Beazley, 1) commenting on a Siana cup in Berlin, showing three dolphins in the tondo, made a brilliant but daring interpretation; the painter was portraying the inside of the cup as a round harbour. Another similar cup in the Villa Giulia was to confirm this view, but one of the three dolphins has arms and plays the flute. Greifenhagen 2) commented: probably the painter had in mind the dolphin's notorious love of music, and he compared Pindar fr. 140 b Snell, 13-17:

\[ \text{έρεθίζωμαι πρὸς ἀυτὰ[ν] / ἄλλου δελφίνος ὑπόκρισιν, τὸν μὲν ἀκύμονος ἐν πόντω πελάγει αὐλῶν ἐκίνησ' ἐρατόν μέλος.} \]

But the most penetrating observation came from Erika Simon, 3) that the sea in which the musical dolphins play is a calm sea like Pindar's, and that the artist is representing the idea that calm is a prerequisite for the dolphin's song. I hope in the following pages to show that this is but one aspect of a theme that has a much wider significance.

The dolphin in Pindar sings in a waveless sea, and we can assume that dolphins were not observed to sing save in calm weather. It may seem to stretch the limits of analogy to compare here the west pediment of the temple of Zeus at Olympia, showing the battle of the Lapiths and Centaurs with Apollo as the central figure, but here is the interpretation of Bernard Ashmole: 4) "The scene is appropriate to the temple of Zeus in that Peirithoos was a grandson of Zeus; but its deeper significance lay in the presence of Apollo, the son of Zeus, patron of all the arts, and of all that makes life humane and decent. His presence ensures that civilized men shall prevail."
In these examples we have I suggest the expressions of a general idea, that civilized peace, represented by metaphorical calm, dolphins, Apollo, his representatives or any other culture hero, must triumph over disorder symbolized by turbulent waves, Centaurs, or any of the other exempla for disorderly behaviour such as Giants or Titans. The basic underlying idea is that peace is a precondition for civilization and culture. It was indeed an obvious thought that a city at war could not hold its festivals regularly, and Homer illustrates this on the shield of Achilles (Iliad 18. 490 ff.); the city at war is contrasted with the city at peace, distinguished by its festivity. Aristophanes repeatedly points to social festivity as one of the chief benefits of military peace.

But I should like to concentrate on another area where I believe that this idea was very much alive. The examples that I gave earlier have also in common a connection with symposia; the cups are drinking cups, whose message was read by the symposiast as he drained each draught, while the battle of the Lapiths and Centaurs resulted from the notorious breakdown of order at a wedding celebration, becoming thereby the notorious exemplum for sympotic hybris. It was much easier for Greeks than for us to see in their symposia the same conflict of peaceful civilized behaviour with disorderly brawling that they deplored in their political life, or in more sanguine moments conceived as Hellenism versus Barbarism. Peace as they were only too well aware is a prerequisite for harmonious conviviality and its enemy is hybris. Greeks could see the dining room as a microcosm of the political world, as did Solon, 4.10 West: (οι ἡγεμόνες ἄδικοντες καὶ υβριζοντες)

οὐ γὰρ ἐπίστανται κατέχειν κόρον οὐδὲ παροῦσας εὐφροσύνας κοσμεῖν δαιτὸς ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ.

Solon moves naturally from the social unit of the polis to the more comprehensible unit of the assembled banqueters: one can extrapolate from the immediate environment to the larger and less appreciable world outside. Both function best in an atmosphere of concord; the word for this ideal is one of the
Hours, *Eunomia*, which we know to be a sympotic as well as a political slogan.\(^6\) Plato in fact also plays on its musical sense.\(^7\) The opposite of *Eunomia* is *Hybris*,\(^8\) and this occurs in its most striking form in the drunken rioting of the symposium, for *hybris* is notoriously the effect of too much drinking.\(^9\) Solon therefore can move easily from political *hybris* to the uncontrolled behaviour that ruined convival harmony.

