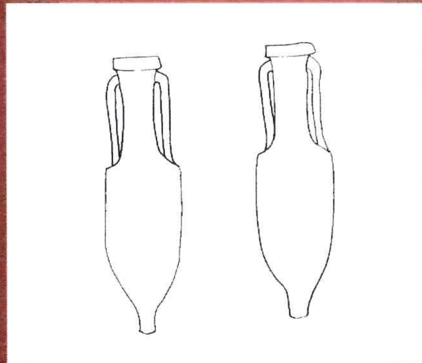

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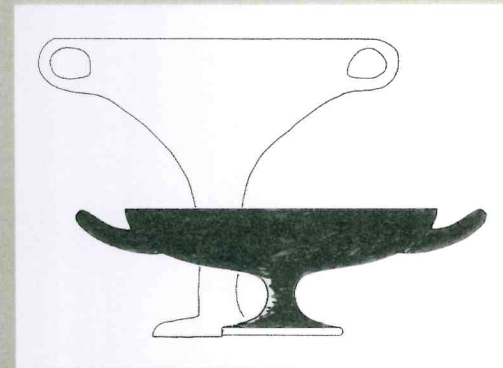
Wine-drinking habits in Antiquity

from the Minoans to the Romans



an exhibition of

THE CLASSICAL MUSEUM

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE DUBLIN

2001

PREFACE

This exhibition has been organised in recognition of the fact that no other food or drink has had such a special place in society throughout the course of history as wine.

Ancient authors exalted its many benefits to mankind and placed it under the divine protection of Dionysos. Wine brought joy and health, banished human suffering, brought sleep and through sleep oblivion, and made man speak the truth about oneself, as well as, less acceptably perhaps, the truth about others.

A look around the Classical Museum where about half of its ceramic collection has something to do, directly or indirectly, with wine preparation and wine-drinking is sufficient to make one appreciate the social, economic and ritual significance of wine. The objects which form part of the display have been chosen because they best illustrate the theme of this exhibition: the wine-drinking habits in Classical antiquity.

The exhibition is wide-ranging in date and scope, so it only scratches the surface of this huge subject. The focus is on the types of wine drunk in each period, the place and occasion where wine-drinking took place and the equipment used for preparing, serving and drinking wine. Societal changes played an important part in the different contexts in which wine was consumed in the successive periods, but continuity is also evident in the composition and taste of wine. Aspects of iconography, particularly the Dionysiac iconography of the Classical era are also explored since they formed part of the visual experience of drinkers. Finally the section on amphorae illustrates the extent to which wines travelled in order to satisfy the great demand for variety.

This booklet includes a general background on wine in antiquity with relevant references to the exhibits followed by a catalogue of the items on display. A basic bibliography provides a starting point for anyone wishing to find out more on the subject.

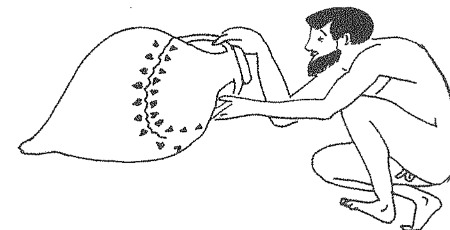
The exhibition was mounted by an enthusiastic and committed group of Greek and Roman Civilization undergraduates who also compiled the catalogue of the

exhibits. They are John Burke, Tom Donaghy, Catherine Quinn, Cara O'Doherty, Seana Triehy and Nora Thornton. Thanks to the exhibition they have acquired extra skills and knowledge which are bound to be to their benefit in the future. Our thanks go to Dr A. Peatfield and Dr B. Hoffman for advice on particular objects. To Dr Chahoud we owe the modern joke-jug from Italy. We are grateful to Dr F.R. Serra-Ridgway, University of Edinburgh, for bibliographical help on Etruscan and S. Italian wine matters. Many thanks also go to Dr Eric Haywood for proof-reading an earlier version of this booklet.

Dr Christina Haywood
Classical Museum
Department of Classics
University College Dublin

ANCIENT SOURCES MENTIONED IN THE TEXT

Apicius, *The Roman Cookery Book*
Athenaeus, *The Deipnosophists*
Cato, *De agri cultura*
Columella, *De re rustica*
Euripides, *The Bacchae*
Homer, *Iliad; Odyssey*
Horace, *Odes*
Petronius, *Satyrikon*
Pindar, *Olympian Odes*
Plato, *Symposium*
Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*
Pliny the Younger, *Epistles*
Plutarch, *Table talk*
Varro, *De re rustica*
Virgil, *Georgics*
Xenophon, *Symposium*



1

PRODUCTION, TASTE AND VARIETIES OF ANCIENT WINE

Origins

The species *vitis vinifera* is the wild progenitor of all the varieties of the cultivated vine in Western Asia and Southern Europe, including Greece and Italy. In the Levant its cultivation is believed to have been established by the end of the fourth millennium BC. In Greece, however, probably due to the difficulties of differentiating between cultivated and wild varieties among the paleoethnobotanical remains from archaeological sites, the presence of the cultivated plant has not been confirmed before the last quarter of the third millennium BC at Lerna in the Argolid. The earliest identified remains of residue from pottery using scientific techniques are roughly contemporary (from Myrtos-Phournou Koriphi, Early Minoan IIB, c. 2500-2300 BC). In a short space of time, wine-making spread widely, and wine quickly acquired a special significance in the economic, social and religious life of Greece. It is no coincidence that Homer thought it fit to include a vintage scene on the shield that Hephaistos made for Achilles (*Iliad*, 18.561-572)!

As regards Italy, the beginnings of viticulture are not as well attested. What seems most likely is that wine-making was introduced there by the 8th century BC. Campania is said by ancient authors to have had primacy, but the origins and mechanics of the transmission of the wine-making technology are far from clear, and the Greeks are no longer regarded as the only bearers; Eastern agents,

primarily the Phoenicians, are also credited with disseminating the technology.

A lot can be learned about viticulture in the Roman period from the writings of Cato (*De agri cultura*), Varro (*De re rustica*, Book 1) and Columella (*De re rustica*, Books 3-5, 12), who deal in detail with subjects such as planting, pruning, harvest etc. Pliny (*Natural History*, Book 17.199) refers to the rather surprising fact that the best Italian wines were produced from vines grown on trees, particularly poplars. The equipment for the treading of grapes remained simple. Clay tubs for wine-pressing have been found in Crete dating from the second millennium BC; and the Greeks used baskets on wooden treading floors. A press invented by the Greeks, and probably only used by them for oil, was used by the Romans as a wine press; its manufacture is described by Cato (*De agri cultura*, XIX). Fermentation took place in large jars, the *pithoi* of the Greeks and *dolia* of the Romans.

