

## SOLON'S SYMPOSIUM (FRS. 32–4 AND 36 GENTILI-PRATO<sup>2</sup> = 38–40 AND 41 WEST<sup>2</sup>)\*

### 1. INTRODUCTION

The Solonian fragments 32–4 and 36 Gentili-Prato<sup>2</sup> = 38–40 and 41 West<sup>2</sup> have been variously interpreted, in part because of the purely lexicographic interests of the majority of the quoting sources, which had no concern with the specific occasion for which the poems had been composed or the narrative context of the quoted fragments. The remains are also indisputably meagre: little more than a list of food-names, hardly the sort of theme Solon favoured in the rest of his surviving poetry. Precisely for that reason the fragments deserve more attention than they have received before now. In this paper I shall try to demonstrate that there is more to be said on these tiny fragments than has been generally realized: I shall first examine Solon's scene as mirroring the sympotic practice of the so-called 'second-tables', *δεύτεραι τράπεζαι*; then I shall explore the implications of this interpretation for the poetry of Solon and more generally for the iambic poetry of his time.

### 2. SOLON, FRS. 32–4 AND 36 GENTILI-PRATO<sup>2</sup> = 38–40 AND 41 WEST<sup>2</sup>

πίνουσι καὶ τρώγουσιν, οἱ μὲν ἴτρια,  
οἱ δ' ἄρτον αὐτῶν, οἱ δὲ συμμεμιγμένους  
γούρους φακοῖσι· κείθι δ' οὔτε πεμμάτων  
ἄπεστιν οὐδ' ἔν, ἄσσ' ἐν ἀνθρώποισι γῇ  
φέρει μέλαινα, πάντα δ' ἀφθόνως πάρα. 32 G.–P.<sup>2</sup> (38 W.<sup>2</sup>)

σπεύδουσι δ' οἱ μὲν ἰγδιν, οἱ δὲ σίλφιον,  
οἱ δ' ὄξος . . . 33 G.–P.<sup>2</sup> (39 W.<sup>2</sup>)

κόκκωνας ἄλλος, οὔτερος δὲ σήσαμα. 34 G.–P.<sup>2</sup> (40 W.<sup>2</sup>)

ῥοῦν 36 G.–P.<sup>2</sup> (41 W.<sup>2</sup>)

The indisputable similarities between these fragments and the exuberant food-lists,<sup>1</sup> which frequently characterize the fabulous world of pleasure and delight depicted by comedy, were stressed as early as 1897<sup>2</sup> and have always been important in their

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<sup>1</sup> See e.g. Aristophanes, *Eccl.* 1168–75; Alexis, *PCG* 84; Anaxandrides, *PCG* 42; Ephippus, *PCG* 12, 13; Eubulus, *PCG* 63; Metagenes, *PCG* 18; Mnesimachus, *PCG* 4.29ff.; Nicophon, *PCG* 6; Pherecrates, *PCG* 50; Philyllius, *PCG* 12.

<sup>2</sup> O. Crusius (in the 'Adnotatio' which prefaced his reworking of the fourth edn of E. Hiller, *Anthologia lyrica* [Leipzig, 1897], XX) was the first to point out the similarities of fr. 32 G.–P.<sup>2</sup> = 38 W.<sup>2</sup> with comedy and to suppose that Solon relegated to this world the members of the *demoi* to whose improved conditions he had also referred in fr. 31 G.–P.<sup>2</sup> = 37 W.<sup>2</sup> See further below, Section 3.

