

Kapeleion:
Casual and Commercial Wine
Consumption in Classical Greece

**Thesis submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
at the University of Leicester**

by

**Clare F. Kelly-Blazeby BA (Liverpool), MPhil (Glasgow)
School of Archaeology and Ancient History
University of Leicester**

September 2006

The *symposion* is consistently employed as the framework around which studies of classical Greek drinking are built, regardless of a body of archaeological and literary evidence to suggest that this type of drinking was enjoyed primarily by a small minority of the elite male, and perhaps predominantly Athenian, population. As a result, and in the absence of any alternative theoretical models, archaeologists faced with a large assemblage of drinking pottery invariably seek to fit their interpretation within the existing body of *sympotic* scholarship. This has led to all types of wine consumption being repeatedly described as '*sympotic*' regardless of whether the excavated drinking material came from a stoa, sanctuary, military or domestic site. In addition, a blanket *sympotic* interpretation does not make room for the possibility that not all shapes of drinking cup would have been used in all drinking contexts. The *kylix* might have been the cup of choice in the *symposion*, but would it have found a place in a more practical 'casual' or commercial tavern setting, or even in religious, military or everyday domestic drinking (rural and urban)?

After a review of the literary evidence for *kapeleia* or taverns (Chapter 1), this thesis next considers the anthropology of drinking, in order to construct a theoretical framework around which to build the succeeding chapters and arguments (Chapter 2). These embody a study of the shape and capacity of the most frequently encountered drinking shapes (Chapter 3), and a reassessment of buildings labelled 'houses' but for which an

alternative use is strongly suggested by the excavated drinking, cooking and eating pottery (Chapter 4). These findings are tested in a series of case studies encompassing the sites of Olynthus, Halieis, Athens, Corinth, Vari, Nemea and Phylla Vrachos (Chapter 5), and the thesis concludes with a synthesis of 'casual' and commercial drinking in classical Greece and of its material culture (Chapter 6).

Table of Contents

Chapter 1.	Introduction	11
	Research Questions.....	15
	Literature Review (modern scholarship).....	16
	Ancient Greek Drinking.....	16
	Drinking at the Symposium.....	18
	The Andron and Sympotic Drinking.....	20
	Nature of the Evidence.....	22
	Iconographic Evidence for Drinking.....	22
	Written Evidence.....	23
	Kapeleia.....	23
	On Women in Kapeleia.....	29
	On Locations for Selling and the Casual Consumption of Wine	33
	Outside Athens.....	35
	The Term 'Kapeleion'.....	36
	Evidence for Other Non-Sympotic Settings.....	38
	Public Drinking.....	38
	Religious Drinking.....	40
	Military Drinking.....	43
	Other 'casual' Drinking Contexts.....	44
	Selection of the Data.....	47
	Approaches.....	50
 Chapter 2.	 Theoretical Framework	 53
	The Anthropology and Sociology of Drinking.. ..	53
	Sympotic Drinking.....	60
	You are Where You Drink.....	63
	Drunkenness.....	66
	Symposion <i>versus</i> Kapeleion.....	68
 Chapter 3.	 The Ceramic Drinking Assemblage. What kind of cup?	 73
	Names and Shapes.....	73
	Capacity	81
	Vessel Shapes and Drunkenness.....	85

Chapter 4.	The 'Public' House: Houses and Taverns, Houses as Taverns...	89
	Commercial <i>versus</i> Domestic in Classical Greece: Problems of Interpretation.....	90
	Archaeology and the Classical Greek 'House'.....	94
	The Andron.....	96
	The Layout of Greek Houses.....	100
	The Houses at Olynthus and the 'Oecus Unit'.....	101
	Cooking in Greek Houses.....	104
	Kitchens.....	108
	Kitchen or Hearth = Commercial?.....	115
 Chapter 5.	 Case for Casual and Commercial Drinking	 120
	<i>Halieis</i>	
	House 7	122
	<i>Olynthus</i>	
	Villa of Good Fortune	140
	<i>Corinth</i>	
	Corinth, South Stoa	149
	Corinth, Taverna of Aphrodite	155
	Corinth, Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore	158
	<i>Athens</i>	
	Agora, deposits U 13:1 and R 13:4	166
	Agora, pit H 4:5	174
	Kerameikos, Building Z	179
	<i>Phylla Vrachos</i>	
	The Fort	183
	<i>Vari</i>	
	The House below the cave of Pan	190
	<i>Nemea</i>	
	The Xenon	196
 Chapter 6.	 Conclusions	 204
	Ancient Sources	215
	Bibliography	217
	Figures	233

List of Figures

		Individual credits given under each Figure
		Page Number
Figure 1.	<i>Chous</i>	233
Figure 2.	<i>Kraipale</i> or 'hangover'	234
Figure. 3	Wine shop?	235
Figure 4.	<i>Komos</i> (with <i>krater</i>)	236
Figure 5.	<i>Kylix</i>	237
Figure 6.	<i>Kylix</i> and <i>symposion</i>	237
Figure 7.	<i>Skyphos</i> (the woman is also shown drinking out of a <i>skyphos</i>)	238
Figure 8.	<i>Kotyle/kothon</i>	239
Figure 9.	Ribbed <i>kothon</i>	239
Figure 10.	<i>Oinochoe</i>	240
Figure 11.	<i>Krater</i>	241
Figure 12.	Once a family home now a tavern and holiday accommodation	242
Figure 13.	Cooking in the 'house' on the left, eating and drinking on the right	243
Figure 14.	Same building, different doors	244
Figure 15.	Drinking on a steep slope outside a ruined <i>medresse</i>	245
Figure 16.	Eating and drinking around a Byzantine church	246
Figure 17.	Drinking around a primary school	247
Figure 18.	Thriving taverna on a flight of stairs	248
Figure 19.	Thoroughfare or taverna?	249
Figure 20.	Pavement with space only for eating and drinking	250
Figure 21.	Greek house 'types'	251

Figure 22.	Mylonas' Olynthian 'oecus' unit	252
Figure 23.	Mylonas' 'oecus units'	253
Figure 24.	Mylonas' 'oecus units'	254
Figure 25.	Mylonas' 'oecus units'	255
Figure 26.	Metal brazier still in use in a house on Naxos	256
Figure 27.	Mycenae hearth in the palace at Pylos	257
Figure 28.	Flue reconstruction	258
Figure 29.	Athenian Agora chimney pot	259
Figure 30.	Possible chimney tile	259
Figure 31.	Halieis	260
Figure 32.	Halieis, Area 7 and House 7	261
Figure 33.	Halieis, House 7: Rooms and Loci	262
Figure 34.	Halieis, House 7: Actual state	263
Figure 35.	Olynthus	264
Figure 36.	The Villa District of Olynthus, location outside city walls	265
Figure 37.	Plan of the Villa of Good Fortune	266
Figure 38.	'Eutychia' mosaic and Wheel of Fortune	267
Figure 39.	Pan depicted on either side of a <i>krater</i>	268
Figure 40.	Pebble mosaics in the Villa of Good Fortune	269
Figure 41.	Corinth, South Stoa	270
Figure 42.	Remains of the 'Taverna of Aphrodite'	271
Figure 43.	Dining Rooms, Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore, Acrocorinth	272
Figure 44.	The Athenian Agora	273
Figure 45.	Wells R 13:4 and U 13:1 in the Athenian Agora	274

Figure 46.	<i>Lopas</i> with lid	275
Figure 47.	<i>Eschara</i>	275
Figure 48.	<i>Lekanides</i>	276
Figure 49.	<i>Chytra</i> , <i>lopas</i> and portable brazier	276
Figure 50.	Royal Stoa in the Athenian Agora	277
Figure 51.	Kerameikos, Building z, Phase 3	278
Figure 52.	Building Z today	279
Figure 53.	Reconstruction of the barrack building at Phylla Vrachos	280
Figure 54.	House below the Cave of Pan at Vari	281
Figure 55.	Vari House, outbuilding	282
Figure 56.	Vari House, state plan	283
Figure 57.	Restored perspective of the Xenon at Nemea	284
Figure 58.	Restored cross section of the Xenon at Nemea	285
Figure 59.	Nemea, Sacred Square and the Xenon	286
Figure 60.	Cobbled hearth from Room 4 in the Xenon	287
Figure 61.	Urinal from the Xenon?	287

Acknowledgements

Thanks are due to many scholars and friends who helped this thesis along its way with discussion, suggestion and support. My supervisors Lin Foxhall and Graham Shipley are owed the biggest debt of gratitude for their unfailing belief, support and enthusiasm. They opened academic doors I could only have dreamed of, and for which I will always be profoundly grateful.

I would also like to thank the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC) for awarding me the full Doctoral award which supported this research in addition to funding (jointly with the University of Leicester) my travel and participation at the Archaeological Institute of America's 106th annual meeting in Boston, 2005. It was here that I was able to benefit from the knowledge of so many scholars from around the world which would have been otherwise impossible.

Nick Cahill, Steven Ellis, Mark Lawall, Kathleen Lynch, John Oakley, Susan Rotroff and Barbara Tsakirgis all discussed and shared their work – past, present and future – with me, and John Camp kindly allowed me access to the unpublished Athenian Agora excavation notebooks.

Meggen Gondek, Janett Morgan, Alun Salt, Kylie Seretis, Rebecca Sweetman and Archondia Thanos; their friendship kept me sane.

Martin Blazeby and our furry 'family' Moss, Mavro, Belle, Milly, Fern and Kaspar, without whose constant love, support and purring none of this would have been remotely possible. Thank you for looking after me!

Finally, in addition to my mother Helene Kelly and my sister Anne Harper, I would like to dedicate this thesis to two Glaswegian tavern keepers: my father John Ogilvie Kelly and my grandfather John Andrew Kelly. Sadly neither is alive to read it, but I know they would have thoroughly enjoyed the subject...

Chapter 1

Introduction

This research for this thesis was begun in response to the complete and seemingly inexplicable absence of classical Greek bars in archaeological excavation reports, and as an attempt to balance the picture of classical Greek drinking skewed by repeated reference to the elite drinking party or *symposion* in studies of classical Greek wine consumption. The *symposion* is consistently referred to as the framework around which all studies of Classical Greek drinking are built, regardless of a body of archaeological and literary evidence to suggest that this type of drinking was enjoyed primarily by a small minority of the elite male, and perhaps predominantly Athenian, population (although various forms of ritualised drinking were widespread throughout the Greek world). As a result, and in the absence of any alternative theoretical models, archaeologists faced with a large assemblage of drinking pottery inevitably base their interpretation around the existing body of *sympotic* scholarship. As a result, any and all contexts for wine consumption have become 'symposia', regardless of whether or not any drinking pottery was excavated from a house, sanctuary, stoa, cemetery, or indeed any other context in which the ancient Greek population might have found themselves wishing to enjoy of a cup of wine.

This tendency towards misattribution applies not only to the physical remains of the buildings in which the drinking is supposed to have taken place, but also to the vast array

of differently shaped drinking cups excavated in such large quantities from all classical Greek sites. It is widely believed that the *kylix* was the *symposion* cup *par excellence*, an impression backed up in the iconography, but if this is the case, then how are we to explain other deposits of cups which are not *kylikes* if all drinking is described as sympotic in nature? The *kylix* is an extremely inefficient shape to drink from, being wide and shallow, and fulfils a definite purpose in the *symposion* (i.e. to keep participants relatively sober) so should we expect to find it in deposits excavated from houses outside Athens where it could be argued that symposia were not so prevalent (if they existed at all)? Would a non-Greek householder, or a practical farmer, choose to include this shape within his or her everyday drinking cups, or would it simply be considered too impractical, or as an effete urban fashion item? Ancient Greek drinkers had a wide and varied choice of cup shapes to choose from, and they must have based that choice on some kind of preference, whether it was price, decoration or intended use. If we do accept that *kylikes* are inextricably linked with the *symposion*, can a case be made for a preferred cup form in the commercial tavern, religious or public drinking place?

The same body of literary evidence which informs us of *symposia* also contains abundant evidence for taverns, but in only two instances (which will be discussed further on) have taverns been posited as the likely source of a large deposit of drinking (and cooking) pottery in the archaeological record. The ability to identify a seemingly 'domestic' building as a commercial premises is exacerbated by current archaeological studies of the

classical Greek house, and therefore this issue, along with the relevant scholarship, will also be given consideration.

If we proceed from the premise that symposia were for the male elites in Athens, where did the ordinary Athenian man, or woman, enjoy his or her wine? What about non-Greeks, or the inhabitants of *poleis* who did not rely on the *symposion* to cement political and kinship ties? What of wine drinking during the day, or indeed at any time outside the evening *symposion*? Are we really to believe that the enjoyment of wine was open only to those eligible for an invite to an evening drinking party? Any reader wishing to gain an insight into classical Greek wine consumption, and relying on the available academic literature, would be forgiven for reaching just such a conclusion. Beyond James Davidson's *Courtesans and Fishcakes* (1997) which does focus on drinkers other than the male elites, albeit based largely on textual sources, and Wilkins' *Boastful Chef* (2000) which reviews eating and drinking in ancient Greek comedy, no comprehensive studies of any type of drinking other than the sympotic exist. As a result, in the absence of any viable alternative, archaeologists continue to fit their architectural and pottery evidence into an unsatisfactory and ultimately misleading sympotic and domestic framework.

The intended goal of this thesis is, therefore, to try to answer some of the questions raised in the preceding paragraphs. It may be that some of the problems are simply too great to be contained within the scope of this study; however, the fact that some of these questions are being raised should act as a springboard for future research. Unsatisfactory

conclusions and unanswered problems are, by the very fact of their being acknowledged, every bit as important an outcome for this research.

After a necessary review of the evidence for taverns from the literary sources, both ancient and modern, and an outline of the nature of the evidence and my approach to it, an analysis of the anthropology of drinking will follow. The latter is crucial in order to construct a theoretical framework around which to build the succeeding chapters. The role which wine drinking played in the classical Greek city will be examined with special reference to the tavern and its possible function as the *symposion's* 'other'. Additionally, other places and ways of drinking will be drawn into the argument in order to assess the extent to which wine was consumed outside the formal *symposion*, and the likely roles which these alternative drinking practices played, and for whom, within the classical *polis*. Along with sympotic and commercial contexts, evidence for public, religious and 'casual', i.e. non-ritualised, drinking will also be discussed.

This thesis was never envisaged as a definitive work on the classical Greek tavern, and at no point was this research conceived as an attempt to 'discover' or positively identify a *kapeleion* in the archaeological record. Rather, this research was begun in response to the apparent total absence of classical Greek taverns in the archaeological record, and as an attempt to balance the picture of classical Greek drinking which is skewed by constant reference to the elite drinking party or *symposion* in studies of classical wine consumption. This thesis will, therefore, propose the likely attributes of a classical tavern

in light of all the evidence available, and will attempt to offer a sound framework for future excavators dealing with large numbers of drinking cups. The goal is to re-introduce 'taverns' back into excavation reports, where they have for too long been overshadowed by the *symposion*. In addition, and in order to further expand the neglected non-*sympotic* picture of wine consumption, other drinking locations such as houses (both urban and rural), stoas, sanctuaries, and an army garrison site where 'casual' drinking could be said to have taken place, will be studied in an attempt to shake loose the '*sympotic*' label currently attached to *all* types of wine-drinking practices and pottery assemblages in classical Greece regardless of location or occasion.

Research Questions

Of necessity, not all of the problems raised in studies of classical Greek drinking, as mentioned above, could be studied within the limited scope of this thesis. Therefore, a decision had to be made regarding which problems could be tackled within a limited timescale, and target those areas that would prepare the ground for any future follow-up research. The following research questions were formulated in order to give an overview of the current situation, address some of the problems involved, formulate an analytical methodology, and finally apply this methodology to a variety of case-studies in order to test its validity:

- What role did non-sympotic commercial and 'casual' drinking play in the classical Greek city?

- Is there a distinct tavern-specific (and casual or non-*sympotic*) material culture, and if so are any patterns discernible within it?
- Can *kapeleia* be identified in the archaeological record? If so, in what way? If not, what are the likely reasons? Is it possible to identify the extent to which *kapeleia* are embedded within the classical city and landscape?

Literature Review (modern scholarship)

Ancient Greek Drinking

'Just as the common messes feed and water the entire citizenry in Sparta, so the whole population of Athens can be found of an evening thronging the *kapeleia*'.

It was this line from James Davidson's *Courtesans and Fishcakes* (Davidson 1997: 55), comparing two starkly opposed institutions: the 'plebeian and democratic' Athenian tavern (*kapeleion*) and Sparta's communal-dining *syssitia*, which originally inspired my research into the archaeology of the classical Greek *kapeleion*. If, as Davidson claims, the *entire* population of Athens *thronged* the *kapeleia* of an evening, then one might expect a substantial body of hitherto undiscovered or unrecognised archaeological evidence to betray their existence. However, it became immediately apparent that this ancient institution, seemingly well attested in the literature, had been given no dedicated archaeological consideration whatsoever. With the exception of *Courtesans and Fishcakes*, containing a text-based chapter on 'taverns' written very firmly from the point of view of a classicist, and the numerous references to *kapeleia* in Pauly, Wissowa and

Kroll's encyclopaedia of the ancient world¹, no detailed study of the *kapeleion* as an archaeological entity exists. Following in the wake of Davidson however, *kapeleia* are now alluded to more frequently (e.g. Fisher 2000; Wilkins 2000) and the *idea* of them has entered the mainstream, though still without any archaeological evidence.

Davidson (1997: 53) rightly identified that the wholesale neglect of the classical tavern can be attributed to the prominence accorded to the *symposion* in studies of ancient (especially Classical) Greek drinking, and its associated anthropological model of commensality. Even now, the *symposion* consistently remains as the classic context for debating the consumption of wine in ancient Greek society (Dunbabin 1991; Dunbabin 1998; Murray 1990; Lissarrague 1990; Murray & Tecuşan 1995; Schmitt Pantel 1997). The *symposion* carries with it from the Archaic period associations with the lifestyle of the wealthy, politically active elites and their emulators. Regardless of how much the fifth-century democracy might try to provide public dining rooms and civic occasions for feasting, the *symposion* proper would continue to resist widening participation and would remain a largely private and aristocratic preserve. Classicists and ancient historians of the early twentieth century can also be charged with this neglect for deeming the tavern and the common man as unworthy of study and unable to provide insight into their preferred, and long established topics: philosophy, politics, monumental architecture, art history, etc.

¹ Paulys Real-Encyclopädie, Vol. X: 1818, Καπηλεῖον

Prudence Rice, writing about Peruvian drinking habits, proposed that archaeologists have previously considered wine-drinking as unworthy of serious study, citing the unimportance of viticulture in English-speaking areas and a certain primness that would associate wine with luxury, frivolity and immorality as the underlying cause (Rice 1996: 187). When early Greek wine-drinking *has* been studied it has been primarily by classicists rather than archaeologists, oenologists and alcoholists. Their work has tried to draw out the ritual, symbolic, and mythological associations of sociable and ritualistic wine drinking as embodied in the *symposion* and has ignored the 'frivolity' and 'immorality' (Rice 1996: 187) of the individual or personal drinking which would have taken place in the *kapeleion*. As a result, the *symposion* is an extremely well-researched subject (Murray 1990; Lissarrague 1990; Slater 1991; Murray & Tecuşan 1995; Schmitt Pantel 1997), whilst studies of all other types and places for casual and non-*sympotic* drinking have been overshadowed.

Drinking at the *Symposion*

Sympotic drinking has been studied to such an extent that it seems to have been forgotten that the *symposion* proper was a very specific, regulated type of drinking party for a small minority of the predominantly *Athenian* male population (though images on pottery would suggest that the Corinthians and Laconians enjoyed some form of drinking occasion), and attempts to laminate a like-minded drinking policy onto the rest of the Greek populace are misguided. The *symposion* in Athens had its genesis in the aristocratic power-structure of the Archaic period, and reached its hedonistic heyday

during the literary and cultural matrix of the early and high Classical periods. However, for each year that it was distanced from its Archaic origins, it became more fragmented ideologically and conceptually.

That said, in contemporary studies '*sympotic*' has become a catch-all word to describe any and all drinking contexts, and studies examining alternative drinking practices are long overdue. To some extent, Davidson has done the *kapeleion* a great service by focusing attention away from the elites at play, albeit in a rather text-centred way. Authors such as Nick Fisher now feel able to assert that 'ordinary Athenians (and metics) no doubt drank and snacked a great deal and quite cheaply sitting in or outside their local bars' (Fisher 2000: 355). The *idea* of taverns has entered the mainstream, but no definite archaeological evidence for their existence actually remains or, at least, has been recognised as such.

What is missing from both studies of the *kapeleion* and the *symposion* is an engagement with the actual physical archaeological or spatial context. Studies of *sympotic* drinking carried out by classicists and philologists deal only with the written and iconographic evidence and the tendency has been to take a wholly uncritical approach. For example, the extensive Beazley Archive online² refers only to the *symposion* as a context for drinking, and all scenes of drinking whether they involve men or women are described in *sympotic* terms (see also Osborne 1998). Davidson is the first scholar to attempt to work

² <http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/pottery/default.htm>

with both the literary and the archaeological evidence, but in the same way that the literary sources are taken at face value, he simply relies on the excavators' interpretations of the archaeological material. He adds nothing new to our understanding of the archaeological context or physical setting for either the *kapeleion* or the *symposion*: there is no interrogation of the archaeological or the literary evidence.

The *andron* and *sympotic* drinking

Without an attempt to understand the spatial context for drinking, any attempt to laminate the textual evidence directly on to the archaeological is doomed to failure. For example, Davidson describes the setting for the *symposion* as 'the mens's room, the *andron*, a small room with a slightly raised floor on all sides, which makes it one of the most easily identified spaces in the archaeology of the Greek house' (1997: 43), an understanding shared by Murray (1990: 7). Katherine Dunbabin goes further stating that 'we are better informed about the physical environment of dining in classical antiquity than about almost any other activity. Written descriptions of dinners and *symposia* can be compared with illustrations, often detailed, in all the major media; these in turn can be used to compliment the archaeological record' (1991: 121). Dunbabin also believes that 'A Greek could go from Olynthus to Eretria, from Athens to Kassope, and find himself in familiar surroundings when invited to a *symposion*' (1998: 82) even though we have no evidence to suggest that the Athenian model of the ritualistic *symposion* was enjoyed anywhere other than Athens.

Andron has come to describe what Morgan (2005) calls a function-neutral 'bordered room' which is fundamentally all that they are being rooms with raised borders around three sides on which couches could have been placed. Bordered rooms do exist outside Athens but there is no written evidence to support any claim that they were used and experienced in the same way. Even the 'illustrations' of *symposia* which Dunbabin (1991: 121) believes to be detailed do not actually refer directly to the *symposion*, it is merely assumed that because the figures involved are reclining with drinking cups that they must be attending *symposia*. The exact context for the drinking taking place is never explicitly stated, and could relate to any all-male drinking occasion in any location.

Women too appear in illustrations of drinking (Burton 1998; Keuls 1985), though the all pervasive *sympotic* explanation is that they are *hetairai* or prostitutes taking part in *symposia*. However, Nancy Bookidis has excavated '*andrones*' at the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore in Acrocorinth; a site of female religious cult (Bookidis 1969; 1972; 1974; Bookidis and Stroud 1994; Bookidis, Hansen, Snyder & Goldberg 1999). Joan Burton (1998) considers the subject of women's commensality and their supposed exclusion from *symposia* and states that 'the participation of women in the history of Greek commensality does not depend solely on female presence at male-defined *symposia*. Just as men had a wide range of venues in which they might socialize with one another, so too women.' (1998: 143-4). Were then, the so-called Demeter and Kore *andrones* places where women gathered to enjoy wine, their function masked by over-zealous *sympotic* scholarship?

Questions regarding the physical space of the domestic *andron* have formed part of a growing body of research into the Classical Greek house. Lisa Nevett questions the way in which scholars have discussed the physical space of the *andron* and the stress placed on gender associations in understanding 'the total range of activities carried out there or the identities of their expected occupants', and concludes that 'we have no evidence as to how representative either of these two examples [andron and gunaikon] is of actual practice, either of the Greek world as a whole or even of Athens alone' (1999: 18).

Nature of the Evidence

Iconographic Evidence for Drinking

The 'illustrations' which Dunbabin mentions (1991: 121) which frequently appear in the pages of books on Greek red-figure pottery (for example, Boardman 1975; Keuls 1985; Lissarague 1990; Osborne 1998) would seem to be extremely informative of Classical drinking practices. Just like the literary evidence these images also lack spatial context, and are therefore of limited use to this thesis. Presumably obvious to the ancient Greeks, there was no need to define the occasion or the location of these drinking scenes for the contemporary viewer. To modern eyes, however, the occasion and context are lost and it becomes impossible to differentiate between ritualised *symptotic* drinking and the casual wine consumption with which this thesis is concerned. There is undoubtedly scope for research into 'genre' scenes of men and women drinking, but this would fill a thesis of its own. For this reason iconography, with its lack of geographical, spatial and contextual

specificity, plays only a supporting role in this work. However, where drinking iconography does benefit this research is in its portrayal of drinking cup shapes, and I have used this iconography to understand what shapes of drinking cup most commonly feature in the hands of revellers and, by extension, which shapes do not. Beyond this, painted images can tell us no more than they already do; that people drank, and we know this already from the existence of vast quantities of excavated drinking cups.

Written Evidence

Kapeleia

Our ability to use ancient texts in order to explore the various aspects of the relationship between the literary and archaeological evidence is severely limited by the orientation of the sources. There is no ancient corpus of texts directly relating to tavern drinking in Classical Greece, and we are left to view our information through the filter of comic plays, curse tablets, and the works of scholars writing long after the Classical period has passed. Even when bars are mentioned in texts, we cannot assume that our information is complete, as *kapeleia* need not be described in detail if the intended audience is familiar with them. However, there are enough passing references in all manner of ancient sources to indicate that taverns were widespread and popular. It is true that they do not feature much in general literature before the plays of Aristophanes, but in his comedies they appear as a well-established feature of the urban environment, and as Davidson states 'it would be unwise to argue from Archaic silence that taverns appeared in the late fifth century BC to supplant the older and more traditional aristocratic symposia as the

fourth century progressed. The two institutions of drinking continued to exist side by side for a long time and it seems most likely that they had probably co-existed for some time before they turn up in our sources' (Davidson 1997: 54). *Kapeleia*, their staff in particular, were the frequent target of jokes in Attic comedies; the bar-keeper most often being portrayed as an untrustworthy cheat. This reputation is so ingrained that the actual word for 'taverner' was interchangeable with 'rogue', and in his catalogue of disreputable trades, Pollux (6.128) includes the *kapelos* alongside the pimp (πορνοβοσκός).

In Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazusae* the chorus of women invoke the Olympian gods to 'castigate those who harm the feminine community', 'worst of all' apparently being the 'κάπηλος ἢ καπηλὶς who dares to serve short measure' (347-8). Women are once more the focus in *Wealth* when they are accused of frequenting the tavern with the same constancy that a man would attend the lawcourts (973-4). Again from *Wealth*, the god Poverty is mistaken for a tavern-keeper because otherwise, according to the character Chremylus, she 'wouldn't scream at us like that for doing no harm at all' (457-8). He then asks if Poverty is the 'καπηλὶς from round the corner, the one who never serves me a fully *kotyle*?' (435-6)³. In *Lysistrata* the Magistrate berates one of the policemen for 'dreaming about bars' (427). Although undoubtedly exaggerated for comic effect, Aristophanes has singled out for caricature the stereotypical attributes of establishments well-known to the audience and therefore recognised by all. The end result is that although they paint a

³ See page 78 of this thesis for a discussion on the *kotyle*.

none too pleasant picture of the *kapeleion*, their regular inclusion and their familiar treatment speak volumes for their ubiquity in the classical city.

In *Gorgias* (58b), Plato mentions one particular *kapelos* called Sarambus, whose skill at 'preparing' wine he compares with the work of Athens' finest baker and Mithaecus, a Syracusan cook, reputed to be the Pheidias of the kitchen. The fact that Sarambus is ranked alongside creative characters like a baker and a chef suggests that he is more than just a taverner who unthinkingly doles out measures of wine, and that Plato is perhaps referring to his particular skill as a taverner (Davidson 1997a: 54). What this skill might have consisted of is open to speculation; honest measures of a quality wine from an amphora not long opened, strained of debris, perfumed, blended with clean, chilled water and served in attractively painted cups with, perhaps, some nibbles to snack on? In any event, he clearly is not classed amongst the rough and ready taverners with whom Aristophanes' audience is familiar.

In Eubulus' *Pamphilus* (80 K-A) we are told that there is a 'big new *kapeleion* directly across from the house', and Nicostratus in *Patriotai* (22 K-A) mentions a 'neighbourhood' *kapelos*. Both fragments are clearly referring to taverns mixed with houses within residential areas.

Many of our sources are highly moralistic in their tone. In his speech *Against Patrokles*, the orator Hyperides is said to have noted that the Areopagites barred anyone who had

breakfasted in a *kapeleion* from going up to the Areopagus (Davidson 1997a: 58). Further, in a eulogy of this council, harking back to the good old days when young men were apparently less degenerate, Isocrates (*Areopagitikos* 7.49) informs us that 'no-one, not even a servant, at least not a respectable servant, would have been so brazen as to eat or drink in a *kapeleion*'. Isocrates is clearly passionate on the subject of the degeneracy of Athens' most promising young men, and, in another of his works (*Antidosis* 15.287), castigates them for 'chilling their wine at the Nine-fountains; others, drinking in *kapeleia*; others, tossing dice in gambling dens; and many, hanging about the training-schools of the flute-girls'. Lysias' speech *On the Murder of Eratosthenes* reinforces the image presented by Aristophanes of *kapeleia* as 'locals' as well as affording us a glimpse into the shady and unsafe world the taverner and their patron inhabited, when torches could be purchased to light the drunken way home and, in this instance, for Euphiletus and his friends, to light the way to a murder – 'Then we got torches from the nearest *kapeleion*, and went in; the door was open, as the girl had it in readiness' (1.24).

Some of the most detailed and informative written evidence for bars and their owners comes from curse tablets or *katadesmoi* (notably *IG*III, 75; *IG*III, 87). Commissioned by real people and mentioning real businesses (as opposed to fictitious theatrical or oratorical constructs), these tablets provide an otherwise unknown glimpse into the world of the *kapeleion*, filling in the archaeologically invisible gaps such as the names of these taverns and their staff. Everyone, it seems, used or knew of these tablets which simply consisted of a thin sheet of folded or rolled lead, pierced through by one or more nails. Their

intended function was to bring supernatural power to bear against persons and/or animals by calling on Hermes or Persephone to bring named persons under the control of the individual who commissioned or personally inscribed the tablet. Some of the tablets display the same elegant hand and highly formulaic language suggesting that professional scribes were employed. Where the tablets have been deposited and subsequently excavated from graves, a professional must surely (to our twenty-first-century sensibilities) have been commissioned as it is highly unlikely that an ordinary individual would creep into the Kerameikos in the dead of night, open up the grave of a newly buried youth⁴ and place the tablet in the corpse's right hand as per requirement. Wells and crevices were other preferred options, presumably for the squeamish, and the curse could simply be inscribed on a pottery sherd. Lead seems to have remained the primary medium for wishing ill-will or calamity on a person as some of the curses testify, requesting that the person become as 'cold and useless as this lead' (Gager 1992: 4).

Among the occupations listed in the tablets, the most common is that of taverner (Gager 1992). Who would wish them such extreme ill-will, and who would have been prepared to deposit them in such a ghoulish manner, is open to speculation; perhaps an impoverished alcoholic refused credit, a less popular or prosperous establishment down the road, or simply a disgruntled customer? It is difficult to determine whether *katadesmoi* constituted a regular or merely an occasional feature of the ancient workplace, but the conditions under which the majority of *katadesmoi* appear to have been commissioned

⁴ For the deposition of tablets, graves of those who died young or violently were preferred because it was believed that their souls remained in a restless state near the graves (Gager 1992).

seem to have been competition and rivalry (Gager 1992: 154), further reinforcing the image that *kapeleia* were plentiful and cut-throat (Davidson 1997a: 55). The tablets also confirm that both women and men are named as proprietors and, as indicated by reference to their owners, it is clear that many were slaves. Female slaves, or freed women, seem to have been particularly active as *kapeloi*, as evidenced by their names: Manes is Phrygian and Thraitta, used so often in the ancient world, simply meant 'a (slave) woman from Thrace'. However, what we cannot discern is whether or not these women were still tied to a master who put them to work in a business he was too respectable to be seen to be involved with himself, or whether they had been freed but continued to work in one of the few professions available to them.

The following texts come from two fourth-century BC Attic tablets excavated during work on the Athens-Piraeus railway (an exact location is not given) and are quoted in full from Gager (1992: 157-9):

1. (IG III, 87)

I bind Kallias, the tavern keeper who is one of my neighbours and his wife Thraitta, and the tavern of the bald man and the tavern of Anthemion near (?) and Philon the tavern keeper. Of all of these I bind the soul, the work, the hands, and the feet; and their taverns. I bind Sosimenes, his (?) brother; and Karpos his servant, who is the fabric seller and also Glukanthis, who is called Malthake, and also Agathon the tavern keeper the servant of Sosimenes: of all of these I bind the soul, the work, the life, the hands, and the feet.

I bind Kittos my neighbour, the maker of wooden frames – Kittos's skill and work and soul and mind and the tongue of Kittos.

I bind Mania the tavern keeper who is near the spring and the tavern of Aristandros of

Eleusis

and their work and mind.

The soul, hands, tongue, feet, and mind: all of these I bind to Hermes the Restrainer in the unsealed graves

2. (IG III, 75)

I bind Anacharsis and I bind his workshop. I bind Artemis, the ...and I bind the master of Artemis. I bind Humnis. I bind Rhodion the tavern keeper. May Rhodion perish along with his workshop...(?) who works (there?). I bind Rhodion the tavern keeper, I bind the tavern and I bind also the store.

I bind Artemis and...and...may (?) gain power over Artemis...I bind the work...and the tongue. I bind Theodotus and the/workshop. I bind Artemis and Philon, his works...sister...friend...

On Women in Kapeleia

Women can be included not only amongst the ranks of tavern keepers, but also as drinkers in their own right, and those who were not wealthy, privileged and closely guarded citizen women, may not have lost social standing, or suffered a dent in their reputation, by enjoying time and a drink in a bar. Aristophanes portrays women as inveterate and insatiable drinkers (an impression later perpetuated by Athenaeus⁵), and the women in his plays are not all prostitutes and slaves; many are decent wives. The word *kapelos* is often used in its feminine form as *kapelis* (ἡ καπηλίσ), and the impression given is that more women than men were actually employed as tavern-keepers. When

⁵ 10.440d-442a, 'that the race of women love their wine is commonplace'.

Aristophanes' aggressive Poverty shouts at someone, she is likened to a *kapelis* (Arist., *Wealth*, 426f.):

Poverty. But who do you *think* I am?
Chremylos. A tavern-keeper, or maybe a market-seller. That would explain this unprovoked attack and your raucous voice!

Much like drinkers, women are regularly split into two categories, wife and whore, and the majority of contemporary scholarship does not allow for any blurring or grey areas in their categorisation (Keuls 1985; Pomeroy 1975). However, where a blurring of lines would have occurred would be in the realm of female drinking practices either at home, during festivals, or in the *kapeleion*.

Sanctions on women's drinking can be partly explained by Classical notions of the physical differences between the sexes. According to the state of medical knowledge at the time, and based largely on the late Classical theories of Aristotle, the female temperament was generally colder and moister than that of men (Mayhew 2004: 40-41). The colder nature of women served as a context for their perceived sensitivity to alcohol, as alcohol was believed to possess a fiery quality that was not compatible with the female temperament. Wine especially was believed to enhance the sanguine nature of men, purging the phlegmatic humours associated with female characteristics. Therefore, when men drank they became more witty, ribald, sensual and manly – all characteristics considered completely inappropriate in women; that is to say, completely inappropriate

for Classical Greek women, but what about non-Greek women with different drinking attitudes and practices such as the Mesopotamian custom of men and women drinking together (Reade 1995: 40)?

Our knowledge of the participation of women in formal drinking contexts usually extends no further than prostitutes, slaves and hired entertainers' attendance at the *symposion*, though it is true that other types of females are unlikely to turn up in the literary and iconographic sources from which we must draw our evidence. If women were not supposed to drink with men, and certainly not in the tavern, did women drink and eat together in exclusively female drinking groups such as in the bordered rooms in Corinth, or in the context of religious festivals such as the Thesmophoreia (Burkert 1985: 242; Osborne 2000, 295)?

According to Burton, the participation of women in Greek drinking parties varied over time and place (1998: 143). During the Classical period, it is taken for granted that when a woman is present at a *symposion* she must have been a prostitute (Burton 1998: 147). But what of feasting and drinking in the home with family and friends, or on special occasions? A fragment of Menander describes just such a family gathering of a young man, his father and mother, aunt, aunt's father, and another old woman who drink, eat and talk together at a dinner party (Sandbach 1990: 304-5)⁶. Mixed gender drinking clearly was acceptable in some contexts. Burton also cites female students of Plato who

⁶ A fragment from Menander's *Thyroros* (the Doorkeeper), quoted by Athenaeus 71e (209=K-A 186)

might have attended philosophers' symposia, and states that the Pythagoreans and Epicureans were remarkably open to women (1998: 148).

Festivals and meetings with friends and neighbours (Arist. *Ecclesiazusae* 348-9) provide by far the greatest opportunities for commensality among the women portrayed in Athenian comedy (Wilkins 2000: 61). On each of these occasions, the humour centres on the act of drinking rather than eating, and of the drinking of strong wine in particular. Athenaeus, in his survey of women and wine, endorses the cliché of Greek women as heavy drinkers (10.440e): ὅτι δὲ φίλοιον τὸ τῶν γυναικῶν γένος κοινόν.⁷

The desire (and ability) of women to drink in the vicinity of their houses often relates to the local *kapeleion*, and is a frequent topic amongst women. One example comes from Antiphanes' *Akontizomene* (fr. 25) and is re-told by Athenaeus (10.441.b-c):

'I have a neighbour who is a taverner; whenever I am thirsty and go to him he knows at once – and he is the only one – how I have it mixed. Never do I remember having drunk it too diluted or too strong.'

Insofar as there is a generalised social norm which posits males as sexual initiators, women may be construed as objects of sexual conquest and when alone in public situations are likely to be regarded as open to sexual encounters. In Classical Greece, and especially in Athens, where women were strictly censored and ranked, the tavern, which

⁷ 'that the race of women love their wine is commonplace'.

is of its very nature a place of open group interaction, may have been perceived as a threatening context, as it poses for the lone female the contradiction of deregulated social norms defining appropriate behaviour and male expectations of female sexual availability (Smith 1983).

The keeping of inns by πανδοκεύτριαι (Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* 458; *Frogs* 114, 549-78) and καπηλίδες (*Thesmophoriazusae* 347; *Wealth* 1120-2; Theopompus Com. Fr. 25-29) also made use of skills practised in the *oikos*, while transferring the labour itself to a distinct location (Brock 1994: 340). The milieu is a low-status one; these women, too, had a reputation for bad language as well as dishonesty, and are frequent targets of curse tablets. Probably attacked as much by commercial rivals as by customers, they are often associated with low-life figures like pimps and prostitutes (Brock 1994: 341). The two in *Frogs* are metics, since they look to their patrons Cleon and Hyperbolus for redress against Heracles-Dionysus (569-71).

On Locations for Selling and the Casual Consumption of Wine

Many trades were carried on, and many goods both manufactured and sold in the modest houses, shops or workshops in the neighbourhood of the Athenian Agora, such as those discovered in the industrial district nestling around the Kolonos Agoraios (Young 1951: 135-288). Also in this area was the 'thieves' agora' (Wycheley 1978: 59; Fisher 1999: 58) where petty criminals and their fences loitered, doing deals and selling stolen goods. It was in this area that forensic speeches allege that groups of criminals were based under

the front of respectable businesses, presumably where no one would consider it strange for groups to gather. In a speech by Lysias (24, *On the Refusal of a Pension*), written for the court hearing of a citizen trying to have his state disability pension reinstated, the man has to respond to charges concerning 'lucrative and illicit' activities at his place of work. He is markedly reluctant to disclose the nature of his occupation and the premises at which it is carried out. He is, however, accused of associating with those who have 'money to spend' (24.5). This could, of course, be any kind of business, but his opponents claim that at his establishment many villainous men associate. Where better and more inconspicuous than a tavern? Cloak snatchers (*lopodutai*) and purse cutters (*ballantiotomoi*) seem to have been particular hazards for the ancient Athenian, and it is perhaps significant that Davidson, citing Lysias 1.24 (1997a: 53), asserts that torches were also sold in taverns to light the drunken way home.

What of other places where wine could be bought and consumed? We hear of wine being sold in the Kerameikos near the postern gate (Lawall 2000: 76), but we are also told, undoubtedly with reference to local Attic vintages, that merchants called *gleukagogoi* (their name tells us they specialised in new wine – *gleukos* or 'sweet juice') brought their wine into the agora on wagons setting up *skenai* or flimsy booths from which to sell their products (Immerwahr 1948a). A slave with a cart or table, or even as *ad hoc* an arrangement as a blanket on the ground, conveniently situated by a spring, well or fountain-house, could sell wine transported in wine-skins fresh from the producer's farm in the country, to be mixed with cold water and drunk there and then. Perhaps Manes, mentioned as 'near the spring' in the curse tablets, was nothing more than this. However,

for any thirsty passer-by, an Areopagite on his way to a council meeting and unable to wait until that evening's *symposion*, or an impoverished alcoholic of any gender or status, this type of *kapelos* would have been a welcome addition to the city's watering-holes, but is one which is regrettably invisible to the archaeologist.

Outside Athens

As with so many aspects of Classical Greek life, our main sources for written information come from Athens, but is there anything in the surviving literary evidence from areas outside Athens to inform us of other models of drinking practice?

An inscription regulating wine-trade from the island of Thasos in northern Greece incorporates a ban on κοτυλίζειν which prohibits wine being sold by the *kotyle* (in roughly half-pint measures) or, as Davidson translates it as 'breaking the bulk' (1997a: 392). This, Davidson believes, is evidence of the anti-democratic Thasian authorities attempting to thwart the *demos* by restricting a business identified with democracy, namely the *kapeleion* (1997a: 392). If this is the case, then we have our only reference to Greek commercial wine retail and consumption outside of Athens. Frustrating though this is, it does at least allow us to postulate bars in other cities. The Piraeus, with its semi-permanent population of sailors and traders, must have been full of bars, but so little of the Piraeus survives today that to test this hypothesis is – at the present time – impossible. Although the German scholars Hoepfner and Schwandner carried out an analysis of the fragmentary remains of the Piraeus houses in their *Haus und Stadt im*

klassischen Griechenland (1994: 24-43), too little of the ancient harbour town remains or has been excavated to allow any meaningful conclusions to be drawn.

Wine itself formed a significant part in the export trade of many classical Greek islands or towns. Naxos, Mende, Thasos, Chios and Lesbos were all prominent wine producers and it would not be at all unreasonable to suggest that wine consumption would have been equally as popular as it was in Athens: the law from Thasos mentioned above only serves to reinforce this picture. In a condemnation of the people of Byzantium the historian Theopompus of Chios (*FrGrHist* 115, F62) despises them for wasting away their days drinking in the harbour bars; therefore literary silence is no argument for their non-existence in other Greek cities.

The Term '*Kapeleion*'

Whilst the ancient literary sources are undoubtedly useful for our understanding of ancient drinking practices, they also have their limitations. No ancient Greek writer thought it necessary to do anything more than allude to these establishments or mention them matter-of-factly as part of a theatrical plot. The trade of tavern keeper along with the physical business or tavern appears, as detailed in the section above, in many and varied texts, although in sources of an earlier date (pre-fifth century) there are some problems with attributing the term *kapeleion* specifically to the commercial sale of wine and it is frequently used of retail trade in general.

Originally, a *kapelos* could be a retailer of any product. In the New Testament (*Corinthians*, 2:17) the verb *καπηλεύω* generally meant to profiteer or to treat for personal gain as in 'καπηλεύοντες the Word of God' which is taken to mean 'profiteering from God's Word', preaching for gain, money or professing faith for personal gain.

Perhaps it is a second meaning for the word *kapelos* which lends itself particularly well to taverns as the word *kapelos* could also be used in the context of conman or huckster; according to Liddell and Scott it means a 'cheat, rogue, knave' (though the filter of our relatively 'upper class' sources may be responsible for this impression). Our impression of taverners and barmaids cheating in their measures is therefore reinforced by using a word synonymous with dishonesty (Kurke 1989).

