.⁵⁵ Lowell Edmunds best expresses the meaning of *ἀρετή*, a typically epic trait, in the elegiac context of the *Theognidea* by considering a fragment of Xenophanes.⁵⁶ Edmunds notes that, in elegy, the poet retains the power of providing *mnēmosunē*, or remembrance, to whomever they choose and that Xenophanes and Theognis frame themselves as creating something useful (*χρηστόν*, line 23). This usefulness extends from the symposium to the polis; Theognis uses this same term in explaining how a usefulness can benefit himself, his friends, and his polis.⁵⁷ The genuine things (*ἐσθλά*, line 20) discussed by the man drinking allows there to be both a remembrance and an exertion over *ἀρετή*; this remembrance is extended to an *agathos* in the *Theognidea*: *Τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς*

55 See Cobb-Stevens, Figueira, and Nagy 1985: 7 who discuss the educating function of Theognis' poetry for young boys who are first learning their responsibilities in civic, sympotic, and erotic spaces. The men who hold values in opposition to the noble *agathoi* are the *kakoi*, the "base men."

56 Edmunds 1985 evaluates the genre of Theognidean elegy and how it distinguishes itself from Homeric epic in terms of poetic authority.

57 Edmunds 1985: 98. Aristophanes offers a comic version of a person's usefulness in relation to drinking in *Knights*. The slave Demosthenes suggests that they should drink the wine neat (*ἄκρατον οἶνον*, line 85) and follows this suggestion by saying (line 86): *Ἴσως γὰρ ἂν χρηστόν τι βουλευσαίμεθα*, "Perhaps we may think up something useful." His companion, the slave Nikias, asks in reply (line 88): *Πῶς δ' ἂν μεθύων χρηστόν τι βουλεύσαιτ' ἀνὴρ*, "How could a drunk man think up anything useful?"

ἄλλος μάλα μέμφεται, ἄλλος ἐπαινεῖ, τῶν δὲ κακῶν μνήμη γίνεται οὐδεμία, “One man vehemently blames the *agathoi* [noble] another praises them; but of the *kakoi* [base] there is no *mnēmē* [remembrance] at all.”⁵⁸ The noble men are the recipients of *mnēmosunē* from the elegiac poet, instead of the epic hero.

This system of noble excellence and memory operates within the masculine sphere; the *agathoi* themselves are noble men. However, even though the term *andrōn* and the value system of the symposium are primarily catered to the male citizen, there is evidence that women participated as musicians, poets, *hetairai*, *pornai*, and attendants. A large amount of textual, art historical, and archaeological evidence for the symposium helps to portray a picture of what one would experience during such an event. I later discuss the role of non-males and non-citizens, particularly women, at a symposium and what their presence contributed in a convivial space.

The drinking itself was naturally an important part of the symposium. Before the wine was consumed by participants, it was mixed with water in varying proportions. Anacreon describes a mixture of ten parts water to five parts wine or a 2:1 ratio (356 *PMG*) and elsewhere a 5:3 ratio (409 *PMG*), while Alcaeus recommends one part water to two parts wine in a strong 1:2 ratio (346.4n). The number of cups consumed is just as important as the ratio as the comic poet Eubulus illustrates: *τρεις γὰρ μόνους κρατῆρας ἐγκεραννύω // τοῖς εὖ φρονοῦσι*. “I prepare only three *kraters* for sensible men.”⁵⁹ The drinkers were expected to abide by the rules of the *metron*, drinking in restrained measurement, so that they may imbibe enough to enjoy a collective experience but not so much that they risk turning

58 This translation is from Edmunds 1985: 98.

59 Eubulus, *fr.* 94 1-2, ed. Kock 1886.

something shared into a selfish endeavor.⁶⁰ Whatever the appropriate ratio and number of cups is, it is clear that sympotic custom is concerned with the level of alcohol consumption. One ought to consume at least some amount, three *kraters* according to Eubulus, but nothing neat after the inaugural toast to the god or excessive.

The textual evidence certainly demonstrates expected behaviors at a drinking party, but the art historical evidence helps fill in some gaps as to what a proper symposium would look like. Countless sympotic scenes decorate drinking vessels. Lissarrague, Mitchell, and Topper provide a comprehensive analysis of metasympotic imagery — that is, sympotic scenes that appear on vessels that would be used at a drinking party.⁶¹ A common scene includes men reclining on *klinai* on the exterior body of drinking cups — some participants are drinking, some participants are listening to music or playing *kottabos*. Whatever the activity, one common element remains in this visual imagery: the participants are in a group setting and all of the activities are communal.

The archaeological evidence supplements the textual and art historical information by showing where a symposium occurred in a domestic space and what the built environment actually looked like in one of these spaces, such as the *andrōn*. Since discussions about how to identify feasting and drinking events in the archaeological record are ongoing,⁶² few archaeological assemblages are definitively labeled as such. Only a few archaeological sites exist that indicate an ancient Greek drinking party took place. Lynch has extensively

60 The issues that arise when someone forgoes this social protocol is discussed in Chapter Two.

61 Lissarrague 1990a, relying on a heavily iconographical approach, provides an in-depth understanding of sympotic images meant for an Athenian consumer of the 6th and 5th centuries BCE. Topper 2012 reevaluates the imagery on sympotic vessels of the 6th and 5th centuries BCE by focusing on the relationship between the polis, community, and the symposium. Mitchell 2009 published an in-depth analysis of humor in Greek vase-painting, including that which is found in over-intoxication; however, this analysis does not fully explore the social implications of open drunkenness in a Classical Greek polis or the meaningful interaction between the reveler and his own representation on the vessel from which he drinks.

62 For further discussion, see Dietler and Hayden 2001.

published on one of these archaeological sites situated in a domestic context in Athens, which includes a well filled with sympotic trash, including drinking and serving vessels.⁶³ This deposit of sympotic vessels, which dates to the transition from the archaic to the classical period around the time of the Persian destruction of the city in 480 BCE, shows the types of drinking cups that were in use at this time. This site, as well as the previously mentioned sympotic spaces at Olynthus, demonstrates a potential domestic context for many of the decorated vessels; this, in turn, shows that the images I analyze would have been seen and used in a Greek house party.

The Symposium as an Educating Institution for the *Polis*

The symposium is an institution that is closely linked to the Athenian *polis* through art historical, archaeological, and later textual evidence available to us (especially through classical comic playwrights and poets, such as Aristophanes and Eubulus); however, the symposium was well-established by the archaic period, well before Athens switched to a democratic political system. How then, does the symposium mirror a political system that is anything but static? Can we confidently say that sympotic practice was just as static and that the older, archaic customs developed during non-democratic systems were just as effective at perpetuating a certain *status quo* in the democratic classical period? Did symposia follow a similar structure in other city-states? What do we mean when we say the symposium mirrored a *polis* and what political systems is it drawing from?

⁶³ Lynch 2011.

Scholars continue to disagree about the nature of the symposium-*polis* relationship. Nagy and Levine note a reciprocal relationship between the symposium and the *polis*,⁶⁴ while other scholars such as Murray and Kurke see the symposium as anti-*polis* and in opposition to the city-state's ideals, primarily in the context of socially acceptable behavior.⁶⁵ I agree with Nagy and Levine's stance that the symposium, as an institution perpetuated by an elite group working within the political system, is pro-*polis* and functions to ultimately preserve the *status quo*. Ultimately, it is an event that caters to the elite male citizen, those who hold power and control in the *polis*. The *polis* is the entity that maintains and establishes the power of citizens and the aristocracy and it would be expected that the same people who are kept in power by the *polis*' institutions would have a private space in which they reaffirm their validity, especially one that forms stronger bonds within the same community.

Taking an anti-*polis* stance in this debate, Murray argues that the symposium was a private and ritualized space that worked as a type of release valve for citizens in a way that opposed the normal and public conventions of the city-state.⁶⁶ Kurke puts forth similar arguments that the symposium is inherently "anti-city" in her discussion of the *hetaira* as a commodity working outside of the public sphere.⁶⁷ One of the main arguments for this anti-*polis* stance is that symposiasts shy away from social norms by engaging in unconventional practices, for example, by appropriating "the Other." Yet, the symposium does maintain a level of decorum and social protocol and one must not subvert these practices and

64 Nagy 1985: 22-81 demonstrates the strong connection between *polis* and Theognis' concern to keep the aristocracy composed of good men as demonstrated through his sympotic elegies, while Levine 1985: 176-196 shows how the symposium is a microcosm of the city-state through his analysis of the *Theognidea*.

65 Murray 1990 and Kurke 1997 have both noted that the sympotic space is somewhere a male citizen engage in behavior that would be considered socially unacceptable in a more public space, such as engaging in excessive drinking, sexual encounters, and appropriating the traits from "the Other."

66 See Murray 1990: 7.

67 For more on the role of the *hetaira*, see Kurke 1997: 112.

compromise themselves for fear of exclusion, particularly with drinking excessive amounts of alcohol, the metric used for social behavior in this paper. Moreover, one of the reasons that these male symposiasts are allowed to explore “the Other” is because the secure position affords them this privilege. Elite males can explore a feminine or foreign voice in poetry, but, at least in archaic and classical Greek society, the reverse is not acceptable.

Bowie agrees that the symposium was anti-*polis* and that the *metron* was not, in fact, actually practiced at symposia, but that it was only an unachievable ideal. Before he discusses the function of coded sympotic behavior as a moral compass for the characters and general predictor of how situations may play out in Aristophanic comedies, Bowie states:⁶⁸

It is as if the natural state of a peaceful and ordered world is an ordered symposium, and the status of characters is indicated through the morality enshrined in sympotic practice: the criterion for judgement is an idealized sympotic practice of balance and restraint, obviously was not reflected in all actual symposia.

Bowie discusses this disparity between what is real and what is represented in the context of how symposia are represented in Aristophanic comedy, which presents a normative sympotic ideal through a populist lens. In order to understand the dynamics in this symposium-*polis* relationship, it is necessary to look at sympotic poetry, such as Theognis. Bowie’s analysis is solely focused on comedy; he does not consider works that would have been performed at a symposium and that challenge this view. Comedy may be useful for studying sympotic values and traditions; however, it involves a major caveat that comedy may present information in an overly embellished fashion. That is why it is important to supplement the portrayal of the symposium in comedy along with its portrayal in lyric and elegy.⁶⁹

⁶⁸ Bowie 1997: 4.

⁶⁹ I supplement my analysis of sympotic poetry with information from comedic poets and playwrights, including Eubulus and Aristophanes, particularly in my analysis of excessive intoxication in Chapter Two.

Theognis an elegiac poet whose eponymous work, the *Theognidea*, was written from 640 to 479 BCE, exemplifies the relationship between the *polis* and the symposium.⁷⁰ Much of his poetry dates to the archaic period with nebulous references to the political situation in Megara and the tyrant Theagenes (lines 29-52) and war in Euboea, but some of the poems date to the early classical period with references to the Persian War (lines 773-782). This long elegiac poem is typically divided into two books; the first book's themes focus on the relationship between the symposium and polis while the second book shifts to more erotic content.⁷¹ Theognis was from Megara, or at least a Megarian colony in Sicily named Megara Hyblea. Even though the dialect in Megara was Doric, Theognis used the Ionic dialect to compose his elegiac verses, since it was the well-established dialect for elegiac poetry. This has the effect of making the *Theognidea* a more pan-Hellenic piece with conventional language that allows for a wider acceptance throughout the Greek world.⁷² This convention and dissemination of elegy in the archaic period demonstrates common themes and sentiments about the symposium in the texts. Thus, it appears that multiple *poleis* could use the symposium as a place to reinforce codes of behavior that are valuable to the state, whether that be Megara, a colony in Sicily, Athens, or a city-state in Ionia. It should also be

70 The *Theognidea*'s date range from 640-479 BCE clearly transcends the viable living age range of humans. Cobb-Stevens, Figueira, and Nagy 1985:1 allude to more than one poet and note that ancient tradition places Theognis as a living poet in the mid-sixth century BCE. The other poets who worked on the *Theognidea* would have been using Theognis' name because it is a persona that has certain attributes and ideals about sympotic behavior attached to it.

71 This is how the *Theognidea* has been passed down through the manuscript tradition, although West 1974: 43-45 and Lewis 1985: 197 suspect that this arrangement was due to later editing.

72 Cobb-Stevens, Figueira, and Nagy 1985: 4-5 discuss Theognis' use of the Ionic dialect rather than his native Doric dialect and the implications of this choice. The Ionic dialect is conventionally used for elegiac poetry and the genre of elegy is often concerned with sympotic themes. However, other genres, particularly lyric poetry, have sympotic themes but are written in the author's native dialect. For example, the lyric poets Alcaeus and Sappho used their native Aeolic dialect.

noted that, while the Ionic dialect is used for Theognis' elegies and Anacreon's lyric verses, not all sympotic poets wrote in this dialect.

The performative elements in Theognis' verses, as well as the sympotic content, suggest that they would be appropriately performed at a symposium. For example, the structure of these elegiac verses allows symposiasts to recite them and even alternate performances with other symposiasts jumping in to participate in a capping contest when the poem suggests they should jump in.⁷³ Theognis includes a witty capping session in lines 939-944. In this section, two symposiasts refuse to perform, which is of course an ironic performance of their denial since they are refusing to sing elegy in elegiac couplets. A third symposiast finally obliges the request for a performance. Perhaps this was acted out in a symposium by three guests reciting the parts of Theognis' symposiasts.⁷⁴ This participatory aspect involving citizens makes the *Theognidea's* ideal platform, the symposium, a perfect place to discuss matters of the state, particularly what kind of character should be involved in running it, that is, the *agathoi*.

In the *Theognidea*, the poet is concerned with the state of the *polis* since much of the older aristocracy has been replaced with a new crop of rustic town folk. Theognis warns his addressee Kyrnos, a young aristocrat, not to make the townspeople his friends and to only pretend to be cordial since they do not have a noble value system and are deceitful and treacherous (lines 53-68). This newly developed political turmoil is alluded to when

73 West 1974: 16-17 discusses the performative aspect of capping or "clapping back" for which elegiac verses are appropriate; and Budelmann and Power 2013 discuss the dynamic nature of elegiac performance. See Collins 2004 for an extensive and thorough examination of "capping" as a competitive game in the performance of Greek poetry. For a specific analysis of the *Theognidea* and this game as it relates to the tradition of the skolion, a sympotic song in which guests participated in turn, see Collins' chapter "The Attic Skolia, Theognis, and Riddles" (2004: 111-134).

74 Budelmann and Power 2013: 7 flirt with this attractive idea, which was originally proposed by Vetta 1984 as a *catena simposiale*.

Theognis describes false and treacherous “friends” (lines 91-100). These base and crude men are particularly destructive because they have desire that cannot be satiated and are thus driven to excess (line 109). In fact, Theognis goes on to say that these men only care about stealing their friends’ food and drink a few lines later (lines 115-116): *Πολλοί τοι πόσιος καὶ βρώσιός εἰσιν ἑταῖροι, // ἐν δὲ σπουδαίῳ πρήγματι πανρότεροι*, “Certainly many are the companions of meat and drink, but they are fewer in serious matters.”⁷⁵ Rather than being *hetairoi* to their comrades, they are *hetairoi* to their stomachs.

At the beginning of the *Theognidea*, Theognis warns the young Kyrnos about bad and duplicitous friends. Kyrnos is told that he must be instructed by Theognis so that he may live a life that is wise, striving for honor, excellence, and wealth. This work’s educational function is explicitly stated by the poet to Kyrnos, who seems to be in a pederastic relationship with Theognis and receives instruction throughout the *Theognidea* (lines 27-30):⁷⁶

σοὶ δ' ἐγὼ εὖ φρονέων ὑποθήσομαι, οἷάπερ αὐτός,
 Κύρν', ἀπὸ τῶν ἀγαθῶν παῖς ἔτ' ἐὼν ἔμαθον·
 πέπνυσο, μηδ' αἰσχροῖσιν ἐπ' ἔργμασι μηδ' ἀδίκοισιν
 τιμὰς μηδ' ἀρετὰς ἔλκεο μηδ' ἄφενος.

I being well-minded advise you the sort of things that I myself,
 Kyrnos, learned from good men when I was still a child.
 Be wise, do not drag honor, excellence, or wealth
 into shameful or unjust deeds.

These particular verses are characteristic of a *paideia*, or a form of instruction, meant to educate the young men who attend the symposium so that they may become properly functioning citizens. The *Theognidea* is a type of *paideia* that teaches through its instruction

⁷⁵ This and following passages of the *Theognidea* are as they appear in Young 1971.

⁷⁶ For more on pederasty's educative role among soon-to-be citizens in the *Theognidea*, see Lewis 1985.

to Kyrnos.⁷⁷ The imperative verb *πέπνυσο* “be wise” from the verb *πέπνυμαι*, can also be translated as “to be in full possession of one’s faculties” according to the *LSJ*.⁷⁸ In this specific passage, the term may imply that one should also stay reasonably sober, since this is the only way to truly be wise. The *agathoi* are characterized by their wisdom: *ταῦτά μοι ἠνίχθω κεκρυμμένα τοῖσ' ἀγαθοῖσιν // γινώσκει δ' ἄν τις καὶ κακόν, ἄν σοφὸς ᾗ*. “Let these things be riddles, concealed by me for the *agathoi*, for one could know something base, if one is wise” (lines 681-680). Drinking excessive wine is a trait of the *kakoi*, not the wise *agathoi* who drink expertly: *Οἴνόν τοι πίνειν πουλὸν κακόν· ἦν δέ τις αὐτόν // πίνῃ ἐπισταμένως, οὐ κακός, ἀλλ' ἀγαθός*, “You see, to drink excessive wine is bad, but if someone drinks skillfully, he is not base, but noble” (lines 211-212). The social expectations that were fostered in the symposium were also important for the *polis* to run smoothly. This observation is noted by Levine: “Political and social cohesion are stressed at the beginning of the *Theognidea*, one of the main themes of which is the importance of a well-ordered and proper *polis*.”⁷⁹ The voice of Theognis giving instructions to Kyrnos and the didactic voices of other archaic and classical sympotic poets were important for a new crop of youths coming into the political system.⁸⁰

77 See Levine 1985: 89 for a discussion of the symposium as a reflection of the *polis* in its shared values in educating the citizen.

