

University of St Andrews



Full metadata for this thesis is available in
St Andrews Research Repository
at:

<http://research-repository.st-andrews.ac.uk/>

This thesis is protected by original copyright

The Symposium and Komos in Aristophanes

Babette Pütz

Ph.D.

14 August 2000



TL
D726

Meiner Mutter

Declarations

(i) I, Babette Pütz, hereby certify that this thesis, which is approximately 100,000 words in length, has been written by me, that it is the record of work carried out by me and that it has not been submitted in any previous application for a higher degree.

14 August 2000

(ii) I was admitted as a research student in September 1997 and as a candidate for the degree of Ph.D. in September 1998; the higher study for which this is a record was carried out in the University of St. Andrews between 1997 and 2000.

14 August 2000

(iii) I hereby certify that the candidate has fulfilled the conditions of the Resolution and Regulations appropriate for the degree of Ph.D. in the University of St. Andrews and that the candidate is qualified to submit this thesis in application for that degree.

14 August 2000

In submitting this thesis to the University of St. Andrews I understand that I am giving permission for it to be made available for use in accordance with the regulations of the University Library for the time being in force, subject to any copyright vested in the work not being affected thereby. I also understand that the title and abstract will be published, and that a copy of the work may be made and supplied to any *bona fide* library or research worker.

14 August 2000

Contents

Abstract.....	i
Acknowledgements.....	ii
Abbreviations.....	iii
Introduction.....	iv
1 The Symposium in Aristophanes.....	1
1.1 Feasting in peace.....	1
'Acharnians'.....	1
'Peace'.....	22
'Lysistrata'.....	38
1.2 Feasting in changed circumstances.....	48
'Birds'.....	48
'Ecclesiazusae'.....	60
'Plutus'.....	72
'Frogs'.....	80
1.3 Feasting and age.....	91
'Clouds'.....	91
'Wasps'.....	101
'Knights'.....	124
1.4 The Symposium in Aristophanes: Conclusion.....	135
2 The Komos in Aristophanes.....	146
3 Conclusion.....	181
4 Appendices.....	187
Wine.....	187
Cottabus.....	211
Riddles.....	232

Perfume.....	254
5 Bibliography.....	269
6 Illustrations.....	281
7 Index of comic Fragments.....	286

Abstract

This thesis looks at the symposium and komos in Aristophanes and the comic fragments from two angles, considering the use of these forms of celebration to help shape a play's plot or to depict characters, and discussing the information found in comedy on some practical sympotic matters. The thesis explores the context of relevant scenes, the activities shown, their humour, and the social status of their characters. From this conclusions are drawn about the audience's sympotic-komastic knowledge. Both events serve mainly to express happiness in a particular dramatic context, usually celebrating a protagonist's achievement and depicting its results. They also generally help to create an atmosphere of exuberance, fitting the ethos of comedy. Both celebrations can accordingly be employed for their comic value alone, particularly when festive mockery is involved, including jokes about characters or public figures. However, excessive enjoyment of festive pleasures is also presented as turning into the self-centredness of certain characters, and distortions of sympotic and komastic practice can hint at disorder. Aristophanes' plays can be divided into three groups, depending on which circumstances make the partying possible, i.e. an achievement of peace, a change of other outer circumstances, or a character's maturation and its effects. Mostly aristocratic symposia are shown, but also some low-class celebrations. Furthermore, it is striking how detailed a sympotic knowledge some low-class characters display. Aristocratic symposia in comedy focus chiefly on their luxuriousness, which helps to draw attention to differences between characters' social status or to foreground a fortunate change of events. Lower class symposia focus on communality and on the pleasurable life of a group of characters. Komoi too appear in several varieties, ranging from dignified religious events to violent perversions. They support and reinforce the functions of symposia in the plays.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my supervisor Prof. F.S. Halliwell and my parents for all their help. For financial support I am grateful to the SAAS and BFWG Charitable Foundation. I would also like to thank Dr. Karla Pollmann, Prof. A.S. Gratwick, Dr. M. Campbell, Bill Choquette, Nadine Rossol, Christina Hellmich, Dr. Barbara Spinoula, Jera Marušič, Iman Javadi, Thor Polson, Katrin Dieckow, Natalie Cantini, Fiona Wedderburn, Franziska Rokos, Julia Böneke, Christina Falk, Dr. Peter Kruschwitz, Lauri Lehmann, Bastian Pütz, and all my other fellow-revellers. I am especially grateful to Jennie Hindmarsh and Rachael Powell for their very helpful suggestions on my English.

Abbreviations and Citations

For the abbreviations of Greek authors and works I use those given in Liddell-Scott-Jones, except for Thucydides, who is referred to by Thuc. in order to avoid confusion with Th. = 'Thesmophoriazusae', and Aristotle (= Aristot.). The abbreviations for Latin authors and works are those from Lewis-Short. For quotations from Aristophanes' plays I generally use Sommerstein's editions, for the comic fragments Kassel-Austin's PCG. Quotations from other authors are taken from the editions in Oxford Classical Texts or the Loeb series, unless stated otherwise. A double space in Greek quotations indicates a line-break. Secondary literature is referred to by author and page-number; exceptions are pointed out in the bibliography. The abbreviation of an Aristophanic play (e.g. Av.) or its English name in inverted commas (e.g. 'Birds') refers to the play as such and the following numbers to lines. If a chapter in the thesis which has the title of a play is meant, 'p.' indicates a page-reference. Furthermore, the chapter 'The Komos in Aristophanes' is shortened to 'Komos' in references. OCD always refers to the third edition of the Oxford Classical Dictionary, except when accompanied by a specific reference to the second edition.

Introduction

A symposium is a formal drinking-party which usually takes place after a deipnon and is frequently followed by a komos. An aristocratic symposium is normally held in a special room, the ἀνδρών. As many persons as fit on seven or eleven klinai, or sometimes more, could be present.¹ Generally, all of the guests are men; only female slaves and hetaerae appear in accounts of such events and are present to provide entertainment. The symposium usually follows a set of protocols concerning practical issues such as the mixing of wine, the conduct of games, and the guests' behaviour in general. Afterwards a komos often takes place, i.e. a procession of revellers, the spirit of which can range from the dignified and cheerful to the wild or even violent. Komoi, at least those which are privately organised, may have a more spontaneous character than symposia and they usually follow less tightly regulated procedures.

A typical symposium-scene is depicted on Munich 2410 (CVA München (5), ill. 250 and 251.3-4), an Attic red-figure stamnos of about 430 B.C., a typical komos-scene on Munich 2346 (CVA München (2), ill. 70), an Attic red-figure pelike from about 480-70 B.C.² The symposium-scene presents three symposiasts reclining on their left elbows on striped cushions. One of them is bearded. They wear their cloaks in a way that leaves the upper part of their bodies naked. Double-garlands from branches and white flowers are wound around their heads, and additionally headbands are worn by two of the men. In front of the klinai one can see little tables with a cup and tragemata, which were eaten with the wine. On the wall hang a cup, an oinochoe, and a lamp. The older man entertains himself with the very common symposium-game kottabus. The posture of his arm indicates that he is just about to let the wine-dregs fly out of the shallow cup, which he is

¹Cf. Berquist, in: Murray (1990) 37. Cf. also Phryn. fr. 69 for seven (and nine) klinai.

²See 'Illustrations I' p. 281-3.

circling over his head. In his left hand he holds another cup. The two younger men display great interest in other figures who are present in this scene: the one who lies alone on his kline, holding a cup and a lyre, has eye-contact with the beautiful, naked wine-pourer. This latter figure is depicted standing next to a large mixing-bowl, which is placed on a stand, and holding a jug. The young man on the shared kline has placed his cup on the table and seems to be devoting himself to watching and listening to the female aulos-player. She wears a long chiton, a cloak, earrings, and the same sort of garlands as the men.

Musicians also appear on the komos-vase. On each side a young and an older man dance to the music of a female lyre- or aulos-player. Both musicians, like the women depicted in the symposium-scene, wear long chitones, cloaks, and wreaths or headbands. The lyre-player seems to have attached a headband to her instrument. Two of the men wear their cloaks in a komastic manner, i.e. just thrown over one shoulder or around both and knotted in front of the breast. All of them are crowned with red garlands. They carry cups, and one of them also holds a wine-skin. Only the old komast behind the lyre-player does not have anything in his hands. He is the wildest dancer of the four, and his rather striking movements are typical of komastic dancing.

The main differences between the two scenes are due to the extent to which movement is involved. The symposium, in contrast to the komos, usually takes place inside³ and the guests tend to stay reclined. They engage in activities which can be practised from this position, such as talking, singing, and playing certain games. In contrast, komoi entail a great deal of movement, e.g. proceeding through the streets and dancing. Despite these fundamental differences, the representations of the symposium and komos on the vase-

³There is also evidence for symposia being held outside, though: cf. B. Kaeser, in: Vierneisel-Kaeser 306-9 with illustrations.

paintings display many similarities. Both show younger and older men as well as music-girls. The men are usually garlanded, but more undressed in the komos than the symposium; the women are similarly clothed on the two occasions. In both paintings the element of music is highlighted by placing aulos- and lyre-playing at the centres of the scenes. The participants in each of the celebrations are depicted as holding wine-cups, the komasts probably still the ones which they used during the preceding symposium. These overlaps indicate that the borderline between symposium and komos is not always clear, but that one can change into the next without any interruption. (In contrast, the beginning of the symposium after the *deipnon* would always be marked by the pouring of libations: cf. e.g. *Ar.*, V. 1217.)

A similar blurring of borderlines is particularly obvious in literary scenes where a komos-party gate-crashes a symposium, as is shown at e.g. *Pl.*, *Smp.* 212d ff. In the descriptions of private celebrations, more than in those of official, more dignified ones, one can often see that with the increase of the participants' intoxication from symposium to komos their actions become more and more exuberant and sometimes more violent. An obvious example of this process is the comic fragment *Eub. fr. *93*.⁴ In this passage the author makes Dionysus describe the increase in sympotic misbehaviour as being due to one's level of drunkenness. The symposium he imagines begins with drinking to health, which alludes to a traditional toast at the start of a symposium: cf. e.g. *Nicostr. fr. 18*, also *fr. 3* and *Call. Com. fr. 9*. After the third cup, the god says, it is time to go home, otherwise one is likely to misbehave. Drinking a sixth cup of wine is equated with the komos. So this fragment depicts how the symposium can imperceptibly change into the revel. This process is also described in comic detail in *Ar.*, V., where Philocleon first gets drunk at a symposium and soon afterwards displays hybriatic behaviour (cf. e.g. 1319). According to Eubulus' fragment, one reaches this state with the fourth cup of wine. Eventually,

⁴Cf. also 'Wine' p. 202f.

Philocleon's misbehaviour is shown to have developed into a sort of violent komos which the old man partly performs on stage (1326ff.; cf. 'Wasps' p. 116ff.).

There are several other allusions to and scenes about the symposium and komos in Old Comedy. The most obvious symposium-passages in Aristophanes' plays are Nu. 1353-79, V. 1122-1264 and 1292-1321, and Lys. 1225ff.; the most striking komos-scenes are the wedding- and / or victory-celebrations at the ends of many plays, e.g. Pax 1322ff., Av. 1706ff., also Ec. 1149ff. and Pl. 1191ff., as well as Dicaeopolis' and Philocleon's one-man-komoi at Ach. 1198ff. and V. 1322-1450, and the phallic procession at Ach. 237ff. Eq. and Ra. contain hints at sympotic matters, in particular the consumption of food and drink, rather than showing explicit symposium- or komos-scenes. Only one play, the Th., is almost entirely lacking in symposiac or komastic elements. This is the case for two reasons. Firstly, the plot of this play takes place during a festival from which men are excluded. In contrast to both Lys., where women and men finally reach good relations again and this fact (together with the peace with the Spartans) is celebrated in a symposium, and to Ec., where the women's government arranges symposia for the men (and perhaps also for themselves: cf. e.g. the appearance of the revelling female servant at 1112), in Th. the male and female spheres continue to be clearly separated from each other, and therefore the women can hardly be shown as taking part in the male institution of the symposium. Only the usual comic stereotype of women's bibulousness is mentioned, e.g. at 393, 418ff., 630ff., and also at 347-8, and there are musical allusions to religious komoi at 104ff. and 988ff. (cf. 'Komos' p. 168-9). The second reason for the absence of sympotic and komastic elements in this play is that the Thesmophoria is a festival without symposia. On the first day, perhaps, a procession took place,⁵ but this comedy is set on the second day, at which the women fasted and sat on the ground: cf.

⁵Cf. Parke 85.

e.g. Th. 949, Av. 1519, Plu., Mor. 378e, Ath. 307f. So, neither a symposium nor a komos would fit this context.

The feasting-scenes in Aristophanes' extant plays can be divided into three main groups, depending on which circumstances make feasting possible, i.e. peace, other outer circumstances, or a character's maturation and its effects. This thesis is structured according to these groups, supplemented by a set of appendices which deals with practical aspects of the symposium as illuminated by Aristophanes' plays and the comic fragments, in particular wine-drinking, games such as kottabus and riddles, and the use of perfumes. When analysing Ach., Pax, and Lys. it is crucial to remember that they were written during the Peloponnesian War. This means that the achievement of peace is the decisive factor for feasting in this group of plays. Other external circumstances in the polis or the characters' personal lives are the chief factor in the partying in Av., Ec., Pl., and Ra. A third group consists of comedies which treat a sort of generational conflict regarding sympotic matters and those in which the process of a character's growing up is depicted through symposium-imagery. To this category belong Nu., V., and Eq. These groups, then, are marked by particularly prominent emphases, but there are many connections, overlaps, and similarities between the groups. For this reason, these categories are employed here chiefly in order to give the analysis of the plays a basic structure, but they are not to be regarded as rigid. The divisions are largely made according to the comedies' use of symposium-imagery, but this is usually reinforced by komos-imagery too. Several kinds of komoi are depicted in the plays: cheerful celebrations, their violent opposites, religious komoi, and their parodies. Komastic mockery is employed in most of these passages, but also elsewhere in the comedies.

There has been a considerable amount of modern research on the symposium, especially on its archaeological evidence.⁶ However, the komos has not received very much attention in recent years, and the connection of either celebration with comedy has not been studied to any great extent.⁷ One problem for the sort of analysis undertaken in this thesis is the fact that much of the comic material is only transmitted in fragmentary form, so that it lacks a determinable context. Another problem is caused by the nature of comedy itself: one has to ask how far the plays actually provide reliable information or whether the reality of sympotic and komastic matters is mostly represented in a distorted and parodied way.

It is obvious that celebratory scenes help to create the atmosphere of exuberance which is characteristic of Old Comedy. However, so many different sorts and aspects of symposia and komoi are shown in the plays that some of these passages must also have been employed for other reasons, e.g. to point out problems in society at *Lys.* 306ff. This thesis looks at what the symposium- and komos-scenes contribute to the understanding of Aristophanes' comedies (and the comic fragments) on the one hand, and what one can conclude from these passages about the extent and depth of the audience's knowledge of sympotic and komastic matters on the other. In order to illuminate these wider issues, the following are the main questions which will be addressed:

- (1) What are the contexts in which symposiac and komastic elements appear in the comedies? Why do they appear at these places in the plots? Which aspects are emphasised in each case?
- (2) In these passages, what activities are the symposiasts shown as engaging in? Which kinds of symposiac entertainment are mentioned in the comedies?

⁶E.g. Murray (1990) and (1995), Lissarrague (1990), and also Slater (1991).

⁷The main exception is Bowie (1997).

(3) Is there a general affinity between the nature of the humour displayed in Old Comedy and the kinds of humour which can be seen in descriptions of symposia and komoi or in comic scenes about them?

(4) How are the personalities in these scenes characterised? Do they behave in expected or in surprising ways? What does this information reveal about their social status?

(5) In terms not only of the characters in the plays, but also of the spectators, how much knowledge of symposium- and komos-matters do the authors presuppose in their audiences, particularly in the light of the fact that the symposium is a rather aristocratic occasion, as reflected e.g. at V. 1171 and 1175, as well as *Amphis* fr. 14.5-6?⁸ Even if the audience cannot be seen as socially representing all citizens, because the entrance fee for the theatre in Aristophanes' time will have excluded some less wealthy people,⁹ still, the authors had to expect the presence of non-aristocratic spectators, who must also have been able to understand the jokes. Since comedy as a genre is closely connected with its democratic context, how exclusively aristocratic and how far removed from the main audience's experiences is the symposium as depicted in the plays? Komoi, on the contrary, appear to have been celebrated by poorer people, too, as e.g. *Dicaeopolis* at *Ach.* 237ff. (cf. also *Pl.* 1040ff.). Is this fact noticeable in the comic accounts of revels, e.g. in the representation of *Dicaeopolis'* conduct of the Rural Dionysia at *Ach.* 237ff.? If one considers the way symposia and komoi are represented in Old Comedy, what conclusions can be drawn about the relationships between the two and of each of them to comedy?

⁸There is also evidence for lower class symposia, e.g. *Pax* 1127ff. and 1140ff. Cf. also *Theocr.* 14.12ff.

However, the symposium-scenes in comedy are generally rather modelled on aristocratic parties, as will be shown.

⁹Cf. Sommerstein, in: Pelling 67-70; cf. also Pickard-Cambridge (1968) 265ff. on prices for seats in later times, and see him and Green 8 on the theoricon which was to support poorer citizens to come to the performance in the mid-fourth century. Cf. also MacDowell (1995)13-4.

The following analysis will show that the symposium and komos are mainly employed in comedy in order to create an atmosphere of exuberance (fitting the nature of the genre), usually in a celebration of a victory or an improvement within the community, e.g. the peace between cities and between men and women in *Lys.* (or what is thought to be one at first sight, e.g. the women's communism in *Ec.*). The scenes can be employed for their comic value alone or to underline certain ideas, such as the differences of attitudes between age-groups, e.g. in *Nu.* The main activities shown in the scenes are singing and eikasmos as well as revelling of various sorts, and the humour which is displayed resembles that of comedy in general in that it can contain obscenities and is not too hurtful. Generally, both forms of celebration serve to depict a carefree, peaceful time for all the characters who belong to the circle around the protagonist. For this reason characters of lower background too are shown as taking part in such celebrations and display quite thorough sympotic and komastic knowledge. Since non-aristocratic symposiasts and komasts also appear in the plays, then, and everybody in the audience must have understood the quite detailed jokes, e.g. those regarding the taking up of songs in *V.*, the symposium is not depicted as an exclusively aristocratic event in Old Comedy. This will be shown in detail in this thesis.

1 The symposium in Aristophanes

1.1 Feasting in peace

'Acharnians'

In Aristophanes' 'Acharnians', 'Peace', and 'Lysistrata' the achievement of peace provides the possibility of feasting. 'Acharnians' was performed in 425 B.C. against the background of the Peloponnesian invasions of Attica, during which wide areas of land were devastated: cf. e.g. Thuc. 2.57.2, 3.26. The protagonist of this play, Dicaeopolis, is shown making a private peace for himself, in reaction to what he suffered and after becoming exasperated with the Athenian assembly. He then has to defend this action against those among the Acharnians who are in favour of war, as well as the war-monger Lamachus. In his function as the representative of peace, Dicaeopolis beats this Lamachus, the representative of war, in a competition between the life-styles of peace and war. To allow one to visualise how much more pleasurable Dicaeopolis' life in peace is than that of his opponent during his war-expedition, symposium-imagery is employed. Both of Dicaeopolis' victories, i.e. the achievement of peace and its successful defence, are celebrated with komoi, each of which takes place as part of a festival, the Rural Dionysia and the Choes-day of the Anthesteria. The inclusion of these festivals in the play, together with the fact of the play's own performance at a Dionysiac festival, the Lenaea,¹ provides many further possibilities for allusions to feasting.

In the context of a life of peace, wine - as an essential part of the symposium - is very important, as becomes apparent in this play.² Peace is made with a treaty which involves a libation and is therefore indirectly connected with wine and the symposium. The connection between wine and peace is literally shown at 187ff.,

¹Cf. the mention of the ἄρχων βασιλεύς and of the judges at the end of the play (1224).

²Cf. also 'Wine' p. 207ff.

where Amphitheus actually presents his treaties as wines of different ages, and at 1051ff., where the groomsman asks to be poured a ladle of peace. Later on, a sympotic contest between the representatives of peace and war takes place, which is discussed below. However, symposium-imagery is used in an ambiguous way in Ach., as will be shown in detail in this chapter. It has negative connotations in the first half of the play. Often a distortion of proper symposium-behaviour is shown, which generally symbolises the existence of some sorts of problems.³ For instance, at 525 the cause of the Peloponnesian War is explained through the imagery of cottabus and drinking.⁴ In connection with this, Pericles' laws are compared to scolia (532), hinting at a verbal resemblance to Timocreon fr. 5 Page (cf. 'Cottabus' p. 229). However, the fact that so much symposium-imagery is found in this explanation of the causes of the war indicates that it is not intended to be taken seriously by the audience, but is just a comic distortion of reality.

Another instance of an abuse of sympotic practice appears in Ach., when Dicaeopolis is shown acting as though he had drunk too much at 584-6: he asks for Lamachus' shield to be turned upside down so that he can use it as a basin, and for a feather from his helmet-crest to tickle his throat. Moreover, he would like Lamachus to hold his head, a situation which is frequently depicted on vase paintings. This passage expresses literally the idea that Dicaeopolis is 'sick' of Athenian politics.⁵ Later on, the Megarians' situation is also described with the imagery of distorted symposium-

³Similarly, destruction of vines in the war, which is frequently mentioned in this play (cf. 183, 231-3, 512, 986-7), is connected with the production of wine and therefore indirectly with the symposium: cf. 'Peace' p. 28-9.

⁴This passage is further treated at 'Cottabus' p. 226ff. and 'Komos' p. 155.

⁵Cf. also Edmunds 14. For a depiction of such a scene see e.g. Vierneisel-Kaesler ill. 45.2. Comparable passages in comedy appear e.g. at Ar., Nu. 907, where the Better Argument finds the Worse Argument's words so bad that it asks for a basin, at Cratin. fr. 271, where a character who feels sick asks for a feather and a basin (λεκάνη), and at Theopomp. Com. fr. 41, who mentions basin and feather in an enumeration of things which are necessary for drinking - together with a sponge and a cup of neat wine.

practice, when at 752 one of them claims that they have 'starving-matches' in front of the fire.⁶ That sitting in front of a fire is usually regarded as a sign of a pleasurable life and of feasting in the country side in times of peace becomes clear if one compares Pax 1131-2, 1140ff., 1142-5, 1146-8, 1149-50, and 1162. Pl., R. 420e speaks about πρὸς τὸ πῦρ διαπίνοντας. This might either mean drinking against one another by the fire, as contests of different sorts are a popular pastime at symposia, or drinking and passing on the cup, similar to the denotation of δια- in διαδέχομαι = 'receive from one another' (LSJ s.v.), which would go with the reclining ἐπὶ δεξιᾷ in the Plato passage, or, perhaps, to drink at intervals.⁷ In Ach. Dicaeopolis misunderstands διαπεινῶμες⁸ as the similar form διαπίνομες and adds that this would be enjoyable if an aulos-player was present.⁹ There is another mention of auloi at 681, where the chorus-leader describes the old Athenians as παρεξηλημένους, i.e. 'worn out by being played upon', and in a more general sense 'worn out', 'having lost their voice and strength'.¹⁰ Similarly, at 937-9 the imagery of drinking-vessels is

⁶The starving of the Megarians is also mentioned at e.g. Pax 483, among the comments on the effort which different groups of people make and their success when trying to pull up Peace. Sommerstein ad loc. explains (with references) that their country was repeatedly devastated by Athenian invasions during the war. He interprets this scene in Pax as meaning that the Megarians are eager to make peace but are not strong enough to fight hard for it. Apparently, the expression μεγαρίζειν was even used in order to denote λιμώσσειν: cf. Com. Adesp. fr. *387 with K.-A.'s notes, which provide relevant references in ancient encyclopaedias. Cf. also Starkie ad Ach. 751.

⁷Cf. Rennie and Rogers ad loc. and LSJ s.v. διαπίνω for the first interpretation, 'Cottabus' e.g. p. 223 for competitive pastimes at symposia, 'Peace' p. 33 n. 40 for the second explanation, and Degani 304 n. 119 for the third.

⁸Elliott ad 751 notes that the contraction of verbs in -αω to α is not found in Megarian inscriptions which give ω. However, Colvin 149 and 179 proves that it 'looks like an accurate dialect form'.

⁹In this passage, the two characters speak about serious matters in the manner of small talk. Aulos-players are also brought by the Theban trader at Ach. 862ff. However, this does not seem to have a connection to the symposium, but the piping probably only served to make the Theban noticeable to Dicaeopolis and for a kind of special effect in this scene. The aulos is chosen because it is the national instrument of Boeotia: Rennie and Starkie ad loc., Edmunds 18 with n. 56.

¹⁰Cf. LSJ s.v. παρεξαυλέω and the commentaries ad loc. This expression is especially used for flutes with a broken mouthpiece (γλωττίς): cf. e.g. Rennie, Rogers, Sommerstein, and Starkie ad loc. with

employed in a negative way: the sycophant Nicarchus is sold to the Theban as 'a mixing bowl for evil, a mortar for pounding lawsuits, a lampholder to show up outgoing officials and a cup in which to stir up trouble.'¹¹ It can be seen, then, that all these passages serve to indicate the disturbing effect of the war on the people involved, by employing the imagery of distortion of sympotic matters.

There are also examples of the ambiguity of wine-imagery elsewhere in Greek literature. One of them appears at Theopomp. fr. 66, in 'the sweetest drink of freedom', which is said to have been spoiled by the Greeks, because they poured in vinegar: τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἥδιστον ποτὸν ἐλευθερίας γεύσαντες ὄξος ἐνέχεαν. The contrary imagery of drinking bitter wine is employed at Ar. fr. 614 and also at E., Cyc. 589. There, Silenus wails, when the Cyclops makes advances to him: οἴμοι· πικρότατον οἶνον ὄψομαι τάχα. It is implied here that the wine is desirable on the one hand, but on the other is the cause of the speaker's suffering.¹² Another comparable passage is Ar., Pl. 1084ff. about the drinking of the dregs with the wine.

In contrast, in the last part of the play, from line 1000 on, after the market scenes and the chorus' praise of Dicaeopolis' new life and of Reconciliation, symposium-imagery

Schol. Ach. 681b-d ad loc. The word seems to be a coinage by Aristophanes. A similar metaphor appears at Ar., Eq. 531-2, where the old man Cratinus is said to wander about, not being in tune anymore (τοῦ τόνου οὐκετ' ἐνόντος).

¹¹Translation: Sommerstein. Starkie ad Ach. 937 explains that a *τριπτήρ* is usually a vat into which the wine or oil runs after it has been pressed: cf. Pol. 7.151. However, here it is filled with *δικῶν* for a surprise. There might also be an etymological joke with *τρίβειν*, as in *ἐπιτρίβειν τὰς δίκας*, as Schol. Ach. 937b suggests. Whitman 70-1 and Bowie (1982) 34 claim that the kitchen-utensils, coal and a 'chopping board' (Bowie) - which serves here as a potential chopping block - are also misused in a negative way in the first part of the play. However, in A., Ag. 1277 it is obvious that LSJ's (s.v. *ἐπίζηνον*) translation 'executioner's block' is right, so that this does not seem to be an allusion to a kitchen-utensil in Ach. At 891, however, an eel is said to be greeted with coals, but Aristophanes could be expected to mention *ἄθρακες* again in the preparation-scenes if he wanted to stress that the association which they imply changes.

¹²Cf. Seaford ad loc.

acquires positive associations, because it is now used to indicate the advantageous effects of peace for Dicaeopolis. At Ach. 1003ff., one sees him getting his provisions ready for the Pitcher Feast.¹³ He brings his own wine (1068) as well as meat, fish, and garlands. However, he is soon interrupted by two messengers: the first one calls Lamachus to war, and the second delivers an invitation to dinner for Dicaeopolis from the priest of Dionysus (1085-94). He tells him to bring his pitcher (χοῶν 1086, also 1133) and his basket (κίστην 1086 and also 1098, 1137), which is then packed in the following passage. The messenger tells Dicaeopolis to hurry, because he is already delaying the dinner. The fact that others, including officials such as the priest of Dionysus, i.e. the host in this case, are prepared to delay their dinner for Dicaeopolis, whereas he was the one who had to wait for the prytaneis at the start of the play (17ff.), indicates that his fortune has dramatically changed. He is no longer ignored (in contrast: cf. 124), and he enjoys a life of luxury, comparable to the ambassadors to the Persians, as described at 65ff. By contrast, his opponent Lamachus has to go to war in winter.

The messenger who delivers the invitation to Dicaeopolis lists what will be provided in a hectic manner (1085-94). This asyndetic enumeration of nouns which runs over four lines (1090-3 with only one slight interruption at line 1091 by αἱ πόρνοι πάρα) and the fact that the messenger does not follow a completely strict logical order (e.g.

¹³As Landfester 52 points out, the market-scene with the Boeotian (860ff.) serves as a preparation for this scene. Another example of a list of food and other provisions can be found at Euangel. fr. 1, whose context is a wedding party. Sommerstein (1978) 385-90 thinks that the first preparation scene in Ach. takes place on the ekkyklema, whereas in the second one the food is prepared inside and brought out by a slave. Even if this hypothesis cannot be completely proven, his explanation is very convincing. Compton-Engle (1999b) 370 writes that Dicaeopolis' role as a cook, which is associated with the city and the agora, connects the rural part of his persona at the beginning of the play and the urban one at the end. The food which is cooked is very urban, in particular thrushes and fish (Compton-Engle (1999b) 371). She comes to the conclusion that the fact that Dicaeopolis becomes able to master his situation during the play is associated with his "new, urban expertise in the areas of rhetoric, trade and cooking" (373). For jokes similar to that on Ctesiphon at Ach. 1002 cf. 'Wine' p. 201 with n. 48.

πόρνοι would rather be expected to appear next to ὀρχηστρίδες) give the impression of a great variety of items, including pieces of furniture (κλῖναι, τράπεζαι, προσκεφάλαια, στρώματα) and different cakes (ἄμυλοι, πλακοῦντες, σησαμοῦντες, ἴτρια). Furthermore, τραγήματα and entertainment are said to be provided. The items mentioned are typically found in lists of provisions for symposia, as becomes obvious in comparison with similar passages.

In the following part of this chapter, three passages from Aristophanes in which various parties are arranged will be compared: Pax 1192-6, Ra. 503-18, and Ec. 834-52. Ra. 503ff., where Persephone's maid invites the slave Xanthias in the disguise of Heracles to dinner, seems to list all her provisions. At first the focus is placed on the quantity of the goods. The first part of the maid's enumeration lists rather usual items of food, though in enormous quantities if one considers that this will be a dinner only for two: more than one loaf of bread (ἄρτους), two or three pots of soup,¹⁴ and a whole ox will be served, as well as cakes and rolls. This is an example of a joke about the legendary appetite of the hero. In the following part, the maid mentions delicacies (508-12), then entertainment (513-6). Only at this point, when Xanthias hears that dancing-girls will be present, does he eagerly accept the invitation, so that at 517-8 the maid only has to add that the dinner is about to start (τράπεζ' εἰσήρετο).

The other passages only give selections of the items which will be offered. At Ec. 834-52, where all citizens are summoned to a big public dinner, one or two exemplars of everything which is important for the meal are mentioned. Some of these items, especially wine, unguents, garlands, and τραγήματα,¹⁵ suggest not only that a

¹⁴This seems to be one of Heracles' favourite dishes, cf. 63-4.

¹⁵In contrast, desserts are called ἐπιτραπεζωμάτων at Pl. Com. fr. 76 and τρογάλια at Pax 772. They can consist of e.g. almonds, nuts, roasted chickpeas and acorns, beans, fruit and dried fruit, e.g. figs and dates, and sweetmeats: cf. e.g. Pax 1136-7, Philyll. fr. 18, Pherecr. fr. 170, Hermipp. fr. 63.20-1, Pl., R. 2.372c, X., An. 2.3.15. Cf. also Sommerstein, Olson, and Sharpley ad Pax 772, Dalby 82.

δεῖπνον is going to take place, but that a symposium will follow. At Pax 1192-6, a wedding dinner is prepared. In this short passage, only very few types of food are mentioned, two of which, κίχλαι and τῶν λαγώϊων πολλά, are delicacies. One may imagine that less exquisite food will either be brought by the guests, or be provided by the host, though not mentioned here. In Ec., the guests, i.e. all the citizens of Athens, have to make a contribution of another form, in that everybody has to turn in his possessions to the new communist government: cf. e.g. 561ff. and 855ff.¹⁶

Sweet food usually seems to be supplied by the host: Ach. 1091, Ra. 510, and Ec. 844 mention τραγήματα; and all the four passages in Aristophanes speak of some sort of cake. Ra. gives πλακοῦντας as an example, which is a generic term for different sorts of cake,¹⁷ Pax ἀμύλους ('cake of fine meal'), and Ec. πόπανα (actually a round cake which is used for sacrifices: cf. LSJ s.v.). In Ach., not only are πλακοῦντες said to be provided by the host, as usual, but Dicaeopolis also brings some himself (1125, 1127). They appear to be very fine ones, made with cheese (τυρόνωτον 1125) and with honey poured over them (1130).¹⁸

The honey is important for the following joke. At 1130-1, Dicaeopolis claims to see a reflection of himself in it, telling Lamachus to go to hell. This is a comic reaction to

Desserts also appear e.g. at Ar., Pl. 995ff., Ehipp. fr. 8.3-4, Alex. fr. 190 and 252, Antiph. fr. 172.5-6, and Nicostr. fr. 27.1-3. In many of these passages cakes especially are mentioned.

¹⁶Ach. 1211, where Dicaeopolis asks the lamenting Lamachus if he had to make contributions (ξυμβολάς) to the Choes, seems to be a joke on the eranoi which are made to symposia. For the custom of bringing contributions to dinner-parties cf. the chapter 'Wasps' p. 113.

¹⁷Cf. Rogers ad Ach. 1082. Similarly, Pl., R. 373a considers 'all sorts of cake' (πέμματα) as some of the unnecessary things which people require who prefer a luxurious life-style. Also mentioned are relishes, hetairai, perfume, and incense. All these items would fit into the context of a dinner-party with symposium.

¹⁸Honey seems to have been frequently used in combination with cheese, at least Pherecr. fr. 50 mentions cheese in honey (τυρὸς ἐν μέλιτι). At Ach. 1040, Dicaeopolis also pours honey over sausages.

Lamachus' remark that he saw a reflection of Dicaeopolis being indicted for cowardice in the oil with which he polishes his shield. These reflections have been interpreted as an allusion to the idea that symposiasts are tested by the reflection of their nature in the 'mirror' of wine, a concept which is also expressed by comparisons in the eikasmos-game and in particular by the paintings of eyes or faces onto cups which seem to stare at the drinker.¹⁹ In this context, the faces of Gorgons on vases have been interpreted as "an apotropaic device against the dangers of shameless 'strife with one another' ", which is to "inspire the beneficial fear of wrongdoing that [is] particularly needed on such festive occasions".²⁰ Furthermore, it has been argued that "Dicaeopolis' (eventual) triumph over the controlling power of the Gorgon's Dionysus-like stare (...) could be interpreted as effective freedom from the constraints on behaviour imposed by the symposium".²¹ However, the rules of the symposium are not shown to be broken at Ach. 1130-1 and are not even alluded to here. Despite the fact that this seems to be rather overinterpreted, then, Dicaeopolis' success might hint at a freedom from the social rules of the symposium, such as the connection between being allowed to participate in symposia and doing military service, which Dicaeopolis refuses to do in this play (see below p.14). In any case, in this passage the reflections are seen in oil and honey, not in wine.²² Thus, even if there is an association with the symposium, the interpretations which have been quoted seem far-fetched.

To return to the preparation of food, different kinds of meat and fish are cooked by Dicaeopolis in both scenes, at 1003ff. and after the invitation by the priest of Dionysus at 1097ff. In particular, delicacies appear, such as thrushes (1007, 1011,

¹⁹Bowie (1997) 18. Similarly, the Athenian at Pl., Lg. 649D-650B recommends wine as a means of testing the drinker's nature.

²⁰Belfiore 11-4, especially 13, who expands and explains this notion about paintings on drinking-vessels.

²¹Bowie (1997) 17.

²²As Bowie himself objects.

1104, 1108, 1116) and hare (1006, 1110).²³ Birds' meat is frequently mentioned among dinner-provisions, e.g. at Ra. 509-10 and Pherecr. fr. 50. In addition to the thrushes Dicaeopolis prepares pigeons (Ach. 1104, 1106), and he furthermore has a sausage (χορδῆς Ach. 1040, 1119). Here one can compare Pherecr. fr. 50, which also probably deals with preparations for a *deipnon*, though only savouries are mentioned. There, several kinds of meat, φύσκη (i.e. a kind of sausage or black-pudding), lamb, rib, liver, and a boiled foot (ποῦς ἐφθός) appear. Heracles too is offered beef at Ra. 506. Fish seems to have been regularly eaten at *deipna*, as well: Ach. 1100, Ra. 517, and Ec. 840 speak of *τεμάχη*, slices of fish (cf. *τέμαχος ἐχέλειον* at Pherecr. fr. 50). In Ach., this probably refers back to the cuttle-fish and eel which are prepared in the first scene (1041, 1043).²⁴ Eels are actually considered a luxury (1043, cf. 885ff., where the eel is greeted as a long-lost loved one, as in a tragic reunion-scene).²⁵ Finally, at Ach. 1102 *θρῖον*, a dish which seems to have consisted of a mixture of beef fat (cf. Eq. 954), honey, milk, eggs, fresh cheese, wheat flour, and brains, wrapped in a fig leaf and cooked in broth,²⁶ appears. The soup (ἔτνους) which is mentioned at Ra. 506 and Ec. 845 may in both cases be intended to serve to satisfy the appetite of the great number of guests who are to be expected in Ec., or the great appetite of Heracles in Ra.²⁷

²³Hare, also in form of a ragout (cf. Ach. 1112 *μίμαρκυν*), seems to be very popular, especially as a starter: cf. Rennie ad Ach. 1112; see also Ach. 1106 and 1110, Pax 1196, and Ec. 843, in the latter passage in combination with *κόλλαβος*, a sort of cake or roll, which went with hare, for which cf. also Ra. 507 with Dover ad loc. For thrushes as a delicacy cf. also Pax 531, 1149, 1195, Nu. 339, Ar. fr. 402.7, Pherecr. fr. 113.23 and 137.10, Telecl. fr. 1.12. The latter passages deal with a golden age.

²⁴Pherecr. fr. 50 also mentions *τευθίς*, a kind of cuttle-fish.

²⁵Cf. Sommerstein ad loc., Davidson 7-8, 14-5.

²⁶Cf. Rogers ad Ach. 1101. Starkie ad Ach. 1102, however, thinks that the broth was added to the mixture and that the fig-leaf was roasted. Later, he writes, it was boiled and became a more exquisite dish.

²⁷The long word which denotes a dish at the end of Ec. (1169-75) also contains *τέμαχη*, honey, thrushes, hare, and apparently birds' meat (-πετεύγων) among many other ingredients.

The meat is served with wheat-bread (ἄρτους Ra. 505, cf. LSJ s.v. ἄρτος) or barley cake (Ec. 851). At Ach. 1123, κριβανίτας, a loaf made of barley and baked in a pan²⁸ is taken instead. This expression is clearly chosen for its similarity to κιλλίβαντες, Lamachus' shield stand, so as to permit the joke in which this word is parodied by Dicaeopolis.²⁹ Here it becomes especially clear that even if his provisions are typical of a comic dinner, as can be seen by comparison with passages in the other plays, they are not so much chosen because they would make a luxurious meal, but mostly to create comic responses to Lamachus' orders.³⁰

As formerly stated, the messenger in Ach. speaks of the different types of furniture necessary for a feast, such as tables and κλῖναι with covers. Furniture is also mentioned in some detail at Ec. 834-52: κλῖναι, τράπεζαι, and also σισυρῶν and δαπίδων, which seem to be used as covers for the κλῖναι here. This is surely a case of comic exaggeration considering the great number of persons who will be present at this public dinner-party (cf. Ec. 834). On first sight, the overstatement serves to depict the luxurious life of sympotic communism. The mention of tables is of particular importance because the food is carried in on them: cf. Ra. 518. Tables also appear at Pax 1193. There a slave is told to clean them, apparently with a piece of soldier's equipment.³¹ Thus, the contrast between symposium and war is underlined in a similar way as at Ach. 584-6, where Dicaeopolis abuses part of Lamachus' military equipment for a purpose which is loosely connected with the symposium (see above). In contrast, at Ra. 503-18 no furniture is mentioned, except for the tables at 518,

²⁸Cf. Rogers ad Ach. 86 and LSJ s.v.

²⁹Cf. Rennie ad Ach. 1123.

³⁰Cf. Harriott 97.

³¹Probably a soldier's head band is meant: cf. Sommerstein ad loc. for a discussion of this matter. Tables and κλῖναι are also mentioned in several comic fragments, sometimes in combination, e.g. at Cratin. fr. 50, Pl. Com. fr. 33, also Pherecr. fr. 73 and Phryn. fr. 69. Cratin. fr. 334 speaks of tables and girls. Often their shape or material are specified. An extremely luxurious exemplar of a kline can be found at Pl. Com. fr. 230. For the removing of tables after a deipnon (before they will be brought back with desserts) cf. e.g. Pl. Com. fr. 71..2, Philyll. fr. 3.1-2, Nicostr. fr. 19.2 with Olson ad Pax 769-70.

because emphasis is placed on Persephone's preparations for the huge amounts of food for Heracles; and, furthermore, it goes without saying that there will be furniture provided, even if the hostess does not own special symposium-furniture. On the other hand, the official dinner at the priest's of Dionysus in Ach. will almost certainly take place in a special symposium room.³²

Later on, at the symposium, after the *deipnon*, wine is served to the garlanded guests, and sympotic entertainment starts: the mixing of wine is mentioned at Ec. 841 and Ra. 511. In the latter passage even very sweet wine is used, which is particularly popular: cf. e.g. Ar., Lys. 206 and Telecl. fr. 27. Whereas in Ach. Dicaeopolis has to bring his own wine and savouries, everything is provided in the other passages. This is necessarily the case in Ra., because Heracles arrives as a traveller and therefore could not bring any contribution to this spontaneously organised dinner.

Garlands, too, are an important *accessoire* at symposia. In Ach. some are provided (1091, cf. also Ec. 844), and some brought by the guests (1006). They will not only be used for the symposium in this case, but also for the drinking competition that is to take place.³³ All entertainment is normally provided by the host at a symposium.

³²For information on such locations see e.g. Berquist, in: Murray (1990) 37ff.

³³Cf. also Ra. 216, where the frogs sing about a procession with wine, pitchers and garlands which takes place on the Chytroi-day of the Anthesteria. The garlands seem to have been wound around the *choes* and taken to the priestess in Limnai: cf. Phanodemus, in: Ath. 437c = T18 Hamilton. This custom of winding garlands around the *choes* serves as an aetiological explanation of the name 'Choes-day'. This connection is possible, because the Chytroi actually begin during the evening of the Choes-day: cf. Deubner 93. However, different descriptions contradict each other concerning the details of this custom: cf. Hamilton 23. At symposia the garlands are given out after the hands have been washed between the *δεῖπνον* and the symposium. This is already mentioned at Thgn. 1001-2, and later, e.g. at Matro, Conv. 104ff., where wreaths are brought into the dining room at the same time as perfume.

Usually, there are aulos-players, dancing-girls and prostitutes present.³⁴ Also, the priest of Dionysus in Ach. supplies his guests with πόρνοι (1091), a detail emphasised by its being the only one in the list which has an article and a postposition (πάρα). The mention of prostitutes here mainly serves to underline the different natures of Dicaeopolis' and Lamachus' fortunes. At 1147-8, the chorus leader expresses this contrast directly when he sings that, while Lamachus is cold on his guard, Dicaeopolis is enjoying himself with drinks and girls. After the party, the drunk protagonist actually staggers onto the stage, supported by two girls on his way home, whereas the wounded Lamachus is shown being taken care of by two soldiers (1197-1202, 1209). In contrast to Ach., no prostitutes are mentioned in Pax and Ec.³⁵ In Pax, this reflects the fact that their presence would not fit the occasion of a wedding-dinner. In the case of Ec. one would not be too surprised to find that even prostitutes were provided for all the citizens, because, as one could see with the provision of furniture, comic exaggeration is employed in this passage (see above). However, courtesans are not mentioned, because prostitution has been abolished by the women's regime (718-20, also 613ff.).

In this context, there is a discussion about the reading of Ach. 1093: ὀρχηστρίδες, τὰ φίλταθ' Ἀρμοδίου, καλαί (Sommerstein's choice). It is usually interpreted as referring to the dancing-girls on the one hand, and to the historical person Harmodius on the other. The problem is that it is improbable that φίλταθ' Ἀρμοδίου refers to female dancers, since Harmodius was famous for his relationship with Aristogeiton: cf. Th. 6.54.2. Therefore, Rogers' interpretation ad loc. of φίλταθ' as neuter, if it is translated 'the most favoured thing of Harmodius', does not work. Elliott ad loc. reads τὸ φίλταθ' Ἀρμοδι', οὐκ ἄλαι. He defends ἄλαι as "a hit at the pompous and

³⁴Αὐλητρίδες: Ra. 513, V. 1219, cf. also Pl., Smp. 176e, ὀρχηστρίδες: Ach. 1093, Ra. 514, πόρνοι Ach. 1091, for ἑταῖραι cf. Pl., R. 372a, both appear also at Eup. fr. 99. Cf. also X., Mem. 1.5.4, where a person who prefers the pornai to the company is criticised.

³⁵Instead, however, in the public dinner in Ec. unguent-selling girls appear (841).

quasi-poetic style of Lamachus". This reading does not really make sense, though, because an allusion to Lamachus' wanderings does not fit in right here.³⁶ Finally, Sommerstein ad loc. changes the direction of the interpretation and suggests that it might refer to a contemporary of Aristophanes who bore the same name. However, in the context of a symposium, the name Harmodius mostly seems to stand for the skolion in general rather than for a specific person it deals with. The name of the song might actually be intended to signify 'symposium' metonymically. This becomes apparent if one compares its use at 979ff.: οὐδέποτ' ἐγὼ Πόλεμον οἴκαδ' ὑποδέξομαι, οὐδὲ παρ' ἐμοί ποτε τὸν Ἄρμόδιον ἄισεται ξυγκατακλινεῖς, ὅτι παροινικὸς ἀνὴρ ἔφυ ... Here, receiving 'War', reclining, and singing the Harmodius symbolise a symposium-situation in general. Thus, at line 1093 the dancing girls seem to be meant to be 'the most pleasant part of the symposium' (Cf. also Xanthias' reaction at Ra. 515ff., when he is told that he will meet dancing-girls at Persephone's dinner-party). This interpretation appears even more probable if one considers that this line is a play on the beginning of the text of one version of the real Harmodius-song: φίλταθ' Ἄρμόδι', οὐ (τί πω τέθνηκας) (PMG 894).³⁷ It works especially well since both, dancers and scolia, belong to the area of music. This pun may even be of greater importance here than the meaning and logic of this apposition. At the same time it may be implied that skolia, such as the 'Harmodius', will be sung at this symposium, as one would expect, anyway.

As the discussion has shown, the main intention of the second preparation scene in Ach. is to emphasise the contrast between Dicaeopolis' and Lamachus' fates. This is already hinted at in 1078-9, where Lamachus regrets that he cannot take part in the Choes festival. The contrast is especially underlined by the stichomythic form of this

³⁶The other readings discussed in Elliott are not very convincing either.

³⁷This is explained by Sommerstein ad Ach. 1093, cf. Rogers ad loc. For an account of the different interpretations of this passage cf. e.g. Lambin 59ff., who sees the dancing-girls as being associated with the τραγῆματα of 1091: Lambin 64.

passage, which formally reproduces the antithesis between war and peace:³⁸ Dicaeopolis responds to Lamachus and parodies him, pretending to be completely unaware of him. The highest level of the mockery of the general in this scene is reached at 1114-7, where Dicaeopolis pretends that Lamachus is the referee in his mock-discussion with his slave about whether locusts, a typical soldier's food in war, or thrushes, a delicacy, taste better.³⁹ It is striking, how often delicacies are mentioned in this scene: thrushes appear five times.

In this passage two parts of Athenian life which are actually connected are separated from each other, military service and the symposium. In reality being a hoplite and participation in symposia are usually associated with each other, as is indicated by several representations on vase-paintings.⁴⁰ The dissociation in the comedy underlines the fact that Dicaeopolis can enjoy a pleasant life even though he refuses to participate in activities of war. So it is indicated that peace, symbolised by the symposium, is superior to war. This is concretely shown on stage at the very end of the play, when the victorious Dicaeopolis and the injured Lamachus re-appear.

To conclude, it can be seen that in the second part of the play the symposium is used symbolically for a pleasurable life of peace. Peace is directly equated with wine in this comedy: cf. 187ff. and 1051ff., so that it is fitting that the contest between peace and war is represented through sympotic rivalry between Dicaeopolis and Lamachus. That feasting is possible again in peace is shown by Dicaeopolis' komos at the Rural

³⁸Cf. Edmunds 22, Rogers ad Ach. 1094, cf. Harriott 95, who analyses the wording and association of ideas in this passage in detail. The stichomythic form is a parody of tragedy, the content a parody of an epic arming-scene. Bowie (1997) 17 finds that the form of this scene resembles that of the continuation of skolia, as it takes place at V. 1222ff. However, whereas the aim of this symposium-pastime is to find the matching content, metre, and melody of the proposed verse, here the previous line is parodied, which is underlined by the attempt to resemble its wording as closely as possible. Cf. also Wallochny 17.

³⁹As v. Leeuwen ad Ach. 1117 notes, there are similar jokes at Eq. 440 and also at Av. 1629.

⁴⁰Cf. Bowie (1993) 34 n. 65. For an example see Lissarrague 71 ill. 51, cf. also 115 with ill. 88.

Dionysia (237ff.). Its violent interruption indicates that Dicaeopolis' peace still has to be defended against the warmongers. Finally, however, in Dicaeopolis' komos at the end of the play, his eventual victory and happiness are celebrated, and at the same time, the contrast between his fate and that of Lamachus is re-emphasised, thus highlighting the final superiority of peace and the symposium.⁴¹

The Anthesteria in the 'Acharnians'

As previously illustrated, Dicaeopolis' preparations are for his participation in the Choes-day of the Anthesteria-festival.⁴² Already at 960ff., Lamachus comes to Dicaeopolis' newly opened market and asks for thrushes and eels for the day's celebration; he does not, however, request any wine. Thus, it seems as though he is preparing for a party rather than for a drinking contest, which is usually connected with this festival in ancient descriptions.⁴³ As for Dicaeopolis, the chorus says at line 988 that he is 'winged' for dinner (ἐπτέρωταί τ' ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον), i.e. excited or well provided with tasty birds.⁴⁴ Furthermore, in the following passage, when only the drinking contest has been announced (1000ff.),⁴⁵ although he is said to take wine (1068) and his pitcher (1133) with him, the main description focuses on his preparations of food, obviously for a big party. Since he has not been invited to a party but nonetheless seems to be sure that he will attend one, it is unlikely that he has

⁴¹Both of these komoi are further dealt with at 'Komos' p. 155ff. and 168ff.

⁴²There is actually an interval of time between the Rural Dionysia and the Anthesteria. However, in Aristophanes' plays it is possible that different scenes are not connected by strict temporal sequence. For this and other explanations of this problem cf. Sommerstein ad Ach. 961. v.Möllendorff 131 interprets this time-difference as that Dicaeopolis also had freed himself from the chains of the polis regarding the calendar; but this claim seems exaggerated.

⁴³Cf. Hamilton 12.

⁴⁴Cf. Sommerstein ad 987.

⁴⁵The herald does not mention the festival, but only speaks of τοὺς χοῶς πίνειν (1000-1). However, because the audience can be expected to be well acquainted with these customs they will be able to understand the hint.

a private symposium in mind, but rather a big public event. In order not to be puzzled by this scene and Lamachus' requests beforehand, not only Dicaeopolis, but also the audience must already have expected his invitation to dinner. Thus it should be considered a possibility that also during the real festival a public party took place.⁴⁶ The invitation to dinner is actually soon to follow in the play (1085ff.). At this point, Dicaeopolis is finally asked to bring his picnic basket (see above).

The fact that the guests supply most of their own food and drinks in this scene, also suggests that the symposium which they will attend might be a large public one. The other provisions which the messenger mentions, such as entertainment, may only be meant to serve as examples, and not be intended to be provided for each of the guests. Another explanation might be that this is a case of exaggeration by the author in order to make the celebration appear more luxurious in contrast to Lamachus' harsh fortune. The klinai, however, hint at a formal occasion in a symposium-room with a limited number of places. Thus, in this comedy it appears that within a big public party, symposia of a smaller scale, which were presumably privately organised, also took place. This would explain why Dicaeopolis receives an individual invitation, which would be strange if the symposium was open to the public. His personal invitation to attend the party could also be viewed as a device to emphasise his special status after his success with his private peace-treaty. One may furthermore see a reason for the announcement of the private invitation within the theatre-technical context of this play, i.e. that it appears for reasons peculiar to this comedy, in order to start the preparation scene. The private symposium in question is celebrated at the priest of Dionysus' place; however, even if the party in this play should be seen solely as a

⁴⁶For the opinion that this party was a private one cf. Hamilton 13. The testimonia suggest that public as well as private festivities usually took place: cf. Hamilton 30-1; cf. also Parke 114. For instance, Ath. 437e (=T18 Hamilton) relates that teachers were guests at parties, and these celebrations were presumably private, because, if everybody attended public feasts, there is no reason to mention teachers specifically. It is more probable that the pupils' parents privately invited the teachers.

public event, it would not be surprising that this priest issues the invitation, since he would be the official in charge of such a festival in honour of the god of wine.⁴⁷

The messenger tells Dicaeopolis to hurry because the other guests are waiting for him. This suggests that, in this play, the drinking contest was not undertaken before the dinner, which is apparently followed by a 'normal' symposium with entertainment etc., as the list of provisions at 1085ff., as well the chorus' description at 1145-8 of how Dicaeopolis will be sympotically enjoying himself, suggests. Furthermore, in the last scene (1197ff.) Dicaeopolis seems to have come directly from the contest since he is still holding his pitcher (1228) and has neither received his prize (cf. 1224-5) nor been celebrated as the victor. On the other hand, the presence of the two girls whom he has obviously taken with him from the symposium suggests that he has directly come from the party at the priest of Dionysus'. Thus, one wonders if there actually is a difference between these two events in this play. The drinking contest is either held at one of the smaller, more private parties within or after the big public symposium, or if one assumes that everybody attends the same big public party, during this big symposium. One could imagine that such contests frequently took place at symposia, since other competitive forms of entertainment, e.g. singing of *scolia* and playing games, were also popular on such occasions. There actually is a description of a spontaneously organised drinking competition by Hippolochus, at Ath. 129ef (=T48 Hamilton with p. 13 n. 21). Moreover, it has been noted that the contest at the Choes, in which about three litres of undiluted wine are gulped down simultaneously by all the contestants as quickly as possible, and here, in comic exaggeration, without taking a breath, only lasted seconds.⁴⁸ Thus, it makes better sense to think of it as part of a

⁴⁷For a contrasting opinion cf. Hamilton 13.

⁴⁸Cf. Hamilton 13-4. Bowie (1993) 38 thinks that Dicaeopolis, by drinking wine in such a barbarian manner in its undiluted form, creates a distance from the other Athenians. In contrast, Parke 116 writes that the wine is usually drunk in a mixed form at this competition. This opinion seems to be influenced by Euripides' account at I.T. 953-4 (cf. Hamilton 24); cf. also Ath. 129f who mentions that in a spontaneous contest the wine was mixed with a little bit of water. Thus, it is not known whether

bigger event, either directly, or as part of a smaller occasion which belongs to a larger celebration.

There is no mention in 'Acharnians' of any other customs being practised during the Choes day, such as processions with wagons and public mockery, a hieros gamos, and garlands being carried to the sacred precinct of Dionysus ἐν Λίμναις, etc.⁴⁹ Instead, the audience's attention is drawn to the protagonist's victory in the drinking contest. Consequently, at the end of the play it appears that the drinking contest is the most important element of the day.⁵⁰ That it is so strongly emphasised, however, is mainly to throw the spotlight on Dicaeopolis as the exulting victor, which is again important for the contrast between Lamachus' disgraceful failure and Dicaeopolis' new happy life.⁵¹ Earlier, however, in the preparation scenes, the emphasis is placed on the symposium, as has been shown. This is made explicit through Dicaeopolis' statement συμποτικὰ τὰ πράγματα (1142). One reason for this discrepancy is the fact that there would not be too much to prepare for a drinking contest, except that one has to take wine and a cup along, which would not be enough to point out the contrast with

drinking neat wine was the usual custom in this festival, but clearly mixed wine would not suit a comic victory such as Dicaeopolis'. The messenger announces that, according to an old custom, everybody is to empty his pitcher, which, according to Hamilton 13, holds about three litres of wine, at the sound of the trumpet (1000-1). Deubner 99, who speaks of trumpet music as a background accompaniment, seems to have misunderstood (with LSJ s.v. ὑπό A.II.5) that here the playing of a trumpet surely only serves as the starting signal of the contest: cf. also Hamilton 24. See also Ath. 130c, who speaks about a Macedonian custom of signifying the end of a large feast by a trumpet signal. As to prizes, the first to empty his pitcher at the contest at the Anthesteria will win a skin filled with wine (1001-2, and also 1202, 1224-5, 1228). Other sources also mention cakes and wreaths as prizes. Perhaps these were given out at smaller private contests: cf. Parke 115, Starkie ad Ach. 1002.

⁴⁹Cf. e.g. Deubner 101-21, Parke 109.

⁵⁰Also many testimonia on the real Athenian feast focus on the contest: cf. Hamilton 14-5.

⁵¹Dicaeopolis' victory-komos may also allude to the processions which take place on this day. In these there also appears a strong element of mockery of by-standers by those on wagons, similar to Dicaeopolis' making fun of of Lamachus: cf. e.g. Parke 109, Deubner 102-3, 110.

Lamachus' preparations for his war campaign. Therefore, the emphasis may be shifted here at first for the sake of stressing this difference.

For the same reason, Aristophanes' description of the Choes-day focuses on the happy aspects of the feast, and in this way fits its place in a comedy and in Dicaeopolis' situation. This differs somewhat from the gloomy aetiological description at E., I.T. 947-60, which attributes the customs of this festival to Orestes' presence when he was still defiled by his matricide.⁵² In part, this account may be realistic, since it was believed that the ghosts came out of the underworld on the Choes-day.⁵³ However, both Aristophanes' and Euripides' passages are literary constructs, and therefore place emphasis on aspects which are important in their fictional contexts, and cannot be taken as fully historical accounts. Some of the ominous customs connected with this festival can also be explained without assuming ritual to be involved: e.g. it is obvious that for this contest everyone needs to have his own pitcher, filled with a certain amount of wine.⁵⁴ Thus, Aristophanes' emphasis on exuberance may not be completely unrealistic. The cheerful side of the festival is furthermore expressed during the real event by the processions which usually take place on the Choes-day, as indicated by vase paintings on which satyrs are represented playing auloi.⁵⁵ It has even been assumed that the whole occasion was generally 'less taken to have a theological purpose than to provide opportunity for joyful and uninhibited celebration at the end of winter and the arrival of spring.'⁵⁶ This atmosphere is reflected in Dicaeopolis' ebullient conduct.

⁵²Bowie (1993) 37 compares Dicaeopolis' role in this play to Orestes' in the myth, which would give an unpleasant touch to Dicaeopolis' behaviour. However, Ar. does not focus on this comparison with Orestes, and in general the audience can be expected to sympathise with Dicaeopolis, who is enjoying himself and finally wins the drinking contest.

⁵³Cf. e.g. Parke 119.

⁵⁴Cf. Hamilton 24 and Deubner 98. The separate tables may still be connected with the believe in the presence of ghosts, though: cf. Parke 119.

⁵⁵Cf. e.g. Deubner, plate 11.1.

⁵⁶Parke 109. Cf. also the name 'Anthesteria': see Deubner 114.

Because of this emphasis on the high-spirited side of the Anthesteria, the element of solitary drinking which is usually very much associated with the drinking-contest is not mentioned in this play. However, some critics have applied this important factor in the real festival to Dicaeopolis' fictional situation, and have taken it as a sign of his ambiguous relationship to the city, against whose will he has achieved his private peace, which he is not willing to share, and into which he does not appear to be fully re-integrated.⁵⁷ However, had the author wanted to hint at this problem, he would probably have done so explicitly.

Many critics still call Dicaeopolis a selfish character.⁵⁸ However, it is exactly because he does not share the peace with other people (except for the bride who, being female, is not to blame for the war (1062)), that it is possible for the author to show how much better Dicaeopolis lives in peace compared to other people in war. At the same time, Aristophanes mocks people who do not want to make a contribution or take risks themselves, but are still very much interested in sharing in the profits of a successful transformation in politics and social circumstances.⁵⁹ More evidence against Dicaeopolis having a selfish attitude appears at the very beginning of the play, where he is the first one to arrive at the assembly, and at 56ff., where he accepts being reproached by the herald for the sake of trying to improve the situation. Only after he cannot convince the Acharnians, does he finally resign.

The fact that Dicaeopolis is invited by the city, has been interpreted positively as well as negatively, as meaning either that he has managed to convince the other citizens to show tolerance, or that again (cf. 124-5) they are deceived by someone who only

⁵⁷Fisher 42-3, Bowie (1993) 35.

⁵⁸E.g. Dover (1972) 88.

⁵⁹However, Bowie's (1993) 25 hypothesis that violence is now excluded and order produced, which is partly represented by the dominance of the symposium, is not very convincing, since Dicaeopolis is verbally violent to Lamachus and physically to the sykophantes who comes to his market (926ff.).

pretends to care about the city's interests.⁶⁰ However, all the observations which I have made above indicate that Aristophanes rather seems to ignore the whole question of whether Dicaeopolis has been re-integrated or not, and what his relationship to the city is like,⁶¹ but is more interested in dramatising the exuberant party and drinking contest at the very end of the play. Dicaeopolis himself does not appear to be worried about his relationship to the polis, but is represented as enjoying himself, above all at the end of the play. Furthermore, according to his 'speaking name', Dicaeopolis is himself a symbolic city and therefore not directly dependent on the Acharnians. In any case, from a strictly logical point of view, the question of his re-integration would be connected with the day of the Chytroi, when the 'Kares', i.e. the strangers, are expelled from the city.⁶² However, the play ends before this stage of the festival. Matching this open question of the protagonist's relationship to the city, it is not possible to make a general moral judgement about Dicaeopolis' treaty in this play.⁶³

To conclude, the author seems to have employed the Anthesteria in 'Acharnians' not to criticise Dicaeopolis' behaviour, but to depict a pleasurable life in times of peace. This and the occurrence of a peaceful competition as part of the festival, in which Dicaeopolis' victory over war - even in connection with the pleasant sympotic activity of drinking - is symbolically demonstrated, at the same time serve to help underline the contrast to the wounded general Lamachus.

⁶⁰Bowie (1997) 18 and also (1993) 37.

⁶¹Cf. Bowie (1997) 18, (1993) 36 and 39, Fisher 41-4.

⁶²Cf. e.g. Zenobius = T59 Hamilton; cf. Bowie (1993) 38.

⁶³Cf. Bowie (1993) 39.

'Peace'

'Peace' was produced just before the 421 B.C. peace treaty was signed, when both the Athenians and Peloponnesians were already in favour of peace.¹ This play focuses on the effect of the war in rural contexts and on the desire of the farmers to return to their agricultural way of life. This theme of the return to the countryside, and its fruits and flowers, is particularly prominent in the scene where Peace first appears (520-60), in the second parabasis, in which the chorus rejoice about the end of the war (1127-71), especially when they express their delight in examining their Lemnian vines (1162),² and in the wedding-scene at the end of the play (1316-56).³ The focus is upon rural matters in this play: not only the drinking of wine but also its production, i.e. vine growing, which are depicted as typical pastimes and tasks in times of peace, but which are extras during war. Both activities symbolise an idyllic rural life in peace, the pleasures of which are depicted through symposium-imagery, as will be shown in this chapter.

The themes of farming and feasting are strikingly underlined by the very choice of names and epithets of the characters in this comedy. Trygaeus is an obvious allusion to wine and harvest in general (τρύξ / τρυγάω), and he introduces himself as a vine-dresser (ἀμπελουργός 190).⁴ In keeping with this, Peace is called the most vine-

¹Cf. Sommerstein, 'Peace' xv.

²Already at Il. 7.467 ships from Lemnos bearing wine are mentioned. However, Sommerstein ad 1162 writes that little is heard of this variety elsewhere. He only reports its mention in the fourth century by Androtion, FGrH 324 F80. In the following lines the imagery of ripening plants is used with a sexual connotation: cf. Whitman 113 and Henderson (1975) 118 about the sexual connotation of figs.

³Cf. Sommerstein ad 520.

⁴Wilkins, in: Dobrov (1998) 260 notes that the focus is on cereals and plants in this play as opposed to that of animality in Eq., which is treated in detail. Olson ad 190 also notes the possible allusion to τρυγωιδία, which Ar. sometimes uses to denote 'comedy', e.g. at Ach. 499-500. A similar play on words has been seen in the fact that the protagonist flies to heaven on a dung-beetle. The same word, κάνθαρος, is also used for a certain form of wine-cup: cf. LSJ s.v. II., cf. Bowie (1997) 12. However,

loving of all goddesses (τὴν θεῶν πασῶν ... φιλαμπελωτάτην 308) by the Chorus-leader who comes to help to pull her out of the cave.⁵ When she is finally freed, Trygaeus addresses her as 'Lady Grape-Giver' (ὦ πότνια βοτρυόδωρε 520).⁶ He expresses the scale of his joy as a great quantity of something liquid, such as wine, stored in an amphora, by wondering where he will find a word which 'holds 10,000 measures' (μυριάμφορον 521, cf. τριχοινίκων ἐπῶν. V. 481) to welcome her. The connection between Peace / peace and vines and wine, which is implied in all these passages, reminds one of Ach. 278, where Phales is promised a 'bowl of peace' (εἰρήνης ... τρυβλίον) as a remedy for his hangover.

Peace's attendant, Opora ('fruit', 'ripeness', 'autumn'), also has a 'speaking name' connected with harvest (523). She has been interpreted as symbolising the sphere of private, and her companion Theoria that of public peace.⁷ However, they are mainly connected to the opposites of country and city, which links to the text's yearning for a rural, peaceful life. This becomes particularly clear when Opora gets married to the farmer Trygaeus, whereas Theoria is returned to the council of the city. The identification of the two attendants with peace becomes even more obvious if one compares them with the two Truce-girls in Eq. and also with the two girls who accompany Dicaeopolis at the end of Ach. and also symbolise peace.

here this allusion does not seem to be intended, since it appears too early the play, before feasting has been hinted at. To interpret it as a hint at the happy end of the play would be too far-fetched.

⁵Here the Chorus represents the whole Greek people: cf. Sommerstein ad 301 and Dover (1972) 138 about the problem of the identity of the chorus in this play. Platnauer and Sharpley ad 308, following Paley, point out that φιλαμπελωτάτην is inserted *παρὰ προσδοκίαν* for *φιλανθρωποτάτην*, an epithet of this goddess: cf. Philem. fr. 74.8 in a praise of Peace.

⁶LSJ s.v. βοτρυόδορος translate 'grape-producing' and note the paratragic use at this place.

⁷Whitman 111. 'Theoria' has an ambiguous meaning here, i.e. on the one hand 'being a spectator at the theatre', but on the other hand 'delegation': cf. e.g. V. 1187-9 about the discussion whether at a symposium Philocleon should tell a story about an experience of his on a state-delegation; cf. also Sommerstein ad Pax 523; for the former interpretation cf. LSJ s.v. II. and Sommerstein ad 523. The first translation fits the general context of a pleasurable life of peace as well as the context of the performance of this play, the second Theoria's return to the council: cf. 871-2; 877ff.

A peaceful life in the city, symbolised by Theoria, is evoked by symposium-imagery when Trygaeus labels Theoria's smell as 'very sweet' (γλυκύτατον 526),⁸ like exemption from service (ἀστρατείας) and perfume (μύρου). The latter not only denotes a very pleasant smell but at the same time reminds one of the use of such fragrances at symposia.⁹ This underlines that the expression γλυκύτατον may also hint at wine and feasting. These features are again connected with Theoria at 872, where Trygaeus' slave recognises her name. He makes the crude joke that before the war he and his master had intercourse with her, when rather tipsy (ὑποπεπωκότες 874), on their way to Brauron. At the same time this is a play on words with the name Theoria since they presumably went there in order to watch (θεωρεῖν) the celebration of the festival.¹⁰ Here, therefore, the theme of drinking serves to underline the general high-spirited atmosphere of the occasion; although the drinking itself is not focused on.

The use of symposium-imagery also helps to prove that the former passage (524ff.) must refer to Theoria, although it is strange that Trygaeus says more about Peace's attendant than about the goddess herself. Because of this, and also because of the striking homoeoteleuton of 523-4 and the homoearchie of 524-5, it has been proposed that these and the following lines refer to Peace and that one should read Εἰρήνη φίλη or ὦ φίλη θεός at the end of line 524.¹¹ However, the enumeration of smells in lines

⁸Cf. 525, where he already says that he feels sweetness in his heart when he smells Theoria. These sweet smells contrast with the unpleasant ones of the dung-cakes which are produced for Trygaeus' beetle at the beginning of the play: cf. e.g. Bowie (1993) 135-6, also Whitman 110.

⁹Olson ad 525-6 gives a sexual interpretation of the passage, which could be seen as one aspect of the sympotic explanation.

¹⁰Cf. Sommerstein ad 873-4. Olson ad 873-4 mentions Alex. fr. 222.10ff. and the allusion at Pax 894-904 as further examples of the connection between going to festivals and sex.

¹¹Meineke / Blaydes, in: Platnauer 524. Olson ad loc. argues against it that it would be strange if Trygaeus greeted Opora and Theoria but immediately turned back to Peace again, especially after he has just stated that he is unsure how to address her (520-2).

535-8, which include entertainment, Dionysia,¹² auloi, tragedies, Sophocles' songs, and Euripides' epyllia, fits Theoria much more closely than Peace. Secondly, the thrushes,¹³ as well as the auloi (which are also used for accompaniment in tragedies,¹⁴ and therefore in the recitals of tragic passages at parties) and the singing of poetry, fit the atmosphere of a symposium. This imagery is extended in the lines which follow the interruption by Hermes, in which ivy, which can be used for wreaths and the decoration of vessels (cf. Eub. fr. 56.6, Alex. fr. 124.5-6, also Pl., Smp. 212e, E., Ba. 81), a straining-cloth for wine, a drunken slave-girl, and an overturned jug¹⁵ appear (535-8) among the 'many good things' (πολλῶν κάγαθῶν) which Theoria smells of. The (harvests of) ripe fruits (ὀπώρας 530), the bleating flocks (535), and women running to the fields (536) all illustrate the return to the countryside.¹⁶ Finally, Trygaeus gives Theoria back to the council. At this point, the growing of vines is once again depicted as a pleasant activity to pursue in peace time, when the

¹²Platnauer's assumption ad 530-2 that the Rural Dionysia may be meant here is not very convincing. It would not fit as well as the Great Dionysia, as the performance of this play itself takes place at this festival. The Rural Dionysia would furthermore rather be associated with the rural aspects which Opora stands for. On the other hand, the reference may just be general.

¹³Sommerstein ad 531 interprets the thrush as a hint at the banquet which is traditionally given by the choregus for those who take part in his production. However, since this word appears as a surprise in such an exposed position, not only at the end of the line, but also just between the two tragic poets mentioned, it might also be the case that the poet wants to stress a different point, that of sympotic feasting in general, rather than that of dramatic performances, which are anyway very much emphasised by other parts of the enumeration.

¹⁴Cf. Sommerstein ad 531.

¹⁵Sharpley thinks that line 537 contains a reference to the Choes-day of the Anthesteria. Bowie (1993) 146-50 finds traces of this festival throughout the whole play. However, the main point of this comedy is the happiness which has been caused by the return of Peace, and even if a connection to a festival is hinted at, it is not very important to the message of the play.

¹⁶As Sommerstein notes, there is a similar reciting of the blessings of a rural life at Ar. fr. 402, in which some of the same items (sheep-flocks, thrushes - and here also new wine) are mentioned. Platnauer ad 530-2 finds it strange that Peace, whom he believes this passage to deal with, smells of one of her attendants and therefore considers line 530 corrupt. He mentions v.Leeuwen's conjecture βοτρώων. However, ὀπώρας fits well into the context of a rural life and may just be intended by Aristophanes to be a word-play on the name Opora.

protagonist answers the chorus' praise by saying that they will more truly know what he has done for them when they gather in their vintage (ὅταν τρυγάτ' 912). At the same time, this is once more a word-play on Trygaeus' name. When the chorus praise him again, he adds that they will say it all the more when they drink their new wine (οἴνου νέου 916), meaning that this is an even more pleasant activity than the work in the vineyards.

The topic of vine-growing is stressed once more at the end of the play in Trygaeus' prayer (1316ff.), which includes the wish that all the Greeks may produce plenty of wine (οἶνόν τε πολύν 1323).¹⁷ The passage is part of Trygaeus' wedding-celebration, after Opora has been given to him as his future wife by Hermes, to live with him in the countryside and to produce 'grapes' (707-8). This perfectly matches the imagery which is implied by the names of the characters: a wine-farmer and the harvest of ripe fruit. Fittingly, at the wedding, the chorus employs the imagery of gathering the vintage (τρυγήσομεν αὐτήν 1339-40) with a sexual denotation, with reference to the bride Opora, and at the same time hinting at Trygaeus' achievement of a return to a rural life in peace, which is celebrated here alongside the wedding.

When, earlier on, Trygaeus sends the peasants back to the country and tells them to leave their weapons (554), this is also underlined by symposium-imagery: 'everything here is already full of mellow peace' (εἰρήνης σαπρᾶς). That σαπρός means 'mellow' here, and not 'rotten',¹⁸ can be seen from other uses of this word in comedy: at Alex. fr. 172.4, it is stated that women like sweet wine. Sweet wine is also called σαπρός in

¹⁷The absence of wine-imagery in his prayer to Eirene at 974-1016 has been noted. Trygaeus has to broaden his interests here in order to represent all the Greeks: cf. Vanhaegendoren 135. However, he addresses Peace as the mistress of of choral dances and weddings (976) and speaks of food (1000ff.), which have some connection with feasting.

¹⁸Cf. its use at V. 38 in an allusion to Cleon for the smell of leather or hides, at Ach. 1101, where Lamachus packs rancid salt-fish for his expedition, and at Pl. 323 about behaviour which is out of date. It is also used in reference to old people, e.g. at Lys. 378, where the men's leader calls the women's leader ὦ σαπρά, and at Pax 698 about Sophocles. Cf. Merry ad 554.

this passage in which its sweetness is explicitly mentioned and that it 'has no teeth in it'. In fact, wine called σαπρός or σαπρίας is an especially choice one.¹⁹ It is made from over-ripe grapes, and its flowery smell is praised at Hermipp. fr. 77.6-12; cf. also Alex. fr. 172.4 and Eup. fr. 47.8. Also, Philyll. fr. 23 mentions Χιον σαπρόν,²⁰ which will be offered, he writes, alongside other varieties of wine. Here it becomes clear that in combination with the popular Chian wine and others too, including such delicious varieties as Thasian, σαπρός has to be a positive quality; one which matches peace's positive connotation in Aristophanes' 'Peace'.²¹

In keeping with this, Trygaeus reminds the chorus that Peace once gave them figs and other plants, including sweet new wine (τῆς τρυγός τε τῆς γλυκείας 576). When in this context Trygaeus sees the farmers with their tools, he returns to the imagery of vine-growing, by indicating that he would also like to go home and weed the spaces between the rows of his vines (568). The chorus also express their happiness by employing farming-imagery; e.g. at 557 the Chorus-leader is overjoyed that he can go back to the countryside and says that he wants to greet his vines and fig-trees. Similarly at 597, the chorus predict that the vines - and other plants, e.g. fig-trees - will receive Peace with joy and smile upon her.²² The theme of feasting is particularly emphasised in the first passage mentioned, in which one finds a striking accumulation of symposium-imagery. There, Hermes compares the farmers who are going back to

¹⁹Cf. Sommerstein ad 554, also Olson ad loc. with Taillardat § 56, and Dalby 100-1.

²⁰Another conjecture for mss. CE's σαπρ" is σαπρίαν, which does not make a difference in meaning, though. Platnauer ad 554 compares it to German *Spätlese*.

²¹In contrast, at Ar., Pl. 1086 this adjective has a negative connotation, also regarding wine on the literal level of the metaphor: Chremylus insists that whoever drinks wine also has to drink the dregs (1085). He is speaking to a young man who replies that the dregs are entirely old and rotten. Cf. 'Plutus' p. 77. Here the imagery is used of an old woman who is rejected by the youth.

²²It is striking that the diminutives ἀμπέλια and σικίδια are used. Sharpley ad 596 explains this by metrical reasons. But it might well be intended to sound more friendly to the goddess. cf. also 'Wine' p. 208.

the countryside with barley-cake (μᾶζα 565) and a feast of plenty (πανδαισία 565),²³ thus using food imagery to point out how close-packed the chorus stand, like soldiers,²⁴ and how much he enjoys this sight. The use of military vocabulary in this passage (564-7) creates an ironic contrast to the imagery of feasting, a theme which is continued more explicitly later in the play. In one instance, a war-trumpet-player asks Trygaeus what he should do with his instrument during peace. The protagonist advises him to build a cottabus-stand with it (1242-4). Here, cottabus symbolises the symposium as a pleasurable event, which is contrasted with military occupations. The mention of this game is taken up from 338ff. (κοτταβίζειν 343), where it is listed, alongside attending a feast (ἔστιᾶσθαι 343), among the pleasures which the chorus can expect when they have pulled Peace out of the cave.²⁵ Secondly, Trygaeus mocks a spear-seller by considering making his spears into vine-props (1263) and undervalues them by offering an inappropriately low price for them.²⁶ Thus, war-practice is distorted into farming-practice.

This is a reversal of the destruction of vines, which happened during the Peloponnesian war. The topos of vines being destroyed by the Spartans is one that frequently appears in Aristophanes' comedies: cf. also Ach. 183, 231-3, 512, 986-7, of other plants: e.g. Pax 628-9.²⁷ It is also used to indicate the violence of the war in

²³This expression seems to imply that all sorts of food will be provided: cf. Platnauer ad 565, Sommerstein ad 565, also LSJ s.v. Merry and Sharpley ad 564 notice the joke in the odd combinations of πυκνόν and μᾶζα and of γοργόν and πανδαισία.

²⁴Cf. Olson ad 564-5.

²⁵For passages in Greek literature which contrast war and the symposium see e.g. Ar., Ach. 977-86, Cratin. Jun. fr. 4, Thgn. 885-6, Xenoph. fr. 1.21-4 Gent.-Pr., Anacreonta 4, 9 W., S., Aj. 1199-1204, in Latin literature e.g. Hor., c. 1.6, 2.11. Cf. Totaro 114. As Compton-Engle (1999a) 326 with n. 7 points out, these passages are not about drunken violence at the symposium itself, as e.g. Anacr. fr. 356 PMG is, but about a general rejection of war in favour of partying.

²⁶Cf. Olson ad loc. See 'Cottabus' p. 215-6.

²⁷Hanson 66ff. convincingly argues that the destructions were rather of the year's crops than permanent, but he still takes the comedies far too literally and seriously in his optimistic view of the

Hermes' explanation of the beginning of the conflict (605-27, especially 612-3). Here war is associated with a distortion of the practices of both vine-growing and wine-drinking. Hermes relates that when Pericles had set the city ablaze with his Megarian decree, the vines were soon burning and the wine-jars started to hit and kick each other in revenge. When this happened, the war could no longer be stopped, and Peace disappeared. Matching this imagery, the Spartans and Athenians are compared to wine-pithoi in this passage. The explanation given by Hermes reminds one very much of Dicaeopolis' at Ach. 524ff., which also makes use of sympotic imagery; likewise, his description of Peace approaching the Athenians after the events at Pylus with a hamper (κίστην) full of truces (666), which is a hint at the baskets in which the guests bring their food-contributions to a symposium (cf. e.g. Ach. 1086 and 1098, Lys. 1184), reminds one of the representation of the peace-treaties as wines in Ach. Furthermore, this description is analogous to Trygaeus' comic suggestion that Cratinus died during the invasion of the Laconians (700-3), having fainted because he could not bear the sight of a jar full of wine being broken into pieces. Cratinus' fondness for wine was notorious, and he even made fun of himself on this account in his comedy Πυρίνη, which was performed in 423 B.C.²⁸

As with Cratinus and his bibulousness, Aristophanes frequently ridicules his own baldness (cf. e.g. Eq. 550, Nu. 545, with Plu., Mor. 634d, who states this tendency; cf.

extent of the destruction, by basing assumptions on mentions of certain kinds of food in the plays (145ff.).