It is not entirely clear when the switch took place and a *kapelos* came to be regarded as a wine-seller in particular, but Aristophanes and his audience do not seem to experience a problem with the distinction. When Aristophanes uses the terms *kapeleion* and *kapelos* there is no doubt that it is to bars and bar-keepers that he is referring. Perhaps it was the case that the original *kapeloi* were more like general stores or grocers where a variety of goods – including wine in bulk and for consumption on the premises – were sold, as there is no reason to believe that they were originally alcohol exclusive. Perhaps some of the more enterprising *kapeloi* provided a table and chairs thus allowing customers to linger over their wine and the tavern proper came into being. This might be the action which a law from Thasos (Davidson 1997) prohibiting 'breaking the bulk' might have sought to

regulate. Perhaps the sale of wine began to outstrip the sale of other goods and the *kapelos* simply stopped selling them in favour of what was proving to be a moneyspinner. In small, rural modern Greek villages today one can have one's hair cut in a barber's shop whilst other customers watch the football on television and drink beer and ouzo accompanied by simple food served in-between haircuts by the barber himself out of his own domestic kitchen. Is this then a barber's or a tavern or a home? In reality, it is all three. Why can we not be just as flexible in our treatment of the ancient world? Why must we create typologies and patterns in the belief that this will bring us a better understanding of an ancient way of life?

Evidence For Other Non-sympotic Settings

As stated at the very beginning of this chapter, the seeming absence of archaeological evidence for *kapeleia* was the inspiration for this thesis. However, a physical lack of bars aside, there is actually no shortage of archaeological evidence for the act of drinking. As mentioned above, drinking cups are plentiful in a range of archaeological contexts, therefore, in addition to *sympotic* drinking, public, religious and military wine consumption form part of other fields of study.

Public Drinking

Far from being exclusive, public dining rooms were open to any man who had been chosen by lot to fill certain positions in the Athenian government. They were an explicitly democratic reworking of the *symposion*, and we know that at least two groups of

magistrates, the nine archons and six junior archons, ate together and Hesychios (s.v. πρυτανειον) tells us that there were three public dining rooms in Athens: Prytaneia, Thesmophoreion and Prytaneion, a list which has been amended to read Tholos, Thesmotheteion and Prytaneion (Rotroff & Oakley 1992: 38). Archons and dining can definitely be placed together in the South Stoa, which Homer Thompson suggested might have served at one time as the Thesmotheteion (Thompson 1968: 36-72). That several rooms served as dining rooms is clear from the standard *andron* setup of the off-centre placement of doors and the raised border for couches.

The Athenian Agora housed the executive offices of government as well as commercial interests, and the *prytaneion*, the sacred hearth of the polis. The Athenian *prytaneion* served three main roles: it housed the cult of Hestia and the city's symbolic fire (religious groups set out from here and colonists took fire to found new cities abroad). It also contained one or more rooms for dining. In the fifth-century the *prytaneis*, the executive committee of the *boule*, did not, despite their name, dine here but in the *tholos* near to the *boule* (Wilkins 2000:175). The *prytaneis* dined at work, as did the *thesmothetai* and perhaps other officials at the *thesmotheteion*, whereas honorific dining for benefactors, foreign delegations, honoured Athenians, etc., took place in the *prytaneion*.

Meals at the *prytaneion* were, according to Wilkins, 'simple' and traditional' (Wilkins 2000: 176) and are recorded as having consisted of 'cheese, barley cake, tree-ripe olives, and leeks' (Chionides *Beggars*, fr. 7). According to Wilkins (2000: 177), Solon is said to have

recommended barley cake to all those feeding in the *prytaneion*, but wheat-bread at festivals. In other cities, the food varied: in Thasos, wine sweetened with dough; in Naucratis, two forms of bread, pork, barley or vegetable soup, eggs, fresh cheese, dried figs, and flat-cake (Athenaeus 4.149d-150b).

Elsewhere in Greece public dining rooms may have fulfilled a completely different function. At Sparta, for example, these public messes were viewed primarily as organisations for war, indeed, Plato records that the *syssitia* had been invented for warfare (*Laws* 625d, 633a). Indeed, even the name comes from a military context, as τὰ σιτία was a soldier's food ration. The military function of the *syssitia* in classical Sparta is not in doubt, and membership was limited to men between the ages of 20 and 59 (though men as young as 18 were occasionally allowed to join up). Members of each *syssition* would form tent-companies and are thought to have numbered around 15. Membership was for life and was not based on kinship, rather the *syssitia* constituted an alternative 'family' for its members (Singor 1999). From a young age, perhaps as young as 12, Spartan boys were expected to take a lover and it was this lover's *syssition* that the boy would eventually join at the age of 20.

Religious Drinking

Wine and wine drinking were explicitly celebrated in Athens during the festival of the Anthesteria in honour of the god Dionysus (Burkert 1985: 237). The festival lasted three days: on the first day (*pithoigia*) the jars of new wine were opened for the first time since

the grapes had been sealed inside, and the contents tasted. Samples of the wine were taken to the sanctuary of Dionysus 'in the marshes' where they were mixed with water. After this, the worshippers were free to taste the wine themselves and it would be reasonable to assume that the rest of the day was spent in drinking.

The second day was the feast of the *Choes* (Burkert 1985: 237), the *chous* being a type of wine jug with a round belly, short neck and trefoil mouth, and as wine could be bought by the *chous*, it may have represented a standard measure containing 12 *kotylai* (Fig. 1). Large numbers of this type of jug survive in miniature from Athens, apparently because it was the custom to give them to children on the second day, though whether they contained wine for the children to drink is unknown. Hamilton (1992) makes the important point that the majority of miniature *choes* depicting children come from graves and might not have been used during the festival at all. He also believes that the plump male children depicted crawling and playing on the jugs are much younger than the three-year-olds brought to the festival. On the night of the second day it was traditional to party with friends, and guests brought their own wine and cup to drink it from, apparently in silence (Park 1977: 113).

The third and final day was the day of the pots (*chytrai*) in which vegetables were boiled and offered to Hermes in the Underworld on behalf of the dead (Burkert 1985: 240). On the surface, it appears strange that the Athenians changed the focus for their worship on the third day of this festival from Dionysus and wine to boiled vegetables and Hermes,

but the classical Greeks used boiled cabbage as an everyday hangover cure (Stafford 2001: 11). Might this be the practical origin of the ritual of eating boiled vegetables on the third day? Perhaps we can also detect some irony in their choice of Hermes in his role as guide to the underworld, as that might have been exactly where they felt they were heading after two days of heavy alcohol consumption.

Stafford describes the scene on the jug in Figure 2 as the personification of a hangover. The figure in the centre is Kraipale, or hangover (κραίπαλη), and the figure to her right is Thymedia, translated by Stafford as 'heart's delight' (Stafford 2001: 10). Thymedia holds a cup containing something which apparently gives off steam (too faint to be seen in the photograph). The shape of the jug (*chous*) suggests drinking at the Anthesteria, but the *kantharos* which 'hangover' is holding is one of the attributes of Dionysus so might be an allusion to the Athenian Dionysia festival. Both involve wine drinking and overindulgence and the image depicted on the vase informs us that the classical Greeks were all too aware of the consequences, but also that they knew of ways to alleviate the effects of too much wine.

Beyond these very specific wine drinking festivals, there were many groups or religious associations who gathered together to eat and drink for the purpose of worshipping the various Gods and Heroes who ruled every aspect of classical Greek life:

Thiasoi: In Athens the *thiasos* was a dining-club which chose a particular deity as their patron.

Eranos: An *eranos* was cultic association devoted to the ideals of reciprocity and equal contribution, most often expressed as a shared feast.

Orgeones: Aristocratic in origin, this group offered sacrifices at their own expense, on the altars of Gods and Heroes.

The *symposion* proper can also be classed as a religious drinking context. As Tolles points out, the hand washing, distribution of wreaths and perfumes, the singing of the paeon and the dedication of 'rounds' are all in honour of the gods (Tolles 1943: 23-76).

Military Drinking

'They used to spend the whole day after lunch drinking, and continued doing this the entire time we were on garrison duty' (Demosthenes *Against Konon*, 54.4). This complaint, taken from a forensic speech prosecuting an act of *aikeia*, makes it clear that wine drinking by soldiers was acceptable as long as the drinkers did not overindulge and upset their mess-mates; as happened in this instance when a complaint about their behaviour was lodged with their army superiors, spiralled into a vendetta, and resulted in a drunken *hybristic* attack. It was their drunkenness (μέθη) and not their constant drinking which generated the complaint.

The Spartan military, whilst noted for its moderation, also drank wine as a matter of course. However, given what we understand of daily weak-wine drinking as a healthy pan-Hellenic alternative to water, this should in no way come as a surprise, and on this basis Murray's (1991: 93) description of the Lacadaemonian military as a 'sympotic army' can be questioned, and returns us to the question raised at the start of this thesis regarding what should and should not be regarded as 'sympotic' drinking. When the Spartans were besieged by the Athenians on the island of Sphacteria, Athens agreed to a daily ration of two *kotylai* per Spartan soldier (Thucydides 4.16). Clearly this amount was not enough for them to enjoy a *symposion* (and in any case that cannot be what their captors had in mind for conditions under blockade), rather it should be viewed as a necessary amount to purify their water supplies and keep them alive.

Other 'Casual' Drinking Contexts

Large deposits of marked amphorae may indicate the presence of another type of drinking establishment: the *oinos*, wine-importer or wine-shop (Lawall 2000: 76). To begin with, these functioned purely as wine importers and retailers as opposed to places where you could eat, drink and socialise. One of their likely functions was to buy wine in bulk from merchants at the Piraeus for re-sale in smaller amounts to taverns and private customers. However, the previously mentioned Thasian inscription actually bans the practice of 'breaking the bulk' (Davidson 1997b) and providing wine to drink on the premises. It seems more than likely therefore, that these wine-shops may have been the link between the general grocer who sold wine in bulk and the dedicated tavern. Much of

what was bought from the wine-shop would have continued to have been taken away, but the conviviality surrounding the tasting and drinking of wine would have meant that people tended to hang around the wine-shop longer than they did at, say, the baker's or the potter's. The next step would naturally have been to provide a couple of seats.

One possible representation in vase painting of a wine purchase comes from a cup commonly attributed to the Douris painter (Fig. 3). The wine in the amphora is apparently being tasted with a sponge, and the whole focus of the scene is interpreted as being the *purchase* of the wine and not the other activities appropriate for a *kapeleion*. Immerwahr (1948: 184-90) interprets the scene as the customer wiping spillage away from the neck of the amphora, while Davidson prefers to see 'a youth buying wine in a taverna', the object to the right interpreted as a 'giant cistern' (Davidson 1997, Pl. 3).

While no *oinoi* have yet to be identified in the agora, Lawall has suggested that some large assemblages of amphorae turned upside-down at other sites may indicate the cellars for such establishments (Lawall 2000: 76). Although pithos fragments have been found in wells associated with the possible wine-selling area described above, the fill from these deposits and the scant associated architecture have not been enough to indicate the presence of a large *oinos*.

What of other places where wine could be bought and consumed? We hear of wine being sold in the Kerameikos near the postern gate (Isaeus 6.20), but we are also told,

undoubtedly with reference to local Attic vintages, that merchants called *gleukagogoi* (their name tells us they specialised in new wine; *gleukos* or 'sweet juice') brought their wine into the agora on wagons setting up *skenai* or temporary wooden booths from which to sell it (Immerwahr, 1948a). This may have involved nothing more than a slave conveniently situated by a spring, well or fountain-house, selling wine transported in wine-skins fresh from their master's farm in the country, to be mixed with cold water and drunk there and then. Perhaps Manes, mentioned as 'near the spring' in the curse tablets (IG III, 75), was just such a *kapelis*. What would have begun as *gleukos* immediately after pressing, would lose no time in going into fermentation; producing both alcohol and carbon dioxide. Since the colour resides in the skin, and not the pulp, white wine can be made by straining red grapes while red wine needs the skin to stay with the juice. This means that this particular type of red wine would have contained a large amount of foreign matter, have soaked up the flavour of the wineskin and may have tasted none too pleasant, therefore resulting in a much lower price and a far less discerning clientele. However, for a thirsty Areopagite on his way to a council meeting and unable to wait until that evening's *symposion* or an impoverished alcoholic of any gender or status, this type of *kapelos* would have been a welcome addition to the city's watering-holes, but is one which is regrettably invisible to the archaeologist.

Selection of the Data

Building on the information gleaned from the literary sources which allude to commercial drinking establishments within local neighbourhoods, a re-examination of excavated buildings identified as domestic structures was carried out. The hypothesis was that since Greek houses regularly contained evidence of business and industrial activity (see Cahill 2000), it was likely that if 'tavernas' could be found anywhere it was in these structures. These buildings and any drinking assemblages contained within them have been considered to be solely domestic. In the absence of an appropriate alternative framework to the sympotic model, the excavated portable material culture and remains of 'dining rooms' were identified as related to domestic *symposia*.

One of the major drawbacks to this method of enquiry – i.e. a re-examination of existing excavation reports – is that conclusions have had to be drawn from projects which vary in their attention to detail and methodological rigour. Several of the sites considered within this thesis were excavated in the early twentieth century when much less interest was shown in the exact find-spot of an artefact than whether or not it was attractively decorated. Such second-hand analyses mean that nuanced distinctions such as primary and secondary deposits are not usually therefore, in these cases, recognisable. Conversely, at the other end of the spectrum, some of the more recently excavated sites have involved the sieving and flotation of every shovelful of dirt, with the result that massive amounts of pottery ranging from complete pieces to tiny sherds have been recorded and catalogued. Even when I was able to consult the original Athenian Agora

excavation notebooks in an effort to gain a more precise understanding of the material excavated, the situation was discovered to be no different. In the cases of Athens and Corinth, where the history of archaeological investigation goes back to the late 19th century, the publication of accurate data was conflated with interpretation and sometimes it is the excavator's 'interpretation' which remains as the only record. After the publication of these sometimes final excavators' interpretations, which frequently stand alone without any data tables, many of the coarse and undecorated cups which could have played a pivotal role in better understanding and contextualising everyday drinking habits, were simply disposed of on mass spoil heaps, and the potential information which they carried is irretrievably lost. Ault and Nevett point out (1999: 44) that when the houses from Delos were published the excavators main interest lay in the architecture so much so that the houses were in effect 'empty shells' since the finds were cleared away and given little attention in the publications. When pre-1980s excavation reports did include pottery numbers, as in the case of the Vari House in Attica (Jones *et al*, 1972, further discussed in chapter 5), they do no more than provide an inventory. Without actual find-spots however, these detailed lists take us no further down the road towards an interpretation of any room or space within the walls, or even allow us to recognise any artefact patterns. The best that can be said is that the inventoried pottery was found at the site and, with the help of any typographic study, suggest a date.

Very few Classical period 'household' sites have been excavated in their entirety and, as stated above, pottery assemblages are not always consistently recorded, and often

discarded. Therefore when a decision had to be made with regards to which sites or buildings would be included for re-analysis in this thesis, there was not a wide variety of choice. The main criteria for consideration were that the buildings or sites should date to the years constituting the Classical period, that they be situated within mainland Greece (not Magna Graecia) and, most importantly, they already have a body of published architectural and artefactual data with which to work as time constraints mitigated against any new excavation. Ultimately I allowed the available material guide me to the sites and buildings I would examine in more depth by following up any reports of drinking cups and related pottery in an assemblage.

The discovery of buildings not previously discussed in studies of drinking *per se*, such as the fort at Phylla Vrachos from which large quantities of drinking vessels were excavated, became the catalyst for widening my analysis to include sites and buildings which were clearly not 'houses' or obviously taverns in order to test whether drinking shapes would prove to be significant in discerning the 'type' of drinking carried out in different locations, i.e. would assemblages excavated from bordered rooms resembling *andrones* conform to a 'symptotic' pattern? Thus the focus of the thesis was widened from tavernas in particular to casual and commercial wine consumption in general.

With these factors in mind, my chosen case studies reflect the diversity of possible locations for 'casual' drinking. The fort at Phylla Vrachos on Euboia is a military site, and the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Corinth is religious. The Villa of Good Fortune at

Olynthus and House 7 at Halieis are urban domestic sites, whilst the Vari House in Attica is a rural farmhouse. The Xenon at Nemea is described as a hotel or lodging for athletes competing in the Nemean games, the South Stoa at Corinth was a public building, and Building Z in the Athenian Kerameikos was a brothel. Only the area around Well U_{13:1} in the Athenian Agora and the Taverna of Aphrodite in Corinth have previously been described by their excavators as a bar (Taverna of Aphrodite) and a restaurant (area around Well U_{13:1}).

By considering this range of case studies I hope to be able to identify any potential differences in the kind of drinking carried out, whether casual or sympotic, and will consider whether any variation in the shapes of drinking cups recorded from each of these locations has the potential to reflect any differing wine-consumption practices.

Approaches

The primary methodological problem for this thesis is how to explore the seemingly detailed, specific and (mostly) Athenian written record side by side with the completely non-specific Greek archaeological record. The abundant literary evidence for drinking has only served to highlight holes in the physical record which cannot, at present, be filled archaeologically. The strategy adopted in this thesis is to move away from a reliance on textual sources alone, and to focus on the more abundant and direct archaeological evidence for drinking. It is this archaeological information which will form the basis of this thesis. The development of fresh theoretical perspectives in archaeology has come

almost entirely from outside the discipline and has brought archaeology into increasingly close contact with wider debates in anthropological and social theory. Combined with the textual evidence for drinking both anthropology and social theory will be used to construct an interpretative framework for addressing issues which have not been fully considered using archaeological evidence.

With this in mind, each of my case studies was re-examined in two ways: firstly, I used the published excavation reports with their maps and plans for the information they gave on the geographical location and spatial arrangement of each building. Secondly, I used the corresponding artefact catalogues for my understanding of the types of cups excavated and, where given, for their location within each building. Inevitably, since I have used published reports, they contain a great deal of the original excavators' own thoughts and opinions on the material (both artefactual and architectural). Therefore in my re-analysis of the data presented for each case study I will differentiate between the original excavator's interpretation and my own reassessment of the available material.

Although this thesis is, first and foremost, an exploration of the nature of 'casual' drinking in opposition to formal and ritualised drinking, it also fits into a broader framework of studies of social relations within a drinking-specific context. Many of my assumptions and analogies are drawn from cross-cultural anthropological studies, and my analytical use of case studies inspired by theoretical archaeology. Recent work by Allison (1999;

2004), LaMotta and Schiffer (1999), and Ault and Nevett (1999) focussing on the formation processes of household assemblages will also be drawn upon.

When considered together, the abundance of drink-related archaeological material along with the plentiful literary evidence for drinking will serve as a basis for setting up an interpretative framework to integrate the two fields of enquiry: literary and archaeological.

If the *symposion* is believed to have been *the* main context for drinking wine within the classical polis, what role did other forms of drinking play for the inhabitants of the classical city? Much has been made of the commensal function of the sympotic drinking party for the aristocracy, but in what form did others experience commensality, or was it not a feature of their daily existence? Is it possible that the *kapeleion* provided commensality for the masses, or was it the case that an entirely different type of drinking took place within its walls? The case of female drinking also deserves consideration in this context, as Athenian citizen women were not invited to men-only symposia (Murray 1995: 230), unless of course they were providing the entertainment as flute-girls or prostitutes (Fantham, Foley, Kampen, Pomeroy & Shapiro 1994: 280).

The Anthropology and Sociology of Drinking

In the majority of societies, both modern and ancient, drinking is perceived as essentially a social act and, as such, is embedded in a context of personal values, attitudes, and other norms (Heath 1987: 46). In addition, the drinking of alcoholic beverages tends to be hedged about with rules concerning who may and may not drink how much of what, in what context, in the company of whom, and so forth. Often these rules are the focus of exceptionally strong emotions and sanctions (Heath 1987: 46). As Davidson succinctly states, 'it is the quiet spinster caught swigging amontillado in the morning rather than

rowdy behaviour at the bar that crystallizes most clearly the image of the alcoholic' (1997a: 38), a notion which continues to prevail even in the face of growing contemporary concerns over the perceived evils of binge drinking in British society. Following ethnographers and anthropologists, twenty-first century archaeologists and classicists are now becoming interested not only in how people have used alcoholic drinks, but also in the diverse and often emotionally loaded roles that such drinks have played in the ancient world (Davidson 1997a; Dietler 1990; Dietler 1996). Alcohol, and the complex of attitudes, values and actions that are associated with it, should now be regarded as an artefact in their own right.

As with any other aspect of culture, drinking and its associated meanings and values are subject to change, whether by indigenous dynamics or in response to intrusive forces, and as always we must be wary of imposing our present-day preconceptions on the far distant past. The process of looking closely at another society which has very different patterns of behaviour from our own forces us to become aware of our own ethnocentric assumptions about social values and behaviour. This is especially true of an act so commonplace as the drinking of alcohol.

A remarkable fact about alcohol is how simple it is to make; even without human interference the process of fermentation will occur by itself. Minor refinements to this natural process allowed deliberately produced alcoholic drinks to be developed early in prehistory: the discovery of late Stone Age beer jugs in Egypt has established the fact

that intentionally fermented beverages existed there at least as early as the Neolithic period (c. 10,000 BC) (Patrick 1952: 12-13), and they have been ubiquitous throughout the world ever since. The value of alcohol for promoting relaxation and sociability is emphasised in most world cultures, but whatever the reason people may have for drinking alcohol, few would say – and even fewer believe – that thirst plays a major role (Heath 1987: 40). In our world of endless choice, alcohol has become a special category of liquid consumable to be enjoyed when we are relaxing or celebrating.

In terms of beverages consumed during leisure time, unlike today, the classical Greeks would not have enjoyed such a diverse range of liquid consumables. Also, due to the lack of clean, fresh, drinking water, alcohol – albeit in a weaker form than that consumed in order to become inebriated – would have been drunk continuously throughout the day, and would also have provided essential calories. Experiments have shown that living typhoid and other dangerous microbes rapidly die when mixed with wine (Singleton 1996: 75). Food poisoning organisms and human pathogens cannot survive and certainly cannot multiply in the acidic, tannic, and alcoholic medium of wine. Whether or not the ancient Greeks recognised its exact reasons, wine in antiquity was healthy because it could not be the source of microbial health problems, unlike water. Wine therefore, could have been used to make contaminated water safe, as well as more palatable.

Today, coffee or tea act as indicators of the time of day, and the switch from non-alcoholic drinks to alcoholic ones signals the switch from work-time to play-time. In the

past, to drink alcohol for breakfast would not have raised any eyebrows, and consumption of wine would not have signified specific and bounded leisure time, although the strength of the mixture might have varied significantly.

Leisure and relaxation are historically emergent terms, dependent on the separation of work from home and from one period of the day to another. The conception of leisure as a definite and bounded period of time is a feature of the industrial and post-industrial world of work. Early pre-industrial societies would have reckoned their time divisions by more natural rhythms dictated by sunrise and sunset, religious calendars of festival and feast days, and the ebb and flow of bodily energy. However, according to Fisher (1998: 84-88), there is often an intellectualist assumption that leisure, or at least the more 'important' elements of a culture's leisure activities, are exclusively the preserve of a 'leisured' class, and this assumption is especially prevalent in studies of classical Greece. This view would assume a marked division between elite pastimes which presumably would have needed time and money to be enjoyed – such as spending your days at the gymnasium – and the non-money-earning activities of everyone else, which presumably did not require time and a disposable income: differences embodied by whether or not you regularly organised or were invited to symposia, or whether you drank in a *kapeleion* during those rare moments when you weren't toiling for the sympotic class and had a few obols to spend.

This argument, however, is underpinned by a belief that there existed an identifiable aristocratic 'lifestyle' of athletics and education (rhetorical and philosophical discussions) by day and symposia by night, an assumption which is questioned by Fisher (1998), and Young (1984). The latter identifies several Archaic athletes who were brought up in decidedly unprivileged environments. The 'Old Oligarch' (2.10) hints at gymnasia and palaestrai built by the Athenian *demos* for the benefit of everyone, which might suggest that everyone living in Athens enjoyed even a little leisure time. If this was the case, can we detect the same proliferation of sympotic aspirations spreading to the masses? Military ambition, and the desire of 'new money' to rise socially and share in the good life, may have altered the traditional perceptions of work versus leisure. In addition, one may add the unemployed to the ranks of tavern customers. Whatever their individual reasons for indolence (age, disability, seasonal occupations), these individuals may have worked only sporadically or not at all, and would not therefore be bound by any notions of work time *versus* play time.

Thucydides records that at the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War most Athenians were farmers (1.142.1). However, the havoc wrought on the countryside during the war meant that there was a marked demographic shift to the city, where new small shops and workshops began to spring up amongst the houses. New urban drinking patterns and practices, far removed from the more nourishing and thirst-quenching uses of alcohol followed by agricultural labourers in the countryside, would soon develop.

The scene depicted on Achilles' shield is said to have shown farm labourers ploughing a field where, at each end, the labourer is handed a mug of 'honey-sweet wine' (*Iliad* 18.545). In much the same way that British agricultural labourers drank weak beer all day long (as did everyone else in pre-industrial Britain), it should not be assumed that there was any prohibition on wine drinking by the masses. It was only with a rapid shift to the new urban centres created by the Industrial Revolution in Britain that new drinking practices emerged and old ones were frowned upon. Factory work was much less physical than agricultural labour and more structured in terms of work hours. Constant drinking of beer soon became relegated to those few hours when you were not at work. New places where drinkers could satisfy their thirsts, and spend their meagre wages, soon sprang up amongst the factories so that the drinkers would not have far to go. Employers now required their workforce to be productive within set hours; gone were the rural patterns and places for drinking.

The local *kapeleion*, open long hours (or even all hours), set in a bustling neighbourhood within the community, offered escape from the rigours of the new urban system and division of labour. Whether there were time constraints on the actual opening hours of *kapeleia* themselves which mirrored the 'closed' working hours of the new and expanding urban trades is not known. The bar is intermediate in terms of the time framework which regulates and underpins the behaviour and actions characteristic of more modern conceptions of industrial division of labour and its accompanying patterns of work routines and social relationships.

Although the majority of incomers to the city of Athens would be regarded as Athenian, coming as they did from Attica, over time resident aliens or metics who arrived to take advantage of new and expanding job opportunities would become a highly visible group within the *polis*. The Piraeus, now expanding to become a major Mediterranean harbour, will have attracted individuals and social groups who would have been regarded as marginal to mainstream Athenian society. Metics fell into two distinct groups: aliens who arrived in Athens as artisans and tradesmen or political refugees, and manumitted slaves who had achieved the status of metic with their former master standing as guardian (Isager and Hansen 1975: 69).

Xenophon remarks that many of these metics are barbarians from Lydia, Phrygia, Syria and other remote regions (*Vect.* ii, 3.); however, grave stelai from Athens demonstrate that freeborn metics were primarily Greeks from the Aegean and the colonies (Isager and Hansen 1975: 69). Non-Athenians (even if they were Greek) were not allowed to own property in Athens, and as a result this group would have formed a highly itinerant workforce forced to share rooms in *synoikiai* (multi-occupancy houses), take lodgings in inns, or sleep rough. The development of new styles of drinking more appropriate to (or representative of) the increasing proportion of people moving to the new growing urban centres meant not just the emergence of traditional contexts for drinking, but the formation of new ones more appropriate to this new urban lifestyle.

Plato (*Gorgias* 519a) describes the Athenian *polis* as reduced to 'a swollen and pustular condition by filling it with harbours and docks and walls and all that kind of silliness, thereby leaving no space for temperance and justice'. In such a time of social dislocation in classical Attica the *kapeleion* may have evolved from its traditional function of grocer selling wine to the domestic market, into dedicated wine-shops or taverns providing centres of light, warmth, and social interaction for lower-class, itinerant workers newly arrived from the countryside. In the Piraeus especially, they would be places where the disorientated and lonely newcomer could meet and talk with their fellow countryfolk and gather information on their new surroundings.

Sympotic Drinking

Despite the general lack of research into Greek drinking practices, the significant exception is the study of drinking at the classical Greek *symposion*. The *symposion* has been studied from every possible perspective, but much as it informs us about wine drinking in classical Greece, it is a specific kind of wine drinking carried out by elite men with their privileged male friends, and from a comparative archaeological standpoint it is somewhat uninformative as it skews the focus in favour of the privileged few.

The theory of group bonding through shared drinking and conversation is widely recognised in anthropological circles (Douglas 1987), but is a concept which should not apply exclusively to contemporary studies of drinking. Nonetheless, it is only recently that Michael Dietler has combined anthropology and archaeology in an attempt to study

patterns of thought and action concerning drink and drink related assemblages in the ancient world (Dietler 1990; Dietler 1996). His theoretical work in the comparison of culturally received ideas has been applied to Greek *symposion* assemblages excavated from Iron Age contexts in France.

There was a strong feeling amongst classical Greek *symposiasts* that to get to know someone's true character, you had to drink with them. Wolfgang Rösler, in a paper entitled 'Wine and Truth in the Greek *Symposion*', states that 'it seems significant that what could be fulfilled by a social institution in ancient Greece, is nowadays the responsibility of a psychotherapist', adding that 'within the *symposium* truth and frankness are required' (Rösler 1995: 108). According to the anthropologist Mary Douglas, 'the ceremonials of drinking construct an ideal world' (1987: 8), and it was the concept of truth and frankness which was the ideal of the *symposion*, against which the reality was measured, however far it might fall short. The elite 'reality' which they collectively construct during the *symposion* serves to deny the external world of encroaching democracy and aristocratic decline. At the opposite pole, the tavern is almost the deconstruction of the elite ideal.

It emerges from Attic comedy that drinking by the elites in company is considered good; that drinking by males of lower class (presumably in a *kapeleion*) is bad; and that drinking by females is truly appalling (though apparently with terrific comic potential), especially the older they are. In many civilisations women are habitually excluded from drinking

alcohol but little is known about the source of such rules (Douglas 1997). According to our Greek sources citizen men, and those whose drinking behaviour follows what can be described as a generally inclusive pattern, enjoy their wine in moderation and preferably in the company of other citizen men at the *symposion*. Foreigners, slaves and women follow a generally exclusive pattern by abusing their drink whenever and wherever they can, whether that be at home or in a *kapeleion*. Part of the rationale of these perceptions must be that sympotic drinking is kept orderly by the rules of the *symposion* where the host regulates the size of the cups, the speed of the drinking and the number of *kraters* to be consumed during the evening, whereas other types of casual and non-regulated drinking, and places to drink, are not moderated by that or by any other principle of order. Dionysus himself explains the problems:

For sensible men I prepare only three *kraters*: one for health (which they drink first), the second for love and pleasure, and the third for sleep; after the last one is drained, those who are deemed judicious go home. The fourth *krater* is not mine any more – it is for insolence; the fifth is for shouting; the sixth is for rude banter; the seventh is for fistfights; the eighth is for disorderly conduct; the ninth is for ill-humour; and the tenth is for madness, and that one knocks you out ⁸.

Equal in importance to Demeter's present of grain, wine was gifted by Dionysus to man along with the rules for its use: blending with water, and the proportions of water to wine. The name '*krater*' derived from κεράννυμι (I mix), and pure, unmixed wine was called *akratos*. The *krater* was central to the act of sympotic drinking, and modern Greek has

⁸ Euboulos *ap.* Athenaeus, 2.36b

preserved this word in calling wine *krasi* (short for κρασις or 'mixture'). *Symposiasts* drink from the *krater* in equal measure from shared cups.

Plato, in the *Laws* (2.666), prescribes rules for the consumption of wine according to age divisions. Before the age of 18, children should not drink wine because 'they must not add fuel to the fire in their souls'. Those between the ages of 18 and 30 may drink, but in moderation, without excess and, preferably, drunkenness. During their 40s they may drink to 'relieve the desiccation of old age'.

You Are Where You Drink

Why an individual would choose to drink in any particular *kapeleion* could be broken down in many ways: location; prices; range of wines on offer; décor; entertainment. Patrons must have felt some sense of like-mindedness or of shared taste. Did you drink in a 'dive' because you were poor or because you wanted to appear poor? Did you choose your tavern because you wanted to associate or be associated with a particular group of people? Proceeding from the assumption that *kapeleia* were places where people sought friendliness and acceptance as much as wine and shelter from the weather, when social acceptance was not forthcoming a drinker would lose interest in a particular *kapeleion* and move to frequent one of the many alternative establishments. We can only speculate about the individual's reasons, but the *kapeloi* as businessmen would have found a way to accommodate and exploit them. Trade and profit in ancient Greece cannot be divorced from the fundamental human desire for financial enrichment, whether modern or

ancient, and scholars who attempt to deny this by applying the most simplistic of economic models to the ancient Greek world overlook the basic fact that the Greeks dealt with monetary enrichment in ways as clear to us as other culturally transferable human drives and actions, such as drinking. In the *kapeleion* we have them both.

According to Murray (1991: 85) 'Alcoholism as a condition is effectively unknown to the ancient world' because, he believes, ancient societies' 'use of alcohol was embedded in a social and ritual context' i.e. the *symposion*. However, the more alcohol is used for signifying selection and exclusion, the more we might expect its abuse to appear among the ranks of the excluded (Douglas, 1987: 9) and the category of drinkers we may expect to fall within this category would be metics, *xenoi*, slaves, and women, i.e. those classes of people generally following exclusive patterns of drinking, ineligible for an invite to the *symposion*, and frequenting the *kapeleia*. Exclusion could take many forms and in classical Greece it was as fundamental as the simple act of drinking wine which signified your very Greekness and excluded you from the community of beer-drinking barbarians. How such differentiation would manifest itself within a populace who all drank the same kind of alcoholic beverage would have been through the quality and price of wine, where, and how, you chose to consume it. Fisher draws attention to the fact that some of Athens' wealthiest young men regretted that sympotic practices and customs were becoming available to the wider populace and suggests that they responded by 'resorting to greater luxury, indulging in earlier and longer drinking, and introducing more shocking or controversial accompanying entertainments' (2000: 371). In Demosthenes' speech

Against Konon (54) for drunken assault, it is alleged that 'there are many people in the city, sons of gentlemen, who in jest like young men have given themselves nicknames such as *Ithyphalloi* (the erections) and *Autolekythoi* (the wankers)' (Murray, 1990: 157). The mutilation of the Herms in 415 BC was proposed by Andokides to have been no more than a pledge for one of these rowdy sympotic groups (Murray 1990: 149-161).

Nonetheless, if our ancient sources are to be trusted, the abuse of alcohol does not appear to take place within the excluded community of *kapeleion* drinkers, or at least not as we are made aware. We can, therefore, in the context of classical Greece, question the anthropological premise that 'the individual breaking out of a set of cultural restraints drinks more deeply and dangerously than one whose drinking is culturally expected and approved' (Douglas, 1987: 4), that is, breaking out of the kind of drinking undertaken during the *symposion*. The following story told by Timaeus of Tauromenium serves to illustrate this point (*FGrHist* 566 F149):

'In Agrigentum there is a house called 'the trireme' for the following reason. Some young men were getting drunk in it, and became feverish with intoxication, drunk to such an extent that they supposed they were in a trireme, sailing through a dangerous tempest; they became so confused as to throw all the couches and furnishings out of the house as though at sea, thinking that the pilot had instructed them to lighten the ship because of the storm. A great many people, meanwhile were gathering at the scene and started to carry off the discarded property, but even then the youths did not pause from their lunacy. On the following day the police turned up at the house, and charges were brought against

them. Still sea-sick, they answered the officials' questioning that in their anxiety over the storm they had been compelled to jettison their superfluous cargo by throwing it into the sea'.

By shifting the burden of responsibility from the individual onto the effects of alcohol, drinking provides an excuse for lapses of responsibility, unmannerly behaviour, violence, lunacy and immoral action in the elites whereas, to the elite mind, it might simply be expected of the *kakoi* or lower classes. Insofar as alcohol is believed to relax inhibitions, the outcomes of this relaxation are never clearly contained even by rules of appropriate drinking behaviour and the social organisation can easily become unglued. For anthropologists, the individual is normally relied upon to be the dependable source of social control and it is the group which is seen as the catalyst for temptation and disorder.

Drunkenness

Drinking is a terrible thing! From wine comes breaking open doors and fistfights and throwing things, and then afterwards the paying of fines on top of a hangover! (Aristophanes *Wasps* 1296-8)

Whenever fines for being drunk and disorderly were imposed and recorded by the courts, those involved will almost always have come from a *symposion* - when the drinking had spilled out onto the streets in a drunken *komos* (κῶμος) or dance through the city (Fig. 4). Murray (1991: 86) describes the *komos* indulgently as 'an expression of the solidarity and the virility of its members, united in some potentially dangerous but ritually controlled act of confrontation with social norms', though just how ritually controlled they were in

reality is highly questionable, when we know from our sources that confrontation often flared between the drunken *komastes* and innocent passers by.⁹ Hybristic acts were, it seems, a commonplace occurrence after excessive drinking, but according to Fisher (1992) the upper-classes possessed the charm, wit, and money, to talk their way out of any lawsuits. Presumably the lower orders were not so readily favoured by their accusers.

Perhaps it was the case that with the slow and relentless march of democracy throughout the classical period the tables were being turned, and it was the aristocratic elites who now, consciously or unconsciously, considered themselves to be the excluded, a dwindling band of nobility desperately clinging to the good old days when a man could wear his hair long and flaunt his wealth openly. Cultural groups can only survive insofar as their cultural differences persist. But since differences tend to diminish as groups interact, a strong mechanism must be at work to maintain any cultural distinctiveness. The *symposion* therefore should be viewed as an act of cultural preservation through boundary maintenance: a barrier between 'them' who now have access to wine whenever they wish in the *kapeleion*, and 'us' who might no longer have exclusive access to the time and money in order to enjoy alcohol, but who do at least know how to drink it properly and in the proper context. This sentiment is summed up by Plato when he talks of 'symposia of the cheap and ordinary people' for those who lack the education and sophistication to entertain each other with conversation (*Protagoras* 347 c-e).

⁹ For *hybristic* violence following on from the *symposion*, see Aristophanes *Ach.* 971ff., *Kn* 529f., *Eccl.* 663-7., *Peace* 341-5., and Alexis 212K = *Athen.* 422a.

As the antithesis of the *symposion*, *kapeleia*, as drinking establishments, were becoming firmly identified with democracy, and not only in Greece. In a denunciation of the inhabitants of Byzantium, the historian Theopompus (*Philippica* 8) had the following to say:

The fact that they had been practising democracy for what was by now a long time together with the fact that their city was situated at a trading post, not to mention the fact that the entire populace spent their time around the agora, meant that the people of Byzantium lacked self-discipline and were accustomed to get together in bars for a drink.

(Davidson, 1997a: 57)

Symposion versus Kapeleion

'Symptotic history offers an approach to the classical past which is truly sympathetic, reflecting both the ancient perception of their world and modern interests'.

This is how Oswyn Murray opens his book *Sympotica* (1990: 3). As the scholar of all things symptotic he is strongly biased in favour of the elite drinking in the classical Greek world. In what way, however, can the *symposion* be said to be truly sympathetic to the remainder of the inhabitants of the classical world: those without the wealth, political clout, or connections to hold the kind of party which Murray believes reflects the ancients' perception of their world? Murray's extensive research into the *symposion* fails to reflect the drinking experience of the vast majority of the classical Greek populace.

The *symposion* proper was the post-eating stage of a *deipnon* or banquet held by citizen men, after which the tables were cleared away and the business of drinking began. This drinking could be accompanied by entertainment in the form of drinking games like *kottabos* and *askoliasmos*¹⁰, recitation, music, singing, dancing, conversation and sex, all of which are portrayed in vivid, and lurid, detail on red-figure vases. The true *symposion* was a highly ritualistic event and, to a certain extent, a religious ceremony convened primarily for purposes of citizen commensality and socialisation. In its heyday (notably the Archaic and early Classical periods in Greece), the *symposion* fulfilled an important social, political, and cultural function for the ex-aristocracy and their emulators. Murray argues the line of descent for this institution from Homeric poems and the aristocratic factions of sixth-century Athens, through to the late fifth-century political and aristocratic groups trying desperately to uphold the old aristocratic ways against the rising tide of democracy (1990: 150). It is certainly the case that as the aristocracy started to lose its grip on the *polis*, the *symposion* also began to decline in significance; the collapse of Greek freedom at the hands of the Macedonians was the final nail in its coffin (Davidson, 1997a).

The *symposion* itself was inaugurated by a libation and tasting of neat wine with the words ἀγαθοῦ δαίμονος (in honour of the Good *Daimon*); then three *kraters* were mixed. Typically, the first *krater* was dedicated to Zeus and the Olympian gods, the second to the

¹⁰ *Kottabos* was a drinking game where symposiasts flicked wine dregs at a target by spinning a *kylix* around their forefinger, and the game of *askoliasmos* involved balancing on an inflated wine skin .

Heroes, and the third to Zeus Soter. Hymns and scholia were sung, with a myrtle branch being passed from singer to singer to denote who 'had the floor'. Great effort was taken to preserve the equality of the symposiasts, and this was expressed in various ways: the equal spatial arrangement of the guests around the *krater*; wine being distributed in equal measures; each guest having his turn with the myrtle branch (Bowie 1977).

The *symposiarch*, or host of the *symposion*, had the function, amongst others, of ensuring that each of the guests remained in the best possible condition throughout the whole event (Pellizer 1990: 179), that is to say halfway between clear-minded sobriety and care-free drunkenness, so that everyone could enjoy liberty and ease of speech, good humour, and release from everyday concerns, without falling into the unregulated, violent excesses practised by barbarians and those who drank in *kapeleia*. Disobeying the *symposiarch's* orders would result in exclusion from further symposia, and therefore social isolation.

Oswyn Murray described the *symposion* as 'the organising principle of Greek life' (1995: 7), and Burton joins him in describing the *symposion* as one of the 'central institutions' of ancient Greece (1998:143). Whilst there is no denying that, to a select circle, the *symposion* was important, Murray effectively discounts the lifestyle of the vast majority of the populace who would not, under normal circumstances, be considered for invitation. It was, throughout all of its history, part of the life of a minority of people in the classical Greek *polis* and, it should be noted, only in cities which embraced

democracy. It was never intended to be an 'all-inclusive' affair. Its very exclusivity marked it, and its participants, out as a cut above the ordinary populace; or at least, it did in theory. The majority of our evidence for the *symposion* comes from Athens, and there is no real evidence of the Athenian *symposion* being adopted with such enthusiasm anywhere else within Greece.

Sympotic scholars explain all forms of drinking in relation to the *symposion*, and by ignoring all other opportunities to drink they essentially deny that any other form of drinking is worthy of study. Only the *symposion* 'means' anything; only the elites experience commensality; and as such only through study of the classical elites at play, can we learn anything of their world and social system.

Murray talks of the 'autonomy of pleasure' as a motivating force in the development of cultures and groups drink with food in this respect. By doing so, he ignores the fact that whilst food is an absolute necessity for human beings, alcohol is not. It should also be stressed that the *symposion* proper was a drinking party. It was the part of the evening when the remains of the meal had been cleared away and the business of drinking began.

By the archaic period, Murray can split commensality into four main 'ideal types': the religious festival, the military common meal, the public meal granted as an honour by the *polis*, and the *symposion* for pleasure (Murray 1990:5). Where, however, are other forms

of drinking? How many of these categories would have been available to the ordinary worker? Was commensality an alien concept to the non-elites?

The Ceramic Drinking Assemblage: What kind of Cup?

The first problem encountered in any systematic study of drinking cups is that even a cursory search through Liddell and Scott's Greek-English Lexicon (1968) will produce hundreds of words for vessels to drink from. As far back as 1829, Theodor Panofka published what he concluded was a definitive work on the nomenclature of ancient vases in his *Recherches sur les véritables noms des vases grecs et sur leurs différents usages d'après les témoignages des auteurs et des monuments anciens*. He was however, swiftly challenged in his conclusions by succeeding art historians, and even today there are names which we cannot attribute known shapes to with any certainty.

Names and Shapes

In modern pottery studies, names have been conventionally assigned to the shapes with which we come into repeated contact such as the *kylix*, *skyphos*, *kothon*, and *kantharos*, but even within these seemingly distinct categories there are problems. In some cases, there is a modern English language name such as 'mug', and this is regularly applied to both the *skyphos* and the *kotyle*. Both of these Greek names have become so interchangeable in modern pottery studies that at times it is difficult to identify the actual shape under discussion when there are no images to refer to – what some refer to as a *skyphos* others term *kotyle* and *vice versa*. The *kotyle*, however, was also a unit of liquid measurement (see section on the *kotyle* below), and the root of the misattribution may

stem from actual *skyphoi* with the word '*kotyle*' etched into the clay. In these instances it is entirely conceivable that it is not the shape of the vessel being referred to, but the volume of liquid it contained.

In addition to most shapes being known by a distinct and universally recognised name, many vessels were also given generic, descriptive names such as mug or cup, as in ποτήριον and ποτήρ (drinking cup) adapted from the verb πίνω ('I drink'), and the cup shape ἔκπωμα (literally 'a thing to drink out of'). As a result, it can be difficult and, at times, downright impossible, to marry the names we encounter in the Greek texts with their appropriate shape.

Vessel names were not even used in antiquity with any real precision or consistency. 'Cup' and 'jug', whilst conjuring up a very clear image of shape and use in the modern mind, could be applied to a wide variety of shapes, both large and small, in Classical Greece. Variations in manufacturing date and origin can sometimes explain contradictions, though most do occur within quite narrow confines of date and place, i.e. the classical period in Athens. Sometimes a physical attribute is implied in the name, such as χοῦς or χοή 'pourer', and made more specific with the addition of 'wine' as in οἰνοχόη (wine-pourer or jug).