interpretation. Yet, since the comic device of food-lists is later than Solon,<sup>3</sup> it might seem more reasonable to link the fragments to the iambic tradition: themes related to food and cooking are fused in the iambic writers, both before Solon (Semonides)<sup>4</sup> and after (Ananius<sup>5</sup> and Hipponax<sup>6</sup>), and are typical elements of the *συμπόσιον* (drinking party) with which iambic poetry also concerned itself; more importantly, the institution of the symposium represents the actual context of iambic poetry, since it was a primary vehicle for its transmission (with the recitations of poems by the iambographoi) and for the very practice of the *ιαμβικὴ ἰδέα*.<sup>7</sup> The first scholar, to my knowledge, to associate these fragments of Solon with this was Romagnoli.<sup>8</sup> I shall argue that all the culinary delights mentioned by Solon are typical of the sympotic moment of the complex *δεῖπνον-συμπόσιον* (-κῶμος), and are often or only quoted as *τραγήματα* (*ἐπιδορπίσματα/ἐπιφορήματα*). In other words, they are precisely the type of delicacies (cakes, sweets, eggs, nuts, fresh and dried fruit, small portions of meat) that were served on the *δεύτεραι τράπεζαι*,<sup>9</sup> and constituted the *ἐπιδορπισμός*, the *μετὰ δεῖπνον* or 'after-dinner' phase. This was clearly a discrete stage of the symposium, different from the *deipnon* when food but not wine was taken:<sup>10</sup> it was the moment of drinking the wine, and included desserts which were different from the plainer food and what was served with it in the *deipnon* which constituted the real and proper meal.

The Solonian use of the verb *τρώγω*, which precisely means 'to nibble' (cf. *τραγήματα/τρωγάλια*),<sup>11</sup> in conjunction with *πίνω*, formed in all probability a sort of hendiadys<sup>12</sup> which would immediately evoke the typical snacks of the after-the-meal

<sup>3</sup> On the relation between comedy, parodic poetry, and iambic tradition, cf. Aristotle, *Poet.* 1448b24–1449b8, and see above all E. Degani, 'Giambo e commedia', in E. Corsini (ed.), *La polis e il suo teatro* (Padova, 1988); id., 'Aristofane e la tradizione dell' invettiva personale in Grecia', in *Aristophane*, 'Entret.Fond.Hardt' 38 (Vandoeuvres and Genève, 1993), 1–49; R. M. Rosen, *Old Comedy and Iambographic Tradition* (Atlanta, 1988), 9–35.

<sup>4</sup> See Athenaeus 14.658c = *IEG* 22–3, and Athenaeus 14.659f = *IEG* 24; *IEG* 15. See also *IEG* 25 (sympotic content), and *IEG* 26 (cf. E. Pellizer and G. Tedeschi, *Semonides. Testimonia et Fragmenta* [Roma, 1990], ad loc.).

<sup>5</sup> *IEG* 5 (the first on the relation between food and the seasons).

<sup>6</sup> See *IEG* 26–26a, 128. Hipponax is the first to name two delicacies which became largely appreciated in Greek literature, dried figs, *ἰσχάδες*, and a savoury paste, *μυσσώρος*.

<sup>7</sup> See Degani (n. 3, 1993), 37; E. Pellizer, 'Per una morfologia della poesia giambica arcaica', in *I canoni letterari: Storia e dinamica* (Trieste, 1981), 35–48.

<sup>8</sup> E. Romagnoli, 'Studi critici sui frammenti di Solone', *SIFC* 6 (1898), 54–9 esp. 58. No interpretative study, so far as I know, has hitherto considered in detail the sympotic nature of Solon's fragments, though this line of interpretation has been recently adopted (with no further argumentation) by R. Torné Teixidó, 'Soló i la tradició iàmbica', *Itaca* 9–11 (1993–5), 74–5, and by O. Vox, 'Solone', in F. De Martino and O. Vox (edd.), *Lirica greca* (Bari, 1996), II, 769.

<sup>9</sup> On the term *tragemata*, see Plato, *Rep.* 2.372c who includes figs and nibbles; Aristotle, fr. 675 Gigon; Galen 6.550.5 K.; numerous comic passages supply evidence: e.g. Aristophanes, *Ach.* 1091–2; Alexis, *PCG* 168, 190; Amphis, *PCG* 9; Diphilus, *PCG* 80; Ephippus, *PCG* 13; Eubulus, *PCG* 44; Menander, *PCG* 409; Mnesimachus, *PCG* 7; Philippides, *PCG* 20; Philyllius, *PCG* 18; Sopater, fr. 17 K.; Teleclides, *PCG* 1. For the understanding of the concept 'second-tables', cf. Athenaeus 14.639b–643e; see also W. A. Becker, *Charikles. Bilder altgriechischer Sitte* (Leipzig, 1854<sup>2</sup>), II, esp. 263–9, and S. Douglas Olson and A. Sens, *Matro of Pitane and the Tradition of Epic Parody in the Fourth Century B.C.E. Text, Translation, and Commentary* (Atlanta, 1999), 138.

<sup>10</sup> This custom of serving desserts with wine seems to be unknown to Homer (who mentions the onion as a relish to wine: *Il.* 11.630), and is not mentioned by Hesiod: see A. Dalby, *Siren Feasts: A History of Food and Gastronomy in Greece* (London and New York, 1996), 103.

<sup>11</sup> See e.g. S. Douglas Olson, *Aristophanes: Peace* (Oxford, 1998), on 1324–7.

<sup>12</sup> I. M. Linforth, *Solon the Athenian* (Berkeley, 1919), 223. So the context of the performance of the song was the symposium. See further below, Section 3.

symposium: see, for instance, Xenophanes, fr. 13.2–3 G.–P.<sup>2</sup> ἐν κλίνῃ μαλακῇ κατακείμενον, ἔμπλεον ὄντα, / πίνοντα γλυκὺν οἶνον, ὑποτρύγοντ' ἐρεβίνθους, Demosthenes 19.196 ἐπειδὴ δ' ἤκον εἰς τὸ πίνειν, εἰσάγει τιν' Ὀλυνθίαν γυναῖκα, . . . ταύτην τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οὕτως πίνειν ἤσυχῇ καὶ τρώγειν ἡνάγκαζον κτλ., Diodorus, *PCG* 2.9–13 οὗ δ' ἂν καλῶς ἐστρωμένην κλίνην ἴδῃ / παρακειμένην τε <τὴν> τράπεζαν πάνθ' ἃ δεῖ / ἔχουσιν, ἤδη συγκατακλιθεὶς κοσμίως / ἀριστίας ἐαυτόν, ἐντραγῶν, πιών, / ἀπέρχεται οἴκαδ' οὐ καταβαλὼν συμβολάς.

A rapid survey of the delicacies Solon mentions confirms this interpretation. The ἴτριον was a cake made of a mixture of honey and sesame-seeds, mentioned as accompanying wine in Anacreon, *PMG* 373.1–2, found among the τραγήματα mentioned by Ehippus, *PCG* 8.3, and among the ἐπιφορήματα ~ τραγήματα by Archippus (*PCG* 11). The ἄρτος<sup>13</sup> may well have been considered a kind of great delicacy in Solon's times, if we believe in the authenticity of the Solonian law<sup>14</sup> which provided those who dined at the prytaneum with the μάζα (a very coarse food made from barley meal, compounded with milk, water, salt, oil) while the ἄρτος was kept for the days of the ἑορταί. The γούρος<sup>15</sup> is a kind of 'flat cake' (πλακοῦς), as explained by Athenaeus 14.645f, and something similar too were the πέμματα:<sup>16</sup> several poets provide evidence for the latter in the sympotic context of the 'second tables' (Philoxenus, *PMG* 836e.20, Antiphanes, *PCG* 172.5 εἴτ' ἐπεισῆγεν χορείαν ἢ τράπεζαν δευτέραν / καὶ παρέθηκε γέμουσαν πέμμασι παντοδαποῖς, Chrysippus, *SVF* 374), while we find the πλακοῦντες among the τραγήματα served as dessert at the end of dinner in passages such as Aristophanes, *Ach.* 1092, and Diphilus, *PCG* 80; in particular, Archestratus, *SH* 192.14–16 mentions, among the τραγήματα, boiled chickpeas, fava beans (cf. the Solonian lentils, φακοί) and πλακοῦς, the Athenian 'flat cake'. Lentils were served both as a staple<sup>17</sup> and as a dessert—not without some kind of complaint or worry about their effects, if we can judge from the comic fragment of Pherecrates, *PCG* 73, and the line spoken by Jocasta in Strattis, *Phoenissae* *PCG* 47.2.

The word ἵγδις or θυεῖα, which properly means the kitchen-mortar,<sup>18</sup> was also a kind of dancing. Despite some recent doubts<sup>19</sup> it seems certain that here ἵγδις is the

<sup>13</sup> The transmitted ἄρτον αὐτῶν was emended by Schweighäuser (approved by Bach) to ἄρτον αὐτόν, which would mean 'plain bread', without any relishes. For such a meaning it would be more idiomatic to say ἄρτον μόνον: cf. e.g. Galen 6.412.8 Κ. προσφέρεσθαι τροφὴν ἀπλουστάτην, ἥτις ἐστὶν ἄρτος μόνος. Athens was especially noted for its bread industry in the late fifth century: see Dalby (n. 10), 27 and n. 95; Olson and Sens (n. 9), 78.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Athenaeus 4.137e = fr. 89 Ruschenbusch; A. Jardé, *Les céréales dans l'antiquité grecque* (Paris, 1925), 123. The authenticity of Solon's laws is a difficult and disputed matter: this particular law seems to be less questionable than others: see E. Ruschenbusch, *Σόλωνος νόμοι. Die Fragmente des solonischen Gesetzeswerkes mit einer Text- und Überlieferungsgeschichte* (Wiesbaden, 1966), 46. Solon's name is also connected with baking, since Pollux 1.246 reports that Solon καὶ τὰς νύμφας ἰούσας ἐπὶ τὸν γάμον ἐκέλευσε φρύγετρον φέρειν σημεῖον ἀλφειουργίας (φρύγετρον is a utensil for the roasting of barley).

<sup>15</sup> Without any compelling reason, J. E. Hammer, 'Ad Solonem', *NTF* 11 (1902–3), 47 tried to undermine the reliability of Athenaeus' testimony, and claimed that γούρους would mean here 'meat, pieces of meat'.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Hesychius π 1374 Schmidt; *Suda* π 957 Adler.

<sup>17</sup> They commonly appear in literature as the food of the very humble/poor (Aristophanes, *Wealth* 1004–5, *Wasps* 811) since vegetables were cheap. Similar double roles were played by e.g. the κύαμον (cf. Theocritus, *Id.* 7.66 and R. Hunter, *Theocritus. A Selection* [Cambridge, 1999], ad loc.), the ἐρέβινθος (Crobylus, *PCG* 9), the φάσηλοι: cf. Dalby (n. 10), 90.

<sup>18</sup> For a detailed description, see B. A. Sparkes, 'The Greek kitchen', *JHS* 82 (1962), 125, and L. A. Moritz, *Grain-Mills and Flour in Classical Antiquity* (Oxford, 1958), 22 and n. 4.

<sup>19</sup> A. Masaracchia, *Solone* (Firenze, 1958), 360 and D. E. Gerber, *Greek Elegiac Poetry* (Cambridge MA and London, 1999), 163.

mortar, as was already stated by Pollux (10.103 on τὰ μαγειρικά), τὴν δὲ θυίαν . . . καὶ ἰγδιν δὲ αὐτὴν κεκλήκασιν Σόλων τε ἐν τοῖς ἰάμβοις λέγων κτλ.<sup>20</sup> Indeed we would have in Solon exactly what was required for the preparation (in the kitchen)<sup>21</sup> of a sauce: condiments such as silphium, vinegar, and so on, placed all together in a mortar, as is illustrated by a fragment of Anaxippus (PCG 1.4–7):<sup>22</sup> οὗτοι τὰ μὲν παλαιὰ καὶ θρυλούμενα / ἀρτύματ' ἐξήλειψαν ἐκ τῶν βιβλίων / καὶ τὴν θυεῖαν ἠφάνισαν ἐκ τοῦ μέσου, / οἷον λέγω κύμινον, ὄξος, σίλφιον, / τυρόν, κορίαννον κτλ. Such use of spiced sauces was very common as it stimulated thirst during the symposium: see the scholia to Aristophanes, *Knights* 103 ἔθος δὲ εἶχον ποιεῖν πλακοῦντας ἢ ἄρτους καὶ ἐπιπάσσειν τινὰ καρυκεύματα ἀλμυρά, and the schol. rec. to *Knights* 1089 πλακοῦσι γὰρ ἐπέπασσον ἀλμυρά, καὶ ἐκ τούτων ἡναγκάζοντο πίνειν πολλά.<sup>23</sup> Of the other sauce-condiments and flavourings mentioned, silphium seems to have been a favourite kind of a spice in Athens, and is commonly mentioned together with wine-vinegar: see Aristophanes, *Birds* 534, PCG 128.1; Alexis, PCG 193.4–5; Anaxandrides, PCG 42.58; Philemon, PCG 113.3; Arcestratus, SH 176.14–15 and 192.8. Indeed from the combination of the two (at times together with other condiments) the Greeks made a sauce<sup>24</sup> to accompany either meat, or cheese, or also—significantly for our general interpretation of these fragments—smaller articles of food which were served as *τραγήματα*: see, in particular, Arcestratus, SH 192.6–9 ἐμπίνοντι δέ σοι φερέτω τοιόνδε τράγημα, / γαστέρα καὶ μήτηρ<sup>25</sup> ἐφθὴν υἱὸς ἐν τε κυμίνῳ / ἐν τ' ὄξει δρμεί καὶ σιλφίῳ ἐμβεβαῶσαν / ὀρνίθων τ' ὀπτῶν ἀπαλὸν γένος κτλ.

The aromatic seeds mentioned in frs. 34 and 36 G.–P<sup>2</sup> = 40 and 41 W<sup>2</sup> were generally used as food flavours or garnish:<sup>26</sup> the pomegranate, ῥο(ι)ά, of which the κόκκωνες are the seeds (cf. Hesych. κ 3300 Latte), appears as a course of the 'second tables' in Matro, *Attic Dinner-Party* (cf. SH 534.113) and as food that can be gnawed or munched (τρώγειν) 'after having eaten' (μετ' ἄριστον) in Menander (PCG 83). The seeds of the sesame (σήσαμα) are often cited as ingredients for the preparation of various sweets that were named after it (σησαμῆ, σησαμίον, σησαμῖς, σησαμούς, etc.):<sup>27</sup> already in Hipponax, IEG 26a.2, the σήσαμα appear to be a sauce or ground sesame-seeds with which pancakes (τηγανίται) were spiced, and in Alcman, PMGF 19 we find references to tables laden with 'poppy-seed loaves' (μακωνιᾶν ἄρτων: cf. the Solonian ἄρτον in fr. 32.2 G.–P<sup>2</sup> = 38 W<sup>2</sup>), linseed and sesame, and χρυσοκόλλα. Furthermore, in Philoxenus, *Banquet* PMG 836e, sesame-flavoured articles of food

<sup>20</sup> In other iambic poets too we find plenty of instances that mention common objects of an everyday nature: references to tableware in early iambic poets: ἄρυστήρ, ποτήριον, τράπεζα, κύλιξ in Semonides, κύλιξ and πέλλη in Hipponax.

<sup>21</sup> See below, Section 3.

<sup>22</sup> Likewise Aristophanes, *Wealth* 716–22 (for medical purposes); cf. also the comic metaphorical use of the *θυεῖα* in *Peace* 231 τρίβειν ἐν αὐτῇ τὰς πόλεις βουλεύεται (246–7: ingredients all ground together with a pestle in a mortar), and 259–86 where Hermes uses the ἀλετριβανός, a similar utensil.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Becker (n. 9), 264–7.

<sup>24</sup> Other examples of silphium-sauces: a mixture of silphium and grated cheese used with bird meat in Aristophanes, *Birds* 533–8, 1579–80; cheese and silphium, salt and oregano on grilled fish in Alexis, PCG 138.5–6. Apicius gave directions for the making of a sauce of silphium, 1.16.33 André *laser Cyrenaicum vel Parthicum tepida dissolvis cum aceto . . . vel piper, petroselinum, mentam . . . acetum*; Cato, *De agricultura* 157.7 *eodem silphium inradito bonum est* (on cabbage).

<sup>25</sup> For the inclusion of small pieces of meat in the *tragemata*, see Hesych. δ 957 Latte on a kind of sweetmeat eaten at dessert; W. G. Arnott, *Alexis: The Fragments. A Commentary* (Cambridge, 1996), 495; Olson (n. 11), 224; Olson and Sens (n. 9), 138. Besides, types of cakes were sometimes served with meat on top: cf. Olson on Aristophanes, *Peace* 1195–6.

<sup>26</sup> See Dalby (n. 10), 51–2.

<sup>27</sup> See also Athenaeus 14.646–7.

(cakes and cheese) figure prominently.<sup>28</sup> Finally, the fruit of the sumach<sup>29</sup> was most often quoted in ancient literature in connection with tanning, but, according to Galen,<sup>30</sup> a different preparation of its ground fruit was also used for seasoning as a condiment, and it is also found in the lists of the spices in Alexis as well as in Antiphanes.<sup>31</sup>

The culinary delights of these fragments are therefore associated exclusively in later texts with the symposium which followed the conclusion of the *deipnon*, when wine was drunk and 'second tables' were brought; it may well be reasonable therefore to assume a similar sympotic practice and an analogous sympotic function for these elements already in Solon's time.

### 3. A WIDER CONTEXT?

Because the fragments come to us from diverse sources, we may ask how many poems they represent. It is entirely possible that we have here fragments from as many as four distinct poems. The possibility that Solon treated the consumption of—most probably sympotic—foodstuffs in more than one poem cannot be excluded since themes recur in his poetry. However, the similarities between the fragments go beyond the theme of food. They also share (with the exception of the brief fr. 36 G.–P.<sup>2</sup> = 41 W.<sup>2</sup>) third-person narrative, vivid and detailed description of activity, and a tendency to subdivide the activities, using varying statements for 'some/others'. Although this falls short of conclusive proof, it entitles us to operate confidently with the hypothesis that the fragments all belong together and describe the same occasion(s).

Fragment 32 G.–P.<sup>2</sup> = 38 W.<sup>2</sup> reveals in particular Solon's interest in the symposium<sup>32</sup> which followed the *deipnon*, and it is tempting to suggest that Solon should be considered the first testimony from iambic/elegiac poetry of what we call 'meta-sympotic' literature, that is the presentation or the re-presentation by the poet of the symposium to itself. This kind of literature is particularly associated with Xenophanes,<sup>33</sup> but Solon's verses show that it must have been an inherent feature of the earliest stage of iambic-elegiac poetry as well; for choral lyric the first evidence on sympotic foodstuffs comes from a fragment of Alcman, *PMGF* 19 κλίνας μὲν ἐπὶ τὰ καὶ τόσαι τραπέσαι / μακωνιῶν ἄρτων ἐπιστεφοῖσαι / λίνω τε σασάμω τε κῆν πελίχνας / †πεδεστε† χρυσοκόλλα, as was recently emphasized by Vetta.<sup>34</sup> Even though in Alcman the specific occasion remains unclear,<sup>35</sup> here too we find the

<sup>28</sup> See also M. Vetta, *Symposion: antologia dei lirici greci* (Napoli, 1999), 85.

<sup>29</sup> We had better keep the accusative case in which the word appears in the testimony as it may have preserved a trace of the original Solonian text.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. 12.922.13 K. μάλιστα δὲ ἐπιτήδειός ἐστι ροῦς, εἴτε ἀρρενικῶς ἐθέλοις ὀνομάζειν αὐτὸν εἴτε θηλυκῶς. ἐστι δὲ διττός, ὁ μὲν ἕτερος ἐπιπαττόμενος τοῖς ὄψοις εὐστόμαχος, ὁ δὲ ἕτερος τοῖς βυρσοδέψαις χρήσιμος, and ροῦς ὁ ἐπὶ τὰ ὄψα (12.463.8; 12.928.1 K.), also 19.135.16 K. ρόα: τὰ ἐκ τῆς συκαμίνου μόρα τὰ ἄωρα ξηρανθέντα καὶ κοπέντα τοῖς ὄψοις ἐπιπάττεται, καθάπερ καὶ ὁ κυρίως ὀνομαζόμενος ροῦς.

