Faculty of Classics, Oxford The Gaisford Lecture 2017 18 May 2017 Hans Bernsdorff (Frankfurt/Main)

Was Anacreon more inclined to lust or drunkenness?

A. Outline of the lecture

1. Tradition of making fun of absurd philological research: Gaisford

2. Prominent ancient example: Didymus in Sen. ep. 88.37 (text 1)

3. Didymus' work as part of a scholarly discussion concerning the role of lust and intoxication

in Anacreon's poetry

4. New evidence: Didymus in *P.Oxy*. 3722 fr. 2 (commentary on Anacreon, 2nd cent. AD = text 8a and 8b)

5. Blurring of love and intoxication as a central feature of Anacreon's poetry

5.1. PMG 376 (text 18) 'Leap from the Leucadian rock, drunken with Eros'

5.1.1. Analysis of the imagery

5.1.2. Adaptation in Euripides, Cyclops 166-172 (text 19)

5.2. PMG 407 (text 23) 'Give me your slender thighs as a toast'

5.3. PMG 450 (text 24) 'Drinking love'

5.3.1. Analysis

5.3.2. Adaptation in Verg. Aen. 1.749 (text 27)

6. Anacreon's fall in art and later poetry

7. Conclusion

B. Bibliography

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C. Texts discussed

Text 1: Didymus in Sen. ep. 88.37

Quattuor milia librorum Didymus grammaticus scripsit: misererer si tam multa supervacua legisset. In his libris de patria Homeri quaeritur, in his de Aeneae matre vera, in his libidinosior Anacreon an ebriosior vixerit, in his an Sappho publica fuerit, et alia quae erant dediscenda si scires: i nunc et longam esse vitam nega.

Didymus the grammarian wrote four thousand books. I would pity him if he had only *read* so many unnecessary works. In these books he investigates Homer's place of birth, who was the real mother of Aeneas, whether Anacreon was more inclined to lust or to drunkenness, whether Sappho was a prostitute and other such matters which ought to be unlearned again, if you knew the answers. Can you now really say that life is not long?

Text 2: Anacreon *fr. eleg.* 2 West οὐ φιλέω ὃς κρητῆρι παρὰ πλέωι οἰνοποτάζων νείκεα καὶ πόλεμον δακρυόεντα λέγει, ἀλλ' ὅστις Μουσέων τε καὶ ἀγλαὰ δῶρ' Ἀφροδίτης συμμίσγων ἐρατῆς μνήσκεται εὐφροσύνης.

I don't like the man who, while drinking wine beside the full mixing-bowl, tells of strife and lamentable war, but the man who, mixing the glorious gifts of the Muses and Aphrodite, speaks of lovely partying.

Text 3: Antipater of Sidon *HE* 268–269 = *AP* 7.27.9–10 τρισσοῖς γάρ, Μούσαισι, Διωνύσω καὶ Ἐρωτι, πρέσβυ, κατεσπείσθη πᾶς ὁ τεὸς βίοτος.

For all your life, old man, was poured out as an offering to these three-the Muses, Dionysus and Eros. (tr. Campbell)

Text 4: Crinagoras GP 1803-1806 = AP 9.239.1-4
Βύβλων ή γλυκεφή λυφικών ἐν τεύχεϊ τῷδε πεντὰς ἀμμήτων ἔργα φέρει χαφίτων.
† Ἀνακφέοντος, πφέσβυς ἃς ὁ Τήιος ἔγραψεν ἢ παφ' οἶνον ἢ σὺν Ἱμέροις·†

The delightful quintet of lyric books inside this case brings work of inimitable charm,– Anacreon's, which that old man from Teos wrote over the wine or with the help of the Desires. (tr. Campbell)

Text 5: Ath. 10.429b (2.433 Kaibel)

άτοπος δὲ ὁ Ἀνακρέων ὁ <u>πάσαν</u> αὐτοῦ τὴν ποίησιν ἐξαρτήσας μέθης. τῆ γὰρ μαλακία καὶ τῆ τρυφῆ ἐπιδοὺς ἑαυτὸν ἐν τοῖς ποιήμασι διαβέβληται, οὐκ εἰδότων τῶν πολλῶν ὅτι νήφων ἐν τῷ γράφειν καὶ ἀγαθὸς ὢν προσποιεῖται μεθύειν οὐκ οὕσης ἀνάγκης. "Anacreon, who connected all his poetry to drunkenness, is a strange case; he is maligned for surrendering himself to effeminate luxury in his poetry, but most people are unaware that he was sober when he composed and a fine person, and merely pretends to be drunk, despite being a fine person, when there is no need to do so."