Further adding to the confusion, these particular names are generally only applied in English language studies, other scholarly traditions having their own naming

conventions. Moreover some scholars aim to simplify or rectify the problem by referring to well-known shapes such as the *kylix* in descriptive terms such as 'stemmed cup' or 'Beazley type B cup'.

The names we use today have come into use via three main routes: ancient literature; epigraphy (temple inventories); and, as mentioned briefly above, names inscribed on the vases themselves. Original authors, as opposed to the likes of Pollux and Athenaeus who simply applied names to shapes unknown to them, do not feel the need to name cups specifically, presumably because both they and their audience would have been all too familiar with the various different shapes and sizes. Ask two people today to describe a 'mug' and their descriptions will vary in size, decoration, fabric and body shape, though generally it will be deep with one handle.

There is also the possibility that different names for the same shape may have been in use at different times in different places (Richter and Milne 1935). Athenaeus is diverted by the fact that the Athenian Aristophanes describes the Spartan *kothon* as a *kylix* (Davidson 1997: 325). These are two completely different drinking shapes, one deep and capacious, the other shallow and wide. *Κύλιξ* may therefore have been a general term for cup, though there is the possibility that Aristophanes was making a joke about the Spartans' capacity for wine drinking: 'call that a *kothon*?!'

Seemingly helpful, names scratched into the fabric of the vases themselves are also not without ambiguity. As Rotroff and Oakley note (1970: 4), there is a difference between a name scratched on a pot before firing and that inscribed afterwards. Names etched before firing are, they believe, more reliable, having a direct connection to the shape and the manufacturer, whilst those scratched after firing can be totally random and depend on the vocabulary of the person doing the scratching. At the end of a list of names scratched before and after firing, they arrive at the conclusion that 'there was as little uniformity of name in antiquity as there is today' (1970: 9).

Sparkes and Talcott's typologies, set out in *Agora XII* (1970), attempt to address the problem and standardise the names of all the shapes described into current and recognisable usage, although ultimately it was Sparkes' conclusion that 'our attribution of ancient names can be no more systematic than was ancient usage, and must to a large extent remain arbitrary' (1970: 9). However, in a thesis such as this, some attempt at standardisation is necessary, so the shapes of importance to this study will be named and defined as follows:

KYLIX (κύλιξ)

(Figs. 5-6)

Although there are three actual types of *kylix*¹¹, in very general terms it was a two-handled cup with a wide shallow bowl and stemmed foot. This is one of the most common drinking cups produced in Attic workshops, and although it has been split into several types, it remains instantly recognisable.

Ideally suited to an occasion when the consumption of wine was to be regulated, even the largest of these shapes (sometimes more than fifteen inches in diameter) would have been clumsy and awkward to drink from. In its smallest form it would have held very little actual liquid, and a host wishing to avoid drunkenness in his guests would have resisted the end-of-party call for larger cups. Depicted frequently as an essential accessory in the game of *kottabos*, imagery of *symposiasts* dangling this shape from their forefingers only serves to strengthen its links with sympotic drinking.

SKYPHOS (σκύφος)

(Fig. 7)

A deep cup with a low foot, two handles and no distinct lip. The *skyphos* is split into two main types¹². Often appearing in scenes of revelry (Fig. 14), this is the shape to drink from when all pretension to sobriety is lost. When deep or big cups are called for at the end of

¹¹ Type I. Lip and foot set off from bowl; Type II. Lip forms continuous curve with bowl, foot offset; Type III. Lip, bowl, and stem form continuous curve. Richter and Milne, 1935: 24.

¹² Type I. Upward-curving handles placed below the lip; Type II. Handles are set horizontally, level or nearly level with the rim (sometimes one handle is horizontal and the other vertical, torus foot).

the *symposion* this is the likely shape. It was the most common plain drinking cup used by the Greeks from the sixth to the fourth centuries BC (Sparkes and Talcott 1970: 81).

KOTYLE (κοτύλη)

(Fig. 8)

A cup name which is frequently substituted for *kothon*; indeed the first entry under the heading '*Kotyle*' in Brill's *New Pauly* refers the reader to the entry for '*Skyphos*', and which is also treated as indistinguishable from the *kothon* in Richter and Milne, the *kotyle* will be discussed further below in the section on liquid measures. Although probably used originally as a generic term for a cup, its use as a unit of measurement (1/12 of a *chous*) may suggest that it was used specifically for a cup of a certain size and capacity, and not for a fixed cup shape. A cup in the British Museum¹³ is inscribed '*half-kotyle*' (ήμικοτύλιον) which would refer to the volume of the cup and not to the shape itself, as any shape used to measure half a *kotyle* could be named in the same way.

KOTHON (κώθων)

(Fig. 9)

Most ancient representations seem to show this shape in the possession of soldiers and travellers. The Lacedaemonian *kothon* (Athenaeus 11 483b) was apparently especially suited to military habits as the interior was ridged allowing any impurities in unclean water to settle into the grooves before drinking (Fig. 11). Soldiers (and indeed travellers)

¹³ F 595.

could drink from water sources which were less than pure. According to Davidson (1997: 67) the Greeks took the word *kothon* and generated *kothonismos*, and the verb *kothonizesthai* which can essentially be translated as 'to binge-drink'. Whilst some *kothones* are no larger than a contemporary mug, others are clearly very large indeed.

OINOCHOE (οἶνοχόη)

(Figs. 10 and 11)

From the ancient Greek οἶνος, wine, and χέω, pour, its use in the wine drinking assemblage seems assured. In sympotic contexts it could be used both for scooping the mixed wine out of the *krater* and for pouring it into the drinkers' cups (alternatively a ladle could be used to transfer the wine from the *krater* to the jug). There are five principal types of *oinochoe*¹⁴ varying in size and volume.

CHOUS or CHOÏS (χοῦς or χοῖς)

(see Fig. 1)

Referred to by Beazley as the Type III *oinochoe*, this shape became popular in red-figure during the fifth century BC. Small versions were used in the festival of the Anthesteria at Athens when children might have been introduced to wine, although the majority of excavated examples come from graves. This shape, like the *kotyle*, could also be considered as a measure of volume (discussed further in the next subsection).

¹⁴ Type I. Slender body with continuous curve from mouth to base (common in black-figure but rare in red-figure); Type II. Slender body with shoulder slightly offset from the body; Type III. Bulbous body with continuous curve from mouth to base, trefoil mouth, low foot, low handle; Type IV. Bulbous body with offset neck and round mouth; Type V. Bulbous body with offset neck and trefoil mouth.

KRATER (κρατήρ)

(Fig. 11)

A vessel with a deep, broad body and wide mouth, used for mixing wine with water, the name derived from κεράννυμι literally meaning 'mixer'. The wine-mixing bowl was indispensable during the *symposion* proper, and it often appears pictured on *sympotic* pottery hung with garlands of ivy (as do the participants themselves).

According to Luke (1994: 23) merely owning a *krater* was significant in classical Greece. First of all, if you owned a *krater*, you mixed your wine, and mixing your wine meant that you were civilised. Secondly, the ability to fill a *krater* with wine signified that either you controlled an agricultural surplus or that you were wealthy enough to buy a significant quantity of wine. Thirdly, it showed that you were part of a political or kinship group who came together to enjoy their wine at a *symposion*.

Popular as the object of gift exchange during the Geometric and Archaic periods, metal *kraters* have been excavated far from Greece: the most famous being the 1.64m high Vix *krater*. It is unknown whether this particular vessel was ever used in a ritualistic dining context, but its final resting place was the burial of an aristocratic woman.

That the *krater* was perceived as the focus for the *symposion* is evident from the images painted on drinking cups which depict both the drinking party and the komos which

followed on afterwards (Lissarrague 1990: 196). In some instances, the *krater* is so central to the action, that it is carried along with the participants (Fig. 4)

Capacity

On occasion, vessel size can be inferred from names derived from terms for capacity such as κοτύλη (a small ½ pint cup) or δικότυλος (two-*kotyle*, corresponding roughly to a modern pint measure), or a *krater* simply described as a δεκαμφορεύς or having a capacity of ten amphoras. The λεπαστή was a limpet-shaped drinking cup associated with the verb λάπτω to drain. If this implies a small cup from which to knock back the contents in one gulp, an analogy could be drawn with the modern shot-glass. The word ἄμυστις is defined by Liddell and Scott as a large drinking shape. The verb to drink deep (ἄμυστίζω) is drawn from the name of this shape, as is the phrase to drink at one draught (ἄμυστι πιεῖν). Would this shape have found its home both in the tavern and in the *symposion* when, at the end of the evening, large cups could be called for?

As already discussed, taverners and barmaids were renowned for cheating on the amount of actual wine sold (Arist. *Wealth* 436; *Thesmophoriazusae* 347-8), so there is also the issue of measure to be taken into consideration. In the *symposion* the wine was mixed with water in the *krater* before being ladled out into individuals' cups, or decanted into jugs and poured out by serving boys. This would clearly be unacceptable in a tavern where you were paying for the wine and not the water. Presumably the wine would have had to

have been served in some measured way, with the decision regarding how much water to add (or not) being left to the individual drinker. Even if the *kapelos* had watered down his wine beforehand, at least everybody buying from that particular amphora would receive an equal amount of alcohol to start with, if not the full value they were paying for. How then could this be regulated?

We know from Hesychius (s.v.) that τρικότυλος wine (three half-pints) could be had for an obol, so should we be seeking a vessel which holds this amount of liquid? Kathleen Lynch is in the process of carrying out a study into the quantity of various cup shapes excavated from the Athenian Agora (pers. comm.), and her results should prove to be extremely informative in this regard.

Mabel Lang has carried out a great deal of work with reference to liquid measures from the Athenian Agora. She groups *olpai*, *oinochoai*, amphoras, and shallow bowls into the Agora's liquid measures identified as official measures either by inscriptions or stamps on the pot. It is her findings from which the following is taken (Lang and Crosby 1964: 44).

Inscribed wet measures (as attested in the ancient sources):

Metretes	1			
Chous	12	1		
Kotyle	144	12	1	
Oxybaphon	576	48	4	1

Kyathos	864	72	6	1.5	1
---------	-----	----	---	-----	---

Therefore, 1 metretes = 12 choes, 1 chous = 12 kotylai, 1 kotyle = 4 oxybapha etc.

Olpai	0.270 litres (1 kotyle)
Oinochoe	1.100 litres (4 kotyle)
Oxybaphon	0.0684 litres
Kotyle	0.2736 litres (4 oxybapha)
Chous	3.283 litres (12 kotylai)
Metretes	39.390 litres (12 choes)
1 kyathos	(around 3 tablespoons)
6 kyathoi	1 kotyle (just under ½ pint)
12 kotylai	1 chous (5 ¾ to 6 pints)
12 choes	1 amphoreus metretes

Graffiti on transport amphorae of the 5th century BC record volume, weight, price and abbreviations that may refer to the jar's contents. While some price marks may have been applied outside Athens, many graffiti resulted from retail practices in the agora such as refilling jars from local suppliers and decanting from jars in the wine-shop (*oinos*) or taverna (Lawall 2000: 75-76). Mabel Lang assigned most of the numerical graffiti involving repeated symbols to two categories, capacity and price (Lawall 2000: 9). Lang interpreted the symbols as follows:

	1 chous, 1 kotyle or 1 drachma
┌	1 drachma
—	1 kotyle or 1 obol

K	1 kotyle (1/12 chous)
O	1 oxybaphon (1/4 kotyle)
X	1 chous
H	½ chous, 1 hydria
Π H	5 hydriae
Π X	5 choes
Δ X	10 choes
Σ	stater

Lang was thereby able to read the graffiti as indicating that certain amphora types held between 7 and 8 Attic *choes* (defined as 3.2 litres/chous and 1 chous = 6 pints). Prices inscribed on Chian transport amphorae of the fifth century BC indicate a price of two drachmas per chous, as opposed to between two and ten obols per chous for ordinary wine. Mendeian wine would appear to have cost the same as Chian (Lang 1956: 1-24).

As early as the fifth century, amphorae were being made in standard sizes for the shipping of wine; therefore there is a precedent for consumers not wishing to be ripped off. When an Athenian purchased an amphora of wine he knew he would get seven *choes* of liquid. When he then re-used that jar at the wineshop he again knew that it would be filled with seven *choes* (though of what would no doubt still be an issue if taverns were as dishonest as Aristophanes portrays them). Why then should we expect the situation to be any different when smaller amounts are at stake? We know from Aristophanes that barmaids were notorious cheats serving short measures (*Wealth* 436; *Thesmophoriazusae*

347-8). It therefore seems entirely logical that if a respectable tavern owner wished to keep his or her customers, it would be in their interest to enforce a standard liquid measure.

Vessel Shapes and Drunkenness

Colloquial English can boast over one thousand slang terms for getting drunk; mostly drawn from bodily parts and functions, or involving small animals. This says a tremendous amount about our culture – why, for example do we need to make so many distinctions? Many of the terms relate to who is drunk and in what context, rather than simply how drunk they are and on what. Would you describe a drunken rugby player as 'squiffy'? Would your elderly grandmother, after a wee sherry, be 'slaughtered'? We are able to perceive the most subtle gradations in the state of inebriation. The ancient Greeks however, do not appear to have experienced such variety. Either you were in a happy relaxed state, or you had gone too far and were totally incapacitated: *kothonismos*. This word is derived from *kothon* which, as we know, was a large deep drinking cup, the complete opposite of the shallow and therefore refined *kylix*. Can we therefore expect to find this shape in commercial or casual contexts?

Contemporary drinkers can be drunk *and* sociable (to a certain extent). In ancient Greece the concept of a sociable drunk was an oxymoron because *kothonismos* is an abdication of sociability. As previously discussed, drunkenness in ancient Greece was generally equated with anti-social behaviour. Greeks did not always dance good-naturedly around town in a

komos when they were drunk, they frequently smashed things, attacked passers-by, and committed unspeakable acts of *hybris*. There are few words in English for 'unconscious' because one cannot be incapacitated and social at the same time. The vocabulary of drunkenness in ancient Greek is restricted because to be drunk was to be socially incapacitated and the cause was obviously self-inflicted from the *kothon*, and in a place where such behaviour was not guarded against, namely, the tavern.

Drunkenness is therefore not only antisocial, but because it is an active choice - it must be self-inflicted - it poses a threat to the nature of society itself. The prohibition on attending the Areopagus after breakfasting in a tavern, and the injunction that no good citizen would be seen in a *kapeleion*, result from the fact that to attend and participate in the kind of drinking which took place in a *kapeleion* is to reject the concept of participating in the democratic polis, because the democratic polis is inherently social. It also explains the immorality of the youths referred to by Hypereides (*In Demosthenem* fr. 9) as *akratokothones* because when they become drunk (on strong, cheap wine in large cups) they refuse the responsibilities of citizenship.

The *kylix*, by comparison, was used in a sociable way, whilst the *kothon* was designed to be used regardless of whether an individual was in company or not. Drinkers did not share the *kothon* as participants at symposia would sometimes do with the *kylix*. Drinking from a *kylix* could be viewed as a social lubricant, but the purpose of the *kothon* was to take the

user from the social sphere to the drunken as efficiently and quickly as possible. The *kothon*'s purpose was to incapacitate the individual, whilst the purpose of the *kylix* was to allow the drinker to descend slowly into that happy state which allowed for uninhibited conversation, poetry and song. The *kothon* is the symbol of drunkenness, and the shape of the *kothon* colludes with this; the large, deep *kothon* acting as a metaphor for the greed, and lack control so alien in the *symposion*.

The evidence is clear: not only were some shapes used in different drinking contexts, but different shapes could be used at different times during the act of drinking. Shallow cups at the start of a regulated drinking bout, deep cups when all pretence at sobriety has been forgotten. For those paying for their drink in a tavern context, the *kylix* would have been completely inefficient. It holds hardly any liquid and it takes concentration to ensure that any liquid is kept within the cup. In addition, its narrow walls and fragile fabric were not meant for rough treatment and constant careless use. By comparison, the *kothon* gave its name to the Greeks' only word for complete drunkenness. It is a sturdy shape which would have sat firmly on any surface and which could be filled with a standard measure of wine and still left enough space for a drinker to add water to their own taste.

In a commercial context, customers would need to know what amount of wine they were paying for. Jugs which corresponded to a standard measure could also have been used to serve individuals with wine before they mixed it with water themselves in their own cup.

This would also allow customers to be served in their own cups brought to the tavern for that purpose. Wine could be served from amphorae and drinkers could add water from jugs supplied by the taverner, or from a nearby fountain-house or well if they were enjoying their drink outside. Should we therefore expect to find large quantities of 'individual' serving jugs in commercial contexts, or additionally large quantities of water-jugs?

If the focus of tavern drinking was on the individual as opposed to the commensal group, an unpretentious tavern would have no need to mix its wine in a *krater* before serving. If *kraters* were a fundamental part of any ritualised drinking, then there would be no need for them in any casual context. We might expect to find them in Athenian houses and in civic and public contexts, but not in the tavern or indeed in cities which did not use the sympotic drinking group to cement political and kinship alliances. Although, as already discussed, a hierarchy of taverns would have undoubtedly existed, it is debatable whether the ritual aspect of elite drinking would transfer even to the most salubrious tavern, as it would have necessitated a dedicated room for the purpose. Stoas with couch-rooms may have filled the gap by renting to religious groups or parties of drinkers who were not possessed of a room for this purpose at home. Larger taverns may also have included a dedicated couch-room for hire along with the wine, cups and cooking and serving staff.

The 'Public' House: Houses and Taverns, Houses as Taverns

At the start of this research project, it was felt that the main issue to be addressed was that of architectural form, i.e. what exactly did *kapeleia* look like? If they were as prominent and identifiable to the inhabitants of the ancient city as the written evidence detailed in Chapter 1 strongly suggests, why were they not appearing in excavation reports? What was it that was stopping the excavators of large drinking assemblages from making the connection with commercial wine consumption whilst freely discussing public and religious dining contexts as the source of their drinking pottery? Something was clearly wrong with the interpretative strategies of the excavators if even the possibility of taverns was being denied. During discussions about possible *kapeleia* with the Directors of the Athenian Agora and Corinth excavations at the start of my research in 2001 (*pers.comm.*), both were unconvinced about the existence of such establishments because there was seemingly no architectural evidence. Ritual feasting and, of course, symposia were discussed, but neither archaeologist was prepared to accept the existence of taverns in the archaeology. There was simply no evidence, although what that evidence would look like was a sticking-point. The problem with which I was then faced, was to propose and develop an archaeological framework within which to develop *kapeleia* as physical entities. If we know them to have existed, but we cannot seemingly find any physical evidence for the buildings themselves, then there was obviously a

problem with our expectations and assumptions of what they would look like when we found them.

Drawn as I was in my initial investigations by large assemblages of drinking pottery, it was apparent that some 'houses' had produced very large quantities indeed and, during further research, it became clear that some of these buildings did not conform to our established expectations with regards to what a 'house' would or should look like. Indeed, it seemed that some household 'norms' such as *andrones*, kitchens, hearths and flues were not, in fact, standard features of 'houses' at all. Could it be then, that this was the reason for the seeming absence of taverns in the archaeological record? Were they masked by the way in which 'houses' had been studied by archaeologists?

Commercial *versus* Domestic in Classical Greece: Problems of Interpretation

One of the fundamental problems with trying to identify a commercial establishment in ancient Greece is that, archaeologically, it is virtually impossible to differentiate between buildings used as houses and buildings used as shops or workshops during the classical period. Unless the proprietor of a given business was involved in a trade which created an archaeologically visible by-product, such as coroplasty, then it is virtually impossible to distinguish any possible commercial buildings from houses. Additionally, there was also nothing to stop part of a house being utilised for commercial gain by using a room fronting onto the street as a shop, or more often from using the household courtyard for business transactions. The possibility arises therefore, that commerce was more

physically embedded within classical Greek houses than has so far been recognised. The solution to the problem of 'houses' with large drinking (along with cooking and eating) assemblages, which normally led to the belief that these 'houses' were clearly more wealthy and thus required such quantities of entertaining pottery, could be that these buildings had a multiple, and more archaeologically ephemeral, function as taverns.

This problem can be illustrated by using modern examples (Figs. 12-20). All of these pictures show modern taverns, all firmly embedded within the urban domestic landscape, but not one of them is a purely commercial or domestic premises. Several are homes and businesses. In Figure 12 the former extended family home of the owner, scattered around several buildings grouped around a small square, now functions as a taverna as well as rooms for renting out as holiday accommodation. In Figure 13 all the cooking takes place in the building on the left but the tables are lined up along the front of the building on the right. In this instance, two brothers own both properties and although in the summer all the cooking takes place in the building on the left (the family home), in the winter the taverna retreats indoors to the building on the right because it has a bigger room in which to seat diners.

Similarly, in Figure 14 all of the food and drink is served to the tables in the little square in front of the pink building from the kitchen of the family home. This is entered through the large white doorway and leads to the courtyard beyond. The taverna also has an indoor room where customers can eat during the colder months and this lies behind the

two adjoining grey doors. Here again we have a situation where domestic and commercial are closely linked. What then will remain in two and a half thousand years when all the modern day tavern paraphernalia has decomposed or been taken away and reused elsewhere? What exactly will remain in the archaeological record for future scholars studying this site (as well as the other examples discussed above)? Based on the archaeological remains alone, would their conclusion be the same; that, in terms of architecture and ground-plan, these buildings are simply houses?

In two instances (Figs 15 and 16) all of the eating and drinking takes place in the immediate vicinity of older religious buildings (an Ottoman *medresse* and a Byzantine church), and in Figure 17 all the tables and chairs are gathered around the playground of a nursery school.

In the absence of tables, chairs, glasses, bottles, parasols etc. from around these buildings to betray the areas' former use, what exactly would be the focus and conclusion of any future archaeological investigation? Would it be the obvious architectural remains, or the seemingly empty streets?

The tables outside the entrance to the *medresse* (Fig. 15) are set up on a fairly steep slope and are around the corner from the actual taverna, and in Figure 18 the tables are set out on a flight of stairs. Is this the kind of topography which archaeologists of the future would understand as suitable for outdoor eating and drinking? In the summer especially,

eating and drinking in Greece take place outdoors and there is no reason to presume that the situation would have been any different in classical Greece. Archaeologists today deal with the interpretation of buildings and any material culture contained within them. But what of the intermediate spaces between these buildings? No one has studied the actual use patterns of classical Greek streets and roads, and they are treated as though they were simply thoroughfares where people and animals travelled from place to place. The reality though must have been that these thoroughfares were used in many and varied ways (Figs 19 and 20) regardless of the actual topography.

The idea that taverns should be located within the housing stock of a city is not a new one. Indeed the British term 'pub' is simply the shortened version of 'public house', which explains the origins of our own British commercial drinking practices when ale-wives brewed and sold beer from their own homes. Greeks did have a term for public house (της οἰκίας της δημοσίας), though what the exact function of this type of building was, is debated by Graham (1998:37). None of the possible explanations given is concerned with drinking. Various contemporary comparative examples of uses of the term 'public house' are cited from French, German, Spanish and Italian which are all euphemisms for brothel, as may well have been the case in ancient Greek also. English appears to be alone in applying the word to a dedicated drinking establishment.

In an attempt to shed some light on why taverns are so well-concealed in the excavated material culture, this chapter will re-examine the evidence for buildings commonly

termed 'houses' in an endeavour to deconstruct the established scholarship surrounding these buildings, as this is undoubtedly where the problem of misattribution lies. It may also be the case that the sometimes restrictive ways in which these so-called 'domestic' buildings have been studied (see the discussion which follows on typologies) is hampering wider studies of the classical Greek economy and the place of the house within it. Of necessity, this chapter will also consider the role of cooking and drinking within the classical Greek house in light of the actual archaeological evidence (as opposed to what the primary sources *seem* to suggest) and, in order to lay the groundwork for an alternative reading of the archaeological evidence, this chapter will also challenge the accepted 'norms' of classical Greek domestic living which are relevant to this thesis. Accepted domestic terminology related to drinking and dining (including cooking spaces) such as *andron*, hearth, kitchen and flue will all be examined in light of whether their normative values do indeed identify them as 'houses' or whether these supposed 'norms' do, in fact, set the buildings apart as commercial eating and drinking places.

Archaeology and the Classical Greek 'House'

As increasing numbers of classical Greek houses have been excavated at many different sites, the organisation of the archaeological material into typologies has become a major subject of interest. Such studies vary considerably, not only because of the heterogeneous nature of the material with which they are dealing (very different numbers of houses of different dates have been excavated at the different sites, there is considerable variation in the standard of preservation, and it is also rarely the case that an

entire building is excavated), but also because of the aims of the excavators, which have led them to focus on different aspects of the archaeological remains, and to record the architecture and finds in varying degrees of detail. Much previous work has focused on the limited goals of creating architectural typologies (Ault 1994; Nevett 1999; Aylward 2005), on unravelling the chronological sequence of structures on individual sites, or on the identification of gendered space (Ault 1994; Morris 1999; Nevett 1999). It is only very recently that these specific goals have been broadened to incorporate more general questions about social and commercial life in the classical Greek world (Ault and Nevett 2005; Cahill 2002). In preparing this chapter, it has become evident that hypotheses extracted from literary sources, sometimes with little justification, continue to prevail in discussions of the Greek house (Cahill 2002). Historians and archaeologists have imposed their suppositions upon the physical remains without considering the archaeology as evidence in its own right. As Lisa Nevett has observed 'historically, studies of the Greek domestic context have tended to concentrate on various aspects of the appearance and architecture of houses rather than on what they may be able to tell us about the society which produced them' (1999:21). There are some notable differences between the written and the archaeological records, for example the archaeological absence of definite gendered space, the physical absence of the fixed hearth for cooking, and the expectation that the remains of all classical 'houses' must contain an *andron* or 'men's room' for the all-pervasive *symposion*, all alluded to in the primary sources.

The *Andron*

The opening line of Xenophon's *Symposium*, written in the early fourth century BC, states that 'Callias invites Socrates and others to dine at his house in Piraeus', and the room in which this drinking party takes place is the *andron*. Along with the fixed hearth and the oecus unit which will be discussed further on in this chapter, the *andron* is perceived as an absolute necessity in every classical Greek 'house', and as such, excavators faced with such a building will always make an attempt to identify it in the archaeology. In fact, identification of an *andron* in a building not obviously public or religious, is regularly presented as proof that the structure is a 'house'.¹⁵

The view that space in the Greek house was separated by gender is stated explicitly in a study by the Roman architect Vitruvius. According to Vitruvius the women of the Greek household occupied an area that was architecturally distinct from the male area of the house, and he called this space the '*gynaikonitis*' (Vitruvius *De architectura* 6.7.1-5). The opposing male space in the house he called '*andronitis*'. This area was more luxurious and played host to *symposia*.

Vitruvius' descriptions have played an important role in structuring views on the appearance and language of the classical Greek domestic context, and his reflection of

¹⁵ For a description of the features of an Olynthian *andron*, see *Olynthus* VIII: 171-185.

domestic space as divided into male and female areas led excavators to look for these areas in classical houses (Walker 1983). Vitruvius does not describe the shape and layout of his *andronitis*, but the term has been applied to a bordered room with an off-centre door. Architecturally these rooms tend to stand out in the archaeological record. An off-centre doorway allowed for an efficient arrangement of couches around the room, and these couches would have stood on the raised border which ran continuously from one side of the doorway to the other. Occasionally, the centre of the room would be decorated with a mosaic, and sometimes there was an anteroom.

In his treatment of the *andron*, Ault has no doubt that they exist in each and every classical Greek house. He asserts that 'as an essential part of a citizen household it served to extend the political sphere into the domestic realm' (1994: 234), regardless of the fact that he is dealing specifically with the settlement of Halieis, while the model of a citizen household and the political sphere he clearly envisages is that of Athens.

Marilyn Goldberg writing about ownership of an *andron* (Goldberg 1999: 153) states that 'this standard had the possibility of being met in the houses of only the wealthier segment of society, just as the elaborate symposia we know from vase paintings and philosophical discourses belonged to the same limited milieu'. How, then, are we to understand the extremely meagre 'houses' discovered on the Pnyx in Athens, which she discusses later in the same paper? One of these, the so-called *Flügelhofhaus* (also discussed in Lauter-Bufe and Lauter 1971), is by no means large, but it has what Goldberg

terms 'architectural pretensions such as an *andron*' (1999: 155). Also strange, for an Athenian householder with their strict notions of privacy, is the fact that the door to the *Flügelhofhaus* opens directly into the courtyard. Goldberg postulates that the reason for these anomalies is that the inhabitants may not have belonged to the aristocratic class who may have desired an *andron* and courtyard privacy, but goes on to say that 'the family had a room for drinking parties which, apparently at least, was in the aristocratic style' (Goldberg 1999: 152).

Goldberg's solution to the contradiction that is the *Flügelhofhaus*, is to rationalise that the families (if indeed they were extended families) living in such houses 'may have been poorer ones who had few choices in their small houses' (1999: 155), and that the front door opening directly into the courtyard is evidence that 'the separation of the domestic activities of the household from strangers was less strictly enforced in some households; or it may mean that this separation was not a custom of some households at all' (Goldberg 1999: 155). This would certainly have been the case if the building belonged to anyone other than a citizen. She neglects to consider why these same 'poorer' inhabitants with 'few choices' apparently chose to give over 50% of their ground floor space to a room for drinking. How can this be a 'poor' household when it has an *andron* that takes up half of the available floor-space in the building? A more plausible suggestion would be that it was a tavern with a couch-room to rent. However, the ingrained notion that all houses contained dining rooms, regardless of what the archaeological evidence actually tells us, consistently hampers any possible alternative

explanation. It is vitally important to distinguish between the identification of a room as defined by its architecture – courtyard, *pastas*, *andron*, kitchen, flue, etc – and the use to which a specific space was *actually* put. As Allison rightly states (1999: 2) 'Only when the spatial, status, gender and age relationships in the organization and structure of households are more fully explored can the complexity and diversity of the roles of households, as social and productive units in the wider community, be better understood.'

Despite the widespread excavation of classical remains, even up to fifty years ago we were poorly informed about the exact nature of private housing (Jameson 1990). At this time, the antiquarians' attention was typically turned towards public buildings and private graves, i.e. the places where you were most likely to find marble sculpture, decorated pottery, metal objects, jewellery, and other 'collectables'.

The ancient Greeks themselves had recognised the contrast between the quality of their public constructions: temples, theatres etc, and the simplicity of their private housing:

Such was their rank in the world of Hellas: what manner of men [our ancestors] were at home, in public or in private life, look round you and see. Out of the wealth of the state they set up for our delight so many fair buildings and things of beauty, temples and offerings to the gods, that we who come after must despair of ever surpassing them; yet in private they were so modest, so careful to obey the

spirit of the constitution, that the houses of their famous men, of Aristides or of Miltiades, as any of you can see that knows them, are not a whit more splendid than those of their neighbours (Demosthenes, *Speeches* 3.25 – 26).

The Layout of Greek Houses

Briefly discussed above, the work of the Roman architect Vitruvius, writing in the first century BC, forms the basis of the established architectural typology of Greek houses, into which scholars of the Greek 'house' attempt to fit their evidence. Vitruvius describes classical Greek houses as constructed around a central courtyard, with a portico running along at least one of the courtyard's sides. Three main types have been identified archaeologically: *pastas*, *prostas* and peristyle (Nevett 1999: 22). The main feature of the *pastas* house (Fig. 21) is a rather longer portico than the *prostas* type running along the front of the main suite of rooms surrounding the courtyard, and Lisa Nevett describes it as 'more integrated into the architecture of the house as a whole' (1999: 22). The *prostas* type (Fig. 21) is characterised by a narrow portico, more akin to a porch, jutting over the main suite of rooms, and the peristyle type (Fig. 21) features a colonnaded porch running around three or more sides of the courtyard. Ault, attempting to fit the 'houses' from Halieis within Vitruvius's model, cannot discern evidence for any dominant 'type'; instead he proposes his own term of 'transverse hall' to describe the space beneath the portico (Ault 1994: 228).

The courtyard in classical Greece was, in essence, an outdoor room and any porches would have shaded the sides, merely adding to its versatility as an all-weather space. The

classical Greek notion of privacy was such that the *ideal* courtyard, and those inhabiting the space, would be completely shaded from the gaze of outsiders. The courtyard was not only a transitional space between outdoors and indoors: it was in essence an outdoor room to be used when light was needed for the task in hand, or simply when hot weather drove the occupants outdoors. On occasion, there would be an intervening passageway leading from the street to the interior, further enforcing privacy and seclusion. Vitruvius recommended south facing living spaces in order to maximise the amount of sun caught in the winter, whilst shading the same rooms from the intense heat and sun of the summer months. Light for the surrounding rooms came from the courtyard. Where there were windows opening onto the outside world, it is thought that they were narrow and positioned above head height, making them more suitable for ventilation than observation.

Since the beginning in 1928 of the excavation of the residential quarters of the town of Olynthus on the Chalcidic peninsula in northern Greece (see map on p. 140), a great deal has been added to our knowledge of the overall layout of Greek towns and the character of non-public/religious space.

The Houses at Olynthus and the 'Oecus Unit'

Over 100 structures were excavated in the 10 years that David M. Robinson, J. Walter Graham and their team from Johns Hopkins University worked at the site, thereby adding massively to our understanding of classical Greek society (Robinson and Graham 1939). Excavation methods utilised at Olynthus were by no means as meticulous as they might

be today, and there is undoubtedly bias in favour of decorated pottery and other more attractive pieces in the finished reports. However, Cahill, in his reappraisal of the site (2002), reinstates all the coarse wares detailed in the original field notebooks but omitted from the final publications. As a result, he is able to identify an additional 8,132 artefacts constituting, for the most part, the undecorated plain and coarse wares which are of importance to this thesis. According to Cahill rough and unpainted pottery vessels suffered the most neglect as 'few pieces were collected or mended' (2002: 63). Therefore we still lack a great deal of important information regarding the existence (or otherwise) of ordinary coarse-ware drinking, cooking and serving vessels. This deficiency also makes it difficult to compare assemblages from other sites. For example, the largest number of pottery vessels recorded in a single Olynthian context is 106 (from the House of Many Colours). In contrast, archaeologists working in the 1970s excavated and recorded nearly 4,200 ceramic objects from Halieis House 7 alone.

Before considering the possible role of cooking and eating in classical Greek taverns, it is necessary to expose a number of questionable assumptions underpinning debate about the role of cooking in buildings assumed to be 'houses'. George Mylonas, in his contribution to Robinson's report on the excavations at Olynthus, wrote an excursus on what he called *The Oecus Unit* of the Olynthian House¹⁶. He identified the 'typical Olynthian house' as being made up of 'various units and elements which can be found in the same relation in a number of instances' (1946: 369). These various units comprise a

¹⁶ Part XII, *Domestic and Public Architecture*, pp. 369-397.

suite of 3 rooms believed to form the focal point for cooking within these 'houses'. Mylonas termed this suite of rooms the *Oecus Unit* and defines it as comprising a large room (room 1), with a narrower chamber (room 2) and a bath or washroom (room 3) attached to one of its shorter sides (Fig. 22).

Ground-breaking and unchallenged in the days when we knew very little of fifth and fourth-century Greek houses, his theory can no longer stand up to scrutiny. On close inspection, even his identification of oecus units in the excavated Olynthian houses which he declares was 'so successfully established' is not at all convincing, with only 24 oecus units proposed in total from over 100 buildings (1946:397-8) (Figs.23-25).

In his updated assessment of the site of Olynthus, Cahill amends the number of identified 'oecus units' to 44 without revealing how he arrived at this new figure (2002:154). His identification of an area for cooking rests solely on the discovery of six houses apparently containing 'stationary stone hearths' placed in the centre of Room I. However, with only one exception, no finds whatsoever were excavated from the 20-30 cm deep ash layer at the bottom of these hearths, and it is therefore somewhat surprising that Mylonas claimed that 'the contents of these hearths are of some importance for the determination of the use of this room' (1946: 371). The sole exception (House A vi 6) contained 'two bronze coins, a broken lamp, vase and terracotta fragments, and many small bronze objects', which were most probably the product of post-occupational dumping and hardly support its use as a cooking area.

Cooking in Greek Houses

A fixed household hearth is the central fallacy of domestic archaeology and the example *par excellence* of the discipline of classical archaeology failing in its attempt to distance itself from text-based evidence. Absolutely no classical Greek sites demonstrate the existence of a fixed hearth for cooking in the archaeological record with any convincing regularity, but scholars, fixated on the notion that there must have existed a place within every house where cooking took place, search for them in every preconceived 'domestic' building. Barbara Tsakirgis (2007) notes that 'only one of the Athenian houses uncovered around the Agora contains a built-in hearth' but that 'numerous terracotta braziers and their fragments have been recovered from the houses and other domestic contexts'.

Household cooking equipment of the Greek classical period was highly portable and made from clay (Sparkes 1962, 1965; Sparkes and Talcott 1970). Braziers or *escharai* would have fulfilled the function of hearth in the majority of cases, and had the added advantage of being light enough to move indoors or out depending on climatic conditions. At Olynthus, The Villa of the Bronzes was using a metal brazier at the time of the city's destruction; therefore, although a functional and mundane piece of kitchen equipment, it could be grand enough to be used on special occasions, even up to the present day as seen in one of the old aristocratic houses on the Greek island of Naxos (Fig. 26).

Nancy Bookidis identified what she termed 'hot spots' in the dining rooms of the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore on the north slope of Acrocorinth. These consisted of 'round patches of concentrated burning about .30m in diameter' which she thought most likely marked the position of small portable braziers (Bookidis *et al* 1999). Lin Foxhall, in her forthcoming article entitled 'House clearance: unpacking the 'kitchen' in Classical Greece' concludes that any cooking done within the house was small-scale, as relatively few pot shapes specifically associated with cooking are found at house sites (forthcoming: 240) – an extremely important point for this thesis. The vessels themselves are also fairly small, with the range of 15-20 cm diameter given for the *lopas* or casserole type dish. Given the likelihood of multiple-occupancy in classical Greek households, the size of the cooking pots is surprising. When the primary sources mention cooking and eating, it is almost always in the context of ritual and religious feasting. Meals at home appear to be limited to private parties such the *deipnon* held before the *symposion* drinking took started. Would the lady of the house, or the household servants, have prepared the fancy food on offer at these occasions in small pots on impractical braziers, or was the food perhaps prepared off the premises by a *kapelos*? Could this be the solution to the function of those 'houses' which appear to buck the trend and yield up exceptionally large amounts of cooking pottery?

The hearth is elevated to new heights of importance in Hoepfner and Schwandner's more recently typologised *Herdraumhaus* (Hoepfner and Schwandner 1994: 323). This so-called 'hearth-room house' (Fig. 21) is characterised by a large and prominent built hearth

situated in a centrally placed room. This type identifies closely with Mylonas' Oecus Unit, but given the lack of evidence for permanent built domestic hearths it is no more convincing as a standard house type.

Bradley Ault in his PhD thesis (1994) also attempts to identify hearths in the 'houses' of the site at Halieis in the Southern Argolid as well as imposing a kitchen and bath complex (virtually identical to the oecus unit, and explicitly based on Mylonas' construct) on the archaeology. In reality, he can only identify something vaguely akin to it in three out of the five houses excavated. The partial exception of what Jameson (1990:98) calls a 'regional fondness for a hearth-room' at the site of Olynthus in Greece's more mountainous, and therefore colder north-west (where they may have been more useful as a means of heating) does not alter the general picture.

In early Greek palaces, houses, and temples, the fixed hearth is apparent as a centrepiece, sometimes dominating the space in which it was placed. So it appears in both the megarons of the Mycenaean palaces and far simpler Bronze Age Houses such as those at Eutresis in Boeotia. In the one or two room houses, a hearth for cooking and heating was usually located in the centre of the main room, while in the megarons of the so-called palaces, the fireplace was not a stove, as no cooking ware was found there; rather, the hearth was likely a symbolic focus of the space, and flame pattern painted on the sides of the great Mycenaean hearths probably denotes an eternal flame (Fig. 27).

The central and unmoving location is due largely to the simplicity of these early houses; a centrally placed fire warms and lights equally every part of the one-or two-room houses. As Greek houses expanded in both size and complexity of layout during the Classical period, the residents were faced with a problem. A fixed hearth could continue to serve as a furnace or cooking place, but due to the increasing number of rooms in the house it could no longer warm every space.

Whilst it is tempting to see climatic conditions in the north as dictating the building of hearths, it should be recognised that they also appear in Attica in the Piraeus (Hoepfner and Schwandner 1994: 22-50), and in House D on the north slope of the Areopagus in Athens (Shear 1973). In these houses, too, the hearths are rectangular in shape and placed fairly centrally in their rooms. It should be noted that House D is the only house from the excavations around the Athenian civic centre that was found to contain a fixed hearth.

Artefact studies at Olynthus, Halieis and elsewhere have shown that, while there are certain architecturally established spaces in the house, such houses were probably used in a flexible way, with spaces defined by the temporal actions of the inhabitants (Cahill 1991; Ault 1994). The use of the brazier instead of the fixed hearth increases flexibility, allowing the cook to work in the courtyard or indoors depending on the time of year and time of day. Lin Foxhall (2007) writes that, since the vast majority of references to Greek hearths come from tragic plays, hearths belong to the 'deliberate archaisms' for which

the genre is noted. With respect to Olynthus, Foxhall rightly states, 'more emphasis was placed on normative features and arrangements than on variation and differentiation within the site'.

Kitchens?

Although by no means conclusive, Mylonas' identification of the Oecus Unit as an archaeological entity has become accepted as fact in all studies of the classical Greek 'house', and as such, has entered the standard terminology of domestic archaeology. All archaeologists when faced with the excavation of what they believe to be a domestic context, in any part of Greece, should now fully expect to discover a variation on the oecus unit dedicated to cooking within its walls. Or should they?

Nick Cahill's 2002 publication entitled *Household and City Organisation at Olynthus*, which sets out to reappraise the Olynthus material, surprisingly perpetuates the highly questionable concept of the Oecus Unit and (wrongly) states that its function 'if not the ancient name, has been accepted by most scholars' (2002: 156). He further refines its *raison d'être* within four walls and re-names it as a 'kitchen-complex' altering the names by which he labels the various areas 'rather than label rooms with meaningless letters or numbers' (2002:154). What Mylonas and Graham term 'room I', and Mylonas the 'oecus', Cahill calls the kitchen; the smaller room often separated from this room which Mylonas and Graham label as room 2, and Mylonas 'kitchen', Cahill calls the 'flue'; the smallest room or Mylonas and Graham's room 3, Cahill terms the 'bath'.

Cahill admits that 'the names for individual rooms are essentially arbitrary, as there are no proper English equivalents' (2002: 154). That being the case, he succeeds in forcing on these spaces names which evoke culturally charged, highly biased and misleading imagery. If not all 'houses' had fixed hearths, and those examples we know of show no evidence for cooking having taken place in them, why insist on labelling these areas as 'kitchens'? These labels owe more to creative interpretation than they do to actual evidence.

The flue, or chimney, as a feature of the classical Greek 'kitchen' is mentioned in Aristophanes as καπνοδόκη or simply κάπνη. In his play *Wasps* (lines 139-148) the character Philocleon tries to evade house arrest by climbing up the chimney. His son foils this escape by blocking the opening with a covering weighted down by a log. It is this passage from Aristophanes which Robinson and Graham cite as their model for explaining the purpose of 17 Olynthian rooms which contain a 'row of bases near one end' (Robinson and Graham 1938: 189). This feature consists of what would appear to be a rubble foundation traversing the room approximately 2 metres from one end. On top of this line of rubble rest a series of 4 limestone bases of unknown function. Out of a total of over 100 houses excavated, this feature is only found in 17 houses.

The main room from which access was gained (Room I in Figure 22), ranges in size from 3.9m to 6.5 metres in length and 4 to 5.4 metres in breadth. Floors were commonly of

hard-packed earth, and, with only two exceptions (the House of the Comedian and the Villa of Good Fortune), the walls in this main room were unplastered. This should not cause any surprise, however, as very few houses demonstrate any evidence of being decorated.

The width of the smaller part of the room beyond the rubble foundation and the bases was, on average, two metres (Room II). According to Robinson and Graham 'the walls were never plastered, and the floor was of earth or occasionally was paved with cobblestones or flagstones'.

The rubble foundation itself (completely absent in the case of houses 24 and 28) is set with four oblong limestone bases, two at each side against the walls and two set at equal intervals in between. The only exceptions to this rule are house 28, which claims only three bases, and house number 2, which only possessed one base.

It is the belief of Robinson and Graham that the bases would have supported wooden pillars and, since the spacing of the bases is closer than the bases supporting the courtyard pillars, they believed that they 'were therefore designed to support a considerable burden'. However, in the case of house 6, the bases are 'flat unshaped stones', and in house 7 the pillars were simply 'set in depressions in the rubble wall'. In the case of house 2, its single base was simply placed against the rubble foundation as opposed to actually sitting on top of it. These three exceptions to the apparent norm

would seem to suggest that this feature was not intended to carry any significant weight at all.