78 The verb *πέπνυμαι* is only used once in the *Theognidea*. It appears in *Odyssey* iii when Telemachus makes a libation to Athena who had reassured his uncertainty of whether it is appropriate to ask Nestor about his father’s whereabouts (lines 51-52). This verb also appears to have this meaning in *Odyssey* x in a description of the dead seer Tiresius (line 495): *τῷ καὶ τεθνηῶτι νόον πόρε Περσεφόνηα οἴῳ πεπνῦσθαι*, “Persephone granted to him alone to have possession of his mental faculties although he is dead.”

79 Levine 1985: 177.

80 Ford 1985: 89 demonstrates the importance of *paideia* for young boys raised with the traditional values of the *polis*. He maintains that the *Theognidea* helped codify perpetuate the values of the Greek aristocracy, particularly through Theognis’ seal and authoritative voice. Not only does Theognis, an *agathos* himself, seek to educate the new crop of *agathoi*, represented through Kyrnos, but Theognis also says that he learned these values from other *agathoi* when he was a boy (lines 27-28). This makes Theognis an authoritative voice that perpetuates a long-standing tradition. I discuss the importance of authority in a poetic persona later in this chapter (see “Authoritative Voices in Poetry”).

Levine lists four ways in which the symposium parallels and supports the *polis*: education, moderation and order, cunning, and utopia.⁸¹ The utopia category involves a process in which an individual constantly seeks gratification, enjoyment, and harmony. In this way, as Levine notes, “the symposium reflects and parallels a longing for peace and stability in an equitable polity.”⁸² The symposium touts equality for its participating companions, or *hetairoi*, yet it is still hierarchical in that there it has a *symposiarch* “leader of the symposium,” or the roughly synonymous term *basileus* “king.”⁸³ With this vertical structure, the symposium takes on the contours of the *polis* where the younger participants would implicitly learn how to become functional citizens to perpetuate a proper working *polis*. The symposium perpetuates a respect for the order of a socially stratified *polis*; this is an aristocratic, rather than democratic, space and not all aristocratic participants are created equal. This dynamic can be seen throughout the *Theognidea* in the young Kyrnos’ sympotic education of becoming one of the *agathoi* “noble men” rather than the *kakoi* “base men” who are still considered members of the aristocratic system.

Even though some individuals held more prominence in the symposium, there certainly are communal and egalitarian aspects of the symposium. There is even a possible etymological connection between the term *kōmos* “revelry” and the term for town, *kōmē*, which may indicate its more communal values.⁸⁴ The space in which the symposium took place, the *andrōn*, is set up in such a way that encourages equality in the built environment. As noted above, the couches on which symposiasts would recline were arranged around the room; no spot took precedence. Lissarrague notes that each space encouraged reciprocal

81 Levine 1985: 177-178.

82 Levine 1985: 178.

83 See Levine 1985: 176 note 1n1 on similar titles used for the *polis* and the symposium.

84 Levine 1985: 177. Beekes 2010 is hesitant to draw any relation between *kōmos* and *kōmē*.

conversation and equal visibility through sightlines.⁸⁵ This equality and availability to talk to each symposiast from one point is mentioned by Theognis as well (lines 495-496): *εἰς τὸ μέσον φωνεῖντες ὁμῶς ἐνὶ καὶ συνάπασιν // χούτως συμπόσιον γίνεται οὐκ ἄχαρι*, “speaking towards the middle all the same to one and all; in this way a symposium becomes not an ungracious affair.” The sympotic space also encouraged the participants to observe everyone else’s conduct and behavior with each individual working together to keep the *status quo* afloat, in much the same way the proverbial ship of state concept demonstrates, which will be discussed later.

This equality is also suggested through visual images of the symposium on drinking vessels. These vessels, most typically drinking cups that would be used at such convivial events, depict the participants engaging in proper behavior and taking up equal amounts of space; no symposiast is shown to have more importance than the rest. On an archaic Attic black-figure drinking cup, a typical sympotic scene unfolds along the exterior body of the vessel: men are depicted standing around conversing with each other while others recline on *klinai* (Fig. 1).⁸⁶ Like many similar sympotic scenes on other drinking cups, not a single figure draws the eye more than the others, as each one takes up the same amount of space on the exterior of the drinking cup; while the prominent visual space in the interior of the vessel, the tondo, is decorated with a sphinx rather than a human figure. On a later Attic red-figure *kalos* cup, male youths recline, converse, and play *kottabos* along the exterior of the body while one youth carries a shield and helmet in the tondo of the vessel: the central image

⁸⁵ Lissarrague 1990a: 19-20.

⁸⁶ Pottery described in this thesis are cited as they are in the Beazley Archive Pottery Database unless otherwise noted. This is an Attic black-figure Siana cup dating between 575-525 BCE (BA 369).

perhaps reinforces the martial values of the elite (Fig. 2).⁸⁷ These drinking cups exemplify how the visual sympotic motifs are maintained from the archaic period through the classical period; convivial scenes with companions reclining, drinking, conversing, and playing *kottabos* are ubiquitous.⁸⁸ Everyone who is part of a healthy symposium is participating and engaging in communal activities with one another. The failure to participate with other symposiasts is marked and criticized as a form of hubris. Theognis connects this undesirable characteristic to that of the self-indulging centaurs: *Δειμαίνω, μὴ τήνδε πόλιν, Πολυπαΐδη, ὕβρις // ἧ περ Κενταύρους ὠμοφάγους ὄλεσεν*, “I am afraid, son of Polypaos, that hubris [will destroy] this city, the very one which destroyed the raw flesh-eating centaurs” (lines 541-542). It is this expression of a poor and self-serving attitude that leads to a type of hubris in the symposium, and it is hubris that ultimately destroys the *polis*.⁸⁹

Many of the previously described sympotic scenes naturally appear on vessels that would be used for a drinking party. The previous examples were on drinking cups, or *kylikes*, which come in slightly different styles (e.g. A cups, B cups, master cups, Siana cups, etc.) but have a general shape that includes an open mouth, long stem, foot, and usually two handles. As mentioned above, the form of the vessel is meant to be used in communal events.⁹⁰ It can be easily passed around by its stem and handles, its body can hold a large amount of liquid with an open mouth that makes it easy for drinking, and its body is itself a performative space much like the larger symposium. By “performative space” I mean that

87 This Attic red-figure *kalos* cup is dedicated to someone named Lysis. It is classified as a Cup B type and dates between 500-450 BCE. It has an inscription that reads *Λυσις καλος* above the heads of the reclining youths (BA 1926).

88 For other examples of this typical symposiastic imagery on drinking cups, see BA 1926, BA 7136, BA 203491, BA 203574, BA 203720, BA 203727, BA 203844, and BA 204352. For similar scenes on *kraters*, see BA 14125, BA 31968, BA 202643, and BA 206168.

89 Centaurs are known for their inability to drink moderately in Greek mythology. Excessive inebriation caused their destruction after they attempted to molest human women at a wedding (Gantz 1993: 277-282).

90 See Boardman 2001 and Lissarrague 1990a.

interaction with the drinking cup is much more dynamic and nuanced than simply drinking from it; as a participant drinks wine from the cup, an image slowly reveals itself in the tondo. The drinking cup is also used for friendly competition in the game of *kottabos* when symposiasts try to launch the dregs of their wine at targets from the drinking cup.⁹¹

Considering the amount of textual and visual evidence that lauds practiced restraint, which of course means a different level of sobriety to an ancient Greek than it would to our modern sensibilities, the symposium was a space in which to showcase one's decorum, not only through skilled recitations of poetry or coordination through slinging wine lees at a target, but also by maintaining a level of intoxication that enhances communal participation.⁹² Levine demonstrates the importance symposium in harmony: "In the poems of the *Theognidea* there is an atmosphere pervaded by a longing for peace in the polis in order that the pleasures of reveling can be enjoyed."⁹³ It only takes one person to upset the harmony of a symposium, but they may face consequences for not adhering to this social drinking etiquette.⁹⁴

Symposium and the Metrics of Good Behavior

In this section, I discuss the rule of measured restraint, the *metron*, in the context of drinking alcohol and why it is important for a symposiast to follow this precept. As previously mentioned, the *andrōn* was a performative space that encouraged equality and

91 As previously mentioned, for ancient references to this game see Athaneaus' *Deipnosophistae* 11.478d-e and Suetonius' *Περὶ παιδιῶν* 4.5. For archaeological and art historical evidence for this drinking game, see Sparkes 1960, Csapo and Miller 1991, and Scaife 1992. See also Lissarrague's discussion of games at the symposium (1990a: 80-86).

92 Lissarrague 1990a: 72.

93 Levine 1985: 190.

94 I discuss excessive intoxication and how it is disruptive to the sympotic community and civic values in Chapter Two.

accountability. It was also a space in which verses were recited, including those of Theognis and Anacreon. The elegiac poetry of Theognis was as entertaining as it was didactic, instructing symposiasts to observe the rules of *metron*. When a symposiast seeks unmeasured and complete satiety, his actions are underscored with selfish hubris. Theognis discusses the relationship between the *metron* and *koros*, or satiety beyond what one needs: *Πολλούς τοι κόρος ἄνδρας ἀπόλεσεν ἀφραίνοντας // γνῶναι γὰρ χαλεπὸν μέτρον, ὅτ' ἐσθλὰ παρήι,* “Satiety, you know, destroys many men who act foolishly. For, it’s difficult to recognize the *metron* when there are good times at hand” (lines 693-694). These verses demonstrate the concept of the *metron* well. It is destructive behavior for one to have their fill to the point of excess and the sympotic atmosphere makes it difficult for one to practice restraint, especially while others are drinking. Earlier, he states: *Τίττει τοι κόρος ὕβριν, ὅταν κακῶι ὄλβος ἔπηται // ἀνθρώπωι καὶ ὅτωι μὴ νόος ἄρτιος ἦι,* “Indeed, satiety gives birth to hubris, whenever happiness follows after a base man and whenever his mind is not sound” (lines 153-154). This passage conveys a similar sentiment as that in lines 693-694, but it also shows that one who fails to practice the *metron* proves himself to be a base man whenever he does not pursue happiness (*ὄλβος*, line 153) within the bounds of moderation. Poverty, or *πενίη*, is the complete opposite of satiety and desire, but is no true antidote against *koros* and *hubris* because it makes a man unable to accomplish anything effectively: *καὶ γὰρ ἀνήρ πενίηι δεδμημένος οὔτε τι εἶπεῖν // οὔθ' ἔρξαι δύναται, γλῶσσα δέ οἱ δέδεταί,* “For surely a man who is overpowered by poverty is not able to say nor do anything, but his tongue is bound by it” (lines 177-178). Theognis continues a few lines later (lines 181-182): *τεθνάμεναι, φίλε Κύρνε, πενιχρῶι βέλτερον ἀνδρὶ // ἢ ζῶειν χαλεπῆι τειρόμενον πενίηι,* “It is better, dear Kyrnos, for a poor man to die than to live when he has been worn down by oppressive poverty.” A man

must neither be excessively wealthy, nor poor. In fact, the *agathoi* have been mixing with the *kakoi* in marriage in search of more wealth from a *nouveau riche* class and consequently diluting the bloodlines of those with noble ancestry (lines 183-192).

When it comes to wine, Theognis believes it best to drink in moderation: *Οἶνόν τοι πίνειν πουλὸν κακόν· ἦν δέ τις αὐτόν // πίνῃ ἐπισταμένως, οὐ κακός, ἀλλ' ἀγαθός*, “Indeed, drinking too much wine is bad, but if someone were to drink it wisely, he is not base, but noble” (lines 211-212). Here, *πίνῃ ἐπισταμένως*, “drinking skillfully” or “wisely,” is contrasted with *οἶνόν ... πίνειν πουλὸν*, “drinking too much wine.” Theognis once again urges Kyrnos, and by extension any drinker listening to this verse, to keep measured restraint at the symposium. Kyrnos is instructed to take the middle road, not only with regards to drinking, but in other difficult situations (lines 219-220). This allows a guest to enjoy the symposium without marking himself as a base and excessive man. After all, Theognis constantly warns the symposiasts about excessive satiety as expressed by *koros*. However, there is another reason why one should not drink too much wine, and that is in the interest of observing the other men and keeping one’s wits sharp so as to identify who is one of the *agathoi* and who is one of the *kakoi* (lines 309-314, ed. West 1971):

*Ἐν μὲν συσσίτοισιν ἀνὴρ πεπνυμένος εἶναι.
 πάντα δέ μιν λήθειν ὡς ἀπεόντα δοκοῖ.
 εἰς δὲ φέροι τὰ γελοῖα· θύρηφιν καρτερὸς εἶη,
 γινώσκων ὀργὴν ἦντιν' ἕκαστος ἔχει.
 ἐν μὲν μαινομένοις μάλα μαίνομαι, ἐν δὲ δικαίοις
 πάντων ἀνθρώπων εἰμὶ δικαιοτάτος.*

On the one hand, a man should be level-headed with his dining companions,
 but let all things seem to escape his notice just as if he were absent,
 and let him bear laughter inside. When he is outside, let him be powerful
 knowing the temperament which each person has.

Among those raving, I rave very much, but among those who are observant of custom
 of all men I am the most observant of custom.

In this section, Theognis describes appropriate conduct at a communal meal (literally *ἐν συσσίτοισιν*, line 309) by distinguishing what kind of behavior is appropriate for an individual at this event, both within the space of the *andrōn* and the outside of it. The dichotomy between public and private in these verses is complex, much like the physical sympotic space. In this passage, Theognis encourages his companions to be *πεπνυμένος*, or “levelheaded” (line 309), at the party while not revealing his innermost thoughts (lines 310-11) and remaining strong outside with the knowledge of every other participant’s character (lines 310-11). Theognis encourages the *agathoi* to be vigilant with how they navigate this complex space due to the apparent schism between the aristocrats who are *kakoi* or *agathoi*; one must check his own behavior while observing the conduct of others lest he fall into the wrong aristocratic group. Although the guests at a symposium are in a space that is exclusive and inaccessible to most, they are participating with a politically involved aristocracy and must maintain a certain decorum so as not to be associated with the wrong group, the *kakoi*. Theognis masterfully conflates the private and public spheres concerning individual himself and the built environment in which he navigates. The sympotic space caters to civilians and so while an individual may rave (*μαίνομαι*, line 313) as his companions do, he is still among citizens and must act in a manner that matches a civilized decorum or supersedes it as the pentameter suggests (*πάντων ἀνθρώπων εἰμὶ δικαιοτάτος*, line 314).

Although Theognis discusses the *metron* and proper moderation, he never explicitly mentions proper water-to-wine ratios as we see in Anacreon or Alcaeus, nor does he indicate the appropriate number of cups or mixing bowls for each individual as we see in Eubulus. Theognis describes appropriate amounts in terms of behavior more than anything else, which

he believes ought to be a self-monitoring endeavor. In the following section, Theognis praises self-moderation (lines 473-498):

τῶι πίνειν δ' ἐθέλοντι παρασταδὸν οἴνοχοεῖτω·
 οὐ πάσας νύκτας γίνεται ἀβρὰ παθεῖν.
 αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ — μέτρον γὰρ ἔχω μελιηδέος οἴνου —
 ὕπνου λυσικάκου μνήσομαι οἴκαδ' ἰών.
 ἦζω δ' ὡς οἴνος χαριέστατος ἀνδρὶ πεπόσθαι·
 οὔτε τι γὰρ νήφω οὔτε λίην μεθύω.
 ὃς δ' ἂν ὑπερβάλλῃ πόσιος μέτρον, οὐκέτι κεῖνος
 τῆς αὐτοῦ γλώσσης καρτερὸς οὐδὲ νόου·
 μυθεῖται δ' ἀπάλαμνα, τὰ νήφοσι γίνεται αἰσχρὰ,
 αἰδεῖται δ' ἔρδων οὐδέν, ὅταν μεθύῃ,
 τὸ πρὶν ἐὼν σώφρων, τότε νήπιος. ἀλλὰ σὺ ταῦτα
 γινώσκων μὴ πῖν' οἴνον ὑπερβολάδην,
 ἀλλ' ἢ πρὶν μεθύειν ὑπανίστασο — μὴ σε βιάσθω
 γαστήρ ὥστε κακὸν λάτρην ἐφημέριον —
 ἢ παρεὼν μὴ πῖνε. σὺ δ' ἔγχεε' τοῦτο μάταιον
 κωτίλλεις αἰεὶ· τοῦνεκά τοι μεθύεις·
 ἢ μὲν γὰρ 'φέρεται φιλοτήσιος,' ἢ δὲ 'πρόκειται,'
 τὴν δὲ 'θεοῖς σπένδεις,' τὴν δ' 'ἐπὶ χειρὸς ἔχεις·'
 αἰνεῖσθαι δ' οὐκ οἶδας. ἀνίκητος δέ τοι οὔτος,
 ὃς πολλὰς πίνων μὴ τι μάταιον ἐρεῖ·
 ὑμεῖς δ' εὖ μυθεῖσθε παρὰ κρητῆρι μένοντες,
 ἀλλήλων ἔριδος δὴν ἀπερυκόμενοι,
 εἰς τὸ μέσον φωνεῦντες ὁμῶς ἐνὶ καὶ συνάπασιν·
 χοῦτως συμπόσιον γίνεται οὐκ ἄχαρι.
 Ἄφρονος ἀνδρὸς ὁμῶς καὶ σώφρονος οἴνος, ὅταν δὴ
 πίνῃ ὑπὲρ μέτρον, κοῦφον ἔθηκε νόον.