Composition and additives

Ancient authors have left us a fair amount of detail on these subjects, and archaeology along with the scientific analysis of residues from containers, continues to supply interesting information. Scientific analysis and the texts in the Linear B archives from the palaces have proved that different varieties of flavoured wines were already being produced in Bronze Age Greece. Resinated wine (the ancestor of modern *retsina*) was made from the very beginnings of wine production on Crete in the third millennium BC. For this, pine resin which is the ingredient of *retsina* was used, but so was terebynth, the resin produced by *Pistacia Atlantica* (turpentine tree), which was also likely to have been used for medicinal purposes as an antiseptic. Terebynth (probably the *ki-ta-no* mentioned in the Linear B documents of the Mycenaeans) was traded in the so-called Canaanite jars (see below, 4); the excavations of the 14th century BC shipwreck of Ulu Burun, off the south coast of Turkey, produced 1 ton of terebynth resin in 150 Canaanite jars, some of it surely intended as an additive to wine.

The other additives revealed by scientific analyses were herbs, possibly laurel, lavender or sage (all of which appear in Linear B documents), while in one instance, wine contained in an Early Minoan pot may have had toasted oak chippings added to it giving it the oakey flavour of whisky. Honey, used by the Greeks and the Romans, is another additive which goes back to the Bronze Age. 'Honeyed wine' is mentioned in the Linear B texts and in Homer. The Romans called honeyed wine *mulsum* and served it as an aperitif with the first course at dinner.

Some containers of the Minoans, including 'conical cups' such as the ones on display (**A1-A4**), have been shown to have contained cocktails made of wine, barley beer and honey mead. This drink, so unusual to modern taste, was probably a ritual drink. Equally unpalatable for us would have been Homer's Pramnian wine made into a *kykeon* (*Iliad* 11.639; *Odyssey* 10.235) by the addition of grated goat's cheese and barley mead.

Wine varieties

Pliny (2nd centurty AD) writes that the 5th century philosopher Democritus claimed that he knew all the different kinds of wine but that other authors say that there was 'a countless and infinite number' of them (*Natural History*, Book 14.20). Athenaeus, the Hellenistic gastronomic chronicler from Naucratis (c. 170 - 230 AD) in his *Deipnosophists*, mentions an impressive number of wines, Greek but particularly Italian (several of them are listed in the Appendix), though as his sources are of different dates, not all the wines he mentions are likely to have been popular at one and the same time.

Among the great Greek wines the most renowned were the wines of Chios, Mende, Thasos and Lesbos, the latter, according to Athenaeus, possessing the glory of Ambrosia. The wines of the cities of Asia Minor and the off-shore islands, among them Coan, Rhodian, Lesbian and Clazomenian wines had the peculiarity of having salted water or sea-water added to them in greater or lesser quantities. This admixture, apart from helping in the wine's preservation, gave it a special taste, which remained popular in Roman times. Cato (*De agri cultura* CXII) and

Columella (*De re rustica*, Book 12.XXXVII.1) both give recipes for making 'Greek wine'. In fact Cato gives the recipe for Coan wine, which was the Greek wine with the greatest sea-water content. Coan wine was also popular among the Romans at Pompeii where a number of stamped Coan amphorae have been found.

Pliny (*Natural Histoy*, Book 14.21-39) and Columella (*De re rustica* Book 3.II.7-28) classified wines according to the prestige they enjoyed in the 1st century AD. The *grand crus* of Italy of the period were the Campanian wines, mostly from small vineyards: Falernian (which remained the most highly regarded wine until the 4th century AD), Alban, Amenian, Surrentine, Setine and, according to Pliny, Mamertine from Messina in Sicily. Caecuban was celebrated in poetry, but the vineyard was largely destroyed by Nero's schemes in the 1st century AD.

Though they never openly admitted it, the Romans may have favoured Greek over Italian wines, in some cases probably out of snobbery (for example the gourmet Lucullus - c. 117-66 BC), as the best of Greek wines, for example the wines of Chios and Thasos, were more expensive than the Italian ones.

Taste

The precise taste of ancient wines is hard to imagine or reproduce. Two characteristics would have stood out. Firstly they would on average have been a lot sweeter than present-day wines, and secondly, given that they were normally diluted with water (see 2), they would have been drunk at a lower alcoholic strength than present-day wines (three to eight degrees). Undiluted, some wines would have been extremely strong; the Maronean wine of Odysseus (*Odyssey* 9.196-212) had to be diluted with water in a 1:20 ratio, but later no wine was said to be stronger than Falernian, which was reputedly the only wine which could be set alight. Most wines would have been quite sweet, because the grapes were normally picked fairly ripe and because the fermentation process could not be controlled effectively. Some wines, including Falernian, were produced in a sweet as well as a dry variety. But sweet wines were popular. As well as the honeyed *mulsum,* (with added

honey to taste), the Romans also made *passum*, from grapes dried in the sun (raisins). The latter was not a cheap wine and not particularly high in alcoholic content; it was also used as a sweetener for food, and women were apparently allowed to drink it, possibly because they could not anyhow be prevented from doing so in the kitchen! *Conditum* was also made from sweet wine to which honey was added along with spices such as pepper.

The pitch with which amphorae were lined must have given a taste to practically all the Greek and Italian wines stored in such containers, but as was said above, many wines were also deliberately resinated. However, Columella who deals extensively with the different kinds of resin (*De re rustic,* Book 12. XXII-XXIV), stresses the fact that the best wines were unresinated.

Ageing and connoisseurship

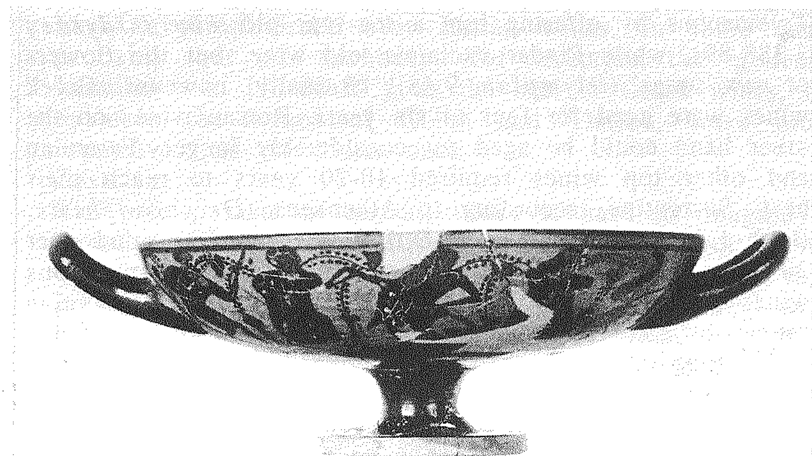
The ageing of wine was appreciated from an early date. In the *Odyssey*, Nestor expresses his hospitality towards Telemachus by offering him a ten-year old wine (*Odyssey* 3.388-89), while Pindar exclaims 'old wine, but the flowers of new songs' (*Olympian* 9.48)! Normally, however, Greek wines were aged for four to six years. Roman wines on the other hand could be aged for considerably longer. Falernian and other top wines required 10-20 years to reach their best. Surrentine, according to Athenaeus (*Deipnosophists*, Book 1.26) quoting Galen (AD 130), began to be good after 20 years. Pliny (*Natural History*, Book 19.6.55) mentions wines that had kept for nearly 200 years, but their value seems to have been due to their great antiquity, if his observation that they had been reduced to the consistency of honey is to be taken at face value. The long-term preservation of wines was however a persisting concern, and it seems that there existed entire volumes of instructions, which are now lost, to deal with the problem.

