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## **The ambiguous nature of wine: Theories on wine in Athenaeus' Deipnosophistae, book II**

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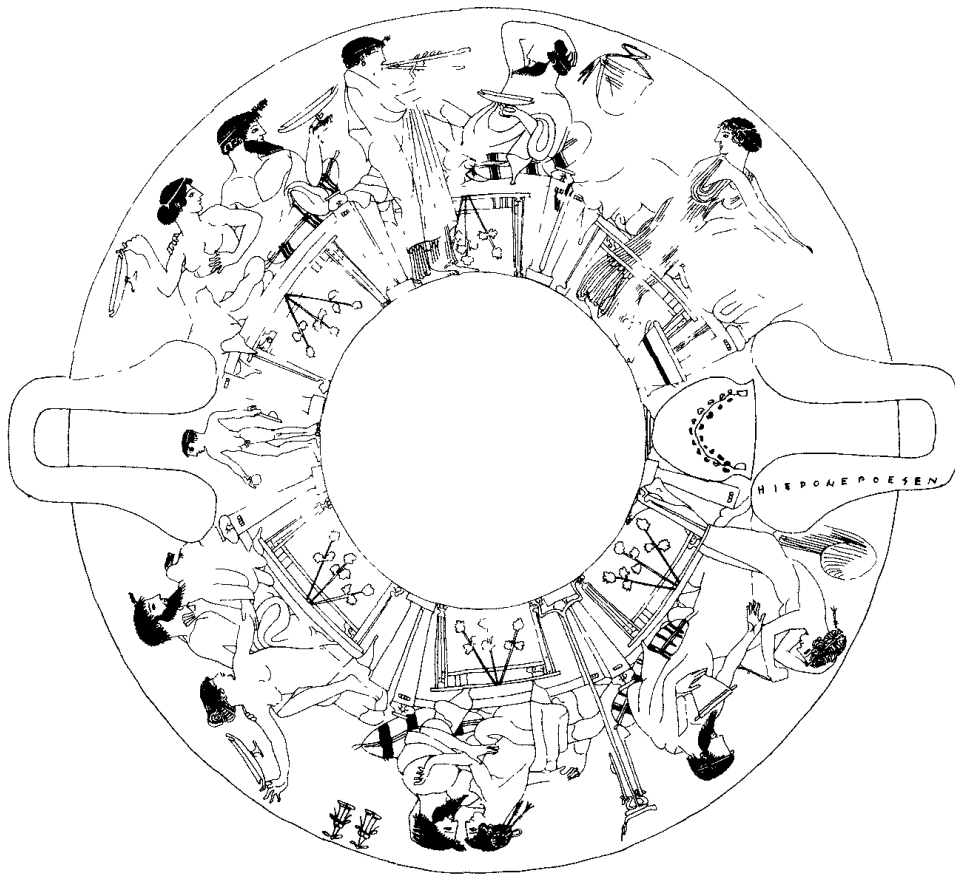
Universiteit  
Leiden

Faculty of Humanities

Master Thesis Classics and Ancient Civilizations

# The ambiguous nature of wine

Theories on wine in Athenaeus' *Deipnosophistae*, book II



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# Introduction

Wine was of great importance in Greek antiquity. Being one of the primary dietary elements, it was considered as both an essential complement of a meal and a drug, while its role was central to religious cults like the Dionysian mysteries. Wine was perceived as a refuge from pain and grief, as well as a source of poetic inspiration. However, it was not always presented as beneficial. Even in mythological terms, the introduction of wine in the lives of humans is described to be rather tragic. Icarius, taught by Dionysus on wine-making, got murdered by intoxicated shepherds who drank his wine. On the discovery of his lifeless body, his daughter Erigone and her dog committed suicide, followed by all Athenian maidens; a plague sent by Dionysus himself.<sup>1</sup> Evidently, wine was a substance of equivocal nature in ancient Greek thought; already in archaic times, wine was recognized as both a delight and a burden (χάρμα καὶ ἄχθος).<sup>2</sup> In an effort to understand this concept, this Master thesis will focus on a section of Athenaeus' *Deipnosophistae*, a work composed by thematically organizing knowledge through a compilation of texts, devoted to "oenologizing" (οἰνολογέω, speak of wine).<sup>3</sup>

The *Deipnosophistae*, composed by Athenaeus of Naucratis around the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE, is presented as a written account of conversations that occurred during a Roman banquet of an eminent official, Larensius, addressed to Timocrates. It has been mainly appreciated for the citations of a plethora of ancient Greek authors and their works, some of which would otherwise be lost. However, the focus on citations has led to considering it an "artistic failure",<sup>4</sup> a view that has been argued against recently, defending the literary value of the *Deipnosophistae*.<sup>5</sup> The work does not survive in full; out of the 15 books,<sup>6</sup> 13 have survived in whole, whereas the first two have only survived through a medieval epitome (10<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> century CE), which, while extensive, lacks coherence as well as "dramatic framework".<sup>7</sup> In addition to the omission of titles of cited works by the Epitomist, it is also thought that some citations could have been either paraphrased or summarized, reorganized or just discarded.<sup>8</sup> Nonetheless, Athenaeus' *Deipnosophistae*, dealing with an abundance of topics ranging from pleasure and music to food, is considered to be an essential reference work discussing wine and its position in ancient Greek thought. This Master thesis, dealing with the ambiguity of wine, will be based on Athenaeus' selection of texts and citations: an excerpt of a medical treatise, to introduce the idea, and poetic ones, all quoted in the second book of the so called *Epitome*.

The purpose of this Master thesis is threefold. Firstly, it aims to expand our understanding of ancient views on the ambivalent nature of wine, as illustrated in the relevant part of the *Deipnosophistae*. Secondly, I wish to reintroduce Mnesitheus, physician of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE and author of medical texts, and rehabilitate his extant fragmentary work by examining the citation context of his quotation by

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<sup>1</sup> Eratosth. *Erigone* (fr. 22-27 Powell); Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.14.7; Hyg. *Poet. Astr.* 2.4.4; Ov. *Met.* 6.125.

<sup>2</sup> Hes. *Sc.*, 400.

<sup>3</sup> Ath. 2.40f.

<sup>4</sup> Arnott 2000, 41.

<sup>5</sup> Paulas 2012; Lukinovich 1990, 264-265.

<sup>6</sup> Recent scholars speak of 15 books total; Kaibel 1887, v.I, xxi-xl, based on internal analysis of extant books and marginal annotations of manuscript A, argues for the work's fragmentary nature, unlikely for Guillén 2000, 244-255.

<sup>7</sup> Paulas 2012, 407; Arnott 2000, 47; Brock and Wirtjes 2000, 455.

<sup>8</sup> Arnott 2000, 47.

Athenaeus. Lastly, this thesis seeks a better understanding of Athenaeus' *poetics of citation*, his method of organizing knowledge while composing his work.

The first chapter will introduce the section on wine, before proceeding to the analysis of specific quotations. Subsequently, the second chapter will be devoted to a quotation of Mnesitheus, introducing the issue, framed by information on ancient medical thought on wine. Having set Mnesitheus' thought as a starting point and appointed axes on which both positive and negative consequences of wine are determined, this thesis will proceed to an examination of related –but much more allusive– poetic texts that follow in Athenaeus' text, divided into chapters according to their genre, which frequently suggests the perspective of reflecting on the ambiguity of wine. The third chapter will focus on comic passages, the fourth on elegy and lyric poetry and the fifth will be devoted to tragedy.<sup>9</sup>

The method of interpreting these texts will be close reading. Performing a word by word analysis, the focus will be mainly on terms alluding various ideas on wine, with specific attention to terminology for pleasant and undesirable effects, in an effort to analyze its ambivalent nature and define the axes on which these effects lie. However, when appropriate, special attention will be paid to certain linguistic (e.g. medical terminology, etymology) and narratological aspects. Furthermore, matters of context and specific literary conventions of each genre will also be taken into consideration, framing the analysis.

Scholarship has devoted due attention to the appreciation of wine in Greek antiquity, both in the context of *symposia* and in religion, where the effect of intoxication plays an important role.<sup>10</sup> However, firstly, ancient theories on its use for medical purposes have not been extensively examined,<sup>11</sup> even though not only the Hippocratic corpus but also fragments of medical texts offer plenty of matter for research on the topic. Jouanna proceeds to an exposition of medical thoughts on wine, as illustrated in the Hippocratic corpus and Galen.<sup>12</sup> The relevant chapter concludes with a quotation of Mnesitheus' fr.41 (Bertier) and the remark that the physician “gathers together the principal themes of Greek thought on wine”,<sup>13</sup> which makes a profound examination of the passage crucial for a better understanding of ancient Greek medical thought. Secondly, concerning the second book of Athenaeus' *Deipnosophistae*, while an extensive part of the *Epitome* is devoted to wine, it has not been examined through this scope. However, being the citation context of Mnesitheus' fragment, it could help overcome –at a certain degree– the fragmentary nature of the text, analyzed as a central point in Athenaeus' nexus of quotations, also shedding light at Athenaeus' *poetics of citation*.

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<sup>9</sup> Appendix, Table 1: structure of book II (2.35a-46d)

<sup>10</sup> Eg. Lissarrague 1990, Murray and Tecuşan (eds.) 2015, Papakonstantinou 2012.

<sup>11</sup> Eg. Jouanna 2012, Cook et al. 2007, Nencini 1997a-c.

<sup>12</sup> Jouanna 2012, 173-193.

<sup>13</sup> Jouanna 2012, 193.

## 1. Athenaeus' *Deipnosophistae* 2.35a-46d: Overview

The second book of the *Deipnosophistae* begins by introducing wine, although it has been already discussed in passing in the first book. The way Athenaeus proceeds in organizing knowledge and composing his work resembles associative writing; through a citation encapsulating the initial idea, sometimes announced by a statement, Athenaeus' characters proceed in reciting excerpts of different works, usually related in word-basis. This introductory chapter functions, along with table 1 of the Appendix, as an overview of the relevant part of the book which will be discussed, roughly divided in sections according to the basic idea of the citations.<sup>14</sup>

Initially (2.35a-c), the word wine (οἶνος) itself is being discussed. Either wine was named after the Calydonian king Oeneus (35a) or *vice versa* (35b). Seeking the word's etymology (35c), wine is presented as having both negative (deriving from οἰόνους, resulting in false notions) and positive connotations (deriving from ὄνησις, being a benefit). Elaborating on the second case, its godly origin is suggested, along with its evaluation as the best escape from mortals' cares (35c-d), which then leads to praising Dionysus, the god of wine (35c-d). The speaker proceeds in listing excerpts on positive effects of wine: laughter, courage, loquacity, cheerfulness (35c-e).

At this point, the quotation of Mnesitheus, the Athenian physician of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE, emerges through a comic fragment (36a-b), further analyzed in chapter 2. It introduces the topic of the ambiguity of wine, more elaborately and precisely than the apposition of false etymologies before. In the form of a *crescendo*, positive and negative effects of wine-consumption are presented. Following that, two excerpts of the same concept are cited, originating from comedies (36b-d), analyzed in chapter 3, and one of an epic poet (36d), different in their evidently more literary character in terms of allusive language. Athenaeus seems to have linked them through the repeated terms of outrage (ὕβρις) and folly (μανία), along with the following two citations, solely discussing *hybris* and folly (36d).

Then, the interlocutor proceeds to cite allegories associating wine and human nature. According to the same author, human nature resembles wine (36e) and they are opposites (36f). This parallelism is interrupted by a passage on the loss of sense as a (negative) effect of wine consumption (36f), followed by one on its positive effects (37a). This section is closed off by another passage exploring positive effects of wine-drinking, which though includes a *caveat* on excessive consumption leading to opposite results (37b).

What follows is a section relating wine and truth, explored in the context of elegy and lyric poetry in chapter 4.1. Firstly, it is stated that wine and drunkenness are linked to folly and hallucinations (37b-e) before openly associating wine and truth (37e-f), both in the sense of revealing one's true self and other people's secrets (37e). Citations on cauldrons and tripods intervene, linking wine and truth, Dionysus and Apollo, through tripods (37f-38a), before returning to the section's main idea (38b). Lastly, an excerpt on consumption of wine being recognizable due to its obvious effects on oneself (38b-c) is cited, marginally related to truth.