²⁸Cf. Cratin. fr. 199, where a character, apparently a friend of Cratinus, plans to smash his drinking-cups to stop him from drinking, and his fr. *203, which says that whoever drinks water will not produce anything wise: cf. Hor., Ep. 1.19.1-3; cf. also Anon. ap. Ath. 39c, Plu., Mor. 634d, who states that Cratinus ridiculed himself in this play. The commentaries discuss whether this comedian was actually already dead when Ar., Pax was performed or whether Pax 700-3 only means that in Aristophanes' opinion he was dead as an artist at this time, or perhaps was still alive and this was only a joke on his love of wine. Since Cratinus was still alive in 423 B.C., when he defeated Aristophanes' 'Clouds' with his Πυρίνη, but no Spartan invasions happened after 425 B.C., it is clear that Aristophanes is only looking for a reason to mock him, and the question whether he was actually dead at this time is therefore irrelevant.

also Eup. fr. 89). In 'Peace', this is done with symposium-imagery. In the first parabasis, at 770ff., the chorus-leader admonishes all men to vote for this play. The reward for the old men who do so, he promises, will be that at symposia everybody will make sure that they will get dessert²⁹ because of the similarity of their foreheads to that of 'the noblest poet'.

'Peace' contains not only passages about drinking wine, but also several ones about the sympotic practice of pouring libations. All these instances occur before Peace has been pulled out of the cave: already at line 300 Trygaeus calls to the Greeks that it is a good opportunity to end the war now that Polemus and his slave have failed to find a pestle to crush the Greek peoples, and have gone inside. The relevant line is corrupt, but Trygaeus seems to explain this proposal as 'because now it is possible † for us to seize † the Good Spirit's Cup'.³⁰ This libation is the first one to be poured from a cup of neat wine after the *δειπνον*, to mark the beginning of the actual symposium. In this context it symbolises, more generally, the beginning of a pleasurable life for the

²⁹The expression *κάπι τραπέζῃ* sounds as if it belonged to the context of a *δειπνον*, because the tables have apparently not been removed yet. However, a dessert rather fits the following symposium. Thus, the borderline between these two events is not strictly drawn here. Also *παρέτρογον* in 415, 'to nibble at, take a bite of' (LSJ), which is used by Hermes, expressing his belief that the Sun and the Moon took away something of the circle of the year, a reference to irregularities of the Athenian calendar (cf. also Nu. 615-26; cf. Sommerstein ad Pax 414), is a pun on eating dessert. On desserts see 'Acharnians' p. 6 n. 15.

³⁰For the Good Spirit's Cup cf. also e.g. Eq. 85, 106; V. 525, and Nicostr. fr. 19. Sommerstein ad Pax 300 remarks that the mss.'s reading *ἀπάσαι* is really appropriate neither to the pulling out of the goddess nor to the drinking - or pouring - of wine. He proposes that a form of *σπάσαι*, 'to pull' as well as 'to drink' (for the latter use cf. e.g. E., Cyc. 417, 571), or a compound of it, perhaps *οὖν ἀνασπάσαι*, should be conjectured here. (Platnauer ad 300 also mentions a few other, less convincing conjectures.) In either case, the genitive has to be explained. This is possible, e.g. by assuming an ellipse of (*ἄκρατον*) *οἶνον* or of *σπονδήν*: cf. Eq. 85 and 106, where this word of reference appears in the preceding sentence. Merry ad 300 interprets the reading of the mss. as 'to snap a toast to the spirit of good luck', which in his opinion expresses the eagerness or suddenness of the action. However, this sounds rather contrived. Anyhow, the meaning of 'Good Spirit's cup' in this passage is clear, no matter what the right verb may be.

Greeks. Furthermore, this cup is drunk neat, therefore hinting at something exceptionally pleasurable. In line with this imagery, at 423-4 Trygaeus actually bribes Hermes with the present of a golden libation-bowl, which finally convinces him to let Trygaeus pull the goddess out of the cave. It seems to be Hermes who makes the libation with a prayer for peace at 433ff., since he is the one who is holding the bowl.³¹ The fact that he pours one libation for himself at 457 is just a joke.³² Finally, the pouring of libations (σπείσαντες 1319) is mentioned by the groom Trygaeus before the wedding-party starts, though, it is not shown on stage. Thus, just as in reality, the libations are made at the beginning of the 'feasting', which in this play denotes both a life of peace and finally a real party (cf. also Pl. Com. fr. 71.4).

The connection between peace-making and the pouring of libations becomes even clearer at 212, Ach. 199, and also X., HG 7.4.36: σπονδὰς καὶ παιᾶνας ὡς εἰρήνης γεγενημένης ἐποιοῦντο. The Xenophon passage provides evidence for the fact that during the pouring of libations the guests at a symposium usually sing a paean: cf. also e.g. X., Smp. 2.1 and Harmodius of Leprum III B.319 FrGH about an Arcadian dinner: ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν σπονδῶν παιᾶν ἄισεται. Otherwise, a paean can be a ritual cry, e.g. at 453, as uttered by Hermes,³³ or a hymn, as at Pax 582-600 and Eq. 1318, where the Sausage-Seller asks the audience to sing in honour of the new fortune of the city. When Trygaeus sends the farmers back to the countryside, he also asks them to sing one (παιωνίσσας 555). In this context it chiefly seems to mark the beginning of a time of happy feasting as it does usually at symposia. This emphasises the fact that now that peace has been restored, parties can take place again.³⁴

³¹Cf. Sommerstein ad 433-57; for the contrary opinion see Marzullo, in: Sommerstein ad loc., and Platnauer ad 435-8. Sommerstein depicts Hermes drinking the wine here, instead of pouring it out.

³²There is also a word-play with φιάλην (431) and φιαλοῦμεν (432) here: cf. Platnauer ad 431-2.

³³Here, the main intention of mentioning this cry seems to be to create the joke with παῖω, 'to strike' (454): cf. the commentaries ad loc.

³⁴The connection between peace and feasting already appears earlier in Greek literature, e.g. at Thgn. 757-64, 773-88, 885-6: cf. Levine 190ff. He notes that this poet's descriptions of symposia and the polis actually show similarities, such as a longing for peace and pleasure (Levine 194).

That Trygaeus is now shown as able to think of sympotic matters again, also becomes obvious when Trygaeus has just returned to earth from heaven and his slave questions him about his experiences (838-41). In this passage, Trygaeus explains that shooting stars were wealthy ones (τινὲς τῶν πλουσίων) on their way home from a δειπνον, carrying lanterns with fire in them. Aristophanes seems to ascribe this idea to Trygaeus, in order to represent him hoping that feasting will now again be possible. In his story, however, the dinner-party is still only a luxury for the rich, as it surely used to be during the war.

Similar to this situation, the sympotic privilege of dining in the Prytaneum was only given to certain people during the war; e.g. the oracle-monger Hierocles is mentioned as enjoying this honour in 'Peace'.³⁵ But once the war is over, Trygaeus can prophesy to Hierocles that this will not be the case ever again (1084-5). Thus, undeserving people will never profit from the war anymore, and the institution of the symposium will be brought back into good order. The chorus also now think of similar things to do in peace. In the parabasis, at 778-80, they ask the Muse to dance with them, celebrating weddings of gods, banquets (δαῖτα) of men, and festivities (θαλία) of the blessed. To a great extent, these lines are taken from Stesich. fr. 33 Page,³⁶ with some Aristophanic additions. It is easy to imagine this poem being sung at a symposium (cf. the singing-scene at 1269ff.: see below; cf. also Eup. fr. 395 for the performance of a poem by Stesichorus at a banquet).

Two rural symposia are actually depicted in the second parabasis in the context of a vision of an undestroyed agriculture.³⁷ In this context, imageries of farming and feasting are strikingly combined. The idea of a contrast between a rustic life and war

³⁵Cf. Sommerstein ad 1084, 1064 and Olson ad 1084-5; cf. also Eq. 280-3 and 573-6 about Cleon.

³⁶Cf. Sommerstein ad 775-80, Olson ad loc., and Compton-Engle (1999a) 326.

³⁷Cf. also Olson ad 1131-71.

is taken up from 551-5 and 560-3, which also appears e.g. in Dicaeopolis' phallic song at Ach. 263-79. In the description of the first rural symposium in Pax, the chorus rejoice that they now have Peace (1127-9). They state that they take no delight in battles, but prefer to sit with friends by the fire, drinking (διέλκων 1131-2),³⁸ roasting chickpeas and acorns - a typical dessert at symposia -³⁹ and kissing a slave-girl. Thus, this more rural and private form of symposium is depicted as a pleasant entertainment to be enjoyed in times of peace. It also reminds one of the joke about drinking by the fire at Ach. 751-2.⁴⁰

The chorus-leader imagines a very similar event at 1140-58. This passage is set in summer, balancing the first, which is a winter-scene. A second summer-scene follows at 1159ff.,⁴¹ where, after the sowing, it starts to rain, and consequently the speaker and his neighbour decide to go drinking (ἐμπιεῖν 1143ff., 1156). If one compares the use of this verb at Ec. 142, where one of the women maintains that the men in their assemblies quarrel like drunken men, and at E., Cyc. 336, where the Cyclops, who has just stated that his greatest deity is his stomach, says that he eats and drinks - a

³⁸Cf. also Ar. fr. 111, also in the context of peace: διελκύσαι τῆς τρυγός. Sharpley ad 1131 notes that ἔλκειν always implies deep draughts (cf. Eq. 107, E., Cyc. 417) and that δια- signifies that the drinking takes place in company. Merry and Platnauer ad 1131 comment on the connotation of competitiveness of this prefix. However, Olson ad 1131-213 provides references which show that this need not be implied here: e.g. Telecl. fr. 27.1, Eub. fr. 56.7. As Bowie (1993) 137 notes, in this passage in Pax the attitude towards food changes from an unpleasant one (i.e. the dung-cakes of the beetle, Polemos' mortar, soldier's rations, etc.) to an enjoyable one.

³⁹Cf. e.g. Ec. 45, Ephipp. fr. 13.1-2, Mnesim. fr. 7.6, Pl., R. 372, Xenoph. fr. 22.3 D.-K.; cf. Dalby 89 for different sorts of acorns that used to be eaten. Similar events are also described at Alc. 338 and Xenoph. 22 Edmonds = 18 Diehl. For a comparison of Pax 1127-90 with Hes., Op. cf. Totaro 110ff.

⁴⁰Cf. 'Acharnians' p. 3.

⁴¹Cf. Olson 1131-58. Compton-Engle (1999a) 327 notes that the first winter-passage can be compared with Xenoph. fr. 22 D.K., which is also set in winter. However, the gathering of firewood as well as other "rustic details" in Pax make the scene appear far less luxurious than the Xenoph. fragment and therefore as a more typically comic event. This is in keeping with the appearance of sexual allusions in the comic passage.

lot, one can assume - every day, it becomes apparent that the neighbours intend to consume a considerable quantity of wine here.⁴²

As at most big symposia, both men bring contributions of food: Comarchides⁴³ mentions a mixture of cowpeas and wheat, as well as figs, and one of the neighbours who are invited (cf. 1155ff.) the delicacies thrush, chaffinches, and hare. One interpretation of this passage is that it implies that the feasting was even more pleasant if it took place at somebody else's expense, in this case the neighbour's who brings the delicacies.⁴⁴ However, the emphasis on the luxuriousness of the food is probably intended to create a climax rather than to express the chorus-leader's greediness, a detail which would not fit the general atmosphere of a passage which stresses the sense of community during feasting. Furthermore, since Comarchides seems to be the host in this case, he will presumably provide all the wine. Finally, Comarchides tells his slave to bring him myrtle-branches with berries on them (μυρρίνας ... τῶν καρπίμων 1154).⁴⁵ These may be used either to make wreaths⁴⁶ or to hold in one's hand when singing scolia or reciting poetry: cf. e.g. Nu. 1364-5, Ar.

⁴²The function of the prefix ἐμ- has been explained as intensive: cf. Platnauer ad 1143.

⁴³This is quite a fitting name for a chorus-leader, if one understands its etymology as being derived from κῶμος, 'revel': cf. also the commentaries ad loc. and Totaro 112 n. 28. The references which are given by Sharpley ad 1142, however, refer to κῶμαρχος in the meaning of 'village-chief'. Platnauer ad 1142 also prefers this translation. However, this does not sound very probable, referring to a leader of a comic chorus and being used in a sympotic context. Olson ad 1142-58 compares V. 230, where one of the members of the chorus is called Κωμίας.

⁴⁴Sommerstein ad 1142-58. Dalby 61ff. mentions many of the kinds of food which appear here.

Sommerstein ad 1149 notes that the two birds are also mentioned together in culinary contexts at Ar. fr. 402.7 and Eub. fr. 148.5. I follow Sommerstein's and Olson's division of speakers here.

⁴⁵v. Leeuwen conjectures ἐξ παρ' Αἰσχίνου for ἐξ Αἰσχινάδου at 1154, so that each person would get two branches, one for a wreath and one to hold in his hand during recitations. Cf. Sommerstein ad 1154 for a discussion of these two readings.

⁴⁶A wreath made of myrtle with berries is explicitly mentioned at Ar., Ra. 328-30 in connection with a θίασος, picking up 156. Dover ad Ra. 330-1 states that myrtle-crowns are worn by the officiating priests at the mysteries. Cf. also E., Alc. 759, where the servant who is complaining about Heracles' drunken behaviour says that he has garlanded his head with myrtle-branches.

fr. 444. The berries may just be intended to look attractive, but are probably meant to be eaten.⁴⁷ The relaxed atmosphere and apparent well-being are underlined by the fact that not even the slaves have to keep working in the fields (1146-8): the ground is too wet and it is impossible to work on the vines. Later on, in the wedding-scene at the end of the play (1354), drinking is also depicted as an essential part of happy feasting, when the groom predicts that the chorus will consume a lot of food and wine.⁴⁸

Symposium-imagery is actually incorporated into the action on stage and reaches its climax when the play ends with a big wedding feast for Trygaeus and Opora.⁴⁹ Not only does a wedding-komos take place, during which references to drinking occur, but a longer scene also appears which depicts a typical symposium-event at 1269-1304. Trygaeus asks two boys to sing for him. The first boy only sings texts which are related to war. Many of the lines are quotations from epic poems or Aristophanes' adaptations of their lines, especially of the *Iliad*.⁵⁰ Even when Trygaeus tries to change the topic to feasting, and especially food, the boy always returns to that of war.⁵¹ Trygaeus, in contrast, is shown as able to improvise in lines 1280-1, which

⁴⁷For the eating of the berries cf. e.g. *Phoenicid.* fr. 2, *Theopomp. Com.* fr. 68, *Diph.* fr. 80, *Pherecr.* fr. 158, and *Pl., R.* 372c. Cf. also Dalby 80. A character in *Apolloph.* fr. 5 says that he eats myrtle-berries when he is planning something. At *Av.* 160 and 1100 they are mentioned as birds' food.

⁴⁸As Whitman 110 writes, the dung-cakes from the first scene have now been replaced with the pleasant wedding-cakes. Reckford 194-5 adds to this notion a more detailed analysis of the negative association between war and food-preparation, which is in particular symbolised through his mortar in which he intends to crush the Greek cities (*Pax* 228ff.).

⁴⁹Cf. 'Komos' p. 162ff.

⁵⁰Cf. the commentaries ad loc. and Compton-Engle (1999a) 325. In particular, line 1273 (=Il. 3.15) is a formulaic verse which appears twelve times in the *Iliad*: cf. Kirk ad Il. 3.15. Kugelmeier 43 takes this passage as evidence that at school the children first learned poems in hexameters and in distichs. This scene in *Pax* is evidence for the survival of epic at symposia for the end of the fifth century B.C.; Di Marzio 87 uses *Anaxandr.* fr. 42 Campbell as evidence for that of *citarodia* for the first half of the fourth century B.C.

⁵¹The contrast between food and war in this scene reminds one of the contest between *Dicaeopolis* and *Lamachus* at *Ach.* 1097ff. The joke on the two meanings of *θωρέσσοντο* (1286), 'put on one's armour'

cannot be found in any surviving epic poetry.⁵² The protagonist's ability is in keeping with the fact that at several points in the comedy Trygaeus displays knowledge of what happens at a symposium. Eventually, it transpires that the singing boy is the son of the war-monger Lamachus, whom the audience should remember as Dicaeopolis' antagonist in Ach. (cf. also Pax 473-4 and ἡμέρα μισολάμαχος: 304).⁵³ His identity is drawn attention to through the expressions βουλομάχου καὶ κλαυσιμάχου (1293), which echo the sound of the general's name.⁵⁴ Consequently, Trygaeus calls for Cleonymus' son instead, because he is sure that the boy will not sing about war (1295ff.). In fact, as befits the alleged cowardice of his father,⁵⁵ he chooses Archil. fr. 5W., in which the poetic persona happily admits the loss of his shield. These jokes about two well-known personalities are one obvious purpose of this singing-scene, another is the use of symposium-imagery to express the rejection of war. The boy is not made to change his song, meaning that - in keeping with the general theme of Pax - his topic is preferred to that of a positive view of war.

and 'get drunk', resembles those of Ach. 1134-5 and V. 1193-5. There is another word-play here on ὀπλοτέρων (1270), 'younger', which reminds Trygaeus of weapons, perhaps of a ὀπλοφόρος: cf. Sommerstein ad 1270-1, Merry ad 1270. Here not only is war rejected from the symposium, as e.g. at Ach. 977ff., but even themes which might remind the guests of it.

⁵²Cf. Sommerstein ad 1280-1, also Olson 1280-1. Compton-Engle (1999a) 327 compares the two following lines with a riddle in the Certamen Homeri et Hesiodi or, depending on the dating of that text, with a tradition in which these lines appeared in the competition between the two poets and which is used in both passages, i.e. in the Certamen and in Pax. However, this hypothesis cannot be proven.

⁵³Sommerstein ad 1290 notes that the historical Lamachus had a son named Tydeus, after one of the Seven against Thebes, and that this might be alluded to, since the son's first words in this scene at 1270 are a line from an epic poem about this myth. Compton-Engle (1999a) 327 also notes that the fact that the sons of the two Athenian personalities sing songs which fit their fathers' characteristics is emphasised by a hint which consists in line 1270 being a quote from a cyclic epic called 'Epigonoï' ('Offspring').

⁵⁴Cf. Sommerstein and Olson ad loc.

⁵⁵Cf. the riddle on Cleonymus in V. 20ff. and also Av. 290.

To conclude, the atmosphere of happy feasting is prominent in this play, and symposium-imagery is consistently used to create it. The idea that feasting is only possible during peace is indicated by the fact that the goddess Peace is shown as its protectress. At the same time, if one assumes that the action of this play is meant to take place at the time of its performance at the Dionysia, i.e. at the end of winter, it is she who brings back spring and therefore fertility.⁵⁶ This is accentuated by the fact that a wedding takes place, in particular by the sexual connotations of the mockery in the procession, and through the imagery of vine-growing and farming in all parts of the play. That it is actually the farmers who free the goddess, which is especially emphasised in lines 508-11, underlines their longing for a return to an idyllic rural life of peace. On the other hand, the imagery of wine and drinking, as well as the name of Peace's attendant Opora, rather remind one of autumn. Thus, Peace is shown as restoring not only the opportunity for sympotic feasting, but at the same time the regularities of the seasons,⁵⁷ which are themselves essential for the production of wine and therefore for feasting.

⁵⁶Cf. Bowie (1993) 144.

⁵⁷Cf. Bowie (1993) 144.

'Lysistrata'

When 'Lysistrata' was produced in 411 B.C., Athens was in a difficult military and political situation.¹ Against this background, Aristophanes creates the play's scenario, whereby the women from the warring cities of Greece go on a sex-strike in order to force the men to stop the war. The conflict between the sexes is expressed partly through sympotic and komastic imagery, as will be shown in this chapter. One reason for this choice of imagery seems to be that the play, in particular at its beginning, focuses on female characters who in comedy are frequently mocked as being extremely fond of tippling.

In keeping with this comic stereotype,² the younger female characters start the strike by swearing a chastity-oath with wine at the end of the first scene (181-239). Lysistrata is shown as wanting to swear the oath over a shield, which is to be turned upside-down in order to take the 'blood' of the 'victim'. However, Calonice reminds her that this is not apt for an oath about peace (189-90); and in addition a scene at A., Th. 42-56, in which Polynices takes a similar oath before he sets out to attack his own city has already been likened to this procedure by Lysistrata herself (Ar., Lys. 188).³ The distortion of the usual practice of a blood-sacrifice thus fits the fact that the women are going to oppose their own fellow-citizens. It is worth noting here that blood-sacrifices (σφαγία) in general are not only associated with oaths, but also with the openings of hostilities.⁴ It has been pointed out that Calonice's counter-proposal to cut a white stallion into pieces instead (191-2) is reminiscent of certain practices of

¹Cf. Sommerstein 'Lysistrata' 1ff.

²This passion for drinking is particularly represented in the character of Myrrhine, e.g. 207 where she would like to swear, i.e. drink, first; see also Whitman 211. Cf. also Calonice's words at 113-4.

³Cf. e.g. Bowie (1993) 183. Also at A., Th. 55 lots are drawn, similarly to the symposium-practice which is mentioned at Lys. 208.

⁴Cf. Bowie (1993) 182 with Burkert 71.

the Scythians and in particular of the Amazons (cf. 688-9),⁵ the latter of which, according to myth, also (though unsuccessfully) attempted to seize the acropolis, as the older women will do later in this play.

In this situation, Lysistrata quickly changes the plan to something that her supposedly bibulous fellow-women will surely delight in:⁶ she substitutes a large drinking-cup (κύλικα μεγάλην 195) for the shield, and a jar of Thasian wine (Θάσιον οἴνου σταμνίον 196) for the victim.⁷ The sort proposed is a quality wine (cf. e.g. Ec. 1118ff., Pl. 1021, Hermipp. fr. 77.3); and the women praise it at 205-6. These actions resemble that of pouring σπονδαί, which was employed at the close of hostilities.⁸ However, Lysistrata continues to use vocabulary which would be more fitting at a slaughter: μηλοσφαγοῦσαι (196) and κάπρου (202) for the wine-container; cf. also Calonice's θαῖμα (205); and Lysistrata's reference to her sacrifice as σφαγία at 204.⁹ This confusion between the two ritual practices of σφαγία and σπονδή indicates that, although the women behave in a hostile way towards their fellow-citizens, they actually have the peaceful intention of stopping the war.¹⁰

At the end of the oath-taking, Lysistrata's proposal takes an unexpected turn, though: ὁμόσωμεν εἰς τὴν κύλικα μὴ πιχεῖν ὕδωρ (197). This is not only a hint at comic women's alleged excessive liking of wine, to which Lysistrata clearly refers when she

⁵For references consult Bowie (1993) 183 with n. 23. For Scythians sacrificing horses cf. especially Hdt. 216.4, for the Amazons AR 2.1176. However, Bowie also provides references for Greeks sacrificing horses. Perusino 78 is not completely right in arguing that the women on the acropolis in Lys. are not like Amazons, but have pacifist interests, because for the moment they refuse to let the men in and are in opposition to them.

⁶Cf. Lampito's approval of the oath in 198, see also Henderson (1980) 182.

⁷Bowie (1997) 13 notes the similarity to Dicaeopolis' sympotic treatment of Lamachus' shield and of one of the feathers of the crest of his helmet at Ach. 582-7.

⁸Cf. Bowie (1993) 182 with Burkert 71.

⁹Cf. also Th. 730ff. about the sacrifice of Mica's 'child', which is actually a wine-skin.

¹⁰Cf. also Bowie (1993) 182-3.

lets Calonice swear for all women that, if they fail to fulfil their oath, the cup shall be filled with water (233-6), but also stresses the fact that this is a special occasion, as neat wine is used for drink-offerings: cf. e.g. Antiph. fr. 81.¹¹ However, on the occasion of the swearing of an oath, the wine was usually not drunk,¹² as opposed to the procedure which the women are shown as following in this play (cf. also e.g. Eq. 85ff. and 106-7, Cratin. fr. 322, as well as Theopomp. fr. 41 about a female character). This serves not only as another joke on the women's fondness for drinking, but also as a hint at the peace which is to come, since at the ceremonies where peace is made, the wine is actually consumed.¹³ On the other hand, this distortion of the usual practice may also allude to the women's unwillingness to swear the chastity-oath: cf. e.g. 216 and the attempts which some of the women make to escape at 717ff.¹⁴ The first one attempting to drink is Myrrhine (207), but she is stopped by Calonice who, in order to restrain her, employs the symposium-practice of drawing lots to establish a drinking-order (208).¹⁵ In view of the fact that respectable women are not allowed to attend symposia, she paradoxically displays quite a

¹¹These words of Lysistrata, as well as the fact that she actually has to be reminded to leave some of the oath-swearing-wine for the others (238-9), indicate that she is perhaps after all not as much above the other women's weaknesses as she herself seems to be convinced: cf. 1ff. with Henderson (1980) 169, Foley 9.

¹²Bowie (1997) 13 n.77 gives Il. 3.295ff. as a reference.

¹³Cf. Bowie (1997) 13.

¹⁴Bowie's (1997) 13 idea that the placing of the drinking-cup on the ground might recall parodies of drinking habits displayed by satyrs, as depicted on vases, appears to be an over-interpretation. It rather seems to be done this way because the cup is big (cf. 195) and therefore presumably heavy.

¹⁵Cf. also Ov., A.A. 1.581. Henderson (1987) ad 208 notes that Ar., Pl. 972 suggests that these lots used to be inscribed with letters of the alphabet. Cf. also LSJ s.v. γράμμα II.4. Henderson also mentions that alternatively the drinking-order could be fixed by an elected symposiarch: cf. X., An. 6.1.30 in contrast to Pl., Smp. 213e where Alcibiades appoints himself as ἄρχων, Plut., Mor. 208bc and also 620a-622b in contrast to Alex. fr. 21. However, he is not correct in attributing this role to Lysistrata here, since she keeps out of this discussion, except for just making the women swear first, before they are allowed to drink, and finally even tries herself to drink more than her fair share: 238-9. See Ov., A.A. 1.581 for the practice of drawing lots at drinking-parties in Rome: cf. Sommerstein ad Lys. 208.

detailed knowledge of them. However, except for *Lysistrata*, no female character actually seems to drink any wine, as they are interrupted by the old women's 'ololyge'-cry (240) which, on the one hand, being a victory-cry, signals their successful occupation of the acropolis, and, on the other, is also associated with sacrifices, even though the older women have not been part of this particular sacrifice, confirming the unusual nature of the ceremony.¹⁶

The men's chorus soon arrive at the gates of the acropolis and try to force their way in. Their behaviour resembles that of violent komasts:¹⁷ they are carrying torches which they are prepared to use to break through the gates (307ff.) or even, as they angrily threaten, to burn the conspiring women (269-70). The women, however, much to the men's surprise, know how to defend themselves.¹⁸ At 465f., the Proboulos, who is shocked by the disastrous defeat of his archer corps at the hands of the women, can only explain this fighting-spirit (χολήν 465) by assuming that alcohol is involved (... ἐάνπερ πλησίον κάπηλος ἦι. 466), yet another joke about comic women's drinking habits. The Proboulos' words could also be an allusion to the disturbance of an assembly by a drunk woman performing the Adonis-rites on a roof, which he mentioned earlier, at 387ff., especially at 395-6.¹⁹

After each of the opposing groups has been introduced with symposium- or komos-imagery, its use is continued in the subsequent dispute between the men and women, when at 633, the leader of the men's chorus quotes a few words, though in a different

¹⁶Cf. Bowie (1997) 13, Sommerstein ad 240, Henderson (1987) ad 240.

¹⁷On this scene cf. 'Komos' p. 147.

¹⁸Faraone 38ff. views this scene in the light of the theme of salvation, drawing theatrical, cultic, and political parallels.

¹⁹This mainly seems to be an easy excuse to blame somebody else for the unfortunate decisions they made in this assembly: cf. e.g. Henderson (1987) ad 390-7. Cf. the commentaries ad loc. for the problem of joining these two events, because the women behave in a different spirit in each passage. In a similar fashion, the Proboulos accuses a slave of only looking out for a tavern at 427. This alludes to the comic topos of slaves' fondness of drinking.

order, from the famous Harmodius-scolion (PMG 893.1/ 895.1), which seems to have been sung frequently at drinking-parties: cf. also V. 1225ff. The mention of myrtle in this line emphasises this allusion to the symposium.²⁰ It is implied through the use of this line that the men will always be on guard from now on.

The allusion to the symposium in this well-known verse is too subtle, to serve as anticipation of the final peace-celebration, which, however, does seem to be foreshadowed in the following passage:²¹ when the argument between the men's and the women's chorus reaches its climax, the women's leader visualises the current situation to the men by employing symposium-imagery. She explains that she had an entertainment²² in honour of Hekate to which she invited a 'girl' (ἑταίραν 701, παῖδα 702) from the neighbourhood, a Boeotian eel, but she could not come because of the Athenian men's decrees (700-3). The surprising mention of the eel is a hint at the pleasures of communal feasting and of enjoying foreign delicacies. The speaker apparently intends to make the men understand that they could lead a much more pleasurable life if there was peace.

Later on, again employing the theme of feasting, the united chorus show that they have understood this message, when men and women have finally made peace with each other: the topic of partying is already indicated by the very first word of the antistrophe, ἔστιᾶν (1058). In the following lines (1065-71) they describe the guests they will invite to their feast, including children.²³ The imagined presence of καλοῖ τε κάγαθοί (1060) makes it sound like quite a luxurious symposium in the

²⁰Cf. Sommerstein ad 632, cf. 'Peace' 34-5 with n. 46-7.

²¹Cf. also Henderson (1987) ad 700-5.

²²I.e. "a privately organised neighbourhood party": cf. Henderson (1987) ad 700-5.

²³Their reminder that they should take a bath beforehand recalls the fact that the women speak of a wedding-bath when they pour water over the men at 377ff.: Sommerstein ad 378 notes that this also implies that the men will not get anything nuptial now except for this bath. It furthermore resembles the imagined wedding-invitation at Av. 130-4.

aristocratic style. In contrast, the food they will offer to their guests (ἔτνος 1061, δελφάκιον 1062) does not sound very copious or grand.²⁴ Anyhow, there is an unexpected twist at the end of the invitation: the door will be shut.²⁵ On first sight this seems to be a simple joke, playing with the expectations of the audience: cf. also 1188-1215, Ec. 1141-8, Ach. 1156-61, also Pl., Rud. 1418ff. The symbol of the closed door may also be implying, however, that the life of peace anticipated by the chorus has not yet arrived. Moreover, this ending alludes to the closed doors of the acropolis, and also to the women's refusal to let the men get near them. However, it is unlikely that the blocked doors during the banquet on the acropolis at the end of the play are foreshadowed here, because in that scene no citizen seems to be excluded from the feast.²⁶

This ebullient celebration takes place when the Athenian and Spartan allies have finally made their peace. In this context, both people are equally treated as "guests from without" since in her invitation Lysistrata uses the expression ξενίσωμεν (1184).²⁷ For the feast, the women appear with picnic-baskets (κίσταις 1184), which can be compared to Peace's κίστη full of truces at Pax 666 and thus help to increase the peaceful effect of the scene. Furthermore, the food and feasting hint at the fact that the households are soon to return to their usual routine again.²⁸

²⁴ἔτνος is metrically emphasised by division between two metra, δελφάκιον by the resolution of the last element of the cretic (- - ~). Sommerstein ad 1061 notes the sexual connotations of these words, which are appropriate to the main theme in this play.

²⁵For songs of mockery trochaic metres are frequently used, as here. The final lekythion contains the *aprodoketon*: cf. also Zimmermann II. 186, 188.

²⁶Henderson (1987) ad 1043-71 assumes that the chorus are alluding to the general poverty of the city. However, they seem to be looking ahead to the coming peace.

²⁷Bowie (1993) 192.

²⁸Cf. Henderson (1980) 215 who also notes a sexual pun in κίσται.

After a choral interlude, Athenians with burning torches are shown forcing their way out of the acropolis-doors which are blocked by slaves²⁹ (1216-22). This scene immediately reminds one of the men's komos-like attempt to get into the acropolis, and their leader's threat to burn the women's leader's hair at 381. In a similar manner, one of the men threatens to burn the slaves' hair now, but then makes a remark out of context, not as a character but as an actor, saying that he is not going to use this common comic device (1218). Thus, even if this scene is part of a komos, at the same time it is clearly a parody of one.³⁰ It resembles V. 1326-31 where Philocleon returns from a symposium in a mini-komos and threatens to make fried fish with his torch out of everyone who does not get out of his way. At Lys. 1216ff., as opposed to the earlier scene, the men are successful with their threats. They justify their action by maintaining that they are ensuring the departing Spartans' security (1223-4). Their concern is explained by one of the Athenians as being due to how well they got on with the Spartans at the symposium (1225-7). He calls the Spartans *χαρίεντες*, which may imply a reference to their symposiac wittiness. The expression is further emphasised by *καί* (1226).³¹ In this line, *Λακωνικοί* seems to be a sort of pet name.³² The Athenians refer to themselves as *ξυμπόται σοφώτατοι* (1227). This idea is elaborated by the other Athenian, who says that they were in such a friendly mood that they even applauded when someone sang the 'Telamon'-scolion instead of 'Cleitagora'. A comparable instance is described at Cratin. fr. 254, who mentions the singing of 'Cleitagora' to the aulos-tunes of the 'Admetus'. The Athenians' jovial reaction may just indicate their peaceful mood and their state of drunkenness, if one assumes that the point of this passage is that two different songs were simply mixed up by mistake. However, the themes of the songs are also of importance here. The 'Telamon' probably dealt with military themes; in contrast, the topic of 'Cleitagora' is

²⁹Or porters or the chorus? Cf. Turner ad 1215.

³⁰Cf. also e.g. Henderson (1987) ad 1217-8a. The 'Telamon'-scolion is also mentioned at Theopomp. fr. 65. On this scene cf. 'Komos' p. 174.

³¹Cf. also Henderson (1987) ad 1225-6.

³²De Wit-Tak 33. It may also just be a joke on this fashionable ending.

not known, but its opening lines suggest that it is a song about peace,³³ which would fit well in the passage in Pax. Thus, the use of these particular songs could be to highlight that the mention of war was ignored by the majority, who are in favour of peace.

The speaker concludes that from now on they should always carry out any diplomatic business when drunk (1228ff.).³⁴ This idea recalls the fact that in the first scene the women took their oath with wine: “wine and war are antithetical.”³⁵ On the other hand, the Athenian tendency to bring home incoherent reports from Sparta (ἀγγέλλομεν δ' οὐ ταῦτὰ τῶν αὐτῶν περὶ. 1235) would presumably not be improved if they were to appear drunk on such occasions.³⁶ This fact may indicate that the men have not actually changed that much, only that they are in a more peaceful mood towards the Spartans for the time being.

The banquet (cf. 1184 and also 1224) has led to a symposium (1225ff.), and finally to a big peaceful and cheerful komos with music and dancing (cf. 1242ff.; cf. 'Komos' p. 162ff.). The mood of this komos is in sharp contrast to its violent counterpart on the occasion of the first appearance of the men, when they were still at war. The symposium and komos at the end of Lys. are used to celebrate the victory of peace

³³Henderson (1996) 202 ad 211.

³⁴See also Eq. 85-100 and Pl. 1047-8 for the opinion that one gets positive ideas or sharpened senses from drinking. Cf. also Theopomp. Com. fr. 63.4, who substitutes εὐβουλίαν as a surprise for 'digestion'. For the contrary conception cf. e.g. Ec. 137-9, Crobyl. fr. 3, Diod. Com. fr. 1, Com. Adesp. fr. 101, also Anacreonta 9; for aggressiveness resulting from drinking cf. e.g. Eub. fr. *93.10, Diph. fr. 45 or Philocleon's behaviour after the 'real' symposium in 'Wasps'. Dorati 89 compares the passage in Lys. with Hdt. 1.133 in so far as both show a tendency to construct an alternative world, even if in different ways and with different purposes.

³⁵Henderson (1987) ad 1228-30.

³⁶Bowie (1993) 203 with n. 90, who mentions Hdt. 1.133.3f. and Tac., Germ. 22 as references for similar customs among 'barbarian' peoples, i.e. the Persians and the Germans. However, in both cases it is mentioned that everything is decided twice: once when everybody is drunk, once when sober.

over war and, therefore, the women's success. They were able to persuade their husbands to stop the hostilities because they represent the pleasures of life in this play, such as feasting, food, drink, and sex, which the men have to admit are more desirable than fighting.³⁷ This is dramatised through the festivities at the end of the play. Thus, even if the women's behaviour, particularly when drinking is involved, may sometimes be judged ambiguously, they still have an aim that eventually turns out to be positive for the men as well. Therefore, it becomes obvious that in the first scene they used the wine in a positive way, and not only in order to have an excuse for tipping.³⁸ The communal drinking and feasting serves to improve peaceful international relations. It becomes clear that the wine was, after all, a perfectly suitable sacrifice for the women's oath.³⁹

To underline these friendly relations, communal dancing is stressed. This notion of communality is in contrast to Philocleon's dancing competition at the end of 'Wasps' (V. 1474-1537), which is the continuation of a *komos*: both Spartans and Athenians sing, and men and women apparently dance in couples (cf. *Lys.* 1275-6), probably a very unusual sight in Athens at this time.⁴⁰ Consequently, peace between cities as well as the sexes is depicted. However, it is strange that respectable citizen-women take part in this *komos* at all. They bring the food for the *deipnon* (1184) and join the dancing of the *komos* (1295-6), but it is not clear whether they stay with the men at the symposium in between. That they join the dancing is actually necessary for

³⁷Cf. also Henderson (1980) 186.

³⁸Foley 10; on p.7 she notes that, moreover, the women always remain within certain boundaries, i.e. that of the acropolis, which is finally turned into a dining hall by them.

³⁹Cf. also Vaio 379.

⁴⁰Lonsdale 207 writes that already the Homeric epics hint at the ability of dance to unite the community and couples in group marriages: cf. e.g. *Il.* 18.490ff. For a discussion of the question who gives them the order to stand together cf. 'Komos' p. 163 n. 63 with Sommerstein ad 1273-90 and Henderson (1987) ad 1273-8. Even if it is not *Lysistrata* who organises the dancing, there is no reason why she should not silently be present in this scene. Cf. also 'Komos' p. 162 n. 62 on the music in this passage.

dramatic reasons: the reuniting of the couples through dance symbolises a second marriage. It serves as the human counterpart to the rural festivals which take place in the earlier peace-plays by Aristophanes, representing a pleasurable life of peace, i.e. the Rural Dionysia and the Anthesteria in *Ach.* and the representations of similar rural events in the form of *Opora* and *Theoria* in *Pax*.⁴¹ Furthermore, this special banquet can only take place because peace has been made through the women's initiative. It is therefore irrelevant that the play's action might have been impossible, which has been suspected to be the point here.⁴² The purpose of the scene is to show the general reunion, even if traditional sympotic-komastic order has not been completely restored. In reality, the idea of a communal feast of Athenians and Spartans at that time, quite apart from the fact that the Spartans were renowned in antiquity for disliking symposia anyway,⁴³ is very unlikely. However, in the fictional play this idea and other unusual sympotic and komastic features can appear without implying any critique or notion of impossibility.

As the discussion has shown, in the earlier parts of this comedy there are distortions of symposium- and komos-practice, in which aggressiveness or restriction are implied (e.g. in the violent komos of the men and the women's being hindered from organising a feast) and which indicate that the relationships between the women and men are not functioning. The frequent jokes about the women's bibulousness, however, help to lighten the atmosphere in this part of the play. In contrast to the initial mood of difficulty and disagreement, the peaceful and high-spirited celebration at the end of the play focuses on the reunion of sexes and peoples. Thus, in this play symposium-and komos-imagery is used to dramatise both problems and their solutions.

⁴¹Cf. Dillon 100.

⁴²Bowie (1997) 15.

⁴³Cf. Pl., Lg. 1.637ab with Bowie (1997) 15 n. 97.

1.2 Feasting in changed circumstances

'Birds'

In 'Birds', 'Ecclesiazusae', 'Plutus', and 'Frogs' a change of outer circumstances in the polis or in a character's personal life provides the possibility for feasting. In 'Birds' the protagonist Peisetaerus and his companion Euelpides are looking for a trouble-free place to live (τόπον ἀπράγμονα 44). They specify that they would like its inhabitants to be free of litigiousness, which has driven them out of their home town Athens (40-1, 109), because they are trying to avoid paying their debts: cf. 115-6. It is thus implied that they are looking for a considerable degree of freedom from social obligations.¹ Thereby, they mainly seem to have their own personal pleasures in mind, which have a strong connection to the symposium. They quickly succeed in finding the perfect place for themselves in Cloudcuckooville. However, their anti-social attitude is presented as turning into an unwillingness on Peisetaerus' side to share the sympotic pleasures he enjoys. This chapter will show how these developments are indicated through sympotic imagery.

The two men's annoyance with the Athenians' love of law-suits is indicated by the only passage in this play where an aspect related to the symposium is clearly treated in a negative way. A derogatory metaphor is derived from the gathering of the vintage, when at 1698 the chorus speak about sycophants and accuse them of 'gathering the vintage with their tongues' (τρυγῶσι ταῖς γλώτταισι). This can be compared to the similar proverb 'to strip unwatched vines' (ἐρήμας τρυγᾶν <sc.

¹Konstan (1990) 204 = (1995) 43 expresses this in the following way: "Restrains are abolished in a spirit of carnivalian liberty"; cf. also Zanetto ad 134. Konstan (1995) 41 associates Cloudcuckooville with the sufficiency of the golden age.

ἀμπέλους>), meaning 'to obtain an easy advantage'.² The expression seems to be idiomatic, and it is used in a similar way at Ec. 885-6 and at V. 634 by Philocleon, after the chorus has praised his words, meaning that it will not be easy for Bdelycleon to surpass his speech. In Av. the imagery is chosen because of its association with wine, which fits the protagonist's interest in the symposium.

The connection between Peisetaerus' and Euelpides' enjoyment and the symposium is hinted at from very early on in the play. It is most obvious at 128-34, when Peisetaerus describes the city of his dreams as a place where one's duties involve attending a wedding-party. It has been noted that the words ὅπως παρέσει μοι (131), which the host employs in Peisetaerus' imagination when wording his invitation, could be a possible opening of a request to appear in court.³ This creates a comic contrast to the content of this request and at the same time depicts the implied reversal of the usual order of social duties.⁴

Peisetaerus' hope for a leisurely, comfortable life-style is already hinted at in 122, where he compares his dream-city to a soft cloak to recline in. Similarly, at 657 he tells some slaves to take the luggage, employing the expression τὰ στρώματα, which is used elsewhere for travellers' bedding (e.g. Ra. 165, 502, 525, 595), but can also denote coverings which are spread over a dinner-couch (cf. Ach. 1090, V. 1213, Ra. 542). Consequently, this may be a passing allusion to the life of a symposiast. One can compare this passage with Ach. 1136, where Lamachus asks his slave to pack his στρώματα. In the following line, however, Dicaeopolis surprisingly does not take up

²Cf. Dunbar ad 1697-9, Taillardat § 716. Otherwise, 'gather the vintage', τρυγᾶν, is mostly used *sensu obsceno* in Aristophanes' comedies: cf. e.g. Pax 1339-40 and probably Ec. 886. Cf. Henderson (1975) 167 no. 287.

³Dunbar ad 131-4.

⁴Cf. Dunbar ad 128-34, Sommerstein ad 128-34. Zimmermann (1983) 68 notes the typical "Schlaraffenlandepitheta" with which the main characters' dream-place is described at 128ff., cf. also 729ff., in particular πλουθυγεία, θαλίαι, γάλα τ' ὄρνιθων; see below p. 56.

this expression, which would fit very well into a response of his, but he replaces it with *κιστίδος*, as he gives his slave orders regarding preparations for a symposium and at the same time parodies the general's orders (cf. 'Acharnians' p. 14).

The passage in Av. has been variously explained as meaning that bedding was used to wrap up other pieces of luggage, or that *στρώματα* are just employed jokingly for all the items which are mentioned earlier, although there was no trace of bedding there.⁵ However, there is nothing surprising about the existence of bedding, because as travellers, Peisetaerus and Euelpides would be expected to carry something of this sort. It is more surprising that slaves should suddenly appear so late in the play. Had they been present before,⁶ there would probably have been some of the typical comic cases of abuse of slaves, as can be found e.g. at the beginning of Ra. Perhaps Peisetaerus is treating the birds as if they were slaves, by asking them to carry his luggage. This would be a foretaste of his imperious attitude, which emerges later in the play (see below).

The two men appear to be well prepared for life in such a sympotically oriented society, because they bring plenty of cooking-equipment. However, the connection between this and the symposium only becomes obvious later in the play. The cooking-utensils are mainly used when Peisetaerus and Euelpides have to defend themselves against the attacks of the birds. In this scene Peisetaerus gives his companion instructions to use a pot (*χυτρῶν* 357) - probably as a shield -, a spit (*ὀβελίσκον* 359), and a saucer or a plate (*ὀξύβαφον ... τρύβλιον* 361) to protect the eyes. Shortly afterwards he tells him to put down the pot (387-92), which seems to mark the boundaries of their 'camp'.⁷ A *χύτρα* has already been mentioned as part of their equipment at 42, in combination with a basket and myrtle-wreaths. In the later

⁵Dunbar ad loc.

⁶As Dunbar ad loc. proposes.

⁷Cf. Sommerstein ad 390-1, Dunbar ad 388-90 who also gives other possible interpretations of this passage.

scene the pots seem to be taken from the travellers' luggage, as well.⁸ They have mostly been explained as sacrificial items, probably for the first sacrifice after the foundation of the city.⁹ However, at this point in the play Peisetaerus and Euelpides are only trying to find another town to live in, but have not had the idea of founding a new one yet. One might assume that they are going to sacrifice to the gods of their new home-town;¹⁰ but at the same time these items will surely have reminded the audience of utensils which were used at symposia,¹¹ even if only in retrospect at the end of the play.

The use of the pot to keep owls away (358) is an obscure idea. Since antiquity it has been explained by reference to an ancient custom of placing bowls, filled with kindled

⁸Rogers' and Hamilton's assumption that these objects are only borrowed from the Hoopoe's kitchen, which they are returned to later on, sounds unconvincing, as 'emigrants' may be expected to have such items in their luggage and the kitchen only seems to be a convenient place to remove them to. Cf. Rogers ad 357, Hamilton 239, also Sommerstein ad 357.

⁹Cf. the commentaries ad loc.

¹⁰Cf. Dunbar ad 43 and 352-88. At 850, the basket actually re-appears in connection with lustral water (χέρνιβα). However, LSJ s.v. χέρνιψ 1 also mentions its use as water for washing one's hands before a meal. Cf. e.g. Od. 1.136 and 4.52. The basket is also employed in the context of a sacrifice at 863.

¹¹For a sympotic interpretation of this passage cf. also Hamilton 237ff. He gives references in the context of feasting in comedy and elsewhere for the appearances of myrtle(-crowns) (e.g. Pax 1154, Nu. 1364), χύτραι, and also the κανοῦν (Av. 43, perhaps Pl. Com. fr. 15 with Zenob. vulg. II 31, and also several instances in Homeric feasts, e.g. Il. 9.217, 24.626, Od. 1.147, 8.69, 17.335, 18.120, cf. also Hdt. 1.119). However, χύτραι are usually just used to denote any pots in Aristophanes' plays, e.g. at Av. 78. At Ra. 505 and Ec. 845 they appear in connection with deipna, at Ec. 844-5 also together with garlands, but in both cases they are filled with ἔτνος, which is also eaten on less festive occasions and will not be prepared in special symposium-dishes.

Whitman 179 thinks that the passage at Av. 357ff. is perhaps a reference to a children's game. He writes that there is a dance called 'owl', which is mentioned at Ath. 629f, but not in much detail. A game called χυτρίνδα παίζειν is described at Poll. 9.113-4: a player who is holding a pot over his head is hit by the other players who form a circle around him. When the first player catches one of the others, this one has to take his place. However, neither a game nor a dance fits into this context. Perhaps, in this sympotic interpretation the ὀξύβαφα and the vessel might remind a very imaginative spectator of one variant of the cottabus-game, though.

coals, on the roof of a house in order to deter owls, whose noises are a disturbance at night.¹² It has been rightly objected, though, that 'a non-blazing pot in daylight' is unlikely to scare off birds.¹³ Furthermore, not only owls, but also various other species of birds are present in this scene (cf. 296ff.). No recent event which it might refer to is known either. One explanation, which sounds quite contrived but may be possible, does not involve any burning materials at all. It suggests that the obscure point of this scene was that Athena's bird would not attack its goddess' craft.¹⁴ Another possible explanation of this scene may be to see it in a more general way, i.e. that the audience could imagine that the χύτρα, as used for sacrifices, contained kindled coals that served to deter all kinds of birds.¹⁵ However, it is more likely that the main aim of this passage is the absurdly comic sight of people fighting with objects which are actually not meant for this purpose,¹⁶ but rather for peaceful activities, such as sacrificing or feasting. Thus, a war-like attack is repulsed here with symposium-objects. This is faintly reminiscent of the war-monger Lamachus' defeat by a vine-prop, which is related at Ach. 1178, and evokes the contrast between symposium and war, which is particularly prominent in 'Peace'.¹⁷

¹²E.g. Suda χ 611 s.v. Χύτραν τρέφειν. Such a disturbance is attested e.g. at Lys. 760-1, where one of the women complains that she could not sleep because of the shrieking of the owls in the Acropolis. Men. fr. 844.11 also mentions the superstitious belief that a howling owl was a bad omen.

¹³Dunbar ad 358.

¹⁴Dunbar and Halliwell ad 358, also Kock ad 358. In contrast, Zanetto ad 357 remarks that the owl, being Athena's bird, is rather unlikely to be scared of her goddess' pots. Craik (29) relates the scene to the Anthesteria-festival. Her explanation that the 'Day of the Chytroi' of this festival ended in the evening and that therefore no owls would be present sounds very far-fetched, though.

¹⁵If the burning coals are only imaginary, Dunbar's objection (ad 43) that their smoking would be dramatically awkward is irrelevant. However, it is still strange that the smoke is not mentioned at all when Peisetaerus and Euelpidēs are defending themselves. Probably their gestures and the context are clear enough for the audience to understand what is meant.

¹⁶Cf. Dunbar ad 352-85 for a discussion of the ways in which the different objects may be intended to be used here.

¹⁷Cf. 'Peace' p. 28 n. 25 for further examples of this theme in Greek literature.

The use of feasting- and cooking- utensils as weapons re-appears in a reversed form later on, when Peisetaerus can be seen roasting some birds, for which he will most likely use a spit (1580ff., cf. also Ach. 1007). The birds receive this treatment as punishment, but Peisetaerus soon finds good use for them as food for the wedding feast; consequently the roasting becomes a positive action in the context of feasting, which is all Peisetaerus really cares about, whereas the rebel birds were not allowed to express critique and are treated without mercy. Thus, in the context of the punishment of the birds, this passage shows drastically that only the tyrant Peisetaerus enjoys absolute freedom in this new city.

He indicates his interest in feasting once more as he builds up to revealing his plan to the birds, by likening his speech to the preparation of dough (462-4): Peisetaerus expresses his eagerness to unveil his plan by explaining that he has mixed it well beforehand and that there will be no obstacle to kneading it to perfection (καὶ μὴν ὀργῶ, νῆ τὸν Δία, καὶ προπεφύραται λόγος εὔ μοι, ὄν διαμάττειν οὐ κωλύει.).¹⁸ In this context it has been noted that perhaps also ὀργῶ, 'to swell, to ripen', may be connected with the preparation of cereal for eating; its formal similarity to ὀργάζω, 'make soft by kneading' - though this expression only seems to be used for inedible materials, such as clay or wax - should also be noted.¹⁹

The imagery of making food serves as a preparation to Peisetaerus' following request for a garland and for water to wash his hands with (463-4). Even if garlands were also worn by speakers in the assembly (e.g. Th. 380, Ec. 131, 148, 163, where women are

¹⁸Rhetoric and the preparation of food are also metaphorically linked at Eq. 215-6 and 343; cf. Alink 69. For the image of kneading, here of thoughts, cf. also Eq. 539 (μάττων ... ἐπινοίας) and for that of mixing, referring to trouble, cf. Th. 75 (κακόν ... προπεφυραμένον). Dunbar ad 462-3 suggests that here the prefix δια- can mean either 'thoroughly' or 'into separate cakes/'distributing', which probably expresses the idea that Peisetaerus is going to share his knowledge with his audience, i.e. the chorus.

¹⁹Dunbar ad 462-3. Cf. also ὀργῶντας at Lys. 1113, referring to the Athenian men's eagerness for peace and for their wives. See Henderson ad loc.

given garlands when they are there), as a sign of one's magistracy (cf. Nu 625, Eq. 1227), or during a sacrifice (cf. Eq. 221, Nu. 256, Pl. 21; *μυρρίνας*: probably Av. 43, Th. 37; *στέμμα*: Pax 948), here it is reminiscent of symposium-practices, as is indicated by Euelpides' reaction, who, being a bomolochus, misunderstands the situation and asks whether they are going to have a dinner (*δειπνήσειν μέλλομεν*; 464).²⁰ This passage is comparable with Ec. 131ff., where a woman who receives a speaker's wreath expects to be offered a drink, and therefore obviously associates the garland with a symposium. However, it is usually only the wearing of a wreath, but not the hand-washing also mentioned in the passage in Av., which is practised before one gives a speech, whereas the hands are washed before the beginning of the symposium.²¹ Furthermore, the imperative *κατάκεισθε*,²² 'recline', also appears here. This verb clearly does not belong in the context of oratory, but in that of the symposium: cf. e.g. V. 1208ff., also Ach. 985, Pl., Smp. 185d, Hdt. 3.121. Thus, Peisetaerus seems to be indirectly promising the chorus some sort of party.

Euelpides is depicted as being as fond of feasting as his companion: he interrupts Peisetaerus, who explains the fact that men obey the summons of the Persian Fowl, with a story of plain buffoonery about how he had been drinking in town (*ὑπέπινον*) either before, or more probably at, a name-giving party (494).²³ He had fallen asleep,

²⁰Cf. Merry ad 463. For hand-washing at an imagined banquet cf. V. 1216; at Ach. 1091 the second messenger mentions garlands among the things which will be provided at the *δειπνον* at the priest of Dionysus'; at Ec. 691 garlands are mentioned in connection with a komos which will follow a public banquet; similarly, at Pl. 1040-1 a youth is assumed to be going to a komos because he carries a wreath and a torch. One explanation for the use of garlands at symposia and komoi is Philonides' pragmatic opinion, quoted at Ath. 676c, that a myrtle-wreath drives away the fumes arising from wine.

²¹Cf. e.g. V. 1216-7; Dunbar ad Av. 463-4, Rogers ad 464. However, hands are washed before any holy practice; cf. Zanetto ad 463-4, Kock ad 464.

²²This reading is convincingly defended by Dunbar ad 463-4.

²³Cf. the discussion of this problem by Dunbar ad 494-8. Instances of drinking early in the day are also mentioned at Eup. fr. 385, Pherecr. fr. 34, Ar. fr. 513 and 260, where someone displays drunken misbehaviour before the *δειπνον*, which in Aristophanes' time took place in the evening or at midday

but before the others had begun to dine (δειπνεῖν), the 'bird' crowed,²⁴ so that Euelpides, mistaking the time, set out for Halimus, where, it is assumed, he either lived or had other business to do. On the way he was robbed of his cloak (492-8) and thus lost both his coat and his dinner.²⁵ Apparently, Euelpides woke up just after dark, and the festivities could be continued all night (which becomes obvious at Eub. fr. 2, where some women are told to dance the whole night for prizes). The choice of the verb ὑπέπινον, which actually signifies 'to drink a little',²⁶ is here, as often in comedy, used as a form of ironical understatement, indicating that he must have drunk quite a lot. Thus, this passage underlines Euelpides' convivial interests, which he already revealed even before Peisetaerus' decision to found a new city.

When the birds have finally been convinced by Peisetaerus' plan, they display a positive attitude towards feasting. This is expressed in several passages: firstly, when Peisetaerus enumerates the blessings which they will bring human beings, he mentions that the birds will see that the locusts do not eat up their vine-blossoms (οἰνάνθας), i.e. they will support their wine-production, which is frequently mentioned in Aristophanes' comedies as an important factor in well-being (588).²⁷

(cf. LSJ s.v. δεῖπνον). Probably the latter possibility is meant here for the sake of the joke. A character (or characters) at Pherecr. fr. 88 leaves a deipnon just at the beginning of darkness. Cf. also Ath. 103c.

²⁴For a rooster crowing at night cf. also V. 100.

²⁵Another case of someone wearing a wreath, i.e. presumably a komast, and being robbed of his cloak appears at Archipp. fr. 42. However, the reading of the text is uncertain.

²⁶Cf. e.g. Antiph. fr. 268, where it is stated that moderate drinking is even good for one's thoughts, Pl., R. 372d, Anacr. fr. 356 (b).5, where it is opposed to immoderate 'Scythian' drinking, and probably Pherecr. fr. 162.8. For its use in a case of understatement cf. also Alex. fr. 287, where a character is said to have got a hangover from ὑποπίνειν, Plu., Mor. 615e, where the adverb in μετρίως ὑποπεπωκότες seems to be used ironically, Pax 874, Lys. 395, probably X., An. 7.3.29, and Nicophon fr. 19 = Antiatticist 115.10 = Phot. p. 630,2 = Suda υ 562 s.v. Ὑποπίνειν, who equate this expression with μεθύσκεσθαι; cf. also Merry ad 494, Dunbar ad 494-8, Arnott ad Alex. fr. 287; Rogers' interpretation ad 494 of ὑπο- as signifying secrecy or slyness does not make any sense in this context.

²⁷Cf. the negative use of this imagery at 1698: see above. Cf. also Trygaeus' prayer before his wedding at Pax 1320-8, which also includes the wish that everybody may produce much wine and other

Similarly, at 731-4 the leader of the birds' chorus promises to reward humans for worshipping them with 'health-and-wealth, happiness, life (or: sufficient means of living), peace, youth, laughter, dances, festivities (θαλίας 733) - and birds' milk'.²⁸ The latter four items, the last of which is used here symbolically for special delicacies, could also well refer to a sympotic context.²⁹

In between these passages, the Chorus-leader tells Tereus to invite the two men for lunch (659ff.).³⁰ Although this will probably not be a symposium exactly, it is still a meal held in company. As for themselves, the chorus ask Tereus to leave the nightingale Procne with them, so that they can play (παίσσωμεν 660) with her. At first sight they want her to provide musical accompaniment or dancing; however, the same verb is also frequently employed to denote love-play (cf. e.g. Ec. 881).³¹ This understanding is supported by the ambiguous vocabulary which is employed when this bird is first called for at 207-8 - λόχμην, εἴσβαινε, ἀνέγειρε, and ἀηδόνα,³² all

agricultural goods. The fact that Peisetaerus employs the rural imagery of the σισύρα, a cloak of unshorn sheep or goat skin (cf. Dunbar ad 122), in the description of the city of his dreams might indicate that they are looking for a more agricultural way of living: cf. Alink 55. For locusts as a threat to vines Dunbar ad 585 mentions Theoc. 5.108-9.

²⁸Transl. Sommerstein. As Heberlein 71 and 122 points out, adynata typically appear in descriptions of a golden age.

²⁹Cf. Sommerstein and Dunbar ad 734. Dunbar ad 733 refers χορούς and θαλίας to the context of religious festivals. Anyhow, the main point of this passage seems to be the emphasis on happiness in any sort of feasting. The whole passage reminds one remotely of the pleasures which the Worse Argument promises Pheidippides at Nu. 1974ff. However, those are not as 'innocent' as those mentioned here in Av.

³⁰ Ἀριστον denoted 'breakfast' in early Greek only. Already in the fifth century B.C. it was used to refer to the midday meal; cf. LSJ s.v.; v.Leeuwen ad Eq. 52 and ad Av. 132; for this play cf. also Av. 1602 with Dunbar ad 659. Gelzer, in: Bremer and Handley 62 notes that 661ff. by delaying the beginning of the parabasis will have had a surprising effect on the audience.

³¹Cf. e.g. Ra. 230 for παίζω denoting musical accompaniment; for its meaning of dancing see e.g. Halliwell (1991) 283 and Lonsdale 208, the latter also on its association with courting and marriage. At Th. 795 it is employed in its meaning of love-play. Cf. also Dunbar ad 660 and 1098.

³²Cf. Dunbar, following Thompson; Henderson (1975) 136 for λόχμη; cf. Craik 30.

appear in one sentence - and is more explicitly shown in the reactions of the two main characters, in particular when Euelpides wants to kiss the nightingale. This mixture of music, dancing, and sex reminds one of a female musician at a symposium³³ - even if Procne is actually Tereus' wife. Thus, this passage indicates that now not only Peisetaerus and Euelpides, but also the birds are in a party-mood.

As a sign that the party-city 'Clouducuckooville' has actually been established, Peisetaerus and Euelpides are transformed into birds. This change is underlined by the use of symposium-practice: when the two first see each other, they mock another in the manner of the εἰκασμός-game, a game of comparison which is very popular at festivities, especially at symposia.³⁴ Euelpides asks Peisetaerus what he most looks like, and his companion likens him to a goose, painted at a cheap price, i.e. roughly and without much care for detail. Euelpides replies that Peisetaerus resembles a blackbird with a 'bowl pluck',³⁵ a very unbecoming haircut (806). In the following line, Peisetaerus actually uses the verb ἠϊκόσμεσθα when he realises that they owe these comparisons to their own wings - employing the fable of the eagle who is shot with an arrow adorned with feathers of his own species³⁶ - meaning that it is their own fault.

When the rumour of the foundation of the city starts to spread, several humans and gods come to Peisetaerus with different requests. It is striking that only the old-fashioned Pindaric poet, who sings an ode on Clouducuckooville and asks quite

³³Cf. also Zanetto ad 660, Peschel 351. The horrible background of the myth of Tereus, Procne, and Philomela (including the banquet in which Procne in revenge serves up her and Tereus' son Ithys) might already foreshadow Peisetaerus' unfair behaviour later in the play, which will make the feasting negative for some characters, e.g. for the rebel-birds which are roasted (see below).

³⁴Cf. V. 1308-14, Pl., Smp. 215a, also V. 1170-2 on the occasion of Philocleon's sympotic walking-exercise during his symposium-lesson; cf. also Stratt. fr. 35, where Cleon's head is compared to a deinos-vessel which has been turned upside-down.

³⁵Transl. Sommerstein. Cf. also Th. 838 for this hair-cut.

³⁶= A. fr. 139.4-5, where it is also used metaphorically in Achilleus' speech.

directly for new clothes, is treated in a not too unfriendly way - even if he only gets the slave's clothes (905ff.). This seems to be a stock-joke about lyric poets asking for patronage and for inclusion in the symposium-company of rich monarchs.³⁷ Here this practice is taken to an extreme in that the poet is begging for quasi-necessities of life.³⁸ One reason for his being treated nicely, or at least not rudely, may be that the poetry of the old-fashioned type which he recites can also be found at symposia and thus fits Peisetaerus' taste. In contrast, the dithyrambic poet, who appears later (1372ff.), is expelled. This reminds one of the differences in taste between the generations about symposium-songs which are treated at Nu. 1356-79. The oracle-monger who arrives at Av. 959 behaves even more than the poet like a parasite at a symposium when he tries to acquire a drink from the libation-bowl³⁹ and a portion of the sacrificial meal. However, he is beaten away by Peisetaerus.

These scenes indicate the great attractiveness of a 'symposium-city' to diverse characters and even to gods, because a divine embassy arrives next (1580ff.). At first in this situation Peisetaerus gives the impression that he is much more interested in his cooking than in what they have to say. Even if he is only bluffing, it is clear that feasting, i.e. private pleasures, are much more important in this town than politics, i.e. the general well-being of everybody. Similarly to Dicaeopolis in Ach., Peisetaerus has actually 'become' his city, which is only a comic conceit, but such a convincing one that he can make everything revolve around himself, acting as a tyrant and refusing to share his achievements with anyone else.⁴⁰ His selfishness is underlined by the use of

³⁷Cf. Dunbar ad 903-57, who mentions e.g. Ibycus and Anacreon who received hospitality from Polycrates in Samos. She notes that Hipponax and his poems might have served as a model for this passage. Cf. also Alink 155 n. 69. However, it is not really justified for Alink 319 to speak of "his miserable exit", meaning the Pindaric poet. His interpretation that "would-be-poets" could not compete with the birds, the "true musicians", is also very far-fetched.

³⁸Cf. Nu. 335-9, Pax 697-9; Dunbar 903-57.

³⁹This is what the *φιάλη* is used for here: cf. Dunbar ad 975.

⁴⁰Konstan (1995) 42 notes that at the wedding the birds, whose triumph should actually be celebrated as well, are nothing but "a chorus of admirers". Hose (1995b) 65 writes that because of the negative

the imagery of feasting. Here it also has to be noted that Heracles is finally won over by Peisetaerus to agree to his conditions for a peace-treaty (1603) by an proposed invitation to a meal, which indicates that the protagonist uses the symposium in a quite opportunistic and self-serving way. In general, however, in this play the symposium has positive associations - even if they are often only positive for Peisetaerus, but partly negative for the rest of society, as it is the case with his initial intention not to pay back his debts (see above, p. 48). Even so, these negative aspects are not foregrounded much in this play.

Peisetaerus' wedding-celebration in the final scene brings the play full circle from his description of the city of his dreams at the beginning of 'Birds' (128-34).⁴¹ A similar motif also appears during the play, in the form of Euelpides' report on his experiences before the name-giving-feast. All the allusions, thoughts, and actions connected with symposium-practices which have appeared so far seem to lead to this celebratory end. Even the rebel-birds have been killed right in time for the party, and suddenly the aspect of feasting seems to be more important than their punishment. Through the feast at the end of the play it finally becomes explicit that what Peisetaerus and Euelpides have actually been looking for is a party-town. This is obvious only now, whereas at the beginning of the play the actual meaning of the pots, for example, still remained unclear. Thus, in the course of the action of the play the audience's understanding will continue to grow as to why Peisetaerus and Euelpides already arrive at Tereus' so well equipped for feasting, and why they frequently think in symposium-terms. In this play, the symposium stands chiefly for a hedonistic time without social and political worries, and a critical view of this life-style is only hinted at by occasionally negative use of the same imagery, especially regarding Peisetaerus.

tendencies displayed by the protagonist the new city would not be seen as morally superior to Athens by an Attic audience; however, there also is not much of a critique implied, but the aspect of fun is mainly underlined.

⁴¹This passage is compared to the wedding-scenes at Pax 1329-59 and Lys. 1241-1321 in the chapter on 'Komos' p. 162.

'Ecclesiazusae'

In 'Ecclesiazusae' Athens undergoes a major change of circumstances, consisting in the establishment of an extreme form of communism by the women who manage to seize power in this play. The abolition of private property under the new regime applies not only to goods, but also to food and even to sexual relations. Since both these latter aspects are very much associated with the symposium and komos, the effects of the women's communism are shown in sympotic situations. The focus is on excessive eating, which reflects the joyful, exaggerated nature of the women's communism.

The central group of characters in this play are Athenian women. As is usual in comedy (cf. *Lys.* and *Th.*), they are portrayed as very bibulous. This tendency becomes particularly obvious in the scene in which the female characters practice public speaking in the assembly while disguised as men: when one of them is given a garland by Praxagora before she starts to speak, she asks if she will not get a drink first (131-3), mistaking the wreath for one of those worn at symposia.¹ This joke is further extended to men's fondness for wine: even though Praxagora appears annoyed (cf. 133-5 and in particular 136 with its peculiar syntax and the stressed *πίνουσι*), the speaker persists in her opinion that the men also drink during the assembly. Their drunkenness can be inferred, she suggests, from the low quality of their decisions and from their general behaviour, the description of which at 142-3 reminds one of the misbehaviour which might be displayed by violent symposiasts or komasts, such as

¹See also 'Wine' p. 199. Cf. *Euelpides* at *Av.* 464 with '*Birds*' p. 53-4 and *Eq.* 534 on *Cratinus*, who is compared to *Connas*, who is said to have died of thirst, although he is wearing a garland, which is according to *Sommerstein ad loc.* an adaptation of a proverb. For garlands worn at symposia and komoi cf. also *Ec.* 844 and 691 as well as *Th.* 457-8 on an order of twenty garlands which are to be produced, apparently for a symposium. This passage shows that even if, due to the corruption of the people by *Euripides*, religion may be suffering a decline, conviviality is not: cf. *Sommerstein ad Th.* 457-8, also *v.Leeuwen ad Th.* 458. For a garland worn by a public speaker cf. e.g. *Th.* 380.

Philocleon at V. 1299ff.² The speaker even accuses the assembly-attenders of drinking their wine very strong (εὐζωρον 137, cf. 227, where Praxagora states that the women themselves like to drink their wine this way), apparently because it is known to her that they pour libations (σπένδουσί γ' 140), for which unmixed wine is used. Pouring libations is also customary at symposia: cf. e.g. V.1217. Thus, the speaker, although she is female and therefore can usually be expected to be excluded from drinking-parties, is presented as having detailed information about sympotic and komastic matters, considering how much she (thinks she) knows about wreaths, libations, and violent komastic behaviour.

The women mostly express their ideas in terms of food, because they are mainly concerned with, and experienced in managing their households. Their attitude is already hinted at in 126-7. Here, one of the female characters compares the others to grilled cuttlefish because of their lightly browned complexion. This comparison reminds one of the eikasmos-game: it is funny but will not hurt anyone's feelings. A difference from the usual party-entertainment, however, is that she includes herself among the addressees of the mockery here. It is only at 214ff., though, when Praxagora enumerates typical women's occupations, that the importance of food and feasting under their regime is emphasised for the first time. She mentions cooking,³ and also baking flatcakes, buying dainties, and drinking wine. The verb ἐπιτρίβω means 'destroy' (cf. Nu. 243 and 438), but here, although it mainly refers to their husbands, it might also hint at the preparation of food. The un-compounded form can be seen in a similar usage about pounding juniper berries at Th. 486, the production of medicine at Pl. 717, and the kneading of dung-cakes as food for the giant beetle at Pax 8 and 16. All this prepares the audience to hear about one of the main features of

²Thus, Taaffe's (116) assumption that this scene serves to show that (comic) women's characteristics cannot be concealed by putting men's costume on - men drinking not because of bibulousness, but for serious purposes - cannot be correct.

³Ussher ad 221 notes that frequently cooks were employed for banquets: cf. e.g. Av. 1637. However, Praxagora does not necessarily seem to think explicitly of a large deipnon here.

the women's regime: the establishment of common dinners for all citizens at 599ff., in particular at 675ff.

Not only the women, but also Praxagora's husband Blepyrus, representing the men in this passage, is pictured as mainly thinking of food. He imagines a proposal at the assembly which he is sure everybody would agree with: that the grain-sellers should supply the poor with enough grain for their dinner (424ff.).⁴ Praxagora, in keeping with this concern, promises that under the women's regime everybody will have enough of the necessities of life, such as food and clothes (605-6). This hints at the fact that after the war, food-shortage and poverty were still pressing problems in Athens.⁵ Under the new regime, however, the men's concern will not be working but dining (651-2). Praxagora even mentions items which go beyond simple living and hint at a symposium: wine, wreaths, and chickpeas.⁶ Blepyrus, however, is still critical about this proposal of a life of feasting, and, thinking of a violent form of komos, he asks how they are going to deal with situations of running riot after dinner (ἐὺωχηθέντες ὑβρίζουσιν 664)⁷ after the abolition of working law courts. Praxagora continues to think in culinary terms and assures him that deductions from the food rations (μάζης) will stop such offenders against sympotic practices (665-6).

In the following passage (675ff.), Blepyrus goes into more detail about the practical organisation of the communal meals, showing that his main interest is in the proposed dinner, i.e. his own well-being. He asks where the dinner will be served and what the

⁴Cf. also Eq. 1100ff. for similar promises. However, the demagogues seem frequently not to have fulfilled them, as described at V. 715ff.: see also Ussher ad Ec. 424-5. Compare as well the fact that at 547f. Blepyrus is shown as annoyed to have missed the assembly because of the loss of his payment, which means a loss of wheat.

⁵Cf. 408ff., also Pl., e.g. 535-47; Schwinge (1977) 61, Zimmermann (1983) 72.

⁶Cf. also 45, where chickpeas are mentioned (in connection with wine) as a penalty set by the women, who thereby show that they know this combination, which was popular at symposia, very well.

⁷Cf. V. 1303, where Philocleon is said to have been the ὑβριστότατος at the symposium, behaving like an ὀνίδιον ηὺωχημένον (V. 1306). Cf. 'Wasps' p. 117 n. 50, 'Komos' p. 170ff.

rostrum and the allotment-machines (κληρωτήρια 681) will be used for. His wife has thought of everything, though: the law courts and stoas will serve as dining-rooms (ἀνδρῶνας 676), the podium will be used for wine- and water-bowls, and from the allotment-machines seating-tickets for dinner will be given out, without anyone having to draw a blank as with the court-lots for the dicasts: δικάζειν is to be replaced by δειπνεῖν (682).⁸ The allotment-machines will be placed by the side of the Harmodius-statue, a fact which underlines the sympotic context, as it may allude to the famous scolion about the Harmodius, especially since just a few lines earlier Praxagora has mentioned that boys reciting poetry will also be present during the public dinners (678-80).⁹ With their songs about brave men they will make any cowards too ashamed to appear at the dinner, she says.

At this point, the *deipnon* has passed into a symposium; and at 691ff. Praxagora pictures the following *komos* of the drunk (μεθυσθείς), each supplied with a wreath (στεφάνωι) and a torch (δαίδα),¹⁰ with girls waiting for them. These girls are

⁸Cf. Ussher ad 682-3; cf. also Pl. 972, where an old woman is accused of having drunk (ἔπινες) without having drawn a 'law-court-letter', i.e. not being allowed to sit in court and therewith to earn her pay. Sommerstein ad 683 points out that this allotment-system in *Ec.*, if it were used daily as with the jurors, would also ensure a diversity of a diner's surroundings and fellow-diners.

⁹For singing boys at symposia cf. e.g. Pax 1265ff. and Nu. 1355ff. Cf. also Herington 49-50. See the chapter on 'Clouds' for a more detailed treatment of this matter.

¹⁰For references for the use of torches and garlands at *komoi* cf. e.g. Pl. 1041, Antiph. fr. 197, Pl., Smp. 212de. Plu., Pyrrh. 13.3 also mentions a music-girl and dancing; for torches only cf. V. 1331 and 1390, *Ec.* 1150; for wreaths cf. E., Alc. 831-2, with a female harper: Luc., Bis Acc. 16, with girls: e.g. Ach. 1145. Wreaths are said to consist of ivy or violets, Anacreon mentions flowers in general (fr. 396), roses (fr. 434), willow (fr. 352), lotus (fr. 397), and also celery garlands (fr. 410), worn at a Dionysus festival or by the winners at the Isthmian and Nemean games: cf. Pi., O. 13.33, N. 4.88, I.2.16 and 8.64. Different sorts of wreaths, such as tongueplant, ivy, lotus, rose, violet, narcissus, are mentioned at Pl. Com. fr. 51, Ecphantid. fr. 4, Cratin. fr. 105, 157, 394. They often appear in connection with drinking-cups: Pherecr. fr. 134, Pl. Com. fr. 51. An aulos-player is said to wear many wreaths at Cratin. fr. 349. A character at Pherecr. 29 complains about the bad singing he heard, which made him wish to be wreathed. The reference is unclear: it might mean that the singing was as bad as that of a drunken symposiast. However, the passage could also refer to a funeral-wreath, because the

presumably citizen women, since under the communist regime, which also covers sexual relations in this play, as will be shown in more detail below, the categories between female citizens and hetaeras are confused, and prostitution has been abolished.¹¹ It has been noted that no music-girls are mentioned in this scene.¹² However, this does not necessarily have to imply they are thought as not present; the author may have taken it for granted that the audience will assume that they attend this occasion. Thus, the mention of the girls in this passage and the assumption of the presence of female musicians indicate that the women not only take care of providing the men with food, but also of their entertainment: *deipnon*, *symposium*, and *komos* are all organised.

When Blepyrus hears that they will already be having their first dinner that very day, he is visibly delighted (717), which once more underlines his focus on his culinary well-being, rather than on communal welfare in the form of politics. The official dinner-invitation to all Athenians follows at 834-52, where the heraldess describes in paratragic style all the kinds of food, decorations and accessories, such as garlands, furniture, and, of course, wine, which will be offered.¹³ It is made obvious, at this point, through the use of *symposium*-imagery, that not everything in the new system works automatically and naturally: a male character - it is uncertain exactly who¹⁴ -

singing made the speaker suffer so badly. Different materials for wreaths used at symposia are also mentioned by Blech 68-72, mainly citing representations in art. Ussher ad 691-2 also mentions the terracotta figure from Boeotia, in: T.L.B. Webster (1960), pl. III d (=Munich, Inv. 5391) (It does not appear in his third edition.), which shows a comic actor with a wreath and a torch. Another is shown on a vase from after the middle of the fourth century in: Handley pl. 31. The figure lights up the way for another wreathed man who is climbing up a ladder to the window of a lady. Consequently, they seem to be *komasts*. The scene resembles Ec. 960ff., where Epigenes sings to the girl and asks to be let inside: cf. Halliwell (1998) 153 n.13.

¹¹Cf. Halliwell (2000) 10; see 'Komos' p. 159 n. 47.

¹²Cf. e.g. Ar., Th. 1176 and Pl., Th. 173d for musicians at *komoi*; cf. Ussher ad 691-2.

¹³Cf. Ach. 1085ff. and Ra. 503ff. for similar lists.

¹⁴Cf. e.g. Sommerstein ad 730 for a discussion of this problem. His hypothesis that it is the neighbour is very convincing.

lines up all his cooking utensils in the fashion of the Panathenaic procession (730ff.)¹⁵ in preparation for handing them over to the state. These cookery-items are indirectly associated with feasting and at the same time they symbolise the fact that the women intend to run the πόλις as if it was an οἶκος. The items are arranged in a certain manner, which indicates that order has been re-established, although differently and under another regime.¹⁶ The man turns in his goods because, in a manner which matches the equality of symposiasts,¹⁷ under this convivially oriented communist regime everything is a common good. Thus, he provides a sort of 'eranos' here, which does not consist of the usual food-contributions but of utensiles which are used for its production.¹⁸

The concept of sympotic-communist equality does not work perfectly, however. This is indicated by the appearance of another character in the scene, who states that he does not want to hand in his goods, at least not until all the others have done so - with the argument that Athenian laws tended to be changed again and again (797-8) - though he still intends to attend the dinner (856-76). Cheekily, he even maintains that he is supporting the polis by dining at its cost (861-2). This underlines the absurdity of the comic idea of running a state like a big symposium, and at the same time contains a critique of the citizens' un-political attitude, i.e. that they each care more about their own well-being than about establishing a fairer social structure.

The fact that the idea of commensality and eranos-like contributions is so easily undermined prepares the audience for another idea which fails to succeed in this play,

¹⁵Cf. 'Komos' p. 166ff. for further details.

¹⁶Cf. Bowie (1993) 263. This is more likely than the interpretation of this scene as a critique of the new regime, i.e. that Athens is only a kitchen now in contrast to its self-representation through the Panathenaic procession: cf. Saïd, in: Segal (1996) 305.

¹⁷Cf. e.g. Murray (1990) 5.

¹⁸Cf. Bowie (1997) 19, who points out the frequent use of κοινός and related words at 590-600, where Praxagora explains her plan to Blepyrus. Cf. also the relatively great number of συν-compounds in the passage on sexual communism (611-5).

that of sexual communism. Its effects are demonstrated in a separate scene with komos-imagery (877ff.).¹⁹ A youth appears in front of the house of an old woman. That he is on a komos is indicated by the fact that he is drunk (πεπωκώς 948) and carries a torch (978). His appearance is a connection to the strong sympotic and komastic side of the communal meals later on in this play: cf. 1112ff. Seeing him carrying a komast's torch serves as evidence for the old lady that he must be looking out for a girl (978, cf. 692ff.).²⁰ She exploits the fact that he has had a free meal, which, according to the new rules, obliges him to come to her first, before he will be allowed to see his young girl-friend (976ff., especially 988). In this context it has been noted that the youth's and the hag's songs (938-45) are written in phalcean hendecasyllaboi, the metre of the Harmodius-scolion. Indeed, each stanza ends with a catchword that seems to allude to this song: ἐλευθέρωι and δημοκρατούμεθα (941, 945).²¹ The employment of a scolion fits the sympotic-komastic atmosphere of this scene.

¹⁹On this scene cf. also 'Komos' p. 175ff.

²⁰Here the torch may also have a phallic connotation: cf. e.g. Sommerstein ad 978. Already at 50 a woman is said to be approaching the others, carrying a torch. Just beforehand this woman's interest in sympotic matters has been indicated by the mention of wine and chickpeas, as well as by the woman's name Geusistrate and her husband's occupation as a tavern-keeper. Therefore, a komastic interpretation is possible but not necessary in this earlier scene. For other interpretations cf. Ussher 49-50. A *double entendre*, however, seems rather unlikely. Rothwell 59 interprets as a phallic reference the fact that Praxagora, seeing a lamp coming closer at 27, fears being discovered by a man. However, the women are merely afraid to be seen by the men and do not know who may be carrying the light. Similarly to Ec. 978, at Eup. fr. 77 wearing a wreath seems to be a sign that one is on the way to a drinking party. This appears to be criticised in this fragment, because it is still early in the day: the character who is spoken about has not even had breakfast yet. Cf. 'Wine' p. 191 n. 16 for the aphrodisiac effect attributed to certain wine-sorts.

²¹Cf. Parker 544 as well as Dover (1972) 193 and Ussher ad loc. McClure 254-5 notes that the old ladies utter obscenities, as opposed to the young girl, who employs euphemisms instead, e.g. ἐρήμας ... τρυγήσειν at 885-6. She writes that use of obscene language by old women appears frequently in Old Comedy.

When the youth realises that there are several old women who now claim their rights to be the first ones to be with him, he starts to imagine his own burial. However, the hag pretends to understand his list of preparations as that for a wedding, a situation which would also fit the komastic context, and adds that he should get her a garland (1034).²² The young man continues the pun on different uses of garlands by replying that it should be a waxen one, such as were used for funerals. This recalls the play on words about the usage of wreaths by public speakers and banqueters near the beginning of the play (131). Symposium-garlands have again been mentioned in the catalogue of items which will be provided at the dinner (844). The circle is complete if one also compares Ar. fr. 504.6a-8, in which it is inferred from the fact that wreaths are put on the dead that they must be going drinking.²³ Thus, in this scene in 'Ecclesiazusae' it is indicated that with the new politics death now, paradoxically, threatens the young people. However, the whole situation is so absurd that it will rather serve to arouse laughter than to criticise communist ideas.

The plot turns next to the results of the women's dining-policies, which, on first sight, seem to be more successful than the sexual communism. This scene has a strong sympotic-komastic atmosphere: a female servant appears on stage and, as though she were a komast, praises the luck of the people, and more enthusiastically the Thasian wine she has drunk. One is expected to infer that there must be huge amounts of wine provided if even the servants were allowed to drink.²⁴ At this point, Blepyrus, whom the servant has been looking for, re-appears (ὁδὲ ... ἔρχεται 1128). Although he initially left with his wife (725), he is now accompanied by dancing-girls (τὰς

²²Ussher mentions E., IA 905 as an example of reference to a bridal garland. As Stone 207ff. writes, the confusion of different types of wreaths is a common source of jokes in Aristophanes. She quotes Gonszyniec, saying that in comedy the garland serves as an expression of joy in a social context.

²³Cf. also Pherecr. fr. 113 which describes a *Schlaraffenland* where the dead live, also mentioning wine at line 30, Aristopho fr. 12 on dead Pythagoreans, and Pl., R. 2.363c. For the use of wreaths at burials cf. also e.g. Ec. 1034, Lys. 602, 604; Blech 81f.

²⁴Cf. also Men, Dysc. 950 about a drinking servant-girl at a feast. On this scene cf. also 'Komos' p. 158.

μείρακας 1138)²⁵ on his way to the dinner, being the only one who has not eaten yet (1133, 1136). Thus, Praxagora must have lost him on the way. It is surprising that, although he has not even attended the *deipnon* yet, he appears to be on a *komos* already with his torch (1150) and the dancers. Blepyrus might just have picked up the youth's torch and not have brought it along with him, but the girls (cf. Ach. 1199ff.) and the dancing, which follows immediately, strongly suggest that he is on a *komos*, anyway.²⁶ The normal festive order, which starts with the *deipnon* and ends with the *komos*, has obviously been reversed, reflecting the fact that the former order of the polis has not been restored by the women, but instead a completely new state of affairs has been established.

²⁵Ussher ad loc. argues convincingly that neither the chorus nor Blepyrus' little daughters can be meant here, but dancers such as also appear at Ach. 1093 as 'participants' in a symposium. Cf. also Sommerstein ad loc. Cf. Th. 1176 as a reference to a dancing girl and music being considered indicators of a *komos*. Rothwell's (72) interpretation that Blepyrus is shown to be rewarded here with the two girls - in contrast to the dissident and the young man who refuse to obey the new rules - is not very convincing. Firstly, he is only mentioned as going to the meal, but not explicitly shown as handing in his goods, which would probably be the case if the author wanted to make this point, and, secondly, one does not hear if the dissident will really not be allowed at the dinner. Furthermore, Rothwell contradicts himself when on p. 17 he describes Blepyrus as a selfish character who does not identify himself with the community but is only interested in his own well-being.

²⁶Cf. also e.g. the endings of Lys. and V. Cf. Rogers 1150, Ussher, in: Newiger (1975) 398, and (1973) ad 1149-50. He also notes that the torch may have a sexual connotation here, either referring to a hetaera or having phallic associations; cf. also above on 978; see also Süß 294. For the former interpretation cf. e.g. V. 1373ff., Ath. 583e who mentions in a catalogue of names of hetaerae a 'Lampyris', a 'Lychnos', and a 'Lampas'. Poll. 4.151 speaks of a 'Lampadion', a hetaera in New Comedy. Cf. Webster (1969) 23. For the second interpretation cf. Rothwell 59. Henderson (1975) 111 mentions Lys. 1003, where one of the desperate men describes himself and the others as 'lamp-bearers' (λυχνοφορῖονες). However, this rather seems to be intended to serve as an illustration of the bent-over manner in which the men are walking, i.e. as if they were protecting a lamp from the wind: cf. Sommerstein ad Lys. 1003.

Because of the servant's main interest, drinking, she mentions Chian wine as well as other good things (τᾶλλ' ἀγαθά) to Blepyrus (1139-40);²⁷ and in her cheerful mood she also invites to dinner the spectators and judges who have been enjoying the play and are therefore going to vote in favour of it (1141-3). The judges are actually advised to vote for Aristophanes' play by the chorus, in their song in expectation of the victory-dinner, at 1151ff.²⁸ In the first passage mentioned Blepyrus extends the servant's invitation to a general one to the audience (cf. also Pax 1115-6). However, he comes to the conclusion παρὰ προσδοκίαν that dinner will be ready for them - when they return home (1148). This does not necessarily have to be interpreted as alluding to the fact that communism here is only a farce,²⁹ but may just be a standard comic joke (cf. e.g. Lys. 1085ff.).

This type of joke is taken up again at the end of the play, when the dancing part of the feast has already started, at 1148, as a part of the festive mockery. It consists of the invitation to take some porridge (1178) after the mention of a refined dish, which is presented in one gargantuan word at 1169-75. Rather than alluding to a victory of the symposium within the context of the play, the long dish-word and the victory-cries (1180ff., especially ὡς ἐπὶ νίκηι; cf. also Lys. 1291ff.) allude to the banquet for the winners in the comic competition, which is who the chorus hopes to be (cf. 1151ff.).³⁰ Even if this joke, then, does not sound too critical, the mishmash of different sorts of food in one dish, as well as the scene with the youth and the old hags, might indicate that this new order has ultimately led to chaos, and that actually the men's corrupt politics have only been replaced by over-copious eating and a reduction of "human

²⁷As Sparkes (1975) 124 notes, the diminutive ἀμφορείδια does not hint at small size, but at how fond the maid is of the wine.

²⁸Cf. Ussher ad 1153, who discusses the possible meanings of the expression μελλοδειπνικόν. On this scene cf. also 'Komos' p. 157.

²⁹Wilamowitz 218 e.g. takes it as a sign of the failure of the new system.

³⁰Bowie (1997) 20 is of the contrary opinion.

activities to food and sex".³¹ Those like Blepyrus, who did not show much interest in politics and in their community before, will not have to change their attitude.

The strong focus on eating in this play has been interpreted as not only being caused by the food-shortages in Athens at the time of the performance of the play, but also as a "reaction to the growing mentality of egocentric materialism in contemporary Athenian society".³² This, however, may overstate the point: the described dish seems mostly to be mentioned in order to appear exaggerated and thus to create an atmosphere of general exultation and fun. Since the women's government is oikos-dominated, it is fitting that the results are represented in terms of food (and sex).³³ Furthermore, a domestication of politics is quite common in Aristophanes' plays: cf. e.g. *Ach., Eq.*, V. It also has been noticed that food, drink, and sex are typical rewards for aristophanic heroes.³⁴ Consequently, it is fitting that the new state-form will be a sort of "symptotic communism", including *deipnon* and *komos*, which becomes obvious when Praxagora explains the new rules to her husband.³⁵ He, as well as the other men in this play, is portrayed as being very interested in eating; so the symptotic regime will actually fulfil some of the men's needs. At 136-43 the men are furthermore accused of heavy drinking by one of the women, which is connected with their irrational political behaviour in this passage. At first it appears as if this abuse of

³¹David 32. Cf. also Taaffe 129 and Bowie (1993) 264. However, Taaffe is wrong to maintain that none of the sexual rejuvenation and festivity common to an Aristophanic exodus is present in this play, because Blepyrus who was worried about his impotence beforehand (619ff.) appears with two girls at the end: cf. also Rothwell 72.

³²David 7, cf. also Schwinge (1977) 71.

³³Cf. Bowie (1993) 264, also Foley 19-20. Rothwell 58 n. 37 also remarks that in ancient Greek thought an affinity between these two exists insofar as immoderate persons tended not to be able to control either of these desires. Cf. also Davidson, e.g. xvi and 10 about the double-meaning of fish-names as expressions for names of hetaeras or boys.

³⁴Sommerstein (1984) 323.

³⁵Cf. Bowie (1997) 19. In contrast, cf. *Pherecr.*, 'Tyrannis' fr. 152, which also treats a gynaeocracy: there the women produce large wine-cups for themselves, but only extremely shallow ones for the men. For comic women's liking big cups cf. also e.g. *Pherecr.* fr. 75.

symptotic practice will be replaced by a more ordered continuous symposium that is based on the notion of everyone's equality - and therefore by fairer politics. The usual rules of the symposium are changed in essential points in this play, though, in order to make the banquet a means of 'politics' and a symbol of communist equality, insofar as the symposium has to become a public event, in which the distinction between citizen women and *hetaerae* is not clear, and which is followed by a *komos* that, for reasons of fairness, will not lead to a young woman but to a frightening old hag.³⁶ Thus, on a second level, the final scene of the play seems to reflect upon the frequently and conveniently employed practice of ending comedies with a symposium, which symbolises a good life in peace in Aristophanes' earlier plays.³⁷ This attitude is seen more critically here. However, although it becomes obvious in 'Ecclesiazusae' that the festive order of the women's regime is not always beneficial to everybody, the motif of food which runs through the whole play, and is also used to depict the failures of the exaggerated features of this system, still remains connected with positive associations. Therefore, even if the new order clearly does not end triumphantly, this is not a serious attack on communism,³⁸ but the focus remains on the creation of comic situations by showing the striking effects of a communist system taken to the extreme.

³⁶Cf. Bowie (1997) 19-20 and see p. 64 above with Halliwell (2000) 10.

³⁷Cf. references to the use of the food-motif in representations of the golden age, for which see Ath. 267e-270a; cf. David 6 n.11.

³⁸Cf. Rothwell 6-9 for a description of the main directions of interpretations of the ending of the play.

'Plutus'

'Plutus' deals with poverty and unfair distribution of wealth in Athens after the Peloponnesian War.¹ These problems are represented in terms of a shortage of food and luxuries, many of which are of sympotic nature, but mainly by the absence and blindness of (the god of) wealth, a condition which is to change in this play. The effects of this change are partly represented through symposium- and komos-imagery, which helps to create an exuberant atmosphere, celebrating the good life which lies ahead.

Sympotic elements already appear at 188-93, where Chremylus and Carion enumerate what one can have too much of, whereas one cannot have an overcopious amount of wealth.² In this context, Chremylus mostly mentions virtues. His 'music' serves as a link to the items of food, which his slave mentions,³ in so far as some of them, e.g. desserts and cakes, may allude to the symposium or another occasion of feasting at which musical accompaniment would be provided. Thus, the slave apparently wishes for a banquet. By mentioning more simple edibles, such as μάζης and φακῆς, he not only hints at the shortage of food in Athens, but at the same time, by naming these long-missed party-delicacies as something he could have in too great an abundance, he expresses the idea that Wealth is even more pleasant to him than this delicious food.⁴ Later on, it might be indicated that the chorus also miss feasting,⁵ when at

¹For a discussion of whether this problem was as big in reality as it appears to be in this play cf. e.g. Dillon (1987) 155ff.

²For a comparable passage cf. Thgn. 227 and 596 as well as Sol. fr. 13.71, which is quoted by Aristot., Pol. 1257b.

³The master represents the spiritual side, his slave the material one: David 8.

⁴That Chremylus also thinks of food may be hinted at when Poverty, who has not been able to convince him or Blepsidemus, calls to the city of Argos and is ironically advised by the protagonist to call to Pauson, since he had dined with her (τὸν ξύσσιτον 602). This remark is paradoxical because this painter was known for his poverty: cf. e.g. Th. 949ff., Eup. fr. 99.5-8. He also had a reputation for his jokes and riddles: cf. Ach. 854 with Sommerstein's note ad loc., Henioch. fr. 4.

290ff. Carion and the Chorus sing a song about the Cyclops in expectation of Wealth, in which they also mention that he had a hangover (κραιπαλῶντα 298).

The idea of an association between Wealth and sympotic pleasures is taken up again later on, after Plutus has come to Athens, when Carion tells Chremylus' wife what good things they have in plenty now that the god is with them. In this context he also mentions, along with food, wine with a good bouquet and scent (806-20, especially 807, 810-1), which once again seems to hint at the symposium. Even the slaves are said to have enough leisure to play 'odd and even' - with gold instead of knucklebones (816-7).⁶ A rather dubious improvement appears to be the transformation of the ἰπνός, which seems to denote 'oven', into ivory. However, this notion would not have disturbed a poor spectator, who would just think of the splendour and not worry about the practicality.⁷ It is only a case of comic hyperbole.

Carion can already be seen displaying sympotic tendencies prior to this. For instance, he notifies Chremylus' wife of the fact that Plutus is approaching the city and in this context tells her to greet the god with wine, which she also likes herself (644-5). This is mainly a joke on comic women's alleged bibulousness, but it is also apt to celebrate Plutus' arrival with wine since he represents the sum of all good things (646). The atmosphere in this situation resembles that of a komos, because the many poor people

⁵Holzinger ad 297 defends convincingly πεινῶντα against Bentley's conjecture πίνοντα and Brunck's πινῶντα in this passage.

⁶This is a typical children's game: cf. V. 295f., Pl., Lys. 206e, Il. 23.88, Hor., Sat. 2.3.248, also A.R. 3.117-25 on Ganymedes and Eros. However, it is also used to mean gambling: Herod., Mimiamb. 3.6f. Hdt. 1.94 writes that the Lydians invented this game as a pastime to distract their thoughts from their hunger during a long famine. The situation in Pl. and the fact that a god lives among humans again in this play is evocative of a golden age: cf. Bowie (1993) 282, also Konstan and Dillon 380. In other descriptions of a *Schlaraffenland* this game is said to be played with bread loaves or slices of swine's womb and titbits: Cratin. fr. 176.2, Telecl. 1.14. For these and other descriptions of a *Schlaraffenland* cf. Athenaeus' collection of comic passages (267e-270a).

⁷Cf. Sommerstein (1984) 324. Cf. also Carion's remark to the chorus that they will become Midases (287).

following the god wear garlands, laugh, and shout in triumph (Οἱ δ' ἠκολούθουν κατόπιν ἐστεφανωμένοι, γελῶντες, εὐφημοῦντες 757-8; cf. also 'Komos' p. 158). The garlands clearly hint at a komos, the last participle at its religious side: cf. e.g. Ach. 237 and 241 at the beginning of Dicaeopolis' komos in honour of Phales.

At this point, Carion invites everybody to dance (' Ἀλλ' εἶ, ἀπαξάπαντες ἐξ ἑνὸς λόγου ὀρχεῖσθε καὶ σκιρτᾶτε καὶ χορεύετε 760-1). The verb σκιρτάω, which appears here, is also used to describe the negative komastic behaviour of Philocleon at V. 1305, and 'Wrong' employs it when he tells Pheidippides that it is best to enjoy oneself at Nu. 1078. It has also been noted that the same verb is used about the beastly and savage part of the soul, which, according to Pl., R. 571c, filled with food and drunkenness, becomes active during sleep.⁸ Here, in contrast, it seems to be used to underline the liveliness of the happy dancing. Thus, this scene reminds one very much of a cheerful komos in the streets, in the form of a procession with music, which will be something these people have not had a chance to enjoy very often during the recent past.

Another, completely different komos-scene appears later in the comedy (1038ff.),⁹ immediately after a passage which uses symposium-imagery with wine to symbolise a special luxury (1021). In these scenes the negative aspects of wealth are shown. First an old woman of unknown social status appears, complaining about her former young lover who left her as soon as he had become wealthy himself and was no longer dependant on her gifts. Before, she maintains, he used to pay her compliments, such as that her skin smelt sweet (ἡδύ 1020). To this Chremylus sarcastically remarks that she could only have received such a compliment while pouring Thasian wine (1021), which is famous for its bouquet: cf. e.g. Hermipp. fr. 77.3 who mentions its smell of

⁸Dover (1968) ad Nu. 1078.

⁹Cf. 'Komos' p. 175ff.

apples.¹⁰ The imagery of the expensive wine, therefore, not only indicates the old woman's generosity, but emphasises the young man's selfishness in his present behaviour towards her, and underlines that he was only ever interested in her gifts.

A few moments later, the woman and Chremylus see him approach, carrying garlands and a torch (1040-1). These items indicate to the other two characters that he must be on his way to a komos. Moreover, he is drunk (μεθύων 1048; cf. also the description of Epigenes at Ec. 948 and 878). At first, he does not seem to realise that he is addressing his former 'girl-friend' and merrily calls out: Ἀσπάζομαι (1042).¹¹ But when he recognises her, he starts to abuse her about her age (1042ff.).¹² Chremylus makes a joke about this, suggesting that intoxication has improved the youth's eyesight (1048).¹³ The young man mainly makes fun of the old woman's appearance, supported by witty remarks from Chremylus. An example of this is the joke that she is so old and dry that she could easily be set on fire by the youth's torch. Here, the komastic aspect of the scene is underlined once more through the mention of the torch. It is also a hint at komastic violence: so e.g. Philocleon is shown as threatening to burn his pursuers with his torch at V. 1329-31, and in the same way some komasts try to scare the slaves at Lys. 1217-8. The passages in Pl. and V. can also be compared insofar as the aspect of hybris plays an important role in each of them. The old lady herself speaks of ὄβρις, which is emphasised by the use of the noun and the

¹⁰Cf. also 'Wine' p. 191.

¹¹v.Leeuwen's opinion that this word was respectful seems to be exaggerated if one compares line 324, where Chremylus addresses his fellow-demesmen. It appears to be rather polite, but probably not extremely so. Socrates greets Strepsiades in this way at Nu. 1145.

¹²Cf. also his invocation of Poseidon at 1050. This god was known as the helper of the aged: cf. Ach. 682. Later on, at Pl. 1069, the old woman herself calls on Aphrodite. This is apt for her intentions towards the young man, but not for her age. So, in the next line Chremylus substitutes an oath to Hekate which fits her age better: cf. also its use by Chremylus' wife at 767, by an old woman at Ec. 1097, and other women at Th. 858 and Ec. 70. Sommerstein (1995) 67 maintains that in Aristophanes and Menander oaths to Hekate are used by women only, but Pl. 1070 disproves this statement.

¹³For this phenomenon cf. Ter., Eun. 731-2, where Chremes after some drinks suddenly finds Phytias much more beautiful than he used to.

related verb in the same line (1044). Since this expression is also used several times regarding Philocleon's komos in V.,¹⁴ it becomes obvious that, if one compares these two passages, the young komast in Pl. is already imagined as being rather on the violent side. When the old lady is compared to an old olive-branch (ὥσπερ παλαιὰν εἰρεσιώνην καύσεται 1054), it sounds as if Chremylus is playing a more hurtful form of the eikasmos-game: cf. also V.1311. Finally, the young man fools the old woman by inviting her to παῖσαι (1055). Of course, his former lover understands the sexual connotation of this verb, but her hopes are not to be fulfilled. Instead, the youth adds another trick and changes a children's game into a joke at her expense about the scarcity of her teeth.¹⁵ Thus, the mockery resembles that displayed at komoi and expresses festive exuberance,¹⁶ even though it is more cruel than the playful komastic kind.

Chremylus suggests that the young man should stay with the old woman. He expresses this by employing wine-drinking imagery which fits into the komastic context. If the youth found the wine worth drinking, he must also drink the dregs (τρύγα 1085), he says.¹⁷ The youth continues this imagery by replying that the dregs were entirely old and rotten (σαπρά).¹⁸ Chremylus sarcastically advises him to use a straining-cloth for wine (τρύγοιπος 1087). This cloth has been interpreted as alluding

¹⁴Cf. 'Komos' p. 170f.

¹⁵Cf. Lysias, in: Ath. 612f, who writes about an old woman that it was easier to count her teeth than the fingers of one's hand. Holzinger ad 1057 comments that the game that is proposed here could not have anything to do with ἀρτιάζειν (cf. 816), whose point was to guess whether it was an odd or even number, not the exact one as in Pl. However, he seems to treat this passage too seriously and literally. The exact logic is not that important for the audience in order to understand a joke which alludes to the game.

¹⁶Cf. Konstan and Dillon 381.

¹⁷The same imagery appears at Pherecr. fr. 287. Cf. also Ter., Phorm. 318 for a similar way to express this: *tibi omnest exedendum* and also German: *die Suppe auslöffeln müssen, die man sich eingebrockt hat*.

¹⁸For this meaning of σαπρός, referring to an aged body, cf. also V. 1343. Otherwise, concerning wine, it can also denote 'mellow': cf. e.g. Alex. fr. 172.4. Cf. 'Peace' p. 27 with n. 21.

to the money-bag of the old woman, which would soon help the youth to forget his detestation of her.¹⁹ However, this is not only too far-fetched, but does not make sense either, since the young man is now wealthy himself and is no longer dependent on her money. Furthermore, the old lady will have no more money than the young man, because Chremylus intends to equally share Wealth (225-6, 510), an idea which reminds one of the equality of symposiasts.²⁰ The young man finally resigns and goes inside as he has been told, and decides to dedicate his komos-garlands to Plutus (1088-9). This rather ironical statement contains some critique of the blessings that wealth has brought, which do not simply mean unlimited enjoyment for everyone, as the young man now has to realise. Even if the tone of this whole scene is cheerful, and the jokes will make the audience laugh, it has a bitter taste to it because of the young man's cruelty towards the old woman.²¹ At the end it is hinted that the old woman will see the young man the same evening (1201), but this is not the perfect solution for the young man, instead.

Another scene in which characters complain about the changes in their lives due to Wealth's presence follows this one.²² Hermes and finally the priest of Zeus appear, upset about a shortage of food due to a lack of sacrifices by the human beings to any other god than Plutus (1099ff., cf. also Av. 1580ff.). Hermes explains that before now he used to be spoilt by female tavern-keepers in particular (καπηλίσιν 1120, cf. also

¹⁹Holzinger ad 1087 .

²⁰Cf. also the importance of this point in the sympotic communism in Ec.: cf. 'Ecclesiazusae' p. 65, 71.

²¹For a contrasting opinion cf. Konstan and Dillon 382: "The mood of the scene is hilarious, not critical". Flashar's interpretation of this scene, in: Newiger 427, is that it indicates that the play's assumption that being poor was equivalent to being just does not work with the behaviour of the youth and that it therefore hints ironically at the fact that fairness is undermined. This interpretation seems much too serious if one takes into consideration the komastic aspect of this passage. Bowie (1993) 284 does not go so far, but also rightly thinks that the last scenes of the play serve to hint at problems about the new distribution of wealth.

²²The Prometheus-scene at Av. 1515ff., where it is said that the gods do not receive any sacrifices from human beings anymore, now that Cloudcuckoo-ville is in between earth and heaven, can be compared to this scene.

1132). This indicates that even the gods are mainly interested in food and drinking, i.e. in feasting. At the same time this is another instance of a joke on alleged female bibulousness; and it might also hint at the fact that Hermes is the god of thieves (cf. 1139-40) because tavern-keepers had a reputation for cheating their customers: cf. e.g. Th. 347.

After Hermes has moaned about his fate, he offers Chremylus various services which are connected with his divine functions (1152ff.), until Carion sarcastically comments on the usefulness of having these several epithets (1164). Now, we hear, the only remaining use is for the god's "marginal, festive aspect" as the god who presides over games ('Εναγώνιος 1161) in poetic-musical and sportive competitions.²³ This festive function serves to emphasise the exuberant atmosphere and therefore also to prepare the audience for the final celebratory scene: when even Zeus will have been said to have joined Chremylus' and Wealth's company (1189-90), the play can end with a procession in order to take Wealth to his final place, the Athenian treasury on the Acropolis (1191ff.). In the context of the procession another joke is made on the age of the old woman (1204-6); however, it is quite mild and can be regarded as a case of festive mockery. As one would expect, songs are to be sung by the chorus (1209) and torches carried (1194). This is a very conventional ending, and - religious as it is - it is far more dignified and solemn than a komos which follows a drinking-party.

To conclude, 'Plutus' main strand of imagery concerns food; and this is used to hint at a food shortage in Athens. The symposium and its associations mainly symbolise luxuries in this play; wine especially is mentioned several times. Although Penia warns that with Wealth there will be no more luxuries (527-34), and the scene with

²³Konstan and Dillon 383. Bowie (1993) 280-1 points out Hermes' importance in myth, regarding the uniting of human beings through commensality, as one of the 'inventors' of sacrificing, since "the equal nature of the division [of the meats of the cattle he had stolen from Apollo] corresponds to the equal division of meats at human meals".

the old lady and her young ex-lover offers some critique,²⁴ the god is taken into Athens in a celebratory komos, an event which has two connotations in this play: primarily a cheerful celebration of a success, which, since it is in honour of a god, also includes a religious component; and on the other hand, in the case of the young man a display of exuberance that verges on insolence. The shortage of food is eventually transferred from the poor to other groups who seem to deserve it more because of their unjust behaviour. Since even the gods finally join Chremylus and Plutus, the play concludes with a final cheerful komos, celebrating the re-establishment of the god of wealth. Thus, as in *Ec.*, symposium- and komos-imagery are not only employed in this play in passages which celebrate the positive effect of a change of circumstances, but also in those which depict its negative sides. The critique, however, is never really serious, but the exuberant festive atmosphere is predominant throughout.

²⁴Konstan (1995) 83 notes that the crux of this paradox is Penia's equation of wealth with money or gold.

'Frogs'

The main plotline of 'Frogs' depicts Dionysus as descending to Hades in order to bring a talented tragedian back to life. The eventual outcome is an obvious change of circumstances for Aeschylus, but not before he has won a tragic contest against Euripides. During this competition and elsewhere in the comedy several allusions to the symposium and komos appear. This is due to the fact that Dionysus acts as the judge in the competition. A change of circumstances occurs for him too, which is less obvious but is actually more important for the interpretation of the play: after the deaths of the three great poets Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, the god of theatre is no longer content with Athenian tragedy and is thus somewhat alienated from Athens.¹ He finally takes Aeschylus back from Hades to the world of the living, and in doing so changes the circumstances of the Athenian tragic theatre in a positive way for himself, and thus at the same time re-integrates himself into the Athenian community. This process is partly depicted through symposium- and komos imagery. At the beginning of the play only wine-imagery appears, since it is inseparably associated with Dionysus, whatever the condition of his relationship with the community. From this starting-point the god is shown moving closer and closer to the communal symposium as the play proceeds.

Since Dionysus is disappointed, with the state of the Athenian theatre, his other main function, as god of wine, initially becomes predominant: the god is connected to wine through a great number of allusions. Already at line 22, the god introduces himself to the audience as 'Dionysus, son of the Wine-Jar' (Διώνυσος, υἱὸς Σταμνίου), instead of the expected 'son of Zeus'.² That Dionysus is also seen in a sympotic light by others,

¹Cf. Lada-Richards 9.

²Cf. Sommerstein ad loc. He notes that also elsewhere in Greek literature the name Dionysus is used metonymically for wine: cf. e.g. E., Cyc. 519-20 and 525, where the Cyclops wonders how a god could have his home in a wine-skin. See also Men., Dysc. 946 and E., Ba. 284-5: cf. Lada-Richards 125 with n. 4. As she also mentions, Dionysus is often depicted on wine-cups and some are even plastically

becomes obvious when he is characterised by his slave Xanthias as only knowing about drinking and sex (πίνειν οἶδε καὶ βινεῖν μόνον 740). From this Xanthias concludes ironically³ that he could only be a nobleman (739), i.e. somebody who regularly attends symposia where he can engage in such activities.⁴ That the god of wine only knows about drinking is an obvious 'stereotype', which also appears at Alex. fr. 217.2: ὁ δὲ Διόνυσος οἶδε τὸ μεθύσαι μόνον. The following line of this fragment, εἰ δὲ νέον ἢ παλαιὸν, οὐ πεφρόντικεν, could refer, even if the neuters syntactically belong to μεθύσαι, either to Dionysus' drinking-companions (implying that the god is so addicted to wine that he does not care about his company, whether

shaped like him. Dionysus and his slave Xanthias appear on stage with a donkey, whose association with Dionysiac symposia and komoi has been noted and serves to prepare the audience for the appearance of related imagery throughout the play: Lada-Richards 132-4. However, as she herself writes at 134 n. 19, Dionysiac symposia are also depicted on the back of other animals: cf. e.g. LIMC III.2 'Dionysos' ill. 435 and 438 (from about 500 and 480 B.C.). Thus, her interpretation of the appearance of the donkey at the beginning of Ra. might be a bit far-fetched. Lada-Richards 156 also writes that this beginning reminds one of the story of Hephaestus' return and can therefore be seen as a kind of komos. She claims that since this story is a topic of very early dramatic performances, it hints at Dionysus' other function as the god of theatre, in which he appears as the judge of the tragic contest in this play. However, the connection to this myth is not as obvious as she sees it, since Hephaestus is not at all mentioned in this passage. For a description of vase-paintings depicting this myth cf. e.g. Greifenhagen 47.

³Del Corno's (ad loc.) notion of a snobbish admiration would not be as humorous as irony at this place.

⁴At the same time, as Goldhill 204 points out, Xanthias' disappointment that he does not have the role of the noble man and master anymore, after all the role-changes with Dionysus may also be expressed here. Cf. also Ach. 77-9 (with 'Wine' p. 198 with n. 41), where different peoples' conceptions of what a 'real man' is appear: according to this passage, eating and drinking are most important to the barbarians, sexual activity for the Athenians, at least on first sight. However, the joke may also hint in the other direction, i.e. that the Athenians consider such consumers fellators and *katapugones*: cf. Davidson 173 with 343 p. 58, following Jocelyn. Sommerstein ad loc. notes that the two verbs appear in successive lines at Com. Adesp. fr. 1121.7-8. Perhaps they were often used as a collocation, meaning 'having fun, enjoying one's life'. If Maehler and also Sandbach (in K.-A. ad loc.) are right to identify the person Χαρισίῳ mentioned in line 5 of this fragment as the Charisius of Menander's 'Epitrepontes', at least we would know that he hired a harp-girl and hetaera, who could be imagined at a drinking party and would fit this interpretation of the two verbs. He has a slave, Onesimus, who might be speaking about his master here. However, the text is too fragmentarily transmitted to draw any sure conclusions.

old or young), or to the wine itself (indicating that for Dionysus its quality does not matter, as long as he gets some).⁵ Either explanation indicates Dionysus' fondness of wine. Fitting his sympotic introduction in 'Frogs', Dionysus also employs wine-imagery when he criticises the bad living poets by calling them ἐπιφυλλίδες (92), 'left-over grapes'. A further hint at sympotic language has been suspected at 843-4, in that κότῳι might be a replacement for the expected πότῳι.⁶ It has been pointed out, though, that κότῳι is a typical Aeschylean word,⁷ so this could simply be a quote from him or an allusion to one of his lines.

Dionysus' alienation from Athens is explicitly demonstrated by an allusion to the Anthesteria-festival, which is held in honour of him. It includes the opening of the wine-jars and also a drinking-competition (cf. Ach. 1000ff.), which hints at Dionysus' strong association with his role as the god of wine in this play. There is a further close similarity between Dionysus' situation at this point of the play, and that of the event the frogs sing about, in so far as the god is about to meet people in Hades who have already died, and during the Anthesteria-festival the spirits of the dead are called up, in both cases for a limited amount of time.⁸

The chorus of frogs' song about revelers with hangovers (ὁ κραιπαλόκωμος ... ὄχλος 218-9) probably alludes to the procession with the empty pitchers to Dionysus' sanctuary in the Marshes (cf. 212, 217).⁹ It has been noted that this scene, with the god in the boat, very much resembles the ship-procession to his sanctuary with an image of Dionysus or an actor playing the god, which took place at the Anthesteria, apparently on the second day of the festival, the Choes, i.e. not long before the

⁵For the different interpretations cf. Arnott ad Alex. fr. 217 and also Meineke and Kock in K.-A. ad loc.

⁶Lada-Richards 149-50.

⁷Sommerstein ad loc.

⁸Cf. e.g. Deubner 111, Moorton 316.

⁹Cf. Sommerstein ad 218-9, Rogers ad 216. On this scene cf. 'Komos' p. 166 and 177.

moment which the frogs are singing about.¹⁰ The chorus claim to be repeating the melody they have sung for Dionysus on that occasion, but with their singing-rhythm the frogs disturb his rowing-rhythm. They are obviously making fun of the god, who is not at all happy to have to row the boat himself.¹¹ Thus - apart from Dionysus' depiction in a humorous way in this scene - his situation is contrasted to that in the festival. He is not part of this communal event now, which points to his alienation from the community.¹²

Once Dionysus has made the first step into Hades, however, his re-integration slowly begins. On first sight, it is his great interest in wine which is to be emphasised once more when the god, in his fear of the imaginary beast, flees to his priest and promises to drink with him (ξύμπότης 297) if he saves him. It is striking that this is the first idea which comes to his mind. Since he is an expert in this field, religion is only turned 'topsy-turvy' here in so far as the god asks his priest for help and not the other way around, but not because Dionysus would just want to have a party at his expense, as has been suspected.¹³ In any case, the priest is in the theatre in his function as the

¹⁰Cf. e.g. Deubner 103, 106. Moorton 316 notes that the evening of the Choes is technically the beginning of the Chytroi, which the frogs refer to in this passage. Cf. also Deubner 93 and especially 100. Lada-Richards 127 n. 6 points out, though, that this attribution of days is not entirely sure. So, e.g. Sommerstein ad 218-9 maintains that the references to a hangover and to the Chytroi in this passage rather hint at the morning of the third day. Anyhow, this problem is of no immediate importance for the interpretation of this passage.

¹¹Lada-Richards 134-5 sees the ship as an image for a symposium, so that this scene prepares the audience for Persephone's dinner-invitation. However, here a sympotic aspect does not really seem to be hinted at, in particular not in connection with the boat, but only a komastic one in the frog's song (cf. 218), so that in this passage this association seems to be an overinterpretation. So too probably is her sympotic interpretation (150) of the marine language used by Aeschylus in the agon at 1317-21.

¹²Lada-Richards 127 sees the main function of this passage as representing an "important stage of the wine's domestication". But the mention of a hangover and a komos (κραυπαλόκωμος 218) disproves her hypothesis that on this occasion the wine was "not a savage liquid anymore".

¹³Sommerstein ad 297. He rightly notes that Dionysus may at the same time be speaking here as an actor, hinting at the entertainment which used to be given by the priest of Dionysus for the victorious

god's representative. Thus, on a second level, the idea of their communal drinking represents a first move towards Dionysus' re-integration into Athens, since it is the first step towards attending a symposium.

Not only wine-drinking but also dining comes under Dionysus' areas of interest. This helps him to relate to Heracles, who has a reputation for his enormous appetite in comedy: the god employs dining-imagery in order to explain Agathon's disappearance to the hero.¹⁴ He says that the tragedian had departed for a feasting of the blest (εἰς μακάρων εὐωχίαν 85). Since the islands of the blest were known at least since Hes., Op. 168-71 to be situated at the end of the earth, this passage implies that Agathon cannot be counted among the tragedians at Athens anymore, but is 'dead' for the Athenian theatre.¹⁵ Μακάρων is surprisingly substituted for Μακεδόνων here. Archelaus' court there, where Agathon had moved to from Athens, was renowned for its great feasts.¹⁶ Thus, on the one hand, this passage indicates how fond of feasting Dionysus himself is, while on the other hand he is obviously trying to use imagery which he can be sure that Heracles will understand. Similarly, Dionysus compares his desire for Euripides to that of Heracles for pea soup (ἔτνος 65) at 62ff; and he once more makes this attitude quite clear when he silences Heracles, who has been speaking negatively about Euripides' choice of expressions, with the words δειπνεῖν με δίδασκε (107), meaning 'that is what you know about, but you have no understanding of poetry'.¹⁷

dramatic team: cf. also Ach. 1085ff.; cf. also v.Leeuwen, Stanford, and Del Corno ad loc., as well as Mitchell ad 288.

¹⁴As Del Corno ad 83-5 notes, the name Agathon and the adjective ἀγαθός <sc. ποιητής> appear at the beginning of two successive verses and are both metrically scanned as anapaests. This emphasises this passage in order to prepare the audience's attention for the following joke.

¹⁵Cf. also Dover ad 85, Radermacher p. 153, and Del Corno ad 83-5, who also remarks that lines 83-4 sound like an epitaph.

¹⁶Cf. e.g. Plu., Mor. 177a 1 and 4; cf. also Sommerstein ad 85, Stanford ad 83-5.

¹⁷Cf. Grube, in: Littlefield (1968) 69; cf. Schol. Ra. 107a.

Heracles' gluttony is also joked about when Xanthias, disguised as the hero, is invited to a gigantic dinner by Persephone's maid: although he is the only guest, huge amounts of food are to be provided (503ff.).¹⁸ Dionysus will not let Xanthias accept the invitation, however, and insists on attending the dinner himself. At 542-4, he pictures his slave at the symposium, lying on Milesian, i.e. pleasantly soft,¹⁹ coverlets, kissing a dancing-girl, and asking for a chamber-pot²⁰ - an image which the god finds ridiculous. The luxurious accessories which he pictures, point to a rather decadent aristocratic symposium, which underlines the incongruity of a slave being present and justifies the god's exclusive right to attend the feast. A similar passage is Pl., R. 420e. There potters are imagined as having a symposium. It is mentioned that they recline ἐπὶ δεξιᾶ, i.e. apparently on couches in a symposium-room.²¹ Thus, the social incongruity is pointed out in a similar manner as at Ra. 542-4. Dionysus' insistence on taking part in a symposium, even if he is the only guest, can be interpreted as a further move towards his re-integration into the community.²²

The process of his re-integration is further underlined through the use of symposium-imagery in connection with the contest between Aeschylus and Euripides. In this context the chorus, in contrast to Dionysus and Xanthias, display a rather negative attitude towards issues connected with the symposium. This attitude is already slightly hinted at in the parabasis, when they mention a case of a drunk man, named

¹⁸For a comparison of this to similar passages cf. 'Acharnians' p. 6ff.

¹⁹For the reputation of wool from Miletus cf. e.g. Ar., Lys. 729, Eub. fr. 89.2-3, probably Theocr. 15.125-7 with Gow and Dover (1971) ad 15.126 for a discussion of the question whether the fabric or the couches are praised in that passage.

²⁰At Epicr. fr. 5.4 a slave actually complains about having to bring chamber-pots to the guests at a drinking-party.

²¹Cf. Adam ad loc.

²²Moorton 318 interprets this invitation as Dionysus' ritual incorporation into a new group. Lada-Richards 129 compares the scene to the ritual Theoxenia, the strong connection of which with a meal and a table seems to be reflected at Ra. 518. However, the expression 'to bring in the tables' in sympotic contexts often just means 'to start dinner' (cf. V. 1216), so that this hypothesis cannot really be completely proven.

Cleigenes, who is in fear of being stripped of his clothes and therefore always carries a stick with him (715). This resembles Euelpides' experiences after a naming-day-party at Av. 497-8. However, the joke mainly points to Cleigenes' aggressiveness, which is symbolised by his stick, rather than to the symposium.²³

Of course, the contestants' singing of choral odes itself reminds one of a symposium-situation: cf. e.g. Nu. 1354ff.; and, furthermore, a competition of a similar kind could be imagined at a symposium, although it is less playful in this comedy than one would expect it to be at a party.²⁴ In the agon, finally, at 906, the chorus-leader informs the two contestants, Euripides and Aeschylus, that the chorus would like to hear witty, sophisticated things (ἀστεῖα), not εἰκόνας, from them. 'Αστεῖα have already been mentioned by the chorus at 901: they expect to hear them from Euripides, whose language is contrasted in this passage to Aeschylus'. However, at 906 εἰκόνας, which is placed in opposition to ἀστεῖα, does not seem so much to refer to metaphors, which would hint at Aeschylus' style, as to comparisons, such as were used in the eikasmos-game.²⁵ Thus, εἰκόνες could here mean a form of shallow metaphoric use of language, which is opposed to ἀστεῖα and beneath these two great poets' dignity. This is underlined by the addition μήθ' οἱ ἄν ἄλλος εἴποι (906).

Aeschylus sneers explicitly at sorts of entertainment which can be found at symposia. At 1301ff. he accuses Euripides of using 'prostitutes' songs, drinking-songs by

²³The joke may also have a political level if he is associated with Cleophon (cf. 1532): cf. Dover, Merry, Rogers ad 714.

²⁴Lada-Richards 148 even goes a step further and compares the weighting of Euripides' and Aeschylus' poetry with sympotic balancing games such as kottabus. This seems rather contrived, though.

²⁵Cf. Rogers and Merry ad 906 for the first suggestion, Sommerstein, Dover ad loc., and Richards (p. 390) ad loc. for the second. For a similar use of the word εἶκων cf. Pl., Men. 80c, where it also denotes a comparison applied to people. It reminds one very much of the eikasmos-game since the verbs ἠικασσας and ἀντεικασσω also appear in the same passage. Earlier, Meno had likened Socrates to a fish (νάρκη 80a6). Cf. also Pl., Smp. 215a for this use of εἶκων.

Meletus, pipe-tunes and dirges and dances from Caria²⁶ (πορνωιδιῶν, σκολίων Μελήτου, Καρικῶν ἀύλημάτων, θρήνων, χορειῶν) as sources for his poetry. Carian tunes with aulos-accompaniment also appear at Pl. Com. fr. 71.12-3 in the context of a symposium;²⁷ and the other kinds of songs mentioned, as well as the dances, could also be imagined as suitable to be performed on such an occasion. Aristophanes' Aeschylus, in contrast, apparently regards these rather popular pieces as too simple and mixed to serve as proper sources for tragedy. This is already indicated by the first word in this list, πορνωιδιῶν, which seems to have been invented by Aristophanes especially for this passage²⁸ and is thus very striking. Moreover, a poet named Meletus is known to have composed erotic songs,²⁹ and finally it has also been noted that 'Carian' may have a derogative connotation because of its frequent association with the origin of slaves.³⁰

Because of his contempt for convivial entertainment, Aeschylus is also elsewhere shown as employing symposium-imagery with a negative association when he drops the remark that Dionysus does not drink wine with a good bouquet (πίνεις οἶνον οὐκ ἀνθοσμίαν 1150). Different explanations have been proposed for this expression. Most of them focus on that Dionysus is accused of either smelling badly, which then could be applied to his words, or that he is accused of being drunk or having a hangover, as it was believed that the less bouquet a wine had the more it made one tipsy.³¹ The drunken state of Dionysus, then, would hint at the quality of the joke he

²⁶Transl. Sommerstein.

²⁷Hsch. κ 816 (in: K.-A. ad loc.) defines the Carian rhythm as consisting of trochaic and iambic elements.

²⁸Dover ad 1301.

²⁹If Dobree's reading of Epicr. fr. 4.2 (K.-A.) is correct.

³⁰Dover ad 1302. He also mentions a proverb which speaks about a Carian.

³¹Cf. Dover et al. ad loc., Mitchell ad 1115, Del Corno ad loc. For the connection between the bouquet of a wine and that it causes lower intoxication cf. Philyll. fr. 23 with 'Wine' p. 205. Cf. Sch. vet. 1150, Dover and Del Corno ad loc., Mitchell ad 1115. Cf. also 'Wine' p. 188. Lada-Richards' interpretation (139-42) focuses on an equation of drink and logos, since a banquet can also be seen as a feast of

has just made. If one refers the expression directly to the joke, it indicates that it is tasteless, just like bad wine.

Despite Aeschylus' contempt for sympotic entertainment, he is eventually brought out of Hades in a komos-like procession with hymns and torches (1524-7).³² However, it is one of a dignified character, as is indicated by the expression *μολπαῖσιν* (1527), which is used in religious contexts in Aristophanes' plays,³³ thus fitting Aeschylus' status as returning from the dead to the living. The hymn, however, actually ends with a hit against Cleophon, so that the play does not finish on a non-comic note.

Euripides is upset not to have been chosen to come to life again. Here Dionysus once more makes use of the occasion to employ symposium-imagery when he 'consoles' the loser of the contest by quoting and elaborating a line from his 'Polyidos' (fr. 638.1 Nauck): *τίς δ' οἶδεν εἰ τὸ ζῆν μὲν ἔστι καθανεῖν, τὸ πνεῖν δὲ δειπνεῖν, τὸ δὲ καθεύδειν κώιδιον;* (1477-8).³⁴ Aristophanes plays on the words *πνεῖν* and *δειπνεῖν* here, the latter of which fits Dionysus' interests better than the first one.³⁵ Furthermore, the absurdity of his statement indicates that the comic god is cheekily ridiculing Euripides' sentence.³⁶ The sarcasm in this remark becomes even clearer

words. Because right before this line the topic of conversation was grave-robbery, the bad smell of corpses is now projected by Aeschylus onto Dionysus' drink, which therefore can not have a good bouquet, she explains. However, this interpretation is too contrived and less convincing than the other ones.

³²Lada-Richards 147 notes that the torches indicate a fusion of the Eleusinian and komastic aspects of the play. She also associates the invocation of the Muses at 875ff. with an intellectual potos. This might be the case, but does not necessarily have to be the author's intention, even if the passage deals with intellectualism. On this scene cf. also 'Komos' p. 159.

³³Sommerstein ad loc., who compares 370, 379, and Th. 961, 970, and 989.

³⁴E., 'Phrixos' fr. 833.1-2 Nauck is very similar, as well.

³⁵Τὸ πνεῖν may also be meant to appear surprisingly for τὸ πονεῖν: cf. Nauck ad E. fr. 638.

Furthermore, this line in Ra. resumes Aeschylus' question in verse 1082 (...) καὶ φασκούσας οὐ ζῆν τὸ ζῆν;

³⁶Cf. Sommerstein ad 1477.

when in the next lines (1479-80) Dionysus and Aeschylus - but not Euripides - are actually invited by Pluto to be entertained. It has been assumed in a ritual interpretation of the play that this invitation is an allusion to a rite of separation, which Dionysus has to go through when he leaves Hades. The rite includes visits, a meal in common, and a last drink.³⁷ The fact that he is leaving Hades, which is underlined here by this ritual allusion, symbolises the last step in the process of Dionysus' re-integration into Athens, where, through Aeschylus' return, he changes the tragic theatre to his taste, so that he will no longer feel estranged from it. This is emphasised by the fact that now he is not the only guest anymore. It has been pointed out that the wording of this invitation is very similar to one to dine in the prytaneum, a great honour, which is also hinted at in 764-5, where this privilege is said to be applied to the best professionals among the dead. This is a comic *topos*: cf. e.g. Eq. 766 and several other passages in that play. If one compares this scene in Ra. with Eq. 1404, where the Sausage Seller is invited by Demus to dine in the prytaneum, which marks his "final reincorporation into the *polis* in his new and elevated status as a 'leading citizen' ",³⁸ it becomes obvious that in Ra. Dionysus' re-integration is now finally completed.

To conclude, in this play most cases of symposium-imagery appear in connection with the presence of Dionysus as the protagonist of the play and deal with drinking. The topic of dining is also employed in some passages, mainly about Heracles, whose fondness for eating is a common comic *topos*. Since Dionysus acts as the judge in the contest between Euripides and Aeschylus, it is also appropriate to define its rules by employing symposium-imagery. However, here, symposium-practices are despised by the chorus and also by Aeschylus as being beneath a good tragedian's standards. Thus,

³⁷Moorton 322-3.

³⁸Lada-Richards 153-5, in particular 155. At 136-7 she furthermore points out that Dionysus' integration is shown as parallel to the mystic initiation in this play; i.e. if one considers the use of wine here, one can see an allusion to a Bacchic initiation.

symposium-imagery is used in order to help in characterising the different opinions of characters.

The main function of symposium- and komos-imagery in this play though is to dramatise the process of Dionysus' re-integration into the community of Athens. As has been shown in this chapter, this is indicated through his being separated from his usual role in a communal festival, the Anthesteria (209ff.). Only his association with wine is still present at this point. This becomes a starting-point for the god's re-integration, which begins when he expresses the idea of communal drinking with his priest (297). At this point the god has started trying to solve his problem with Athenian tragedy. Next, he becomes a single guest at Persephone's dinner-party, but as he is the only one there (503ff.), one cannot really speak yet of a 'normal' symposium. Finally, however, he is one of the two symposiasts included in Plutus' invitation at 1479-80, a passage which resembles an offer of the great civic honour of dining in the prytaneum. This indicates the completion of the god's re-integration, as he is now ready to take the winner of his tragic competition back to Athens. Thus, symposium- and komos-imagery is used on two levels in 'Frogs', on the one hand in the obvious connection with the protagonist Dionysus as the god of wine, and on the other hand, symbolising the development of his relationship to the community of Athens alongside a change of circumstances in his other area of influence, the theatre.

1.3 Feasting and age

'Clouds'

'Clouds', 'Wasps', and 'Knights' are plays which either deal with a 'generation-conflict' regarding sympotic matters or depict the process of growing up through symposium-imagery.

The element of happy feasting usually found in Aristophanes' comedies, particularly at their endings, is almost absent from 'Clouds'. The only symposium-scene in the play (1354-78) shows instances of distortion of proper sympotic behaviour, which results in a conflict between father and son over the different musical / poetic tastes of two generations.¹ This chapter will illustrate how the distortion of sympotic practice reflects the role and (ab-)use of the philosophy taught at the Phrontisterion.

Strepsiades introduces the symposium-scene by giving a feast for his son, who has returned from his lesson at the Phrontisterion. Strepsiades sings a self-makarismos at 1206ff., but the absence of a chorus of admirers, which the old man has to imagine for himself, already hints at the fact that the outcome of the situation will not be as positive for him as he believes.² Strepsiades asks his son to sing a song (μέλος 1356) by Simonides, 'How Sir Ram was shorn' at the party,³ and to accompany himself on the lyre, as we hear in retrospect from the old man at 1353ff. Pheidippides refuses, because in his opinion this practice is antiquated and, so he argues, Simonides is a bad poet anyway. His father then asks him to take a myrtle-branch and to recite

¹Reckford, in: Bertman 114, writes that "the ritual conflict of age and youth has found a regular niche in comedy". 'Clouds' is a good example for this.

²Cf. 'Komos' p. 160ff. with Macleod 144.

³There is a similar play on the name Crius at Hdt. 6.50, where the same person seems to be meant: cf. Rogers, Sommerstein, and Del Corno ad 1356. For other hints at Simonides' songs in Old Comedy cf. e.g. Eq. 406 = Simon. fr. 512 PMG, Eup. fr. 148, and also Schol. V. 1222a.

(λέξαι 1365) a piece by Aeschylus instead,⁴ but Pheidippides finds only harsh words for this tragedian. Strepsiades swallows his anger and concedes that Pheidippides may declaim a passage from the 'more modern' poets (τι τῶν νεωτέρων 1370). However, when his son recites⁵ some verses from Euripides' 'Aeolus' (1371ff.) about the incestuous relationship of the siblings Macareus and Canace,⁶ Strepsiades is so upset about the content that he reproaches him curtly; and a quarrel arises between the two.

The scene implies that Pheidippides has received the traditional education for boys, part of which consists in learning how to sing *scolia* to the lyre: cf. also 966ff. This ability is one of the prerequisites for being *ξυμποτικός*, according to V. 1222ff.⁷ At symposia three kinds of songs are performed.⁸ At first, right after the *δειπνον*, all the guests sing a paean together while libations are poured: cf. A., A. 245-7 and also Pl., Smp. 176a. During the symposium itself two kinds of songs can be performed. One possibility is more simple stanzas, which are sung in turn by guests who do not accompany themselves with an instrument, but hold myrtle-twigs. (Non-lyric

⁴Praising of Aeschylus at *syndeipna* is also mentioned at Ar. fr. 161.

⁵For discussions of the reading of this passage cf. Borthwick (1971) 318-20, Del Corno ad loc., Renehan 88ff., and Sommerstein ad loc. Sommerstein's solution ἦκ' sounds least unconvincing, but there do not seem to be any other examples for this use of the verb. Thus, none of the readings can be proven correct; but we know that this passage deals with a ῥῆσις and therefore it will be recited, not sung, whatever verb may denote this.

⁶Cf. the commentaries ad loc. Rogers ad 1372 gives the following references to other instances of mention of, allusion to or parody of this play: Ra. 850 (with 863, where the play is directly mentioned), 1081, 1475, Pax 114. O'Regan 115 writes that this story denotes a collapse of the familial and social order and a hegemony of the body. This reminds one of the Worse Argument's attitudes at 1068ff.

⁷The Better Argument also says at 981-3 that at *δειπνα* boys were traditionally not allowed to take food, not even the herbs, which were probably used for decoration, nor to giggle, nor to cross their legs, i.e. presumably to sit in a relaxed way: cf. Dover ad loc. For boys singing or reciting at symposia cf. also Pax 1265-304 and Ec. 678. References for singing (earlier songs) to the lyra as part of the traditional education are e.g. Nu. 964-71, Pl., Prt. 325e-326b; cf. also Douris' school cup: CVA Berlin 2285, tables 77-8 = Beazley ARV 2nd ed. 431 no. 48. See 'Illustrations 2' p. 284-5. Herington 195ff. provides a list of archaeological evidence for music and singing at symposia.

⁸Cf. Ath. 694ab, cf. Harvey 162.

passages can also be recited in this manner.) Instrumental accompaniment to those songs may be provided by aulos-players, however: cf. Ar., V. 1219ff., Amips. fr. 21, Cratin. fr. 254.⁹ The other possibility is metrically more complicated poems by the great lyric poets, in particular by Alcaeus, Alcman, Anacreon, Pindar, Simonides, and Stesichorus.¹⁰ Odes from comedy also belong in this category: cf. Eq. 529-30 about Cratinus' songs. Not all of the symposiasts have the ability to sing these while usually simultaneously playing the lyre. Therefore, these songs are sung 'cross-wise' (ἐναλλάξ), not in order: cf. Schol. Ar. V. 1238c; cf. also Ath. 694b.¹¹ However, Ar. fr. 444 provides evidence that these lyric passages can also be performed by singers holding a myrtle-branch instead of an instrument, because in this fragment such practice is mentioned in connection with the popular scolia 'Admetus' and 'Harmodius'. Consequently, the character who at Ar., 'Banqueters' fr. 235 is asked to sing a scolion of Alcaeus or Anacreon, "taking hold of" something, is likely to use a lyre, but a myrtle-branch might also be meant.¹²

⁹The speaker of Philyll. fr. 9, apparently in the context of a party, maintains that the aulete is always punished for the mistakes the cook makes. This general statement shows that an aulos-player can be assumed to be usually present at symposia.

¹⁰Cf. v.Leeuwen ad Nu. 1355-79. V. 1222-48 mentions Alcaeus, Praxilla, and the scolia 'Cleitagora' and 'Harmodius', for which cf. also Ach. 980. At Nu. 967 the Better Argument mentions two traditional songs, which were probably composed by Stesichorus or Lamprocles and by Cydidas or Cydias, respectively: cf. Dover and Sommerstein ad loc. A drinking-song by Simonides is also mentioned at Eq. 406.

¹¹Similarly to singing in order, drinking-cups used to be passed around from left to right: cf. e.g. Eup. fr. 354 πίνωσι τὴν ἐπιδέξια. An example of songs being sung in order is Eup. fr. 395, where Socrates is said to take up the song from left to right, playing the lyre. Here the *terminus technicus* δέχομαι is employed to denote the taking up of a song. Socrates is said to steal a vessel in this fragment. For other passages where he is accused of theft in comedy cf. Ar., Nu. 179, 497ff., 856ff., 1498; cf. K.-A. ad fr. 295.

¹²Cf. Dover (1968) ad 1353-90, p. 252, for both possibilities see Suevern, in: K.-A. ad Ar. fr. 235, and Herington 195, who is more in favour of the interpretation that a lyre is meant, though. In contrast, Cassio ad Ar. fr. 235 (= no. 30) thinks that λαβών is used pleonastically here and that τὶ depends on σκόλιον and λαβών at the same time. However, since it was customary to hold an object while singing, this explanation where the performing character does not have to take anything in his hand is not as

The tradition of singing *scolia* at symposia was despised by some contemporary intellectuals.¹³ At Pl., *Prt.* 347c ff., it is actually Socrates who is shown claiming that the performance of an aulos-player is an entertainment for those (τῶν φαύλων καὶ ἀγοραίων ἀνθρώπων) who are not able to converse. Thus, Aristophanes might have taken this idea, possibly an echo of Socratic or intellectual attitudes of the time, which also underlies the Plato passage, to connect in Nu. Socrates' philosophy with his student Pheidippides' refusal to sing. (A similar attitude appears at Ra. 1493ff.: Socrates' followers are accused of 'throw(ing) away music': ἀποβαλόντα μουσικήν.)¹⁴ However, in Nu. the point is a different one than that in Plato, in so far as Pheidippides does not refuse to recite poetry because he is afraid that it might hinder the conversation but simply refuses to sing or recite pieces which he considers old-fashioned.¹⁵

At Ar. fr. 235 someone, probably a son, is asked by someone else, probably his father, to sing at a symposium, as in Nu. Both plays, 'Clouds' and 'Banqueters', appear to explore the topic of the conflict between the tastes of different generations.¹⁶ One can reconstruct a development of musical preferences regarding the choice of authors and styles with time, in that, generally, lyric passages were replaced by choruses from

convincing as the others. Myrtle-berries were also chewed, e.g. by the speaker of Apollonophan. fr. 5 whenever he is thinking hard about a plan. Myrtle is furthermore used for wreaths (ibid.). Cf. 'Peace' p. 34-5 with n. 46-7, 'Birds' p. 51 n. 11.

¹³Cf. Dover (1968) ad 1353-90 p. 252. Cf. also Pl., *Smp.* 176e, where the aulos-player is dismissed in favour of having a conversation, and the anecdote at Plu., *Alc.* 2.6 that Alcibiades as a pupil refused to play the aulos.

¹⁴On the other hand, Pl., *Euthd.* 272c hints at Socrates' being untalented at playing the kithara. This passage seems to have been influenced by comedy, in particular by Amipsias' 'Konnos': cf. Patzer, in: Bierl and v.Möllendorff 65-6.

¹⁵In contrast, Socrates is shown to sing a song by Stesichorus at Eup. fr. 395, however, the main point of that passage seems to be his theft of the oinochoe, whereas Nu. 1354ff. focuses on the modern ideas of Socrates' comic philosophy.

¹⁶Cf. Cassio ad fr. 235.

the plays of Aeschylus or Euripides. These, however, were in turn succeeded by recitations. Strepsiades' second request is for a recitation, too (cf. λέξαι 1365 and ῥῆσιν 1371),¹⁷ after he had at first expected to hear a performance of the traditional, difficult kind of song (1355ff.). The problem of fashions regarding symposium-poetry is also frequently dealt with elsewhere in comedy. Two different kinds of songs, ancient or <contemporary> ones, also seem to be mentioned at Eup. fr. 326,¹⁸ at Antiph. fr. 85.2ff. a character is told not to sing old-fashioned songs, such as the 'Telamon', the 'Paeon' or the 'Harmodius',¹⁹ and at Eup. fr. 148 the songs of Stesichorus, Alcman, and Simonides are considered out of date,²⁰ while the speaker prefers Gnesippus, who invented songs for adulterers. This reminds one very much of the content of the Euripides passage recited by Pheidippides (Nu. 1371ff.). A similar situation appears at Ar., Banqueters fr. 225, where the father complains of his son that he did not learn what he expected him to when he sent him to school. Instead, among other things like drinking and enjoying luxurious feasts (Συρακοσίαν τράπεζαν Συβαρίτιδάς τ' εὐωχίας),²¹ he also learned to sing undignified songs (ἄιδειν κακῶς).²² In this fragment the distortion of sympotic practice is emphasised very strongly by the mention of (excessive) drinking and luxury.

¹⁷Harvey 162 writes that in Aristotle's time the singing of long lyric passages to the lyre was actually dying out. Reitzenstein 32 even claims that the singing of the lyric poets at parties was considered old-fashioned already at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War.

¹⁸The addition is by Toup, in: K.-A. ad loc.

¹⁹Here instead of the myrtle-branch a cup (τὸν ὠιδόν) seems to be passed to the person who is to sing. Cf. also LSJ s.v. ὠιδός II. MacDowell ad V. 1222 notes that this fragment shows that these scolia were still current in the middle of the fourth century B.C. At least they were still well-known.

²⁰The words from ἀρχαῖον to δέ do not appear in mss. CE, but only in A.

²¹Ath. 527c explains that the Greeks who live in Sicily, especially the Syracusans, are notorious for their luxuriousness. Cf. also Pl., Ep. 7.326b and Plaut., Rud. 54-5. Cottabus, which is an expression of great luxury and wealth, since the wine can even literally be thrown away, is also said to have been invented in Sicily: cf. also Cassio ad Ar. fr. 225. For Sybarite luxury regarding feasting cf. e.g. Pax 344. Cf. also 'Wasps' p. 114 with n. 42 and 'Cottabus' p. 225 with n. 60.

²²The words Χῖον ἐκ Λακαινῶν have been interpreted by Kaibel, in: K.-A. ad loc., to be a part of a song. This cannot be proved, though. Cassio's translation as 'Chian wine, drunk from a Spartan cup' seems much more probable, the import of the wine and the cup pointing at luxury.

In 'Clouds' it is actually Pheidippides who accuses his father of improper sympotic behaviour, screaming that he treated him as if he was entertaining cicadas (1360). This statement not only seems to refer to the fact that he is not willing to sing, but also may imply that, like the son at Ar. fr. 225, he does not wish to abstain from drinking as well as eating. This association becomes obvious in comparison to Philyll. fr. 20, where a character informs a female that he is neither a cicada nor a snail (because the latter is said to live on its own juices: cf. Plaut., Capt. 80f.)²³ It has furthermore been noted that the passage in Nu. may be another allusion to the fact that Pheidippides finds Simonides' and Aeschylus'²⁴ poetry old-fashioned (cf. the Worse Argument's words at 984, which also mention cicadas), because of the connection with the alleged earth-born nature of the cicada, a belief which produced the earlier Athenian practice of wearing golden clasps in the shape of this insect, presumably symbolising autochthony.²⁵ That Pheidippides considers these sorts of poetry unfashionable, but is impressed with Euripides - or the 'modern' poets in general - is chiefly expressed by the adjective σοφός and its superlative σοφώτατος (1377) which he applies to them. Euripides actually had a reputation for this quality,²⁶ and the expressions used are allusions to the Sophists, with whom Socrates is

²³Cf. also the fable at Pl., Phdr. 259bc about the creation of the cicada, which lives completely without food and drink but only sings. For the belief that these insects only lived on air and / or dew see e.g. Hes., Sc. 393-5, Anacr. 323 B.4 = 34.3 Campbell, Aristot., HA. 532b13, Plu., Mor. 660f., Ath. 46e, Verg., Ec. 5.77, Plin., N.H. 11.32.94. In Call., Aet. 1.29-33, the poetic persona compares himself as a poet to a cicada which is also said to eat dew alone. Beavis 99 and Davies-Kathirithamby 123 write that this idea seems to originate in the fact that cicadas leave clear excrement on branches. Borthwick 107ff., Beavis 98-9, Davies-Kathirithamby 123-4 give further references. On the other hand cf. Hes., Op. 582-5 for a connection of cicadas and wine in an agricultural context, however: at the time when the cicadas chirp, the wine is best.

²⁴Dover (1968) p. 252 notes that in Aristophanes' plays usually men who are past middle-age are shown to be fond of Aeschylus. Cf. e.g. Dicaeopolis at Ach. 10.

²⁵Cf. Borthwick 107ff., who provides references, e.g. Ar., Eq. 1331 and Nu. 984; cf. Keller 401-2, Beavis 97, Sommerstein ad 984.

²⁶Cf. e.g. Aristophanes' first 'Clouds' fr. 392; cf. Starkie ad Nu. 1378.

connected in this play. It is striking that these expressions related to σοφός exactly are used at 1370 and 1378 by Strepsiades in an ironical manner, which underlines the contrast between the tastes of the old and the young man.

A similar pattern of repetition of Pheidippides' words by his father is employed just before this: Pheidippides' use of εὐθύς at 1359 indicates that he feels absolutely justified in refusing to sing 'old-fashioned' songs.²⁷ By contrast, Strepsiades' employment of forms of this word in relating to Pheidippides' behaviour (1365, 1371) serves to underline his indignation. This is particularly obvious at 1373, where Strepsiades chooses the words εὐθέως ἀράττω, which resemble Pheidippides' εὐθύς ... ἀράττεσθαι at 1359. The father is apparently imitating his son's over-confident manners at this point. At the same time, this passage indicates that it is not only Pheidippides, but both characters who are convinced that their opinions are right and are not willing to change their minds. Thus, the author appears to be implying that Strepsiades' behaviour is no better than his son's, especially as it was he who sent Pheidippides to the Phrontisterion in the first place, and he does not hesitate to use the Sophists' ideas when they seem useful to him, e.g. to get rid of his creditors, as mentioned prominently in the lines between his invitation to the feast and his 'messenger-speech' about it (1214ff.). That he should have paid his debts also seems to be hinted at when Strepsiades calls for help at 1322f. This passage has been interpreted as implying the criticism that he should have invited more people to his symposium.²⁸ However, it is nowhere explicitly mentioned that Strepsiades refuses to invite other people to his feast, which one would expect if Aristophanes wanted to make this point. Furthermore, it would be rather difficult to show a bigger party on stage with only about three speaking actors available. Consequently, this passage is more likely to contain some critique of Strepsiades' own morals, even if he is opposed to his son's unrespectful and untraditional behaviour. Thus, Strepsiades' position

²⁷Cf. also Fisher 221.

²⁸Bowie (1997) 5.

towards the new philosophy is not really clear, as he is happy to use its advantageous sides, but refuses to accept the negative effects that it has on his son.

As with Strepsiades' position towards Socrates' philosophy, so the role of the symposium is very ambiguous in this play.²⁹ In particular, its relation to the Phrontisterion is not clear. The Worse Argument mentions drinking and cottabus (1073) in his speech in favour of a hedonistic way of life and thus includes symposia among the main pleasures.³⁰ However, this character mostly seems to care for private pleasures, whereas community is stressed at symposia, especially at those in the context of civic festivals,³¹ which the Chorus speak about in their entrance-song at 299ff. and at 309ff. This un-sympotic attitude escalates to a point where Pheidippides beats his father at the feast.³² Pheidippides' knowledge of the new philosophy therefore disrupts the usual practices of the symposium, as does the quarrelling between the two which arises as a consequence. Furthermore, the Worse Argument's claims do not fit in with Socrates' ideas in this play, as is also indicated through Socrates' leave when the logoi arrive (886f.),³³ which hints at the ambiguity of the Phrontisterion vis-à-vis the symposium. This difference between the attitudes of the Worse Argument and of Socrates becomes particularly obvious when the chorus tells

²⁹The chorus also use symposium-imagery in order to threaten the judges. They will protect the crops and vines of those members of the jury who vote in favour of them, by giving them the right amount of rain (119), but whoever dishonours them will get neither wine (1123) nor anything else from the field, and the shoots of his vines will be cut off (1124). These mentions of wine also fit the fact that the play is performed at a festival in honour of Dionysus. They remind one of the Birds' promises at Av. 588ff. Cf. 'Birds' p. 55-6.

³⁰Poe 198 notes that Pheidippides' exit with the Worse Argument into the Phrontisterion at 1113 is one of the actors' exits in Aristophanes' plays, which directs the audience's attention to "the expected consequences" of what has happened so far.

³¹Cf. also Nussbaum 94.

³²In contrast to the similar scene at V. 1381ff., the role-reversal between father and son in Nu. does not seem to be directly connected with an excessive consumption of wine.

³³Dover (1968) ad 887 explains the reasons of staging that make Socrates' disappearance necessary at this point.

Strepsiades that in order to learn successfully he will have to live a life which is marked by simplicity and abstinence, even from wine (417). In keeping with this imagery Strepsiades answers that he would even - among other things - endure thirst (διψῆν) and being flayed into a wine-skin (ἄσκον δείρειν) to escape his debts. This ascetic aspect of Aristophanes' Socrates is the reason for the fact that Dinos, a statue of which appears to stand in front of the Phrontisterion, is not seen as a wine-vessel by him: cf. e.g. 380ff.³⁴ Dinos is always treated as a vortex in the play, and only at 1474 does Strepsiades realise its true nature. At this point the protagonist returns to a normal perception of the symposium.³⁵ Even so, however, there is still no happy feast or komos at the end of the play, instead, Strepsiades' last action, i.e. to burn down the Phrontisterion, is solely destructive.³⁶

To conclude, throughout 'Clouds' the treatment of the symposium is strongly associated with negative thoughts and confusion about proper behaviour, as symbolised by the distortion of symposium-practices, starting with Pheidippides' refusal to sing traditional symposium-songs, followed by a major dispute between him and his father, and finally underlined by the absence of feasting at the end of the comedy. Abuse of philosophical knowledge and sympotic practices is paralleled by, and combined with, the issue of a generation-gap, which serves to provide a reason for the conflict between Pheidippides and Strepsiades.

³⁴For a discussion of the exact kind of pottery which is meant here cf. Bowie (1997) 5 n. 32. His interpretation at (1997) 5 that Strepsiades tries to leave "the world of vinous and social mixing" is illogical, since Dinos is Socrates' god in this play (even if Strepsiades does not recognise him right away) and its statue seems to be placed in front of the house Strepsiades is going to. Therefore, he only 'leaves' the Hermes in front of his own house: cf. his apologies to him at 1478ff.

³⁵Cf. also Bowie (1997) 5. As Gaertner 278 points out, it is important for the comic of the passage that this change happens suddenly.

³⁶This applies, whatever the contents of the lost final chorus might have been.

'Wasps'

I. The imagined symposium

In 'Wasps' a son, Bdelycleon, takes his father, Philocleon, out of his favourite occupation, jury-service, and tries to re-educate him for a life of greater comfort. Preparations for this new life include instructions on proper sympotic behaviour. However, as the very names of the two characters indicate, because Bdelycleon hints at anti-democratic tendencies as opposed to Philocleon, father and son have completely different opinions and inclinations. Bdelycleon is versed in being luxuriously entertained, like an aristocrat, in contrast to the simple life of the old man. As a result, Philocleon does not behave in the way his son expects him to, and this discrepancy leads to the hybristic conduct of the old man at the symposium which he later attends, and reaches a climax in the completely wild behaviour of his violent komos at the end of the play. His behaviour reflects the failure of Bdelycleon's attempts to educate his father towards a more luxurious life-style and at the same time difficulties regarding the withdrawal-treatment for the old man's judging-addiction, which gives him pleasure because it provides the possibility of harming other people, in particular the rich: cf. 552-75, especially τοῦ πλούτου καταχρήνη (575). In the course of the play Philocleon's selfish attitude becomes more and more obvious, as will be shown in this chapter.

The process of the old man's re-education starts at V. 1122-1263, where Bdelycleon tries to teach Philocleon how to behave in aristocratic society of the sort he is likely to find at a symposium. When he has managed to dress him appropriately for such company,¹ he gives him instructions on how one is supposed to move and converse,

¹Vaio 336 notes that this change of clothes is not only socially but also politically important, because the τρίβων and the ἐμβάδες are connected with Philocleon's activities as a juror. Stone 162-3 and 224 points out the association of both with poverty. Middle-aged or older men are typical characters to be shown as wearing this sort of shoe. Cf. also Dearden 117.

in order to be *ξυμποτικός* and *ξυνουσιαστικός*². Bdelycleon is clearly impressed by the wealthy symposiasts' style of life and tries to imitate their manners. His admiration is also expressed in his choice of words when he refers to the other symposiasts as *ἀνδρῶν ... πολυμαθῶν καὶ δεξιῶν* (knowledgeable and clever men 1175), *ἐν ἀνδράσιν* (in the company of great men 1185)³, *ἀνδράσι καλοῖς τε κάγαθοῖς* (gentlemen 1256), *οἱ σοφοί* (clever people 1196, whereas he calls his father 'uneducated' at 1183), and in his reference to Aeschines as an example of an *ἀνὴρ σοφὸς καὶ μουσικός* (a clever and cultured man 1244).⁴ As the play proceeds, however, Philocleon increasingly does not behave in the way that Bdelycleon expects him to.

At first, at 1168-73, Philocleon learns to walk in the manner of a rich man (*πλουσίως* 1168), swaggering in a luxurious, effeminate way (1169).⁵ Bdelycleon evidently

²MacDowell ad 1209 writes that this adjective occurs nowhere else before the Hellenistic period. Possibly it was invented by Aristophanes in order to satirise the current fashion for adjectives in *-ικός*: cf. also Eq. 1378-81. According to Sommerstein ad Nu. 1172-3, this suffix was mostly popular among sophists, philosophers, and rhetoricians, and those whom they influenced, which was probably for a great part the wealthy youth. However, Dover (1987) 229 writes that at Eq. 1378ff. these expressions are "treated as characteristic of literary criticism, or rather, judgements pronounced by people who regard themselves as cognoscenti". He writes that by the late fifth century these adjectives were already widely used in the languages of technology and administration and not only by sophists and poets. On the parody of the language of sophists in comedy and elsewhere cf. also Beta 56ff.

³This expression can refer to either gentlemen or grown-ups in general (cf. in particular Ach. 498 and Eq. 179), even if here the point is not so much that Philocleon is telling a children's tale to adults, but that he does not display a sufficient education in high society: cf. also Starkie and Sommerstein ad loc; MacDowell 1185 is of the opinion that grown-ups are meant here.

⁴Most translations are by Sommerstein.

⁵MacDowell ad loc. notes that the compound *διασαλάκων* appears only here. A similar expression can be found at Aristot., Rh. 1391a2, though, which explains that rich men are referred to as *τρυφεροί* (= luxurious) because they tend to display their property and as *σαλάκωνες* (= pretentious) since they are convinced that the things they admire are the object of the emulation of all other people. Sommerstein ad loc. also notes that this compound suggests effeminacy - as the other readings or conjectures in this passage do - as in Hermipp. fr. iamb. 5W. Bowie (1993) 94 notes that the expressions *σχῆμα* (1170) and *σαυλοπρωκτιᾶν* (1173) remind one of the *σχῆμα κεύρωπρωκτιᾶν* (1069f.) of the youths whom

demonstrates this way of walking, but his father is not very successful in copying it, according to Bdelycleon's remark that he resembled 'a man who has put a garlic dressing on a boil' (1172).⁶ This comparison reminds one of the symposium-game εἰκασμός, an allusion which underlines the sympotic context of this scene. Philocleon asks his son to compare him with one of the rich: ὅτῳ ... τῶν πλουσίων (1170-1), which is a first hint at the fact that he still is trying to make fun of these people.

That it is Philocleon's aim to mock the rich becomes even more obvious in the following passages. The old man proves unable to tell stories which involve experiences which only rich people would understand or entertain themselves with (1174-1207). Bdelycleon would like his father to mention typical aristocratic occupations, such as travelling on a state-delegation - at the state's expense - and pastimes such as fighting a pancration (1191), hunting, or the torch-races of young men (1202-4).⁷ Philocleon ridicules all these actions in such a way that none of

the wasp-chorus scorns in the parabasis. Bremmer 21, citing Anacr. fr. 458, notes that a wiggling walk is frequently associated with courtesans and homosexuals. Philocleon mocks rich, affected, and effeminate people here. Note that πλουσίως and πλουσίων appear twice, at 1168 and 1171, in the emphatic position at the end of the verse.

⁶This translation is explained by MacDowell and Sommerstein ad loc. On εἰκασμός cf. also 'Birds' p. 57 with n. 34.

⁷Comic references to conversation at dinner are Metag. fr. 3 and Eup. fr. 172.14ff. about a flatterer, who says that for him it is important to speak at once and to avoid outrageous jests, since otherwise he will be thrown out. At Theopomp. fr. 23 a character is shown as being of the opinion that they should really start talking now that they have finished their breakfast or lunch. These passages show the strong connection between commensality and conversation. E.L. Bowie (1993) analyses the different topics of sympotic conversation before Plato: "Epic offers few topics, mostly arising from the situation of a guest. Those of sympotic poetry, from which prose exchanges may cautiously be inferred, are more numerous: reflection, praise of the living and the dead, consolation of the bereaved, proclamations of likes and dislikes, declarations of love, narrative of one's own erotic experiences or (scandalously) of others', personal criticism and abuse, and the telling of fables. Many of these verbal interventions are competitive. Comedy reinforces the prevalence of an ethos of entertainment, corroborating the telling of fables and adding creditable anecdotes about one's career, singing *skolia*, and playing games of "comparisons" and riddles." (355) He points out the competitive character of performance, which is evident in V. (369).

Bdelycleon's expectations are met by his suggestions. Instead he tells uneducated (cf. 1183) and obscene stories (1177-8) and misunderstands his son's suggestions (e.g. 1194-5). His son interrupts him before he is able to utter a second obscenity, but the old man misinterprets Bdelycleon's words τὸς κατ' οἰκίαν (1180) as meaning fables and starts to tell a very simple story about a mouse and a ferret. This behaviour underlines the different life-styles that Philocleon and Bdelycleon lead: the father is obviously not an experienced symposiast. However, he is not as stupid as he appears on first sight, as becomes clear later, when he is presented as being quick at taking up scolia (1222ff.), when during the 'real' party, he gives an *anteikasmos* without having been shown to have been taught how to do it before (1311-2), and finally when during his *komos* he retells many stories which he learned from his son and combines their elements in a clever, if drunken and confused, way to suit his own purposes (1381ff.; see below.). Thus, Philocleon - as opposed to typical comic *bomolochus*-figures, such as Strepsiades in *Nu.* and Euelpides in *Av.* who are depicted as not really understanding matters and as not very successful in learning⁸ - seems to make himself appear more stupid than he is in order to mock his son's put-on sophistication.

In this passage about sympotic story-telling, Philocleon mocks the fact that one has to make oneself appear very educated (cf. πολυμαθῶν καὶ δεξιῶν 1175) in high society.⁹ The stories have to be σεμνοί (1174) and μεγαλοπρεπεῖς (1186). Bdelycleon is very impressed by this aristocratic way of speaking (cf. how he refers

⁸Cf. e.g. *Nu.* 627ff., *Av.* 355-6, and the fact that Euelpides asks very many questions. Händel 252 defends Philocleon against the charge of stupidity for the first part of the play, especially regarding his attempts to escape.