Let the one standing by pour wine to the person wishing to drink!
 Living delicately does not happen every night.
 Nevertheless I — for I myself have a *metron* of honey-sweet wine —
 will remember sleep that ends evils as I go home.
 I have reached the stage in which wine is most agreeable to be drunk by a man,
 for neither am I at all sober nor excessively drunk.
 He who would surpass the *metron* of drink, that man is no longer
 a master of his own tongue nor his mind.
 He babbles reckless words, these things which become shameful to those sober,
 and he is ashamed because he is doing nothing, whenever he gets drunk.
 Previously he was of sound mind, but at that time he is a child. Rather, if you
 understand these things, do not drink wine excessively!
 Either stand up before you get drunk and do not let your stomach constrain you by
 force just like a wicked, short-lived servant
 or, being present, do not drink. But you always chatter this idly:

“Pour it in!” It’s because of this that you are wine-drunk!
 For “the loving cup is brought in,” and “it’s sitting there,”
 the one which “you offer to the gods,” and which “you hold in your hand.”
 You do not know how to refuse it. Indeed, that man is unconquered,
 he who drinking much does not say anything rash.
 Speak well as you remain beside the *krater*,
 While you keep away from quarrels with one another for a long time,
 speaking towards the middle, all the same to one and all.
 In this way a symposium becomes not an ungracious affair.
 Whenever you drink wine beyond the *metron*, it makes the mind of a
 senseless man, as well as of a prudent man, light.

Here Theognis describes that it is best to call it quits before becoming too drunk at a symposium. The danger of drunkenness includes, at best, idle chatter (*κωτίλλεις*, line 488) and, at worst, reckless words (*μυθεῖται δ' ἀπάλαμνα*, line 481) that might compromise the other activities within the community since strife is a high risk (*ἔριδος*, line 494). Moderation is the best course of action at the symposium so that one does not monopolize the conversation with idle, and potentially aggressive, words. In this passage, no private conversations exist, everyone is included and individuals, aligned along the room on their couches, must speak toward the middle of the space (*εἰς τὸ μέσον φωνεῦντες*, line 495). The idea that Theognis addresses everyone by speaking to one person is echoed in the *Theognidea* as the poet addresses different men throughout the work even though the lesson is ostensibly for Kyrnos.⁹⁵ The other citizens who benefit from this *paideia* include Onomacritos (line 503), Klearistos (lines 511 and 514), Simonides (line 667), Chaeron (line 691), Akademos (line 993), Timagoras (line 1059), and Demonax (line 1085). Perhaps initially making the *paideia* for Kyrnos allows the poet to cloak his message, meant for a younger pre-citizen, while at the same time delivering it to citizens. All symposiasts could

95 These men are presumably more mature.

learn from these passages, but it might not be as well received if Theognis told his fellow peers that the *paideia* was also meant for them.

While Theognis obliquely states the amount of alcohol an individual ought to consume (i.e. not too much, but just enough), Anacreon helps fill in those blanks. This fragment attributed to Anacreon depicts someone ready and (extremely) willing to fill up his cup (*PMG 356a-b*):⁹⁶

ἄγε δὴ φέρ' ἡμῖν ὄ παῖ
κελέβην, ὅκως ἄμυστιν
προπίω, τὰ μὲν δέκ' ἐγχείας
ὔδατος, τὰ πέντε δ' οἴνου
κνάθους ὡς ἂν ἄνυβριστί†⁹⁷
ἀνὰ δηῦτε βασσαρήσω.

ἄγε δηῦτε μηκέτ' οὔτω
πατάγωι τε κάλαλητῶι
Σκυθικὴν πόσιν παρ' οἴνωι
μελετῶμεν, ἀλλὰ καλοῖς
ὑποπίνοντες ἐν ὕμνοις.

Come on, child, bring us the jar,
so that I could gulp down a deep drink.
when you have poured ten measures of water,
[pour] five ladles of wine
so that I may decorously
revel once again.

Come on again, let us no longer in this way,

96 This poem is said to have inspired Horace's Ode I.27 (Campbell 1982: 317). All fragments attributed by Anacreon are numbered according to the *Poetae Melici Graeci* edited by D.L. Page. Scholars, such as Campbell 1982 and Miller 1996, have traditionally placed these two poems together after Athenaeus since it follows a natural order that one must drink heavily in *PMG 356a* before receiving a warning not to drink heavily in *PMG 356b*. Riccardo Palmisciano 2019 agrees that these two fragments could have possibly been read together; however, if this is the case they would be read at different points in the symposium based on the happenings at the event. Palmisciano reevaluates the unity of these two poems and notes that they were most likely not performed together and, more probably, each was performed separately at a symposium to reflect the circumstances at that symposium.

97 I follow Campbell 1982: 318 in reading the adverb *ἀνυβριστί* “decorously,” instead of *ὑβριστικῶς*, “hubristically,” which is preferred by Page 1962 in the *Poetae Melici Graeci*. Unfortunately, this is one place where the corruption leads to two completely different terms that change the sentiment of the passage depending on one's correction. I prefer Campbell's suggestion, to take this translation with the adverb “decorously,” because it follows an exhortation to drink measured amounts of wine with ten parts water to five parts wine.

with crashing and shouting,
pursue the Scythian cup with wine,⁹⁸
but rather drinking moderately
among beautiful hymns.

In the first section of this passage, Anacreon tells us a good ratio for reveling with one's *hetairoi*. However, it is coupled with a passage that warns the drinkers to not be like the foreign and uncivilized Scythians — “let us no longer... pursue the Scythian cup with wine” (356b.9) — but rather temper their rager. Anacreon juxtaposes the wild and disorderly crashing and shouting (*πατάγωι τε κάλαλητῶι*, 356b.2) of the Scythians, a non-Greek and non-*polis* group, the Scythians, with that of a well-ordered Greek symposium where good poetry (*καλοῖς... ἐν ὕμνοις* 365b.4-5) is enjoyed through moderate drinking (*ὑποπίνοντες*, 356b.5). The terminology is very specific in this passage: the verb *ὑποπίνω* means “drink in moderation.”⁹⁹ The verses themselves form a *καλός ὕμνος*, creating a self-referential, meta element in this particular piece. Even Anacreon, the poet of love and drink, is able to demonstrate a touch of self-control in his poem performing that proper behavior.

One of the best examples of moderation and observing the rule of *metron* comes in the latter half of Book I of the *Theognidea* (lines 837-844):

*δισσαί τοι πόσιος κῆρες δειλοῖσι βροτοῖσιν,
δίψα τε λυσιμελῆς καὶ μέθυσις χαλεπή:
τούτων δ' ἂν τὸ μέσον στρωφήσομαι, οὐδέ με πείσεις
οὔτε τι μὴ πίνειν οὔτε λίην μεθύειν.*

*οἶνος ἐμοὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα χαρίζεται, ἐν δ' ἀχάριστος,
εὔτ' ἂν θωρήξας μ' ἄνδρα πρὸς ἐχθρὸν ἄγη:
ἀλλ' ὅτε τὰγκαθῦπερθεν ἐόνθ' ὑπένερθε γένηται,*

98 This phrase means drinking heavily in the “Scythian style,” which, from a Greek perspective means drinking a lot. There are many Greek stereotypes of foreigners who drink excessively copious amounts of alcohol. This stereotype is echoed in Herodotus, who details the failure of the Spartan king Cleomenes after he becomes mad from heavy drinking in the Scythian manner (6.84). Essentially, as Herodotus describes, drinking “Scythian style” means to drink copious amounts of unmixed wine. In this section, Herodotus uses the term *ἐπισκουθίζω*, which means to drink “Scythian style” (i.e. unmixed wine); this term is also used by Athenaeus in his *Deipnosophistae* (10.29).

99 See *LSJ* and Campbell 1982: 318.

τουτάκις οἴκαδ' ἵμεν πανσάμενοι πόσιος.

There are two demons of drink among wretched mortals, you know:
limb-loosening thirst and ill-tempered drunkenness.
Of these, I will wander about the middle and you won't persuade
me either to not drink or to be excessively drunk.

In some respects, wine is pleasing to me, but in another respect most ungracious,
when it fortifies me, and leads me towards a hostile man:
But whenever that which is above comes to be that which is below,
we from that moment will stop drinking and go home.

This passage is most telling about the symposiasts' communal experience at a banquet. One must actively participate in the festivities by consuming alcohol, but not an amount that will result in one being excessively drunk. The expression of maintaining a “middle course” (*τὸ μέσον*, line 839) during the symposium is a common theme throughout the *Theognidea*, which in this case means to drink with moderation and “wander about the middle” as Theognis admonishes. Earlier, Theognis states that the middle course is the best one: *Μηδὲν ἄγαν σπεύδειν· πάντων μέσ' ἄριστα*, “Strive after nothing excessively, the middle course is the best of all” (line 335). This is repeated about seventy lines later: *Μηδὲν ἄγαν σπεύδειν· καιρὸς δ' ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἄριστος ἔργμασιν ἀνθρώπων*, “Strive after nothing excessively, proper measure is best for all deeds of men” (lines 401-402). The sentiment of steering the middle course is a common motif in textual and visual descriptions. As Cobb-Stevens, Figueira, and Nagy note: “The destruction of the polis by debased aristocrats can only be checked by Theognis, a *kubernētēs* ‘pilot,’ a seasonal ‘sailor,’ and an opponent of hubris.”¹⁰⁰ This ship of state imagery is used throughout archaic poetry to laud one’s adherence to a middle or moderate course and, as I argue, it is represented visually in some nautical-themed drinking vessels.

100 Cobb-Stevens, Figueira, and Nagy 1985: 5.

Theognis alludes to the ship of state sentiment by mentioning his inclination to “wander the middle” (*τούτων δ’ ἂν τὸ μέσον στρωφήσομαι*, line 839) and through its political implications as a microcosm of the *polis*. This imagery appears again at a later point in the *Theognidea* (lines 855-856): *Πολλάκις ἡ πόλις ἤδε δι’ ἡγεμόνων κακότητα // ὥσπερ κεκλιμένη ναῦς παρὰ γῆν ἔδραμεν*, “Often this *polis*, because of the wickedness of its leaders, runs along the land just as a swerving ship.” The ship of state motif is used frequently by other poets, including Plato who famously uses the ship of state imagery in the *Republic* in order to describe how a *polis* ought to be governed or guided (488a-489a).¹⁰¹ One must imbibe to be a part of the community or *polis*-ship, but not get to a point of irreversible drunkenness that would endanger social order and rock the boat, so to speak. Sea and ship metaphors are frequent throughout this corpus; in lines 113-114, Theognis warns that a friendship with a base man should be avoided just as a bad harbor. The *polis*-ship does not fare well if it is surrounded by base men, a sentiment that is repeated (lines 575-576): *Οἳ με φίλοι προδιδοῦσιν, ἐπεὶ τὸν γ’ ἐχθρὸν ἀλεῦμαι // ὥστε κυβερνήτης χοιράδας εἰναλίας*, “My friends betray me, since I wander from the enemy just as a pilot [wanders from] the rocks in the sea.” Nagy explains that this passage is supposed to draw a connection between the betrayal of friends (*φίλοι*, line 575) to that of the hidden, and therefore dangerous, rocks in the sea (*χοιράδας εἰναλίας*, line 576).¹⁰² The danger is that both of these enemies are unexpected and hidden implying that one must be vigilant in order to prevent encountering such hostile situations.

This constant need to keep a straight path, for both the sake of oneself and the city, comes up again towards the end of Theognis’ work (lines 945-948):

101 Burnet 1968. For more on the sea imagery in sympotic contexts, see Slater 1976 and Uhlig 2018.

102 Nagy 1985: 67.

Εἶμι παρὰ στάθμην ὀρθὴν ὁδόν, οὐδετέρωσσε
 κλινόμενος· χρὴ γάρ μ' ἄρτια πάντα νοεῖν.
 πατρίδα κοσμήσω, λιπαρὴν πόλιν, οὔτ' ἐπὶ δήμῳ
 τρέψας οὔτ' ἀδίκοισ' ἀνδράσι πειθόμενος.

I will go by the rule, a straight path, leaning neither way,
 for it is necessary for me to think of all things fitting.
 I will adorn my fatherland, a shining city, since I neither turned it over toward the
 people nor do I trust unjust men.

A balance must be achieved both at the symposium and in the politics of the city, which Theognis makes clear in different passages throughout the corpus. He must maintain a moderate course for himself and his *polis*, which he neither completely gives to the people to overthrow their current political system nor does he listen to those few in power who are unjust (*ἀδίκοισ' ἀνδράσι*, 948) suggesting they do not make decisions for the city's best interest. As Levine aptly states:

Just as the poet is the exponent of the middle path in regard to the conduct of the polis, he is also the exponent of moderation for the drinking party. The confusion to be avoided in the symposium parallels that to be avoided in the political life of a city. Moderate drinking and excess correspond respectively to reasonable and unreasonable political attitudes. The poet is ambivalent toward wine, the symposium's *sine qua non*, alternately praising and blaming it.¹⁰³

Levine demonstrates the parallel nature of the symposium and the *polis* as expressed by Theognis' admonition of taking the middle course.

The ship of state imagery is also apparent in drinking vessels. For example, the famed "Dionysus Cup" by Exekias shows Dionysus sailing and surrounded by dolphins.¹⁰⁴ This scene clearly references the myth in which Dionysus turns his pirate-captors into dolphins; however, I believe that this nautical imagery coupled with Dionysus, a god who is wine

103 Levine 1985: 182.

104 The "Dionysus Cup" is an Attic black-figure cup from Etruria in Italy that dates to 575-525 BCE. It is now housed in the Antikensammlungen in Munich (BA 310403). Other drinking cups, including BA 479 and BA 2178, contain ship imagery, possibly drawing on this ship of state connection.

incarnate, is suggestive of the ship of state metaphor prevalent in sympotic contexts (Fig. 3). Dionysus, the god of wine and revelry, reclines on a ship just as symposiasts would recline on *klinai*. In the center of his ship, vines and grapes are seen sprouting through the mast, evocative of the wine that is to be drunk from the cup they are depicted. Dionysus appears calm in this scene; he is not surrounded by his usual retinue of satyrs and maenads. This portrayal of Dionysus is similar to Eubulus' portrayal of Dionysus the symposiarch who is more reserved; he warns party-goers about the dangers associated with each additional *krater* of wine. Who better to provide an authoritative voice on drinking protocols than the god of wine himself.¹⁰⁵ Of course, there are other poetic voices that perpetuate these values. Recall the Anacreon fragment in which one should imbibe wine mixed with water so that he may revel in a Bacchic fashion. The reveler is still imbued with the god, but only moderately so with mixed wine.¹⁰⁶

Authoritative Voices in Poetry

The archaic and classical poetry of the symposium, particularly elegy, maintains an authoritative voice in order to promote its didactic messages of a strengthened community. This in turn maintains a tight-knit aristocratic group. This authoritative voice is present in the poetry and was transmitted to the symposiast reciting it. The poetic *ego* that occurs in these poems locates the poet's persona, and by extension their authority, onto the person reciting

105 In the *Deipnosophistae*, Athenaeus narrates the myth of Dionysus teaching the ancient king of the Athenians, Amphictyon, about wine culture, including the art of mixing wine and water. This passage also talks about the inaugural toast of neat wine, an important feature that demonstrates the efficacy of the god embodied within the drink (2.38).

106 This interpretation is based on the emendation of a corruption in the manuscript, as discussed above; it relies on Campbell's preference for the adverb *ἀνυβριστί* instead of *ὕβριστιῶς*.

the poems. This transference allows the reciter to immediately bring his or her audience to a common place or theme in the poem. For example, when one recites Theognis, who uses his name in his poetry, one is signaling to the group that you are taking the persona of “a disgruntled and alienated aristocrat inveighing against the evil developments in his polis to an audience of fellow symposiasts,” at least according to Kurke.¹⁰⁷ Theognis is one of the most explicit poets when it comes to his poetry’s ownership. Theognis tells Kyrnos about the *sphrēgis* “seal” that he places on his poems so as to protect his ownership over them (lines 19-23):

*Κύρνε, σοφίζομένωι μὲν ἐμοὶ σφρηγῆς ἐπικείσθω
τοῖσδ' ἔπεσιν, λήσει δ' οὔποτε κλεπτόμενα
οὔδέ τις ἀλλάξει κάκιον τοῦσθλοῦ παρεόντος·
ὦδε δὲ πᾶς τις ἐρεῖ· 'Θεύγνιδός ἐστιν ἔπη
τοῦ Μεγαρέως· πάντας δὲ κατ' ἀνθρώπους ὀνομαστός.'*

Kyrnos, by me who is oh so clever, let a seal be placed
upon these words, so those stolen will not ever escape notice,
and no one will exchange something baser the noble that is at hand.
Thus, everyone will say, “These are the words of Theognis
of Megara: he is known among all men.”

The poet cleverly narrates the placement of his *sphrēgis* in the poem. By explicitly stating that he is the author, Theognis claims ownership over his verses. The *sphrēgis* Theognis places at the beginning of this corpus lends credence to his authoritative voice, even though he as one artist could not have written the entire *Theognidea* in a lifetime. We know Theognis is a reliable and authentic voice on how to best follow the values of the *agathoi* because he tells us that he himself has learned from them when he was a boy: *Σοὶ δ' ἐγὼ εἶ
φρονέων ὑποθήσομαι, οἷά περ αὐτός // Κύρν', ἀπὸ τῶν ἀγαθῶν παῖς ἔτ' ἐὼν ἔμαθον.* “I being well-minded advise you the sort of things that I myself, Kyrnos, learned from good men

107 Kurke 2000: 44.

when I was still a child” (lines 27-28). Theognis sets himself up as an authoritative voice on wisdom that has been passed down through tradition; the rules and values of decorum are not his own.¹⁰⁸ He places his claims within a larger tradition that is passed down from previous *agathoi*. Theognis traces this tradition, literally this word or *epos*, to the Muses and Graces in lines 15-16, which further substantiates his claim. Another way in which Theognis shows authority is through imperatives directed at the young Kyrnos. In line 145-148, he commands that Kyrnos, and by extension the rest of the symposiasts listening to the poem, to be willing to live nobly and modestly with few possessions. Along with the fact that the tone of the *Theognidea* is extremely moralizing, all of these factors make Theognis an arbiter of aristocratic etiquette.