Conoisseurship as such was probably not fully developed until Roman times, though there are references to earlier treatises of oenology (Pliny, *Natural History*, Book 14.120) and individual wines are praised in Greek lyric and Athenian comic poetry. The Latin poets, including Virgil (*Georgics*) and Horace (*Odes*), knew their wines. Horace in

particular deals with a number of different varieties, although rather than the wine itself his main concern is to idealise the pleasure derived from drinking it The five categories of properties, i.e. colour, taste, consistency, smell and strength, listed by Gallen (Athenaeus, *Deipnosophists*, Book 1.26), who discussed wines particularly for their medicinal properties, do not differ from the properties we look for when tasting wines today.

Further reading

Billiard 1913; Brock and Wirtjes 2000; Commager 1957; Dalby and Grainer 1996; Dalby 2000; Mc Govern 2000; McGovern, Fleming and Katz 1996; Purcell 1985; Robinson 1994; Salviat 1986; Tchernia 1986; Tzedakis and Martlew 1999; Zohary 1996.



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2

TIME AND PLACE FOR WINE-DRINKING

The Minoans and Mycenaeans

The evidence suggests that during the second millennium BC wine was used in two main ways. Firstly in ritual for secred libations and lustrations, in which cases the wine was not normally consumed, and secondly in the context of ceremonial feasting during which it obviously was. Evidence for feasting is provided by vessels, representations and architectural remains. Most of the evidence connects wine-drinking with the palace based élites. Although palaces were not established yet, the sheer quantity, quality and sometimes the extra large size of the gold and silver cups from the Shaft Graves at Mycenae (such as **A9**) clearly demonstrate the prestige associated with wine-drinking among the aristocracy. The presence of wine-drinking vessels of precious metals in rich tombs of the 15th and 14th centuries documents the continuity of this association during the palatial period.

Representations of drinkers are shown on the 'Campstool fresco' from Knossos in Crete and the fresco from the megaron of the Palace of Nestor at Pylos. They show figures, including women, sitting on stools and raising their drinking-cups. The megaron at Pylos, where many drinking cups were recovered, has been suggested as the likely venue for ceremonies at the time of the Mycenaean palaces. It is likely that ceremonial drinking in the Bronze Age was

never far removed from the ritual or religious spheres (see also the comment about the Chieftain's cup (**A5**) in the Catalogue). But the omnipresence in the archaeaeological record of the typical Mycenaean wine-cup, the high stemmed kylix (**A10**), does suggest that wine drinking was also a more mundane affair.

The Greeks

The duality of wine, on the one hand wine which was consumed, and on the other hand wine for sacred libations (the gods'drink) continued in the Classical period.

In so far as drinking is concerned, in ancient Greece wine was had at every possible occasion, at home or in 'restaurants', at public, religious or private events, in the city or in the country. However, no wine-drinking occasion was as typically Greek as the *symposion*. Strictly speaking the *symposion* was a private social gathering of adult male citizens held in the *andron*, the finest room and special dining room of a private house. In an atmosphere of great intimacy, the participants drunk wine, sang lyric poetry, played music, conversed on various topics, danced and indulged in erotic behaviour. Collective drinking (and eating) is already mentioned in Homer, but the Greek *symposion* in its fully developed form is not attested until the 7th century, and from then on is known to us through literary texts (principally Plato's *Symposium*, Plutarch's *Table talk*, Xenophon's *Symposium*) and hundreds of surviving representations in art, primarily on vases (nearly 1,000 Attic black- or red-figured scenes on vases are known). The *symposion* was normally held after dinner (*deipnon*). An animal was sometimes sacrificed and the remains shared among the guests before the *symposion* commenced, but only a little food (some fruit and cakes) was offered in the course of it.

Though its entertainment value was evidently high (and probably increased in the 5th century) the *symposion* also acted socially and politically as a means of consolidating the aristocratic ethos and political affiliations of the group. Traditionally every *symposion* was governed by its own rules and procedures, which were agreed with the *symposiarch*, the master of the banquet, at the outset.

Among the decisions taken for the evening were the choice of music, the subjects for discussion, and the number of kraters of wine to be drunk. The concentration of the wine was also agreed; the proportion of wine to water noted by ancient authors is 3:1, 5:3 and, at its strongest, 3:2. The guests reclined on couches (the *klinae*), two to each, a room accommodating 14 - 30 guests. The Greek habit of eating and drinking in the reclining position, was introduced from the East probably in the 8th century BC; during the Bronze Age it had been customary to drink sitting. Women in Greek and Roman times continued to sit at the table.

Before a krater was shared out, a libation was poured and a toast proposed to one of the Olympians, a reminder of the religious character of the *symposion*. The god of wine, Dionysos, was always regarded as the ultimate recipient of the offerings.

Since the krater was the most essential container for the occasion, it was often decorated with scenes from the *symposion*. On the Meleager krater of the National Museum of Ireland (**E7**), a scene from the *symposion* is juxtaposed with that of the *komos*, the procession which normally took place in the open air before the *symposion* and which was also accompanied by wine drinking. No musicians or female companions are shown on this krater (see however fragment **E8**); the painter has focused his attention on the three protagonists who are the same in both the *komos* and *symposion* scenes. In the indoor scene they recline on richly embroidered covers and cushions, which is an indication of the aristocratic setting of the event.

Vases and other objects cannot convey to us the high-spirited discussions that would have taken place on such occasions (the only hints are some short inscriptions on vases), but there is a large number of representations of games that were played using the containers, particularly the drinking cups, and which would have required great balance and skill. Among these, by far the most common was *kottabos*, a game which is shown being played by the *symposiasts* on the Meleager painter krater (**E7**). This was a 'love game' (each turn was dedicated to a lover) and involved holding the cup's handle with the index and

flicking the wine dregs towards a target. The target is not shown on the krater, but is represented on the situla showing Dionysos as a banqueter (**D6**). A small object (a bowl?) is about to be propped on a lampstand similar to that mentioned by Athenaeus (*Deipnosophists*, Book 15.666-667) who dwells extensively on the subject of the *kottabos* game. When hit the bowl would fall and ring against a disc lower down the stand.

The exhibition also has on display two other wine containers which would have been designed to amuse the participants at a *symposion*. A rather modest black-glazed kylix (**E9**) contains a pellet of clay inside the stem; when shaken gently it rattles producing a pleasant sound. The second piece, a Geometric jug with four holes in the body (**E10**), predates the developed form of the *symposion* (it dates from the 8th century BC), but rather than a wine cooler, as it was hitherto thought to be, it is more likely a 'joke jug' as suggested recently. The jug (of which there is only one other example, from the Athenian Agora) would have appeared empty and not capable of holding a liquid because of its holes, but the owner could have surprised the guests by pouring wine from it (see the Catalogue for its operation).

The Etruscans

It is often said that the Etruscans adopted the ritual of the *symposion* from the Greeks. However, this is incorrect. The Etruscans held banquets which combined eating and drinking, and in which their wives also participated. Moreover Etruscan communal drinking did not have the same ritual and social connotations as it had for the Greeks despite the fact that the Etruscans did use imported Greek vases for the preparation and serving of wine along with more expensive metal and humble bucchero vessels (**C1-C2**). The Etruscans even played *kottabos*, but the game could have reached them from Sicily where, according to some ancient authors, it had been invented.