Text 6: Cic. Tusc. 4.71

Quid denique homines doctissimi et summi poetae de se ipsis et carminibus edunt et cantibus? Fortis vir in sua re p. cognitus quae de iuvenum amore scribit Alcaeus! Nam Anacreontis quidem tota poesis est amatoria. Maxume vero omnium flagrasse amore Reginum Ibycum apparet ex scriptis.

What disclosures lastly do men of the highest culture and poets of supreme merit make about their own life in their poems and songs? What things Alcaeus, a man of bravery and of note in his country, writes about love of youths! Of Anacreon I say nothing, for his work is all love-poetry. Above all, however, Ibycus of Rhegium was, it is clear from his writings, a passionate lover. (tr. J.E. King)

Text 7: Theocr. *AP* 9.599 = *epigr*. 17 Gow

Θάσαι τὸν ἀνδριάντα τοῦτον, ὡ ξένε,
σπουδậ καὶ λέγ', ἐπὰν ἐς οἶκον ἕνθῃς·
"Ἀνακρέοντος εἰκόν' εἰδον ἐν Τέῳ,
τῶν πρόσθ' εἴ τι περισσὸν ὡδοποιῶν."

5 προσθεὶς δὲ χὤτι τοῖς νέοισιν ἄδετο, ἐρεῖς ἀτρεκέως <u>ὅλον τὸν ἄνδρα</u>.

> Gaze upon this statue, stranger, studiously, and say when you come home "I saw in Teos the likeness of Anacreon, pre-eminent, if anything is, among poets of yore." Add that he enjoyed young boys and you will accurately proclaim <u>the whole man</u>. (tr. P. Bing)

Text 8a: P.Oxy. 3722 fr. 2, diplomatic edition

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Text 8b: P.Oxy. 3722 fr. 2, articulated version

. . .

] θεράπων ἔμηνεν· ελ

α]ύτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ συμποσίου ἐπὶ τὸν Πυθόμ]ανδρον ἀπιόντα οὖ νῦ(ν)] προπεσών· ὁ μὲν Δί-5 δυμος]. σ βέλτειόν φησιν ἐπὶ παθῶν ἀκούει]ν ἐρωτικῶν· τόδε μέντοι ὡc ἐπὶ τοῦ 'τὸ] μὲν γὰρ οἶδα καὶ λείαν' ἀπίθανόν ἐσ]τ.. ὅτι μεθυσθεὶς 'παρὰ δηὖτε Πυθόμα]νδρον.'. **εὖτε Τάρταρο[ς**

Supplementa nisi aliter indicatur ed. pr. sunt 1-2 ἐλ|εγεν ἑμμανῆ α]ὑτὸν Maehler : ἐλ|θεῖν φησιν α]ὑτὸν Henry (ἐλθόντα iam Haslam) : ἐλ|κειν vel ἐλ|κύσαι φησὶν α]ὑτὸν (sc. Amorem θεράποντα Veneris, cf. Sapph. fr. 159) Hutchinson 4 προπεcών ut lemma interpretatur Maehler : ἀναπαύεται] προπεσών (lemma) Bernsdorff e.g. : κεῖται μέθῃ] προπεcών· Henry : | ἐρᾶι vel ἐπιθυμεῖ Hutchinson 5 τὸ ἐμη]ν,ε dubitanter Henry 6 suppl. Henry 7-8 suppl. Henry e.g. 8-9 suppl. Haslam : an Παρακαταθήκη<ι> Μενά]νδρου ? Bernsdorff, sed potius ν quam υ. 9 εὖτε ita distinxit Bernsdorff, ὑπὸ Ταρτάρου vel Τάρταρον iam Benelli

"... servant drove mad": he says that he ... from the symposium to Pythomander who was going away, where [or whose or whom] now he (")fallen("): Didymus says ... is better understood with reference to erotic passions. But this, as in the case of "for this I know all too well", is improbable, for (he was) drunk (when) "once again (he went down) to Pythomander". "When Tartarus..."

Text 9: Anacreon *PMG* 400 παρὰ δηὖτε Πυθόμανδρον κατέδυν Έρωτα φεύγων.

Again I went down to Pythomander, fleeing from Eros.

Text 10: βέλτιόν φησιν in connection with Didymus (collected by Benelli 2011: 54) Athen. *Deipn*. XI 34, 17 βέλτιον δὲ λέγειν, φησιν ὁ Δίδυμος ἐν τῷ τοῦ δράματος ἐξηγητικῷ (p. 89 Schm.), ὅτι παρήκουσεν Ὁμήρου λέγοντος (Φ 270); *Schol. in* Pind. N. V 10a Δίδυμος δὲ βέλτιόν φησι μὴ τὸν καρπόν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ὥραν ἀκούειν, καθ' ἢν ὁ καφπὸς ὑμώνυμος πεπαίνεται. ὅτι δὲ καλοῦσι τὸν καιφὸν ὀπώφαν Ὅμηφος (ξ 384); Schol. in Pind. N. I 49c βέλτιον δέ φησιν ὁ Δίδυμος ἐκεῖνο λέγειν, ὅτι ὃ πεφὶ τῆς Αἴτνης ἔφη, τοῦτο καὶ νῦν βούλεται δηλοῦν ὁ Πίνδαφος (P. I 33); Schol. in Pind. N. III 16b βέλτιον δέ φησιν ὁ Δίδυμος ἀκούειν τὸ ὅλον οὕτως; Schol. in Pind. I. I 60 βέλτιον δέ φησιν ὁ Δίδυμος τὸ εὐgόντεσσιν ἀγάνοφα κόμπον ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπαινούντων τοὺς νενικηκότας ἀκούειν, ἵν' ἦ.

Text 11: 'Going home from a symposium in a drunken state is dangerous' Xenophan. fr. 1 West οὐχ ὕβρις πίνειν ὁπόσον κεν ἔχων ἀφίκοιο οἴκαδ' ἄνευ προπόλου μὴ πάνυ γηραλέος.

Then drink what you can hold and still get home unaided (if, of course, you're not too old). (tr. M.L. West)

Heraclit. fr. 117 Diels-Kranz = 69 Marcovich Ανήρ ὁκόταν μεθυσθῃ, ἄγεται ὑπὸ παιδὸς ἀνήβου σφαλλόμενος (!), οὐκ ἐπαΐων ὅκῃ βαίνει, ὑγρὴν τὴν ψυχὴν ἔχων.

A man when he is drunk is led by an unfledged boy, stumbling and not knowing where he goes, having his soul moist. (tr. Kirk/Raven/Schofield)

Anacr. *PMG* 412 οὐδ' αὖ μ' ἐάσεις μεθύοντ' οἴκαδ' ἀπελθεῖν;

And once more won't you let me head home, since I am drunk?

Text 12: P.Oxy. 3722. fr. 2. 4b-6a (suppl. Henry) ό μὲν Δί-5 δυμος τὸ ἕμη]ν.ε. βέλτ{ε}ιόν φησιν ἐπὶ 6 παθῶν ἀκούει]ν. ἐρωτικῶν·

Didymus says that $\xi\mu\eta\nu\epsilon$ ('he drove mad') is better understood with reference to erotic passions.

Text 13: $\mu\alpha\nui\alpha$ etc. of drunkenness $\mu\alphai\nu\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha i$ as a result of drinking is already Homeric, cf. *LfgrE* 3.7.4–10 (M. Schmidt), pointing to *Od.* 18.406, 21.298.

Text 14: μανία etc. of erotic madness in archaic lyric poetry

Alcaeus fr. 283.4-5 V. (of Helen) Τροίω δ' [έ]π' ἄνδρι / ἐκμάνεισα, Alcaeus fr. 10 B.6 V. (in the monologue of a female speaker) μ]αινόμενον [, Sappho fr. 1.18 V. (about herself) μαίνολα θύμω, Ibycus *PMG* 286.9-10, Anacreon *PMG* 359.2 Κλεοβούλω δ' ἐπιμαίνομαι, *PMG* 398 ἀστραγάλαι δ' Έρωτός εἰσι<v> | μανίαι τε καὶ κυδοιμοί, 428 ἐρέω τε δηὖτε κοὐκ ἐρέω | καὶ μαίνομαι κοὐ μαίνομαι, *P.Oxy*. 3695, fr. 18.7]μαινομαι[where $\dot{\alpha}\pi'$ $\dot{\alpha}\mu\pi\epsilon$ [λου or $-\omega\nu$ (suppl. Haslam) in l. 5 might point to a mention of wine shortly before.

Text 15: Anacreon (?), ed. Bernsdorff 2014: 8 ἐμάνην δηὖτε πιών Again, I went mad after drinking

Text 16: δηὑτε in descriptions of erotic madness or strong erotic emotion Alcm. *PMGF* 59, Sapph. fr. 130.1* V., Anacr. *PMG* 358.1, *PMG* 376 (**text 18**).1*, 413.1*, 428.1* (with μαίνομαι), Ibyc. *PMGF* 287.1 (αὑτε), probably Ibyc. *PMGF* S257 (*a*) fr. 32.1 (* = probably first line of the poem, since quoted by Hephaestion).

Text 17: Anacr. *PMG* 454 οίνηρὸς θεράπων wine-server

Text 18: PMG 376

ἀρθεὶς δηὖτ' ἀπὸ Λευκάδος πέτρης ἐς πολιὸν κῦμα κολυμβῶ μεθύων ἔρωτι. 'Once more, I leap up from the Leucadian Cliff, and dive into the grey sea, drunk with love.'

Text 19: Euripides, Cyclops 163-74

Σιλ. δράσω τάδ', ὀλίγον φροντίσας γε δεσποτŵν. ὡς ἐκπιών γ' ἂν κύλικα μαινοίμην μίαν,

- 165 πάντων Κυκλώπων ἀντιδοὺς βοσκήματα ῥίψας τ' ἐς ἄλμην Λευκάδος πέτρας ἄπο ἅπαξ μεθυσθεὶς καταβαλών τε τὰς ὀφρῦς. ὡς ὅς γε πίνων μὴ γέγηθε μαίνεται· ἵν' ἔστι τουτί τ' ὀρθὸν ἐξανιστάναι
- 170 μαστοῦ τε δραγμὸς καὶ †παρεσκευασμένου† ψαῦσαι χεροῖν λειμῶνος ὀρχηστύς θ' ἅμα κακῶν τε λῆστις. εἶτ' ἐγὼ <οὐ> κυνήσομαι τοιόνδε πῶμα, τὴν Κύκλωπος ἀμαθίαν κλαίειν κελεύων καὶ τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν μέσον;

164 ἐκπιών Kirchhoff : -πιεῖν L, quo servato μαιοίμην F. W. Schmidt 166 ἱ(ψας Kirchhoff : ἱ(ψαι L

Silenus: I'll do this, and not worry much about masters. I could go mad after drinking – yes, one cup – swapping all the Cyclopes' flocks in exchange for it, throwing myself from the Leucadian rocks into the salt sea, drunk and relaxing my furrowed brows, just once. Since the one who drinks without enjoying is mad. (grabbing his phallus) With drink it's possible to make *this* stand to attention. You can grab hold of breasts and lay your hands on bush all ready, and there is dancing to boot and forgetting of woes. So shall I <not> kiss such a drink

and tell that moron of a Cyclops – and his eye in the middle of his head – to go to hell? (tr. P. O'Sullivan/C. Collard).

Text 20: Verbal correspondences between **text 18** (*PMG* 376) and Eur. *Cycl.* 165-166 in **text 19** ἀπὸ Λευκάδος πέτρης ~ Λευκάδος πέτρας ἄπο ἐς (...) κῦμα ~ ἐς ἄλμην κολυμβῶ ~ ἱ(ψας

Text 21: similarities between Anacreon (?) **= Text 15** and Eur. *Cycl*. 164 in **Text 19** ἐμάνην δηὖτε πιών ὡς ἐμπών γ' ἂν κύλικα μαινοίμην μίαν

Text 22: Anacr. *PMG* 446 b μανιόχηπος

Mad in the garden (?)

Text 23: *PMG* 407 άλλὰ πρόπινε ἑαδινούς, ὦ φίλε, μηρούς,

Come on, give me, my dear, your slender thighs as a toast.