Robinson and Graham move on from the above evidence to suppose that the rubble foundation formed the base for an adobe wall similar to the ordinary house walls. Their evidence for this is that in the case of four houses the rubble foundation rises higher than the bases; indeed they state that it partly covers them. They claim 'absolute proof' of this from the single case of house 30 in which one face of the wall was plastered.

There is, however, no direct evidence to explain the rubble foundation feature. Robinson and Graham suggest that the 'only reasonable explanation of the existence of the pillars' is that 'they were a substitute for the support of the adobe wall' (1938: 192) which they believe must have stopped before reaching the ceiling. This is by no means the only explanation. Their entire inference of a wall rests with the restricted area of plastered foundation which, by their own admission, is found in only one instance.

In all of the above examples, the main part of the room had an entrance. There is no evidence of the area beyond the rubble partition being accessed from anywhere other than the main room, and it is for this reason that the area cannot have been cut off by an adobe wall. There is no evidence to suggest that free access was restricted to and from each area. Indeed in one of the houses (No. 28) there remains absolutely no trace of a rubble partition. However, Robinson and Graham stick to the idea that the area beyond

the rubble is entirely inaccessible and that the wall and pillars were supporting a second storey. In the absence of any evidence to the contrary, the obvious conclusion, based on evidence alone, is that there is no access to the so-called flue from any other area in the building because you could simply walk between the pillars.

If the pillars were to be covered with an adobe wall as Robinson and Graham believe, then why bother with pillars at all? If, as they believe, this feature was a flue, why not simply finish the adobe up to ceiling height and cut holes to allow the smoke to dissipate? If this is a flue, why did the area beyond the rubble partition need to be so spacious? The average width is 2m, which is an extremely generous space to be entirely given over to the extraction of smoke. There are, I believe, too many flaws in Robinson and Graham's argument for these features to be regarded as flues. In fact, the evidence is heavily loaded against it. Why they believe, on the basis of one small section of adobe, that the area was entirely inaccessible is puzzling.

If it was the case that the smoke escaped through gaps in an adobe wall close to ceiling height, why not cut vents in the wall? How effectively would the smoke be drawn out of the main room connecting with the space behind the pillar partition and up through a further storey of living space?

Regardless of the fact that only house number 13 actually contains a hearth, Robinson and Graham's supposition is that these rooms functioned as kitchens and that the rubble

foundation supported a partition behind which cooking could have taken place. The area behind the partition would have continued upwards as a flue, allowing smoke to exit through an opening in the roof.

The 'flue' is the most unconvincing aspect of Cahill's model (Fig. 28). On closer examination it is seen to occupy a great deal of space in the overall layout of the building. Travelling upwards through the second storey, it would appear to be an incredible waste of space, especially if the purpose was merely to evacuate smoke from any cooking going on below. This function could easily be fulfilled by smoke vents high on the wall, thereby expanding the available floor space on the second storey. Cahill also supposes its use as a lightwell, though the benefits gained for one room do not seem equal to the amount of space lost in houses which are not particularly spacious in the first place.

If smoke extraction was the goal then a more plausible alternative is a chimney. The brazier could be set underneath and the smoke would be drawn upwards without hanging around the main space, and considerably less space would be lost in the overall space of the house.

What kind of roof would have covered the flue? In a space this expansive how would rain, cold wind, and indeed, birds have been kept out of the space below? In Athens what is thought to have been a chimney pot has been discovered (Fig.29). This supports the existence of chimneys as opposed to extremely large 2.5 x 1.5 m flues. A chimney doesn't

need an elaborate 'pot' on top. It could just as easily be covered over with four rocks and a tile.

Vanna Svoronos-Hadjimichalis, in her 1956 work on 'The Evacuation of Smoke in Greek houses of the 5th and 4th Centuries', notes that pierced roof tiles of the same size, shape and fabric as ordinary roof tiles appear to have been popular, and Lin Foxhall's excavations of a house in Sicily have produced just such a tile with an opening (Fig.30).

Covering the chimney would be a tile which could be levered open when the fire was lit and remain closed when it was raining. Examples of this type have been found at the sites of Colophon, Priene, and Caulonia. Significantly, however, none came from the ruins of buildings which had any evidence for a hearth. This is also the case at Olynthus where fragments of such tiles were found amongst deposits where there is no trace of any device for heating or cooking in the vicinity.

Svoronos-Hadjimichalis' conclusion is that these 'vents' were originally used as skylights allowing air and light into public buildings but that incidentally they were used for the evacuation of smoke. Holes (ὀπταί) could be placed low down on walls to allow the draw of smoke from a nearby fire via a chimney. She states that 'openings of this kind were found in two houses of the fourth century BC at Olynthos: the Villa of Good Fortune and House A VI 5).

Jameson (1990) seems oblivious to the contradiction in his writing when he states that 'when fireplaces are found, they are most often in a relatively small room that can be identified as a kitchen by its pottery or by evidence of smoke or by a flue to enable smoke to escape'. However, in the following paragraph he states that 'cooking and heating were commonly done on portable terracotta braziers or with small fires of brushwood or charcoal in a corner of a room or court'. This is indeed what the evidence would seem to support, so why the need for a fixed kitchen and flue?

For the Halieis houses, Bradley Ault queries the 'oecus' concept but only in as much as he feels that the Olynthian kitchen was wrongly 'lumped together' with the 'oecus unit'. He argues that 'at Halieis there is good evidence that we are dealing with two separate elements: the oecus versus the kitchen-complex'. He believes in the Olynthian 'tripartite complex of a main room, occasionally containing a central hearth, a so-called 'flue', and a bathroom'. However, Ault fails to include in his analysis of the houses at Halieis exactly what the 'good evidence' is that convinces him firstly, of the existence of either an oecus or a kitchen, never mind of their being two separate units.

Kitchen or Hearth = Commercial?

Could it be, then, that when buildings are excavated containing any of these so-called 'domestic kitchen' features, or even simply a hearth where cooking can be said to have taken place, there is potential for an alternative reading of the evidence? If we understand that very few actual houses contained areas for cooking, could it be that the

type of tavern where food *was* on offer, might offer a solution? When we turn to look at what people might actually have cooked and eaten in their houses, we again need to clarify the literary evidence.

We have no evidence, written or otherwise, to suggest that classical Greek people cooked and ate meat-based meals in their houses. As stated above, the material from the hearths at Olynthus included no bones, suggesting that cooking was done elsewhere. Meat would appear to have been reserved solely for religious feasting outside the house, and according to Davidson (1997: 15) the majority of meat for sale in the market was a by-product of the sacrificial process. After the sacrifice, the remaining flesh would simply have been divided up into the equal-sized chunks demanded of the ritual. Unlike today, there was no careful butchering to isolate the best cuts or joints. The choice for the consumer was simply meat or offal. Meat consumed largely in the context of religious feasts, and on special occasions, was killed and cooked by the professional cook or *mageiros*. The *mageiros* would be hired to perform the sacrifice, cook the meat and prepare the table (Berthiaume 1997).

It is certainly the case that when bones are, on rare occasions, excavated from buildings previously assumed to be 'domestic' dwellings, they are most often found in layers associated with discard, re-use, or as is the case at Athens, dumped down defunct wells with the rest of the local rubbish during a routine clean-up. Eating meat at home was not an everyday activity for the classical Greek.

Consultative sacrifice was commonplace within Greek warfare, and the first blood to be shed in battle was usually that of an animal. Before departure from home, before leaving the borders of one's own territory, before leaving camp each morning in hostile country, before crossing a river, and before engaging the enemy a sheep or a goat would be slaughtered and its entrails examined for signs of good or bad omens (Parker 2000: 299). Presumably the carcass would not have gone to waste and soldiers would have enjoyed meat-based meals on campaign at least. Bones discovered at the garrison site at Phylla Vrachos will be discussed later.

In the days before refrigeration, both keeping and selling meat would be extremely risky. Both the butcher and the consumer would have had trouble in the Greek heat of keeping any quantity of meat from spoiling. The butcher is more likely to want to sell the entire ritually butchered carcass and the consumer is likely to want to buy smaller cuts which they can prepare immediately and not have to keep. But from my research thus far into town houses, and from information Lin Foxhall and Nick Cahill have given me on rural homesteads, you simply do not find a great deal of bones within the remains of buildings which people have termed 'houses'.

In discussions with Nick Cahill, he confirmed that he had not excavated any bones from the Lydian houses in Sardis, and Lin Foxhall has sieved and floated every scrap of material from her excavation of a Greek house in Italy, to find only a tiny piece of bone. This is not

therefore an exclusively Greek phenomenon. Cahill's presumption was that the inhabitants were simply tidy when it came to the disposal of bones, but it cannot be as simple as that. When we do find bone, as in House 7 at Halieis in the Argolid, well U13:1 in the Athenian Agora, and the fort at Phylla Vrachos in Euboia, we find massive quantities. Even if the bone from other sites was dumped with rubbish we would expect to have excavated more deposits. In addition, in sanctuaries, where the carcasses would have been butchered, the finds of bones are numerous (Jameson 1988: 87-119) so clearing away bone debris was clearly not necessarily a priority.

It would be true to say that excavators in the early 20th century generally had no real interest in recording bones, but at the sites of Olynthus, Halieis and Athens, bones were recorded when they were found. Since, at these sites at least, it was the practice to record bones it should still be significant therefore when none are recorded.

Most of the buildings in this study were excavated at a time when the cultural bias of the scholar was not a consideration. As a result, we read about 'kitchens' in 'houses' simply because, when viewed through a contemporary filter, modern households use their domestic spaces in the same way, and have the same understanding of them as the ancient Greeks. In describing the classical Greek house and classical Greek drinking practices on our own terms, we undermine the differences between modern and ancient society. It follows, therefore, that, if we are to treat the material evidence as a source in its own right, we must put aside contemporary views and look beyond literal

interpretations of texts and archaeology to allow the ancient evidence to be more fully considered.

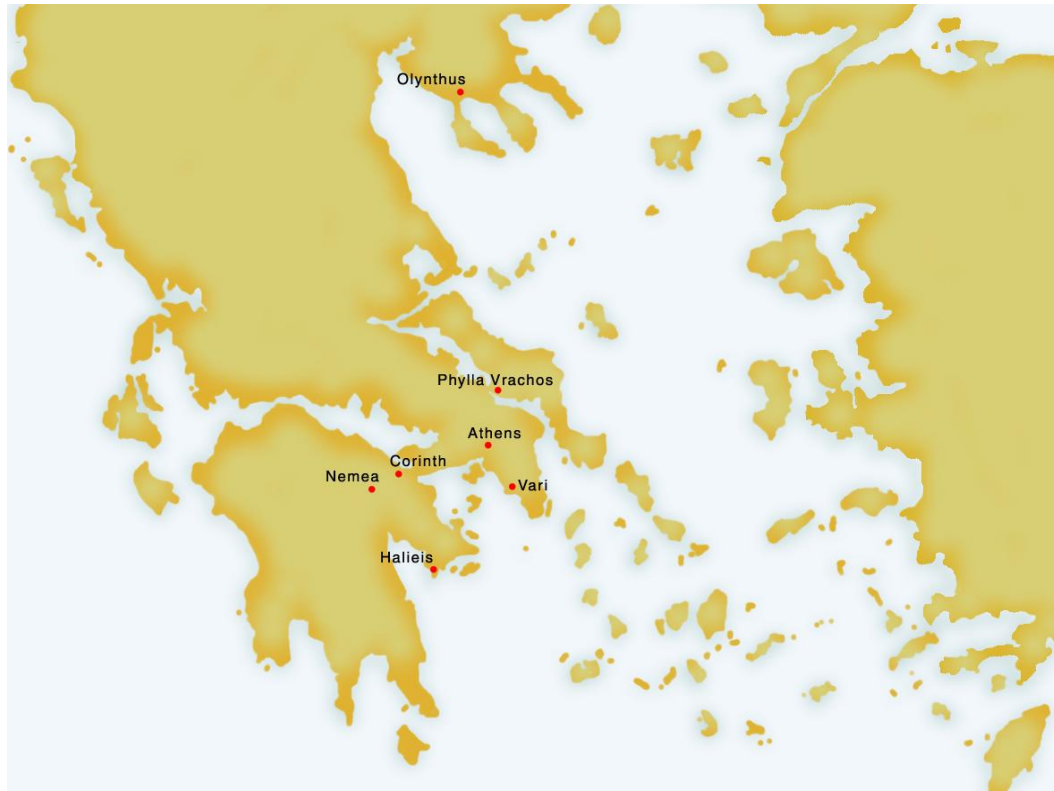
A Case for 'Casual' Drinking: The Material Evidence

In this chapter the architecture of eleven buildings from Classical Greek towns and sanctuaries as well as a rural site and a military garrison site, will be examined along with their drinking assemblages in order to test the theory that 'casual' non-ritualised wine drinking took place in buildings and places which have previously been linked with the highly-ritualised *symposion* or a *sympotic* style of drinking i.e. shared, commensal drinking in a highly ritualised context. In addition, this chapter will examine several buildings identified as 'houses' in order to test the theory that much of the commercial tavern drinking which took place in classical Greece formed part of a domestic economy. This chapter will attempt to put forward the best possible case for an alternative reading of the material evidence, and suggest new places and possibilities for commercial and 'casual' non-sympotic drinking.

Firstly, however, it is important to stress that in many cases there can be no direct comparison between the buildings chosen for these case studies in terms of location, size, layout, or excavated drinking assemblage. Each was excavated at a different time, the collection strategies of the excavators were unlike each other, the extent to which each building was excavated and the thoroughness of each excavation were dissimilar, and, perhaps most importantly, the results and conclusions drawn at the end of each excavation were coloured by the preconceptions of the excavators and, at best, can be

said to have been 'of their time'. As a result, each of the following case studies has suffered to a greater or lesser extent. For example, when Olynthus was excavated in the 1930s scholars could see little or no value in coarse or plain black-glazed wares (their lack of artistic decoration, it was thought, could teach us nothing of ancient Greek life in the way that black and red-figure decoration could) and consequently very few undecorated pieces were kept or catalogued. By comparison, the buildings at Halieis were intensively examined, and every artefact recovered was noted and catalogued, leading to an overwhelming amount of information.

Halieis, House 7



Introduction

Although Halieis is not the largest site of classical Greek urban architecture excavated to date, the data recovered from this city in the southern Argolid are meticulous in their detail: House 7 alone produced some 6,266 ceramic fragments from its latest occupation levels (compare this with the 14,500 total recorded finds from 107 houses at Olynthus) (Ault, 1994:13).

House 7 from the Lower Town (Figs.31-34) was fully excavated, the other buildings, Houses A, C, D and E, varied in the extent to which they were uncovered due to the fact

that the Greek Government would only allow excavation on land which could be purchased by the archaeological project. Controlled through cardinally orientated 5 m grid squares, the coordinates were based on those previously established by the Greek Geographical Survey (Ault 1994:60). The following data on these structures is taken from Bradley Ault's PhD thesis (1994) on the Halieis site, which provides the most comprehensive study of the archaeology of the site to date.

Located at the south-west corner of an insula, which may have contained as many as ten houses, House 7 occupies an area of approximately 16 x 13m on its south-west and south-east sides (Fig. 32). Bounded on two sides by Avenue C and Street 1, an alley ran behind the building to the north-east. South of the intersection of Avenue C and Street 1 was located the round-towered, South-east Gate, and adjacent to the tower a small shrine abutted the outside of the city wall. Traffic in this location (both wheeled and pedestrian) would therefore have been extremely frequent.

Across Avenue C, and opposite House 7, were recovered the remains of another house. Although incomplete, enough remains to determine that the *prothyron* of this house was offset from that of House 7, giving a degree of privacy to the interiors of both buildings (Fig. 32).

House 7 was entered through the *prothyron* (Figs. 33-34) mentioned above (room 7-6). This comprised a recess encroaching approximately 1 m into the exterior of the courtyard

wall. According to Ault, almost all the excavated houses from Halieis incorporate a form of *prothyron* entrance (1994: 82-83), and it is a feature found throughout Classical Greece. However, the width of the doorway is unusual. Ault estimates that with a width of 1.95m, a wide set of double doors must have existed, allowing for a vehicle the size of a cart to enter into the courtyard. In addition, there was room for a single-width door approximately 1.15m wide for use by pedestrians. A fall of roof-tiles confirms that this entrance had its own roof (Ault 1994: 82-83). This does not therefore appear to be a building concerned with privacy when such wide doors could open directly into the courtyard beyond.

The large courtyard into which the doors opened (room 7-7 together with room 7-8) covers nearly 64 m², and all the ground floor rooms were accessed from this space. In the northern corner was a well which contained a human skeleton. The well was excavated, but the modern water table was too high to reach the bottom. *In situ* was a well-head which had been plastered over, and joined on to this was a curbed edge with a shallow depression in the centre, thought by Ault to be for the purpose of collecting excess water spilled while filling containers (Ault 1994: 82).

Midway along the north-eastern side of the court was a feature which Ault identifies as the base for a flight of stairs, consisting of a rectangular block with notched cuttings. The top of the block had been trimmed down around its edges to form a pad into which the

wooden frame would have been fixed. We can therefore imagine a second storey (1994: 84).

Along the southern edge of the courtyard, extending northeast from Room 7-8, was found a sunken feature lined with walls of irregular dry-stone masonry. Measuring roughly 1.13 x 2.60m, it tapered inwards slightly from the top. From the level of the courtyard it was approximately 1.43m deep. A channel of inverted cover-tiles, which drained water into the feature, ran off to the northwest where three of these tiles remained *in situ*. This conduit continued into Room 7-17 and out into Street 1, where it was cut roughly into a series of laid stones running off in an easterly direction towards the city wall. Ault's verdict is that this was a *kopron* or dump for household refuse (Ault 1994: 85).

Floor levels were found to have varied from room to room within House 7. The surface was generally made up of a layer of mud containing lime inclusions and underpinned with pebbles or small rubble. The excavators record a definite transition from the level of Room 7-7 down into 7-8, which is thought to have been roofed continuously with the prothyron (Ault 1994: 86). The existence of walls closing off Room 7-8 is uncertain. Ault speculates that, if they existed, they may have been constructed of perishable materials such as wattle or mud-brick. The original excavator recorded numerous pithos fragments and a section of 'chimney' (Ault 1994:87) among the roof-tile fall. Unfortunately, they

were not recorded in the finds notebook for the area and Ault was therefore unable to confirm their identification.

Ault asserts that 'the most impressive rooms in House 7 are to be found in its north-western quarter' (Ault 1994: 88), presumably due to the survival of their plaster floors and walls. They comprise an *andron* (Room 7-9) and its antechamber (Room 7-10); the latter opened immediately off to the left of area 7-7 as one entered the building. Both rooms were finished with fine plaster floors and stone thresholds, neither of which bore traces of bolt or pivot holes associated with doors. There were, however, L-shaped cuttings on the end of the threshold for Room 7-10, which may suggest that at least a door-frame once existed.

The walls of Rooms 7-9 and 7-10 were plastered, though not enough remained to determine if there had been a pattern, and quantities of red plaster were found in each room. The floor of the ante-room was laid with yellowish plaster and that of the *andron* was plastered in white with a recessed central square. A plaster platform was raised around this recessed area and continued around the entire room, terminating at each side of an off-centre doorway (Ault 1994: 88). To the right of the doorway, on the way into Room 7-9, a channel ran between the central depression and a circular feature consisting of a small plain-ware jar which had been plastered into the platform. On excavation, the jar contained a small black-glazed bowl¹⁷ with stamped decoration, and a black-glazed

¹⁷ Halieis Inventory Number HP2538 (Ault, 1994: 90).

stemless cup¹⁸. As is suggested by traces of refurbishing, Room 7-9 appears to have seen several floor levels throughout its life, each more elaborate than the one preceding. Room 7-13 comprised of a northeast-southwest orientated portico measuring 2.5 x 4.2m. Due to its likeness to internal 'pastas' type porticoes at sites such as Olynthus, Ault applies the same definition here (Ault 1994: 91). Open to the courtyard along its south-eastern side, the threshold is marked by a line of ashlar blocks. The north-western side of Room 7-13 had a centrally placed doorway with a stone threshold approximately 1.25 m in length, and a cutting along the southwest end of the threshold may have marked the original limits of the doorway here. If so, its width would have been a mere 0.90m. This small doorway gave entry to Room 7-12, from which access was in turn gained to Rooms 7-11 and 7-14 – the only apparent route into these rooms. The south-west end of Room 7-13 abutted the *andron* antechamber (Room 7-10), while its north-east end opened onto Room 7-15 (Ault 1994: 91).

Roofed by the second-storey portico, the south-eastern side of Room 7-13 would have had to bear one or two supports which rested on the ashlar socle. However, no traces survive to support this supposition. In the south-western end of this room a patch of plaster flooring survives. Ault believed that this represented the 'Level A' living surface, as it appears to have been at a contemporaneous level with the 'Level A' surface (already) noted in the courtyard (Ault 1994: 92). Traces of plaster were still evident on the ashlar threshold blocks linking this room with the courtyard.

¹⁸ Halieis Inventory Number HP2540 (Ault, 1994: 90).

With an area of approximately 19.72m², the L-shaped Room 7-12 is the largest in House 7. On its north-west side access to the small Room 7-11 was gained, while from the north-east Room 7-14 was accessible. Traces of the Level A floor of Room 7-12 were still visible in two separate areas. In the south-west corner of the room, along the wall which divided it from Room 7-9, a narrow strip of plaster survived. In the north-north-eastern portion of Room 7-12 more extensive areas of flooring were recovered, although Ault notes that the excavators' notebooks did not specify the type of surfacing encountered. Also uncovered in this area were two arching segments which once belonged to a complete circle laid out in small white pebbles. Lying at the level identified as the latest Level A surface of House 7, this pebble feature lay precisely in the centre of the northwest/southeast half of Room 7-12. Although the function of this feature remains a mystery, Ault notes that 'it should not be thought of as mosaic-like' (Ault 1994: 93), though he supposes that it may have marked the position of some sort of gaming activity. Its centred location within this room leads Ault to rule out the possibility of its being related to post-abandonment or squatter activity.

In the south-central section of Room 7-12, where Ault notes that the Level A floor surface went unrecognised, there was a significant amount of rubble exposed. Ault's suggestion is that this may have served as underpinning or a levelling dump for the floor surface (Ault 1994: 93). Also exposed was an incomplete length of drain, composed of cover tiles,

whose points of origin and termination were speculated to be the alley and an infilled hole identified by Ault as a second *kopron*.

At approximately 6.50m², Room 7-11 is the smallest in House 7. Entering from the north-western side of Room 7-12 through a 1m wide doorway, a person would have stepped up to the uneven plaster pavement which survives in the south-western third of the room. Based on its small size and pavement, Ault surmises that this room may have served as a bath, though he does note that there were no traces of plaster on the walls and that Room 7-11 is four times the size of two other possible bathrooms at the site¹⁹, and twice the size of a possible third in House B. Nor is it adjacent to a kitchen as Ault believes the other three examples to be.

Room 7-14 is the final space in the three room suite to which Room 7-13 gave access. Measuring approximately 8.4m² it is set off from Room 7-12 by a short spur wall. An ephemeral plaster floor was noted in the southern half of this room, lying at approximately the same elevation as the Level A floor of room 7-12. A puzzling feature of this room is a channel-like cutting along the top inside edge of the ashlar foundations which form the northeast boundary of the room. This spanned three blocks and was lined with plaster. Its precise date and purpose were recorded as 'unknown' by the excavators (Ault 1994: 97).

¹⁹ Area 6, House A, Room 6-84, and House E, Room 6-17.

Opening off the north-eastern end of Room 7-13 is Room 7-15 measuring in the region of 18.2m². A short spur wall projects southwest from the northwest-southeast rear wall of the room and there also seems to have been some modification involving the doorway. Locating the latest floor levels was difficult, as Ault notes that it consisted of 'very ephemeral estrich surfacing over hard packed earth' (Ault 1994: 97). The latest floor level lies within the range expected for Level A.

Rooms 7-16 and 7-17 are treated as a distinct unit since they share a stone-built hearth: a unique feature at Halieis and, as discussed earlier in this chapter, a feature not especially plentiful in the rest of Greece. The presence of this hearth and the apparent lack of any trace of industrial activity, prompt Ault to 'immediately identify Rooms 7-16/17 as a kitchen' (Ault 1994: 99). Behind the hearth a concentration of ten iron nails was discovered, which may represent the remains of a collapsed shelf or cupboard. Three bronze coins also came from this room.

With a combined area of c. 20.43m² and location along the eastern corner of House 7, rooms 7-16 and 7-17 are set off from the complex of rooms accessible from Room 7-13. Room 7-16 had a doorway approximately 0.80m wide while, on the other hand, Room 7-17 was entirely open to the courtyard along its southwest side. Both rooms are separated by a flimsy rubble, L-shaped wall which Ault suggests, on the basis of its survival at a low elevation, might have served 'more as a sleeper wall for partitioning than a structural one' (Ault 1994: 99).

The northeast end of the partition wall between Rooms 7-16/17 terminates in the hearth, of which two upright slabs survive *in situ*. Its perimeter is confirmed by a square, 0.25m thick ash deposit which was excavated there, as well as its eastern corner block which survives set into a partially preserved plaster pavement. The northern half of Room 7-16 appears to have had an earthen floor.

Given that a feature in Room 7-7 was identified by the excavators at the base for a flight of stairs, consideration must be given to the possible existence of a second storey. The profusion of spur walls excavated leads Ault to speculate that second-floor rooms existed over Rooms 7-11 through 7-15 and possibly Rooms 7-9/10 on the ground floor. Regarding the hearth, he supposes a 'simple one-storey construction above this space, with a flat or sloping roof provided with a smoke-hole' (1994:101) and cites 'flues' in houses at Olynthus as models²⁰.

Key Finds

The ceramic assemblage excavated from House 7 comes almost entirely from the repertoire of drinking, drink-serving, and cooking pottery with a MNV totalling 824 (6,230 ceramic items). Divided into fineware, plainware and coarseware, the total MNV associated with the consumption of drink is 209, that of vessels for the serving and pouring of drink is 148, while an MNV of 178 incorporating both open and closed shapes is associated with food preparation/cooking and serving.

²⁰ See discussion on the 'Oecus Unit'

The following data sets have been drawn from Ault's 2005 publication of the Halieis houses (Ault 2005: 110-115, 143-144, and Tables 1-3, 19).

House 7		
	Floors	Negative Features
Fine Ware: Drink/Consume		
Bolsal	11	7
Cup	5	4
Cup kantharos	-	2
Cup skyphos	-	1
Kalathos	-	-
Kantharos	1	1
Kylix	-	1
Mug	20	1
Skyphos	60	40
Stemless cup	34	3
Stemmed cup	-	-

Table 1.

House 7		
	Floors	Negative Features
Fine Ware Drink: Serve/Pour		
Chous	1	-
Jug	18	5
Oinochoe	6	2
Olpe	4	-
Fine Ware Drink: Serve/Contain		
Amphora	3	1
Hydria	1	-
Krater	15	6
Pelike	1	-

Table 2.

House 7		
	Floors	Negative Features
Plain Ware Drink: Consume/Cup	-	-
Plain Ware Drink: Serve/Pour/Jug	32	28
Plain Ware Drink: Serve/Contain/Krater	-	-

Table 3.

House 7		
	Floors	Negative Features
Coarse Ware Drink: Serve/Pour/Jug	7	3

Table 4.

House 7		
	Floors	Negative Features
Fine Ware Food: Serve/Consume		
Bowl	44	23
Dish	-	1
Plate	-	2
Saltcellar	3	2

Table 5.

House 7		
	Floors	Negative Features
Plain Ware Food: Prepare/Serve		
Basin	-	-
Bowl	12	20
Dish	-	-
Lekane	28	10
Mortar	3	2
Plate	-	-
Strainer	-	-

Table 6.

House 7		
	Floors	Negative Features
Coarse Ware Food: Prepare/Serve		
Basin	3	-
Bowl	1	3
Lekane	1	-
Lid	1	-
Mortar	3	-
Plate	-	-
Strainer	-	-
Coarse Ware Food: Cook		
Chytra	29	4
Eschara	-	-
Griddle	3	-
Lid	15	3
Lopas	50	52

Table 7.

Re-analysis of Ault's data

The largest horizontal concentration of ceramic material comes from Loci III-IV (Rooms 7-7/8), the area associated with the courtyard of the building (Ault 1994: 102). Vessel shapes occurring most prolifically in this area are those associated with the storage of liquid or food (primarily amphorae) (Ault 1994: 103). The negative feature which Ault identifies as a *kopron* yielded a further MNV of 230 (Ault 1994: 103). What is important about the contents of this hole in the ground, whatever function it fulfilled, is the number of animal bones found there. These constitute the largest amount of bone debris recorded from any Halieis context, with 189 fragments recorded; compare this with 0 fragments from House A, 6 from House C, 3 from House D, and 9 from House E (Ault

1994: 350-372). This is extremely significant for any suggestion that this building served as a *kapeleion*.

Also worth noting is the scatter of drinking vessels excavated from Loci I-II (Ault 1994, tables 1-3). These Loci incorporate the street outside the main entrance, as well as the area immediately inside the courtyard. Ault does not appear to pick up on this at all, but a MNV of 75 vessels associated with drinking and the consumption of food comes from this region. Large double doors open directly into the courtyard, which would appear to be inconsistent with what we know of the classical Greek desire for privacy, although when these were shut there was a smaller, single door to the right-hand side of the double doors. This significant assemblage of drink-related pottery strongly suggests that the courtyard, and the area immediately within and without the main doors, played an important part in the practice of drinking in this building. In the heat of the Greek sun, would it be too great a leap of imagination to envisage drinkers sitting around the courtyard with their cups of wine? Perhaps, if there were no available tables, or if a traveller simply wished to quench their thirst after a long journey at the first *kapeleion* within the city gates, they would simply tether their transport and linger around the entrance drinking their wine and watching the world go by?

A feature of the courtyard that Bradley Ault claims to have identified is the *kopron* (Ault 1994: 85). As the name suggests, the *kopron* (κοπρών) was a dung heap. Consisting of no more than a sunken feature in the courtyard surface of the houses at Halieis, these

suggested *koprone*s range in size from 2.25 to 5.0 m² (Ault 1994: 219). Given most holes' propensity to fill with debris, it is perhaps no surprise that this one 'brimmed' with the artifactual material on which he proceeds to base his identification of the feature as a privy (to use Liddell and Scott's (1968: 979) translation of *kopron*²¹), although he wonders about the 'curiously small amount of organic material' which it contains (Ault 1994: 220).

Consisting, in the main, of various types of ceramic sherd, roof-tile fragments, loom-weights, a lamp fragment, and various metal objects the finds excavated from this *kopron* are no different from those which you might expect to find thrown down an Athenian well – an obvious place for sweeping or throwing unwanted rubbish when a building fell out of use. In House 7, the *kopron* contains all of the aforementioned objects, plus a small quantity of bone (Ault 1994: 220) - an important point for my hypothesis to which I shall return later. This *kopron* at House 7 also had an adjacent street drain flowing *into* it. Other posited *koprone*s from Athens are found in the courtyard, or in the street just to the side of the front door. The majority are stone-lined and frequently in close proximity to porches or doorways. Although the value of household waste and manure as fertiliser should not be underestimated, are we really to believe that they would be located in such prominent areas within, and in front of, the town household? Given their location and the absence of any organic residue, Lin Foxhall (pers. comm.) believes them to be planting-pits containing trees essential for courtyard shade, or attractive vines and plants to climb and trail over the doorways and porches. The *kopron* in House 7 at Halieis even appears to

²¹ ὁ κοπρών = place for dung, privy

have had its own water supply in the form of the pipe which drains into the pit from the street (Ault 1994: 221). Ault cites the example of Odysseus' dog Argos lying on top of a *kopron* in the courtyard of Odysseus' house (Ault 1994: 224). It should be pointed out however, that Odysseus did not live in a densely populated town house in the classical period, and the ethnographic studies Ault refers to as carried out by Dittmore actually involve village households (Ault 1994: 225, note 32). These presumably would have had more space in their courtyards to enable them to set aside a place for dumping manure (Ault 1994: 225), and of course, would have a need for such an installation.

The *andron* (room 7-9) and its antechamber (room 7-10) can only muster an MNV of 14 (Ault 1994: 105), at which we should not be surprised. If this room was the centre of relaxed and aspirational drinking in this building, then we should expect to see it cleaned and tidied on a regular basis with any breakages being immediately swept away - and adding to the count in another locus. Moreover, if this was indeed a *kapeleion*, could this dining room have been available for rent to those wishing to indulge in sympotic drinking but lacking space in their own home for such a party? As I have already discussed, cups and cooks could be hired by individuals, so why not wine, serving staff, and entertainment?

The range and shapes of the drinking cups from House 7 are extremely interesting (see this thesis p. 132, Table 1). Only one fine ware *kylix* was represented from over 6000 sherds. Compare this with 20 mugs (*kothones*?) and 100 *skyphoi*. Clearly the kind of

drinking taking place here cannot be said to have been *sympotic* and cannot have been restricted to the needs of any one family. In addition, when all the pouring and serving shapes are counted together, they add up to 106 jugs (Tables 2-4). Clearly what we have in House 7 is drinking on a commercial scale. At least 21 *kraters* were represented in fine ware (Table 2) but this is not inconsistent with the possibility that the '*andron*' was part of a commercial drinking establishment, or tavern, where the room could be hired. Perhaps groups drinking in the building could buy their wine in a larger vessel than an individual cup, and would simply serve themselves from the *krater* when they had mixed in water to their own taste. The 38 *lekanai* (Table 6) could also function as mixing bowls for those buying cheaper wine; better wine could have been served in decorated fine ware *kraters*, whilst cheaper wines could have incurred less of a charge if they were served in plain undecorated mixing bowls.

Cooking was also carried out on a considerably larger scale than purely domestic with the *lopas* represented by over 100 vessels (Table 7). In addition, it would appear from the large amount of bones recovered, that this cooking was of meat-based dishes. Were customers cooked and served stews in individual portions? The 33 *chytrai* could also have contained individual meals. Only 2 plates (Table 5) were represented in total from each of the pottery categories (fine/plain/coarse) so whatever was being prepared in the cooking pots was not being served on plates. This supports any supposition that food was cooked and eaten in individual portions. The large number of bowls (103) (Tables 5-7) could of

course have contained whatever originated from the cooking pots, or they could have contained individual salads, relishes or food which did not need to be served hot.

If Lin Foxhall is correct, and the so-called *kopron* was indeed where a vine or a tree was grown, then in the heat of the summer the courtyard would have provided somewhere cool and shady where wine and food could be enjoyed. The pebble feature in room 7-12, which may have functioned as part of some gaming activity could also have been for customers' entertainment.

Here in House 7 we have the combination of several archaeological and architectural anomalies concerned with the consumption of food and drink: a fixed hearth, a bordered couch room, animal bones, and a massive amount of 'casual' drinking cups, jugs, cook pots and bowls. These would be significant in themselves, but when they are added to what would appear to be a low 'counter' behind which several coins were found, it would be fair to assume that some form of large-scale, non-domestic drinking and eating was taking place within (and without) the walls of House 7.

Olynthus, The Villa of Good Fortune



Introduction

The northern Greek town of Olynthus is situated inland on the Chalkidike peninsula. The ancient city was built across the top of two hills, with the original and oldest settlement appearing on the South Hill before spreading across to the North Hill as a grid-planned town (Fig. 35). In the fifth and fourth centuries, the city further expanded towards the east and into the area known today as the 'Villa Section'. As the capital of the Chalkidike League, the city was, in the late fifth and early fourth centuries, the most powerful city in the area, its original numbers boosted by the *anoikismos* of 432 BC when several surrounding settlements moved inland (Cahill 2001: 24). Due to its location it was

perhaps inevitable that the city should come into conflict with Philip II and the rising power of Macedonia to the immediate north, and in 348 BC, only eighty-four years after the *anoikismos*, the city was captured by Philip II's army and its inhabitants forced into slavery. The settlement was abandoned and the buildings left in ruins. The archaeological record shows that there was some very limited re-settlement, but Olynthus' days as a regional powerbase were over.

To the north and east of the main settlement, outside the city walls on the North Hill lay an area which Robinson named the Villa Section. The reason for this was that the buildings in this area were slightly larger and seemed to occupy a little more land than the *insulae* on the north hill (Figs 35-36). The full extent of the area was never completely clarified although it was the belief of Robinson (Robinson and Graham 1938: 42) and, more recently, Cahill (2000: 30) that the area must have been fortified, although no trace of a circuit wall has been found enclosing the buildings in this vicinity.

The Villa of Good Fortune is, as its name clearly suggests, one of these larger buildings (Fig. 36). It is thought not to have been situated outside the city walls simply because of its size and its decorated interior. According to Robinson and Graham (1938: 55) it was 'the largest and most luxurious dwelling found at Olynthus' and this belief is what underpinned its designation as a 'villa'. However, in this area of Olynthus the line of the city wall appears to have followed the east edge of the East Spur Hill (ESH) and away from the Villa Section, which would mean that the Villa of Good Fortune most certainly

did lie outside the city walls, an issue which has clear implications for any alternative interpretation of this building.

Key Finds

Unfortunately, the Villa fared worse than any other of the case studies in this thesis in terms of the way in which the pottery was recorded and published by the excavation team. It may be that none of the pottery discovered was decorated and subsequently catalogued, suggesting that perhaps any pottery found was undecorated and simply thrown away. Unfortunately, no comprehensive catalogue of all the pottery excavated exists so this must remain conjecture. However, if only undecorated pottery was found, then the absence of any recorded decorated drinking and serving vessels reinforces the hypothesis that this building was not a wealthy 'villa'. Only a very few key ceramic artefacts can contribute to this discussion. Supporting a gaming hypothesis for the building, a lead astragalus was one of the very few artefacts recorded, along with eight plastic trefoil jugs; three decorated with female heads with veils covering the lower part of their faces and crowned with Phrygian caps, a female dancing figure, a female holding a pomegranate, a crouching lion with a trefoil mouth projecting out of its back, and a negro bust. In addition, several female masks were included in the deposit (Robinson 1935: 210-247). The only other finds were a lead pestle and mortar (from the so-called flue, c) and a saddle quern.

Re-analysis of Robinson and Graham's data

Buildings in the villa section might be expected to have been more expensive than those on the North Hill, and scholars of Olynthus certainly treat the Villa Section as though it was much more exclusive. However, the reality is that the buildings in this area were much less expensive than those (smaller) structures on the North Hill. A sales inscription from the Villa of Good Fortune (though, as it came from the surface, it may not relate to the Villa itself) records a sale for 410 drachmae, only one-tenth of the average price of houses around the agora on the North Hill (Cahill 2002: 286). Another sales inscription found in a nearby field records an even cheaper sale of 170 drachmae in the year 450/49 BC (Cahill 2002: 280). Even so, Cahill still refers to the Villa Section as a 'quiet, suburban or 'higher class' neighbourhood' (2002: 280). It is assumed by Cahill that the larger plots of land in the Villa Section were due to an unequal distribution of land; but when the evidence from the line of the city walls and cheaper prices is taken into consideration, could it be that the erection of these buildings was a private enterprise not governed by any initial planning constraints? Could buildings have been erected here as part of an independent initiative outside of the overall urban planning scheme, or was it private land? If indeed the Villa Section lay outside the walls and therefore outside the effective protection of the city, would this area have been considered safe for any inhabitants? The buildings were certainly bought and sold, as we know from the above mortgage inscription, but were they bought and sold by businessmen unwilling to live in the area themselves, but keen to capitalise on the marginal situation outside the town proper by opening a business run, and perhaps lived in, by slaves?

The larger than normal size of the Villa of Good Fortune, and of the other buildings in the so-called Villa District, results in them occupying more space within their insulae than the buildings within the town walls. Cahill believes that this is simply due to irregular land distribution (Cahill 2001: 30). A more convincing hypothesis for the Villa of Good Fortune, given the location of the building, is that extra land here was available. Property in this area was, in all likelihood, less desirable than that within the walls precisely because it lay outside the safety of the fortified city wall. As such, this area was presumably not part of the egalitarian building policy manifest within the walls when identically sized 'houses' were built insula by insula. Both of these factors would contribute to the price of the land being lower than within the walls. Whilst this may not have appealed to a resident seeking a home where they could invest emotional ownership, as well as furnish it with hard-earned and treasured possessions, it would have been less of an issue for a commercial enterprise where a building could be built cheaply and where fixtures and fittings were treasured by no one except those using them at the time; losses would simply be replaced and damage made good. Buildings outside city walls could not be protected in the event of an attack, and it would be extremely unlikely that a rich resident would risk his home and possessions in this way. As if to back this up, the majority of buildings destroyed by fire come from this area. The Villa of Good Fortune was destroyed by a conflagration so intense that 25 out of 37 coins discovered within the walls were so badly melted that they were impossible to identify beyond their most basic function as coins (Robinson and Graham 1938: 62).

In plan, the building does not differ significantly from the majority of Olynthian structures (Figs. 36-37). However, the frontage of the building extends to almost 26 metres, which makes it the largest so called 'dwelling' discovered at the site. The most notable difference lies in its mosaics, which Robinson and Graham believed to have been 'unquestionably the finest known pebble mosaics of the Hellenic period' (Robinson and Graham 1938: 59), as 'the most important Hellenic mosaics known' and as 'the most interesting find in the Villa' (Robinson 1934: 501). It is actually these mosaic floors which provide the most compelling evidence that there was something more to this building than a wealthy domestic residence.

Laid out in natural black, white, red, yellow and green pebbles, the figured scenes are drawn from the world of myth with Dionysus, Pan, Eros, Maenads and Satyrs represented (Figs 38-40). The so-called 'Eutychia' mosaic (Fig. 38) was given its name from the inscription EUTYXIA KAAH laid out in white pebbles on a black background on the floor of the anteroom of the northeast corner room. The legend would have been the first piece of mosaic decoration to greet anyone entering as it lies across the doorway. Surrounding a square mosaic panel in the centre of this room, and above the Eutychia panel, were the words AΦPOΔITH KAAH. In the room next door and lying in the centre of the floor is a wheel of fortune, and in a panel below the wheel is the mosaic inscription AΓAΘH TYXH. In the northwest corner of this room remains the start of another band of writing. What remains can be read as ΔΙΚΑΙΩ[I?]. On the same band, but unconnected with the word

dikaio lies a four-bar sigma (Σ). Lying at the opposite end of the floor is a similarly disjointed A which would appear to correspond with the sigma. Ἀφροδίτη καλή, according to Lucian's *Erotes* (16), was the best throw in a game of dice (Robinson 1946: 209), and the Olynthian mosaic may well be the earliest known allusion to it; by Roman times it was more commonly known as the 'Venus throw' (Robinson 1946: 209).

A gambling use for the building has been suggested elsewhere. McDonald posited a use for the building as a 'high-class inn' where drinking and gambling took place (1951: 366). Although he felt that it was hard to avoid the conclusion that the rooms with mosaic floors were set aside for games of chance, no other scholars have picked up on the seemingly compelling evidence, and continue to refer to the building as a wealthy villa.

Although these mosaics may well have been amongst the earliest Greek mosaics known, they are not actually of a particularly high quality. A failure on behalf of the craftsman to accurately measure the space resulted in the 'Eutychia' mosaic being squashed and off-balance. This reinforces any argument against this being a wealthy villa. However, a fairly attractive and aesthetically pleasing drinking and gambling establishment, though not necessarily a perfectly-finished one, could presumably expect to recoup the expense from an increase in patrons. What is also interesting is that the building is thought to have been undergoing decoration at the time of its destruction. Would a private and wealthy householder, living defenceless outside the city walls, really undertake such a task at a time of unrest? An optimistic (or mercenary) tavern keeper situated outside the

city might reasonably expect to profit from the arrival of soldiers. In addition, rowdiness and violence would also be less of a problem outside the town where less policing might also be expected.

It is also significant that whilst these buildings outside the town walls do have slightly more land surrounding them than those within the walls, they do not stand isolated within a large plot of land. Although not forming coherent *insulae*, they do form a cluster. If indeed this was a luxury housing area, would not the main benefit be that residents could have space between themselves and their neighbours in which to plant a garden or cultivate vegetables? On the contrary, these 'villas' are still built fairly close together. The House of Many Colours, Villa CC, the House of the Tiled Prothyron and the House of the Twin Erotes are situated in a row along Avenue G, whilst the Villa of Good Fortune, the Villa of the Bronzes, and the South Villa are less than 50m apart from each other along Avenue F (Fig. 36).

Could they perhaps be cashing in on increased footfall in the area generated by customers visiting other businesses? Was this, in effect, the city's red-light or 'party' district? If you were a business wanting to draw customers, you would not isolate yourself from your potential source of clientele, and although the Villa of Good Fortune is outside the walls it is only just so and sits on the first street encountered beyond the walls (Avenue F).

