

**An Easterner at the Drinking Party: The Role of the Other in the  
Ancient Greek Symposion**

**By  
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Keywords: Symposion, Ancient Athens, The Other, Archaic Period, Ancient Greek  
Iconography

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**Abstract**

Athenian painted pottery from the late Archaic and early Classical period frequently depicts images of the symposion, a popular ancient Greek drinking banquet which played an important role in ancient Athenian society. Some of these depictions include images of Eastern foreigners alongside Athenian symposiasts, identified by clothing associated with ethnic groups from ancient Mesopotamia and regions around the Black Sea.

Traditionally, scholars have accepted these images as literal depictions of Eastern foreigners in the symposion or as representations of a symposiarch’s authority. However, a closer look at these images and their role in the symposion suggests a different interpretation of the Eastern figures. This thesis analyzes how images were perceived by viewers at the time in the social context of the symposion and how Athenian iconography of Eastern foreigners overlapped to create a generalized “Otherness” in the Athenian imagination. In this context, the common activities and images of the symposion reinforced a shared identity among the participants, using ancient Greek pottery to present the Eastern Other as an example of poor symposion behavior, thus associating Athenian identity with proper symposion behavior.

**Keywords: Symposion, Ancient Athens, The Other, Archaic Period, Ancient Greek**

**Iconography**

# **An Easterner at the Drinking Party: The Role of the Other in the Ancient Greek**

## **Symposion**

**Brendan O'Keefe**

### **General Audience Abstract**

During the 6<sup>th</sup> and early 5<sup>th</sup> centuries BCE, painted pottery in ancient Athens frequently depicted images of the symposion, a type of drinking banquet popular in Athens during the period. Some images of this drinking party depict images of Eastern foreigners alongside Greek banqueters, identified by clothing associated with ethnic groups from ancient Mesopotamia and regions around the Black Sea. Traditionally, scholars have accepted these images as literal depictions of Eastern foreigners in the drinking banquet. However, a closer look at these images and how they were understood by Athenian audiences suggests a different interpretation of the Eastern figures. This thesis analyzes how images were perceived by viewers at the time and how other images of Eastern foreigners on Athenian painted pottery created stereotypes of these groups in the Athenian imagination. In this context, the activities of the symposion drinking banquet and the images which depict it associate Eastern foreigners with poor drinking behavior to associate Athenians with proper drinking behavior by contrast.

**Keywords: Symposion, Ancient Athens, The Other, Archaic Period, Ancient Greek**

**Iconography**

## **Acknowledgements & Dedication**

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This thesis is dedicated to my family, for their unwavering love, support, and encouragement, and to Caillyn, who supported me during the most difficult moments of this long process.

### **Virginia Tech Land Acknowledgement and Labor Recognition**

Virginia Tech acknowledges that we live and work on the Tutelo / Monacan People's homeland, and we recognize their continued relationships with their lands and waterways. We further acknowledge that the Morrill Land-Grant College Act (1862) enabled the commonwealth of Virginia to finance and found Virginia Tech through the forced removal of Native Nations from their lands in western territories. We understand that honoring Native Peoples without explicit material commitments falls short of our institutional responsibilities. Through sustained, transparent, and meaningful engagement with the Tutelo / Monacan Peoples, and other Native Nations, we commit to changing the trajectory of Virginia Tech's history by increasing Indigenous student, staff, and faculty recruitment and retention, diversifying course offerings, and meeting the growing needs of all Virginia tribes and supporting their sovereignty.

Virginia Tech acknowledges that its Blacksburg campus sits partly on land that was previously the site of the Smithfield and Solitude Plantations, owned by members of the Preston family. Between the 1770s and the 1860s, the Prestons and other local White families that owned parcels of what became Virginia Tech also owned hundreds of enslaved people. We acknowledge that enslaved Black people generated wealth that financed the predecessor institution to Virginia Tech, the Preston and Olin Institute, and they also worked on construction of its building. Not until 1953, however, was the first Black student permitted to enroll. Through InclusiveVT, the institutional and individual commitment to Ut Prosim (that I may serve) in the spirit of community, diversity, and excellence, we commit to advancing a more diverse, equitable, and inclusive community.

# **Table of Contents**

## **Front Matter**

Abstract .....	ii
General Audience Abstract .....	iii
Acknowledgements and Dedication .....	iv
Virginia Tech Land Acknowledgement and Labor Recognition .....	iv
Table of Contents .....	v

## **Chapter 1: Introduction ..... 1**

1.1 Introducing the Symposium .....	3
1.2 Collective Participation and Shared Identity .....	4
1.3 The Presence of the Other .....	6
1.4 The Role of Wine .....	7
1.5 The Eastern Other .....	9
1.6 Regulating Symptotic Behavior and Athenian Identity .....	13

## **Chapter 2: The Ancient Greek Symposium ..... 16**

2.1 Symposium Literature Review .....	16
2.2 Defining the Symposium .....	20
2.3 Symposium Origins .....	21
2.4 Early Textual Sources .....	24
2.5 Symposium Location .....	25
2.6 Lyric Poetry and the Symposium .....	27
2.7 The <i>Skolion</i> Game .....	29
2.8 Visual Evidence of Poetry in the Symposium .....	30
2.9 Performance as Competition and Community.....	32
2.10 Athenian Perceptions of Wine .....	34
2.11 Proper Symposium Behavior .....	39
2.12 Variations of Symposium Behavior.....	40
2.13 Regulating Passions in the Symposium .....	43
2.14 Importance of the Krater .....	44
2.15 How Images Mirror the Symposium Space .....	45

## **Chapter 3: Athenian Perceptions of the Other ..... 48**

3.1 The Concept of the Other .....	48
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3.2 Types of “Others” in Ancient Athens .....	54
3.3 Visual Iconography of the Other .....	57
3.4 A General “Otherness” .....	67
3.5 The Other in Contrast to the Athenian.....	71
<b>Chapter 4: The Other in the Symposion .....</b>	<b>72</b>
4.1 Wine and the Eastern Other .....	72
4.2 The Eastern Other in Symposion Images .....	74
4.3 Satyrs and the Eastern Other .....	77
4.4 Identifying Images of the Eastern Other .....	78
4.5 The Eastern Other in Lyric Poetry .....	83
4.6 How the Other could Regulate Symposion Behavior .....	85
<b>Chapter 5: Concluding Remarks .....</b>	<b>87</b>
<b>Appendix A</b>	
<b>List of Abbreviations .....</b>	<b>90</b>
<b>List of Figures .....</b>	<b>90</b>
<b>Bibliography .....</b>	<b>105</b>
Primary Sources .....	105
Secondary Sources .....	107

## **Chapter 1: Introduction**

During the late archaic and early classical period, the symposium was a popular subject for artisans painting scenes on decorated pottery. An Attic red-figure cup attributed to the Colmar Painter in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (FIG 3) offers an example of one of these symposium scenes.<sup>1</sup> Around the exterior of the cup, the painter depicted six nude figures reclining on couches and wrapped in blankets as they drink wine from wide cups. At first, the nude, reclined figures and wine cups seem to depict a standard symposium scene. However, one figure in the center stands out from the other figures. Like the other figures, he is nude and reclining, but he plays dual pipes and wears a tall, dotted cap with long ear coverings. This cap, often referred to as “Scythian cap,” marks this figure as an Eastern foreigner, separated from the other figures by his identity. His Scythian cap makes this figure into an “Other” – someone perceived as inherently different from the initial group.

The image of an Eastern Other occurs on several symposium scenes during this period, yet their identity and role in the scene is more ambiguous than a direct representation of an Eastern foreigner in a drinking party. These figures introduce an important question: why is a social setting which is so important and specific to Athenian culture and identity frequently– or ever– connected with the Other? An analysis of these figures in connection with how symposium images reflected the activities of the symposium itself can demonstrate how the symposium space functioned as a social setting in which the Other (particularly the Eastern Other) was constructed in opposition to the

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<sup>1</sup> Attic red-figure cup: New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 16.174.41. ARV 2<sup>nd</sup> ed: 355.35. ARV 1<sup>st</sup> ed: 229.40. BAPD: 203718.

ideal male Athenian symposiast. The depictions of the Other on symposion ware suggest these images were viewed as an antithesis to their sympotic audience, who would reinforce their shared identity as Athenian citizens in contrast to the images. Furthermore, these images could serve as a visual example for the symposiasts, providing visual examples to reinforce a shared perception of the Other in antithesis to themselves. In the process, the Eastern Other became associated with the negative behaviors of the symposion to contrast the positive behavior of the ideal Athenian symposiast.

To best approach the construction of the Other in the symposion space, this essay will first analyze the symposion itself. This first chapter will introduce the concepts of the symposion, Greek perceptions of wine, and Greek perceptions of the Other. It will explore the origins of the ancient Greek symposion, the structure of symposion poetic performances, and the role of symposion images. Chapter Two will introduce more detail to establish a clear understanding of the ways image and performance worked together to shape collective expectations in the symposion space and explain the role of the symposion in constructing Athenian identity. Chapter Three will turn to the Greek perception of the Other and how the Other is constructed in Greek art. This chapter will compare the visual depictions of the Other on Greek painted pottery with literary depictions of the Other to illustrate how these perceptions were created and developed during the Archaic and early Classical period. It will also be important to illustrate the ambiguity between different identities and how they overlap to create a generalized “Otherness” in contrast to the Athenian ideal. Chapter Four will synthesize these concepts by turning to the role of the Other within the symposion itself. The chapter will focus on the connections between wine and the Other, especially the Eastern Other, by

exploring the social stereotypes referenced in literature and depictions of the drunken Other on painted pottery. The evidence presented will illustrate how symposiasts constructed the Other to reinforce their own shared identity and associate that identity with positive symposion behavior by associating that Other with negative symposion behavior.

### **1.1 – Introducing the Symposion**

The symposion was a popular type of banquet held in ancient Greece at which a group of aristocratic men would gather, often after a meal, to drink wine and entertain themselves with discussion, games, and musical performances. Images of symposia on painted Attic vases (pottery created in Athens and the surrounding region) suggest that these drinking parties were usually held in private homes with the homeowner hosting a small group of participants who would recline on couches around a mixing bowl called a “krater” in the center of the room. The symposion provided upper-class Greek male citizens opportunities to discuss any range of topics in a setting that was more intimate than other public forums of the ancient Greek world. As a result, the symposion became a social space in which Greek men could develop a sense of shared identity among their fellow upper-class citizens.

Within this broad concept of the symposion, different regions of ancient Greece maintained their own traditions and restrictions for this event.<sup>2</sup> However, much of the structure of the Greek symposion is understood by modern scholars through an Athenian lens due to the abundance of visual evidence of Attic symposia compared to the rest of Greece. The symposion was a popular subject for Athenian writers and artisans, who

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<sup>2</sup> For a discussion of these regional differences, see Marek Węcowski, *The Rise of the Greek Aristocratic Banquet* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2014), 85-124.

discussed and visualized the popular social engagement in literature and depicted the banquet scenes on Attic painted pottery. Most of the surviving evidence of the symposion comes from these Athenian sources.<sup>3</sup> Due to the wide availability of extant Athenian sources, my exploration of the symposion will focus primarily on Athenian traditions.

The participants in the symposion, referred to as “symposiasts,” were expected to follow specific social guidelines established for the space to encourage entertainment but avoid conflict. For example, symposiasts were encouraged to drink in moderation, but excess to the point of drunkenness was frowned upon. Wine, and the intoxicating effects it provided, were viewed as an essential gift from Dionysos. In the *Bacchae* (lines 274 to 285) Euripides explains the importance of wine through the character Tiresias. He considers wine to be a divine gift, at the same level as Demeter’s gift of grain, since one “nourishes mortals” while the other “frees trouble-laden mortals from their pain.”<sup>4</sup> However, unlike grain, wine was considered a powerful medicine which could be used to both positive and negative effects and had to be regulated as such. The goal was for each symposiast to achieve a similar level of intoxication which allowed them to loosen their inhibitions and speak plainly among their fellow symposiasts, but not enough to overindulge, which might lead to infighting or violent behavior that could threaten the communal respect and connection among the sympotic group.<sup>5</sup>

## 1.2 – Collective Participation and Shared Identity

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<sup>3</sup> For example, the pottery examples cited by all contributors in Oswyn Murray’s *Symptica: A Symposium on the Symposion* consists of twenty-three Attic vases compared to just nine other vases, all Corinthian.

<sup>4</sup> Euripides, *Bacchae*, ed. and trans. David Kovacs (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003), lines 274-285.

<sup>5</sup> Eva Stehle, *Performance and Gender in Ancient Greece: Nondramatic Poetry and Its Setting*, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997) 222-224.

Regulating alcohol consumption during the symposion extended beyond a simple way of monitoring participants' behavior. It could also help create a shared experience. One key factor to maintaining the perceived social equality of the symposion was to appoint a "symposiarch," a member chosen democratically by the symposiasts to lead the group (rather than the host automatically leading the symposion.) The symposiarch determined the ratio of mixed-wine and thus was instrumental in controlling alcohol consumption. He had other duties as well, most notably leading the symposiasts in the activities of the symposion, such as reciting lyric poetry and playing games.

Many of the known responsibilities of the symposiarch come from Plutarch's *Table Talk*, a set of dialogues written around 100 CE and preserved in his *Moralia*. In sections 620-622, the Greek author describes a good symposiarch as one who is always aware of his symposiasts to ensure each one maintains an appropriate inebriation, encourages a lighthearted atmosphere, and leads the symposiasts in appropriate entertainment.<sup>6</sup> Plutarch's description emphasizes the importance of maintaining a communal atmosphere and equitable drinking to ensure a perception of equality among the symposiasts, and the role of the symposiarch in creating that perception.

Led by the symposiarch, the activities carried out by the participants gave each symposiast opportunities to impress the group with their knowledge, humor, and poetic skill.<sup>7</sup> These activities were facilitated through a turn-based approach in which conversation, games, and poetic performances would rotate around the room with cups of wine. This turn-based structure allowed each participant to contribute individually and

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<sup>6</sup> Plutarch, *Table-Talk*, Trans. P.A. Clement and H.B. Hoffleit (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1969) book 1 sections 620a-622b.

<sup>7</sup> Fiona Hobden, *The Symposion in Ancient Greek Society and Thought* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2013) 63-65.

impress their fellow symposiasts while the focus remained on the group's collective entertainment.<sup>8</sup> Fiona Hobden has argued that the opportunity for individual input while focusing on collective entertainment helped create a space that reinforced a shared Athenian, aristocratic identity among the participants. This identity is most clear when the symposiasts adopt a first-person persona in their poetic performances by using "I" and "we" to unify and guide the symposion group.<sup>9</sup>

### 1.3 – The Presence of the Other

As discussed earlier, a popular presence in images of the symposion was someone identifiable as an "Other." In ancient Athens, where the standard was young, athletic, aristocratic, Athenian men, the Other could be anyone who was old, differently abled, lower-class, foreign, or women.<sup>10</sup> In the symposion, the Other reinforced the collective identity of the symposiasts by offering a contrasting identity that each symposiast could compare the group against. Symposiasts might call upon an Other during their poetic performances to offer an antithesis to their shared identity as members of the symposion, thus reinforcing the shared identity of the group in contrast to a potential outsider.<sup>11</sup> For example, in a poetic fragment by Mimnermos, a seventh century BCE Ionian lyric poet, the author adopts the role of an Other, who contrasts the group of young men in the symposion with his own old age and the struggles it brings:

...May I die when I no longer care about secret intrigues, persuasive gifts,  
and the bed, those blossoms of youth that men and women find alluring.  
But when painful old age comes on, which makes even a handsome man  
ugly, grievous cares wear away his heart and he derives no joy from

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<sup>8</sup> Eva Stehle, *Performance and Gender in Ancient Greece*, 222.

<sup>9</sup> For an overview of first-person persona in the symposion, see Hobden, *The Symposion in Ancient Greek Society and Thought*, 35-65.

<sup>10</sup> Beth Cohen et al. *Not the Classical Ideal: Athens and the Construction of the Other in Greek Art*, Brill's Scholars' List, (Leiden, Netherlands: Koninklijke Brill, 2000) 4.

<sup>11</sup> Stehle, *Performance and Gender in Ancient Greece*, 223-227.

looking upon the sunlight; he is hateful to boys and women hold him in no honor. So harsh has the god made old age.<sup>12</sup>

Whether or not Mimnermos wrote this poem with the symposion in mind, the lyric poet describes many circumstances common in the symposion, including references to the sexual pleasures and youthful beauty on display in the space, before offering the contrasting effects of old age. He poses old men as ugly, miserable, and spiteful towards others – all traits that are antithetical to the beauty, joy, and comradeship of the symposion group.

In this comparison, Mimnermos poses the negative traits of the old man as an Other, which reinforces the positive traits of the symposion group.<sup>13</sup> Furthermore, Greek art during the Archaic period emphasized the idealized male youth as the epitome of physical perfection, as exemplified by the kouros statues familiar from the period. As such, using old age as an Othering device in the context of the idealized, young, male citizens of the symposion fits within a wider tradition of celebrating youth in Archaic Athenian society. In other words, anyone who did not fit the idealized youthful Athenian male could be perceived as a potential Other in Archaic and early Classical Athens.

#### **1.4 – The Role of Wine**

While drinking excessively was not typically acceptable at the symposion, moderate intoxication was considered essential to the drinking banquet. Wine (and the effects of [over]consumption) allowed Athenians to breach social norms and adopt identities that were disdained in wider Athenian society, so long as they did not breach

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<sup>12</sup> Mimnermos, *Greek Elegiac Poetry: From the Seventh to the Fifth Centuries BC*, Ed. and Trans. Douglas E. Gerber (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999) fragment 1, lines 2-10.

<sup>13</sup> Stehle, *Performance and Gender in Ancient Greece*, 226-227.

the norms of the symposion or violate the authority of the symposiarch.<sup>14</sup> When done properly, the consumption of wine allowed Athenians to temporarily adopt the identity of the Eastern or feminine Other in the controlled symposion space. A common example comes from depictions of symposiasts wearing women's clothing as they walk in a sympotic procession called a "komos." An Attic red-figure cup from around 480 BCE in the J. Paul Getty Museum in Malibu (FIG 1)<sup>15</sup> depicts a procession of men and women both wearing long garments (*chitons*) and cloaks (*himatia*) along with turbans (*mitra*) wrapped in ivy. The women in the scene play music using dual pipes (*auloi*) while some of the men carry bell-shaped drinking cups called *skyphoi*. Both the *himatia* and *mitra* were garments used to depict women and Easterners during this period, giving them a generalized sense of "Otherness" in contrast to Athenian men.<sup>16</sup> Due to their similar clothing and lack of gender-defining features, the only way to distinguish the men from the women is the men's beards.<sup>17</sup>

The role of wine is clear in these scenes, as both a procession associated with the symposion and by the inclusion of drinking vessels and ivy-wrapped costuming. In the

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<sup>14</sup> François Lissarrague, *The Aesthetics of the Greek Banquet: Images of Wine and Ritual*, trans. Andrew Szegedy-Maszak (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990) 11-13.

<sup>15</sup> Attic red-figure cup: Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum, 86.AE.293. BAPD: 275963.

<sup>16</sup> John Boardman and D. C. Kurtz, "Booners," in *Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum 3* (Malibu, CA: Getty Publications, 1986) 50-56.

<sup>17</sup> These vases, referred to as "Anakreonic Vases," have been interpreted in two main ways, either as adopting Eastern clothing or wearing feminine clothing. Regardless of whether the images were received by an Athenian audience as more Eastern or more feminine, the figures would be associated with a generalized "Otherness." For those who support the Easterner theory, see Boardman and Kurtz, "Booners," 35-70, and Keith DeVries, "The Nearly Other: The Attic Vision of Phrygians and Lydians" in *Not the Classical Ideal: Athens and the Construction of the Other in Greek Art* by Beth Cohen et al, Brill's Scholars' List, (Leiden, Netherlands: Koninklijke Brill, 2000), 338-363. For those who support the feminine theory, see Françoise Frontisi-Ducroux and François Lissarrague, "From Ambiguity to Ambivalence: A Dionysiac Excursion Through the 'Anakreontic' Vases," in *Before Sexuality: The Construction of Erotic Experience in the Ancient Greek World*, Ed. David M. Halperin, John J. Winkler, and Froma I. Zeitlin (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990) 211-256, and Margaret Miller, "The Parasol: An Oriental Status-Symbol in Late Archaic and Classical Athens," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 112 (1992): 91-105.

context of the komos, wine presents an opportunity to embrace the identity of the Other as demonstrated by the adoption of Eastern or effeminate clothing.<sup>18</sup> Likewise, the clothing of the figures closely matches painted depictions of Dionysos, who is often depicted on painted pottery during this period wearing a *chiton* and wrapped in ivy. One such depiction on an Attic red-figure pelike in Florence (FIG 2) creates a direct parallel between the komos figures and Dionysos. One side of the wine jug shows a man, turned to the right, holding a lyre, and dressed in women's clothing, and the other side shows a man in matching clothing but carrying a drinking horn called a *rhyton* and ivy wrapped around his hair.<sup>19</sup> This second figure is most likely Dionysos based on the *rhyton* and ivy, which were both popular symbols used to depict the god. The two figures on opposite sides of the vessel are connected by their similar poses, suggesting a contiguity between the man from the komos and the god of wine.

**Figure no. 1**



### **1.5 – The Eastern Other**

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<sup>18</sup> Frontisi-Ducroux and Lissarrague, "From Ambiguity to Ambivalence," 228-232.

<sup>19</sup> Attic red-figure pelike: Florence, Etruscan Archaeological Museum, 3987. BAPD: 14506.