I believe that speculation by poets about the atmosphere of symposia gave such thoughts more precise definition. Greeks took some trouble to ensure that harmony could prevail in their gatherings. Even before the philosophers wrote their sympotic laws,\(^10\) poets constructed a set of ideals to ensure that their own harmony and music would be appreciated in the proper circumstances. The Graces appear as *Euphrosyne*, *Thalia*, *Aglia*, the Hours as *Eunomia*, *Dike*, *Eirene*, all of them connected by poets to poetry; to these, abstracts like *Paidia* and *Hesychia*, *Sophrosyne* and *Euphrosyne*, were easily added. But theory constructed an opposition with *Hybris*, *Stasis*, *Polemos* and *Aphrosyne*.\(^11\) By the end of the fifth century, political prose was producing a new language with words like *Homonoia* and *Philanthropia* to express political nuances; this both replaced the poetic mythology, and separated the language of symposia from politics.\(^12\) Since it was poets who first devised these ideals, it is not surprising that it is in connection with poetry, music, and festivity that they are first used, and reach their greatest influence in the high baroque period of choral lyric.

In the view of poets not only is war to be banned from symposia but even thoughts of war and warlike subjects that might inspire such thoughts.\(^13\) Listeners are warned likewise about the effects of strong drink -- βιαστόν ἁμέλοι παιδα -- that could lead to Scythian or centaurlike behaviour. They are reminded that Peace and the *Horae* are the enemies of *Hybris*, and that they are the prerequisites for song; the symposium will preferably sail on a calm sea.

To achieve this, the symposium is placed under the guidance of the Graces and Apollo, creator of good order.\(^14\) Alcaeus
had composed a poem (fr. 307 L.-P.) in which Zeus sent Apollo to the Greeks to proclaim δίκη and δέμως. I suspect that Pindar is guilty of deriving his name from Polemos in P. 5.66:

(‘Απόλλων) ... διδωσί τε Μοίσαν οἷς ἀν ἔθελη, ἀπόλεμον ἄγαγόν / ἐς πραπλάς εὔνομίαν.

One began the symposium with three activities, pouring libations, singing a paean to Apollo, and praying to be able to do τὰ δίκαια. Now the word σπονδαί in Greek also means peace, and though Theognis shows that this peace was principally made with the gods, he also shows that it gave the tone for what was to follow (759 ff.):

... αὐτὰρ 'Απόλλων
760 ὁρθῶσαι γλῶσσαν καὶ νόσον ἡμέτερον·
φόρμιγξ ἀδ θείγγοιδ' ίερόν μέλος ἡδὲ καὶ αὐλός·
ἡμεῖς δὲ σπονδάς ἰεοῖσιν ἄρρεσάμενοι
πίνωμεν, χαρέιντα μετ' ἄλληλοις λέγοντες,
μηδὲν τὸν Μῆδων δειδιότες πόλεμον.

The mood desired was one dominated by Charis and Euphrosyne, governed by Dike, the whole conditioned by Eunomia and opposed to violence. This is precisely the mood that is sought and claimed by the composers of choral lyric, as Pindar, N. 9.48, shows:

ἡσυχία δὲ φιλεῖ μὲν συμπόσιον· νεοθαλῆς δ' ἀξεταῖ
μαλάκαδι νικαρία σὺν ἀοιδᾷ·
θαρσαλέα δὲ παρὰ κρατῆρα φωνὰ γίνεται.

Or less obviously in N. 7.67, where the chorus announces its moral stance:

ἐν τε δαμόταις
διματὶ δέρκομαι λαμπρὸν, οὐχ ὑπερβαλὸν,
βίας πάντ' ἐκ ποδὸς ἔρυσιας, ὁ δὲ λοιπὸς ἐυφρων
ποτὶ χρόνος ἐρποι.

Now we may turn to two passages which only give good sense in the light of what has been said so far. Alcman's First Partheneion -- though it is not his first and partheneion is
an anachronistic term -- has its chorus of girls say (1. 90 f. P.): ἡ Ἀγνοιχόρ[ας] ἀνευνίδες / [ὑπ]ῆνας ἔφειδας ἐπέβαν. Puelma\textsuperscript{18} suggested that Eirene here can only mean Euphrosyne; in fact Eirene is the precondition for Euphrosyne. But we can go much further, for though the myth which filled the first 34 lines is largely lost, we know that it told how the \textit{Hybris} of the sons of Hippocoon was punished by Heracles; we also know that one of its maxims concerned the power of the \textit{Chari-tites}.\textsuperscript{19} But its moral is also preserved (36-39):

\[
\text{ɛστι τὶς σιὼν τίσις (i.e., for \textit{Hybris})': δὲ δ' ἀλβίος, δοτὶς εὐφρων}
\text{άμέραν διαπλέκαι}
\text{ἀκλαυτος' ἐγὼν δ' ἀείω...}
\]

These bare sentences contrast \textit{Hybris} with \textit{Euphrosyne}, and the sequence \textit{Euphrosyne}-song implies that there was explicit or implicit in the myth a sequence \textit{Hybris}-(lack of song), which would account for the introduction of the \textit{malum exemplum} of Hippocoon's sons. This conclusion is borne out by the existence of a similar argument in several odes of Pindar. In \textit{O. 1}, for example, Tantalus is deprived of \textit{euphrosyne} (v. 58) for his \textit{hybris} (= κόρος v. 56), while the good example Pelops is immortalized. Alcman's choruses begin with the \textit{exemplum} of \textit{Hybris}, in order that they may distance themselves from it. The moral stance of the chorus is firmly on the side of Apollo, the Graces and the \textit{Horae}, because without them they could not sing; and if they praise, their praise must be just, favoured by \textit{Dike}.\textsuperscript{20}

Another ode by Pindar, \textit{Pythian 8}, confirms I think the argument postulated so far. It begins in fact with a formal hymn to \textit{Peace}\textsuperscript{21} (I have adjusted the colometry to show this):

1 \[Φιλόφορον Ἀσυχία, \]
\[Δίκας / ὧ μεγιστόπολις θύγατερ, / \]
\[βουλάν τε καὶ πολέμων / ἔχοισα κλαῖδας ὑπερτάτας / ... \]
\[§ τὸ γάρ τὸ μαλθακὸν (festivity) ἐξεῖ τε καὶ παθεῖν ὄμως / \]
\[ἐπιστασαι...\]
8 τῷ δ'... / 11 ... κράτει τιθείς / ὑβριν ἐν ἀντλωτι·
τάν οὖθεν Πορφυρών μάθεν / παρ' ἄλλαν ἐξερεύνησ' 
(κέρδος δὲ φίλτατον, / ἐκόντος εἰ τις ἐκ ὑδάμων φέροι). / 
15 βία δὲ καὶ μεγάλαυχον ἐσφάλευ ἐν χρόνωι. / Τυφώς... / 
17 ... βασιλεὺς Γυγάντων· 
διμάθεν δὲ κεραυνῷ / τόξοις τ' Ἀπόλλωνος· ὅς εὐμενεῖ νῶι / 
19 ἐνάρξειον ἔδεικτο...

The exemplum for the ἀρεταῖ of the goddess tells how Apollo, 
her representative -- no other gods are named -- defeated the 
violence of the Giants, the symbols of Ὑβρίς. \(^{22}\) Prosperity 
bought at the cost of such violent Ὑβρίς is worthless. \(^{23}\)
The success of the victor's city is different: the city is it-
self called δικαία, and the Charites (vv. 21-24) associate 
themselves with it. Once again the chorus endorses the values 
represented by Apollo and the Graces, and oppose themselves 
to Ὑβρίς. The ultimate proof of this interpretation -- though 
it no more than the text says -- is that, exactly as Alcman 
did, Pindar returns to a similar theme in vv. 67-71:

kreślόξ (Apollo), ἐκόντι δ' εὑχομαί νῶι (= 18 εὐμενεῖ νῶι) / 
κατά τιν' ἄρμονίαν βλέπειν / ἄμω' ἐκαστον, ὅσα νέομαί. / 
κώμα μὲν ἄδυμελεί / Δίκα παρέστακε.