⁹Rothwell 248 points out that this passage can allude to two fables, *Aes. fab.* 511 or 165 Perry, depending on the greater importance of either Bdelycleon's animals in the plural or Philocleon's in the singular (1182 and 1185). The singular would suggest an allusion to *fab.* 511, which shows a victory of the weak over the strong. This fable would fit Philocleon's situation later in the play particularly well with its "reversals and ambiguities of age and youth, weak and strong": Rothwell 248. *Fab.* 165 about the war of the mice and the ferrets has a moral, i.e. to accept one's lot, which can be referred to a low-class character such as Philocleon. However, *fab.* 511 fits much better.

to it at 1175 and 1196: ἀνδρῶν ... πολυμαθῶν καὶ δεξιῶν; οἱ σοφοί), although this knowledge actually consists mostly of heroic stories and passages from lyric and epic poetry or tragedy, which have been learned by heart. Philocleon indirectly criticises this pretended knowledge, which implies that he regards the aristocrats' topics as superficial. The vulgar themes, which he suggests, serve to mock this manner of talking¹⁰ and to criticise the ways in which rich people waste their time. His son does not see through his father's tricks, but loses his temper and calls his father stupid and uneducated (ὦ σκαίε κἀπαίδευτε 1183). He immediately realises, though, what he has said and - being an expert symposiast who knows his quotations - he is able to soften his words by maintaining that he was only reproducing the words of the politician Theogenes, about whom a joke is made at the same time.¹¹

Bdelycleon's suggestion that Philocleon could narrate a story about how he went on a state delegation with Androcles and Cleisthenes indicates that he lives so much between two ways of life, with his simple-living family on the one hand and the luxurious symposia he likes to attend on the other, that he forgets that his father has a completely different background from his usual fellow-symposiasts. Thus, even if he only proposes this story as an example, he does not keep in mind that his father has probably never even done anything of such a nature.¹² Philocleon, however, quickly thinks of a solution and says that he actually went on a state delegation - though, as he

¹⁰Bdelycleon, in contrast, admires it as οὕτως διηγείσθαι νομίζουσ' οἱ σοφοί (1196).

¹¹Cf. MacDowell ad 1183 and Sommerstein ad loc., who gives a number of other comic references to Theogenes.

¹²MacDowell ad 1187 also sees another joke in this passage: that Androcles and Cleisthenes were actually lately chosen to attend a state-delegation, but many people did not consider them qualified candidates for this task. In any case, according to the numerous other places in comedy where they were ridiculed - Androcles as penniless and immoral and Cleisthenes as effeminate (references are given in the commentaries) - it would not be an impressive thing to be a friend or ex-colleague of theirs: cf. also Sommerstein ad loc.

then reveals, only for a salary of two obols, i.e. in the position of an oarsman.¹³ This passage, therefore, may reflect the cynicism of ordinary people about the fact that lower class Athenian citizens hardly ever had the opportunity to travel abroad at the state's expense.¹⁴

When Bdelycleon finally starts to realise that his father is making fun of the situation, he suggests that he should tell stories about the glorious deeds of another old man instead. As an example he describes the figure of the old athlete Ephoudion:¹⁵ ...ἔχων δέ τοι πλευρὰν βαθυτάτην καὶ χέρας καὶ λαγόνα καὶ θώρακ' ἄριστον (1192-4). Perhaps his father really does not know, but it is more likely that he pretends not to be familiar with the rather new and not yet common anatomical meaning of θώραξ, 'breast', though, and purposely misunderstands it to mean 'breastplate',¹⁶ thus, ridiculing the modern, fashionable language. The fact that Philocleon does not simply

¹³Cf. v.Leeuwen, MacDowell, and Sommerstein ad loc. This salary of two obols cannot really be compared with Philocleon's pay as a juror, which was increased from two to three obols by Cleon. It has been noted that this was still less than an able-bodied man would earn by an ordinary day's work: cf. Gomme et al. and MacDowell, in: OCD, s.v. 'Cleon' and 'law and procedure, Athenian', 825. However, the jury-pay usually seems to have been a supplement. Cf. e.g. Ehrenberg 362. Markle 277 points out that those who had to work full time and did not have leisure are the ones that are called 'poor', and three obols were enough to make it possible for any 'poor' person to attend the jury service.

¹⁴Cf. also 1139ff. and MacDowell on both these passages. It is also mentioned at Ach. 608-9 that ordinary people do not get a chance to go on a state-paid mission. The speaker is Dicaeopolis, expressing a similarly cynic attitude to Philocleon's.

¹⁵Nothing is known about Ascondas and Ephoudion, except that the latter apparently won some victories at the Olympic and other games, according to a scholion and Hesych. ε 7567, in: MacDowell and Sommerstein ad 1190; cf. also 1382. Starkie's suggestion that the joke in this passage is that both of them were actually unathletic can therefore not be correct.

¹⁶Cf. MacDowell ad 1195. At Ach. 1133-5 and Pax 1286 there is a pun on the two meanings of θωρήσσεσθαι, 'put on one's armour' and 'get drunk'. However, it is less probable that the same play on the two meanings of a word is employed here (as Starkie and v.Leeuwen ad 1195 think and Sommerstein's translation suggests), since the interpretation of having a drink does not really fit in this context of fighting a pancration. For the word in the meaning 'to fortify oneself with wine' cf. Thgn. 508, 884 etc. See also Diph. fr. 46, where ἀποθώρακ' refers to somebody slightly drunk: cf. LSJ s.v. Cf. 'Wine' p. 189.

accept what he is told by his son but is critical indicates clearly that he is not stupid but only plays the buffoon.

Since Philocleon has not been successful with the stories about other old men, Bdelycleon makes another attempt, and asks his father what he would mention παρ' ἀνδράσι ξένοις (1197) as the bravest action of his youth. The repetition of the old man's words ἐκεῖν', ἐκεῖν' ... (1200)¹⁷ indicates how keen he is to tell his story, a children's trick about the time he stole some vine-props,¹⁸ and thus to laugh at the situation by pretending he was very naive. His son makes some suggestions of what would be more suitable events to be related and further specifies the nature of the deed as νεανικώτατον (1204). Philocleon pretends that he is now narrating a story of the kind he is expected to tell, i.e. about a youthful or spectacular event. At first his words (1206) suggest he had been successful in a race against the famous athlete Phayllus. However, εἶλον (1206) already indicates what he is really speaking about, i.e. that he beat him in court by two votes (1207). He refers to himself in this situation as βούπαις (1206) - ironically combined with ἔτι - which indicates that he was not really that νεανικώτατος anymore, to be allowed to work as a juror in fact over thirty years old.¹⁹ The same expression is actually applied to Philocleon in Xanthias' report on the old man's misbehaviour at the real symposium later in the play: ... κάτυπτε δὴ με νεανικῶς ... (1307), here in the meaning of 'lustily', 'vigorously' or 'violently'.²⁰ Thus, an ambiguity of the adjective is played upon and at the same time the joke is taken up again from 1204ff. At this point in the conversation-practice, Aristophanes lets Bdelycleon give up so that the routine will not become too drawn-out.

¹⁷Cf. also Nu. 657 for a similar repetition. There Strepsiades expresses how keen he is to learn about the ἀδικώτατον λόγον.

¹⁸This reminds one of 237-9, where the Wasps boast about their thefts.

¹⁹Cf. MacDowell, in: OCD s.v. 'law and procedure, Athenian. 2.', 825.

²⁰Cf. Pax 897 for a similar use of the verb, however including *double entendre*.

Instead, more practical issues are now addressed. The old man is instructed in how to recline. His son gives a descriptive demonstration of all the forms of politeness one has to observe at a symposium: when the symposiast has 'poured himself out' on the cushions²¹ in an athletic manner (*γυμναστικῶς* 1212), he compliments the furniture and decoration of the room (1214-5). Bdelycleon mentions the luxurious ornamental bronzeware, the decorations on the ceiling, and the tapestries - things which his father has presumably never seen in his life.²² The fact that this fictional symposium takes place either in or in sight of an *αὐλή* (1215), a big room, which, in this case, despite its size has a ceiling (cf. *ὀροφήν* 1215), indicates that the imagined setting must be a very large building. This hints at the nature of Bdelycleon's experiences with parties, i.e. that he associates with very rich people.

Next, he describes to his father what usually happens at a banquet (1216-7). After the guests have washed their hands, dinner is served. The hands are then washed again and a libation is poured out.²³ Bdelycleon seems to mime what is going on and makes

²¹The fact that there are cushions indicates that it has to be a quite luxurious party. So the affected language which is employed to describe the way the guests lie down is not inadequate here: cf. also MacDowell ad 1213. Sommerstein ad 1208 writes that because it is nowhere mentioned that a couch is set up outside, they seem to practice on the ground, but *δευρί* at 1208 suggests otherwise: Philocleon would not have to move to another place if he only had to lie down on the ground.

²²There is a parallel-passage at Diph. fr. *61. There, a parasite states that he does not perceive the triglyphs, the roof (*στέγας* (2) is probably a *pars pro toto* which denotes the whole house), and the Corinthian vessels, but is only interested if the smoke which comes from the kitchen looks as if he will get a big dinner. For the admiration of the house of one's host cf. already Od. 4.44, 71-5 about a banquet at Menelaus'.

²³For washing one's hands before a libation and before prayers cf. already Hom., Il. 9.174ff. Neat wine is tasted with the words *ἀγαθοῦ δαίμονος*: cf. e.g. Eq. 85. At V. 525, this procedure is used as an equivalent to a symposium in general. A libation to the Good Spirit is mentioned at Eq. 106, the following is about drinking the wine again. A triple paeon appears, probably in such a context, in connection with a raised cup at Pherecr. fr. 138. Callias fr. 9 speaks of an after dinner-drink to Hygieia. He mentions a *μετανιπτρίς*, i.e. the cup drunk after the hand-washing following a *deipnon*: see LSJ s.v. Hand-washing is also mentioned at Amips. fr. 20, Alc. Com. fr. 16, Ar. fr. 516, and Eup. fr. 320. The water used for this purpose is called *χερνίματα* (Philonid. fr. 16), the vessel for the water

the description more visual by speaking as if he were giving commands to a slave. The order of the events at a symposium after the *δειπνον* is also described elsewhere in comedy, e.g. at Pl. Com. fr. 71 and Dromon fr. 2, and also at Ath. 641d ff. It is always mentioned that after the meal the tables for the food²⁴ are removed and that the slaves pour water over the guests' hands so that they can wash them. Pl. Com. fr. 71.3 also relates that the floor is swept. Next a libation is poured out; its frequent mention indicates that it is an essential element before the drinking starts: cf. e.g. also Pl., Smp. 176a. After this, different events follow, i.e. the symposiasts anoint their bodies (cf. Ath. 641d) or perfume is poured out (cf. e.g. Pl. Com. fr. 71.6-7; cf. 'Perfume' p. 254ff., especially 262-3), the guests crown themselves (cf. Dromon fr. 2, Pl. Com. fr. 71.7-8), play games, such as cottabus (cf. Pl. Com. fr. 71.4 and 11; cf. 'Cottabus' p. 211ff.), and listen to an aulos-player (cf. Pl. Com. fr. 71.5-6 and 12) or other musicians (cf. Pl. Com. fr. 71.13-4) or sing *scolia* (cf. Pl. Com. fr. 71.10-11, Pl., Smp. 176a). The passage about the dream-banquet in V. has also been compared to the dinner-invitation and -preparations at Ach. 1085ff.²⁵ There, however, the focus is more on food etc. than on procedures. The passages are similar, though, in so far as both symposia are more luxurious than each of the old men can be assumed to be used to, the one in V. taking place in a grand room, and the one in Ach. at a high official's, the priest of Dionysus'. In V. this fact is expressed through Philocleon's inquiry whether it is a dream-banquet (1218). That this remark is uttered ironically becomes clear in comparison with Ra. 51, where Xanthias (if it actually is him: cf. Dover ad loc.) indirectly tells his interlocutor that he is only romanticising by

χερνίβιον (Ar. fr. 330) or *χειρόνιπτρον* (Eup. fr. 169). At Demonic. fr. 1 a glutton seems to have his eating interrupted by this procedure, so he points out that he would prefer it to take place after the dinner. 'Water over the hands' can also be meant metaphorically of everything easy to obtain: cf. Telecl. fr. 1 with Gulick, Ath. III, 205 n.c.

²⁴The food already lies on the tables when they are carried inside: cf. Ra. 518. Thus, Bdelycleon's *τὰς τραπέζας εἰσφέρειν* (1216) actually means 'Serve dinner!': see MacDowell ad loc. Cf. also Aristot., 'On Drunkenness', F 675 Gigon (1987), in: Ath. 641d, who calls the desert 'second table' (*δευτερὰς τραπέζας*).

²⁵Rothwell 243.

remarking that he was just dreaming. Here, Philocleon seems to try to tell his son in a polite way that he is exaggerating. Bdelycleon, however, keeps pretending that a symposium is taking place. The appearance of the aulos-player indicates that the drinking and entertainment is about to begin: cf. also Pl. Com. fr. 71.5-6, X., Smp. 2.1-2, as well as Pl., Smp. 176, where the aulos-player is dismissed because conversation should serve as the main entertainment.

It is surprising that Cleon, as a popular politician, and some of his friends are named as guests at this rather luxurious symposium at 1220. Three explanations have been suggested:²⁶ (1) The mention of these names prepares the audience for the jokes regarding the abuse of these men by Philocleon with drinking songs. (2) These guests fit into an aristocratic setting in the eyes of the audience, because they were not seen as ordinary people. (3) After Philocleon's loss of the agon he cannot really disagree with his son anymore.²⁷ There is something of all the three opinions in this passage, but the first one seems to be the most important one.

The mockery of Cleon by Philocleon takes place immediately after this passage, when the old man has to present his knowledge of symposium-songs. Philocleon actually seems convinced that he will excel at taking up the songs (1223).²⁸ He knows some popular *scolia*²⁹ and which metre he has to use. Although he pays attention to their formal aspects, however, he does not at all meet his son's expectations regarding

²⁶MacDowell ad loc.

²⁷The third explanation is not necessary to make Philocleon's change of mind plausible, because such inconsistencies may appear in comedies and as is shown in this chapter, Philocleon is not a very loyal but a selfish character, anyway.

²⁸The expression δέχεσθαι (1225) is a *terminus technicus* for the taking up of songs. Already at 270, Philocleon claims that he is fond of singing - in this case the jurors' songs. His remark in line 989 that he never learned to play the lyre alludes to the fact that he has never been instructed how to behave in polite society; cf. also 959 in defence of the dog in the law-court-scene.

²⁹He also is familiar with some well-known passages from epic and tragedy, e.g. the one about Odysseus and the Cyclops (cf. 180-5) and Euripides' Ino (cf. 1413-4).

the content, as he uses the opportunity to insult Cleon, whose role Bdelycleon has paradoxically - given his name - taken on (1224), and later Aeschines too (1243). This behaviour is not completely surprising, since although Philocleon appeared to be rather fond of Cleon earlier, as his name also suggests (cf. also 197, 596-7), 759 about Cleon being a thief already contains some criticism. Such a quick change is possible in comedy, though, and at the same time it helps to underline the fact that Philocleon is mostly interested in his own pleasure, which will become more and more obvious as the play proceeds.³⁰

It is worth having a closer look at the symposium-scene. At first Bdelycleon proposes a very well-known song, the 'Harmodius'. There are four extant versions of this scolion, but Aristophanes' verses do not appear in any of them.³¹ It is also mentioned at Ach. 980, where the chorus-leader claims that the war-god shall never recline and sing 'Harmodius' with him: this scolion was apparently so popular that it can stand for the symposium itself. This imagery is maintained in the following lines in Ach., where War's behaviour is described in a way which resembles that of a komast. In his continuation of the song in V. Philocleon calls Cleon a knave and thief (1227). His son warns him that Cleon would shout him to death (1228).³² There is a similar joke about his loud voice at 1287 (cf. 36, 596, 1034). It also implies that he is a demagogue.³³ Philocleon, however, does not seem in the least impressed and even

³⁰Cf. also Slater (1996) 33.

³¹Cf. MacDowell and Sommerstein ad loc. This scene shows that scolia were still sung in the late fifth century, and not only in the second half of the fifth to the beginning of the sixth cent. B.C., the time from which most of the scolia date which are collected at Ath. 694c-695f: cf. MacDowell ad 1222. Cf. also Antiph. fr. 3 and 85. In the latter fragment, the 'Harmodius'-song is considered old-fashioned by the speaker, but the text shows that these songs were still sung in the 4th cent. B.C.: cf. Pheidippides at Ar., Nu. 1353-76 who generally finds singing at symposia antiquated.

³²This threat is even more emphasised by the three expressions with basically the same meaning ἐξολεῖν - διαφθερεῖν - ἐξελάν (1229-30). Further examples of similar menaces by Cleon, partly uttered by Paphlagon, who stands for him in 'Knights', are given at Sommerstein ad 1229-30.

³³Cf. Gomme et al., in: OCD s.v. 'Cleon', 346. MacDowell's suggestion that Aristophanes wants to express the raucousness of Cleon's voice here is not very convincing.

increases his insults at 1230-5 with an adapted quotation from Alcaeus fr. 141 Campbell (1232-5).³⁴ The original probably refers to Pittacus, who was to become the tyrant of Mytilene. Cleon therefore is characterised as a potential autocrat here.³⁵

Bdelycleon makes another attempt and starts to sing the 'Admetus'-song (1239) by Praxilla of Sicyon (fr.3 Page = 749 = 897), which alludes to Heracles, who repaid Admetus' hospitality by bringing his wife back from the dead, and admonishes the addressee to associate with ἀγαθοί. Philocleon seems to refer this expression to Cleon's opponents, since this adjective was often used to denote aristocracy,³⁶ and to imply the criticism that Theorus had connections with both groups, the followers and the opponents of Cleon.³⁷ That the 'Admetus' was rather favoured by the aristocrats, and the 'Harmodius' by the democrats, has furthermore been suggested on the basis of Ar. fr. 444, where a character is told to sing the 'Harmodius'- instead of the 'Admetus'-song.³⁸ Cratinus fr. 254 similarly speaks about a man who tries to sing 'Cleitagora' when the piper who accompanies the singing plays 'Admetus'. Both songs are written in different metres and will therefore have been sung to different melodies. There is a similar case at Ar., Lys. 1236-8, where an Athenian claims that when they were drunk they were so well disposed towards the Spartans that even someone who sang

³⁴The changes, in particular regarding dialect, are explained in detail by MacDowell ad loc. and Kugelmeier 25f.

³⁵Cf. Sommerstein ad loc., who compares Eq. 1044, where Cleon appears to be compared to Antileon, an early tyrant of Chalcis.

³⁶Sommerstein ad loc. compares Eq. 225 and 735-8, where they are similarly called 'the good and decent': ἄνδρες ἀγαθοί, καλοί τε κάγαθοί (735), καλούς τε κάγαθούς (738). Note that the symposiasts in 'Wasps' are similarly referred to (see above).

³⁷Cf. Sommerstein ad loc. The source of this quotation of lines 1241-2 (PMG 912a) is unknown. There are two variants for line 1240: ὠιδικῶς and ὠιδικός. Dindorf conjectures ὡδί πως. MacDowell interprets ὠιδικῶς as 'lyrically' and takes this as an argument (with metrical reasons) for his hypothesis that these lines are part of a lyric poem but not of a scolia. However, there is no clear distinction between the two categories: cf. Parker (1997) 250 with n. 72.

³⁸Reitzenstein 25 n. 1, Bowra 378, Vetta 128. Cf. also Redondo 112 on the aristocratic and democratic sides of scolia, in particular in this scene in V.

'Telamon' instead of 'Cleitagora' was applauded. This, on the one hand, indicates the degree of drunkenness of the Athenians, i.e. that they did not mind mistakes anymore; and on the other hand, it reflects their peaceful mood. Presumably, one song did not fit the tune of the other and, furthermore, the themes seem to have been very different, the 'Telamon' being heroic, while the 'Cleitagora' seems to have dealt with a hetaera of this name.³⁹ This 'Cleitagora'-song is actually the next one to appear in the scene in V. (1245-7). It is not known how this song continues, since it is not quoted anywhere else, but it must have been quite well-known to the theatre-audience, so that Aristophanes could use it for Philocleon's joke about Aeschines' boastfulness.⁴⁰

Eventually, the singing-scene stops, and Bdelycleon tells a slave to pack up their dinner. Ath. 365b writes that such dinners are usually referred to as σύνδειπνα. At 364f he relates that they are also called ἐπιδόσιμα δεῖπνα or δεῖπνα ἐξ ἐπιδομάτων. However, Alex. fr. 253 and Ephipp. fr. 4 speak of συναγώγιμα. The contribution is called ἔρανος; Antiph. fr. 122.8-9. It can be of two different sorts: either - as in this scene - the guest brings his own provisions (ἀπὸ σπυρίδος δεῖπνα: Ath. 365a; cf. also Pherecr. fr. 57 and X., Mem. 3.14.1) or he pays some money (ἀπὸ συμβολῶν δεῖπνα: Ath. 365d; cf. also Phryn. fr. 60, where a character, presumably a parasite, states that it is pleasant to eat without having to pay a contribution; cf. already Hes., Op. 722f.). At Ach. 1096ff. Dicaeopolis orders his slave to pack his dinner. He brings the food for the main course, i.e. different kinds of meat, fish, fat, loaves of bread, flat-cake with cheese and honey, and his own pitcher. The host provides the furniture, decoration, entertainment, unguents, and different cakes (1085-94).

³⁹Cf. Sommerstein ad Lys. 1237, Bowra 397. 'Lysistrata' p. 44.

⁴⁰This is also alluded to in line 459. There, Philocleon says that the smoke-mixture with which one of the slaves is to repulse the Wasp chorus will be enriched with Aeschines son of Braggartius, since boastful people were frequently compared to smoke. Cf. Sommerstein ad 495. MacDowell ad 1248 thinks that this line is invented by Philocleon / Aristophanes rather than quoted from an existing song.

Bdelycleon and his father prepare themselves to leave for Philocleon's. This 'speaking name' indicates once more that Bdelycleon is used to associating with very rich persons. He is looking forward to getting drunk at the symposium (1252). At this point, Philocleon suddenly starts to moralise about the bad effects of drinking (1252-5). He describes wild komastic behaviour which includes door-breaking - not only loud knocking as in Alcibiades' case at Pl., Smp. 212c - as well as striking, and throwing things. The next day, he warns, one will have to pay fines for the damage, and have a hangover.⁴¹ His son immediately instructs him, though, that this is not the case if you are in the company of gentlemen (ἀνδράσι καλοῖς τε κάγαθοῖς 1256) who will help you, or if you know an amusing story by Aesop or a Sybaritic tale to tell.⁴² When Philocleon hears that he can do mischief without having to bear the consequences, (if he has not only been cleverly testing his son, anyway) he is suddenly very keen to go, as indicated by his words ἄγε νῦν at 1264.⁴³ This once more hints at his attitude of being mainly concerned with his own pleasure.

⁴¹Alex. fr. 287 recommends - following an Egyptian custom (cf. Ath. 34c) - boiled cabbage as a cure for a hangover. Cf. also 'Komos' p. 170ff. on the passage in V.

⁴²These deal with the effeteness and stupidity of the inhabitants of the city Sybaris. Cf. also 'Clouds' p. 95 with n. 21 and 'Cottabus' p. 225 with n. 60. Rothwell 249 notes that at first glance these do not fit the λόγοι σεμνοί (cf. 1174), which Bdelycleon requested earlier on for a situation among gentleman. The guest-list, however, does not include any aristocrats. Cleon and his friends would be the people that Philocleon can be expected to prefer to spend time with though - even if he mocks the demagogue later on, a change of attitude which is possible in comedy. This will be one reason why Bdelycleon chooses them as guests for the imagined banquet. Cf. also p. 110 above. As Rothwell notes, furthermore, the victims who need to be told such stories are unlikely to be aristocratic symposiasts. So, even if Philocleon is shown as insulting guests at the 'real' symposium, he only becomes physically violent to his slave and afterwards to people of lower social status, such as a bread-seller: Rothwell 249-50.

⁴³Cf. 322 and 340, where he already states that he wants to do harm but his son would not let him. For this motif see also 168. Cf. also MacDowell ad loc. Note that further at the beginning of the play, at 525, Philocleon still exchanged 'wine' for (jury-) 'pay', claiming that he would give it up if beaten in the debate. This fitted the situation better than the drink and served to make a joke on the old man's addiction.

This scene, therefore, illustrates how Philocleon finds all the affected and snobbish behaviour of the aristocracy absolutely ridiculous.⁴⁴ He has already made fun of the way rich people tend to walk at 1173, and even if he appears (or pretends) to be quite eager to please his son at the beginning - for instance, the expression φράζ' άνύσας (1210) seems to indicate that he cannot wait to hear how he should recline - from the start of the scene therefore he plays the βωμολόχος. Finally, in the part about the scolia he openly and directly mocks the imagined symposiasts. At 1230ff., he even indicates that he finds everything so ridiculous that he does not care anymore, even if Cleon should threaten him. Philocleon's use of the first person singular pronoun indicates how his attitude increases. As the dialogue proceeds, he uses the word ἐγώ more and more (1176, 1181, 1224, 1230, 1239) and so shows that he distances himself from his son's opinions about how he should behave at a drinking-party. At the same time his selfish attitude is seen to increase drastically.

The preceding analysis also shows the great discrepancy between Philocleon's and Bdelycleon's knowledge of sympotic matters. It does not become clear how Bdelycleon may have been introduced into such high society and where he has learned how to behave there, since his father has apparently never been at a symposium, at least not an aristocratic one, himself. Thus, one would expect Bdelycleon to have grown up in a completely different way from that of his fellow-symposiasts and not to have attended a school where such knowledge as songs for performance at a drinking-party were taught.⁴⁵ Incongruities like this are however possible with the shifting characters in comedy (see above). The contrast between

⁴⁴Of course, this interpretation also depends very much on the acting, but there are certain hints in the text, which are pointed out in this chapter, which suggest Philocleon's cleverness. Henderson's ((1975) 80) hypothesis that Philocleon fights against conformity seems to be exaggerated. He just does not want to behave in a way which is strange to him. Already when still a juror, he says at 575 that he enjoys mocking wealthy people. He is mainly concerned with his personal pleasure.

⁴⁵Cf. Kugelmeier 41ff. who states that most of the knowledge of scolia etc. was learned at schools. See 'Clouds' p. 92 with n. 7.

father and son, also in a sympotic context, at Nu. 1354ff. can be compared to this scene. However, there it is more a matter of taste, not so much of education, because Strepsiades displays quite a wide sympotic knowledge, but simply has no sympathy for modern forms of sympotic entertainment. Philocleon does also have at least a limited knowledge about symposia. Therefore, most of the audience of the play must be as familiar with symposia as Philocleon is, at least from hearsay, in order to understand the jokes, in particular in the relatively extended scolion-passage. It has been suggested that poorer people may have gained such experiences at festivals where they either took part themselves in sympotic activities or at least could see the aristocracy behaving in a sympotic manner.⁴⁶ Furthermore, they must also have had ways to entertain themselves at their own parties, and many party-games did not require a lot of equipment and expense, e.g. riddles or singing. At least, the most important aspects of the symposium and the very popular *solia* seem to have been well-known regardless of one's social status.

II. The 'real' symposium (1292ff.)

In the second part of the scene, the dubious results of Philocleon's education become visible. At 1292, the slave Xanthias runs onto the stage and reports the old man's misbehaviour at the symposium. The beginning of this speech is marked by the frequent use of superlatives, some of which are reinforced by adverbs of comparison. The old man acted as 'the most mischievous evil' (ἀτηρότατον ... κακόν 1299), 'much the most drunk and disorderly' (πολὺ παροιnikώτατος 1300; transl. MacDowell),⁴⁷ and 'by a long way the most outrageous / rudest' (ὕβριστότατος μακρῶι 1316; transl.

⁴⁶Bowie (1997) 3 n. 27.

⁴⁷MacDowell is of the opinion that this word appears only here, but the same adjective is conjectured by Elmsley at Ach. 981 in a context where the war-god symbolises a drunk disturbance of the peace in the house. Similar forms occur elsewhere, also in comedy: v.Leeuwen and Starkie quote X., Smp. 6.2 who explains the meaning of παροινία as to give pain to people present, when one is drinking wine. On this passage cf. also 'Komos' p. 155ff. and 170ff.

Sommerstein / MacDowell). Xanthias claims that Philocleon even surpassed the other symposiasts Hippyllus, Antiphon, Lycon, Lysistratus, Thoupkrastus, and the Phrynichus group in bad behaviour. These guests' high social status seems to be the main point of importance here, even if many of them have also been identified as persons with a certain political interest.⁴⁸ Aristophanes mostly mocks their snobbishness. So, the fact that they are well-known to the audience is the most significant criterion here. Perhaps some of them really had a reputation for their wild behaviour at drinking-parties,⁴⁹ or at least the audience must have been able to imagine this, to make the joke clear.

In this report given by Xanthias (1299-1326), Philocleon's behaviour is not only described with the usual symposium-imagery, such as allusions to drinking and eating in the expressions παροινικώτατος (1300), ἐνέπλητο πολλῶν κάγαθῶν (1304), ἠύωχημένον (1306), 'μέθυεν (1322), as well as ἐν μέρει (1319), which reminds one of the fact that cups are passed around and symposium-games are played by succession of the players lying in a circle, but also with many expressions which designate violence and misbehaviour in general, such as ἀτηρότατον (1299), ὑβριστότατος (1303), περιύβριζεν (1319),⁵⁰ κάτυπτε (1306), τύπτων (1323), πληγὰς λαβεῖν (1325). Also ἀνακραγῶν (1311), διακεκαρμένωι (1313), and σφαλλόμενος (1324) imply a certain element of violence in their meanings in the active.

Whereas before, at 1253-5, Philocleon warned his son of the effects of drunkenness, he now displays exactly such violent behaviour himself (1392-3). When he has eaten,

⁴⁸Cf. MacDowell ad 1302. This question is discussed in detail by Storey 332, who sees the relation of these men in the fact that they all seem to be associated with the rich family of Leogoras and Andocides. The connections between the guests, he notes, are wealth and social standing. Cf. also Bourriot vol. 1 p. 131ff. for an identification of the banqueters in the real symposium in V.

⁴⁹Sommerstein ad 1301 states that at least Antiphon was certainly not known for such behaviour.

⁵⁰On the aspect of ὑβρις in this passage cf. 'Komos' p. 170ff. For ὑβρίζοντες ... ὄνοι see also Hdt. 4.129, but the participle in that passage refers to the donkeys' braying rather than to their prancing about, as it does in V.

he suddenly seems to have too much energy. He jumps up and begins to prance, fart, deride (1305). This line is very similar to the words of the Worse Argument at Nu. 1078 and indicates that he does not care for formal behaviour, but only does what he feels like. This increase of Philocleon's energy is also implied in the adverb *νεανικῶς* (1307, cf. also 1333, 1355, 1362, and also 1204-5), which defines the way in which he beats Xanthias. At first, his violence becomes apparent verbally. One of the other guests starts the popular party-game *εἰκασμός*⁵¹ and likens the old man's behaviour to that of a newly-rich youth (or wine-dregs) and to a donkey that has run away to a bran heap.⁵² Now it is Philocleon's turn to make a comparison (1311-3). He likens the other guest to a locust that has lost the covering of its wings and to the tragedian Sthenelus, shorn of his stage props.⁵³ In this way Philocleon takes the game too far and becomes far too rude. When Thoupkrastus shows clearly that he does not approve of the old man's words, Philocleon becomes really insulting and calls him a 'clown-licker' of whoever is currently successful (1318).⁵⁴ Xanthias summarises the following events by saying that he insulted everybody. His words and humour are characterised as very uneducated (*ἀγροίκως* 1320, *ἀμαθέστατ'* 1321, cf. 1183), and

⁵¹Cf. e.g. Pl., Smp. 215a and also X., Smp. 6.8-10; Ar., Av. 804-8 is also similar. Cf. also above p. 103 on V. 1170-2, 'Birds' p. 57 with n. 34, 'Komos' p. 172, 'Riddles' p. 232 n. 1.

⁵²Cf. MacDowell ad 1309 on the two meanings which can be employed here for *τρυγί*. There also is the conjecture to *Φρυγί* by Kock. However, MacDowell convincingly explains that this is not necessary. The word *κλητήρ* actually signifies a summons-server: cf. Whitman 162 and LSJ s.v. Thus, it also alludes to Philocleon's former occupation: see also Vaio 341. Cf. also 188-9 where Philocleon, having been caught when he tried to escape out of the house hanging underneath a donkey's stomach, is compared to a *κλητήρος ... πολίωι* (189). Sommerstein ad loc. interprets this expression as that Philocleon "is by nature one who likes the spectacle of other people in trouble with the law". E.L. Bowie, in: Craik 33, proposes to replace *πολίωι* with *ψολίωι*, because Philocleon's posture reminded one of a donkey's phallus. However, since Sommerstein's explanation makes sense, it does not seem necessary to emend the text. He is also compared to a donkey by Xanthias at 1303.

⁵³MacDowell ad 1313 explains that this may mean that he was usually inadequately dressed; at least something is missing with him. It may also, more directly, hint at the quality of his plays, though. Cf. also Monaco 30; at 27-69 he gives several examples from comedy and sympotic contexts of *εἰκασμός*.

⁵⁴Cf. MacDowell for the translation of the hapax legomenon *κωμωιδολιχῶν*. Halliwell (1991) 291 with n. 49 gives other passages for the abuse of *eikasmos*.

his stories were apparently as inappropriate as the ones he proposed when he practised with his son (1174ff.).⁵⁵ When he is drunk, he returns home, hitting everyone he meets on his way, eventually even his son (1385-6).

The following part of the scene (1342-87) is marked by a partial role-reversal of the old and the young man. Philocleon stumbles on in the manner of a komast, bringing a torch and Dardanis, an aulos-player he has stolen from the symposium. Although he obviously knows that he is old, e.g. he refers to his phallus as a rotten rope (*σαπρὸν τὸ σχοινίον* 1343),⁵⁶ he pretends that he is carefully watched by his son and is himself young (1352-9). When he notices Bdelycleon approaching, he stays in this role and prepares to defend himself. Philocleon imitates the way Bdelycleon used to treat him when he was younger and plans to mock him in a youthful way (*αὐτὸν τωθάσω νεανικῶς* 1362). The fact that he suddenly appears to feel young again is also alluded to at 1307 and at other places in this scene, where he is compared to a young man (e.g. 1333). That his youth is only an illusion, though, already becomes obvious two lines later, at 1309, where he is addressed as *ὦ πρεσβῦτα*. Similarly, at 1333 one of the accusers threatens to summon him even if he is still a very young man (*σφόδρ' ... νεανίας*), but at 1417 another accuser addresses him with the words *ὦ γέρον*. Both father and son accuse the other of being old or acting like an old man; firstly when Bdelycleon asks Philocleon at 1365 if he is yearning for an attractive young coffin (transl. Sommerstein) - instead of a girl - and then when Philocleon says to his son that he is talking nonsense as though he has fallen off a tomb - instead of a donkey.⁵⁷ Philocleon tries to make his son believe that Dardanis is a torch, but

⁵⁵Cf. Bdelycleon's reaction *ὦ σκαίε κάπαίδευτε* (1183).

⁵⁶Bdelycleon also thinks that Philocleon is impotent at 1380-1. Sifakis (1992) 132 sees this instance of womanising as one of the typical rewards for a comic 'hero'.

⁵⁷Cf. MacDowell ad 1370 for references for this proverb. There is a discussion whether lines 1364-5 are spoken by Philocleon, as part of the promised mockery of his son, as Rusten 158 proposes, or by Bdelycleon, the point of the joke being a gibe at the old man's sexual appetite, which does not fit his age, as Sommerstein ad 1364-5 - more convincingly - believes.

Bdelycleon recognises her very quickly (1371). Apparently, he takes part in such parties often enough to remember even her name, or the point may be that she is extremely well known.

Philocleon's mockery of Bdelycleon is continued, when, recalling his son's answer to his concerns about the effects of drinking at 1256-64, he now quietens him with the same answer, that all this can be settled by telling stories (1393-5). Philocleon remembers some of the stories he has been taught before, but he gets them very confused. For instance, at 1382-6 he mixes up the ones about the state delegation (1187) and about the fight between Ephoudion and Ascondas, employing almost the same wording as lines 1191-2, although the connection does not make any sense. However, he clearly uses them in a way that serves his aims. Philocleon remembers Bdelycleon's advice (1256-64) to tell a fable by Aesop or a Sybaritic tale of the kind he has learned at the party. At 566 it was already mentioned that defendants in court sometimes tell Aesopic stories in order to win the jurors over. Thus Philocleon has more opportunities to tell stories when other persons he has harmed arrive to accuse him, and in doing so, he displays his old characteristic as a frequent law-court attendant. Now he becomes more creative and invents weird stories, which distort parts of well-known tales (1401-5, 1409-11, 1427-32, 1435-40, 1446-8).⁵⁸ Furthermore, he uses a kind of εἰκασμός, referring to Chairephon as 'a yellow-faced'⁵⁹ Ino hanging on to the feet of Euripides' (1413-4; transl. Sommerstein). This use of a symposium-game indicates that Philocleon is still in party-mood. All this

⁵⁸Note the irony of χαρίεντα (1400) with Lys. 1226.

⁵⁹I.e. pregnant and thus female and therefore unable to act as a witness, explains Sommerstein ad 1413. Bowie (1987) 5 sees the point of this comparison as being that Ino clung on Athamas, here comically replaced by Euripides, who wrote about this heroine, for mercy, although she had some responsibility for the deaths of Themisto and her sons. In the same way Chairephon, who is elsewhere called a thief, parasite, and informer, would not be a very helpful support in a law-case. Both explanations are inconclusive. About the yellow facial colouring cf. also Stone 267 and 297, who writes that yellow male masks indicate philosophers and female ones sickness. Both will be implied here.

only increases the accusers' anger, so that Bdelycleon finally carries his protesting father - who keeps telling stories - into the house.⁶⁰ It has been noted that his last story (1447-8) is an allusion to that in which Aesop in Delphi likens himself to the lowly dung beetle that outwitted the eagle and Zeus. This is an "instance of the little subverting the mighty",⁶¹ which indicates how Philocleon perceives the situation.

The stories which Philocleon tells are not completely logical, partly because he is engaging in mockery, but also as an indication of how drunk the old man is. His drunkenness is also referred to in the slave's report, where his behaviour is characterised as that of a *παροινικώτατος* (1300); cf. *'μέθυεν* (1322) and *ἔπειε διὰ πολλοῦ χρόνου* (1476). On his way home he also gets in trouble because of his drunken behaviour (*διὰ τὸν σὸν οἶνον* 1393). The way he treats his accusers by telling them through his stories that they are only wasting their energy and time by complaining and accusing him, instead of doing something more sensible and accepting that what has happened was actually their own fault, shows that he is obviously so drunk that he feels no guilt at all, though this can be attributed more to his selfishness than to his drunkenness as such.

Thus, the result of Bdelycleon's instructions is that Philocleon does not apply them in the way his son had intended, but only in a negative way, in order to justify his wild

⁶⁰He mistakes stories *by* Aesop for those *about* this author. A character at Aristopho fr. 5.3, presumably a parasite at a symposium, also speaks about drunk persons being lifted up round the middle, i.e. tackled and carried off, at parties - similarly to what happens to Philocleon here.

⁶¹Rothwell 153 and 253-4. He points out that the old man's use of fables fits his lower-class status. It could also hint at non-aristocrats' practices when speaking in law-courts, as Rothwell proves with examples (cf. V. 566, mentioned above). This fits the fact that Philocleon starts to use fables just when it becomes clear that he has not changed. Rothwell also notes that Philocleon himself, in keeping with the genre of the fable, is associated with different animals in 'Wasps'. E.L. Bowie (1993) 365 and 369 compares the use of fables in the sympotic situation in V. to that of Archilochus' abusive odes, e.g. 172-81W. and 185-7W., because in both authors they are used to comment on human behaviour.

komastic behaviour.⁶² It has been pointed out that "the emotional gratification of judging is all that matters"⁶³ to the old man at the beginning of the play, which is further indicated by how easily he makes the transition to being in the law-court that his son sets up for him at home. He likes to abuse his powers as a jury-member to insult rich people, as indicated at 552-75, particularly at 575 (see above p. 101). This mockery is exactly the behaviour he displays later, not only during the practice for the symposium but also during the 'real' party and the final komos. During the 'real' event, though, the old man is so drunk that social status does not matter anymore to him; he is rude and hurtful to anyone he meets. In other words, he is presented as only being interested in his own selfish pleasure. His attitude becomes increasingly clear during the play as a whole, as has already been shown, and demonstrates that his behaviour has actually not changed at all: Bdelycleon's re-education of the old man has not been successful. It has been suggested that this tendency of Philocleon is finally overcome in the dancing-scene at the end of the play, because then Dionysus has become the "new educative agent" instead of Bdelycleon and has finally healed the old man, since "the tragic dancer brings gratification to others as well as himself".⁶⁴ The positive effect of Dionysus with wine and music in this last scene in V. has been compared to that in other comedies, with the conclusion that the "Dionysiac spirit, as it is presented in comedy, is the seeking of enjoyment for oneself and others".⁶⁵ The enemies of this Dionysiac spirit are those who enjoy themselves at the cost of other characters, e.g. warmongers, such as Lamachus in *Ach.*, or those who are not interested in having fun themselves, but do not want others to enjoy themselves either, as e.g. Socrates in *Nu.*: cf. e.g. *Nu.* 116-7. Philocleon belongs to the first group, especially at the beginning of the play, where he is depicted as selfishly enjoying his juror-service, at the expense of the defendants, but also still later in the

⁶²For a detailed treatment of this parody of a komos, continued in the dancing-competition at the end of the play, cf. 'Komos' p. 155ff. and 170ff.

⁶³N.W. Slater (1996) 33.

⁶⁴Sommerstein (1996) 60.

⁶⁵Sommerstein (1996) 63.

play, where he is seen as taking every opportunity to mock others, particularly the rich. Bdelycleon for most of the play seems to be in favour of enjoyment, but finally it becomes obvious that he belongs to the second category, because he is much more concerned about proper social behaviour than about his own or his father's pleasure.⁶⁶ Thus, the conduct of both characters parodies the symposium and komos, which should be about the enjoyment of all those attending. Both festivities, on the other hand, serve to characterise the two main characters in this play, in particular since they are employed to create the exuberant atmosphere in which Philocleon's characteristics can best be observed.

⁶⁶Cf. Sommerstein (1996) 63-4.

'Knights'

In 'Knights' a household with a master, Demus, and slaves, including Paphlagon and later the Sausage Seller, is shown as an allegory for the Athenian polis and its politicians. A great part of the play is taken up with a competition between the two slaves named for the favour of Demus, which mainly consists in providing the master with food. Some of the items brought by them hint clearly at the symposium. In keeping with this, the Sausage Seller's development during this action has been compared to a youth's integration among the men.¹ Just as the Sausage Seller is shown as becoming more and more familiar with sympotic matters from being a 'water-drinker' to being an honoured guest in the prytaneum, part of a youth's integration into adult society is the entitlement to participate in symposia. The connection between growing up and sympotic acceptance is central in 'Knights' and will be looked at in this chapter.

At the beginning of the play, the Sausage Seller appears to be "on the verge of manhood" in so far as he is not used to attending drinking parties.² At 178-9 he asks how he is going to become a man at all, and Paphlagon calls him a water-drinker at 349.³ In return, the Sausage Seller indirectly accuses Paphlagon of tippling when he asks him at 351-2 what he drank to silence the polis, which was 'talked down' by him alone. This is paralleled at 1054, where the Sausage Seller claims that Paphlagon only 'dared' to do this (i.e. either, exclusively within the textual context, quote this last oracle, or, if one takes it as referring to a wider context, make the promise to capture

¹Bowie (1993) 52.

²Bowie (1993) 52. However, 347 indicates that he is old enough to speak in court, i.e. an adult, but such incongruities may appear in comedy.

³Sommerstein ad loc. provides references for the abstinence from wine as part of an orator's training. In these, i.e. in Pytheas, in: Ath. 44f, and Dem. 6.30, 19.46, the historical Demosthenes is presented as a 'water-drinker'. In the comedy it is not the slave of this name, though, but Nicias who is the water-drinker: Eq. 87ff.

the Spartans on Sphacteria within twenty days, which was considered ridiculous by many Athenians⁴) because he was drunk (μεθυσθείς). Thus, Paphlagon is characterised in a negative way here through his abuse of alcohol and thus of symposium-practice.⁵ Similarly, at 693 the Sausage Seller comments on his opponent's anger, which was caused by his defeat in the assembly, by maintaining that he is approaching in order to drink him up (ὥς δὴ καταπιόμενός με). A few lines later (700-1), the Sausage Seller himself threatens to drink Paphlagon up. The fact that the Sausage Seller already uses imagery connected with the symposium indicates the beginning of the process of his symptotic integration and his growing maturity. Even if, as earlier at 351-2, he is only answering his opponent's threat to eat him up, his language may also indicate a form of violent abuse of symposium-practice by the Sausage Seller, meaning that he still does not really know how to behave properly on such an occasion, i.e. is not yet fully grown up. At 700-1 he employs two expressions which denote drinking, as opposed to Paphlagon's one. This indicates that the Sausage Seller is even more badly behaved than Paphlagon, in keeping with the prophecy at 134ff. that Paphlagon will be followed by an even worse person.⁶ The Sausage Seller himself points this out when he compares his use of Paphlagon's methods to borrowing another guest's symposium-slippers (βλαυτίοισι 889) at a drinking-party.⁷

⁴Thuc. 4.28.5 describes their reaction, i.e. that they started laughing, when they heard this promise. Cf. the commentaries since v. Leeuwen ad loc., in particular Neil and Sommerstein ad 1054.

⁵Cf. also Littlefield 13, Bowie (1997) 6.

⁶Landfester 193 summarises this as follows: "Die Schwarz-Weiß-Zeichnung ist hier durch eine Schwarz-Schwärzer-Zeichnung ersetzt, die sich jedoch am Ende in eine Schwarz-Weiß-Zeichnung auflöst." Sutton 56 explains that it is a comic device to represent characters as inferior to their "real-life equivalents" to create purgative laughter, because the spectators feel superior to this character. Cf. also Hose (1995a) 43.

⁷Plato mentions at Smp. 231b that Alcibiades' shoes are taken off before he reclines. Figures reclining barefoot can also be seen on vase-paintings: cf. e.g. Vierneisel-Kaeser 223 ill. 36.3. For a similar situation, however not directly in the context of a symposium, cf. Ec. 313-9, where Blepyrus has to use his wife's shoes.

There are also several scenes in this play which actually involve drinking. At 85-123 slaves are shown tipping. This sign of abnormality in the 'household' symbolises the politics of the polis, in which a 'foreign slave', Paphlagon, standing for Cleon, is dominating the Athenian Demos.⁸ This situation is emphasised by further cases of established drinking-rules being broken, as when Demosthenes not only drinks alone, but takes his wine neat (85, 87) and in large quantities (121ff.).⁹ He makes his fellow-slave Nicias act as his own slave and gives him orders, such as to get him the wine and to pour it for him (98, 118ff.). Like a symposiast he lies down (98) and praises the wine (89-94). Through the alcohol, Demosthenes claims, he gets the idea of stealing Paphlagon's oracles.

The slave Paphlagon has also been drinking alone and eating ἐπίπαστα (103-4), 'cake with comfits upon it', which could also be served at a symposium.¹⁰ At present he is fast asleep, but he soon wakes up and runs out of the house in an infuriated manner. He takes the Chalcidian cup, which Nicias used in order to fetch the wine for Demosthenes out of the storeroom, as evidence for his accusation that a conspiracy, consisting in a revolt of the Chalcidians, was being planned (237). On the one hand, his actions hint at the great fear of oligarchic conspiracies among the Athenians at this time, on the other, and relatedly, at the fact that Cleon was known for his frequent suggestions that his political opponents were planning antidemocratic conspiracies. The double purpose of this passage, therefore, is to characterise Paphlagon and at the same time to make fun of Cleon's fears.¹¹

⁸Sommerstein (1980) 46 gives further references in Aristophanes' plays for passages in which drinking slaves appear: V. 9-10, Lys. 426-7, Ec. 1118-24. Cf. also Bowie (1997) 7 and 9.

⁹As Merry ad 106 notes, this is emphasised by *πολύν*. Sommerstein ad loc. remarks that Pramnian wine, which is used here, is noted for its strength.

¹⁰Cf. Merry ad 103; LSJ s.v. ἐπίπαστος II. for the translation. Cf. also 1089 where the Sausage Seller promises ἐπίπαστα to Demosthenes.

¹¹Cf. Landfester 29 n. 71 and Sommerstein ad 236, who provides several references for these accusations in Eq. and V. v. Leeuwen ad loc., followed by Neil, explains that this cup must have been produced in the Euboean Chalcis. However, Paphlagon wrongly refers it to the Chalcidic peninsula.

Further allusions to the symposium appear in a few passages in the agones of the two opponents which resemble comparisons used in the εἰκασμός-game: (a) Paphlagon's likening of the Sausage Seller's diet to that of a dog at 415, and (b) the Sausage Seller's comparison of Paphlagon to eel-fishers at 864, and perhaps also (c) the allusions to the slaughter of animals at 369-81. It is noticeable that in all these instances the opponent is abused or imagined as being treated in a violent way, whereas at a symposium such comparisons are meant as jokes and are usually not intended to hurt other guests' feelings.¹² Thus, abuse of sympotic practice is applied by these passages, hinting that sympotic competitive games are not supposed to become as violent as the competition between the two main characters in this play does.

Another kind of symposium-entertainment, singing drinking songs, also appears in a violent context. The chorus imagine themselves singing such a song in order to express happiness at the thought of Paphlagon spitting out the bribes he has taken: cf. δωροδόκοισιν ... ἄνθεσιν 403; cf. 1147 for similar imagery: ἐξεμεῖν, and Ach. 6: ἐξήμεσεν. It has been noted that these words are the opening of a victory-ode by Simonides (fr. 14 Bergk = 7 Page),¹³ which could also be imagined as being sung at a symposium. The chorus-leader adds (407-8) that the corn-controller Oulius would then show his happiness by singing songs to Paeon and Bacchus, the god of wine (ἰηπαιωνίσαι καὶ Βακχέβακχον <sc. ἄν> αἶσαι), i.e. songs that were sung at symposia.¹⁴

¹²Philocleon does not observe this rule at V. 1311ff., though.

¹³Sommerstein ad 406.

¹⁴For a discussion of the textual criticism of these lines cf. Sommerstein (1980) 49. There and in his commentary on 407 he explains that this corn-controller (πυροπίπην) would be glad to get rid of Cleon because he may have been threatened with prosecution by him for increasing the corn-prices.

Throughout the play, imagery of food in general is more prominent than narrowly defined sympotic-imagery. For instance, Paphlagon is depicted as greedy at 258-60 and 353-5, and the Sausage Seller at 356-7. The latter furthermore wins the debate in the assembly by lowering the prices of fish (ἀφύας 646)¹⁵ for the people (642ff.) and giving out coriander and onions as seasonings (676ff.). It is also striking that the protagonist of this play is a sausage seller, i.e. is himself directly associated with food. The competition between the two opponents for Demus' sympathies also mostly deals with food.¹⁶ Already at 40-57, Demosthenes illustrates his story of how Demus is deceived by his new slave Paphlagon, by using the provision of food: cf. especially 50-2. He serves things to his master which the other slaves have prepared. The verbs ἔνθου and ἔτραγ' which appear in this context are significant for the way Demus is being spoiled here. The former is used of a nurse feeding a baby - though greedily in this case - at 716-7, and the latter appears again at V. 612 with reference to Philocleon's wife when she is fawning on her husband.¹⁷ In both cases the one who provides the food expects her share of it or another advantage (cf. also V. 609), which reflects upon Paphlagon's intentions in the passage in 'Knights'.

The fact that Demus is dining alone here has been emphasised.¹⁸ However, since he does not appear to have a family and the slaves only serve him, his meals will usually be held like this. It seems to be of greater relevance that Demus does not see through Paphlagon and does not realise his true intentions; as long as he is well fed, he does not care: cf. in particular 1125-6. It is suspicious, though, that Paphlagon tries to keep the other slaves away (59-60). The reason for this is his fear of their competition in

¹⁵LSJ s.v. translates: '*small fry* of various fishes'.

¹⁶Cf. Whitman 92-6 for a detailed analysis of the occurrence of food in this play.

¹⁷Cf. also Plu., Rom. 2.6. Telecl. fr. 1.10 uses this word in his description of food in a *Schlaraffenland*. The second expression is frequently used of eating dessert, cf. e.g. Alciphr. 1.22 (= 3.39.2 Benner / Fobes) and probably Pherecr. fr. 73.2; cf. LSJ s.v. However, this is not always the case, as Neil ad 51 and Bowie (1997) 6 n. 33 maintain, since e.g. at Phryn. Com. fr. 26 it is used in connection with eating a cucumber (σικύδιον).

¹⁸Bowie (1997) 6.

ingratiating themselves with their master. Paphlagon puts great effort into this ambition, so that his behaviour is completely exaggerated, in particular when he goes so far as to ask Demus if he would like to eat a δόρπον (52), a second supper, which is usually served after the symposium,¹⁹ but here right after the δεῖπνον, since Demus is not holding a drinking party.²⁰

The audience's first impression of Paphlagon serves to prepare them for the final contest of the two antagonists, the Sausage Seller and Paphlagon, which also consists in providing Demus with food (1161-91). At first, food which is typically served at a δεῖπνον (cf. e.g. Ra. 504-11) is brought, i.e. different kinds of cake, finger-crusts, soups, fish, and meat.²¹ It has been noted that the dishes which Paphlagon brings

¹⁹Neil ad 52.

²⁰Paphlagon's recital of oracles (61) seems to be performed as a form of entertainment during the meal itself.

²¹Since the word ὀλῶν (1167) is usually used for the barley strewn on the victim which is to be offered, it has been suggested that this scene involves sacrifice: Neil and Rogers ad loc. Anderson (1995) 25 writes that the sacrifice-joke continues in the lines about the soup in the adjectives εὐχρῶν and καλόν (1171-2). Rogers ad 1167 refers it to Nestor's sacrifice at Pylus which is mentioned at Od. 3.444ff. However, in the context of this play this will rather be an allusion to the actual situation of the Athenian victory at Pylus the summer before this play was performed: cf. Sommerstein, introd. to Eq., 2. Sommerstein ad Eq. 1167 sees a connection to Thuc. 4.39.2, who writes that corn was found in the Spartan camp at Sphacteria. However, this seems to be taken too literally.

Anderson (1989) 15 and (1995) 24 thinks that Paphlagon has stolen the cake mentioned at 1166-7 from the altar in Pylus and has therefore committed a sacrilege, but this interpretation appears too literal. (Similarly, Bowie (1993) 71 compares the theft of the Spartan barley-loaf (54-7) to that of one of the oxen which take the cake from the Buphonia-altar: cf. Bowie (1993) 68. This comparison seems too far-fetched, though.) Anderson's and Sommerstein's (ad 54-7) suggestion that the cake symbolises the military victory at Pylus in general, the glory for which Cleon is here accused of having snatched away from Demosthenes who had mainly been responsible for this success is convincing, however: cf. Thuc. 4.29-30 and also 4.32.4, which Sommerstein ad 54-7 mentions; cf. also his introd. 3, Whitman 92, and Anderson (1995) 24.

Neil's idea ad 1168-9 - followed by Bowie (1997) 7 n. 42 - that this scene was suggested by the banquet which succeeded a hecatomb to Athena by the Athenians at the Panathenaea does not really fit the emphasis on the competition in Eq. The connection between the meat and the hecatomb, which is brought back to the Ceramicus, and Paphlagon's fate (1397-1401), which Bowie (1993) 72

suggest war more than the Sausage Seller's, and Demus receives them in silence.²² The former notion becomes clear from his explanations (e.g. 1182), especially the frequent mention of Pylus, a city which is very strongly connected with Paphlagon in this play; for instance it serves to show the audience that Cleon is meant at 54-7. Both competitors in Eq. speak of Athena, but Paphlagon gives her attributes of war (1172, 1177, 1181), whereas the Sausage Seller uses the neutral attribute ὀβριμοπάτρα (1178) and τριτογενής (1189). This choice of words of the two characters shows that the Sausage Seller already is better suited to peaceful symposia than his opponent. Thus, his sympotic admittance and his future victory are prepared for.

Although the Sausage Seller has so far been depicted as rather inexperienced in symposium-matters, at 1187 it is he who offers wine to Demus. This marks the beginning of the 'symposium' and the Sausage Seller's victory. It is appropriate in the sympotic context that flat-cake is served (1190 and 1191). Both the symposium and the victory are complete when the Sausage Seller serves the hare (1192ff.), a delicacy which was very popular at symposia.²³

proposes, seems very far-fetched. In particular, it does not fit that it is Paphlagon at 654-6 who makes the proposal in the assembly that a hecatomb should be made - as at the Panathenaea. Bowie (1993) 72 writes that the procession of the Panathenaea from the ceramicus, via the agora, to the acropolis is comparable to the Sausage Seller's 'career'. However, he himself concedes that the Sausage Seller's final destiny is the pnyx and - even more importantly - the prytaneum. Similar to the scene in Eq. is the fact that that slaves and knights are involved in the Panathenaic procession: cf. Bowie (1993) 69, 72. But the naval imagery, in which Bowie (1993) 70-2 sees the Sausage Seller depicted, actually rather fits Paphlagon in this play, who is, as Bowie himself states, likened to Poseidon: Bowie (1993) 70; cf. also L. Edmunds (1987) 233-63 about the 'stormy' Paphlagon. The Sausage Seller himself only uses naval imagery at 432-3 and 830. The chorus gives him advice for his competition with Paphlagon at 756 and 761-2, employing this imagery: cf. also Whitman 91 and Anderson (1989) 15.

²²Neil ad 1166-7.

²³Ath. 641f mentions hare among typical things offered for the 'second table', i.e. tragemata.

Landfester 73 notes that hare also belongs to the erotic sphere, as can be seen on vase-paintings; cf. also Anderson (1995) 33-4. This reminds one of the previous contest over which of the two is a greater lover of Demus. Bowie (1993) 54 notes that here, as in several ephobic myths, the hero makes use of trickery and is helped by a god, in this case Athena: cf. 1203.

Demus does not recline in this scene but sits on a chair and uses a table (1164-5), no entertainment is provided, and he does not have any guests but eats alone once more. Therefore one can hardly speak of a symposium in the sense of a (drinking-) party here. However, it is highly probable that the audience will have understood the symposiac hints which are given. Once more the emphasis is on the idea that Demus is being spoiled, this time by two servants.²⁴ The interpretation that the situation has at least improved, in comparison with the beginning of the play, since now the slaves act according to their position,²⁵ does not really work: Paphlagon was also serving Demus in the earlier passage, and now - as before - the slaves are working in order to increase their influence over their master. In contrast to the Sausage Seller, Paphlagon does not really share his food with Demus as he would be supposed to at a symposium,²⁶ but keeps most of it for himself (1209-23) and therefore loses the contest. This is in keeping with the fact that he has already been characterised in a negative way through distortion of sympotic practice. He not only gets drunk alone at the beginning of the play (103-4), but it is also mentioned that as a pupil he used to be unable to play the lyra in any other mode than the Dorian (989-96), which is a word-play on δῶρον and thus alludes to bribery.²⁷ The Sausage Seller, by contrast, wins because of his proper conduct of sympotic conventions. Now he is really admitted to the symposium and is shown having a good command of its practices.

²⁴Παραφέρω (cf. 1215 and also Ath. 380de) and παρατίθημι (cf. 1223) appear frequently in symposium-contexts, as noted by Neil ad 1215, who explains their meanings in detail, and Bowie (1997) 7 with n. 44 and 45.

²⁵Bowie (1997) 7.

²⁶Cf. Socrates' suggestion at X., Mem. 3.14.1.

²⁷Cf. Schol. Eq. 989a and c and the commentaries; cf. also 65-70, 403 etc. for this tendency of Paphlagon; see Sommerstein ad 996. Cf. Eq. 529 where the chorus-leader states that, while Cratinus was flourishing, at symposia nothing but Δωροῖ συκοπέδιλε (and another song, τέκτονες εὐπαλάμων ὕμνων: Schol. 530a, in: K.-A. on Cratin. fr. 70, says that this was taken from his 'Eumenids') was sung.

Symposium-imagery was earlier used by the chorus, when they equated the Sausage Seller's victory in the shouting-contest with a cake, an indication that they have the same interests as his. Πυραμοῦς (277) is a cake made with roasted wheat and honey, used especially at symposia as a prize for the winner in cottabus, for the best dancer, and for staying awake all night.²⁸ Comparing Ar., Th. 94 and Plu., qu. conv. 9.15.747B with this line, one sees that it is frequently used to symbolise victories of different kinds.²⁹ Furthermore, the expression τήνελλος in this context at 276 reminds one very much of the τήνελλα καλλίνικος-cry, which is frequently employed in songs sung during komoi at the end of a comedy, e.g. at Ach. 1227 and Av. 1764. It is particularly striking because it is such an unusual expression for 'victor'.³⁰

Finally, the Sausage Seller takes the last step in his development. He undergoes a role-reversal and becomes a benevolent adviser to Demus (1316ff.). After this change, there is no mention of any abuse of symposium-practice anymore. This peak of the Sausage Seller's political and sympotic success is manifested in his being honoured by gaining permission to dine in the prytaneum (1404).³¹ Thus, the play's action is circular, as the Sausage Seller's final actions link with his first, when at 280-1, only a few lines after he has first met Paphlagon, he accuses him of going into the prytaneum with an empty stomach and coming out with a full one. The motif also recurs in the middle of the play referring to Paphlagon, at 709, where it is once again commented on that Paphlagon fills himself with food in the prytaneum, and also at 766, which suggests that he does not deserve this honour which he received for 'doing nothing'

²⁸Cf. Sommerstein ad loc., who provides references for this: Et. Magn. 533.21-2, Plu., Mor. 747a, Call. fr. 227.5-7 Pfeiffer. (In Call., the cottabus-prize is a separate one.) Cf. also the cake which Demus is served at 55 and 1190f.

²⁹Cf. Rogers ad 276 and Neil ad 277, who also mentions Artemid., Oneirocr. 1.72 where it is interpreted as a symbol in dreams of success in a law-case; cf. also LSJ s.v.

³⁰LSJ s.v. mentions only this passage. Cf. e.g. Sommerstein ad loc. It has been suggested by Kock that this expression should be amended to τήνελλά σοι: cf. Ach. 1227ff., Av. 1764. However, the unusual τήνελλος εἶ can be defended as the lectio difficilior. Cf. 'Komos' p. 148-9 on this song and dance.

³¹Bowie's (1997) 8 comparison of the spondai to hetaerae in this context seems too far-fetched.

(μηδὲν δρᾶσας). Dining in the prytaneum, however, appears mostly to have been associated with the δεῖπνον, rather than with a symposium. Of the passages about the institution of the prytaneum, 281, 709, and also 766, as well as 1270-3 about the hungry Thoumantis and 1290-9 about the greedy Cleonymus,³² deal exclusively with eating; only at 535-6 is it stated that Cratinus should be drinking in the prytaneum, but this appears to be a joke about his preferences.³³ However, the prytaneum had to appear in this play in order to enable the poet to comment on Cleon's recent admission to it.³⁴ The emphasis on food in this connection fits that of the whole play, in which in most passages, particularly in those about the competition between the two main characters, eating is more prominent than drinking and other aspects of the symposium. The invitation to the prytaneum may stand for an especially dignified sort of symposium here - in contrast to the solitary drinking of the slaves at the beginning of the play, and the depiction of Paphlagon as being drunk in an even less dignified way than before (1400-1).

To sum up, the Sausage Seller's development from his very low status to his acceptance by Demus and his leadership of the Athenians is depicted in terms which, in part, suggest his gradually being admitted to, and becoming familiar with, the symposium and its rules. Even if at first sight the emphasis in this play is on food in general, it is sympotic food and drink which finally help the Sausage Seller win the

³²A similar passage about drinking appears at 1289, the chorus speak about the perverted behaviour of Aripbrates, and state, using symposium-imagery, that whoever does not hate such a person, shall never drink from the same cup with them. This was done to avoid contamination: Totaro ad 1288-9. For similar communal formulas of exclusive nature cf. e.g. A., Ch. 291-2, fr. 303 Radt, S., Ant. 372-5, E., fr. 29.2-3, 852.3-5, 897.6-8 Nauck. Gargiulo 12-3 notes the erotic connotation of Eq. 1289, which alludes to the difference in ideologies of Aripbrates and the Knights.

³³Cf. Sommerstein ad loc. who states that one would expect 'dining' here. Berforehand it is stated how popular Cratinus' songs were at parties: cf. Cratin. fr. 70 = Ar., Eq. 529-30. For another surprising substitute for 'dining' in the context of the prytaneum cf. λαϊκάσεις at 167.

³⁴Similarly, the fact that Cleon was offered privileged seating is dealt with at 574 and particularly at 702-4: cf. Sommerstein, introd. 2.

contest. This competition seems too violent for a usual sympotic situation, but this is in keeping with the use of imagery of distortion of sympotic practices throughout the play as a means of hinting at problems in the household of Demus, who is mainly interested in his (culinary) well-being, not in 'politics', until the state of affairs in his 'household' changes.

1.4 The Symposium in Aristophanes: Conclusion

In what has been said about Aristophanes' individual plays it is striking how great a variety of practical aspects of the symposium one hears about: from food and entertainment, such as story-telling, games, and particularly the singing of *scolia*, to festive mockery. They all contribute to making the plays more colourful and often serve to allow for the introduction of jokes, most obviously and directly in cases of mockery and when the *eikasmos*-game is played by characters.

As regards their use of sympotic imagery, Aristophanes' extant plays can be divided into three main groups: (a) those in which the achievement of peace provides the possibility of feasting (*Ach.*, *Pax*, *Lys.*), (b) plays in which other circumstances, whether in the polis or in the characters' personal lives, are responsible for this opportunity (*Av.*, *Ec.*, *Pl.*, *Ra.*), and (c) plays which deal with some sort of generation-conflict involving matters of the symposium (*Nu.*, *V.*) or with the process of growing up which is depicted through symposium-imagery (*Eq.*, also *V.*). Group (a) is the largest, most obvious and homogeneous group of the three and will be further dealt with below. All the plays in this group were written during the Peloponnesian War, *Lys.* in quite a problematic military situation for Athens. Group (b) contains plays which were written after the war as well as *Av.* which does not deal with the topic of war. The latter sticks out because the protagonist's and his companion *Euelpides*' direct aim in this play is to lead a life dominated by feasting in a party-town and without any social worries. Their personal pleasures are symbolised through the symposium. In *Ec.* and *Pl.* the existence of a possibility of feasting is also more than a mere side-effect of the change of outer circumstances, though. In *Ec.*, the symposium is employed as a political means of representing the *oikos*-dominated communist government. It serves to create an atmosphere of exultation while celebrating the new regime on the one hand, but is also

used to criticise its problematic effects on the other hand: through symposium-imagery the audience is shown that in general the characters' attitudes have not changed, e.g. when the neighbour tries to take advantage of the system by sneaking into the dining-area without having contributed anything. In *Pl.*, the presence of Wealth / wealth provides the possibility of feasting which the poor have been missing (especially in recent times). Cf. e.g. the fact that Carion mentions symposium-delicacies at 188-93. *Ra.* also belongs to this group, because Aeschylus' and Dionysus' situations change in the course of this play.

In group (c), which consists of three early plays by Aristophanes, not so much the external or general social circumstances change, but very personal factors. This is not as distinctly the case in *Eq.* as in *V.* and *Nu.* In *Eq.* the characters' development is part of an allegorical description of the city. At its centre are the action of the Sausage Seller, whose personal circumstances and at the same time his sympotic status change. His growing up and gaining the leadership of the Athenian Demos / demos is assimilated to the acceptance of a young man into the symposium. Dicaeopolis' experience in the peace-play *Ach.* can be compared to this situation. After he has successfully defended his private peace, a transformation of his personal circumstances occurs. Whereas at the beginning of the play he was the one who had to wait for the prytaneis on the Pnyx, now the officials delay their dinner for him. In both plays the change of fate of the protagonist is to a great extent expressed through symposium-imagery. This comparison shows that the groups of plays overlap each other.

As opposed to *Eq.*, *Nu.* and *V.* do not have the mockery of a person, as with Cleon in *Eq.*, as their main theme, but the institutions of philosophy in *Nu.* and the Athenian jury-system in *V.* The two plays present different views of practical customs connected with the symposium, such as the singing of *scolia* and the narrating of stories. In both plays the importance of education in symposium-matters in classical Athens becomes obvious. A

crucial part of this is the singing of *scolia*. In this context it is worth adding that it is also mentioned in *Lys.* and even fills a whole scene in *Pax*. In *Nu.*, these differences are due to contrasting views on the value of tradition which emerge from the generation-gap between father and son. In this play, the ambiguous role of the symposium, which becomes particularly apparent when the old man's little victory feast for his son ends with him being beaten by the latter, reflects *Strepsiades'* ambivalent attitude towards *Socrates'* new philosophy: on the one hand he would like to take advantage of its useful practices, but on the other he is very conservative and does not show very much patience in trying to understand and learn his philosophical lessons and is upset about his son's change of behaviour.

In contrast to this play, in *V.* the problems between the protagonists are not so much caused by their different tastes and senses of fashion, but by the fact that *Philocleon* has a different social background, education, and experience from the typical aristocratic symposiasts with whom his son associates. Here, the symposium serves mainly as a vehicle to express the old man's buffoonery, social ineptness, and his tendency towards extremes. As in *Eq.*, the knowledge of proper symposium-behaviour is presented as a sign of being 'grown up', i.e. being ready to be part of 'respectable' society: *Philocleon's* misbehaviour indicates that he has not reached this stage (yet). This is shown in the role-reversal-scene (*V.* 1342ff.), in particular by the fact that he has to hide the *aulos*-player from his son, who, being an expert in sympotic behaviour, is imagined in this scene to be the older of the two. As these examples illustrate, *Aristophanes* frequently uses symposium-imagery to draw attention to contrasts, e.g. those between the education and the attitudes of father and son in *V.*, between the diverse musical and poetic tastes of persons belonging to two generations in *Nu.*, between the styles of life of the rich and the poor in *Pl.*, and between *Lamachus'* and *Dicaeopolis'* fortunes as well as between a life in

war and in peace in Ach. Similarly, the violent komos of the men at Lys. 306ff. highlights how sharply their attitudes differ from the women's.

In Aristophanes' plays, then, symposium- and komos-imagery is mainly employed for three reasons: (a) in order to express happiness within a particular dramatic context and to create an exuberant comic atmosphere in general, (b) to stress the communal side of the symposium, which can stand e.g. for peaceful relations between characters or between states in a play, or (c) to enact the celebration of a victory by a character or a group of characters. This last pattern can consist of success in a contest that takes place within the comedy, e.g. the drinking contest in Ach., but mostly applies to the supremacy of peace over war. Furthermore, the prospective success of the author in the comic competition is also frequently hinted at (cf. e.g. Lys. 1293, and Ec. 1181; cf. 'Ecclesiazusae' p. 69). The matter is slightly different with Eq. and Nu., though. In Eq., the maturation of the Sausage Seller is depicted in symposium-terms to present the situation in a more colourful way which also better fits the festival-context in which the comedy is performed. In Nu., the author uses symposium-imagery to show the bad effects of the new philosophy in a situation which serves as an example and at the same time again fits the festive atmosphere of comedy, even if the cheerful sides of the symposium are very much subdued in this play.

All these examples show that the symposium generally represents a time without worries (e.g. social worries in Av.). This is taken even further by the komos at the end of a play, e.g. at Av. 1720ff. where the bride and groom are compared to gods and extreme exuberance is displayed. The reason for the characters' happiness in a play is very often the achievement of a state of peace. It is usually made between the opposing parties in the Peloponnesian War, but in Lys. the peace between the sexes is an additional reason for feasting. Symposium-imagery is employed quite schematically in these peace-plays, as an

obvious means of visualising the cheerful atmosphere of a life full of the pleasures of feasting for everybody (within a certain group around the protagonist), not only for the very wealthy. The same ethos is expressed through the celebratory komoi in these plays. This becomes most explicit through the celebrations of victory-feasts, weddings, and civic festivals, which are mostly enacted at the end of plays, so that the ideas related to the symposium in these comedies reach a climax in the actual event on stage. Similarly to what can be observed about the peace-plays, in *Ec.* and *Pl.* the symposium is depicted as an important part of life under a government that aims at treating people more equally or as a sign of a fairer distribution of wealth. These situations are equivalent to a sort of peace, not so much between different people, but within the polis as a whole. In *Pl.*, the symposium symbolises luxury and therefore stands for wealth or the success of Wealth.

Different plays employ various aspects of symposium-imagery in the widest sense, in particular wine and food. Drinking is considered an important aspect of feasting and is frequently associated with a life of peace, e.g. in the farmers' imagination at *Pax* 1140-58. In this play Peace / peace is directly depicted as the protectress of feasting by the application to the goddess of epithets connected with wine (*Pax* 308, 520; cf. 'Peace' p. 22-3).¹ Here, production and consumption are seen as activities which peace gives one time for, in sharp contrast to the destruction of vines in war (cf. also e.g. *Ach.* 183, 231-3, 512, 986-7, *Pax* 628-9; cf. 'Acharnians' p. 2 n. 3, 'Peace' p. 28-9; the idea of an idyllic rural life is mainly prevalent in this play, though.). Wine is generally depicted in Aristophanes' comedies as being absolutely incompatible with war, e.g. when the Athenians in *Lys.* decide to carry out all diplomatic business in a state of drunkenness, because they are much more peaceful then (*Lys.* 1230). In one scene in *Av.*, not wine itself but the pots that the protagonists carry in their luggage stand for a symposiastic life-style. They use these vessels as a means of defence against the hostile birds (*Av.* 356ff.).

¹Cf. also *Pi.*, N. 9.48: ἡσυχία δὲ φιλεῖ μὲν συμπόσιον.

So, if the attack symbolises war, it is fought off by the peaceful equipment of the symposium.

Peace itself is equated with wine in Ach. when the treaties are imagined to be wines of various ages and when certain characters ask Dicaeopolis for a drink of peace (cf. e.g. Ach. 1051). Later on, Dicaeopolis appears as the winner in a wine-drinking-competition. In contrast, Lamachus is depicted as a loser: he comes home wounded - and not even heroically, but because of his own clumsiness in falling on a vine-prop. Thus, in this play the imagery of wine, symposium, and komos serves to underline the differences between the fates of Dicaeopolis, who lives in his world of peace, and of Lamachus, who continues to live in a world of war.

The drinking-contest Dicaeopolis competes in is a peaceful one and is part of a cheerful festival. In this comedy two such festivals are employed: the Anthesteria and the Rural Dionysia. The positive aspects are emphasised in both cases. In particular, the more gloomy sides of the Anthesteria are not mentioned. This focus on cheerful aspects is clearly foregrounded by the contrast between two situations, first when the procession at Dicaeopolis' Rural Dionysia is violently interrupted by the Acharnians who are opposed to peace (Ach. 280ff.) and, secondly, when Dicaeopolis' lamenting antagonist is carried on-stage amid the atmosphere of his cheerful celebration (Ach. 1190ff.). These contrasts between the characters' attitudes are as important for Dicaeopolis' characterisation as is his victoriousness. For this reason, this play focuses on Dicaeopolis' preparations for the symposium rather than on the drinking contest itself, which is actually at the centre of the festival. This provides an opportunity to make jokes through the comparison with Lamachus' preparations for his military expedition, i.e. to hint at the differences between what the two characters will have to expect. The other explanation for this emphasis on the symposium in Ach. is the fact that it is a communal event as opposed to the solitude

of the drinking contest. This is crucial, since the fact that Dicaeopolis participates in a communal event indicates, among other factors,² that he cannot be seriously criticised as a selfish character, even if he avoids sharing his private peace with many other characters.

In several plays the imagery of food is dominant. It is equated with peace at Pax 666. Here, the 'hamper' full of truces that is offered by Peace reminds one of contributions which are brought to symposia. In contrast, the shortage of food during the war is particularly mentioned in Ach., where e.g. the Megarians are said to engage in starving-matches (752); and the same problem in Athens after the war is depicted in Pl. However, food can also symbolise more egoistic personal desires. So, the men in Lys. and Ec. are shown to be more interested in eating than in making peace or in being engaged in politics in general (cf. e.g. Lys. 1228ff. and Ec. 424ff., 717). Also Demus in Eq. seems quite content to be deceived by his slave as long as he is kept well-fed, and the birds and even the heroes and gods in Av., especially the comic glutton Heracles, as well as the gods in Pl., display a great interest in food and feasting. Food is so important in Ec. that its reduction can even be used to punish anti-social behaviour (cf. Ec. 665-6). Similarly, at the end of Pl. those who were previously poor and just have become rich, but those who have acted unfairly are shown to be now afflicted by poverty and therefore a lack of food. Thus, eating and feasting are clearly shown to be of interest to everybody, which conveys the idea that peace or some sort of equality, depending on the theme of the play, should be wished for by everyone as well. This is why the women in Lys. explain what living in war means for them by relating their difficulties in organising a party (Lys. 700ff.). When food is provided and feasts are celebrated, it is a sign that the community is governed by order. This applies to households (e.g. in Lys.) as well as to the polis (in the case of the peace-plays, cf. in particular the celebration of public feasts). A

²Cf. 'Acharnians' p. 20ff.

disturbance of symposiastic practices stands for disorder in the community in Aristophanes' comedies.

The characters' love of pleasures can also go too far, though. Its excess is shown e.g. in *Ec.*, where it becomes apparent at the end of the play that under the sympotic communism the corrupt politics of the men's regime have only been changed into excessive enjoyment of food and other pleasant activities. In order to make the symposium a political symbol and instrument in this play, though, several of its basic rules had to be changed anyway, which is already an indication of disorder. This is clearly shown when a character openly tries to take advantage of the new dining-system (*Ec.* 746ff.). Also, the distortion of symposium-practice which is represented by the fact that a female servant appears revelling and drunk (*Ec.* 1112ff.) and that Blepyrus celebrates a komos before he has had dinner (*Ec.* 1128; 'Ecclesiazusae' p. 68) hints at the existence of problems in the new system. However, these instances do not seriously serve to suggest that communism has completely failed, since the idea of organising a polis as if it was a symposium is intrinsically absurd, so that the unusual symposium-rules lose some of their importance here.

The excessive love of sympotic pleasures can even result in the self-centredness of characters. So, in *Nu.* the Worse Argument includes symposium-activities among the greatest pleasures one can enjoy in life (*Nu.* 1072). But he mostly seems to be interested in private pleasures, in contrast to the importance of the community in symposia. In the same play this individualistic attitude is finally shown as getting out of control in another symposium-context, when Pheidippides beats his father at their feast. This distortion of proper sympotic behaviour indicates the negative effects of Socrates' philosophy in this play. Likewise in *Av.*, Peisetaerus is shown as mainly interested in his personal pleasures; indulging completely in these seems to be the aim of his life. With the establishment of

his tyranny he contradicts one of the basic principles of the symposium, the equality of the participants. Thus, the symposium can also have negative associations, even if they are not immediately apparent. So, in *Av.* it becomes clear that the symposium is not necessarily positive for characters other than Peisetaerus, e.g. when he is shown roasting the rebel-birds for the feast (*Av.* 1583-5). Also, when he at first ignores the embassy of the gods but concentrates on his food-preparation, a certain selfishness on his part is underlined, as he is obviously not too concerned about other characters' problems. Similarly, the focus on food in *Ec.* and *Pl.* should not be interpreted only in the light of a post-war shortage in Athens and an unfair distribution of wealth, but may also hint at the emergence of more materialistic attitudes. Selfish is also what Dicaeopolis might appear on first sight in *Ach.* when he expels the characters who ask him to share his peace with him. Moreover, the selfishness of the ex-lover of the hag in *Pl.* is depicted by symposium-imagery at 1084ff. He furthermore mocks the old lady in the sort of way in which komasts might make fun of each other, e.g. at 1054. The symposium is used in these passages to point out the anti-social behaviour of a character by implicit contrast with its opposite, the communal drinking-party.

Frequently, the distortion of symposium-practice by excessive drinking is used in order to hint at negative aspects of situations in the plays, e.g. at *Ach.* 524ff., where the cause of the Peloponnesian War is depicted as a scene which developed after a symposium. Drinking slaves (e.g. in *Eq.*) or women (e.g. in *Lys.*) are employed by Aristophanes in order to symbolise the fact that problems exist in their particular environments. However, in *Lys.* one can see at the end that the women actually had positive intentions for the polis and that, in keeping with this, their alcoholic method of oath-swearing was not out of place. Not only women but also men are accused of tippling in the plays, e.g. when they go to the assembly at *Ec.* 135ff. In *V.*, Bdelycleon is shown to be mainly interested in getting drunk at a symposium (*V.* 1252). Intoxicated behaviour is actually displayed by

Philocleon later on in a direct distortion of sympotic practice (V. 1292). In Eq., the imagery of the abuse of alcohol indicates that the Sausage Seller is even worse than Paphlagon, who has been accused of drinking earlier on (cf. Eq. 351-2). Throughout this play symposium-imagery is used to depict the relationship between the two protagonists. Since during the contest to win Demus' sympathies Paphlagon keeps much of the food for himself instead of sharing it, as he would be expected to at a symposium, he loses the competition.

Strepsiades' case is different. He succumbs to a misconception of the symposium when he mistakes a drinking-vessel for a vortex (cf. Nu. 380ff; 'Clouds' p. 99). This is underlined by the fact that the notion of happy feasting is almost entirely absent from this play. This negative atmosphere reaches its climax in the scolion-scene, which depicts a quarrel - between relatives - at a symposium, which is supposed to be a peaceful event.

V. portrays another very different case. Philocleon deliberately applies all he has been taught about proper behaviour at symposia in a distorted and violent way and openly ridicules it. This may suggest that he feels treated in a patronising and unfair way by his son, as also reflected in their temporary role-reversal. However, it mostly serves to create scenes of pure comedy. Several of the jokes hint at well-known personalities. At the same time Philocleon's komastic behaviour is a mockery of young new-rich rakes; the drunk old man is actually called νεοπλούτωι by Lysistratus at the party (V. 1309). This mockery becomes especially clear through Philocleon's behaviour during his role-reversal with his father.

Finally, it is striking that the farmer Trygaeus and even the poor juryman Philocleon display quite a detailed knowledge about symposium-matters. They know several scolia and are even able to improvise them. This information and these song-texts must also

have been known to the audience, who otherwise would not have been able to understand the humour of these scenes. Therefore, even though Philocleon criticises and ridicules aristocratic party-behaviour and it is obvious that he has a very different background from that of his wealthy (imagined) fellow-symposiasts, information on the symposium cannot have exclusively been accessible to aristocrats, but all citizens must at least have had a chance to gain familiarity with it. They will have been exposed to rather luxurious symposia, probably mainly on public occasions, e.g. at the *Athesteria* (cf. 'Acharnians' p. 16) even if mostly only as an audience, but they may also have participated in similar festivities and parties among themselves. This may also be apparent in *Eq. The Sausage Seller* starts off as a 'water-drinker', meaning that he comes from a very low background so that he is not used to taking part in the symposium. However, he is able to gain admittance to the institution of the symposium and by the end of the comedy displays a good knowledge of its practices. He is even granted the great sympotic honour of dining in the *prytaneum*. This sympotic promotion of a non-aristocratic character may represent an exception that would not happen in reality. However, since the audience must have understood his progress, it is more likely that they were familiar with the most important symposium-rules themselves. Anyhow, however much the average Athenian citizen was acquainted with the details of symposia, it was certainly clear that they were celebratory events, and to evoke such an atmosphere is the main aim of most of the symposium-scenes in Aristophanes' plays.

2 The Komos in Aristophanes

A κῶμος is a moving procession, mostly of male revellers, but also of entertainers (mainly musicians), behaving in anything from a happy to a violently wild manner. It is usually performed during a celebration of a successful event or person, or in honour of a god, especially Dionysus. Its participants are either quite intoxicated or pretending to be so. They are typically depicted as singing and mocking other people. The term κῶμος can also denote one single aspect of this phenomenon, e.g. the people involved (cf. e.g. E., Hipp. 55) or the celebratory song (cf. e.g. Ar., Th. 104, 988, Pi., P. 8.70, N. 3.5). The word has been thought to be possibly connected with κῶμη, 'village'.¹ However, Aristot., Po. 1448a35ff. rejects any connection of κωμωιδία, which is related to κῶμος, with κῶμη. Both seem to be derived from the root *kei- or *qōi- as is κοινός,² 'common', hinting at the fact that a komos is primarily a congregation of people, i.e. a communal event.

Komoi can be celebrated either in a personal context, i.e. where the state is not involved in its organisation (e.g. as the continuation of a symposium in the streets), or in an official one (e.g. at a festival in honour of a deity). The former kind is characterised by noisy drunken revelling which is enacted by often scantily clad, nude or cross-dressed participants. It is undertaken spontaneously or rather is made to seem to be an un-planned event, although symposia seem to be followed by komoi so regularly that the participants may expect one to start at some point. However, whether it really takes place and how wild it becomes will depend on other factors, such as the degree of intoxication of the revellers. Thus, its conduct is always likely to be spontaneous to a certain degree.

¹Cf. also Minyard 154-5.

²Cf. Chantraine and Frisk s.v. κῶμος.

Komoi of the 'personal' kind take place at night with people carrying torches. They are wilder by nature, as illustrated by the dances, which include exaggerated postures.³ Furthermore, the mockery involved can become quite aggressive and may even result in (mock-) fighting. Official komoi usually take place by daylight and are more dignified and peaceful. However, neither kind necessarily conforms closely to definition, and each can contain elements of the other type. A 'personal' procession is shown at *Pl., Smp.* 212d ff., where Alcibiades, accompanied by an aulos-player and a few companions, arrives at Agathon's house and asks to be admitted (*δέξεσθε* 212e), as it is proper behaviour for a komast to inquire.⁴ *Ar., Ach.* 977-87, where the chorus claims that they will not again receive (*ὑποδέξομαι* 979) the war-god because of his formerly displayed destructive behaviour, also plays with this reception-motif. Similarly to Alcibiades in Plato's 'Symposium', in *Ach.* the war-god, in the course of a komos (*ἐπικωμάσας* 982), is said to run into a symposium. Here it becomes obvious that there is not always a strict temporal sequence between these two types of celebrations. This is why situations such as Blepyrus being shown at *Ec.* 1128ff. as attending a komos before he even has attended the dinner are not unusual (see below).

In Greek literature wedding-, religious-, and victory-komoi are frequently described. At *E., Alc.* 915-21 Admetus speaks about his wedding-komos with pine-wood-torches (915), wedding-songs (916), and a loud-sounding komos-party following the couple and wishing them well (918-9). An example of a rather private religious komos is that at *E., Hipp.* 55-6, where Hippolytus and his companions come back from hunting,

³Cf. e.g. Vierneisel-Kaesler ill. 42.2, 47.6. For a description of vase-paintings depicting dancing komasts cf. Greifenhagen 62-3.

⁴Cf. Heath 181. Also *Pherecr.* fr. 91 seems to deal with a receiving-situation as part of a komos, which can be seen in comparison with the surrounding fragments: fr. 88 speaks of a *deipnon*, the chickpeas mentioned at fr. 89 indicate a symposium, and fr. 90 speaks about a lamp. Thus, the last passage is probably set outside, possibly during a komos. The speaker of fr. 91 complains that nobody welcomed (*ἐδέχετ'*) him or opened the door. At fr. 92 he speaks to the Lord Guardian of the streets and public places, i.e. Apollo, probably in the form of a pointed pillar functioning as his statue at a street door: cf. also *Ar., V.* 879. Thus, the speaking character might be sitting next to the door after his rejection.

shouting and singing songs in honour of Artemis. Big official processions take place during the City Dionysia, the Rural Dionysia, and probably the Lenaea. The victors of important athletic contests are frequently honoured with epinician komoi, during which songs such as Pindar's victory-odes are sung. These komoi take the form of festive processions of the victor and his friends on their way to the location where a sacrifice and feasting are to take place. Singing and dancing, often of an informal impromptu type, performed by a chorus or by soloists,⁵ is involved in such processions, as at Anacreonta 43.3-7, where a girl (4) will dance to the music of a stringed instrument (10-11) during a komos (16) of drunk and laughing (3) people, who are wearing wreaths (1). The processions are accompanied by aulos-music, and a dance is performed - either by men or women alone or by both, dancing side by side. Their most distinctive feature is the *τήνελλα καλλίνικε*-cry. It is employed in honour of a divinity, a hero, an athletic or (prospective) dramatic victor or in order to celebrate a military or tactical victory. *Καλλίνικος* can also be used in metonymy, meaning 'victory' as e.g. at E., H.F. 180: *τὸν καλλίνικον μετὰ θεῶν ἐκόμασεν*. The verb *ἐκόμασεν* indicates that the *kallinikos* is regarded as a form of *komos*.⁶ There appear to exist three main types of choreography for this dance: a linear one, a tetragonal or rectangular one, and a serpentine one,⁷ which seems to be performed at Ar., Lys. 1279-94. They are cheerful dances which can be brief or last all night.⁸ The *τήνελλα καλλίνικος* is already used by Archil., fr. 324W. in honour of Heracles with whom this song is especially associated.⁹ The Schol. ad loc. (i 268.14-23 Dr.) reproduces Eratosthenes' view that the *τήνελλα* was spoken by the chorus-leader (*ἔξαρχος*), outside of the song, when no aulos- or lyre-player was present, in order to

⁵Cf. Heath 183-7, 193.

⁶Cf. Lawler 254 and 259, who explains that Pindar and Bacchylides also call processional dances in honour of athletic victors and the chorus of dancers 'komos'.

⁷If Lawler's assumptions are correct: cf. 260-1 and 167.

⁸Cf. Lawler 262.

⁹Lawler 256 interprets the comparison of Aristophanes with Heracles at V. 1029-50 as a kind of parody of the *kallinikos*. However, it may just be a mythological allusion without being associated with this victory-song, as the latter is not explicitly mentioned.

imitate the sound of the lyre, and that the chorus of revellers (ὁ δὲ τῶν κωμαστῶν χορός) joined in with καλλίνικε, and so this combination came into being.

Lawler derives her assumptions about the performance of the kallinikos-dance and the appropriate occasions for its enactment mostly from the numerous passages in which it appears or is alluded to in comedy: Ach. 1227-34, Av. 1763-5 - cf. also Pax 1316-54, where the word καλλίνικος is not specifically used, though - Eq. 1254, also Eq. 276, Ec. 1168-83, Lys. 1279-94 (ὡς ἐπὶ νίκῃ 1293). Because of the nature of comedy, however, one has to make allowance for the possibility of parody.

Origins of comedy

Κωμωδία is obviously connected with κῶμος, from the festive, official kind of which comedy did develop, according to the *communis opinio*. However, the questions of how and when exactly this happened cannot be convincingly answered. Both are connected to the cult of Dionysus and display several similarities. They can contain equivalent elements, such as an agon, a sacred marriage or a hymn. Comedy might have developed out of these "elementary ritual units", with the agon being its centre.¹⁰ Furthermore, Dionysiac rituals as well as komoi show certain ambiguities which mark the god's liminal character.¹¹ Of course, Dionysus' own origins are uncertain. He is born twice, once by Semele, once by Zeus - both times under unusual circumstances and in an unusual way. He is "between god and man, heaven and earth, male and female, life and death, fire and water"¹² at his birth. His age is somewhere between child and adult, and he combines nature and culture in his character and appearance. He is on the border between order and chaos, can create and destroy, and is able to

¹⁰Cf. Adrados 9, Seaford's review of Adrados 4.

¹¹Cf. Csapo 254, 257, 260-4. See also Riu 84-5 and Henrichs (1990) 258.

¹²Hoffman 104.

cause social disruption.¹³ Dionysus is characterised by ambiguity towards sex, being on the one hand a god of potency, but on the other hand living quite asexually, and also by sexual ambiguity regarding his appearance and behaviour. Likewise are the maenads who are mostly the ones who carry the phallic symbol 'thyrsus', though they are themselves female.¹⁴ This is reflected in the tendency of the god's worshippers as well as that of symposiasts and komasts (i.e. his worshippers, in a more private context), to crossdress, and also in the costumes of komasts which can combine female and male features. Some of these reappear in the padded costumes of actors of Old Comedy.¹⁵ However, Dionysus destroys his enemy Pentheus exactly by persuading him to crossdress and to take part in a women's event. All these ambiguities reflect the general confusion between god, worshipper, and victim in Dionysiac religion and myth, which is apparent e.g. when wine, which symbolises the god, is drunk by the worshippers.¹⁶ This confusion of categories in liminal rituals or in komoi, a confusion which is part of ritual license, is capable of creating laughter.¹⁷ The consumption of wine as well as music and dancing help to bring the participants into a state in which they readily take part in ritual license and in *communitas*.¹⁸ Similarly to Dionysiac rituals and komoi, Old Comedy frequently directs its humour

¹³Cf. Hoffman 106.

¹⁴Especially when one considers accounts where maenads are shown tearing apart animals and eating raw flesh, or considers their clothing, their nature can also be located in between human and animal: cf. Csapo 264.

¹⁵Cf. Plates 2A and B in Csapo = Agora P334, New York 24.97.104. If Csapo is right, there is also an ambiguity between active and passive sexuality expressed by the rising and descending of the phallos-pole, which make its ownership unclear, during 'phallos-riding' in Dionysiac processions: Csapo 274.

¹⁶Cf. Csapo 288 and 258.

¹⁷It has been argued that Dionysus' life was a "perpetual komos" - however, of a very unusual kind: Hoffman 106.

¹⁸Cf. Hoffman 111.

towards the confusion of categories, in particular that of social hierarchies,¹⁹ as e.g. in the case of Dionysus and Xanthias at the beginning of the 'Frogs'.

Dionysus is associated with Phales, which becomes clear during the phallic procession in 'Acharnians', when Dicaeopolis calls Phales *ἐταῖρε Βακχίου* (263).²⁰ Therefore, it is fitting that at Dionysus-festivals, e.g. at the City Dionysia, a phallic procession takes place.²¹ The phallus-bearers in these processions sing and dance,²² in particular their leader, as Dicaeopolis in Ach. does. This seems to be connected to Aristotle's explanation of the origins of comedy: ...καὶ αὐτὴ καὶ ἡ κωμωιδία, καὶ ἡ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐξαρχόντων τὸν διθύραμβον, ἡ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν τὰ φαλλικὰ ... (Po. 1449a10ff.). Here, Aristotle proposed that comedy actually developed from these phallic processions. The chorus-leader might have become the first actor, and the Ithyphalloi and Phallophoroi may have formed the "Urchor".²³ The relationship

¹⁹Cf. Csapo 254. Cf. also Halliwell (2000) 15-6 about the confusion of the status of the women who appear at the end of Ec. Hoffman 105 notes also that Dionysus inverts the social order because he lives in the wild, associates rather with women than with men, and affects females in anti-social ways. As Goldhill 188 notes, in the case of comedy transgression rather than inversion can be seen; the performance of Old Comedy is "a constant renegotiation of license, a constant rediscovery of the possibilities and boundaries of inversion". The license is expressed in Old Comedy in personal insult and obscenity, as Halliwell (1984) 7 writes.

²⁰Cf. also that at Nu. 606 Dionysus himself is called *κωμαστής*.

²¹Cf. Pickard-Cambridge (1968) 63.

²²Cf. Csapo 268.

²³Cf. e.g. Herter 22 and 37. Webster (1956) 36 is more careful by claiming that the content of the songs of the ityphalloi "may have had some influence on comedy". Cf. also Eratosthenes' view that the chorus-leader was singled out from the rest of the chorus in the *τήνελλα καλλίνικος* (see above). Pohlenz is of a different opinion: in his view, the chorus and the parabasis are of different origins (41), and there is no connection of the comic chorus with the Ithyphalloi and Phallophoroi (33-4). They had a parallel in Attica which is lacking the phallic element, though. From this parallel the chorus of the parabasis may have developed (35, 37). They were originally not connected with the cult of Dionysus (36, 41). The chorus, as opposed to the parabolic komos, in Pohlenz' opinion developed from very old popular theatre ("uraltes volkstümliches Spiel" 41). There is no clear evidence for this, though, and the existence of a connection between phallic processions and the origins of comedy seems very unlikely (see below).

between phallic processions and Old Comedy can, however, not be seen with certainty as a direct one, although both are connected through their obscene element. It has been noted that the epithets which are attributed to Phales in Dicaeopolis' song in Ach. strongly resemble the account of the theft of the Megarian prostitute by 'kottabus-drunk' young men (νεανίαι ... μεθυσκοτόταβοι) at Ach. 523-9.²⁴ This can be explained by the hypothesis that the phallic procession is one kind of komos with an emphasis on sexual aspects. Processions in honour of Dionysus are different from those of other gods in that they are associated with a greater degree of license, as is clearly reflected in the singing of obscene songs, such as Dicaeopolis'.²⁵

It has been argued that the parabasis of comedy (or parts of it) still contains many elements of the entrance-songs of the Ithyphalloi, in so far as it is not only accompanied by aulos-music but is also similar in content as it employs elements such as an invocation of a deity, e.g. of Dionysus in its songs²⁶ and of the Muse at Ra. 675,

²⁴Cf. Halliwell (2000) 6.

²⁵Cf. Hoffman 92-3. Cf. also Henderson (1975) 13, who, however, emphasises that the cults mainly served to provide the freedom to develop obscene abuse as a form of art, but suggests that since most obscene attacks in Old Comedy are found in the iambic parts, one can assume that obscene and abusive Ionic iambic poetry had a greater influence on Aristophanes' plays than the cults (17). The use of iambic poetry in Old Comedy is treated e.g. by Rosen. In the context of license for obscenities also belong sexual excesses in the cult of Dionysus: cf. Henrichs (1994) 57.

²⁶Cf. Semus, in: Ath. 622cd. Sifakis 69, however, disagrees with this hypothesis, because a variety of gods are addressed in the epirrhemata but not very much Dionysus, and because their main theme is not satire but the "self-presentation and self-glorification of the chorus". Cf. also Pohlenz 36. In Sifakis' opinion only the strophic part of the parabasis contains old cultic elements, whereas the astrophic parts were added by the poets after comedy was included in the Great Dionysia in 486 B.C. Pickard-Cambridge's hypothesis is that the epirrhematic parts of Old Comedy were adapted from a native Athenian (phallic) komos - possibly from different varieties of komoi - in the course of which a contest arose and which was usually concluded with addresses, partly of satirical or jesting nature, to the bystanders: cf. Pickard-Cambridge (1962) 144, 158 (= 1st ed. (1927) 237, 251). Pohlenz 42 writes that the agon came from outside (see above, n. 23). Gelzer 209 also thinks that the developments of the parabasis and the agon are independent from each other. Cf. also G. Murray 12, who stresses the ritual side of the parabasis. In contrast, Hubbard 26 and 33 sees the parabasis as a later development, influenced by a developed agon. No agreement has been reached so far on these problems.

or pieces of personal invective, e.g. against Cleigenes at Ra. 709.²⁷ D., 54.14ff. speaks of persons who call themselves Ithyphalloi. Like komasts, they drink, get into fights, especially about hetaerae, and behave in a hybristic and indecent manner. Semus of Delus at Ath. 622d calls the mockery in which the Ithyphalloi engage ἐτώθαζον. This verb, which denotes 'to mock', is usually employed in ritual contexts (see also p. 172 with n. 92 below). Then, at Ath. 622bc Delus describes how the Phallophoroi verbally assault theatre-spectators.²⁸ Similarly, mockery will have played a role in the processions that took place at the Lenaea and the Great Dionysia,²⁹ thus creating an atmosphere which helped comedy to come into being.³⁰ Comedy combines, in a stylised form, the verbal with the visual aspects of ritual license which are part of the festive pompe and komos, and the shamelessness which is displayed in a ritualised form in comedy is very similar to that which appears during phallic processions.³¹ Therefore, the phallic song in Ar., Ach. is "a kind of metaphorical enactment of Aristophanic comedy's own nature".³²

²⁷Cf. Herter 31, Cornford 47. However, these songs might also themselves have been influenced by comedy, once it had developed. Herter 32 also proposes that the exodus in comedy to a (komastic) feast or a wedding is derived from the komos of the singing and mocking Ithyphalloi at a Dionysus-festival.

²⁸Similarly to komasts they wear wreaths and appear to be drunk by means of certain masks, according to Semus *ibid.*

²⁹Cf. Suda s.v. τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἀμαξῶν σκώμματα and s.v. Πομπείας καὶ Πομπεύειν (quoting Menander's 'Perinthia', Schol. Ar. Eq. 547, Pl., Lg. 637b, D. 18.122, Philemo fr. 44.

³⁰Cf. Herter 31, Cornford 52. There even seems to have been a performance of a humorous adult male chorus at the City Dionysia, from which comedy may have developed as a sort of specialisation: cf. Dover, in: OCD, s.v. 'comedy, Greek, origins of', 367.

³¹Cf. Halliwell (2000) 5, Hoffmann 99. On the tradition of *aischrologia* cf. e.g. Goldhill 185 with n. 86, Fluck, and also Reckford 461-7. Giangrande 20-1 sees comedy as an "off-shoot" from Attic phallophory.

³²Halliwell (2000) 4. Cf. also the fact that the metre of Philocleon's komastic dance at V. 1476ff. has been analysed as ithyphallic: MacCary 141, 145. See also below p. 172 with n. 92. Stark 111-2 has a very different explanation for the origin of comedy. In her opinion beggars who represented themselves at cultic occasions, such as the City Dionysia were combined with a cultic komos. This was the starting point for the development of comedy, with the beggars being the cause for the non-cultic contents of

To conclude, it is commonly agreed that comedy is connected to some type of festive komos. Considering the great number of obscene jokes and *double entendres* in Old Comedy, it is very possible that its development was influenced not only by festive komastic mocking but also by practices of phallic processions.

Komoi in Aristophanes' plays

In Aristophanes' earlier plays, komoi are frequently part of the peace-celebrations of a victorious party. This is in keeping with the fact that comedy in general exploits an association between festivity and peace (as the second half of *Pax* shows particularly clearly). Even if festivities can still take place during war (cf. e.g. *Th.* 7.73.2), they will be likely to form only a temporary respite between periods of hardship. Therefore, in these passages the revels stand for a continuously pleasurable, carefree life. The komoi in Aristophanes' comedies can broadly be divided into (a) cheerful celebrations, usually at special occasions such as a wedding or a recently achieved victory, which appear predominantly at the ends of plays, (b) violent perversions of komoi, and (c) religious komoi, which can be of a more dignified nature.³³ The different categories overlap each other, and in all kinds, komastic mocking can appear.

Cheerful, celebratory komoi at the ends of plays

Aristophanes' comedies tend to close with an exuberant ending. The characters' happiness is frequently expressed by the enactment of a victory- or wedding-komos. The former appears at *Ach.* 1197-1234, *Ra.* 1524-33, and also at *Pl.* 1191ff., the latter

the plays and the cultic komos changing into the chorus. There is not enough evidence to prove this theory, though.

³³The tradition of ending a play with a komos is also carried over into New Comedy: cf. e.g. the wedding at the end of Menander's *'Samia'* (δαίδα καὶ στεφάνους 731).

at Av. 1706-65 and Pax 1329-59. Lys. 1241-1321 does not exactly fit in either category of komoi, but still contains elements of each. Aristophanes' wedding-komoi usually contain elements of victory-komoi. The following section will first treat the obvious victory-komoi, whereby Dicaeopolis' komos in Ach. will be compared to Philocleon's in V., and then a parody of a victory-song in Nu. will be looked at. Finally, the wedding komoi at Av., Pax, and Lys. will be dealt with regarding their different sides, i.e. praise, music, dance, the appearance of wine-drinking or drunken violence, mockery, and the invocations of deities.

An important victory-komos is Ach. 1179ff., where Dicaeopolis is shown celebrating his victory in the drinking-contest at the Anthesteria (cf. 1202, 1224-5, 1227). This passage can be compared to V. 1342ff.³⁴ in that both protagonists return from a feast in a one-man-komos, only accompanied by one or two girls whom they have taken with them from the party. The fact that Philocleon has stolen (ὕφειλόμην 1345, κλέψαντα 1369) the girl from the party does not seem to be unique komastic behaviour. It reminds one very much of the νεανία (...) μεθυσκοκότταβοι at Ach. 525 who are said to have stolen (κλέπτουσι 525) a Megarian prostitute, an event which, according to Dicaeopolis in this play, caused the beginning of the Peloponnesian War.³⁵ At the end of Ach., the fact that Dicaeopolis is without further companions on this komos indicates that he is the only citizen who lives in peace, which he is reluctant to share with anyone else. Both passages contain a number of typical elements of komoi. In V. a torch plays quite an important role (cf. 1331, 1361, 1373ff., 1390). Both characters appear to be drunk. On vase paintings, revellers carrying wine cups are frequently depicted, and here Dicaeopolis is apparently still holding his χοῦς (cf. Ach. 1227).³⁶ There is also an element of music, because the

³⁴See also under 'Violent Komoi'; 'Acharnians' p. 15; 'Wasps' p. 116ff.

³⁵Cf. 'Acharnians' p. 2, 'Cottabus' p. 226ff.

³⁶Here, the χοῦς has to be meant, since at 1227 Dicaeopolis claims that he has emptied it, which is the aim of the drinking-contest (cf. 1000, 1086, 1203, and the name 'Choes-day'). He cannot be speaking about the ἀσκός here, since this is the prize which he asks for at 1225. Only two lines later, he could

chorus sings (ἄιδοντες Ach. 1233-4). Dicaeopolis' victory in the drinking contest is celebrated in the manner of an athletic victory, as becomes obvious from the cries of victory: τήνελλα καλλίνικος (1227-8, 1231, 1233).³⁷ The victory cries are exuberant, and the atmosphere generated by them characterises Dicaeopolis' whole komos. Even his jeering at Lamachus at 1206ff. is more joking than insulting, in particular at the beginning.³⁸ Because of the presence of the girls, Dicaeopolis' mockery takes place mainly on a sexual level (Ach. 1206ff. and 1214ff. remind one very much of the preceding mockery of Lamachus in terms of the kind of humour employed, i.e. mainly plays on words.). Dicaeopolis' mockery, being a typical example of Aristophanes' biting humour, is not exactly friendly towards the wounded Lamachus, but is still quite good-humoured, because the focus is on Dicaeopolis' exuberance, and Lamachus is obviously not as badly injured as he claims to be. In particular, the story of how he has been wounded by a vine-prop is rather hilarious (1178ff., especially his address to his feather).³⁹ In Dicaeopolis' komos in Ach., his happiness and victory are mainly emphasised,⁴⁰ in order to underline the contrast between his fate and that of

hardly have emptied it yet (κενόν 1227). Therefore, he must refer to his χοῦς at this place. For vase-paintings depicting revellers with wine-cups cf. e.g. Vierneisel-Kaeser ill. 48.5a, 48.8b, 49.3a etc.

³⁷Cf. that on a chous from the second half of the 5th century a satyr is marked as the victor of the drinking-contest of the Anthesteria through the inscription καλλίνικος: Deubner 99 and pl. 9.1; Brit. Mus. Quart. 4 (1929-30), 71 No. 49 / Ill. 45b. On the same vase two other satyrs have the inscription κῶμος. That the chorus calls Dicaeopolis 'noble' (ὄ γεννάδα 1230) does not necessarily have the connotation of an athletic victory, even if it would fit in well here: cf. Dover (1993) p. 46.

³⁸However, Lamachus indicates at 1196 that he is afraid that Dicaeopolis will scoff at him (ἐγχαῖνοι) because of his misfortune. The same verb appears at Ach. 221, V. 721, and Eq. 1313. It always denotes 'making fun in a mean way'. At Ach. 1196 it underlines the difference between Lamachus' fate and Dicaeopolis' komos, which, by being contrasted with its reverse, is made to seem even more pleasurable.

³⁹Lamachus' lamentation and Dicaeopolis' responses are a parody of a tragic threnos, as e.g. Rennie ad 1193 and Rau 142-4 observe. Rau analyses the similarities of vocabulary, metre, and content in detail. The most striking allusions are the amoebaeic form and the *iō iō*-cry, followed by *cr + ia*, at 1205.

⁴⁰Bowie (1993) 38 notes the contrast between a celebrated athletic winner whom the city is proud of and Dicaeopolis who triumphs despite his difficult relationship to the city. This contrast does not really

Lamachus, in this last scene of the play, and thus the final superiority of peace over war.

Ach. 1224 mentions a king and judges. This is a double reference to those in charge of the drinking contest within the play, and to those organising the actual contest as part of which the play is performed.⁴¹ Similarly, the victory celebrated at the end of Ec. (cf. ὡς ἐπὶ νίκῃ 1181, cf. also Lys. 1293) is not only that of the new women's regime, but also hints at the fact that the author hopes for a victory in the theatrical contest: cf. 1142 and the address to the judges at 1154ff.

In the same play, 'Acharnians', another sort of victory-komos, which celebrates Dicaeopolis' achievement of peace, is carried out. During his Rural Dionysia, Dicaeopolis is shown celebrating a phallic procession μετὰ τῶν οἰκετῶν (249; cf. 'Acharnians' p. 14). Because his slaves carry the phallos-pole, he addresses Xanthias at 243 and (together with another slave) at 259. One reason the slaves are involved here is that since the chorus still opposes Dicaeopolis' peace-treaty, which only includes his household, the slaves are the only characters who can perform this function at that moment, the other family members already being busy in other functions. Slaves did actually take part in the Rural Dionysia "with lots of noise".⁴² At the Anthesteria, parts of which are shown taking place later on in this play, slaves were also involved: at the Pithoigia-day they were allowed to join the meal, as well as at the Choes-day. Slaves also were invited to a meal at the Kronia.⁴³

appear to be stressed here, though, but emphasis seems to be placed on the fact that Dicaeopolis, like an athletic victor, has been victorious in a contest.

⁴¹There also are addresses to the judges of the dramatic contests by the Clouds-and the Birds-choroi, both in the second parabasis at Nu. 1115-30 and Av. 1102-17. On other passages which contain allusions to a victory in the theatrical contest cf. also 'Ecclesiazusae' p. 69.

⁴²Deubner 135 n. 1 cites Plut. 1098b.

⁴³Cf. Deubner 96-5 with 95 n. 1, 118, 152. He cites Schol. Hes. Erg. 366 S. 233, 27 Gaisf., cf. also Hamilton 1.

In Pl. too, as in Ach., a procession in honour of a god takes place. At 749ff. Carion describes how Wealth is escorted into town by a big crowd (ὄχλος 750) - similarly to an (athletic or military) victor.⁴⁴ The expression εὐρύθοις, which is used to describe how the people in the procession are walking at Pl. 759, may hint at dancing, which is actually mentioned at line 761: ὀρχεῖσθε καὶ σκιρτᾶτε καὶ χορεύετε. The verb σκιρτᾶν indicates that it is a cheerful and spontaneous kind of dancing.⁴⁵ This cheerfulness is stressed in this passage by the expressions ἡδονῆς (753) and γελῶντες (758). The participle εὐφημοῦντες (758) may hint at the religious aspect of this procession in honour of a god: cf. also Dicaeopolis' εὐφημεῖτε at the beginning of his phallic procession at Ach. 237.

In a very different komos-scene, the success of the women's regime is celebrated in 'Ecclesiazusae'. At Ec. 1112ff., Blepyrus, one of his female servants, and the chorus take part in a komos. Earlier, at Ec. 691ff., Praxagora had depicted the advantages of the new women's regime to her husband by describing a komos to symbolise a life of pleasure. This komos starts before, not after, the deipnon, when a komos is usually expected to take place (cf. Ec. 1128, 1133, 1135). However, such irregularities are not out of place in comedy. It is also unusual to find a female servant participating in the komos, but her tipsy behaviour, e.g. her exuberant address to her master at 1129, and her praise of the wine (1119, 1139) clearly identify her as a komast. Finally, all of them, i.e. Blepyrus, the girls, and the chorus, apparently dance off together from the stage at the exodus.

In this and some other passages, torches (e.g. Ec. 692, 1150)⁴⁶ and garlands (e.g. Ec. 691, Pl. 757) are mentioned - the typical equipment of a komast. Blepyrus appears for

⁴⁴Cf. also 'Plutus' p. 74.

⁴⁵The rather aggressive denotation it has at V. 1305 does not appear here.

⁴⁶Ussher ad Ec. 1149-50 thinks either that this torch will be used for a komos or that it actually stands for the name of a courtesan. Cf. also 'Ecclesiazusae' p. 67 with n. 24. However, there is no indication of the latter connotation in the text.

his komos in the company of girls (μείρακας Ec. 1138),⁴⁷ in keeping with the fact that Praxagora foretold earlier that girls would be offered to the komasts (Ec. 696ff.). At Ec. 692 drinking is mentioned, and again at Ec. 1119-24 and 1139 when the servant mainly praises the Thasian and Chian wine that she has had.⁴⁸ This seems to be a parody of similar speeches of praise, which are frequently delivered at symposia.⁴⁹ It can be compared to another parody of such a praise of wine by the women at Lys. 205-6.

There is a further short passage to be found in Aristophanes' plays, which shows a victory-komos: at Ra. 1524-33, Aeschylus is escorted out of the underworld in a procession which takes place in honour of his victory in the contest between the tragic poets. One hears about torches (λαμπάδας ἱεράς 1525) and songs (μέλεσιν καὶ μολπαῖσιν κελαδοῦντες 1526-7).⁵⁰ The chorus sings a kind of prayer for the prosperity of Aeschylus and the city at 1528-33. Thus, the focus of this passage is on the singing part of the komos. However, the song, and at the same time the play itself, end with mockery against Cleophon at 1532ff., so that the final lines fall on a comic note.⁵¹

⁴⁷μείραξ needs not always mean 'young woman', as it does e.g. at Th. 4.11, but seems also to be used in sexual contexts and those of sympotic entertainment. At Ec. 611 the noun is used of a woman who is paid for providing sexual favours. However, it is ambiguous whether actually prostitution or seduction by gifts is meant and whether the passage refers to citizen women or not, as Halliwell (2000) 10 points out. Cf. also 'Ecclesiazusae' p. 64. At Cratin. fr. 334 μείρακες are mentioned in connection with fancy tables. This sounds very much like a symposium-situation, and thus the girls will be employed in order to entertain the guests. At Pl. 1071 and 1079 this expression is used to refer to an old hag in her role as a former lover, probably ironically, because she is actually old.

⁴⁸At Ec. 1117 perfume too is mentioned. About perfume in general cf. Ath. 685b-692d. On the use of perfume at symposia see the separate chapter 'Perfume' p. 254ff. below, in particular p. 262 on this passage.

⁴⁹For references see the chapter on 'Wine' p. 187ff. As at Ec. 1120-4, often the aroma is particularly mentioned.

⁵⁰On this scene cf. also 'Frogs' p. 88.

⁵¹On komastic mockery see below. Cf. also 'Frogs' p. 88.

In contrast to this passage in Ra., a parody of a victory-song clearly appears at Nu. 1204ff. Strepsiades sings an ἐγκώμιον to himself, because he believes that in future his son will win their law-suits (νικᾶις 1210-1). He calls himself μάκαρ in this context (1206). Μάκαρ can be used to mean 'blessed', denoting gods (cf. e.g. Pi., O. 1.52), the dead (cf. e.g. Pi., O. 2.71) or human beings (cf. e.g. Pi., P. 4.59, 5.20).⁵² Thus, when applied to a person its meaning goes beyond happiness to an even higher degree of fortunateness. It can also be applied to a city, e.g. to Thebes at Pi., I. 7.1, or to an inanimate object, taken literally, e.g. the hearth at Pi., P. 5.11, which stands for the household. In this particular passage μάκαρ has a strong connotation of 'wealthy' (cf. Pi., P. 5.1.: ... πλοῦτος ...).⁵³ Another form, μακάριος, also appears in Aristophanes, often used ironically: at Eq. 186 about the fact that the Sausage Seller has low origins, at V. 1512 to Carcinus about his dancing children, and at V. 1292 uttered by the slave Xanthias who has been beaten and now praises the tortoises as happy because of their shells. The frequent appearances in Pindar show that it is a typical expression to appear in a victory ode or an enkomion. A comic example is Ra. 1482, where the chorus applies it to the winner of the tragedy-contest, Aeschylus. Thus, its usage at Nu. 1206 is apt for the victorious mood Strepsiades is in. At Ec. 1112-3 the Maid too praises the people under the women's regime and in particular her mistress as μακάριος and μακαριωτάτη, respectively, this exaggeration underlining her exuberant mood. Another popular context for a makarismos is that of weddings.⁵⁴ At Eub. fr. 102.1 and Ar., Av. 1760 the bride is called μάκαρ / μάκαιρα, and at Av. 1721 and 1725 the chorus applies this adjective to the groom Peisetaerus, who at the same time as his wedding also celebrates his victory over Zeus. Μάκαρ is also employed at E., Cyc. 495. There, Polyphemus appears completely drunk (cf. e.g.

⁵²Furthermore, this expression is used in the context of mystic initiation, e.g. at E., Ba. 72 in a Dionysiac cult-song which is performed by a chorus of maenads.

⁵³The verb that belongs to it is μακαρίζειν: cf. e.g. V. 588, where Bdelycleon congratulates his father on the 'great' advantages he has being a judge.

⁵⁴Cf. also Olson ad Pax 1336-7.

503, 520, 535-7) on a sort of komos (cf. 497, 508).⁵⁵ It is a one-man-revel because he lives alone in his cave and is the only one who has been drinking. Later on, Odysseus and Silenus actually discourage him from sharing the wine with the other Cyclopes (530ff.), and eventually Polyphemus is even afraid that Silenus might steal his wine (545-6). The chorus in their song very soon connect his drinking and revelling with a love-scene, in which a hetaera is mentioned (500).⁵⁶ The last sentence of this choral passage, θύραν τίς οἴξει μοι;, sounds like a paraclausithyron: cf. e.g. the komos-scene at Ec. 961-2, 971, 974. The following choral passage treats a wedding-scene (cf. νύμφα 515) with a torch (514) and wreaths (517). Thus, in this passage the μακαρισμός applies to both the enjoyment of drunken revelling and the imaginary wedding.

To return to 'Clouds', Strepsiades in his enkomion to himself promises to feast his son (Nu. 1213). This resembles Trygaeus' invitation to a feast on the occasion of his wedding-komos (Pax 1358-9). Furthermore, the word ἐγκώμιον itself is actually connected with κῶμος.⁵⁷ Thus, this passage can be seen as a parody of part of a komos. In comedy, the chorus usually sings the enkomia (cf. Ach. 836ff., Ra. 1482ff.). Here, in contrast, Strepsiades has to imagine a chorus of friends and demesmen who will praise him (1209-10); thus indicating that he cannot be as successful as he himself believes he is. Soon, he will find out that the Cloud-chorus not are actually on the sophists' side, but on that of the traditional gods, and his son will turn his newly aquired skills against him. Strepsiades' self-praise therefore, coming just before the downfall of his fortune, is a comic version of tragic irony.⁵⁸

⁵⁵Odysseus warns the Cyclops of the violence that can occur during a drunken komos at 534.

⁵⁶Here, also perfume is mentioned in μυρόχριστος (501).

⁵⁷Cf. LSJ s.v. ἐγκώμιος II: "(...) *belonging to a κῶμος*, esp. that which escorted a victor in the games: hence *belonging to the praise of a conquerer* (...), 2. (...) *laudatory ode*, (...) *eulogy*, *panegyric*".

⁵⁸Cf. also Macleod 144. Praises by the chorus too are often very ironical: e.g. V. 1275-83. Cf. also 'Clouds' p. 91.

Rather than focusing on a victory, many Aristophanic comedies end with wedding-komoi. The most obvious wedding-scenes are *Av.* 1706-65 and *Pax* 1329-59. The peace feast in *Lys.* 1241-1321 is similar in that the couples are re-united here.⁵⁹ Because of the occasion of these feasts, prostitutes are not present in any of them (*Av.* 1713, *Pax* 1329, *Lys.* 1272ff. only mention couples who are married or to be married). It is surprising, though, that in none of these passages are wedding-torches explicitly mentioned, though at *Av.* 1714 and 1745-52 Peisetaerus is said to carry Zeus' lightnings and thunderbolts with him - as a sign that he is now the highest authority. For this reason the chorus glorifies him (κλήμισατε *Av.* 1746) by calling him μάκαρα or even τρισμακάριον (1707, 1721, 1725) and also, greeting him with the τήνελλα καλλίνικος-cry (1764), as though he were an Olympic victor, like Dicaeopolis in *Ach.* (cf. *Lys.* 1293, where the chorus rejoices as in a victory, ὡς ἐπὶ νίκηι).⁶⁰ Trygaeus is also praised by the chorus leader, however, because of his happiness (*Pax* 1333-4): at 1333, he is even called τρίσμακαρ.

The chorus sing in each of these scenes, and to Hymen or Hymenaeus in the two actual wedding scenes (ὑμεναίοις καὶ νυμφιδίοισι ... ὠιδαῖς (*Av.* 1728-9), ὑμεναίωι (*Av.* 1735ff.), ὕμνοις ... ὠιδαῖς (*Av.* 1743); *Pax* 1332ff.).⁶¹ In *Lys.*, the Spartans and Athenians perform songs, in order to celebrate their newly achieved friendly relationship (Spartans: 1243ff.,⁶² 1295ff.; Athenians: 1279ff.). The fact that

⁵⁹Cf. also *'Birds'* p. 59, *'Peace'* p. 35, *'Lysistrata'* p. 45ff.

⁶⁰Cf. also *Ec.* 1128. The ἡ παίων-cry which appears at *Lys.* 1291 seems to have been believed to bring good luck: Henderson (1987) ad *Lys.* 1291. In contrast, at *Ach.* 1212 the wounded Lamachus cries in pain to Apollo Paeon for help.

⁶¹Sommerstein ad *Pax* 1332 notes that this song was used since at least Pindar's time: cf. fr. 139.6.

⁶²The music to this song is produced with a kind of pipe (φυσαλλίδας 1245). Earlier, bagpipes (φυστήρια *Lys.* 1242) were mentioned: cf. Rogers ad loc. However, Taplin (1993) 107 thinks that 1245 is rather addressed to the official aulete than to an attendant-bagpiper. West (1992) 109 also argues convincingly that it is doubtful that a bagpipe is meant here. In particular, he notes that it is strange that the plural is used in this passage. The language and subject of the Spartan song suggest a dignified and graceful dance, as Sommerstein ad *Lys.* 1243 notes. This is also indicated by the metre, which is at the beginning mostly trochaic. However, the Athenian song, with its many short syllables, and the second

the dance is performed in couples (1277ff.) seems to have been an exceptional sight for the audience.⁶³ It will be intended to emphasise both the re-unification of the couples, and the peace between the Athenians and Spartans. It refers not only to the success of peace within the play, but also to the anticipated success of the play in the competition. The latter is also indicated at the ends of other plays, as at Ach. 1224-34, Av. 1764, Ec. 1182, and perhaps Th. 1229-31.⁶⁴ There will also be dancing taking place in the two wedding processions; at Av. 1761, it is explicitly mentioned. In Av. the δέχεσθαι-motif appears again (cf. above about Ach. 977-87 and Pl., Smp. 212d ff.): at 1708 the Herald asks for the τύραννον Peisetaerus, who is on the way to his wedding, to be received (δέχεσθε), and at 1729 the chorus-leader says that the couple shall be welcomed (δέχεσθ') with songs. Similarly, though not in a komastic context, at Av. 324 Tereus has already explained to the chorus that he has welcomed (έδεξάμην) men who love the birds' society.⁶⁵

Although the δέχεσθαι-motif makes one think of a drinking-party, in the wedding-scenes in Av. and Lys. no wine is mentioned; and above all no acts of drunken violence take place in these two scenes or in the one in Pax, since these would be out of place in the atmosphere of the three scenes. The only exception to this is at Lys. 1216ff. when the Athenians threaten to burn some slaves with their torches. They

Spartan dance seem to be very cheerful. The purpose of performing a dance like this may be the novelty it had for the Athenians of this time, as Henderson (1987) ad Lys. 1259 and 1296-1315 suggests. Cf. also 'Lysistrata' p. 46.

⁶³Sommerstein ad Lys. 1275-6. There has been a discussion whether the request that husbands and wives should stand next to each other for the dance is given by Lysistrata or a messenger. Henderson (1987) ad Lys. 1273-8 is of the opinion that a mute Lysistrata guides the other women to the feast, while the speech is given by an Athenian ambassador. Cf. Russo 169ff. for a similar theory. However, Sommerstein ad Lys. 1273-90 argues convincingly that the speech is delivered by Lysistrata herself, the main reason being that she separated the couples before, so that now she is also the person to effect their reunion.

⁶⁴Cf. also p. 157 with n. 41 above.

⁶⁵On the δέχεσθαι-motif in Pindar cf. e.g. Heath 189. Cf. also Anaxandr. 42.2 referring to a δειπνον, S., OC 4, X., An. 5.5.24, Pl., Lg. 919a.

refer to it as a comic routine, though, which they have to follow in order to please the audience (Lys. 1218-20). In Pax, however, there is an allusion to wine in the expression *τρυγήσομεν* (1340-1). This is also a play on the name Trygaeus (and to a certain extent on Opora).⁶⁶ Besides, Trygaeus offers wine to his guests, as well as food (1353-4, 1356-9). Thus, there is apparently a wedding banquet to follow.

There are indications of great happiness and sometimes of mockery in these wedding- or reunion-scenes. In Lys. and Pax happiness is expressed in the dancing, e.g. through such details, as raising the dancers' legs high (Lys. 1292) or their light footwork (*κοῦφα πᾶλον / πάλλων* Lys. 1303). It is also visible in Pax through the joking mockery of the bride, which plays on the sexual connotations of rural images (Pax 1337ff.). At Lys. 1270, one finds stronger polemic against other people, the 'wily foxes' than in Pax.⁶⁷ In keeping with the character of the whole play, however, there are no individual names mentioned.⁶⁸ Likewise, no personal invective would fit into the wedding passage in Av. because, as this scene is, in effect, a wedding of gods, it is more dignified in character.⁶⁹ In this scene much emphasis is placed on the victory of the protagonist.⁷⁰ The more dignified tone clashes with the fact that it is only a parody of a wedding of divinities. For the same reason the princess is called *ὦ μάκαιρα* at Av. 1759. The illusion of divinity is destroyed immediately, though, by the characters' costumes and by the fact that Peisetaerus asks his bride to take hold of his wings

⁶⁶Cf. Sommerstein ad Pax 1339. For the *double entendre* of this expression cf. Henderson (1975) 65 and 167. A similar agricultural image appears at 1348 and 1352ff. regarding figs.

⁶⁷Henderson (1987) ad Lys. 1264-70 notes that the fox as a metaphor for political trickery appears as early as Solon fr. 11.5W. However, there the image seems to refer to those who are tricked by the empty words of politicians. Cf. also Pax 1067 for this imagery.

⁶⁸In contrast to the other plays by Ar.: cf. Sommerstein ad Lys. 1270 for references. He notes that these instances typically appear in moments of greatest happiness.

⁶⁹E.g. Peisetaerus expresses his happiness with the rather neutral and not too emotional expressions *ἐχάρην* ..., *ἐχάρην, ἄγαμαι* ... (Av. 1743-4) - if it is actually him who is speaking here: cf. Sommerstein and Dunbar ad loc. for this problem. Cf. Av. 1740-1.

⁷⁰This is even greater if one considers that he was self-exiled at the beginning of the play: cf. Sommerstein ad Av. 1765.

(1760-1), as this reminds the audience that he is actually nothing more than a human being who has been given wings.

In only one of the three scenes, at Lys. 1282, is Dionysus evoked (Νύσιον ...), despite the fact that no wine is mentioned in this passage; presumably therefore, he just stands for happy feasting here. Moreover, the way in which the dancing Spartan girls shake their hair is compared to that of Bacchantes in the song of the Spartan (1312, cf. also 1283). This stresses the wild-komastic aspect of this procession as well as its peaceful side, since Dionysus is antithetical to war.⁷¹ The other passages mention different divinities, especially the wedding god Hymen(aeus). Thus, all these komos-like processions contain religious elements. At Pax 1359, Trygaeus promises flat-cakes (πλακοῦντας)⁷² to his guests, which are also used for sacrifices.

Most of these victory-and wedding-komoi, therefore, contain typical elements of revels, such as drinking, cups, torches, garlands, girls, music, dancing, joking and mocking, songs of praise, victory-cries, as well as the δέχεσθαι-motif and invocations to gods. Usually, not all of these appear in the same context, but a few are sufficient to indicate to the audience what is happening. The victory celebrated is often not only the one which the protagonist of the play has - or believes he has - achieved, but also the one the author hopes to win in the comic contest. Since happy events are celebrated, the main function of these passages is to create a cheerful atmosphere. The komos, therefore, is portrayed as both a part of and a symbol of a pleasurable life.

Religious komoi

⁷¹Henderson (1987) ad Lys. 1280-2, who also names Aphrodite in the context of peacefulness.

⁷²A recipe for the Roman version of such cakes, *placenta*, can be found at Cato, Res. Rust. 76.

In Aristophanes' plays several parodies and partial representations of 'official' religious processions appear. The following passage will focus on various aspects of such komoi, mainly the positions of the participants in the processions and the music, both of which are emphasised in the comic accounts of religious komoi in *Ra.*, *Ec.*, and *Ach.* At *Ra.* 217-9, the Frogs sing about the revellers who walk through the marshes on the Chytra-day of the Anthesteria, suffering hangovers: ὁ κραιπαλόκωμος (*Ra.* 217; cf. 'Frogs' p. 82). Apart from this, only their shouting is mentioned in this short passage (ἰαχήσαμεν 217). The Frogs do not say that these revellers are carrying their empty χύτρας, as one would expect. Aristophanes mentions a chytra (*Ach.* 284), however, in his accounts of the phallic πομπή (*Ach.* 248) during Dicaeopolis' private Rural Dionysia at *Ach.* 241-85, at the occasion of the reinstatement of Plutus on the acropolis at *Pl.* 1191ff., and at *Ec.* 730ff. (cf. *Ec.* 734, 745, *Ach.* 284, *Pl.* 1197-8, 1203 with the following play on this word). The situation in the last passage mentioned, *Ec.* 730ff., is that a character (who has not yet been clearly identified) lines up his household-goods in the fashion of the Panathenaic procession, before he turns them in to the new government.⁷³ The parody of a religious procession is evident. The pots will contain boiled pulse which was to be offered to the gods:⁷⁴ similarly, Dicaeopolis' daughter is going to pour ἔτνος over a flatcake (τούλατῆρος *Ach.* 246) as part of the sacrifice (ἀπαρξώμεθα *Ach.* 244 with LSJ s.v., θύσαντα 249). At *Ec.* 742, a hollow vessel (σκάφην), presumably filled with honeycombs and flatcakes for the sacrifice or with water,⁷⁵ is said to be carried in the procession.

⁷³On this passage cf. 'Ecclesiazusae' p. 65.

⁷⁴Cf. e.g. Rogers (1924), *Ar.* III p. 467 n. d).

⁷⁵Cf. Rogers ad *Ec.* 742 and Neils 23 about the former. However, Neils fig. 11, p. 23 seems to show that these offerings are transported on (bronze or silver) trays. She mentions that the daughters of metics carry hydrias filled with water; cf. also Deubner 28.

Several other cultic items are carried by officially selected persons. In the procession in Ec. a basket-bearer (κανηφόρηις 732), a chair-girl (διφροφόρος 734),⁷⁶ a κομμώτρια (737),⁷⁷ a pitcher-carrier (ύδριαφόρε 738) as well as a singer to the kithara (κιθαρωιδός 739) are present. In addition to these offices old men usually also appear in the procession, bearing green branches, presumably from olive-trees (θαλλοφόροι); according to one ancient reference freed slaves and other Non-Greeks, carrying oak-branches take part, and aulos- and lyre-players are mentioned. The most prestigious person in the procession is the priestess of Athena Polias. This function is held for a life-time and passed on through the female line of the aristocratic clan of the Eteoboutai. Women of noble birth are involved not only in weaving the peplos for the goddess, but also in preparing the offering-cakes for the sacrifice to Athena Polias (άλετριδες). Four girls, aged seven to eleven, the ἄρρηφόροι, serve the goddess on the acropolis for a year (cf. also Lys. 641ff. ... ἄρρηφόρουν ... ἄλετρις ... κάκανηφόρουν ...). They are mainly engaged in the task of weaving the peplos for the Athena-statue.⁷⁸ The Parthenon-frieze - if it does actually represent the Panathenaic procession - may show one of them helping the Archon Basileus to unfold the peplos which has been brought to the acropolis by the procession. A great part of the population is represented: citizens, metics as skaphephoroi, as well as slaves and Non-Greeks. Aristocratic women play a particularly important role in the procession. The

⁷⁶Cf. also Av. 1551-2, where a chair-carrier and a basket-bearer are mentioned, being among the usual participants of a procession. In this passage, also a parasol-carrier (φέρε τὸ σκιάδειον 1550) belongs to it: cf. n. 77 below on the meaning of κομμώτρια (Ec. 737). Deubner 31 with n. 14, however, thinks that neither the parasol nor the chair serve as cultic instruments, but for the comfort of the kanephoros.

Pickard-Cambridge (1968) 61 mentions that also ὀλβιαφόροι, σκαφηφόροι, and ἄσκοφόροι took part in the procession at the City Dionysia.

⁷⁷If one compares the meaning of κομμώω, 'to embellish', she might be involved in adorning the statue of Athena or the kanephoros. According to Deubner 32 n. 14, she serves the kanephoros. However, during the procession she must have another occupation. If one compares Av. 1550-1, Ussher's and Sommerstein's interpretation ad loc. that the kommotria holds a parasol for the kanephoros seems most convincing.

⁷⁸Cf. Deubner 11, Halliwell (1998) ad Lys. 641ff.

allies of Athens under the Athenian empire send offerings of cows and armour.⁷⁹ Thus, most of the important offices are mentioned in the passage in Ec. That the priestess of Athena Polias does not appear in the text can be explained by the assumption that the audience was so familiar with the details of the procession that it was clear to them that she would be there. Alternatively, it could be deduced that her office was too important to be parodied.⁸⁰

The κωνηφόρος leads the phallic procession in Ach., which is held by Dicaeopolis in order to celebrate his newly gained peace (242, cf. 253-4, 260). At Ach. 253 as well as at Ec. 730 she is called καλή and her actions καλῶς. Furthermore, at Ach. 255, Dicaeopolis thinks of her, i.e. of his daughter's, marriage. Her beauty seems to be a cultic topos. Behind her, appropriately for the occasion, a phallus is carried (Ach. 243, 260); and Dicaeopolis sings a (solo-) phallic song, which is enacted on stage. In it he addresses Phales as his fellow-reveller (ξύγκωμε 264), night-rover (νυκτοπεριπλάνητε 264-5), adulterer (μοιχέ 265), and pederast (παιδεραστά 265),⁸¹ claims that he would like to drink with him (ξύμπιητις 277), and promises to help cure his hangover afterwards (277-8). Thus, this song is mainly about drinking and sex, fitting a komos in honour of Phales.

The musical aspect of a religious komos is also shown at Th. 104ff. and 988ff., which contain celebratory songs. The former passage consists only of Agathon's song, and the actual procession (κῶμος 104) is not performed. He tells the girls to take up the

⁷⁹Cf. Neils 23-6, 54.

⁸⁰However, there is a theory that Lysistrata in Ar.'s comedy might be modelled on the contemporary priestess of Athena Polias, Lysimache, because of the similarity between the two names and Lysistrata's strong character. For a discussion of this hypothesis cf. Henderson (1987) xxxviii-ix.

Anyhow, neither the office nor its potential holder are presented in an undignified way in this play.

⁸¹Cf. also the sexual content of lines 271-8 of the song. Silk, in: Henderson (1980) 131ff., mentions this song as a typical example for Aristophanes' new compounding style, in which low and high are combined effectively.

torches (101),⁸² to dance (102), and to praise different deities with music (107) and songs (111). Th. 985-1000 is a part of a song of the chorus of the women at the Thesmophoria. This passage is devoted to Dionysus. Dancing and singing are mentioned (985-6), and the chorus say that they will celebrate him musically with choral-dance-loving komoi (ἐγὼ δὲ κώμοις σε φιλοχόροισι μέλψω. 989-90). Thus, in both passages the element of music is strongly emphasised. On closer inspection, however, the passages are employed here for other reasons: the first one to give Inlaw a chance to make fun of Agathon's effeminacy (130ff.), and the second one to serve as a divider between two scenes.

All of the religious processions mentioned are peaceful. The ones in Ec. and Ach. are interrupted, though. At Ec. 755 in what may resemble festive mockery,⁸³ a man ridicules the character who is lining up his goods, asking if he is making his possessions a pledge, and at Ach. 281-3 the chorus reacts very violently when they see Dicaeopolis and his procession: βάλλε ... παῖε ... 281-3. These verbs are frequently employed in the context of violent komoi (cf. e.g. V. 1253-5). Here, they contrast to Dicaeopolis' peaceful celebration and reflect the main conflict of the play, i.e. between those who are in favour of the war, and Dicaeopolis with his peace-treaty.⁸⁴

To conclude, one does not hear as much about religious komoi in Aristophanes' plays as about other types. Most of these passages show only limited aspects of such komoi (and in parodic form, in any case) or only mention details without enacting them. The reason behind this may be that such komoi, given their official character, are more dignified and serious events than privately organised komoi. In particular, they might not be a wild enough spectacle to arouse the interest of the audience. Most of these

⁸²This also alludes to the torches that are used at the Thesmophoria, the setting of this play, as Sommerstein ad Th. 101-2 notes.

⁸³So do Inlaw's words when he makes fun of Agathon's song at Th. 130-3.

⁸⁴The situation that a komos interrupts another komos is paradox. On violent komoi see below.

passages have a different purpose than just to show a religious komos: the one in *Ec.* serves to give an opportunity to employ a great spectacle with the kitchen-utensils on stage, and that at *Th.* 104ff. to characterise Agathon in preparation for the following jokes at his expense. Only the phallic procession in *Ach.* - despite its interruption - gives a modern reader an impression of what such an event may have been like. Its obscenity is in keeping with the humour of Old Comedy, and its performance will be very entertaining for the audience. A function of the interruption of the processions in *Ach.* and *Ec.* is to point out two contrasting opinions regarding the peace-treaty and the communist attitudes of the women's regime, and to demonstrate the serious hostility of the opponents of these situations.

Violent komoi

The following section will mainly deal with the violent komoi at *V.* 1299ff. and *Lys.* 370ff. and 1216ff. The same words as those of the chorus at *Ach.* 281-3 appear in Philocleon's lecture to his son about the bad effects that drinking has on one's behaviour and health at *V.* 1253-5, i.e. θυροκοπήσαι, πατάξαι, βαλεῖν, and then having to pay a fine and suffer a hangover (κραιπάλης). He himself, however, behaves very much in accordance with his own picture of a drunken komast at the end of the symposium he attends later on and on his way home, where he displays all sorts of misbehaviour belonging to violent komoi.⁸⁵ He is drunk (παροιnikώτατος 1300, μέθυεν 1322, διὰ τὸν σὸν οἶνον 1393, ἔπιε διὰ πολλοῦ χρόνου 1476). Also his manner of walking, σφαλλόμενος (1324), and the fact that he mixes up different stories (1382ff.) leave no doubt about his state of intoxication. His conduct is especially characterised by words which contain an element of ὕβρις (1303, 1319, 1418, 1441). Hybris is frequently associated with excessive eating and, in particular, drinking,⁸⁶ and therefore with the behaviour of wealthy people such as Philocleon's

⁸⁵Cf. 'Wasps' p. 114, 116ff.

⁸⁶Cf. e.g. *Eub.* fr. *93, *Com. Adesp.* fr. 101.11; cf. MacDowell (1976) 16.

fellow-symposiasts in 'Wasps'. Philocleon himself is called a 'nouveau-riche Phrygian' (V. 1309), which indicates a certain snobbery on the part of the other symposiasts. According to the prevailing stereotype, it is those who have only recently come to wealth who particularly tend towards *hybris* and offensiveness.⁸⁷ Philocleon behaves in an even more *hybristic* manner than his aristocratic model. The old man is compared to a donkey twice (V. 1306, 1310), and his behaviour is labeled 'young': e.g. νεανικῶς 1307 and 1362, κεί σφόδρ' εἶ νεανίας 1333, νέος γάρ εἰμι 1355; cf. also the use of the diminutive of donkey, ὀνίδιον 1306. *Hybris* is particularly connected with these animals and youthfulness in ancient Greek thought.⁸⁸ If one compares X., Cyr. 5.2.18, where the Persians' polite way of conversing and jesting at banquets is described, it becomes clear that for Athenians - as opposed to Persians - such behaviour is not uncommon at symposia.⁸⁹ That it is by no means unknown after parties is obvious from Blepyrus' words at Ec. 663-7, in particular his εὐωχηθέντες ὑβρίζουσιν 664. Similarly, at Pl. 1044 and 1074 the language of ὕβρις is used in reference to the behaviour of a young *komast* who mocks an old woman. At symposia, *hybris* is represented as arising over competitive games for example (cf. e.g. *eikasmos* at V. 1308-18, *kottabus* at A. fr. 179 Radt; cf. also Plu., Mor. 621e ff.) or over sexual objects (e.g. over Dardanis at V. 1364ff.; cf. in a wider sense the theft of the Megarian prostitute at Ach. 524ff.; Is. 3.13, [D.] 59.33). Also, during *komoi*, *hybristic* behaviour, even if it is not always explicitly labeled so, is shown to appear in sexual contexts (cf. e.g. [D.] 47.19), whether as gate-crashing or in fights with other revellers or innocent citizens in the streets (cf. e.g. V. 1388ff. and Alex. fr. 112, which mention e.g. hitting and cloak-stealing, Men., Dysc. 230-2 about Pan-worshippers).

⁸⁷Cf. Fisher 103.

⁸⁸For donkeys cf. X., An. 5.8.3; cf. MacDowell (1976) 15, Fisher 120.

⁸⁹Cf. also Solon's admonitions at fr. 4.10-11W. and the frequent appearance of passages in Thgn. about the bad effects of excessive drinking which makes men lose control over themselves, use violent words, and fight: Thgn. 211f., 413ff., 479ff., 497f., 499ff., 503ff., 509f., 837ff., 841ff., and cf. also Anacr. 356 Campbell about the avoidance of *hybris* and the bad consequences of drinking unmixed wine. Cf. Fisher 92.

In 'Wasps', the old man is extremely lively and somewhat unnerving because of his rudeness. He jumps around (1305),⁹⁰ cracks bad jokes (1320), and tells inadequate stories (1320-1). However, he also derides other people (κατεγέλα 1305, cf. 1406) and answers an instance of the comparing-game with quite a rude *anteikasmos* (1311).⁹¹ He treats Chairephon similarly at 1413-4, where he insults him in the manner of the *eikasmos*-game. These are instances of komastic mockery that go beyond a joke. Also his story-telling exceeds harmless babbling when Philocleon snubs his accusers by telling them weird stories which illustrate his lack of regret for his misdeeds (cf. e.g. the ironic λόγον ... λέξαι χαρίεντα 1399-1400). He not only threatens to hurt people (1327-8, 1329-31, 1386) but actually beats everyone who gets in his way: men, women, slaves, and free citizens (στιζόμενος 1296, κᾶτυπτε 1307, τύπτων 1323, παίων, 1390, πατάξαι καὶ βαλεῖν 1422). This recurrence of different expressions denoting physical force underlines Philocleon's aggressiveness and the wording of 1422 in particular reminds one very much of, and so ironically echoes, his former moralising lecture. He is not said to be breaking any doors, but he does other damage by throwing down several loaves of bread (cf. 1391), and is therefore threatened with legal prosecution (e.g. at V. 1406); furthermore, it is plain that he will be severely hungover the next morning. Philocleon has thus reversed his own principles. Therefore, he is also able to exchange roles with his son, take on the role of the 'young lover', and so mock Bdelycleon (τωθάσω 1362, τωθάζειν 1368).⁹²

⁹⁰At Nu. 1078, the Worse Argument promises Pheidippides that in his company he will enjoy himself, employing the same word: σκίρτα. Cf. also 'Clouds' p. 98-9 on this scene.

⁹¹On this game cf. 'Wasps' p. 103 and 118, 'Birds' p. 57 with n. 34, and 'Riddles' p. 232 n.1.

⁹²Cf. also p. 153 above. This expression is also employed in Hdt.'s description of the Egyptian festival held at Bubastis in a ritual context (2.60). With its flute-playing, singing, mocking, and wine-drinking it reminds one of a Greek (religious) *komos*. It also appears in Semus' description at Ath. 622d of the mocking of the *Ithyphalloi*, again in ritual (see above). Rusten 158-60 sees an allusion to an Eleusinian *tothasmos* in V. 1360-9 and interprets Philocleon's jesting as an imitation of the *gephyrismos*. On the Eleusinian *tothasmos* and *gephyrismos* cf. also Richardson 213-7, Fluck ch. I and III. Also Philocleon's dancing has been compared to that of the *Ithyphalloi*: MacCary 141, 145; cf. p. 153 with n. 32 above.

Fitting the occasion of a komos, he tries to make Bdelycleon believe that Dardanis is a torch. In this presentation of his behaviour many expressions are used which also appear at Eub. fr. *93, where instances of misbehaviour typical of a violent komos are described: ὕβρεος (cf. V. 1303), ὑπωπίων (cf. V. 1386), κλητῆρος (cf. V. 1406ff., esp. 1408). He also mentions βάλλειν (cf. V. 1254),⁹³ βοῆς, and χολῆς. The latter two could also be applied to Philocleon's aggressive and obnoxious behaviour. He has stolen the aulos-player Dardanis (ὕφειλόμην 1345, κλέψαντα 1370) and is even proud of it. The presence of an aulos-player as well as the appearance of aulos-music (1477) and dancing (1479 etc.) help to identify Philocleon's drunken staggering around as a kind of komos. In this last scene the old man's drunkenness is emphasised once more (1476), a state which is frequently depicted as being followed by dancing in Greek comedy, e.g. by Alex. fr. 224, Eriph. fr. 1; cf. also Thphr., Char. 6.3, 12.14. Further komastic-sympotic elements in the dancing-scene are the fact that Philocleon arranges a contest (1481, 1497ff., competitive games being very popular at symposia), his extravagant dancing-postures (1485, cf. also 1529-30), which remind one of those of komasts depicted on vase-paintings (cf. above p. 147 with n. 3), and the fact that the old man dances through the night, for which at symposia prizes are given out (cf. e.g. Eub. fr. 2; 'Cottabus' p. 221 n. 41). Also the aulos-music (1477) seems to be typical for a komos: cf. Th. 1176, where the Archer is woken up by a piper and immediately suspects it is a komos. Since Philocleon's rude conduct and excessive dancing overstep the boundaries of the usually accepted behaviour on such an occasion, it does not surprise one very much that he is actually performing a solo-komos. This indicates that Philocleon's selfish attitude has not changed, as is explained in detail at 'Wasps' p. 122-3, and emphasises how extreme and exceptional his behaviour is; probably nobody else would be able to keep up with it. The result is that the play could only end with a topping of this extreme acting by a vivacious dancing-competition.

⁹³Cf. also Lys., or. 3.8, who also maintains that the accuser was drunk (3.6) and in the state of μανία and ὕβρις (3.7), which is similar to that described by Eub.

Philocleon's diatribe makes it obvious that it is a well known fact for the Athenians of Aristophanes' time that instances of excessive drinking which result in rude and violent behaviour frequently happen at symposia. His drunken behaviour is a very extreme case and therefore interesting and amusing for the audience. It serves to show how the old man has moved from one extreme, his judging-addiction, to another, and consequently that his son has actually achieved nothing.

In *Lys.* there are two allusions to violent komoi (306ff. and 1216-22. Cf. *Lysistrata* p. 41 and 44). In both cases, the Athenian men use their torches in an aggressive way, once suggesting that they intend to overcome the women by smoke, and once threatening to burn some slaves' hair. The fact that it is mentioned at 308 that the torch is a vine-torch (ἀμπέλου ... φανόν), as well as the use of a chytra (308) and the plan of door-battering (309), emphasises the association of this passage with a komos.⁹⁴ The behaviour of the men at *Lys.* 306ff. serves to illustrate their disturbed relationship to the women and their fear of losing power, which results in aggressiveness. At *Lys.* 1216ff. the men merely seem to be over-excited from partying. However, since they threaten to burn other characters' hair in both passages, the second is obviously meant to remind the audience of the first. Thus, the improvement of the relationship of the Athenian men with their wives on the one hand, and with the Spartans on the other, between the first and second passage is underlined here.

To sum up, in all these passages, violent komoi are not only employed for the sake of presenting a lively spectacle on stage, e.g. when Philocleon is shown as knocking down people, but to point out extreme, often conflicting, attitudes and exceptional

⁹⁴However, drunks are depicted not only as being violent in comedy, but also as suffering violence: at *Av.* 493-8, Euelpides describes how he was robbed of his cloak, and at *Ra.* 715-6, Cleigenes is said to be carrying a stick with him in order to protect himself in such situations.

forms of behaviour on the part of the characters, such as the problems between men and women in *Lys.* or Philocleon's tendency to excessive violence and rudeness. However, *Lys.* 1216ff. shows that a violent komos can also be used in comedy to, by allusion to other komoi, point out positive developments.

Komastic mockery

Mocking people in the streets is an essential part of a komos. Of the komoi in Aristophanes' plays it appears in a particularly striking way in his last two extant works, *Ec.* and *Pl.*, in both cases a youth mocking an old lady.⁹⁵ There is also extensive mockery in *Ach.*, where Dicaeopolis jeers at Lamachus, and it is also mentioned at *Ra.* 340ff. In both, *Ec.* 947ff and *Pl.* 1040ff., the young men are characterised as revellers by the fact that they are drunk (*πεπωκώς Ec.* 948, *μεθύων Pl.* 1048, and cf. also the metaphorical *οἶνον ... πίνειν* at *Pl.* 1084-5) and are carrying a torch (*Ec.* 978, *Pl.* 1041, 1052). Furthermore, the revelling character in *Pl.* is said to be wearing garlands (1041, 1089). At *Ec.* 1034 the old hag asks the young man for one, and this becomes the starting-point for a play on the different uses of wreaths. The young man in the passage in *Ec.* is not only full of wine, but also of *πόθος* (948)⁹⁶ and is on his way to see his girl-friend (947). He sings in front of her door (960ff.) and asks her to open it (962-3, 971, 975). His song reminds one of a *paraclausithyron* that a komast might sing in front of the door of the person he admires.⁹⁷ However, in this passage not only the girl answers from inside, but also an

⁹⁵Cf. 'Ecclesiazusae' p. 66-7, 'Plutus' p. 74ff.

⁹⁶Note the allusive word-play here: *πεπωκώς* hints at *πότος*. For the opinion that alcohol has an aphrodisiac effect cf. also *Ar.* fr. 334 and 613. Taran 70ff. treats several Hellenistic epigrams which deal with the komos and love: e.g. at *Anon.* 3 = *A.P.* 5.168 the poetic persona claims to be ready for a komos because he is under the effect of love and wine.

⁹⁷Cf. also Halliwell (2000) 21. *Headlam* 83 speaks in the context of *θυραυλεῖν*. It may also reflect the reception-motif which appears in connection with komastic behaviour elsewhere in Greek literature (see p. 147 above). Taran 73ff. deals with Hellenistic epigrams which speak about komasts who have not been admitted by their lovers. In this context also the custom of hanging one's garlands on the

old hag. She asks: τί κόπτεις; (977), which recalls the expression θυροκοπεῖν, which is frequently used in Greek literature in connection with the behaviour of komasts.⁹⁸ The youth does not take the old lady seriously at all, but mocks her old looks which she has tried to cover with an enormous amount of make-up (995ff.).

In Pl., the situation is quite different. Here, the old lady actually used to be the young man's lover, but now that he is not dependent on her money anymore he has lost interest in her. He makes fun of the old lady in a much ruder way than the young man in Ec. does (cf. Pl. 1042ff., especially 1057ff., and also the hag's complaints at 1061). In this connection the ὕβρις-motif (see above) appears once more (1044, 1074). The old lady is mocked again in a milder and wittier way at the very end of the 'Plutus' with a play on the different meanings of the word γραῦς, 'old woman' and 'scum' (1204-7).⁹⁹ Also, when Blepyrus, accompanied by dancing-girls (Ec. 1138) and carrying a torch (1150), both of which identify him as a komast, appears on stage on his way to the public dinner, an instance of typical festive mockery in the form of a παρὰ προσδοκίαν is employed by the protagonist. At first he speaks of the prepared meal for everybody, but then he qualifies this idea by adding that it will take place at everybody's own home (Ec. 1147-8, cf. Lys. 1065-71, 1188-1215).

Dicaeopolis' mockery of Lamachus at Ach. 1197ff. too is very witty and makes much use of plays on words. It is closer to what one expects during a komos, and resembles

beloved's door at the same time as singing a paraclausithyron is mentioned: cf. e.g. Asclep. 12 = A.P. 5.145; cf. also Blech 66.

⁹⁸Cf. Ar., V. 1254, also Diph. fr. 129. At Antiph. fr. 236.3 it is mentioned as a reason for losing a lawsuit. Headlam at Herod. 2.34-7 notes that this expression is used as a synonym for ἐπικωμάζειν, as e.g. at Ael., N.A. 1.50. Tib. 1.1.73 writes about the *exclusus amator*: *dum frangere postes non pudet*. Cf. also Ter., Ad. 88f. *fores effregit* ... For the imagery cf. also Aristopho fr. 5.5 and Antiph. fr. 193.6.

⁹⁹Bierl, in: Bierl and v.Möllendorff 36, sees the mention of the chytrai in this passage as an allusion to the Χύτροι of the Anthesteria. As he observes, the fact that the position of γραῦς and χύτραι are reversed here might suggest that, in contrast to this day in the festival, in the comedy not the transition to normality is indicated, but the reversed world is still kept up.

one of those at the end of a play in which the bride and groom are mocked (as at Pax 1337ff. with its play on sexual connotations of words), rather than the very rude and violent mocking used by Philocleon in 'Wasps', for instance.

Mockery also appears at Ra. 340-430, which describes a sort of religious komos of the chorus of the mystics, that takes place in honour of Iacchus. The mystics carry torches (340, 350), sing (379, 383-4, 396), dance (388, 407), and laugh (389, 403). They call Iacchus μάκαρ at 352¹⁰⁰ and also hope to win a victory (393-4). Jestings is mentioned several times (σκώψαντα 393, cf. 379, 417, παίζων 376, cf. 388, 392, 407, χλευάζων 376). The sexual remarks at 409-12 remind one very much of those by Dicaeopolis in his phallic song and they are typical of jokes that appear in Old Comedy. In its dramatic context this instance of mockery possibly represents the Eleusinian γεφυρισμός,¹⁰¹ thus illustrating Aristophanes' tendency to mix elements which are typical of comedy with those of other festivities. Another example of this tendency is the comic revelry at the end of Ach., which, at the same time, is a celebration of the Choes.¹⁰²

The mockery in Old Comedy seems to be generally derived from komastic mocking, because it is so similar in terms of its cheerfulness and wittiness, which, even if it may often sound biting, is still more humorous than hurtful. Even the 'hybristic' behaviour of the young men in Ec. and Pl. will not seem too cruel to the audience, as the old ladies who are the victims are not exactly sympathetic characters. Mocking of individuals and jokes in Old Comedy also tend to take place on a sexual level: cf. e.g. Ach. 729ff. where the Megarian farmer sells his daughters as pigs (χοῖροι) to Dicaeopolis. The crossdressing that takes place during komoi is a mocking of social structures, which is further stressed by other boisterous activities, e.g. dancing with

¹⁰⁰On this expression see p. 160-1 above, on the whole scene 'Frogs' p. 82-3.

¹⁰¹Cf. also p. 172 n. 92 above.

¹⁰²Cf. Macleod 143.

extreme postures and movements. Crossdressing is not really alluded to in obviously komastic contexts in Old Comedy, but appears elsewhere, e.g. at Ec. 311ff., where the women have 'borrowed' their husband's clothes so that Blepyrus has to wear Praxagora's. In Th. Inlaw has to crossdress in order to attend the women's celebration of the Thesmophoria, and the tragic poet Agathon is presented as inclined to wear women's clothing when composing the female parts of his plays - thus Inlaw's reaction: ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐχ ὀρώ ἄνδρ' οὐδέεν' ἐνθάδ' ὄντα, Κυρήνην δ' ὀρώ (Th. 97-8). Also e.g. Cleisthenes is made fun of for being very effeminate, cf. his address to the women: φίλαι γυναῖκες, ξυγγενεῖς τούμοῦ τρόπου (Th. 574). Thus, komastic mockery does not only appear in the komos-scenes themselves, but also elsewhere in the plays.

Conclusion

In comedy one finds representations of all types of komoi. At the end of the plays the audience is mostly shown high-spirited victory- and wedding-komoi. By contrast, one cannot find very much evidence of religious komoi, which are usually employed for other purposes in the plot than merely being a spectacle for the audience, e.g. for the characterisation of a person in the comedy, as e.g. at Th. 104ff. Violent komoi or aggressive interruptions of peaceful celebrations mainly serve to highlight problems and differences between characters in the plays. Philocleon's komos helps to show the development of the old man and to characterise him as tending towards extreme and selfish behaviour. It is so exaggerated, wild, and exuberant that it is especially funny. This is important in order to keep the audience interested, since this komos takes up a great part of the play.

Even if these Aristophanic komoi usually contain some typical revel-elements, they often differ from otherwise attested practices, in particular in that only a single or very few participants are shown. This is due to different reasons: e.g. in Dicaeopolis' case,

because he and his household are the only characters who profit from the peace-treaty, or in order to stress how exceptional Philocleon's behaviour is, and that he thinks only of his own pleasure. Thus, these differences have functions in underlining comic points. Since komoi are usually employed in the comedies in a figurative way (i.e. not only for their own sake, but mainly to underline certain ideas, such as the aggressiveness of the men and their problematic relationship to the women through the violent komos at Lys. 307ff.) the variations of details do not inhibit the audience's understanding.

From what has been said above, one can see that Aristophanic komoi mostly stand for a pleasurable life - in the peace-plays a life in peace - which they are extremely suited to symbolise, because of their happy festive nature. This aspect of the komos, as one of the blessings of peace, is also employed elsewhere in Greek literature: Thgn. 885-6 wishes Peace and Wealth to possess the polis, so that the poetic persona may celebrate a komos (κωμάζοιμι) with others. B. fr. 4.61-72 (Snell-Maehler/ Campbell) describes the pleasures which peace brings, including songs, sacrifices, aulos-music, and komoi for the young. Similarly, E. fr. 453 N. mentions that when Peace is present, there will be songs and garland-loving komoi (φιλοστεφάνους τε κώμους 8).¹⁰³ Consequently, one can see that this concept already existed long before Aristophanes' time. However, the comedies are often ambiguous as to what is actually being celebrated. Frequently a wedding- and a victory-celebration are combined, or even elements from outside the comedy's actual plot may play a role, such as the author's hope for a success in the comic contest. The comic perversion of revels in the form of violent komoi emphasises that something is going wrong, e.g. gender-relations and male politics at Lys. 730ff. This is particularly obvious when peaceful komoi are interrupted. Some of the presentations of official komoi in Aristophanes' plays are parodies, which is very obvious in the 'Panathenaic procession' at Ec. 730ff. Since

¹⁰³Cf. that φιλοστεφάνους stands for 'banqueting' at Ion fr. eleg. 26.13W. In E. fr. 453.8 N. κώμους is the preferable reading to χώρους, because the latter may be an assimilation to καλλιχόρους in line 7.

such komoi form quite an important part of the audience's cultic experiences, these parodies will be effective jokes. Komoi are particularly useful in order to illustrate a happy ending of a play, and with their music and dancing they will ensure that the spectators think of the comedy positively - and, hopefully for the author, the jury of the comic contest as well. Many elements of komoi are reflected in Old Comedy, but above all their exuberant atmosphere and the humorous ridicule of people.

3 Conclusion

The central questions which have arisen from the analysis presented in this thesis are why so many symposium- and komos-scenes appear in comedy, and what their common features, as well as the differences between them, are. Many similarities and overlaps appear between the two types of event: they have a great number of the same visible elements and forms of entertainment, such as garlands, wine-cups, girls, music (in particular songs of praise), dancing, mockery and joking, laughing, and drinking. Torches and the δέχεσθαι-motif appear solely in passages about komoi but not in those about symposia, because the symposium is not mobile. More importantly, the imagery of both has the same main function in the comedies, i.e. to express exuberance, which fits the essential nature of feasting-scenes. Usually a victory or some sort of success is celebrated. That both can have this same function is underlined by the fact that in such situations symposium and komos sometimes appear in a combined form in comedy, e.g. when during the performance of a wedding-komos the participants are promised food and drink, indicating that a symposium (and / or deipnon) will take place: cf. e.g. Pax 1353-4 and 1359. In Aristophanes' comedies the opportunity to celebrate has usually been achieved by the protagonists through making peace or through creating some other sort of order in their community, or by the fact that they have in some way developed into a new role. Thus, this whole category of imagery often helps to underline the plays' main plot and message.