Just as a poet acts as an arbiter of social etiquette, a poet may further exercise their control by manipulating the setting and general mood through a familiar or shared experience. Symposiasts may be transferred to a martial setting upon listening to the archaic elegies of Archilochus who sings about drinking while on duty (fr. 4, ed. West, lines 5-8):¹⁰⁹

ἀλλ' ἄγε σὺν κώθωνι¹¹⁰ θοῆς διὰ σέλματα νηὸς
φοῖτα καὶ κοίλων πάματ' ἀφελκε κάδων,
ἄγρει δ' οἶνον ἐρυθρὸν ἀπὸ τρυγός· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἡμεῖς
νηφέμεν¹¹¹ ἐν φυλακῇ τῆιδε δυνησόμεθα.

But come on with the drinking cup through the benches of the quick-moving ship
Go to and fro and draw off the drink from the hollow vessel,
take the red wine from the dregs, for we will not
be able to stay sober during this watch.

108 For more on the relationship between Theognis' authoritative voice and the seal he places in the first few lines of the *Theognidea*, see Ford 1985: 83.

109 This is how the fragment appears in M.L. West's *Iambi et elegi graeci ante Alexandrum cantati* (1971-2). Lines 1-4 are omitted from this section because they are too fragmentary.

110 According to the *LSJ*, a κώθων is a Laconian drinking-vessel that was used by soldiers. It can also be a synecdoche for a “drinking bout” or “carousal.”

111 Note that the verb νήφω not only means “to stay sober,” but also “to be self-controlled” (*LSJ*).

This fragment by Archilochus evokes the camaraderie of soldiers guarding a vessel who ultimately end up drinking together while they are supposed to remain sober and keep watch. In an earlier piece of the fragment, the term *xenoi* appears in line 2, which suggests this poem is addressed to guests. Bowie believes that this poem was not meant to be performed in a martial setting, but rather that Archilochus' elegies are inviting the symposiasts to a specific time and place that would be familiar to them, either through their own experience or through the stories of others.¹¹² This imagery strengthens the community through a shared sentiment.

A symposiast could evoke certain scenes as described by other poets in order to create a communal experience. In fact, appropriating a persona along with their experiences brings a group together in order to sympathize over a common idea or feeling as well as remember a particular poet who is absent from the group. As Bowie states: "Singing elegy... is a pastime in which several members of a group can participate. To strike a sympathetic response a song will tend to identify the singer with that group rather than set him apart from it."¹¹³ The seal that Theognis places on his verses both adds poetic authority and theme tied to poet, but it also allows a symposiast to reveal the persona he takes on and the source of his verses. This activity harmonizes the group and emphasizes their commonalities; the authoritative voice only reinforces aristocratic values.

112 Bowie 1986: 18.

113 Bowie 1986: 14. This transference to a surrogate poet is not always for this purpose; for example, while some of Sappho and Hipponax's poetry is accessible for recitation, some of their first-person statements may be too specific and personalized for this transference; see Bowie 1986: 15.

Communal Spaces, Gender, and “the Other”

The symposium was not solely composed of aristocratic men; many other, less visible characters interacted with this space. How did people in other stations contribute to the community, whether that be the aristocratic group or their own? Let us revisit the archaic Attic black-figure drinking cup discussed earlier (Fig. 1). Among the figures, a woman is depicted conversing with the men on this vessel, and she does not appear to be a slave or attendant by her dress, scale, or actions. How do women foster community and experience the symposium as well as its socio-political implications? And what does it mean to have a female authoritative voice, like that of Sappho or Corinna, in a drinking party? Since the symposium takes place in a semi-public space within someone’s house, it touches upon the domestic sphere that is typically considered the woman’s domain.¹¹⁴ Numerous visual representations on drinking vessels show females of different statuses engaging in sympotic activities, not just women and young attendants providing sex or musical entertainment. Some scholars speculate that Sappho’s poetry was specifically performed at “female symposia,”¹¹⁵ but the evidence for this is inadequate, at best.¹¹⁶ There were many different types of women who added to the conviviality of symposia, including the *aulētris*, a female flute-player. The feminine voice also has a place in sympotic poetry, even if it is through a male persona appropriating “the Other.” This helps solidify the community of men by emphasizing what their group is not.

114 For further discussion on the gendered (or lack thereof) built environment based on houses excavated at Olynthus, see Cahill 2002 and Nevett 2010. See Cohen 1989 who looks into the female sphere of influence in ancient Greece through literary evidence and modern anthropological analogies.

115 Stehle 1997: 72-73 views Sappho’s poetry as a rejection of the male symposium due to the personal (and feminine) nature of her poetry. Stehle 1997: 6 also suggests that Sappho could have been performed for female symposiasts.

116 Kurke 2000: 58-59 notes trends in viewing Sappho’s audience as a “female symposium” as extremely speculative as does Yatromanolakis 2007.

One of the more prevalent types of women who appear often in sympotic contexts is that of the *aulētris*, who not only performed at symposia, but also during wedding processions, religious events, and festivals exclusive to women.¹¹⁷ The *aulētris* is closely connected to drinking culture, as noted in this comic fragment: *ήνίχ' άν συμβή πότος //* [*α*]ύλητρίδ' ήμίν άγάγετε, “Whenever there is drink, bring us the flute-player.”¹¹⁸ Her place in the symposium is also noted by Aristophanes in his list of important components for a rager and she is often shown among symposiasts on drinking cups and other drinking and serving paraphernalia.¹¹⁹ For example, an Attic red-figure column *krater* shows two men drinking on *klinai* while watching the *aulētris* play.¹²⁰ An attic red-figure drinking cup shows men reclining on *klinai*, one enjoying the music of the *aulētris* (Fig. 4).¹²¹ A fully clothed *aulētris* bedecks the tondo of another drinking cup, playing her flute for a man who shares the space with her.¹²²

Despite the *aulētris* being a skilled musician, some scholars assume that, if a woman is depicted in this supposedly exclusive male space of the *andrōn*, she must be a sex worker of some sort.¹²³ Goldman expertly analyzes these various assumptions and misconceptions

117 Goldman 2015 discusses the function and eroticization of the *aulētris*. Theognis mentions male flute-players, *aulētēs*, throughout the *Theognidea*. Theognis shows how enjoyable it is to listen to a flute-player at a symposium (line 533): *χαίρω δ' εὔ πίνων καὶ ὑπ' ἀλλητῆρος ἀκούων*, “I rejoice, drinking well and listening to the male flute-player.” Theognis demonstrates the omnipresence of religion, symposia, and music (lines 943-944): *ἐγγύθεν ἀλλητῆρος ἀείσομαι ὧδε καταστάς //* *δεξιὸς ἀθανάτοις θεοῖσιν ἐπενχόμενος*, “Here I sing just as I stand next to the flute-player, my right hand offering prayers to the immortal gods.” There is no evidence that the male flute-player is sexualized or eroticized in each passage where the term *aulētēs* appears. Perhaps the female flute player is in fact overly eroticized in many other literary and art historical contexts.

118 This fragment is listed in the *Adespota comica* as fragment 260, lines 7-8 (see Austin 1973). Goldman 2015: 58n10 supposes that this fragment describes a drinking party on a military campaign.

119 See Aristophanes, *Acharnians* line 551.

120 British Museum E 486.

121 BA 200460 (British Museum E 38).

122 BA 203929.

123 Davidson 1997:82 argues that that the *aulētris* was synonymous with a prostitute inside and outside of a sympotic context, but Davidson 2006: 40 later states that this may be an exaggeration: “We may well have exaggerated the extent of which musicians, even aulos girls, were freely available, but their masters or mistresses were always probably open to bids.” Kapparis 2011: 223 also seems to claim the word means

about the *aulētris* and her one-dimensional role as one whose main purpose is to provide sex, while illuminating her role as not only a skilled musician but also as a complex symbol of the luxury and waste that manifests in one who is morally corrupt.¹²⁴ Her sexuality may evoke thoughts of Eros and there are instances of the *aulētris* directly compared to a prostitute; however, connotation is not denotation.¹²⁵ As Goldman aptly puts it: “We need to avoid confusing erotic representation for evidence of prostitution. It appears to me unsound to categorize a woman as a prostitute because some Athenian man has represented her sexually: eroticization is not always evidence of prostitution.”¹²⁶ In fact, the *aulētris* offered a much more nuanced contribution to the so-called “male symposium” and its community than others would like to credit. Some ancient authors believe the entertainers bring a shared pleasure among guests, or *euphranein*, as Xenophon shows in his *Symposium* (2.1-2); while others think these entertainers are merely a backdrop that undermine good conversation, as Plato’s Socrates suggests in his *Symposium* (347b9-d5). Either way, this feminine presence ought not be ignored as they clearly are just as present as the male citizen in these communal drinking parties. It should be noted that the flute-player is not always female in these symposia: Theognis only includes the male version, the *aulētēr*, in his work.¹²⁷

Another important female figure that frequents the symposium is the *hetaira*, a term that is most frequently translated as “courtesan” and whose name shares an obvious relation

prostitute. Dillon 2002: 183 argues that the *aulētris* was a musician who could end the night or their performance by providing sex to the male guests.

124 See Goldman 2015.

125 For example, in Menander’s *Perikeiromenē* a character describes the love interest, Glykera, with both a *pornidion* and an *aulētris*, which Goldman warns is not synonymous (2015: 36-37). There is also an eroticized image of an *aulētris* penetrating herself with an amphora in the tondo of an Attic red-figure drinking cup (BA 200559). Other scenes on vessels show *aulētrides* accompanying the komast procession (see Lissarrague 1990a: 220-228).

126 Goldman 2015: 37.

127 See lines 533, 825, 941, 943, 975, 1041, and 1065.

to the term *hetairoi* used for male companions at a symposium. The term *hetaira* or “female companion” is a vague euphemism since the very notion of companionship involves some level of social equality, particularly with male designation as one of the *hetairoi*.¹²⁸ I think that this vague designation as “female companion” shows that the *hetaira*’s position involved a lot more than providing sexual gratification and that she was able to maintain some level of agency in her own right.¹²⁹ McClure defines the *hetaira* as someone who “participates in and embodies an economy of gift exchange which maintains, rather than severs, the connection between individuals: she seduces and persuades, providing her services in exchange for gifts, and always holds out the possibility of refusing her favors.”¹³⁰ As such, she is someone who is in charge of her own transactions and can even refuse offers, if she chooses to do so. Kurke notes that the categorization of *hetaira* only happened through the rise of the symposium and that her presence marks aristocratic wealth and luxury.¹³¹ Anacreon describes drinking and joining a *komos* with a pretty and beloved girl, whom Kurke believes is a *hetaira*: οἴνου δ' ἐξέπιον κάδον· νῦν δ' ἀβρῶς ἐρόεσσαν // ψάλλω πηκτίδα τῆι φίλῃ κωμάζων †παιδὶ ἀβρῆι†, “I drained a jar of wine and now, gracefully, I pluck my lovely instrument carousing with a beloved and pretty girl” (373 *PMG*). This passage demonstrates that women participated in

128 Theognis addresses his drinking companions as φίλ' ἐταῖρε or “dear companions” showing that *hetairos* is a more familiar and positive designation (line 753). Early on, Theognis mentions how men can act as close friends when they have the opportunity to get food and drink, but how quickly this intimate designation changes when there are serious, less jovial matters to attend to: Πολλοί τοι πόσιος καὶ βρώσιός εἰσιν ἐταῖροι // ἐν δὲ σπουδαίῳ πρήγματι παυρότεροι, “Many, you know, are companions when it comes to drinking and eating, but there are fewer [companions] when it comes to serious matters” (lines 115-116). This term is also used in other convivial contexts, including the Homeric Hymn to Hermes where one is referred to as a δαιτὸς ἐταῖρε (IV, line 436). Interestingly, Sappho also calls her friend a *hetaira* (fr. 160, ed. Voigt). For further discussion on Sappho’s use of the term *hetaira*, see Stehle 1997: 264.

129 For more discussion on the representation of the *hetaira* in Athenaeus and tradition of her craft, see McClure 2014.

130 McClure 2014: 4.

131 See Kurke 1997: 111, 115.

the *komos*; this is not novel since we see examples of this in other texts and in visual representations.

The *Theognidea* contains instances in which the persona, the poetic *ego*, is feminine: *Ἐχθαίρω κακὸν ἄνδρα, καλυψαμένη δὲ πάρειμι // μικρῆς ὄρνιθος κοῦφον ἔχουσα νόον*. “I detest a bad man, and covering myself I am present, keeping the light mind of a small bird” (lines 579-580). In this section, Theognis describes the types of people he would not take seriously, including the bad man mentioned above (*κακὸν ἄνδρα*, line 579), the woman who runs around in line 581, and the greedy man in 582. Note that the aorist participle *καλυψαμένη* as well as the present participle *ἔχουσα* are both feminine and in the nominative, showing that our subject switched to a feminine voice. It seems that this woman has to entertain this foul individual’s conversation, only giving him little thought, perhaps making sure she is modestly covered because of the man’s inability to control his desires. Bowie believes that these verses that have a female subject were performed by men as a way to experience “the Other,” while women would only accompany the verses with the aulos.¹³² The female performance by a male actor is, of course, a common feature in Greek drama in addition to drinking parties. The way in which the symposium is used as a space to experience “the Other” is also articulated by Henderson: “In this exclusive ‘safe’ milieu, old men could act like youths, men could dress like women and Scythians, and the behavior of non-human beings... could be portrayed if not actually imitated.”¹³³ After all, we saw in an earlier example how Anacreon warns his *hetairoi* about drinking like Scythians (*PMG* 356b). But since we have imagery that shows women actively participating at symposia, I do not

132 Bowie 1986: 16. More recently, Bowie 2016 published an article in which he hypothesizes that Sappho’s poetry could very well have been recited at male symposia and that Sappho positions herself as an active seeker of *eros*, which would have supplemented the already sexually charged atmosphere of the symposium.

133 Henderson 1999: 4.

think it farfetched that women could have jumped in to sing particular verses since those women who may have attended these gatherings were trained musicians and even poets themselves.¹³⁴

The question remains: were men creating an atmosphere in which to consolidate their own group by highlighting the differences in their appropriation of “the Other’s” perceived experiences or was the female perspective more than a hijacked voice? The experience and demarcation of “the Other” is not only described in terms of gender, but also in terms of social status, different companion groups, city-states, and race or ethnicity if one is not Greek.¹³⁵ It is impossible to know how women truly experienced the drinking parties, especially with the extremely small amount of extant poetry attributed to women. It does seem that, at least from the perspective of a male group, that the appropriation of another group’s voice, with the addition of stereotypes, strengthens the in-group community by highlighting the out-group’s otherness. As I have previously mentioned, this breach of social protocol and brief abandonment of an ideal that is Greek, masculine, and (often) upper-class has been used as an argument that the sympotic space is an anti-*polis* one. I maintain that this actually strengthens the community of aristocratic men, the *hetairoi* who are the in-group, thus solidifying their positions in the *polis*.

134 The only extant female poets from the ancient Greek world are Sappho and Corinna, with a few fragments from Praxilla and Telesilla. For a brief, yet comprehensive discussion of Greek lyric, see Miller 1996: xii. Campbell 1982: 320 suggests that the fragments from Anacreon refer to Sappho. Sappho even makes an appearance on sympotic paraphernalia, including a *kalyx-krater* on which she is named and holds a lyre (BA 4979).

135 Henderson 1999 argues that the symposium provided a space in which the male citizen could experience and explore other identities, including the foreign and the feminine. This exercise in appropriation reinforced ideas and stereotypes about participating groups and the “Other.”

Conclusion

The symposium provided a space that allowed men to strengthen their own community and *polis* by drinking the appropriate amount of wine so that they could engage in games, poetry recitations, and conversation. Through an examination of textual and visual representations of archaic and classical Greek drinking culture, we see that the *ars bibendi* was crucial to demonstrating an individual's ability to cooperate and engage with their male citizen peers. Not everyone was able to adhere to the rules of the *metron*. The next chapter demonstrates what happens when the communal space is compromised by excessive intoxication, which implies selfishness, greed, and an inability to control one's desires. These are dangerous behaviors for a citizen to exhibit within the context of a *polis*.

CHAPTER TWO: *Koros*, Drunkenness, and Communal Separation

In my first chapter, I discussed the central importance of wine-drinking in the sympotic community. Just as drinking was used as a way to solidify a community and perpetuate social values that were extended to the *polis*, drinking could also quickly become a way in which the communal was threatened and even toppled by the individual. As Lissarrague says, “The Greeks are not solitary drinkers; the consumption of wine is seen as a communal act. The symposium is organized as a community, with its own rules intended to establish a setting of shared pleasure.”¹³⁶ The pleasure of the sympotic event becomes a disruption and a misery when a person places self-gratification through excessive imbibing before moderate and communal drinking. In this chapter, I examine how dangerous a situation it is for an individual to eschew these social protocols at the symposium and why such problematic behavior capsized the ship of state. First, I discuss attitudes regarding excessive intoxication in ancient Greece. Then, I demonstrate how this over-inebriation ultimately undermines attitudes of community and, by extension, the *polis* and how these attitudes are expressed through archaic and classical literary and visual evidence.