The chorus insists on their morally correct stance. There is 
therefore no need to see Peace, Δίκαι or the Graces as anything 
but part of the conventional stance of the choral poet, when he 
talks of song as the reward for victory in conditions of peace 
and justice. \(^{24}\) The poet affirms that Apollo and Peace provide 
the correct medium for the praise, which is therefore ὁλόβος 
σὺν θεῶι.

There is yet another parallel for this ode, for Pythian 1 be-
gins with the praise of music, the lyre, σύνέικου (i.e., σὺν 
Δίκαι) instrument of Apollo, \(^{25}\) which quells violence and creates 
peace. This is followed (13 ff.) again by the exemplum of the 
Giants' punishment, and in vv. 70-72 the poet comes to the poli-
tical peace imposed by Hieron over the ὑβρις of the Cartha-
ginians; but the metaphors are musical (70 σύμφωνον ὡς ἰσούχιον)
and the implication is that Hieron has himself created the precondition for his own praise.\textsuperscript{26}

I hope that the similarity of these varied examples suggests that we have in all of them a common argument, derived from the political circumstances of archaic life, poeticized by sympotic bards, and utilized by choral lyric in particular to moralize about the circumstances of just praise.\textsuperscript{27}

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\section*{NOTES}

1) J. D. Beazley, \textit{Development of Attic Black Figure}, Berkeley, 1951, p.52. His remarks are cited in full by M. Davies in \textit{Athens Comes of Age}, Princeton, 1978, p.72, in an important and well illustrated article on the idea of the symposium at sea. The present article is meant as a supplement to my own article in \textit{HSCP} 80 (1976) 161-170, and was originally given as part of a talk at the Johns Hopkins in 1977.

2) A. Greifenhagen in: W. Helbig, \textit{Führer durch die Öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom}, 4th ed., vol.3, no.2532. It was on display when I first saw it in 1976. Details of these and other vases may be found in Davies' article, which deals at length with dolphins.

3) E. Simon, \textit{Die griechischen Vasen}, Munich, 1976, pl.XXIV with note. For calm sea as a prerequisite for song compare Ar.\textit{Thesm.} 42, 67; Statius, \textit{Silv.} 2.118; Pind.O. 1.98; P. 5.10; I. 7.38; Pa. 2.52.


5) The chief passages proving peace or the absence of war to be a prerequisite for song are: Theognis 885; Pind. \textit{P.} 5.67; \textit{N.} 9.48; Bacch. \textit{Pa.} 4.61; 13.186 \textit{ff.;} Alcman 41 \textit{P.;} Eur. \textit{Suppl.} 488; fr. 453 \textit{N.} = 71 Austin; fr. 369 \textit{N.} = 60 Austin (compare Theocrit. 16.96 \textit{ff.,} where the whole argument is important); Ar. \textit{Pax} 975. The concept is also implied by Paus. 1. 14.5; Philemon \textit{Com.} 71.10 \textit{K.;} Eiresione-song p.214 Allen; Ar. \textit{Aves} 731 and 1321; Eur. \textit{Bacchae} 417; Alexis 161 \textit{K.;} and in Pindar fr. 250 A \textit{Thybos} is the child of \textit{Adikia.}


9) For \textit{Hybris} as the result of drunkenness see Youtie \textit{ZPE} 31 (1978) 168; Anacreon 33 \textit{G.} = 11 \textit{P.;} Demosth. 54 \textit{passim;} Adesp. \textit{Com.} 106-107.10 \textit{K.;}
Panyassis 13.8 K.; Eubulus 94.7 K.; Hor. Od. 3. 19.16; Panyassis 14.6 K.; Philo in Flaccum 17, p.145.6 Cohn; Pratinas fr. 1.2 P.; there is more information in Fulvius Orsinus, Appendix de Triclinio, Amsterdam, 1674, pp.323 ff.

10) Pl. Laws 671 c; Theognis 467 ff. is a precursor; Athen. Deipn. 1.3; Bücheler, Petronii Saturae (8th ed., Berlin, 1963), pp.344 ff. I doubt that the Laws of Charondas were sung at symposia, Athen. 14. 619 b: compare K. Kircher, Die sakrale Bedeutung des Weines im Altertum (RGV IX.2, Giessen, 1910), pp.70 ff., esp. p.73 on the Iobacchic rules.

11) Peace and the Horae are opposed to Ἰγρίσις: Hom. Od. 17. 487; Pind. O. 13.6; Plato Soph. 216 b; Hes. Op. 225-238 and 213 with West's note; Solon 4.10 W.; Pind. P. 11.55; Bacch. 15.56; Archilochus 177 W.; Pind. P. 8.1 ff. (compare Anacreonta 40); Eur. Bacch. 375 ff.; 790. The Horae are associated with the symposia from Hom. Od. 9.5 onwards: Dodds on Eur. Bacch. 389 needs correction accordingly. For the opposition between the two kinds of symposium, see already E. Norden, Agnostos Theos (1913), 5th ed., Darmstadt, 1971, p.163 n.1. The opposition σώματος τύχη / ἄγριοι τύχη at symposia is already to be found at Theognis 497 (compare the skolion 902 FMG). H. North, Sophrosyne (Ithaca, 1966) underplays, I believe, the impact of the symposium in the formulation of these terms, but has (p.23) good remarks on "the complex of ideas involving Εὐνομία, peace, piety and feasting." She rightly following Jebb compares Bacch. 13.183 and 15.55 (compare σώματος ἐννοια at Bacch. 13.186 with Pindar Pa. 1.10) and she also (p.16) calls attention to "σώματος ἔννοια as an antonym for Ἰγρίσις in both public and private life" (italics mine). At Pindar O. 2.52 the correct text is ἄγριοι τύχη, for which some later parallels can be found in F. Wendland, Philo und die kythsch-stoische Diatribe (Berlin, 1885), p.21 n.1.

12) For Eunomia see G. Grossmann, Politische Schlagwörter aus der Zeit des peloponnesischen Krieges, Zürich, 1950, pp.30 ff.

13) Theognis 493; Xenophanes 1.15 W.; Anacreon 2 W. = 56 G. and 33 G.; Stesichor. 33 P.; Phocylides 14 D.; Dionysius Chalcus 2 W.; Cratinus Min. 4 K.; Anacreonta 40.13; Hor. Od. 1. 17.23; 1. 27.1; compare Aristoph. Pax 1270; Odyssey 20. 392; Hes. Op. 723; Athenaeus 14. 627 e.


15) Xenophanes 1.13-16 W.; the god of whom they sing can only be Apollo (Plut. Q. C. 473 C), since this singing is normally referred to by παιανίτευμ: Xenophon Symp. 2.1 with Woldinga's note; Athenaeus 15. 692 f.; 14. 149 c. For Apollo and Graces see Williams on Callimachus 2.19 and E. Schwarzenberg, Grasien, Bonn, 1966, p.31, and for toasts, Schwarzenberg, p.56. S. Anastase, Apollon dans Pindare, Athens, 1973, pp.205 ff.

16) K. Bielołhawek, W.S. 58 (1940) 16 ff. For an interesting inscription (SEG IX, 63) connecting Δίκαι, Muses, Hours and wine, see L. Robert, Hellenica 4, pp.16 and 24. For winebags = σπονδαί = peace see Aristoph. Aisch. 190 ff. In general, see G. F. Gianotti, Per una poetica Pindarica, Turin, 1975, pp.80 ff. on the role of Charis and Charites.

17) I do not know whether peace and strife are opposed on vases: a possible example is given by Trendall, J.H.S. 54 (1934) 175-79.
18) Puelma, K. H. 34 (1977) 21 n.50; he compares Odyssey 23. 52 well and the gnome earlier in the poem at 37 ff.; so too Calame, op. cit. (above, note 14), II, 118 f., "probablem." But neither demonstrates the convention or explains the myth, though Calame (II, 65 n.38) has a sensible note on Eupnosyne and Hybris. It makes no difference to my argument whether Alcam and may have expanded his myth by a Gigantomachy, as some have argued; see F. Vian, La guerre des gêants (Paris, 1952), 214. I shall be dealing at greater length with this theme in an article on Nemean 1.

19) Calame, op. cit., II. 63, suggests: "only the Graces (can reach) the home of Zeus." Certainly the power of song is contrasted with human limitations. Heracles for Alcam seems to have been the cultural hero that he was for Pindar too.

20) Simonides fr. 137 PMG defined Dike as: telling the truth and giving what is due; the second element is the conventional chreos or Siegelied motif in choral lyric, and it is obvious on this definition why a poet would wish to claim DiKe for himself. For DiKe, equated with Truth, see the passages quoted by M. Detienne, Les maîtres de vérité, Paris, 1967, esp. pp.33 ff. For "Dike defining encomiastic propriety" see E. Bundy, Studia Pindarica, 2 (Berkeley, 1962), p.61 n.69, and P. A. Bernardini, Q. U.C. 31 (1979) 79 ff.


22) No other early poet or artist gives this prominence to Apollo, and there is therefore strong suspicion that Pindar is responsible for the emphasis.


24) The main interpretation of the hymn to Peace has been historical; e.g., G. Huxley, Pindar's Vision of the Past, Belfast, 1975, 25. There is not a shred of evidence to support this. A recent and more sensible view, e.g., E. Thummer, Pindar's Isthmische Gedichte (Heidelberg, 1968, 1. 73), sees rather in Hesychia the μελητόσσα εύστα of the victor after the storm of effort (πόνοι); this has a parallel at Pa. 2.34 and is good choral convention. But this concept is not exemplified by the following Gigantomachy and cannot therefore be intended, even though Thummer goes on to make good remarks that support the thesis argued here. The thematic connection of Pythian 1 with Pythian 8 was clearly seen by E. Fraenkel in some brilliant pages of his Horace (Oxford, 1957), pp. 280 ff., which supplement the brief remarks of Schadewaldt. I wish to add provisionally that Apolline ἄσμονια is also connected with sympotic ideals, compare N.1.21 and A.P. 7. 26.6, and that therefore the connection with νώμος and δίκη here is not a coincidence. Perhaps ἄ[σμονια]α[ς is to be read in Kaibel, Epigr. Gr. 490.2.

26) Carey in Dionysiaca: Essays... presented to Sir Denys Page..., Cambridge, 1978, is wrong to argue that the opening is no more than (p. 25) "a stirring picture" until its function is "implicitly explained" in vv. 50 ff. Rightly Schadewaldt, op. cit. (above, note 25), p. 78, refers to "die ordnende und fügende Gewalt der Apollinischen Musik." Carey is also wrong to cite the myth of Pythian 11 as a parallel, as I hope to have shown in ARKTOUROS: Hellenic Studies presented to Bernard Knox, Berlin, 1979, pp. 64 ff.

27) I have deliberately omitted mention of peace in Callinus fr. 1, but I agree in principle with the approach of G. Tedesci, Rì. St. Cl. 26 (1978) 203 ff.