Text 24: Anacreon *PMG* 450 ἔρωτα πίνων

drinking love

Text 25: Love as a fluid

Alcman *PMG* 59a: Έρως με δηὖτε Κύπριδος ϝέκατι / γλυκὺς κατείβων καρδίαν ἰαίνει ("Cupid once more by the goddess's grace trickles down in his sweetness, warming my heart." tr. M.L. West.), Hesiod *Theogony* 910 ἀπὸ βλεφάρων ἔρος εἴβετο Ι λυσιμελής "From their [the Graces'] eyes love that dissolves the flesh seeped down as they looked." tr. M.L. West. Later Eur. *Hipp*. 525, Lucr. 4. 1058–60 *Haec Venus est nobis; hinc autem est nomen Amoris, I hinc illaec primum Veneris dulcedinis in cor I stillavit gutta et successit frigida cura.* "This is our Venus; from this also comes love's name [pun upon *amor* and *umor*, cf. 1056]; from this first trickled into the heart that dewdrop of Venus's sweetness, and then came up freezing care." (tr. Rouse/Smith).

Text 26: Servius auctus on *Aeneid* 1.749 (1.209.11–12 Thilo-Hagen) = Anacreon *PMG* 450 *'bibebat amorem' adlusit ad convivium. sic Anacreon* ἔρωτα πίνων "she drank love" alludes to the (present) drinking-part.

Text 27: Virgil Aeneid 1, 748-750 nec non et vario noctem sermone trahebat infelix Dido <u>longumque bibebat amorem</u>, multa super Priamo rogitans, super Hectore multa

"No less did unhappy Dido prolong the night with varied talk and drank long love, asking much of Priam, of Hector much." (tr. Fairclough/Goold, adapted)

Text 28: Virgil *Aeneid* 1.723–724, 728–741 Preparation of the banquet in which Dido 'drinks love'

Postquam prima quies epulis mensaeque remotae, crateras magnos statuunt et vina coronant.

Hic regina gravem gemmis auroque poposcit implevitque mero pateram, quam Belus et omnes a Belo soliti; tum facta silentia tectis: 'Iuppiter, hospitibus nam te dare iura loquuntur. hunc laetum Tyriisque diem Troiaque profectis esse velis, nostrosque huius meminisse minores. Adsit laetitiae Bacchus dator, et bona Iuno: et vos, o, coetum, Tyrii, celebrate faventes.' dixit, et in mensam laticum libavit honorem, primaque, libato, summo tenus attigit ore; tum Bitiae dedit increpitans; ille impiger hausit spumantem pateram, et pleno se proluit auro post alii proceres. Cithara crinitus Iopas personat aurata, docuit quem maximus Atlas.

"When first there came a lull in the feasting, and the boards were cleared, they set down great bowls and crown the wine ... Then the queen called for a cup, heavy with jewels and gold, and filled it with wine–one that Belus and all of Belus' line had been wont to use. Then through the hall fell silence: "Jupiter–for they say that you appoint laws for host and guest–grant that this be a day of joy for Tyrians and the voyagers from Troy, and that our children may remember it! May Bacchus, giver of joy, be near, and bounteous Juno; and do you, Tyrians, grace the gathering with friendly spirit!" She spoke, and on the board offered a libation of wine, and, after the libation, was first to touch the goblet with her lips; then with a challenge gave it to Bitias. He briskly drained the foaming cup, and drank deep in the brimming gold; then other lords drank. Long-haired Iopas, once taught by mighty Atlas, makes the hall ring with his golden lyre... (tr. Fairclough/Goold)

Text 29: Vergil, *Aen*. 6.715 (of the souls of the dead in the underworld) *longa oblivia potant*

they drink long forgetting

Text 30: Verg. *Aen.* 3.486–488a (in rememberance of Astyanax, Andromache gives presents to Ascanius)

'accipe et haec, manuum tibi quae monimenta mearum sint, puer, et <u>longum</u> Andromachae testentur <u>amorem, coniugis Hectoreae.'</u>

'Take these, too, my child, to be memorials of my handiwork and witnesses of the abiding love of Andromache, Hector's wife' (or 'abiding witnesses') (tr. Fairclough/Goold, adapted)

Text 31: *longus amor* in late republican and Augustan poetry Catullus 76.13: *difficile est <u>longum</u> subito deponere <u>amorem</u> Propertius 1.19.26: <i>quare, dum licet, inter nos laetemur amantes: / non satis est ullo tempore longus amor*.