Although there is very little material on which to base an argument, what was recovered is still very different from an ordinary household assemblage. The find of an astragal, when combined with the compelling evidence for gambling in the form of the possible gaming mosaics, strongly suggests an alternative use for the building. In addition, out of the eight jugs recorded three were crowned with veiled female heads and found along with a female dancing figure, a figure of a female holding a pomegranate, and female masks. The pomegranate was one of the attributes of Astarte, known in Greece as Aphrodite, the goddess of love. For that reason she is closely associated with prostitutes; described by Davidson (1997: 197) as 'workers in Aphrodite's guild.' The veiled females represented on the jugs might also suggest women of Near Eastern origin.

When the material and architectural evidence is considered in combination, it is strongly suggestive of drinking, gambling and prostitution (perhaps foreign prostitutes) taking place in a building set in a marginal location outside of the city walls. Whilst the size of the building might have suggested to the excavators that it was a wealthy 'villa', there is nothing in the archaeological evidence to suggest this, rather the material culture, when considered along with the decoration and location, argue entirely against it.

Corinth, The South Stoa



Introduction

Situated on the south side of the ancient Agora of Corinth (Fig. 41), the South Stoa is one of the largest secular buildings uncovered in Greece (Broneer 1954: 5). Measuring nearly 165m in length and just over 25m in width, it covers an area of approximately 1 acre. The northern half of the building was a huge one-storey colonnade, with seventy-one Doric columns running along the front and thirty-four Ionic columns running through the middle. In the rear wall of this colonnade were doors opening into a series of thirty-three rooms, each with a further smaller room in the rear. Over the rear half of the building there was a second storey, reached by stairways at either end. Broneer believed it to

have been one of the finest examples of classical Greek architecture and compared it 'favourably with the best of the secular buildings from the Periklean era in Athens' (Broneer 1954: 6).

In the rear of the stoa, doorways were discovered leading into 33 rooms which the excavators refer to as shops (numbered I to XXXIII from east to west in Fig.41). Their internal measurements are approximately 4.80m from north to south and 4.48m from east to west. During the excavation season 1946-47 (Broneer 1947: 239-41), several shop wells dating to the third century BC were cleared from these shops exposing thirty-one wells in total, one in all but two of the front shops, reaching to a depth of nearly 12 metres. This elaborate system of thirty-one wells connected with an underground channel carrying fresh running water from the Peirene fountain system. The openings from the wells into the channel were too narrow to have allowed a person to crawl through, and under normal conditions, would have been fully submerged. Broneer understood this as a deliberate arrangement to prevent any pilfering of the shops (Broneer 1954: 59).

None of the wells displays any tell-tale rope marks made during the act of drawing up water, leading Broneer to believe that these wells had been used, not only for their water, but for cooling wine and foodstuffs, stating that they 'furnish the best example of ancient refrigeration preserved in Greece' (Broneer 1947: 239). What is clear from the objects

recovered from the fill is that drinking was carried out in many of these shops, and that the wells were used, not only for their water, but for chilling the wine in the amphorae.

Key Finds

The ceramic fragments recovered came, in the most part, from Knidian and Rhodian amphorae and 'from other parts of Greece and even from more distant centers', though just where exactly is not made explicit (Broneer 1947: 240). Drinking cups were described as 'numerous' and said to 'belong to the full range of shapes', most typical being the *kantharos*. However, by far the most common type of vessel was the drinking cup, 'a wide variety' of which was found (Broneer 1954: 62). According to Broneer many of these cups were decorated with floral designs in opaque colours and inscribed below the rim with names of deities (all in the genitive case), and sentiments appropriate to drinking such as Διονύσου (Dionysus), Διὸς Σωτῆρος (Zeus Soter), and παυσικρήπαλος, possibly the Daimon of hangovers (Stafford 2001; Broneer 1954: 64).

Many lamps were recovered, most were intact and show signs of use (Broneer 1947: 241). This prompted the excavators to suggest that although the shops would have been lit chiefly through the open doors of the Stoa, the lamps that found their way into the wells unbroken would have 'fallen into the water by accident, having been placed on the well curb or on the wooden contrivance for lowering the wine and victuals into the wells' (Broneer 1947:241).

Re-analysis of Broneer's data

Table tops of red and white marble were reclaimed from several of the wells (though from which we are not told). One of these table tops has five vertical lines incised for, as Broneer believed, playing the game πέντε γραμμαί (Broneer 1964: 64). Below the five lines is the name Διὸς Βούλεος (Zeus Counsellor). Such names for deities appear to have been used to designate a specific throw of dice or astragals. Large numbers of astragals and counters, smooth and blackened from frequent use, also came from the wells. One single deposit from the well in shop XX contained an impressive sixty astragals and three bone counters. Further evidence for entertainment comes from four fractions of bone or ivory flutes. The four remnants came from different wells and the excavators believed that they belonged to more than one instrument.

The bulk of the pottery from the South Stoa wells dates to the third century BC, but some of the earliest shapes date back to the fourth century. It is probably for this reason that *kantharoi* are prominent in the drinking shapes since this shape enjoys more popularity during the late classical/early hellenistic period than in the high classical when it was usually depicted as one of the attributes of Dionysus, and was not popular as an everyday drinking cup.

The 'wide variety' of drinking cup referred to by Broneer (1954: 62, see page 171) in addition to the *kantharos*, would by its description appear to be a *kylix*, as neither the *kothon* nor the *skyphos* could generally be described in this way. *Kylikes* marked with

inscriptions to Zeus Soter might mark them out for use in a ritualised drinking context as Zeus Soter was one of the Daimons toasted at the start of the *symposion*. Some of the 'shops' were undoubtedly used for gaming and casual drinking, but others could equally have been used for ritualised civic or public dining. Perhaps some of the 'shops' could be hired out by private individuals wishing to dine with family and friends, or rented out to religious groups.

The only cups which Broneer specifically refers to are the *kantharoi* and the above mentioned 'wide variety' of decorated drinking cups. He does however refer to coarse household pots and coarse kitchen ware including wine jars, large bowls, and pitchers of various shapes and sizes (1964: 62). It is therefore conceivable that some of the cups associated with more 'casual' drinking might have become lost amongst the plain undecorated wares which were not described and quantified.

In my MPhil thesis, I took the stance that the rooms in the South Stoa functioned solely as taverns (Kelly 2000). However, now that I have widened my research to include an examination of the specific shapes of cups, I no longer think that this was the case. Although there were undoubtedly rooms in the South Stoa where 'casual' drinking and gambling took place to musical accompaniment, the wide cups suggestive of *kylikes* and inscribed with *sympotic* Gods would also point to more ritualised drinking (the musical instruments would not have been out of place in this context either). Therefore, rather than labelling all of the rooms as 'shops' as the excavators did, or *kapeleia* as I previously

believed, a mixed use hypothesis for the building would be more appropriate. As previously stated in my analysis of House 7 at Halieis, we know that cooks could be hired with all the tools of their trade, so why not the rooms themselves? If there was a demand for couch-rooms which people did not have room for in their homes, then it is entirely plausible that some of the bordered rooms in stoas (and indeed buildings such as House 7) could be rented out for ritualised *symptic*-type drinking.

Corinth, Tavern of Aphrodite

Introduction

Excavations in the Corinthian Agora during the 1938 season uncovered traces of an unusual Greek building which had evidently been destroyed during the construction of the South Stoa in the fourth century BC. The area under consideration lies to the north of the South Stoa's stereobate foundation in front of Shops XXVI and XXX (Fig. 42).

Much of the building was reused in the construction of the South Stoa before being further damaged by Roman and Byzantine building when nine large medieval storage jars had been sunk through the walls and into the building's pavement. In addition, during the Early Christian period, the inhabitants of the area had dug into the Greek layers to build kitchens, and at a later period they had buried their infants below the hearths.

The plan of the fifth-century building is peculiar (Fig. 42). It was believed by Morgan to have been too large to be a house, and its interior divisions were unlike any known domestic architecture of the time. Neither does its layout suggest any type of formal public or religious building. Quantities of drinking cups found on, in and under the floor of the courtyard indicated a tavern to Morgan (1953); and the likely interpretation of the low rectangular base with its facing pilasters as a possible stage only adds to the theme of a place of entertainment.

Key Finds

A small pit below ground level contained 'numerous' (1953: 10) fragments entirely made up of *kotylai*, *skyphoi* and *kantharoi*. No exact numbers are given or images available, therefore the exact shape of the *kotyle* is unknown, although presumably since *skyphoi* are quantified it would be fair to assume that the shape would be that of a *kothon*. In addition, a deposit of more than 150 Aphrodite figurines and miniature mirrors amongst the possible tavern paraphernalia suggests female cult activity and, when considered along with two early fourth-century 'cubicles' added into the existing courtyard, may in fact point to this tavern also functioning as a brothel (or, of course, *vice versa*). The American School's polite description of 'a house of entertainment in association with the cult of Aphrodite' may be their subtle way of suggesting just such a function (Morgan 1953: 10).

The supposed prostitutes appear to have abandoned their offerings to the goddess of love when they quit the building at some point after the mid-fourth century BC. Other figurines in the deposit represent horses and riders, dogs, rams, shields and banqueters and are all common types being found in almost all Corinthian deposits (Morgan 1953: 138), and may have been the patrons' offerings.

Re-analysis of Morgan's data

A kitchen is reconstructed in the published plans but I can find no mention of the evidence which suggested this to the excavators in either of the published reports on the building.

Whilst this proposed kitchen may have served any staff or residents of the building, its possible use as a commercial kitchen cannot be ignored.

The shapes of the drinking cups are all non-*sympotic* shapes: *kotylai*, *skyphoi* and *kantharoi*. Although exact numbers are not available, Morgan refers to 'numerous' (1953: 10) fragments of these shapes. As *kylikes* are not included amongst the deposit, we can therefore suppose a 'casual' type of drinking taking place within the walls.

Although no exact numbers of cups are given, beyond the fact that they were described as 'quantities of' and 'numbers of' (1953: 10), the range of shapes discovered all belong to the 'casual' drinking repertoire, with no *kylikes* mentioned at all. When this is considered along with the 150 Aphrodite figurines and the layout of the building with individual cubicle-like rooms, it seems certain that this building functioned as a tavern and a brothel and I agree with Morgan's hypothesis, though perhaps not for the same reasons.

Corinth, The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore

Introduction

The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore is located south of the centre of the ancient city of Corinth, on the north slope of Acrocorinth (Fig. 43). It was either on, or near, a road that led up to the citadel, along with several other sanctuaries noted by Pausanias (2.4.6-7). Of at least ten sanctuaries mentioned by Pausanias as existing on the north slope of Acrocorinth, only the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore has so far been identified and excavated. The sanctuary covered around 770 square metres on the north slope although the excavators believed that in its original form it must have been larger as the eastern, western and northern boundaries were not found. It was linked to the city by a road and a stairway which led up to the terrace on which it was situated. The earliest dining rooms at the site date to around the third quarter of the 6th century BC although occupation in the area dates back as far as LH IIIC. The sanctuary finally went out of use at the time of Mummius' destruction of Corinth in 146 BC.

The area has been extensively excavated and published by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens (ASCSA), most recently from 1968 to 1973 by Nancy Bookidis. On completion of the final season, the maximum dimensions of the excavated area were 90 metres east-west and 55 metres north-south (Bookidis 1989: 1).

The sanctuary was organised into three terraces which sloped towards the north. The lower terrace of the three is covered by dining rooms served by a road from the city, or perhaps a road from this main one which served the dining rooms themselves. During excavation the north-south limits of the Sanctuary were established. It is known that the dining rooms continue to the east and the west although the Sanctuary boundaries on these sides were not identified. The excavators believed that these dining rooms belonged to the Demeter and Kore sanctuary (rather than to an adjacent sanctuary) as the pottery and finds excavated correspond to those found on the known site.

In all periods of the Sanctuary's use, a major portion of the site was given over to communal dining. Indeed, such a large quantity of dining rooms is not, thus far, attested at any other site in Greece. The main factor which determines the layout of the individual dining rooms here at Corinth is the steep topography of the site, and the plans of the rooms vary in size and shape dependent on their position on the hillside (Bookidis 1997: 393). First laid out in rows in the sixth century BC, the location of the dining rooms remained in this format until the end of the Hellenistic period.

Dining rooms are not unusual in sanctuaries as, after any festive or ritual sacrifice, the celebrants would share and consume the meat, the fat being burned off for the Gods. Ranging from temporary tents or even a simple blanket on the ground brought by the worshipper, sanctuary dining facilities can range from a one-room dining space as in the Propylaia on the Athenian Acropolis, to permanent stoas containing several dining rooms

such as at the Temple of Artemis at Brauron in Attica. Perhaps private celebrants could rent these rooms for their own use after the sacrifice, in much the same way as I have posited for stoa and non-domestic couch-rooms?

The dining rooms at Corinth were not housed in such stoa structures and appear to have grown along the terraced hillside in an arrangement which reminded the excavators of 'a series of houses tightly packed across the hillside' (Bookidis 1997: 393). However, the main difference between the dining rooms here and those discovered elsewhere, is the facilities contained within each room as each unit was provided with its own cooking (and washing) facilities.

The number of couches in each room is, by virtue of the variations in size and layout, not fixed across the sanctuary. The largest room could accommodate nine couches and the smallest five, though on average 7.5 couches is more frequent. Unlike other dining rooms found in non-religious contexts, eight of the rooms could accommodate an even number of couches (Bookidis 1997: 400).

The dining rooms here appear to have begun their lives as one-room units which were subsequently expanded to include side rooms for cooking, washing and sitting. The best evidence for dining in the sanctuary comes from the period around 400 BC. At this time, it is thought that at least 36 dining rooms were in operation. The rooms can roughly be identified as having '*andron*' features: that is in some cases (though not all) an off-centre

door and a raised border for couches. The rooms do not follow a regular stoa-like layout with the topography and subsequent expansion and modification of the rooms leading to what looks like a very haphazard layout and a variety of room sizes.

Within several of the rooms concentrated areas of burning were detected. These were called hot-spots by Nancy Bookidis and were believed to have marked the spot where small portable braziers had stood. Bearing in mind that there were kitchens attached to several of the dining rooms, it may be that these hearths were incorporated into the cult ritual or used purely for heating and/or lighting and were not used solely for cooking although in Room 1 of dining room N:21 burned fish bones were recovered from the earth above its hot-spot. We cannot rule out the possibility that the rooms had a variety of uses depending on the occasion, and were used differently by different groups of celebrants with varying needs.

Key Finds

The majority of the pottery excavated came from large dumped fills containing sherds from all periods of the site's long occupation from the seventh century BC through to the Roman period. This complicates the search for coherent dining-room assemblages, though the significant point for this thesis is the range of shapes in use during the classical period. Complication occurs in a sanctuary site when trying to differentiate those shapes in use as table-wares from those which served as votives. Drinking vessels which are smaller than the average could perhaps have been used as votive offerings.

However, it should still be possible to make a case for general trends in the shapes of vessels being drunk from during the classical period.

Amongst the pottery shapes recovered, drinking cups were the most numerous and in the drinking repertoire the most numerous shape was recorded as the *kotyle*. Also popular was the Corinthian one-handled cup. In addition *lekanides* and small and large bowls were found at every level. *Kraters* and *oinochoai* were found but far less frequently. What is interesting to note however is that smaller varieties of jug dominate the pouring assemblage and could perhaps be considered to constitute a single individual serving of liquid.

Oinochoe

Finds of *oinochoai* were not numerous. Archaic and Classical black-glazed jugs and the classical *olpe* were found in pieces too small to warrant publication (Pemberton 1989: 15). What the excavators did remark on was that there were far more fragments of drinking vessels than fragments of serving or pouring vessels. Indeed the excavators noted that 'the numbers of *kotylai*, *skyphoi*, and cups in the Demeter sanctuary fills are staggering' (Pemberton 1989: 15), and raise the question of whether a ritual toast was drunk before discarding the cup, although another, perhaps more obvious, possibility could be that one serving vessel served many cups. We know that wine was drunk from these cups as an inscription (*IG* II² 1184), describing provisions for an Attic Thesmophoria, lists wine

amongst all the foodstuffs. Women therefore were clearly not prohibited from drinking wine.

In the published reports the excavators distinguish the *kotylai* from the *skyphos* by 'its lighter foot, more convex, thinner wall, and longer history' (Bookidis 1997: 26). In addition, they observe that in Corinth the *kotyle* was popular throughout the majority of the fifth century, but in the later 5th century black-glazed forms, the *skyphos* overtakes it as the most popular drinking shape. Most cups are decorated in red-figure, black glaze and semi-glaze, and the figured vessels do not appear to conform to any specific genre of scenes. Both black and figured *skyphoi* represent the classical period (both Attic and Corinthian imitations), although the shape does not survive in Corinth beyond the third century.

Sherds from a dumped fill (lot 1994-83) demonstrated that *lopades* and *chytrai* were numerous and available in different varieties such as flanged and unflanged. Faint traces of burning would certainly suggest that they were involved in cooking. Like the small jugs, the dimensions of these pots (ranging from 0.20m down to 0.095m in diameter) might suggest that the smaller vessels were intended for single or individual portions. The capacity of the smaller casserole/stew pot was calculated to be slightly greater than one *kotyle* (Bookides *et al* 1999: 15).

In line with Michel Bats' observations that the *lopas* was primarily used for cooking fish, the intensive dry/wet-sieving and flotation carried out in the Sanctuary identified a number of bones from small fish which could have been fried or braised in this shape of pot.

Other bones would suggest that pig was the preferred animal of sacrifice to Demeter and Kore, and therefore presumably the main meat eaten in the dining rooms. In addition there were bones of domestic sheep or perhaps domestic goat though it should be noted that these remains were almost entirely in the form of astragals (1999: 51), along with the remains of sea urchins. Over 5000 bone fragments were recovered though most were of too small a scale to identify the species. That said, however, a total of 164 specimens could be attributed to an animal and identification of the skeletal part made. As well as the above mentioned sheep, goat, pig, fish and sea urchin, the small bones of a rodent and a small reptile were also identified though these were most likely unfortunate victims of the sanctuary's destruction.

Bones were found in both floor and fill deposits with the smaller bones seemingly being missed in the sweep-up process and becoming embedded in the floor. Larger bones appear to have been routinely cleared away from the rooms, dumped somewhere on site (though no refuse site was ever found), and eventually becoming part of a levelling fill.

Re-analysis of Bookidis' data

The most numerous drinking shapes recorded were *kotylai*, *skyphoi* ('staggering' numbers) and *oinochoai*, with no *kylikes* recorded. *Kraters* were present, but not in large numbers. The *lekanides* might however have fulfilled this function more practically if attractive decoration was not of particular concern or, as I have suggested for Halieis, House 7, bringing a container of wine to be shared by a group would be far more efficient than having to rely on a stream of individual servings. Outwith the ritualised *symposion*, a sturdy *lekanis* might have provided just as effective a mixing-bowl.

If indeed an *eschara* or brazier stood on the hot-spot identified by Bookidis in the centre of some of the rooms, celebrants could have cooked their meals individually, in the single-portion sized stew pots which were found in abundance.

In the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore we find dining rooms, but no *kylikes* and few *kraters*. Therefore it could be argued that drinking in these spaces was not understood as *sympotic*. When wine was mixed with water, it was more likely to have taken place in sturdy, functional, undecorated mixing bowls which may have owed more to convenience and practicality than to ritual.

Athens, Agora - Deposits U13:1 and R13:4



Introduction

Early in the archaic period, the central, western and southern sections of the Agora were cleared of private dwellings in order to serve as Athens' official civic centre. The land east of the Panathenaic Way remained outside this district, as is evidenced by wells belonging to private structures. There are only three wells in the area from the entire seventh-century. Two belong to its last quarter while eleven date to the following one hundred years, a significant increase. Six of these belong to the first half of the 6th century, four to the second, and one which was left unexcavated could not be dated closely (Camp 1986). It would seem that this neighbourhood, because it now adjoined the newly formed

square, had again become desirable and well water more plentiful than the preceding periods. Of the eight wells excavated to the bottom, the average depth was 9.9 m., even greater than that of the earlier period and nearly a metre deeper than the average depth for 6th century wells in the agora as a whole (Camp 1977:103).

In the late 5th century when municipal buildings stood at the north-west corner and at intervals along the west and southern borders of the agora, the space to the east of the Panathenaic Way, which cut diagonally across the square from northwest to southeast, was occupied by a patchwork of private shops and houses. It was not until the very end of the 5th century that public structures came to be erected on the site (Thompson 1976). Though by no means uninhabitable, this area did not offer some of the natural advantages found to the west and south. It was a little farther away from both the Acropolis and the Kerameikos, and it was more exposed, without the protection from wind and rain found at the foot of Kolonos Agoraios and the Areopagus (Fig.44). There is also evidence that well water may not have been as reliable as elsewhere (Camp 1977). Only one well dates from the 5th century, and the deliberate abandonment of the Archaic wells suggests that local proprietors may not have felt encouraged to re-open their businesses in the area when they returned home after the Persian sack. Perhaps they found better accommodations with greater water supply or buildings more advantageously positioned elsewhere. Some of them may have established themselves in a building in the south-west corner where my research is concentrated, a new construction incorporating a row of five or more shops lying at a busy intersection where

the Panathenaic Way joined the main road that crossed the northern edge of the agora. In later periods, this road would become the principal route to the Roman market.

The Panathenaic Way was, in the fifth century, the only Agora thoroughfare open to wheeled traffic, all other main roads traversing the area being broken up by flights of steps. Traffic in this locality, both wheeled and pedestrian, would therefore have been extremely busy (Young 1951). Although it was this district, lying to the east of the classical market square, that came first to be occupied by monumental public buildings in the Roman period, the site appears to have had a long and complex earlier history.

This particular region of the Agora has been connected with wine selling in earlier publications, especially by Lucy Talcott (*Hesperia* 4, 477-523), T. Leslie Shear (*Hesperia* 44, 1975: 357-8) and most recently Mark Lawall (*Hesperia* 69, 2000: 3-90) whose specific interest lies in well R13:4 and the mass of graffiti-bearing amphora found there (Fig.45). This well's many amphorae, drinking cups, mixing bowls and cookware prompted Talcott to propose the existence of a taverna, which 'flourished near the borders of the agora in the years around 440 BC'. Apparently it met with a disaster, which caused its abandonment and the discarding of its paraphernalia somewhere around 430 BC. R13:4's contents were the only significant evidence for such an establishment in the area until excavation under the nearby Library of Pantainos in 1970-74 unearthed extensive remains belonging to classical buildings lying preserved beneath the floors. Altogether the plans of 14 rooms were discovered, belonging to at least three separate buildings. They shared

a common front wall and evidently lined the south side of an early street, which followed closely the course of the later marble-paved street of the Roman Period. Underlying the eastern half of the Stoa are two structures which both in architecture and history were almost inextricably entwined with each other (Fig. 45).

The two contiguous buildings, composed respectively of Rooms 1 to 5 and 6 to 11, survived in a state that has made their history fairly easy to reconstruct. The essential feature of the plan appears to have been a series of pairs of rooms and, in all its phases, a long median wall bisected the building longitudinally to create these double compartments. In one or two instances there is evidence that the front and back rooms communicated through doors in the median wall, and this is likely to have been the case generally. Most, if not all, of the front rooms had access from the street, although due to the fact that the remains of the front wall lie immediately beneath the marble pavement of the Roman street, this could only be verified by the excavators when there were breaks in the pavement (Shear 1975).

A peculiar aspect of the south wall was the fact that its blocks were cut away around the top of a pre-existing well (U13:1) in Room 6. The existence of this well and of another later (and larger) well close by in the same room led Shear to suggest that Room 6 was in fact an open courtyard to which the surrounding rooms had access, though he gives no further qualification for this being the case (*Hesperia* 44, 357-8). In the five stratified layers of the larger well is charted much of the early history of the building which was

reconstructed above from the stratified floors of the rooms themselves. The fill from the larger well contained hundreds of objects which had been used and discarded by the occupants of the surrounding rooms, but it is U13:1 which is of particular interest to me for the material which it contained.

Key Finds

Like its neighbours, U13:1 was full of amphora sherds datable to the early years of the fourth century BC. Around 390 BC, a bedrock collapse of the walls seems to have ended the well's use as a source of water and started its life as a rubbish dump. A massive deposit from the upper part of the shaft produced no less than 716 tins²² of broken pottery and 455 miscellaneous catalogued objects. That this enormous quantity of material was a homogeneous dump is evident, as fragments of the same pots were found dispersed from top to bottom in the deposit. This also makes a strong case for the accumulation of the dump happening over a short space of time, i.e. during a clean-up of the area. Shear in his report on the excavations believed that a large proportion of the pottery was clearly refuse cast out from a nearby kitchen (Shear 1975), and many of the familiar, so called 'domestic' shapes are represented: *lopades* (Fig.46), *escharai* (Fig.47), *lekanai* (Fig.48), *chytrai* (Fig.49) and an assortment of jugs. But the quantity in which they were found must surely exclude the possibility that they came from the kitchen of a private house. In addition to the four restored *lopades* and eleven lids, there were fragments of at least 100 more casseroles of this type; eleven complete mortars and parts

²² These tins are simply the size and shape of large metal buckets or pails.

of sixteen others. Fragments of no fewer than 400 *lekanai* were counted among the deposit and 27 of these were nearly complete, while pieces of at least 76 different *escharai* were also recognised. This all suggests cooking (and drinking if we continue the supposition that wine could be mixed in *lekanai*) on a massive scale and it would not be unreasonable to suggest that a large part of the building functioned as a prosperous *kapeleion*, perhaps even the one which Lucy Talcott believed was flourishing in the vicinity. Other types of table-ware, likewise found in abundance, were plates, small bowls and salt cellars which presumably would have come from the same source. As many as 79 wine jars were mended and catalogued and the fragments of at least 280 others were counted. Judging by the types of amphora, if this was tavern debris then the *kapelos* kept a good cellar which specialised in imported wines such as Mendeian, Chian, Corinthian, Samian and Lesbian, in addition to the local Attic vintage.

Re-analysis of Shear's data

A tavern would also be the most obvious source of the large quantity of drinking cups of various types which predominated among the fine ware from the well. The serving vessels, the *kraters* and *oinochoai* of the finer wares unfortunately only survived in many hundreds of small fragments²³.

²³ Agora pottery containers T-277 to T-331.

Also included among the deposit was a large amount of animal bone incorporating cattle, sheep, goat, pig, equid²⁴, dog, turtle, tortoise, red deer, murex²⁵, arca²⁶ oyster and mussel suggesting that the menu was of the same quality and diversity as the wine cellar. Altogether, eleven tins of bones were collected and, under examination, large numbers of the cattle, pig, sheep and goat bones showed signs of butchering, either in connection with the preparation of food for the taverna or, as Shear believed, as refuse from a neighbouring butcher shop (*Hesperia* 44, 357-8). There was however, a distinct lack of vertebrae and ribs and most of the bones show signs of the meat being stripped off, an act which I prefer to see, not as evidence for a butcher, but proof that the *kapelos* was buying-in cuts (perhaps the cheaper ones) suitable for the little kebabs which would have been broiled on the *eschara*. If indeed there was a butcher shop in the area surely there would be a greater variety of bone types being discarded. Allied to this is the fact that there were several skulls in which holes had been cut to extract the brain. This remains a favourite meal in Greece today and individuals, especially in the countryside, buy the whole head. This argues strongly for brain being on the taverna menu, bought-in whole and cracked open on the premises. Many fewer bones of sheep and goat survived, with Shear claiming that this was because they were sold whole, but if that was the case then I would argue that this also points to consumption on the premises as opposed to a butcher shop; this small amount of sheep and goat bones having found their way onto the menu and subsequently into the deposit. If they were purportedly sold whole then

²⁴ The excavators thought it was mule.

²⁵ According to the excavation notebooks, these sea snails were of the edible *brandaris* type, a genus unsuitable for extracting the purple dye that other family members were used for.

²⁶ A small shellfish.

their inclusion in the deposit at all would have to be questioned. The majority of meat eaten in the Classical period was the by-product of religious sacrifice. The types of animal typically sacrificed were goat, sheep, pig and, on the odd occasion, cattle. The bones recovered from this deposit include a great many animals which would not have been sacrificed and must therefore have been killed specifically for consumption.

Large numbers of fish bones were also recovered, the majority of which were long thin bones associated with the inedible fins of large fish. It is questionable whether or not fish would have been sold in a butcher shop, and they would not have been sacrificed, therefore they should also be considered as debris from a tavern menu. A bone flute²⁷ and 'several lamps' from Layer 1 are recorded in the excavator's notebook²⁸ though they are not mentioned in the final *Hesperia* publication.

This massive amount of drinking and cooking pottery, animal bone and evidence of entertainment (albeit one bone flute) strongly suggest the existence of at least one busy and popular *kapeleion* somewhere in the building, perhaps in room 6 with its two wells.

²⁷ Item BI 922, Notebook p. 1645.

²⁸ PP Street Stoa Notebook pp. 1621-1649, 2033-2047.

Introduction

In 1992 John Oakley and Susan Rotroff published their *Debris from a public dining place in the Athenian Agora* which set out to examine what they explicitly believed to have been a 'public' pottery assemblage from Pit H 4:5 in the Athenian Agora (1992: 1). Their conclusion was that the pottery from this deposit came from a mixture of public, private and industrial contexts and dates to some time around 425 BC (Rotroff and Oakley 1992: 4). It is the assemblage which they designated as being used during 'public' dining and their reasons for doing so with which this thesis is concerned.

Pit H 4:5 was discovered about 12 metres west of the Royal Stoa (Fig. 50), lying partially underneath the easternmost room of a Roman street stoa which formed the southern border of the Panathenaic Way. In addition to a large dump of pottery, the pit contained much melted mud brick and burnt material appearing to have come from a deliberately demolished building. As well as this destruction debris, many animal bones and shells were included in the deposit. None of the pottery pieces from pit H 4:5 matched together and it is likely that originally a large body of discarded material was scattered around the area, a fact backed up deposits of similar material being discovered nearby (Rotroff and Oakley 1992: 8). The excavators concluded that the contents of the pit had originally been used and stored in the vicinity of the pit, and that the bulk of the material could be dated to the years 450 to 425 BC.

Key Finds

Several different shapes of drinking cups came from this deposit: *kylikes* (though relatively few)²⁹, *skyphoi*, *kantharoi* and *kothones* (called 'mugs': Rotroff and Oakley 1992: 11), along with *oinochoe* and *kraters*. *Skyphoi* were the most numerous drinking shape represented in black glaze. One hundred nearly complete feet of the Attic Type A *skyphos* were counted along with almost 700 smaller fragments of foot. The entire deposit can therefore be connected with drinking of some sort. The figured wares are described as being of a high-quality and nearly a third of the pieces were attributed to a particular painter or workshop (Retroff and Oakley 1992: 11).

Unique to this deposit (as opposed to the other common shapes discussed in this thesis) is the Rheneia cup, which was by far the most common stemless cup in the deposit. It is represented in pit H 4:5 by 160 non-joining foot fragments. This shape, Rotroff and Oakley believed, was the preferred government-issue drinking cup of the mid-fifth-century BC as a large number of Rheneia fragments were stamped with a ΔΕ ligature translated as an abbreviation of δημόσιον and therefore as a stamp of public ownership (1992: 35). It was the presence of this recurrent ligature which led to the identification of the deposit as 'public'. Not confined solely to Rheneia cups, with 14 examples, the ligature could be read on 21 pieces from the deposit. The drinking shapes which carried it were a *skyphos* and one, perhaps two, one-handled cups. Because of the existence of

²⁹ 1992: 13

these ligatured pieces in the deposit, Rotroff and Oakley conclude that the same shapes without the ligature must also have been public property (1992: 35). Ligatured pieces from other deposits in the Agora can be found to have belonged to Vicups, a Type C *kylix*, a saltcellar, a one-handled cup and two pieces of kitchen ware (Rotroff and Oakley 1992: 35). By adding these shapes into the 'public' repertoire Rotroff and Oakley conclude that 73% of their deposit came from a public dining context, though they add that if we count in all the shapes 'connected with drinking (*oinochoai*, amphoras, *psykters* (wine-coolers), *bolsals*, and mugs) and eating (bowls, stemmed dishes, plates and perhaps *lekanides*) and count in also the figured pottery used for these purposes, the percentage would be much higher' (1992: 36). All of the non-ligatured drinking and eating shapes find themselves therefore to be classed as 'public' purely by association (Rotroff and Oakley 1992: 36).

Re-analysis of Rotroff and Oakley's data

Rotroff and Oakley question the fact that there are only 50 ligatured pieces amongst all 'the public pottery' from the Agora (21 from deposit H 4:5), and question why the other pieces aren't marked in the same way (1992: 42). However, it is not inconceivable that these marked pieces might be the entire recovered assemblage from any nearby public building, the rest of the unmarked drinking shapes easily being interpreted as debris from several other drinking contexts and not public at all.

The most striking figure from the deposit is the number of *kraters*: at 87 they comprise more than half of the estimated 172 figured vases from the deposit (Rotroff and Oakley

1992: 43). Each of the four main types is present (bell, calyx, column and volute), and two have mouths with a diameter of 45cm which would have made them fairly large. They all date to a period between 460-450 BC and Rotroff and Oakley estimate a purchase rate of more than one a year (1992: 44). Their explanation for the high turnover of a shape which might reasonably be expected to remain in use for longer is that they were gifts to the *syssition* or dining room. However, this again presumes only one context of above ground use: a civic dining room. They admit that 'the proportion of drinking cups to *kraters* is unusually large' yet do not deviate from their belief that this deposit represents one source (1992: 44). They compare the finds from H 4:5 with those from a contemporary deposit (N 7:3) containing what they label 'household pottery' (1992: 44). In this well there was a minimum of 125 drinking cups and four *kraters*, a ratio of one *krater* to thirty-one cups: quite an impressive 'household' deposit.

As with their 'public' deposit, the pottery from N 7:3 is attributed by Rotroff and Oakley to one above ground source (1992: 44) which cannot have been the case given the circumstances under which these well deposits were created i.e. a mass clear up of the area.

The 87 identified red-figured *kraters* have clearly been used in ritualised drinking, and Rotroff and Oakley's theory that their large number reflects the fact that they were gifts to the *syssitia* is a reasonable hypothesis. However, they compare the amount with a deposit which they presume to be entirely domestic in nature (well N 7:3) (Rotroff and

Oakley 1992: 44). In this well there was a minimum of 125 drinking cups and 4 *kraters* (1992: 44). This would be an exceptional amount of drinking pottery for one household and seems to be clear evidence that the pottery from these deposits has come from a variety of original contexts.

Skyphoi are given as the most numerous drinking cups in the deposit, along with mugs and stemless cups (Retroff and Oakley 1992: 133-134). The Type C *kylix* is represented by only 4 fragments of stem, but this is the drinking shape which we would most readily associate with the type of drinking which required a *krater*. Clearly 'public' drinking, at least here in Athens, did not follow the same highly ritualised pattern which might be expected in a private *symposion*. Could it be that, if the *kraters* were indeed gifts, they were used as decoration and were not actually used to mix wine and water? Perhaps the type of drinking carried out in this area of the Agora was more democratic and distanced from the elite *symposion* than the amount of *kraters* would suggest?

Retroff and Oakley give the sources for the material in the pit as public, private and industrial. However, the cups are only assigned to the 'public' context (Retroff and Oakley 1992: 35). Given that the shapes represented are common non-ritualised drinking shapes, why can they not have come from a domestic, commercial, or indeed, any other 'casual' drinking source?

Athens, Kerameikos - Building Z

Introduction

Named after its original settlement of potters (κεραμεῖς) on the bank of the Eridanos river, in the classical period the deme of Kerameis lay to the north-west of Athens in the area around two of the city's main gates: The Sacred Gate, through which The Sacred Way exited on its way to Eleusis, and the Dipylon Gate where the Panathenaic Way continued out of the city to the Academy. Although the exact boundaries of this deme are not known for sure, boundary stones found *in situ* demarcate the northern and southern limits. Even the ancient sources do not agree on its location. According to Pausanias (1.2.6 and 1.14.6) the Agora lay entirely within the deme Kerameis suggesting that it was located within the walls, but Thucydides suggests that it lay entirely outside the city wall (VI.57.1). With the construction of the Themistoklean city wall which cut through the area in 478 BC, it is likely that an inner and an outer Kerameikos were created, meaning that it was situated both within and without the city wall.

Known today as one of the most important cemeteries of classical Athens, the Kerameikos contained many important burials. The State burial ground or Demosion Sema was located directly outside the walls in front of the Dipylon Gate, as well as the grave precincts of wealthy Athenian families and prominent individuals, which lined the roads leading to and from the city, and where some of them still stand today.

After the construction of the Themistoklean wall, which expanded the size of the city of Athens, this area on the edge of town was not immediately inhabited. The first building to go up in this area at the new edge of town (Knigge 1991: 36) was Building Z. Tucked into the angle between the city wall and the Sacred Gate (Figs.51-52), the first phase has been dated to the years immediately preceding the Peloponnesian War (around 435 BC) and consisted of a large building covering an area of 500 square metres. The building was repeatedly destroyed and rebuilt on the same size and plan over its two-hundred year lifespan, and five phases have been identified: Z₁ is the original phase dating to around 425 BC; Z₂ followed swiftly afterwards being built in the ruins of Z₁ around 420 BC; Z₃ came in the second half of the fourth-century BC; and in the third-century, buildings Z₄ and Z₅ were built and destroyed in quick succession. The German excavators credit the building's precarious location immediately within the city's fortification circuit as the most likely reason for its repeated destruction.

In use for a longer period of time than the other phases (around 30 years) it is Phase Z₃ dating to the second half of the fourth century, which is of most interest to this thesis, as hundreds of pieces of drinking vessels were recovered from its levels along with a large quantity of loom-weights, suggestive of a loom in each room, and finds of small goddess statuettes and amulets, one of the goddess Aphrodite riding a goat through the starry sky. Both the excavator (Knigge 1991: 93) and Davidson (1997: 85-6) suppose the building to have housed prostitutes who spent their time either working the looms or with clients.

Key Finds

No quantities were given in the publication (Knigge 1988); however, Knigge believed that by the phase Z₃, Building Z was 'no longer a simple dwelling' (1988: 93). 'Hundreds of pieces' (1998: 93) of drinking and dining ware led her to believe that the building was functioning as a tavern. In addition, finds of small goddess statuettes and images of goddesses on amulets suggested to Knigge that female slaves had lived here.

Re-analysis of Knigge's data

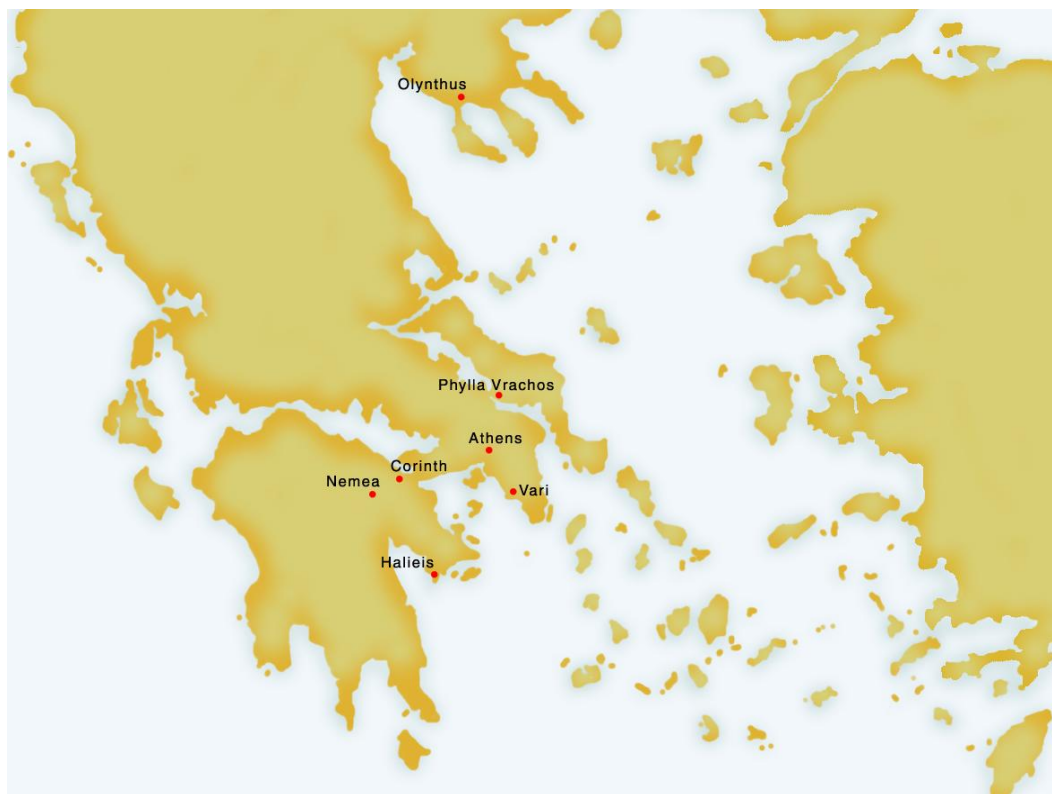
This area of Athens was synonymous with prostitution (Wycherley 1957: 222) and was said to be the 'place at Athens where the prostitutes stood'. Somewhere in the area among the tombs was the notorious locality of Skiron which was particularly associated with gambling although according to Stephanus of Byzantium on *Skiron*, it was also 'in this place the *pornai* sat' (Wycherley 1957: 222), and may therefore be considered as somewhat of a red-light district in general. The goddess statuettes and amulets may therefore have belonged not simply to female slaves, but to female slaves working as prostitutes.

Drinking was also closely linked with this area as Isaeus (VI *Philoktemon*, 20) tells us: 'Euktemon appointed Alke to take charge of the tenement house (συνοικίας) in Kerameikos near the postern gate, where wine is sold.' Where exactly this postern gate was located is unknown, but it is rather tempting to identify the multi-roomed Building Z

tucked in behind the Sacred Gate with the *synoikia* known to be selling wine in the vicinity.

The quantity of cups, dedications to Aphrodite, and Isaeus' assertion that wine was sold in a multi-roomed building in this area, suggest not only a brothel, but a brothel and a tavern. During phase Z3 the building had two entrances (Fig.51), one which led to the 'cubicked' southern part of the building, and one which led into the more open northern half of the building. It is very possible that although the building may have functioned as both a brothel and a tavern, patrons may have been able to choose whether to enter straight into the drinking half, or the brothel half. Both halves may have met and mixed around the central courtyard where patrons could have been persuaded to cross over and enjoy the services on offer in the other half of the building.

The Fort at Phylla Vrachos, Euboea



Introduction

The fort is situated some 9 km east of Chalkis, on an eminence along the Vrachos ridge above the village of Phylla, overlooking the lower end of the Lelantine plain and a wide stretch of the Euboean coastline between Chalkis and Eretria. The site is directly north and 3 km inland from the prehistoric settlement at Lefkandi. The study by Coulton *et al* was the first to identify the full range of periods of activity on the Vrachos site, namely, the late eighth century, and late sixth to the early fifth century BCE.

The site is defined by a ruinous wall of unworked boulders enclosing an area of 230 x 80 metres on three sides as cliffs mark the northern limit of the site. Despite the efforts of the excavators in two small trenches against this wall, no certain evidence of its date was discovered. A more carefully built cross-wall of roughly-worked stones, preserving remains of a gateway and a postern, reduced the enclosure to approximately three-quarters of its original area. Within this reduced enclosure, traces of three smaller buildings were noted in addition to the long building (designated Building 3 by the excavators). Excavation was carried out within three of the twenty rooms of Building 3. With the foundations of Building 3 visible on the surface, excavated deposits within these rooms were shallow (usually well under 1 metre before reaching bedrock). Nevertheless, floors and deposits of sherds above and below floor level could be identified in several sectors in addition to deposits of tiles and clay from the collapsed roofs.

The interpretation of Building 3, the stoa-like building, is central to an understanding of the site in the late archaic period. In size it measured approximately 112 x 10 metres overall, including the terrace in front, and it approaches the dimensions of the Stoa of Attalos in the Athenian Agora. It is constructed in four blocks of five rooms each, each room 4.5 x 5.9 metres internally, with narrow passages separating the blocks. A terrace 2.5 metres wide runs the length of the building along its south side, and doorways open from each room onto this terrace. The doorways appear to be slightly off-centre, but their poor state of preservation does not allow any regular pattern to be determined. Coulton estimates that each room could accommodate between nine and twelve couches or

sleeping pallets (depending on their arrangement), so that the entire structure could have accommodated about 200 men.

One of the excavated rooms contained a small, rectangular hearth-like structure, composed of re-used roof tile fragments, in its centre. No ash or other evidence of burning was associated with this feature, however, and no other internal structural features were preserved within the three rooms excavated in Building 3.

In the published reconstruction drawing (Fig.53), Coulton depicts the building as four separate five-room structures lying to the rear of a common walk-way along the terrace.

Room 2

In the centre of room 2 a hearth-like feature was constructed in a rough square out of broken tiles. The size and location strongly suggested to the excavators that they were looking at a hearth, however, as with the similar Olynthian features, there were no traces of burning, ash or charcoal either inside the feature or on the surrounding tiles. Only a few sherds of cup and cooking pot along with a scatter of shell were noted within the feature and from the floor around it (Coulton *et al* 2002: 12).