***Koros* and Excessive Drunkenness**

Before discussing attitudes of excessive drunkenness, I should explain what I mean by the qualifier “excessive.” As mentioned earlier, drunkenness is a perfectly acceptable, even encouraged, state to be in while engaging in a communal drinking party such as a symposium. We recall that ancient Greek authors indicate that a person must deftly navigate

¹³⁶ Lissarrague 1990a: 19.

the space between being sober and being excessively intoxicated, according to multiple examples in different genres and meters including the *Theognidea* (473-496, 837-844), *Anacreontea* (356a-b PMG), and a fragment by Eubulus (*fr.* 94). A person must have some wine to engage in sympotic activity with their community, but they cannot have so much that it takes the spotlight away from the conviviality and highlights their greed and lack of self-control as an individual.

The ancient Greek poets often equated wisdom with sobriety, not only in sympotic elegies, but also in Homeric epic.¹³⁷ Homer articulates the connection between drunkenness and being an unwise and selfish ruler, most notably when Achilles calls Agamemnon *οἰνοβαρές* “wine-heavy” after he gets into a dispute with Achilles over returning his war-prize Chryseis.¹³⁸ Agamemnon’s greed and unwillingness to return his captive is equated with being a selfish drunk since his decision is not wise and ultimately undermines the safety of his fellow Greeks who are experiencing Apollo’s wrath at the time of this exchange. This not only highlights Agamemnon’s inability to share, both wine and war prizes, but it also shows he is a flawed leader, since he does not remunerate the men under his command appropriately while he allows his own interests spoil that relationship (*Iliad* 1.149-171). His unwillingness to release Chryseis back to her father jeopardizes the safety of the Greeks and leads to Apollo’s wrathful, piercing arrows of plague raining down on their camp.

137 See Papakonstantinou 2009 for an extensive discussion on wine consumption in Homeric epic.

138 *Il.* 1.225. Interestingly, Agamemnon was also insulted as if having the eyes of a dog (*κυνὸς ὄμματ' ἔχων* in line 1.225). Earlier, Achilles’ insults against Agamemnon includes “dog-faced” (*κυνῶπα* in line 1.159), which is connected directly to shame in the line before (*μέγ' ἀναιδές* in line 1.158). Pulleyn 2000 notes that “The dog in Greece is emblematic of shameless, because it will do in public what people should not, and look you in the eye as it does so” (169). Kirk 1985 also demonstrates the dog’s gaze is linked to “unabashed sexual and excremental interests” (76). The Cynics, as Diogenes and his followers were called, is related to the word *κύνη* “dog,” thus linking them and their practices to this animal who is the antithesis of communal values. There may even be a connection between the dog’s anti-communal implications and the symposium. A black-figure cup by Amasis Painter shows dogs defecating beneath the handles with satyrs masturbating on the other side, both signs of overindulgence and rejection of communal values (Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 10.651, ABV 157, 86).

Agamemnon clearly placed his own self-interests over that of the community, a dangerous thing for someone in power to do. A leader's drunken selfishness also has implications of sacrilege because wine is a divine drink used for important rituals and libations.¹³⁹

There are many negative examples of wine-greed in the *Odyssey*. For example, in Book 9, Odysseus and his men find themselves trapped in a cave with the Cyclops Polyphemus, who is described as uncivilized creature unaccustomed to drinking wine, which to the Greeks was a mark of civilization. Drinking the wine leads to Polyphemus' ultimate downfall: Odysseus offers him copious amounts of wine, and the Cyclops gets drunk and falls asleep, then he gets his single eye punctured and he is blinded. This presents yet another example of a non-Greek who is both unfamiliar with civilization and unable to cope with the effects of wine, two things that go hand-in-hand.¹⁴⁰ There is also the unfortunate story of young Elpenor, one of Odysseus' men who survives the Trojan War, but after getting drunk alone on Circe's roof, ends up falling to his death without any of his comrades knowing about it.¹⁴¹

The abuse of wine is a part of the more general idea of *koros*, a complex term that essentially means satiety to the point of excess. I briefly discuss *koros* within the context of the *metron* in my first chapter, but here I further analyze the term and how it relates to drinking in the symposium. As previously mentioned in Chapter One, Theognis notes that satiety destroys men, especially those who may be less mindful of the *metron* as they continue to drink with their friends (lines 693-694).¹⁴² Recall, too, Theognis describes how

139 For example, Patroclus' funeral pyre is quenched with wine (*Il.* 23.250-251) as is Hector's (*Il.* 24.789-794).

140 For further discussion of the Polyphemus' uncivilized behavior, including his consumption of human flesh and lack of general knowledge concerning technology, see Schein 1970.

141 *Od.* 51-65.

142 *Πολλούς τοι κόρος ἄνδρας ἀπώλεσεν ἀφραίνοντας // γινῶναι γὰρ χαλεπὸν μέτρον, ὄτ' ἐσθλὰ παρήϊ, "Satiety, you know, destroys many men who act foolishly. For, it's difficult to recognize the *metron* when there are good times at hand" (lines 693-694).*

koros eventually leads to *hubris* (lines 153-154),¹⁴³ an extremely undesirable quality in any mortal, let alone a symposiast, since it is equated to baseness: *ἔστι κακὸν δὲ βροτοῖσι κόρος, τῶν οὐ τι κάκιον // πᾶσα γὰρ ἐκ τούτων, Κύρνε, πέλει κακότη*, “Satiety is a base thing for mortals, for whom there is nothing baser. For, Kyrnos, from these things all baseness comes into existence” (lines 1175-1176). To Theognis, satiety to the point of overindulgence clearly has poor moral implications, and it is connected to over-intoxication through Theognis’ discussion of the *metron* (lines 693-694) and the *metron*’s close relationship with drinking: *αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ – μέτρον γὰρ ἔχω μελιηδέος οἴνου*, “Nevertheless I— for I myself have a *metron* of honey-sweet wine” (line 474). The poet as an authority figure places the obligation of navigating the *metron* for the self:¹⁴⁴ he is the one who holds the *metron* of honey-sweet wine and this focus on the self is emphasized by the personal and emphatic first-person pronoun. Drinking to the point of *koros* is the undertaking of an individual who does not follow the sympotic etiquette of the *metron*.

Not only does the individual breach sympotic protocol, but the individual is also at risk of losing control of his common senses. A person who drinks too much does not contribute to the harmonious convivial atmosphere; that person carelessly babbles, speaks rashly, and does reckless things. This issue is expressed in earlier verses of the *Theognidea* (lines 295-298):¹⁴⁵

*κωτίλω ἀνθρώπῳ σιγᾶν χαλεπώτατον ἄχθος,
φθειρόμενος δ’ ἀδῆς οἴσι παρῆ πέλεται,
ἐχθαίρουσι δὲ πάντες· ἀναγκαίη δ’ ἐπίμειζις
ἀνδρὸς τοιούτου συμποσίῳ τελέθει.*

143 *Τίττει τοι κόρος ὄβριν, ὅταν κακῶι ὄλβος ἐπιηται // ἀνθρώπῳ καὶ ὅτῳ μὴ νόος ἄρτιος ἦι*, “Indeed, satiety gives birth to hubris, whenever happiness follows after a base man and whenever his mind is not sound” (lines 153-154).

144 For further discussion on the use of the term *metrios* contextualized within *sōphrosunē* and self-control in Aeschines’ *Against Ctesiphon*, see Rademaker 2005: 240-242.

145 This and following passages of the *Theognidea* are as they appear in West 1971.

For the chatterbox, the most difficult burden is to be silent,
 while he is speaking, he is unpleasant for those with whom he is present,
 and all detest [him]. Mingling with that man
 at a symposium comes about only by coercion.

The overly drunken, and quite garrulous, man distracts from the community by placing himself in the spotlight with his loud and disruptive actions. This issue appears a couple hundred lines later in the *Theognidea*. In lines 479-492, Theognis focuses on the off-putting loquaciousness of the offender of the *metron*. In the following verses, he describes a more ideal situation where men do not quarrel while they drink: *ὕμειζ δ' εὖ μῦθεῖσθε παρὰ κρητῆρι μένοντες, ἀλλήλων ἔριδος δὴν ἀπερρυκόμενοι*, “Speak well as you remain beside the krater, while you keep away from quarrels with one another for a long time,” (493-494); strikingly, Theognis describes how they all speak toward the middle with an equal importance placed on each voice: *εἰς τὸ μέσον φωνεῦντες ὁμῶς ἐνὶ καὶ συνάπασιν*, “speaking towards the middle, all the same to one and all” (495).

More than the simple risk of annoying others with garrulous behavior, the excessive drinker also risks becoming mad. While the substantive term *μανίας* “raging” is seemingly used here with negative connotations by the comic poet Eubulus, a related term, *μανῆναι* “to rage,” is used with positive connotations in the *Anacreontea* as Anacreon states he *wishes* to rage (frag. 9.9). However, when these lines are contextualized within the entirety of the fragment, it is clear that Anacreon’s desire to rage is not a positive attribute to drinking. In the first few lines, Anacreon asserts that he wishes to drink without stopping for breath and that he desires to be mad (lines 1-2). In the next few lines, he compares the madness he wishes to acquire by drinking wine to the madness of the matricidal mythological figures, Alcmaeon and Orestes (lines 4-6). Anacreon then compares his madness, though nonviolent

with only a cup (*κύπελλον*, line 16) in his hands, to the tragic bouts of madness experienced by Herakles and Ajax, when they went mad with weapons and violent intent (lines 10-15). Rage by wine gets one too close to the mental insanity that plagued Alcmaeon, Orestes, Herakles, and Ajax, all of whom had harmed (or attempted to harm, in Ajax's case) those closest to them.

Drinking wine to the point of madness is not appropriate for a symposium, a sentiment that is expressed in one of Anacreon's elegies quoted by Athenaeus (eleg. 2, lines 1-4):

*οὐ φιλέω ὄς κρητῆρι παρὰ πλέω οἴνοποτάζων
 νείκεα καὶ πόλεμον δακρυόεντα λέγει,
 ἀλλ' ὅστις Μουσέων τε καὶ ἀγλαὰ δῶρ' Ἀφροδίτης
 συμμίσγων ἐρατῆς μνήσκεται εὐφροσύνης.*

I do not like the one who, wine-guzzling besides the filled krater,
 talks about quarrels and tear-inducing war.
 But [I like] that man who, mixing together the shining gifts of the Muses and
 Aphrodite, reminds [us] of the lovely merriment.

Anacreon criticizes the man who talks about quarrels and strife while drinking heavily besides a full-to-the-brim *krater*. While a krater of full wine is a symbol of community, he makes it a hostile space by discussing unpleasant quarrels (*νείκεα*, line 2) and tear-inducing war (*πόλεμον δακρυόεντα*, line 2). The participle of “wine-guzzling” (*οἴνοποτάζων*, line 1) describing what this man does beside a full krater is also interesting because it suggests that this man is drinking excessively, taking advantage of his easy access to more refills as he remains beside the krater. This man has similar proclivities to become maddened and violent through wine, just as the speaker who wishes to rage in frag. 9. Moreover, the selfishness and unpleasantness of the man in eleg. 2 is immediately contrasted to that man who is more pleasant to be around. This man enjoys the gifts of the Muses, namely mellifluous poetry and

beautiful music, as well as the erotic gifts of Aphrodite, and he contributes to the harmonious pleasure of the sympotic space. This man does not wine-drink excessively as he remains besides an overflowing *krater* nor does he discuss matters that are inappropriate for such an event.

Excessive Drunkenness and Poor Behavior

At the end of the classical period, attitudes about excessive intoxication are clearly laid out in comedic tropes, particularly those found in Aristophanes' plays, as well as in later comic texts, including Eubulus. It is clear that drinking is important for fostering a community, but what happens when one goes beyond the point of the *metron*, or measured restraint? In a fragment attributed to Eubulus, a poet who wrote Middle Comedy in the mid-fourth century B.C., the wine-god Dionysus is appropriately situated as the mouthpiece and *symposiarch*. Dionysus counts through the number of *kraters*, or mixing bowls, and explains what happens when each one is prepared for the party (fr. 94):¹⁴⁶

τρεῖς γὰρ μόνους κρατῆρας ἐγκεραννύω
 τοῖς εὖ φρονοῦσι· τὸν μὲν ὑγείας ἕνα,
 ὃν πρῶτον ἐκπίνουσι, τὸν δὲ δεύτερον
 ἔρωτος ἡδονῆς τε, τὸν τρίτον δ' ὕπνου,
 ὃν ἐκπιόντες οἱ σοφοὶ κεκλημένοι
 οἴκαδε βαδίζουσ'. ὁ δὲ τέταρτος οὐκ ἔτι
 ἡμέτερός ἐστ', ἀλλ' ὕβρεος· ὁ δὲ πέμπτος βοῆς·
 ἕκτος δὲ κόμων· ἑβδομος δ' ὑπωπίων·
 ὁ δ' ὄγδοος κλητῆρος· ὁ δ' ἕνατος χολῆς·
 δέκατος δὲ μανίας, ὥστε καὶ βάλλειν ποιεῖ·
 πολὺς γὰρ εἰς ἓν μικρὸν ἀγγεῖον χυθεὶς
 ὑποσκελίζει ῥᾶστα τοὺς πεπωκότας.

I prepare only three *kraters* for sensible men.
 One is for health, which they drink up first, the second
 for love and pleasure, and the third for sleep,

¹⁴⁶ This fragment is as it appears in Kock 1884.

which, once it's drunk down, those men who are deemed wise go home. The fourth *krater* is no longer mine – it belongs to *hubris*; the fifth belongs to shouting; the sixth belongs to revelry; the seventh to black eyes; the eighth belongs to disputes; the ninth to bile; and the tenth belongs to madness, as it makes one throw [things about]. Indeed, when much of it is poured into a small jar, it most easily trips up those who have drunk it.

Notice that the first two *kraters* are necessary for sympotic engagement, at least until sleep is prompted by the third *krater* (τὸν τρίτον δ' ὕπνου, line 4). However, once the fourth *krater* of wine is mixed for the party, *hubris* (ὑβρεος, line 7) is invited, followed by shouting (βοῆς, line 7), revelry (κώμων, line 8), black eyes (ὕπωπίων, line 8), fighting (κλητῆρος, line 9), bile (χολῆς, line 9),¹⁴⁷ and madness (μανίας, line 10). Problems that arise with excessive drinking occur as soon as a person passes the point of three *kraters*, and when that line is crossed, it leads to *hubris*. As Hunter has discussed, the term *hubris* can be used specifically in reference to drunken violence and rage.¹⁴⁸ All of these physical manifestations of increased intoxication undermine the community and, while some of these symptoms are not necessarily bad qualities on their own (i.e., shouting, revelry, and even madness), they are viewed in a more negative light given their context; however, the increased amounts of wine lead to worse physical manifestations that get worse for the community as the drinkers guzzle down the alcoholic beverage. Certainly, anyone who has attended a party in modern times has an anecdote or two by witnessing (or even becoming) an ugly situation in a group setting brought about by too much alcohol. A symposiast is no longer a sensible man once he has had more than his share of drink and he falls into an uncontrollable situation of drinking an ever-increasing amount of wine. The issues that occur after one consumes more than three

147 The term *χολή* can refer to the bile that encourages one's anger as well as the actual fluid that one would eject from their body (*LSJ*).

148 Hunter 1983: 180.

kraters are particularly disruptive to the intimate sympotic context; this disruption of balanced drinking and harmony pits an individual against the rest of the symposiasts.

As I discussed in my first chapter, Greek drinking cups, or *kylikes*, show stereotypical sympotic scenes.¹⁴⁹ A few of these Attic drinking cups take a strange turn from the more expected images of symposia; they depict a lone male symposiast depicted in a stupor and, additionally, vomiting, urinating, or defecating in the sympotic space. These scenes appear almost exclusively in the tondo, the interior center, of the drinking cups.¹⁵⁰ The bodily self-control that the symposiast lacks is both a result and a representation of their lack of self-control with wine, too much of which clearly was the cause of their plight. Most often in these vases with scatological visuals, the befouled symposiast is alone, or, at most, accompanied by a slave or young attendant. Most strikingly, the individual is physically separated from the rest of the sympotic community on the vessel. The individual did not adhere to the rules of the *metron* and, consequently, is no longer a part of the group of revelers since his selfishness has undermined the convivial nature of the symposium.

These images of men expelling bodily fluids have been recently interpreted as functioning in a comical way. Mitchell provides an analysis of drinking in excess for a better understanding of visual humor on drinking cups; this of course includes images of symposiasts vomiting, defecating, and urinating. It should be noted that Mitchell does discuss

149 For other examples of this typical symposiastic imagery on drinking cups, see BA 1926, BA 7136, BA 203934, BA 203491, BA 203574, BA 203720, BA 203727, BA 203844, and BA 204352. For similar scenes on *kraters*, see BA 14125, BA 31968, BA 202643, and BA 206168.

150 Other examples of vessels showing similar scatological scenes include a *chous* (BA 10147) and *krater* (BA 200145); however, most of the examples of this scene come from drinking cups. The description that accompanies this *chous* in the Beazley Archives describes the older, bearded man as a part of a *komos*. He is accompanied by a young attendant, who holds an *oinochoe* as the older man urinates into it. The *krater* cited is the more well-known Morgantina *krater* and is discussed later in this chapter. However, most of the examples of this type of scene come from drinking cups: this indicates that the image was intended to be actively interacted with among the symposiasts since they were the ones who received this coded message not to drink too much.

the socio-political implications of excessive drinking as disgraceful sympotic behavior in vase painting, although, his discussion concerning this is brief.¹⁵¹ While the comic visual impact cannot be denied, these images, read along with the body of archaic and classical sympotic texts, function as more of an admonition that help us more fully understand the morality of the sympotic space. These scenes appear most commonly on drinking cups that would be used and seen by symposiasts. Most interestingly, many of these scenes are revealed in the tondo of the drinking cup, creating an additional performative aspect; as the symposiast drinks from the cup, an image is slowly revealed in the tondo.¹⁵² A drinker would be immediately confronted with a scene of someone isolated from the other symposiasts expelling foul bodily fluids due to excessive alcohol consumption. Not only is the image of the isolated symposiast vomiting or defecating in front of everyone's eyes comical, but it also contains an overt subtext: observe the rules of the *metron*! The wine enjoyed from that drinking cup may be the very wine that comes back out of the drinker in full force if not taken with some moderation and self-control.

The connection between visuals of overindulgence and the moralities explicit in the texts, admittedly, require further explanation since the archaic poets do not often mention the ejection of bodily fluids. The term *cholos* "bitter anger" or some derivation of it,¹⁵³ appears a few times in the *Theognidea* in the context of angry men.¹⁵⁴ Perhaps the double-meaning of *cholos* "bitter anger" and "bile" would have been read through the visual images of men throwing up wine as well: drinking too much causes the manifestation of *cholos*, and whether

151 Mitchell 2009: 86-90.

152 For a discussion of various games and aspects of performance with drinking cups and other drinking paraphernalia, see Lissarrague 1990a: 68-86.

153 Also appears as *χολή* in other works, the form used in Eubulus fr. 94.

154 *Theognidea* lines 155, 325, and 738.

that be the physical expulsion of bile or an increased amount of bile expressed through anger, neither one has its place in the symposium. Regardless, the male citizen vomiting is an extremely clear visual expression of excessive drunken behavior, which is a heavily discussed topic in sympotic poetry, particularly in Theognis. Exhibiting *cholos* is the antithesis of the ideal *sōphrosunē* “prudence” or “temperance,” a quality that is lacking in drunkards according to Theognis.¹⁵⁵ The differences in the quality of an *agathos* person versus a *kakos* one is expressed in an exhortation to Zeus in the *Theognidea* (lines 377-380):

πᾶς δὴ σευ, Κρονίδη, τολμᾷ νόος ἄνδρας ἀλιτρούς
 ἐν ταύτῃ μοίρῃ τόν τε δίκαιον ἔχειν,
 ἦν τ' ἐπὶ σωφροσύνην τρεφθῆι νόος ἦν τε πρὸς ὕβριν
 ἀνθρώπων ἀδίκουσ' ἔργμασι πειθομένων;

Indeed how, son of Cronos, does your mind endure to hold sinful men
 in the same respect as a well-ordered man,
 whether your mind is turned toward moderation or toward the outrage
 of men who are persuaded by unjust deeds?

In these lines, Theognis once again separates the types of men into two camps, those who are sinful (*ἄνδρας ἀλιτρούς*, line 377) and the one who is just, or well-ordered (*δίκαιον*, line 378).¹⁵⁶ The son of Cronos, that is Zeus, is questioned as to whether he puts up with men of certain qualities. The quality of a man depends on whether they lean toward *sōphrosunē* or *hubris*. A person may reveal to the community whether he is an *agathos* or a *kakos* by his own behavior; a contrast that is also demonstrated in art historical representations of appropriate and inappropriate sympotic behavior.

155 For more examples on the discussion of “prudence” and “control,” see the *Theognidea* lines 475-498 discussed in Chapter One; also lines 1323-1326 where Theognis beseeches Aphrodite to maintain his *sōphrosunē*.

156 The use of the plural to describe the sinful men (*ἄνδρας ἀλιτρούς*, line 377) and the singular to describe the just man (*τόν τε δίκαιον*, line 378) is perhaps a way to show the rarity of a true *agathos*. This would be something that the few aristocrats attending a symposium could cling to, that their nobleness is exclusive and rare and that is what separates them from the larger group.

This visual dichotomy between the positive expression of community and the separation of the poorly behaved individual is well-expressed on an Attic red-figure cup attributed to the Brygos painter (Fig. 5).¹⁵⁷ A lively scene of a komastic procession takes place on the exterior body of the drinking cup with men playing instruments and dancing. On the interior in the tondo of the vessel, one man reclines on a couch while a young boy attempts to help him vomit with fingers entering the man's mouth as he holds back his head. A vessel is placed underneath the man to help catch the vomit since he is still inside the *andrōn* and his lyre hangs above him on the wall, a striking contrast to the revelers who have moved the party outside and are playing their instruments together. The individual attempting to vomit is alone; he is unable to partake in the continuation of sympotic events with the rest of his community because he has imbibed too much wine.

Another tondo of a drinking cup displays a youth attempting to get wine straight from the *krater* (Fig. 6).¹⁵⁸ Mitchell considers that this scene is very similar to that of a satyr jumping headlong into a *krater* (Fig. 7), suggesting a parallel between the greedy youth and the satyr, who is uncivilized, wild, uncontrollable, individualistic and inherently anti-*polis*.¹⁵⁹ The figures in each tondo are depicted as being alone, separated from the larger group, and, obviously are overcome with unsatiated thirst. No other symposiasts appear around these individuals, perhaps underscoring the selfish and anti-communal aspect of their actions. Another Attic red-figure tondo provides the most scatologically-charged image extant, showing a youth both defecating and urinating in the tondo of a vessel (Fig. 8). While the

157 This Attic red-figure cup, ca. 500-450, is attributed to the Brygos painter who creates similar scenes (BA 203934).

158 Mitchell 2009: 87 discusses this scene taking place in the tondo of an Attic red-figure drinking cup with no exterior decoration on the body (BA 201392).

159 Mitchell 2009: 87.

youth in question does not have any drinking supplies around him in this tondo, the fact that it is a sympotic scene is suggested by the location of the image in the drinking cup, and that the youth is depicted wearing a garland, typical of sympotic paraphernalia well-described in the quintessential description of a sympotic space by Xenophanes' fr. 1.¹⁶⁰ Another example of a youth in the tondo depicts an adolescent male urinating into an *oinochoe*, the vessel used to pour wine.¹⁶¹ There is yet another similar tondo image of a naked youth clutching an *amphora*, the storage container for wine, as if he is about to drink directly, and thus inappropriately, from the mouth of this vessel.¹⁶² Perhaps such representations of youths trying to drink wine from serving containers are intended to show their lack of understanding about the *metron* and general sympotic etiquette, the very reasons why the *Theognidea* presents itself as a *paideia* addressed to young Kyrnos.

A remarkable drinking cup shows the progression of a drinking party from orderly to disorderly on its exterior, while the tondo shows one man inducing vomiting with the help of an attendant (Fig. 9).¹⁶³ This temporally dynamic vessel has a calm and orderly drinking scene occurring on one side of the exterior body; the symposiasts, with garlands on their heads, are all reclining on *klinai* and engaging in activities appropriate for such an event,

160 Xenophanes fr. 1 starts with the following scene: *νῦν γὰρ δὴ ζάπεδον καθαρὸν καὶ χεῖρες ἀπάντων // καὶ κύλικες· πλεκτοῦς δ' ἀμφιτιθεῖ στεφάνους, // ἄλλος δ' εὐῶδες μύρον ἐν φιάλῃ παρατείνει*, "For now indeed the floor is spotless and the hands of everyone and the drinking cups. One weaves round the plaited garlands; another applies sweet myrrh in the saucer" (lines 1-3).

161 This Attic red-figure drinking cup depicts warriors in between palmette decorations on the exterior body with a youth urinating into an *oinochoe* in the tondo. It is signed by Epiktetos (BA 200385). In a similar representation in a separate tondo of a cup (BA 165799), a man urinates into an *oinochoe* as he reclines next to an *aulētris*. Reading this scene is difficult since the urinator in question appears to be engaged in sympotic activity; he reclines as he listens to an *aulētris* and appears to be playing *kottabos*, truly he is a master multi-tasker. Interestingly, he is the only symposiast on the drinking cup because the exterior body depicts what is interpreted as chaos and fight from Troy on one side and a Herakles and Apollo fighting over a tripod on the other side. Perhaps this accompanying image is supposed to highlight conflict and its association with bad behavior.

162 This Attic red-figure image is in the tondo of a drinking cup, and shows a naked youth tilting back an *amphora* toward his mouth (BA 200852).

163 This Attic red-figure drinking cup dates between 500-450 (BA 4704).

including drinking from *kylikes*, listening to music, and playing *kottabos*. On the opposite side of the same vessel, a more chaotic scene is taking place. The men are livelier, standing up rather than reclining on a couch, their movements seem less intentional as they wobble and move throughout the scene, limbs flailing every which way. Two men appear to be falling into the *krater* while one man tries to steady their balance. These men appear to be quite intoxicated; however, they are intoxicated at the same time communally and not one man is marked out as different or distinct from the group.¹⁶⁴ Meanwhile, the tondo of this cup shows a man reclining by himself, looking toward a vessel that will catch his bodily fluids as he extends his fingers into his mouth to induce vomiting. A young attendant, holding the symposiast's head steady and standing as far back from the splash zone as possible, is the only one accompanying him: all of the other male citizens occupy a different and more communal sympotic space on the exterior of the drinking cup. Taken together, these images recall what happens when the protocols of moderation are not followed, a sentiment that is expressed in many places throughout the *Theognidea*, as I have discussed, but can be boiled down into lines 401-402: *Μηδὲν ἄγαν σπεύδειν· καιρὸς δ' ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἄριστος // ἔργμασιν ἀνθρώπων*, "Seek nothing excessively, due measure is the best for every deed of men." The individuals in these various tondos did not follow this warning and rushed headlong, sometimes literally, into personal pleasure and excess.

Yet another drinking cup with a classic *komos* taking place on the exterior of the vessel contains in its tondo a youth with garlands vomiting towards an attendant who holds

¹⁶⁴ The dynamic movement of the figures on this scene and lack of furniture make this scene appear to be a *komast* procession; however, I interpret this scene still taking place indoors because not everyone is proceeding in the same direction, there are no instruments, and a *krater* is situated in the space.

his head (Fig. 10).¹⁶⁵ Like the other images, these two individuals are separated from the group and collective komastic activity on the exterior of the vessel. This drinking cup provides another classic example of sympotic activity juxtaposed with the consequences of one satiating their thirst beyond the point of excess and paying the price for it in the tondo. This interior image would only be revealed as a symposiast drains the wine from the cup.

Such visuals are performative and interactive, yet they have other important underlying functions as well, especially when these visual representations of drunken symposiasts are supplemented with textual evidence explaining the moralities of drinking behavior. Mitchell makes an important observation in his brief discussion of Bakhtin and the concepts of grotesque and carnivalesque as they apply to different rituals and practices in popular culture, including the Greek symposium:

For a limited and well-delineated time, we can mock whoever we please, whatever their political, moral, religious, or financial status, or the power and influence they wield in the usual setting. We can mock every normal hierarchical social or class structure, gender barrier, or age difference. And yet, perversely, this ‘controlled madness’ will reinforce the social order and bring about a cohesion of the social entity. In the words of Bakhtin (1968: 19), it produces a “utopian realm of community, freedom, equality, and abundance.”¹⁶⁶

The mock-play that occurs at the symposium most obviously appears in the appropriation of “the Other,” which I discuss in Chapter One. However, this Bakhtinian concept is only applicable to a point. While the grotesque aspect on bodily functions and the hyper-focused emphasis on orifices through vomiting, defecating, and urinating is certainly a comical deviation from social norms, the symposium would not be the place to enact such a freedom,

¹⁶⁵ This Attic red-figure drinking cup from Etruria, Italy, dated from 500-450 BCE, is by the Brygos painter, who wrote his name underneath the foot (BA 203930).

¹⁶⁶ Mitchell 2009: 249.

especially in the company of other aristocratic male citizens.¹⁶⁷ The symposium is an institutional space of pleasure and laughter, encouraging *Lachkultur*,¹⁶⁸ but only to a certain limit; for the images of the symposium are also presented in a strongly coded language that warns against the deviation from social norms. Theognis provides a vivid description of drinking too much wine (lines 503-510):

οἴνοβαρέω κεφαλὴν, Ὀνομάκριτε, καὶ με βιάται
οἶνος, ἀτὰρ γνώμης οὐκέτ' ἐγὼ ταμῆς
ἡμετέρης, τὸ δὲ δῶμα περιτρέχει. ἀλλ' ἄγ' ἀναστὰς
πειρηθῶ, μὴ πως καὶ πόδας οἶνος ἔχει
καὶ νόον ἐν στήθεσσι· δέδοικα δὲ μὴ τι μάταιον
ἔρξω θωρηχθεῖς καὶ μέγ' ὄνειδος ἔχω.
οἶνος πινόμενος πουλὺς κακόν· ἦν δέ τις αὐτὸν
πίνη ἐπισταμένως,¹⁶⁹ οὐ κακὸν ἀλλ' ἀγαθόν.

I am wine-heavy in my head, Onomacritus, and the wine
overpowers me, for no longer am I the steward of
my own mind, the house spins round. But, come now, let me try to stand up,
so that the wine does not somehow hold both my feet
and my mind in my chest. I am afraid that I'll do something worthless
having armed myself and that I'd have a great disgrace.
Much wine being drunk is a bad thing. But if someone were to
drink it skillfully, it is not bad, but good.

The important issue here is that the speaker is no longer in charge of his own faculties and judgement, which is more effectively expressed visually as extreme intoxication to the point of vomiting. The lack of judgment in the visual representations of the symposium on

167 Mitchell 2009: 250 notes that drinking vessels were widely available to the populace. While the pottery may have been more widely accessible, other features of the symposium suggest that it was a space for a higher socio-economic status. For example, the *andrōn* is an extra space in the house that is no doubt a superfluous expense for many and, in addition to feasting paraphernalia, wine and entertainment are other additional costs (see Cahill 2020: 180-190 for the elaborate nature of these excavated spaces). It should be noted that Mitchell also makes the important observation that placing these cultural practices within a Bakhtinian framework of the grotesque is problematic in that it is, not only etc in nature, but also elitist (i.e., Bakhtin was a part of the upper social strata writing his observations on “folk culture” and the practices of a group of people who would consider him an outsider). Mitchell does not touch on this fact, but Bakhtin does discuss his own family’s wealth and status in a series of printed transcripts of an interview led by Duvakin recently published by Gratchev and Marinova 2019: 15-24.

168 Mitchell 2009: 90-91.

169 The adverb *ἐπισταμένως* refers to drinking as a skill. Mastery of the *ars bibendi* is certainly an important theme in the *Theognidea* as has been discussed in Chapter One.

drinking vessels is implied, since this would be an obvious effect of drunkenness yet one that is not as easy to express in a stylized image.

There is at least one example of a symposiast vomiting within the same space and register as their fellow drinkers on the famous volute *krater* from ancient Morgantina in Sicily (Fig. 11).¹⁷⁰ This particular example comes from a volute *krater*, which is certainly central to sympotic activity, although it is not a drinking cup with which an individual drinker would presumably have a more up-close and personal interaction with. In order to consider all images related to sympotic overindulgence, is worth mentioning this example in order to show that the vomiting symposiast appears in a place other than the tondo and a ceramic form other than a drinking cup. It could be assumed that the different context of this image changes the interpretation I have presented thus far. Since vomiting is certainly a common occurrence with excessive drinking, it makes sense, in this case, to have an individual depicted vomiting in a generic scene of a symposium. However, this does not necessarily detract from the more pointed message of the individuals vomiting alone in the tondos of the drinking cups. Notice that on the Morgantina *krater*, the vomiting individual is represented at the edge of the scene, facing away from his fellow drinkers; while this does not demonstrate the same degree of separation between the overindulged and the other symposiasts represented on the drinking cups, some level of marginalization is still encoded in the positioning. In another example of a vomiting symposiast, the bearded man in question is depicted on the exterior body of a column *krater*.¹⁷¹ He clutches his walking stick and

170 This Attic red-figure volute *krater* attributed to Euthymides shows a sympotic scene on one side of the neck of the *krater* and Herakles fighting Amazons on the other side of the *krater* (Aidone, Museo Archeologico 58.2382).

171 This Attic red-figure column *krater* is attributed to the Pig Painter and dates to the early 6th to mid 5th century BCE (BA 206446).

holds out his drinking cup, as if to keep it out of the splash zone, while he vomits a wavy flow toward a poor youth holding a lyre and a sack. It appears he is the only male citizen in this scene; the other two males are without beards and probably too young to be proper Athenian citizens. One youth is clearly an attendant and the other depicted on the opposite side of the exterior body looks back at the other scene as he hurries in an opposite direction. The rest of the *komasts* are nowhere to be seen on this vessel that has implicit communal and equitable significance since the *krater* is the symbol of communal drinking in the ancient Greek world.¹⁷²

Individual as Threat to Society

The individual who overindulges at a symposium is a threat to the communal harmony of the event. This person exhibits base behavior that is a toxic detriment the group. Theognis explains to Kynos why one ought not to befriend one of the *kakoi* (lines 101-112):

μηδείς σ' ἀνθρώπων πείση κακὸν ἄνδρα φιλῆσαι,
 Κύρνε· τί δ' ἔστ' ὄφελος δειλὸς ἀνὴρ φίλος ὦν;
 οὔτ' ἂν σ' ἐκ χαλεποῦ πόνου ρύσαιτο καὶ ἄτης,
 οὔτε κεν ἐσθλὸν ἔχων τοῦ μεταδοῦν ἐθέλοι.
 δειλοὺς δ' εὖ ἔρδοντι ματαιοτάτη χάρις ἐστίν·
 ἴσον καὶ σπείρειν πόντον ἄλὸς πολιῆς·
 οὔτε γὰρ ἂν πόντον σπείρων βαθὺ λήιον ἀμῶς,
 οὔτε κακοὺς εὖ δρῶν εὖ πάλιν ἀντιλάβοις.
 ἄπληστον γὰρ ἔχουσι κακοὶ νόον· ἦν δ' ἐν ἀμάρτης,
 τῶν πρόσθεν πάντων ἐκκέχεται φιλότης·
 οἱ δ' ἀγαθοὶ τὸ μέγιστον ἐπαυρίσκουσι παθόντες,
 μῆμα δ' ἔχουσ' ἀγαθῶν καὶ χάριν ἐξοπίσω.

Let no man persuade you to befriend a base man,
 Kynos. What advantage is a worthless man as a friend?
 He would not protect you from difficult toil and ruin,
 nor, when he has something good, would he be willing to share it [with you].

172 See Lissarrague 1990a: 19-46 for an in-depth discussion of the krater as the communal focal point of convivial events.

The gratitude for one doing a good thing on behalf of base men is worthless;
 it's equal to sowing seed in the sea of grizzled salt.
 For you sowing the sea could not reap a thick crop,
 nor could you, doing good for the base, receive a good [deed] in return.
 For base men have a greedy mind. If you should err once,
 the friendship built out of everything from before would be cast away.
 But when noble men have suffered, they have enjoyment to the highest degree,
 since they hold a memory of good things and are grateful thereafter.

In this passage, Theognis admonishes the futility of befriending a base man (*τί δ' ἔστ' ὄφελος δειλὸς ἀνὴρ φίλος ὄν*, line 102; *δειλοῦς δ' εὔ ἔρδοντι ματαιοτάτη χάρις ἐστίν*, line 105). The friendship ultimately ends up being unreciprocated (*οὔτε κακοῦς εὔ δρῶν εὔ πάλιν ἀντιλάβοις*, line 108) and the resources and deeds that were done for the base man produce no profit for the person who makes an effort on behalf of a *kakos*. A *kakos* drains an *agathos* of his benevolence, a burden that can be extended to the commodities he offers to his guests at a symposium. The verb *ἐκχέω* “to pour out” has obvious drinking connotations.¹⁷³ It means both to pour out and squander, perhaps alluding to a nonreciprocal friendship in which one empties out the *agathos*' resources (i.e., wine) as well as his previous kindnesses. This exact sentiment is expressed a few lines later: *πολλοί τοι πόσιος καὶ βρώσιός εἰσιν ἑταῖροι, // ἐν δὲ σπουδαίῳ πρήγματι παυρότεροι*, “Many are companions when it comes to drink and food, you know, but there are fewer companions among serious matters” (lines 115-116). A base man is greedy and only acts as a companion when there is food and drink to be gained, a good reason why a wise individual should still keep their wits about them and be cautious players at a banquet. A *kakos*, according to Theognis, not only drinks too much and demonstrates a lack of self-control, but he also makes an unreliable friend. Theognis seems to perceive these friendship ties in terms of reciprocity. Good deeds, including commodities shared at a

173 For reference, see the *LSJ*.

symposium (i.e., wine), and feelings of gratitude are not perpetuated by a *kakos* within the group.

According to Theognis, the nature of a base man remains constant even if the *kakos* possesses wealth or social standing (lines 319-322):

*Κύρν', ἀγαθὸς μὲν ἀνὴρ γνώμην ἔχει ἔμπεδον αἰεὶ,
τολμᾷ δ' ἔν τε κακοῖς κείμενος ἔν τ' ἀγαθοῖς·
εἰ δὲ θεὸς κακῷ ἀνδρὶ βίον καὶ πλοῦτον ὀπάσσει,
ἀφραίνων κακίην οὐ δύναται κατέχειν.*

Kyrnos, a noble man always has a steadfast mind,
he endures being situated among the bad and the good.
But if a god would grant livelihood and wealth to a base man,
he, being foolish, is unable to restrain his baseness.

Some of the symposiasts attending the drinking party may appear to be similar to the other nobility because of their wealth and social standing; however, they cannot keep themselves from acting in accordance with their base qualities. The base man does not follow the appropriate social etiquette at the party, whether they violate the rules by talking too much, drinking too much, or a combination of both. But why is it such an issue to be associated with a base man?

In the *Theognidea*, it seems as though the *kakoi* and the *agathoi* are difficult to distinguish at first glance, especially with the increasing wealth of the *kakoi* as Theognis notes in lines 183-192. It appears they have access to the same material resources available to them, which would indicate that they at least come from the same socio-economic class. However, determining and defining social classes in the archaic and early classical period is difficult and imprecise; as Węcowski notes, such definition is often overlooked, as he seeks to clarify class distinctions when the only clear social category for a person in archaic Greece

is the more or less broadly defined position as a citizen of a *polis*.¹⁷⁴ There are, obviously, other terms colored with socio-political qualities used in Greek lyric such as *aristoi*, *agathoi*, *esthloi*, *kakoi*, and *deloi*, some of which we have seen used throughout the *Theognidea*, but it is unclear as to what exactly defined these classes other than substantial wealth.¹⁷⁵ It is also important to note the moral factors placed upon these terms. An *agathos* and a *kakos* may be equal in wealth, but Theognis distinguishes them by their ability to live moderately in lines 183-192 and their inherent characteristics are inextricable from their current economic position. So, while a *kakos* may have become wealthy and a part of the *nouveau riche*, they do not have the noble lineage of an *agathos*. Węcowski also notes the more intangible qualities used to distinguish such groups including the noble and epic ideals encompassed in inherited *aretē* “noble excellence” as well as the perceived mythical lineage of the phratry.¹⁷⁶ Drawing on parallels from the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, a noble class called the *szlachta*, from the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries, Węcowski finds that we can deduce the following characteristics about the archaic aristocracy in Greece: that, just as one could not separate the *szlachta* from magnates,¹⁷⁷ there was really no formal distinction between the nobles of archaic Greece and any distinction made was more so between the aristocracy and *hoi polloi*. According to Węcowski the only true distinction between archaic

¹⁷⁴ Węcowski 2014: 22. Węcowski elucidates the class structure of archaic Greece by comparing the *agathoi* to the nobles in a similar historic example, the nobility of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth from the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries. Węcowski chose to analyze the *szlachta* and its parallels with the archaic Greek aristocracy “because it constituted a rather large proportion of society (perhaps up to ten per cent) and because it lacked formalized internal stratification” (2014: 21).

¹⁷⁵ Węcowski 2014: 22.

¹⁷⁶ Węcowski 2014: 22-24.

¹⁷⁷ The distinction of magnate from the more ordinary, but still noble *szlachta* is that magnates “can only work in a very specific legal, social, and ideological context” (Węcowski 2014: 22). Accumulated wealth is another feature of the magnates and, for the most part, they needed to live a particular lifestyle in which they were constantly able to entertain and impress other nobles (Węcowski 2014: 21).

Greek nobles is their substantial wealth;¹⁷⁸ however, I would also add to this that their perceived illustrious lineage and tradition also distinguishes them among others (but this metric is perhaps more difficult to ascertain). This is why Theognis and his fellow nobles take such issue with the growing wealth and resources of the “base” men and why he attaches such strong and negative moral characteristics to the *kakoi*.¹⁷⁹

A *kakos* is unable to curb his desire for *koros* and the two terms are closely linked as I briefly mention in my discussion of *koros* above. Recall the passage: ἔστι κακὸν δὲ βροτοῖσι κόρος, τῶν οὐ τι κάκιον // πᾶσα γὰρ ἐκ τούτων, Κύρνε, πέλει κακότη, “Satiety is a base thing for mortals, for whom there is nothing baser. For, Kyrnos, from such baseness comes into existence” (lines 1175-1176). Baseness and satiety are closely linked; *κόρος* is one of the basest qualities one can have. The symposium had such important social protocols because of its function as a microcosm of the *polis*. Not only was a base man a threat to the noble symposiasts, but he was also a threat to civilized order and the *status quo*. This satiety to the point of excess and individual greed is a quality demonstrated by the most wild and anti-*polis* creatures. It is not surprising that the image of a youth diving headfirst into a column *krater* (Fig. 6) conjures up images of the satyr, the antithesis of civility, diving into another *krater* (Fig. 7). In a similar tondo scene, another satyr in an Attic red-figure drinking cup pours back an *amphora* of unmixed wine as he reclines (Fig. 12).¹⁸⁰ The satyrs exhibit the basest quality, that is *koros*, in their unbridled attempt to drink as much wine as possible. As animalistic creatures, they have no concept of the *metron*. The act of a single individual imbibing from a

178 Węcowski 2014: 22.

179 See *Theognidea*, lines 183-192 for Theognis’ discussion of the *nouveau riche* infiltrating and polluting the true nobility, the *agathoi*, according to the author.

180 This Attic red-figure cup has no exterior images on the body, only the tondo is painted. It is signed with an inscription, attributing this work to Epiktetos (BA 200500).

krater is profane; the *krater* is inherently a symbol of the communal sharing of wine and hospitality.¹⁸¹ Being animal-hybrid creatures, satyrs are not concerned with commensality and are more concerned with personal satisfaction and instant gratification. This base creature's posture also provides a visual marker for their baseness, as Lissarrague notes in his discussion of the satyrs' body-language in Greek vase painting: "Moreover, their crouching posture is not that of the honest Athenian. It is a posture with a specific meaning, and it is usually reserved by the vase painters either for defecation or for inferiors, like slaves..."¹⁸² It is interesting that Lissarrague alludes to this posture of belonging to base creatures and humans, in addition to connecting the crouching posture of defecating to that of the satyr. A *kakos* can be easily exposed from the rest of the *agathoi* by their drinking skills, or lack thereof in this case. But a *kakos* shows he is not morally upright through his physical appearance; he may be bent over into a *krater*, just like a satyr, leaning over to vomit, or crouching to urinate and defecate. His crooked posture marks his moral crookedness. It is bad news when a *kakos* follows the drinking behaviors, or any excessive pleasure-seeking behavior, of a satyr rather than a male citizen.

There are many images in which satyrs indulge in pleasures, not only with drinking unmixed wine, but also with sex.¹⁸³ It is clear that satyrs subvert the typical themes of a proper symposium. In an example of a red-figure plate, a satyr mocks the music of a symposium, as he holds two *auloi* in his hands while hanging the case for these musical instruments on his erect penis (Fig. 13).¹⁸⁴ In yet another tondo, a satyr with an erect penis

181 Lissarrague 1990a: 36.

182 Lissarrague 1990b: 56.

183 For further discussion of satyrs acting attempting to satiate their excessive needs, see Mitchell 2009: 156-169.

184 This Attic red-figure image on a plate (BA 200618) is also discussed by Mitchell 2009: 168.

and drinking horn in hand rides a wine skin (Fig. 14).¹⁸⁵ These satyrs are obviously taking too much pleasure at the symposium and are even making each aspect of it highly sexualized; they clearly exhibit levels of *koros* that a male citizen should disdain. The satyr, as part of the boundary-bending god Dionysus' retinue, is a complicated figure as Lissarrague notes:

[I]n his anatomy, as in his style of dress or in his movements, the satyr oscillates between the animal and the human, the barbarian and the civilized. The hybrid figure who accompanies Dionysus is not just a single strange type whose iconographical model is fixed once and for all: in his quasi-humanness, he demonstrates a variable animality, which may be emphasized to a greater or lesser degree but is nevertheless always present.¹⁸⁶

Satyrs are an important component of the cult of Dionysus, and by extension wine culture, yet in the semi-private and civilized space of the *andrōn* it seems that there is no use for the satyrs' overindulgence. Their acts certainly go beyond the *metron*. In fr. 198, Hesiod describes the satyr as: *γένος οὐτιδανῶν Σατύρων καὶ ἀμηχανοεργῶν*, "a race of satyrs, useless and unfit for work."¹⁸⁷ Dionysus' retinue would make for poor citizens, as their representations on these sympotic vessels certainly demonstrate, and it is clear that some of the selfish humans are supposed to represent the most uncultured and pleasure-seeking aspects of the satyrs.¹⁸⁸ In another tondo, text accompanies the image of an ithyphallic satyr happily clutching a wineskin as he pours it into a krater (Fig. 15). One can deduce that the happy satyr is overindulging in multiple pleasures, seeking excessive satiety. Part of the text surrounding him reads *Σιληνός τέρπον* "a Silenus enjoying himself," as Lissarrague translates it.¹⁸⁹ As is expected in the symposium, wine, sex, and music are interconnected. It is a space

185 In this Attic red-figure tondo, an ithyphallic satyr rides a wine skin while holding a drinking horn (BA 200591).

186 Lissarrague 1993: 212.

187 The fragment is how it appears in Solmsen, Merkelbach, and West 1983.

188 In his *Works and Days*, Hesiod notes that the only law animals adhere to is "to eat one another" (lines 276-278).

189 Lissarrague 1990a: 39 (BA 201289). Silenus is closely associated with Dionysus and is said to be the father of other satyrs, according to Euripides' *Cyclops* (see lines 13, 82, and 269).

where one can enjoy each of these pleasures, so long as they do not seek it unreasonably. It is interesting that these satyrs are represented alone in the tondo, just like the youths and male citizens who have overindulged; however, it should be noted that many images of satyrs engaging in various innocuous, or at least less socially unacceptable activities, exist on drinking paraphernalia.¹⁹⁰ This makes sense due to the close relation that satyrs have with Dionysus, wine, and drinking. Yet the interpretation of certain satyr imagery can inform our reading of greedy male symposiasts, especially with the satyrs' connection to wild and uncivilized behavior.

Lissarrague makes an intriguing comparison between the human sympotic sphere and the mythical Dionysian sphere by describing a blended Bacchic and sympotic scene around the rim of a *dinos*, complete with lord Dionysus seated directly across from a krater with men, women, and satyrs dancing about in a line (Fig. 16):¹⁹¹

It is worth noting that their dance is organized around a krater placed on the ground; pictorially it is almost directly across from Dionysus and seems to be correlated to him. Here, in the human space, the krater plays the same role as Dionysus does among the satyrs: it is the pole, the axial center for their dance and source of their celebration... To indicate [Dionysus'] great power, they associate him with the krater, not because he drinks from it but because it is still the symbol of conviviality and happiness of the symposion over which he presides.¹⁹²

Dionysus and the *krater* are at the center of drinking culture. This seamless blending of interconnected worlds has more satyrs dancing around Dionysus and more humans around the *krater* in this frieze, as Lissarrague notes.¹⁹³ The scene on the vessel is equitable, as no

190 For examples of Bacchic scenes with satyrs on various drinking paraphernalia see BA 1151, BA 3358, BA 4245, and BA 6058.

191 This Attic black-figure *dinos* is decorated on the rim with dancing satyrs surrounding Dionysus and men surrounding a krater. Interestingly, the interior body of the fragmented vessel contains images of ships at sea that could allude to the ship of state, a theme discussed in sympotic poetry (BA 579). For examples of the ship of state imagery evoked in Theognis, see lines 575-576 and 855-856.

192 Lissarrague 1990a: 37.

193 Lissarrague 1990a: 36.

person is given precedence; they are all a part of a community in this democratic space.

Dionysus keeps his retinue of satyrs in check and the *krater* is not abused by any one person in this scene of an ideal symposium. This *dinos* is also interesting because it contains images of ships sailing on the vessel's interior. Lissarrague does not discuss this detail; however, I interpret the depiction of ships on a sympotic vessel juxtaposed with a harmonious drinking scene as being intended to recall the ship of state imagery.¹⁹⁴ Notice how the frieze of men and satyrs are all enjoying themselves as a community. All of those present are obviously drinking together since there is a *krater* present, the wine god himself, and all of this is taking place on a *dinos*, a sympotic vessel. The ships in the interior body not only create a clever allusion of ships sailing on a literal wine-dark sea, but this imagery also complements the convivial frieze above. Everyone in the community is rowing harmoniously.

Examples of “the Other” in the Tondo

Male citizens are certainly represented as taking on the persona of “the Other” in sympotic imagery, which I discuss in my previous chapter.¹⁹⁵ Lissarrague notes the importance of this experience for Athenian male citizens in order to perpetuate notions of *isonomia*, the lawful equality of all male citizens, by the consolidation of group identity through the experience and definition of what that group identity is not (i.e. female, foreign, or even mythical).¹⁹⁶ Just as a male can become feminine through the poetic persona, he can

194 See Chapter One for a more thorough discussion of the ship of state metaphor used in the symposium.

195 For further discussion on how experiencing “the Other” contributes to group solidarity in the symposium, see Henderson 1999.

196 Lissarrague 1990a: 11-13.

also become female in visual imagery by literally wearing women's clothing.¹⁹⁷ However, a male putting on the persona of another cannot explain every sympotic image of non-male citizen partiers. Following upon my discussion of the potential role of women at symposia in my first chapter, in the following section, I focus on the imagery of women expelling bodily fluids, just as their male counterparts do, and what that exactly that means in these contexts.¹⁹⁸

Men are not the only figures represented in an overindulged state in a sympotic context, as is clearly demonstrated by the wealth of satyrs in similar drinking scenarios shown on many different vessels. There are visual representations of women drinking or reclining in the tondo as well, some behaving appropriately and some exhibiting signs of overindulgence. In one example of a woman exhibiting appropriate drinking behavior in the tondo, she reclines on pillows, garlanded and nude like many of her male counterparts, while delicately holding a *skyphos* as if to toss its dregs in a game of *kottabos* (Fig. 17).¹⁹⁹ A *psykter* contains a striking sympotic scene composed only of women (Fig. 18). On the exterior body of the vessel, four naked women recline on cushions and pillows. Three of the

197 For examples of men wearing the *sakkos*, see the Attic red-figure amphora attributed to the Flying-Angel Painter (BA 202714) and the tondo with a sympotic scene of the well-known Attic black-figure drinking cup with a base formed to look like male genitalia (BA 396). See also the Attic red-figure krater attributed to the Pig Painter, which details three men wearing *sakkoi* and other women's clothing in a clearly sympotic scene that includes one man holding a lyre and another holding a drinking cup (BA 206434). This scene is briefly discussed by Lissarrague 1990a: 11-12. For further discussion of Greek males taking on the persona of the foreigner, see Lee 2015: 160, Topper 2012: 90-101, and Lissarrague 1994: 198.