Text 32: Verg. Aen. 4.101 Ardet amans Dido traxitque per ossa furorem.

"Dido is on fire with love and has drawn the madness through her veins." (tr. Fairclough/Goold)

Text 33: Anacreon's fall in the <i>Anthology</i>	
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Leonidas of Tarentum AP 16.306 = HE 2151–2160 Πρέσβυν Άνακρείοντα χύδαν σεσαλαγμένον οἴνφ θάεο δινωτοῦ στρεπτὸν ὕπερθε λίθου, ὡς ὁ γέρων λίχνοισιν ἐπ' ὅμμασιν ὑγρὰ δεδορκὼς ἄχρι καὶ ἀστραγάλων ἕλκεται ἀμπεχόναν·

5	δισσών δ' ἀρβυλίδων τὰν μὲν μίαν οἱα μεθυπλὴξ
	ώλεσεν, έν δ' ἑτέρα ἱιχνὸν ἄραρε πόδα.
	μέλπει δ' ἠὲ Βάθυλλον ἐφίμερον ἠὲ Μεγιστέα,
	αίωρῶν παλάμα τὰν δυσέρωτα χέλυν.
	άλλά, πάτεο Διόνυσε, φύλασσέ μιν· οὐ γὰο ἔοικεν
10	

10 ἐκ Βάκχου πίπτειν Βακχιακὸν θέραπα.

On a Statue of Anacreon

Look at old Anacreon, loaded profusely with wine, in a distorted attitude on the rounded basis. See how the greybeard, with a swimming leer in his amorous eyes, trails the robe that descends to his ankles. As one stricken by wine he has lost one of his two shoes, but in the other his wrinkled foot is fast. He is singing either of lovely Bathyllus or of Megisteus, holding uplifted in his hand his lovelorn lyre. But, father Dionysus, guard him; it is not meet that the servant of Bacchus fall by the hand of Bacchus. (tr. Paton)

Leonidas of Tarentum AP 16.307 = HE 2514–2520 [~]Iδ', ώς ὁ πρέσβυς ἐκ μέθας Ἀνακρέων ὑπεσκέλισται καὶ τὸ λῶπος ἕλκεται ἐσάχρι γυίων· τῶν δὲ βλαυτίων τὸ μὲν ὅμως φυλάσσει, θάτερον δ' ἀπώλεσεν· 5 μελίσδεται δὲ τὰν χέλυν διακρέκων ἤτοι Βάθυλλον ἢ καλὸν Μεγιστέα. φύλασσε, Βάκχε, τὸν γέροντα, μὴ πέσῃ.

On the Same

Look how old Anacreon stumbles from drunkenness and trails the mantle that falls down to his feet. In spite of all he keeps one of his slippers on, but has lost the other. Striking his lyre, he sings either of Bathyllus or of beautiful Megisteus. Save the old man, Bacchus, from falling. (tr. Paton)

Eugenes AP 16.308 = *FGE* 450–457

Τὸν τοῖς μελιχοοῖς Ἱμέροισι σύντροφον, Λυαῖ', Ἀνακρέοντα Τήιον κύκνον, ἔσφηλας ὑγρῃ νέκταρος μεληδόνι· λοξὸν γὰρ αὐτοῦ βλέμμα καὶ περὶ σφυροῖς

5 ὑιφθεῖσα λώπευς πέζα καὶ μονοζυγἐς μέθην ἐλέγχει σάνδαλον· χέλυς δ' ὅμως τὸν εἰς Ἔρωτας ὕμνον ἀθροΐζεται. ἀπτῶτα τήρει τὸν γεραιόν, Εὕιε.

On the Same

Bacchus, thou hast betrayed by thy liquid nectar, his delight, Anacreon, the companion of the honeyed Loves, the swan of Teos. For his leering glance, and the edge of his mantle hanging about his ankles, and his single sandal, tell that he is drunk with wine; but yet his lyre plays continually the hymn to the Loves. Keep the old man from falling, o Bacchus. (tr. Paton)