Subsequently, the *deipnosophist* explores the wine-mixing practice (38c), before citing the positive effects of wine-drinking on health (38d-e). Then, antithetically, its negative effect of violent

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<sup>14</sup> Following the edition of Olson 2006.

behavior is cited (38e), followed by a parallelism of drunk people and bulls (38e-f), all introduced by the explanation that Dionysus is compared to a bull (38e) for this very reason.

Subsequently, the speaker slightly digresses. What follows is a discussion on nectar and ambrosia (38f-39b), starting with wine-based nectar (38f) and further analyzing the nature –drink or aliment– of nectar and ambrosia in different, cited texts. However, he quickly returns to the topic of wine; starting from its effect of talkativeness (39b), he proceeds to connect wine consumption with poetic inspiration (39b-c, 39d), interposing a list of heroes frequently associated with wine (39c-d) between the two citations on that aspect. While wine is presented as a source of poetic inspiration, it is noted next that drunkenness alters the perception of the world and creates a disposition to lies (39d-e). This altering of thinking is further illustrated by citing a relevant description by Bacchylides, further analyzed in chapter 4.2.

What follows functions as a conclusion, before the change of speaker. The *deipnosophist* quotes excerpts on positive effects of wine: it is a cure for pain (40a) and grief (40b), a source of cheer (40a) and courage (40a) and, having common origins with music (40a), a source of pleasure (40b). However, he also notes that the effects can be either positive or negative, depending on the quantity of consumption (40c). Following that, the undesirable effects of muttering and impeding of thinking (40c) are listed. The speech ends with the recitation of excerpts on wine-drinking as a practice of feasts following sacrifices (40c-e).

While wine was the main element of interest of the first part of the second book, attributed to a single speaker (35a-40e), the topic alters drastically once the speaker changes; remaining in the category of drinks, he discusses mainly water-drinking (40f-44f). Nevertheless, wine is still discussed in passing, mostly in opposition to water. Acidic water, like wine, causes drunkenness (43d); a certain spring of water makes the smell of wine unbearable (43e-f); water is a source of inspiration, while wine impedes thinking (43f) and *vice versa* (44a); water is also characterized as “unmixed” (44b); some politicians drink water and spend time studying, while others drink wine excessively and engage in procuring (44e-f). Likewise, the following speaker, most likely a physician due to many medical citations,<sup>15</sup> discusses water (45a-46d), before shifting the discussion to food (46e ff.): the practice of mixing wine in springs to get someone drunk (45c); the discovery of mixing wine with water (45c-d); water being better for digestion than wine (45d); sweet water, in contrast to that of vinous character, affects thinking less and gets digested faster (45e-f); one should not drink toasts like the Carmani (45f); good quality water needs little wine to be mixed with (46c-d).

This master thesis will have as a starting point the quotation of Mnesitheus, which introduces the topic of the ambiguity of wine, and will also focus on other recitations of poetic texts on the same topic. It is apparent that a great number of quotations, although relevant, will be skipped, unless they appertain to the category of poetry, reflecting on the twofold nature of wine and adding different aspects of this concept of ancient Greek thought, usually linked to their genre conventions. I will argue that Mnesitheus’ quotation, although the idea is already present in earlier texts, constitutes for Athenaeus the base on which he elaborates, by citing poetic texts that are either more allusive or illustrate the issue by focusing on different aspects of the matter.

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<sup>15</sup> Olson 2006, 253.



## 2. Mnesitheus of Athens on wine (Ath.2.36a-b = fr.41 Bertier)

The present chapter will be devoted to Athenaeus' citation of an excerpt of Mnesitheus on the ambiguous nature of wine and the results of its consumption, which may vary both in quality and in quantity. Mnesitheus, a physician of 4<sup>th</sup> century Athens,<sup>16</sup> is often neglected and not systematically examined by scholars due to the fragmentary nature of his extant work. As his works elude Hippocratic ideas, before proceeding to the analysis per se, information on general concepts of ancient Greek Hippocratic medical thought is considered crucial, serving as a basis and framing the discussion of the passage.<sup>17</sup>

Generally, in ancient Greek medical thought, excessive wine-drinking is considered damaging, both to the body and the mind; intoxication is considered a cause of sickness. However, even in moderation, it can cause harm to individuals of specific characteristics; it is harmful to the young, who cannot stand its power, despite being beneficial for the older ones, due to its tonic properties, while it causes unwanted effects when giving prominence to idiosyncratic tendencies of one's body and mind instead of contributing to a balance. Furthermore, its consumption when unmixed is thought to cause physiological disorders, although it is prescribed in specific cases due to its warming effect; women are advised to drink undiluted wine, whose nature is argued to be cold and wet. Generally, when prescribed accordingly and precautions are taken to weaken its effects, it can be both pleasant and a remedy. Pleasure aside, wine is described as nourishing, tonic, purgative and can serve as a hematopoietic substance.<sup>18</sup>

This duality in the nature of wine led physicians to reflect on the effects observed and prescribe mixtures of different percentages of wine and water, according to one's nature, sex, age and specific condition or even season of the year,<sup>19</sup> adjusting accordingly the effects of each type of wine. It is this basic concept of the twofold value that is going to be examined in the course of this chapter. By examining Mnesitheus' ideas, I aim in setting the basis and the axes on which the following analysis of poetic excerpts will take place, leading to a better understanding of Athenaeus' *poetics of citation*.

Based on citations by various authors,<sup>20</sup> Mnesitheus seems to have written a work titled *On Edible Substances* (Περὶ Ἐδεστών according to Athenaeus, Περὶ Ἐδεσμάτων according to Galen)<sup>21</sup> and a second one titled *Letter on the Subject of Drinking Large Amounts* (Περὶ Κωθωνισμού Ἐπιστολή).<sup>22</sup> The following passage is believed to belong to the first of the two, quoted first by a comedian<sup>23</sup> and, through him, by Athenaeus:

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<sup>16</sup> Bertier 1972, ix; Jaeger 1938 dated Mnesitheus in early 3<sup>rd</sup> century BCE, arguing for Aristotelian influences.

<sup>17</sup> Jouanna 2012, 173-176, brief overview of scholarship on physicians occupied with wine.

<sup>18</sup> Jouanna 2012, 173-186.

<sup>19</sup> Jouanna 2012, 188-189, on season affecting the consumption of wine.

<sup>20</sup> Athenaeus, Alexis (Ath., 10.419), Rufus of Ephesus, Aulus Gellius (13.30), Soranus of Ephesus (*De Arte Obstetr.* 184, 201), Pliny, Plutarch (*Quaest. Nat.* c. 26, vol. v. p. 334), Oribasius (*Coll. Medic.* 8.9, 38, 342, 357).

<sup>21</sup> Eg. Ath. 10.419; Gal. *De Alim. Facult.* 2.61, 6.645.

<sup>22</sup> Ath. 11.66-67.

<sup>23</sup> Kassel and Austin 1995, vol.8, 36: Schweighäuser attributes the fragment to Alexis, based on his fr.219.

<ό> Μνησίθεος δ' ἔφη	Mnesitheus said that
τὸν οἶνον τοὺς θεοὺς	the gods introduced wine
θνητοῖς καταδεῖξαι τοῖς μὲν ὀρθῶς χρωμένοις	to mortals as the greatest benefit for those who
ἀγαθὸν μέγιστον, τοῖς δ' ἀτάκτως τοῦμπαλιν.	use it wisely, but the opposite for those who use
τροφὴν τε γὰρ δίδωσι τοῖς <εὔ> χρωμένοις	it with no discipline. For it gives nourishment to
5 ἰσχύν τε ταῖς ψυχαῖσι καὶ τοῖς σώμασιν.	those who use it correctly, strength to both the
εἰς τὴν ἰατρικὴν τε χρησιμώτατον·	soul and the body. It is also the most useful in
καὶ τοῖς ποτοῖς γὰρ φαρμάκοις κεράννυται,	medicine; it can be both mixed with drinkable
καὶ τοῖσιν ἐλκωθεῖσιν ὠφελίαν ἔχει.	drugs and help those who have wounds. During
ἐν ταῖς συνουσίαις τε ταῖς καθ' ἡμέραν	daily gatherings, it causes joy and tranquility of
10 τοῖς μὲν μέτριον πίνουσι καὶ κεκραμένον	mind to those who drink it moderately and mixed
εὐθυμίαν, ἐὰν δ' ὑπερβάλῃς, ὕβριν,	(with water), but if you overdo it, (it causes)
ἐὰν δ' ἴσον ἴσω προσφέρῃ, μανίαν ποεῖ·	violent behavior; if you consume it (mixed) in
ἐὰν δ' ἄκρατον, παράλυσιν τῶν σωμάτων.	equal parts, it causes madness; if unmixed,
(Ath.2.36a-b = adesp.com.fr.101 = Mnes. fr.41 Bertier) <sup>24</sup>	paralysis of the body. <sup>25</sup>

First and foremost, it should be noted that the introductory phrase (*the gods introduced wine to mortals*) debatably belongs to the original citation, if we accept that it was not paraphrased in its entity by the Epitomist. Editors have considered it a part of the original until Schweighäuser.<sup>26</sup> An argument against its originality is that, among 17 citations of Mnesitheus in Athenaeus' work, 15 of them are introduced by a phrase of the reciting character.<sup>27</sup>

The first part of the fragment (lines 1-3) refers to the psychological and corporal effects of wine, while at the same time addressing the factor of usage which determines the quality of these effects. Wine was introduced to mortals by the gods; this constitutes an often repeated motif, frequently in correlation with barbarian practices concerning wine consumption. Wine represents civilization<sup>28</sup> through its connection with the gods, while abstinence –interpreted as inability to enjoy the divine gift– or its misuse

<sup>24</sup> I follow the text as printed in the edition of Bertier 1972, but without considering the last two verses (14-15) as part of Mnesitheus text, as in the edition of Olson 2006. See Bertier 1972, 61-62, on the problems that line 14 presents.

<sup>25</sup> All translations are mine unless indicated otherwise, consulting the editions listed under Bibliography.

<sup>26</sup> Schweighäuser 1801, 135.

<sup>27</sup> Bertier 1972, 57. Bertier 1972, 57-59, detailed discussion of the topic.

<sup>28</sup> Eg. Eur. *Bacch.* 278-283: Teiresias praising wine.

(eg. drinking unmixed wine) constitute barbarian, uncivilized behaviors.<sup>29</sup> What is remarkable, is that this godly gift is both the best and the worst for humans; Mnesitheus neither engages in condemnation of the gods nor is he heavily apologetic.<sup>30</sup> It becomes evident that rules need to ensure proper drinking, a *modus bibendi* (ὁρθῶς χρωμένοις).

Regarding the next units (lines 4-5, 6-8), Mnesitheus focuses on the positive effects of wine in terms of nourishment and as a drug respectively. Firstly, wine as a predominant dietary element, categorized as a type of aliment (τροφή),<sup>31</sup> is praised for its nourishing and tonic effects on the body, possibly explained in modern terms by its considerable caloric value. Additionally, its contribution in medicine is explored only in terms of pharmacology; as observed in the Hippocratic Corpus,<sup>32</sup> wine seems to have been prescribed as a base element of mixtures containing drugs.<sup>33</sup> Similarly, its external use is mentioned; wine, mixed with other ingredients, was frequently prescribed in an ointment form, while the method of effusion was also common.<sup>34</sup>

Lastly, Mnesitheus offers a categorization of different stages of consumption and their corresponding effects (lines 9-14), which constitutes a *crescendo*. Moderate consumption of diluted wine, respecting the *modus bibendi*, leads to joy (εὐθυμία). Its violation by excessive drinking is a cause of violent behavior (ὑβρις).<sup>35</sup> Altering the consistency, a mixture of wine and water in equal percentages, which for Mnesitheus seems to indicate –if not a very forceful drink– at least the point of transgression of moderation,<sup>36</sup> is capable of causing madness (μανία),<sup>37</sup> an effect of a substance of warm nature, according to ancient Greek medical thinking. The *crescendo* ends with the consumption of unmixed wine, causing *paralysis*. While befitting as the most severe effect listed, it poses difficulties as it usually refers to partial paralysis in technical texts,<sup>38</sup> being an effect of substances of cold nature according to Plutarch.<sup>39</sup>

Starting from this last section of Mnesitheus' excerpt, we should examine the terms on which the ambiguity of wine is being constructed and reflected upon. For one thing, the positive, beneficial effects of wine can be divided into two sub-categories; the benefits of wine in pharmacology and the outcomes of its consumption in the context of everyday life (ἐν ταῖς συνουσίαις τε ταῖς καθ' ἡμέραν). While there

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<sup>29</sup> Hunter and Koukouzika 2015, 27, giving the example of the Cyclops in Hom. *Od.*; Nencini 1997b, 363; Corner 2015, 234-235; Murray 1990, 6; Pellizer, 1990, 178; Lissarrague 1990, 7: "to drink like a Scythian" meaning to drink unmixed wine. Also, Cleomenes went mad after following this barbarian practice (Her. 6.84).

<sup>30</sup> Bertier 1972, 60, providing as examples the Pythagoreans, Alexis and Plato, and the chorus of Bacchants in Euripides' *Bacchae* respectively.

<sup>31</sup> Bertier 1972, 68-69, explanation of the use of the term despite its liquid nature.

<sup>32</sup> Eg. *Acut.* 14.

<sup>33</sup> Hippoc. *Acut.* Bertier 1972, 69-70.

<sup>34</sup> Hippoc. *Mul.* 1, ch. 105, 8.228,11f. L.; Hippoc. *Aff.*, ch. 42, 6.252,1 L.; Jouanna 2012, 208.

<sup>35</sup> Bertier 1972, 81-83: Mnesitheus, discussing neither ethics, nor politics or customs, probably uses the term in its most basic and primary sense, that of outrage and violence. However, I do not agree that he considers ὑβρις as the cause of the next two negative effects of wine; in my view, *hubris* is the effect of excessive consumption of diluted wine, as stated in the previous verse, while *mania* and *paralysis* demand a further escalation to a stronger mixture and an absence of dilution respectively.

<sup>36</sup> Bertier 1972, 71-76, on whether this mixture is generally considered forceful enough. Bertier 1972, 74-76, on the different mixing ratios mentioned in Athenaeus' *Deipnosophistae*.

<sup>37</sup> Bertier 1972, 79-80: μανία here does neither only refers to the well-known literary motif nor has a solely ethical sense; it also has the sense of delirium, caused by drunkenness (Rufus, *Med. Quest.* 24).

<sup>38</sup> Bertier 1972, 80: *apoplexy* is usually used to indicate general paralysis accompanied with obscuring of thought.

<sup>39</sup> Bertier 1972, 80-83.

are no specific rules imposed on the first category, probably because the prescription of a physician is considered necessary, the latter is strongly defined in terms of consumption, on the axes of quantity and quality. To benefit from wine consumption, one must follow the *modus bibendi*, which calls for moderate quantities (quantity axis) of diluted wine (quality axis), in an unspecified ratio, but surely not mixed in equal parts (ἴσον ἴσῳ). On the same axes, the negative outcomes of wine consumption are also defined. The first violation of the consumption rules moves on the axis of quantity; excessive drinking of correctly diluted wine leads to equally transgressive behavior. Subsequently, the last two stages concern the axis of quality; the ratio is altered to that of equal parts of wine and water (ἴσον ἴσῳ), followed by consumption of neat wine, changes that lead to delirious madness and paralysis respectively.

Evaluating this process of categorization and delimitation of the effects of wine, we could argue that Mnesitheus' text is fairly clear and accurate in its description. At this point, it could be useful to turn to the language employed and the question of the genre of his text. With regards to the employment of the words *mania*, used differently than in literature and retaining a clinical character, and *paralysis*, a strongly technical word but slightly deviating from its sense in technical texts, and taking into consideration the general character of the text, it is argued that Mnesitheus' fragment presents an amalgamation of different types of language,<sup>40</sup> scientific and literary in modern terms. In this sense, the clarity of his text is a characteristic of the more technical employment of language in medical literature, especially if we compare it with the same idea as expressed more allusively by the following two comic citations, further analyzed in chapter 3.

In conclusion, we could say that the language and character of this excerpt, along with its systematic categorization of the effects of wine, both positive and negative, in the axes of quantity and quality, lends itself to its use by Athenaeus as the basis for the citation of the rest, much more allusive excerpts. Thus, concerning the next chapters on relevant fragments that follow, besides the analysis of new aspects they bring into light, a definition of the positive and negative outcomes of wine consumption of each case will be attempted, on the axes that Mnesitheus recognizes, that of quantity and quality.

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<sup>40</sup> Bertier 1972, 80-85.

### 3. Comedy: wine in Eubulus (Ath.2.36b-c = fr.\*93) and Epicharmus (Ath.2.36c-d = fr.46)

In the previous chapter, Athenaeus' quotation of Mnesitheus has been discussed, along with the physician's categorization of the ambiguous effects of wine. The present chapter proceeds to the examination of quotations of two comic works, cited right after Mnesitheus. I will evaluate the similarities and differences they present with the physician's quotation, in terms of language and main idea, frequently suggested by the genre. Following that, the definition of the wine-drinking effects on the axes of quantity and quality will be attempted.

It is supposed that both comedy and tragedy emerged from or are rooted in Dionysiac cult and its rituals,<sup>41</sup> based on extensive similarities they present and the performance context of the Great Dionysia and Lenaia.<sup>42</sup> The Dionysiac element observed in the majority of comic works meets our expectations as its audience, as the topics of feasting and wine-drinking construct the blithe atmosphere suitable for comic plays.<sup>43</sup> The presence of Dionysus is detected both in early comic works and even in 5<sup>th</sup>-century Athenian comedy, where it is perceived as an "archaizing technique", connecting the genre with its origins.<sup>44</sup> Although the similarities are evident, comedy does not remain confined to its Dionysiac roots; the way this Dionysiac element is presented is not necessarily positive, frequently representing a detachment from any religious context.<sup>45</sup> The presentation of wine in bad light in the context of a "distorted *symposion*" is not uncommon.<sup>46</sup>

#### 3.1. Eubulus (Ath.2.36b-c = fr.\*93)

Eubulus is listed among the poets of Middle Comedy by both ancient and medieval sources.<sup>47</sup> According to the *Suda*, he was an Athenian comedian, who either presented his first play or won his first prize between 376 and 372 BCE.<sup>48</sup> Concerning the subject matter of his fragmentary extant works, it cannot be certain that he follows the trends of Middle Comedy, having weakened the fictional element of myths by incorporating elements of everyday life in their plays.<sup>49</sup> Nevertheless, more than half of the extant titles

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<sup>41</sup> Riu 1999, 83: Dionysus, a god of low class, represented a danger to the *polis* which, according to Segal 1982, 15-16 was settled through the establishment of the cult of the god. Dionysiac festivals and drama involving the representation of the god's chaos in well-defined limits represented "the god's cage".

<sup>42</sup> Bowie 1995, 113: This is not clearly supported by extant evidence, see Bierl 1990, 357-358; Revermann 2014, 277-278 with specific examples of similarities; see also chapter 5 on tragedy. Even in Aristotle's age the origins of comedy were forgotten (Arist. *Poet.* 1449a38; Storey 2010, 179).

<sup>43</sup> Riu 1999, 49.

<sup>44</sup> Revermann 2014, 280-281, argues for continuity in comedy through the presence of the Dionysiac element.

<sup>45</sup> Bowie 1995, 113.

<sup>46</sup> Bowie 1995, 114-115. Bowie 1995, 115-125, how sex and social status is linked with the negative presentation of excessive wine-drinking and its consequences.

<sup>47</sup> Nesselrath 1990, 58-66.

<sup>48</sup> *Suda* ε 3386 = testimonium 1 (Kassel-Austin).

<sup>49</sup> Nesselrath 1990, 236; Bowie 2010, 145-146.

seem to have been mythological travesties.<sup>50</sup> What is important is that works of Middle Comedy continue staging Dionysus as a character.<sup>51</sup> An excerpt of Eubulus' work titled *Dionysus* or *Semele*<sup>52</sup> is cited by Athenaeus immediately after the quotation of Mnesitheus:

Εὐβουλος δὲ ποιεῖ τὸν Διόνυσον λέγοντα·

Eubulus presents Dionysus as saying:

τρεις γὰρ μόνους κρατῆρας ἐγκεραννύω  
τοῖς εὖ φρονοῦσι· τὸν μὲν ὑγείας ἕνα,  
ὃν πρῶτον ἐκπίνουσι, τὸν δὲ δεύτερον  
ἔρωτος ἡδονῆς τε, τὸν τρίτον δ' ὕπνου,  
ὃν ἐκπίνοντες οἱ σοφοὶ κεκλημένοι  
οἴκαδε βαδίζουσ'. ὁ δὲ τέταρτος οὐκέτι ἡμέτερός  
ἐστ', ἀλλ' ὕβρεος· ὁ δὲ πέμπτος βοῆς·  
ἕκτος δὲ κώμων· ἑβδομος δ' ὑπωπίων·  
<ὁ δ' > ὀγδοὺς κλητῆρος· ὁ δ' ἑνατος χολῆς·  
δέκατος δὲ μανίας, ὥστε καὶ βάλλειν ποεῖ

For I only mix three *kraters* for those who are  
wise. One for health, which is drunk first, the  
second one for the pleasure of love and the third  
one for sleep, after drinking which the wise  
guests go home. The fourth one is not still mine,  
but of outrage; the fifth of shouting; the sixth of  
reveling in the streets; the seventh of black eyes;  
the eighth of the bailiff; the ninth of black humor;  
the tenth of mania, due to which one throws  
objects.

\* \* \* 53

\* \* \*

πολὺς γὰρ εἰς ἓν μικρὸν ἀγγεῖον χυθεὶς  
ὑποσκελίζει ῥᾶστα τοὺς πεπωκότας.

For when a lot (of wine) is poured in a small  
vessel, it very easily knocks out from below its  
drinker's legs.

(Ath.2.36b-c = fr.\*93)

According to Athenaeus, the speaker is Dionysus. Hence the fragment was attributed to Eubulus' play *Dionysus* or *Semele*, supposedly referring to the birth of the god and honorary customs established by mortals, mainly concerning wine consumption in the context of the *symposion*, at least in this fragment, referring to the process leading to its possible turbulent ending (a *topos*).<sup>54</sup>

With regard to its structure, Eubulus' excerpt is strikingly similar to that of the physician preceding it, justifying Athenaeus' citation;<sup>55</sup> both constitute *crescendos*, the comic one assigning each stage to an additional *krater* of wine. Through a closer examination, it is evident that lines 1-4 concern the positive

<sup>50</sup> Bowie 2010, 145-146, 30; Geoffrey-Arnott 2010, 288, 27-28.

<sup>51</sup> Bowie 2010, 149, along with Zeus.

<sup>52</sup> Olson 2007, 316: Grotius considers this fragment to belong to *Dionysus* or *Semele*, based on the fact that Athenaeus attributes the speech to Dionysus.

<sup>53</sup> Lines 11-12 lack coherence with the rest of the excerpt. Kassel and Austin (1995): text of the same fragment is missing, between lines 10 and 11; Olson 2007, 316: lines 11-12 could belong to another citation.

<sup>54</sup> Olson 2007, 316.

<sup>55</sup> See above, chapter 2.

effects of wine-drinking, reserved for those who aim to a wise use of this ambivalent substance. The first mixing bowl contributes to good health (ὕγιείας), corresponding to Mnesitheus' statements about it providing nourishment (τροφήν) and strength (ἰσχύν), while also being particularly useful in medicine (ἰατρικήν). The second one concerns the pleasure of love (ἔρωτος ἡδονῆς) which, although does not find an exact parallel in the previous citation, can be roughly connected to joy (εὐθυμία). It constitutes a *topos*, especially in lyric poetry and elegy, along with sleep (ὕπνου), the result of the third bowl.

Following that, the dividing line is drawn, underlining the ambiguity of wine; having finished the third mixing bowl, the wise drinker ceases wine consumption. The bowls to follow and their negative results are not to be attributed to Dionysus. What follows is outrage (ὕβρεος), reveling in the streets (κώμων),<sup>56</sup> fighting resulting in black eyes (ὕπωπίων),<sup>57</sup> lawsuits (κλητῆρος), black bile (χολῆς), which results, lastly, in *mania* (μανίας). As apparent, the first and last negative effects echo the terms of Mnesitheus that Athenaus has quoted before (ὕβριν, μανίαν).<sup>58</sup> As for the rest, it has been argued that most of them constitute the results of *hybris*, while black bile is connected to the latter, considered the cause of *mania*.<sup>59</sup> Along with the similarities in terms of vocabulary, the structure of the excerpt highly resembles that of the physician. The effects of wine consumption are hierarchically organized, advancing from beneficial to progressively harmful and disastrous.

However, besides these striking similarities, attempting an analysis on the axes of quantity and quality set by Mnesitheus, it is evident that the progressive shift of wine-drinking effects from positive to negative can only be defined on the axis of quantity; every symptom corresponds to the consumption of yet another *krater* of wine (πρώτον, δεύτερον etc.). Regarding the axis of quality, only mixed wine (ἐγκεραννύω) is discussed, without specification of mixing ratio or its alteration at any stage of consumption. While remarkable, this difference in effect-definition could be explained if genre is taken into consideration. Although Mnesitheus' quotation is derived from his citation in a comic work, it still formed part of a medical work, intended to be considered as such.<sup>60</sup> As already noted, physicians did not exclude the consumption of stronger mixtures or undiluted wine, but instead they prescribed it in specific cases.<sup>61</sup> On the other hand, Eubulus refers to the ritualized consumption of wine in some sort of social context, probably a *symposion*, which follows a strict *modus bibendi*, at least in terms of quality of consumption.

### 3.2. Epicharmus (Ath.2.36c-d = fr.146)

Epicharmus figures among the first comedians, being the one who "first gathered together the scattered fragments of comedy".<sup>62</sup> He is believed to have produced comic plays mostly prior to 486 BCE, the

<sup>56</sup> It could be argued that this etymologically alludes to the genre's origins, but according to Aristotle (*Poet.* 1448a35-b1), comedy is not related to κῶμος, but to κῶμη.

<sup>57</sup> Cook et alii 2007, 1303, black eyes could be also the result of hangover.

<sup>58</sup> See above, chapter 2.

<sup>59</sup> Cook et alii 2007, 1303.

<sup>60</sup> See above, chapter 2, on Mnesitheus' language.

<sup>61</sup> See above, chapter 2.

<sup>62</sup> Anon. *De com.* 9 p. 7 (testimonium 6 Kassel-Austin); Bosher 2014, 83-84.

conventional birth-date of Old Comedy.<sup>63</sup> Based on extant fragments, Epicharmus' early Sicilian comedies belonged to the category of myth burlesques, but subject matter dealing with social issues can also be detected, while jokes concerning persons and politics are almost absent,<sup>64</sup> in opposition to ones referring to food.<sup>65</sup> With specific regard to wine, it is difficult to form a concrete opinion; it is not certain if its role as "a constituent of the good life and an important catalyst of well-being" in Old Comedy<sup>66</sup> was as central in Epicharmus' earlier works. Athenaeus, discussing wine, directly after citing Eubulus, quotes the following dialogue excerpt:

Ἐπίχαρμος δέ φησιν·

Epicharmus says:

(A.) † ἐκ μὲν θυσίας θοίνα <...>,

(A.) † From a sacrifice comes a feast <...>, from

ἐκ δὲ θοίνας πόσις ἐγένετο. (B.) χαρίεν, ὥς γ' ἐμοὶ  
<δοκεῖ>.

the feast comes drinking. (B.) It seems

(A.) ἐκ δὲ πόσιος κῶμος, ἐκ κώμου δ' ἐγένεθ' ὑανία,  
ἐκ δ' ὑανίας δίκαι, <'κ δίκας δ' ἐγένετο καταδίκαι>,  
ἐκ δὲ καταδίκας πέδαι τε καὶ σφαλὸς καὶ ζαμία.

pleasant to me. (A.) But from drinking comes

reveling in the streets, from reveling in the

streets comes swinishness, from swinishness

comes lawsuit, from lawsuit comes conviction,

from conviction come shackles, fetters and a

fine.

(Ath.2.36c-d = fr.146)

Firstly, it is apparent that Epicharmus' excerpt follows the same format as the two previous quotations, that of Mnesitheus and Eubulus; it is a *crescendo*. What is particularly interesting is that it is believed that Epicharmus invented this rhetorical figure, called a κλῖμαξ (climax, ladder).<sup>67</sup> It is constructed by the apposition of phrases consisting of two key-terms, the second of which is being repeated in the following phrase. In this way, a particularly forceful rhetorically "building-up" effect is generated. Here, the rhetorical figure of κλῖμαξ is used to illustrate the evolution of a positive thing to a disastrous one,<sup>68</sup> the process of a feast leading to chaos due to the consumption of wine, a *topos* also explored by Eubulus above, which explains Athenaeus' choice of linking these citations.

Except for this, Epicharmus' excerpt is linked to Mnesitheus' and Eubulus' citations through similarities in terms of vocabulary, which constitutes Athenaeus' most evident manner of organizing knowledge. Whereas feasting (θοίνα), linked with the physicians' εὐθυμία (joy), presents positive connotations confirmed by speaker B (χαρίεν, pleasant), [wine]-drinking (πόσις) seems to allude to

<sup>63</sup> Norwood 1931, 83, on dating; Storey 2010, 181.

<sup>64</sup> Storey 2010, 181; Boshier 2014, 86, considers his engagement with political topics probable, given his literary and historical context.

<sup>65</sup> Boshier 2014, 85.

<sup>66</sup> Bowie 1995, 113.

<sup>67</sup> Norwood 1931, 94; Lausberg 2008, 315-317 §623-624 on climax.

<sup>68</sup> Norwood 1931, 95-6



positive effects for speaker B (χαρίεν, pleasant), whereas negative ones for speaker A.<sup>69</sup> For the latter, its consumption leads to reveling in the streets (κῶμος),<sup>70</sup> then swinishness (ὑανία), followed by a lawsuit (δίκη) resulting in conviction (καταδίκη), leading to shackles, fetters and a fine (πέδαι τε καὶ σφαλὸς καὶ ζαμία). Among all these, the first two effects allude to Mnesitheus' ὕβρις (violent behavior), the results of which are listed afterwards. Concerning similarities with Eubulus' comic fragment, three terms find an exact parallel; κῶμος (κώμων in Eubulus), ὑανία (ὑπωπίων) and δίκη (κλητήρος), an elaboration on which are καταδίκη and πέδαι τε σφαλὸς καὶ ζαμία.

Once again, aiming to define the effects of wine consumption on the axes set previously by quoting Mnesitheus, one cannot achieve much. The axis of quality is definitely absent, probably for the same reason as in Eubulus' excerpt; the strict *modus bibendi* of ritualized consumption of wine, this time in the context of a sacrificial feast. As for the axis of quantity, a quantity-based analysis of the effects could be detected in its very allusive form, a result of its poetic genre. Even though the use of ἐκ to indicate cause might point to inherent features of wine, one being the cause of the other, the progressive consumption of wine could cause these consecutive effects too. Although this does not seem particularly convincing, it is still worthy of noting as a biased interpretation caused by Athenaeus linking Epicharmus' citation to the *crescendos* above, especially that of Eubulus.

To conclude, the ambiguity of wine in these comic excerpts is clearly presented; in both Eubulus and Epicharmus, wine progressively evolves from a beneficial to a disastrous substance. Concerning new aspects of the idea, the comic excerpts do not add much. Nonetheless, wine consumption takes place in a ritualized context, characterized by its own set of rules mostly revolving around moderation, which has interesting implications concerning the definition of the effects described, as it could be the reason behind the absence of movement on the axis of quality. The consumption of stronger mixtures or undiluted wine go beyond the *modus* of ritualized consumption and are thus not considered an option. Contrastingly, the effects are strongly defined on the axis of quantity of consumption, clearly expressed in Eubulus and allusively suggested in Epicharmus, mostly by Athenaeus' choice of citation.

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<sup>69</sup> Olson 2007, 36: the two speakers are "of a very different mind".

<sup>70</sup> Again, this could etymologically allude to the genre's origins, but according to Aristotle (*Poet.* 1448a35-b1), comedy is not related to κῶμος, but to κῶμη.

## 4. Elegy and Lyric poetry: Theognis (Ath. 2.37e-f = Thgn. 500) and Bacchylides

(Ath.2.39e-f = fr.\*20b.6-16) on wine

The present chapter aims to proceed to the examination of quotations of poetic texts, cited further down in the same section on wine and, more specifically, texts belonging to the genres of elegy and lyric poetry. The new perspectives these excerpts add to the discussion of the ambivalent nature of wine will be analyzed taking into consideration their genre, while also tracing similarities they present with previously analyzed citations, as suggested by Athenaeus placing them together. Lastly, I will look upon the definition of the –more or less allusively– presented results of wine-drinking on the axes of quantity and quality, set by the preceding analysis of Mnesitheus.

First and foremost, in this case, the choice of co-examining lyric poetry (μέλος) and elegy stems from the absence of a precise classification of texts into each genre, which are neither homogeneous, nor well-defined.<sup>71</sup> The classification cannot be anything but broad and even characterized as “unsatisfactory”. However, as Carey phrased it, “for those who experienced them [the works] in their original performative context formal subdivision was evidently unnecessary”.<sup>72</sup>

Leaving aside the issue of precise genre classification, it is important to focus on the category of sympotic poetry, which much of the extant lyric poetry and elegy belong to. The term reveals their context of performance, the *symposion*, which also constitutes its theme by reflecting on it.<sup>73</sup> The *symposion* –in its strict sense–<sup>74</sup> was the second and most privileged part of a banquet, a sort of convivial drinking after the main meal (δεῖπνον), with ritual connotations besides social ones.<sup>75</sup> In this context, poetry took the form of poetic recitation, either choral or solo, improvised or composed beforehand, with its performance being part of a contest.<sup>76</sup> Content-wise, it usually referred, among others, to procedures like the distribution of wine among the symposiasts, while also reflecting on its nature, the rules of consumption and its results, frequently accentuating moderation.<sup>77</sup> Evidently, sympotic poetry constitutes important evidence for the ritualization of convivial wine drinking within the framework of the *symposion*, ensuring its limits with –not always unbroken– rules to prevent unregulated intoxication in view of a dangerous aspect of wine consumption.<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>71</sup> Carey 2009, 21-22, 32. Carey 2009, 22: genres as “tendencies”, setting audience expectations without avoiding a possible “re-definition”.

<sup>72</sup> Carey 2009, 38.

<sup>73</sup> Carey 2009, 34-35. Lukinovich 1990, 263-266: Athenaeus’ *Deipnosophistae* also participates in the sympotic tradition, by framing a discourse about the symposium in the context of a symposium.

<sup>74</sup> Schmitt-Pantel 1990, 15: “communal drinking” in the strict etymological (συν+πίνω) meaning, while the occasion, the “social institution” of the symposium in a broader sense.

<sup>75</sup> Corner 2015, 234; Murray 1990, 6.

<sup>76</sup> Rinella 2010, 51. Cf. Rossi 1983 limits the poetry composed for performance in the context of a symposium to monodic and therefore performed solo. Pellizer 1990, 177.

<sup>77</sup> Schmitt-Pantel 1990, 20-21; Hunter and Koukouzika 2015, 28; West 1974, 15: tracing the discussion of the rules of the *symposion* and the emphasis on moderation mainly in elegy of the late 6<sup>th</sup>-5<sup>th</sup> century BCE.

<sup>78</sup> Nencini 1997c, 631; Murray 1990, 6; Pellizer 1990, 178: the ritualization in the context of the symposium is expressed through “a very precise set of norms”: eg. libation, purification, prayers to deities, regulated consumption of wine and food, performance or listening to songs and/or instrumental music, watching dances and mimes, witnessing contests between the participants. Also Pellizer 1990, 178-179: discussion of ritual norms; Lissarrague

#### 4.1. Elegy: Theognis (Ath. 2.37e-f = Thgn. 500)

Theognis of Megara was a Greek lyric poet, whose biographical information can mainly be drawn by his own σφραγίς (seal, to be eternally recognized as the author).<sup>79</sup> His birthplace is debated to be either Megara in Attica or Megara Hyblaea in Sicily<sup>80</sup> and his dating is even more problematic, varying from the end of the 7<sup>th</sup> century to even early 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE.<sup>81</sup> Concerning his work, commonly referred to as the *Theognidea*, *Corpus Theognideum* or the *Theognidean Sylloge*, it raises significant authorship issues, as various passages have been identified to belong to Solon, Tyrtaeus, Mimnermus and maybe Euenus as well.<sup>82</sup> However, many are the verses that refer to Cyrnus (also as Πολυπαϊδης) and thus considered to have been surely composed by Theognis,<sup>83</sup> while the possibility of other passages being composed by him remains,<sup>84</sup> with attempts of reconstructing his elegies in full not have been considered convincing.<sup>85</sup>

Regarding sympotic poetry, while the *symposion* figures as a preeminent topic of the *Corpus*, it is only verses 211-212 that are considered to surely belong to Theognis. As for the quotation by Athenaeus which is to be examined below, the verse cited (Thgn. 500) is not specifically attributed to him. Taking into consideration all the above, it seems that the omission of the author, who could also be someone other than Theognis, could have either been the Epitomator's choice, along with the elimination of titles of cited works, or made by Athenaeus, citing this and the previous phrase<sup>86</sup> as gnomic ones, detached of any specific authorship.

Φιλόχορος δέ φησιν ὅτι οἱ πίνοντες οὐ μόνον  
ἑαυτοὺς ἐμφανίζουσιν οἷτινές εἰσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν  
ἄλλων ἕκαστον ἀνακαλύπτουσι παρρησίαν  
ἄγοντες. ὅθεν

Philochorus says that the drinkers do not reveal  
just their own true nature, but also that of each of  
the others, by exercising freedom of speech. For  
this reason

οἶνος <. . . > καὶ ἀλαθέα

Wine and truth ...

λέγεται καὶ

Is said and

<. . . > ἀνδρὸς δ' <οἶνος> ἔδειξε νόον  
(Ath. 2.37e-f)

Wine reveals a man's mind ...

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1990, 8; Carey 2009, 35; Corner 2015, 234; Papakonstantinou 2012, 2: Although one could support that, due to the context of performance and its target-audience, sympotic poetry tends to mispresent practices of wine drinking and overemphasize its consequences, there is no convincing evidence to support a great degree of distortion of ideas on them.

<sup>78</sup> Thgn. 19-38.

<sup>79</sup> Thgn. 19-38.

<sup>80</sup> Douglas 1999, 169: The latter is mentioned by Plato (*Leg.* 1.630a), while the former by an ancient scholiast of the passage, citing Didymus and arguing for a migration to Megara Hyblaea.

<sup>81</sup> West 1974, 65-71: discussion on dating of Theognis.

<sup>82</sup> West 1974, 40.

<sup>83</sup> West 1974, 41 on the frequency of those vocatives, most prior to v.254.

<sup>84</sup> West 1974, 41-42.

<sup>85</sup> Steffen 1968; West 1974, 40: unconvincing.

<sup>86</sup> Ath. 2.37e: οἶνος <...> καὶ ἀλαθέα, attributed to Alcaeus by a scholiast of Plato (*Symp.* 217e) and already characterized as a proverb (παροιμία).

Hereby, the citation is going to be analyzed in its context in Theognis' work, namely lines 498-502:

ἐν πυρὶ μὲν χρυσόν τε καὶ ἄργυρον ἱδρὶες ἄνδρες γινώσκουσ',	Experienced men recognize both gold and silver (when placed) in fire, while wine reveals a man's mind, but even if he is very prudent, if he drinks it beyond moderation desiring it eagerly, like so it puts him to shame even if he formerly seemed wise.
500 <b>ἀνδρὸς δ' οἶνος ἔδειξε νόον,</b>	
καὶ μάλα περ πινυτοῦ, τὸν ὑπὲρ μέτρον ἥρατο πίνων, ὥστε καταισχυῖναι καὶ πρὶν ἐόντα σοφόν.	
(Thgn. 498-502)	

The main idea of the citation revolves around wine-drinking as a method to reveal one's mind, his intentions. Examining the phrase in its Theognidean context, wine is presented to reveal one's truth (ἀλήθεια),<sup>87</sup> a process compared to metal control through incandescence. This relation of wine and truth is also elsewhere attested and seems to have been central in sympotic context.<sup>88</sup> The concept is explained in Plato's *Laws* 649A-650B: wine-drinking loosens self-restraint and leads to a psychic state in which one experiences a sense of infinite freedom and courage. Thus, wine-drinking constitutes a simple and never-failing method of examination, according to Plato.<sup>89</sup> However, the relationship between wine and truth is not as direct and one-to-one as it may seem; Rösler states that for this link to be enforceable, it demands a person speaking the truth fully, consciously and intentionally. Thus, it seems to reflect a kind of obligation of the symposiasts to reveal their true self, rather than a natural consequence of wine-drinking;<sup>90</sup> something like an "agent for sociability".<sup>91</sup>

Plato considers this method of examination of one's true character the most superior and one that does not entail any notable danger.<sup>92</sup> Is wine just a *delight* and not a *burden* in the case of revealing the truth? The Theognidean context of Athenaeus' citation does not exempt wine of its ambiguous nature; in case of immoderate drinking (ὑπὲρ μέτρον), even the wise is proven to be foolish. Characterized as such either due to the excessive drinking *per se* or because of its probable humiliating consequences, illustrated by Mnesitheus, Eubulus and Epicharmus as outrage (ὕβρις) and its results, the idea that the notion of *metron* plays a crucial role in wine-drinking is clearly depicted.<sup>93</sup> The aim of wine consumption seems to have been for the symposiasts the pleasant state of neither mere sobriety nor severe intoxication,

<sup>87</sup> Cole 1983, on the meaning of *alētheia* in archaic Greek.

<sup>88</sup> Rösler 1995, 106-108: Alc. fr.366, 333, Ion of Chios fr.26.12 W.=1.12G.-P., Aesch. fr.393 R., Pl. *Leg.* 649A-650B, *Symp.* 217E, Theocr. *Id.* 29.2-3.

<sup>89</sup> Rösler 1995, 106-107.

<sup>90</sup> Rösler 1995, 106-107.

<sup>91</sup> Lissarrague 1990, 8.

<sup>92</sup> Lissarrague 1990, 9. Pl. *Leg.* 650A: καὶ μυρία δὴ λέγων οὐκ ἂν τις ποτε ἀνύσειεν, ὅσω διαφέρει τὸ μετὰ παιδιᾶς τὴν ἄλλως ἄνευ μισθοῦ ζημώδους θεωρεῖν. 'In fact, one might quote innumerable instances in a vain endeavour to show the full superiority of this playful method of inspection which is without either serious consequence or costly damage.' Translation R.G. Bury.

<sup>93</sup> Corner 2015, 139-242: "middling" practice in *polis* context; also Papakonstantinou 2012.

expressed *verbatim* in the *Corpus Theognideum*.<sup>94</sup> Hence, following rules that –although sometimes broken– regulated wine consumption, the symposiast would overcome reticence and diffidence, while engaging in conversation would be facilitated, whereas he would not lose control and quarrel.<sup>95</sup> In light of this practice, the symposium was fittingly characterized “a regulated, controlled and ritualized exercise of the passions”.<sup>96</sup>

A worthy of exploring extension of the above-mentioned thoughts, which also combines them, derives from the context of citation of the verse (Thgn. 500) in Athenaeus (above). More specifically, the topic of wine and truth is introduced by the citation of Philochorus the tragedian, who also refers to the process of revealing other peoples’ true nature, besides one’s own. Scholars do not agree in the interpretation; Rösler perceives it as “truth in the most comprehensive sense”, a revealing of truth about oneself and everything-everyone else,<sup>97</sup> whereas Olson as a revealing “of other people’s secrets”.<sup>98</sup> Paulas, analyzing intertextuality in Athenaeus, discusses “creative intertext” as texts that seem unrelated, but are in fact connected through concepts and words.<sup>99</sup> Based on this, it is arguable that Philochorus’ text has negative connotations, particularly if the elegiac verse that follows is indeed excerpted from Theognis’ work, in which case its context of similar (negative) notion was taken into consideration, linking those quotations.

To conclude, there is need of summarizing by assessing the ambiguity of wine as presented by the citation of Theognis’ verse. Wine is connected with truth, as the agent bringing it forward. This idea constitutes a *topos* in literature, related to the genre’s context of performance, the symposium. While it mainly has positive connotations, highly expected due to the importance and positive value of the term ἀλήθεια, the ambiguity of wine does not fail to cast a shade on it as well. The citation *per se* does not seem ambiguous; the negative connotations are revealed once both its original and its citation context is examined. Excessive consumption of wine is able to make even the one perceived as the wisest look like a fool. In this instance, the axis on which the dual nature of wine is evaluated is that of quantity; the absence of μέτρον is what leads to the misstep. However, apart from not being a *climax* in terms of form, what differentiates this from Mnesitheus’ approach is an emphasis on the ethical aspect instead of the medical one, on the transgression of the social, communicative and linguistic *decorum* instead of the physiological consequences.<sup>100</sup>

## 4.2. Lyric Poetry: Bacchylides (Ath. 2.39e-f = fr. \*20b.6-16)

Bacchylides of Keos is one of the nine lyric (melic) poets in the homonymous list of canonical, lyric poets worth studying, compiled by Alexandrian scholars. His dating is far from certain, but his *floruit* is

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<sup>94</sup> Thgn. 478: οὔτε τι γὰρ νήφων οὔτε λίην μεθύων. Hunter and Koukouzika 2015, 28: supposedly from the work of Euenus of Paros; Papakonstantinou 2012, 18.

<sup>95</sup> Corner 2015, 235; Cook et alii, 1302; Nencini 1997c, 631.

<sup>96</sup> Pellizer 1990, 183.

<sup>97</sup> Rösler 1995, 109.

<sup>98</sup> Olson 2006, 215.

<sup>99</sup> Paulas 2012, 409.

<sup>100</sup> Papakonstantinou 2012, 18-19: the same emphasis on more archaic texts on wine.

considered contemporaneous with the one of Pindar;<sup>101</sup> it is supposed that he was born around 520 and died not long after 452, when his last victory ode was composed.

The citation of Bacchylides by Athenaeus in the second book of the *Deipnosophistae* belongs to a categorization of fragments (20A-D) considered to be excerpts of *enkomia*, songs of praise.<sup>102</sup> Among them, fragments 20B –the one partially cited by Athenaeus– and 20C seems to participate in sympotic literature and it is highly likely they were composed to be performed during a symposium, while exceed the common length of a *skolion* in order to participate in that category.<sup>103</sup> Regarding Bacchylides' fragment 20B, lines 6-16 are cited towards the end of the first speech of book 2 (35a-40e):

διὸ Βακχυλίδης φησί·	This is why Bacchylides says:
6 γλυκεῖ ἄνάγκα	The sweet urge of the cups set in swift motion
σευομενᾶν κυλίκων θάλπησι θυμόν,	warms up the heart, and the expectation of
Κύπριδος τ' ἑλπίς διαιθύσσει φρένας·	Cypris lights up the mind mixed with Dionysus'
ἄμμειγνυμένα Διονυσίοισι δώροις·	presents. It leads men's cares high up. At once, it
10 ἀνδράσι δ' ὑποτάτω πέμπει μερίμνας·	resolves the battlements of the cities, while it
αὐτίκα μὲν πολίων κράδεμνα λύει,	gives to all men the impression that they are
πᾶσι δ' ἀνθρώποις μοναρχήσιν δοκεῖ·	soon to become kings. Houses gleam with gold
χρυσῷ δ' ἐλέφαντί τε μαρμαίρουσιν οἴκοι,	and ivory, while fire-bearing ships in the dazzling
πυροφόροι δὲ κατ' αἰγλάεντα <πόντον>	sea bring immeasurable wealth from Egypt. This
15 νᾶες ἄγουσιν ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου μέγιστον	is how one's heart muses when drinking.
πλοῦτον· ὥς πίνοντος ὀρμαίνει κέαρ.	

(Ath. 2.39e-f, fr. \*20b.6-16)

The citation starts by setting the context, that of the *symposion* in its strict sense: the drinking party following the dinner (δεῖπνον). In this setting, the swiftly moving wine-drinking cups (κυλίκων), indicating a continuous consumption through equitable distribution of wine by the symposiasts, what is called "equitable conviviality" and constitutes a *topos* in sympotic songs and poetry.<sup>104</sup>

Following that, three common ideas associated with wine are to be observed. Firstly, wine is presented as heart-warming (θάλησι θυμόν), metaphorically recalling Mnesitheus' εὐθυμία (joy) and literally its use in medicine (ιατρικήν); wine was medically considered of warming nature, taken into

<sup>101</sup> Maehler 2004, 9; Pelliccia 2009, 241, frequently compared to Pindar: same genre, function and linguistic similarities.

<sup>102</sup> Körte 1918, 137-138 first suggested that they were fragments of *enkomia*; Maehler 2004, 238 agrees, while notes that the first editors, Grenfell and Hunt, thought they were *skolia* or *paroinia*.

<sup>103</sup> Maehler 2004, 238.

<sup>104</sup> Corner 2015, 240.

consideration for its prescription by physicians.<sup>105</sup> Subsequently, the expectation of *Kypris* (Κύπριδος ἑλπίς) is mentioned in relation to wine, Dionysus' gift (Διονυσίοισι δώροις), a *topos* in sympotic poetry,<sup>106</sup> similarly to Eubulus assigning the second *krater*, approved by the god, to the pleasure of love (ἔρωτος ἡδονῆς). Equally common is the association of the emotion of love with φρένες, depicted as prone to external influence, namely of Aphrodite in this case, upon both thinking and feelings.<sup>107</sup> Although not explored here, excessive wine consumption is sometimes linked to loss of control and desire of illicit love.<sup>108</sup> Lastly, wine-drinking is depicted as liberating men from their cares and troubles, a motif explored in detail in the following chapter, an elaboration on which constitute lines 11-16.

The final five lines of Bacchylides' excerpt construct a utopian imagery, which focuses on the automatic resolve of enmity between men and cities,<sup>109</sup> accompanied by the imaginary reign of all men and untold wealth of Egyptian origin.<sup>110</sup> Utopian thinking is expressed through imaginary scenarios of a better reality responding to the issues of the society which bore it.<sup>111</sup> Besides their positive character, the term *utopia* also presents negative connotations, being considered "impractical, therefore useless and even dangerous because it diverts attention and effort from the realizable".<sup>112</sup> This idea, although modern, could be present at a certain degree. This example of utopian thinking is said to be the result of thought during swift consumption of wine. At the same time, the quotation cited immediately before this one by Athenaeus, namely the comment of Aristarchus on a verse of the *Iliad* (8.231), states that drunkenness leads to altering of perception of the world and an inclination to lies.<sup>113</sup> This is further supported by the association of wine with folly and hallucinations by Timaeus of Tauromenium (*FGrH* 566 F149) and false notions by Plato on the basis of false-etymology, also cited by Athenaeus around the middle (37b-e) and in the beginning (35c) of the first speech respectively; the word οἶνος [...] was originally οἰόνους, because it fills our minds with false notions (οἰήσεως).<sup>114</sup>

To conclude, the issue of the ambiguity of wine has to be evaluated. While in this excerpt of sympotic theme wine is praised as heart-warming, a means of enjoying Aphrodite's gift of love, a remedy to one's troubling thoughts and cares by the imaginary creation of a parallel, ideal reality, its dangerous and potentially catastrophic nature is not entirely absent. The dual nature of wine is made evident by Athenaeus' choices resulting in a new context in which the fragment is interpreted. Wine could also act as a means of disorientation from reality, in contrast to its relation to ἀλήθεια discussed in chapter 4. As far as the axis which this effect lies on, one could argue for the speed of consumption, but in lack of sufficient evidence, it seems more likely that this effect is considered an inherent characteristic of wine. The axes of quantity and quality are absent from this excerpt, cited quite far from Athenaeus' introductory citation of Mnesitheus.

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<sup>105</sup> See above, chapter 2.

<sup>106</sup> Pellizer 1990, 180; Rinella 2010, 51, providing Xenophon and Plato's works as examples; Carey 2009, 35.

<sup>107</sup> Sullivan 1989, 176-181, also providing as parallels Hom. *Il.* 3.442, 14.294, *Od.* 15.421, *H. Ven.* 38, 57, Arch. 191W, Thgn. 1388, Ibyc. 286.14 (PMG), Sapph. 47, 48.

<sup>108</sup> Nencini 1997a, 212.

<sup>109</sup> Finley 1971, 182: in the utopic city of Pēra, constructed by Crates of Thebes, men do not go to war (Diog. Laert. 6.5.85).

<sup>110</sup> Napoli 2021, 469, gold and *eunomia* (in the sense of peace) are two of the four motifs of early Greek utopia.

<sup>111</sup> Finley 1971, 178-180; Frye 1965, 330-339.

<sup>112</sup> Finley 1971, 179.

<sup>113</sup> Ath. 39d-e.

<sup>114</sup> Ath. 2.35c, translation Olson 2006.

## 5. Tragedy: wine in Euripides' *Bacchae* (Ath. 2.40b = Eur. *Bacch.* 772-774)

Right after the poetic recitation of Bacchylides by the interlocutor of this section (2.35a-40e), Athenaeus' text proceeds to what I consider the conclusion of the speech of that *persona*.<sup>115</sup> The speaker lists positive effects of wine, also mentioned in the section's main body. Wine is a cause of joy, according to Homer (*Il.* 3.246), alluding to Mnesitheus' εὐθυμία (2.36b) and Ion of Chios (35e); wine is also a source of courage, according to Homer (*Il.* 19.167-169), also stated citing Diphilus (35c-d) earlier; wine is an escape from cares, pain and grief, according to the tragedians Sophocles (fr. 758), Euripides (*Bacch.* 772-774) and Astydamos (*TrGF* 60 F 6), and, earlier in Athenaeus' work, the author of the *Cypria* (35c-d) and Panyasis (37a). Next, the *deipnosophist* reiterates the axis of quantity –but not that of quality– of wine consumption, which defines the nature of the effects of wine, introduced by the citation of Mnesitheus at the beginning of the speech (36a-b). The interlocutor's speech concludes with a brief discussion on the role of wine in feasts and sacrifices, seemingly unrelated to its effects.

This chapter will focus on the passage excerpted from Euripides' *Bacchae*. Once again, I will identify the concept of the ambivalent nature of wine in the quotation of the *Bacchae*, while also spotting similarities with previous citations and analyzing new aspects of the idea, characteristic of the excerpts' tragic genre. Lastly, I will try to trace similarities to previous citations and examine if defining the effects of wine-drinking on the axes of quantity and quality is still possible in this case.

It is thought that Euripides composed the *Bacchae* in the mature age of his *floruit*, presumably a few years before his death in 407-406 BCE.<sup>116</sup> Among Euripides' plays, the *Bacchae* is considered to be one of his greatest works and –important for the analysis below– very popular in antiquity, not only because of its literary and theatrical value, but also due to the prominent position of the cult of Dionysus.<sup>117</sup> In what I call the conclusion of the *deipnosophist*'s speech on wine, the following lines of the *Bacchae* are quoted:

(Messenger:)

772 τὴν παυσίλυπον ἄμπελον δοῦναι βροτοῖς.  
οἴνου δὲ μήκέτ' ὄντος οὐκ ἔστιν Κύπρις  
οὐδ' ἄλλο τερπνὸν οὐδὲν ἀνθρώποις ἔτι,

That he gave to the mortals the vine that ends suffering. If wine does not exist, Cypris does not exist either, nor any other enjoyable thing for humans,

Εὐριπίδης ἐν Βάκχαις φησί.

says Euripides in *Bacchae*.

(Ath. 2.40b, Eur. *Bacch.* 772-774)

This excerpt constitutes the last two phrases of the first messenger speech of the play, in the third episode. Dionysus has arrived to the city of Thebes, coercing mainly the female population to maenadism. Pentheus, concerned about what he thinks is an intrusion of corrupt morals, imprisons the Dionysus-foreigner and his followers, but in vain, as Dionysus, through an epiphany, achieves liberation. Pentheus

<sup>115</sup> I follow the changes of speaker as indicated by Olson 2006, but the division of the section 2.35a-46d into thematic units, explored in detail in chapter 1, is a product of my thesis.

<sup>116</sup> Seaford 1996, 25.

<sup>117</sup> Seaford 1996, 52-53.



is informed and his speech is followed by a messenger reporting on the acts of the *thiasoi* of the maenads on the mountain. The messenger's speech ends with this positive evaluation of wine, Dionysus' drink, acutely accused by the kind of Thebes earlier.<sup>118</sup>

Besides its connection with Cypris and love, resonating Eubulus' ἔρωτος ἡδονῆς and Bacchylides' Κύπριδος ἐλπίς, wine is presented as a substance that ends suffering (παυσίλυπον). This echoes the last positive effect of wine consumption listed by Mnesitheus, εὐθυμία (joy). However, it is suggested by Athenaeus that it goes beyond that, associating wine with pain and grief (λύπη) through the following citation of Astydamos (40b) and the preceding citation of Sophocles (40a), employing misery (πημονῇ), in the same sense of pain. In other words, for Athenaeus, there is a sense of forgetfulness implemented, that the tragedians emphasize, also expressed *verbatim* by Teiresias in the first episode.<sup>119</sup> Indeed, this use of wine as a tool for forgetting, present also in Bacchylides' citation,<sup>120</sup> constitutes a literary *topos*,<sup>121</sup> first attested in Alcaeus (fr. 346.3 L-P), who characterizes wine as λαθικάδης (inducing λήθη, forgetfulness).<sup>122</sup>

Beyond literature, wine was employed as a god-given means of release from pain, grief and toils of everyday life within the context of the cult of Dionysus.<sup>123</sup> Dressed in specific apparel, dancing rhythmically but, most importantly, drinking wine, Dionysus' worshippers were thought to gain another level of consciousness, breaking free from misery, through the blessing of Dionysus<sup>124</sup> represented by wine. Therefore, we could say that the frequent use of the same motif in tragedy possibly brings us back to the genre's origins, although extant evidence does not confirm with certainty the relation between the Dionysiac cult and drama and the latter's emergence from the former.<sup>125</sup>

The quotation present in the *Deipnosophistae* is not the only case of praising wine in Euripides' *Bacchae*. Firstly, Teiresias, in his speech-response to Pentheus' outburst against Dionysus-foreigner and his cult praises wine as a remedy for every-day cares and toil through forgetfulness and sleep.<sup>126</sup> He also emphasizes a link between Dionysus' drink, divine inspiration and courage in war, which also constitute

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<sup>118</sup> Eur. *Bacch.* 221-225: πλήρεις δὲ θιάσοις ἐν μέσοισιν ἱστάναι / κρατῆρας, ἄλλην δ' ἄλλοσ' εἰς ἐρημίαν / πτώσσουσιν εὐναῖς ἀρσένων ὑπηρετεῖν, / πρόφασιν μὲν ὡς δὴ μαινάδας θυοσκόους, / τὴν δ' Ἀφροδίτην πρόσθ' ἄγειν τοῦ Βακχίου. 'They set up full wine bowls in the middle of their assemblies and sneak off, one here, one there, to tryst in private with men. The pretext for all this is that they are maenads performing their rites, but they hold Aphrodite in higher regard than the Bacchic god.' Translation Kovacs 2003; Dodds 1944.

<sup>119</sup> Eur. *Bacch.* 280-283: ...ὃ παύει τοὺς ταλαιπώρους βροτοὺς / λύπης, ὅταν πλησθῶσιν ἀμπέλου ροῆς, / ὕπνον τε λήθην τῶν καθ' ἡμέραν κακῶν / δίδωσιν, οὐδ' ἔστ' ἄλλο φάρμακον πόνων. '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.' Translation Kovacs 2003.

<sup>120</sup> See above, chapter 4.2.

<sup>121</sup> Also in Soph. *Ant.* 150-154, Eur. *Bacch.* 279-283, *Cyc.* 172, *Astyd. TrGF* II fr. 636a.1-5, *Ar. Ran.* 1531.

<sup>122</sup> Bierl 1990, 372 n. 61, 381.

<sup>123</sup> Bierl 1990, 372.

<sup>124</sup> Bierl 1990, 368.

<sup>125</sup> Bierl 1990, 357, persuaded that there is a connection between the two, while underlining the lack of evidence (cf. Damen and Richards 2012, 343, 366); Patzer 1962 and Lesky 1971, 260-270 pro the Dionysiac origins of tragedy; Else 1957, Kitto 1964 are some of the scholars rising doubts on the matter; Taplin 1978 argues for no relation whatsoever.

<sup>126</sup> Eur. *Bacch.* 280-283: text in note 119 above.

frequent *topoi* explored by Athenaeus through citations of different works.<sup>127</sup> Consequently, during the first *stasimon*, the chorus proceeds on praising wine; it is a source of laughter<sup>128</sup> and sleep while it also repeals cares<sup>129</sup> leading to pleasure.<sup>130</sup> The last instance of praising wine is the one cited by Athenaeus and analyzed above.

At this point, it is crucial to note that, in the *Bacchae*, Dionysus and wine coincide and frequently alternate creating interesting implications.<sup>131</sup> When Dionysus is praised, the praise could be read as a praise of wine and conversely. This equation of Dionysus and wine, Bacchic *mania* and drunkenness is very frequent in comedy<sup>132</sup> and, in this case of expanded metonymy, the characteristics and effects of wine are attributed to Dionysus and *vice versa*. Taking into consideration the central role of Dionysus in the play, which creates a religious atmosphere “translated” through the use of hymn language,<sup>133</sup> we could say that wine is imperatively praised as beneficial, representing Dionysus, who functions as the deity invoked through the hymn.<sup>134</sup>

However, this is not where the play ends. Pentheus’ systematic insults and rejection of Dionysus, the Dionysiac cult and wine suggest his punishment and destruction. Even Teiresias’ speech of the first episode, seemingly a speech of praise, is argued to point to the same direction. Reguero has shown that Teiresias, like Pentheus, although being Dionysus’ supporter, avoids using the epithet Βρόμιος argued to point to the god’s positive side and attitude, while employing Βάκχος instead, which alludes to either the deity’s connection with maenadic ecstasy or his destructive nature. Although its context of use implies the former meaning, negative connotations contributing to ambiguity are far from absent.<sup>135</sup>

The last instance of praise, cited in Athenaeus’ *Deipnosophistae*, is followed by destruction. In the very same episode, Dionysus and Pentheus engage in conversation.<sup>136</sup> Pentheus suddenly becomes deeply interested in maenadism<sup>137</sup> and his curiosity leads him to witness the rituals that occur on the mountain,<sup>138</sup> which, openly announced by Dionysus,<sup>139</sup> will be his destruction. It is clear that he is affected by the god’s power; a “metaphorical drunkenness” inflicted by Dionysus on Pentheus,<sup>140</sup> given the former’s equation with wine. Thus, Dionysus, through wine, although extensively praised, finally brings Pentheus and Agaue

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<sup>127</sup> On poetic inspiration, frequently considered divine (eg. Hesiod’s *Theogony*), Ath. 39b-c (author of epigram on Cratinus), Ath. 39d (anonymus comic poet). On courage, Ath. 35c-d (Diphilus), Ath. 40a (Homer).

<sup>128</sup> Athenaeus on wine and laughter, 35c-d (Diphilus).

<sup>129</sup> Eur. *Bacch.* 378-385.

<sup>130</sup> Eur. *Bacch.* 421-423.

<sup>131</sup> Eur. *Bacch.* 284-285: οὗτος θεοῖσι σπένδεται θεὸς γεγώς, / ὥστε διὰ τοῦτον τὰγάθ’ ἀνθρώπους ἔχειν. ‘Himself a god, he is poured out in libations to the gods, and so it is because of him that men win blessings from them’ Translation Kovacs 2003.

<sup>132</sup> Bierl 1990, 381.

<sup>133</sup> Damen and Richards 2012, 343.

<sup>134</sup> Damen and Richards 2012, 344-359: analysis of the hymnic, tripartite structure and its adaptation in Euripides’ *Bacchae*, considered a “dramatic hymn” (Damen and Richards 2012, 366).

<sup>135</sup> Reguero 2013, 360-363.

<sup>136</sup> Eur. *Bacch.* 787-861.

<sup>137</sup> Eur. *Bacch.* 810 constitutes the turning point of his behavior.

<sup>138</sup> Eur. *Bacch.* 812.

<sup>139</sup> Eur. *Bacch.* 848 ff.

<sup>140</sup> Dodds 1944, 193-194; Oranje 1984, 142; Otero 2013, 344-345. The same effect on Agaue, tearing apart her own son (5<sup>th</sup> episode).

to destruction and misery respectively, instead of salvation and peace of mind.<sup>141</sup> The ambivalence in the god's nature and his drink is apparent;<sup>142</sup> Dionysus can benefit humans, as he did with the maenads,<sup>143</sup> but he can also lead to murder, catastrophe and misery, as for the royal family of Thebes.<sup>144</sup> It is however apparent that the ending of Euripides' play, a result of which is the ambiguity of Dionysus and wine, was at some extent dictated by the conventions of the tragic genre; by revealing the god's disastrous nature after repeatedly emphasizing the positive side of both him and wine allowed *peripeteia* to develop, while an intense antithesis between Dionysus' beneficial and cruel nature led to *pathos* of great intensity.<sup>145</sup>

Whereas this ambiguity is not made explicit in the *Deipnosophistae*, given the popularity of the play, it is highly likely it sounded quite ironic to both Athenaeus and his readership, recalling in their memory the tragic ending of the royal family of Thebes. This is what Paulas, discussing the *Deipnosophistae* from the prism of its readership, calls a "strict intertext"; by explicitly stating the author and work from which the excerpt was taken,<sup>146</sup> the author allows the readership to remember or find non-quoted parts of the same work.<sup>147</sup> As expected, this influences the interpretation of the excerpt; although wine is presented to eliminate suffering, the reader automatically recalls the suffering of Pentheus, Agaue and Cadmus, giving the excerpt an ambiguous character based on its "strict intertext".

To conclude, concerning the ambiguity of wine as depicted in this excerpt, we could identify it as absent from Athenaeus' actual text but present in his reader's mind, as a result of the play's popularity; the citation is a eulogy to wine followed, in its original context, by a demonstration of the wine-god's destructive power creating a devastating contrast which constitutes the essence of tragedy. Concerning new aspects of the idea, it is "dressed" in religious apparel and wine-Dionysus moves from being the absolute benefit for humans to their greatest calamity, a result of the text's participation in the genre of tragedy. Cited at the end of the *symposiast's* speech, its similarity to Mnesitheus' excerpt, in terms of content and structure, is very limited; there is no distinction of stages corresponding to effects, but just their extremities, with no clear border between them. This does not allow the definition of effects on the axes set by the physician. However, Mnesitheus' εὐθυμία (joy) and μανία (madness), also present in Eubulus (μανίας), are still present, although the latter in its ritual, Bacchic sense. Lastly, it is important to add a *caveat*; while being able to recognize the ambiguity implied by this quotation, it could be also present in texts that do not survive in their entirety from other sources and only part of them was cited by Athenaeus. This automatically deprives us from locating such an idea when it refers back to the lost original context of the citation.

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<sup>141</sup> Salvation and peace of mind constitute the aim of the hymn, if we consider the *Bacchae* a "dramatic hymn" according to Damen and Richards 2012; Damen and Richards 2012, 365: here the *charis* is not granted, the tragedy does not follow hymnic motifs towards its ending; Otero 2013, 345: instead of honoring Dionysus and being in communion with him, what follows is destruction.

<sup>142</sup> Otero 2013, 333-334: Dionysus' ambivalent nature is also revealed through his parallelism with a bull, either a symbol of fertility or of danger and destruction. Dionysus as a bull in the *Bacchae*: 100, 618, 743 (=Ath.2.38e-f), 920, 1017, 1159. Relevant section in Athenaeus, 2.38e-f.

<sup>143</sup> Eur. *Bacch.* 660 ff, messenger's speech on the maenads' accomplishments.

<sup>144</sup> Even Cadmus is being punished, a Dionysus' follower. Kalke 1985, 423-424 for more details.

<sup>145</sup> Bierl 1990, 358; Damen and Richards 2012, 365.

<sup>146</sup> It is interesting that the Epitomist did not omit the work's title, as he did in every other case of excerpt in the section 35a-40e, except this and the quotation of Plato's Laws (38d-e). He either considered it important for its interpretation or he retained it due to the work's popularity. Both cases support my argument.

<sup>147</sup> Paulas 2012, 408.

## Conclusion

Coming to a conclusion, it is fitting to focus on Athenaeus' *poetics of citation*, the way he organized quotations of many different texts in terms of genre while composing his *Deipnosophistae*. It is clear that the order of the fragments creating this compilation of texts on the symposium suggests a connection between them; they are similar both in terms of their central notion and structurally, at a different degree.

Athenaeus dedicated the first speech of his second book on wine. Most fragments deal with the results of its consumption, both negative and positive, creating a nexus of quotations on the ambiguity of the substance. In this context, the author employs the quotation of Mnesitheus the physician as a clear and well-structure introduction of the issue, on which the following citations constitute an elaboration, each adding a different aspect on the topic. This choice is explained by the clarity of the physician's categorization of the effects of wine consumption, a result of his technical –scientific, in modern terms– employment of language.

Whereas the entirety of the section (35a-40e) contributes to the discussion of the ambivalent nature of wine, besides Mnesitheus, this Master thesis has focused on citations of poetic texts that presented the ambiguity issue independently –or, at least, *also* independently, in their own particular way. Once the idea is securely and clearly set by Mnesitheus, Athenaeus cites Eubulus and Epicharmus, clearly expressing this ambiguity, but in a more allusive, poetic way. A paragraph later, concerning Theognis' idea that wine reveals the truth, the ambiguity is embedded in the citation's original context (in excess, it makes the wise seems like a fool), but also in its citation context of the *Deipnosophistae*; it involves revealing other people's secrets. Two paragraphs intervene and Bacchylides is cited, presenting wine as the medium to a utopia. The ambiguity, apart from its citation context of false perception of the world and inclination to lies, lies in the interpretation level; utopias, although pleasant, tend to be misleading and dangerous. Shortly after, towards the end of the speech, Euripides' *Bacchae* is cited, its title not omitted; wine is a cure for pain and a source of pleasure, surely ironical given the play's ending. The ambiguity in this case lies in the readership's ability to recall this turn of events.

Concerning their structure, Mnesitheus' quotation sets a clear climax format; he proceeds to a categorization of the effects of wine consumption hierarchically, from positive to negative, from bad to worse. Although the comic excerpts cited immediately after are similarly structured, already Theognis' quotation presents signs of deviation, presenting only the two extremes, and just in its original context. The quotations of Bacchylides and Euripides, whose ambiguity highly depends on Athenaeus' readership, clearly do not follow this structure. Apart from this hierarchic structure, I have argued that Mnesitheus' definition of wine-drinking effects is based on two axes, those of quality and quantity of consumption. Concerning the quality axis, the physician's quotation, deriving from a text of medical interest, also refers to the consumption of unmixed wine. Here, genre plays a role; the rest of the citations only refer to mixed wine, as they deal with its ritualized consumption in the context of the symposium (Eubulus, Theognis, Bacchylides) and sacrificial feasting (Epicharmus); in the *Bacchae* quality is not specified. On the other hand, the axis of quantity is more extensively employed, clearly in Eubulus and Theognis and suggested by the citation context of Epicharmus, whereas it could not be applied on Bacchylides and Euripides' excerpts.

As it is already clear, having analyzed all poetic excerpts cited by Athenaeus in the first speech of book 2 on the ambiguity of wine, apart from the transition from quotation to quotation based on a word-basis, it seems that Athenaeus hierarchically organized relevant quotations based on their similarity, in content and structure wise, to what he considers central by quoting it introducing an issue for discussion. As the work proceeds, the ambiguity of wine gets less and less clearly implied. Similarly, although excerpts of similar structure are cited, this structure gradually fades out. However, based on the analysis, the central notion seems to have constituted a more important criterion for Athenaeus than format.

Lastly, I see fit wrapping up this Master Thesis with a parallelism. Notably, this compilation of fragments does not provide any consumption-related answers; Athenaeus neither defends nor accuses wine. Even regarding its mixing with water, the *Deipnosophistae* includes 11 different mixing ratios.<sup>148</sup> The different excerpts much resemble Athenaeus' characters of the *deipnosophists*: different in their own way, like the symposiasts, participate in Athenaeus' highly organized literary symposium and interact by reciting ideas on wine and its ambiguous nature, which forms an important element of the symposium itself. This makes their collective analysis much more fruitful and the *Deipnosophistae* much more than a source of fragmentary extant works. The texts, like participants in a banquet, are carefully selected and positioned, each patiently awaiting its turn to contribute to the discussion on the ambiguity of wine. Thus, this thesis focused not only on the content itself, but also on Athenaeus' way of organizing knowledge, not only on the poetic recitations of the *deipnosophists* but also on the arrangement of the contest.

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<sup>148</sup> Bertier 1972, 74-76.

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## Appendix

Table 1 – Overview of Ath. 2.35a-46d

35a	Nicander of Colophon	Fr.86 Schneider	Wine named after Oeneus.
	Melanippides of Melos	<i>PMG</i> 761	Wine named after Oeneus.
b	Hecataeus of Miletus	<i>FGrH</i> 1 F15	Wine's origins: Aetolia. Oeneus named after wine.
c	<b>Plato</b>	<b><i>Cratylus</i>, 406c</b>	<b><i>Oinos</i> deriving from <i>oionous</i> (<i>oiēsis</i> + <i>nous</i>).</b>
	<b>Homer</b>	<b><i>Il.</i> 6.260</b>	<b><i>Oinos</i> deriving from <i>onēsis</i>.</b>
c-d	Author of the <i>Cypria</i>	Fr.17 Bernabé	Wine's godly origin; wine as an escape from cares.
	Diphilus	Fr.86	Praising Dionysus; laughter, courage.
d	Philoxenus of Cythera	<i>PMG</i> 831	"Voices"; a result of wine.
	Chaeremon	<i>TrGF</i> 71 F15	(Positive) results of wine; also "vocal".
e	Ion of Chios	<i>PMG</i> 744	Positive result of wine: cheering up.
<b>36a-b</b>	<b>Mnesitheus</b>	<b>Adesp. com. fr.101 = fr.41 Bertier</b>	<b>Introducing the ambiguous nature of wine. Positive and negative results.</b>
<b>b-c</b>	<b>Eubulus</b>	<b>Fr.*93</b>	<b>Same as above, more allusive.</b>
<b>c-d</b>	<b>Epicharmus</b>	<b>Fr.146</b>	<b>Same as above.</b>
d	Panyasis	Fr.17 Bernabé	Same concept. Effects of wine as deities.
	Panyasis	Fr.18 Bernabé	On Folly and Outrage.
	Euripides	Cyc. 534	Outrage, a result of excessive drinking.
e	Alexis	Fr.46	Allegory: human nature resembles wine.
f	Eratosthenes	Fr.36, p. 67 Powell	(Negative) effect of wine: revealing, loss of sense.
	Alexis	Fr.280	Allegory: human nature is opposite to wine.
37a	Panyasis	Fr.16.12-15, 16-19 Bernabé	Wine as benefiting: forgetting of troubles and grief. Feasting, choral dancing and love-making.
b	Panyasis	Fr.19 Bernabé	Same concept; negative effects when in excess.
<b>b-e</b>	<b>Timaeus of Tauromenium</b>	<b><i>FGrH</i> 566 F 149</b>	<b>Wine and drunkenness lead to folly and hallucinations.</b>
e	<b>Philochorus</b>	<b><i>FGrH</i> 328 F 170</b>	<b>Wine and truth: revealing oneself and others.</b>
	<b>Alcaeus</b>	<b>Fr.366.1</b>	<b>Wine and truth.</b>
f	<b>Theognis</b>	<b>500</b>	<b>Wine and truth.</b>
	Aeschylus	Fr.*1	On cauldrons.
38a	Homer	<i>Il.</i> 9.122	On tripods.
	Semus of Delos	<i>FGrH</i> 396 F16	Cauldrons <i>are</i> tripods; their use.
b	Ephippus	Fr.25	Wine and truth.
b-c	Antiphanes	Fr.232	It is obvious that one had been drinking wine.
c	Philochorus	<i>FGrH</i> 328 F5b	On wine-mixing practice.
d-e	Plato	<i>Laws</i> 674b	Wine-drinking; beneficial on health.
e	Alcaeus	Fr.369	Wine and violence.
e-f	Euripides	<i>Bacch.</i> 743	Violent bulls.
f	Ariston of Chios	Fr.23 Wehrli	Nectar: wine, honeycomb, sweet-smelling flowers.
39a	Anaxandrides	Fr.58	Nectar as aliment; ambrosia as a drink.
	Alcman	<i>PMG</i> 42	Nectar as aliment.
a-b	Sappho	Fr.141.1-3	Ambrosia as a drink, accompanied by wine.
b	Homer	<i>Il.</i> 1.598	Nectar as a drink.
	Ibycus	<i>PMG</i> 325	Ambrosia: sweeter than honey, contains honey.

	Alexis	Fr.285	Good people like to drink. Drinking and talkativeness.
b-c	Author of epigram on Cratinus	Nicaen. <i>AP</i> 13.29 = <i>HE</i> 2711-16 = Cratin. test.45	Wine, a source of poetic inspiration, in contrast to water.
c-d	Polemon	Fr.40 Preller	Heroes associated with wine.
d	Comic poet	Adesp. com. fr.*102	Wine, a source of poetic inspiration.
d-e	<b>Aristarchus</b>	<b>On <i>Il.</i> 8.231</b>	<b>Drunkenness as alteration of the perception of the world and inclination to lies.</b>
e-f	<b>Bacchylides</b>	<b>Fr.*20b.6-16</b>	<b>Wine-drinking alters thinking.</b>
40a	<b>Sophocles</b>	<b>Fr.758</b>	<b>Wine, a cure for pain.</b>
	Homer	<i>Il.</i> 3.246	Wine and cheering up.
	Homer	<i>Il.</i> 19.167-9	Wine, a source of courage.
	Simonides	<i>PMG</i> 647	Wine and music; common origins.
b	<b>Euripides</b>	<b>Bacch. 772-4</b>	<b>Wine, a cure for pain, a source of pleasure.</b>
	<b>Astydamas</b>	<b><i>TrGF</i> 60 F6</b>	<b>Wine, a cure for grief.</b>
c	Antiphanes	Fr.268	Wine affects thinking; positive and negative results depending on quantity.
	Alexis	Fr.304	Results of wine-drinking; muttering, impeding of thinking.
	Seleucus	Fr.78 Müller	Wine, feasts and sacrifices.
d	Aristotle	Fr.667	Wine, feasts and sacrifices.
	Euripides	Fr.327.6-7	Sacrifice.
	Homer	<i>Od.</i> 9.5-6	Sacrifice.
e	Alexis	Fr.267	Sacrifice and wealth.
f	Hesiod	Fr.274	Conversation should follow eating.
	Pindar	<i>O.</i> 1.1.	Water, the best thing there is.
41a	Homer	<i>Od.</i> 17.208	Water, nourishment for trees.
	Homer	<i>Od.</i> 5.70	Spring-water.
	Homer	<i>Il.</i> 2.751	River-water.
	Homer	<i>Il.</i> 2.753	River-water.
a-b	Praxagoras of Kos	Fr.40 Steckerl	Water for washing clothes.
b	Homer	<i>Od.</i> 6.87	Water for washing clothes.
	Homer	<i>Il.</i> 7.86	“Broad” water; sea.
	Homer	<i>Od.</i> 12.305-6	Ships in the sea.
	Homer	<i>Il.</i> 11.829-30	Warm water for wounds.
c	Homer	<i>Il.</i> 22.149-50	Warm water.
	Homer	<i>Il.</i> 22.151-2	Description of spring flow.
d	Homer	<i>Il.</i> 11.266	Hot blood of wound.
	Homer	<i>Il.</i> 11.477	Warm blood.
	Eratosthenes	pp.236-7 Bernhardt	“Intermixed” water.
	Homer	<i>Il.</i> 9.15; 16.4	Dark water.
e	Hesiod	<i>Op.</i> 595	Spring-water.
	Pindar	Fr.198b	Spring-water.
	Aristophanes	<i>FGrH</i> 379 F4	Spring-water and Teiresias.
f-42a	Theophrastus	Fr.214a	Water and fertility.
43b	Antiphanes	Fr.177	Water of Attica, the best.

c	Eubulus	Fr.128	Chaeremon ( <i>TrGF</i> 71 F 17): River-water.
c-d	Herodotus	IV 52.2-3	River-water of Hypanis.
d	Theopompus	<i>FGrH</i> 115 F278a	Acidic water near the Erigonus river; drunkenness as if it was wine.
d-e	Aristobulus of Casandreia	<i>FGrH</i> 139 F6	Achilleion, spring in Miletus.
e	King Ptolemy	<i>FGrH</i> 234 F6	Stream of very cold water.
e-f	Phylarchus	<i>FGrH</i> 81 F63	Spring of water; drinking it causes intolerance to wine's smell.
f	Clearchus	Fr.96 Wehrli	Colour of water, milk, wine, olive oil, mulberry juice.
	Eubulus	Fr.133	Water, asource of inspiration; wine impedes thinking.
	Ophelio	Fr.4	Same as above.
44a	Amphis	Fr.41	Wine does not entirely impede thinking; water does not ensure reason.
a-b	Antiphanes	Fr.293	Fighting something with that very thing.
b	Sophron	Fr.94	Use of the term "unmixed" for water.
	Phylarchus	<i>FGrH</i> 81 F64, 13	Nothing but water-drinking.
b-c	Aristotle	Fr.668	Nothing (neither food nor drink) but milk.
c	or Theophrastus	Fr.340	
	Pythermus	<i>FGrH</i> 80 F2	Nothing but water-drinking.
	Hegesander of Delphi	Fr.24, <i>FHG</i> iv.418	Nothing but water and figs or myrtle-berries.
d	Phrynichus	Fr.74	Nothing but water-drinking.
	Macho	46-50 Gow	Same as above.
	Aristotle	Fr.668	Total abstinence from liquids.
e	Antigonus of Carystus	p.66 Wilamowitz	Nothing but water-drinking.
	Demetrius of Scepsis	Fr.72 Gaede	Diocles of Peparethus ( <i>FGrH</i> 820 T 1): Nothing but drinking cold water.
	Demosthenes	6.30	Nothing but water-drinking for a while.
e-f	Pytheas	Fr.III.2 Baiter-Sauppe	Comparison of politicians: water-drinking and studying / excessive wine-drinking and procuring.
f	Euphorion of Chalcis	Fr.7, <i>FHG</i> iii.73 = fr.184 van Groningen	Total abstinence from liquids.
45a	Antiphanes	Fr.240	Variety of food.
a-b	Herodotus	I 188	Persian King: consumption of water from the Choaspes river.
b	Ctesias of Cnidus	<i>FGrH</i> 688 F37	Preparation of royal water.
b-c	Polybius	Fr.73 Buettner-Wobst	Ptolemy Philadelphus: Nile water for Berenice.
c	Heliodorus	<i>FGrH</i> 373 F8	Antiochus Epiphanēs: mixing wine into the spring of Antioch.
	Theopompus	<i>FGrH</i> 115 F*75a	Midas: same as above, to get Silenus drunk.
	Bion	<i>FGrH</i> 14 F3	Location of the spring mentioned before.
c-d	Staphylus	Fr.9, <i>FHG</i> iv.506	Melampus: discovery of wine-mixing.
d	Pleistoniscus	Fr.2 Steckerl	Water; better for digestion than wine.
e-f	Hippocrates	<i>On Diet</i> 2.332.5-8 Littré	Sweet wine; affecting the head and thinking less, gets digested faster than one of vinous character.

f	Posidonius	<i>FGrH</i> 87 F72 = fr.283 Edelstein-Kidd	Not drinking toasts as the Carmani do.
46a	Alexis	Fr.195.2-3	Perfume; its effect on the brain, good health.
b-c	Hippocrates	<i>Epid.</i> II 5.88.15-16 Littré	Different qualities of water.
c	Erasistratus	Fr.159 Garofalo	Water evaluation; weight.
c-d	Hippocrates	<i>On Places</i> , 2.30.5-11 Littré	Good quality water; need of just a little wine.