The habit of reclining, which the Etruscans shared with the Greeks, may have been introduced to the central Mediterranean independently from the East, possibly by

the Phoenicians. The custom was adopted by the Romans along with the banquet, which combined drink with food.

The Romans

Those Romans who could afford it, together with their wives, often entertained their friends at home, where anything from a simple supper to elaborate dinners, were held in the *triclinium*, the special dining-room of the house. These were occasions for over-indulging, both in food and in drink. The feast of Timalchio described in Petronius's *Satyricon* is legendary. According to Pliny the Elder, Julius Caesar was the first to serve four kinds of wines -a mixture of Roman and Greek (Falernian, Chian, Lesbian and Mamertine)- at a feast during his third consulship. In Imperial times the custom prevailed of serving different kinds of wines in sequence at dinner parties. Honeyed wine or spiced wine (*conditum*), which was sweet and probably akin to a Martini, was served as an aperitif.

The quality of the wine served, like that of the food, could be chosen to suit the class of guests, and the distinction could even be made at one and the same dinner party. Such a custom was condemned by Pliny the Younger (*Epistles* II 6) who mentions a host who served three different qualities of wine in separate flasks according to the social status of his guests.

Roman banquets could last several hours and there was plenty of time to get very full and very drunk. Even so, a ceremonial drinking session (*commissatio*) could follow the meal. On that occasion, the master of ceremonies, the *arbiter elegantiae*, would prescribe the proportion of wine and water, the number of cups each participant was to drink in one draught, and the sequence of toasts (not unlike today's Scandinavian fashion).

Wine was freely available in the restaurants and bars of Roman towns, including those attached to baths. The inn or tavern (*taberna*) was a typical feature of the Roman town; thirty eight surviving taverns have been identified in Ostia alone. Taverns served drink from the counter, food at the table, and could also offer additional forms of entertainment for men. The most popular drink at the bars, both as a refreshment and as a social drink, was the *conditum*, of

which different varieties were prepared and served. A tavern would keep its wines in amphorae in the attic. The wine was then mixed with either chilled or warm water and spices and served from bar storage jars (*dolia*) in cups or bowls such as the glass ones on display (**C8-C10**), in the standard measure which was the *sextarius*.

Further reading
Carcopino 1952; Dalby 2000; Deighton 1995; Hermansen 1981; Lissarrague 1990; McGovern, Fleming & Katz 1996; Murray 1990; Noble 1968; Papadopoulos 1999; ; Rathje 1990; Rathje 1994; Small 1994; Sparkes 1960; Thompson, ed., 1976; Vickers (undated); Vickers 1975; Wright 1996.

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3

DIONYSOS AND DIONYSIAC ICONOGRAPHY

... the son of Semele,
who matched her present by inventing liquid wine
as his gift to man. For filled with that good gift,
suffering mankind forgets its grief . . .
Euripides, *The Bacchae*, 278-280

Though a relatively inferior god on Mount Olympus, Dionysos was reserved a special place by mortals, due to his gift of wine, which was seen as the source of joy and health. Such were believed to be the benefits of this gift that the Delphic priestess, according to Athenaeus (*Deipnosophists*, Book 2.36b), had called him 'health-giver'.

Not only wine making but also the civilized way of drinking wine by mixing it with water was said to have been taught to man by Dionysos; King Icarios of Attica was said to have been the first man to be taught the secret of wine making, though other sources say that it was Amphictyon, King of Athens, who had first learned the art of mixing it (Athenaeus, *Deipnosophists,* Book 2.38c-d). But Dionysos was also the god of paradox. While his gift gave intense joy, it could turn to poison or provoke madness and violence, if drunk in large quantities or unmixed. Drunkenness also accompanied the orgiastic side of the Dionysiac cult, during the main festivals in honour of the god, the Anthesteria, the

Lenaea - which derives its name from *lenae*, the orgiastic women of his cult (the 'maenads' = madwomen), while *lenos* is also the name for a wine vat - and most likely also the Great Dionysia.

In myth as in iconography, Dionysos is always surrounded by women. His other companions are the satyrs or silens, woodland creatures who combine human and animal characteristics (pointed ears, tails and sometimes the hind legs and hooves of a horse). Silens and satyrs are interchangeable names for these creatures in the 6th-5th centuries.

Dionysiac themes are the most frequent in the iconography of figured Greek vases from the 6th to the 4th century BC; representations of the life and cult of Dionysos far exceeding the amount of extant textual references. Most of the shapes on which Dionysiac themes appear (amphorae, kraters, jugs and cups) are connected with the storage, preparation or serving of wine. Dionysiac scenes are also numerically dominant on the vases of the Classical Museum, but the images are not unusual or exceptional. Rather, they are representative of the way the god and his attendants were perceived and conceptualised in art during the main periods of vase painting.

In the Attic black-figured vase-painting of the Archaic period (6th and early 5th centuries BC) Dionysos is depicted as a stately adult man, sometimes sober, other times not, fully dressed in a long chiton and himation. On the vases of this period which are part of the UCD collection the god is standing or sitting, mostly wearing an ivy wreath and holding a drinking horn (**D3** and **D5**) from which he drinks his undiluted wine, which he alone can drink without risk. He is the wine-giver presiding over the activities that take place in his honour: the music, dancing and prancing of his attendants, the satyrs and 'maenads'. As is standard for this period, he has a beard which is longer than that of any of the other gods in contemporary iconography. On **D3** his beard is short and well-groomed and contrasts with that of the satyrs, but elsewhere it is as unkempt as theirs. The beard, the drinking horn, and the nature of his attendants emphasises the wild and rustic side of the god's persona.

A change in the representation of Dionysos begins in Attic red-figured vase painting in the 5th century BC. The image of a young Dionysos is introduced for the first time. The god is scantily dressed and sometimes rather effeminate, a visual reference of the feminine side of his nature. On the Apulian situla **D6**, Dionysos is shown as a young man, naked to the waist, reclining languidly on a couch. Though not particularly effeminate, except for his long golden curls, he is a very different, much softer god than his Archaic predecessor. The scene on the situla is an amalgam of myth and reality. Dionysos is shown in the guise of a human banqueter, which recalls his description by Euripides as 'the god of garlands and banquets' (*Bacchae*, 376). Instead of a drinking horn or a kantharos however (the two vessels from which Dionysos normally drinks his undiluted wine), he is holding the skyphos of the mortal drinker with which he plays *kottabos* (see above, 2). But his assistant at the game is a maenad and his musician a satyr, so that a clear link with the supernatural is immediately established.

The companions of Dionysos, satyrs and maenads, possess different 'personalities' in art. The satyrs indulge in excessive and unmixed wine-drinking, and in lustful activities, most often with the maenads as their main targets. Before the late 5th century satyrs are always shown as bearded adults (**D3** and **D5**), but at about the same time as the iconography of Dionysos undergoes changes, satyrs also begin to have an age, and are now depicted as young beardless men (as on **B12** and **D6**), children, or even as old men reminiscent of Papposilenus of the satyr plays.

Of the vases representing maenads, a black-figured lekythos from about 500 BC (**D1**) with four maenads dancing around its circumference, seemingly a frenzied dance, is most interesting, illustrating as it does a development in Dionysiac imagery (from its earlier form which is unfortunately not represented in the collection). Besides the ivy wreaths worn by three of the figures, two figures also wear a *pardalis* (panther skin), and one of them brandishes a snake in a threatening way. The *thyrsos*, the

staff with ivy wrapped around the top, does not appear in this particular vase but is present on a number of other vases showing maenads or Dionysiac scenes (including **D2**). These attributes (*thyrsos*, *pardalis* and snake) are new in the iconography of the attendants of Dionysos, and have given rise to suggestions that the figures bearing them may represent the human form of worshippers of Dionysos, the true maenads (madwomen) as described in the *Bacchae*. But a better case has been made for the figures, in most cases continuing to represent, as before, the mythical women, i.e. the nymphs of Mount Nysa who raised the infant Dionysos and then became his followers, all the more so as there is no evidence of orgiastic behaviour by women taking part in the Dionysiac cult before the Hellenistic period.

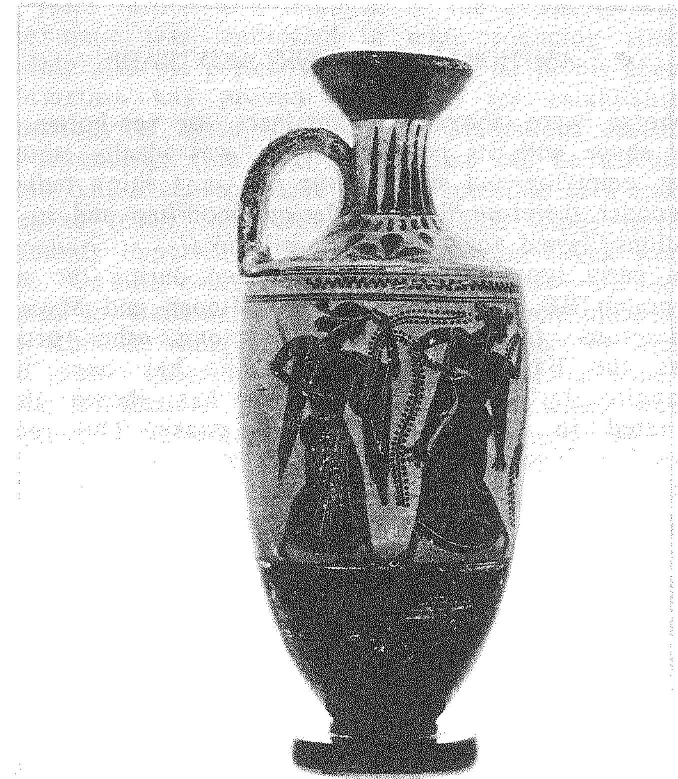
An interesting representation of maenads with their companions, the satyrs, can be seen on an amphora by the Leargos group from around 510 BC (NMI 1921.96, not in the dispaly); two nearly identical satyrs, one ithyphalic, are carrying off two maenads. They seem displeased at the appearance of a goat (a common animal in Dionysiac scenes) between them. The maenads seem willing (one is playing the clappers). The scene, which is not devoid of humour, is an example of the attitude of the 'maenads' in Archaic art; only on later vases do they rebut the advances of the satyrs.

The small chous wine-jug **D7** (a shape known as chous) showing two children loading a cart with grapes, and a wine jug resting on the ground between them, belongs to a known group of vases thought to represent a scene from the festival of the dead, the Anthesteria held in Athens during the month of the same name (February-March). At this festival Dionysos was celebrated as the god of life and growth, and the first wine of the season was drunk. The small jugs with scenes showing children are thought to be connected with the event of children taking their first drink of wine, on the second day of the festival (the *Choes*, which derived its name from the chous). But, although the festival may be alluded to here, a difficulty arises from the depiction of bunches of grapes, an unseasonal fruit at the time the festival took place.

The Romans never made Bacchus into an official god, most probably because of the disapproval of excessive drinking which accompanied his cult. The *Bacchanalia*, which derived from the Dionysiac *orgia*, were abolished by the senate in a celebrated decree of 186 BC.

Further reading

Bérard and Bron 1989; Carpenter 1986; 1993; 1997; Carpenter and Faraone 1993; Durand et al. 1989; Edwards 1960; Hamilton 1992; Herdeen 1994; Lissarrague 1990; 1993; Otto 1965; van Hoorn 1951.



Cat. no. D1

4

AMPHORAE, TRANSPORT AND TRADE

Amphorae were above all containers for sea-borne trade. Their shape with its pointed bottom, was ideally suited for lifting, emptying and stacking the jars in a ship's hull. It is no wonder therefore that the design, modified and in many variations, lasted for over three millennia.

An early type of amphora was used during the second millennium BC, at the time of the Minoan and Mycenaean civilizations, to transport wine (among other produce) across the Eastern Mediterranean. It has been named 'Canaanite Jar', and clay analysis has shown that it originated in the Syro-Palestinian coast. The recently analysed residue from a 'Canaanite jar' found at Mycenae proved that the jar had contained resinated wine, which, unless the jar had been reused, suggests that wine was already a commodity traded over long distances.

Transport amphorae from the Classical period are much more common than before; their distribution proves, albeit indirectly, the economic importance of producing, shipping and selling wine. The capacity of amphorae during the Greek and Roman period varied on average from 25-30 litres; the resulting weight of ca. 35 kgs when the amphora was full, was convenient weight for carrying. The various wine-producing city-states of Greece made different amphora shapes and the wine they contained could therefore easily be recognized in the market, for example as Chian, Knidian,

Lesbian, Rhodian or Thasian. These distinctive shapes are also recorded in the texts where, for example, Knidian and Coan *keramia* are mentioned in the temple accounts of Delos.

Greek jars were frequently stamped on the handles. In several instances the symbol stamped on a jar can be matched with the coin of the producing area. For instance, on a few Rhodian jar handles on display, the stamps represent the island's symbols (the rose or the sun god Helios, **F6-F8**). The name on the stamps may be that of the eponymous magistrate (the *ephor*, who gave his name to the year) -which is a reminder of the extent to which the wine trade was controlled in wine-producing areas- and possibly also the person who made the jar or his agent. This information has proved invaluable for establishing the chronology of these stamped jars. Meticulous classification and chronology (the dates of the jars can be calculated to within half a century) have made it possible in a number of cases to reach conclusion about which wines were more commonly imported in which parts of the Greek world and when. On the basis of recent studies, it would seem that Athens in Hellenistic times imported much more Knidian than Rhodian wine, while the Ptolemaic port of Alexandria took greater quantities of Rhodian than Knidian wine for its Greek population. Rhodian and Knidian wines were also exported to the colonies around the Mediterranean.

For the Roman period, the study of amphorae, their shape, find place and stamps form the basis of our understanding of the wine trade. Many amphorae were stamped on the handles, spike or body, though there is some question as to whether these stamps represent the potters or the wine producers. The Roman dominance of the wine trade from the latter part of the 2nd century BC to the first decade of the 1st century AD can be gauged from the distribution of the types of amphorae known as Dressel 1, which are found in many places besides the Italian peninsula, including Spain, France, Britain and Noth Africa (though other commodities were also carried in these jars). The earliest type (Dressel 1A) to which our example from a wreck could possibly belong (**F1**) was made exclusively in Italy and seems to have been associated, by and large, with

the famous wines of the Caecuban and Falernian plains, as indicated by the painted inscriptions (*tituli picti*) on them. The other types were imitated by other areas, where they have, on occasions, been traced through ceramic analysis to the kilns which produced them; the Dressel 1B/C type was imitated in Spain between the 1st century BC and the 1st century AD, and probably carried the famous wines of the Tarraconensis.

During the 1st century AD Italian goods on the markets of the western Mediterranean diminished. The development of an amphora type (Dressel 2-4) which imitated the Greek type from Cos has also suggested the reduction of interest in Italian wines, though there is evidence that Falernian continued to be produced. Moreover at Ostia the number of Italian amphorae drops significantly between the second half of the 1st century AD and the 2nd century AD, while other types, for example the Gaulish wine amphorae, are well represented.

In the western Mediterranean local types predominated from the middle of the 1st to the 3rd centuries AD. The Spanish varieties such as the one represented here (**F2**) could have carried fish sauce, olive oil or wine. The 4th century BC saw the virtual disappearance of the wine amphora and the wider use of barrels for the shipping of wine, which makes it much more difficult for archaeologists to establish trade patterns.

Further reading

Callender 1965; Grace 1961 (1979); 1985; Koehler1996; Leonard 1996; Martlew and Tsedakis 1999; Paterson 1982; Peacock and Williams 1986; Purcell 1985; Thompson 1976.

CATALOGUE

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL CORRELATIONS

PRIA 73	Johnston 1973.
CVA Ireland 1	Johnston and Souyoudzoglou-Haywood 2000.

WINDOW A *Wine-drinking: the Minoan and Mycenaean way*

In this window are exhibited original and replicas of vessels from the Greek Bronze Age which were most likely used for the serving or drinking of wine. The small conical cups (**A1-A4**) are of particular interest because similar cups of this long-lasting Minoan form from recent excavations in Crete contained the residue of mixed beverages consisting of wine and barley mead, possibly a cultic drink. The 'Chieftain's cup' (**A5**), a replica of the famous stone chalice from Ayia Triadha may illustrate the coming of age ritual of a young man; the chalice was probably a shape used for wine at these rituals. Precious cups of gold and silver plate like the replica from Shaft-Grave V at Mycenae (**A9**) were used by the Mycenaean élite for ceremonial drinking, while the clay high-stemmed kylix (**A10**) was also used by the commoners.

A1 Conical cup. UCD 401
Height: 4.3cm. Plain.
Late Minoan IA, 17th-16th century BC.

A2 Conical cup, UCD 399
Height: 4cm. Plain.
Late Minoan IA, 17th-16th century BC.

A3 Conical cup, UCD 402
Height: 3.9cm. Plain.
Late Minoan IA, 17th-16th century BC.

A4 Conical cup, UCD 394
Height: 3.2cm. Plain.
Minoan, third-second millennium BC.

A5 Replica of the 'Chieftain's cup', Uncatalogued
Original from Ayia Triadha

Height: 11.5cm. Conocal bowl with carved scene; a tall, princely figure standing in front of a hatched pillar faces another figure followed by three men holding animal hides.
Middle Minoan III - Late Minoan IA, 17th-16th century BC.

A6 Beak-spouted jug, UCD 23
Rest. height 14 cm. Broad body. Bands and arcs on cream surface.
Early Minoan, second half of 3rd millennium BC.

A7 Beak-spouted jug, UCD 502
Height: 17.1. Mottled surface.
Vassilike ware. Early Minoan IIB, second half of 3rd millennium BC.

A8 Small two-handled goblet, UCD 53
From Thebes.
Height: 7.5cm. Band of two horizontal ivy leaves on each side.
Late Helladic IIB, 15th century BC.
Biblio: *CVA Ireland 1*, plate 1, 1-2.

A9 Replica of a gold cup, inv. R1011
Original from Mycenae, Shaft Grave V.
Spiral decoration throughout.
From Mycenae, Late Helladic I, 16th century BC.

A10 Fragment of lower wall of kylix, UCD 264
5.1 x 4.3 cm. The lower end of a whorl shell motif.
Late Helladic IIIB, second half of 2nd millennium BC.

WINDOW B *Wine-drinking: the Greek way*

The Greek wines were prepared and served in standard ceramic shapes. Representative examples are displayed in this window. The most typically Greek drinking vessel was the kylix (cup) which was made in different sizes. The largest cup on display (**B1**) is not as large as they can get. Large cups were unpractical for drinking and were most likely prestige items. The regular drinking cups were small kylikes, skyphoi, kotylae and kantharoi, which were often just glazed, like the ones displayed (**B4-B6**). The South Italian jug (**B8**) painted with a

deliberately metallic glaze is a reminder that many of these vessels were cheep alternatives of vessels in silver plate.

B1 Attic red-figured cup (type B), NMI 1880.1101.
Height: 10cm, diameter across handles: 34.9.
On the floor inside, tondo with naked athlete holding a discus and sponge. ΚΑΛΟΣ is written in the field. On the outside, cenes at the palaerstra with athletes and trainers.
About 500 BC.
Biblio: *PRIA* 73, no. 458.

B2 Attic black-figured cup-skyphos, UCD 105
Size: Height: 10.1cm
On the handle zones, swan wings with outstreched wings between cocks.
Late 6th century BC
Biblio: *CVA Ireland 1*, plate 21,6-7.

B3 Attic black-glazed kotyle, UCD 142
Height: 7.4cm. Stamped decoration on floor of inner bowl: four ill stamped palmettes linked by arcs surrounded by a ring of tongues.
420-10 BC.
Biblio: *CVA Ireland 1*, plate 42,3-4.

B4 Attic red-figured skyphos (St Valentine class), UCD 192
Height: 8.2cm. Added white decoration; myrtle branch with leaves and berries. Palmettes on volutes with leaves either each handle.
Third quarter of the 5th century BC.
Biblio: *CVA Ireland 1*, plate 30,8-9.

B5 Attic black-figured kylix, UCD 114
Height: 7.6cm. Siren on inner floor inside; on the outside, Dionysiac scenes; alternating satyrs and meanads among vine sprays.
520-10 BC.
Biblio: *CVA Ireland 1*, plate 20,6-8.

B6 Attic stemless black-glazed kylix, UCD 139
Height: 5.2cm. Incised decorations on floor of inner bowl. From centre: rays and lines in star formation.
About 425BC.
Biblio: *CVA Ireland 1*, plate 42,3-4.

B7 Attic black-figured trefoil oenechoe, UCD 102
Height: 23.9cm. Wholly glazed save for metope on which a satyr rides a donkey.
5th century BC.
Biblio: *CVA Ireland 1*, plate 15,1-3.

B8 South Italian trefoil oenechoe, NMI-*no number*.
Height: 20.6cm. Wholly glazed; metallic sheen to glaze. Decoration in added colour: ivy branches, and below an owl is perched on a two branched floral spray wings raised.
Gnathian ware, late 4th century BC.
Biblio: *PRIA* 73, no. 538.

B9 South Italian trefoil oenechoe, UCD 1489
Height: 22cm. Decorations with added yellow, white and red colour. On the neck tongues; on the belly: a red band with leaves above and pendant grapes and tendrils below.
330-20BC.
Biblio: *CVA Ireland 1*, plate 40,1.

B10 South Italian skyphos, UCD 1491
Height: 7.7cm.
Same decoration as 1490.
Gnathia ware, late 4th century BC.
Biblio: *CVA Ireland 1*, plate 40,10.

B11 South Italian skyphos, UCD 1490
Height: 8.2cm. Decoration in added colour: bunches of yellow and red grapes and tendril. Thought to be one of a pair with UCD 149.
Gnathia ware, late 4th century BC.
Biblio: *CVA Ireland 1*, plate 40,9.

B12 Fragment of handle of sieve, **UCD**
Pres. length: 11,2cm. Copper alloy. Handle-end in the shape of a duck's neck and head; tapering towards the break.
5th-4th century BC?

WINDOW C *Wine-drinking: the Etruscan and Roman ways*

Chalices like **C2** in bucchero ware were typical drinking vessels of the Etruscans, who probably developed this ceramic

ware in imitation of metal vessels. The Romans on the other hand invented clear glass. They commonly served their wine from glass jugs and drunk it from glass bowls and cups such as the ones displayed here (**C3-C10**).

C1 Beaked oenechoe, UCD 176. From Orvieto.
Height: 7.6cm. Fabric is close to bucchero; entirely glazed.
Etruscan, 5th century BC.
Biblio: *CVA Ireland 1*, plate 47.11.

C2 Chalice, UCD 554
Height: 17.2cm. A few fragments have been reattached. One fragment of the lip is lost.
Tall stem, ridged at top and bottom. Three grooves on lower lip. Wholly glazed.
Etruscan, bucchero ware, 5th century BC.
Biblio: *CVA Ireland 1*, plate 46.5.

C3 Glass jug, UCD 1281. From Curium (Cyprus)
Height 14.5cm. Iridescent greenish hue. Upper neck encrusted.
Squat body, elongated neck and double handle.
Roman.

C4 Glass jug, UCD 1289
Height 12.5cm. Cylindrical neck, ovoid body.
Roman, 3rd-4th century AD.

C5 Upper part of glass bottle, UCD 1282
Neck length 13cm. Blueish hue.
Arabic, second half of the 1st millennium AD?

C6 Lagynos (wine-jug), UCD 1301. From Amathus (Cyprus)
Height 16.5cm. Fine rubbed ornament.
Roman, Red-slip ware, probably 1st-2nd century AD.

C7 Base of glass vessel, UCD 1263
Max. diameter 9.5cm. Iridescent, greenish glass.
Inscribed FRON.
Roman, East Mediterranean.

C8 Glass cup, UCD 1262. From Athens.
Height 8.4 cm. Pale green colour. Handleless. Quadrangular indents on the lower body.

Roman.

C9 Glass cup, UCD 1278
Height 6.5cm. Greenish hue glass. Handleless.
Roman, East Mediterranean (Cyprus?), 2nd - 3rd centuries AD.

C10 Glass cup, UCD 1298
Height 5.2cm. Iridescent greenish hue glass. Handleless.
Roman, East Mediterranean.

WINDOW D *Dionysos and Dionysiac iconography*

On display in this window are black- and red-figured vases, with scenes of standard Dionysiac iconography, dating from the 6th to the 4th centuries BC. For the developments of the iconography one should consult section 3 of this catalogue. The small chous oenochoe (**D7**) is thought to represent a scene from the festival of Anthesteria when the jars with the new season's wine were first opened. The scene compares with that on a chous E536 from London (see van Hoorn, 1951).

D1 Attic black figured lekythos, UCD 112
Rest. height: 31.1 (shoulder and neck do not belong)
Four dancing maenads with panther skins and snake.
About 500 BC.
Biblio: *CVA Ireland 1*, plate 15, 4-7.

D2 Campanian red-figured bell-krater, NMI 1917.49
Height: 18cm. Side A: a maenad holding a *thyrsus.*
Mid 4th century BC.
Biblio: *PRIA* 73, no. 1133.

D3 Attic black-figured amphora by the Princeton painter, NMI 1921.95
Height: 43cm. Side B: Dionysos in the centre with drinking horn; on either side satyr and dancing maenads.
About 535 BC.
Biblio: *PRIA* 73, no. 328.

D4 Fragment of Attic red-figured bell-krater, UCD 459
Size: 14.1 x 5.8 cm. A satyr sits on a rock playing a lyre with a female holding a plate. About 400 BC.

Biblio: *CVA Ireland 1*, plate 29,7.

D5 Attic black-figured lekythos, NMI 1917.37
Height: 17.4. Seated Dionysos surrounded by satyrs with drinking horns and maenad playing the kithara.
About 500 BC.
Biblio: *PRIA* 73, no. 963.

D6 Apulian red-figured situla, NMI 1917.46
Height: 22.5cm. Dionysos feasting; he is playing *kottabos*, assisted by a maenad and a satyr. To the left the *kottabos* stand.
Late 4th century BC.
Biblio: *PRIA* 73, no. 520.

D7 Attic Red figured chous oenochoe, NM1880.1103
Height: 11.6cm. Two young boys holding a cart and a tray with grapes. A chous is resting on the floor
About 420 BC.
Biblio: *PRIA* 73, no. 422.

WINDOW E *Dionysiac metaphors*

The six exhibits to the left of the window show the use of Dionysiac imagery for purposes other than to illustrate the cult of Dionysos. With the addition of large eyes on the bowl an 'eye cup' (**E2**) the cup acquires an anthropomorphic appearance. A drawing of a similar cup is shown on the panel but this also has moulded genitals for a foot and a wide-eyed frontal face of Dionysos between the eyes. The idea of the frontal head staring at the drinker is also found on the central medallion of cup **E1** as well as on the fragments of cooking stands (**E2-E5**) with heads of satyrs. In all these instances the likely function of the heads was aportopaic.

E1 Central medallion from bowl, UCD 688
Max. diameter: 5.6cm. Moulded satyr face on bed of vine leaves.
Probably 3rd century BC.

E2 Fragment of the wall of an 'eye cup', UCD 369

5.6 x 7.4. Lower part of an eye; to the left, the back of a reclining figure.
Biblio: *CVA Ireland 1*, plate 22,1.

E3 Fragment of clay cooking stand, UCD 658.
Pres. height 10.5cm. Moulded protome of satyr.
Date uncertain. Hellenistic of Roman.

E4 Terracotta water spout, UCD 646
Height 12.5cm, pres. length 15cm. Moulded satyr head.
Date uncertain.

E5 Fragment of clay cooking stand, UCD 657
Pres. height 14cm. Moulded protome of satyr.
Date uncertain. Hellenistic of Roman.

E6 Fragment of clay cooking stand, UCD 659
Pres. height 11.6cm. Moulded protome of satyr.
Date uncertain. Hellenistic of Roman.

WINDOW E *Symposion, tricks and games*

In the centre and right part of this window are displayed aspects of the Greek *symposion* (see above, 2). The prize piece is krater **E7**, a vase which was bought by John D. La Touche in Naples in 1789. The *symposion* was an occasion for music and the playing of games and tricks to surprise or impress the others. The popular game of *kottabos* is being played at the *symposion* on **E7**. The Attic Geometric jug with holes, which originally would have been connected with tubes now lost is regarded by some as a wine-cooler like the only other such jug from the Athenian Agora (*American Journal of Archaeology* 45, 1940, 458, figs 1-3). According to this theory the jug was plunged into cold water which circulated through the tubes thus cooling the contents faster. Since this method is unlikely to have been very effective, and in view of the fact that another shape, the *psykter* was the the standard wine-cooler, alternative interpretation of the jug as a joke-jug, a jug that pours from the mouth though it has holes on the body, is probably more likely (see Papadopoulos 2000). Joke-jugs with holes were known in the Renaissance and are

still to be found in Greece and Italy, like the jugs Crete (**E11**) and Sicily (**E12**) on display. The principle though is different: one can drink from the jug by sucking from the spout, the liquid reaching the mouth through the hollow handle and lip of the jug.

E7 Attic red-figured column-krater by the Meleager painter, NMI 1880.507
Height 43.3cm. *Symposion* scene with three men reclining playing *kottabos*. To the left, the same men take part in a *komos*.
Late 5th century BC.
Biblio: *PRIA* 73, no. 427; J. Beazley, *Attic Red figure Vase-Painters*, no 1411,38.

E8 Fragment of wall of Attic red-figured krater, UCD. 418
Size: 7.6 x 11.8cm. Part of a *symposion* scene with two incomplete figures, one of them playing the aulos.
About 425BC
Biblio: *CVA Ireland 1*, plate 29,7.

E9 Attic black-glazed type C cup, UCD 140
Height: 7.9cm.
500-475 BC.
Biblio: *CVA Ireland 1*, plate 43,1.

E10 Attic Geometric trefoil oenochoe, probably from the Dipylon workshop, NMI1921.69.
Height: 24cm. Four holes on the body (width 1.1cm).
Linear body with four metopes , each metope with a running deer.
8th century BC.
Biblio: *PRIA* 73, no. 290.

E11 Cretan Joke-jug
Height 12 cm. Four holes in neck.
Brown (crocus?) flowers on a plain body.
Modern.

E12 Sicilian Joke-jug
Height: 16.5cm. Seven holes in neck.
Glazed; blue on white patterns.
Modern.

WINDOW F *Transport and Trade*

There are three transport amphorae on display (**F1** and **F2** have been recovered from the sea). Although they are displayed to suggest a wreck, they belong to types from different area, and periods ranging from the 4th-3rd century BC to the 3rd-4th century AD. The amphora handle with stamps on them (**F4-F12**) are mostly from Rhodian amphorae. The names on the stamps which were impressed before the clay was dry, are those of the manufacturer and the magistrate (*ephor*) of the wine-producing area. The importance of wine-producing regions such as Chios is reflected in its coinage which has on the reverse a Chian type amphora (**F13-F14**), while in Rhodes the symbol of the island, the rose, is often stamped on the handles (**F15-F16**).

F1 Amphora, UCD 1373
Pres. height: 76cm. Upper part of neck and handles lost.
Roman, probably Dressel 1A type?

F2 Amphora, uncatalogued. From Spain.
Height: 67cm. Brown-red clay.
Roman, Spanish type, 3rd cntury AD.

F3 Upper part with handles of amphora, UCD 1197
Pres. height: 36cm. Two fragments; part of lip lost. Rectangular stamps on each handle: ΕΠΙΚΛΕΥΚΡΑ ΤΕ ΥΣ ΠΑΝΑΜΟΥ and ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΥ.
Rhodian, 4th-3rd century BC.

F4 Amphora handle fragment, UCD 1198
Length: 8,1cm.
Rectangular stamp: ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑ.

F5 Amphora handle fragment, UCD 1199
Length: 8,5.
Rectangular stamp: ΕΠΙΕΣΤΙΕ . .(above), ΑΡΤΑΜΙΤΙΟ . .(below).

F6 Amphora handle fragment, UCD 1200
Length: 8,1.
Circular stamp: rose and worn inscription around.
Rhodian.

F7 Amphora handle fragment, UCD 1203
Length: 8,3cm.
Circular stamp: rose and ΕΛΛΑΝΙΚΟΥ around.
Rhodian.

F8 Amphora handle fragment, UCD 1204
Length: 6,4cm.
Circular stamp: head of Helios?

F9 Amphora handle fragment, UCD 1201
Length: 9,2.
Rectangular stamp: hanging grape bunch; M . . (to right).

F10 Amphora handle fragment, UCD 1206. Possibly from Alexandria.
Rectangular stamp: ΙΚΑΛΛΙ (above), ΞΕΙΝΟΥΑΡ (middle), ...ΤΙΟΥ (below).

F11 Amphora handle fragment, UCD 1213
Recatangular stamp: ΕΠΙΓΟΡΔΩΝ (above), ΟΣΒΑΡΔΟ (middle), ΜΙΟΥ (below).

F12 Amphora handle fragment, UCD 1207
Rectangular stamp: ΑΓΕΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ (above), ΣΜΙΝΘΙΟΣ (below).

F13 Coin, inv. 12062
copper alloy; on the reverse: wine amphora
Chios, post 84 BC.

F14 Coin, inv. 12060
copper alloy; on the reverse: wine amphora
Chios, post 84 BC.

F15 Coin, inv. 12072
silver; on the reverse: rose
Rhodes.

F16 Coin, inv. 12073
silver on copper alloy; on the reverse: rose
Rhodes.

APPENDIX

WINE LIST OF SELECTED ANCIENT WINES

(principally from Homer, Athenaeus, Pliny and Virgil)
Not all contemporary.

GREEK WINES	ITALIAN WINES
Achaea	Alban
Akanthos	Aequan
Arcadia	Barine
Ariusan	Caecuban
Arusa	Calenian
Chian	Caucine
Coan	Erbulan
Corcyra	Falernian
Corinthian	Formian
Ephesus	Fundan
Erythraean	Lebican
Halicarnassian	Mamertine
Icarian	Nomentan
Ismarian	Opimian
Lemnos	Pizzino
Lesbian	Potitian
Leucadian	Privernian
Magnesian	Rhegian
Maronean	Surrentine
Mendean	Spoletan
Myndian	Statan
Naxian	Tarentine
Peparethos	Triburtine
Phliasian	Venafran
Pramnian	
Psidian	
Rhodian	
Samagorean	
Skiathos	
Spartan	
Thasian	
Thrace	
Troezen	
Zakynthian	

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