Room 4

Unlike room 2, there was no hearth-like feature dominating this room. Recovered pottery sherds date, for the most part, to the Archaic period although some Geometric pieces were noted. Again, shell fragments were recovered. As in room 2, the pottery excavated from this room consisted mainly of drinking vessels and cooking pots with both coarse and fine wares represented along with an oinochoe (*K 56) and a narrow-necked olpe (*K 34). Considerably more lamps were discovered than in Room 2.

Room 17

As with rooms 2 and 4, the bulk of the pottery recovered from Room 17 consisted of drinking vessels³⁰ and cooking pots. Amphora sherds and the mouth of a small jug were present also. None of these pieces was found to form complete or near-complete pots and therefore may not be indicative of use of space within this room, rather they may represent some form of post-occupational disturbance of the site. No shell fragments were noted, and there does not appear to have been a hearth-like feature in this room.

Building 4

This one-room building sits behind the eastern end of Building 3 and measured c. 8.60 x 7.20 m internally. Fragments of drinking and cooking vessels similar to those excavated from Building 3 were recovered, along with bone; however, this room yielded a higher proportion of cooking pots than discovered elsewhere on the site, though without any

³⁰ (K 63, K66-72, K74-9, K 92-115, K 135-8, K 143-9)

evidence for a hearth on which to carry out any cooking. No traces of fire were found in the area excavated within the building.

Key Finds

The three excavated rooms of Building 3 each produced a similar range of pottery. Drinking cups predominate (chiefly glazed or banded stemless cups and *skyphoi*). Numerous sherds of kitchen and cooking ware were uncovered (*chytrai*, unglazed or banded jugs, table amphoras, and semi-glazed or banded *lekanai*) although exact quantitative information is imprecise. Smaller numbers of glazed jugs (*oinochoai*, *olpai*) and small bowls were also found.

As it was an isolated site, it would be reasonable to assume that any pottery would have been in use at some point, in some place, on the site. If the site did indeed function as a military barracks, then the nucleated nature of the site should allow inferences to be made as to the drinking patterns of garrisoned soldiers.

Drinking vessels formed 73% of the catalogued fine wares from Buildings 3 and 4, and 53% of the catalogued pottery as a whole³¹. The majority were noted as small cups and *skyphoi* with a diameter of 12-15 cm and a capacity of about 200 cl.

³¹ Coulton *et al* 2002: 58; Coulton *et al* 2002: 93.

Re-analysis of Coulton *et al's* data

Extremely significant is the fact that there is no evidence of *kraters* having been used at the site. The larger *skyphoi* and the *lekanai* might have fulfilled this purpose (as suggested by Munn in his review of the publication³²). However, there is no reason to suggest that they would have been at all necessary if *symptotic*-type drinking did not take place at the site, a fact acknowledged by the Phylla Vrachos team (2002: 95).

Euboean wine was consumed in the fort as evidenced by the remains of local transport amphorae in every room excavated, and one of these may even have been Cypriot. In comparison with the numbers of cups however, their relatively sparse number would not have filled very many cups. One solution to this problem might be that soldiers were provisioned with a local wine supplied to the garrison in reusable wineskins, a practice we know to have been common.

If, as has been discussed earlier in this thesis, the formal mixing of wine was restricted to *symposia*, there would be no reason to expect that soldiers living in a garrison would drink in such a structured way. I agree with the excavators' hypothesis that each man would have mixed wine and water to his own taste in his own cup: indeed the small size of the *skyphoi* is reminiscent of the single-portion size of vessels from the Sanctuary at Corinth. At least three cups had initials scratched on them which could perhaps suggest individual ownership, and the large numbers of drinking cups excavated could also add weight to

³² Bryn Mawr Classical Review, October 2002.

this theory. There is no need to search for *kraters* if relaxed everyday drinking practices did not necessitate their use.

Soldiers would carry their own mugs on campaign (the only piece of kit which each man needed to provide for himself), and the large number of cups may testify to this practice, and as with every other man woman and child in ancient Greece, wine was drunk on a daily basis.

Clearly there are architectural similarities to the public and civic stoas so common in the ancient Greek world; however, as pointed out by the excavators, there is no parallel for such a large civic building on such a small site (Building 3 virtually equals the Stoa of Attalos in the Athenian Agora in its length), and it is unlikely, given the remote location, that a row of shops on this scale would have been supported. Additionally, none of the graffiti noted related to civic or public use. Coulton (2002: 40) posits the building's function as a granary citing Roman examples as evidence. Surprisingly, the excavators do not discuss the possibility of the rooms as dining rooms, given that the rooms are described in *andron*-like terms with their off-centre doors and raised borders. Similar rooms at the sanctuary site of Brauron were suggested as dormitories, a use which might also have been the case here at Phylla if it was indeed a barrack building. Presumably the fact that, with the exception of Room 2, the entranceways are central to the rooms and not off-centre is what steered the excavators away from a dining explanation.

Attica, Vari – House below the Cave of Pan



Introduction

Situated 3 km to the north of the small village of Vari in southwest Attica (Fig. 54), the seemingly isolated country dwelling lies a short distance below a cave shrine to the god Pan and the Nymphs. The building had been noticed in antiquity by cartographers, but in 1962 it was included in Eliot's *Coastal Demes of Attica* (1962) when it was examined along with other buildings in the Vari area, and identified as a possible ancient farm house used temporarily during the harvest (Jones *et al* 1973: 358).

Preserved stone walls, or stone socles, allowed for the identification of a substantial, south facing, rectangular building which measured 17.6 x 13.7 m. Also visible were an external annexe (of uncertain dimensions) situated to the south east corner of the building, and a walled enclosure measuring 38 m. in width which extended down the slope to the front of the building for 26 m. The front door faced southwards and opened out, via a terrace or veranda extending partially along the south front, into the walled enclosure. Projecting beyond this terrace at the southeast corner (Fig. 55) was some kind of outbuilding or simple enclosure.

The internal plan was made up of a suite of five rooms along the north side of the building, all facing southwards (Fig.56), and two north-facing rooms, one each tucked into the southwest and southeast corners. The rooms all faced out into a central flag-stoned courtyard around which a series of column bases suggest that there was a covered *pastas*. In order to prepare the ground for this building, a great deal of time and effort had to have been spent in levelling and lowering the hilly site on which it stood.

Key Finds

It is thought that this building was deliberately and systematically abandoned along with any valuable or reusable material culture, and that the pottery which remained to be discovered by the excavation team represents pieces already broken, accidentally broken during the abandonment process, or of no further use to the occupants. However, what is

striking is the large number of pottery finds in a variety of shapes which still allows for a meaningful discussion on the kind of drinking which may have gone on here.

Exact findspots for the pottery are unfortunately not given and cannot therefore be attributed to any particular area of the building. As a whole however, they represent a fairly significant body of drinking material. Drinking cups were represented by two calyx *kraters*, four *skyphoi*, eight or nine *kantharoi*, and nine one-handled cups. Other drinking shapes took the form of two or three amphorae, nine jugs and four or five *olpai*. The amount of cooking pottery is significant with thirteen *chytrai*, nine *lopades*, thirty bowls, nineteen *lekanai*, and ten mortars.

Interesting to note is the inclusion of *kantharoi* in the drinking deposit and the complete absence of *kylikes*. The existence of *kantharoi* can perhaps be explained by the fact that this building belongs to the late classical and early hellenistic period when this shape takes over from the *kylix* as a drinking vessel. The *kantharos* is strongly suggestive of the act of religious pilgrimage as, in the Classical period, this cup was firmly associated with the worship of Dionysus and was not an everyday drinking shape. Pan, looking very much like a Dionysian satyr, was one of Dionysus' followers (he reputedly saved him from being eaten by the Titans by scaring them with the sound from his conch horn), and both Pan and Dionysus are attributed to be gods of chaos, ecstasy, wine and sexuality.

The absence of *kylikes* is more significant, and lends weight to any argument which suggests that this shape, strongly indicative of *symposion* type drinking, is more at home in town where fashion and display were a more important part of life. The possibility that any *kylikes* were decorative and treasured possessions taken away with the occupants cannot, of course, be ruled out.

The cup shapes represented are entirely functional being made up of *skyphoi*, one handled cups and *kantharoi*. It might also be expected that pilgrims would carry their own cups with them to take advantage of streams, rivers and other sources of drinking water *en route*. As *kylikes* are entirely lacking, the only pretension to something other than casual drinking is suggested by the two *kraters* from the site. On their own, and without *kylikes*, they become simply mixing bowls and it may be that they were pressed into service when a group of travellers arrived wishing to purchase more than one or two individual cupfuls of wine, and can perhaps be regarded more as large dispensing vessels (i.e. larger than a jug), filled with the required amount of wine and given over to the drinkers to fill with water to their own taste. They could then simply dip their cups into the *krater* and serve themselves.

Re-analysis of Jones *et al*'s data

The proximity of this building to the cave shrine of Pan deserves consideration; lying as it does directly on the path up to the cave, it may not have been as isolated as the excavators believed. The path (or road) on which the building was situated split from the

main Vari to Koropi road 2 km. away, running up through the hills, past the house and on up to the shrine, a further 15-20 minutes walk past the house (Jones *et al* 1973: 358).

If this was indeed the nearest site of habitation to the shrine it could have functioned as the home of a caretaker as well as providing pilgrims arriving on foot, or with a horse or donkey, with accommodation, refreshment and grazing. In large sanctuary sites, official pilgrims (*theoroi*) sent by states to represent them may have enjoyed accommodation in some kind of hostel, but this was not the case for ordinary pilgrims and would certainly not have been the case at a small rural shrine such as the nearby cave of Pan. We know from the sources (Ps. Xenophon *Ath. Pol.* 1.17-18) that residents of Athens with space to spare in their houses could hire out rooms to pilgrims and visitors, and it is likely that this would be the case in rural areas where travellers, and in this case pilgrims, might also need somewhere safe to sleep. The majority of pilgrims would have pitched tents (*skenai*) or, in the heat of summer, made do with a blanket on the ground (Dillon 1997: 209). Even if no accommodation was necessary after a day long pilgrimage to and from the village of Vari three kilometres away, a cup or two of wine blended with cold water from the streams which ran to the east and west of the building would have been welcome. The wine itself could have been stored in skins or in the eighteen amphorae excavated.

The odd-shaped wall which surrounds the building is suggestive of containment rather than boundary marking, and another possible hypothesis might be that both the

occupants' and visitors' animals could be kept safely within the walls. If the occupant kept sheep, then they could be prevented from roaming the hillsides when not with their shepherd, and if a visitor came with a pack animal then it too could be safely stabled outside, but within the walls. Additionally, since animals were not encouraged within religious areas (Dillon 1997), a transport animal could remain safely behind while the pilgrim made the short journey on foot up to the shrine, and the wall would prevent any wandering sheep from using the cave as a shelter.

Nemea, The Xenon



Introduction

The site, excavated by the Americans since 1924 (Kraynak, Burge and Miller 1992: xxix), played host to one of the great Panhellenic athletic festivals (alongside Olympia, Delphi and Isthmia), and our understanding of the site should be set against this background. This was not a centre of habitation, rather a religious site which experienced periodic influxes of thousands of visitors every two years or so, alternated with times of quiet when only a core of essential administrators and/or priests would remain on a permanent basis.

The vast majority of the visitors to these games would have pitched camp in their own tents and temporary shelters scattered around the sacred precinct, and would presumably have been responsible for their own meals and refreshments. Hawkers and peddlers would set up *skenai* from which to sell their wares to those who arrived ill-prepared for a week long round of sacrifices, games and revelry, or who ran out of provisions earlier than expected, and there is every reason to suppose that wine-sellers would have been amongst them. That drunkenness was not unknown within sanctuary precincts (and may even have constituted an undesirable side-effect of the celebrations) is emphasised in a fifth-century BC inscription close to the entrance of the stadium at Delphi banning wine and drunkenness from its precincts (Mandelbaum 1965: 283).

The question of permanent lodgings, or hotels, in sanctuaries is investigated by Lin Kraynak in her PhD dissertation (1984). Building on Thucydides apparent description of a hotel in Plataia in 426 BC, she identifies the Xenon here at Nemea as one such building (Fig. 57). The long stoa-like structure was bisected east-west along the middle and this created a suite of two rooms (one to the north, one to the south). Vessels for eating and drinking, as well as hearths for cooking, were excavated from the entire southern suite of rooms (Kraynak, Burge and Miller 1992: 135-173), and there can be no disagreement that drinking and eating took place here. The Xenon itself was situated on the major road which ran through the valley, and very close to (if not actually within) the sanctuary as it lay outside the sacred area marked out by *horoi*. Significantly, the façade was orientated with the road and not the sanctuary which it turned its back on, further suggesting its

location outside the sacred temenos, though the reasons given for this in detailed discussions of the building (Kraynak, Burge and Miller 1992: 129-30) are structured to fall into line with assumptions concerning the direction of domestic buildings, namely, that according to Xenophon houses should face south in order to capitalise on the sun's rays during the winter months (Xenophon, *Mem.* 3.8.8-10).

From the archaeological evidence, as presented by Kraynak (1984; Kraynak, Burge and Miller 1992), it would appear that the eating and drinking took place in the southern rooms, and therefore took place in the rooms accessed from the roadway. Along the entire exterior facade of these southern rooms ran a channel bringing water from a spring on the eastern side of the valley to the Bath next door to the Xenon (Kraynak, Burge and Miller 1992: 102). In each of the northern rooms was found a row of interior columns running east-west, though each was located in a different position in each room (some more to the front, others towards the back). On this basis, a second storey has been reconstructed (Miller 1990: 100) over the northern rooms, some with balconies others without (Fig. 57-58). The individual layout of these seven units may possibly indicate ownership by seven different people, or at least the possibility that they were not all built by the same person (or even the sanctuary) at the same time.

Key Finds

Rooms 3 through to 8 in the southern half of the Xenon (Fig. 59) appear to have been linked together via connecting doors to form the largest coherent unit in the building (Unit II). The main entrance from the road was identified in room 3, and doors from this room gave access to rooms 4 and 5. Room 5, in turn, gave access to room 6 which had doorways into rooms 7 and 8. In the north-eastern corner of room 3, a small assemblage of badly broken pottery was found³³. Of the several pieces which could be mended, one was a black-glaze *skyphos*,³⁴ a *lekane*,³⁵ and a large *chytra* or cooking pot.³⁶ The southern wall of the overlying Basilica covers much of this section of the Xenon, and the area has not been excavated in its entirety, and Kraynak believes that future investigation in the area will produce more sherds from this small group.

The eastern half of room 4 still lies underneath the Basilica, leaving the western half free for investigation. However, in the north-western corner of this room was found a circular hearth area made from cobbles embedded in the flooring of the room, measure 1.3m in diameter. In addition, Charles Williams, who originally excavated the room, made notes on 'evidence of a smoky fire and poor ventilation' (Kraynak, Burge and Miller 1992: 142). Amongst the fallen roof tiles on the hearth were found pottery and animal bones. In the layer just above the hearth, another black-glaze *skyphos* and a black-glaze echinus bowl were found. In addition, a small number of coarse-ware sherds were found within the

³³ Pottery lots L 18:64 and L 18:65 (Kraynak, Burge and Miller 1992: 141).

³⁴ P 1163 (Kraynak, Burge and Miller 1992: 141)

³⁵ P 1164 (Kraynak, Burge and Miller 1992: 141)

³⁶ P 1237 (Kraynak, Burge and Miller 1992: 141)

triangular cooking stand. This feature is found in three other buildings (identified as houses) at the site, and has been interpreted as both an oven and a receptacle for hot coals on which pots could have stood (Kraynak, Burge and Miller 1992: 144). In reality, it could have functioned as both.

Unit V, Room 13

Unit V had two rooms (13 to the south, and 14 making up the northern portion of the unit). From a destruction layer came two *skyphoi*,³⁷ a cup *kantharos*,³⁸ two bowls,³⁹ and a coarse ware jug.⁴⁰ In a later layer, two stones lining a pit were identified as a small hearth. Amongst the material connected with this feature were 'many fragments of drinking cups and some animal bones with butchering marks' (Kraynak, Burge and Miller 1992: 166).⁴¹ The only shape restored from this deposit was a *skyphos*.⁴²

Kraynak supposes that (Kraynak, Burge and Miller 1992: 166-7), based on the evidence for drinking and cooking, that Room 13 was a formal dining room containing couches, although it should be noted that all of the southern facing rooms in the Xenon have been reconstructed in this way. As already discussed, an off-centre door is not a pre-requisite for a dining room. Kraynak also concedes (Kraynak, Burge and Miller 1992: 167) that it

³⁷ P 1202 and P 1203 (Kraynak, Burge and Miller 1992: 166)

³⁸ P 1211 (Kraynak, Burge and Miller 1992: 166)

³⁹ P 1210 and P 1230 (Kraynak, Burge and Miller 1992: 166)

⁴⁰ P 1214 (Kraynak, Burge and Miller 1992: 166)

⁴¹ Pottery lot O 18: 29, *Nemea I*: 166.

⁴² P 1204

would be difficult to place standard couches neatly around the perimeter (and one at least would have covered over a drain hole).

Alternatively, as Kraynak herself postulates (Kraynak, Burge and Miller 1992: 167), this drain hole may have formed some sort of latrine which emptied crudely to the exterior of the building. An oval terracotta basin with a spout (Fig. 61)⁴³ discovered elsewhere at the site (the exact provenance was not recorded when it was discovered in the 1920s), is suggested as some sort of urinal, with the spout directing liquid through the drain hole in the wall.

In the corner of room 4 was a permanent hearth made out of cobblestones laid into the floor (Fig 6o.). When it was excavated, some sort of stand (for supporting a pot possibly?) made from three roof tiles laid end to end in a roughly oval shape, had been constructed over the north-eastern portion of the hearth (Fig. 6o). The hearth, when excavated, was covered with ashes, cooking pots and cow bones. In room 3 on the other side of the wall, were found drinking cups and cooking pots.

Re-analysis of Kraynak's data

Identified as a hotel for athletes and their trainers (Williams 1964: 155), the building's orientation towards the road is perhaps more significant than has been realised. Whilst it is tempting to imagine accommodation for competitors, the building's location directly

⁴³ P1244

on the main road through the valley would appear to have been a deliberate attempt to attract passing trade travelling on the road. Of course the building may have functioned just as Williams envisages during the games, but it would make sense to assign a use which saw the building thriving as a series of taverns and inns outside the very brief period of time every two years when the games were in full swing. Pilgrims to the Temple of Zeus and travellers passing along the road would be welcomed at any time of the year, and it is this passing trade which the southern doors are surely placed to welcome.

That drinking and eating took place in the building is not in doubt and the drinking shapes belong to a more 'casual' assemblage; *skyphoi*, cup *kantharoi*, and *lekanai* along with *escharai* for cooking. Kraynak (1992: 166) suggests that Unit V, Room 13 could have been used for formal dining on the basis that drinking and cooking took place here, and that the room is believed to have an off-centre doorway. Again we have an attempt to understand and explain drinking pottery through a ritualised *sympotic* filter; an explanation which is not supported in the material remains.

What the material remains do support is that 'casual' eating and drinking took place in the building. Whether each room functioned in the same way is not known, but it would be perfectly reasonable to suppose a mixed use for the building. Taverns, inns, and couch-rooms for rent to religious celebrants could all be supported by this building, especially during lulls in the athletic calendar. When the games descended on the

sanctuary, perhaps they all threw open their doors to give accommodation, food and drink to (paying?) visitors, athletes and officials alike. There is nothing in the material to suggest formal ritualised drinking, rather it is the opposite.

By ending this investigation into Classical Greek drinking with Kraynak and her attempt to explain her drinking assemblage in terms of a *sympotic* framework, I have effectively come full circle. I have returned to the main problem of interpreting all drinking as ritualised and formal as I outlined in Chapter 1. However, I have not returned to the same position. In this thesis I hope to have demonstrated that by treating all places and ways of drinking wine in classical Greece as *sympotic*, commensal, ritualised or formal, our understanding of the way in which the ancient Greeks drank wine is hampered by an approach which is unsophisticated, antiquated and should be obsolete. Literary descriptions of elite drinking parties have been laminated onto the material remains – both architectural and artefactual – and the obvious differences between them have been ignored. The various approaches required to understand the different drinking practices have become buried beneath the construction of a single *sympotic* narrative for classical wine drinking practices. My thesis has tried to break away from this approach and its inevitable conclusions.

Virtually everyone in classical Greece drank wine, but only a minority attended *symposia*. Everyone drank out of cups, but not necessarily the same shapes. People lived in houses, but not all houses were dedicated solely to what we might today understand as ‘domestic’ use, some functioned as commercial premises. These conclusions may appear

obvious and simplistic, but studies of wine drinking and of housing have been carried out in such a way that these obvious conclusions have been consistently ignored. This is, of course, symptomatic of different questions being asked of the material remains. Studies of the type of drinking embodied in the *symposion* were well established before the examination of 'domestic' material culture became a major subject of interest. As a result, it is to studies of the *symposion* that scholars of the classical Greek house turned when they sought to understand the spaces in these 'houses' such as *andrones*, as well as the function of any drinking assemblages excavated. In the absence of any alternative 'casual' or commercial models, all places and all drinking cups have become *symptotic*.

This thesis considered three buildings traditionally understood to have been 'houses': Halieis House 7, the Vari house and the Villa of Good Fortune at Olynthus. In light of my findings with regards to the features which are generally considered to have been essential in classical 'houses', it is clear that installations such as hearths and *andrones* were not included as standard fixtures of the classical Greek home. However, what I have demonstrated is that when these features are found, and in combination with 'casual' and commercial drinking shapes, that an alternative reading of the evidence can be more appropriate. It is abundantly clear that classical houses could function not only as homes, but that they also frequently operated as commercial premises *and* homes. Ancient literature and contemporary house typologies do not help us fully understand the ways in which these buildings were originally used by their owners, and taverns, which I have suggested were included amongst the housing stock of the ancient city, find themselves

typologised into obscurity. This must also be the case for other seemingly archaeologically invisible trades whose function and architectural layout possibly merges with the domestic: inns (the Vari house), taverns (Halieis House 7), brothels (the Villa of Good Fortune), gambling (the Villa of Good Fortune) are all treated as houses even though their material assemblages suggest a different story. The Taverna of Aphrodite is described architecturally as not conforming to what the excavators knew of domestic architecture, so on that basis Morgan felt that an alternative interpretation was appropriate. However, what if it had conformed to patterns of domestic architecture known at the time, would the pottery assemblage have been interpreted differently? Presumably so.

The Villa of Good Fortune undoubtedly lies outside the city wall of Olynthus, but the excavators and the archaeologists who have studied the building subsequently, continue to ignore this fact because they believe it to have been a wealthy 'villa'. Only McDonald put forward an alternative use scenario when he described the building as a possible *pandokeion* (inn) where gambling took place, but this is not the interpretation which endures. When the recovered pottery is analysed, nothing in the repertoire tells of the domestic. Rather, I would propose that the building was a casino, tavern and brothel. It may indeed have been a house in as much as prostitutes, slaves and an owner might have lived there, but was it purely a house, and a wealthy one that?

The excavators of stoa-like buildings such as the South Stoa at Corinth, the Xenon at Nemea and the barrack building at Phylla Vrachos all seek to interpret the rooms as

couch-rooms suitable for *symposia*, or at the very least as spaces where commensal drinking took place. But again the excavated drinking pottery does not back this up. The casual drinking pottery would suggest that these rooms could be used in any way that the occupants at any given time wished. There is also the possibility that these rooms could be hired for celebrations, meetings or accommodation, and that some were owned by individuals and functioned as taverns.

A narrow sole-function interpretation of 'houses' and rooms such as the *andron*, have the added effect of removing the vast majority of the classical wine-drinking population from the picture. As a consequence of an unflinching belief that the *andron* was the 'men's room' in a house where *symposia* were held, classical women have found themselves completely written out of what was potentially their own dining-room (or simply the 'best' room in the house), unless of course it is assumed that they were being paid to be there as prostitutes or entertainers. Women attending the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore celebrated in rooms identical to '*andrones*', so clearly women could and did recline and drink wine. Whether it took place in the company of men we cannot know, but the practice was obviously not alien to them. The excavated drinking cups and jugs speak of a more individual style of drinking from single-portion vessels. When the wine was mixed, it was mixed in a functional way and highly-decorated *kraters* were not needed as, unlike in the *symposion*, the mixing of the wine was not central to the action. The wine was mixed with water simply because that is how it was drunk in classical Greece, but in assemblages without *kraters* we can assume that the context was not highly ritualised or

religious. In fact, *lekanai* might prove to be more central to 'casual' drinking practices than their description as simple mixing-bowls associated more with kitchen assemblages would suggest.

The inclusion of *lekane*s in descriptions of the domestic cooking repertoire might actually be masking their original function as sturdy everyday wine-mixing vessels. In Ault's pottery breakdown of House 7 at Halieis, the *lekane* are included under the heading of 'Food: Prepare Serve' (see tables 6 and 7 on pages 149-150), and 39 vessels of this shape are reconstructed. Whilst this might fit perfectly well with any suggestion that this building was functioning as a busy food-serving *kapeleion* at the time of its destruction, could it be that the *lekane* should actually be considered with the drinking assemblage? *Lekanai* are typically plain or sparsely decorated and, if their remains were included amongst any coarse wares, then there is a very good chance that they were routinely discarded from the less sophisticated excavation and collection strategies of the older excavations such as Olynthus and Corinth's South Stoa.

Shear (1975: 357) also included *lekanai* amongst the 'domestic' pottery in his excavation of Well R 13:4, yet he discovered over 400 *lekanai* fragments in a single deposit (27 of which formed complete vessels). This is a massive amount even for a commercial kitchen. However, if these vessels could be included amongst the drinking and serving pottery assemblage, then their numbers begin to make more sense.

Rotroff and Oakley's 'public dining' deposit in the Agora (Pit H 4:5) also contained *lekanai* but again they are attributed to the 'domestic' assemblage believed to have been represented in the deposit. If, however, the *lekanai* are considered along with the numerous *skyphoi* (over 100 complete feet counted with almost 700 fragments of foot) and the *kothones*, then a completely different type of drinking from 'public' is clearly taking place in the area.

At Phylla Vrachos *lekanides* are again included with the cooking pottery yet they represent the third most common shape recovered from the site: 10.5% of the total eating and drinking pottery, outnumbered only by plates (39.2%) and drinking cups (58.6%) of which *skyphoi* make up 12.6% of this total. Again no *kraters* are present. As stated in the discussion on the Phylla pottery (p. 210), Munn suggested that, in the absence of *kraters*, soldiers could mix their wine in their cup, but this is presuming that the *lekanis* is a domestic cooking shape. Rather, we could imagine soldiers drinking together with wine mixed in the numerous *lekanides*.

In the Vari house 2 *kraters* were identified and the 19 *lekanides* again find themselves included amongst the cooking shapes. Whilst these 2 *kraters* could have functioned as I suggest on pages 216-217, perhaps more ordinary pilgrims, or at least those less concerned with appearances, could have had their wine served in a *lekanis* or straight into their own cups.

At the start of this thesis I understood that the *kylix* and the *krater* were the shapes most clearly associated with *sympotic* type drinking, and as the shapes least likely to find a place in more 'casual' and commercial contexts, whilst *skyphoi*, *kothones* and single-serving jugs were the shapes most likely to have been used for everyday wine drinking. My research strongly suggests this, however, what was most unexpected is the extent to which *kraters* and *kylikes* are not found. In the archaeological record, they simply are not common shapes.

So much has been written about the *symposion* and its rituals of commensality, along with art-historians' extensive studies of *sympotic* 'art', that the *kylix* and the *krater* have assumed an importance which is completely out of proportion to their actual place in the classical drinking repertoire. Nick Cahill once asked me why I thought that there were virtually no *kraters* found at Olynthus, and my response was to question why there should be any at all. It is perhaps no surprise that the largest amount of *kraters* from any of the case studies presented here, comes from Athens; a city where we know the *symposion* was important. Why should it be presumed that this type of drinking took place anywhere else in Greece? The problem is partly due, as I set out at the start of this thesis, to the absence of alternative theoretical models around which archaeologists can build their interpretation of the drinking pottery they find.

My research has identified that there is an identifiable 'casual' and commercial drinking assemblage, however, there is no formula to the precise identification of any type of

building or assemblage from the classical Greek world, and this is one of the most important findings for this thesis. Archaeologists, when faced with a building containing an assemblage of drinking and cooking pottery must consider it in combination with its location and layout. It is not enough to begin with the designation of 'house' before working backwards to consider the pottery therefore as a domestic assemblage.

Undoubtedly one of the main problems which I faced was one of data consistency. The sheer lack of drinking material from which to draw any conclusions means that none of my case studies can be confidently interpreted as a *kapeleion*; if indeed the name itself was ever used of a commercial drinking place outside of Aristophanes. What I have tried to do with a severely limited body of material, is broaden our knowledge of the range of drinking that could take place in all manner of different locations. My findings are not definitive, and in some instances they are downright speculative, but my intention was to open up the dialogue between material culture and text and between archaeologist and classicist, especially in terms of Classical drinking practices.

Furthermore, a future study of drinking assemblages could open up to include an analysis of the iconography of the decorated drinking pottery along with an examination of the ways in which it may (or may not) relate to particular shapes. A search for drinking scenes in the online Beazley archive⁴⁴ gives two choices: *symposion* and *komos*. However, within these two very restricted categories are scenes of women drinking with men, women

⁴⁴<http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/Test/Pottery%20Public/Script/Drinking.htm>

drinking with women, youths drinking, wine being served, wine being carried, wine being made etc. Should all of these scenes really be understood as *sympotic*?

Skyphoi and *kothones* were found on every site which I have studied, so they were undeniably everyday drinking shapes. Any attempt therefore, to establish a coherent tavern drinking assemblage would not work. Kathleen Lynch has carried out a basic (and as yet unpublished) study of the capacity of various cup shapes found in the Athenian Agora (pers. comm.), and this work could be further expanded to include jugs and *lekanai*, along with a comparison of pottery from sites outside Athens. How many of the jugs found, for example, conform to a standard capacity such as a *kotyle*? Could wine be sold this way in a tavern where we know customers to have been reluctant to trust the barmaids and their measures?

This thesis began with four research questions, all of which have been addressed albeit some with greater success than others. In several cases the results were surprising. For example, the consistency with which the *lekanis* appears along with other 'casual' drinking shapes must argue for its inclusion with drinking pottery as opposed to its regular categorisation amongst kitchen and cooking pottery. In addition, at the very beginning of my research I did not expect to find commercial premises so firmly embedded within the domestic sphere, or to discover that hearths, and fixed kitchens, were not a normal feature of classical Greek 'houses'. As a result, at least half of this thesis concerns 'houses' and challenges the way in which they are traditionally

interpreted; a totally unforeseen consequence of my original research into *kapeleia*, and one which has strong implications for research into domestic architecture, as well as the features and pottery which excavators may be expected to encounter.

The theoretical framework which I have begun to develop could be applied to any known, yet seemingly archaeologically invisible, trade in classical Greece. Edward Harris (2002) was able to identify 170 separate trades being carried out in classical Athens, the locations for the vast majority of which remain to be positively identified in the archaeological record. Houses, streets, stoas, sanctuaries, barracks and isolated rural 'houses' all enjoyed a more rich and diverse existence than archaeologists have, to date, given them credit for. At any given time during their cycle of habitation and use, they gave shelter to wine drinkers. Men and women, slaves and free, Greeks and non-Greeks: wine was available to everyone, whenever they wanted it (perhaps with the exception of slaves) and wherever they wished to enjoy it. Taverns were plentiful and most were operated from the homes of the owners or managers. Some were decent and respectable while some functioned in tandem with brothels and gambling dens.

Scholars of classical Greek wine consumption must recognise that 'casual' and commercial wine drinking should not be viewed as a lower-class alternative to the *symposion*, or that the *symposion* was the only way of drinking wine which left any trace in the material record. This thesis has demonstrated that the reality is that the *symposion* was just one of the many and varied settings for wine drinking enjoyed by a minority of

men, and as long as the drink-related pottery which archaeologists recover continues to be classed as decorated *sympotic* or plain domestic, then the blurred grey area in the middle where the evidence for 'casual' and commercial *kapeleion* wine drinking resides, will not be recognised.

In this thesis I hope to have changed the landscape of classical Greek social life and leisure time, as well as reordering the *kapeleion* and the *symposion* within it. It also raises the status of women, slaves and non-Greeks from excluded bystanders or bit-part players, marginal to the main *sympotic* action, to people who enjoyed a mug or two of wine in their own right. They have been reinstated with the social life and the taverns which they once enjoyed, but which have for too long been denied.

- Aristophanes *Clouds, Wasps, Peace*, translated by J. Henderson (2000) (Loeb Classical Library). Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
- Aristophanes *Birds, Lysistrata, Women at the Thesmophoria*, translated by J. Henderson (2000) (Loeb Classical Library). Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
- Aristophanes *Frogs, Assemblywomen. Wealth*, translated by J. Henderson (2002) (Loeb Classical Library). Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
- Athenaeus *The Deipnosophists* translated by C. B. Gulick (1980) (Loeb Classical Library). Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
- Demosthenes *Orations L-LIX, Private Cases, In Neaeram* translated by A. T. Murray (1939) (Loeb Classical Library). Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
- Euboulos *ap. Athenaeus The Deipnosophists* translated by C. B. Gulick (1980) (Loeb Classical Library). Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
- Hyperides *Minor Attic Orators II*, translated by J. O. Burt (1954) (Loeb Classical Library). Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
- Isaeus *Isaeus*, translated by E. S. Forster (1927) (Loeb Classical Library). Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
- Lysias *Lysias*, translated by W. R. M. Lamb (1930) (Loeb Classical Library). Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
- Menander *Menander, Volume I*, translated by W. G. Arnott (1979) (Loeb Classical Library). Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
- Menander *Menander Volume II*, translated by W. G. Arnott (1997) (Loeb Classical Library). Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
- Menander *Menander Volume III*, translated by W. G. Arnott (2000) (Loeb Classical Library). Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
- Pausanias *Description of Greece, Books I-II*, translated by W. H. S. Jones (1918) (Loeb Classical Library). Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Plato *Lysis. Symposium. Gorgias*, translated by W. R. M. Lamb (1925) (Loeb Classical Library). Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Plato *Laches, Protagoras, Meno, Euthydemus*, translated by W. R. M. Lamb (1924) (Loeb Classical Library). Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Thucydides *History of the Peloponnesian War III, Books V-VI*, translated by C. F. Smith (1921) (Loeb Classical Library). Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Vitruvius *On Architecture, Books VI-X*, translated by F. Granger (1934) (Loeb Classical Library). Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Xenophon *Memorabilia. Oeconomicus. Symposium. Apology*, translated by E. C. Marchant (1923) (Loeb Classical Library). Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Xenophon *Hiero, Agesilaus, Constitution of the Lacedaemonians, Ways and Means, Cavalry Commander, Art of Horsemanship, On Hunting, Constitution of the Athenians*, translated by E. C. Marchant and G. W. Bowersock (1925) (Loeb Classical Library). Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

- Adam-Veleni, P., E. Poulaki, et al. (2003). Ancient Country Houses on Modern Roads. Athens, The Archaeological Receipts Fund
- Allison, P. M., Ed. (1999). The Archaeology of Household Activities. London, Routledge.
- Allison, P. M., Ed. (2004). Pompeian Households: An analysis of material culture. Los Angeles, Cotsen Institute of Archaeology.
- Ault, B. A. and L. Nevett (1999). Digging Houses: Archaeologies of Classical and Hellenistic Greek Domestic Assemblages in The Archaeology of Household Activities. P. M. Allison (Ed.). London, Routledge: 43-56.
- Ault, B. A. and L. Nevett, Eds. (2005). Ancient Greek Houses and Households. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Ault, B. A. (1994). Classical houses and households: An architectural and artifactual case study from Halieis, Greece. Indiana University, PhD thesis.
- Ault, B. A. (2005). The Excavations at Ancient Halieis, Vol. 2: The Houses. The Organization and Use of Domestic Space. Bloomington, Indiana University Press.
- Austin, M. M. and P. Vidal-Naquet (1977). Economic and Social History of Ancient Greece. Los Angeles, University of California Press.
- Aylward, W. (2005). Security, Synoikismos, and Koinon as Determinants for Troad Housing in Classical and Hellenistic Times in Ancient Greek Houses and Households. Ault, B. A. and L. Nevett (Eds). Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Barra Bagnasco, M. (1996). Housing and Workshop Construction in the City in The Western Greeks. G. Pugliese Carratelli, Ed. Venice, Bompiani: 353-360.
- Barrows, S. and R. Room, Eds. (1991). Drinking, Behaviour and Belief in Modern History. Berkeley, University of California Press.
- Bats, M. (1988). 'Vaisselle et alimentation à Olbia de Provence (v. 350-v. 50 av. J.-C.)'. Revue archéologique de Narbonnaise, supplément 18. Paris, Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique.
- Bell, M. (1980). 'The City Plan of Morgantina.' American Journal of Archaeology 84: 195.

- Bennett, J. M. (1996). Ale, Beer and Brewsters in England: Women's Work in a Changing World, 1300-1600. Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Bergquist, B. (1990). Sympotic Space: A Functional Aspect of Greek Dining-Rooms. Sympotica: A Symposium on the Symposium. O. Murray. Ed., Oxford, Clarendon Press.
- Berthiaume, G. (1997). Les Rôles du mageiros: étude sur la boucherie, la cuisine et le sacrifice dans la Grèce ancienne. Leiden, Brill.
- Boardman, J. (1975). Athenian Red Figure Vases: The Archaic Period. London, Thames and Hudson.
- Boardman, J. (1989). Athenian Red Figure Vases: The Classical Period. London, Thames and Hudson.
- Bookidis, N. and J. E. Fisher (1969). 'Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore on Acrocorinth: Preliminary Report 3.' Hesperia 38: 297-310.
- Bookidis, N. and J.E. Fisher (1972). 'Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore on Acrocorinth: Preliminary Report 4.' Hesperia 41: 283-331.
- Bookidis, N. and J.E. Fisher (1974). 'Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore on Acrocorinth: Preliminary Report 5.' Hesperia 43: 267-307.
- Bookidis, N. and R. S. Stroud (1997). 'Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore: Topography and Architecture.' Corinth XVIII, iii. American School of Classical Studies at Athens.
- Bookidis, N. , J. Hansen, L. Snyder, P. Goldberg (1999). 'Dining in the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Corinth.' Hesperia 68: 1-54.
- Bowie, A. (1997). 'Thinking with Drinking: Wine and the Symposium in Aristophanes.' Journal of Hellenic Studies 117: 1-21.
- Bowie, E. M. (1995). Wine in Old Comedy. In Vino Veritas. O. Murray and M. Tecusan, Eds. Oxford, Clarendon Press.
- Braund, D. (1994). 'The Luxuries of Athenian Democracy.' Greece and Rome 41: 41-44.
- Bremmer, J. (1990). Adolescents, *Symposion* and Pederasty. Sympotica: A Symposium on the Symposium. O. Murray, Ed. Oxford, Clarendon Press: 135-148.
- Broneer, O. (1947). 'Investigations at Corinth, 1946-1947.' Hesperia 16: 239-241.
- Broneer, O. (1954). Corinth, Vol. I, Part IV. The South Stoa and its Roman Successors. Princeton, New Jersey, The American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

- Brown, P. (2003). Man walks into a pub. A sociable history of beer. London, Macmillan.
- Bruit Zaidman, L., and P. Schmitt Pantel. (1992). Religion in the Ancient Greek City. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Burke, P. (1995). 'The Invention of Leisure in Early Modern Europe.' Past and Present 146: 136-150.
- Burkert, W. (1985). Greek Religion. Oxford, Blackwell Publishing.
- Burkert, W. (1991). 'Oriental Symposia.' Dining in a Classical Context. W. J. Slater. Ann Arbor, The University of Michigan Press: 7-24.
- Burton, J. (1998). 'Women's Commensality in the Ancient Greek World.' Greece and Rome 45(2): 143-165.
- Buxton, R. (2000). Greek Religion. Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Cahill, N. (2002). Household and City Organization at Olynthus. New Haven/London, Yale University Press.
- Cameron, A. and A. Kuhrt, Eds. (1993). Images of Women in Antiquity, Wayne State University Press.
- Camp, J. M. (1986). The Athenian Agora. Excavations in the Heart of Classical Athens. London, Thames & Hudson.
- Cartledge, P. (2002). The Spartans. London, Channel Four Books.
- Cartledge, P., E. E. Cohen, & L. Foxhall, Eds. (2002). Money, Labour and Land. London, Routledge.
- Cartledge, P. A., P. Millett, & S. von Reden, Eds. (1998). Kosmos: Essays in Order, Conflict and Community in Classical Athens. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Casson, L. (1984). Ancient Trade and Society. Detroit, Wayne State University Press.
- Casson, L. (1994). Travel in the Ancient World. Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press.
- Cohen, D. (1989). 'Seclusion, Separation, and the Status of Women in Classical Athens.' Greece and Rome 36: 3-15.
- Cohen, D. (1991). Law, Sexuality and Society: The Enforcement of Morals in Classical Athens. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

- Cohen, E. E. (2000). Whoring under Contract: The Legal Context of Prostitution in Fourth-century Athens. Law and Social Status in Classical Athens. V. Hunter and J. Edmondson, Eds. Oxford, Oxford University Press: 113-149.
- Cox, C. A. (1998). Household Interests. Princeton, Princeton University Press.
- Dalby, A. (1996). Siren Feasts. London, Routledge.
- Dalby, A. (2000). *Topikos Oinos*: The Named Wines of Old Comedy. The Rivals of Aristophanes. D. Harvey and J. Wilkins. London, Duckworth: 397-405.
- Davidson, J. (1993). 'Fish, Sex and Revolution in Athens.' Classical Quarterly 43: 53-66.
- Davidson, J. (1997). 'A Ban on Public Bars in Thasos?' Classical Quarterly 47(ii): 392-395.
- Davidson, J. (1997). Courtesans and Fishcakes. The Consuming Passions of Classical Athens. London, Fontana Press.
- Dietler, M. (1990). Driven by drink: The Role of Drinking in the Political Economy and the Case of Early Iron Age France. Journal of Anthropological Anthropology 9: 352-406.
- Dietler, M. (1996). Feast and Commensal Politics in the Political Economy: Food, Power, and Status in Prehistoric Europe. Food and the Status Quest. P. Wiessner and W. Schiefenhövel, Eds. Oxford, Berghahn Books.
- Dillon, M. (1997). Pilgrims and Pilgrimage in Ancient Greece. London, Routledge.
- Douglas, M., Ed. (1987). Constructive Drinking: Perspectives on Drink from Anthropology. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- du Boulay, J. (1994). Portrait of a Greek Mountain Village. Evia, Denise Harvey.
- Dunbabin, K. M. D. (1991). 'Triclinium and Stibadium'. Dining in a Classical Context. William J. Slater, Ed. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press.
- Dunbabin, K. M. D. (1998). 'Ut Graeco More Biberatur: Greeks and Romans on the Dining Couch'. Meals in a Social Context. I. Nielssen and Hanne Sigismund Nielsen, Eds. Denmark, Aarhus University Press.
- Eliot, C. W. J. (1962). The Coastal Demes of Attica: a study of the policy of Kleisthenes. Toronto, University of Toronto Press.
- Ellis, S. J. R. (2004). 'The distribution of bars at Pompeii', Journal of Roman Archaeology 17: 371-384.
- Ellis, S. P. (2000). Roman Housing. London, Duckworth.

- Emboden, W. (1977). 'Dionysus as a Shaman and Wine as a Magical Drug.' Journal of Psychedelic Drugs 9: 187-192.
- Fantham, E., H.P. Foley, N. B. Kampen, S. B. Pomeroy, H. A. Shapiro, (1994). Women in the Classical World. Image and Text. Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Finley, M. I. (1999). The Ancient Economy. Updated with a new Foreword by Ian Morris. Berkeley, University of California Press.
- Fisher, N. R. E. (1976). Social Values in Classical Athens. London/Toronto.
- Fisher, N. R. E. (1988). Greek Associations, Symposia and Clubs. Civilisation in the Ancient Mediterranean. M. Grant and R. Kitzinger, Eds. New York, C. Scribners Sons.
- Fisher, N. R. E. (1992). Hybris: A Study in the Values of Honour and Shame in Ancient Greece. Warminster.
- Fisher, N. R. E. (1998). Gymnasia and Social Mobility in Athens. Kosmos: Essays in Order, Conflict and Community in Classical Athens. P. A. Cartledge, P. Millett and S. von Reden, Eds. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press: 84-104.
- Fisher, N. R. E. (1999). 'Workshops of Villains': Was there Much Organised Crime in Classical Athens? Organised Crime in Antiquity. K. Hopwood, Ed. Swansea, The Classical Press of Wales: 53-96.
- Fisher, N. R. E. (2000). Symposiasts, Fish-eaters and Flatterers: Social Mobility and Moral Concerns. The Rivals of Aristophanes. D. Harvey and J. Wilkins, Eds. London, Duckworth: 355-396.
- Fisher, N. R. E. (2004). The Perils of Pittalakos: Settings of Cock Fighting and Dicing in Classical Athens. Games and Festivals in Classical Antiquity. S. Bell and G. Davies, Eds. Edinburgh, BAR International Series. 1220.
- Foxhall, L. (1989). 'Household, Gender and Property in Classical Athens.' Classical Quarterly 39: 22-44.
- Foxhall, L. (2000). 'The Running Sands of Time: Archaeology and the Short-term.' World Archaeology 31(3): 484-498.
- Foxhall, L. (2007). House Clearance: Unpacking the 'Kitchen' in Classical Greece. Building Communities: House, Settlement and Society in the Aegean and Beyond. R. Westgate, N. Fisher and J. Whitley, Eds. British School at Athens.
- Foxhall, L. (2007). Olive Cultivation in Ancient Greece: Seeking the ancient economy. Oxford, OUP.