Another function of symposium- and komos-scenes in comedy is to give the author opportunities to make jokes about the characters of the play or about well-known public figures, e.g. in cases where the eikasmos-game is involved (cf. e.g. V. 1311ff.). The symposium and komos furthermore serve to characterise personalities of the plays in a comic way. So, e.g. Philocleon's buffoonery and extreme nature are shown in the

symposium- and komos-passages in V. Irregularities in the conduct of symposia, such as the fact that Philocleon is the only male participant in his komos, highlight the exceptional behaviour of a character or aspects of an unusual situation. These deviations from the norm will not have been too confusing for the audience and do not always have to be taken very seriously, though, since it is comedy.¹

Another side of komoi, rather than of symposia, which is shown in a few comic passages is their dignified religious status (cf. Av. 1706ff., Ra. 217ff.). However, religious komoi and religious aspects of symposia are usually not much focused on in comedy, presumably because they are too serious to be ridiculed and not exuberant and spectacular enough to be shown otherwise, except for a few cases of parody or where they serve to make jokes: cf. e.g. Ec. 730ff., Th. 104ff. and 988ff. At least, Ach. 241ff. might give us some idea about phallic processions held at the Rural Dionysia.

Symposium- and komos-imagery can furthermore be employed to show the failure of systems, ideas or the actions of characters: e.g. the institution of communism in Ec., Socrates' philosophy in Nu., or Bdelycleon's attempt to educate his father in V. These instances show that the imagery of both practices can also point at differences between characters. This becomes particularly clear in connection with the symposium in Dicaeopolis' and Lamachus' preparation-scene at Ach. 1097ff., and in connection with komoi which involve violent interruptions of celebrations, such as Ach. 280ff.

Violence and aggressiveness of this last kind are much more characteristic of komoi than of symposia. This difference will be due to the higher level of drunkenness in the later hours of the evening, when revels take place, on the one hand, but on the other misbehaviour also seems to have met with greater acceptance at komoi than at drinking-

¹Cf. 'Komos' p. 179.

parties. In contrast, aggressiveness displayed during symposia is frequently criticised: cf. V. 1308ff., where another guest comments on Philocleon's behaviour, and 1364, where the old man is reproached by his son; cf. also e.g. Alex. fr. 160. Komasts are generally shown to be more publicly expressive of their emotions than symposiasts. This may again reflect the fact that the revellers have already reached a further stage of vinosity. One indication of this is the great number of instances of mockery in komos-scenes. Where mockery takes place in symposium-passages, it usually appears in a much milder form, except for cases of a distortion of symposium-rules. Similarly, komasts openly express their admiration for someone in paraclausithyron-scenes (e.g. Ar., Pl. 938ff.), and an element of victory is expressively emphasised by the frequent appearance of victory-cries in comic komoi: cf. e.g. Ach. 1227ff. and Av. 1763ff. Victories can also be celebrated in symposia. To cite a famous instance, a symposium is mentioned at Pl., Smp. 174B as having taken place in honour of Agathon's victory in the theatrical contest on the preceding day, and a success in the Panathenaic games is the reason for the symposium at X., Smp. 1.1 and Plu., Phoc. 20. However, one does not find many representations of symposia in comedy in which the feeling of victoriousness is as expressively and outspokenly displayed as in enactments of komoi or in Strepsiades' enkomion to himself at Nu. 1204ff., which includes a self-makarismos.

There are also differences between symposia and komoi on a social level, as well as in relation to the fact that part of the audience of comedy will have been of a lower social status. Symposia are generally depicted in two ways in Aristophanes' comedies. On the one hand refined aristocratic events are mentioned, which will be somewhat different from most of the spectators' experiences, e.g. the sort of parties Bdelycleon speaks about at V. 1122ff. A similar case is the enumeration of everything that will be offered at the symposium held by the priest of Dionysus at Ach. 1090ff. Since one needs an invitation for this party (cf. Ach. 1087), it is at any rate an exclusive event. On the other hand,

comic characters of a lower social status can also display quite a detailed knowledge of some sympotic matters: Philocleon and Dicaeopolis show such knowledge. A different sort of sympotic knowledge is displayed by the farmers at Pax 1131ff. and 1140ff., who are presented as imagining a rural symposium-scene. These examples indicate that both aristocratic and non-aristocratic versions appear in the plays. They are employed for different reasons. Aristocratic ones with an emphasis on great expenditure are more striking to the audience. They can be used to indicate great luxury, as e.g. at Ach. 1090ff., or to point out differences in social status between characters, e.g. between Philocleon's and Bdelycleon's in V. Being a symbol of luxury, they are more removed from what one can expect to be most comic protagonists' usual life-style than komoi. In this way they can help to foreground the change of the characters' fates and the achievement of a higher style of living which results from this change. Since the symposium is used in a symbolic way for this life-style, and since comedy does not always have to follow the rules of probability very strictly anyway, it is certainly remarkable that these characters are shown as suddenly gaining access to the aristocratic world, but it will not strike the audience as something impossible. The presentation of less lavish drinking-parties focuses rather on the aspect of communality and symbolises a pleasurable life in peace for a certain group of characters. The audience can be expected to know at least as much as these characters of lower social status, so that they are able to understand the humour of these passages.

In contrast to symposia, all sorts of komoi are shown as being celebrated by all social classes. This is underlined by the fact that komoi are enacted on stage in which the personalities are mostly non-aristocratic (e.g. Ec. 1112ff., Pl. 1040ff.), rather than only mentioned by characters, as particularly aristocratic symposia sometimes are, e.g. at V. 1299. Since the participants of komoi are usually represented as coming from lower social backgrounds, their celebrations cannot be that luxurious and exclusive in terms of social status. This is particularly obvious when the farmer Dicaeopolis, together with his

household, including slaves, performs a phallic procession (Ach. 237ff.). Even if the slaves are presented as taking part here mainly because only members of Dicaeopolis' household can be celebrating the achievement of peace at this moment, it is still known that they also took part in the real Rural Dionysia, which at any rate was a festival and komos celebrated not only by aristocrats.² Thus, komoi will be a very familiar form of celebration for the spectators of the comedies.

Finally, the frequent appearance of symposia and komoi in the plays prompts the question whether there is any connection between both and comedy as a genre.³ Firstly, it is obvious that their cheerful atmosphere fits that of comedy. Exuberance is mainly displayed in representations of komoi. It can include komastic mocking and obscene remarks: cf. e.g. Dicaeopolis' song during the phallic procession at Ach. 263ff. This is very similar to the sort of humour which is generally employed in comedy (cf. e.g. the *double entendre* at Ach. 729ff. about the selling of the farmers daughters as pigs; plays on sexual connotations of expressions are also employed e.g. at Pax 1337ff. as part of the mockery of a bride and groom. Cf. also 'Komos' p. 175-8.).⁴ Furthermore, in comic representations of symposia and komoi a way of mocking is used which is similar to that which comedies display in general. It is mainly cheerful and witty and, even if it may sound hurtful at first, it is usually still rather funny, either because it is so exaggerated, as in the case of Philocleon's weird mixed up stories in V. and the jokes against the old hag e.g. at Pl. 1053-4, or because it is targeted at very unsympathetic characters, such as

²Cf. Deubner 135f.

³For comic equations of comedy with a feast cf. Cratin. fr. 182 and also Metag. fr. 15. Taking a practical approach, Bowie (1997) 21 notes that both in comedies and on the drinking cups of symposia grotesque masks appear.

⁴Aristot., Pol. 7.1336b 20ff., which suggests that young men should only see comedies when they have reached an age at which they are old enough to take part in symposia and have been protected against harm by their education, also seems to hint at this matter.

Philocleon's snobbish fellow-symposiasts at V. 1311ff., the old lady in Pl. or the war-monger Lamachus in Ach. A much milder form of mockery is displayed in the sympotic eikasmos-game, variants of which are also frequently employed in symposium-scenes and elsewhere in comedy.

In summary, both symposium and komos predominantly express exuberant happiness, feelings of community, and victoriousness, and they share an association with a certain amount of wealth and luxury in the comedies. Such celebrations are shown to be possible only when peace and a certain degree of order exist in a community, which has usually been achieved by the protagonists of the plays themselves. The representations of perversions or disturbances of symposia and komoi can also be used in a critical way, e.g. to underline the problems between the men and women at Lys. 730ff. or the fact that the Acharnians, who violently interrupt Dicaeopolis' komos, do not at all approve of Dicaeopolis' private peace at Ach. 280ff. Thus, both types of event help to dramatise what the characters experience and stand for in the plots of the comedies, the komos rather focusing on the aspect of communal happiness or on that of aggressive opposition, the symposium on that of a carefree life or on wealth and luxury. At the same time, both fit the vigorous humour and the general festive atmosphere of comedy.

4 Appendices

The following appendices are concerned with practical aspects of the symposium and komos: wine, the party-games cottabus and riddles, and perfume. Most of the material used in these sections comes from comic fragments, not only those from Old Comedy, but also much fourth century material, because it provides important information on these topics. For the same reason other sources from Greek and Latin literature as well as some archeological evidence are employed.

Wine

One of the most important aspects of symposia is the drinking of wine. It is very often referred to in the comedies in more or less sympotic passages. The recurrence of wine-imagery, as well as the fact that the plays are performed as parts of Dionysiac festivals,¹ indicates the strong connection between wine and comedy. This is also hinted at by the use of the expression *τρυγαιδία*, whose first part consists of *τρύξις*, 'wine-dregs / new wine', instead of *κωμωιδία* several times in Aristophanes' comedies (Ach. 499, 500; cf. also V. 650, 1537; as an adjective: Ach. 628, 886).² In connection with this, it has also been argued that comedy, like alcohol (as also represented on satyric vase-paintings), helps to release "pent-up and unexpressed emotions" and offers "the possibility of altered perception".³ This chapter will deal

¹Edmunds 11 even claims that the political function of comedy rests on its association with wine.

However, even if comedy in a way also deals with political topics (cf. Ach. 499-500), one cannot be sure how seriously these treatments are to be taken. Therefore this hypothesis seems to be exaggerated.

²In most passages, this expression seems to be employed in order to create a word-play with *τραγωιδία*: cf. Taplin (1983) 333.

³Bowie (1993) 16-7. The comparison only works partly, though, since the main effect of a comedy is that it makes the audience laugh during the time of the performance, but it does not have such long-lasting consequences for the spectators as heavy drinking. Even so, the connection between the two is definitely there.

with comic wine-drinking, referring to the aspects of taste, sorts, mixing, the drinking of unmixed wine, its effects, and, finally, the connection between wine and peace.

The depiction of wine-drinking is an essential, traditional part of comedy. Epicharmus is said to have been the first, and Crates in his *Γείτονες* the second comedian to show a drunk character on stage: cf. test. 1 K.-A. = Ath. 428f-429a.⁴ Furthermore, Cratinus introduced the personification of drunkenness, *Methe*, in his play *Πυτίνη*. Later, Hor., Ep. 1.19.1 mentions this author as his first example of someone who held the view that 'water-drinkers' could not write good poetry (cf. Cratin. fr. *203).⁵ Aristophanes, finally, is mocked for writing his plays when drunk: cf. Crates, *Γείτονες*, test. 1 K.-A. = Ath. 429a. Many details about wine-drinking are revealed in comedy, but because of the nature of the genre, one has to allow for exaggeration and parody.

Taste

For the ancient Greeks the main criteria for judging a wine were its bouquet and its sweetness. Wine with a good bouquet (οἴνου ... ἀνθοσμίου) is mentioned as one of the pleasures of a prosperous life at Ar., Pl. 807,⁶ sweetness appears at Ar., Lys. 206, Telecl. fr. 27, and Polyzel. fr. 13. The importance of sweetness is also expressed at Ar., Ra. 511, where Persephone's maid, trying to persuade Xanthias, disguised as

⁴For tragedy, Aeschylus is said to have been the first to have employed drunk characters in his plays. He and Alcaeus are accused of having written their works when drunk.

⁵Cf. also Phryn. fr. 74, who makes fun of the water-drinking bad musician Lamprus, and Ar., Eq. 349. Cf. 'Knights' p. 124 with n. 3.

⁶Cf. also the parody of wine-tasting regarding Dicaeopolis' treaties at Ar., Ach. 187ff. (see below). At Ar., Ra. 1150, Aeschylus says to Dionysus that he does not drink wine with a fine bouquet. In this way he seems to tell him indirectly that he does not think his joke was a very good one. Cf. 'Frogs' p. 87-8 on this passage. οἶνος ἀνθοσμίας is also mentioned at Ar. fr. 351, Ar., Pl. 807, and Pherecr. fr. 113.28-31, which mentions girls drawing wine through funnels in a depiction of a *Schlaraffenland*. At Polyzel. fr. 13 the imagery of sweetness is used of words.

Heracles, to come in for dinner, tells him that the sweetest wine is being mixed; and at Alex. fr. 172, where a character promises that there will be a sufficient amount of wine - even enough for the women - which is very sweet, mild and old, and has no teeth in it, which come with old age.⁷

Sour wine, in contrast, was not popular, as becomes clear e.g. at Ar., Ach. 193, where Dicaeopolis finds the ten-year treaty, equating it with wine, ὀξύτατον, and rejects it. The expression ὄξος was often used to refer to cheap or sour wine, as at Alex. fr. 145.12, Philonid. fr. 14, Hermipp. fr. 88, and probably Eub. fr. 65, where somebody seems to have to drink οἶνος as well as ὄξος.⁸ Furthermore, the phrase ὄξει παίει πρὸς τὰ στήθη, which is used at Eub. fr. 136, has been interpreted as 'to make somebody drunk'.⁹ Similar expressions are 'to strike somebody with unmixed wine' ἀκράτωι κροῦε at Eub. fr. 48.1, meaning 'to make (a person) drunk with unmixed wine', and πατάξω at Timocl. fr. 22 (if this reading is correct). Connected with this imagery of striking might also be the use of θωρήσσεσθαι as 'get drunk', which is used at Ar., Ach. 1133-5 and Pax 1286, but in a different sense at Ar., V. 1195.¹⁰ The characterisation of Pramnian wine at Ar. fr. 688.6, συνάγουσι τὰς ὀφρῦς τε καὶ τὴν κοιλίαν, seems also to refer to ὄξος-wine. Thus, the expression is to be understood

⁷Cf. Arnott (1970) 43-7 who explains this phrase - in comparison with Plaut., Poen. 699-702 and Petr., Sat. 42.2 - as meaning that the wine has lost its original tartness and has been mellowed by age. Alex. fr. 172 employs the language of a riddle, since the description which the old lady gives can apply both to an old person and to wine. For this reason she is compared to a sphinx by the other speaker. Old wines are frequently compared to old people: Alex. fr. 46 writes that old wine was sweeter than young wine which, like a young man, boils up first and does violence (cf. also Plaut., Curc. 100). In contrast, at Antiph. fr. 250 the taste of old wine is compared to the sourness of an old man who has lived most of his life (cf. also Cic., Sen. 65). For the importance of a wine's age see also Eub. fr. 121 and Epin. fr. 1.6.

⁸However, the two drinks plead not to be consumed yet because they are actually not what they are thought to be.

⁹Ussher ad Ec. 1118-9. In contrast to the Greeks' dislike of sour wine, with Roman soldiers a mixture of vinegar and water seems to have been popular: cf. Plu., Cat. Ma. 1.7 with André 152.

¹⁰Cf. 'Wasps' p. 106 with n. 16.

quite literally, as referring to its dryness.¹¹ Further comic passages about wine are Ar. fr. 614 about *πικρότατον οἶνον*¹² directly after fr. 613 about sweet wine, Ar. fr. 219, which calls wine that has turned sour *τροπίαν*, and Eub. fr. 136, where the speaker complains that a man gave him a taste of sweet, undiluted Psithian wine, but when he was thirsty, he smote him on the chest with vinegar. He is apparently given sour wine when he expects to get more of the sweet kind, but this passage could also be read as a metaphorical paraphrase of a disappointing experience. A character at Eup. fr. 355, in contrast, is presented as loving to drink sour wine. This may allude to some proverb or just be a joke on his unusual taste.¹³

The sweetness of a wine was increased artificially by adding rose-unguent, placing dough sweetened with honey into the wine-jar (cf. Thphr., *Od.* 51 Eigler-Wöhrle, in: *Ath.* 32a) or by mixing the liquid directly with honey: cf. *Epin.* fr. 1.7, *μελιχρὸν* at *Telecl.* fr. 27,¹⁴ and *Eup.* fr. 390 can perhaps be completed similarly. Not only did people try to make it sweeter, but there were also methods to improve the bouquet of a wine. *Ath.* 31f-32a quotes a recipe, originating from the Lesbian philosopher Phantias, which suggests mixing one measure of sea water with fifty measures of new wine.¹⁵ Phaenias of Eresus, in: *Ath.* 31f-32a, recommends using young or even unripe grapes, in order to produce a wine with a good fragrance. Sometimes also a fragrant

¹¹Cf. also Hunter 228 ad loc.

¹²*Πικρός* is also used in a figurative sense at Ar., *Av.* 1045, 1468, *Th.* 853.

¹³Cf. Meineke, in: *K.-A.* ad loc. Note that the preceding fr. 354 mentions drinking *ἐπιδέξια*, i.e. apparently in a sympotic context.

¹⁴This fragment also contains the information that the wine is consumed with cheese. Nuts, almonds, lentils or chickpeas too are eaten with the wine: cf. e.g. *Eup.* fr. 271 and *Pherecr.* fr. 73, the speaker of which is, however, worried that the lentils might cause bad breath. Davidson 40 writes that the container too added to the flavour of the wine, i.e. pitch or resin used for sealing amphoras or sheep- or goat-wine-skins, respectively. The colours of wine were 'dark' (*μέλας*), 'white' (*λευκός*), and 'amber' (or orange-tawny: *LSJ* s.v. *κιρρός*): cf. *Mnesitheus*, in: *Ath.* 32d.

¹⁵*Ath.* 32d writes that wine which has been mixed with sea-water does not cause a hangover (see below).

and a smooth wine are mixed, in order to obtain a combination of both qualities, as Thphr., Od. 52, in: Ath. 32ab, relates.

Favourite sorts in comedy

Thasian and Chian, the choicest wines in ancient Greece, are praised in particular in comedy for the two qualities mentioned, their sweetness and their bouquet: cf. for Thasian e.g. Ar., Lys. 196, Ec. 1118-1123, Pl. 1021, fr. 364, Alex. fr. 232.2 - even drunk unmixed by women; Hermipp. fr. 77.3 mentions its smell of apples; for Chian wine cf. e.g. Philyll. fr. 23.2 and Eub. fr. 121. Often both sorts are mentioned in combination, e.g. at Eub. fr. 121 and Hermipp. fr. 77, who mentions Chian as the only wine which can compete with Thasian.¹⁶ Chian wine is even said to be Dionysus' favourite at Hermipp. fr. 77.5. In contrast, Coan wine seems to have been considered to be of lowest quality.¹⁷ This difference seems to be hinted at by Stratt. fr. 24 Χῖος παραστάς κῶιον οὐκ ἔστι λέγειν, which follows a fragment about wine (fr. 23). Another wine of very poor quality is that of a second pressing, δευτέριον οἶνον (Nicopho fr. 11). So it is fitting that this expression is used metaphorically for a second-to-favourite-lover at Ar., Ec. 634.

¹⁶In contrast, Pramnian wine is known for being dry and strong: cf. e.g.. Phryn. fr. 68. Sommerstein ad Eq. 107 gives further references. There is also mention of several other sorts, references to which are mostly collected at Ath. 26c ff., e.g. Naxian at Eup. fr. 271. Pramnian, Chian, Thasian, and Peparethian are noted for their aphrodisiac effect at Ar. fr. 334. Cf. also Ar., Ec. 947-8 and fr. 613. Cf. also 'Ecclesiazusae' p. 66 with n. 20.

¹⁷However, in dice-games played at symposia the lowest throw is called χῖος, the highest κῶτος. (The κῶτα are the inner, the χῖα the outer sides of knuckle-bones: cf. Aristot., HA 499b28-30 and LSJ s.v. κῶτος). Hsch. s.v. Κῶος Χῖον also states that the Koos counted six, the Chios one on a dice. So these names do not seem to be derived from those of the islands or the wines which are grown there, respectively: cf. Lamer, R.E. s.v. 'Lusoria Tabula', 1951 and 1957 and Peck p. 89 n. c). Rogers ad Ar., Ec. 1139 is of the contrary opinion.

Other varieties of wine are mentioned.¹⁸ So, perfumed wines (μυρίνης) appear at Posidipp. fr. 36, mixed with μύρον: cf. Philippid. fr. 40. (Cf. 'Perfume' p. 266-7.) Wine was also drunk as mulled wine, as at Ar., V. 878, where Bdelycleon prays that his father's hard disposition will be ended by 'mixing into his dear little soul a tiny bit of honey, like sweetening boiled wine' (σιραίου; transl. Sommerstein).¹⁹ Cf. also Pl. Com. fr. 163.1. Plin., H.N. 14.80 writes later that siraion is boiled down to a third of its volume. At Epin. fr.1, king Seleucus is said not only to mix his wine with honey, but also to add barley.²⁰

Usually, wine was served chilled, often cooled with snow (cf. e.g. Stratt. fr. 60 and perhaps Euthycl. fr. 1) or by hanging it into a well (cf. Lysipp. fr.1), and it often had to be filtered before serving (cf. Epil. fr. 7, Pherecr. fr. 45, and perhaps Diocl. fr. 8 which follows a fragment on wine-mixing).

Mixing

Wine was usually drunk diluted with water by the ancient Greeks. Ar. fr. 317, πῶς πίομαι, seems to ask about the way in which the wine should be mixed. The use of the terminus technicus ὑποχέω at Diph. fr. 107, referring to the wine, indicates that first the wine, 'the good', then the water, 'the bad', was poured into the mixing bowl.²¹

¹⁸Date-wine (φοινίκινος) might be mentioned at Ephipp. fr. 24.2 and 8.2 as a part of the dessert, if Meineke's conjecture -ίνου at Ephipp. fr. 24.2 and Athenaeus' reading (642e) of Ephipp. fr. 8.2 are right.

¹⁹Schol. Ar., V. 878 is of the opinion that this wine is slightly bitter and is only considered to be sweet because of its mixture with honey. However, somebody of Philocleon's character as a juror presumably needs something very sweet mixed into his soul, so that also the σμικρόν is probably not meant seriously here.

²⁰This description is given in a very poetic and riddling language.

²¹Because of this interpretation, Meineke's emendation is more convincing than ms. S's reading, ἐπιχ-. If the latter version was right, it would mean that the water was poured in first. Cf. also v.Leeuwen ad Ar., Eq.1187.

This also becomes obvious at Ar., *Lys.* 197 and Cratin. fr. 299, if the transmitted reading ἐπιηι is right.²² The myth about the invention of mixing wine is transmitted by Philonides, quoted at Ath. 675a-c. The story goes that an outdoor drinking-party was once dispersed by heavy rain. The symposiasts disappeared somewhere inside, leaving a bowl partly full of wine in the rain, which was consequently filled up. When the symposiasts returned, they, who had only known undiluted wine so far, tasted the mixture and found it very pleasant. Since then Zeus, as the originator of rain-storms, is called upon at symposia with a cup of mixed wine.

Wine could be bought already mixed, according to Alex. fr. 9, where Aesopus praises the Athenian invention of diluting the wine, and his interlocutor Solon informs him that the wine was already sold like this. Solon says that this practise is not for the sake of the wine-seller's profit, but in order to prevent the symposiasts from getting a headache. Aesopus seems to agree since, when Solon says that immoderate drinking was a bath rather than a drinking bout (πότης), he answers with exaggeration that it is rather death. That wine was purchased in a mixed form is also indicated at Antiph. fr. 25, where a woman relates that her neighbour, who is a wine-seller, always gets her mixture right. Presumably, the joke in this passage is that the mixture she prefers is very strong, according to the stereotype of comic women's fondness for drink (see below).

However, wine cannot always have been sold mixed, because there are passages which show slaves as being in charge of mixing the wine, presumably at parties, e.g. Ar. fr. 174 and Pherecr. fr. 76.²³ In the latter fragment a slave is said to have mixed it in the proportion 2:4, i.e. he used twice as much wine as water, since the first number always refers to the amount of water added. This is an extremely strong mixture for

²²The conjectures given by K.-A. rather imply that not too much or even no water at all should be added to the wine.

²³Cf. also Pl. Com. fr. 295 which says that the wine is mixed according to the character of the drinkers.

the taste of this time (see below). The joke is that the usual proportion 4:2 is turned around. However, the first speaker (A) still complains that it is too watery by far, and the second speaker (B) concludes that the slave would be better employed pouring wine for frogs. This passage shows that everybody in the audience must have known the usual measures, to be able to understand the joke.²⁴

The most common proportions in comic accounts are 3:1, 5:2, 2:1, and 1:1. The weakest mixture, 3:1, seems to be a traditional one, because it is already mentioned at Hes., Op. 593. At first sight, this line seems to refer to libations. However, this is rather unlikely, since it firstly would not fit into the catalogue of pleasures in this passage and secondly offerings to the gods are usually made with unmixed wine.²⁵ Only very good wine will carry three parts of water, as is hinted at in Cratin. fr. *195. The fact that this 3:1 mixture is considered very weak is expressed at Anaxil. fr. 23: the speaking character maintains that he would never drink it. In contrast, at Alex. fr. 228, one speaker (B) suggests the proportion 4:1²⁶ instead of the mixture 3:1. However, the other character (A) finds this too watery, but is content with 3:1.

The same mixture seems also to be meant with *τρικότυλον* at Ar., Th. 743, where Inlaw questions Mica about her wine-skin in the disguise of a baby. The normal *τρία καὶ ἓν* is replaced by this expression here. It refers to 3/12 of wine in the 3:1 mixture,²⁷ since the number three, which is part of the 3:1-mixture, appears in the measure which is employed here. Inlaw asks Mica how she carried this (sc. drink or,

²⁴A similar situation is described at Diph. fr. 57. There a character would like to have his drink stronger, since 'everything that is watery is evil for the soul'. Gulick, Ath. vol. 4, 419 n. e) notes the joking allusion to Heracleitus' *ψυχῆσι θάνατος ὕδωρ γενέσθαι*.

²⁵West ad loc. and see below.

²⁶At this place, the wine is mentioned first (*ἓνα καὶ τέτταρας*), but 1:4 cannot be meant because this mixture is said to be more watery (*ὑδαρῆ*) than the one which is prepared in the proportion 3:1. Kaibel's conjecture *τρίτωνα* for the transmitted *†κρίτωνα†* is the most convincing reading. K.-A. give further emendations.

²⁷Cf. Sommerstein ad Th. 734.

from Mica's perspective, child): ἤνεγκας σύ; (742). Diophantus Com. fr. 1 with Antiatt.'s explanation (in: K.-A. ad loc.), φέρειν τὸν οἶνον ἐπὶ τοῦ νήφειν, makes it obvious that this phrase means that a person is not easily overcome by alcohol.²⁸ Hence, Mica can carry it, because it is so heavily diluted.

The mixture which consists of five parts of water and two of wine is only slightly stronger. This proportion is referred to at e.g. Nicoch. fr. 2 and 16, Eup. fr. 6, and Amips. fr. 4, in the two last cases in connection with Dionysus.²⁹ The joke seems to be in these passages that even the god of wine himself brings such a weak mixture. Furthermore, the 5:2 dilution appears at Hermipp. fr. 24, in which a character seems to mock the superstitious belief of other men. When they pray for the drinking-horn to be turned into wine, he takes it to the wine-merchant (τοῦ καπήλου) and has it filled with a 5:2-mixture. A conjecture for line 3 is ἀσκόν τε καὶ πελεκύν, though, which has been explained as a game. When the horn is thrown into the air, it is as light as a wine-skin, when it comes down, it is full of wine and heavy as an axe.³⁰ It has been assumed that the speaker is a slave,³¹ but it appears strange, if so, that when mocking the symposiasts he includes himself in this group by using the first person plural in πινώμεθ', διψώμεθα, and εὐχόμεθα. So the first interpretation and conjecture may still be right, but it is more likely that the speaker is a symposiast, who went himself to buy the wine.

The two rather weak mixtures mentioned are recommended by a proverb, quoted by Ath. 426d, directly following Diocl. Com. fr. 7, where a character answers the question, how the wine shall be mixed, by giving the proportion 4:2. It says that one

²⁸Cf. Sommerstein ad Th. 741-2. For the other use of 'carry' referring to the wine, meaning how much water it can bear, see below.

²⁹On Dionysus cf. also Hermipp. fr. 45, where a character vows to give all his goods to the god if something should happen to him after he has drunk out his cup.

³⁰Cf. Vilijoen 53 with Koujeas 478-80 on Thphr., Char. 5.5.

³¹Bergk, in: K.-A. ad loc.

should drink 5:2 or 3:1, rather than 4:2 (ἢ πέντε πίνειν ἢ τρί' ἢ μὴ τέτταρα.). Thus, this next level of strength is considered too strong.

There is also a reference to the mixture of three parts of water to two parts of wine in comedy: Ar., Eq. 1187-8. Demus is excited about how sweet the potion is that he has been presented with, and how well it carries the water. Ath. 10a denotes a wine of this quality with the adjective πολυφόρος.³² The Sausage Seller must have given a wine of very high quality to Demus, since only these can bear water so well.³³

The strongest mixture in use was 1:1 (ἴσον ἴσῳι).³⁴ It is mentioned at Stratt. fr. 64, perhaps as a luxury in a golden age scene. A joke based on the strength of this mixture appears at Alex. fr. 232.2: Tryphe, probably a slave, is instructed by another character, probably her master, to mix his wine 1:1 because he finds the weaker mixtures too watery. The character addressed at Xenarch. fr. 9 also drinks wine in this strength, which seems to have been quite popular. This is expressed by the speaker of Cratin. fr. 196, and at Alex. fr. 246.4 drinking wine mixed half and half is considered the sweetest way possible. Here, as also at Alex. fr. 59, this proportion is used to drink to somebody's health. It is also employed for an after-dinner drink (μετανιπτήσις) at Philetaer. fr.1.³⁵ In contrast, at Archipp. fr. 2, the speaker, probably

³²The joke on 'carry' at Ar., Th. 742 (see above) could also play on this meaning. Cf. also Cratin. fr. 196.

³³Cf. Neil ad loc. At Plu., Mor. 657cd, Aristion, who compares wine to music, claims that 3:2 was the most harmonious mixture. A character at Philetaer. fr. 15 is suspected to have turned this proportion around to 2:3. Hom., Od. 9.209 mentions that one part of Maroneum (cf. 9.197) could be mixed with twenty parts of water. This wine is even strong enough for Odysseus to use in order to overcome the Cyclops (9.345ff.).

³⁴Except for the stronger proportion 3:4 which is mentioned at Ephipp. fr. 11.

³⁵In a non-sympotic context at Aristopho fr. 13.3 a female slave relates in an excited manner how her master, when he let her free, gave her a cup of wine mixed 1:1 - instead of water which is normally used in such a case, according to K.-A. ad lines 1sq. This is one of the many allusions to comic slaves' and women's bibulousness: cf. also below about unmixed wine.

addressing his slaves who mixed the wine, criticises this proportion. It does not become clear, though, whether he regards the mixture as too strong or too weak. The latter interpretation is a more obvious joke, but the former might be supported by a comparison with Sophil. fr. 4. There a character tells how unmixed wine was offered mixed 1:1 (ἄκρατος ... ἴσον ἴσῳ). It seems that he means that what used to be unmixed wine was diluted before it was offered, but it is more likely that ἄκρατος is used in the sense of 'strong' here, as the similar oxymoron κέρασον ἄκρατον at Ar., Ec. 1123ff. may imply.³⁶ Probably the author's main intention is the play on words. At least, the equal mixture was considered strong enough to make somebody tell the truth:³⁷ cf. Timocl. fr. 22.

Finally, mixing wine half and half is employed as an image at Ar., Ach. 354, denoting 'giving an opponent an equal chance to argue' (... ἐθέλειν τ' ἀκοῦσαι μηδὲν ἴσον ἴσῳ φέρον ...).³⁸ The use of symposium-imagery at this point has been prepared for by the fact that the chorus dances beforehand when they are shaking out their cloaks (344-8),³⁹ and by the mention of σηπία, 'cuttlefish' at 350 (which again appears in line 1040, when Dicaeopolis gives orders for the preparation of the meal for his celebration of the newly achieved peace, also including this delicacy), and of ὀμφακίαν (352) which refers to wine from unripe grapes. The use of this imagery indicates how well-known this highest proportion is.

³⁶Rogers ad loc. explains this contradiction as indicating the proportion 0:1, i.e. pure wine, but this is not in keeping with the expression ἴσον ἴσῳ. A similar problem as in the passages mentioned might be included in Pherecr. fr. 147, which says that unmixed wine was dragged from the cellar, because, again, it is not certain whether it will be mixed later on.

³⁷For the connection between wine and truth more generally cf. Rösler, in: E.L. Bowie (1995).

³⁸Taillardat § 448.

³⁹Henderson (1998) ad Ach. 347, p. 101 n. 46 writes that the shaking out of the clothes stands for a reinforcement of a remonstrance, curse or threat. Boegehold 77 thinks that a curse is included in this gesture.

Unmixed wine

The drinking of unmixed wine was considered barbarian, as shown at Ar., Ach. 73-5, where an Athenian ambassador relates that when they were entertained at the Great King's, they had to drink (πρὸς βίαν 73)⁴⁰ unmixed, sweet wine. In lines 77-8, he continues that the barbarians (οἱ βάρβαροι) regard only those as real men who are able to eat and drink very much.⁴¹ This stereotype about barbarians already appears at Hdt. 6.84, which describes how Cleomenes learned immoderate drinking of unmixed wine from the Scythians. Cf. also Anacr. 365 (b) with Ath. 427ab; and the fact that the satyric dramatist Achaeus 20 F9 Snell seems to equate the Scythian way of drinking with using unmixed wine. In contrast, at 4.79 Herodotus himself writes that this people rejects the cultic practice of revelling in a bacchantic manner (βακχεύειν), which is also closely connected with the consumption of alcohol. Furthermore, Antiph. fr. 58 writes in a play entitled Βάκχαις that a man who marries a wife is to be pitied, except in Scythia, because only there do no vines grow: cf. also Aristot., APo. 1.13 p. 78b, lines 29-30, who writes that the Scythians do not have aulos-players because there are no vines; cf. also Ath. 428de. These contradictions reveal clearly that these statements are only stereotypes, but were commonly used for jokes in comedy.

The prejudice against drinking unmixed wine is also applied in comedy to slaves (cf. e.g. Ar., V. 9ff., Ec. 1123) and women (cf. Alex. fr. 56 and 172, Pl. Com. fr. 188,

⁴⁰The verb ἐπίνομεν appears as a surprise after this expression. Cf. also a passage from a satyric drama by Sophocles, fr. 735 Radt, where a character states that to drink against one's will (πρὸς βίαν) is as bad as being thirsty. However, the expression does not seem to have been used only ironically: Rogers, Ach. ad loc. mentions that the phrase πίνειν πρὸς βίαν can be applied to the situation in which someone passed the cup of wine without drinking at a party had to pay a penalty (ἐπιτίμτον), e.g. to give the next drinking-party himself, as Alciphro 2.30 relates.

⁴¹Cf. 'Frogs' p. 81 n. 4. See Alex. fr. 9. Cf. also Ar., Ach. 141, where the ambassador Theorus relates that he drank with the Thracian king Sitalces, apparently as a sign of friendship. At 148, the king is said to swear over a libation to send help to the Athenians.

Xenarch. fr. 6, Eub. fr. 42, and several passages in Ar., Ec., Lys., Th., and Pl.).⁴² This is because unmixed wine is officially used only to pour libations (cf. e.g. Antiph. fr. 81).⁴³ This act is often connected with abuse of alcohol by comic slaves: instead of pouring the liquid out they are shown drinking it, indicating their fondness for wine, e.g. at Ar., Eq. 85ff. and 106-7 (see below). This is also mentioned at Cratin. fr. 322, but it is not known who the speaker is. Distortions of the practice of pouring a libation are also frequently depicted with comic female characters (cf. e.g. Theopomp. Com. fr. 41 and 42), as well emphasising their comic reputation for bibulousness. A typical example is Ar., Ec. 132-3, where one of the women demands a drink of unmixed wine, mistaking the garland which she is supposed to wear as a speaker in the assembly for one of the kind worn at a symposium.⁴⁴ One of her excuses for this misunderstanding is that men made libations at their assemblies and therefore also drank unmixed wine, the effect of which was reflected in their misbehaviour (135ff.). This comic female tendency is particularly obvious at Ar., Lys. 195-239, where the women decide to slaughter a jar of Thasian wine as a sacrifice in connection with their chastity-oath,⁴⁵ swear to pour no water into their cup (195-7), and plan to drink from this cup of unmixed wine if they fulfil their oath; but if not, the cup should be filled with water (233-6). Before the actual uttering of the oath, Myrrhine tries to be the first one to swear, i.e. to drink, but Calonice intervenes, saying that this is not possible unless she draws the first lot (208), an allusion to a common sympotic practice for establishing the drinking-order.

This is a good point at which to mention another possibility for establishing the drinking-order. A symposiarch who lays down the order of drinking can be elected: cf. X., An. 6.1.30 where the election of a symposiarch (συμποσίαρχον αἰρῶνται)

⁴²Cf. also E.L. Bowie, in: Murray (1995) 116.

⁴³Only those to Hermes are mixed 1:1: cf. Ar., Pl. 1132 and Stratt. fr. 23.

⁴⁴Cf. 'Ecclesiazusae' p. 60.

⁴⁵Cf. 'Lysistrata' p. 38ff. for details on this passage.

serves as an example for that of a military commander. It is believed to be an old institution (παλαιὸν ἔθος Mor. 620a); and Plu., Mor. 208bc says that this man is chosen by lot (λαχῶν). Plu., Mor. 620a-622b describes the characteristics which a man who obtains this duty should possess. In a friendly way he is to ensure moderation at a drinking party in every respect, i.e. drinking, conversation, and playing games. These duties are parodied at Alex. fr. 21, where an immoderate symposiarch drinks up twenty cups, and the election process is parodied, in a way, at Pl., Smp. 213e, where Alcibiades appoints himself ἄρχων.

At Eup. fr. 219, a different Athenian office, that of the οἰνόπται, is mentioned. Here a comic complaint is made: people who would not even have been elected wine-inspectors in the old days now become leaders of the army. Ath. 424b writes that oinoptai had to see that the guests drank the same amounts, apparently at official symposia.⁴⁶ In the following passage, he reports the words of the orator Philinus that this office was not considered a very high one, and that the task of the three oinoptai was to provide the symposiasts with lights and wicks.

Drunkenness and hangovers

Even if the wine is drunk in a diluted form, some symposiasts are depicted as consuming such large quantities of alcohol that they become drunk. A euphemism for hard drinking is 'lifting the armpit' (ἄνω τὴν μασχάλην αἴρωμεν: Cratin. fr. 301 with LSJ s.v. μασχάλη). There are many passages in comedy which speak of such excessive drinking. For instance, a slave is told to give the guests many rounds of wine at Amphis fr. 18, Antiph. fr. 234.3-4 speaks of people who drink with jaws which do not cease draining (ἔλκουσι γνάθοις ὀλκῆς ἀπαύστοις), and, similarly, Pherecr. fr. 101 delivers an invitation to anybody in the audience who is thirsty to a drink of lepaste like Charybdis. A quite explicit example is Sophil. fr. 5, where

⁴⁶Cf. also their mention at Schol. Ar. Pac. 1178.

apparently a person tries to get drunk on purpose and therefore calls for twelve⁴⁷ ladles to be poured out in order to get ready for a komos. Characters at Pl. Com. fr. 192 even drink directly from the ladle, and at Ar. fr. 260 someone is accused of having come to somebody's place already drunk (παροινεῖς) before dinner, which reminds one of Eupolis being drunk before a party at Ar., Av. 493ff. (Cf. 'Birds' p. 55ff.).

Some characters are even nicknamed because of their habitual heavy drinking in comedy. For instance, Heracles is said to drink many draughts in quick succession at Alex. fr. 88, who concludes that the proverb in which the hero is called a wineskin (ἄσκός) and a (meal-)sack, alluding to his fondness of drink and food, is true. Similarly, at Antiph. fr. 20 somebody is called by the same nickname (ἄσκός) because of his drunken habits and his fat body, and Ath. 436f speaks of a character called Xenarchus who is nicknamed after the liquid measure Μετρητής since he drinks so much.⁴⁸

There is also mention of drinking competitions in comedy. At Men. fr. 2, a character floors his opponent by drinking twenty cups of wine, and at the end of Aristophanes' 'Acharnians', Dicaeopolis comes home from a party in the manner of a komast, boasting that he won the drinking-contest of the Choes by emptying a skin filled with neat wine without stopping to take breath (ἄμυστιν 1229; cf. also Pl. Com. fr. 205, Pherecr. fr. 217, Cratin. fr. 322).

This mode of drinking without taking breath seems to have been well known or at least have been a common joke, since it is also mentioned elsewhere.⁴⁹ For instance,

⁴⁷If Cobet's addition, in: K.-A., is right. Cf. also Alex. fr. 21, which is mentioned above.

⁴⁸Similar passages are Ach. 1002 with Sommerstein ad loc. and Nu. 1237-8.

⁴⁹E.g. Anacr. 356a Campbell. Cf. also E., Cyc. 417, where the Cyclops drinks without taking breath. Thus, this habit is sometimes seen as barbaric.

Ar. fr. 700, which speaks of a person who drinks without coughing, could refer to this practice. It is associated with immoderateness: cf. Callimachus' fr. 178.11-2: *χανδὸν ἄμυστιν οἴνοποτεῖν*. Call. fr. 178.11 and also later Hor., Od. 1.36.14 call this way of drinking a Thracian custom, which is another instance of the stereotype of barbarian drinking (see above). The setting of Callimachus' fragment is the Anthesteria festival. The Pitcher Feast, which is part of it, is that of the drinking-contest in Ach.: cf. Ach. 961, 1068, 1076. If one additionally considers that the occasion at Cratin. fr. 322 is the pouring of a libation (see above), it seems that drinking without stopping to breathe in comedy is frequently connected with ritual.

It was known, though, that drinking is harmful to human beings: cf. e.g. Pl., Smp. 176d and Hermipp. fr. 68, where a character states that a good man should not get drunk. The effect of excessive drinking is usually seen as losing one's reason, as e.g. at Crobyl. fr. 3, where a speaker wonders what pleasure continuous drunkenness has if it brings this effect, and at Diod. Com. fr. 1 (whose title 'Auletris' suggests a sympotic context), where it is stated that if one drinks more than ten cups, with every further cup one spews up one's powers of reason. The progression of drunkenness is described in detail by Dionysus at Eub. fr. *93. He says that reasonable men drink only three bowls. The fourth cup is already too much, and with the fifth, the effect of the wine becomes apparent in the form of ὕβρις (cf. also Philocleon's conduct at Ar., V. 1303 and 1319).⁵⁰ Then follows screaming, after the sixth komastic behaviour,⁵¹ and next black eyes, which reminds one of how Philocleon beats his slave at Ar., V. 1292ff., another man at Ar., V. 1422, and at 1386 even his son; cf. also Ar., V. 1253-5, where the old man warns about the effects of drinking, and Ar., Ach. 551, where 'black eyes' are linked with garlands and aulos-players, in the context of a farewell

⁵⁰Since this behaviour is followed by screaming in this enumeration, it will not mean 'drunken violence' here, but rather, as Hunter at line 7 notes, 'insults', similar to Philocleon's speeches at Ar., V.1308ff.

⁵¹There does not seem to be any reason for a conjecture to *μώκων*, which is mentioned at K.-A. ad loc.

party of soldiers or their revelling.⁵² Furthermore, Eubulus writes, after the fifth cup one will encounter summons and feel bitter anger, and after the tenth cup madness, which includes throwing, e.g. stones.⁵³ This too reminds one of Philocleon's behaviour at Ar., V. 1253-5 and 1422. The last two lines of Eubulus' fragment hint at the fact that the wine which is consumed is not even mixed with water.

Not only physical violence appears with drunkenness, though, but abuse (σκῶψις 3) is frequently said to hurt other persons at symposia, according e.g. to Alex. fr. 160. Once a bad word has been said (κακῶς λέγειν 4), you will hear something in return, and quickly the joke turns into an insult (λοιδορεῖσθαι 5; cf. also Ar. fr. 361 for the connection of λοιδορία and drinking), and finally blows and drunken violence will follow (τύπτεσθαι ... καὶ παροινεῖν 6). This reminds one very much of Philocleon's situation at the 'real' party in 'Wasps': his misbehaviour starts with his insults while playing eikasmos (1308ff.) and ends with physical violence. This process is similarly depicted in the chain reaction which is started by drinking, described by the first speaker at Epich. fr. 148 (Kaibel): mockery - swinish stupidity - a law-suit - being found guilty - shackles, a pair of stocks, a fine (μῶκος - ὑανία - δίκαια - καταδίκαια - πέδα, σφαλός, ζαμία). Furthermore, Diph. fr. 45, where a character warns another that he has been drinking and is now slightly drunk (ἀκροθώρακ') and angry (θυμούμενον), hints at the same point.⁵⁴ This problem of insulting behaviour by drunks at symposia is increased by the tendency of people who have been drinking to be very easily upset (ἐπισφαλῶς ἔχομεν) by other people's talk, so that in such a case

⁵²Cf. Sommerstein and Rogers ad Ach. 551. Apolloph. fr. 3 recommends putting a ladle on a black eye.

⁵³Hunter ad Eub. fr. 94.10 (= *93.10 K.-A.) notes that throwing stones was considered to be mad behaviour. As he writes, the point of the passage is that drunken μανία is compared with real μανία: cf. also Anacreonta 9 Campbell and Com. Adesp. fr. 101.

⁵⁴Cf. also Mnesim. fr. 7, where the fighting spirit of Philip's soldiers is described in a way that mixes vocabulary of weapons into the symposium-imagery employed in this passage: δειπνοῦμεν, καταπίνομεν, τραγήματα, μετὰ δειπνον, προσκεφάλαια, ἐστεφανώμεθα.

jokes (σκώμμασιν) may sometimes be even more arousing than insults (λοιδορίαις) to the offended person, as Plu., Mor. 631c explains.

However, wine was also known for its positive effects in antiquity, and several comic passages praise them. For instance, at Com. Adesp. fr. 101 the physician Mnesitheus is shown as speaking of it as the greatest good for those who use it in the right way, because of its nutritious qualities which give strength to mind and body, its medical value, and the cheering effect which wine causes if it is drunk moderately and in a mixed form (2-11).⁵⁵ However, he also states, that if wine is consumed in a way which exceeds the bounds, it brings ὕβρις (11). Mixed half and half it causes madness (μανίαν 12), unmixed a disabling of the nerves or paralysis (13). Here, not so much the number of cups drunk but rather the degree of dilution of the wine is considered the main factor in its effect.

In contrast, at Ar., Eq. 85ff. the slave Demosthenes generally and without restrictions praises the effect of wine on men as being good for their minds. He concludes that if he drinks neat wine, he will find a different way to escape Paphlagon than committing suicide. He lies down to drink because, he maintains, he will splatter the whole place with little resolutions, thoughts, and intellect, when he is drunk (98-100). This passage serves as a joke on comic slaves' fondness for alcohol (see above).

To return to the negative effects of wine, not only the immediate ones, i.e. mainly the problem that drunk people cannot think reasonably anymore, are alluded to in several comic passages, but also the fact that one will suffer a hangover (κραιπάλη) the next day: cf. Ar., V. 1255, Ach. 277, and also Pl. 298 as well as Ra. 217; cf. also Pherecr.

⁵⁵For the cheering effect of wine cf. also Apollonoph. fr. 7. A character at Theopomp. Com. fr. 63 recommends raw wine (τρύξι) to a young man for medical reasons. See generally Bielohlawek 27 about fragments of Theognis on moderate drinking. Note also that Pl., Lg. 666ab, giving guidelines for wine-drinking in different age-groups, recommends moderation for young men.

fr. 251 *καραιβαρᾶν*. A character at Alex. fr. 257 is shown as wishing that the headache preceded drunkenness, so that nobody would drink immoderately, in particular not unmixed wine. This seems to be an imitation of Clearch. Com. fr. 3, which states even more rigorously that, if people who drink every day had a headache (*ἀλγεῖν ... τὴν κεφαλὴν*: 2) before they drank unmixed wine, no one at all would drink.⁵⁶ Philyll. fr. 23 proposes another solution to this painful problem. In this fragment a character says that he will offer different sorts of wine, so that nobody will have a headache. The sorts of wine which he mentions, i.e. Lesbian, Chian, Thasian, Bibline, and Mendean, are all of such high quality that they would not cause a hangover, according to ancient beliefs.⁵⁷ Ath. 32d (see above p. 190 n. 15) writes that a mixture of wine and sea-water does not cause a hangover.

If it has happened, though, that one does have a hangover, the comic fragments recommend boiled cabbage as a remedy: cf. Alex. fr. 287, Anaxandr. fr. 59, and also the rather obscure Eub. fr. 124, where the speaker accuses a woman of thinking he was a cabbage since she tried to send forth (*ἀφεῖναι*) all her headache to him.⁵⁸ There are two ancient explanations for this cure,⁵⁹ either that the drunkenness (*μέθη*) - like growing vines - was disgusted by the smell of cabbage and therefore disappeared (Thphr., HP 4.16.6), or that the juice of the cabbage cools the body which is hot from the wine ([Aristot.], Pr. 3.873b). For the same reason as the latter, symposiasts used to rub unguents on their heads (cf. 'Perfume' p. 265-6). Later, Plin., H.N. 20.84 writes that the Greeks ate cabbage before drinking, in order to prevent drunkenness. However, this practice does not seem to be described elsewhere, and Pliny seems to have confused matters. Other suggested cures are taking a nap (Alex. fr. 287), and

⁵⁶Cf. K.-A. ad loc. Cratin. fr. 199 is different. Here a character decides to stop the excessive drinking of another by smashing all his cups.

⁵⁷Cf. also 'Frogs' p. 87 with n. 31.

⁵⁸Anaxandr. fr. 59 writes that a bath and the consumption of much cabbage disperses one's sadness and grief. However, it is not clear, whether these feelings were caused by heavy drinking in this case.

⁵⁹Cf. Hunter ad Eub. fr. 124.2.

also decoctions of acorns (βαλάντιον) which a character at Nicoch. fr. 18 is going to prepare the following day as a change from cabbage.⁶⁰ The joke in this passage seems to be that the speaker must have suffered a great number of hangovers, because he is already sick of all the cabbage he has had to eat. Referring to the Roman empire, Plu., Mor. 624cd recommends eating bitter almonds before drinking, claiming that Tiberius' son Drusus used to do this. Ath. 675d knows another method: he writes that, according to a physician called Andreas, an ivy-wreath helps against a headache caused by drinking. Finally, as an even better cure for drunkenness than cabbage, Amphis fr. 37 mentions sudden grief. This reminds one of E., Alc. 826-860, where the revelling Heracles very quickly sobers up when he hears of the real cause of the grief in his host Admetus' house.

To conclude, the frequent reference to drunkenness and hangovers in comedy indicate their comic value. In a more serious context, at Pl., Smp. 176a-d, the symposiasts are seen as choosing not to drink so much or everybody only as much, and according to individual preference.⁶¹ This can be explained by their wish to engage in philosophical discourse, but on the other hand we are informed that they are not in the best condition on account of their heavy drinking the night before.

Comic passages indicate that drinking in general is in no way considered unacceptable for men, as long as certain rules, e.g. concerning the mixture, are observed.⁶² Jokes which refer to the drinking of wine are mostly based on an overstepping of these restrictions, in particular as to the amount of alcohol consumed.

⁶⁰Roasted acorn (φηγός) is mentioned as a dessert eaten with wine at Ar., Pax 1136 and Pl., R. 372c. In both cases it appears in connection with roasted chickpeas: cf. Pherecr. fr. 170, Ar., Ec. 45, Mnesim. fr. 7, Crobyl. fr. 9 where a character rejects a chickpea as a (symbolic) prize for the game of cottabus, and also Xenarch. 22.3 D.-K.; cf. Ath. 54e-55b. Figs, beans, and toasted myrtle-berries were also popular as desserts: cf. Pl., R. 372c.

⁶¹Ath. 613c calls such parties μουσικά ... συμπόσια.

⁶²Cf. also Bowie (1995) 116.

Outside sympotic contexts drinking women and slaves are also a very common theme in comedy, often in ritual contexts, as can be seen from the examples already cited. Otherwise, the comedians like particularly to mock wealthy Athenians for their bibulousness (cf. e.g. *Ar.*, V. 79-80). However, since wine was an everyday drink in classical Greece,⁶³ the comic poets could presuppose in all of their audience a basic knowledge of common degrees of dilution and the effects of wine. But also facts which one would only expect a connoisseur to know, such as characteristics of rather choice sorts of wine, seem to a certain extent to have been familiar to the majority of spectators. Even if less wealthy people did not drink these sorts, they presumably knew about them from seeing them being sold and hearing laudatory comments on them.

Wine and peace

Another use of wine in comedy is for its symbolical value standing for peace, in particular in Aristophanes' peace-plays, especially 'Acharnians'.⁶⁴ At several places in this play, war is depicted as directly affecting the cultivation of vines and therefore the existence of this drink: at 183 and 512, the Spartans are accused of having cut the Acharnians' vines down (cf. also 232), and at 986-7, in an allegory, the leader of the chorus says that the god of war has burnt the vines and poured the wine out of them by force.⁶⁵ For this reason the chorus decides to exclude him from their symposia (979ff.) when they celebrate Dicaeopolis' peace and newly re-opened market. This is contrasted by Dicaeopolis' address to Phales during his phallic procession. He invokes the god as the companion of Dionysus (263) and invites him to drink with

⁶³Cf. Moritz, s.v. 'wine', *OCD* 2nd ed., 1138; Davidson 40.

⁶⁴Cf. 'Acharnians' p. 1ff. Cf. also the frequent appearance of wine rivers in descriptions of a golden age, e.g. *Telecl.* fr. 1 (cf. also *E., Ba.* 143); for wine-rain cf. *Pherecr.* fr. 137.6.

⁶⁵In contrast, peace is known as the goddess who loves wine most: cf. *Pax* 308, 520, 596. Cf. 'Peace' p. 22-3.

them. For his hangover, Dicaeopolis promises him a bowl of peace in the morning (277-9). Thus, peace and drinking are closely related also in this scene.⁶⁶

Several of the references given above show that not only drinking wine but also its cultivation is depicted in comedy as a typical activity in times of peace. This is also expressed at Ach. 994-7, where the chorus-leader enumerates what he would grow if he had Reconciliation. Among figs and oil he also mentions vines twice, once young, once cultivated ones. Similarly, at Pax 576, Trygaeus includes sweet new wine (τῆς τρυγός τε τῆς γλυκείας) in his description of the old way of life which Peace used to provide.⁶⁷ Already at 557, when Trygaeus has announced that now that there is peace the peasants may go home and work on their fields, the chorus-leader is looking forward to addressing his vines, and at 596 the chorus predicts that the vines will happily smile at the goddess Peace.⁶⁸ Finally, at 1178, Aristophanes employs the image of wine / vines defeating war, in the description of how Lamachus was wounded by a vine-prop - not an enemy's spear as he himself maintains at 1194 and 1226.⁶⁹

Fitting this symbolism, the peace-treaty in Ach. is denoted with the expression σπονδαί (183, 186), which literally means 'libation', since such drink-offerings were made on concluding treaties.⁷⁰ The duration of the truce is referred to as if it was the

⁶⁶Cf. Edmunds, in particular 5-6, 11, 20, and Bowie (1995) 123-5 on the question of wine and peace in general. On the passage in Ach. cf. 'Komos' p. 157.

⁶⁷Cf. also Pherecr. fr. 137.6 about Zeus who lets smoky wine rain in a *Schlaraffenland*.

⁶⁸Cf. also 'Peace' p. 27. At 557ff., as also at Ach. 996, fig-trees or figs are mentioned in connection with vines. See also Pax 706-8 about the production of wine in peace, here with a sexual connotation.

⁶⁹This passage is one of several parodies of the Telephus-myth in this play. This hero got caught in a vine, so that Achilles was able to wound him (cf. e.g. Rau 139 n. 5). Thucydides 6.101 writes about the death of Lamachus 11 years later that he advanced across a ditch (τάφος, as in Ach.) and was then cut off with a few others and killed.

⁷⁰Cf. LSJ s.v. σπονδή II and Bowie (1995) 123. Cf. also Newiger (1957) 52-3 and 104-5. This is an example for a single controlling metaphor supported by a series of smaller metaphors, which is a typical feature in Aristophanes' plays, particularly in the earlier ones: cf. McLeish 159.

age of a wine (188ff.), and Dicaeopolis' rejections refer to the supposed taste of the wine (see above). When he accepts the thirty-years treaty, he stays with the imagery of wine and says that he will receive it (like a cup passed around at a symposium), make a libation, and drink it up (δέχομαι καὶ σπένδομαι κάκτιομαι 199). Later on, in this phallic song, he promises Phales a bowl of peace if he drank with him.⁷¹ This indicates the strong association between wine and peace in this play. The Acharnians, however, have smelled the treaty (179), again as if it was wine, and threaten Amphitheus who is carrying it. This, in comparison with the Centaurs disturbing the drinking party to which Heracles is invited, as related at Diod. 4.12.3-7, as well as the Acharnians' attack on Dicaeopolis' celebration of the Rural Dionysia (283ff., especially 280ff.), has been interpreted as meaning that "wine effects a double characterisation of the Acharnians",⁷² here in a negative way (whereas the destruction of their vines positively helps to justify their anger against the Spartans).

Conclusion

As the comic passages treated above show, the imagery of vines and wine helps to depict characters' actions as good or bad. Wine is particularly employed as standing for a life full of pleasures in peace. A symbolic use of wine is for this reason most prominent in the peace-plays, but also in some other cases in a different sense (see above, e.g. Polyzel. fr. 13 about sweet wine standing for sweet words). This shows the thematic value that wine has for comedy, which is closely connected with it anyway, because it is part of a Dionysiac festival (see above): on the one hand it serves directly to show cheerful party-scenes or wild drunken behaviour, on the other, it has a symbolic meaning which is used to bring certain points, e.g. the problem of whether the Acharnians should be opposed to Dicaeopolis' peace or support it, more vividly across to the audience.

⁷¹Fraenkel 27-8 notes the use of medical vocabulary in ῥοφήσεις.

⁷²Cf. Bowie (1997) 15.

Cottabus

Name and origin

One of the most popular party-games in antiquity was κότταβος, and several comic fragments of the classical period provide quite detailed information on different aspects of this pastime which will be discussed in this chapter.¹ First the etymology of cottabus will be considered, then the origins of the game, the use of the name for different aspects of the game, the variants of cottabus, the prizes, the erotic component of the game, hetaerae playing it, and, finally, cottabus in peace and war.

The origin of the word κότταβος is unknown.² However, there are two main suggestions regarding its etymology. Some scholars³ think that it is derived from κοττίς or κοτίς (= 'head') and means 'having a head'. In their opinion this refers to the little plate that is put on the top of the cottabus-stand in one variant of the game. Others see a relation to κόττος = κύβος (= 'dice'). They claim that the expression κότταβος depicts the bending of the wrist when the wine-drops are thrown, which is similar to the movement used when rolling a dice.⁴ A really convincing etymology

¹There are also many references to cottabus elsewhere in Greek literature, but this chapter concentrates on the comic ones. One of them, which will not appear in the main text, is Ar. fr. 960, which mentions cottabus together with drinking. Most of the references are quoted and explained at Ath. 665e-668c. Another game in the comic fragments is ἀστραγαλίζειν (e.g. at Stratt. fr. 80), i.e. playing with dices, which often appears in depictions of a golden age in connection with food: cf. Cratin. fr. 176.2 and Telecl. fr. 1.14, where the players even are slaves. Also πεσσονομεῖν, i.e. playing draughts or backgammon, is mentioned in this context. On these pastimes and their moral value for the community see also Kurke (1999a). At (1999b) 275 she notes that games of chance, such as cottabus and astragaloi - as well as physical games, i.e. athletic or ball games - had an elite association, fitting aristocratic symposia.

²Cf. Frisk 932 and Chantraine 572 s.v.

³E.g. Schneider 1529, Studniczka, in: Frisk 932.

⁴Mastrelli 25ff., especially 27. He also sees in this context a connection with κοτ(τ)ίς, denoting 'capital bone', which he associates with ἀστράγαλος, i.e. 'bone-dice' (25, 27).

has not yet been found. It is suspected, though, that the expression has its origins in the western Mediterranean area.⁵

The game was apparently invented by Greeks who lived in Sicily (Critias [88] 2,1 D.K. = Critias B2 West = Ath. 666b = Schol. Ar. Pac. 1244c; Anacr. fr. 415 Campbell).⁶ According to Dicaearchus, 'On Alcaeus' fr. 95 Wehrli (in: Ath. 666b and Schol. Ar. Pac. 1244c), the word *λατάγη*, which denotes (as a variant to *λάταξ*) the drops of wine which had to be thrown in this game, is also of Sicilian origin. Since Anacreon fr. 415 Campbell mentions *κότταβος*, the game must already have been known in the sixth century B.C. Furthermore, Alcaeus fr. 322 Campbell already mentions *λάταγες* flying from cups, which will allude to *cottabus*. According to the frequent representations of this pastime in literature and art, it was most popular in the classical period.

The word *κότταβος* is used to denote not only the game itself, but also everything associated with it.⁷ For instance, it is employed to describe the target of the wine drops, i.e. the *cottabus*-stand, as at Antiph. fr. 57.1-2 and 12 and Pl. Com. fr. 71.4, or the vessel⁸ for the other variant of the game (see below), as at Ath. 666d = Schol. Ar. Pac. 1244, line 9. At Pl. Com. fr. 46.1, either of these could be meant, but finally *κότταβος ἐν λεκάνη* is played, so the term will refer to the vessel. Schol. Ar. Pac. 1244 also quotes Eup. fr. 95, but this reference does not provide strong evidence for the interpretation that it is a vessel, and could refer to either sort of aim. Another meaning of *κότταβος* is that of the wine- lees or the throwing of them, as at Pl. Com.

⁵Cf. e.g. Mastrelli 29, 39-40.

⁶Cf. e.g. Hoesch, in: Vierneisel-Kaerer 272, Frisk 932, and Chantraine 572 s.v.; about the popularity of the game in Sicily cf. also Ath. 668de.

⁷Cf. e.g. Frisk 932, Mastrelli 21.

⁸The *cottabus*-stand is also known as *κοττάβιον* and the platter as *κοτταβεῖον*: cf. Ath. 667d, Poll. 6.109-10. The vessel can be called *κοτταβεῖον* and *κοττάβιον*, as well: cf. Dicaearchus fr. 95 Wehrli and LSJ s.v. According to Mastrelli 21 and 18 with n. 62, the cup could be called *κοτταβίς*: cf. Dicaearch. fr. 97 Wehrli.

fr. 47 and Antiph. fr. 57.5.⁹ Schol. Ar. Pac. 1244c line 8 (= Ath. 666d) indicates that the prizes for the victory in this game could be called κότταβος, too.¹⁰ However, they rather seem to have been known as κοτταβεῖον, κοττάβειον or κοττάβιον.

Variants of the game

1. κότταβος κατακτός

There are two variants of the game: κότταβος κατακτός and κότταβος ἐν λεκάνηι or δι' ὄξυβάφων. At Antiph. fr. 57, the former is explained to a rather slow-learning person. His lack of knowledge on this sympotic pastime might indicate he has never previously attended a symposium, or at least not a luxurious one where this game could be expected to be played, since it is connected with wealth in so far as the wine is literally thrown away. There is no indication of why he is present at a party now.

The rules of the game are the following: a small amount of wine is poured into a cup (16) - or is left in it. These wine-drops or -dregs are called λάταγες: cf. Cratin. fr. 299.4, Hermipp. fr. 48.7. The fingers which hold the cup have to be crooked as if one was playing the aulos (αὐλητικῶς), says the instructor in line 15 of Antiphanes' fragment. This is also depicted on many vase-paintings and is at the same time a hint at the aristocratic connotation of the game, as knowledge of playing the aulos is also typical of upper-class citizens.¹¹ The index- or, sometimes, the middle-finger of the player's right hand is put through the handle of the cup. Apparently, the thumb is often used to help stabilising it.¹² At first, the arm is bent and the fingers are only

⁹Schol. Ar. Ach. 525a and b also mention that the sound of the wine which was thrown into the saucers was called κότταβος. It seems that they confused the two variants of the game, because sound is only mentioned as being important for κότταβος κατακτός (see below).

¹⁰Schneider 1529 admits that his only reference for this meaning, E. fr. 562 N., is no sure evidence. In the expression ἄθλα κοττάβων cottabus denotes the game itself. On prizes in this game see below.

¹¹Cf. Kurke (1999b) 279. See Vierneisel-Kaeser, ill. 43.2, which allows visual comparison with an aulete's hands.

¹²Cf. Vierneisel-Kaeser 274.

slightly curled. At this stage the cup is still held in quite a straight position. The posture of the player resembles the usual one of a symposiast who rests himself on his left elbow. Then, just before the throwing of the wine-drops, the arm appears to be almost straight. The cup is lightly inclined and the finger which holds the handle is notably crooked.¹³ Then the cup is quickly flicked forwards or rapidly spun in circles, so that the wine-drops are thrown up and away. On vase-paintings it is frequently depicted that symposiasts lift up their right leg, presumably in order to increase the oscillation.¹⁴

As part of general stylisation of sympotic behaviour it is considered very important to play this game as gracefully as possible. Particular emphasis is placed on how to move the hand in this game. So, at Pl. Com. fr. 47 (a scene from the comedy *Ζεὺς κακούμενος*, a large part of which is about Heracles learning how to play cottabus, according to test. 1 K.-A. vol. VII p. 450) the hero is told that his hand has to bend backwards very much, in order to throw the wine-drops (here called *κότταβος*) *εὐρύθμως*, i.e. in a rhythmical manner or in a way that it 'keeps in time'. This at the same time has an aristocratic overtone, since it denotes "the effortlessly graceful physical style that marked the true aristocrat."¹⁵ The text is as follows:

... ἀγκυλοῦντα δεῖ σφόδρα
τὴν χεῖρα πέμπειν εὐρύθμως τὸν κότταβον.

The way he has to hold his hand is here called *ἀγκυλοῦντα*, crooked. Similarly, Cratin. fr. 299 uses the expression *ἀπ' ἀγκύλης*, referring to the tossing of the *λάταγες*.¹⁶ This apparently became a common terminus, as it is also explained at Schol. Ar. Pac. 1244c line 15.

¹³Cf. Vierendeis-Kaesper ill. 43.2; Munich 2421a = Plate 99, ill. 2, Csapo-Miller (= ARV2 23,7).

¹⁴Cf. Vierendeis-Kaesper ill. 43.4; Munich 2421b = Plate 99, ill. 2, Csapo-Miller.

¹⁵Kurke (1999b) 279.

¹⁶Cf. also Bacchylides fr. 17 Campbell and A. fr. 179 Radt.

The wine-drops are aimed at the so-called *πλάστιγξ*. The speakers in Antiph. fr. 57 describe it as *μικρόν* (11-2) and *τὸ πινακίσκιον* (12).¹⁷ However, on vase-paintings the *πλάστιγξ* does not usually look that small.¹⁸ Thus, the description probably only serves to emphasise how hard it seems to the pupil to hit it with the wine-drops. It might, furthermore, be intended to demonstrate how high up the *πλάστιγξ* is placed on the *cottabus*-stand in the opinion of the speaker, as the shot is finally actually made *ὑψοῦ σφόδρα* (18) and the disciple claims that he could not reach so high even with a sling. This is a case of comic exaggeration, though, and can be disproved by the fact that there are vase-paintings which show boys or girls tall enough to place the *πλάστιγξ* back in its place.¹⁹ On the one hand, Antiphanes' exaggeration serves to make the scene more funny, on the other it might, once more, hint at the character's not being used to attending aristocratic symposia.

Antiphanes does not say what the *πλάστιγξ* (*τοῦπικεῖμενον*) actually lies on, but Eub. fr. 15, which is quoted right before Antiphanes' fragment at Ath. 666e, provides a clue. In this short passage Bellerophon, presumably hanging from the *μηχανή* on stage,²⁰ exclaims that he is lifted up like a *κοττάβειον*. This word has been understood in this passage as 'prize won at the game [of *cottabus*]', as at Ath. 667f,²¹ but this meaning would not really make any sense here. It seems better to agree with the explanation of this passage which is given at Ath. 666e, i.e. that it is a *cottabus*-stand, which can be raised and lowered.²² A similar construction is mentioned at Ar., Pax 1242-4.²³ Here Trygaeus advises a war-trumpet-player to pour lead in his

¹⁷The latter is actually a double diminutive of *πίναξ*: cf. LSJ s.v. *πινακίσκιον*.

¹⁸E.g. Sparkes 206-7, ill. 7 and 8; it actually appears to be quite small as an exception at Sparkes 204, ill. 3, though.

¹⁹E.g. Sparkes 206-7, ill. 7 and 8.

²⁰Cf. Hunter ad loc.

²¹LSJ s.v. There are two variant readings: *κοττάβια* (A) and *κοττάβεια*.

²²Cf. Schneider 1533, Sommerstein ad Pax 1244. But, of course, not all *cottabus*-stands were lampstands, like this one.

²³On this passage cf. 'Peace' p. 28 with n. 26.

instrument, which is useless now that the war is over, and to insert a stick (ράβδον), in order to build a piece of equipment for the cottabus-game, which he might find useful during a time of peace:

μόλυβδον ἔς τουτὶ τὸ κοῖλον ἐγχείας
 ἐπειτ' ἄνωθεν ράβδον ἐνθεῖς ὑπόμακρον,
 γενήσεταιί σοι τῶν κατακτῶν κοττάβων.

The scholion on this passage (1242b) explains the name κότταβος κατακτός as being derived from the moving up and down of the cottabus-stick. However, the verbal adjective κατακτός may also refer to the fact that the πλάστιγξ has to be knocked down, as the instructor at Antiph. fr. 57.6ff. explains.

He specifies that it will fall on the μάνης and so create a loud noise. The preposition ἐπὶ τὸν μάνην (11) indicates that the manes cannot be the little figure which is sometimes to be seen on the top of excavated ράβδοι.²⁴ This interpretation used to be accepted, mainly because 'Manes' is also a common name for Phrygian slaves: cf. e.g. Ar., Av. 523 and 1311.²⁵ In Antiphanes' fragment, too, the pupil mistakes the word for a house-slave (12-3). However, since the plastinx actually lies on top of the little figure, it could only have slid along it when it fell down, and certainly not have produced the required ψόφος ... πάνυ πολὺς (11-2). Furthermore, on vase-paintings the little figure seems never to be depicted. If it was really such an important piece of equipment for the game, it would seem strange that it is missing on all the extant representations in art. A second disc is always shown, though, attached to the ράβδος

²⁴Cf. Sparkes 204, ill. 41. For the opposite opinion cf. e.g. Merry ad Pax 1242.

²⁵Cf. Frisk s.v., Sparkes 205, Sommerstein and Dunbar ad Av. 523. Sommerstein notes that the expression also has a connotation of worthlessness: cf. Av. 1329. At Av. 523 items are thrown at the birds, similar to the situation of the cottabus-manes. At Av. 1329 a slave is hit, too. The explanations of this expression given by Sparkes 206 and Schneider 1536 (that both, slave and cottabus-manes, make a loud noise when struck and that the manes is treated like a slave when wine is poured over him) sound quite contrived, though. A similar situation to Av. 523 appears at A. fr. 179 Radt, where Odysseus is used as a cottabus-target (see also below).

further down. Therefore, it is now the *communis opinio* that this plate used to be called manes, a name which still, because of its association with slaves, underlines an aspect of the social hierarchy of cottabus.²⁶ Thus, for this variant of the game three things, the *ράβδος*, the *μάνης*, and the *λάταγες* are the essential equipment. All three are also mentioned at Hermipp. fr. 48.

Pherecr. fr. 72²⁷ deals with *κότταβος κατακτός*, too. He mentions *κυμβείων* in the context of this game. According to Dorotheus and Nicander in Ath. 481d, these were cups without handles, so that they cannot have been used for the game. They appear as well at Schol. Ar. Pac. 1242b, which describes a strange variant of cottabus in which water was apparently shot at lamp-wicks. The liquid is said to have been caught by *κυμβεῖα κοῖλα*, which were placed underneath the wicks. However, this description sounds rather obscure and it is not clear from where the scholiast took this idea.

2. *κότταβος ἐν λεκάνη*

The second variant of the cottabus-game, *κότταβος ἐν λεκάνη* (cf. Ath. 667e) or *δι' ὄξυβάφων* (Schol. Luc. Lex. 3 p. 194, 4 R.), is nowhere depicted in art.²⁸ However, it is frequently described in literature, in comedy at Amips. fr. 2, Pl. Com. fr. 46, Cratin. fr. 124, and probably Ar. fr. 231 (with Ath. 667ef). Ar. fr. 157 is not a clear reference. In Amipsias' *Ἀποκοτταβίζοντες* fr. 2, the title of which indicates the importance of cottabus in the play, Mania, presumably a slave,²⁹ is told to bring the equipment for the game: a large vessel, in this case a foot-basin, filled with water (*ποδανιπτῆρ'*,

²⁶Cf. the discussions of this problem at Schneider 1535-6 and Sparkes 205-6. Cf. Kurke (1999b) 280.

²⁷This fragment is only ascribed to Pherecr., but was not certainly written by him: cf. K.-A. ad loc.

²⁸The vase-painting shown at Sparkes 207, ill. 10 used to be taken as an example. Why this assumption cannot be right, though, is discussed at Sparkes 206-7.

²⁹Cf. K.-A. ad loc.

ἐγγέασα θύδατος), shallow saucers (ὄξύβαφα),³⁰ and wine-cups (κανθάρους). Ath. 667e and Schol. Ar. Pac. 1244c explain that the saucers float in the big vessel. By tossing wine-drops at them, the symposiasts have to sink the ὄξύβαφα; and the player who succeeds in sinking most of them is the winner.

This variant of the game is also mentioned at Pl. Com. fr. 46, where it is suggested that Heracles could play cottabus until his dinner has been prepared. When he agrees,³¹ his interlocutor tells him to use a mortar: ἀλλ' ἐς θυεΐαν παιστέον (3), and Heracles asks for one, as well as for water and wine-cups (ποτήρια), to be brought (4-5). One notices that he does not mention the saucers. For this reason it has been suspected that this passage shows a third variant of the game, where the wine-drops only had to be thrown into a vessel that was placed on the floor.³² However, it seems more probable that the author omits the ὄξύβαφα only because he takes it for granted that his audience knows the game very well. Even if lower class spectators might not have played the game themselves, they must surely have known about this very popular sympotic pastime, possibly from hearsay about aristocratic symposia.

Ar. fr. 157, too, has been interpreted as a description of a variant of the game: the wine is spat from the mouth, perhaps onto the manes, probably referring to the figure in this passage (see above).³³ Poll. 6.111 explains this interpretation as a kind of

³⁰Actually = 'small vinegar-saucers', then, generally, 'a shallow earthen vessel', 'a drinking cup': cf. LSJ s.v.

³¹His next words in line 3 are incomprehensible, because the text is corrupt at this point and has been interpreted in various ways. Kock's reading ἀλλ' ἄγγος ἔστ' (= 'But is there a vessel?') seems to be mostly favoured. Studniczka's reading, in: Schneider 1537, ἀλλ' ἄνεμός ἐστ' (= 'There is wind.') is very close to what has been transmitted. Schneider interprets this passage as meaning that it is too windy for the plastinx to stay on the cottabus-stand, so Heracles had to play the other variant of the game. However, this explanation seems much more contrived than Kock's conjecture. For further, less convincing emendations cf. the apparatus criticus in K.-A. ad loc.

³²Schneider 1537.

³³Edmonds 691 n.c); cf. also Schol. Luc. Lex. 3.

misunderstanding. Anyhow, the wording of this passage is very corrupt, especially in this line, and might not even refer to a symposium situation.

Cratinus fr. 124, too, is a very corruptly transmitted passage. Ath. 667f (in: K.A. ad loc.) gives it in prose: τὸ δὲ κοττάβω προθέντας ἐν πατρικοῖσι νόμοις τὸ κεινεοῦ ὀξυβάφοις βάλλειν μὲν τῷ πόντῳ δὲ βάλλοντι νέμω πλείστα τύχης τὸ δ' ἄθλον (K.-A.'s version). It thus clearly mentions ὀξυβάφοις βάλλειν. Kaibel, following Bothe,³⁴ conjectured:

... τὰπινέοντ' ὀξύβαφα βάλλειν - - - ...

Luppe reconstructs τοῖς ἐπινέου(σιν) ὀξυβάφοισιν ἐμβαλεῖν. He reads the whole fragment in the following way:

<καὶ> κότταβον προθέντας ἐν πατρικοῖς νόμοις
 τοῖς ἐ<π>ινέου(σιν) ὀξυβάφοις<ιν ἐμ>βαλεῖν
 ἐν τῷ πόντῳ <τὴν λάταγα> πλείστα <δ' ὅστις ἄν>
 τύχη, <νέμω> τὸδ' ἄθλον.

His reconstruction of the first part of the fragment changes the text far less radically than Kaibel's version does, makes good sense, and scans in iambic trimeters whereas Kaibel's trochaics do not really scan. Who hits most of the saucers wins the game: τῷ δὲ βαλόντι πλείστα νέμω τύχης τὸδ' ἄθλον (Kaibel). Luppe (41) changes the wording very much and reads πλείστα δ' ὅστις ἄν τύχη νέμω τὸδ' ἄθλον. Both Luppe and Kaibel place νέμω, which has to refer to ἄθλον, differently from the transmitted version. However, τύχης does not really make sense in this context,³⁵ i.e. in connection with ἄθλον, as Kaibel reads it. Luppe proposes instead the form of the third person singular subjunctive aorist active of τυγχάνω. The use of this verb reminds one of Poll. 6.111 ... καὶ τούτων τινὸς τυχῶν εὐδοκίμει. Luppe argues that τῷ βάλλοντι is in this case superfluous. He thinks that it might have been an explanation of the text, having been added later: τῷ δὲ βάλλοντι νέμω. It was

³⁴Both in K.-A. ad loc.

³⁵Luppe 40.

probably written above the line, misinterpreted as an emendation, and put into the text. Thereby it displaced other words and let the following νέμω appear as a redundant repetition. Luppe assumes that the poetic prolepsis of πλεῖστα was neglected, so that τὴν λάταγα· ὅστις δ' ἄν πλεῖστα was written at this place. He thinks that these 17 letters were replaced by the same number of letters, i.e. by τῶι δὲ βάλλοντι νέμω. However, in this conjecture all the words - apart from πλεῖστα - have been added by Luppe himself. Thus, the whole reconstruction of the second part of the fragment is very hypothetical. Kaibel keeps much closer to the wording of the transmitted text, except for the fact that he leaves out πόντω and changes the word-order of νέμω and πλεῖστα. Luppe's conjecture τύχηι makes more sense than Kaibel's reading τυχής, though. Hence, neither of these readings is absolutely convincing, but at least they help make the meaning of this passage quite understandable.³⁶ This fragment is of importance for another reason, however. Luppe dates Cratinus' *Nemesis* to 431 B.C. Thus, this fragment is the oldest evidence for this variant of the game. Since its rules are even called πατρικοῖσι,³⁷ a longer tradition of playing this game probably already existed before this date.

One more comic passage might refer to κότταβος ἐν λεκάνηι: Ar. fr. 231. It mentions a χαλκίον (or as a variant reading χαλκεῖον), which does not clearly relate to either a vessel or a cottabus-stand - as Ath. 667e suggests - and might even denote something completely different. However, the first interpretation is most likely since χαλκίον is usually translated as 'copper-vessel' (LSJ s.v.; cf. also Eup. fr. 99, 272) and even refers directly to a cottabus-bowl at Poll. 6.110. The myrtle-branches (μυρρίνας) mentioned in this passage could be used to protect the floor against spillings: cf. Ar., 'Daitales' fr. 231 and Schol. Pac. 1244a: καὶ κύκλωι τῆς λεκάνης μυρρίνας. On vase-paintings

³⁶There is not much more information given in this fragment, except that there must have been fixed rules for cottabus: ἐν πατρικοῖς νόμοις (1).

³⁷Ὁ πατρικοῖς: Luppe 39.

ivy- and myrtle- or other twigs are frequently depicted lying on the tables,³⁸ however, so that they could just as well be placed around the cottabus-vessel for decoration alone.

The game could be accompanied by flute-music, a situation which is also depicted on vase-paintings³⁹ and appears also in Pl. Com. fr. 71, which concerns the order of the events at a symposium: after the dinner the room is cleaned, next a libation⁴⁰ is made, a few drinking-speeches might be delivered or songs performed, and then cottabus is played (4 and 11).