<sup>31</sup> See respectively *PCG* 132.6 and 140.2.

<sup>32</sup> Much recent work on the symposium has emphasized its important sociopolitical role in the archaic *polis*: Solon's evidence echoes the variety of the functions it performed: in fr. 3 G.–P.<sup>2</sup> = 4 W.<sup>2</sup> he warns against the catastrophic symposium while he connects the ordered apportionment of food and drink in the feast with the ordered city (lines 9–10 and lines 21–2).

<sup>33</sup> See also the symposiastic instructions found in the poetry of his contemporary Anacreon.

<sup>34</sup> See Vetta (n. 28), 85–6.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. the hypothesis advanced by P. von der Mühl, 'Kultische und andere Mahlzeiten bei

description of the furniture (*κλίνη-τράπεζαι*) and of the desserts which accompany the drinking of the wine during a reclining sympotic feast. By Xenophanes' time, in any case, the custom of serving/taking desserts alongside wine seems to be well established, as can be seen from the poet's references to it both in his description of an ideal symposium in fr. 1.9–10 G.–P.<sup>2</sup> = 1.9–10 W.<sup>2</sup>, and also in his description of a simpler, almost rustic, one<sup>36</sup> in fr. 13.2–3 G.–P.<sup>2</sup>

Yet, because so little material has remained of what must have been a coherent whole, we cannot know if Solon is here exclusively interested in the symposium and its 'second tables'. Fragment 33 G.–P.<sup>2</sup> = 39 W.<sup>2</sup> clearly implies a space different from the sympotic one,<sup>37</sup> namely that of the kitchen (since spices are not ground at table in antiquity)<sup>38</sup> and a typically comic interest in the *μαγειρική τέχνη*, though, as shown above, all the foodstuffs prepared may well be for the symposium.<sup>39</sup>

The subject of Solon's poem(s) remains obscure, if we accept that his aim was something beyond a description of these sympotic practices. Scholars are not in agreement as to which part of the Athenian community this description can refer. It has been maintained that it could refer to the welfare of the Athenian *demos*.<sup>40</sup> If so, however, fr. 32.4–5 G.–P.<sup>2</sup> = 38 W.<sup>2</sup> would be exaggerated and wildly unrealistic as an account of the life of the poor.<sup>41</sup> Besides, Solon's constant statements and insistence in his poetry<sup>42</sup> are that he gave the *demos* enough, not that he made the *demos* rich or realized its dreams and expectations. On the other hand, since on other occasions (cf. fr. 18 G.–P.<sup>2</sup> = 24 W.<sup>2</sup>) Solon seems to favour symposiastic moderation, the description may be better considered as Solon's criticism of the culinary elaboration characteristic of the sympotic feasts of the Athenian rich.<sup>43</sup> Questions arise: do we have here the description of costly, elaborate gastronomic goods of which Solon disapproves? Who are the diners? Are they the same men as the ones of fr. 3.9–10 G.–P.<sup>2</sup> = 4 W.<sup>2</sup>, who do not know how to conduct the delights of the banquet which are present before them?

Alkman', in *Festschrift für K. Meuli* (Basel, 1951), 257–9 regarding the Spartan festival *Kopis* during which all strangers were well feasted (Athenaeus 4.138–9); Vetta (n. 28), 85–6 opts for a smaller symposiastic context in the royal *ἀνδρεία* on the occasion of political hospitality. See further M. Pizzocaro, 'Alcmane e la gastronomia poetica', *AION* 12 (1990), 285–308, who argues for the metaphorical significance of the foods mentioned in Alkman, *PMGF* 17, 95b, and 96.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. also Aristophanes, *Peace* 1136ff., *Eccl.* 606 (*Eccl.* 44–5) for the typical constituents of a simple/modest symposium.

<sup>37</sup> Should we then invert the numbering of the fragments?

<sup>38</sup> Solon's fragment thus differs from Xenophanes, fr. 1 where we have slaves hurrying to and fro at table.

<sup>39</sup> We cannot exclude, however, that the spiced sauce of fr. 33 G.–P.<sup>2</sup> (39 W.<sup>2</sup>) may also relate to the *deipnon*.

<sup>40</sup> First suggested by Crusius (n. 2). Similar interpretations were given more recently by M. L. West, *Studies in Greek Elegy and Iambus* (Berlin and New York, 1974), 32, and A. J. Podlecki, *The Early Greek Poets and Their Times* (Vancouver, 1984), 137 (according to Podlecki, Solon would desire to present here a sort of abundant 'golden age' which he connected with the liberation of the earth from the signs of mortgages: cf. fr. 30.6–7 G.–P.<sup>2</sup> = 36 W.<sup>2</sup>).

<sup>41</sup> See Aristophanes, *Peace* 1140ff. (quoted above) for a vivid and realistic account of a more humble 'luxury'.

<sup>42</sup> See e.g. fr. 7.1 G.–P.<sup>2</sup> = 5 W.<sup>2</sup> 'the commons I have granted privilege enough' (trans. M. L. West, *Greek Lyric Poetry* [Oxford, 1994]).

<sup>43</sup> This interpretative line was proposed by J. A. Hartung, *Die Elegiker bis auf Alexander's Zeit I* (Leipzig, 1859), 104, who thought that Solon ridicules the gluttony of the rich. It was supported later by Hammer (n. 15), 48: Solon, speaking of rather refined spices and foodstuffs, would have inserted these lines in a discourse intended to reject the complaints of the rich, and to demonstrate that he did not intend to make them starve with his reforms.

But Solon himself elsewhere seems to know and approve of sympotic *εὐφροσύνη*,<sup>44</sup> while emphasis on unlimited abundance is a typical element in several such descriptions<sup>45</sup> that do not imply any criticism or satire.

Since the speaker seems to describe events at some (great or small) distance (cf. *κεῖθι* at 32 G.-P.<sup>2</sup> = 38 W.<sup>2</sup>, line 3), the description has also been taken as referring to events outside Athens: it has been maintained that such abundance had been intended to make reference to a utopian 'land of plenty' and to the motif of *αὐτόματος βίος*.<sup>46</sup> But the account clearly remains within the realm of the possible as the details lack key paradisiacal elements.<sup>47</sup> It has also been suggested that Solon could be recounting here the life of a people he met on his travels.<sup>48</sup> Yet, all the foodstuffs mentioned were very common in Athens. After all, the distance of the speaker from the scene may not be real but intentionally fictional. It is possible that Solon describes the event as if he or his audience were apparently not present at it (not an immediate context, like Xenophanes fr. 1), just because such a distance from the described event provokes the impression of censure or disapproval of it. The precedent of fr. 3 G.-P.<sup>2</sup> = 4 W.<sup>2</sup>, lines 9–10 may again be the most reasonable frame for the interpretation of the context of these fragments.

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<sup>44</sup> Besides the iambs discussed here, sympotic themes are found also in frs. 16, 17, 18, 24 G.-P.<sup>2</sup> = 25, 23, 24, 26 W.<sup>2</sup>: see my *Solone: i frammenti poetici* (Milano, 2001).

<sup>45</sup> See e.g. the passages on the 'second tables' quoted by Olson and Sens (n. 9), 138.

<sup>46</sup> So, most recently, P. Ceccarelli, 'L'Athènes de Périclès: un "pays de cocagne"? L'idéologie démocratique et l'*αὐτόματος βίος* dans la comédie ancienne', *QUCC* 54 (1996), 116, n. 22.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. the examples cited by Athenaeus (6.267e-270a) on life in the 'golden age' of a primitive past.

<sup>48</sup> For Masaracchia (n. 19), 360, these fragments would reflect Solon's curiosity for other people's costumes and countries which he visited during his travels and they would provide us 'il quadro dei cibi usati in un paese caratterizzato da notevole agiatezza e da un regime di vita conseguentemente raffinato' (U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Aristoteles und Athen* [Berlin, 1893], 2.314 had already interpreted these fragments as describing the foods of a market overflowing with products which come from oriental countries as well).