- Foxhall, L. (forthcoming). Small, Rural Farmstead Sites in Ancient Greece: A Material Cultural Analysis. Chora und Polis. F. Kolb and E. Müller-Luckner, Eds. Munich, Oldenbourg: 249-70.
- Fuks, A. (1951). 'Kolonos misthios: labour exchange in classical Athens.' Eranos 49: 171-173.
- Fuks, A. (1984). Social Conflict in Ancient Greece. Jerusalem/Leiden.
- Fustel de Coulanges, N. D. (1991). The Ancient City. Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Gager, J. G. (1992). Curse Tablets and Binding Spells from the Ancient World. Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Gallant, T. W. (1991). Risk and Survival in Ancient Greece: Reconstructing the Domestic Economy. Cambridge, Polity Press.
- Garland, R. (1987). The Piraeus. Ithaca, Cornell University Press.
- Garnsey, P. (1999). Food and Society in Classical Antiquity. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Germani, G. (1980). Marginality. New Brunswick, New Jersey, Transaction Publishers.
- Gibson, J. A. and D. Wineberg (1980). 'In Vino Communitas: Wine and Identity in a Swiss Alpine Village.' Anthropological Quarterly 52: 111-121.
- Goldberg, M. Y. (1999). 'Spatial and behavioural negotiation in classical Athenian city houses.' The Archaeology of Household Activities. P. M. Allison, Ed. London, Routledge: 142-161.
- Golden, M. (1990). Children and Childhood in Classical Athens. Baltimore/London: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Gould, R. A. and M. B. Schiffer, Eds. (1981). Modern Material Culture: The Archaeology of Us. New York, Academic Press.
- Grace, V. R. (1979). Amphoras and the Ancient Wine Trade. American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Agora Picture Book Number 6. Princeton, New Jersey.
- Graham, A. J. (1988). 'The Woman at the Window: Observations on the 'Stele from the Harbour of Thasos'.' Journal of Hellenic Studies 118: 22-40.
- Graham, J. W. (1954). 'Olynthiaka 5-6.' Hesperia 23(4): 320-346.
- Graham, J. W. (1974). 'Houses of Classical Athens.' Phoenix 28: 45-54.

- Hamilakis, Y. (1999). 'Food Technologies/Technologies of the Body: The Social Context of Wine and Oil Production and Consumption in Bronze Age Crete.' World Archaeology 31(1): 38-54.
- Hamilton, R. (1992). Choes and Anthesteria. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press.
- Harris, E. M. (2002). 'Workshop, Marketplace and Household. The nature of technical specialization in classical Athens and its influence on economy and society'. Money, Labour and Land. P. A. Cartledge, E. E. Cohen and L. Foxhall, Eds. London, Routledge: 67-99.
- Harvey, D. and J. Wilkins, Eds. (2000). The Rivals of Aristophanes. London, Duckworth.
- Heath, D. B. (1987). 'A decade of Development in the Anthropological Study of Alcohol Use: 1970-1980.' In M. Douglas, Ed., Constructive Drinking: Perspectives on Drink from Anthropology. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press: 16-69.
- Heath, D. B. (1999). 'Drinking and pleasure across cultures.' In S. Peele & M. Grant, Eds., Alcohol and pleasure: A health perspective. Philadelphia: Taylor and Francis: 61-72.
- Heath, D. B. (2000). Drinking Occasions. Comparative Perspectives on Alcohol and Culture. Psychology Press.
- Hoepfner, W. and E. L. Schwandner (1994). Haus und Stadt im klassischen Griechenland. Munich, 2nd edition. (Wohnen in der klassischen Polis, 1.) München: DAI Architektureferat/Seminar für klassische Archäologie der Freien Universität Berlin/Deutscher Kunstverlag.
- Hopper, R. J. (1979). Trade and Industry in Classical Greece. London, Thames & Hudson.
- Hopwood, K., Ed. (1999). Organised Crime in Antiquity. Swansea, The Classical Press of Wales.
- Hunter, V. (1994). Policing Athens: Social Control in the Attic Lawsuits, 420-320 BC. Princeton, Princeton University Press.
- Immerwahr, H. R. (1948). 'An Athenian Wine-shop.' Transactions of the American Philological Association 79: 184-190.
- Immerwahr, H. R. (1948). 'New Wine and Ancient Wineskins: The Evidence from Attic Vases.' Hesperia 61: 121-132.
- Isager, S. and M. H. Hansen (1975). Aspects of Athenian society in the fourth century BC: a historical introduction to and commentary on the paragraphe-speeches and the

- speech Against Dionysodorus in the Corpus Demosthenicum XXXII-XXXVIII and LVI. Odense, Odense University Press.
- Isager, S. and B. Poulsen (1997). Patron and pavements in late antiquity. Odense, Odense University Press.
- Isager, S. and J. E. Skydsgaard (1992). Ancient Greek Agriculture: an introduction. London, Routledge.
- JACT (1984). The World of Athens. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Jameson, M. (1990). Domestic Space in the Greek City-state. Domestic Architecture and the Use of Space. New Directions in Archaeology. S. Kent, Ed. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press: 92-113.
- Jameson, M. H. (1988). Sacrifice and Animal Husbandry in Classical Greece. Pastoral Economies in Classical Antiquity. C. R. Whittaker, Ed. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press: 87-119.
- Jellinek, E. M. (1962). Cultural Differences in the Meaning of Alcoholism. Society, Culture, and Drinking Patterns. D. J. Pittman. New York, John Wiley.
- Joffe, A. H. (1998). 'Alcohol and Social Complexity in Ancient Western Asia.' Current Anthropology 39(3): 297-322.
- Jones, J. E. (1975). Town and Country Houses in Attica in Classical Times. Miscellanea Graeca I: Thorikos and Laurium in Archaic and Classical Times. Ghent: 63-141.
- Jones, J. E., L. H. Sackett & A. J. Graham. (1962). 'The Dema House in Attica.' Annual of the British School at Athens(57): 76-114.
- Jones, J.E., L.H. Sackett, and A.J. Graham (1973). An Attic Country House Below the Cave of Pan at Vari.' Annual of the British School at Athens (68): 355-452.
- Kanowski, M. G. (1983). Containers of Classical Greece: A Handbook of Shapes. London & New York, University of Queensland Press.
- Kassel, R. and C. Austin (1984). Poetae Comici Graeci. Berlin.
- Kassel, R. and C. Austin (1986). Poetae Comici Graeci, Part 2, Walter de Gruyter.
- Kelly-Blazeby, C. F. (2005). 'The Classical Greek Tavern.' Abstracts of the 106th Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America. Boston, AIA.
- Kelly-Blazeby, C. F. (2005). 'The Classical Greek Tavern: An Archaeological Perspective.' The Undoctored Past <http://undoctored.co.uk/journal/?p=31>.

- Kelly-Blazeby, C. F. (2006). *Agora, Athenian; Amphoras; Athens* [with G. Shipley]; Beer; Inns; Symposia; Tholoi. The Cambridge Dictionary of Classical Civilization. G. Shipley, J. Vanderspoel, D. Mattingly and L. Foxhall, Eds. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Kelly, C. F. (2000). 'Drinking in the Athenian Agora c. 475-323 BC: An Archaeological Perspective.' Department of Archaeology, University of Glasgow. Unpublished MPhil thesis.
- Kelly, C. F. (2001). 'Tavernas in Ancient Greece c. 475-146 BC.' Assemblage 6 (http://www.shef.ac.uk/assem/issue6/Kelly_web.htm).
- Kempton, W. (1978). 'Category Grading and Taxonomic Relations: A Mug is a Sort of Cup.' American Ethnologist 5(1): 44-65.
- Kent, S. (1990). 'Activity Areas and Architecture: An Interdisciplinary View of the Relationship between Use of Space and Domestic Built Environments.' Domestic Architecture and the Use of Space. New Directions in Archaeology. S. Kent. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press: 9-20.
- Kent, S., Ed. (1990). Domestic Architecture and the Use of Space. New Directions in Archaeology. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Keuls, E. C. (1985). The Reign of the Phallus. Berkeley, University of California Press.
- Kramer, C. (1979). 'Architecture, Household Size and Wealth.' Ethnoarchaeology. C. Kramer. New York, Columbia University Press: 139-161.
- Kramer, C. (1981). 'Variability, Complexity and Social Organisation in Southwest Asian Settlements.' Archaeological Approaches to Social Complexity. S. Van der Leeuw. Amsterdam, University of Amsterdam: 100-112.
- Kraynak, L. (1984). Hostelries of Ancient Greece. University of California, Berkeley, unpublished PhD thesis.
- Kraynak, L., D. Birge and S. G. Miller (1992). Excavations at Nemea I. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Kurke, L. (1989). 'ΚΑΠΗΛΕΙΑ and Deceit: Theognis 59-60.' American Journal of Philology 110: 535-544.
- La Motta, V. M. and M. Schiffer (1999). 'Formation Processes of House Floor Assemblages' in The Archaeology of Household Activities. P. M. Allison, Ed. London, Routledge: 19-29.
- Lang, M. (1956). 'Numerical notation on Greek vases'. Hesperia 25: 1-24.

- Lang, M. and M. Crosby. (1964). The Athenian Agora, Vol. 10. Weights, Measures and Tokens. The American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Princeton, New Jersey.
- Lauter-Bufe, H. and H. Lauter (1971). 'Wohnhäuser und stadtviertel des klassischen Athen.' Athenische Mitteilungen 86.
- Lawall, M. (2000). 'Graffiti, wine selling, and the reuse of amphoras in the Athenian Agora, ca. 430 to 400 BC.' Hesperia 69: 3-90.
- Lewis, S. (1995). 'Barbers' Shops and Perfume Shops: Symposia without Wine.' The Greek World. A. Powell. London: 432-441.
- Lewis, S. (2002). The Athenian Woman. An Iconographic Handbook. London, Routledge.
- Liddell, H. G. and R. Scott. 1968. A Greek-English Lexicon. Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Lissarrague, F. (1990). The Aesthetics of the Greek Banquet. Princeton, Princeton University Press.
- Lissarrague, F. (1990). 'Around the Krater: An Aspect of Banquet Imagery.' Sympotica: A Symposium on the Symposium. O. Murray, (ed.). Oxford, Clarendon Press: 196-209.
- Luke, J. (1994). 'The Krater, *Kratos*, and the Polis.' Greece and Rome XLI(1): 23-32.
- Lynch, K. M. (1998). 'Black-figure, Red-figure, and Communal Drinking in a Late Archaic Athenian Home.' The 100th Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America. Washington D.C., American Journal of Archeology 103: 298.
- Lynch, K. M. (2007). 'More thoughts on the space of the symposium.' Building Communities: House, Settlement and Society in the Aegean and Beyond. R. Westgate, N. Fisher and J. Whitley, British School at Athens.
- MacDowell, D. M. (1976). '*Hybris* in Athens.' Greece and Rome 23(1): 14-31.
- MacQueen, J. G. (1975). The Hittites and their Contemporaries in Asia Minor. London, Thames and Hudson.
- Mandelbaum, D. G. (1965). 'Alcohol and Culture.' Current Anthropology 6(3): 281-293.
- Mayhew, R. (2004). The Female in Aristotle's Biology. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press.
- McClure, L. K. (2003). Courtesans at Table. London, Routledge.

- McDonald, W. A. (1951). 'Villa or Pandokeion?' Studies Presented to D.M. Robinson. G. Mylonas, Ed. St Louis, Washington University. 1: 365-373.
- McGinn, T. (2002). 'Pompeian Brothels and Social History.' Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series 47: 7-45.
- McGovern, P.E., S. J. Fleming and S. H. Katz, Eds. (1996). The Origins and Ancient History of Wine. London, Gordon and Breach Publishers.
- Miller, Stephen G., Ed. (1990). Nemea: A Guide to the Museum and the Site. Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press.
- Morgan, C. H. (1953). 'Investigations at Corinth, 1953 - A Tavern of Aphrodite.' Hesperia XXII: 131-140.
- Morgan, J. (2005). Domestic cult in the classical Greek house. University of Cardiff, unpublished PhD thesis.
- Morris, I. (1999). 'Archaeology and Gender Ideologies in Early Archaic Greece.' Transactions of the American Philological Association 129: 305-317.
- Murray, O., Ed. (1990). Symptica: A Symposium on the Symposium. Oxford, Clarendon Press.
- Murray, O., Ed. (1990). 'The Affair of the Mysteries: Democracy and the Drinking Group.' O. Murray, Ed., Symptica: A Symposium on the Symposium. Oxford, Clarendon Press: 149-161.
- Murray, O. (1995). 'Forms of Sociality.' The Greeks. J-P. Vernant (Ed.), Chicago, The University of Chicago Press.
- Murray, O. and M. Tecuşan, Eds. (1995). In Vino Veritas. Oxford, Clarendon Press.
- Mylonas, G. (1940). 'The Olynthian House of the Classical Period.' Classical Journal 35: 389-402.
- Mylonas, G. (1946). 'Excursus II: The Oecus Unit of the Olynthian house', in D.M. Robinson (ed.), Olynthus pt. XII: Domestic and Public Architecture (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press): 369-398.
- Myres, J. L. (1953). 'Ancient Groceries.' Greece and Rome 22(64): 1-10.
- Nevett, L. (1994). 'Separation or Seclusion? Towards an Archaeological Approach to Investigating Women in the Greek Household in the Fifth to Third Centuries BC.' Architecture and Order: Approaches to Social Space. M. Parker Pearson and C. Richards. London, Routledge: 98-112.

- Nevett, L. (1999). House and Society in the Ancient Greek World. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Osborne, R. (1998). Archaic and Classical Greek Art. Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Osborne, R. (2000). 'Women and Sacrifice in Classical Greece.' Greek Religion. R. Buxton, Oxford, Oxford University Press: 294-313.
- Osborne, R., Ed. (2000). Classical Greece 500-323 BC. The Short Oxford History of Europe. Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Otis, L. L. (1985). Prostitution in Medieval Society. Chicago, Chicago University Press.
- Packer, J. (1978). 'Inns at Pompeii: A Short Survey.' Cronache Pompeiane IV: 5-53.
- Panofka, T. (1829). Recherches sur les véritables noms des vases grecs et sur leurs différents usages d'après les témoignages des auteurs et des monuments anciens. Paris, Leipsick.
- Papadopoulos, J. K. (1999). 'Mendaian as Chalkidian Wine.' Hesperia 68(2): 161-188.
- Parke, H. W. (1977). Festivals of the Athenians. New York, Cornell University Press.
- Parker, R. (1996). Athenian Religion: A History. Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Parkins, H. and C. Smith, Eds. (1998). Trade, Traders and the Ancient City. London, Routledge.
- Patrick, C. H. 1952. Alcohol, Culture, and Society. Durham, NC, Duke University Press.
- Pellizer, E. (1990). 'Outlines of a Morphology of Sympotic Entertainment.' Symptica: a symposium on the symposium. O. Murray. Oxford, Clarendon Press: 177-184.
- Pemberton, E. G. 1989. 'The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore: The Greek Pottery.' Corinth XVIII, Part 1. The American School of Classical Studies at Athens.
- Pittman, D. J. and C. R. Snyder, Eds. (1962). Society, Culture, and Drinking Patterns. New York, John Wiley.
- Pomeroy, S. B. (1975). Goddesses, Whores, Wives and Slaves. New York, Schocken Books.
- Powell, A., Ed. (1995). The Greek World. London, Routledge.
- Powell, A. (2001). Athens and Sparta. Constructing Greek Political and Social History from 478 BC. London, Routledge.

- Pyle, J. F. (1924). 'Identifying Features of the Retail Sales Place: II.' University Journal of Business 3: 82-97.
- Reade, J. E. (1995). 'The Symposium in Ancient Mesopotamia: Archaeological Evidence.' In Vino Veritas. O. Murray and M. Tecuşan, (eds). Oxford, Clarendon Press: 35-56.
- Reber, K. (1989). 'Zur architektonischen Gestaltung der Andrones in den Häusern von Eretria.' Antike Kunst 32: 3-7.
- Rice, P. M. (1996). 'The Archaeology of Wine: The Wine and Brandy Haciendas of Moquegua, Peru.' Journal of Field Archaeology 23: 187-204.
- Rice, P. M. (1996). 'Peru's Colonial Wine Industry and its European Background.' Antiquity 70: 785-800.
- Richter, G. M. A. (1946). Attic Red-Figured Vases: A Survey. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Richter, G. M. A. (1959). Greek Art. Oxford, Phaidon Press Ltd.
- Richter, G. M. A. and M. J. Milne (1935). Shapes and Names of Athenian Vases. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.
- Robinson, D. M. (1934). 'The Villa of Good Fortune at Olynthus.' American Journal of Archaeology 38: 501-510.
- Robinson, D. M. (1935). 'The Third Campaign at Olynthus.' American Journal of Archaeology 39: 210-247.
- Robinson, D. M., and J. W. Graham (1938). Excavations at Olynthus, Part VIII: The Hellenic House. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press.
- Robinson, D. M. (1946). 'The Wheel of Fortune.' Classical Philology 41(4): 207-216.
- Robinson, D. M. (1946). Excavations at Olynthus, Part XII: Domestic and Public Architecture. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press.
- Rösler, W. (1995). 'Wine and Truth in the Greek *Symposion*.' In Vino Veritas. O. Murray and M. Tecuşan, (eds). Oxford, Clarendon Press: 106-112.
- Rotroff, S. I. and J. H. Oakley (1992). Debris from a Public Dining Place in the Athenian Agora. Princeton, American School of Classical Studies at Athens.
- Sandbach, F. H., Ed. (1990). Menandri Reliquiae Selectae. Oxford.

- Sapouna Sakellarakis, E., J. J. Coulton, et al. (2002). The Fort at Phylla, Vrachos: Excavations and Researches at a Late Archaic Fort in Central Euboea. London, British School at Athens.
- Scheidel, W. and S. von Reden, Eds. (2002). The Ancient Economy. Edinburgh Readings on the Ancient World. Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press.
- Schiffer, M. (1996). Formation Processes in the Archaeological Record. Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press.
- Schmitt Pantel, P. (1990). 'Sacrificial Meal and *Symposion*: Two models of Civic Institutions in the Archaic City?' Sympotica: A Symposium on the Symposion. O. Murray. Oxford, Clarendon Press: 14-36.
- Schmitt Pantel, P. (1997). La Cité au banquet. Rome, École Française de Rome.
- Shanks, M. (1996). Classical Archaeology of Greece. London, Routledge.
- Shear, T. L. (1975). 'The Athenian Agora: Excavations of 1973-1974.' Hesperia 44: 331-374.
- Simon, E. (1983). Festivals of Athens: An Archaeological Commentary. Madison and London.
- Singleton, V. L. (1996). 'An Enologist's Commentary on Ancient Wines' in McGovern, P.E., S. J. Fleming and S. H. Katz, Eds. The Origins and Ancient History of Wine. London, Gordon and Breach Publishers: 67-78.
- Slater, W. J., Ed. (1991). Dining in a Classical Context. Ann Arbor, The University of Michigan Press.
- Smith, M. A. (1983). 'Social Usages of the Public Drinking House: Changing Aspects of Class and Leisure.' British Journal of Sociology 34(3): 367-385.
- Sparkes, B. A. (1962). 'The Greek Kitchen.' Journal of Hellenic Studies: 121-137.
- Sparkes, B. A. (1965). 'The Greek Kitchen: Addenda.' Journal of Hellenic Studies: 162-163.
- Sparkes, B. A. (1981). 'Not Cooking, but Baking.' Greece and Rome 28(2): 172-178.
- Sparkes, B. A. (1996). The Red and the Black: Studies in Greek Pottery. London, Routledge.
- Sparkes, B. A. and L. Talcott (1951). Pots and Pans of Classical Athens. American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Agora Picture Book Number 1. Princeton, New Jersey.

- Sparkes, B. A. and L. Talcott (1970). Agora XII: Black and plain pottery of the 6th, 5th, and 4th Centuries BC, Princeton.
- Stafford, E. J. (2001). 'Hangovers in ancient Greece.' Omnibus(41): 10-11.
- Stanislawski, D. (1975). 'Dionysus Westward: Early Religion and the Economic Geography of Wine.' Geographical Review 65(4): 427-444.
- Stanley, P. V. (1982). 'KN Uc 160 and Mycenaean Wines.' American Journal of Archaeology 86(4): 577-588.
- Stibbe, C. M. (1994). Laconian Drinking Vessels and Other Open Shapes. Amsterdam: Allard Pierson Series.
- Svoronos-Hadjimichalis, V. (1956). 'L'évacuation de la fumée dans la maisons grecques des V^e et IV^e siècles.' Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique 80: 483-506.
- Thomas, A. E. (1978). 'Class and Sociability Among Urban Workers: A Study of the Bars as Social Club.' Medical Anthropology 2(4): 9-30.
- Thompson, D. B. (1993). The Athenian Agora. An Ancient Shopping Center. American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Agora Picture Book Number 12. Princeton, New Jersey.
- Thompson, H. A. (1968). 'Activity in the Athenian Agora: 1966-1967.' Hesperia 37: 36-72.
- Thompson, H. A. and R. E. Wycherley (1972). The Agora of Athens: The History, Shape and Uses of an Ancient City Center. Princeton.
- Tolles, D. (1943). 'The Banquet-libations of the Greeks.' Bryn Mawr College Dissertation, Ann Arbor.
- Tsakirgis, B. (1989). 'The Universality of the *Prostas* House.' American Journal of Archaeology 93: 278-279.
- Tsakirgis, B. (2007). 'Fire and Smoke: Hearths, Braziers and Chimneys in the Greek House.' Building Communities: House, Settlement and Society in the Aegean and Beyond. R. Westgate, N. Fisher and J. Whitley, Eds. British School at Athens.
- Vernant, J-P., Ed. (1995). The Greeks. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press.
- Vickers, M. and D. Gill (1994). Artful Crafts: Ancient Greek Silverware and Pottery. Oxford, Clarendon Press.
- Walker, S. (1983). 'Women and housing in classical Greece: the archaeological evidence.' Images of Women in Antiquity. A. Cameron and A. Kuhrt, Eds. Wayne State University Press: 81-91.

- Wallace-Hadrill, A. (1994). Houses and Society in Pompeii and Herculaneum. Princeton, Princeton University Press.
- Webster, T. B. L. (1972). Potter and Patron in Ancient Athens. London.
- Westgate, R., N. Fisher, et al., Eds. (2007). Building Communities: House, Settlement and Society in the Aegean and Beyond, British School at Athens.
- Whittaker, C. R., Ed. (1988). Pastoral Economies in Classical Antiquity. Cambridge, Cambridge Philological Society.
- Wilkins, J. (1992). 'Public (and Private) Eating in Greece, 450-300 BC.' Oxford Symposium on Food and Cookery, 1991, Proceedings: 306-310.
- Wilkins, J. (2000). The Boastful Chef: The discourse of food in ancient Greek comedy. Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Williams, C. K. II. 1964. Nemea, 1964. Berkeley: University of California.
- Williams, C. K. II. 1980. 'Excavations at Corinth, 1979.' Hesperia 49: 107-134.
- Wilson, T. M. (2005). Drinking Cultures: Alcohol and Identity. Oxford, Berg.
- Wissowa, G., Kroll, W. (1919). Paulys Real-encyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft. Stuttgart.
- Wycherley, R.E. (1956). 'The Market of Athens: Topography and Monuments.' Greece and Rome 3: 2-23.
- Wycherley, R. E. (1957). Literary and Epigraphical Testimonia. Princeton, ASCSA.
- Wycherley, R. E. (1967). How the Greeks Built Cities. London, Macmillan.
- Wycherley, R. E. (1978). The Stones of Athens. New Jersey, Princeton University Press.
- Young, D. C. (1984). The Olympic Myth of Greek Amateur Athletics. Chicago.
- Young, R. S. (1951). 'An industrial quarter of ancient Athens.' Hesperia 20: 135-288.



Figure 1. *Chous*

The University Museum, University of Pennsylvania (75-10-1)



Figure 2. *Kraipale* or 'hangover'

Stafford, E. J. 2001: 10



Figure 3. Wine shop?

Davidson 1997a



Figure 4. *Komos* (with krater)

<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/cgi-bin/image?lookup=Perseus:image:1992.11.0095>



Figure 5. *Kylix*

<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/cgi-bin/image?lookup=Perseus:image:1990.25.0210>



Figure 6. *Kylix and symposion*

<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/cgi-bin/image?lookup=Perseus:image:1990.24.0448>



Figure 7. *Skyphos* (the woman is also shown drinking out of a skyphos)

<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/cgi-bin/image?lookup=Perseus:image:1991.08.0550>



Figure 8. *kotyle/kothon*

<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/cgi-bin/image?lookup=Perseus:image:1990.01.1142>



Figure 9. Ribbed *kothon*
(Davidson 1997a)



Figure 10. *Oinochoe*

<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/cgi-bin/image?lookup=Perseus:image:1990.03.1246>



Figure 11. *Krater*

<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/cgi-bin/image?lookup=Perseus:image:1992.06.1084>



Figure 12. Once a family home now a taverna and holiday accommodation
(photo C. Kelly-Blazeby)



Figure 13. Cooking in the 'house' on the left, eating and drinking outside the 'house' on the right

(photo C. Kelly-Blazeby)



Figure 14. Taverna entered through the grey doors, family home through the white door

(photo C. Kelly-Blazeby)



Figure 15. Drinking on a steep slope outside an Ottoman *medresse*
(photo C. Kelly-Blazeby)



Figure 16. Eating and drinking around a Byzantine church (behind the parasol)
(photo C. Kelly-Blazeby)



Figure 17. Drinking around a primary school (behind the yellow wall)
(photo C. Kelly-Blazeby)



Figure 18. Thriving taverna on a flight of stairs

(photo C. Kelly-Blazeby)



Figure 19. Thoroughfare or taverna?

(photo C. Kelly-Blazeby)



Figure 20. A pavement with space only for eating and drinking
(photo C. Kelly-Blazeby)

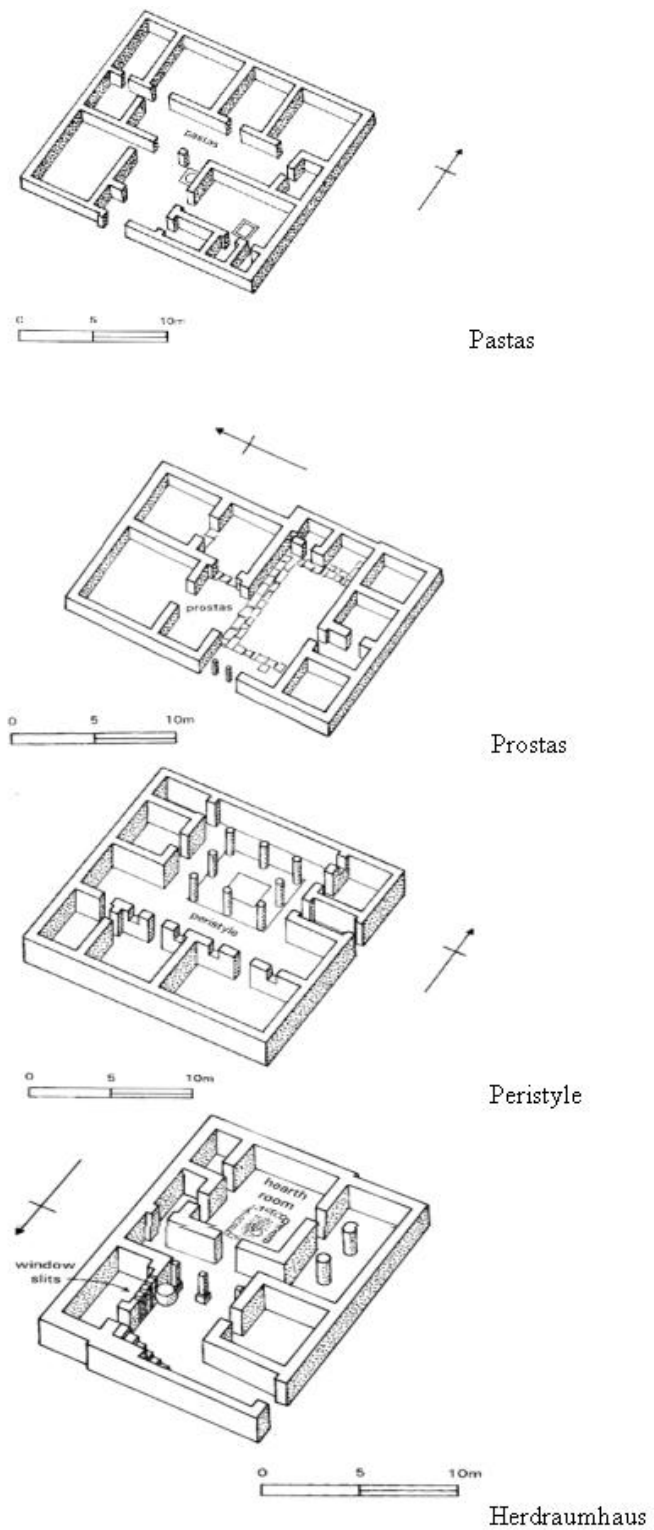


Figure 21. Greek house 'types'
(Nevett 1999)

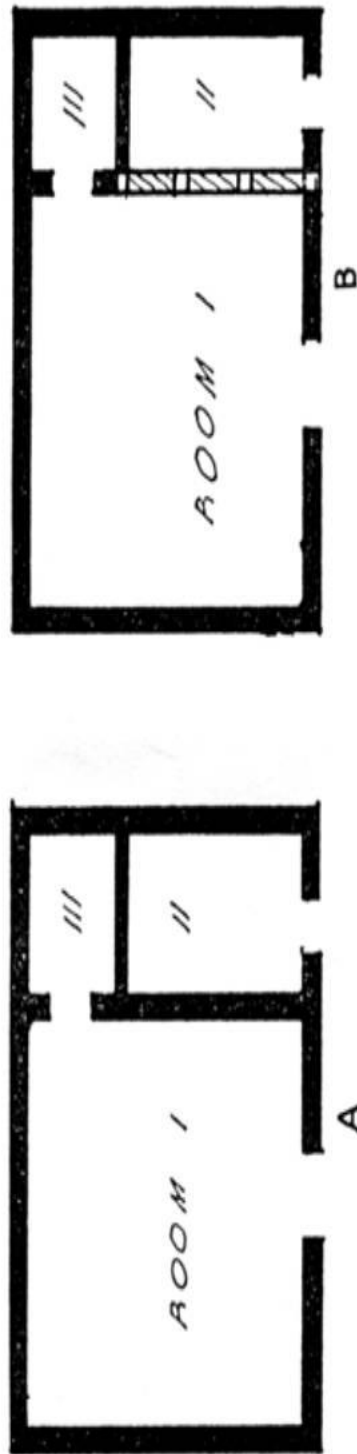
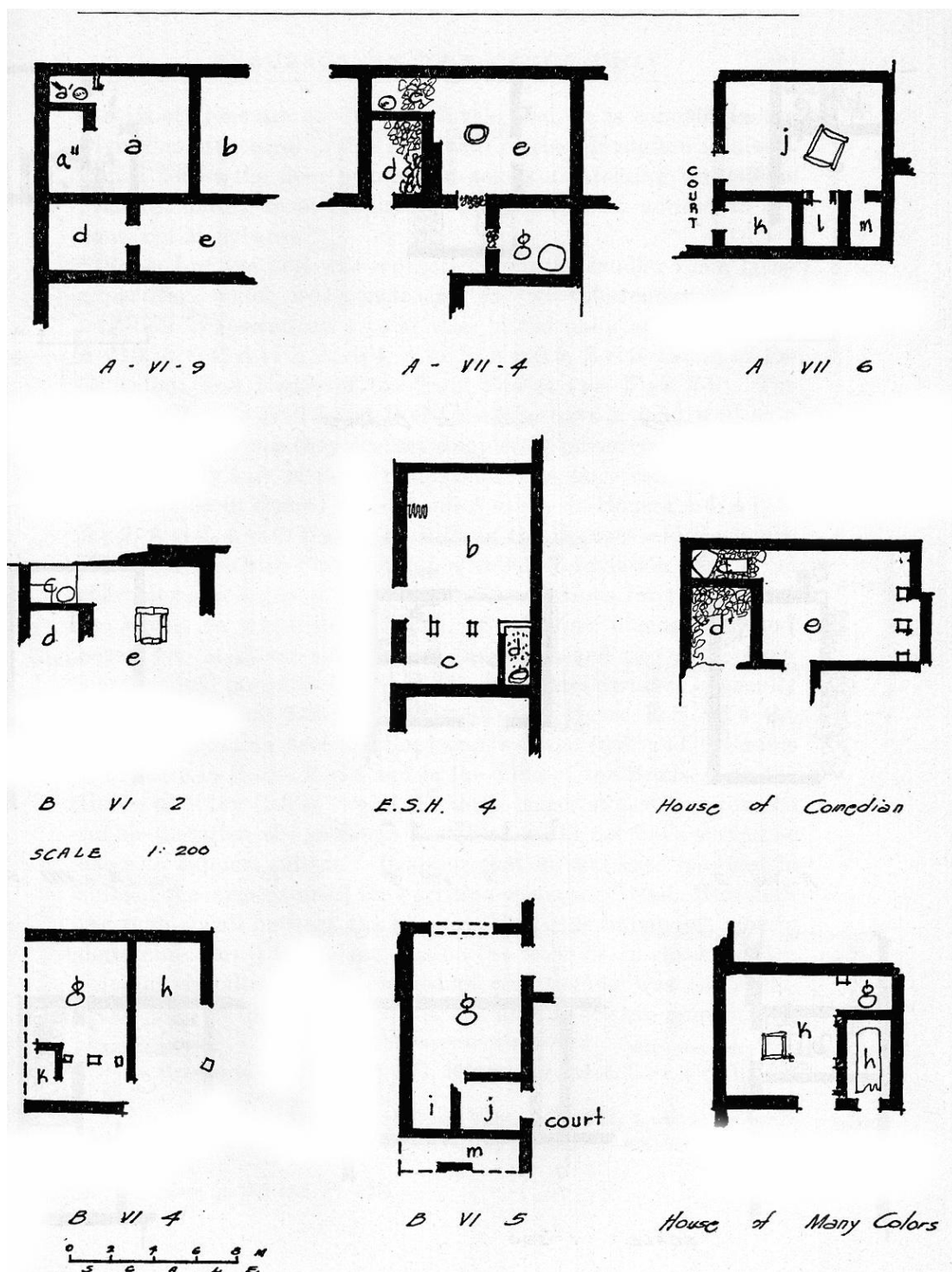


Figure 22. Mylonas' Olynthian 'oecus' unit
(Mylonas in Robinson and Graham 1938)



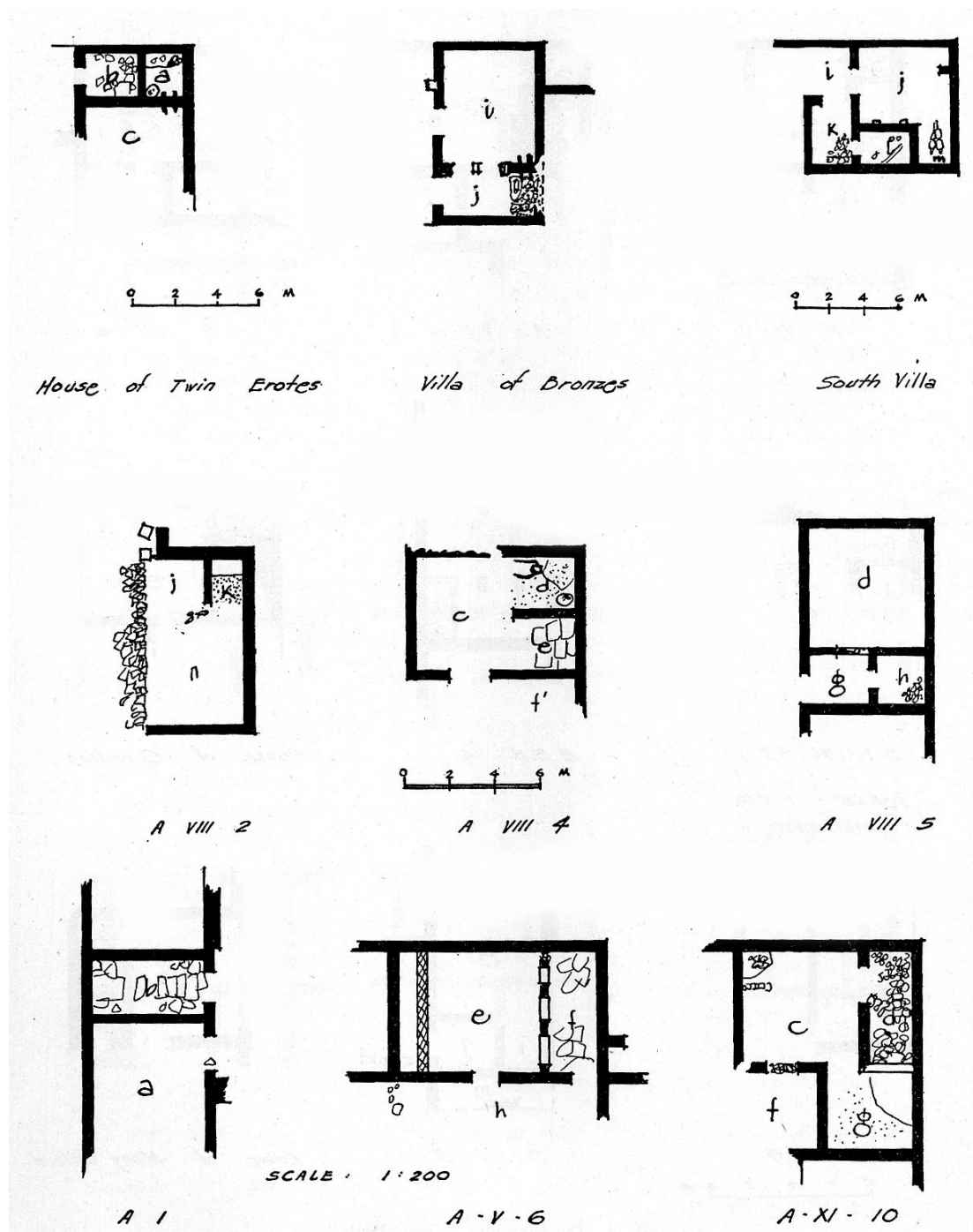
Figs. 23-25 Mylonas' 'oecus' units

(Mylonas in Robinson and Graham 1938)



Figs. 23-25 Mylonas' 'oecus' units

(Mylonas in Robinson and Graham 1938)



Figs. 23-25 Mylonas' 'oecus' units

(Mylonas in Robinson and Graham 1938)



Figure 26. Modern metal brazier in a private home on the island of Naxos
(photo C. Kelly-Blazeby)



Figure 27. Mycenaean hearth from the palace at Pylos
(photo C. Kelly-Blazeby)

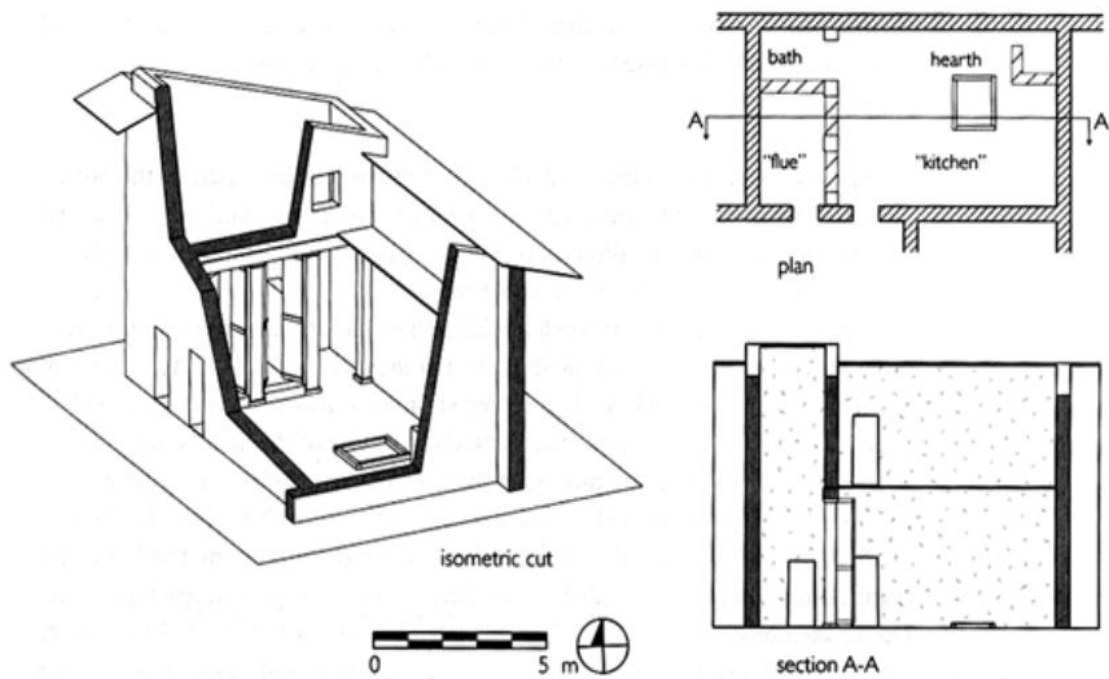


Figure 28. Cahill's 'flue' reconstruction
(Cahill 2002)



Figure 29. Athenian Agora chimney pot
(unpublished image used here with the permission of B. Tsakirgis)



Figure 30. Chimney tile?
(unpublished image used here with the permission of L. Foxhall)

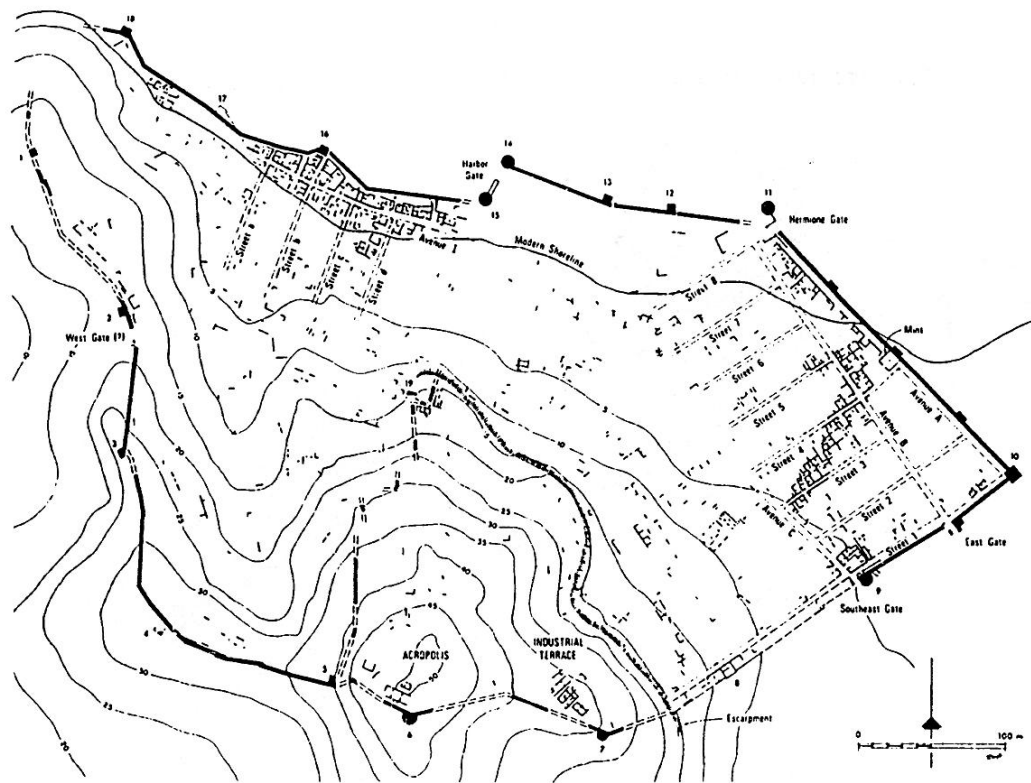


Figure 31. Halieis
(Ault 1994: 388)