One specific identity attributed to the Other involved overconsumption and drunkenness beyond the wider associations in the symposion space. Ancient Greeks believed that it was common among Eastern Others, including Scythians, Persians, and Thracians, to overindulge in their wine.<sup>20</sup> In the same way Dionysos (a god of Eastern origin) drank undiluted wine, the Athenians believed these Eastern groups also drank their wine without mixing it with water. For Athenians, such behavior put them at risk of becoming too drunk, as the power of wine was too strong for anyone except Dionysos to drink it directly.<sup>21</sup> Attic poets and playwrights reference this common belief, such as Anacreon who warns symposiasts not to act like Scythians, who “fall into riot and disorder with [their] wine.”<sup>22</sup> When comparing this view of the Eastern Other (succumbing to the temptations of unmixed wine) with the controlled and restrained Athenian (exhibiting moderation), the contrast reinforces a shared identity among the symposiasts by providing a clear antithetical identity.

Visual images of these Othering groups are common on painted vases of the symposion but can be difficult to discern. Clothing is a frequent visual indicator of the Other, but it is not always possible to determine whether the paintings represent actual non-Athenian guests at the symposion or symposiasts temporarily adopting the role of non-Athenians in the same manner as the Athenian men dressed in feminine/Eastern clothing mentioned earlier. Iconography and visual context can sometimes help illustrate the differences between an Eastern foreigner in the symposion and an Athenian symposiast adopting the identity of a foreigner.

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<sup>20</sup> Primary source evidence for these claims is gathered by Joanna Porucznik, “The Image of a ‘Drunken Scythian’ in Greek Tradition,” *European Scientific Journal, ESJ* 9, no. 19 (2013): 710-714.

<sup>21</sup> Lissarrague and Szegedy-Maszak, *Aesthetics of the Greek Banquet*, 5-7.

<sup>22</sup> Anacreon, *Greek Lyric*, fragment 356b.

The “Scythian cap,” a conical cap with long, hanging sides, was frequently used to depict a variety of Eastern groups and often interpreted as a generalized symbol for Eastern Otherness.<sup>23</sup> Returning to the Attic red-figure cup from around 500 BCE in the Metropolitan Museum of Art and attributed to the Colmar Painter (FIG 3), the vessel depicts six reclining symposiasts, four of whom hold wine cups, and one of the reclining figures wears a Scythian cap while playing the *auloi*, a reed dual flute.<sup>24</sup> Besides the cap and the *auloi*, the figure himself is not distinguishable from the rest of the symposiasts – he reclines on the same couches as the rest of the symposiasts, has no beard, and wears no clothing besides the fabric that covers everyone from the waist down. The figure also appears to be performing for the symposiasts who turn to face him on each side. While his Scythian cap identifies him as Other, his position and activity in the scene suggests he is an equal member of the symposiasts.

### Figure no. 3

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<sup>23</sup> Margaret Miller, “Foreigners at the Greek Symposium?” in *Dining in a Classical Context*, ed. W. J. Slater (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1991) 61.

<sup>24</sup> Attic red-figure cup: New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 16.174.41. ARV 2<sup>nd</sup> ed: 355.35. ARV 1<sup>st</sup> ed: 229.40. BAPD: 203718.



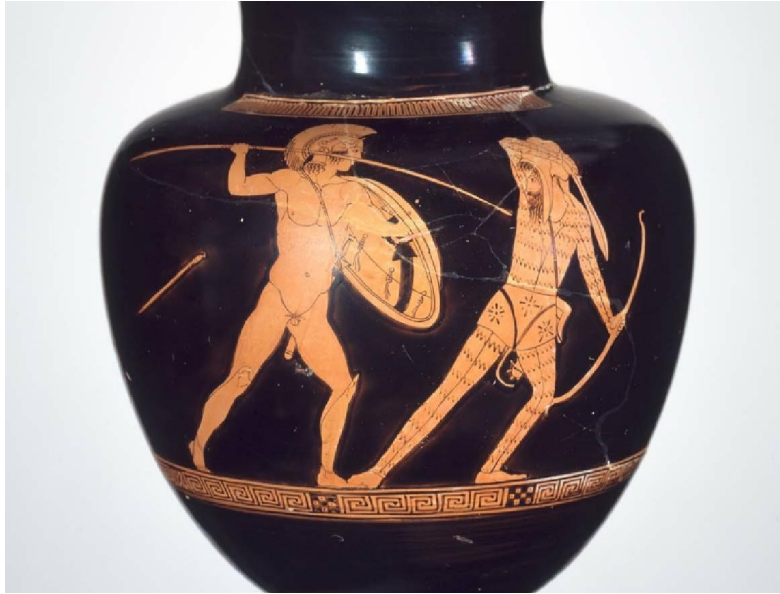
We can contrast this figure and its ambiguity with depictions of the Eastern Other outside the symposium, which at times more explicitly highlight the contrast between the Greek and the foreign Other. For example, an Attic red-figure oinochoe (a type of wine pitcher used in the symposium) attributed to the Chicago Painter from around 450 BCE depicts a Greek hoplite sparring with a Persian archer (FIG 4). The hoplite wears only his greaves and helmet and carries a long spear and hoplon shield. In contrast, the Persian archer wears long, striped sleeves and trousers, a Scythian cap, and carries a short sword in one hand and his bow in the other.<sup>25</sup> The clothing, helmets, armor, and composition of this painting provide the visual cues for an Athenian audience to understand which figures are clearly Greek or Persian. In contrast, the symposium figure with only his Scythian cap leaves far more ambiguity about his identity. Based on his lack of additional visual identifiers to separate him from the rest of the symposiasts, the figure wearing the

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<sup>25</sup> Attic red-figure oinochoe: Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 13.196. ARV 2<sup>nd</sup> ed: 631.38. BAPD: 207321.

Scythian cap is more likely to be an Athenian adopting the identity of the Other while performing within the controlled space of the symposion.<sup>26</sup>

**Figure no. 4**



### **1.6 – Regulating Symptotic Behavior and Athenian Identity**

By connecting these images of the Other with the common activities of the symposion, especially reciting lyric poetry, we can create a better understanding of the role of that Other. These depictions can be viewed through the reflective nature of images and performance in the symposion space defined by François Lissarrague. In his 1990 exploration of the visual iconography of the symposion on Attic painted pottery, *The Aesthetics of the Greek Banquet*, Lissarrague claims that the abundance of images depicting the symposion and lyric performance on vessels associated with the storing, pouring, and consumption of wine (known as symposion ware) are intended to illustrate the experiences of symposiasts within the space. These images then contributed to the

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<sup>26</sup> Lissarrague, *The Aesthetics of the Greek Banquet*, 11-13; Robin Osborne, “Projecting Identities in the Greek Symposion,” in *Material Identities* Ed. Joanna Sofaer (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2007) 37-38.

expectations of the symposiasts (or posed warnings of defying those expectations).<sup>27</sup> This reflexive nature between the images on symposion ware and the expected activities of the symposion defined by Lissarrague offers a possible interpretation of how an Athenian audience would view the images within the symposion space and how they shaped expected symposion behavior.

The poetic performances by the symposiasts could also play a key role in their reception of those images. Fiona Hobden's *The Symposion in Ancient Greek Society and Thought*<sup>28</sup> demonstrates how the structures of first-person and second-person voice in lyric poetry were used to construct a shared identity among the symposiasts in contrast to an external Other. She cites the use of first-person in lyric poetry as evidence of participants securing a shared identity while second-person and third-person is often reserved for referencing the Other in contrast to that identity.<sup>29</sup> These performances also allowed participants to claim authority over the shared identity of the symposion group and make definitive statements about the Other to reinforce that shared identity.

Applying these approaches to the images of the Other on symposion ware can provide a new perspective for examining the role of the Other within the symposion space. If, as Lissarrague suggests, these images were often intended to reflect the activities of the symposion space, and those activities functioned to reinforce the shared identity of the participants, then the symposion space becomes a social setting in which the Other is highlighted as an antithesis to the Athenian symposiast. But before the role of

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<sup>27</sup> Lissarrague and Szegedy-Maszak, *The Aesthetics of the Greek Banquet*, 103-106.

<sup>28</sup> Hobden, *The Symposion in Ancient Greek Society and Thought*.

<sup>29</sup> Hobden, *The Symposion in Ancient Greek Society and Thought*, 63-75.

the Other in this space can be clearly defined, it is important to understand the activities and social expectations of the ancient Athenian symposion.

## **Chapter 2: The Ancient Greek Symposium**

This chapter will explore the structure and activities of the symposium in Archaic and early Classical Athens. It is first important to define the symposium in contrast to other types of Greek banquets. From there we can explore the common activities of the symposium, especially lyric poetry performances, and how they contribute to the social construction of the Other to create a sense of shared identity among the participants. Understanding the role of lyric performances at the symposium, the Greek social perception of wine, and the importance of the images painted on symposium ware will be essential for understanding how the symposium became a space that defines the Other against the Athenian ideal.

### **2.1 – Symposium Literature Review**

The ancient Greek symposium did not receive focused scholarship until the 1970s. Despite the prevalence of images of the symposium in Greek art, and authors like Plato and Xenophon who reference the symposium as a subject or setting, studies on the symposium before the 1970s usually discussed the poetic or philosophical themes from works like Plato's *Symposium*, but less attention was directed toward the role of the drinking party itself.<sup>30</sup> A shift started in the 1970s and 1980s as scholars first began more deeply investigating the importance of performance in lyric poetry and Homeric epic poetry, which demonstrated connections between poetic forms and the symposium. The Italian philologist Bruno Gentili's 1969 study of lyric poetry helped to open scholarship

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<sup>30</sup> For a brief overview of symposium scholarship before 1970, see Oswyn Murray, "Symptotic History," in *The Symposium: Drinking Greek Style: Essays on Greek Pleasure, 1983-2017*, ed. Vanessa Cazzato (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2018), 36-37.

to the context in which lyric poetry would be performed,<sup>31</sup> and British Classicist Eric A. Havelock's focus on the oral traditions of Homeric epics helped increase attention on the importance of performance in Greek poetry.<sup>32</sup> The increased attention on lyric poetry and poetic performance in ancient Greece ushered in new perspectives on the most common setting and a popular subject in lyric poetry: the symposion.

One of the leading scholars on the symposion in the 1980s was a British classicist named Oswyn Murray, whose contributions are best organized in his 1990 *Symposia: A Symposium on the Symposion*, an edited volume on a wide variety of topics connected to the Greek symposion.<sup>33</sup> Murray's contributions attempt to define the origins and history of the symposion, while additional scholars analyze the importance of sympotic literature, artwork, and its social role in Greek society. Altogether, the volume provides an early critical analysis of the functions and activities of the Greek symposion. Murray compared both images and literary depictions to define the origins of the Greek symposion around the emerging aristocratic class of the early Archaic period as they replicated the reclined banquets from the Near East.<sup>34</sup> Murray's contributions since *Symptotica* was published use the same sources as earlier scholars, especially sympotic literature like Plato's *Symposium*, lyric poetry, and images of the symposion on painted pottery, but compares their content with wider historical, legal, and social structures in

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<sup>31</sup> Bruno Gentili, "L'interpretazione dei lirici greci arcaici nella dimensione del nostro tempo. Sincronia e diacronia nello studio di una cultura orale," *Quaderni Urbinati Di Cultura Classica*, no. 8 (1969): 7-21, <https://doi.org/10.2307/20537607>.

<sup>32</sup> For a collection of Havelock's essays, see E. A. Havelock, *The Literate Revolution in Greece and its Cultural Consequences* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1982).

<sup>33</sup> Oswyn Murray, *Symptotica: A Symposium on the Symposion* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1990).

<sup>34</sup> Oswyn Murray, "Sympotic History," in *Symptotica: A Symposium on the Symposion* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1990), 37-65.

ancient Greece to demonstrate the importance of the symposium across Greek culture. This helped to shift the attention from the literary or philosophical content of these sources to the social importance of the symposium event itself. Murray continues to be a leading voice on the symposium by consistently updating his theories with new evidence and by remaining in conversation with new publications on the topic. A 2018 collection of his contributions to symposium scholarship has made it much easier to view his role in guiding symposium literature since the 1980s.<sup>35</sup>

In the same year Murray's *Symptica* was published, the French historian and anthropologist François Lissarrague published an English edition of his iconographic analysis of symposium images titled *The Aesthetics of the Greek Banquet: Images of Wine and Ritual*.<sup>36</sup> Lissarrague analyzes the images on painted pottery using an anthropological approach to identify the visual language of the symposium. Rather than accepting the images on painted pottery as direct representations, Lissarrague and the French iconographical school to which he belonged analyzed the symbolic meanings of the images to create a better sense of their social reception.<sup>37</sup> This approach provided a new avenue to explore the images on symposium ware and thus repositioned these images as a new source of information on the social understanding of the ancient Greek symposium.

In the decades following Murray's and Lissarrague's contributions, all major publications on ancient Greek symposia have been in conversation with their works. In

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<sup>35</sup> Oswyn Murray, *The Symposium: Drinking Greek Style: Essays on Greek Pleasure, 1983-2017*, ed. Vanessa Cazzato (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2018).

<sup>36</sup> François Lissarrague, *Aesthetics of the Greek Banquet: Images of Wine and Ritual*, Trans. Andrew Szegedy-Maszak, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990). Originally published as *Un Flot d'Images: une esthétique du banquet grec*, (Paris: Adam Biro, 1987).

<sup>37</sup> For more examples of this approach and work from the French Iconographical School, see Claude Bérard et al, *A City of Images: Iconography and Society in Ancient Greece*, trans. Deborah Lyons (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1989).

2013, Fiona Hobden published a widespread analysis of the social structure and activities of the symposion and its role in ancient Greek society by investigating how the symposion was understood to a Greek audience.<sup>38</sup> Her exploration looks at the structures of the symposion, specifically the expected activities and poetic performances of the symposion, and the symposion's influence on wider Greek society. She uses a similar approach to Murray by comparing images and literary descriptions of the symposion, but Hobden takes Murray's approach a step further to contextualize the symposion within Athenian social and political issues to illustrate its societal influence.

Other scholars have been less supportive of Murray's approach, including Marek Węcowski whose 2014 book *The Rise of the Greek Aristocratic Banquet* reassesses the origins of the ancient Greek symposion.<sup>39</sup> Węcowski resituates the origins of the Greek symposion from the reclined banquets in the Near East (Murray's theory) to the poetic structures of the early Archaic symposion and the importance of *epidexia*, or passing wine and rounds of discussion or performances "to-the-right."<sup>40</sup> Węcowski also places more emphasis on local aristocratic shifts within Greece during the early Archaic period, rather than Murray's emphasis on Eastern influences. While centered on the origins of the ancient Greek symposion instead of its social importance, Węcowski's approach connects well with Hobden's as both authors emphasize lyric poetic performances as the central theme of the symposion and reframe the discussion on lyric poetry's role in the space.

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<sup>38</sup> Fiona Hobden, *The Symposion in Ancient Greek Society and Thought* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

<sup>39</sup> For Murray's discussion on the origins of the symposion, see Murray, "Nestor's Cup and the Origins of the Greek Symposion," (1994) and "The Symposion Between East and West" (2016) in *The Symposion: Drinking Greek Style: Essays on Greek Pleasure, 1983-2017*, ed. Vanessa Cazzato (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2018), 63-76, 77-88.

<sup>40</sup> Marek Węcowski, *The Rise of the Greek Aristocratic Banquet* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2014).

Understanding the poetic structures of the symposion and the role of images on symposion painted pottery has opened the field to new understandings of how those images and poetic structures work in tandem to create expectations within the symposion space.

## 2.2 – Defining the Symposion

Visual depictions of the symposion from painted pottery and literary accounts can help create a view of the activities and social behaviors of the symposion, which will be discussed later in this chapter, but defining the symposion compared with other types of banquets from Greece or elsewhere in the Mediterranean proves more difficult. There are currently two primary ways to define the symposion based on the activities which occurred in the space. Greek historian Oswyn Murray contrasts visual depictions of the symposion from Archaic painted pottery (which depict a handful of figures reclining on couches) and the banquets described in Homeric epic poetry (large, seated events with several participants) to define the Greek symposion as a small drinking banquet of reclining figures.<sup>41</sup>

Marek Węcowski, a Greek historian who studies the development of Archaic Athenian institutions, offers another approach using the systematic movement of wine, discussion, and entertainment to define the Archaic symposion. Węcowski constructs his definition based on the concept of *epidexia*, which was the practice of passing a wine cup around the symposion toward the right without skipping over individuals. He cites references to passing wine and ideas from left to right in Attic literature as evidence for

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<sup>41</sup> Oswyn Murray, “The *Odyssey* as Performance Poetry,” in *The Symposion: Drinking Greek Style: Essays on Greek Pleasure, 1983-2017*, ed. Vanessa Cazzato (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2018), 91. Originally published in *Performance, Iconography, Reception: Studies in Honour of Oliver Taplin*, ed. Martin Revermann and Peter Wilson (Oxford, 2008), 161-176.

both the *epidexia* rule.<sup>42</sup> Furthermore, he argues the *epidexia* rule also connects to the movement of ideas and performances in the symposion, which moved to the right along with the wine cup.<sup>43</sup> Węcowski specifies this as the defining feature of the symposion based on its prevalence in sympotic literature, especially lyric poetry. These two definitions do not need to be mutually exclusive, but they help demonstrate how a Greek audience may have viewed the symposion in comparison to other banquets in Greece or the wider Mediterranean in the Archaic and early Classical period.

### 2.3 – Symposion Origins

Oswyn Murray and Marek Węcowski base their separate defining features of the ancient Greek symposion on different theories defining the origins of the event. In his earlier work during the 1980s and 1990s, Murray focused on the shift from the larger banquets described in Homeric epic poetry to the symposion of the Archaic period. He originally contextualized this shift around the emergence of the aristocratic class.<sup>44</sup> Murray's recent work since around 2010 places greater emphasis on Eastern influences during the eighth century BCE rather than the emerging aristocratic classes in Greek poleis. As Western Greek colonies in Sicily and Italy increased trade with Eastern groups, especially the Phoenicians, Western Greeks began to adopt the reclined banquet

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<sup>42</sup> A line from Euripides's *Cretan Women* references the circular passing of wine: "Be cheerful about the rest of things while the cup goes round," in Euripides, *Fragments: Aegeus-Meleager*, trans. Christopher Collard and Martin Cropp (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008), fragment 468. A section in Xenophon's *Symposium* instructs wine servants to "emulate skillful charioteers by driving the cups around with increasing speed," in Xenophon, *Symposium*, trans. E. C. Marchant and O. J. Todd, revised Jeffrey Henderson (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2013), section 27. A line in Plato's *Symposium* calls for everyone to "make a speech in turn, from left to right," in Plato, *Symposium*, trans. W. R. M. Lamb (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1925), section 177d. For more examples, see Węcowski, *The Rise of the Greek Aristocratic Banquet*, 85-124.

<sup>43</sup> Węcowski, *The Rise of the Greek Aristocratic Banquet*, 85-124.

<sup>44</sup> See Oswyn Murray, "Sympotic History" in *Sympotica: A Symposium on the Symposion* (Oxford University Press, 1990) 3-13; and "Nestor's Cup and the Origins of the Symposion" in *The Symposion: Drinking Greek Style: Essays on Greek Pleasure, 1983-2017*, ed. Vanessa Cazzato (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2018), 63-76.

structure that Murray defines as an essential feature of the Archaic symposion. He makes this argument using a comparative analysis of dining customs from the various Eastern groups which may have influenced Greece through trade and colonization, and he claims that depictions of reclining banquets on seal-stones influenced Western Greeks in Italy who were in more frequent trade with Phoenicians. He specifically cites an eighth century seal-stone from North Syria and excavated from Monte Vetrano in Italy as evidence of this exchange.<sup>45</sup> Murray connects the seal-stone with a group of similar seal-stones found across Syria, Cyprus, Italy, and Greece. The group all date to the eighth century and depict a small group of banqueters drinking from a large, central amphora with straws while a lyre player entertains the group. Murray references the Monte Vetrano stone as evidence of Greek knowledge and adoption of Eastern reclined banquets, especially the Hebrew *marzeah*. To Murray, these seal stones were the central influence for eighth century Greek aristocrats who wanted to emulate Eastern banquets. According to Murray, the Athenian symposion, with its reclined banqueters, communal wine-mixing vessel, and lyric entertainment, was influenced by the images on seal stones during the early Archaic period.

In response to Murray's earlier theories, Marek Węcowski argues there was a shift during the early Archaic period from aristocratic elites hosting large public dinners to gather local social support to small, intimate gatherings of elites who could display their social and political prowess by demonstrating the "cultural competencies" exhibited in the symposion space, especially reciting lyric poetry and controlling oneself while

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<sup>45</sup> Oswyn Murray, "The Symposion between East and West," in *The Symposion: Drinking Greek Style: Essays on Greek Pleasure, 1983-2017*, ed. Vanessa Cazzato (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2018), 77-88.

drinking wine.<sup>46</sup> He attributes the shift to an increasing population, more frequent contact between previously-isolated Greek communities, and a lower economic threshold for an individual to become an equal member of an emerging elite aristocracy. Before the Archaic period, Greek elites gained power from popular support among their local populations, symbolized by hosting large public banquets. As Greek communities began to interact more often during the early Archaic period, conflicts between communities increased. Thus, gaining the support of aristocratic elites at smaller banquet settings became more important than maintaining support from large local populations. At the same time, the amount of wine needed to host a symposium was much cheaper than the large amount of food needed for a public feast, which lowered the barrier to host an aristocratic symposium for a wider segment of the population. During this new symposium, it was also important to create a culture “which disposed of the objective differences between individual banqueters” to ensure each banqueter was respected as an equal within that space. The symposium created an equal setting in which reciting poetry and guiding discussion topics became symbolic of an aristocrat’s authority, as opposed to the Homeric model which relied on wealth or military prowess. Węcowski connects this to the larger trend of “synoecism,” or the merging of political communities which occurred during the early Archaic period, as an example of creating a space in which elites from differing communities could meet as equals and demonstrate their superiority without direct fighting.

While Murray and Węcowski’s theories on the origins of the symposium differ, both focus on the shifting social structure of early Archaic Greece and the importance of

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<sup>46</sup> Węcowski, *The Rise of the Greek Aristocratic Banquet*, 303-336.

cultural exchanges in creating the symposion. As the aristocratic class expanded during the early Archaic period, the “cultural competencies” on display in the symposion helped to create a strong line between the new “superior” aristocracy and “inferior” members of the population. Knowledge of lyric poetry, the proper etiquette for drinking wine, and games like *skolion* restricted the symposion to the upper-class who had the time and resources to learn these skills.<sup>47</sup>

## 2.4 – Early Textual Sources

The word “symposion” itself may help to reveal some of the early connotations associated with the Archaic banquet. The earliest surviving use of the term symposion (*συμπόσιον*) comes from lyric poetry from the seventh century BCE. Fragments attributed to Alkaios of Mytilene, a lyric poet from Lesbos working in the late seventh to early sixth centuries and popular in Athenian symposion literature, reference the drinking party.

These fragments include a section in which he negatively describes a symposion group:

...the lyre, sharing in the banquet [*συμπόσιω*], makes merry, feasting with empty braggarts...<sup>48</sup>

In another fragment, the poet refers to a specific symposiast’s invitation:

I request that charming Menon be invited, if I am to enjoy the drinking-party [*συμπόσιας*].<sup>49</sup>

The limited information from these poetic fragments prevents a comprehensive view of the early symposion, but they still reveal some key factors of the symposion that existed by the seventh century. They suggest that music performed on the lyre was present in the symposion and amicable companionship was desirable, at least for Alkaios.

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<sup>47</sup> Węcowski, *The Rise of the Greek Aristocratic Banquet*, 303-336.

<sup>48</sup> Alcaeus, *Greek Lyric, Vol. I: Sappho and Alcaeus*, ed. and trans. David A. Campbell (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982), fragment 70, lines 3-5.

<sup>49</sup> Alcaeus, *Greek Lyric*, fragment 368.

We can contrast Alkaios's use of *συμπόσιον* and its context in these fragments with the earlier word, *δαίς*, which Homer used to describe feasts. There are differences between Homer's *δαίς* and the Archaic *συμπόσιον* that can be discerned from Homeric descriptions. Homer uses the word to describe the feast Alcinous hosts in honor of Odysseus:

No, come, let us draw a black ship down to the bright sea for her first voyage, and let men choose two and fifty youths from the people, all who before were the best. And when you all have duly lashed the oars at the benches, go ashore, and then quickly go your way to my house and prepare for a feast [*δαῖτα*]; and I will provide bountifully for all. To the youths this is my command, but do you others, the sceptered kings, come to my beautiful palace, that we may entertain the stranger in the halls; and let no man refuse me. And summon the divine minstrel, Demodocus; for to him above all others has the god granted skill in song, to give delight in whatever way his spirit prompts him to sing.<sup>50</sup>

These lines describe a large banquet in which Alcinous invites fifty-two young men and all the Phaeacian elites to participate in a bountiful meal. While the invitation of a singer, Demodocus, connects to the lyre referenced in the fragment from Alkaios, the large number of invited participants stands in stark contrast to the small gatherings of the symposion. Likewise, Alkaios's request for Menon's invitation suggests that the symposion was a more closed-off affair in comparison to Alcinous's open invitation to all elite Phaeacians. Looking again to the semantic significance of the words themselves, the consistent use of the Greek *συμπόσιον* by lyric poets suggests the word was common enough for a Greek audience to understand a specific drinking party to which the word refers.

## 2.5 – Symposion Location

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<sup>50</sup> Homer, *Odyssey*, Vol. I, Books 1-12, Trans. A. T. Murray, Revised George E. Dimock, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1919), book 8, lines 26-45.

As the symposion became a more prominent social space during the Archaic period, the setting and activities of the drinking party may have been opened to a larger section of the population. A common setting for the banquet was the *andrōn*, a relatively small square or circular room in a private home designed for hosting guests with couches for reclining. During the Archaic period, the cost of a house with an *andrōn* made it difficult for anyone but the wealthy to host a symposion. However, archaeological and visual evidence demonstrates outdoor sites and sanctuary rooms were also used for the symposion, which may suggest more people were able to participate in the drinking party. In a comprehensive analysis of known *andrōn* spaces, classical archaeologist Birgitta Bergquist argues the diversity of symposion spaces suggests a diversity of sympotic occasions or groups. In response, she widens the definition of the symposion space to include domestic and temple structures that do not fit the traditional *andrōn*.<sup>51</sup> Other scholars have reinforced Bergquist's ideas, including another archaeologist named Katherine Lynch, who claims that the *andrōn* was not essential to a symposion based on visual evidence of outdoor symposion scenes on painted pottery. Likewise, Lynch argues that domestic buildings started including an *andrōn* more frequently in the Classical period compared to the Archaic period based on archaeological evidence from the Athenian Agora.<sup>52</sup> The diversity of symposion locations during the Archaic period, combined with the cheap cost of wine, suggests the symposion was accessible to a greater portion of the population. Regardless of the location or social class of the attendees, the

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<sup>51</sup> Birgitta Bergquist, "Sympotic Space: A functional Aspect of Greek Dining Rooms," in *Symptica: A Symposium on the Symposion*, ed. Oswyn Murray (Oxford University Press, 1990), 37-65.

<sup>52</sup> Kathleen Lynch, "More Thoughts on the Space of the Symposium," *British School at Athens Studies* 15, (2007): 243-249. For an updated case study of a symposion setting and symposion ware, see Kathleen Lynch, Mark Lawall, and Lisa Little, "The Symposium in Context: Pottery From a Late Archaic House near the Athenian Agora," *Hesperia Supplements* 46 (2011): iii-377.

spaces used for the symposium suggest that they were still small gatherings relative to the size of the Homeric banquet. Archaeological remains suggest some sanctuary sites could have hosted large symposia, such as the sanctuary of Artemis at Brauron, but they show several small rooms used for separate symposia, each with enough room for about eleven couches.<sup>53</sup>

## 2.6 – Lyric Poetry and the Symposium

From its earliest conception, the symposium was connected to music and poetry. Demonstrated by the Alcaeus fragment introduced earlier, lyric poets from the seventh century BCE reference the symposium in the same verse as the lyre.<sup>54</sup> Likewise, early ceramic cups have been found with poetic inscriptions, including a geometric cup referred to as “Nestor’s Cup” from the eighth century BCE which has an inscription in dactylic hexameter that reads: “I am Nestor’s cup, good to drink from. He who should drink from this cup, immediately, him, desire of Aphrodite of the beautiful garland will seize.”<sup>55</sup> Early examples like these suggest a connection between wine and music in the symposium which is reinforced by poets and authors during the Archaic and Classical periods. Pindar, a lyric poet from the late Archaic and early Classical period, references the connection between music and wine:

As when a drinking-party (συμπόσιον) of men is thriving, so we are  
mixing a second bowl of the Muses’ songs...<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> Lissarrague, *Aesthetics of the Greek Banquet*, 19-20.

<sup>54</sup> Alcaeus, *Greek Lyric*, fragment 70, lines 3-5.

<sup>55</sup> For an in-depth discussion on the connections between this cup and the early Archaic symposium, see Murray, “Nestor’s Cup and the Origins of the Greek Symposium,” in *The Symposium: Drinking Greek Style: Essays on Greek Pleasure, 1983-2017*, ed. Vanessa Cazzato (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2018), 63-76; and Węcowski, “The ‘Cup of Nestor,’ the Near East, and the Early Archaic Symposium,” in *The Rise of the Greek Aristocratic Banquet* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2014) 126-190.

<sup>56</sup> Pindar, *Isthmian Odes*, ed. and trans. by William H. Race (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press), book 6, lines 1-3.

Here Pindar links a successful symposion with ongoing drinking and Muses' songs. Athenaeus, a Greek grammarian from the second century CE, says that Simonides of Keos, a lyric poet in the sixth century BCE, makes the connection even more explicit by claiming "wine and music originated together."<sup>57</sup> This fragment reinforces Pindar's later exchange between music and the wine, both mixed in the krater at the symposion.

Lyric poetry, as we have seen, provides information about and context for the connection between music and the symposion. Lyric poetry is a generalized term for several poetic styles and meters, especially Aeolic meters, but also elegiac and iambic verse, which were performed with music from a lyre or *auloi* for entertainment.<sup>58</sup> These poetic styles became more popular during the early Archaic period and were an important staple in the ancient Greek symposion. Ezio Pellizer created a structured analysis of symposion activities which helped to define the unique role lyric poetry played during the banquet. Based on Pellizer's analysis, each symposiast would recite lyric verses in turn, either improvised or memorized, to entertain and impress the group. Furthermore, he claims that the association between lyric poetry and the symposion became so strong during the Archaic period that it is possible all lyric poetry created after the mid-seventh century BCE was made in the context of the symposion.<sup>59</sup> The systematic recital of lyric poetry in turn connects to the concept of *epidexia* defined by Węcowski as the primary feature of the symposion banquet.<sup>60</sup> In the same way wine and discussion was passed "to

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<sup>57</sup> Athenaeus, *The Learned Banqueters, Vol. I: Books 1-3.106e*, ed. and trans. S. Douglas Olson (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007), book 2, section 40.

<sup>58</sup> For a recent overview of Greek lyric poetry, see Ian Rutherford et al, *Oxford Readings in Greek Lyric Poetry* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2016).

<sup>59</sup> Ezio Pellizer, "Outlines of a Morphology of Symptotic Entertainment," in *Symptotica: A Symposium on the Symposion*, ed. Oswyn Murray (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1990), 178-180.

<sup>60</sup> Marek Węcowski, *The Rise of the Greek Aristocratic Banquet*, 85-124.

the right,” symposiasts would recite lyric poetry in turn while moving around the group from left to right.

Textual sources from the Archaic and Classical periods also reference the performance structure of the symposion. Aristophanes’s play *Wasps* illustrates the role of lyric performance through a humorous example of a man named Bdelycleon trying to teach his father Philocleon proper symposion etiquette. The two men practice improvising verses with Bdelycleon quoting lyric poetry and his father improvising in turn.<sup>61</sup> While this scene is intended to be satirical by showing the father’s inappropriate responses and his son’s dismay, the structure the two use while practicing for the event reveals the competitive (and improvisational) ways lyric poetry was performed in the symposion. Furthermore, the satirical nature of the scene illustrates that the symposion activity structure was widely understood by an Athenian audience, who would have laughed at Philocleon’s misunderstandings and inappropriate remarks.

## 2.7 – The *Skolion* Game

One method of reciting lyric lines in the symposion was by playing a game referred to as *skolion*, meaning “crooked,” which was first explored by a German philologist named Richard Reitzenstein in 1893.<sup>62</sup> During the game, symposiasts would recite lyric verses in turn, following the rule of *epidexia*, but with the opportunity for a symposiast to “cap” the verse with an improvised line to illustrate their wit and knowledge of lyric poetry, thus impressing the group. Taking another look at Aristophanes’s *Wasps* provides an example when Bdelycleon tests his father’s

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<sup>61</sup> Aristophanes, *Wasps*, ed. and trans. by Jeffrey Henderson (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998), lines 1220-1249.

<sup>62</sup> R. Reitzenstein, *Epigramm und Skolion: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der alexandrinischen Dichtung*, (Giessen, Germany: J. Ricker, 1893), 3-44.

Symposion skills and Philocleon adds a comedic (albeit inappropriate) ending to a line to about the Tyrannicide Harmodius:

Bdelycleon:

I'll find out. Suppose I'm Cleon, and I start singing the Harmodius Song, and you're going to take it up. "Never was a man in Athens born..."

Philocleon:

...so great a scoundrel, and such a thief!

Bdelycleon:

Is that what you're going to do? You'll be shouted to death! He'll vow to destroy you and annihilate you and hound you out of the country.<sup>63</sup>

Philocleon's improvised line shows both how the game works, by finishing lines recited by fellow symposiasts, and its relevance in the symposion. Bdelycleon's response suggests Philocleon's improvisation was inappropriate for a symposion, as it may lead to conflict between the symposiasts. Based on this, we can assume the game allowed participants to display wit and knowledge of lyric poetry, but they were still expected to maintain appropriate sympotic behavior to avoid creating conflict among the symposiasts.<sup>64</sup>

## 2.8 – Visual Evidence of Poetry in the Symposion

In addition to references in lyric poetry and Attic theatre, visual depictions of the symposion on painted pottery frequently include images of musicians performing in the sympotic space. During the Archaic and early Classical period, many depictions of musical performances demonstrate the symposiasts themselves performing rather than separate entertainers. One Attic red-figure amphora in the Louvre Museum in Paris and attributed to Euphronios from around 520 BCE demonstrates this with a symposiast

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<sup>63</sup> Aristophanes, *Wasps*, lines 1224-1230.

<sup>64</sup> For an in-depth discussion of the *skolion* game and its role in the symposion, see Derek Collins, "The Skolion Game" in *Master of the Game: Competition and Performance in Greek Poetry* (Washington, DC: Center for Hellenic Studies, 2004), 128-152.

painted on each side of the neck between the handles (FIG 5.)<sup>65</sup> Each figure reclines on striped pillows with drapery folded around their legs and waists. On one side, the figure holds a cup by the handle in his extended right hand as he turns and leans to the left, likely playing the popular symposion game *kottabos* (in which a symposiast would throw the wine dregs from their emptied cup at a predetermined target) based on his tilted wine cup. On the opposite side, a figure strums a lyre with his left hand as the word *μαμεκαποτεο* is written around his head, the letters emerging from his lips and wrapping around his head. This inscription translates as “I suffer from longing,” known from a fragment attributed to the lyric poet Sappho.<sup>66</sup> The wine cup, pillow, and reclined positions establish this as a symposion scene, and both figures reclining on similar drapery suggests both are symposiasts rather than a symposiast and separate entertainer.

In contrast, depictions of non-symposiast entertainers are typically depicted away from the reclining figures, as illustrated by an Attic black-figure kantharos from around 500 BCE in the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art (FIG 6.)<sup>67</sup> The drinking cup depicts nine symposiasts around the exterior, all bearded, wreathed, and reclining. Most hold wine cups, and a beardless, clothed youth plays the *auloi* to the far left. The visual differences between the young performer and the older symposiasts reinforce his separation from the other figures, and the symposiasts’ left-facing positions (except for one turned to the right) directs the viewer’s attention toward the separate figure. Two of the symposiasts play instruments themselves, with one playing a lyre as another plays *auloi* of his own. Images of symposion scenes like these reinforce the role of music and

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<sup>65</sup> Attic red-figure amphora: Paris, Louvre Museum, G30. ARV 2<sup>nd</sup> ed: 15.9, 1619. ARV 1<sup>st</sup> ed: 17.7. BAPD: 200071.

<sup>66</sup> Lissarrague, *The Aesthetics of the Greek Banquet*, 133.

<sup>67</sup> Attic black-figure kantharos: New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 63.11.4. BAPD: 351179.

performances in the symposion as something expected not just from hired (or enslaved) entertainers, but from the symposiasts themselves. Indeed, these images in the context of the *skolion* game and poetic performance suggest symposiast participation as performers was a typical aspect of the symposion.

## 2.9 – Performance as Competition and Community

Building from the performative structures of the symposion, scholars have updated Pellizer’s framework to reinforce the importance of competition and community in the symposion. Fiona Hobden argues that the language structures of Archaic lyric poetry performed in the symposion allowed a symposiast to steer the collective conversation without their fellow symposiasts perceiving him as commanding the space and thus risking reproach from the other participants. She focuses on Archaic lyric poets and their use of first-person statements to guide collective conversation to argue that the language used while reciting lyric poetry was fundamental to establishing symposion behavior.<sup>68</sup> By using the first-person “we,” a symposiast could adopt a collective persona that spoke on behalf of the group to establish expectations for the setting and behavior of the symposion. Like Pellizer, Hobden asserts that the symposion was organized around competition, but she argues that the display of a symposiast’s poetic skill was based in the control of the collective conversation as much as it was based in the display of poetic knowledge and wit Pellizer describes. By creating collective expectations through the strategic use of first-person during their performances, a symposiast could assert themselves as an authority within the group.

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<sup>68</sup> Fiona Hobden, *The Symposion in Ancient Greek Society and Thought*, 56-57.

Adopting a particular persona through the use of first-person voice extends to other poetic forms, but it is strongly connected to the lyric poetry of the symposion.<sup>69</sup> Developing on theories originally posed by the ancient historian Wolfgang Rösler in reference to Alkaios's poetry, Gregory Nagy argues that the performative aspect of first-person lyric poetry was a form of reenactment within the symposion, and thus the symposiast reciting the lyric poetry embodied the role of the poet, or their fictional persona, as part of their performance.<sup>70</sup> Applying this analysis of persona in performative lyric poetry to Hobden's assertion that adopting an authoritative persona could guide the symposion reveals a new aspect of the role of performance and persona in the symposion space. By claiming the persona of a specific figure (such as a famous lyric poet) through first-person narration, a symposiast could adopt the persona's authority in the eyes of their fellow symposiasts.

Anakreon's popularity made him an authoritative voice on the symposion, especially in Athens. He was a Greek lyric poet from the sixth century BCE who wrote songs about the symposion, popular enough in Athens to earn a statue dedicated to him on the Athenian Acropolis. He was so closely associated with lyric poetry and the symposion that the statue depicted him drunkenly singing, as if singing one of his songs during the drinking party.<sup>71</sup> Anakreon's use of first-person in his poetry established his perspective as a reference point for his audience. For example, one of his surviving fragments describes a scene in the symposion:

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<sup>69</sup> For a wider view of first-person in lyric poetry see Claude Calame, *The Craft of Poetic Speech in Ancient Greece*, Trans. J. Orion (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1995) 3-26.

<sup>70</sup> Gregory Nagy, "Transmission of Archaic Greek Symptotic Songs: From Lesbos to Alexandria," *Critical Inquiry* 31, no. 1 (2004): 26-48.

<sup>71</sup> Pausanias, *Description of Greece, Vol. I: Books 1-2*, Trans. W.H.S Jones (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1918) book 1, chapter 25, section 1.

I dined by breaking off a small piece of thin honeycake, but I drained a jar of wine. Now I tenderly strike my lovely lyre in a serenade to my dear girl.<sup>72</sup>

By repeating the first-person voice in “I dined,” “I drained,” and “I strike,” Anacreon’s poetry places the speaker as the central reference point for the audience. In the context of the symposion, the symposiast reciting the poetry is physically set in the center of a scene filled with wine, music, and sexual desire, thus setting expectations for the sympotic audience.<sup>73</sup> By reciting Anacreon’s poetry using the first-person perspective, a symposiast could claim the same authority and establish expectations for the symposion.

### **2.10 – Athenian Perceptions of Wine**

Within the symposion space, the importance of music and poetic performance was second only to wine. To most Athenians, wine was viewed as both essential and inherently dangerous. It was to be consumed responsibly and in moderation, but abstinence could be equally harmful. This aspect of balance is central to the role of wine in the symposion and exemplified by the mixing ratios and the role of the “krater.” Greeks did not drink their wine directly but instead mixed it with water in a large mixing bowl called a “krater” in the center of the symposion. Several ratios are referenced in Greek literature by poets like Hesiod, Alkaios, and Anacreon, including everything from a strong two-parts wine to one-part water down to a weakened one-part wine to three-parts water.<sup>74</sup> The different ratios referenced in sympotic literature reflect different goals for the symposion groups. Hesiod recommends a weak ratio to encourage relaxation and ease the difficulties of hard labor in the summer heat, suggesting intoxication is not his

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<sup>72</sup> Anacreon, *Greek Lyric*, fragment 373.

<sup>73</sup> Hobden, *The Symposion in Ancient Greek Society and Thought*, 36-37.

<sup>74</sup> For examples of wine mixing ratios, see Alcaeus fragment 346; Anacreon fragments 356 and 409; and Hesiod, *Works and Days*, ed. and trans. Glenn W. Most (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2018), line 596.

goal.<sup>75</sup> In contrast, Alkaios references a strong ratio, which appears to encourage drunkenness and celebration alongside his calls to “pour [wine] in brimful, and let one cup jostle another.”<sup>76</sup> The different mixing ratios illustrate the different goals of symposia depending on the participants and the context.

To best understand these sympotic goals, it is first important to understand how Greeks understood the effects of wine. Wine was an essential component within the symposion, as wine consumption was not only the purpose of the gathering but was in many ways the catalyst for the conversation, relief, and entertainment central to the event. Many ancient Athenians viewed wine as the only method for escaping the physical and emotional toils of daily life. In Euripides’s *Bacchae*, the prophet Tiresias, posed as a wise voice of reason trying to convince the stubborn king Pentheus of Thebes to accept the god Dionysos, explains the importance of Dionysos’s gift:

It is this that frees trouble-laden mortals from their pain – when they fill themselves with the juice of the vine – this that gives sleep to make one forget the day’s troubles: there is no other treatment for misery.<sup>77</sup>

By the early Archaic period, Hesiod describes summer as the season when “men are weakest” due to the hot weather, and he instructs men to drink wine to relax:

Drink some gleaming wine too, sitting in the shade, when you have eaten to your heart’s content, with your face turned toward fresh-blowing Zephyrus.<sup>78</sup>

Based on these descriptions, reducing suffering and relaxation was the primary gift wine brought in the Greek imagination.

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<sup>75</sup> Hesiod, *Works and Days*, lines 582-594.

<sup>76</sup> Alcaeus, *Greek Lyric*, fragment 346, lines 4-7.

<sup>77</sup> Euripides, *Bacchae*, lines 280-283.

<sup>78</sup> Hesiod, *Works and Days*, lines 582-594.

In addition to its relaxing effects, wine could also be used to better understand someone beyond how they presented themselves publicly. In his *Laws*, Plato defends wine as a tool to understand a man's true character. He claims that wine and its intoxicating effects test a man's virtues by reducing his inhibitions to the point where he is no longer afraid of public shame.<sup>79</sup> Plato's use of wine as a test of virtue suggests that wine could bring out hidden aspects of someone's personality by reducing his inhibitions. As a setting specific to consuming wine yet removed from wider Athenian society, the space of the symposium provided the perfect setting for understanding someone's inner character while minimizing any potential consequences. An earlier elegiac poet named Theognis from the sixth century BCE describes the effects of wine in a similar way, comparing wine's revealing effect on the mind to fire's revealing effect on precious metals:

Experts recognize gold and silver by fire, but wine reveals the mind of a man, even though he is very prudent, if he takes and drinks beyond his limit, so that it puts to shame even one who was formally wise.<sup>80</sup>

The discussions of wine focus on their effect as a positive force for revealing the true nature of someone by reducing their inhibitions, but they also pose warnings to those drinking. It can be simple to fail this test if one overindulges and makes themselves into a fool.

Despite its positive effects, overconsumption of wine is also connected to madness and violence. This is best illustrated by a fourth century BCE fragment from an Athenian poet named Eubulus, again preserved by Athenaeus, in which Dionysos

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<sup>79</sup> Plato, *Laws, Vol. I: Books 1-6*, trans. R. G. Bury (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1926), book 1, section 649.

<sup>80</sup> Theognis, *Greek Elegiac Poetry: From the Seventh to the Fifth Centuries BC*, ed. and trans. by Douglas E. Gerber (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999), lines 499-503.

explains the proper consumption of wine and warns against the effects of overconsumption:

I mix up only three bowls of wine for sensible people. One is dedicated to good health, and they drink it first. The second is dedicated to love and pleasure, and the third to sleep; wise guests finish it up and go home. The fourth bowl no longer belongs to me but to outrage. The fifth belongs to arguments; the sixth to wandering drunk through the streets; the seventh to black eyes; the eighth to the bailiff; the ninth to an ugly black humor; and the tenth to madness extreme enough to make people throw stones.<sup>81</sup>

While the moderate use of wine brings the positive effects of Dionysos's influence, its overconsumption brings violent actions and madness. This overconsumption, and the violence it brought, could pose a real threat to the symposion. Rather than create a communal atmosphere and shared identity among the symposiasts, like the poetic structures of the symposion aim to do, excessive drunkenness could ruin the communal atmosphere and lead to conflict among the sympotic group.

The maddening effects of wine also made it transformative. Like in lines 1045 to 1148 in Euripides's *Bacchae*, when a Dionysiac illusion drives queen Agave of Thebes to kill her son Pentheus, wine could bring on a transformative aspect with its madness.<sup>82</sup> One example comes from Plato's *Laws*, when he describes the appropriate ages for consuming wine. While he limits drinking for young men, he claims that those over forty can "join in the convivial gatherings and invoke Dionysos" and through drinking they can soften their hardened souls like "iron when it has been forged in the fire."<sup>83</sup> Similarly, in Euripides's *Bacchae*, Kadmos and Teiresias begin to feel young when they practice the rituals of Dionysos, with Kadmos even claiming to forget the effects of old age.<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> Athenaeus, *The Learned Banqueters*, book 2, section 39b-c.

<sup>82</sup> Euripides, *Bacchae*, lines 1045-1148.

<sup>83</sup> Plato, *Laws*, book 2, section 666a-d.

<sup>84</sup> Euripides, *Bacchae*, lines 185-192.

Through the transformative effects of wine, old men could become young again. The effects of Dionysos, including the transformative effects, are inherent in the Greek perception of wine itself. In the *Bacchae*, Tiresias refers to Dionysos as “he who is a god is poured out in offerings to the gods,” referencing Dionysos as the wine poured in libation offerings.<sup>85</sup> Euripides’s reference suggests that Dionysos, and his transformative powers, were inherent in wine as part of its medicinal effects.

One of the most significant dangers of overconsumption of wine was public shame due to foolish actions performed while inebriated. In another lyric poem, Theognis warns his fellow symposiast of the potential downsides of overconsumption during the symposion:

Whoever exceeds his limit of drink is no longer in command of his tongue or his mind; he says wild things which are disgraceful in the eyes of the sober, and he’s not ashamed of anything he does when he’s drunk. Formerly he was sensible, but then he’s a fool.<sup>86</sup>

In a similar poem, Theognis describes his fear of disgracing himself while drunk:

My head is heavy with wine, Onomacritus, it overpowers me, I am no longer the manager of my judgement, and the room is going round and round. But, come, let me stand and find out whether the wine has hold of my feet as well as the mind within me. I’m afraid that in my fortified state I may do something foolish and bring great disgrace upon me.<sup>87</sup>

Unlike the other warnings already discussed, Theognis focuses on the shame a drunk man brings to himself, rather than the potential madness or violence he might cause. In a similar sense, Athens had a specific legal category called *hybris* for unlawful actions committed specifically to gain pleasure by disgracing someone else. Defined by Aristotle, *hybris* was “doing and saying things at which the victim incurs dishonor, not in order to

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<sup>85</sup> Euripides, *Bacchae*, lines 283-286.

<sup>86</sup> Theognis, *Greek Elegiac Poetry*, lines 477-483.

<sup>87</sup> Theognis, *Greek Elegiac Poetry*, lines 503-508.

get for oneself anything which one did not have before, but so as to get pleasure.”<sup>88</sup>

While Aristotle was writing in the late Classical period, Nick Fisher explores the Archaic origins of the law to assert it was first established by Solon, the late seventh century Athenian statesman.<sup>89</sup> Oswyn Murray elaborates on Fisher’s argument to demonstrate the connection between this law and the actions of those who overindulged during the symposion. He argues that the legal category of *hybris* in Athens is due to the intentional violence of aristocratic symposiasts who overindulged in wine and sought to physically assault people outside the symposion group. As a response, the harsher punishments of the *hybris* laws ensured drunken symposiasts would receive additional punishment, and thus additional shame, from the polis.<sup>90</sup> This public shame, both from their fellow symposiasts and from the polis, aimed to ensure symposiasts would not overconsume wine and break beyond the acceptable social limits of the symposion.

## 2.11 – Proper Symposion Behavior

An idealistic view of symposion behavior is described in a fourth century BCE fragment by the Greek poet and philosopher Xenophanes and preserved by Athenaeus.

Xenophanes writes:

Reasonable men should begin by offering a hymn in the god’s honor, using respectable vocabulary and clean words, after they pour a libation and pray for the power to do what is right; for this is what one ought to prefer, rather than ugly words and actions. Then they should drink as much as a person can and still make it home without a servant’s assistance, unless he is extremely old. They should also praise the man who behaves well when he drinks, so that excellence is recalled and aspired to. But they ought not to spend their time describing bales fought

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<sup>88</sup> Aristotle, *Art of Rhetoric*, trans. J. H. Freese (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1926), book 2, section 1378b.

<sup>89</sup> Nick Fisher, “The Law of Hubris in Athens,” in *Nomos: Essays in Athenian Law, Politics and Society*, Ed. by P. Cartledge, P. Millett, and S. Todd (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 123-138.

<sup>90</sup> Oswyn Murray, “The Solonian Law of *Hybris*,” in *The Symposion: Drinking Greek Style: Essays on Greek Pleasure, 1983-2017*, ed. Vanessa Cassato (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2018) 188-195

by Titans, or Giants, or centaurs, stories our ancestors made up, or their violent quarrels; topics of this sort are worthless. Instead, they should always have good forethought for the gods.<sup>91</sup>

This fragment helps to outline not only some of the proper activities of the symposion, including offering libations to the gods, but also the expected behavior of the invited symposiasts. Xenophanes expects them to be pious in the religious activities at the beginning of the symposion and respectful during the entertainment. He also expects attendants to drink their fill, but not so much that they become intoxicated and cannot support themselves. Most importantly, he expects the attendants not to emulate violence or encourage factions, offering mythological examples in contrast, to ensure a communal environment. Many of these expectations align with other literary accounts about the symposion, including Plato's description in *Laws*.

## 2.12 – Variations of Symposion Behavior

While the traditional structure of symposion behavior focused on balanced conversation and moderate drinking, there is ample evidence to suggest this behavior was a literary ideal constructed by writers like Plato and Xenophanes. In reality, symposiasts seem to have overindulged during the banquet more often than literary accounts suggest based on evidence from lyric poetry and painted pottery. In a fragment attributed to Anacreon, the poet admonishes his fellow symposiasts and calls upon them to improve their behavior:

Come again, let us no longer practice Scythian drinking with clatter and shouting over our wine, but drink moderately amid beautiful songs of praise.<sup>92</sup>

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<sup>91</sup> Athenaeus, *The Learned Banqueters*, Vol. V: Books 10.420e-11, ed. and trans. S. Douglas Olson (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009), book 11, section 462e-f.

<sup>92</sup> Anacreon. *Greek Lyric*, fragment 356b.

In this fragment, Anakreon calls upon his fellow symposiasts to stop “Scythian drinking,” a common way to describe drinking excessively or drinking unmixed wine, in favor of moderate drinking and singing praise songs. In other cases, poets appear to embrace excessive drinking among their guests. Looking again at the fragment by Alkaios which calls for a strong wine ratio, the poet also calls upon his fellow symposiasts to gather large cups for drinking and references Dionysos:

Let us drink! Why do we wait for the lamps? There is only an inch of day left. Friend, take down the large decorated cups. The son of Semele and Zeus gave men wine to make them forget their sorrows. Mix one part of water to two of wine, pour it in brimful, and let one cup jostle another.<sup>93</sup>

Based on Alkaios’s request for a strong wine ratio and larger cups, we can assume that the goal of the drinking party is group intoxication. These fragments suggest that drunkenness, even to a point of excess, was not uncommon in the symposion.

Visual depictions of symposiasts from painted pottery also suggest that overindulgence in wine was more common than literary accounts suggest. An Attic red-figure cup attributed to Makron and signed by the potter Hieron from the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art (FIG 7) shows an example of overindulgence in the symposion.<sup>94</sup> The cup depicts a symposion scene with twelve figures, most of which recline on couches. One side has three pairs of men and women reclining on couches as they drink from wine cups, embrace, and play *kottabos*. The other side depicts three more couches with one couple reclining together, one man drinking as a performing boy stands in front of him and plays the *auloi*, and (despite damages which make it difficult to see the figure) one man appears to vomit into a vessel as a woman holds his hair and turns

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<sup>93</sup> Alcaeus, *Greek Lyric*, fragment 346, lines 1-7.

<sup>94</sup> Attic red-figure cup: New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 20.246. ARV 2<sup>nd</sup> ed: 1616, 467.118, 481, 1654. BAPD: 204800.

away from him. Based on the woman's disgust as she avoids looking at the figure, Makron's depiction could be intended as a humorous image of a symposiast who drank too much. In contrast, an Attic red-figure kylix attributed to the Brygos Painter from the National Museum of Denmark in Copenhagen (FIG 8) depicts a symposiast lying on his side and facing the viewer while he prepares to vomit into a vessel below him with the help of a slave.<sup>95</sup> The lyre hanging behind the figures suggests that the songs and lyric performances have ended, while the symposiast's isolation reinforces that his inebriated experience is a solitary one. The figure faces the viewer, drawing them into the scene and encouraging them to empathize with their situation.

These scenes could carry multiple meanings for an Athenian audience. For one, they could be a humorous depiction of symposiasts who have overindulged in wine. The vomiting figures could be a visual joke for symposiasts to point to and make fun of. However, given the Brygos Painter's scene is painted on the interior of a kylix (a cup commonly used in the symposion), a lone viewer would look at this scene immediately after finishing their wine during the symposion. In this context, the scene could read as a warning for a symposiast who finishes their wine too quickly. The figure seems to say to the viewer, "Be careful or we may share the same fate." Taken together, figures like these in symposion scenes could include both aspects of humor and warning. It is simple to imagine a group of symposiasts making fun of a symposiast who drank too much while thinking of them as a reminder for why they should drink in moderation.

### **Figure no. 7**

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<sup>95</sup> Attic red-figure kylix: Copenhagen, National Museum of Denmark, 3880. ARV 2<sup>nd</sup> ed: 373.36, 1649. ARV 1<sup>st</sup> ed: 248.29. BAPD: 203934.



### 2.13 – Regulating Passions in the Symposion

The symposion also allowed its participants to break some Athenian social parameters by embracing their emotional impulses, but only when adhering to the social parameters established within the symposion. Pellizer creates a helpful framework for understanding the ways symposiasts could express their impulses in his analysis of the structures of sympotic entertainment. He argues there are three essential aspects to the symposion that define the common activities symposiasts would do the space. First was the collective balance between drunkenness and sobriety among all symposiasts ensured by the symposiarch, second was the structure of performances and audience established in the symposion by the performance of lyric poetry (as discussed earlier,) and third was the role of “amorous discourse” which was central to themes of pleasure in the symposion. These three factors position the symposion as “a regulated, controlled, and ritualized exercise of the passions” in which participants were encouraged to test

themselves by “exhibiting their own personal passionate impulses” before the group.<sup>96</sup> Rather than any overarching social restrictions in the space, the symposion’s purpose of releasing passions and the flexible collective expectations of the group established restrictions in the space. This structure allowed for flexibility of standard social parameters, so long as all the symposiasts embraced the new social circumstances as they shifted in the symposion space.

## 2.14 – Importance of the Krater

The spatial location of wine was important in the symposion, as a krater (a wine mixing vessel) would have occupied the center of the room with the participants reclining in a circle around it. While the act of mixing wine is rare in scenes from painted pottery, the krater frequently appears in depictions of the symposion.<sup>97</sup> Depictions of symposia are usually uninterrupted scenes on cylindrical vessels, like the Attic red-figure cup attributed to Makron (FIG 7) which was discussed earlier.<sup>98</sup> Besides the vomiting figure and the woman helping him, the exterior of the cup depicts six men and five women in the symposion, each figure reclining in pairs except for one lone man who interacts with a performing boy playing the *auloi*. A krater with ivy garland stretching across it is depicted under one handle while a serving boy, most likely a slave, stands under the opposite handle and carries a filter and a serving vessel.

The krater and the boy are both essential to the function of the symposion but separated from it by their locations under the handles.<sup>99</sup> This separation occurs on other vessels from the same period, such as an Attic red-figure cup in the Louvre Museum and

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<sup>96</sup> Ezio Pellizer, “Outlines of a Morphology of Symptotic Entertainment,” 178-183.

<sup>97</sup> Lissarrague, *The Aesthetics of the Greek Banquet*, 23-25.

<sup>98</sup> Attic red-figure cup: New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 20.246. ARV 2<sup>nd</sup> ed: 1616, 467.118, 481, 1654. BAPD: 204800.

<sup>99</sup> Lissarrague, *The Aesthetics of the Greek Banquet*, 22.

attributed to the Cage Painter (FIG 9) which depicts six men reclining, drinking wine, and playing instruments in a symposium scene on the exterior and a servant filling a serving vessel from an ivy-wrapped krater on the interior.<sup>100</sup> Spatially separated from the rest of the scene, the krater can be visualized in center of the symposium. In a separated context, both in the middle of the depicted symposium and the middle of the literal symposium, the krater becomes a symbol of the wine-mixing and hospitality that makes the symposium possible. As such, the krater becomes a symbol of the symposium itself.<sup>101</sup>

**Figure no. 9**



### 2.15 – How Images Mirror the Symptotic Space

Taking the concept of the krater as a symbol of the symposium a level further, it becomes clear how the images depicted on symposium ware are reflexive of their setting in a way that can create expectations for the symposium space. Returning again to Aristophanes's *Wasps* can illustrate how discussing images on display in the symposium were a known part of symptotic behavior. Before Bdelycleon teaches his father how to

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<sup>100</sup> Attic red-figure cup: Paris, Louvre Museum, G133. ARV 2<sup>nd</sup> ed: 348.7. ARV 1<sup>st</sup> ed: 238.3. BAPD: 203647.

<sup>101</sup> Lissarrague, *The Aesthetics of the Greek Banquet*, 34-36.

properly recite poetry and play *skolion*, he tells him it is appropriate to “praise one of the bronze vases, study the ceiling, [and] admire the wall hangings.”<sup>102</sup>

While other objects may have been on display in the symposion, such as paintings and wall paintings, those depicted on surviving painted pottery give us the best view into sympotic imagery and its effect on the space. They would have also played a key role as interactive objects in the space which were connected to wine and its central role in the symposion. In his analysis of symposion iconography, Lissarrague acknowledges how the large portion of surviving Attic pottery from the Archaic and early Classical period relates to the symposion, the komos procession that occurred before or after the banquet, or to Dionysos. The only subjects as popular as the symposion during this period are mythological figures, athletes, or warriors.<sup>103</sup> However, Lissarrague connects these other subjects to the symposion setting itself. He claims the mythological scenes reflect the poetry recited during the symposion and the athletes and warriors reflect the physical beauty and sexual pleasures on display in the symposion.<sup>104</sup>

We can also apply this approach to images of the symposion depicted on painted pottery, as they could reflect the expected activities and behavior of the symposion space. As discussed earlier, sympotic scenes often appear on vessels such as cups, kraters, and amphorae. The main decorative surface on these vessels creates a continuous band around the exterior which allows for an unbroken scene. The arrangement of figures on the painted vessels reflects the setting of the symposion itself, with participants reclining around a central krater. These painted compositions thus become a mirror for the

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<sup>102</sup> Aristophanes, *Wasps*, lines 1210-1218.

<sup>103</sup> Lissarrague, *The Aesthetics of the Greek Banquet*, 104-106.

<sup>104</sup> Lissarrague, *The Aesthetics of the Greek Banquet*, 106.

symposion space and offer relatable images to the symposiasts. A symposiast who sees an image of a figure playing a lyre may seek to emulate that scene by reciting a lyric poem themselves. However, these images can also offer a humorous warning for their audience. An image of a symposiast throwing up could warn the banqueters of what might happen if they drink to excess in a lighthearted manner that still encourages moderate drinking. Ultimately, it is these images that reflect the expected activities of the symposion while establishing expectations of sympotic behavior to their audience.

If we combine the role of poetic personas and performances within the symposion space with the extant painted images, we can begin to get a better understanding of how the two worked together to establish the social expectations unique to the space. Symposiasts could look at sympotic imagery on the vessels during the banquet, which offered them a mirror image of their circumstances, to present models of sympotic behavior (both good and bad.) Likewise, the lyric poetry recited during the symposion offered participants an idealized image to establish behavior, but one centered around the speaker. This gave the speaker the authority to command expectations of the symposion, and when they adopted a first-person persona in their performances, symposiasts could claim the authority of lyric poets like Anakreon, known specifically for their connection to the symposion. Altogether, both the images and the lyric performances present in the symposion established sympotic behavior by presenting both positive and negative examples in a setting which reflected their own. When images of the Other are included in these scenes, they often illustrate those negative examples.

## **Chapter 3: Athenian Perceptions of the Other**

Every culture, community, and group is defined in part by the unique qualities shared among the majority of its members which help contribute to a collective identity. In many groups, this collective identity can often be enhanced, whether intentionally or unintentionally, through proximity and contrast with anyone who does not possess the qualities of that collective identity. In social contexts, the outsiders are often referred to as “Others,” and the process of highlighting the differences to reinforce the collective majority identity is known as “Othering,” a fraught and charged term in today’s world.

### **3.1 – The Concept of the Other**

The identity of the Other is difficult to define because it inherently relies on the society which it is constructed around. Ultimately, it is the social perception of an identity that is external to the shared identity of a social group. This “Other identity” is constructed through the self-reflection of the majority group, thus defining the identity of the majority based on its differences from the Other. For example, Edward Said’s 1978 book *Orientalism* introduced a wide audience to the “Eastern Orient,” a concept created within Euro-American society to construct their identity as the “West” or “Occident” as antithetical to the “East” or “Orient.” The European perception of Eastern countries as disorganized, opulent, and traditional reinforced the eighteenth and nineteenth century European identity as regulated, restrained, and modern. These perceptions were not based in reality, but were instead a loose system of stereotypes that could shift to promote European self-identity regardless of how it changed.<sup>105</sup>

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<sup>105</sup> Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978).

While the concept of the Other has been developed and discussed by French philosophers since the eighteenth century,<sup>106</sup> Edward Said's *Orientalism* familiarized the concept in the anglophone world. His work defined the structure of European colonialism as a relationship based on Europeans viewing colonized peoples as a non-Western Other.<sup>107</sup> Said's work largely established the postcolonialism approach for anglophone scholars and defined the concept of the Eastern Other in antithesis to Western, Euro-American society. In his book, he specifically references the role of Classical Athens as an early example of constructing an Eastern Other through depictions of Eastern characters by Attic playwrights.<sup>108</sup> These references led Classical scholars to analyze the construction of the Eastern Other in Athenian society and what the representation of that Other suggests about Athenian society itself.

While Said's *Orientalism* opened the question of the Other in the ancient world to an English-speaking audience, some French scholars were already exploring the concept across Greek art and literature by the 1960s. Jean-Pierre Vernant was an early adopter of the concept through his exploration of Greek perceptions of the Other by analyzing the social role of Greek myth.<sup>109</sup> During the 1980s, a scholar named Pierre Vidal-Naquet

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<sup>106</sup> One of the earliest and most influential writers on the concept of the Other was Friedrich Hegel. For an in-depth exploration of Hegel's *Phenomenology of Spirit* and its role in defining the concept of the Other, see Philip J. Kain, *Hegel and the Other: A Study of the Phenomenology of Spirit* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2005). Jacques Derrida developed on Hegel's ideas and elaborated on the concept of the Other. For a collection of his essays on the subject, see Jacques Derrida, Peggy Kamuf, and Elizabeth Rottenberg, *Psyche: Inventions of the Other*, Meridian, Crossing Aesthetics, (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2007).

<sup>107</sup> Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978).

<sup>108</sup> Said, *Orientalism*, 54-57.

<sup>109</sup> See Jean-Pierre Vernant, *Origins of Greek Thought* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1982), originally published as *Les Origines de la Pensée Grecque* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1962); Jean-Pierre Vernant, *Mortals and Immortals: Collected Essays*, Ed. Froma I. Zeitlin (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991); Jean-Pierre Vernant, *Myth and Thought among the Greeks*, trans. Janet Lloyd and Jeff Fort (London, UK: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1983), originally published as *Mythe Et Pensée Chez Les Grecs: Etudes De Psychologie Historique* (Paris: Maspero, 1965).

further pursued the analysis of Greek thought by focusing on concepts of marginalization and liminality in Greek society through a structuralist analysis of Greek social identities.<sup>110</sup> Many of these approaches were applied to the study of the Other in Greek society, especially the concept of the Hellenic versus the Barbarian established in Greek literature. In his 1980 book *Mirror of Herodotus: The Representation of the Other in the Writing of History*, François Hartog uses a historiographical approach to explore Herodotus's descriptions of Scythians and Persians as ethnography and its effect on Greek social perception of the Eastern Other.<sup>111</sup> His approach reframes Herodotus's descriptions in an Athenian social context based on how they could be utilized to view the construction of the foreign Other in a Greek context. Edith Hall's 1989 *Inventing the Barbarian* widens Hartog's approach to argue that the early Classical period in Athens saw the development of the Eastern Other as an antithesis to the Athenian ideal. She argues that the role of Greek tragedy was essential to developing civic identity in Athens, and the construction of the foreign Other in tragedy played a role in shaping that identity.<sup>112</sup> These early explorations of the Other in Greek society focused primarily on the divide between the Hellene and the Barbarian, yet they created an essential framework for investigating the Other for later scholars.

As scholars gave more attention to the concept of the foreign Other in studies of Athenian culture and literature, scholars began to turn to the role of women in Athenian

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<sup>110</sup> Pierre Vidal-Naquet, *The Black Hunter: Forms of Thought and Forms of Society in the Greek World*, trans. Andrew Szegedy-Maszak (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press: 1986), originally published as *Le chasseur noir: formes de pensées et formes de société dans le monde grec* (Paris: Maspero, 1981).

<sup>111</sup> François Hartog, *The Mirror of Herodotus: The Representation of the Other in the Writing of History*, Trans. by Janet Lloyd, *New Historicism: Studies in Cultural Poetics* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1988).

<sup>112</sup> Edith Hall, *Inventing the Barbarian: Greek Self-Definition through Tragedy*, Oxford Classical Monographs, (Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press, 1989).

society and study ancient women with a similar framework. Sarah Pomeroy's 1975 book *Goddesses, Whores, Wives, and Slaves: Women in Classical Antiquity* helped to open the study as an early work in which the author organizes a wide breadth of literary, legal, visual, and archaeological sources into an overview of women's social roles in ancient Greek and Roman culture.<sup>113</sup> Moreover, Pomeroy's embrace of contemporary feminist and social approaches reinforces her analysis and opened paths for scholars to explore women, and the wider concept of femininity, as a constructed Other contrasting the Athenian man. A significant addition to such scholarship comes from Nicole Loraux's 1995 exploration of femininity among Greek men to demonstrate how the Greek male created his self-understanding "in his relationship to the feminine."<sup>114</sup> These new studies helped widen the understanding of ancient women and femininity in Greek society and connected women to a wider study of the Other in ancient Athens.

Among the new wave of approaches to understanding Greek society was a group of French scholars who utilized anthropological methods to create a new approach to understanding Greek society through images on Attic pottery and their wider social context. The book *A City of Images: Iconography and Society in Ancient Greece* iconographic analysis based on an anthropological understanding of images and their reception by an Athenian audience.<sup>115</sup> This was a departure from traditional scholarship on ancient Greek images (especially the tens of thousands of painted images) which

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<sup>113</sup> Sarah Pomeroy, *Goddesses, Whores, Wives, and Slaves: Women in Classical Antiquity* (New York: Schocken Books Inc, 1975).

<sup>114</sup> Nicole Loraux, *The Experiences of Tiresias: The Feminine and the Greek Man* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995) 18.

<sup>115</sup> Claude Bérard et al, *A City of Images: Iconography and Society in Ancient Greece*, trans. Deborah Lyons (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1989). Originally published as Université de Lausanne, Centre de recherches comparées sur les sociétés anciennes, *Le Cité des images: religion et société en Grèce antique* (Paris: F. Nathan, Réalisation et diffusion, Editions de la Tour, 1984).

focused on specific artists and connoisseurship, and the book introduced a new way to understand the images traditionally believed to be direct representations of Greek society. Rather than accepting images as direct representations, these scholars used an anthropological approach to reconstruct the ancient Athenian audience's perceptions and understanding of these images. This new methodology widened the approach for understanding the images of the Other on Greek painted pottery and how they reflected the wider social understanding of civic identity in Greek society. This created a new interest in depictions of the Other in Greek art and a new framework for art historians to understand the relationships between those images and Greek identity.

After *A City of Images* was published in 1984, its approach was applied to studies of the ancient Other by art historians throughout the 1990s. Many of these new studies of the Other were collected into two publications. Beth Cohen's 2000 book titled *Not the Classical Ideal: Athens and the Construction of the Other in Greek Art* was the first, and it explores depictions of the Other in Greek art across different Athenian groups including women, mythological creatures, slaves, workmen, and foreigners. The book is divided into three parts, with chapters analyzing deviations from the male ideal, different social roles in Archaic and Classical Athens, and depictions of foreigners from Athenian art, to analyze how the Other was created in Athenian art and how it was used to construct the Athenian identity.<sup>116</sup> While earlier works focused on a specific Other in the Athenian world, Cohen's volume demonstrates the strategies used to construct the Other across varying groups in Athenian society. This wider view of the Other in ancient Athens creates a helpful starting point for analyzing the construction of the "Classical

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<sup>116</sup> Beth Cohen et al. *Not the Classical Ideal: Athens and the Construction of the Other in Greek Art*, Brill's Scholars' List, (Leiden, Netherlands: Koninklijke Brill, 2000).

ideal,” even if the book never directly defines that ideal. Shortly after Cohen’s volume was published, another collection by Thomas Harrison was published in 2002. His *Greeks and Barbarians* lacked the wide scope of Cohen’s conception of the Other in favor of a deeper focus on the foreign Other, but it utilizes a variety of approaches beyond art historical, including analyses of literary and historical sources.<sup>117</sup> These two books and their separate approaches to the ancient Other have become essential resources for understanding the Greek perception of both foreign groups and anyone else who did not fit into the male Athenian ideal.

In the years since these works were published, scholars have started to question the assumption that ancient Greeks and Romans defined themselves exclusively in contrast to the Other. Instead, a multicultural approach to the Other in the ancient Mediterranean suggests groups defined themselves through both contrasting traits and connections with the foreign Other. Erich Gruen established the strongest rebuttal to the scholarly assumptions in his 2011 book *Rethinking the Other in Antiquity* in which he analyzes Greek and Roman literary and visual depictions of the foreign Other alongside mythical genealogies which connected Greco-Roman communities with the foreign communities across the Mediterranean. As such, Gruen attempts to create a more nuanced view of intercultural perceptions in the ancient Mediterranean.<sup>118</sup> While Gruen’s wide approach achieves his goal of introducing more nuance to the discussion of the Other in antiquity, his exclusive focus on the foreign Other fails to connect to the wider role of the Other in Athenian society by ignoring the role of women, slaves, lower-class Athenians, or mythical subjects in constructing the ideal male Athenian identity.

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<sup>117</sup> Thomas Harrison, *Greeks and Barbarians* (Edinburgh University Press, 2002).

<sup>118</sup> Erich S. Gruen, *Rethinking the Other in Antiquity* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2011).

### 3.2 – Types of “Others” in Ancient Athens

Despite the wide breadth of scholarship on the topic, there is no clear, overarching definition of the Other in Athenian society. However, it is important to define the Athenian perception of the Other and address the different varieties of “Others” posed in contrast to the ideal Athenian male. Beth Cohen’s definition can help establish a starting point:

At the ideal center of the Classical Hellenic world, in which Athens was the most important city (polis), stood the free male citizen, *kalos kagathos*, beautiful and good. But, as has often been pointed out, this human male’s beauty and goodness, indeed his Greekness, both in life and art, was defined in opposition to that which was neither ‘beautiful’, nor ‘good’, nor free, nor Greek, nor male, nor human, and so on. Certainly, in Athenian society a human being could be marginalized not only by gender, non-Greek (barbarian) ethnicity, and social class, but by physical factors such as deformity or advanced age, or even by extremes of behavior.<sup>119</sup>

In this section from the introduction to her collected volume, Cohen defines the potential Other identities in Athenian society by the key characteristics that established them against the Athenian ideal. Like all constructed ideals, the Athenian identity carries an inherent ambiguity, as no individual would have been able to perfectly embody it. The ideal Athenian identity was not understood as a defined set of unique Athenian values, but it was instead constructed through comparison against antithetical Other identities.

Based on Cohen’s definition of the Other in Athenian society, the wide variation of the Other is too broad to make up a single collective identity in the Athenian mind. Rather, there were several identities that wealthy Athenian men would have understood as antithetical to themselves, but each in their own way. The social isolation of men and women in Archaic Athens established women as antithetical to male Athenian identity.

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<sup>119</sup> Cohen et al, *Not the Classical Ideal*, 4.

While upper-class Athenian men interacted with each other in the gymnasium or at the Agora, women of equal class were largely restricted to domestic spaces and rarely interacted with men outside their family.<sup>120</sup> When many Athenian values were cultivated in male spaces, such as athleticism and military success, women became an Other through their social separation from those values.

Unlike women, not every form of the Other was separate from Athenian society. Rather, the ideal Athenian was constructed around the elite class. As such, poor and working-class Athenians were construed as an Other in comparison to the wealthy land-owning aristocratic class. The differences between wealthy and poor Athenians are easiest to see in the case of workmen, including potters, metalsmiths, and artisans. Depictions of workmen and artisans on painted pottery show visual markers of this difference between the groups through the clothing and poses of workmen in comparison to wealthy overseers. An Attic red-figure kylix in Berlin by the Foundry Painter from around 480 BCE depicts a workshop scene in which six artisans tend to a forge and work on two statues while two overseers watch them (FIG 10.)<sup>121</sup> The six workmen are marked by their physical positions (such as squatting, reaching, and hammering) relative to the objects they work on while the overseers both stand in the same casual pose leaning on walking sticks. Similarly, the workmen are nude, or they wear only a working cap called a *pilos* or a short chiton called an *exomis*. In contrast, the overseers wear matching long garments. Visual markers like clothing and physical pose in Attic painted pottery, especially specific markers like the workman's *pilos*, illustrate and reinforce the separate

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<sup>120</sup> David Cohen, "Seclusion, Separation, and the Status of Women in Classical Athens," in *Women in Antiquity* ed. Ian McAuslan and Peter Walcot (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1996) 134-145.

<sup>121</sup> Attic red-figure cup: Berlin, Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen, F2294. ARV 2<sup>nd</sup> ed:1573, 400.1, 1651, 1706. ARV 1<sup>st</sup> ed: 263.1. BAPD: 204340.

identities between the workmen and the overseers, posing them as an Other outside the wealthy Athenian's identity.<sup>122</sup>

Even further separated from Athenian society was the foreign Other. Various groups of foreign Others were viewed separately based on ethnicity and geography, and Greek audiences understood there were differences between groups like Phrygians, Lydians, Thracians, and Persians.<sup>123</sup> Some of these groups were viewed as closer to the Athenian identity than others, such as Phrygians and Lydians whose geographic proximity to the Greek world made them more familiar to Athenian audiences.<sup>124</sup> Despite any perceived differences, all foreign groups were combined together as “barbarians,” meaning someone who does not speak Greek, to mark their difference from the Hellenic identity. These combinations can be seen in the visual markers of foreign groups, which are usually combinations of ethnic markers from distinct groups and are applied to a generalized Eastern Other rather than any specific group. One such example is the so-called “Scythian cap,” which is frequently used as a generalized marker of the Eastern barbarian rather than applying specifically to Scythians.<sup>125</sup>

In the same way the foreign Other was defined by geographical separation, the mythological Other was an imagined group perceived through mythical separation.

Mythical creatures like satyrs (also called silens) occupied an identity between human

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<sup>122</sup> Maria Pipili, “Wearing an Other Hat: Workmen in Town and Country,” in *Not the Classical Ideal: Athens and the Construction of the Other in Greek Art* by Beth Cohen et al, Brill's Scholars' List, (Leiden, Netherlands: Koninklijke Brill, 2000), 153-179.

<sup>123</sup> Herodotus describes the differences between ethnic groups in the Archimedean army, suggesting an understanding of separate ethnic groups among the Greeks. See Herodotus, *The Persian Wars, Vol. III: Books 5-7*, Trans. A. D. Godley (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1922) book 7, sections 60-81.

<sup>124</sup> Keith DeVries, “The Nearly Other: The Attic Vision of Phrygians and Lydians” in *Not the Classical Ideal: Athens and the Construction of the Other in Greek Art* by Beth Cohen et al, Brill's Scholars' List, (Leiden, Netherlands: Koninklijke Brill, 2000), 338-363.

<sup>125</sup> For a broader explanation of the Scythian cap and its mythical connotations, see G. F. Pinney, “Achilles Lord of Scythia,” in *Ancient Greek Art and Iconography*, Ed. W. G. Moon (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983) 130, 137.

and animal, posing them as a wild Other in contrast to the civilized Athenian. They represented the worst and most wild aspects of human behavior (such as overt sexual desire and excessive drunkenness) and provided a contrast to the ideal Athenian man as a warning of behaviors to avoid.<sup>126</sup> However, there are more forms of the mythical Other that connect to different aspects of the Athenian world. For example, the Amazon warrior was viewed as an Other in contrast to the Athenian warrior. As barbarian female warriors from the East, Amazons were viewed as the ultimate Other in contrast to Athenian society. They contrasted both the Athenian man and Athenian woman through their identity as a female warrior in a society where military prowess was reserved for men. Athenians understood Amazons to be an Eastern group connected to Scythians, but their role in Greek myth gave them a mythical status.<sup>127</sup> Their association with mythology, the East, and femininity gave them multiple levels of “Otherness” in the Athenian imagination.

### **3.3 – Visual Iconography of the Other**

The primary way we can understand how an Athenian audience viewed these Other identities is through the visual depictions which survive on Greek painted pottery. However, as explored by Jean-Pierre Vernant and others in *A City of Images*, the images depicted on Greek pottery carry ambiguous meanings to their Athenian audience and

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<sup>126</sup> J. Michael Padgett, “The Stable Hands of Dionysos: Satyrs and Donkeys as Symbols of Social Marginalization in Attic Vase Painting,” in *Not the Classical Ideal: Athens and the Construction of the Other in Greek Art* by Beth Cohen et al, Brill’s Scholars’ List, (Leiden, Netherlands: Koninklijke Brill, 2000), 43-45.

<sup>127</sup> For a comprehensive discussion on Amazons in the Greek imagination and their connection to Scythian women, see Adrienne Mayor, *The Amazons: Lives and Legends of Warrior Women Across the Ancient World* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014).

must be approached as a visual language rather than exact reproductions of reality.<sup>128</sup> This is particularly important when addressing the visual iconography of the Other, which combines different visual symbols together to symbolize a more generalized “Otherness.” The visual symbols of the Other are often objects, like clothing or weapons, but they could also be specific actions or behaviors viewed as antithetical to an Athenian identity. However, these images often overlap with varying groups of the Other, creating a sense of ambiguous “Otherness” to their Athenian audience rather than referencing a specific group. As such, it is important to explore and understand the visual symbols of the Other while acknowledging the ambiguity of these symbols and how they could be interpreted broadly by an Athenian viewer.

One common symbol of the Eastern Other on Attic pottery is the so-called “Scythian cap,” a soft, conical cap with long ear coverings.<sup>129</sup> These caps were depicted frequently on Attic pottery but are also referenced in Greek literary sources. Herodotus describes them as “tall caps, erect and stiff and tapering to a point” when describing the clothing and weapons of Scythian troops in the Persian king Xerxes’ army.<sup>130</sup> References to these caps can also be found outside of Greek sources, including an Archimedean relief from Persepolis which depicts a Scythian delegation wearing similar caps to those depicted in Greek art (FIG 11.)<sup>131</sup> The depictions of Scythian caps across the Mediterranean suggests some truth to their depictions in Greek art, but the Scythian cap is not limited to depictions of Scythians. Several Eastern groups, including Thracians and

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<sup>128</sup> Jean-Pierre Vernant, “Preface,” in *A City of Images: Iconography and Society in Ancient Greece* by Claude Bérard et al, trans. Deborah Lyons (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1989), 8.

<sup>129</sup> For a discussion of Scythian costume and their depictions, see Margarita Gleba, “You are What you Wear: Scythian Costume as Identity,” in *Dressing the Past*, vol. 3, ed. Margarita Gleba, Chérine Munkholt, and Marie-Louise Nosch (Oxford, UK: Oxbow Books, 2008) 13-28.

<sup>130</sup> Herodotus, *The Persian Wars*, 7.64.

<sup>131</sup> Scythian delegation, Apadana Reliefs, Eastern Stairwell: Persepolis, Iran.

Persians, are depicted wearing the same caps. One of the most notable examples is an Attic red-figure kylix from the National Museum of Scotland attributed to the Triptolemos Painter from around 460 BCE which depicts a battle scene between Greek hoplites and Persian archers (FIG 12.) The Persians are depicted with long sleeved clothing covered in decorative stripes and dots and wearing Scythian caps in comparison to the Greek hoplites who wear helmets, breastplates, and greaves.<sup>132</sup> Similarly, the Scythian cap was occasionally used when depicting Thracians on Greek pottery. An Attic red-figure psykter in the Louvre in Paris from the late Archaic period depicts two Thracians walking with horses and carrying spears (FIG 13.)<sup>133</sup> The two figures, likely youths based on their lack of beards and short hair, wear long cloaks over their shoulders that trail down their backs, felt boots, and Scythian caps. The clothing these figures wear matches Herodotos's description of Thracian soldiers from Xerxes's army.<sup>134</sup> The figures wear the same cloaks (ζειράς) and shoes (πέδιλα) Herodotos describes, which helps us to identify these figures as Thracian. However, his specified fox-skin caps are absent in this scene. Rather, these figures wear the same Scythian caps as the depictions of Persians and Scythians. Based on the lack of distinction in these depictions, we can assume the Scythian cap was used as a visual marker of Eastern Otherness rather than specifying Scythian ethnicity.

### Figure no. 12A

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<sup>132</sup> Attic red-figure kylix: Edinburgh, National Museum of Scotland, 1887.213. ARV 2<sup>nd</sup> ed: 364.46. ARV 1<sup>st</sup> ed: 244.13. BAPD: 203838.

<sup>133</sup> Attic red-figure psykter: Paris, Louvre Museum, G59. BAPD: 11281.

<sup>134</sup> Herodotus, *The Persian Wars*, 7.75.



**Figure no. 12B**



**Figure no. 12C**



Figure no. 12D



Figure no. 12E



Like the Scythian cap, there are clear similarities across the costumes of various Eastern groups in the Greek imagination. We can even see similarities between various Eastern groups' clothing in Herodotus's descriptions of Eastern ethnic groups in the Persian army:

Firstly, the Persians; for their equipment they wore on their heads loose caps called tiaras [τιάρας], and on their bodies sleeved [χειριδωτούς] tunics of divers colors [ποικίλους], with scales of iron like in appearance to the scales of fish, and breeches [ἀναζυρίδας] on their legs; for shields they had wicker bucklers, their quivers hanging beneath these; they carried short spears, long bows, and arrows of reed, and daggers withal that hung from the girdle by the right thigh.<sup>135</sup>

The Sacae, who are Scythians, had on their heads tall caps, erect and stiff and tapering to a point; they wore breeches [ἀναζυρίδας], and carried their native bows, and daggers, and axes withal, which they call "sagaris."<sup>136</sup>

The Thracians in the army wore fox-skin caps on their heads, and tunics on their bodies; mantles of divers colors [ποικίλους] were their covering; they had shoes of fawnskin on their feet and legs, carrying withal javelins and little shields and daggers.<sup>137</sup>

<sup>135</sup> Herodotus, *The Persian Wars*, book 7, section 61.

<sup>136</sup> Herodotus, *The Persian Wars*, book 7, section 64.

<sup>137</sup> Herodotus, *The Persian Wars*, book 7, section 75.

In his descriptions of these three groups, Herodotos provides little detail to distinguish between their clothing. He describes both the Persian and Thracian decoration on clothing as having “divers colors” (*ποικίλους*) and with little other detail. Likewise, he describes both Persian and Scythian pants using the same word (*ἀναξυρίδας*) and does not describe any additional detail, suggesting there was a lack of distinction between the two in the Greek imagination.

These similarities in Eastern clothing can also be seen in the depictions of various Eastern groups on Greek painted pottery. There are some differences in how these groups are depicted, which can be seen in a comparison between depictions of Persians, Scythians, and Thracians. Persians are widely depicted wearing long sleeves and pants with stripe and dot patterns, which can be seen across pottery during the late Archaic and into the late Classical period.<sup>138</sup> The same long sleeves, pants, and patterns can be seen on images of Scythians from this period, making it difficult to distinguish between Persians and Scythian depictions.<sup>139</sup> Thracians are the exception in this case, as they are depicted wearing the long cloaks (*zeira*) and fawn-skin boots (*embaldes*) described by Herodotos and wearing either tunics or nothing under their cloaks.<sup>140</sup> However, their decorated cloaks and fawn-skin boots still fulfill the same purpose as the Persian and Scythian long sleeves and pants. Both clothing styles mark the figures as barbarian by highlighting their clothing in contrast to familiar Greek patterns and clothing.

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<sup>138</sup> Margaret Miller, “Persians: The Oriental Other,” *Source: Notes in the History of Art*, vol. 15, no. 1 (1995): 39-44.

<sup>139</sup> Gleba, “You Are What You Wear,” 13-17.

<sup>140</sup> Despoina Tsiafakis, “The Allure and Repulsion of Thracians in the Art of Classical Athens,” in *Not the Classical Ideal: Athens and the Construction of the Other in Greek Art* by Beth Cohen et al, Brill’s Scholars’ List, (Leiden, Netherlands: Koninklijke Brill, 2000), 367-372.

In the same way clothing could be a marker of the Eastern Other, the weapons Eastern warriors were depicted with reinforced their Otherness to a Greek audience. Most notably was the association between Eastern warriors and archery. During the 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE, a small group of around 300 Scythian archers were employed to defend Athens as a police force. Aeschines, an Athenian statesman from the 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE, references this force in his Speech on the Embassy:

During this period we fortified the Peiraeus and built the north wall; we added one hundred new triremes to our fleet; we also equipped three hundred cavalymen and bought three hundred Scythians; and we held the democratic constitution unshaken.<sup>141</sup>

Aechines's claim is supported by a later scholar named Julius Pollux, who was a Greek rhetorician from Naucratis during the 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE. In his *Onomasticon*, he references the Scythian archers and their responsibilities more directly:

Those public slaves before the law-courts and the other gatherings, to whom they gave the task of restraining those who behaved inappropriately and those who said what should not be said, were called "Scythians" and "archers" and "Speusiniotai" after the first man who organized their service.<sup>142</sup>

With Scythian archers playing a key role in Athenian society during the 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE, Athenian audiences would have viewed a clear connection between Scythians and archery. Likewise, these archers could have been visual inspiration for Athenian artisans who depicted similar figures on Attic pottery.

Scythians and Persians are often depicted wielding bows against their enemies, which are most often Greek hoplites. As an example, we can return to the Attic red-figure

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<sup>141</sup> Aeschines, *Speeches*, trans. C. D. Adams (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1919) book 2, section 173.

<sup>142</sup> Julius Pollux, *Onomasticon*, trans. and cited by David Braund, "In Search of the Creator of Athens' Scythian Archer-Police: Speusis and the 'Eurymedon Vase,'" *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 156 (2006): 109.

kylix by the Triptolemos Painter, which depicts four Persian warriors armed with bows fighting five Greek hoplite warriors (FIG 12.)<sup>143</sup> Two of the Persians are riding on horseback while the other two are standing in hunched positions, leaning back to draw their bowstrings. This contrasts the figures against the Greek hoplites, who fight on foot and lunge toward the Persian archers with a spear and shield in hand. The contrast between the physical forms of Persian archers and Greek hoplites emphasizes their associated weaponry and draws attention to their differences. Even more than Persians, Scythians were closely associated with archery during the Archaic and early Classical period. During the sixth century BCE, Scythian archers occur frequently on Attic painted pottery. Based on a comprehensive exploration of around 700 Greek painted vases, François Lissarrague demonstrates the connection between Scythians and archery was antithetical to the Greek hoplite.<sup>144</sup>

Once again, Thracians differ slightly from the visual iconography of Persians and Scythians.<sup>145</sup> Thracians were associated with a different fighting style called a “peltast.” These were warriors who wielded a crescent-shaped shield called a *pelte* and dual javelins to occupy a role somewhere between the highly armored hoplite and the

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<sup>143</sup> Attic red-figure kylix: Edinburgh, National Museum of Scotland, 1887.213. ARV 2<sup>nd</sup> ed: 364.46. BAPD: 203838.

<sup>144</sup> François Lissarrague, *L'autre Guerrier. Archers, Peltastes, cavaliers dans l'imagerie attique*, Images À L'appui, no. 3 (Paris: La Découverte, 1990) 247-293. The association Lissarrague describes is not without dissenting opinions. For another perspective on the differences between the Archaic depiction of Scythian archers and the Classical depiction, see Askold I. Ivantchik, “‘Scythian’ Archers on Archaic Attic Vases: Problems of Interpretation,” *Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia*, Vol. 13, no. 3 (2006) 197-271.

<sup>145</sup> The unique attributes of Thracians compared to other Eastern groups like Persians and Scythians is attributed to their more frequent interaction with Athenians and role as mercenaries in Greek warfare. Athenian audiences viewed them as more familiar than other Eastern groups, possibly even equal to the Greeks, but still distinctly barbarian. For a broader view of the Greek perception of Thracians, see Tsiafakis, “The Allure and Repulsion of Thracians in the Art of Classical Athens,” 364-389.

unarmored light infantry during ancient warfare.<sup>146</sup> Herodotos describes these as the primary weapons of the Thracian forces in the Persian army, describing the soldiers as “carrying withal javelins and little shields (*πέλτας*) and daggers.”<sup>147</sup> Likewise, depictions of Thracians in Greek pottery often include peltast equipment. An Attic red-figure kylix in the Arthur M. Sackler Museum attributed to the Manner of Onesimos from around 480 BCE depicts a Thracian peltast in the center of the cup (FIG 14.)<sup>148</sup> The figure faces the left, walking along the groundline at the bottom of the frame while carrying a *pelte* shield and a javelin and wearing leather boots, a fox-skin cap, and a long chiton covered in repeating decorative motifs. The *pelte* and javelin identifies the figure as a peltast warrior while the decorated chiton, cap, and leather boots specify this figure as a Thracian. Depictions of Thracians outside a warfare context also frequently depict the figures as peltasts. An Attic red-figure krater attributed to the Orpheus Painter from the mid-fifth century BCE in Berlin (FIG 15) depicts four Thracian men standing around a man, identified as Orpheus, sitting in the center and playing a lyre.<sup>149</sup> The four Thracians, identified by their chitons and fox-skin caps, also carry javelins, suggesting their identity as peltast warriors. An Attic red-figure pelike in British Museum from the same period (FIG 16) depicts a similar scene, but this time with only two Thracians listening to Orpheus’s music.<sup>150</sup> Once again, the Thracians wear decorated chitons and fox-skin caps, and they carry the same javelins that identify them as peltasts. The connection between

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<sup>146</sup> Jan G. P. Best, *Thracian Peltasts and Their Influence on Greek Warfare*, Studies of the Dutch Archaeological and Historical Society vol. 1, Trans. by Ina Rike, (Groningen, Netherlands: Wolters-Noordhoff, 1969), 3-5.

<sup>147</sup> Herodotus, *The Persian Wars*, book 7, section 75.

<sup>148</sup> Attic red-figure kylix: Cambridge, MA, Arthur M. Sackler Museum, 1959.219. BAPD: 13447.

<sup>149</sup> Attic red-figure column krater: Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Antikensammlung, 3172. ARV 2<sup>nd</sup> ed: 1103.1, 1683. BAPD: 216168.

<sup>150</sup> Attic red-figure pelike: London, British Museum, 1846.0925.10. ARV 2<sup>nd</sup> ed: 1148.7. BAPD: 215217.

peltast fighters and Thracians, like Persian and Scythian archers, contrasted the Greek hoplite and thus reinforced foreign groups and their associated fighting styles as Other.

**Figure no. 14**



**Figure no. 16**



### **3.4 – A General “Otherness”**

Many visual markers of the Other apply across several “Other groups” to suggest a generalized Otherness rather than a specific ethnic group, such as the Scythian cap and its connection to a generalized Eastern Other discussed earlier. This suggests there were

underlying connections between groups of the Other in the Athenian perception. A notable example is the associations between low-class Athenians and foreigners in visual representations of warrior classes from the late Archaic period.<sup>151</sup> While the peltast fighting style was associated with Thracians, the cheap cost of peltast equipment provided lower-class Athenians an alternative to expensive hoplite equipment. Depictions of these Greek peltasts occur as early as c. 550 BCE on an Attic black-figure Little-Master cup signed by Epitimos from the National Museum of Denmark in Copenhagen (FIG 17.)<sup>152</sup> The cup depicts two peltasts facing each other, armed with the distinctive crescent-shaped *pelte* of peltast warriors, boots, and a chiton as they aim spears and lunge toward each other. The figure on the left has a full beard and wears no helmet, while the figure on the right has a small beard and wears a Scythian cap. Based on the full beard and lack of other identifying visual features, Jan Best identifies the left figure as a Greek peltast in contrast to the foreign peltast identified by the Scythian cap.<sup>153</sup> However, except for the cap, the two figures have identical equipment and clothing, including the chiton associated with Thracian dress, suggesting a visual association between the figures. The mirrored pose and equipment appear on another vessel, this time on a small Attic red-figure oinochoe attributed to the Painter of Berlin from around 510 BCE in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (FIG 18.)<sup>154</sup> The small mug depicts a figure on either side and separated by a tree on the side opposite of the handle. Both figures hold the same

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<sup>151</sup> For an in-depth discussion of the connections between lower-class warrior groups and the Other, see François Lissarrague, *L'autre Guerrier. Archers, Peltastes, cavaliers dans l'imagerie attique*, Images À L'appui, no. 3 (Paris: La Découverte, 1990).

<sup>152</sup> Attic black-figure little master cup: Copenhagen, National Museum of Denmark, 13966. BAPD: 350369.

<sup>153</sup> Best, *Thracian Peltasts*, 6.

<sup>154</sup> Attic red-figure oinochoe (mug): New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 06.1021.100. ARV 2<sup>nd</sup> ed: 156.55. ARV 1<sup>st</sup> ed: 114.31. BAPD: 201459.

pose: they face right with their back turned to the viewer as they hold up a curved shield in their extended right hand, hold their left arm facing downwards, and lunge to the left with their right knee down and their left foot planted. One figure has no surviving decoration on his shield and wears a Scythian cap, and the other figure has an eye motif on his shield and wears a hoplite helmet. Like the earlier depiction on the little master cup, the Scythian cap and hoplite helmet distinguish the two figures as barbarian and Hellenic respectively; however, their mirrored pose and shields suggest a visual connection regardless of ethnicity.

Taking this connection further than the repetition of visual forms, Robin Osborne demonstrates that depictions of peltasts during this period are restricted primarily to small mugs and alabastra, vessels which were used in private spaces and by youths and women, in contrast to the images of hoplites, cavalry, and archers that occur frequently on the stamnoi, amphoras, and kraters of the symposion. He argues that peltast imagery on pottery intended for private use suggests that images of Greek peltasts were displayed not as respectable warriors like hoplites or cavalry but “for private amusement,” depicted primarily on individual cups in the symposion space and on mugs and alabastra associated with youth and women outside the space.<sup>155</sup> The use of peltast images in private and feminine spaces suggests that these lower-class Greek warriors were socially isolated from the hoplites and cavalry that formed the ideal Athenian male warrior, and the visual connection to Thracian peltasts suggests a social association between lower-class Greeks and the foreign Other.

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<sup>155</sup> Robin Osborne, “An Other View: An Essay in Political History,” in *Not the Classical Ideal: Athens and the Construction of the Other in Greek Art* by Beth Cohen et al, Brill’s Scholars’ List, (Leiden, Netherlands: Koninklijke Brill, 2000), 37-38.

The association between peltast imagery and women extends beyond depictions on the alabastra reserved for women's spaces. The ultimate representation of the female Other in the Athenian imagination, the Amazon warrior, is occasionally depicted as a peltast fighter or alongside peltast fighters.<sup>156</sup> One such example appears on an Attic red-figure oinochoe from around 440 BCE in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (FIG 19) which depicts the mythical figures Iole, Antiope, and Penthesilea (who are identified by their names inscribed on the vessel) as Amazon warriors with peltast and Scythian equipment.<sup>157</sup> Iole walks in front of the group with a *pelte* in her outstretched left hand and an axe in her right, and Antiope leads a horse forward with her left hand while looking at the viewer and holding two spears across her chest. Penthesilea mimics the same pose as Iole with a *pelte* of her own but with two spears in her right hand. To further connect them with the Thracian origins of the peltast fighting style, Iole wears the same fox-skin caps seen in other depictions of Thracians. However, the association of Amazon warriors and the Eastern Other extends beyond Thracian iconography. In this depiction, each Amazon wears the long sleeves and leggings with repeating patterns of Scythian and Persian warriors. Likewise, the axe Iole holds matches Herodotus's description of an axe called a "sagaris" (*σαγάρης*) used by Scythian warriors.<sup>158</sup> As such, the Amazon connects women, low-class Greek peltast fighters, and Eastern warriors into a generalized Other in antithesis to the idealized Athenian male warrior.

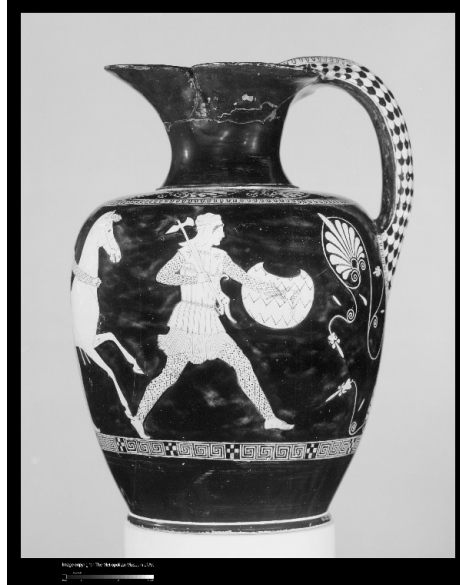
### Figure no. 19

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<sup>156</sup> For a more in-depth discussion of the similarities between Amazons and the Eastern Other, see Harvey Alan Shapiro, "Amazons, Thracians, and Scythians," *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 24, no. 2 (1983): 105-114.

<sup>157</sup> Attic red-figure oinochoe (jug): New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 06.1021.189. ARV 2<sup>nd</sup> ed: 1066.10. BAPD: 214365.

<sup>158</sup> Herodotus, *The Persian Wars*, book 7, section 64.



### 3.5 – The Other in Contrast to the Athenian

While there was a shared visual language used across images of the Other on painted pottery, it is important to recognize that these groups were not regarded holistically in Athenian society. Rather, these they shared similar attributes in the Athenian mind which made them an Other in antithesis to the ideal Athenian male. An Athenian would not view an Athenian peltast as a foreigner or a woman, but he would recognize the peltast as using a foreign fighting style reserved for Amazons and thus associate the peltast with foreigners and women. The connections between the peltast, foreigners, and women are not definitive themselves, but they allow the upper-class Athenian male to view a collective set of attributes in antithesis to himself, constructing a generalized Other in the process. When we turn to images of this generalized Other in symposion scenes, usually identified by the Scythian cap, we can start to see how the Other is associated with specific sympotic behaviors in contrast to the expected behavior of an Athenian symposiast.

## **Chapter 4: The Other in the Symposion**

The ambiguity we see in the visual iconography of the Other on Athenian painted pottery extends to the images of that Other in symposion scenes. These images present questions about the role of the Other in the symposion scenes, and how those images could have been received by an Athenian audience. By analyzing the apparent Eastern figures in these scenes, this chapter will explore how images of the Eastern Other could create expectations of sympotic behavior by associating iconography of the Eastern Other with negative symposion behavior to contrast the positive symposion behavior of the ideal Athenian symposiast.

### **4.1 – Wine and the Eastern Other**

Despite its important role in Athenian culture, the consumption of wine appears to share associations with the East in the Greek imagination. In Greek myth, Dionysos was a god who came from the East. According to Euripides's *Bacchae*, the god of wine travelled across Lydia, Phrygia, Persia, Bactria, Arabia, and Asia Minor before returning to Thebes.<sup>159</sup> He was a popular subject on symposion ware, such as an Attic red-figure column krater from around 470 BCE in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston (FIG 20) depicting Dionysos walking with a satyr.<sup>160</sup> Dionysos walks ahead of the satyr to the right, turning back to face him and extending a drinking horn, or a cup called a "rhyton" based on the drinking horn, to the satyr. The satyr reaches for the cup and holds a wineskin, ready to fill the cup for Dionysos. Dionysos himself wears long robes with a leopard skin wrapped around his shoulders and carries a long, twisting branch in his other

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<sup>159</sup> Euripides, *Bacchae*, lines 16-24.

<sup>160</sup> Attic red-figure krater: Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 22.677. BAPD: 14864.

hand. The rhyton cup took on the associations of the drinking horn, which was often held unmixed wine and was associated with nomadic groups like Scythians.<sup>161</sup> Due to its association with unmixed wine, the cup was a common visual marker of Dionysos, and the god and his satyr entourage were often depicted with the horn-shaped drinking vessel.<sup>162</sup>

**Figure no. 20**



Rhyton cups, and the drinking horns they were based on, also appear with images of the Eastern Other. One Attic red-figure cup in Basel, Germany from around 500 BCE attributed to the Chaire Painter (FIG 21) depicts a reclined sleeping figure wearing a Scythian cap and long-sleeved garments in the center of the cup.<sup>163</sup> A bow and quiver hangs behind the figure, and a rhyton or drinking horn is framed below him. Based on the

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<sup>161</sup> For the Athenian perception of the drinking horn and Eastern groups, see Margret Miller, *Athens and Persia in the Fifth Century BC: A study in Cultural Receptivity* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1997) 141-3.

<sup>162</sup> Thomas H. Carpenter, *Dionysian Imagery in Archaic Greek Art: Its Development in Black-Figure Vase Painting*, Oxford Monographs on Classical Archaeology (Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press, 1986) 117, plates 7A-11A.

<sup>163</sup> Attic red-figure cup: Basel, Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig, BS1423. BAPD: 8848.

figure's clothing and weaponry, this figure is likely a Scythian or Persian. However, the rhyton below the figure introduces a new visual marker to connect with the Eastern Other. More depictions of Eastern foreigners also depict someone using a variation of the rhyton, such as a set of Attic red-figure cup fragments in the Ashmolean Museum by the Stieglitz Painter from around 470 BCE (FIG 22.)<sup>164</sup> While the fragments make it difficult to distinguish the full scene, a fragment shows a person's forearm and hand holding an animal head rhyton. The same figure wears a long sleeve with striped decorations on their forearm. Another fragment from the vessel shows a second figure with a sleeved forearm holding a vessel, but the exact shape is difficult to discern. The patterned clothing matches other depictions of Eastern foreigners, as discussed in the last chapter, and the drinking cups suggest a group drinking scene. A third fragment from this vessel depicts a food basket on the wall, a common image specific to Greek symposia, which illustrates this scene as Eastern foreigners in a Greek symposion rather than a Persian banquet.<sup>165</sup>

**Figure no. 22**



#### **4.2 – The Eastern Other in Symposion Images**

<sup>164</sup> Attic red-figure cup (fragments): Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, 1966.688. ARV 2<sup>nd</sup> ed: 38.829. BAPD: 210293.

<sup>165</sup> Margaret Miller, "Persians in the Greek Imagination," *Mediterranean Archaeology* 19/20 (2006): 119.

These fragments are one of several depictions which apply visual markers of the Eastern Other to the symposion. One artisan, referred to as the Pithos Painter, painted several Attic red-figure cups during the late Archaic period that each depict a nude, reclining figure wearing a Scythian cap. One of his cups from the Rhodes Archaeological Museum (FIG 23) depicts a reclining nude man with his back to the viewer and his head turned to his right. Behind him rests a cylindrical black shape that catches his eye as he turns backward.<sup>166</sup> The abstract style makes it difficult to discern specific features, but the long coverings over the ears depict a Scythian cap and the long black shape behind the figure is likely another rhyton or a drinking horn. The same subject and angle is popular in the Pithos Painter's work and can be found in two other surviving cups attributed to him, one from the Agora Museum in Athens (FIG 24) and one in a private collection in London (FIG 25.)<sup>167</sup> Furthermore, variations on a scene depicting a single reclining nude figure wearing a Scythian cap can be seen on over forty surviving examples attributed to the Pithos Painter.<sup>168</sup> Each depiction is slightly different and survives with varying levels of damage, but the man, Scythian cap, and rhyton are clear in each one.<sup>169</sup> Once again we see the rhyton and drinking horn in depictions of Eastern figures. Each cup depicts a figure reclining onto abstract lines and forms which extend beyond the edge of the framed section. The curved lines in the space relative to the figure suggests this is a reclining couch and pillows, placing the figure in a sympotic scene. In addition, the

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<sup>166</sup> Attic red-figure cup: Rhodes, Rhodes Archaeological Museum, 13386. ARV, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed: 139.23. ARV 1<sup>st</sup> ed: 116.13. BAPD: 201180.

<sup>167</sup> Attic red-figure cup: Athens, Agora Museum, P2800. ARV, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed: 140.37. ARV 1<sup>st</sup> ed: 117.23. BAPD: 201194.

Attic red-figure cup: London, Private Collection. ARV, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed: 140.41. BAPD: 201198.

<sup>168</sup> Hobden, *The Symposion in Greek Society and Thought*, 77.

<sup>169</sup> The only exception is an Attic Red-figure cup that is missing the rhyton, but the figure still wears a Scythian cap. See FIG 26: Attic red-figure cup: Florence, Etruscan Archaeological Museum, 20B19. ARV 2<sup>nd</sup> ed: 140:35. ARV 1<sup>st</sup> ed: 116.16. BAPD: 201192.

nudity of the figures, the rhyton, and their reclined position suggests these figures are depicted as participants in the symposium.

Aside from the Pithos Painter's focus on the lone symposiast with a Scythian cap, it is more common during this period to see several symposiasts in a scene but only one of them wears a Scythian cap. This occurs on the Attic red-figure cup by the Colmar Painter which was introduced earlier (FIG 3.)<sup>170</sup> The exterior of the cup depicts six nude figures reclining on couches, with three on each side of the vessel. On one side, a figure reclines in the center and wears a Scythian cap while playing the *auloi* as the symposiasts on either side turn to face him. A similar scene is depicted on one side of an Attic red-figure column krater attributed to the Nausicaa Painter from the Villa Giulia in Rome (FIG 27.)<sup>171</sup> The krater depicts two symposiasts, each reclining on couches on opposite sides of a woman standing in the middle and playing the *auloi*. The symposiast on the right turns toward the symposiast on the left and spins a cup in his right hand to play *kottabos* while wearing a Scythian cap. The symposiast on the right turns to the left, looking at the figure wearing the Scythian cap. In addition to the caps, the figures in these scenes are further visually distinguished by their position in the composition. In the case of the Colmar Painter cup, two symposiasts turn to face the figure wearing the Scythian Cap in the center, drawing the viewer's attention to him. Likewise, the mirrored position of the two symposiasts on either side of the woman in the center of the Nausicaa Painter krater draws the viewer's attention to the differences between the figures, especially the Scythian cap. This compositional emphasis on the figures wearing Scythian caps draws

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<sup>170</sup> Attic red-figure cup: New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 16.174.41. ARV 2<sup>nd</sup> ed: 355.35. ARV 1<sup>st</sup> ed: 229.40. BAPD: 203718.

<sup>171</sup> Attic red-figure krater: Rome, National Etruscan Museum of Villa Giulia, 3583. ARV 2<sup>nd</sup> ed: 1109.27. BAPD: 214666.

more attention to those figures and visually separates them from the other figures in the space.

### 4.3 – Satyrs and the Eastern Other

As discussed earlier, Athenian audiences believed Eastern foreigners were inclined to overindulge in wine and act poorly while drinking. Such was the case in the fragment by Anakreon when he warns his fellow symposiasts not to practice “Scythian drinking.”<sup>172</sup> Athenians also believed that Scythians and Thracians drank unmixed wine, which may be another interpretation of the “Scythian drinking” that Anakreon refers to.<sup>173</sup> However, Scythians and Thracians were not the only groups associated with unmixed wine and poor drinking behavior. Satyrs, the mythical half-man and half-beast attendants of Dionysos, were known for their drunkenness and humorously overt sexuality. As such, satyrs were often depicted with symbols of unmixed wine on painted pottery. One Attic red-figure cup in Baltimore from around 510 BCE and signed by Epiktetos (FIG 28) depicts a satyr reclining, likely a symposion scene based on the pillow behind the figure, and drinking directly from a pointed amphora, a vessel used to store unmixed wine.<sup>174</sup> A similar scene occurs on an unattributed Attic red-figure cup from the late sixth century BCE (FIG 29) in which a nude symposiast wearing a Scythian cap straddles a pointed amphora with a wineskin behind him.<sup>175</sup> His playful and sexualized approach to the amphora connects to the humorous depictions of satyrs from this period,

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<sup>172</sup> Anacreon. *Greek Lyric*, fragment 356b.

<sup>173</sup> Plato references Scythians and Thracians as drinking “neat wine” in Plato, *Laws*, book 1, section 637. For more discussion on Greek perceptions of Scythian drinking, see Joanna Porucznik, “The Image of a ‘Drunken Scythian’ in Greek Tradition,” *European Scientific Journal*, *ESJ* 9, no. 19 (2013): 710-714.

<sup>174</sup> Attic red-figure cup: Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University, B3. ARV 2<sup>nd</sup> ed: 75.56. ARV 1<sup>st</sup> ed: 48.49. BAPD: 200500.

<sup>175</sup> Attic red-figure cup: Geneva, Collection Fondation Thétis. Cited in Jean-Louis Zimmermann, *Collection de la Fondation Thétis: développements de l'art grec de la préhistoire à Rome* (Geneva, Switzerland: Editions du Tricorne, 1987), plate 105.

while the wineskin and the amphora remind the viewer of the Scythian associations with unmixed wine. Another unattributed fragment of an Attic red-figure kylix from around 510 BCE in Moscow (FIG 30) depicts a reclined symposiast wearing a Scythian cap and holding an amphora covered in ivy.<sup>176</sup> In this case we can see the same humorous eroticism that is common in depictions of satyrs. The figure holds the amphora with both hands, as if about to drink directly from it rather than mix the wine first. The figure also creates a playfully phallic image with the erect neck of the amphora by holding the vessel between his legs. Images like these create a visual connection between the Eastern foreigner and satyrs based on their perceived practice of drinking unmixed wine and their playful (and inappropriate) behavior in drinking spaces like the symposion.

#### **4.4 – Identifying Images of the Eastern Other**

But how is the viewer supposed to understand the identity of the figures wearing the Scythian cap in these depictions? The initial assumption is that these are images of Eastern foreigners themselves, invited as equal participants in the symposion. As discussed in the previous chapter, Eastern foreigners were a popular subject in late Archaic and early Classical painted pottery, so this initially seems like a possibility. However, there are clear flaws in this theory. For one, it assumes that these images depict reality rather than a possible imaginary scene which may carry a humorous or symbolic message to an Athenian audience. Margret Miller, a historian who focuses on Greek perceptions of Eastern foreigners, also points out a lack of clarity in the ways these figures are depicted. She points out the lack of consistency among depictions of Eastern headwear in symposion scenes, even among works by the same painter, as evidence that

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<sup>176</sup> Attic red-figure kylix (fragment): Moscow, Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, F1410. BAPD: 24953.

these figures are not depicting real Eastern foreigners but instead a generalized Eastern Other.<sup>177</sup> Likewise, Greeks believed Eastern groups were ashamed of nudity during this period. Herodotos references this when telling a story about the Lydian king Gyges:

...seeing that among the Lydians and most of the foreign peoples it is held great shame that even a man should be seen naked.<sup>178</sup>

With the exception of the Stieglitz Painter fragments introduced earlier (FIG 22), each image of an Eastern foreigner in the symposion depicts the figure nude. If these images are based on real instances of Eastern foreigners in the symposion, who would have been embarrassed by nudity, why would Greek artisans depict them in the nude? Furthermore, even if we assume the foreigners adopted the social parameters of the symposion by embracing nudity, why would they still wear their caps?

These issues suggest the images are not depictions of reality but instead use the iconography of the Eastern Other to suggest something else to the viewer. One theory suggests the Scythian cap symbolizes the symposiarch of the group.<sup>179</sup> This theory would explain why only one figure in most of these scenes is depicted with the Scythian cap. Furthermore, Plutarch likened the symposiarch awarding prizes to the symposiasts to the “king of the Assyrians” who was known for presenting prizes for innovations of pleasure.<sup>180</sup> This association poses the cap not as a marker of the Eastern Other in a symposion context, but instead a marker of the tyrannical power Athenians associated with Eastern kings. However, this theory poses issues of its own. For one, the Scythian

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<sup>177</sup> Margaret Miller, “Foreigners at the Greek Symposium?” in *Dining in a Classical Context*, ed. William J. Slater (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1991) 61-64.

<sup>178</sup> Herodotus, *The Persian Wars, Vol. I: Books 1-2*, trans. A. D. Godley (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1920), book 1, section 10.

<sup>179</sup> Miller, “Foreigners at the Greek Symposium?” 67.

<sup>180</sup> Plutarch, *Table Talk*, trans. P. A. Clement and H. B. Hoffleit (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1969) book 1, section 622a-b.

cap is not commonly used in Athenian art to illustrate monarchical power. Instead, mythological and Eastern kings are more frequently depicted with a scepter until the late fifth century BCE.<sup>181</sup> There is also the issue of multiple figures depicted as Eastern foreigners in symposion scenes. While it is more common to see only one figure wearing a Scythian cap, there are examples of multiple figures wearing the cap on the same vessel. One Attic red-figure cup in Leipzig, Germany from the early 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE attributed to the Triptolemos Painter (FIG 31) depicts four nude figures in a symposion scene with two of them wearing Scythian caps.<sup>182</sup> The scene is divided into two pairs of figures with one pair on each side of the exterior. On the first side, the symposiast on the left wears a Scythian cap while leaning on pillows and gesturing toward another symposiast on the right who reclines with a leg up and holds a drinking cup to the side. The other side mimics the form on the first but in reverse. The figure on the right wears a Scythian cap and extends the same style of drinking cup to the figure on the left who holds up a hand to his fellow symposiast. In addition, there are also depictions of symposion groups where almost all figures appear to be Eastern foreigners. The fragments attributed to the Stieglitz Painter (FIG 22) offer one example, as at least two figures wearing Eastern clothing can be seen in the surviving fragments. Another example can be seen on an Attic black-figure oinochoe signed by the painter Kleisophos and the potter Xenokles from around 530 BCE in the National Museum in Athens (FIG 32) which depicts a symposion scene with seven figures around a krater, most wearing head coverings, and two drinking from wine cups.<sup>183</sup> Two figures recline on the floor, as

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<sup>181</sup> Miller, "Foreigners at the Greek Symposion?" 67.

<sup>182</sup> Attic red-figure cup: Leipzig, Kunstgewerbemuseum, 781.03. ARV 2<sup>nd</sup> ed: 364.51. ARV 1<sup>st</sup> ed: 243.8. BAPD: 203843.

<sup>183</sup> Attic black-figure oinochoe: Athens, National Museum, 1045. ABV: 186. BAPD: 302454.

one stands tilting his head back and one plays the *auloi*. On the far right of the scene, one figure carries another who spreads his legs and defecates. The central position of the krater and poor behavior of the symposiasts suggests the figures are deeply drunk. The figures all wear a turban-like headdress called a *mitra*, which was depicted on figures in symposion and komos scenes during this period.<sup>184</sup> Beyond its sympotic associations, the *mitra* head covering was associated with Lydian costume and a general “Easternness” in the Greek imagination.<sup>185</sup> In addition, two figures in the oinochoe scene wear boots like those Herodotos describes as a part of both Lydian and Thracian costume.<sup>186</sup> The only figure who is not wearing a *mitra* is the figure in the center, wearing a cloth around his hips and serving wine into a wine cup. His visual separation from the other figures by his clothing, lack of a cap, and serving position in the center suggests this figure is a servant rather than an equal symposiast.<sup>187</sup> Scenes such as this one illustrate that the image of the Eastern Other in the symposion carries more ambiguity than a direct representation of the symposiarch.

Despite the poor behavior of the participants in the Kleisophos oinochoe, the scene demonstrates a level of wealth that suggests these figures are members of the Athenian elite. Due to their cost, the large krater and psykter (a vase shape used to cool wine in the krater) depicted in the scene were exclusive to the Athenian elite.

Furthermore, Lissarrague presents the horse on the krater as a possible symbol of the

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<sup>184</sup> John Boardman and D. C. Kurtz, “Booners,” in *Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum 3* (Malibu, CA: Getty Publications, 1986) 50-56.

<sup>185</sup> DeVries, “The Nearly Other,” 359-360.

<sup>186</sup> For Lydian costume, Herodotos describes the boots worn by the Lydian Alcmeon who used the boots to carry gold dust in Herodotus, *The Persian Wars*, book 6, section 125. He describes Thracian boots similarly in book 7, section 75. The lack of distinction in the accounts suggests these boots were generally associated with Eastern foreigners rather than a specific ethnic group.

<sup>187</sup> DeVries argues that this figure could still be an Easterner based on the serving pitcher and loincloth, which were likely more popular in Eastern banquets. See DeVries, “The Nearly Other,” 361-362.

Athenian aristocracy during the late Archaic period.<sup>188</sup> If we accept that this scene may depict wealthy, aristocratic Athenians, what are we to make of an elite Athenian symposion with poorly-behaved Eastern foreigners? Some scholars have suggested iconography associated with Eastern foreigners in the symposion provided an opportunity for symposiasts to emulate certain identities. Robin Osborne, a Greek historian who studies Ancient Greek iconography, argues that the Scythian cap, as a visual marker of the Eastern Other, symbolizes the “Scythian drinking” referenced by poets like Anakreon.<sup>189</sup> He considers the images of the symposion on painted pottery as reflective of the identities and behavior of the symposiasts looking at those images during the symposion. Most figures depicted in these scenes follow proper symposiast behavior and project a Greek identity, and those who wear Scythian caps are visually distinguished from their fellow symposiasts. If we return to the cup by the Colmar Painter (FIG 3), we see five figures without Scythian caps interacting with each other.<sup>190</sup> The lack of visual identifiers among the five figures groups them together in the composition. In contrast, the figure wearing the Scythian cap is placed in the center, and the two figures frame him as a visual subject for the viewer. Likewise, he is the only figure playing an instrument. His central location in the composition, his activity, and his Scythian cap all mark the figure as separate from the rest of the symposiasts. If we adopt Osborne’s approach, then this scene could present an image of an Athenian symposiast embracing the “Eastern style” of drinking, symbolized by his Scythian cap, to an Athenian audience. As such, the image suggests that the practice of “Eastern drinking” isolates the symposiast who

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<sup>188</sup> Lissarrague, *Aesthetics of the Greek Banquet*, 96-97.

<sup>189</sup> Robin Osborne, “Projecting Identities in the Greek Symposion,” in *Material Identities*, ed. Joanna Sofaer (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2007) 37-38.

<sup>190</sup> Attic red-figure cup: New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 16.174.41. ARV 2<sup>nd</sup> ed: 355.35. ARV 1<sup>st</sup> ed: 229.40. BAPD: 203718.

embraces it. In addition to the visual isolation of the figures wearing Scythian caps, the figures are often spatially isolated on the vessels. The examples of the lone symposiast by the Pithos Painter are painted on the bottom of wine cups, so they would only be seen once the wine cup was empty. The symposiast who drinks too quickly and finishes the cup is met with the gaze of an isolated “Eastern” symposiast in the moment he himself is isolated from the sympotic group due to his “Eastern drinking.”

#### 4.5 – The Eastern Other in Lyric Poetry

Like the images of the Eastern Other on symposium ware, the lyric poetry in the symposium could also associate the Eastern Other with poor sympotic behavior. Taking another look at a poetic fragment by the lyric poet Alkaios can demonstrate how first-person and third-person language could associate the Other with negative sympotic behavior to reinforce positive behavior among the symposiasts. Alkaios wrote:

...sharing in the banquet, makes merry, feasting with empty braggarts... them. But let him, married into the family of the Atriadae, devour the city as he did in company with Myrsilus, until Ares is pleased to turn us to arms; and may we forget this anger; and let us relax from the heart-eating strife and civil warring, which one of the Olympians has aroused among us, leading the people to ruin, and giving delightful glory to Pittacus.<sup>191</sup>

In this fragment, Alkaios uses third-person language to describe a drinking party, presumably outside his own symposium and associated with his rival Pittacus, an early sixth century BCE military general and statesman. He calls the symposiasts “empty braggarts” and associates them with the tyrant Myrsilus. Likewise, he claims Pittacus married into “the family of the Atriadae,” a family who traced their ancestry back to Atreus, the father of Agamemnon. By focusing on his connection with tyrants and marriage into a long-time family, Alkaios poses Pittacus as someone trying to claim

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<sup>191</sup> Alcaeus, *Greek Lyric*, fragment 70.

higher social status than they have. Likewise, Alkaios’s choice of language frames Pittacus as a beast by using words like *δαπτέτω* (a third-person imperative verb, “let him devour”) to describe his actions in line 6, a word which is usually reserved for wild animals.<sup>192</sup> In contrast, Alkaios uses first-person plural to encourage positive behaviors among his own sympotic group in line 9, calling on everyone to “forget this anger” (using an optative verb of wish in “*ἐκ δὲ χόλω τῶδε λαθοίμεθ[α]*”) so they can enjoy themselves. This structure contrasts the negative behaviors of a rival symposion group, that of Pittacus, against his own group’s positive behavior. Alkaios continues in another fragment which describes a symposion group’s poor behavior:

...and furiously with...[they] fill [it] with neat wine, which by day and night boils splashes with winedrops, where the custom is frequently to... But that man did not forget these things when first he created a disturbance, for he kept whole nights awake, and the bottom of the jar went on ringing. Do you, the son of such a mother, have the reputation that free men of noble parentage have...?<sup>193</sup>

In this fragment, Alkaios again uses the third-person to describe a sympotic group, likely the same group with Pittacus. However, in this case he references the group drinking unmixed wine, a practice associated with the Eastern Other. At the end of the fragment, he switches to a second-person (*σύ*, meaning “you”) to directly address a figure, likely Pittacus, to question his family status. According to Diogenes Laertius, a third century CE Greek biographer, Pittacus’s father was a Thracian named Hyrrhadius.<sup>194</sup> The switch to second-person places emphasis on the line, thus emphasizing Pittacus’s Eastern heritage. This reference to Pittacus’s heritage offers a new perspective on the structure of

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<sup>192</sup> J. W. Henderson, “Men Behaving Badly: Conduct and Identity at Greek Symposia,” *Akroterion* 44 (1999) 3-13.

<sup>193</sup> Alcaeus, *Greek Lyric*, fragment 72.

<sup>194</sup> Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers, Vol. 1: Books 1-5*, trans. R. D. Hicks (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1925), book 1, section 74.

these fragments. Rather than Alkaios describing a personal rivalry between his and Pittacus's sympotic groups, these fragments could be interpreted as a Greek versus Eastern rivalry. It reframes the first-person "we" against the third-person "they" as "Greek" against "non-Greek." Furthermore, by claiming "they" practice the negative behaviors of civil strife and drinking neat wine and claiming "we" are relaxed and amicable, Alkaios associates positive sympotic behaviors with the Greek identity and the negative sympotic behaviors with the Eastern Other.<sup>195</sup>

#### **4.6 – How the Other could Regulate Symposion Behavior**

The images and lyric poetry of the symposion offer examples for their audience, who could connect images of the symposion painted on kraters, serving pitchers, and wine cups or the descriptions of the symposion in lyric poetry with their own experiences and expectations in the drinking party. Furthermore, the imagery of the Eastern Other in symposion scenes could establish clear examples of negative sympotic behavior to contrast and reinforce the expected positive behavior of the ideal Athenian male citizen. This could be a humorous rejection of the social expectations of the symposion by depicting symposiasts embracing the "Eastern" identity through drinking, such as the crude humor presented on the Kleisophos oinochoe. The images could also be viewed as a warning of the consequences of poor sympotic behavior, like the isolated figures presented by the Pithos Painter. Whether seen as humorous or advisory, the images of Eastern figures in these depictions suggest a connection between the Eastern Other, the overindulgence of wine, and the violation of expected sympotic behavior. Coupled with the use of first-person plural in descriptions of positive sympotic behavior in lyric poetry,

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<sup>195</sup> Henderson, "Men Behaving Badly," 12.

the images and lyric performances of the symposion associated the Eastern Other with negative sympotic behavior to reinforce expectations for the ideal Athenian symposiast.

## **Chapter 5: Concluding Remarks**

In a setting like the symposion, which played an important social role among the Athenian upper-class during the Archaic and early Classical period, analyzing the presence of the Other can illustrate how the Athenian elite reinforced their own shared identity and encouraged proper sympotic behavior. If we consider that these images may have carried symbolic weight to an Athenian audience rather than depicting reality, we can see how the iconography of the Eastern Other in symposion scenes could apply an Eastern identity to Athenian symposiasts who overindulge in wine. In this context, the images of the Eastern Other in the symposion offer an example of the repercussions of poor sympotic behavior, and thus associate the ideal Athenian identity with proper sympotic behavior.

As discussed in the first chapter, knowledge of lyric poetry and performance was important to symposiasts who sought to establish themselves among the aristocratic class. They would demonstrate their skill by reciting lines from memory, and the *skolion* game presented opportunities to demonstrate their wit and humor through improvised lines. Furthermore, symposiasts could use first-person language of lyric poetry to establish themselves as an authority in the symposion. Through first-person verbs, the performer's perspective could become the group's perspective, allowing the performing symposiast to create expectations on behalf of the entire group. This gave the performer a guiding authority in the symposion, and first-person allowed a symposiast to establish collective values, thus reinforcing the collective identity of the symposion as a unified group. On the other hand, a performing symposiast could use third-person to describe an Other

outside the symposion group to reinforce the collective identity of the symposiasts through contrast.

As discussed in chapter two, the iconography of the Other in Greek art carried ambiguous meanings to an Athenian audience. Images of clothing or weaponry could be shared across Other groups, such as the long-sleeved clothing depicted on Persian, Scythian, or Amazon figures. Rather than these images depicting a specific ethnic or mythological group, they symbolized a generalized “Otherness” to an Athenian audience. The associations of femininity, barbarism, and the lower-class mix together in the imagination of the Athenian elite to contrast their own identity. In this process, iconography associated with the Other begins to demonstrate anyone excluded from an Athenian identity, and the associations of the Other become associated with that figure.

The images of the symposion could also establish expectations for their sympotic audience, and many appear to associate the Eastern Other with negative sympotic behavior. As discussed in chapter three, the iconography of the Eastern Other, especially the Scythian cap, appears in images of the symposion painted on symposion ware. Participants in the symposion wear Scythian caps, but they are likely Athenian based on their nudity and lack of any additional visual identifiers except the cap. They are often depicted alone and visually emphasized by the composition of the scene. In the case of the Pithos Painter, the images depict lone figures wearing Scythian caps painted inside the cups, inviting a symposiast to reflect on their behavior once they’ve finished all the wine. As such, they present the Eastern Other as separate from the rest of the sympotic group, offering a warning to anyone who might adopt the “Eastern style” of drinking excessively or drinking unmixed wine.

The depictions of Easterners on symposion ware and in lyric poetry function together to construct an association between the Eastern foreigner and poor sympotic behavior. This reinforces a shared Athenian identity based on positive sympotic behavior through contrast. During the symposion, an Athenian symposiast would be drinking wine, playing games, and reciting lyric poetry alongside his fellow Athenians. The importance of community and shared identity would be made clear by references in lyric poetry and by the communal atmosphere of sympotic scenes displayed on the krater and cups used in the space. However, the visual disruption of an Eastern Other would remind the Athenian symposiast of the behavior expected of them during the symposion. The image could demonstrate the possible repercussions of poor sympotic behavior. By drinking excessively or drinking unmixed wine, he himself could be associated with the identity of the Eastern Other, becoming isolated from the sympotic group and losing his Athenian identity in the eyes of his fellow symposiasts. His identity as an Athenian becomes reflected in and reliant on his behavior in the symposion.

## **Abbreviations**

### **ABV**

Beazley, John Davidson. *Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956.

### **ARV 1<sup>st</sup> ed.**

Beazley, John Davidson. *Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters*. 1<sup>st</sup> ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1942.

### **ARV 2<sup>nd</sup> ed.**

Beazley, John Davidson. *Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963.

### **BAPD**

Beazley Archive Pottery Database. Classical Art Research Centre, University of Oxford.  
<https://www.carc.ox.ac.uk/carc/pottery>.

## **List of Figures**

1. Attic red-figure cup, c. 480 BCE. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 86.AE.293.

BAPD: 275963. Photo courtesy of the J. Paul Getty Museum:

<https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/103W7F>.

The exterior depicts eleven figures wearing long robes and headdresses walking in a komos procession. Side A depicts two bearded men holding drinking cups, a bearded man dancing, a woman playing the *auloi*, and a fragmentary figure due to damage. Side B depicts another fragmentary figure, a child holding a parasol for a bearded man in front of

them, a bearded man dancing, a woman playing the *auloi*, and a woman holding a drinking cup. A krater wrapped in ivy is depicted under one handle. The vessel interior depicts a young man holding a walking staff and a woman holding a mirror standing together in front of a table or stool.

2. Attic red-figure pelike, c. 525-475 BCE. Florence, Etruscan Archaeological Museum 3987. BAPD: 14506.

Side A depicts a bearded man wearing long robes and a headdress facing the left while carrying a lyre in his left hand. Side B depicts a bearded man wearing long robes and carrying long branches in his right hand and a drinking horn in his left hand.

3. Attic red-figure cup, c. 500 BCE. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 16.174.41. ARV 2<sup>nd</sup> ed: 355.35. ARV 1<sup>st</sup> ed: 229.40. BAPD: 203718. Photo courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art:

<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/249152>.

The exterior depicts a symposion scene of six figures reclining with blankets and pillows. Side A depicts three beardless men, one wearing a Scythian cap and playing the *auloi* in the center. One man looks at the figure and holds a drinking cup, and another man turns to face the figure. Side B depicts three beardless men, two holding drinking cups and one turning to face the central figure. A basket hangs on the wall between the two figures on the right. The interior depicts a nude young man with a javelin next to a stele.

4. Attic red-figure oinochoe, c. 450 BCE. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 13.196. ARV 2<sup>nd</sup> ed: 631.38. BAPD: 207321. Photo courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts Boston: <https://collections.mfa.org/objects/153828>.

A Greek hoplite lunges toward a Persian archer with a spear. The hoplite is beardless, nude, and armed with greaves, a helmet, and a sword strapped along his chest. He carries a circular shield in his left hand and holds up a spear in his right hand. The Persian wears long pants and sleeves with repeating stripes, a quiver strapped along his chest, and a felt cap with long ear coverings. He holds a bow in his left hand and holds a short sword over his head as he leans away from the hoplite.

5. Attic red-figure amphora, c. 520 BCE. Paris, Louvre Museum G30. ARV 2<sup>nd</sup> ed: 15.9, 1619. ARV 1<sup>st</sup> ed: 17.7. BAPD: 200071.

Side A depicts a beardless youth reclining on pillows and blankets while he holds a lyre. The word “*μαμεκαποτεο*” is inscribed around the figure’s head, and “*Λεαγρος καλος*” is inscribed to the left of the lyre. Side B depicts a beardless youth reclining on pillows and blankets while he plays *kattabos* with a wine cup in his right hand. The word “*Λεαγρος*” is inscribed between the figure’s head and the wine cup, and “*καλος*” is inscribed above his head.

6. Attic black-figure kantharos, c. 500 BCE. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 63.11.4. BAPD: 351179.

The exterior depicts nine figures in a symposion scene. Side A depicts a beardless figure wearing robes and playing the *auloi* and three nude, bearded figures reclining, holding wine cups and drinking horns, and wearing ivy wreaths on their heads. Side B depicts five nude, bearded men reclining. One plays a lyre, two hold drinking cups, and one plays the *auloi*.

7. Attic red-figure cup, c. 480 BCE. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 20.246. ARV 2<sup>nd</sup> ed: 1616, 467.118, 481, 1654. BAPD: 204800. Photo courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art: <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/250995>.

The exterior depicts thirteen figures in a symposion scene with couches and tables. Side A depicts three pairs of figures. To the left are a nude man and nude woman reclining on a couch as the bearded man holds a wine cup. In the center a nude man reclines and holds a wine cup as a beardless youth stands in front of him, wearing long robes and playing the *auloi*. To the right a woman stands in front of a reclining figure while holding their hair and turning away from them. The figure is damaged, but it appears to depict a man vomiting into an awaiting wine cup on the floor. Side B depicts three pairs of nude figures. To the left, a reclining man holds a wine cup and reaches toward a standing woman. In the center, a man and woman recline together while embracing. To the right, a man and woman recline together as the woman plays *kattabos* with a wine cup in her right hand. A krater wrapped in ivy is depicted under one handle, and a nude youth carries a wine cup and a serving vessel under the other handle. The interior depicts a satyr playing the *auloi* stands with a damaged image of a woman holds a thyrsos.

8. Attic red-figure kylix, c. 500 to 450 BCE. Copenhagen, National Museum of Denmark 3880. ARV 2<sup>nd</sup> ed: 373.36, 1649. ARV 1<sup>st</sup> ed: 248.29. BAPD: 203934.

The exterior depicts nine figures in a koros procession. Side A depicts five nude men dancing with long robes wrapped around their shoulders. Three bearded men carry wine cups, a bearded man plays the lyre and carries a basket over his shoulder, and a beardless youth plays the *auloi*. Side B depicts four nude men dancing with long robes

over their shoulders, two bearded men and two beardless. One bearded man plays the lyre, and one beardless youth carries a walking staff. To the far left is a column next to the handle, and under the opposite handle is an amphora. The interior depicts a nude bearded man wearing ivy wreathed around his head and reclining on a couch and pillows. A nude, beardless youth wearing ivy wreathed around his head, likely a slave, holds the man's head and beard. The man appears to be vomiting into an awaiting vessel on the floor below him. A lyre hangs on the wall behind the figures and a walking staff leans on the wall below the lyre.

9. Attic red-figure cup, c. 490-480 BCE. Paris, Louvre Museum G133. ARV 2<sup>nd</sup> ed: 348.7. ARV 1<sup>st</sup> ed: 238.3. BAPD: 203647. Photo courtesy of the Louvre Museum: <https://collections.louvre.fr/ark:/53355/cl010270025>.

The exterior depicts six nude figures reclining on pillows and blankets in a symposium scene. Side A depicts three figures, two beardless youths on either side of a bearded man. The youths wear cloths wrapped around their heads and one plays the *auloi* as the bearded man leans his head back and holds a wine cup. Side B depicts three figures holding wine cups. One bearded man faces directly toward the viewer and drinks from his wine cup and two beardless youths with cloths wrapped around their heads hold wine cups of their own. A basket hangs on the wall between the two beardless figures. The interior depicts a nude, beardless youth holding a wine cup in his left hand and reaching into a krater wrapped in ivy with a serving vessel in his right hand. The words “*Λυσικαλος*” are inscribed above the figure's head.

10. Attic red-figure cup, c. 480 BCE. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen, F2294. ARV 2<sup>nd</sup> ed: 1573, 400.1, 1651, 1706. ARV 1<sup>st</sup> ed: 263.1. BAPD: 204340.

The exterior depicts a foundry scene with six workmen constructing two statues in front of two overseers. Side A depicts a tall forge with two nude workmen tending it. One workman sits on a stool, pokes the coals at the base with a long pole, and wears a conical cap as the other workman pokes his head out from behind the forge. Another nude workman faces the figures and leans on a hammer. A workman to the right of these figures hammers a sculpture without a head, which appears to rest on the floor between the workman's legs. Assorted tools and sculptural pieces hang on the wall behind the figures, and a group of apparent votive plaques hang above the forge. Side B depicts two workmen, one nude and wearing a conical cap and the other wearing a small tunic. The two workmen use tools to scrape a large statue of a nude hoplite warrior with a helmet, spear, and circular shield. An overseer stands facing the statue on each side of the workmen wearing a long tunic and leaning on walking staff. Assorted tools are hung on the wall behind the figures. The interior depicts a bearded man wearing a short tunic, sitting on a stool, and holding a hammer in his right hand as he lifts a helmet with his right hand. A woman stands in front of the man holding a large, circular shield and a spear. A set of greaves and a hammer hang on the wall behind the figures.

11. Scythian delegation, Apadana Reliefs, Eastern Stairwell, c. 530-480 BCE.

Persepolis, Iran.

Seven bearded figures and a horse face the right in a tribute procession. The figure to the far right holds a staff and wears a curved cap. The other six figures wear identical clothing and tall, conical caps with long ear coverings. The second figure to the right stands with the man wearing differing clothing, and the figure to his left holds the reins of a horse he walks alongside. The figure to the left of the horse holds a circular tool

in each hand, and the three figures on the far left carry cloths which appear to be offerings.

12. Attic red-figure kylix, c. 460 BCE. Edinburgh, National Museum of Scotland A.1887.213. ARV 2<sup>nd</sup> ed: 364.46. ARV 1<sup>st</sup> ed: 244.13. BAPD: 203838. Photo courtesy of the National Museum of Scotland: <https://www.nms.ac.uk/collections-research>.

The interior depicts a Greek hoplite attacking a Persian archer with a sword. The hoplite on the right wears a helmet, tunic, and greaves as he wields a circular shield in his left hand and holds his sword over his head in his right hand. The shield is decorated with a Pegasus motif. The Persian archer kneels below the hoplite, holds a sword over his head in his right hand, and carries a bow in his left hand. The Persian wears a soft, conical cap with long ear coverings and long sleeves and pants with stripe and dot patterns. The exterior depicts a battle scene with five Greek hoplites and four Persian archers. Side A depicts two Persian archers drawing their bows on horseback and wearing matching caps and stripped clothing as the Persian on the interior of the vessel. The hoplites both wield shields and spears, and they wear helmets, tunics, and greaves. Side B depicts two Persian archers on foot drawing bows and leaning away from three Greek hoplites in the center. The Persians wear similar stripped and dotted clothing, long sleeves, and caps as those on Side A and the interior. Two hoplites wear helmets, greaves, and tunics, and they wield shields and spears as they lunge toward the hoplite in the center. The hoplite in the center is nude, wears a helmet and greaves, and falls backward while holding a spear in his right hand.

13. Attic red-figure psykter, c. 525-475 BCE. Paris, Louvre Museum G59. BAPD: 11281.

Two Thracian figures wear matching clothing as they walk with horses and carry javelins. Both figures wear soft, conical caps with long ear coverings, short tunics, long cloaks with stripe patterns, and boots with felt tips. One figure walks to the right behind a horse as he carries its reins in his left hand and a javelin in his right. The other figure faces the left as he walks to the right behind a horse and carries the reins and a javelin in his left hand and gestures back to the other figure with his right.

14. Attic red-figure kylix, c. 480 BCE. Cambridge, MA, Arthur M. Sackler Museum 1959.219. BAPD: 13447. Photo courtesy of the Arthur M. Sackler Museum and Harvard University Art Museums: <https://hvr.dartmouth.edu/art/288120>.

The interior depicts a lone Thracian peltast walking to the left while holding a *pelte* shield and a javelin. The figure wears a soft cap with long ear coverings and a tail poking out behind his head. He also wears a long cloak with varying striped decorations and boots with felt tips. He carries a crescent-shaped shield with an eye motif in his left hand and a javelin in his right. The exterior is undecorated.

15. Attic red-figure column krater, c. 475-425 BCE. Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Antikensammlung 3172. ARV 2<sup>nd</sup> ed: 1103.1, 1683. BAPD: 216168.

Side A depicts four Thracian figures standing around a beardless youth playing a lyre in the center. The lyre player sits on a rock, wearing cloth around his waist and ivy wreathed around his head, and leans his head back in song. The four figures around him are nude aside from matching long cloaks with varying striped decorations and soft caps with long ear coverings. Each Thracian also carries two javelins. The figure directly to the right of the lyre player leans on one foot facing the lyre player, and another figure stands behind him. The other two Thracian figures on the opposite side of the lyre player

lean toward each other, and one closes his eyes appearing to enjoy the music. Side B depicts a separate scene of two beardless young men and two women standing together. One man on the left wears long robes and holds a walking staff while facing a woman to his right, who turns toward him. Another woman on the right wearing long robes and a headdress turns to a man on her left, who faces her and carries a walking staff.

16. Attic red-figure pelike, c. 430 BCE. London, British Museum 1846.0925.10.

ARV 2<sup>nd</sup> ed: 1148.7. BAPD: 215217. Photo courtesy of the British Museum:

[https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G\\_1846-0925-10](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1846-0925-10).

Side A depicts two Thracian figures standing around a beardless youth playing a lyre in the center. The lyre player sits, wearing cloth around his waist, plays the lyre in his lap, and leans his head back in song. The two Thracians stand on either side and face the figure wearing matching tunics, soft caps with long ear coverings, and long cloaks with varying striped patterns. Each Thracian carries two javelins to frame the lyre player in the center. Side B depicts a separate scene of three beardless young men wearing long robes standing together. The figure in the center wraps the robe over his head.

17. Attic black-figure little master cup, c. 550 BCE. Copenhagen, National Museum of Denmark 13966. BAPD: 350369.

The exterior depicts two pairs of warriors on a register below images of mythical figures. Side A depicts two peltast fighters lunging toward each other, one on each side of the vessel, and each armed with a javelin and curved *pelte* shield. The figure on the right wears a tall, conical cap with large ear coverings. In a register above the peltasts, a figure wearing a helmet is depicted from the shoulders up and facing the right. The figure is labeled as “*Ἐνκελαδος*” inscribed on the helmet. Side B depicts two horsemen riding

toward each other, one on each side of the vessel. The horseman on the left wears a tunic and holds the reins, while the figure on the right wears a tunic and draws a bow to shoot toward the figure on the left. In a register above the horsemen, Athena is depicted wearing a helmet, holding a shield with a snake, and wielding a spear while facing to the left. The interior depicts three youths and one bearded man. A youth dances on each side of the bearded man and youth in the center, who embrace in the center. The scene may be courting or erotic, but damages in the center of the figures make it difficult to determine.

18. Attic red-figure oinochoe (mug), c. 510 BCE. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 06.1021.100. ARV 2<sup>nd</sup> ed: 156.55. ARV 1<sup>st</sup> ed: 114.31. BAPD: 201459.

Two nude peltasts are depicted holding curved *pelte* shields and lunging toward the right on either side of a tree. One peltast wears a Greek helmet and holds a *pelte* with an eye motif in his left hand. The other peltast wears a tall, conical cap with long ear coverings and holds a blank *pelte* in his left hand. The two figures mirror the same pose, lunging with their right leg forward, their back to the viewer, and their head turned over their shoulder to the left.

19. Attic red-figure oinochoe (jug), c. 440 BCE. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 06.1021.189. ARV 2<sup>nd</sup> ed: 1066.10. BAPD: 214365. Photo courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art: <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/247352>.

Three Amazon warriors wearing long sleeves and pants with repeating striped and diamond patterns walk to the left with a horse. The Amazon on the left wears a soft cap with long ear coverings, carries a *pelte* shield in her left hand, and holds a long axe in her right hand. The word “Πενθεσιλεια” is inscribed next to the figure to identify her. The central Amazon faces the viewer in front of the horse, holds the reins in her left hand, and

carries two javelins in her right hand. The word “*Ἀντιοπεία*” is inscribed in front of the figure to identify her. The Amazon on the right carries a *pelte* shield in her left hand and two javelins in her right hand. The word “*Ιολέ*” is inscribed next to the figure to identify her.

20. Attic red-figure krater, c. 470 BCE. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 22.677. BAPD: 14864. Photo courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts Boston:  
<https://collections.mfa.org/objects/153659>.

Side A depicts Dionysos and a bald satyr walking to the left. Dionysos wears long robes and a leopard skin over his shoulder as carries a long branch in his left hand and hands a drinking horn to the satyr with his right. The satyr reaches for the horn with his right hand and carries a wineskin below the horn in his left hand. Side B depicts a satyr and a maenad dancing together. The satyr carries a long stick with a flared end, possibly a torch, with his right hand and a drinking horn in his left hand. The maenad wears long robes and a headdress, and she carries a snake in her right hand and a thyrsos in her left hand.

21. Attic red-figure cup, c. 500 BCE. Basel, Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig BS1423. BAPD: 8848.

The interior depicts a sleeping figure wearing decorated long sleeves, pants, and a cap while reclining on striped pillows and a couch. The figure’s clothing is covered in repeating dot and stripe patterns, and he wears a soft cap with long ear coverings. A bow and quiver hangs on the wall behind the figure, and a drinking horn is depicted below the figure. The exterior is undecorated.

22. Attic red-figure cup (fragments), c. 470 BCE. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum AN1966.688. ARV 2<sup>nd</sup> ed: 38.829. BAPD: 210293. Photo courtesy of the Ashmolean Museum: <https://collections.ashmolean.org/object/460785>.

Four fragments depict at least two figures wearing long sleeves with repeating striped patterns. One fragment depicts a figure's forearm wearing a long sleeve and holding a rhyton drinking cup modelled after a donkey head. Another fragment depicts a figure's forearm wearing an identical long sleeve and holding a wine cup. Another fragment depicts the edge of a basket. The final fragment is undecorated.

23. Attic red-figure cup, c. 510-500 BCE. Rhodes, Rhodes Archaeological Museum 13386. ARV, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed: 139.23. ARV 1<sup>st</sup> ed: 116.13. BAPD: 201180.

The interior depicts a nude figure reclining on abstract cloth and pillows with his back to the viewer while wearing a conical soft cap with long ear coverings. The figure puts up his left leg and turns over his right shoulder. A long, conical, black shape appears to depict a drinking horn behind the figure. The exterior is not preserved.

24. Attic red-figure cup, c. 510-500 BCE. Athens, Agora Museum P2800. ARV, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed: 140.37. ARV 1<sup>st</sup> ed: 117.23. BAPD: 201194.

The interior depicts a nude figure reclining on abstract cloth and pillows with his back to the viewer while wearing a conical soft cap with long ear coverings. The figure turns over his right shoulder. A long, conical, black shape appears to depict a drinking horn behind the figure, which extends down beyond the framed section. The poor quality of preservation makes it difficult to make out fine details. The exterior is not preserved.

25. Attic red-figure cup, c. 510-500 BCE. London, Private Collection. ARV, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed: 140.41. BAPD: 201198.

The interior depicts a nude figure reclining on abstract cloth and pillows with his back to the viewer while wearing a conical soft cap with long ear coverings. The figure puts up his left leg and turns over his right shoulder. A long, conical black shape appears to depict a drinking horn behind the figure. The exterior is undecorated.

26. Attic red-figure cup, c. 510-500 BCE. Florence, Etruscan Archaeological Museum 20B19. ARV 2<sup>nd</sup> ed: 140:35. ARV 1<sup>st</sup> ed: 116.16. BAPD: 201192.

The interior depicts a nude figure reclining on abstract cloth and pillows with his back to the viewer while wearing a conical soft cap with long ear coverings. The figure puts up his left leg and turns over his right shoulder. The exterior is not preserved.

27. Attic red-figure krater, c. 450 BCE. Rome, National Etruscan Museum of Villa Giulia 3583. ARV 2<sup>nd</sup> ed: 1109.27. BAPD: 214666.

Side A depicts three figures in a symposion scene. Two men recline on couches on either side of a woman who stands in the center wearing long robes, a headdress, and plays the *auloi*. On her left, a beardless youth reclines facing toward the center while wearing a cloth wrapped around his head and holding an object in his left hand. On the right, a bearded man reclines toward the center while wearing a conical cap with long ear coverings and playing *kottabos* with a wine cup in his right hand. Below the couches are small tables, and a serving pitcher hangs on the wall between the figures. Side B depicts three dancing figures, possibly in a komos procession. The three figures are draped in long robes, and the one on the right has a beard and carries a walking staff. The two other figures are beardless youths, and the one in the center carries a serving pitcher.

28. Attic red-figure cup, c. 510 BCE. Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University B3. ARV 2<sup>nd</sup> ed: 75.56. ARV 1<sup>st</sup> ed: 48.49. BAPD: 200500.

The interior depicts a satyr reclining on a ground line with a pillow behind his back as he carries a pointed amphora. The satyr wears ivy wreathed around his head, and he holds the amphora to his lips to drink from it. The exterior is undecorated.

29. Attic red-figure cup, c. 525-500 BCE. Geneva, Collection Fondation Thétis.

The interior depicts a nude, beardless youth wearing a soft, conical cap with long ear coverings squatting over a pointed amphora. The figure leans over the amphora, with his right knee pointing downward, appearing to mount the vessel. A wineskin hangs behind the figure on the left. The exterior is undecorated.

30. Attic red-figure kylix (fragment), c. 510 BCE. Moscow, Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts F1410. BAPD: 24953.

A nude figure reclines while wearing a soft, conical cap with long ear coverings. He turns to the right, raises his left leg, and holds an amphora decorated with ivy between his legs with both hands.

31. Attic red-figure cup, c. 500-450 BCE. Leipzig, Kunstgewerbemuseum 781.03. ARV 2<sup>nd</sup> ed: 364.51. ARV 1<sup>st</sup> ed: 243.8. BAPD: 203843.

The exterior depicts two pairs of nude figures reclining on pillows in a symposium scene. Side A depicts a nude, beardless youth on the left wearing a soft conical cap with long ear coverings reaching toward another beardless youth on his right. The figure leans toward the right, raises his right leg up, and carries a wine cup in his left hand. Side B depicts another pair of beardless youths. The youth on the left leans toward the right, raises his right leg, and holds up his left hand while facing the figure on the right. That figure wears a soft, conical cap with long ear coverings, leans toward the right, raises his right leg, and holds up a wine cup to the figure on his left. The interior depicts a nude,

beardless youth balancing on his left leg while holding his right leg in the air. He carries a wine skin and a wine cup in his right hand, and he holds a walking staff in his left hand.

32. Attic black-figure oinochoe, c. 530 BCE. Athens, National Museum 1045. ABV: 186. BAPD: 302454.

Seven figures stand and sit around a krater in a symposion scene. Six of the figures are nude, bearded men wearing turban-like headdresses, and one is a beardless youth who wears a cloth around his waist and no cap. The bearded figure on the left sits on the floor and holds a wine cup to his lips. A figure to his right dances, holding his head up in song. The beardless figure stands in the center and holds a wine cup and serving ladle above the krater. The krater is decorated with a horse, and a cooling vessel sits inside the krater. The bearded figure to the left of the krater plays the *auloi* while facing to the left. Another bearded figure sits on the floor to the right, below two other bearded figures. One carries the other and faces the left as the one being held holds his legs up and defecates on the floor.

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