Prizes

Several fragments speak about the prizes which can be won by the players of cottabus. Most of the passages are only indirectly quoted or are corrupt. Nevertheless, one can at least see that these prizes are mostly edible, sometimes sweets. Antiph. fr. 57 mentions eggs. The following words, except for the numeral five (ὥτι μὲν ... πέντε νικητήριον), are missing. Two important suggestions have been made to fill the gap, i.e. either to insert καὶ μῆλα θήσω⁴¹ or to omit πέντε and put in καὶ πέμμα καὶ τραγήμα, i.e. almost the same words as Ath. 667d uses when referring to this passage.⁴² In this latter passage Ath. only lists sources that give similar information,

³⁸Examples at Vierneisel-Kaerer ill. 35.1a, 36.3, and 43.2, the last two being cottabus-scenes; myrtle-twigs are also held by singing or reciting symposiasts: cf. 'Clouds' p. 93.

³⁹Cf. e.g. Vierneisel-Kaerer 237 ill. 43.2.

⁴⁰Platnauer 168 writes that the cottabus-game seems to have developed out of the practice of pouring a libation or the drinking of health. Instead of just pouring out the wine-drops, they are thrown at an object. However, the ancient sources do not tell us about the origins of this game, so that this is only a hypothesis. On Pl. Com. fr. 71 cf. also 'Wasps' p. 109-10 and 'Perfume' p. 262-3.

⁴¹Gulick, Ath. vol. 7, 72 n. 1) (= Blaydes, in: Kassel-Austin ad loc.), who has probably taken these words from Eub. fr. 2, where the prizes for keeping oneself awake by dancing as long as possible at a child's name-giving-feast are τρεῖς ταινίας καὶ μῆλα πέντε καὶ φιλήματ' ἑννέα. Cf. 'Komos' p. 173.

⁴²Πεμμάτια καὶ τραγήματα: Schweighäuser, in: Gulick, Ath. vol.7, 73 n. a). Edmond's suggestion (ad loc.) πέντ' ἐστὶ πεμμάτια δὲ πέντε κείμενα, τραγημάτια δὲ πέντε νικ. seems too far-fetched.

but he conceals which items are actually mentioned in these fragment, i.e. at Cephisod. fr. 5, Call. fr. 12, Eup. fr. 399, Hermipp. p. 247-8 K. = fr. 7 W.⁴³ However, Eub. fr. 1 (in a play called 'Αγκυλίων, in this case, however, not referring to the bent hand in cottabus but to a character's name, perhaps hinting at a crooked spine or legs⁴⁴) mentions baked goods as prizes: πέττει τὰ νικητήρια and πέττουσα τὸν χαρίσιον. Pl. Com. fr. 46 points to a different direction, though: in this fragment Heracles expresses the wish to play for kisses (φιλημάτων), but his interlocutor, probably a brothel-keeper,⁴⁵ rejects this and instead suggests the boots belonging to the girl who is present and Heracles' cup as prizes. It is not clear what is hinted at here. The cup, however, seems to have played a role earlier in this comedy and was certainly more precious than the boots,⁴⁶ which is presumably part of the joke in this scene.

The erotic component of the game

The mention of kisses as prizes at Pl. Com. fr. 46 already indicates the erotic component of the game. This is particularly evident in the popular custom of accompanying the tossing of the wine-drops with a wish for a beloved person. This is not only expressed through the use of such prizes, but also by the employment of epithets such as 'Cyprian' or 'Aphrodisiac' referring to the wine-drops,⁴⁷ of which Ath. 668b gives the following examples: 'Αφροδίσια λάταξ (S. fr. 277 Radt); κοσσάβων ... κύπριδος (E. fr. 631 N.); see also Callim. fr. 69 Pfeiffer. Thphr. περὶ μέθης fr. 570 Fortenbaugh et al. (= fr. 118 Wimmer) describes this custom in the following way: ἀλλ' ἦν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς τὸ μὲν σπένδειν ἀποδεδομένον τοῖς θεοῖς, ὁ δὲ κότταβος τοῖς ἐρωμένοις. Such wishes can be read on vase-paintings, in which they are frequently

⁴³Cratin. fr. 124 only mentions that there exists a prize for this game.

⁴⁴Cf. Hunter ad loc p. 86.

⁴⁵Cf. Gulick, Ath. vol. 7, 69 n. e).

⁴⁶Cf. Gulick, Ath. vol. 7, 71 n. a).

⁴⁷Cf. Scaife 28-9.

engraved in the form of so-called καλός-inscriptions.⁴⁸ It is striking, though, that these persons are usually not seen on the vases. Furthermore, often names are shown as being called out which clearly belong to free persons. Thus, even if there sometimes might be prizes in the form of sexual favours, this custom seems mostly to be symbolic. As Ath. 427d writes, toasts and dedications are made to the beloved in order to honour them, and prognostic questions about whether one's love would be requited are thought to be answered by the success of a throw: cf. Schol. Ar. Pac. 343c.⁴⁹

Hetaerae playing cottabus

Sometimes also hetaerae are shown uttering such wishes.⁵⁰ For this reason, and because courtesans are several times depicted playing κότταβος, there has been a discussion of whether they were really allowed to play this game or whether these vase-paintings are only fiction. It has been suggested that the competition between men and women might increase the attraction of the game.⁵¹ Some go so far as to assume that the hetaerae were occasionally allowed, as a concession, to choose their partners and for this reason gave voice to such wishes.⁵² However, this latter hypothesis cannot be proven and is not very likely. A contrary opinion is that these vase-paintings only depict a reversed image of reality and are meant as jokes for the symposium.⁵³ It is a fact, however, that hetaerae enjoyed certain freedoms which other women in antiquity did not have, and since we know that they took part in symposia anyway, there does not seem to be any good reason why they should not have played κότταβος. This seems more probable than that the vase-paintings depict a

⁴⁸For examples see e.g. Csapo-Miller. Cf. also Achaeus 20 F26 Snell as literary evidence.

⁴⁹Cf. also Csapo-Miller 379-81.

⁵⁰E.g. ARV2 23,7; 162.

⁵¹Hoesch 274.

⁵²Scaife 29.

⁵³Csapo-Miller 380.

scene which could never have happened. Furthermore, Cratin. fr. 299, the only extant mention of a κότταβος-toast in comedy, might serve as literary evidence. In this fragment a female character⁵⁴ ἴησι λάταγας τῶι Κορινθίῳ πέει. This passage has been interpreted as meaning that a hetaera aimed her wine-drops at a reclining man.⁵⁵ It is clear that only a hetaera can be meant as a female present in the context of a symposium, but one cannot really tell what is actually happening in this scene.

Cottabus in peace and war

As I have already shown, the symposium frequently represents a pleasurable life in peace in Old Comedy, in particular in the case of Aristophanes' 'Acharnians', 'Peace', and 'Lysistrata'; and thus κότταβος, as part of the symposium, has the same association in some passages.⁵⁶ In the following section different examples of this will be given: Ar., Pax 339ff. with Nu. 1071ff., Hermipp. fr. 48, and Ar., Ach. 515ff. For reasons connected with the association with peace, the game is mentioned at Ar., Pax 339-45 and Nu. 1071-4 among other pleasures, although in the latter scene it is not in the context of peace but just of pleasures. Both passages consist of an asyndetic enumeration and have a similar structure regarding their contents. They first⁵⁷ mention sexual pleasures (παίδων, γυναικῶν (Nu.) - βινεῖν, καθεύδειν⁵⁸ (Pax)). In Pax the speaker, Trygaeus, directly proceeds to the topic of festivals and feasts (ἐς πανηγύρεις θεωρεῖν, ἐστιᾶσθαι) and concludes by naming κότταβος as a typical pastime played on such occasions. In Nu., in contrast, κοττάβων seems to serve as a link between the topics of love and of feasting, as it implies both erotic and sympotic

⁵⁴Cf. πίνουσ' ... ἐπονομάζουσα.

⁵⁵Scaife 29.

⁵⁶Cf. e.g. Ar., Ach. 1143ff. and in particular 1198ff., where Dicaeopolis enjoys the newly won peace at a banquet and with prostitutes, as well as particularly Ar. Pax 1242-4, where it is suggested that a war-trumpet should be transformed into a cottabus-stand (see above).

⁵⁷In Pax actually πλεῖν μένειν appears first. However, since it only fits the context of peace and war, it cannot appear in Nu., so that it cannot be compared here.

⁵⁸For this sense of the word cf. e.g. Ar., Ach. 1147, 1220; Th. 479.

aspects. In this passage, the feasting is expressed not directly but metaphorically (ὄψων, πότων). Both passages end - similarly to a κῶμος following a symposium - with signs of great gaiety, laughing and shouting: Nu.: καχασμῶν (variant reading: κιχλισμῶν⁵⁹) - Pax: †συβαρίζειν†⁶⁰, ἰοῦ ἰοῦ κεκραγένοι. In Pax this serves as a connection to the beginning of Trygaeus' words. Here he warns the chorus, who cannot stop dancing, not to be happy yet (337). Only when they have actually pulled the goddess Eirene out of the cave, should they be happy, shout, and laugh: χαίρετε καὶ βοᾶτε καὶ γελᾶτ' (338-9). The happiness and feasting is mostly stressed in order to underline the chorus' anticipated joy at the prospect of peace as well as the nature of peace itself. In 'Clouds', this line is a summary of the main pleasures one would miss if one lived a virtuous life. Love is the most important aspect of enjoyment in this context. Before this passage 'Wrong' has spoken about the mythological love of Thetis and Peleus, which did not work out; afterwards he delivers a long speech about the advantages of adultery.

In contrast, during times of war, as described at Hermippus fr. 48, there is no occasion for enjoying life with party-games. The context of this fragment is that a war has just begun. The fragment hints at the idea that the men have to arm themselves and cannot engage in the pleasures of peace anymore, such as playing κότταβος. The first three lines, which describe how they put on their armour, are constructed in a parallel way: the piece of armour which is put on - or, in the first line, the cloak which is taken off - is always emphasised through its position at the very beginning of the verse, followed by δ' or δέ. The verb appears at the end of each line. The beginning of line 4 still conforms with this pattern, but then it is slightly interrupted, since this sentence is

⁵⁹For discussion of the variants cf. Dover ad loc. He argues that κιχλισμῶν is an accommodation to line 983.

⁶⁰Sommerstein ad Pax 149 and 344 translates this expression - assuming it is the correct reading - with 'living a life of ease and pleasure'. He explains that the name of the south-Italian city of Sybaris used to be a byword for the luxurious effeteness of its inhabitants: cf. also Ar. fr. 225, also Platnauer (1964) ad Peace 343-4. See also 'Clouds' p. 95 with n. 21, 'Wasps' 114 with n. 42.

negated (οὐδεῖς) and elliptic. In order to stress the negation, the 'white slipper' (βλαύτης ... λευκῆς), for which there is no desire anymore, is placed as a hyperbaton with the noun being the first word, the adjective the last word of the line. A βλαύτη is a special symposium-shoe: cf. e.g. Ar., Eq. 889.⁶¹ Also its white colour (λευκῆς) underlines the fact that a rather luxurious shoe is meant here. This serves as a link to the following part about the κότταβος-game, which is a rather extravagant pastime (see above).

In the following line, the sentence-structure is still the same as before. The noun ῥάβδον, followed by δ', appears at the beginning of the line and its adjective once more as the second part of a hyperbaton at the end of the line. Line 7, where the manes is treated, is also constructed in a very similar way. It starts with the noun, followed by δ' (and a negated word) - but it does not contain an adjective. The *plastinx* appears in the middle of the next line, after its adjective. This and the following line, however, have a very different structure, except for the fact that the second word of verse 8 is still δέ. So, at this point, at the latest, the audience will notice that life has changed its usual pattern and regularity. What happens to the κότταβος-utensils, i.e. that they roll in the chaff or lie beside the socket of the back-door in a pile of sweepings, is expressed in two lines which again are constructed in parallel and so emphasised (6 and 10). They start with ἐν τοῖς and ἐν τοῖσι respectively, and after the noun in the dative the line is concluded with a participle in the accusative feminine singular. Thus, in this passage the contrast between what people are interested in during times of war and those of peace is elaborately expressed by stressing nouns which have the connotation of either peace or war. Cottabus is used strikingly to connote peace here.

At Ar., Ach. 525 κότταβος is used in a different way: it is depicted as if it could have serious consequences, regarding peace and war. The context is Dicaeopolis' account

⁶¹See Neil ad Eq. 889 and Stone 232-3.

of the reasons for the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War at Ach. 515-39. After mentioning problems in trading with the Megarians, he tells a story of how some young Athenian men went to Megara and 'stole'⁶² a prostitute called Simaitha (524-7). In retaliation, the Megarians, who were 'garlic-excited by grief' (ὀδύνας πεφυσιγγωμένοι), 'stole' two of Aspasia's prostitutes from Athens.⁶³ The young Athenian men who are said to have committed the crime are described with the compound μεθυσκοκότταβοι, a neologism that can be translated as 'drunk with cottabus-playing'.⁶⁴ The passage goes as follows:

πόρνην δὲ Σιμαίθαν ἰόντες Μεγαράδε
 νεανία κλέπτουσι μεθυσκοκότταβοι·
 καίθ' οἱ Μεγαρήσ ὀδύνας πεφυσιγγωμένοι
 ἀντεξέκλεψαν Ἄσπασίας πόρνα δύο·
 (524-7)

According to Dicaeopolis' words (530ff.), this deed annoyed Pericles so much that he set up laws against the Megarians, and despite their pleas, which were supported by the Spartans, the Athenians refused to annul them. Consequently the war was begun.

Some scholars⁶⁵ take this account of the beginning of the war very seriously, though some do so with reference to the whole passage Ach. 515-39, while others treat the abduction almost as if it was the only reason mentioned by Aristophanes here.⁶⁶ The main argument for the historical credibility of this text is that it is supposedly

⁶²Schol. Ar. Ach. 524 accuses Alcibiades of having committed this deed, but, if this was true, surely other authors would also have mentioned this event. On this passage in Ar. cf. also 'Acharnians' p. 2, 'Komos' p. 155. Cf. also Philocleon's behaviour at V. 1342ff. See 'Wasps' p. 119. MacDowell 153 notes that in the context of love-affairs κλέπτειν does not necessarily imply physical force, but can also mean 'inveigle away'. It does not really make any difference in this case, though.

⁶³This passage contains comic exaggeration, since πόρνη does not fit: Aspasia was not in fact a brothel-keeper: cf. e.g. v.Rohden, s.v. 'Aspasia 1', R.E. 2 (1896), 1717-20.

⁶⁴Cf. LSJ s.v., Scaife 27.

⁶⁵MacDowell (1982), particularly 152-5, and even more so Scaife.

⁶⁶Cf. MacDowell (1982) for the former, Scaife for the latter.

consistent with Thucydides' account of the reasons for the war.⁶⁷ Specifically, it is claimed that Aristophanes' passage about the abduction, or in MacDowell's opinion rather the inveigling, of the prostitute might be equated with the 'receiving of runaway slaves' at Thuc. 1.139.2. At least, it could be included among the οὐκ ὀλίγα διάφορα between the Athenians and Megarians (Thuc. 1.67.4).⁶⁸ This argument is very vague, though. Prostitutes usually are slaves, but it is by no means clear that Thucydides alludes to this incident, as described in Aristophanes. On the contrary, one would surely have expected him to mention courtesans explicitly here, if they were meant. Furthermore, the expression 'to accept runaway-slaves' does not exactly fit in with a seduction that was committed by some young Athenians returning from a symposium. Thucydides' expression οὐκ ὀλίγα διάφορα is also not very explicit, so that it cannot really be employed in order to prove this hypothesis. Additionally, it is argued that this passage is neither illogical nor incredible and that the comic context is not of the kind to invalidate it.⁶⁹ It seems rather questionable, though, that Pericles could actually have been so infuriated by what had happened to his concubine's prostitutes - if this were true at all - that he took steps which even affected foreign policy. MacDowell himself concedes that Pericles may also have been motivated by other causes, presumably political or strategic ones, to propose the decree against the Megarians.

The text-immanent argument that this all must have been meant seriously because afterwards neither the chorus of the Acharnians nor another character contradicts Dicaeopolis' speech, is not very convincing either. At first, the protagonist only manages to convince half of the chorus. They have to admit (560-1) that there is truth

⁶⁷Cf. MacDowell (1982) 154. This passage of Ach. is also a parody of Hdt. 1.1-5, i.e. his account of the causes of the Persian Wars and of the traditional account of the beginning of the Trojan War. For a contrary opinion cf. MacDowell (1982) 151.

⁶⁸Hornblower ad loc. writes that Pericles' personal part was discredibly increased in the non-Thucydidean tradition. The effects of the Megarian decrees are controversial.

⁶⁹MacDowell (1982) 154.

in his words, because his arguments are really convincing (cf. in particular 541ff.) and Dicaeopolis began his speech in a very clever way, by stating that he himself hates the Spartans (509). The other part of the chorus at least still tries to oppose his speech (557ff.). They therefore ask the military commander Lamachus for help (566ff.). He, however, appears so caricatured in this passage that he cannot deliver any arguments at all. It is essential that the chorus does not completely oppose Dicaeopolis' arguments at this point in the comedy, in order to make it credible that finally the whole chorus will be persuaded to favour peace. Thus, even if Aristophanes focuses on the war-cause of the abduction of prostitutes, his main purpose seems to be to make Dicaeopolis' speech comic through the incongruity between this rather unimportant event and Pericles' decree that marked the beginning of the war.

Pericles' laws against the Megarians are compared to scolia at Ach. 531: νόμους ὡσπερ σκόλια γεγραμμένους. They state that no Megarian should remain either on land, or in the Agora, or on sea, or on shore: μήτε γῆι μήτ' ἐν ἀγορᾷ μήτ' ἐν θαλάττῃ μήτ' ἐν ἠπείρῳ.⁷⁰ As Schol. Ach. 532 already pointed out, this verbally resembles an extant scolion, Timocreon fr. 5 Page: μήτε γῆι μήτ' ἐν θαλάσσει μήτ' ἐν ἠπείρῳ. On the one hand, the point of this passage is to depict Pericles' overreaction to a minor provocation by the Megarians.⁷¹ On the other hand, the extensive use of symposium-imagery in this explanation fits the comic tone and indicates to the audience that this explanation is only given tongue-in-cheek.

There is a further possible approach to the issue of the connection between cottabus and war in this passage, concentrating on the agonal and erotic components of the game.⁷² It is supported by the notion that the vocabulary of throwing missiles, e.g. the verb ἰέναι (cf. Cratin. fr. 299) and their cognates, appears very frequently in the

⁷⁰For textual criticism regarding ἠπείρῳ see de Ste.Croix 392 and also Sommerstein ad Ach. 533-4.

The reading does not make any difference for this case, though.

⁷¹Cf. de Ste.Croix 241.

⁷²Scaife 30.

context of this game in literature.⁷³ Furthermore, literary evidence exists for the ambition to perform well at this game,⁷⁴ as well as for a case of the use of κότταβος as a direct metaphor for war, at Aristot., Rh. 1373a23 (in the anecdote about Aenesidamus, the tyrant of Leontini, who gave Gelon cottabus-prizes as a sign of acknowledgement for his anticipating him in enslaving a city). The metaphor is fitting, because in both activities timing is important, and both are competitions for an object one desires.⁷⁵

Finally, the abduction of the prostitutes has been compared with two fragments from Attic satyr-plays, E. (S.?), 'Oenus' fr. 562 N. and perhaps A., 'Bonegatherers' fr. 179 Radt,⁷⁶ where the wine-drops are thrown at a person, a variety of the game which is also depicted on vase-paintings.⁷⁷ However, this comparison does not really fit the Aristophanes passage, because, even if in these cases the dignity of the person at whom the wine is shot is hurt, it does not have such far-reaching consequences as the beginning of a war. Scaife maintains that it must have been completely understandable for the audience of Aristophanes' time that the Athenian men were so full of aggression and sexual excitement after playing κότταβος, that they would commit a deed such as that depicted by Aristophanes.⁷⁸ Therefore, he thinks, even if the κότταβος-game only served as a symbolic cause at this place, this passage "must be seen as one small element of that larger Aristophanic mission of political enlightenment".⁷⁹ However - apart from the fact that it is questionable whether

⁷³Cf. Borthwick (1964) 52 for a more detailed analysis of the vocabulary. Cf. e.g. Critias [88] 2.1 D.K. = 2B West (λατάγων τόξα) and also the comparison to a sling-shot at Antiph. fr. 57.19-20

(σφενδόνη). He also notes that verbs derived from ἀγκύλη are connected with javelins or thongs.

⁷⁴Cf. Scaife 30. See e.g. Dicaearchus fr. 97 Wehrli about the Sicilians: ὥστε ἔνιοι μείζον ἐφρόνου ἐπὶ τῷ καλῶς κοτταβίζειν τῶν ἐπὶ τῷ ἀκοντίζειν μέγα φρονούντων.

⁷⁵Kurke (1999b) 282-3, Scaife 31.

⁷⁶The text is uncertain, though.

⁷⁷E.g. ARV2 181,1 = Scaife, ill. 1b.

⁷⁸Scaife 30.

⁷⁹Scaife 35.

Aristophanes actually aimed to make serious political statements to the audience - he only speaks of a party-game here and also uses symposium-imagery at line 532, where he compares the decrees to *solia* (see above). This serves to indicate that the narration is not meant seriously. This is even supported by the neologism *μεθυσκοότταβοι* which is contrasted with the expression *ὀδύνας πεφυσιγγωμένοι* in line 526.⁸⁰ Both of these and the whole narrative about the abduction of the prostitutes are certainly intended to be not much more than a joke.

Conclusion

To conclude, *cottabus* can be employed in comedy to underline different ideas, whether those of entertainment and partying in general (sometimes even denoting an aspect of selfishness, e.g. at Nu. 1071ff.), of aristocratic and rather luxurious amusement, e.g. at Pl. Com. fr. 71 (where slaves are speaking and luxuries such as perfume (6-7) are mentioned) and Hermipp. fr. 48, or, symbolically, of a pleasurable occupation which stands for a life in peace as opposed to war, e.g. at Hermipp. fr. 48. The ludic aspect of the game, fitting the comic atmosphere, is present in almost all of these passages.

⁸⁰The expression appears only here in this combination: cf. LSJ s.v.

Riddles

Another popular pastime at symposia is solving riddles.¹ Many such enigmata appear in comedy, in particular in the fragments. There are also many examples of riddles elsewhere in Greek literature and many riddling puns in comedy (cf. e.g. Ar., Ach. 396-400, Pax 43-8), but this chapter concentrates on a few striking comic exemplars of riddles usually posed to other characters. Some comedies even have titles connected with riddles, e.g. Epicharmus' Σφίγξ, Antiphanes' Πρόβλημα, Eubulus' Σφιγγοκαρίων, and Cratinus' Κλεοβουλῖναι.² These titles hint at the existence of a tradition of riddles in comedy.

Several expressions are used to denote 'riddle': αἶνος already appears at Hom., Od. 14. 508 and Hes., Op. 202, αἴνιγμα³ at Pi. fr. 177 Snell, and γρίφος at Ar., V. 20. The latter actually signifies a kind of 'fishing-net'.⁴ The adjective in περιπλοκάς λίαν ἐρωτᾶις (Antiph. fr. 75. 1-2) also recalls this meaning. In antiquity, these nouns were already used without distinction, and several other words could bear the same meaning:⁵ πρόβλημα, λογιστικὸν πρόβλημα, λόγος, ζήτημα, ὁμοίωμα, τεκμήριον, ἀπορία, and ἄπορον ἐρώτημα.

¹A related party-game is εἰκασμός in which the guests compare each other to something in a riddling manner. Comic examples of this game are Ar., V. 1170-2, 1308ff., Av. 804ff., and Stratt. fr. 35. Cf. 'Wasps' p. 103, 118 and 'Birds' p. 57 with n. 34, 'Komos' p. 172. There existed a similar form of competition in which a verse is given and has to be complemented with a second one: cf. Ohlert 38ff. about the contest between Homer and Hesiod; cf. also the competition between Aeschylus and Euripides at Ar., Ra. 1201ff. Similar to this is the taking up of scolia at symposia, as shown at Ar., V. 1224ff.

²Cleoboulina being the name of the daughter of one of the seven sages, who was already at approximately 400 B.C. thought to have invented elegiac riddles, although she is probably only a mythical figure: cf. West (1974) 17 n. 26.

³This noun is derived from the verb αἰνίσσομαι, 'to speak in riddles': cf. Frisk s.v. αἶνος.

⁴Cf. Frisk and Chantraine s.v. γρίπος.

⁵Cf. Schultz 88. Ohlert 19ff. gives some definitions which differ between γρίφος and αἴνιγμα, but they are all very different from each other and do not apply to the extant comic examples at least.

Aristot., Po. 1458a26ff. defines a riddle as follows: αἰνίγματός τε γὰρ ἰδέα αὕτη ἐστὶ, τὸ λέγοντα ὑπάρχοντα ἀδύνατα συνάψαι· κατὰ μὲν οὖν τὴν τῶν (ἄλλων) ὀνομάτων σύνθεσιν οὐχ οἷόν τε τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, κατὰ δὲ τὴν μεταφορῶν ἐνδέχεται. His student Clearchus in *περὶ γρίφων* fr. 86 Wehrli is more detailed: γρίφος πρόβλημά ἐστι ἐπιπαιστικόν, προστακτικόν τοῦ διὰ ζητήσεως εὐρεῖν τῆι διανοίαι τὸ προβληθὲν τιμῆς ἢ ἐπιζημίου χάριν εἰρημένον.⁶ Riddles were commonly expressed in verse, particularly in dactylic hexameters, elegiacs, and iambics.⁷ This practice was probably employed - among other reasons - in order to facilitate memorisation, which has been taken as evidence that riddles already existed before writing was in common use.⁸

Clearchus fr. 86 Wehrli distinguishes between seven kinds of riddle, depending on which element of the language - corresponding to rhetorical criteria - is involved, e.g. στοιχεῖον, συλλαβή or ὄνομα. However, his examples refer to party-games in which words that match certain rules regarding their spelling or some of their elements have to be found. More apt criteria for categorising the riddles in comedy are provided by Tryphonius, *περὶ τρόπων* 4 (Rh. Gr. 3. 193 Sp.). Here it is of importance what the point of the riddle is actually based on: καθ' ὅμοιον, κατ' ἐναντίον, κατὰ συμβεβηκός, καθ' ἱστορίαν, καθ' ὁμωνυμίαν, κατὰ γλῶσσαν. However, not every riddle necessarily fits into such a category, and they can belong to more than one group.

⁶The modern definition in the OED s.v. 'riddle 1a', is very similar: "A question or statement intentionally worded in a dark or puzzling manner, and propounded in order that it may be guessed or answered, esp. as a form of pastime (...)."

⁷Also oracles are given in a riddling manner in hexameters; see e.g. the comic examples at Ar., Eq. 196ff., which are very obscure. Huizinga 133 describes the similarity and close connection between riddles and poetry, both being a form of competition with certain rules and a special language that all the players need to know.

⁸Cf. Forster 42.

In comedy most riddles appear in the form of a statement; only in few cases, e.g. at Ar., V. 24ff. and Diph. fr. 49, are they set as direct questions. Most riddles seem to consist of a paraphrase of a certain expression. Usually concrete items have to be guessed, such as things which appear in nature, e.g. parts of the human body, animals or flowers, but also those produced by human beings, e.g. furniture or prepared food. Furthermore, the appearance of written letters of the alphabet is sometimes described, once in comedy: see Call. Com. Test. *7. Also more abstract ideas, such as sleep and letters in an epistle, can serve as objects of comic riddles. Some riddles in comedy are invented by the authors themselves, for others an already existing one is changed into a new joke (e.g. Antiph. fr. 192, Ar., V. 20ff.).⁹ In what follows, examples of different types of riddles and prizes will be provided. Most examples are from the period of Middle Comedy, but a few are also from Old Comedy, e.g. Ar., V. 20ff. Firstly, *προβλήματα καθ' ὅμοιον* will be treated, starting with paraphrases of items related to cooking, followed by riddles expressed in a lower style with all sorts of (and sometimes no clear) solution. Secondly, *προβλήματα κατ' ἐναντίον* will be dealt with, those which refer to concrete things on the one hand and those which refer to abstracta on the other. Thirdly, two examples of riddles set as direct questions are given. Both of these are sympotic riddles. After this collection of examples a passage on prizes and penalties for riddles set in social contexts will be considered.

1. *προβλήματα καθ' ὅμοιον*

This form of paraphrasing an object may take the form either of (mostly asyndetic) enumerations of nouns with several adjectives and attributes, as well as constructions involving participles which further define the object, or of whole sentences which can even add up to a short narration.¹⁰ The first possibility is particularly popular in

⁹A variant to riddles as a symposium-game can be found at Ar., Pax 1282ff., where a verse which seems to be paradoxical has to be continued and improved in terms of its logic with another line.

¹⁰Riddles often begin with the formula ἔστω ...: cf. Eub. fr. 107.1, Antiph. fr.194.1.

descriptions of food and its preparation. Most of these are uttered by cooks, who are notorious for their elaborate presentations of such matters in high-flown and often dithyramb-like language, especially in Middle Comedy.¹¹

A typical example is Antiph. fr. 55, where a pot of meat, a flat-cake, wine, water, and myrrh are paraphrased in magniloquent words.¹² Here, presumably a cook asks somebody else, probably his master or perhaps a guest, how he should name these items which all belong to the context of cooking. In the first part of the passage, the speaker still helps his interlocutor by stating that he is going to speak about a pot (χύτραν 1), before he starts with his long-winded paraphrase (2-5).¹³ In contrast, the fact that it is filled with meat can only be assumed from his words in lines 4-5: νεογενοῦς ποιίμνης δ' ἐν αὐτῇ πνικτὰ γαλακτοθρέμμονα, τακερόχρωτ' εἶδη κούουσαν;

In line 2 of this description the use of the compound κοιλοσώματον (which creates an alliteration with the following κύτος), instead of the simplex κοῖλος, is striking. It appears only here in Greek literature.¹⁴ Compounds of this kind, which consist of different roots of words but have actually the same meaning as one of their elements, are frequently employed in comedy to make the manner of expression appear more complicated. The tendency to create tautologies by means of these compounds is even

¹¹Cf. Nesselrath 275, also Wilamowitz 151 with n. 1. Eub. fr. 107 and Cratin. fr. 94 describe certain objects in a similar manner, but it is not clear if they are actually set as riddles in a playful context. Cf. the fact that at Anaxil. fr. 22.22ff. hetaerae are compared to the Theban Sphinx, because they speak in riddles. Pl. Com. fr. 3 employs a comparable way of describing two gods. However, this riddle is not intended to be a pastime, but an oracle. Cf. Men., Dysc. 950ff. for an example of a similar riddling style employed by a cook in New Comedy.

¹²A similar situation with a cook speaking in a periphrastic manner and not being understood can be found at Strato fr. 1.

¹³Similar expressions to those he uses in line 2 appear also elsewhere in comedy, e.g. at Ar., Ec. 4 and Xenarch. fr. 1.9, and similar expressions to those of line 3 at Anaxandr. 6.2.

¹⁴Cf. LSJ s.v.

frequently increased in comic passages, so that the emptiness of this kind of language is emphasised.¹⁵ It is furthermore striking that the metaphor ἐν ἄλλῃ μητρὸς ὀπηθὲν στέγηι (3) is quite elaborated, and that the last word of line 4, γαλακτοθρέμμονα, is a hapax legomenon. This word does not seem to fit into the trochaic tetrameter. Therefore some scholars have tried to emend it slightly so that its second syllable ceases to be long by position in γαλατο-, or have supposed that the first vowel of the word was syncopated to γλακτο-¹⁶. However, there are other places where -κτ- does not cause a metrical lengthening of a preceding short vowel.¹⁷ Thus, the transmitted form can be retained here.

In the next paraphrasing description the solution, πλακοῦντα (11), appears only at the end, and one does not know how long the speaker's pause may have been before he finally reveals it. This pause gives the audience in the theatre the opportunity to think of a solution themselves. For his description of the flatcake the cook uses very poetic language once more. The bee, which appears in his paraphrase, is one of the few insects used in similes in high Attic poetry.¹⁸ Its epithet ξουθῆς (7) is already used at h. Hom. 33.13. In the classical period it could refer to different flying creatures and also to wings etc. It can denote colour and movement; its several connotations are not stable.¹⁹ The poetic character of the language of this passage is further underlined by the use of the expression μηκάδων αἰγῶν (8), which sounds Homeric (cf. e.g. Il. 11.383, Od. 9.124, 244). Finally, the flour is called πλατὺ στέγαστρον ἀγνῆς παρθένου Διοῦς κόρης (9). This name for the goddess Demeter is frequently employed in fragments of Middle Comedy intended to appear particularly poetic.²⁰

¹⁵Cf. Nesselrath 243-4.

¹⁶Dindorf and Meineke, in: K.-A. ad loc.

¹⁷Cf. Degani 246 and his examples, e.g. A., Supp. 803: φιλαιάκτων ---, as well as Lange 159-60.

¹⁸Cf. Wilamowitz (1933 = 1909) 328 ad E., HF 488.

¹⁹Cf. Silk 317-9. Kannicht ad E., Hel. 1111 notes the formulaic use of the adjective in high poetry.

²⁰Cf. Nesselrath 243 n. 7.

Καλύμμασιν²¹ is also often used in the Homeric epics (e.g. *Il.* 24.93, *h. Cer.* 42) and in tragedy (e.g. *A.*, *Ag.* 1178, *E.*, *IT* 372, but also *Ar.*, *Lys.* 530 and 532, fr. 332.5). In this passage it is combined with the compounded adjective λεπτοσυνθέτοις (10), which appears only here in ancient Greek literature.²²

The second speaker, who already seemed quite annoyed about the first riddling paraphrase, appears to be really unnerved now and only answers curtly that he would prefer the cook to use the standard expression: πλακοῦντα βούλομαι (11). In the following lines the cook continues expressing himself in riddles, though, and the solution is not given at all. The cook's interlocutor (and the audience) must have understood the way the cook describes things and can therefore find the answers themselves. Once more we do not know how much time it took the second speaker to find the solution since it will, to a great extent, have depended on how clever this character is depicted elsewhere in the play. In this second part of the passage, too, the descriptions are expressed in a very poetic language, but in a more concise way than in the first part. Reasons for this might be that on the one hand the author wanted to avoid this passage becoming too drawn out, and on the other the second speaker several times gives hints to the cook that he should express himself in a less long-winded way (συντεμών 12, παραλιπών 13, μὴ μακράν 14). The cook ignores this, though, so that finally his interlocutor becomes really angry and forbids him to ask such riddling questions again. He uses common words, but the end of his outburst almost sounds like a riddle itself and so concludes the scene in a suitable tone:²³ ...

²¹Two suggestions have been made on how to emend this expression: Wilamowitz, in: *K.-A.* ad loc., reads ἀλλείμασιν, 'oil'. However, this does not really fit the epithet λεπτοσυνθέτοις, 'of fine structure' (LSJ) or, more literally, 'lightly put together'. Kock's suggestion ἀρτύμασιν appears quite rarely in Greek literature, if at all in medical contexts, but also once in Sophocles and Anaxippus (cf. LSJ s.v.). It makes good sense here, but there does not actually seem to be any need for an emendation, since the transmitted reading also fits in very well in terms of meaning and style.

²²Cf. LSJ s.v.

²³The different emendations for τοῦμπαλιν (15) which are quoted in *K.-A.* ad loc. all make sense, but are no more convincing than the transmitted reading.

δοκεῖ τοῦτ' ἔργον εἶναι μεῖζον, ὡς φασὶν τινες, αὐτὸ μὲν μηδέν, παρ' αὐτὸ δ' ἄλλα συστρέφειν πυκνά (16-7).

Similar examples of riddling paraphrases of objects which belong to the context of a meal, i.e. cheese, cooked meat, and a table, appear at Antiph. fr. 51, Anaxandr. fr. 6, and Timocl. fr. 13. All of them employ elevated language. For instance, the compound λινოსάρκους appears only at Antiph. fr. 51, and, as with κοιλοσώματον at Antiph. fr. 55, the same meaning could have been expressed by employing the simplex λινέος.²⁴

At Anaxandr. fr. 6 apparently a cook boasts of his knowledge of Timotheos (PMG 798) by quoting him.²⁵ However, it is not the quoted author who seems to be parodied here, but the behaviour of the quoting cook.²⁶ Timocl. fr.13 too is spoken by a cook. It is an asyndetic enumeration of a series of nouns and genitive-attributes which is only in the last element extended by the verbal adjective ἐκλύτου. After setting the riddle, the cook himself provides the answer, i.e. τράπεζα (4).²⁷ The interlocutor,

²⁴The conjectures quoted at K.-A. ad loc. all make good sense, but none of them seems better than the transmitted reading.

²⁵Nesselrath 248 writes that the custom of quoting and also mentioning the name of the source was not yet known to the poets of Old Comedy and that something similar only appears for the first time during the transition to Middle Comedy, at Theopomp. fr. 4. However, already Ar., V. 1183 names Theogenes as the source of a quotation as part of a joke.

²⁶This is different in Old Comedy where usually the quoted poets are parodied. Cf. Nesselrath 249. γᾶς is the ionic acc. pl. of γῆ and is not really intelligible here. However, in ms. A η is written above the line. The genitive γῆς makes good sense; cf. also Empirius' reading, in: K.-A. ad loc. Therefore it is not necessary to change γῆς into γαῖς; cf. Dobree in K.-A. ad loc. Kock's reading στέγαι (or στέγη: cf. v.Herwerden, in: K.-A.) seems much too obvious in order to appear in this riddle.

²⁷Kock would like to replace this by another periphrasis. However, in other examples too the answer is provided by the speaker himself after the text of the riddle: cf. e.g. Antiph. fr. 55 (above). Boethe, in: K.-A. ad loc., suggests τετράπεζος :: ὡς περίεργα, ... This would make good sense, but seems to be too obvious a hint at a table. Furthermore, it changes the transmitted text considerably and unnecessarily.

however, does not have much sympathy for this complicated way of expressing oneself (4-5) and finds it more practical to say 'table' plainly.

The following examples do not deal with the preparation of food. They are mostly less elaborated and high-flown in style than the previous examples involving cooks. However, Eub. fr. 106.10-5²⁸ is similar to the cook-riddles in so far as it also consists of an asyndetic enumeration. It describes an ἰχνεύμων, an Egyptian weasel-like animal. The speaker first mentions its outer appearance,²⁹ and finally its warrior-like nature and deeds. It is striking that one element is negated: †μὴ πρόστομος† (1), because such irregularities are not typical of the style of riddles of this kind. Furthermore, the negation does not fit factually, either, since mongooses are actually known to have 'pointed' snouts.³⁰ However, the expression is corrupt, and the whole description very obscure. The notion that this animal kills the unborn (11) sounds paradoxical, but it fits the style of riddles. The description that it stings on the back and bites with its lips (15) has been explained by the ancient opinion that the ichneumon wrapped his tail around his nose for protection in fights against snakes.³¹ However, snakes are not mentioned in this fragment, and, moreover, it is nowhere stated that both sorts of attack happened at the same time - unless one reads δακνῶν instead of δάκνει, as ms. A does. There is probably rather a play here on the fact that this word has a homonym, i.e. that it also denotes a certain kind of wasp. This meaning would fit not only the verb κεντεῖ³² but also the description of the animal as

²⁸On the title of the comedy, Σφιγγοκαρίων, see below.

²⁹'Attelabos-eyed' will refer to its large eyes: cf. Davies and Kathirithamby 145.

³⁰Cf. Walker, in: Hunter 204 ad loc. There are many conjectures for this passage at K.-A. ad loc., but none of them is absolutely convincing.

³¹Ael., NA 3.22. Cf. Hunter 205.

³²According to K.-A. ad loc., this word might also have an obscene meaning and therefore serve as another pun here. Cf. also Bormann 32 and Henderson (1975) 122 no. 32. LSJ s.v. κεντέω 4 mentions Mnesim. fr. 4.55 (=Ath. 402e ff.) as the only instance of use of the word in the meaning βινέω, though.

an αἰχμητής.³³ This kind of playing on homonyms appears also in the succeeding riddle of the πάππος (see below).

Eub. fr. 106.21-5 is written in a different style from the examples mentioned so far, because it consists of whole sentences and not only of an enumeration. The language used in this passage is not too elevated. This riddle deals with the similarity between the construction of an κληρωτήριον, 'allotment-urn', and the structure of a human body.³⁴ The body is said to give birth to human beings (23) of which some obtain life by lot. This is a play on the two meanings of βίος, i.e. 'life' and 'means of living', and thus the passage appears to refer to the salary of three obols which jurors received at this date.³⁵ The jurors who have not been chosen are said to wander around (πλανῶνται 24); they are compared with the spirits of still-born children.³⁶ The last line of the text is very corrupt. Some scholars assume that they watched for malpractice in the allotment-procedure, so that instead of καλέω one might have to read καλῶν which would refer to these unlucky jurors, who called out "Watch out!"³⁷ However, this is only a hypothesis, and the meaning of the first part of the line remains particularly unclear.

Call. Test. *7.34-40³⁸ is another example of a riddle which does not have a definite solution. In this passage a pregnant woman tells others (cf. φίλαι 36) the name of her

³³See Hunter 205; Aristot., HA 5.552b 27ff. And cf. e.g. the wasp-simile at Hom., Il. 12.167 and also Ar., V. 1104-5.

³⁴The problems concerning the transmitted reading βεβηκός are in detail explained at Hunter 206 ad loc.

³⁵See LSJ s.v. Cf. Hunter ad loc., also v.Leeuwen ad Ar., Ec. 687ff. A similar description of this matter can be found at Isoc. 7.54.

³⁶Cf. also Dow, in: Hunter ad loc.

³⁷Cf. Hunter ad loc.

³⁸Many scholars, such as Kaibel and Wilamowitz, doubt that 'Αθηναῖος Καλλίας who is said to have written this play (cf. Ath. 453c) is the same as Callias Com. Pohlenz is of the contrary opinion. This question does not make any difference here, though.

unborn baby by describing the shape of the letters which the child's name consists of, i.e. ΨΩ. It is not clear whether this is a short form of a name or whether some lines which described further letters are missing. It has been suggested that the name hinted at was ψῶα,³⁹ but this is only a hypothesis, and any other word beginning with these two letters could also be meant here. This passage seems to have been part of a whole play about the alphabet, according to Test. *7, and it is not clear on which occasion this riddle is proposed. Because only women seem to be present, it does not appear to be set by a hetaera at a symposium, but rather at a women's gathering.

Antiph. fr. 192,⁴⁰ too, is not really solved. This fragment is part of a play which is actually named Πρόβλημα. It is different from the other riddles in so far as it is a short metaphorical narration, the meaning of which is revealed in a riddling manner as well: the interlocutor retains the fish-imagery the first speaker employed when he finally gives his own version of the riddle as an answer (see below). Firstly, he indicates that he has not understood the whole fish-story at all. So the first speaker promises that he will repeat it clearly (6), but his explanation is still very riddling: ἔστι τις ὅς τὰ μὲν ὄντα διδοὺς οὐκ οἶδε δεδωκῶς οἷσι δέδωκ' οὐδ' αὐτὸς ἔχων ὦν οὐδὲν ἐδεῖτο (7-8). It vaguely reminds one of the riddle which some fishing boys are said to have proposed to Homer (see below); its objects are described in statements which appear to be contrary to each other. His second explanation (10-4) is very similar, but extends the ignorance of 'what one has given to whom' and 'what you will have instead' to a lack of knowledge in general (11). Still, the fish-riddle remains obscure. The direction of the solution could perhaps lie in the proverbial use of κεστρεύς for people who are too honest to make gains.⁴¹

³⁹Gulick, Ath. vol. 4, 559 n. b).

⁴⁰The second part of the riddle may already be counted among the προβλήματα κατ' ἐναντίον (see below).

⁴¹Cf. Zacher 1220 and LSJ s.v. who give references. Gulick, Ath. vol. 4, 541 n. a)-c), who thinks this narration is a reference to a man who has to do with prostitutes and their pimp, seems to equate μελάνουρος with κεστρεύς, but his explanation seems too far-fetched and hypothetical. Cf. also

Finally, the second speaker decides to turn the tables and tells a story of his own, also using fish-imagery and contrary statements. His narration, however, refers very obviously to his own situation.⁴² This resembles Ar., Av. 981ff., where Peisetaerus produces his own 'oracle-scroll' and reads from it, trying to get rid of a begging oracle-monger. In Antiphanes' fragment the second speaker mocks the first one, which becomes quite clear at the very end of his story when he concludes with the words: αὐτὰς ἀμφοτέρας ἢ Δημήτηρ ἐπιτρίψαι, because it seems rather paradoxical that this goddess who is usually associated with the dry land should destroy a creature of the sea.

It has been postulated that some words are lost in the second part of line 18 and at the beginning of line 19.⁴³ The transmitted text is intelligible, though. The fact that the construction of the sentence becomes confused might furthermore be part of the joke since the speaker himself does not understand fully what he is talking about and actually finds this way of expressing things by applying contrary qualities to them rather confusing. He therefore finally pretends to be so puzzled that he suddenly ends his riddle with the Demeter-curse, which does not at all fit in. If the passage with all its positive and negative statements was proclaimed quickly on stage, it would surely sound like a tongue-twister to the audience. Perhaps the riddle is actually told at this place mainly for this reason, in order to mock the style employed in such enigmata as well as the first speaker himself: the title of this play, Πρόβλημα, might suggest that he is a notorious riddle-teller. Consequently, this riddle might not have been intended to have a clear solution.

Zacher 1221 n. 3 who interprets the κεστρεύς-μελάνουρος as a *Muttersöhnchen*. However, his interpretation and conjecture seem to be too uncertain.

⁴²Since he speaks of two fishes of female gender one might assume that two women, presumably hetaerae, propose the riddle to him: cf. Nesselrath 320.

⁴³Nesselrath 320 n. 100.

2. προβλήματα κατ' ἐναντίον

This category consists of riddles which describe things by means of paradoxical contraries. A standard example appears at Antiph. fr. 122. In this passage somebody who always used to believe that riddles proposed at drinking parties (παρὰ πότον 2)⁴⁴ were nonsense and ridiculous, finally finds one that may apply to his own experience. This riddle is the following: ὅτι φέρων τις μὴ φέρει (4). This resembles very much the well-known riddle allegedly proposed to Homer by some fishing-boys who went 'flee-hunting': ὅσα εἶδομεν καὶ ἐλάβομεν, ταῦτα ἀπολείπομεν, ὅσα δὲ οὔτε εἶδομεν οὔτ' ἐλάβομεν, ταῦτα φέρομεν. (Heraclitus [22] fr. 56 D.K.) Homer is said to have died from anger because he was not able to solve this riddle.⁴⁵ In contrast, the speaker of Antiphanes' fragment is of the opinion he has found the right solution. He takes the riddle as a reference to a club (8ff.): every member brings a contribution to their meals (φέρομεν ἔρανον τιν' 8-9), but no one pays the tribute (οὐ φέρει ... τὴν φορὰν).⁴⁶ The latter part seems to speak about a payment which every member had to make to the club.⁴⁷ Since it refers to a sympotic situation and the speaker even says that he has heard it at a drinking event (2: see above), this is definitely a sympotic

⁴⁴The expression ἐφεξῆς seems to allude to the fact that at symposia riddles used to be told going around in a circle among the guests, similar to the practice of reciting scolia. Gulick, Ath. vol. 4, 533 n. k) writes that it went from left to right. Cf. that usually ἐπιδέξιτος is used to denote this process.

⁴⁵Cf. e.g. Lieberg 2507. Ar., Nu. 144ff., about the feet of fleas, might allude to this riddle. This passage seems to be alluded to at X., Smp. 6.8.

⁴⁶Cf. LSJ s.v. φέρω IV 5.

⁴⁷On the eranos at symposia cf. 'Wasps' p. 113. See also Alex. fr. 145.5. There is a different pun on φέρειν at Ar., Ra. 23-32, where Dionysus and Xanthias discuss the question whether the slave can actually carry something when he himself is carried by a donkey. This pun is extended when Xanthias answers the question how he was carrying anything by saying: βαρέως πάνυ (26) and thus transfers the meaning of φέρω to his state of mind. However, Dionysus ignores this pun and takes the words literally. This becomes apparent when he speaks about the βάρος ... ὃ σὺ φέρεις (27).

riddle. The next part of the fragment is quite obscure.⁴⁸ The speaker apparently wants to express the view that these violations of the rules of the club are excusable (12), but those who do not pay the money offer excuses which are not meant seriously. The allusion to Philip in this context has been referred to his failure to keep his promise to restore the Thracian towns to Athens.⁴⁹ In this passage Antiphanes appears to be deriding that exclusive club. Here, one of its members takes himself so seriously that he is even too snobbish to solve riddles at symposia. Therefore, he is probably not experienced in finding answers to them, and this is why he now (wrongly) assumes the riddle to refer to his club.

Eub. fr. 106.1-9 and 16-20, too, mostly describe the object which has to be guessed in contrary statements. Here the pun is based on the fact that the expressions which are to be guessed are homonyms.⁵⁰ In the first passage a *πρωκτός* is meant. The joke is here that most of the descriptions also fit a person who has anal intercourse.⁵¹ The description was obviously not too obscure for the audience, since some of the allusions also appear elsewhere in Greek literature, e.g. the *πρωκτός λαλητικός* Ar. fr. 238 and the connotation of *δασύς* at Pl. Com. fr. 3.1. A second pun is based on the ambiguity of the beginning of line 3, when heard. It could be understood as either *ἀξύνετα ξυνετοῖσι*, or *ἀξύνετ' ἀξυνετοῖσι*.⁵² The following phrase *νόμον ἐκ νόμου ἔλκων* has been explained as meaning to cause a delay in a case by interposing one law after the other.⁵³ *Νόμος* has implications of politics as well as melody,⁵⁴ though,

⁴⁸Dindorf, in: K.-A. ad loc., assumes that there is a lacuna after line 14. Several conjectures have been proposed for *εὐτυχής* (cf. K.-A.), but none of them really seems to fit the context.

⁴⁹Gulick, Ath. vol. 4, 535, n. d).

⁵⁰Cf. also Ar., Av. 471-5 for a play on the meaning of *κεφαλή* = 'head' and 'the name of an Attic deme'. See also Sommerstein 227 ad Av. 476. Furthermore, Ar., Ach. 396-400 contains a pun on the ambiguity of *ἔνδον*, and Pl. 1205-7 on the two meanings of *γραῦς*.

⁵¹Cf. Hunter ad loc. The description also fits the moon: cf. Schulz (1912) vol. 2, 13 no. 32.

⁵²Cf. also Hunter ad loc.

⁵³Cf. Headlam ad Herodas 5.5 and also 5.85.

⁵⁴Cf. LSJ s.v.; Hunter ad loc.

a parallel to which can be found at Pl., Lg. 7.799e. The actual joke of this passage, though, is that the second speaker refers this riddle to Callistratus and his alleged sexual preferences. ἔν δ' ἐστὶν καὶ πολλὰ (4) may also refer to Callistratus' cleverness.⁵⁵ This politician and orator is frequently derided in comedy: e.g. Eub. fr. 10, Antiph. fr. 293.4, Anaxandr. fr. 41.

When the first speaker explains what he has actually hinted at, he uses paratragic style resembling that of the riddles set by cooks (see above). A word of higher style, ταμίας,⁵⁶ already appears in line 4. In this passage adjectives are opposed with their negated forms, often in the form of an oxymoron. This riddling style was associated with Euripides.⁵⁷ The clever way in which the speaker employs the language for his puns indicates that he is an experienced riddle-teller. This might also be hinted at with the title of the play Σφιγγοκαρίων. Presumably, in this play a Carian slave acts like the Sphinx and continually proposes riddles to other people.⁵⁸

Also Eub. fr. 106.16-20 plays on two meanings of a word: πάππος can denote 'the down on the seeds of certain plants' as well as 'grandfather'.⁵⁹ The top part of the flower is described in words which are usually rather associated with an old man: in particular the adjectives γέρων and βαρύς (16), but also τῶν παιδίων (20).⁶⁰

In contrast to what we have seen so far, the following riddles are on more abstract subjects. So, Alex. fr. 242 refers to 'sleep'. It is another example of descriptions in contrast-pairs which seem logically to exclude each other. In particular at the

⁵⁵Cf. Kock, in: Hunter ad loc.

⁵⁶Cf. Dover, in: Hunter ad loc.

⁵⁷Cf. Ar., Ach. 396, Ra. 1333-4 with Hunter ad 107.8. Cf. E., Hel. 690, Hipp. 1144.

⁵⁸Cf. also Schultz 91.

⁵⁹It can also denote 'a small bird in whose nest the cuckoo lays': LSJ s.v.

⁶⁰Γῆν ἀφάνιζει (17) is elevated language. Hunter ad loc. suspects a lost epic source behind this expression.

beginning of the passage this structure is strongly marked by the use of the particles οὐ ... οὐδ' (1), μήτ' ἐν ... μήτ' ἐν (2-3), τ' ἀεὶ ... τε ... πάλιν (3-4), ... δ' ... (5).⁶¹ The transitions between the first two points are indicated by ἀλλ' (1) and ἀλλά (3) respectively. The difficulty posed by this riddle is not the use of complicated, paratragic language, but the high abstraction with which sleep, itself something abstract, is described. The first lines appear to denote a kind of demi-god who is partly mortal (cf. also πᾶς 8), but the fact that it always grows and perishes again (3-4) does not fit with this interpretation, even if it still sounds like a living being. Its invisibility seems to contradict this solution as well. The notion that it is known to everybody does not really help, but rather serves to increase the confusion.

The interlocutor starts a complaint about the fact that the other one always sets riddles to her, but is interrupted by the first speaker who insists that her words are easy and plain. The second character does not even appear to try to find the solution, but just asks for it (8), so that the first speaker herself provides it. These lines between the actual proposing of the riddle and the telling of its solution are presumably inserted in order to give the audience some time to think of an answer themselves. It should be quite obvious, though, since the title of the play is Ὑπνος.

Two women are speaking in this passage. The older one (cf. ᾧ γύναι 6; if the reading is sound: cf. Arnott ad loc.) seems to be characterised as being very clever, since she frequently invents riddles of this kind (cf. line 6), whereas the younger one (cf. ᾧ κόρη 9) does not appear to take delight in their solution. This passage probably does not belong to a sympotic scene, though, since there only seem to be these two women present and the second speaker does not join in the game. However, similar riddles concerning rather abstract matters may also have been set on sympotic occasions.

⁶¹Cf. also the similar structure and content of Alex. fr. 247.7: οὔτε θεὸς οὔτ' ἄνθρωπος.

Antiph. fr. 194 also deals with an abstract topic: the letters in an epistle.⁶² This reminds one of Call. Com. test. *7.34-40 (see above). However, the letters are here described as if they were little children. In the first line of the fragment they even seem to be still unborn, and are therefore called βρέφη. The φύσις θήλεια who keeps them safe has to be the epistle. In the second line it is mentioned that they cry. At this point the first oxymoron appears: ὄντα δ' ἄφωνα βοήν. This contrast-pair is further underlined by the poetic description of how far this cry is heard. The next apparently paradoxical statement follows immediately: they can also be heard by absent people (4-5). At first sight, before one knows the solution of the riddle, this appears to extend the notion about the reaching-distance of the cry.⁶³ However, the second part of line 5, κωφὴν δ' ἀκοῆς αἴσθησιν ἔχουσιν, may refer either to the letters or to the παροῦσιν. This statement makes sense if a letter is meant, but if these words speak about the παροῦσιν, it becomes clear that with βοήν something different from an ordinary cry has to be meant.

The actual joke of this passage, though, is that the person who tries to solve the riddle refers it to the politicians and the state, who are said to be bawling and to draw receipts across the sea from Asia and Thrace (8-10). These lines have been used for dating this passage,⁶⁴ because this joke presupposes the audience's actual experiences of politicians or military leaders who dishonestly made profits on the two important political and military scenes, Asia and Thrace. Λήμματα is too vague an expression to hint at an exact date, in particular because the *Feldherrenprozesse*, which were frequent at the end of the 360s, cannot be meant here, since the people is said to not

⁶²Cf. also E., IT 763ff. for a parallel. Again, poetic language is employed in this passage, cf. in particular the expressions κόλπιδι, οἶδμα, θνητῶν, κωφὴν.

⁶³At the end of this passage (20-1) Sappho adds that anyone who happens to be near when the epistle is read will not be able to understand it. This statement has been used to argue that it was not considered unusual in fourth-century Athens to read a letter silently when other persons were present. Cf. Knox 432-3. Cf. also Gavrillov 68 who uses the Antiphanes fragment and Ar., Eq. 115ff. as evidence.

⁶⁴Wankel 36.

notice anything (12). However, from 366 on a new theatre of war appeared in Asia. Thus, 367 could serve as a *terminus post quem*, and as a matter of fact the Athenian legate in Susa, Timagoras, became a famous example of a case of corruption at this time. The first speaker, Sappho, after whom the play this fragment belongs to is named, contradicts this solution, using the argument that ἄφρωνος does not fit a rhetor (13-4).⁶⁵ But the other speaker (the πατήρ? cf. 13) continues very shrewdly that this can well be the case when he has been convicted three times of acting contrary to law.⁶⁶ However, he indicates that he is not taking his own solution very seriously when he asks Sappho to state what she actually means (15-6).⁶⁷

3. Riddles set as direct questions

There are only a few extant examples of riddles which are set as direct questions in comedy. This fact is rather surprising from a modern point of view, where it is assumed that riddles usually appear in this form, in particular as joke questions. One example is Ar., V. 20ff., where the slave Sosias adapts a dream of another slave, Xanthias, about Cleonymus to the well-known riddle τί τὰυτόν ἐν οὐρανῶι καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς καὶ ἐν θαλάττῃ;⁶⁸ This enigma plays on words which bear three different meanings: ἄρκτος, ὄφις, αἰετός, and κύων. These are all names for, in each case, a constellation, a land-, and a sea-animal. In 'Wasps' Sosias changes the riddle to

⁶⁵Both suggestions (quoted at K.-A. ad loc.) for completing the beginning of line 13 have the same sense, which would be an obvious addition here, and scan the same.

⁶⁶Gulick, Ath. vol. 4, 543 n. b) explains that proposals in the council or assembly were frequently impeded by the charge that they were unconstitutional. Then a γραφή παρανόμων was brought against the proposer, and if somebody was convicted three times in such a case, he was excluded from speaking in the assembly.

⁶⁷The transmitted reading οὖν in line 17 does not fit because it is the point here that the other speaker has found a wrong solution and is to be corrected now. Erfurd's νυν (in: K.-A.) seems much more adequate here.

⁶⁸This riddle is quoted and explained at Ath. 453b; it echoes the scolion Timocreon fr. 5 Page: cf. Ach. 531ff. with 'Cottabus' p. 229.

ταῦτόν ἐν γῆι τ' ἀπέβαλεν κἄν οὐρανῶι κἄν τῆι θαλάττῃ θηρίον τὴν ἀσπίδα (22-3). The person who drops his shield is Cleonymus, into whom an eagle was transformed in Xanthias' dream (15-9). He is derided in this joke-question because of his alleged cowardice.

The speaker states clearly that this riddle is set at a symposium (προερεῖ τις τοῖσι συμπόταις 21). This passage is the earliest known instance of the word γριῖφος and at the same time the first explicit (comic) mention of the custom of solving riddles at symposia.⁶⁹ The next appearance of the phenomenon occurs only in the middle of the fourth century B.C. with Antiph. fr. 122.

The riddle at Diph. fr. 49⁷⁰ is also shown as being proposed at a symposium-like situation, a drinking-party⁷¹ at the Adonis-feast. The question τί πάντων ἰσχυρότατον; is solved by three Samian girls. The girls answer in a kind of chain, because each one finds something which outdoes what seemed to be the strongest solution just before: ὁ σίδαρος - τὸν χαλκέα - πέος. This kind of riddle with a succession of answers apparently already had a tradition. In particular, there is a very similar Ethiopian chain-aphorism which contains a long priamel of strong objects. It starts with 'iron' as well and ends with 'woman'.⁷²

Prizes and Penalties

Different sorts of prizes for the successful solution of a riddle, particularly in a social setting, are mentioned in Greek literature. Usually they are similar to those which can

⁶⁹However, [Hes.] fr. 266-7 M.-W. says that riddles were also proposed at Ceyx' wedding-feast. Cf. Hunter 200 and West (1974) 17 n. 26.

⁷⁰The riddle is transmitted through Ath. 451bc, but its verses could not be restored. Cf. K.-A. ad loc.

⁷¹Schultz 101 sees an ambiguity of the words πότον and στένοντα because of their phonetic similarity with πόθον and σθένον.

⁷²See Trenkner 144 n. 7.

be won by playing cottabus, e.g. wreaths, headbands, and cakes.⁷³ Clearchus fr. 84 = 63.I Wehrli speaks of kisses (φιλήματα). This reminds one of Pl. Com. fr. 46, also about cottabus, as well as of Eub. fr. 2 about night-long dancing.⁷⁴ On the other hand, penalties are imposed on a person who does not succeed in finding the right solution, such as drinking one's wine mixed with brine and / or emptying the cup without taking breath: cf. Ath. 458f, Poll. 6.107, Clearchus fr. 86 Wehrli.⁷⁵ Furthermore, Clearchus fr. 84 = 63.I Wehrli mentions the drinking of unmixed wine as a penalty, although he concedes that this was considered something welcome.

Some of the customs mentioned also appear at Antiph., 'Ganymedes' fr. 75. The context seems to be that king Laomedon, who is infuriated about the abduction of Ganymedes, questions the paedagogus who was responsible for guarding the boy.⁷⁶ The slave acts as if he does not know at all what his master is speaking about and asks him whether he is setting him a riddle: cf. περιπλοκάς (1),⁷⁷ μοι γριφον προβάλλεις (4-5), τί δύναται τὸ ῥηθέν; (7). Laomedon threatens to hang him (4, 7-8), but the slave keeps pretending that all this is only a symposium-game, and suggests instead that he should be given a cup filled with brine (10).⁷⁸ Suddenly, his master seems to have forgotten his serious threats and joins the game. The paedagogus would like to

⁷³Cf. Forster 43, Starkie ad Ar., V. 20.

⁷⁴Cf. 'Cottabus' p. 221 with n. 41.

⁷⁵Cf. also Forster 43. The expression ἔπινον τὸ ποτήριον (Clearchus fr. 86 Wehrli) is not very specific. In less playful contexts than that of the symposium riddles appear in Greek literature whose solution is a matter of life and death (*Halsrätzel*), e.g. the riddle which the Sphinx proposes to Oedipus: see Apollod. 3.5.8.

⁷⁶Cf. also Meineke, in: K.-A., ad Antiph. fr. 75.1ff.

⁷⁷For this expression cf. also Strato fr. 1.35ff. The opposite, i.e. to speak plainly, is expressed with the adjective σαφέστερον in Strato, similar to this passage (2): ἀλλ' ἐγὼ σαφῶς φράσω. Almost the same wording appears at Antiph. fr. 192.6, also at the end of the line; cf. also Alex. fr. 242.7.

⁷⁸Radermacher's hypothesis, in: K.-A. ad loc., that this line contained Laomedon's words instead of the slave's, would not explain what the master's motivation is for changing his mind so suddenly.

carry the cup away as a pledge, he says (12),⁷⁹ but Laomedon tells him that he has to drink it without taking breath while holding his hands behind his back (13-4 οὐκ ἄλλ' ὀπίσω τῷ χεῖρι ποιήσαντα δεῖ ἔλκειν ἀπνευστί⁸⁰). In order to do this, somebody else must have held the cup, perhaps in order to ensure that he could not cheat. This penalty can well be imagined as being performed at symposia, as well.

Conclusion

As one can see from the above examples, the point of a comic riddle lies very frequently in its use of language. It is aimed at describing simple objects or ideas in a way which is as elaborate, complicated, and confusing as possible. This is particularly apparent in the completely inadequate high-flown language which cooks employ in many passages, e.g. at Antiph. fr. 55. Furthermore, it was very common to play on homonyms and synonyms (cf. Eub. fr. 106.16-20) and to use contrast-pairs which sound paradoxical at first sight (cf. Antiph. fr. 122).

If two or more persons are involved, the solution given by the interlocutor - which is never the one intended by the person who proposed the riddle - frequently contains the main joke. Often the answers cleverly turn the riddle in a very different direction, e.g. into mockery of politicians: cf. Eub. fr. 106.5, Antiph. fr. 194.7ff., and also Ar., V. 20ff. In cases where the people who provide the answer are not so shrewd, this might in sympotic contexts imply that they are not used to these kinds of party-

⁷⁹In the reading of ms. A a long syllable is missing at the end of the verse, therefore Hermann, in: K.-A. ad loc., adds σου, which also makes good sense. Radermacher's reading ἀποφέρων τάχα also scans and is intelligible, but it changes the transmitted text to a greater extent than Hermann's solution does.

⁸⁰The reading χέρι (CE) is only a variant form of χεῖρι, but does not really scan. Kock's conjecture makes sense and scans, but in his reading ὀπίσω is redundant because of the prefix ἀπο-. There does not really seem to be a reason to change the transmitted version, anyway. K.-A. ad loc. and v.Leeuwen ad Ar., Eq. 107 provide further citations for this use of the verb ἔλκειν. For the expression ἀπνευστί cf. also Alex. fr. 246.3, however in a different context: he drinks in honour of the king. Cf. also 'Wine' p. 201-2.

games, i.e. might not have much experience of symposia. However, most of the fragments do not provide enough information on the social status of their characters to test this hypothesis, and riddles can be assumed to have also been common in contexts other than sympotic ones, so that these scenes will mainly serve to underline that a character is a *bomolochus*.

Often it is not clear whether a certain situation in which a comic riddle is told really belongs to the context of a symposium, if only because the number of characters seems too small for such a gathering. However, even if only two or three persons appear to be present in many of the passages mentioned, this can be explained partly through the limited number of speaking actors in comedy; and similarity to the situation of a party can still be preserved on a smaller scale.⁸¹ Consequently, many of these riddles will be similar to those proposed at symposia. Another argument in favour of this hypothesis is the fact that Athenaeus quotes them in order to illustrate symposium customs. At the very least, one can allow for echoes of symposium practice. But only *Ar.*, V. 20ff. and *Antiph.* fr. 122 clearly belong in the context of a drinking-party and *Diph.* fr. 49 in that of a similar female event. In this relaxed atmosphere people usually seem to react positively and with humour to the challenge of solving a riddle: cf. *Antiph.* fr. 194, *Diph.* fr. 49. Elsewhere, in contrast, particularly where cooks set riddles, the interlocutors react with annoyance or even aggressiveness. In one case, at *Antiph.* fr. 55, the cook is actually forbidden to express himself any longer by paraphrasing things. Since the topic of food and its preparation fits the *δεῖπνον* and symposium and is thus part of the party in a wider sense, one would expect that these scenes also take place in a humorous atmosphere, so that the negative reactions are surprising. The explanation for this seems to be that these scenes serve to underline the comic implication that the masters (or the persons

⁸¹The numbers of *klinai* in excavated symposium-rooms indicate that at aristocratic symposia a greater number of guests usually attended the party, though. Cf. e.g. Berquist 37ff.

who assist the cooks in the kitchen) are much less clever than their cooks, who are of a certain fixed type of character in comedy.⁸²

For the comic riddles set by cooks (but also others) a solution is not always given, e.g. at Antiph. fr. 192. This is possible because many comic enigmata are well-known or very similar to common examples (see above). For the same reason a poet can make a joke by parodying a common riddle without mentioning its original wording, and the pun is nonetheless obviously understood by the audience (cf. Ar., V. 20ff. and also Antiph. fr. 122). Thus, even lower class people can be assumed to be familiar with riddles; they may have set each other similar riddles as aristocrats, at parties or in other contexts, such as ritual or (children's) play, or may have heard about them elsewhere.

⁸²Cf. Nesselrath 297ff. However, according to Nesselrath 308, from Alexis' time the cooks' speeches lose their extravagance of language.

Perfume

As has already been mentioned above, the use of perfume was very popular at aristocratic symposia. This chapter will more closely investigate its use, in particular as it can be seen in the comic fragments, but also elsewhere, e.g. in the later sources Thphr., *Od.* (ed. Eigler-Wöhrle) and Plin., *H.N.*, which are important ancient treatments of the subject and need to be employed in order to get a clear picture. This chapter will look first at different sorts, famous producers, and prices of perfume, then its female and luxurious associations, from there proceeding to its use at symposia by men, and finally, still in the sympotic context, its use against drunkenness and as a flavouring for wine.

The first mention of *μύρον* in Greek literature appears at Archil. fr. 205W.¹ Homer already mentions instances of characters anointing themselves or others (also the dead), but only speaks of *ἔλαια*, 'scented oils', not of perfume (e.g. *Il.* 14.171-2 and 23.186, *h. Ven.* 61-3). *Hdt.* 1.195 writes that the Babylonians rub their whole bodies with unguent;² and the Lydians, who are known for their luxurious life-style, like perfume very much, according to *Ath.* 690bc.³ Later, Plin., *H.N.* 13.3 writes that it is used by the Persians.⁴ *Hecataeus*, at *Ath.* 447d, also refers to an oil made from milk (*ἐλαίωι ἀπὸ γάλακτος*) which is used as unguent by a Thracian people. Thus,

¹However, Lilja 60 writes that many of the Pylos-tablets already deal with scented oils. Shelmardine has a compilation of many tables from Pylos and Knossos dealing with the collection of raw materials, their distribution to producers, the stocks, and the handling of the product (cf. 7). Perfume was used in ritual, as cosmetics, and probably as an export-good.

²This mention may imply that this custom is regarded unusual by *Hdt.*, as Lilja 64 argues. However, the exceptional point rather seems to be the fact that every part of the body is anointed, not that perfume is used in general.

³Cf. also the fact that in Magnes' comedy 'The Lydians' a fragment (3) appears in which a male character bathes in perfume.

⁴They were probably introduced to perfume when they sacked Babylon, where it was already well-known at that time, and were not its inventors as Plin. *ad loc.* believes: cf. Hug, *RE* 1852.

perfume is strongly represented as a Eastern luxury, but it was also very popular at Greek aristocratic symposia.

There are several mentions of perfume in Greek, in particular in Old and Middle Comedy.⁵ They appear often in a symposiastic context. Mostly myrrh (μύρον) is mentioned. This noun, however, could denote not only a certain kind of perfume, but also generally 'liquid scent'.⁶ Its oil is called στακτή: cf. Ath. 688c. Other kinds too are mentioned, such as Egyptian, Babylonian, Syrian, megalleion,⁷ orris, rose, saffron crocus, (spike)nard, drop-wort, marjoram, quince, fenugreek, susinon (which is made of lily), bergamot-mint, palm-oil, asarbacca,⁸ cinnamon, brentheium, royal perfume, psagas, plangonium, henna, metopium (made from the oil of bitter almonds), frankincense-perfume, tufted thyme, and gilliflower. They are made of the flowers, the leaves or the roots of plants (Ath. 689de) on a basis of oil. Antique perfumes can be liquid or of a more solid consistency and are often artificially coloured.⁹ Certain areas are famous for their perfumes, i.e. for using the best ingredients and skills, as it was already believed in antiquity that it was not the place of production itself which influenced the quality, but the materials used and the producer's technique, as

⁵Cf. e.g. Ar. fr. 210, 213, 336, 535, Cephisod. fr. 3.2, Crates fr. 2, Epil. fr. 1, Eub. fr. 100, 107.3, Eup. fr. 222.2, and several other passages which are mentioned in this chapter. The frequent appearance in comedy will partly be due to the fact that many symposiac and erotic scenes are transmitted, particularly through Athenaeus. Another reason may be that during the time when the fragments were written the use of all kinds of fragrances started to become more socially acceptable at Athens: cf. Lilja 65.

⁶Cf. also Steuer 24.

⁷For an explanation of this name see below.

⁸However, this may actually not be a perfume: cf. Ath. 690c, who quotes Aeschylus, Simonides, and Ar., Th. 336 as evidence.

⁹Humphrey et al. 388-9 give recipes by Thphr., Od. 21-2, 25 and Pliny, H.N. 13.7-8, which also mention as ingredients thickeners, sweeteners, colour, salt as preservative, and substances for perpetuating the scent. Perfumes can be produced by heat or cold extraction and have to be stored away from light and heat. Shelmardine 13ff. describes the production in greater detail, using Dioscorides, 'de materia medica' 1.42-63 Wellmann as a source for ancient recipes for different sorts of perfumes. The details are not important, though, for the purpose of this appendix.

Apollonius, at Ath. 688f, states. Thus the two main sorts of epithets for perfume, i.e. those denoting its main ingredient or its geographical origin, will sometimes convey the same meaning.¹⁰

It is expensive sorts which tend to appear in Greek comedy. Egyptian perfume has a particularly good reputation: cf. Dexicrates fr. 1, Ephipp. fr. 8.1 (in the context of a symposium), Anaxandr. fr. 41, Achaeus, at Ath. 689b, and for Roman times Plin., H.N. 13.4, who also notes that people's tastes change with time. In the Anaxandr. fragment the perfume is mainly mentioned for the sake of a political joke on Melanopus, a demagogue,¹¹ who is said to anoint Callistratus' feet with extremely expensive unguent (πολυτελοῦς). D. 13.3. offers an explanation: Melanopus, though politically opposed to Callistratus, was often bought over by him whereupon he suddenly appeared to agree with his opinions. In Greek comedy Syrian perfume too is frequently mentioned, e.g. in a list of items which are provided at a wedding-dinner mocked at Anaxandr. fr. 42.36 and among other sorts of unguents on the occasion of another dinner, described at Mnesim. fr. 4.59-60. It also appears at Antiph. fr. 200.9. This passage describes the luxury in which a Cyprian king lives. He smears himself with Syrian perfume for dinner. Its smell attracts pigeons so that they fly to him. The birds are shooed off by the king's slaves before they can land on him and so, by fluttering around his head, they provide ventilation for the emperor. Thus, in these fragments expensive perfumes are employed in order to indicate great luxury, which is needed for jokes, e.g. about public figures (cf. Anaxandr. fr. 41), or is directly made fun of.

The comic fragments not only name expensive sorts, but also several perfume-experts. Stratt. fr. 34 mentions the Egyptian Deinias and with Pherecr. fr. 149 identifies the producer Megallus. He was a Sicilian or Athenian, who must have been

¹⁰See also Gow ad Theoc. 15.114.

¹¹Cf. Theop. 1151, in: K.-A. ad Eub. fr. 10.1, and Hunter ad Eub. fr. 11 (=10 K.-A.).

renowned for the high quality of his perfumes, since one, 'megalleion', is even apparently named after him.¹² This reputation is also hinted at in Strattis' fragment, in which a character is advised to bring a lady perfume of such quality that Megallus has never yet cooked or Deinias either seen or acquired. Similarly, Anaxandr. fr. 47 compares a woman who anoints her body with Megallus' perfumes to a 'promised bride of kings'.¹³ At Eub. fr. 90, instructions are given that Procris' hound is to be treated with the greatest luxury. Among other things the dog's feet are to be anointed with Megallus-perfume (fr. 90.5-6).¹⁴ Furthermore, it is also mentioned among other expensive items, i.e. Milesian wool and royal incense, at Amphis fr. 27; and, finally, Ar. fr. 549 even claims that Megallus invented perfume generally.¹⁵ These passages show that in the comic fragments the names of experts and producers stand for quality and therefore for high costs. Again, this serves as material to make jokes about characters.

It is possible to test the quality of a perfume by pouring it into a cheap variety: a make of good quality will lie on the surface, according to Apollonius at Ath. 689b. Plin., H.N. 13.19 mentions another testing method from his time: the perfume is placed on the inverted hand, so that one can see whether warmth will spoil it. The price for perfume can be very high (cf. e.g. Plu., Mor 646b): according to Hipparch. fr. 4 and Men. fr. 243, both mentioned at Ath. 691c ff., the price of a kotyle of μύρον sold at Athens could be five or even ten minas. A character at Antiph. fr. 222, presumably the wife of a thrifty man,¹⁶ announces that she is not satisfied with stakte for only two minas. Much later, in the first century A.D., Plin., H.N. 13.20 speaks of a price of

¹²Cf. Poll. 6.14, who also mentions that 'plangonion' is named after a certain Plangon.

¹³The translation is Gulick's, Ath. vol. 7, 201.

¹⁴Cf. Ath. 553ff. for further passages about the luxury of anointing the feet. See also Hunter ad Eub. fr. 90.6.

¹⁵Anaxandr. fr. 41, Theopomp. Com. fr. 1, and Antiph. fr. 37 mention the perfume-seller Peron.

However, the text of the last fragment is quite corrupt.

¹⁶Cf. K.-A. ad loc. It cannot be the husband himself who is speaking here, as Kock, in: K.-A. ad loc., thinks, since he, being thrifty, would surely be pleased to have to spend such a small amount of money.

more than 400 denarii¹⁷ per pound (*libra*) of perfume. The currencies cannot with certainty be correctly converted for the different periods, but the price seems to be similar to that in earlier Greece. Pliny states that he cannot understand why someone would spend so much money on it, since the pleasure is not for the wearer but only for other people.¹⁸ Isocinnamon is 300 denarii (= ca. 3 minas?): cf. Plin., H.N. 12.98. A pound of comacum, a kind of cinnamon, even costs forty asses, i.e. 640 denarii (= ca. 6.4 minas?), according to Plin. H.N. 12.135.¹⁹ Also, one pound of nard with which Jesus was anointed is estimated to cost at least 300 denarii by Ev. Jo. 12.3-5 and Marc. 14.3-5.²⁰ The high price of perfume may have contributed to creating the false ancient etymology that μύρον is derived from the great toil, μόρος, and foolish labour with which it is obtained, according to Chrysippus at Ath. 686f. In fact, the word seems to be borrowed, perhaps from the Semitic languages. It may be related to a Celtic-Germanic word for 'fat'.²¹ Because of their high prices it is not surprising to read that unguents are kept in containers made of silver, gold, and alabaster or its variety onyx (cf. Ar., Ach. 1053, Lys. 947, Crates fr. 17.6, Pherecr. fr. 112, Alex. fr. 63.1, 147, Eub. fr. 98, Men. fr. 268, Ath. 686c, Hdt. 3.20). However, the expression ἀλάβαστρος / -ον could also denote a perfume-flask in general, even if it was made e.g. of clay.²² Golden alabastra are mentioned e.g. at Theoc. 15.114 and Plu., Alex. 20, cf. also Ath. 195bc and 524cd.

¹⁷Perhaps approximately four minas: cf. Lewis & Short s.v. *denarius* with Schwabacher, s.v.

'Drachme', LAW 773-4.

¹⁸Cf. that Pl., R. 373a mentions unguents and incense among unnecessary goods of luxury.

¹⁹Since the second Punic War, under the dictator Q. Fabius Maximus, one denarius was equivalent to 16 asses, according to Plin., H.N. 33.45.

²⁰Hug, s.v. 'Salben', RE 1860-1 provides further examples for perfume-prices.

²¹Hug, s.v. 'Salben', RE 1851, Frisk and Chantraine s.v.

²²Cf. Gow ad Theoc. 15.114; Sparkes (1975) 134 with plate XVIIe. For the spelling of the word cf. Hunter ad Eub. fr. 100.1 (= 98.1 K.-A.), Arnott ad Alex. fr. 63.1, and Henderson (1987) ad Lys. 947. He writes that alabastra can typically be seen as attributes of married women on vase-paintings; cf. also Ar., Ach. 1053ff. and 1058ff. These passages hint at their phallic associations because of their shape. Cf. also Henderson (1972) 136. At 136 n. 15 he relates Beazley's opinion that only women used both

Except for its use at stylish symposia, it was considered unmanly in classical Greece to use perfume, as Socrates exclaims at X., Smp. 2.2ff. and as is also discussed at Ath. 612a and Plu., Mor. 990b. At Plu., Alex. 40 Alexander is said to have criticised his friends when they used myrrh instead of olive-oil to anoint themselves. Similarly, X., An. 4.4.13 writes that his soldiers only used $\chi\rho\acute{\iota}\mu\alpha$ instead of olive-oil if they had no other choice. Solon forbade the selling of perfume at Athens (Ath. 612a; cf. Pherecr. fr. 70.1-3, which seems to allude to this law); and the Lacedaemonians expelled perfume-sellers from their territories because they were regarded as wasting oil (Ath. 686f, Sen., Q.N. 4.13.9). Later, Plin., H.N. 13.25 comments on the disgraceful fact that Lucius Plotus, when he was proscribed by the triumviri, was given away in his hiding place at Salerno by the scent of the unguent he had been using.²³ This idea of unmanliness is underlined by Polyzel. fr. 12, which mentions that Dionysus uses myrrh (cf. also E., Ba. 235) and thus stresses that he is a sexually ambiguous character. (Cf. also 'Komos' p. 150.) Even amongst the gods, therefore, perfume is connected with femininity: S. fr. *361 Radt, which is paraphrased by Ath. 687c, shows Aphrodite anointing herself with perfume, whereas Athena, the goddess of wisdom, reason, and virtue, uses olive-oil and practices gymnastic exercises.

alabastros and lekythos for perfume, men only the latter. (Unfortunately, Henderson does not mention for which period this claim is made.) However, as far as the (comic) literary evidence can be taken seriously, men too, either in great luxury (Alex. fr. 63.1, also Crates fr. 17.6) or foreigners (Hdt. 3.20), are shown using alabastra. Furthermore, at the symposium described at Ath. 686c men are using them. Thus, Beazley's hypothesis can with quite a high degree of certainty be disproved with this evidence.

²³At Ath. 612a ff. Lysias is said to have reproached the Socratic Aeschines by saying that the production of perfume was an undignified occupation for a philosopher. This is also suggested by Ar., Eq. 1375 and Pherecr. fr. 2 and 70.3, who talk about young men who sit idly in the perfume market, doing nothing but talk. Cf. also the popularity of perfumes with the Persians who are known for their luxurious life-style: e.g. Plin., H.N. 13.3. For further references in Greek literature cf. Lilja 63. In a Roman context Petr., Sat. 70 (*pudet referre...*) and Plin., H.N. 13.22 regard the use of perfumes as superfluous luxury.

The feminine association of perfume is confirmed by the fact that it is frequently mentioned as a present for a woman, e.g. at *Stratt.* fr. 34. Females used it in order to increase their attractiveness.²⁴ For this reason unguents appear frequently in the context of weddings for the bride and the groom: cf. e.g. *Ar.*, *Pax* 862, also *Nu.* 51, *Anaxandr.* fr. 47, *X.*, *Smp.* 2.3. This indicates that perfumes were also used in some kinds of *komoi*, those at weddings and those after luxurious symposia.

To return to the point of women increasing their attractiveness through unguents, at *Archil.* fr. 48.5-6W. a woman is said to be able to arouse even the passion of an old man when her hair and breast are perfumed. For this reason *hetaerae* anointed themselves: cf. e.g. *Plaut.*, *Truc.* 288ff. *Alc. Com.* fr. 23 too may refer to a prostitute. She anoints her substitute with her perfume, so that the man who actually expects her will not notice that someone else is with him. *Ach. Tat.* 2.38.2 goes so far as to maintain that a woman's beauty, as opposed to that of boys, is actually just that of perfume, unguent, and other cosmetics. At *Ar.*, *Lys.* 47 *μύρα* is used symbolically for sexual attractiveness. This and the following passages show that also wives - and not only on their wedding-day (see above; e.g. *Ar.*, *Nu.* 51) - used perfumes. So, at *Ec.* 524-5 *Praxagora* uses the fact that she does not smell of perfume as evidence that she cannot be coming from a lover. Wives who have just returned from a lover are said to eat garlic so that their husbands will not become suspicious, either because the scent of perfume is covered up or the impression will arise that with this unpleasant smell they could not possibly have attracted any man (*Ar.*, *Th.* 493ff.). At *Lys.* 938ff. *Myrrhine*, in keeping with her name, insists on perfuming herself with myrrh before having intercourse. In order to win time and make her husband, who does not care about using perfume, more and more desperate, she first fetches, or at least pretends to fetch, the wrong scent, *Rhodian*, and then cannot be dissuaded from getting another

²⁴*Lucian.*, *Am.* 40 criticises women's hair-treatments, such as dying, curling, and applying Arabian perfume. For further references cf. *Lilja* 63ff. Some comic fragments also describe the pleasure of the act of being anointed in erotic contexts: cf. *Antiph.* fr. 101 and also *Eub.* fr. 107. For further references to the erotic significance of perfume cf. *Lilja* 75.

flask. Plu., Mor. 990b maintains that men even refused to sleep with their own wives unless they used perfumes. Thus, the extent of the sexual deprivation of Myrrhine's husband is indicated here and at the same time (wealthy) women's fondness for perfume is mocked: cf. Ar., Lys. 938, 940, 946, Ec. 525. All these passages actually show male characters who have no interest in the use of scents. In contrast, some men are shown to use perfume themselves in sexual contexts, mainly in Latin literature. For instance, the male poetic persona at Prop. 2.4.5 anoints his hair to attract a lady. Similarly, at Plaut., Cas. 226 a man relates that he perfumes himself in order to please his girl-friend. This is even more unusual if one considers that this character is an old person, because old women who make up and anoint themselves are mocked elsewhere, e.g. at Ar., Pl. 1020, Arch. fr. 205W., and, later, Plaut., Most. 274ff. by a maid. Since these passages are comic, or at any rate in Archilochus' case the speaker and his or her intentions are not known, it is impossible to draw any certain conclusions from them. However, the audience could apparently be expected to find the sight of overly made up old women funny, so that one can assume that such behaviour was generally not common or acceptable for women of a certain age. Apparently, the old man's wife at Plaut., Cas. 240 agrees with that. She exclaims: *senecta aetate unguentatus per vias, ignave, incedis?* Also, at Anacr. 363 Campbell an old man who anoints his chest (συρίγγων κοιλώτερα στήθεα) is mocked.

Some sorts of perfume, however, are considered suitable to be used by men at symposia, which can also constitute a sort of erotic context. These are rose, myrrh or stakte, quince, marjoram, tufted thyme, saffron crocus (if it is not mixed with too much myrrh), and nard (Hicesius, at Ath. 689cd). The priest of Dionysus is said to provide myrrh at his symposium at Ach. 1091. (The same is mentioned by Philyll. fr. 3, who describes the proceedings after a ladies' deipnon). Similarly, a character at

Pherecr. fr. 105 asks for brentheium²⁵ to be poured for those who enter. These might be the guests at a *deipnon* or symposium. Nicostr. fr. 27 also shows a sympotic situation: myrrh together with sweetmeats, wreaths, frankincense, and an *aulos*-player are mentioned as constituents of the 'second table' (*δεύτεραν τράπεζαν*). Ephipp. fr. 8 relates that Egyptian perfume is brought in with several desserts. Philox. fr. 836.40-3 Page in his *Δεῖπνον* similarly speaks of ambrosia-smelling unguents in connection with wreaths and hand-wash-water mixed with iris-oil-soap. At Ar. fr. 546 perfumes appear in connection with Chian wine.²⁶ Carion mentions myrrh as part of a pleasant and wealthy life at Ar., Pl. 811, also in connection with wine, food, and wreaths, similar to the situation of a symposium, and the herald at Ar., Ec. 841 includes perfume-sellers in her description of the preparations for the banquet. Finally, at Ec. 1117, perfume is clearly mentioned in a symposium-context and drawn attention to by the word-play *μεμύρωμαι ... μυρώμασιν*, probably in order to give the scene an air of luxury. However, at Ec. 1117 it is worn in a sympotic-komastic context by a character who is not only female, but also a slave. This as well as the fact that she is drunk indicates that the social order has collapsed under the women's communism. To see a slave-woman enjoying such luxuries is a humorous transference. The connection of luxury and perfume also appears at Xenoph. (I) fr. 1, a fragment which is quite similar to Pl. Com. fr. 71 (cf. also 'Cottabus' p. 221, 'V.' p. 109-10) in that both describe a situation after dinner.²⁷ The room is cleaned up, wreaths are distributed among the symposiasts, and wine is mixed; Xenophanes also mentions food. A libation is made,

²⁵Gulick at loc., Ath. vol. 7, 197 n. d) proposes that this is a sort of rouge or foot-powder. However, the verb *ἐγγέασθε* seems to be more often used of liquids than of dry things: LSJ s.v. *ἐγγέω* provides references for both usages.

²⁶Cf. also Nep., Ag. 8.4, Achae. fr. 17.3 Snell, and Plaut., Bacch. 1181 for the mention of perfume in a symposium-context. At Plaut., Ps. 447 the symposium-context in which unguents appear also contains an erotic element, and at his Curc. 96-104 Leana praises wine in an erotic tone as superior to unguents (cf. *amor, cupidam, cupida sum*). Perfume is also often mentioned in erotic parts of drinking-songs: cf. E., Cyc. 501f., Anacreont. 12.10 and 22.11 Campbell, and Catull. 13.11f.

²⁷Cf. Philyll. fr. 3, mentioned above, which also describes the procedures after a dinner. He mentions the taking away of the tables, sweeping of the floor, handwashing, and also perfume.

which signals the beginning of the symposium proper (Xenoph. fr. 1.15, Pl. Com. fr. 71.10). Xenophanes speaks about the singing of a hymn to god (13) and a prayer (15). He writes about an altar (11) and advises that words of good omen should be spoken (εὐφήμοις μύθοις 14). This is followed by an admonition to hold the gods in reverence (24). All this shows that the author is interested in the spiritual aspects of the symposium. His poem is mostly a set of guidelines on how to behave properly on such an occasion, and deals with the correct order of events. He also advises his audience not to drink excessively. The participants in the symposium of Pl. Com. fr. 71, on the contrary, seem to drink quite a lot (cf. πίνοντές εἰσι πόρρω 10). Since two slaves who serve the guests at this party are the speakers in this fragment, it deals with the practical and organisational aspects of the event and is therefore quite concerned with the entertainment of the guests, i.e. cottabus and music. However, both texts mention that perfume is poured out among the guests (Pl. Com. fr. 71.6, Xenoph. fr. 1.3: μύρον).²⁸ Pl. Com. fr. 71.6-7 speaks of Egyptian and orris-perfume (μύρον ... Αἰγύπτου καὶ τ' ἱρινον), apparently describing a rather luxurious party.

Similarly to this, Posidonius, at Ath. 692c, writes that at royal symposia in Syria attendants sprinkle Babylonian perfume on the guests and their wreaths. However, the grandeur can be carried even further. Demetrius of Phalerum is said to use various

²⁸However, Xenoph. fr. 3 condemns excessive drenching with very exotic (ἀσκητοῖς, actually = 'curiously wrought') Lydian mixtures. Both fragments, Pl. Com. fr. 71 and Xenoph. fr. 1, treat frankincense in a religious context. (Ar., Av. 1715, in contrast, probably refers to 'the fragrance exuded by approaching gods': Dunbar ad loc.) Xenoph. mentions its holy smell: ἐν δὲ μέσοις ἀγνὴν ὀσμὴν λιβανωτὸς ἴησιν. The fact that it is positioned in the middle underlines its importance. Pl. Com. writes that frankincense is put on the altar: τὸν λιβανωτὸν ἐπιτιθεῖς (9). Even if no altar is explicitly mentioned in Plato's fragment, it becomes clear that one must be meant, if this expression is compared with the same at Nu. 426, where Strepsiades promises not to put frankincense [on the altars] of gods other than Socrates', V. 96, where the fact that Philocleon has three fingers pressed together when he gets up, because he is so used to holding voting-pebbles, is compared to putting incense [on an altar], and Ra. 888, where Dionysus tells Euripides to put on incense. It will be put on in small portions, as can be seen from the description of how Philocleon holds his fingers in 'Wasps' and because ἐπιτίθημι literally means 'add successively': cf. LSJ s.v.

cosmetics and unguents; and at his magnificent feast showers of perfume descend upon the ground, maintains Duris fr. 10 Jacoby. During the parade of Antiochos, as Ath. 195bc relates, 200 women sprinkle scents from gold pitchers. This is a rare mention of the use of perfume on a komos-like occasion which is not a wedding-procession. To return to the royal symposia in Syria and Posidonius' account of them, he relates that during the first five days of the spectacle all the persons in the gymnasium anoint themselves with saffron oil from golden basins and with several other sorts of unguent. This has parallels. Silver and gold jars, each containing a kotyle of perfume, are repeatedly given to the guests as presents at Caranus' costly wedding, says Hippolochus at Ath. 524cd. In Latin literature, the guests at Trimalchio's symposium receive alabastra filled with perfume as gifts, which descend spectacularly from the opened ceiling, and eat cakes and fruit filled with saffron-oil which even if the food is only lightly touched, spurts out (Petr., Sat. 60). These passages indicate that the use of perfume was very popular in the East, Greece, and then also in Rome, and that it was sometimes used to excess. Particularly during the early Hellenistic period the perfumes became very fashionable at feasts and for personal use.²⁹ However, it has been argued that the fact that at X., Smp. 2.3 Callias asks Socrates first before he offers perfume to his other guests, and that the latter declines without hesitating, may indicate that it was not that common after all to use unguents at symposia in classical Greece.³⁰ However, Callias does not really ask Socrates for permission but rather makes a suggestion: τί οὖν εἰ καὶ μύρον τις ἡμῶν ἐνέγκοι (...); Socrates is depicted here as very philosophical and slightly 'Spartan', so his views cannot be taken as usual for an Athenian citizen of his time. Anyhow, the frequent appearance of perfume in feasting-contexts, mostly in the comic fragments, proves its great popularity and sometimes even excessive use at symposia.

²⁹Cf. Groß, s.v. 'Salben', KIP 1508.

³⁰Cf. Lilja 64.

Further cases of exaggeration of luxury are Eub. fr. 100, Antiph. fr. 105, Magn. fr. 3 (about Lydians: see above n. 3), and Ehipp. fr. 26, where characters are said to bathe themselves (λούειν) in perfume. Cf. also Plin., H.N. 13.22, who describes cases of sprinkling bathroom-walls and bath-tubs with perfumes during the Roman principate. Other passages relate that different sorts are used for anointing the various parts of the body, e.g. at Antiph. fr. 105 and Cephisod. fr. 3. However, the crowning point appears at Alex. fr. 63, where a character, probably a *miles gloriosus*,³¹ brags that he met somebody who was so bored of perfume in alabaster-bottles that instead he had four pigeons dipped in different perfumes and let them fly so that they would sprinkle clothes and furniture. This seems to be a case of the allegedly grand Eastern life-style which is frequently mocked in Greek comedy.

Perfume, however, is not only considered a pleasurable luxury, but is also believed to help heal lethargic fever (particularly quince) and to have positive effects on one's digestion (especially gilliflower), brain (drop-wort: cf. Alex. fr. 195), and heart (as the seat of the soul): cf. Hicesius, at: Ath. 689cd. Because of its effect on the heart, perfume is often poured on the breast.³² Symposiasts also tend to anoint their heads, as mentioned at Ath. 691f and at Ar., Ec. 1117. Since it is a maid who is speaking here, this last passage has to be taken humorously, but it still reflects well-known sympotic behaviour. Ath. 692ab quotes Philonides for an explanation of this custom: if the head is dry, and one drinks, the wine will be taken upward. But if one has moistened the head beforehand, the effect of the alcohol will not be so violent.³³ Since humans like luxuries, not just any liquid but perfumes are used for this purpose.

³¹Cf. e.g. Arnott 188.

³²Cf. Alc. fr. 362 and Anacr. fr. 363 Campbell. The latter is actually a mockery of an old man: cf. Plaut. Cas. 226 above. Lilja 62 thinks that perfume is poured on the chest in order to anoint the hair. However, e.g. Archil. fr. 48.5-6W. shows that this is also done by women. Therefore, the ancient Greeks rather seem to have done it for medical reasons.

³³One of the explanations for why women are less liable to intoxication than men, particularly old men, given at Plu., Mor. 650b, is very similar. The author argues that women have a moist temperament, so that with them the wine falls into a great amount of liquid and is thus watered down.

Having this in mind, Ath. 692 points out the qualities which are important for perfumes used at festive occasions, i.e. to have the least possible stupefying effect, to be astringent, and to cool the person for a short time. However, a drawback to this practice is noticeable: perfume, applied to the head, dyes one's hair grey. Aristot. F763 Gigon explains this phenomenon as an effect of the spices (ἀρώματα) the unguent contains, which dry the hair out. Moreover, one has to be careful not to become the victim of a party-trick. If a guest dozes off during the symposium, he is in danger of having his face smeared with large amounts of perfume by the other participants (cf. Ath. 686c).

At symposia, perfume is also used in order to add flavour to wine; the mixture of the two is usually called μυρίνης.³⁴ The Greeks were very fond of it: cf. ὑπερησπάζοντο τὴν τοιαύτην κρᾶσιν: Philippiid. fr. 40, ὁ μυρίνης ὁ τίμιος: Posidipp. fr. 36. Similarly, at Diph. fr. 17.10 a cook speaks about the importance of knowing whom he is cooking for, since e.g. Rhodians like certain kinds of fish even better than μυρίνης. In order for the audience to understand this comparison, the wine-myrh-mixture must have been very popular and well-known in Athens at the author's time, i.e. in the fourth to third century B.C. In a Roman context, Petr., Sat. 70 describes how at Trimalchio's party the same unguent that is used to anoint the guests' feet, after little garlands have been woven around them and their calves, is poured into the lamp and into the wine. In contrast to the positive accounts of this custom, Plu., Mor. 149b criticises a wild young man who pours fine perfume into unmixed wine and drinks

³⁴For a definition cf. e.g. Poll. 6.17 and Hsch. μ 1916. Cf. Thphr., Od. 32 and 67. Eigler and Wöhrle in their commentary on Thphr., Od. 11 explain that this works particularly well with sweet wine, which was explained in antiquity by the fact that it contained warmth as opposed to water. Aristot. F 672 Gigon in his work 'On Drunkenness' writes that myrrh, aromatic rush (σχόινου) and other spices are boiled down with water, so that when this liquid is added to wine, it will cause less drunkenness. Later, Plin., H.N. 14.107ff. speaks of a way to make wine with unguents and must. He criticises the way that wine and perfume are combined in his time (H.N. 13.25). Wine mixed with nard is mentioned at Plaut., Mil. 823.

it.³⁵ However, the critique may be about the excessiveness of his behaviour, since the unguent is a choice one and the wine pure.

As an excess this practice is also extended to food. This appears explicitly at Plu., Caes. 17.5-6, who writes that one of Caesar's hosts once went so far as to pour myrrh instead of olive-oil on asparagus and so spoiled the meal.³⁶ A similar instance appears in a metaphorical sense at Stratt. fr. 47, who warns: 'When you cook lentil-soup, do not pour in perfume!' (ὅταν φακῆν ἔψητε, μὴ 'πιχεῖν μύρον.) This may indicate that it is to be used only for elegant (symptotic?) dishes, unlike lentil-soup.³⁷ However, it will mainly be meant as an allusion to the proverb τὸ πρὸς τῆι φακῆι μύρον, which refers to useless, inappropriate extravagances, i.e. wasting something valuable on something worthless.³⁸ Once more, this indicates that perfume is regarded as a luxury.

To conclude, the frequent mention of perfume in comedy indicates that not only the very wealthy will have been acquainted with its use (even if most people could probably afford only the cheaper sorts and not too frequently), because otherwise the audience would not have been able to understand the allusions and jokes connected

³⁵Cf. also Plin., H.N. 13.25, Petr., Sat. 70, also Juv. 303, Lucian., Nigr. 31. Wine is also used in the production of perfumes, mostly to expel the fat's natural odour or to give the substances which are mixed a certain scent: cf. e.g. Thphr., Od. 58.

³⁶However, Caesar, not being picky, ate it and rebuked his friends for expressing displeasure. Thphr., Od. 10 states that perfume spoils all food. In contrast, Lilja 109 notes that Apicius at the time of the Roman empire mentions nard as an ingredient of many sauces. However, this seems rather to be the spice itself, not the perfume made from it: cf. e.g. Apic. 282, 347. On the other hand, the perfume-filled cakes and fruit which are mentioned at Petr., Sat. 60 seem to be meant to be a special delicacy.

³⁷Cf. Lilja 109, Dalby 90.

³⁸Cf. Shackleton Bailey ad Cic., Att. 1.19.9. Cic. uses this proverb in order to make a pun on Lentulus' name. However, the pun is not completely worked out on the level of content, because in Cicero's list of legates it will rather be intended to point out that this son of his good friend is better than his colleagues. Thus, he should be the 'myrrh'. Anyhow, it is indicated that Lentulus somehow must stick out. For the proverb see Sopat., Clearch., and the title of Varro's Menippean satire τὸ ἐπὶ τῆι φακῆι μύρον (περὶ εὐκαιρίας) = fr. 549-51 Bücheler-Heraeus, all mentioned at Ath. 160c.

with it. However, comedy usually mentions very choice sorts and the jokes in most cases hint either at excessive luxury and high expense or at increased sexual attractiveness in the case of females and effeminate behaviour in that of male characters outside a sympotic context. At parties perfume is considered essential, in particular since it is believed to decrease the effect of alcohol if rubbed on the head and is also used to give wine a different flavour. The comic poets depict how this luxury might even be taken further in order to help the audience imagine a magnificent and often exotic party or a ridiculous situation, such as the treatment of a dog's feet with very expensive unguent at Eub. fr. 90. Thus, comedy mainly makes use of the aptness of perfume for mocking an excessive, decadent life-style, which frequently finds expression in the context of symposia.

5 Bibliography

- Adams, J., ed., comm., *The Republic of Plato*, Cambridge 1902
- Adrados, F.R., *Festival, Comedy and Tragedy: The Greek Origins of Theatre*, Leiden 1975 (Spanish: Barcelona 1972)
- Alink, M.J., *De Vogels van Aristophanes: Een Structuuranalyse en Interpretatie*, Amsterdam 1983
- Anderson, C.A., 'Themistocles and Cleon in Aristophanes' *Knights*', *AJP* 110 (1989), 10-6
- *Athena's Epithets*, Stuttgart 1995
- André, J., *Essen und Trinken in alten Rom*, Stuttgart 1998 (= Paris, 2nd edition, 1981)
- Arnott, W.G., 'Studies in Comedy, II: Toothless Wine', *GRBS* 11 (1970), 43-7
- *Alexis: The Fragments. A Commentary*, Cambridge 1996
- Beavis, I.C., *Insects and other Invertebrates in Classical Antiquity*, Exeter 1988
- Belfiore, E., *Tragic Pleasures*, Princeton 1992
- Bertman, S., ed., *The Conflict of Generations in Ancient Greece and Rome*, Amsterdam 1976
- Beta, S., 'La 'parola inutile' nella commedia antica', *QUCC* 63 (1999), 49-69
- Bielohlawek, K., 'Gastmahls- und Symposiumlehren bei griechischen Dichtern', *WSt* 58 (1940), 11-30
- Bierl, A. and P. v.Möllendorff, ed., *Orchestra: Drama - Mythos - Bühne*, Stuttgart 1994
- Boegehold, A.L., *When a Gesture was expected*, Princeton 1999
- Bormann, F., 'Su alcuni passi di Procopio', *SIFC* 50 (1978), 27-37
- Borthwick, E.K., 'The Gymnasium of Bromius', *JHS* 84 (1964), 49-53
- 'A Grasshopper's Diet - Notes on an Epigram of Meleager and a Fragment of Eubulus', *CQ* 16 (1966), 103-12
- 'Aristophanes *Clouds* 1371', *CR* 21 (1971), 318-20
- Bourriot, F., *Kalos Kagathos - Kalokagathia*, vol.1-2, Hildesheim 1995
- Bowie, A.M. (= Bowie), 'The Parabasis in Aristophanes: Prolegomena, *Acharnians*', *CQ* 32 (1982), 27-40
- Review of Sommerstein, A.H., *Aristophanes. Wasps*, *CR* 37 (1987), 5
- *Aristophanes. Myth, Ritual and Comedy*, Cambridge 1993
- 'Thinking with drinking: Wine and the Symposium in Aristophanes', *JHS* 117 (1997), 1-21
- Bowie, E.L. (= E.L. Bowie), 'Greek Table-Talk before Plato', *Rhetorica* 11 (1963), 355-73

- 'Wine in Old Comedy', in: *In Vino Veritas*, ed. O. Murray and M. Tecuşan, London 1995, 113-25
- Bowra, C.M., *Greek Lyric Poetry*, 2nd ed., Oxford 1961
- Bremer, J.M. and E.W. Handley, edd., *Aristophane*, in: *Entretiens sur l'Antique Classique*, vol. 38, Geneva 1993
- Bremmer, J., 'Walking, Standing and Sitting in Ancient Greek Culture', in: J. Bremmer and H. Rodenburg, edd., *A Cultural History of Gesture*, Cambridge 1991, 15-35
- Bücheler, F. and W. Heraeus, ed., *Petronii Saturae et Liber Priapeorum*, Berlin 1922
- Burkert, W., *Greek Religion*, Oxford 1985 (= German: Stuttgart 1977)
- Cassio, A.C., ed., intr., comm., transl., *Aristofane. Banchettanti*, Pisa 1977
- Chantraine, P., *Dictionnaire Étymologique de la Langue Grecque: Histoire des Mots*, vol. 1-4, Paris 1968-80
- Colvin, S., *Dialect in Aristophanes and the Politics of Language in Ancient Greek Literature*, Oxford 1999
- Compton-Engle, G., 'Aristophanes *Peace* 1265-1304: Food, Poetry, and the Comic Genre', *Ph* 94 (1999), 324-9 (=Compton-Engle (1999a))
- 'From Country to City: The persona of Dicaeopolis in Aristophanes' *Acharnians*', *CJ* 94 (1999), 359-73 (=Compton-Engle (1999b))
- Cornford, F.M., *The Origin of Comedy*, London 1914
- Craik, E.M., ' "One for the Pot": Aristophanes' *Birds* and the Anthesteria', *Eranos* 85 (1987), 25-34
- ed., *Owls to Athens*, Oxford 1990
- Csapo, E. and M.C. Miller, 'The 'Kottabos-Toast' and an inscribed red-figured Cup', *Hesperia* 60 (1991), 367-82
- Csapo, E., 'Riding the Phallus for Dionysus: Iconology, Ritual, and Gender-Role De/Construction', *Phoenix* 51 (1997), 253-95
- Dalby, A., *Siren Feasts*, London and New York 1996
- David, E., *Aristophanes and Athenian Society of the Early Fourth Century BC*, Leiden 1984
- Davidson, J., *Courtesans and Fishcakes*, London 1997
- Davies, M. and J. Kathirithamby, *Greek Insects*, London 1986
- Dearden, C.W., *The Stage of Aristophanes*, London 1976
- Degani, E., *Studi su Ipponatte*, Bari 1984
- Del Corno, D., intr. and transl., and G. Zanetto, ed., *Aristofane. Gli Uccelli*, 3rd edition, Milan 1992
- ed., *Aristofane. Le Rane*, 2nd edition, Vicenza 1992

- transl. and intr., and G. Guidorizzi, ed., Aristophane. Le Nuvole, Milan 1996
- Deubner, L., Attische Feste, Berlin 1932
- De Wit-Tak, T.M., Lysistrata. Vrede, Vrouw en Obsciniteit bij Aristophanes, Groningen 1967
- Dillon, M., 'The *Lysistrata* as a Post-Deceleian Peace Play', TAPA 117 (1987), 97-104 (= Dillon)
- 'Topicality in Aristophanes' *Ploutos*', Classical Antiquity 6 (1987), 155-83 (= Dillon (1987))
- Di Marzio, M., 'Il *Protesilao* di Anassandride (fr. 42 K.-A.)', QUCC 58 (1998), 75-89
- Dobrov, G.W., ed., The City as Comedy, Chapel Hill 1998
- Dorati, M., 'Ebbrezza e decisioni nella *Lisistrata*', QUCC 63 (1999), 87-90
- Dover, K.J., ed., intr., comm., Aristophanes. Clouds, Oxford 1968
- ed., intr., comm., Theocritus. Select Poems, London 1971
- Aristophanic Comedy, London 1972
- Greek and the Greeks, Oxford 1987
- Aristophanes. Frogs, Oxford 1993
- Dunbar, N., ed., intr., comm., Aristophanes. Birds, Oxford 1997 (=1995)
- Edmonds, J.M., ed., transl., The Fragments of Attic Comedy, vol. 1-3B, Leiden 1956-7
- Edmunds, L., 'Aristophanes' *Acharnians*', in: J. Henderson: Aristophanes: Essays in Interpretation, YCS 26 (1980), 1-36
- 'The Aristophanic Cleon's "Disturbance" of Athens', AJP 108 (1987), 233-63
- Ehrenberg, V., The People of Aristophanes, 2nd revised edition, New York 1962
- Eigler, U. and G. Wöhrle, intr., ed., transl., comm., Theophrastus. De Odoribus, Stuttgart 1993
- Elliott, R.T., ed., intr., comm., The Acharnians of Aristophanes, Oxford 1914
- Faraone, C.A., 'Salvation and female Heroics in the Parodos of Aristophanes' *Lysistrata*', JHS 117 (1997), 38-59
- Fisher, N.R.E., 'Greek Associations, Symposia, and Clubs', in: M. Grant and R. Kitzinger, edd., Civilization of the Ancient Mediterranean II, New York 1988, 1167-97
- Hybris. A Study in the Values of Honour and Shame in Ancient Greece, Warminster 1992
- 'Multiple Personalities and Dionysiac Festivals: Dicaeopolis in Aristophanes' *Acharnians*', G&R 40 (1993), 31-47
- Fisher, R.K., Aristophanes *Clouds*. Purpose and Technique, Amsterdam 1984
- Flashar, H., 'Zur Eigenart des Aristophanischen Spätwerks', in: Newiger, H.-J., Aristophanes und die Alte Komödie, Darmstadt 1975, 405-34

- Fluck, H., *Skurrile Riten in griechischen Kulturen*, Endingen 1931
- Foley, H.P., 'The "Female Intruder" reconsidered: Women in Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* and *Ecclesiazusae*', *CP* 77 (1982), 1-21
- 'Tragedy and Politics in Aristophanes' *Acharnians*', *JHS* 108 (1988), 33-4
- Forster, E.S., 'Riddles and Problems from the Greek Anthology', *G&R* 14 (1945), 42-7
- Fortenbaugh, W.W., et al., *Theophrastus of Eresus*, ed., transl., 2 vol., Leiden 1992
- Fraenkel, E., *Beobachtungen zu Aristophanes*, Rome 1962
- Frisk, H., *Griechisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, vol. 1 and 2, Heidelberg 1960 and 1970
- Gaertner, J.F., 'Der Wolkenchor der Aristophanes', *RhM N.F.* 142 (1999), 272-9
- Gargiulo, T., 'Aristofane, *Eq.* 1289', *QUCC* 58 (1998), 11-3
- Gavrilon, A.K., 'Techniques of Reading in Antiquity', *CQ* 47 (1997), 56-73
- Gelzer, T., *Der epirrhematische Agon bei Aristophanes*, Munich 1960
- Giangrande, G., 'The Origin of the Attic Comedy', *Eranos* 61 (1963), 1-24
- Gigon, O., *Aristotelis Opera III*, Berlin 1987
- Goldhill, S., *The Poet's Voice*, Cambridge 1991
- Gow, A.S.F., ed., transl., comm., *Theocritus*, vol. 2, Cambridge 1952
- Green, J.R., *Theatre in Ancient Greek Society*, London 1994
- Greifenhagen, A., *Eine attische schwarzfigurige Vasengattung und die Darstellung des Komos im VI. Jahrhundert*, Königsberg / Pr. 1929
- Gulick, C.B., transl., comm., and E.H. Warrington, ed., *Athenaeus. The Deipnosophists*, vol. 1-7, London 1963-71
- Handley, E., *Images of the Greek Theatre*, London 1995
- Halliwell, F.S., 'Aristophanic Satire', *The Yearbook of English Studies* 14 (1984), 6-20
- 'The Uses of Laughter in Greek Culture', *CQ* 41 (1991), 279-96
- Aristophanes. *Birds, Lysistrata, Assembly-Women, Wealth*, transl., intr., comm., Oxford 1997
- 'Aristophanic Sex: the Erotics of Shamelessness', in: M. Nussbaum & J. Sihvola, ed., *The Night of Reason: Erotic Experience and Sexual Ethics in Ancient Greece and Rome*, Chicago 2000
- Hamilton, R., 'The Well-Equipped Traveller: *Birds* 42', *GRBS* 26 (1985), 235-9
- *Choes and Anthesteria. Athenian Iconography and Ritual*, Ann Arbor 1992
- Händel, P., *Formen und Darstellungsweisen der aristophanischen Komödie*, Heidelberg 1963
- Hanson, V.D., *Warfare and Agriculture in Ancient Greece*, Diss. Stanford University 1980

- Harriott, R., 'Acharnians 1095-1142: Words and Actions', BICS 26 (1979), 95-8
- Harvey, A.E., 'The Classification of Greek Lyric Poetry', CQ 5 (1955), 157-75
- Headlam, W.H., comm., and A.D. Knox, ed., Herodas. The Mimes and Fragments, Cambridge 1966
- Heath, M., 'Receiving the κῶμος: The Context and Performance of Epinician', AJP 109 (1988), 180-95
- Heberlein, F., Pluthygieia. Zur Gegenwelt bei Aristophanes, Frankfurt a.M. 1980
- Henderson, J., 'The Lekythus and *Frogs* 1200-1248', HSCP 76 (1972), 133-43
- The Maculate Muse, New Haven, 1975
- 'Lysistrata: The Play and its Themes', YCS 26 (1980), 153-218
- ed., intr., comm., Aristophanes. Lysistrata, Oxford 1987
- Aristophanes. Archarnians. Knights, ed., transl., Cambridge Mass. 1998
- Henrichs, A., 'Between Country and City: Cultic Dimensions of Dionysus in Athens and Attica', in: M. Griffith and D.J. Mastronarde, Cabinet of the Muses, Atlanta 1990, 257-77
- 'Der rasende Gott: Zur Psychologie des Dionysus und des Dionysischen in Mythos und Literatur', A&A 40 (1994), 31-58
- Herington, J., Poetry into Drama. Early Tragedy and the Greek poetic Tradition, Berkeley 1985
- Herter, H., Vom dionysischen Tanz zum komischen Spiel. Die Anfänge der attischen Komödie, Iserlohn 1947
- Hoffman, R.J., 'Ritual License and the Cult of Dionysus', Athenaeum N.S. 67 (1989), 91-115
- Holzinger, K., Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar zu Aristophanes' Plutos, Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien 218.3, Wien 1940
- Hornblower, S., A Commentary on Thucydides, vol. 1, Oxford 1991
- Hose, M., 'Der aristophanische Held', Drama 3, Stuttgart, 1995, 27-49 (= Hose (1995a))
- Drama und Gesellschaft. Studien zur dramatischen Produktion in Athen am Ende des 5. Jahrhunderts, Drama. Beiheft 3, Stuttgart 1995 (= Hose (1995b))
- Hubbard, T.K., The Mask of Comedy, Ithaka 1991
- Huizinga, J., Homo ludens, London 1949 (engl.) (= 1944 German)
- Humphrey, J.W. et al., Greek and Roman Technology: A Sourcebook, London 1998
- Hunter, R.L., ed., comm., Eubulos. The Fragments, Cambridge 1983
- Kannicht, R., ed., comm., Euripides. Helena, vol.2, Heidelberg 1969
- Kassel, R. and C. Austin, edd., Poetae Comici Graeci, vol. 2-8, Berlin 1983-98
- Keller, O., Die antike Tierwelt, vol. 2, Leipzig 1913

- Kirk, G.S., *The Iliad: A Commentary*, vol. I, books 1-4, Cambridge 1985
- Der Kleine Pauly. *Lexikon der Antike*, vol. 1-5, ed. K. Ziegler and W. Sontheimer, Stuttgart 1964-75 (= KIP)
- Knox, B.M.W., 'Silent reading in Antiquity', *GRBS* 9 (1968), 421-35
- Kock, T., ed., intr., comm., *Aristophanes. Die Vögel*, 4th edition, newly revised by O. Schroeder, Berlin 1927
- Konstan, D. and M. Dillon, 'The Ideology of Aristophanes' *Wealth*', *AJP* 102 (1981), 371-94
- Konstan, D., 'A City in the Air: Aristophanes' *Birds*', *Arethusa* 23 (1990), 183-204
-- *Greek Comedy and Ideology*, New York and Oxford 1995
- Koujeas, S., 'ΑΣΚΟΣ - ΠΕΛΕΚΥΣ', *Hermes* 41 (1906), 478-80
- Kugelmeier, C., *Reflexe früher und zeitgenössischer Lyrik in der alten attischen Komödie*, Stuttgart 1996
- Kurke, L., 'Ancient Greek Board Games and how to play them', *CPh* 94 (1999), 247-67 (= Kurke (1999a))
-- *Coins, Bodies, Games, and Gold*, Princeton 1999 (= Kurke (1999b))
- Lada-Richards, I., *Initiating Dionysus. Ritual and Theatre in Aristophanes' Frogs*, Oxford 1999
- Lambin, G., 'Les "Délices" d'Harmodios (Aristophane, Acharniens, v. 1093)', *RPh* 72 (1998), 59-64
- Landfester, M., *Die Ritter des Aristophanes*, Amsterdam 1967
-- *Handlungsverlauf und Komik in den frühen Komödien des Aristophanes*, Berlin 1977
- Lange, S., 'Emendation of Antiphanes, Frag. 52', *CPh* 32 (1937), 159-60
- Lawler, L.B., 'Orchysis Kallinikos', *TAPA* 79 (1948), 254-67
- v.Leeuwen, J., ed., intr., comm., *Aristophanis Vespae*, Leiden 1893
-- *Aristophanis Ranae*, Leiden 1896
-- *Aristophanis Nubes*, Leiden 1898
-- *Aristophanis Equites*, Leiden 1900
-- *Aristophanis Acharnenses*, Leiden 1901
-- *Aristophanis Aves*, Leiden 1902
-- *Aristophanis Thesmophoriazusae*, Leiden 1904
-- *Aristophanis Plutus*, Leiden 1904
-- *Aristophanis Ecclesiazusae*, Leiden 1905
-- *Aristophanis Pax*, Leiden 1906
- Levine, D.B., 'Symposium and the *Polis*', in: T.J. Figueira and G. Nagy, edd., *Theognis of Megara. Poetry and the Polis*, Baltimore 1985, 176-96

- Liddell, H.G., R. Scott, and H.S. Jones, A Greek-English Lexicon (with a Supplement), 9th edition, Oxford 1968
- Lieberg, G., s.v. 'Rätsel', in: Lexikon der Alten Welt, ed. C. Anderson et al., Zürich 1965, column 2507
- Lilja, S., The Treatment of Odour in the Poetry of Antiquity, Helsinki 1972
- Lissarrague, F., The Aesthetics of the Greek Banquet, Princeton 1990 (French: Paris 1987)
- Littlefield, D.J., 'Metaphor and Myth: The Unity of Aristophanes' *Knights*', SPh 65 (1968), 1-22
- ed., Twentieth Century Interpretations of the Frogs, Englewood Cliffs, 1968
- Lonsdale, S.H., Dance and Ritual Play in Greek Religion, Baltimore 1993
- Luppe, W., 'Das Kottabosspiel mit den Essignäpfchen (Kratinos fr. 124 K./A.)', Nikephoros 5 (1992), 37-42
- MacCary, W.T., 'Philokleon *Ithyphallos*: Dance, Costume and Character in the *Wasps*', TAPA 109 (1979), 137-47
- McClure, L., Spoken like a Woman, Princeton 1999
- MacDowell, D.M., ed., intr., comm., Aristophanes. *Wasps*, Oxford 1971
- 'The Nature of Aristophanes' Akharnians', G&R 30 (1983), 143-62
- Aristophanes and Athens, Oxford 1995
- McLeish, K., The Theatre of Aristophanes, London 1980
- Macleod, C.W., 'The Comic Enkomium and Aristophanes *Clouds* 1201-1211', Phoenix 35 (1981), 142-4
- Merry, W.W., ed., intr., comm., Aristophanes. *The Birds*, Oxford 1896
- Aristophanes. *The Peace*, Oxford 1900
- Aristophanes. *The Frogs*, Oxford 1905
- Aristophanes. *The Knights*, London 1930
- Minyard, G.A.M., An Inquiry into the Lexical Meaning and Cultural Significance of the Word ΚΩΜΟΣ/ ΚΩΜΑΖΕΙΝ in Greece during the Classical Period, Diss. University of Pennsylvania 1976
- Mitchell, T., comm., *The Frogs of Aristophanes*, London 1839
- v.Möllendorff, P., Grundlagen einer Ästhetik der Alten Komödie, Tübingen 1995
- Monaco, G., Paragoni burleschi degli antichi, Palermo 1963
- Moorton, Jr., R.F., 'Rites of Passage in Aristophanes' *Frogs*', CJ 84 (1989), 308-24
- Murray, G., Aristophanes, Oxford 1993 (= G. Murray)
- Murray, O., ed., *Symptica*, Oxford 1990 (= Murray (1990))
- *In Vino Veritas*, London 1995 (= Murray (1995))

- Neil, R.A., ed., intr., comm., *The Knights of Aristophanes*, Cambridge 1909
- Neils, J., *Goddess and Polis. The Panathenaic Festival in Ancient Athens*, Hanover (New Hampshire) & Princeton 1992
- Nesselrath, H.G., *Die attische Mittlere Komödie*, Berlin 1990
- Newiger, H.-J., *Metapher und Allegorie*, Munich 1957
- 'War and Peace in the Comedy of Aristophanes', in: J. Henderson, ed., *Aristophanes: Essays in Interpretation*, YCS 26 (1980), 219-37
- Nisbet, R.G.M. and M. Hubbard, comm., *Horace. Odes*, vol. 1-2, Oxford 1970 and 1978
- Nussbaum, M., 'Aristophanes and Socrates on learning practical Wisdom', in: J. Henderson, ed., *Aristophanes: Essays in Interpretation*, YCS 26 (1980), 43-97
- Ohlert, K., *Rätsel und Rätselspiele der alten Griechen*, 2nd edition, Berlin 1912
- Olson, S.D., ed., intr., comm., *Aristophanes. Peace*, Oxford 1998
- O'Regan, D.E., *Rhetoric, Comedy, and the Violence of Language in Aristophanes' Clouds*, Oxford 1992
- The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, ed. S. Hornblower and A. Spawforth, 3rd edition, Oxford 1996 (= OCD); ed. N.G.L. Hammond and H.H. Scullard, 2nd edition, Oxford 1970 (= OCD 2nd ed.)
- The Oxford English Dictionary*, vol. 1-20, ed. J.A. Simpson and E.S.C. Weiner, 2nd edition, Oxford 1989
- Parke, H.W., *Festivals of the Athenians*, London 1977
- Parker, L.E.P., *The Songs of Aristophanes*, Oxford 1997
- Peck, A.L., transl., comm., *Aristotle. Historia Animalium*, vol. 1, Cambridge, Mass. 1979
- Pelling, C., ed., *Greek Tragedy and the Historian*, Oxford 1997
- Perusino, F., 'Violenza degli uomini e violenza delle donne nella *Lisistrata* di Aristofane', QUCC 63 (1999), 71-8
- Peschel, I., *Die Hetäre bei Symposion und Komos*, Frankfurt a.M. 1987
- Pickard-Cambridge, A.W., *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens*, 2nd ed. J. Gould & D.M. Lewis, Oxford 1968
- *Dithyramb, Tragedy and Comedy*, Oxford 1927, 2nd ed. T.L.B. Webster, Oxford 1962
- Platnauer, M., ed., intr., comm., *Aristophanes. Peace*, Oxford 1964
- Poe, J.P., 'Entrances, Exits, and the Structure of Aristophanic Comedy', *Hermes* 127 (1999), 189-207
- Pollux, *Onomasticon*, ed. E. Bethe, Lib. VI-X, Leipzig 1931
- Radermacher, L., ed., intr., comm., *Aristophanes' Frösche*, 2nd edition, Vienna 1954
- Rau, P., *Paratragodia. Untersuchung einer komischen Form des Aristophanes*, Munich 1967

- R.E. = Paulys Realencyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft, ed. G. Wissowa, Stuttgart 1894-1978
- Reckford, K.J., ' "Let them eat cakes" - Three Food Notes to Aristophanes' *Peace* ', in: G.W. Bowersock et al., edd., *Arktouros. Hellenic Studies presented to Bernard M.W. Knox on the occasion of his 65th birthday*, Berlin 1979, 191-8
- Aristophanes' *Old-and-New Comedy*, vol. 1, Chapel Hill 1987
- Reitzenstein, R., *Epigramm und Skolion*, Hildesheim 1970 (= Gießen 1893)
- Redondo, J., 'La poésie populaire greque et les *Guêpes* d' Aristophane', *Drama* 2, Stuttgart 1993, 102-21
- Rennie, W., ed., intr., comm., *The Acharnians of Aristophanes*, London 1909
- Richards, H., 'Aristophanica-II.', *CR* 15 (1901), 385-91
- Richardson, N.J., *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, Oxford 1974
- Riu, X., *Dionysism and Comedy*, Lanham 1999
- Rogers, B.B., ed., transl., intr., comm., *The Frogs of Aristophanes*, London 1902
- *The Birds of Aristophanes*, London 1906
- *The Comedies of Aristophanes*, vol. 1-3, New York and London 1924
- *The Acharnians of Aristophanes*, London 1930 (=1910)
- *The Knights of Aristophanes*, London 1930
- *The Clouds of Aristophanes*, London 1930
- Rosen, R.M., *Old Comedy and the Iambographic Tradition*, Atlanta 1988
- Rothwell, K.S., Jr., *Politics and Persuasion in Aristophanes, Ecclesiazusae*, Leiden 1990
- 'Aristophanes *Wasps* and the Sociopolitics of Aesop's Fables', *CJ* 93 (1995), 233-54
- Russo, C.F., *Aristophanes. An Author for the Stage*, London 1994
- Rusten, J.S., '*Wasps* 1360-1369: Philokleon's ΤΩΘΑΣΜΟΣ', *HSCP* 81 (1977), 157-61
- Said, S., 'The Assemblywomen: Women, Economy, and Politics', in: Segal, E., ed., *Oxford Readings in Aristophanes*, Oxford 1996, 282-313
- Scaife, R., 'From *Kottabos* to War in Aristophanes' *Acharnians*', *GRBS* 33 (1992), 25-35
- Scholia in Aristophanem*, ed. W.J.W. Koster et al., Groningen 1960-99
- Schulz, W., *Rätsel aus dem hellenischen Kulturkreise*, 2 vol., Leipzig 1912
- Schwinge, E.R., 'Aristophanes und die Utopie', *WüJbb N.F.* 3 (1977), 43-67
- Seaford, R., Review of Adrados, F.R., *Festival, Comedy and Tragedy: The Greek Origins of Theatre*, *CR* 29 (1979), 3-5
- ed., intr., comm., *Euripides. Cyclops*, Oxford 1984
- Shackleton Bailey, D.R., ed., comm., *Cicero's Letters to Atticus*, vol. I, Cambridge 1965
- Sharpley, H., ed., intr., comm., *Aristophanes. Peace*, Edinburgh and London 1905
- Shelmerdine, C.W., *The Perfume Industry of Mycenaean Pylos*, Göteborg 1985

- Sifakis, G.M., *Parabasis and Animal Choruses*, London 1971(= Sifakis)
- 'The Structure of Aristophanic Comedy', *JHS* 112 (1992), 123-42 (= Sifakis (1992))
- Silk, M., 'LSJ and the Problem of Poetic Archaism: From Meanings to Iconyms', *CQ* 33 (1983), 303-30
- Slater, N.W., 'Bringing up Father: *Paideia* and *Ephebeia* in the *Wasps*', in: A.H. Sommerstein and C. Atherton, edd., *Education in Greek Fiction*, Bari 1996, 27-52, with 'Response by Alan H. Sommerstein', 53-64
- Slater, W.J., 'Peace, the Symposium and the Poet', *ICS* 6.2 (1981), 205-14
- *Dining in a Classical Context*, Ann Arbor 1991
- Sommerstein, A. H., 'Notes on Aristophanes' *Archarnians*', *CQ* 28 (1978), 381-95
- 'Notes on Aristophanes' *Knights*', *CQ* 30 (1980), 46-56
- ed., transl. intr., comm., Aristophanes. *Acharnians*, Warminster 1980
- Aristophanes. *Knights*, Warminster 1981
- Aristophanes. *Clouds*, Warminster 1982
- Aristophanes. *Wasps*, Warminster 1983
- 'Aristophanes and the Demon Poverty', *CQ* 34 (1984), 314-33
- Aristophanes. *Birds*, Warminster 1987
- Aristophanes. *Peace*, 2nd corrected impression, Warminster 1990
- Aristophanes. *Lysistrata*, Warminster 1990
- Aristophanes. *Thesmophoriazusae*, Warminster 1994
- 'The language of Athenian Women', in: F. de Martino and A.H. Sommerstein, edd., *Lo Spettacolo delle Voci*, part II, Bari 1995, 61-85
- Aristophanes. *Frogs*, Warminster 1997
- Aristophanes. *Ecclesiazusae*, Warminster 1998
- Sparkes, B.A., 'Kottabos: An Athenian After-Dinner-Game', *Archaeology* 13 (1960), 202- 7
- 'Illustrating Aristophanes', *JHS* 95 (1975), 122-35 with plates XII-XVII
- Stanford, W.B., ed., intr., comm., Aristophanes. *The Frogs*, London 1958
- Stark, I., 'Who Laughs at Whom in Greek Comedy', in: *Laughter down the Centuries*, vol. 2, edd. S. Jäkel and A. Timonen, Turku 1995, 99-116
- Starkie, W.J.M., ed., transl., intr., comm., *The Wasps of Aristophanes*, London 1897
- *The Acharnians of Aristophanes*, London 1909
- *The Clouds of Aristophanes*, London 1911
- Steuer, R.O., *Myrrhe und Stakte*, Wien 1933
- Stone, L.M., *Costume in Aristophanic Poetry*, New York 1981
- Storey, I.C., 'The Symposium at Wasps 1299 FF.', *Phoenix* 39 (1985), 317-33

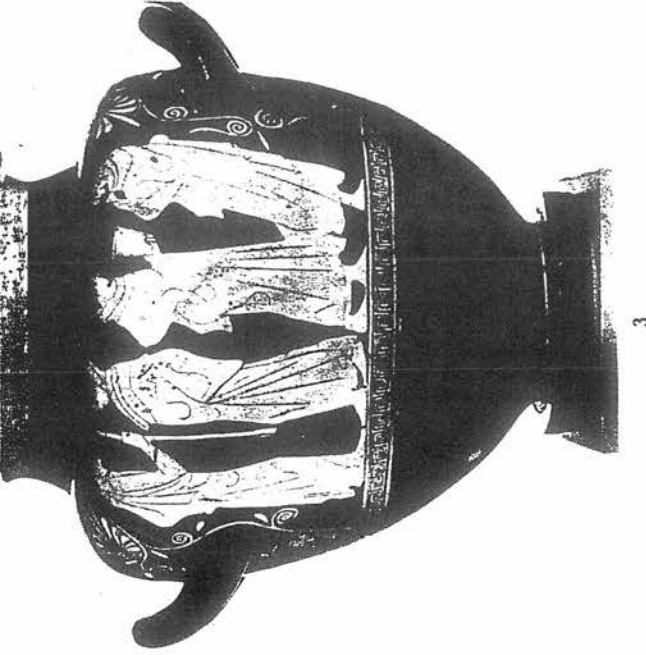
- Suidae Lexicon, vol. 1-5, ed. A. Adler, Leipzig 1928-38
- Süss, W., 'Scheinbare und wirkliche Inkongruenzen in den Dramen des Aristophanes',
RhM 97 (1954), 115-59, 229-54, 289-316
- Sutton, D.F., *The Catharsis of Comedy*, Lanham 1994
- Taaffe, L.K., *Aristophanes and Women*, London 1993
- Taillardat, J., *Les Images d' Aristophane*, Paris 1962
- Taplin, O., 'Tragedy and Tragedy', CQ 33 (1983), 331-3
-- *Comic Angels*, Oxford 1993
- Totaro, P., *Le seconde Parabasi de Aristofane*, Stuttgart 1999
- Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta, ed. A. Nauck, 2nd edition, Leipzig 1926
-- (TrGF), vol. 1-4, ed. B. Snell, R. Kannicht, S. Radt, Göttingen, 1971 / 1981 / 1985 /
1977
- Trenkner, S., *The Greek Novella*, Cambridge 1985
- Turner, J.H., comm., *Aristophanes' Lysistrata*, Bryn Mawr, 1982
- Ussher, R.G., 'The Staging of the Ecclesiazusae', in: Newiger, H.-J., ed., *Aristophanes
und die Alte Komödie*, Darmstadt 1975, 383-404
-- ed., intr., comm., *Aristophanes. Ecclesiazusae*, Oxford 1973
- Vaio, J., 'Aristophanes' *Wasps*. The Relevance of the final Scenes', GRBS 12 (1971),
335- 51
-- 'The Manipulation of Theme and Action in Aristophanes' *Lysistrata*', GRBS 14 (1973),
369-80
- Vanhaegendoren, K., *Die Darstellung des Friedens in den Acharnern und im Frieden des
Aristophanes. Stilistische Untersuchungen*, Hamburg 1996
- Vetta, M., 'Un Capitolo di Storia di Poesia Simposiale (per l'Esegesi di Aristofane,
"Vespe" 1222-1248)', in: M. Vetta, ed., *Poesia e Simposio nella Grecia antica*,
Rome and Bari 1983, 119-31
- Vierneisel, K. and B. Kaeser, edd., *Kunst der Schale. Kultur des Trinkens*, 2nd edition,
Munich 1992
- Vilijoen, H.G., 'Miscellanea', CQ 31 (1937), 53-4
- Wallochny, B., *Streitszenen in der griechischen und römischen Komödie*, Tübingen 1992
- Wankel, H., 'The Hypereides Principle?' Bemerkungen zur Korruption in Athen', ZPE
85 (1991), 34-6
- Webster, T.B.L., *Greek Theatre Production*, London 1956
-- *Monuments illustrating Old and Middle Comedy*, BICS Suppl. 9, London 1960 (3rd
ed.1978)
-- *Monuments illustrating New Comedy*, 2nd edition, BICS Suppl. 24, London 1969

- Wehrli, F., ed., Die Schule des Aristoteles. Dikaiarchos, 2nd edition, Basel 1967
 -- Die Schule des Aristoteles. Klearchos, 2nd edition, Basel 1969
 West, M.L., Studies in Greek Elegy and Iambus, Berlin 1974
 -- Ancient Greek Music, Oxford 1992
 Whitman, C.H., Aristophanes and the comic Hero, Cambridge (Mass.) 1964
 v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, U., Hellenistische Dichtung in der Zeit des Kallimachos II,
 Berlin 1924
 -- ed., intr., comm., Aristophanes. Lysistrate, Berlin 1927
 -- ed., intr., comm. Euripides. Herakles, Berlin 1933 (=1909)
 Zacher, K., Review on: O. Koehler, Adnotationes ad comicos Graecos, Berliner
 Philologische Wochenschrift 40 (1902), 1218-22
 Zimmermann, B., Untersuchungen zur Form und dramatischen Technik der
 Aristophanischen Komödien, vol. 1-3, Königstein / Ts. 1984 / 1985 / Frankfurt
 a.M. 1987 (= Zimmermann)
 -- 'Utopisches and Utopie in den Komödien des Aristophanes', WüJbb N.F. 9 (1983), 57-
 77 (= Zimmermann (1983))

Illustrations

Illustrations 1 referring to the Introduction

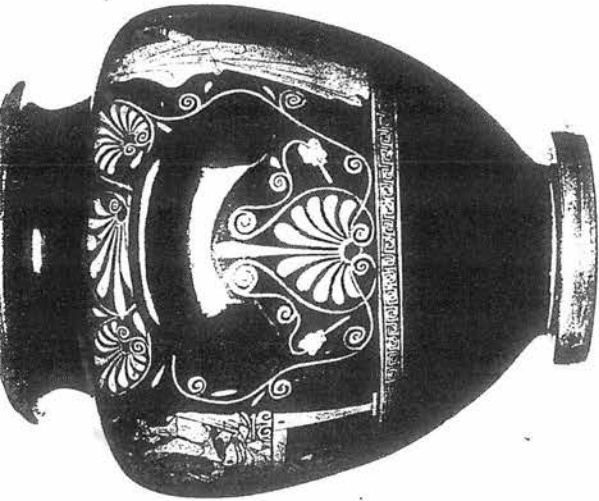
CVA, Munich 2410



3



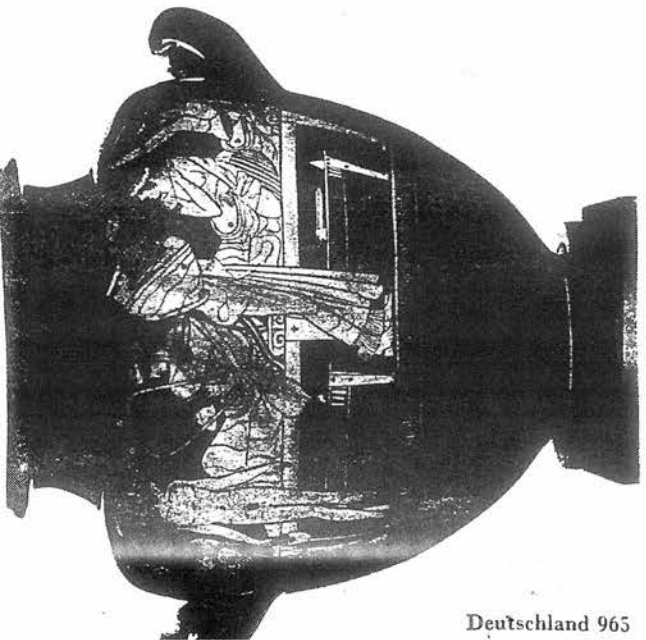
6



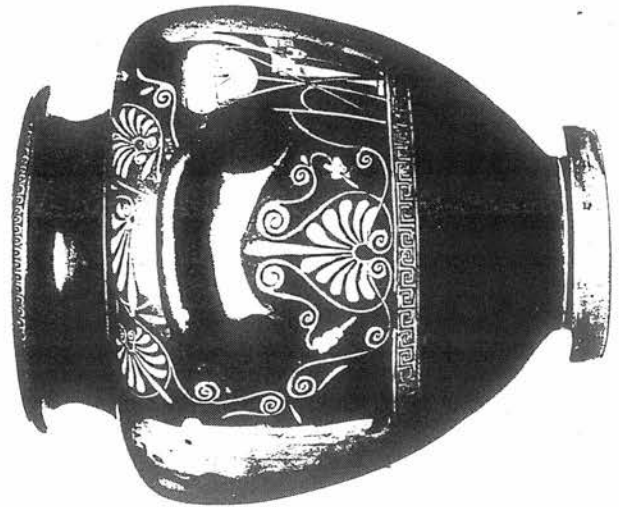
2



5



1



4

(2410)

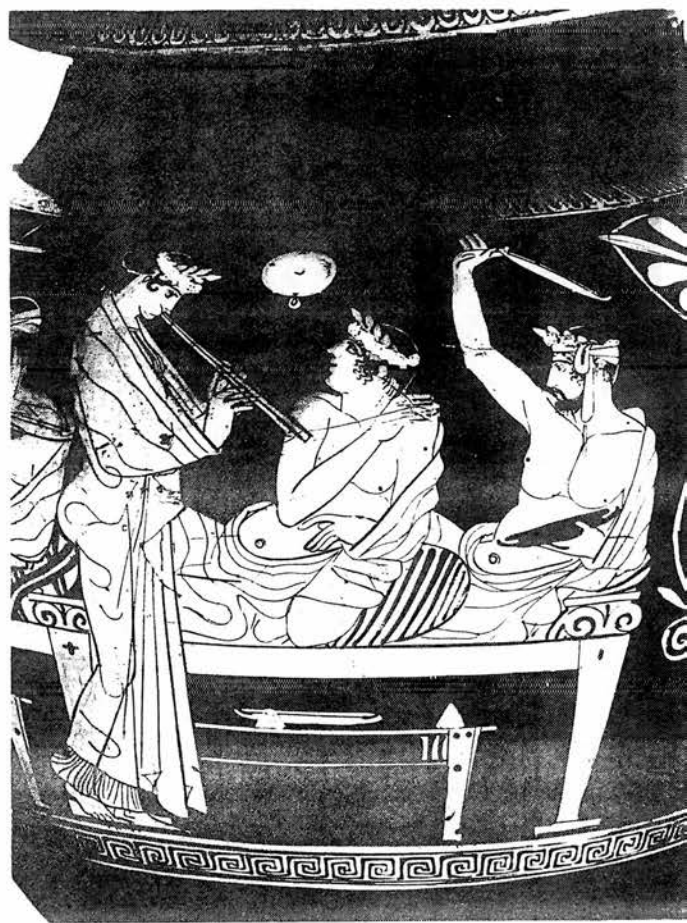
(2410)

CVA München (5) table 250

(St. 471)



3



4

(2410)

Deutschland 966

Attisch rotfigurig

CVA München (5) table 251



1



2

(2346)



3

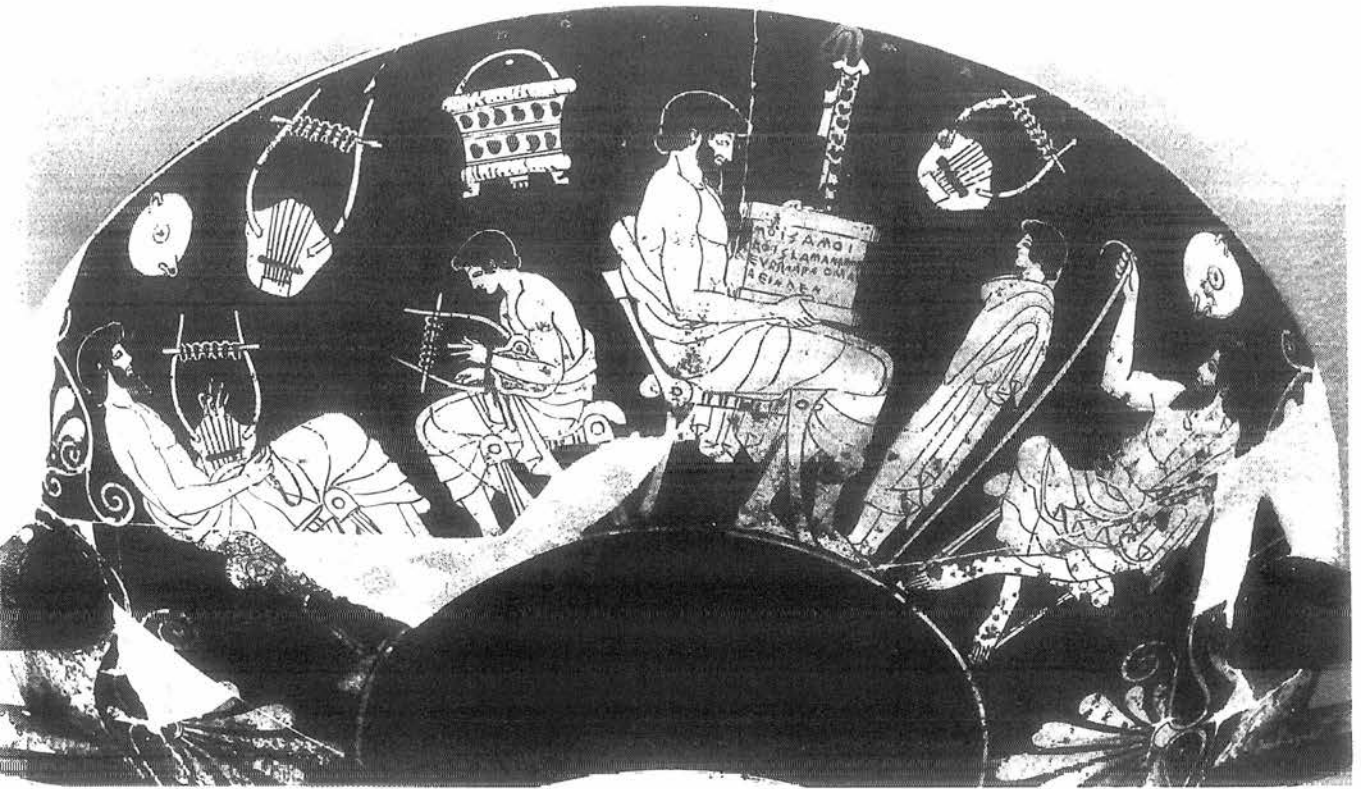


4

(2346)

and 266

Attisch rotfigurig



1

(F 2285)

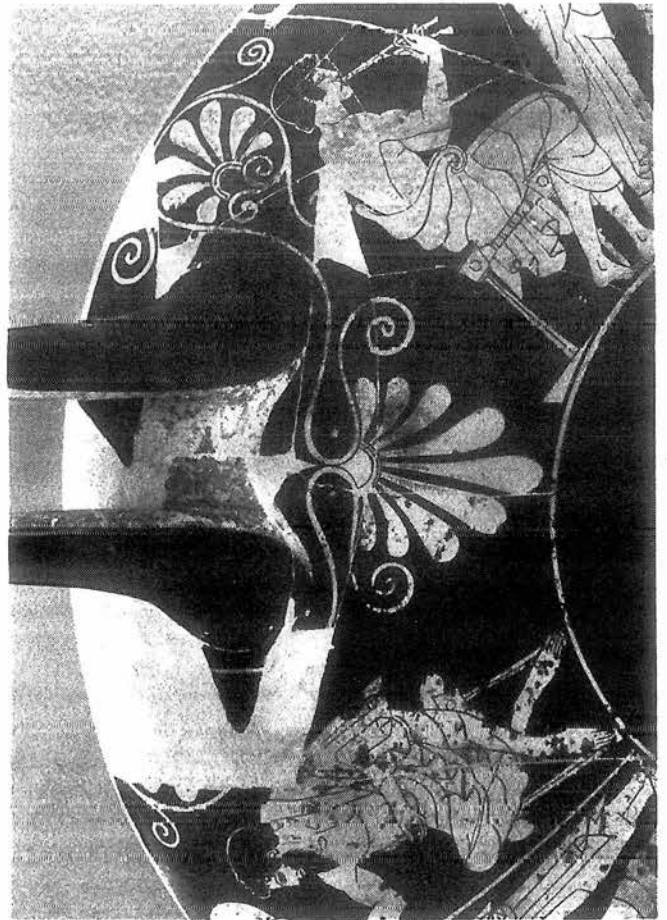


2

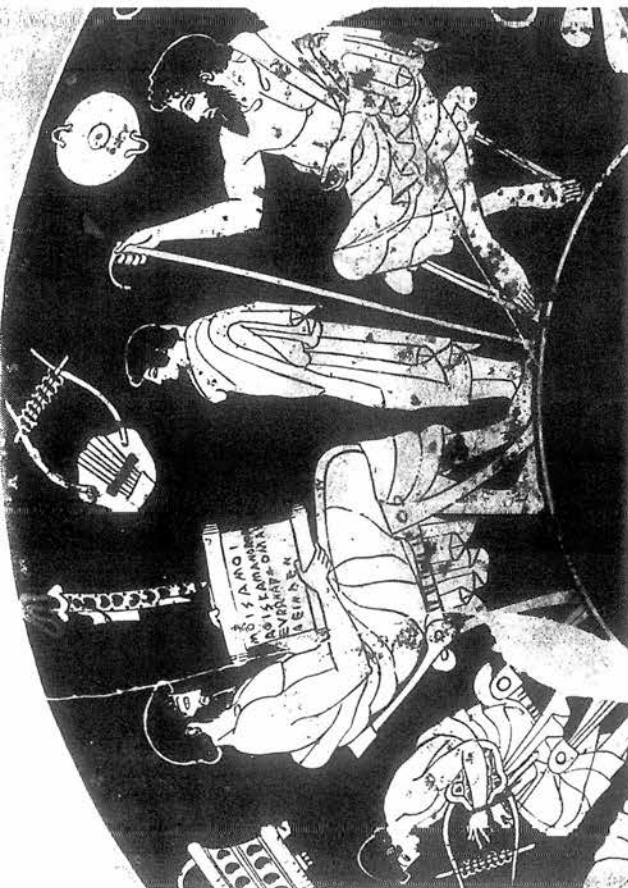
(F 2285)



2



4



1



3

(F 2285)

Attisch rotfigurig

7 Index of comic Fragments

The numbers in fine print refer to pages and footnotes.

Alc. fr. 16: 108 n. 23; **fr. 23:** 260

Alex. fr. 9: 193, 198 n. 41; **fr. 21:** 40 n. 15, 200, 201 n. 47; **fr. 46:** 189 n. 7; **fr. 56:** 198; **fr. 59:** 196; **fr. 63:** 258, 259 n. 22, 265; **fr. 88:** 201; **fr. 112:** 172; **fr. 124:** 25; **fr. 145:** 189, 243 n. 47; **fr. 147:** 258; **fr. 160:** 183, 203; **fr. 172:** 26-7, 77 n. 18, 189 with n. 7, 198; **fr. 190:** 7 n. 15; **fr. 217:** 81; **fr. 222:** 24 n. 10; **fr. 224:** 173; **fr. 228:** 194; **fr. 232:** 191, 196; **fr. 242:** 245, 250 n. 77; **fr. 246:** 196, 251 n. 80; **fr. 247:** 245 n. 61; **fr. 252:** 7 n. 15; **fr. 253:** 113; **fr. 257:** 205; **fr. 287:** 55 n. 26, 114 n. 41, 205

Amips. fr. 2: 217-8; **fr. 4:** 195; **fr. 20:** 108 n. 23; **fr. 21:** 93

Amphis fr. 14: x; **fr. 18:** 200; **fr. 27:** 257; **fr. 37:** 206

Anaxandr. fr. 6: 235 n. 13, 238; **fr. 41:** 245, 256, 257 n. 15; **fr. 42:** 163 n. 65, 256; **fr. 47:** 257, 260; **fr. 59:** 205 with n. 58

Anaxil. fr. 22: 235 n. 11; **fr. 23:** 194

Antiph. fr. 3: 111 n. 31; **fr. 20:** 201; **fr. 25:** 193; **fr. 37:** 257 n. 15; **fr. 51:** 238; **fr. 55:** 235ff., 238 n. 27, 251-2; **fr. 57:** 212ff., 221, 230 n. 73; **fr. 58:** 198; **fr. 75:** 232, 250; **fr. 81:** 40, 199; **fr. 85:** 95, 111 n. 31; **fr. 101:** 260; **fr. 105:** 265; **fr. 122:** 113, 243-4, 249, 251ff.; **fr. 172:** 7 n. 15; **fr. 192:** 234, 241-2, 250 n. 77, 253; **fr. 193:** 176 n. 98; **fr. 194:** 234 n. 10, 246ff., 251; **fr. 197:** 63 n. 10; **fr. 200:** 256; **fr. 222:** 257; **fr. 234:** 200; **fr. 236:** 176 n. 98; **fr. 250:** 189 n. 7; **fr. 268:** 55 n. 26; **fr. 293:** 245

Apolloph. fr. 3: 203 n. 52; **fr. 5:** 35 n. 47, 94 n. 12; **fr. 7:** 204 n. 55

Archipp. fr. 2: 196; **fr. 42:** 55 n. 25

Ar. fr. 111: 33; **fr. 157:** 217-8; **fr. 161:** 92 n. 4; **fr. 174:** 193; **fr. 210:** 255 n. 5; **fr. 213:** 255 n. 5; **fr. 219:** 190; **fr. 225:** 225 n. 60; **fr. 231:** 217, 220; **fr. 235:** 93-6 with n. 11 and 21, 96; **fr. 238:** 244; **fr. 260:** 54 n. 23, 201; **fr. 295:** 93 n. 11; **fr. 317:** 192; **fr. 330:** 108-9

n. 23; **fr. 334**: 175 n. 96, 191 n. 16; **fr. 336**: 255 n. 5; **fr. 351**: 188 n. 6; **fr. 361**: 203; **fr. 364**: 191; **fr. 402**: 9 n. 23, 25, 34 n. 44; **fr. 444**: 35, 93, 112; **fr. 504**: 67; **fr. 513**: 54 n. 23; **fr. 516**: 108 n. 23; **fr. 535**: 255 n. 5; **fr. 546**: 262; **fr. 549**: 257; **fr. 613**: 175 n. 96, 190, 191 n. 16; **fr. 614**: 4, 190; **fr. 700**: 201; **fr. 960**: 211 n. 1

Aristopho fr. 5: 121 n. 60, 176 n. 98; **fr. 12**: 67 n. 23; **fr. 13**: 196 n. 35

Call. fr. 9: vi, 108 n. 23; **fr. 12**: 222

Cephisod. fr. 3: 255 n. 5, 265; **fr. 5**: 222

Clearch. fr. 3: 205

Com. Adesp. fr. 101: 45 n. 34, 171 n. 86, 203 n. 53, 204; **fr. *387**: 3 n. 6

Crates fr. 2: 255 n. 5; **fr. 17**: 258, 259 n. 22

Cratin. fr. 50: 10 n. 31; **fr. 70**: 131 n. 27, 133 n. 33; **fr. 94**: 235 n. 11; **fr. 105**: 63 n. 10; **fr. 124**: 217, 219-20, 222 n. 43; **fr. 157**: 63 n. 10; **fr. 176**: 73 n. 6, 211 n. 1; **fr. 182**: 185 n. 3; **fr. *195**: 194; **fr. 196**: 196 with n. 32; **fr. 199**: 29 n. 28, 205 n. 56; **fr. *203**: 29 n. 28, 188; **fr. 254**: 44, 93, 112; **fr. 271**: 2 n. 5; **fr. 299**: 193, 213-4, 223, 229; **fr. 301**: 200; **fr. 322**: 40, 199, 201-2; **fr. 334**: 10 n. 31, 159 n. 47; **fr. 349**: 63 n. 10

Cratin. Jun. fr. 4: 28 n. 25

Crobyl. fr. 3: 45 n. 34, 202; **fr. 9**: 206 n. 60

Demonic. fr. 1: 109 n. 23

Dexicrates fr. 1: 256

Diocl. fr. 7: 192, 195; **fr. 8**: 192

Diod. fr. 1: 45 n. 34, 202

Diophantus fr. 1: 195

Diph. fr. 17: 266; **fr. 45:** 45 n. 34, 106 n. 16, 203; **fr. 49:** 234, 249, 252; **fr. 57:** 194 n. 24; **fr. *61:** 108 n. 22; **fr. 80:** 35 n. 47; **fr. 107:** 192; **fr. 129:** 176 n. 98

Ecphantid. fr. 4: 63 n. 10

Ephipp. fr. 4: 113; **fr. 8:** 7 n. 15, 192 n. 18, 256, 262; **fr. 11:** 196 n. 34; **fr. 13:** 33 n. 39; **fr. 24:** 192 n. 18; **fr. 26:** 265

Epich. fr. 148 (Kaibel): 203

Epier. fr. 4: 87 n. 29; **fr. 5:** 85 n. 20

Epil. fr. 1: 255 n. 5; **fr. 7:** 192

Epin. fr. 1: 189 n. 7, 190, 192

Eriph. fr. 1: 173

Eub. fr. 1: 222; **fr. 2:** 55, 173, 221 n. 41, 249; **fr. 10:** 245; **fr. 15:** 215; **fr. 42:** 199; **fr. 48:** 189; **fr. 56:** 25, 33 n. 38; **fr. 65:** 189; **fr. 89:** 85 n. 19; **fr. 90:** 257, 268; **fr. *93:** vi, 45 n. 34, 171 n. 86, 202, 203 n. 53; **fr. 98:** 258; **fr. 100:** 255 n. 5, 265; **fr. 102:** 160; **fr. 106:** 239-40, 244-5, 251; **fr. 107:** 234 n. 10, 235 n. 11, 255 n. 5, 260; **fr. 121:** 189 n. 7, 191; **fr. 124:** 205 with n. 59; **fr. 136:** 189, 190; **fr. 148:** 34 n. 44

Eup. fr. 6: 195; **fr. 47:** 27; **fr. 77:** 66 n. 20; **fr. 89:** 30; **fr. 95:** 212; **fr. 99:** 11 n. 34, 73 n. 4; **fr. 148:** 91 n. 3, 95; **fr. 169:** 109 n. 23; **fr. 172:** 103 n. 7; **fr. 219:** 200; **fr. 222:** 255 n. 5; **fr. 271:** 190 n. 14, 191 n. 16; **fr. 320:** 108 n. 23; **fr. 326:** 95; **fr. 354:** 93 n. 11, 190 n. 13; **fr. 355:** 190; **fr. 385:** 54 n. 23; **fr. 390:** 190; **fr. 395:** 32, 93 n. 11, 94 n. 15; **fr. 399:** 222

Euthycl. fr.1: 192

Henioch. fr. 4: 73 n. 4

Hermipp. fr. 24: 195; **fr. 45:** 195; **fr. 48:** 213, 217, 224ff., 231; **fr. 63:** 6 n. 15; **fr. 68:** 202; **fr. 77:** 27, 39, 75, 191; **fr. 88:** 189

Hipparch. fr. 4: 257

Lysipp. fr. 1: 192

Magn. fr. 3: 265

Men. fr. 2: 201; **fr. 243:** 257; **fr. 268:** 258

Metag. fr. 3: 103 n. 7; **fr. 15:** 185 n. 3

Mnesim. fr. 4: 239 n. 32, 256; **fr. 7:** 33 n. 39, 203 n. 54, 206 n. 60

Nicoch. fr. 2: 195; **fr. 16:** 195; **fr. 18:** 206

Nicopho fr. 11: 191; **fr. 19:** 55 n. 26

Nicostr. fr. 3: vi; **fr. 18:** vi; **fr. 19:** 10 n. 31, 30 n. 30; **fr. 27:** 7 n. 15, 262

Pherecr. fr. 2: 259 n. 23; **fr. 29:** 63 n. 10; **fr. 45:** 192; **fr. 50:** 7 n. 18, 9 with n. 24; **fr. 57:** 113; **fr. 70:** 259 with n. 23; **fr. 72:** 217; **fr. 73:** 10 n. 31, 128 n. 17, 190 n. 14; **fr. 75:** 70 n. 35; **fr. 76:** 193; **fr. 88:** 55 n. 23, 147 n. 4; **fr. 89:** 147 n. 4; **fr. 90:** 147 n. 4; **fr. 91:** 147 n. 4; **fr. 92:** 147 n. 4; **fr. 101:** 200; **fr. 105:** 262; **fr. 112:** 258; **fr. 113:** 9 n. 23, 67 n. 23, 188 n. 6; **fr. 134:** 63 n. 10; **fr. 137:** 9 n. 23, 207 n. 64, 208 n. 67; **fr. 138:** 108 n. 23; **fr. 147:** 197 n. 36; **fr. 149:** 256; **fr. 152:** 70 n. 35; **fr. 158:** 35 n. 47; **fr. 162:** 55 n. 26; **fr. 170:** 6 n. 15, 206 n. 60; **fr. 217:** 201; **fr. 251:** 204-5; **fr. 287:** 77 n. 17

Philem. fr. 74: 23 n. 5

Philetaer. fr. 1: 196; **fr. 15:** 196 n. 33

Philippid. fr. 40: 192, 266

Philonid. fr. 14: 189

Philyll. fr. 3: 10 n. 31, 261, 262 n. 27; **fr. 9:** 93 n. 9; **fr. 18:** 6 n. 15; **fr. 20:** 96; **fr. 23:** 27, 87, 191, 205

Phryn. fr. 26: 128 n. 17; **fr. 60:** 113; **fr. 68:** 191 n. 16; **fr. 69:** iv n. 1, 10 n. 31; **fr. 74:** 188 n. 5

Pl. fr. 3: 235 n. 11, 244; **fr. 15:** 51 n. 11; **fr. 33:** 10 n. 31; **fr. 46:** 212, 217-8, 222, 249; **fr. 47:** 212ff.; **fr. 51:** 63 n. 10; **fr. 71:** 10 n. 31, 31, 87, 110, 212, 221 with n. 40, 231, 262-3; **fr. 76:** 6 n. 15; **fr. 188:** 198; **fr. 192:** 201; **fr. 205:** 201; **fr. 230:** 10 n. 31, **fr. 295:** 193 n. 23

Phoenicid. fr. 2: 35 n. 47

Polyzel. fr. 12: 259; **fr. 13:** 188 with n. 6, 209

Posidipp. fr. 36: 192, 266

Sophil. fr. 4: 197; **fr. 5:** 200

Strato fr. 1: 235 n. 12, 250 n. 77

Stratt. fr. 23: 191, 199 n. 43; **fr. 24:** 191; **fr. 34:** 256, 260; **fr. 35:** 57 n. 34, 232 n. 1; **fr. 47:** 267; **fr. 60:** 192, **fr. 64:** 196; **fr. 80:** 211 n. 1

Telecl. fr. 1: 9 n. 23, 73 n. 6, 109 n. 23, 128 n. 17, 207 n. 64, 211 n. 1; **fr. 27:** 11, 33 n. 38, 188, 190

Theopomp. fr. 1: 257 n. 15; **fr. 4:** 238 n. 25; **fr. 23:** 103 n. 7; **fr. 41:** 2 n. 5, 40, 199; **fr. 42:** 199; **fr. 63:** 45 n. 34, 204 n. 55; **fr. 66:** 4; **fr. 68:** 35 n. 47

Timocl. fr. 13: 238; **fr. 22:** 189, 197

Xenarch. fr. 1: 235 n. 13; **fr. 6:** 199; **fr. 9:** 196