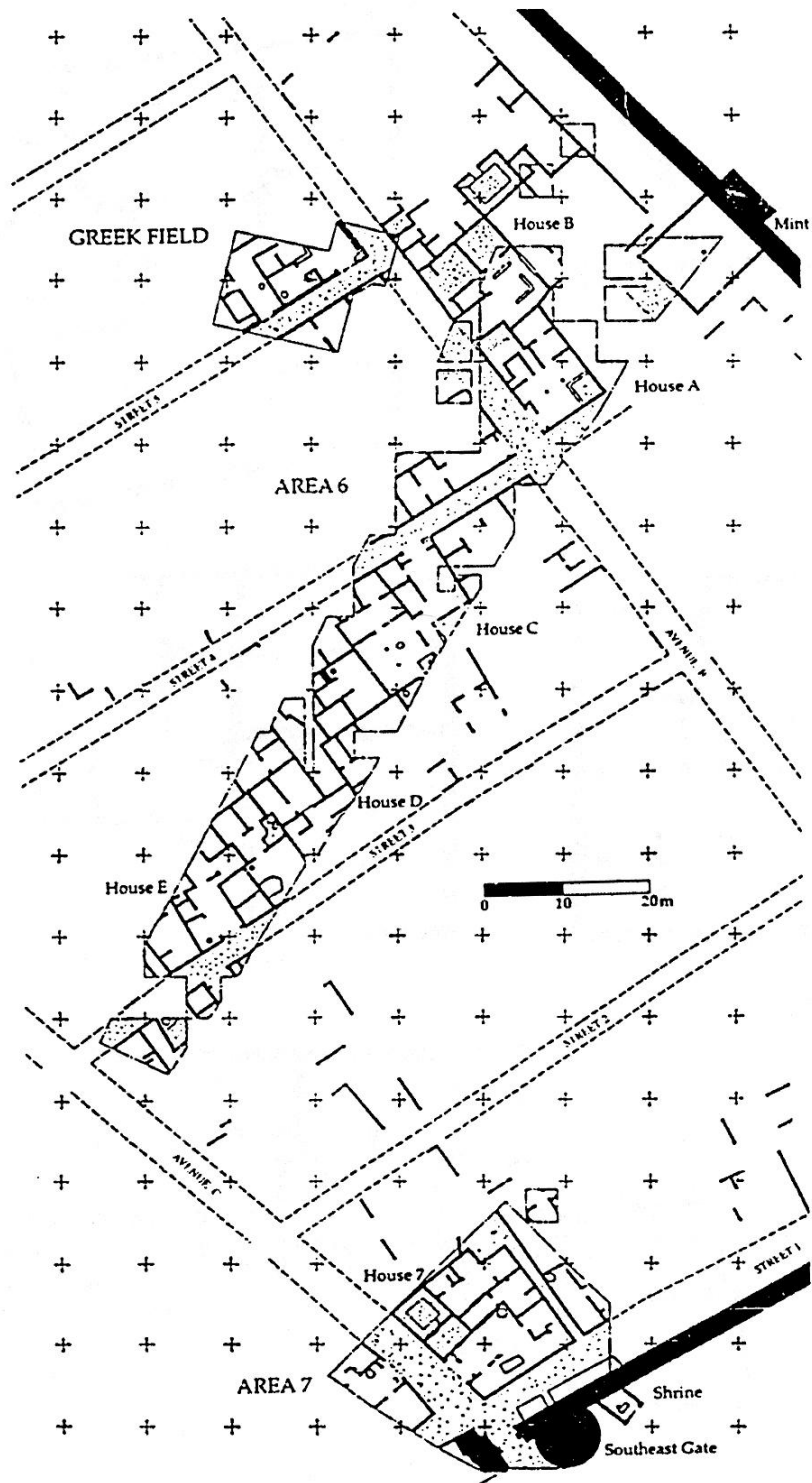


Figure 32. Area 7 and House 7

(Ault 1994: 392)

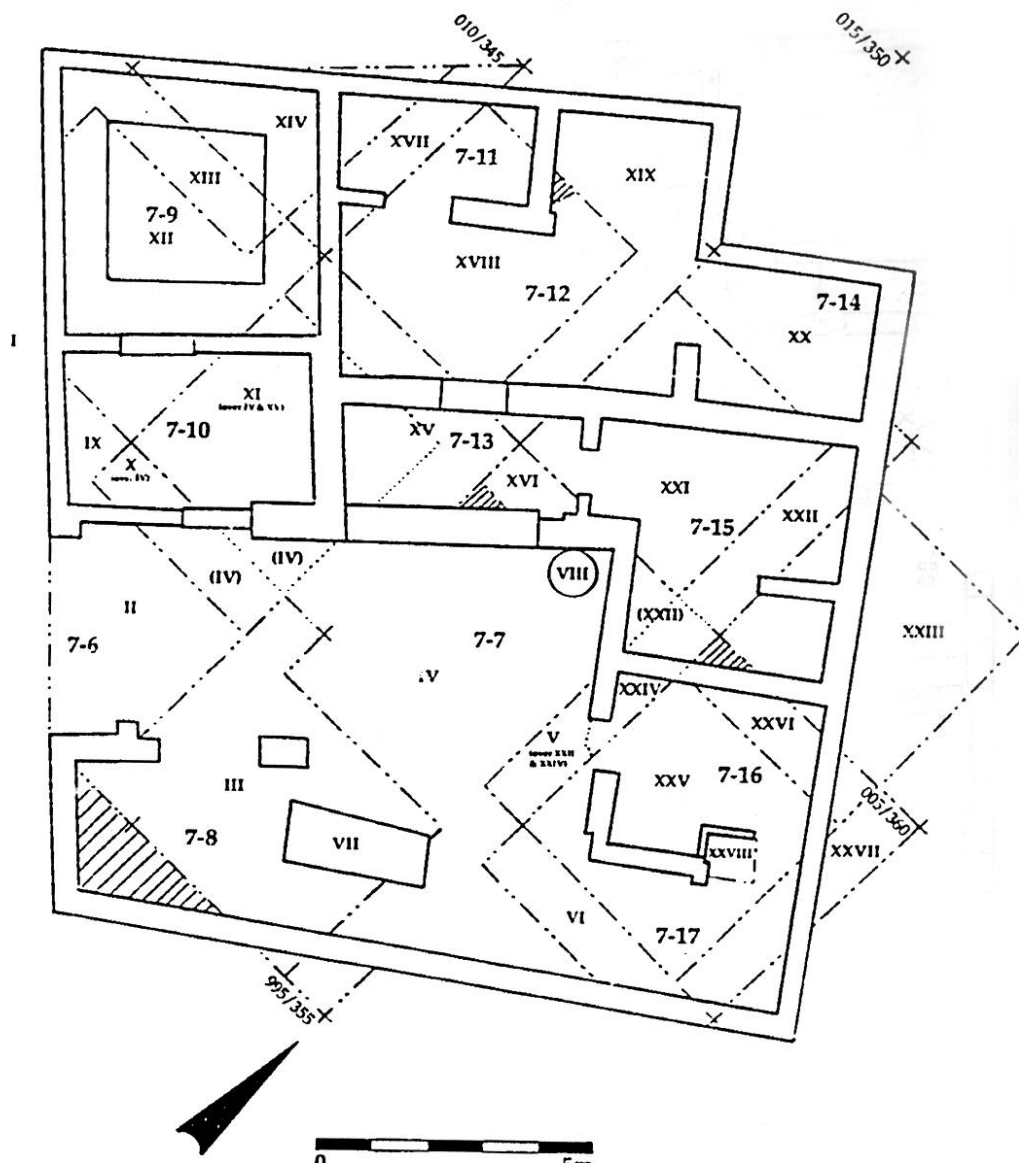


Figure 33. House 7: Rooms and Loci
(Ault 1994: 395)

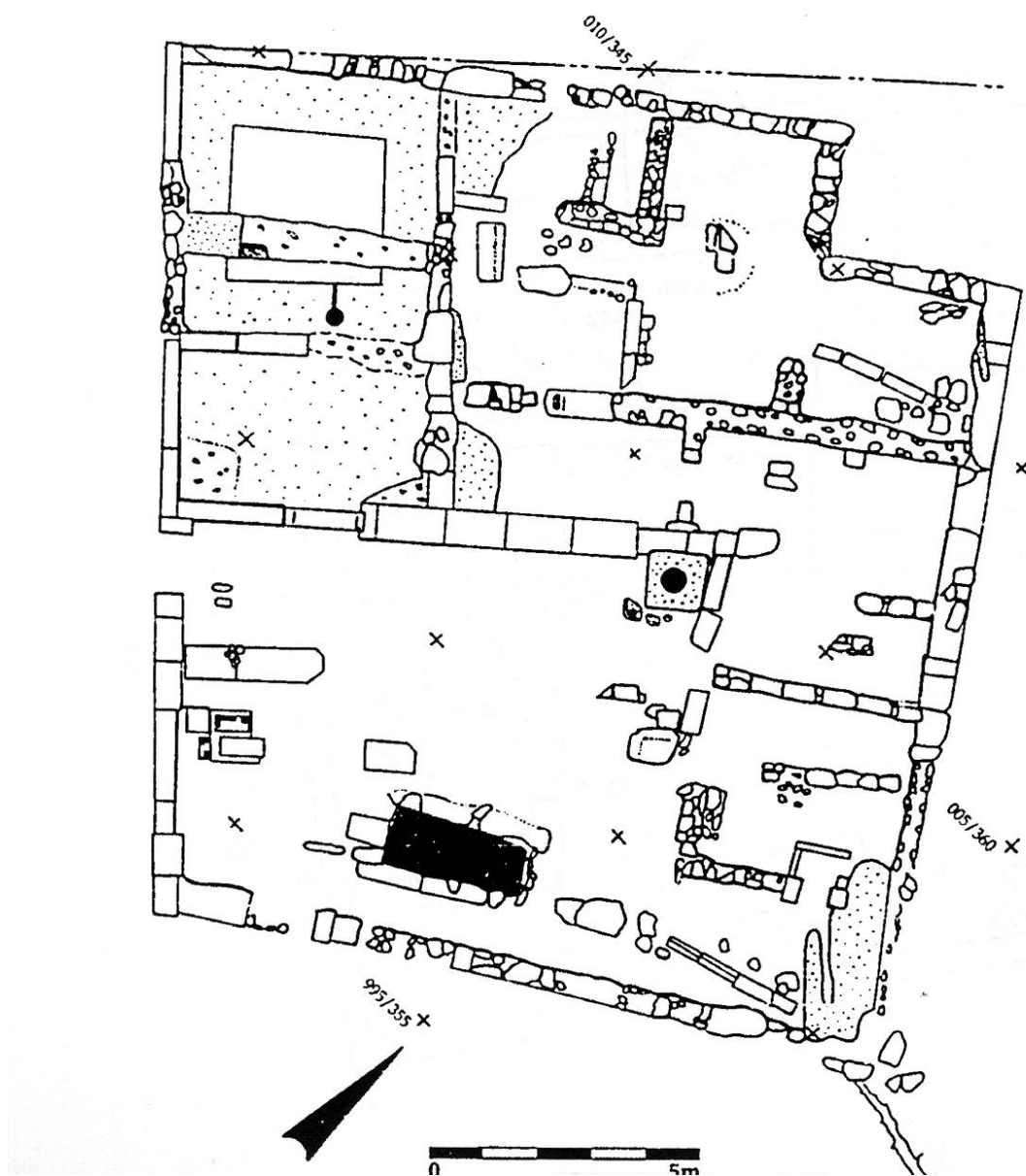


Figure 34. House 7: Actual state
(Ault 1994: 394)

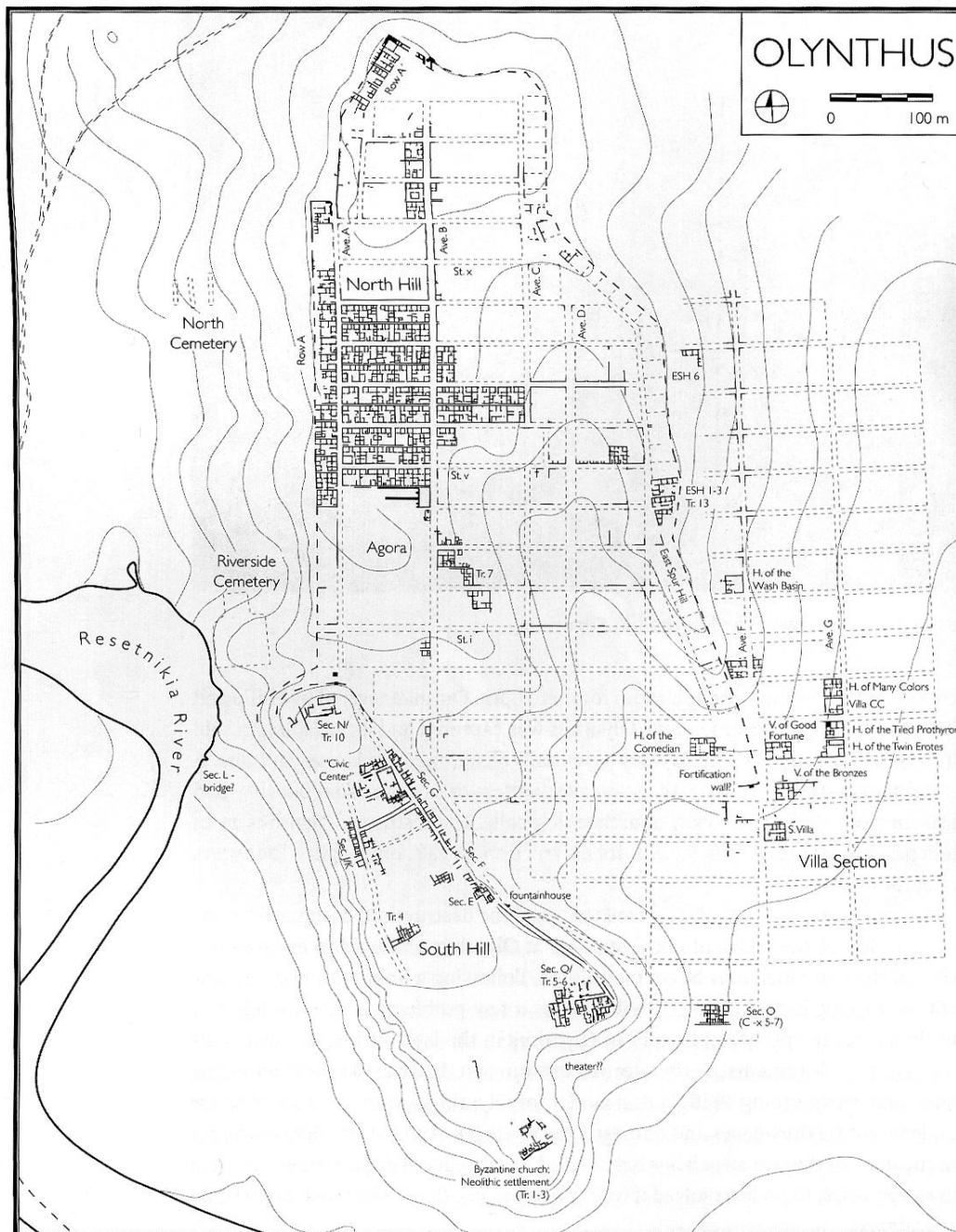


Figure 35. Olynthus
(Cahill 2002)

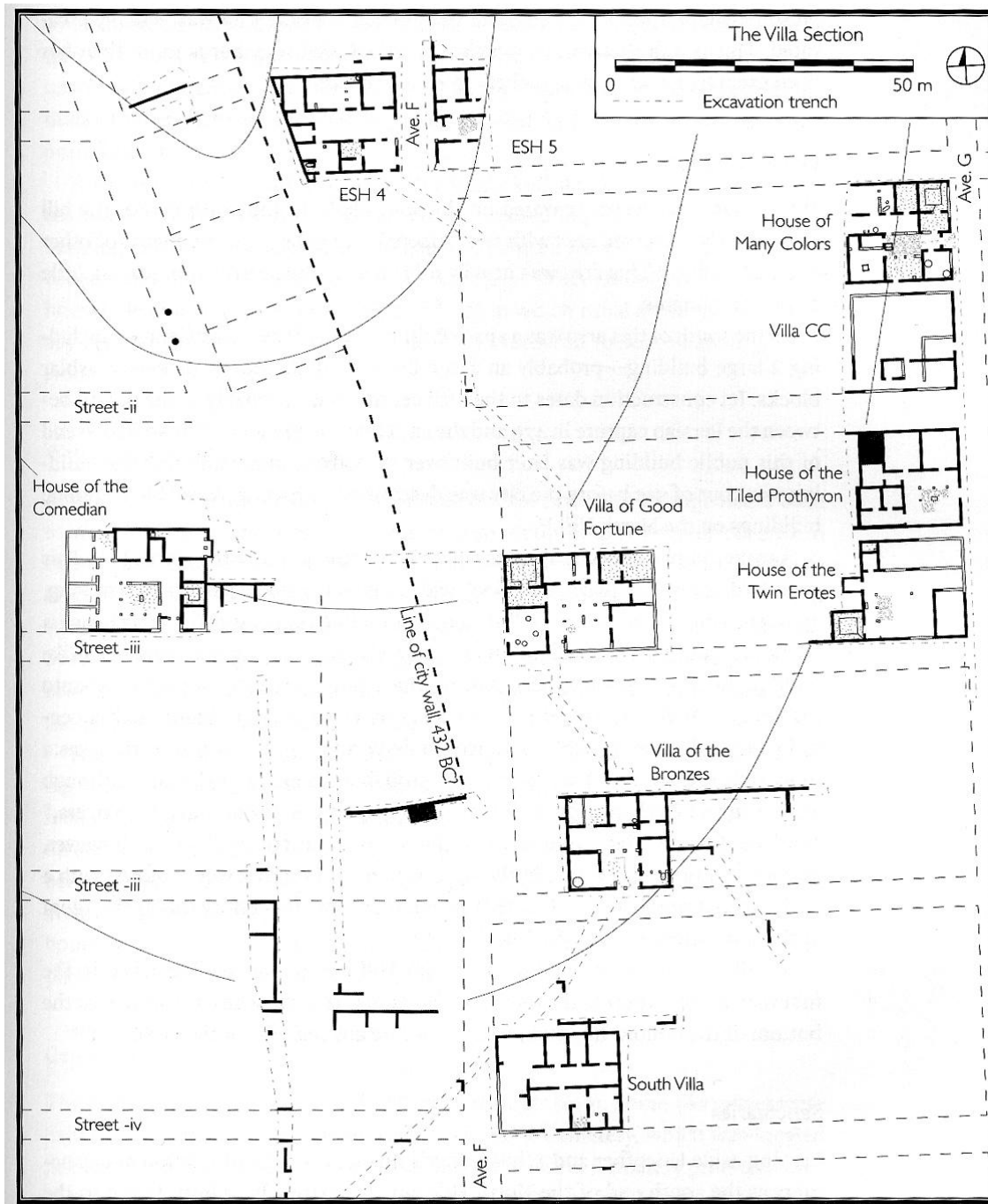


Figure 36. The Villa District of Olynthus showing location outside of the city wall
(Cahill 2002)

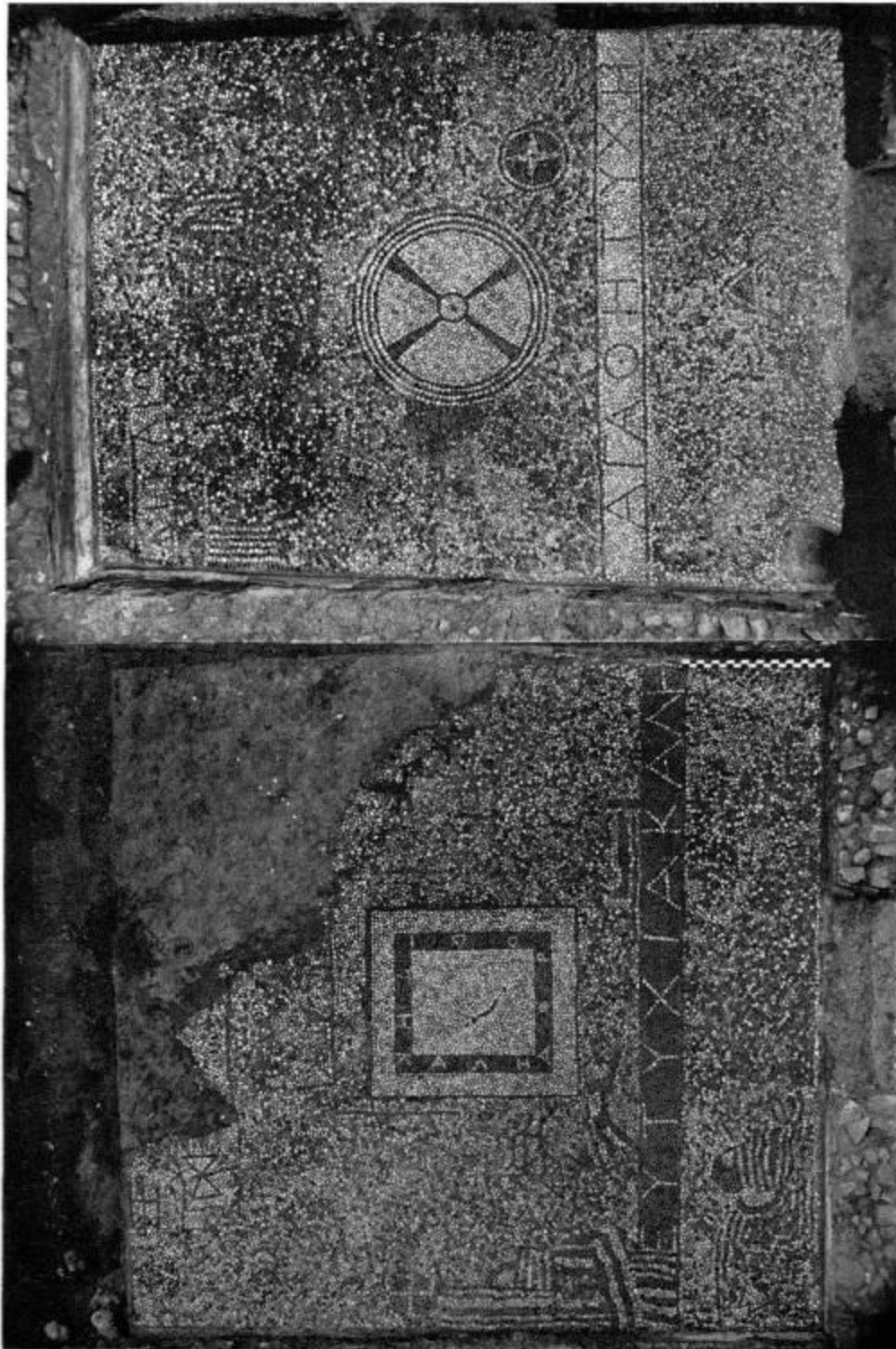


Figure 38. 'Eutychia' mosaic and Wheel of Fortune



Figure 39. Pan on either side of a *krater*



Figure 40. Villa of Good Fortune, pebble mosaics

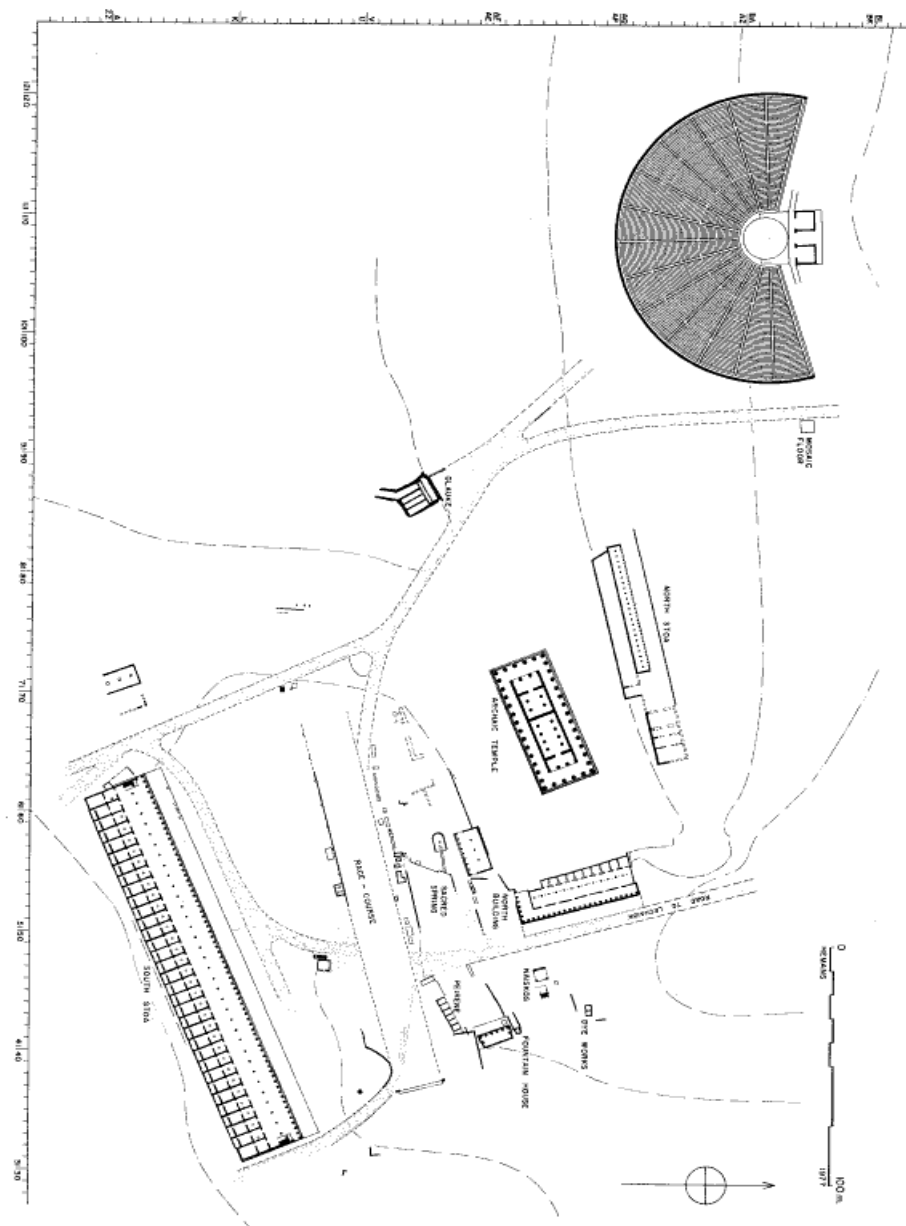


Figure 41. Corinth South Stoa
(Williams 1990: 129)

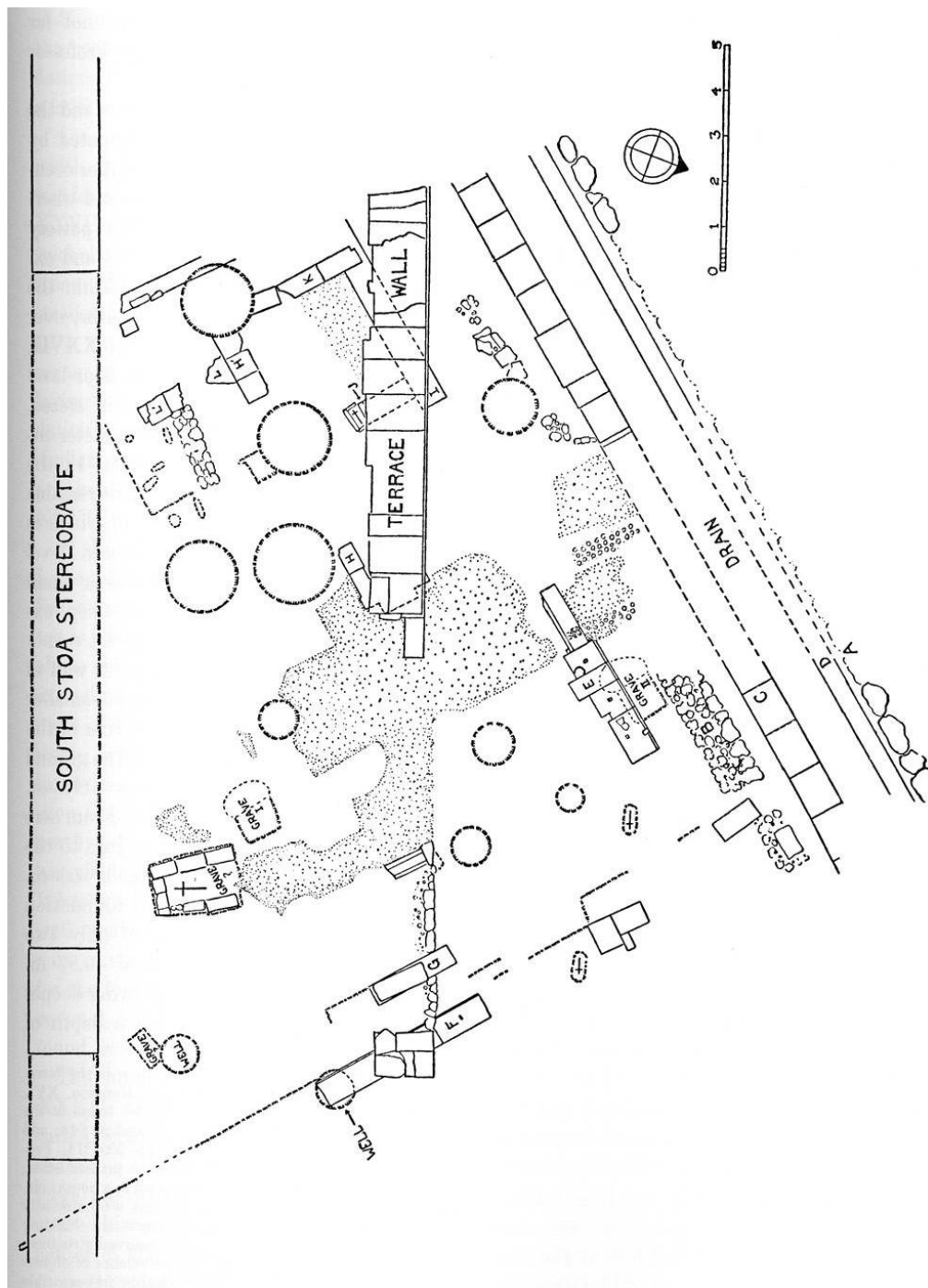


Figure 42. Remains of the 'Taverna of Aphrodite'

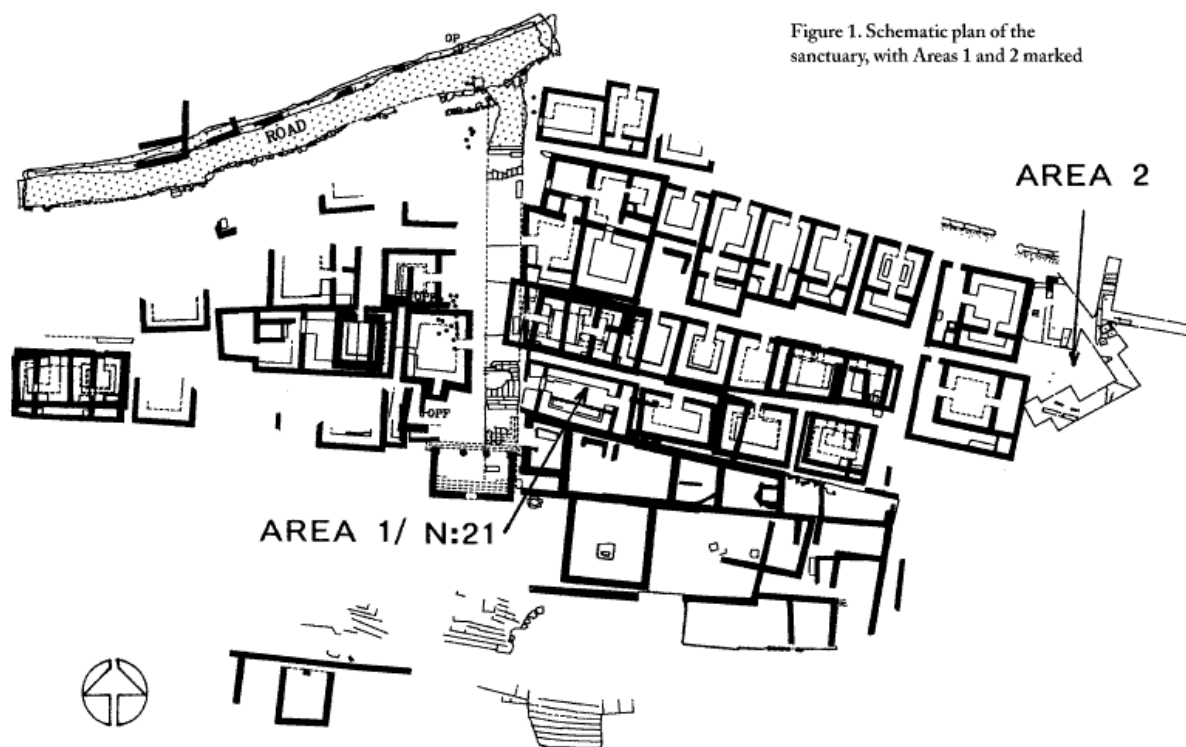


Figure 1. Schematic plan of the sanctuary, with Areas 1 and 2 marked

Figure 43. Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore: Dining Rooms
(Bookidis *et al* 1999: 4)

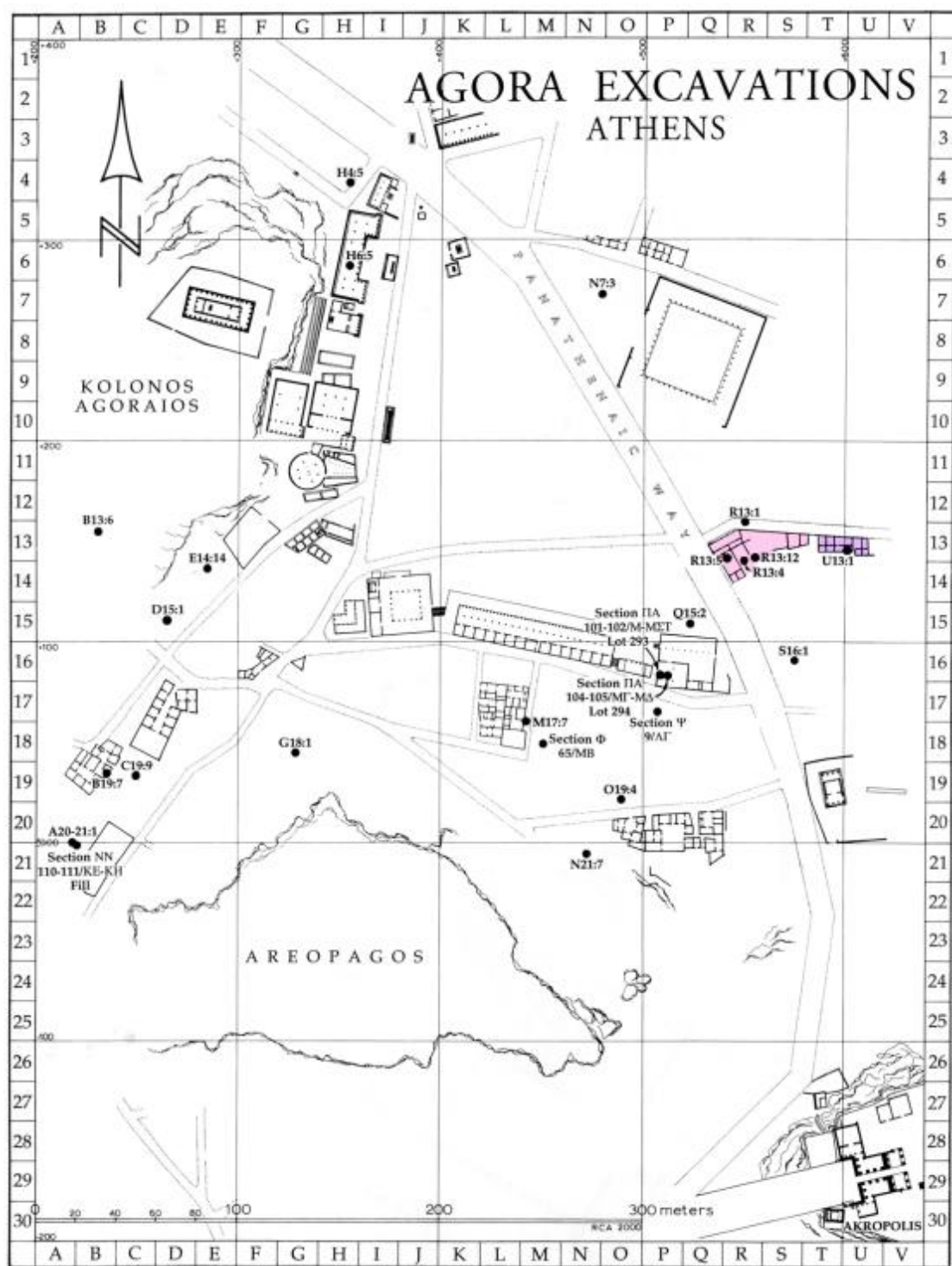


Figure 44. The Athenian Agora
(Camp 1986)

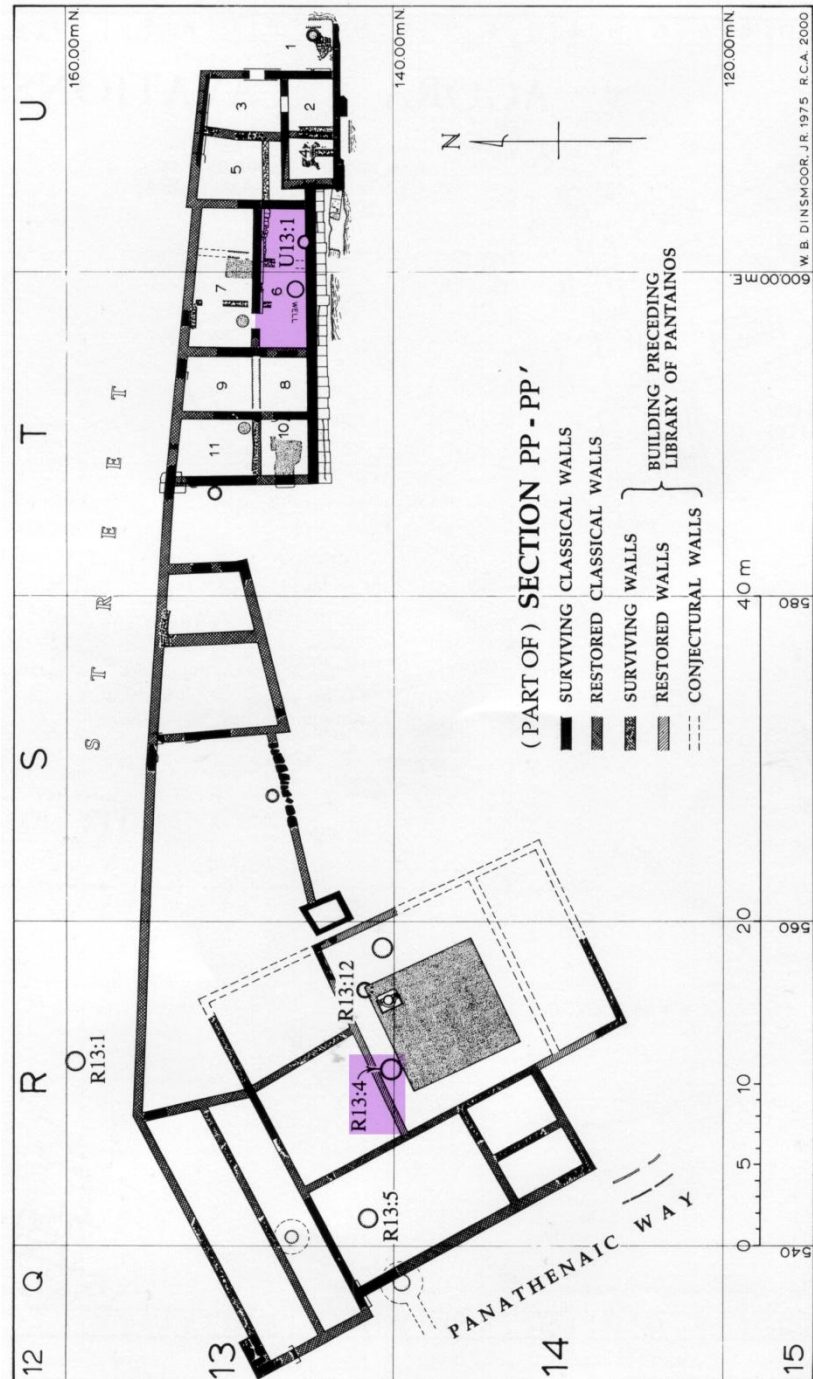


Figure 45. Wells R 13:4 and U 13:1 in the Athenian Agora
 (Lawall 2000)



Figure 46. *Lopas* with lid

(Athenian Agora Excavations. Image Number: 2004.02.0080)



Figure 47. *Eschara*

(Athenian Agora Excavations. Image Number: 2000.02.0268)



Figure 48. *Lekanides*

(Athenian Agora Excavations. Image Number: 2000.02.0214)



Figure 49. *Chytra* (left) on a cooking stand, *lopus* (centre) on a portable brazier

(Athenian Agora Excavations. Image Number: 2000.02.0786)

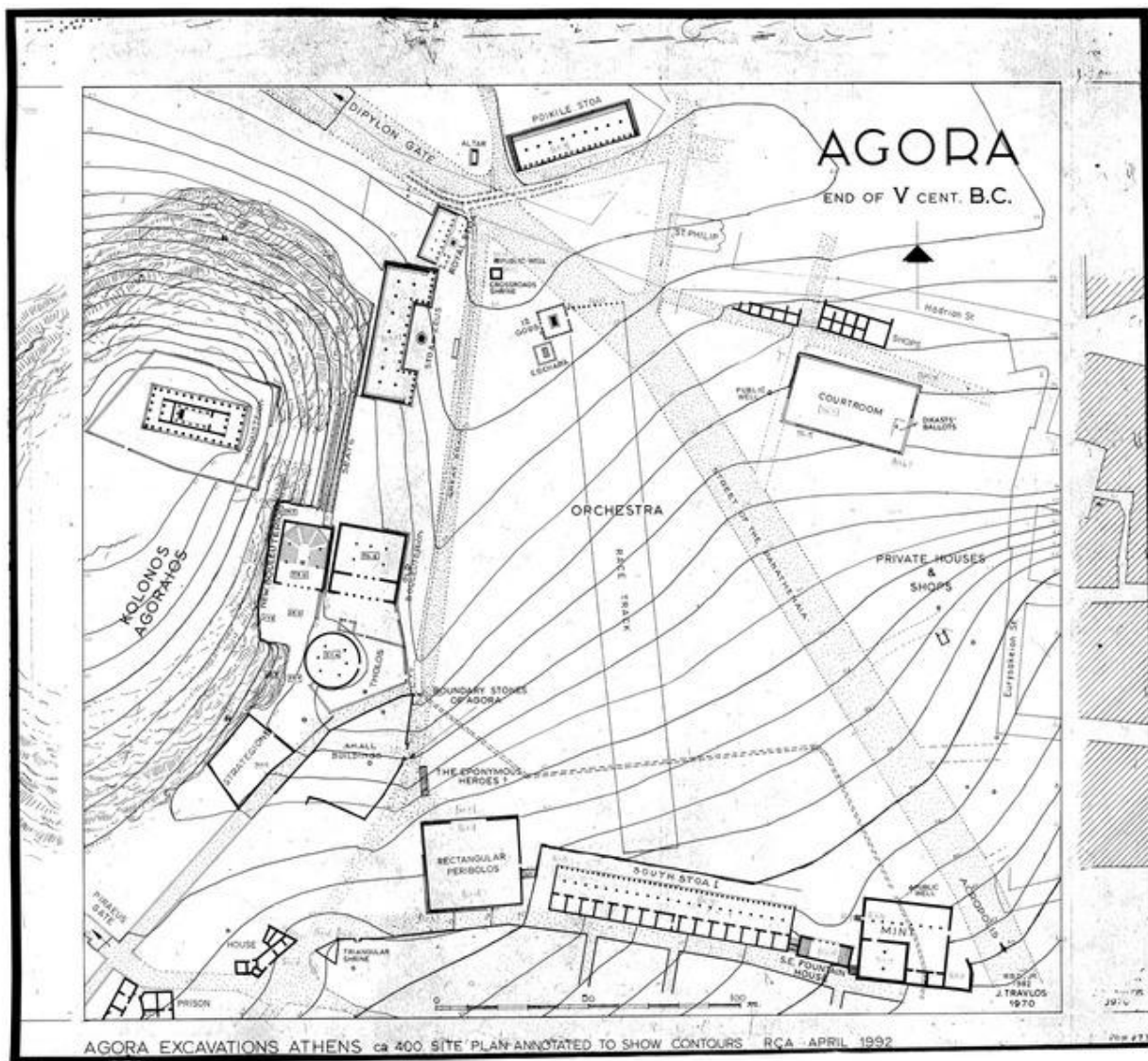


Figure 50. Map of the Athenian Agora with Royal Stoa to the NW
 (Athenian Agora Excavations. Image Number: 2002.02.0009)



Figure 51. