

CHAPTER 5

Banqueting Values in the Associations: Rhetoric and Reality

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When it comes to assessing what was acceptable conduct at banquets in the Greco-Roman world, the *ideal* elite perspective seems to have emphasized the need for equal treatment, friendly relations, and pleasant interactions among guests.¹ Yet, as Michael Peachin, Willi Braun, and others point out, in reality, there was some leeway or deliberate play on such convivial conventions that ultimately allowed for what we might call mildly transgressive behavior (in the eyes of the participants) in relation to the ideal.² Thus, it may have been a common feature at some commensal gatherings for persons to engage in verbal, jocular, or other forms of abuse in relation to the guests for entertainment and other purposes. Suetonius, for instance, relates how Claudius often dozed off at banquets and (before he was princeps, at least) would be rudely awoken by being pelted by olives. On one occasion, other guests put shoes on Claudius's hands so that when he awoke from a nap he would be rubbing his eyes with his feet, so to speak (Suetonius, *Claud.* 8). In a similar vein, several regulations of associations suggest a concern among such groups to set limits on appropriate relations within the banqueting context and to establish rules to prevent jocular or other activities escalating to the point of brawls.

On the other hand, several ostensibly historical or openly fictional accounts present a picture of what one might call wildly transgressive behavior, culturally speaking, within associations. A number of these accounts of activities

within associations focus on extreme banqueting behaviors involving human sacrifice, cannibalism, and sexual activities, among other things. These accounts are found both within openly fictional novels and within ostensibly historical narratives. As I argue elsewhere, such stories of wild transgression in both fictional and historical narratives draw on ethnographic stereotypes of the “other” in order to present a frightening picture of the dangerous or alien antiassociation.³ Most importantly for us here, these stories reflect common banqueting values through inversion.

In this paper, I would like to build on my previous study in order to underline that this inversion depends on common knowledge of the far more tame convivial and ritual aims of real-life associations as attested in epigraphy. An analysis of the regulations of associations that have survived clarifies how concerns for order often prevailed despite signs of mildly transgressive behavior at banquets. Self-regulation was an important component affecting activities at the meetings and banquets of associations. Both imagined antiassociations and real-life guilds provide important glimpses into widely held banqueting values in the context of early Christianity.

Inversion of Banqueting Values: Wildly Transgressive Banquets

Before turning to epigraphic evidence for actual banqueting values within associations, it is important to sketch out some of my previous findings concerning wild transgression in banqueting contexts. Basically there are two main contexts in which we encounter stories of wild transgression within banqueting settings of associations, and in both cases there is more rhetoric than reality involved.

Openly Fictional Accounts in Novels

On the one hand, there are numerous openly fictional accounts within novels that present an association of bandits (*latrones* in Latin/*lēstai* in Greek) or low-lives at meal.⁴ In essence, the villainous group is often presented as the antitype of what an association should be, as well as an inversion of all that is pious and right in banqueting and other settings. Thus, for instance, Apuleius presents a story of a “guild” (*collegium*) of brigands devoted to Mars who captured Lucius, the ass, and Charite, an upper-class “maiden of refined qualities.”⁵ The overall behavior of the association at meals is summarized thus: “They ate and drank in utter disorder, swallowing meat by the heap, bread by the stack, and cups by the legion. They played raucously, sang deafeningly, and joked abusively, and in every other respect behaved just like those half-beasts, the Lapiths and Centaurs.”⁶ Here we are witnessing

an inversion of common banqueting values. The brigands are characterized as excessive and un-human in their banqueting manners, as indicated by the comparison with the banquets of the Lapiths and Centaurs, mythical figures most remembered in connection with a violent wedding banquet.⁷ What comes to the fore in other accounts of culturally transgressive brigand meals is only hinted at in Apuleius’ story in connection with their new brigand-chief from Thrace (actually the disguised bridegroom of Charite come to rescue) who was “nursed on human blood.”⁸

Particularly common in portraits of the anti-banquets of brigands and other groups is the more wildly transgressive practice of human sacrifice accompanied by a cannibalistic meal, the ultimate parody of the sacrificial banquet. Although fragmentary, Lollianos’s *Phoenician Story* provides a representative example in his tale of a group of criminal types, who are also initiates in some form of distorted mysteries.⁹ The episode begins with the sacrifice of the child or servant, a sacrificial oath ritual, and a sacrificial meal, and runs as follows:

Meanwhile another man, who was naked, walked by, wearing a crimson loincloth, and throwing the body of the *pais* (child or servant) on its back, he cut it up, and tore out its heart and placed it upon the fire. Then, he took up [the cooked heart] and sliced it up to the middle. And on the surface [of the slices] he sprinkled [barley groats] and wet it with oil; and when he had sufficiently prepared them, [he gave them to the] initiates, and those who held (a slice?) [he ordered] to swear in the blood of the heart that they would neither give up nor betray [— — —], nor [even if they are led off to prison], nor yet if they be tortured (*PColon* 3328, B 1 Recto, lines 9–16).¹⁰

This whole sacrificial scene follows the usual Greek pattern of sacrifice, including the central importance of the internal organs (*splagchna*), as well as an accompanying oath ceremony, in which portions of the innards were consumed together as a symbolic means of binding participants.¹¹ What is very unusual, and deliberately inverts what would otherwise be considered pious activity among initiates in honor of the gods is the fact that it is a human, rather than animal, victim in this ritual. Lollianos was not alone in combining both human sacrifice and oath-taking in an inversion of common ritual, as the ostensibly historical accounts of the conspiracy of Catiline clearly show (in connection with his political opposition to Cicero in the 60s BCE).¹² Other novels likewise relate tales of an association of brigands engaging in inappropriate banqueting practices that involve the slaughter of a human being in the context of a sacrificial banquet, including Xenophon’s

Ephesian Tale (2.13) and Achilles Tatius's *Leucippe and Clitophon* (3.9–22), both from the second century.

Accusations against Other Peoples in Ostensibly Historical Accounts

These inversions of banquetting values attributed to associations of low-lives in openly fictional accounts apparently came to influence authors who claimed to be describing actual historical events, particularly when the subjects of the account were considered foreigners or barbarians (cf. Winkler 1980:178).¹³ Dio Cassius's accounts of two different revolts, by the "cowherds" (*boukoloi*) of the Egyptian delta (ca. 172–73 CE) and by Judeans (Jews) in Cyrene, demonstrate this blurring of the line between fact and fiction. He claims that the cowherds "sacrificed [a Roman centurion's] companion, and after swearing an oath over his entrails, they devoured them" (*Roman History* 72.4.1–2 [trans. LCL]). Similarly, the Judeans in Cyrene "would eat the flesh of their victims, make belts for themselves of their entrails, anoint themselves with their blood and wear their skins for clothing" (*Roman History* 68.32.1–2). For Dio, this was not out of the ordinary for such foreign peoples; he suggests that the Judean immigrants in Egypt and on Cyprus had "perpetrated many similar outrages" (68.32.2).

This tendency to attribute inverted banquetting values to foreigners or cultural minorities, including human sacrifice and the cannibalistic accompanying meal, is attested in several other ostensibly historical accounts. Thus, when Livy relates the story of the Bacchanalia in Rome (ca. 186 BCE), he presents this case as a story of a foreign (Greek) cultic association threatening the Roman way of life and contributing to moral decline (Livy, *History of Rome* 39.8–19). Livy's account explains that a "Greek of humble origin" introduced secretive gatherings in honor of Dionysos:

From the time when the rites were held promiscuously, with men and women mixed together, and when the license offered by darkness had been added, no sort of crime, no kind of immorality, was left unattempted. There were more obscenities practiced between men than between men and women. Anyone refusing to submit to outrage or reluctant to commit crimes was slaughtered as a sacrificial victim. To regard nothing as forbidden was among these people the summit of religious achievement (*History of Rome* 39.13).¹⁴

Here we are seeing the common stereotypes so familiar to us now of wild banquets combined with human sacrifice. Yet added to this is the accusation of sexual "perversions" that accompanied the drinking. Ethnographic

descriptions in which foreign peoples are accused of unusual sexual practices are common, as in Tacitus' account of the Judeans' supposed "unlawful" sexual behavior (*Hist.* 5.5.2; cf. Martial, *Epigrams* 7.30).

It is important to mention some of the precedents in accusations against Judeans before moving on to allegations against Jesus followers.¹⁵ In ethnographic descriptions of the customs of the Judeans, both Damocritus and Apion (or Apion's source) give credence to rumors, or simply create stories, that Judeans engaged in human sacrifice (*Stern* 1974–1984:1.531).¹⁶ There is a sense in which the accusation of human sacrifice and the accompanying meal is a short form for notions of Judeans' supposed hostility to foreigners (*misoxenos bios*), as in Hecataeus (c. 300 BCE), and hatred of human kind (*misanthropia*), as in Apollonios Molon (first century BCE).¹⁷ According to Josephus, Apion, for instance, related the "unutterable law of the Judeans" who annually "would kidnap a Greek foreigner, fatten him up for a year, and then convey him to a wood, where they slew him, sacrificed his body with their customary ritual, partook of his flesh, and, while immolating the Greek, swore an oath of hostility to the Greeks" (Josephus, *Ag. Ap.* 2.91–96 [trans. LCL]).

It is within this context of the attribution of improper sacrificial and banquetting practices to foreigners or cultural minorities that we can place the repeated accusations of both human sacrifice and cannibalism against groups of Jesus followers.¹⁸ Among the most developed instances of these accusations are those outlined in Minucius Felix's dialogue. There Caecilius critiques the atheistic, Christian "gang... of discredited and proscribed desperadoes" (*Oct.* 8.3).¹⁹ They consist of the dregs of society and women, who are also considered "profane conspirators (*profanae coniurationis*) leagued together by meetings at night and ritual fasts" (8.3–4). The initiation of new members takes place in a sacrificial banquet that once again echoes the antibanquets we have seen in both novels and historical or ethnographic sources:

An infant, cased in dough to deceive the unsuspecting, is placed beside the person to be initiated. The novice is thereupon induced to inflict what seems to be harmless blows upon the dough, and unintentionally the infant is killed by his unsuspecting blows; the blood – oh, horrible – they lap up greedily; the limbs they tear to pieces eagerly; and over the victim they make league and covenant, and by complicity in guilt pledge themselves to mutual silence (9.5–6 [trans. LCL]).

In many respects, then, what we are witnessing with these allegations against Christians is the convergence of several factors: ethnographic

stereotypes of the alien or immigrant cultic association (e.g., Bacchanalia), common allegations against Judean cultural groups specifically, and novelistic or popular stories of the internal threat often associated with criminal or low-life antiassociations.

Similar accusations of disorderly meals are found in Judean or Christian sources when authors are characterizing the banquets of other Greeks and Romans (i.e., “pagans”). Thus, for instance, Philo’s account of the gatherings of the Judean Therapeutists in Egypt draws out a comparison and contrast with the “frenzy and madness” of the Greek, Roman, and Egyptian banquets and drinking parties (*Contempl.* 40–41).²⁰ For Philo, the associations specifically were “founded on no sound principle but on strong liquor, drunkenness, intoxicated violence and their offspring, wantonness” (*Flaccus* 136–37 [trans. adapted from LCL]; cf. *Legat.* 312–13).²¹ Though there may be truth in the fact that drunkenness was a part of the religious and social celebrations of some associations on certain occasions, scholars need to refrain from adopting the moralists’ critique as a sign that the associations were all about partying and could care less about honoring the gods.²²

Self-Regulation and Banqueting Values in Real Associations

Inscriptional and papyrological evidence for the actual banqueting and sacrificial activities of associations comes across as far less exciting, one might even say bland, in relation to the more extreme and imaginative materials we have just been discussing.²³ In particular, although there are indications of mildly transgressive or abusive conduct, and drinking was most certainly a component in such matters, there was simultaneously a widely shared set of values which set parameters on banqueting behavior within associations and which, from time to time, could be set in stone. Moreover, the association regulations or sacred laws that have survived to us are concerned with issues of order and decorum in meetings, rituals, and banquets. There is a consistency of focus on these concerns from one group to the next and from one area of the empire to another. Although rules may often be drawn up to deal with problems that were actually encountered, the regulations suggest that “good order”—as defined by such groups—remained a prevalent value in many banqueting settings.

Regulations dealing with banqueting activities should be understood within the broader context of the concern for both order and success in the convivial and cultic aims of associations. The regulations that have survived supply both (1) positive rules regarding festival gatherings and meals and (2) negative rules concerning potential misconduct in banqueting settings. The latter suggest that although mildly transgressive behavior associated

with drinking or contests for honor likely occurred from time to time, there were clear limits on where the line was to be drawn between having a good time, on the one hand, and disorder, on the other.

“They Shall Hold a Banquet Each Month”

On the positive side, the statutes of associations are often concerned with establishing certain banqueting and sacrificial occasions and ensuring that these were properly attended and properly furnished both in terms of the banqueting itself and in terms of the accompanying rituals in honor of the gods. Dennis Smith discusses this at some length in relation to the synod devoted to Zeus Hypsistos at Philadelphia in Egypt (*PLond* 2710 [c. 69–58 BCE]), the *collegium* devoted to Diana and Antionos at Lanuvium in Italy (*CIL* XIV 2112 [136 CE]), and the devotees of Dionysos at Athens (*IG* II² 1368 [176 CE]).²⁴ In these cases, the groups’ statutes clearly outline occasions for banquets and festivals, as well as the role of functionaries or patrons in ensuring supplies were adequate and that rituals and meals were performed properly.

Similarly, all three of the association regulations from Tebtunis in Egypt (mid-first century CE) that have been discovered specify statutes not only outlining when and how gatherings and banquets were to take place, but also requiring the attendance of members. Fines are specified for lack of attendance or failure to perform certain requirements (*PMich* V 243–245).²⁵ The statutes of one association (*plēthos*) specify that there be monthly banquets “on the day of god Augustus” with the superintendent (*epimelētēs*) “furnishing drink for the toasts,” and that there be a one-day feast in the case of the death of a member (no. 244; cf. no. 243). In another rule, there is an emphasis on the need for members to attend monthly banquets and to pay their dues, as well as the stipulation that: “If anyone receives notice of a meeting and does not attend, let him be fined one drachma in the village, but in the city four drachmas” (*PMich* V 243; time of Tiberius). In an association on an estate of Emperor Claudius at Tebtunis, there is a similar concern: “If the president issues a call in the village and anyone does not attend, let him be fined two drachmas in silver for the association.” Furthermore, “If a president or a father or mother or wife or child or brother or sister dies and anyone of the undersigned men does not attend the funeral, let such a one be fined four drachmas for the association” (*PMich* V 244). The guild of salt merchants at Tebtunis similarly specifies that “it is a condition that [the members] shall drink regularly on the twenty-fifth of each month, each one six pints (a *chous*) of beer...” (*PMich* V 245). This concern for the attendance or allegiance of members was also expressed in the group devoted to Zeus

Hypsistos at Philadelphia in Egypt: "All are to obey the president and his servant in matters pertaining to the association, and they shall be present at all commanded occasions that are established for them and at meetings, gatherings, and outings" (*PLond* 2710, line 14).

One of the more recently discovered sacred laws of an association, that of a synod devoted to Herakles (*Heraklistai*) from Paiania in Attica, shows special concern for proper commensal and sacrificial provisions (*SEG* 31 [1981] 122 = *NGSL* 5; 90–110 CE).²⁶ The treasurer of the group was responsible for supplying the sacrificial victim (a boar) for the god once a year (line 37). The rules specify that if those contracted to purchase the supply of pork or wine failed to furnish them, they would have to pay back twice the amount, and those responsible for these duties were to provide sureties (lines 20–22). Further on in the inscription, there is reference to four (other) members who were to be chosen by lot for every feast day, two in charge of meat and two in charge of pastries (lines 31–33). Any underhanded dealings by these members would result in a fine of 20 drachmas. New members, whether adult or child, were to pay a fee in the form of pork for the meal (lines 38–40). When they gathered for their sacrifices and meals, everyone was to "wear a wreath for the god" (line 45).

"It shall not be Permissible ... to bring the Symposia to Nought"

Reference to possible misconduct among the devotees of Herakles brings us to the negative side of regulation. The associations anticipated the sorts of misconduct that could take place at gatherings where drinking was part of the sacrificial banquets, and where personal relations or the pursuit of honor among members could negatively influence conduct and potentially bring the festivities "to nought". There is, in fact, a consistency from one group to the next in the rules pertaining to potential banquetting misconduct (at least in the few that have survived), such that it seems that there was a commonly held set of values that underlie these concerns about proper conduct in feasting, values that span the Mediterranean from Italy to Greece and Egypt. Thus we find the following in the rules of the devotees of Zeus Hypsistos, which are echoed elsewhere: "It shall not be permissible for any one of [the members]... to make factions or to leave the brotherhood (*phratra*) of the president for another, or for men to enter into one another's pedigrees at the symposium or to abuse one another at the symposium or to chatter or to indict or accuse another or to resign the course of the year or again to bring the symposia to nought..." (*PLond* 2710).²⁷ One of the associations at Tebtunis likewise outlines similar areas of potential banquetting misconduct, including taking another's seat at the banquet or shoving and defaming fellow members, and fines are stipulated to prevent these offences (*PMich* V

243).²⁸ If anyone engaged in a fight within the synod of Heraklists in Attica, the instigator was to pay ten drachmas the following day, and the one who engaged with him five. The instigator could also be subject to expulsion from the association on the vote of the members (lines 5–8). At Lanuvium in Italy, increasing levels of fines begin to indicate which offences are considered more serious than others, with abusive treatment against the leadership being particularly serious: "Any member who uses any abusive or insolent language to a president (*quinquennalis*) at a banquet shall be fined 20 *sesterces*" (lines 25–28; trans. Lewis and Reinhold 1966:273–75).

The concern for order and proper roles during rituals and communal meals in the rules of the Bacchic association (Iobacchoi) at Athens contrasts starkly to the wild transgressions that Livy imagines at gatherings of such associations of the god Dionysos. Here the procedure for dealing with such offences internally is clearly laid out, and the seriousness of abusive or violent offences becomes very clear:

It is not lawful for anyone in the gathering to sing, cause disturbances or applaud. Rather members shall speak and do their parts with all good order and quietness, as the priest or the chief-bacchant gives directions (cf. lines 45–50) ... Now if anyone begins a fight, is found disorderly, sits in someone else's seat or is insulting or abusing someone else, the person abused or insulted shall produce two of the Iobacchoi as sworn witnesses, testifying that they heard the insult or abuse. The one who committed the insult or abuse shall pay to the common fund 25 light drachmae, or the one who was the cause of the fight shall either pay the same 25 drachmae or not come to any more meetings of the Iobacchoi until he pays. If someone comes to blows, let the one who was struck file a report with the priest or the vice-priest, who shall without fail convene a meeting and the Iobacchoi shall judge by a vote as the priest presides. Let the offender be penalized by exclusion for a time – as long as seems appropriate – and by paying a fine up to 25 drachmae. The same penalty shall also be applied to the one who is beaten and does not go to the priest or the chief-bacchant but has instead brought a charge to the public courts. Let the penalty be the same for the officer in charge of good order (*eukosmos*) if he does not expel those who fight (*IG* II² 1368, lines 67–95; trans. mine).²⁹

Further on, the role of this officer is spelled out in more detail:

The officer in charge of good order shall be chosen by lot or be appointed by the priest, bearing the wand (*thyrsos*) of the god for anyone who is

disorderly or creates a disturbance. And if the wand be laid on anyone—and the priest or the chief-bacchant approves—let him leave the feast. And if he refuses, let those who have been appointed by the priests as ‘horses’ take him outside the door and let him be liable to the punishment concerning those who fight (lines 136–146).

It is worth asking to what degree such regulations were respected and followed, thereby ensuring that “good order” (as defined by such groups) usually prevailed at the meetings, sacrifices, and banquets? It is difficult to know for sure, yet several of the monuments that have survived to us emphasize the authority and respect that was given to an association’s statutes, such that it would be hard to imagine members flagrantly breaking these laws on a regular basis. Thus, a household-based association at Philadelphia, Asia Minor (first century BCE), received its sacred regulations directly from Zeus himself (by way of a dream given to the leader of the group), and the regulations were placed under the charge of the “holy guardian,” Agdistis: “May she create good thoughts in men and women, free people and slaves, in order that they may obey the things written here” (*SIG*³ 985, lines 53–55; trans. Barton and Horsley 1981:10).³⁰ On entering into this association, members were to swear an oath that they would follow the rules.³¹ Furthermore, members were to show respect for the regulations at the “monthly and annual sacrifices” by touching the inscribed plaque, which was imagined to have the effect of revealing those who had broken any of its stipulations (lines 55–59). Similarly, at Lanuvium there were warnings to potential new recruits regarding the importance of the regulations (*CIL* lines 17–19).

There were also more down-to-earth means of ensuring that statutes were followed, as we have seen. In several cases, associations devoted considerable attention to outlining the fines that would be paid for violation of specific rules and some, such as the Iobacchoi, went further by empowering specific officers “to prevent any of those decrees from being violated” (lines 28–31). The “democratic” element in some instances also involved members approving the ordinances, which would once again increase the members’ investment of authority (*kyria*) in the rules to which they agreed (*IG* II² 1368, lines 14–24; *PMich* V 243, lines 12–13, 17–34; cf. *PLond* 2710, line 4).

Conclusion

Small social–religious groups or associations, both imagined and real, provide important glimpses into banqueting values. Authors of both fiction and history played on what was commonly expected social and religious behavior within such groups by presenting alien associations or low-life

criminal guilds as the inversion of all that was pious and right. The wild transgressions of ritual murder and the accompanying cannibalistic meal, symbolic of inverting piety and destroying humanity or society itself, stand out as the epitome of the antibanquet. Tales of this sort, informed by ethnographic discourses of the “other,” were frightening precisely because they represented a total distortion of the goals of most associations, namely the intimately related goals of appropriately honoring the gods (through sacrifice) and feasting with friends. Sometimes, both Judean synagogues and Christian congregations fell prey to this technique of defining oneself over against the “other,” primarily because of the foreignness of their nonparticipation in honoring, or sacrificing to, the Greek or Roman gods, because of their monotheism.

Epigraphic evidence concerning real-life associations suggests that mildly transgressive behavior along the lines of the jocular abuse mentioned in the introduction or, sometimes, actually coming to blows in personal disagreements or contests for honor could and did take place. Yet there were commonly shared values of appropriate banqueting behavior that set limits on such conduct, ensuring that the convivial and cultic aims of these groups were generally met. When such values were set in stone as statutes, members who felt themselves abused, offended, or dishonored in some way would have a ready avenue to address their concerns within the group setting.

Notes

1. Cf. Cicero, *Fam.* 9.24.3; Peachin, “Friendship and Abuse”; Klinghardt, *Gemeinschaftsmahl und Mahlgemeinschaft*, 4–7.
2. Peachin, “Friendship and Abuse”; Braun, “Typology,” 14–15; cf. Murray, “Affair,” 157.
3. Harland, *Dynamics of Identity*.
4. On brigands in fiction, see, most recently, Henrichs, “Pagan Ritual;” Winkler, “Lollianos;” Jones, “Apuleius’ *Metamorphoses*;” Bertrand, “Le Boucôloi;” Hopwood “All that May Become a Man;” Trinquier, “Le motif du repaire des brigands;” and Watanabe, “Hippochoos.” As to actual associations (*collegia*) of brigands or pirates in literature (beyond the novels), it is difficult to know when we are witnessing real bandits formed into guilds as opposed to labels attached to opponent groups (sometimes actual *collegia* of the normal type). For it was not uncommon for certain politicians or historians to label as “brigands” (*latrones, lēstai*) specific associations (*collegia*) in an effort to undermine groups that supported one’s opponents (cf. Cicero, *Pis.* 8–9; *Sest.* 33–34, 55; Suetonius, *Aug.* 32.1–2; Appian, *Hist. rom.* 5.132; cf. Strabo, *Geogr.* 12.570; 17.792, 802; Josephus, *B.J.*, throughout). On banditry and on its use as a metaphor for the “de-stated” or “barbaric” non-person, see Shaw, “Bandits.”

5. *Metam.*, 3.28–4.25; 6.25–7.12; cf. Pseudo-Lucian, *The Ass*, 21–26
6. *Metam.*, 4.8 [trans. LCL].
7. Cf. Homer, *Od.* 21.285–304; Lucian, *Symposium, or The Lapiths*; Pausanias, *Descr.* 1.17.2, 1.28.2, 5.10.8
8. *Metam.*, 7.5; cf. Herodotus, *Hist.* 4.64.
9. *POxy* 1368 and *PColon* 3328 (here the focus is on the narrative in B1 recto), on which see Henrichs, *Die Phoinikika*. Cf. Henrichs, “Pagan Ritual;” Winkler, “Lollianos;” Jones, “Apuleius’ *Metamorphoses*;” Grant, “Charges of ‘Immorality’;” Henrichs, “Human Sacrifice,” 224–232; Sandy in Reardon, *Collected Ancient Greek Novels*, 809–812; Stephens and Winkler, *Ancient Greek Novels*, 314–357 (with Greek text and extensive commentary).
10. Trans. Stephens and Winkler, *Ancient Greek Novels*, 338–341.
11. Henrichs, “Pagan Ritual,” 33–34.
12. These tales developed over the years: Sallust mentions Catiline and his co-conspirator’s oath that was sealed by partaking from “bowls of human blood mixed with wine” (*Bell. Cat.* 22.1–2 [trans. LCL]); Plutarch claims that “they sacrificed a human being and partook of the flesh” (*Cic.* 10.4); and Dio Cassius asserts that the conspirators “sacrificed a *pais*, and after administering the oath over his vitals (*splagchnōn*), ate these in company with the others” (*Roman History* 37.30.3). Cf. Diodorus Siculus, 22.3.5; Plutarch, *Publ.* 4.1; Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll.* 7.11, 20, 33).
13. Cf. Winkler, “Lollianos,” 178.
14. Trans. Bettenson, *Livy*.
15. On accusations against Jews involving human sacrifice and cannibalism, see Feldman, *Jew and Gentile*, 123–176, and Schäfer, *Judeophobia*.
16. Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors*, 1.531.
17. cf. Feldman, *Jew and Gentile*, 125–48; Schäfer, *Judeophobia*, 15–17, 21–22, 170–79.
18. See further: Harland, *Dynamics of Identity*. For other examples, see Pliny the Younger, *Ep.* 10.96.7; Tacitus, *Ann.* 15.44.2; Justin Martyr, *1 Apol.* 26.7; Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 5.1.3–5.2.8; Tertullian, *Apol.* 8.2.
19. Caecilius’ opinions may draw on an earlier source by Marcus Cornelius Fronto (c. 100–166 CE; cf. *Oct.* 9.6).
20. Cf. Seland, “Philo and the Clubs and Associations of Alexandria.”
21. Compare Tertullian’s defence of the Christian association (*factio, corpus*) against accusations such as those mentioned earlier, which includes his retort that financial contributions made by members of Christian associations are “not spent upon banquets nor drinking-parties nor thankless eating-houses,” but on helping the poor and facilitating burial of the dead (*Apol.* 39.5–6 and 38–39 [trans. LCL]).
22. M. P. Nilsson, *Dionysiac Mysteries*, is among those who tend to adopt the moralistic critique in downplaying religious dimensions of associations. See Harland, *Associations*, 55–87; Smith, *From Symposium to Eucharist*.
23. Epigraphic abbreviations here follow the suggested new standard outlined by Horsley and Lee, “A Preliminary Checklist.” Papyrological abbreviations follow

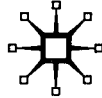
- Oates, Bagnall, Willis, and Worp, *Checklist of Editions*; also available in an updated version online at: <<http://scriptorium.lib.duke.edu/papyrus/texts/clist.html>>.
24. *From Symposium to Eucharist*, 97–131.
 25. See also Boak, “An Ordinance of the Salt Merchants.”
 26. See also Raubitschek, “A New Attic Club.”
 27. Trans. by Roberts, Skeat, and Nock, “The Gild of Zeus Hypsistos,” 42, with adaptations
 28. Cf. Plutarch, *Sept. sap. conv.* 148F–149B; Lucian, *Symp.*, 9; Klinghardt, *Gemeinschaftsmahl und Mahlgemeinschaft*, 6, 15 n.28.
 29. The hymn-singers at Pergamon, who celebrated mysteries in honor of god Augustus, also had an officer in charge of good order (*eukosmos*; *IPerg* 374 B, line 13).
 30. Trans. Barton and Horsley, “A Hellenistic Cult Group,” 10.
 31. The restorations of *[poreu]omēnoi* and *[orkous]thōsan* in lines 14–15 and 16–17 seem very plausible, as noted by Barton and Horsley, “A Hellenistic Cult Group,” 18.

Meals in the Early
Christian World

Social Formation, Experimentation,
and Conflict at the Table

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MEALS IN THE EARLY CHRISTIAN WORLD

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