198 The role and level of participation of women has been a point of contention among scholars. Corner 2012, Lewis 2002, and Burton 1998 contribute to the extensive debate as to whether women attended the symposium, and, if so, in what capacities.

199 This Attic red-figure drinking cup housed at the J. Paul Getty Museum depicts a lively scene of naked men dancing and holding *skyphoi* while listening to a naked woman with a hat playing what appear to be castanets. Inside this drinking cup, a naked woman reclines, wearing the garlands and holding a *skyphos* like her male counterparts (BA 9023391). The Beazley Archives categorizes this woman as a *hetaira*, although, there is no explicit detail that indicates this, since she does not entertain the party guests as the other woman shown on the vessel, while the depiction of her actions (i.e. playing *kottabos* and reclining on a couch) and her appearance naked with a garland crown are similar to the men on the exterior of the vessel.

women are wearing the *sakkos*, a cap that is associated with most often with women.²⁰⁰ One of these women plays the pipes while the other two each hold a skyphos, one of these clearly poised for *kottabos*. The fourth woman does not don the appropriate *sakkos* and she only has a garland she seems particularly marked, not only in her different dress more typical of a male symposiast, but also in the fact that we are presented with the front view of her face as she drinks directly from a *kylix*, rather than the profile of her companions who drink from *skyphoi*.²⁰¹ Perhaps, in this way she, as well as the woman in the tondo of Fig. 17, are experiencing “the Other.” In their case, “the Other” is the garlanded male citizen, since they certainly act the part and do not have any traditional female clothing. The women appear to be playing the role of the male citizen at a symposium.

In one very interesting drinking cup, the only decoration appears in the tondo that contains a full-frontal and entirely nude woman urinating into a *krater* (Fig. 19). The headpiece she wears looks more elaborate than the average *sakkos*. The woman is alone as she urinates into the *krater*, the symbol of community. Not only has she surpassed the *metron* as evinced by her inability to hold the contents of her bladder, but it also could be read as her flagrant disregard for social protocol in communal drinking events. She is also depicted next to boots that are hanging up behind her, looking similar to examples that are visible in other sympotic scenes, but are usually out of the way and under the *klinai* (as in Fig. 9). One could only imagine the complex cultural layers that are present in this image, but the fact that she urinates into the *krater*, a highly symbolic vessel, is marked. As Lissarrague notes: “Greek

200 The *sakkos* was a sort of snood of Semitic origin that was most often worn by “proper women” and, according to Lee, its Eastern origins were pervasive and thus male symposiasts would use this cap not only to emulate femininity, but also foreigners, which plays on the effeminate foreigner trope in Greece at the time (Lee 2015: 159-160). See also Lissarrague 1990a: 11.

201 This Attic red-figure *psykter* is attributed to Euphronios (BA 200078).

morality, which idealizes balance (but neither frustration nor self-denial), is conceived on the model of the correct mixture of wine and water and linked to the image of the *krater*.”²⁰²

This image is also marked in another way. A woman, while she may be the object of male appropriation, can also take on a different persona for themselves. That is, she can be both one whose persona is experienced by others and, almost equally, an active agent playing the role of someone else. In this case, the woman experiences “the Other” by donning a foreign-looking and elaborate headpiece. The *sakkos* on her head is composed of elaborate and ornate designs that the Scythians are depicted wearing.²⁰³ Recall Anacreon’s sympotic poem featuring the Scythians, regarded as prolific drinkers (*PMG* 356b):

ἄγε δηῦτε μηκέτ' οὔτω
πατάγωι τε κάλαλητῶι
Σκυθικὴν πόσιν παρ' οἴνωι
μελετῶμεν, ἀλλὰ καλοῖς
ὑποπίνοντες ἐν ὕμνοις.

Come on again, let us no longer in this way,
with crashing and shouting,
pursue the Scythian cup with wine,²⁰⁴
but rather drinking moderately
among beautiful hymns.

Just as Anacreon describes his fellow companions as drinking in the Scythian style, and thus taking on the persona of a Scythian, the urinating female in Figure 19 also wears a cap that appears foreign in nature. A foreign cap may signal that this woman has overindulged since non-Greek cultures are often judged as having uncivilized drinking behaviors. As mentioned previously, the *sakkos*, while a staple form of headgear for an archaic and classical Greek

202 Lissarrague 1990a: 10.

203 For an example of the elaborately decorated Scythian textiles with various stripe and dot decorations, see BA 200091 and BA 203718. Compare the elaborate *sakkos* in Figure 19 to the plain *sakkoī* of the women in Figure 17 and Figure 18 as well as the undecorated *sakkos* of the woman in the tondo of a drinking cup (British Museum 1836,0224.25).

204 The phrase Σκυθικὴν πόσιν παρ' οἴνωι // μελετῶμεν essentially means drinking heavily in the “Scythian style.” For *comparanda*, see note 69 in Chapter One.

woman, continued to maintain connotations of foreignness with its Eastern origins.²⁰⁵ Even though the cap looks like a traditional *sakkos* in form, its ornate decoration may signal Eastern opulence, thereby framing the woman as experiencing “the Other.”²⁰⁶ This is similar to the way in which Sappho takes on the male persona in her poem in fragment 16, where she frames her desire within the martial and epic perspective, positioning her erotic longing from a male viewpoint; so it is entirely plausible that a woman can experience otherness in sympotic contexts, especially when we have both textual and visual examples of such.²⁰⁷

The evidence suggests that women could participate in sympotic activity along a spectrum of capacities, from attendants to courtesans to guests, and perhaps even having their own drinking parties as well. In these visual and textual representations, women can appropriate different identities in sympotic contexts just as men do in these convivial events. For future investigations, it would be worthwhile to explore how the appropriation of “the Other” is used in sympotic contexts – not only for men, but for women – and see whether a woman’s use of persona strengthens the people within a sympotic group by highlighting differences to others.

205 For further discussion on the origins, use, and connotations of the *sakkos* in Greek culture, see Lee 2015: 158-160.

206 It may be argued that this woman is, in actuality, a foreigner rather than a Greek woman mimicking a foreigner. However, I think the fact that she wears a *sakkos* makes it more likely that she is a Greek woman. Additionally, the trope of Greek symposiasts donning foreign costumes is fairly established (see Lee 2015: 160, Topper 2012: 90-101, and Lissarrague 1994: 198); and because this woman is also portrayed in a sympotic context, it makes most sense to me to read this image as a Greek woman at a symposium experiencing “the Other,” demonstrating how foreign drinking practices are excessively indulgent, leading to greed and self-importance with a literal pissing on the symbol of Greek communal ideals.

207 Sappho fr. 16 begins focalized from a male perspective: *οἱ μὲν ἰππῶν στρότον οἱ δὲ πέσδων // οἱ δὲ νάων φαῖσ' ἐπ[ί] γὰν μέλαι[ν]αν // ἔ]μμεναι κάλλιστον*, “Some say a troop of horsemen, others say a troop of infantry, and still others say a naval fleet upon the black sea is the most beautiful thing” (lines 1-3). Not only are the martial themes more associated with men, but the masculine plural pronouns *οἱ μὲν... οἱ δὲ* “some men, other men” give this poem an masculine voice at the first word. For more on Sappho’s sympotic poetry, see Bowie 2016; although, Bowie problematically retrojects the modern male gaze onto the readership of this poem when he suggests that Sappho’s same-sex encounters were purely for the enjoyment of men at the symposium.

Conclusion

Both the literary and visual representations indicate that there is an obvious distinction between a *kakos*, one who is self-serving and works against the greater goals and values of the community, and an *agathos*, one who acts moderately and shares resources with the community. The seeking of excessive satisfaction, *koros*, creates a situation in which an individual's self-interests are given greater importance than what is best for the rest of the group, and these situations are visually well-expressed upon drinking paraphernalia. The person who seeks *koros*, especially in the drinking of wine, ultimately loses control of their own faculties – both of a mental nature, as Theognis warns, and a physical nature as the vomiting and defecating individuals show – and they pay the price of being excluded from the rest of the group of symposiasts. Even the idea of experiencing “the Other” could only go so far, since a male citizen could not completely become a satyr or a Scythian stereotype; the male citizen may try on another persona, but not so as to become uncivilized and against the *polis* in extreme drinking behaviors associated with these groups. This seems to have extended to women participating in communal drinking activities. With the symposium as an extension of the *polis*, it is dangerous to have a participant who acts so brazenly against the *metron*.

CONCLUSION

The symposium is an important space that allows male citizens to strengthen their relationships. The *andrōn* provided a physical space for the symposiast to engage in pleasurable pursuits as a group; it was an equitable space in which everyone would enjoy drinking, poetry, and erotic pleasure. However, the symposium is a place that is as educative as it is enjoyable, and the space is coded with many reminders of how a male citizen should act among his peers. This is evident in the archaic Greek poetry that would have been recited in such a space, especially in the very popular verses of the sympotic poet Theognis. As discussed, his widely popular elegiac work placed Theognis, and whoever assumed his poetic persona, as the arbiter of sympotic morality and social etiquette. In addition to this educative *paideia*, drinking and serving vessels were decorated with intentionally coded scenes; these include scenes of both harmonious and idealized drinking parties as well as what I interpret to be admonitions for those who take more than their fair share of alcohol for selfish overindulgence to the detriment of communal harmony. The symposium is a diacritical drinking event in which the in-group, that is one particular group of participating male citizens at an event, distinguish themselves from others.

As I discuss in Chapter One, the idea of harmony is especially important in the symposium and this is exemplified by visual and literary references to the ship of state metaphor. All of the *agathoi* must keep the ship of state afloat, in the symposium and in the *polis*, through their measured and agreeable efforts in maintaining the social *status quo*. The *andrōn* itself encouraged everyone to have the same access to the same amounts of wine, equal opportunities to speak and participate in group activities such as *kottabos* or the *skolion*, and the same visual field that allowed everyone to see everyone else. The ship of

state metaphor also alludes to the *metron*, because a symposiast must navigate the middle course when it comes to drinking: not too much wine so as to become excessively drunk and not too little wine so as not to be considered not a team player. Symposiasts who are unmeasured and self-serving at a symposium, that is, Theognis' *kakoi*, are a bad sign for the *polis* in which they participate as citizens. Theognis makes this sentiment clear: *Πολλάκις ἡ πόλις ἦδε δι' ἡγεμόνων κακότητα // ὅσπερ κεκλιμένη ναῦς παρὰ γῆν ἔδραμεν*, "Often this *polis*, because of the wickedness of its leaders, runs along the land just as a swerving ship" (lines 855-856). One bad wine-guzzler could rock the boat enough to endanger the order of the *polis* that the *agathoi* in the *Theognidea* were so keen on maintaining. This, of course, was for obvious self-preservation since the *agathoi* are a group of elites who were constantly worried about the newfound wealth of men who come from less established families, at least according to the more suspicious and anxious Theognis.²⁰⁸

Proper social behavior was governed by the concept of the *metron*, measured restraint or moderation. To be a part of the group, an individual must drink enough of the limb-loosening alcohol and stay involved from the time the partiers are reclining and engaging in the *skolion* up until the time the symposiasts take the event outside for the ritualistic, and somewhat rowdy, *kōmos*. Even though the group of revelers may be highly intoxicated at this point in the night, as images on drinking vessels show, they are all in a similar state, moving as a group with no one person given precedence or importance, just as the *andrōn* encourages equality among everyone who is an active participant (rather than an attendant) of the sympotic festivities. While this democratization of the sympotic space is important, the interactions and teachings that occur here extend to how a citizen should act as a governing

208 For example, see *Theognidea* lines 183-192.

member of the *polis*. That is why Theognis frames his elegies as teachings that are addressed to the young, soon-to-be-citizen Kyrnos. He needs to learn these important lessons so as not to become one of the base members of society, the *kakoi*, and to remain among the good, respected nobility, the *agathoi*. One of the qualities of an *agathos* is to drink moderately as Theognis states: *Οἷόν τοι πίνειν πολλὸν κακόν· ἦν δέ τις αὐτόν // πίνῃ ἐπισταμένως, οὐ κακός, ἀλλ' ἀγαθός*, “Indeed, drinking too much wine is bad, but if someone were to drink it wisely, he is not base, but noble” (lines 211-212). Not only is the wine-drunk male citizen seen as a *kakos*, but in getting excessively sauced, he has overstepped the bounds of experiencing “the Other.” Both his status as a Greek citizen and his maleness are compromised, and he has become more like the Scythian, as Anacreon describes in *fr.* 356b, unfamiliar with the *ars bibendi* and other civil behaviors.

As I discuss in Chapter Two, when someone acts selfishly and drinks wine beyond the *metron* in order to achieve a level of satiety beyond the measure, or *koros*, this person acts in a way that is adversative to the group’s collective interests of equal access to resources. The wine-guzzling symposiast is no longer focused on group harmony; the individual monopolizes attention by babbling incessantly and takes the excessive amounts of wine directly from the serving container.²⁰⁹ In addition to this already disruptive and discordant behavior, the overly drunken symposiast becomes actively hostile, starting fights among his peers.²¹⁰ This symposiast cannot control his own greed, jeopardizing the harmonious atmosphere of the symposium and, by extension, the *polis* since this individual would normally be politically active in the larger city-state. This individual is no longer

209 For admonitions against the drunk babbler who drinks more wine than necessary, see *Theognidea* lines 473-498.

210 For the connection between drunkenness and hostile behavior, see *Theognidea* lines 837-844. See also Anacreon 356a-b and Eubulus *fr.* 94.

rowing rhythmically in proper measure with their fellow male citizens to keep the ship of state afloat because they are distracted with self-interest.

The *kakos* individual is not only warned against throughout the *Theognidea*, but he also appears on drinking vessels with sympotic scenes. He is the individual who has had too much to drink, and consequently he vomits, defecates, or urinates in the sympotic space in a most unseemly fashion. What is most striking about these visual depictions is that the individual is physically separated from the rest of the symposiasts who are harmoniously engaged in regular sympotic activity: no one symposiast takes precedence in these generalized scenes. The unabashed betrayer of the *metron* is not only physically separated from the space, but also typically appears in the tondo of the drinking cup. This adds a level of performance since anyone drinking the wine from the cup will slowly reveal the image of the individual expelling bodily fluids with the subtext of an admonition: be wary of excess! The flagrant disregard for drinking etiquette exposes this individual as one who would take away from the group in order to receive personal gain, and that is dangerous in a space that is supposed to be democratic among the participants.

While this thesis addresses the function of the symposium as a moralizing and educative space within the context of the *metron*, there are a few more potential issues that could be productively addressed in future research. First and foremost, the question of how panhellenic the symposium was in the archaic and classical periods needs to be further analyzed, especially since all of the sympotic vessels used in this study are of Athenian origin and therefore present an Athenocentric perspective. All of the vessels I analyze are Attic vessels, and so an investigation into whether these vessels were created with Athenian values in mind or what the wide-ranging market demanded would be most helpful to see whether

there is a panhellenic ideal of the symposium. Moving forward, it would be most helpful to analyze the images of drinking vessels from other *poleis*.

Secondly, the question of women's experience in different sympotic events needs to be more adequately researched. It is an important question, but one that this thesis could not adequately address. In my experience with this project, there are still women depicted in sympotic scenes who are just assumed to be *hetairai* and are categorized as such. The same hyper sexualization occurs with the *aulētris*, which I suspect largely stems from a long-standing textual tradition that comes from a largely male perspective since these are the extant works, and biases, that survive from the ancient world. Scholars are shedding important light on this issue, notably Goldman who addresses our problematic and poorly informed interpretations of women and their roles in the symposium.²¹¹ However, there is still much work to be done on this front as publications continue to retroject the male gaze onto a woman's role and experience in the sympotic space.²¹²

A third point of inquiry would be to look at the opposite side of the coin and how the pleasurable pursuits were a part of the diacritical symposium, shared among a particular and select group. Even though there were anxieties about following social protocol and fitting in with the symposiasts who were deemed *agathoi*, it was certainly a place of pleasure. An individual would experience wine, poetry, fun games, sexual pleasures, and camaraderie with other male citizens that they enjoyed being around. It would be worth investigating how marked behavior in terms of accessibility to pleasurable pursuits and their shared experiences among a select group of people fits within the theoretical framework of the diacritical feast.

211 For an important investigation into the eroticization of the *aulētris*, see Goldman 2015.

212 See Bowie 2016.

In conclusion, it is clear that underlying anxieties about following social protocol were present in the sympotic space when drinking behavior at such an event is analyzed through a Theognidean lens and supplemented with sympotic images on drinking vessels. The space functioned as a microcosm of the *polis*, which meant that the male citizens participating had to make sure their behavior was copacetic and appropriate for facilitating group harmony and, by extension, friendship bonds among the *agathoi*. The concept of the *metron* encouraged by Theognis was important for keeping any individual symposiast's position within the group. The symposiast who gets excessively intoxicated can no longer be an active participant among the *agathoi*. The wine-guzzling drinker shows signs of greed and self-interest, ideas that are antithetical to the communal values of the group. This symposiast exhibits values that are attributed to the *kakoi* and so he is left to vomit, defecate, or urinate in the tondo while his peers continue engaging in sympotic activities with an appropriate amount of wine having been consumed.

FIGURE REFERENCE NUMBERS

*All of the figures cited in this thesis reference the Beazley Archive Pottery Database (labelled as BA with its vase number). Due to copyright law, the images are not supplied here; however, they may be looked up with their BA vase number. Please contact the author for a separate document of figures.

| Figure Number | Vase Number |
|----------------------|--------------------|
| Fig. 1 | BA 369 |
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| Fig. 15 | BA 201289 |
| Fig. 16 | BA 579 |
| Fig. 17 | BA 9023391 |
| Fig. 18 | BA 200078 |
| Fig. 19 | BA 204391 |

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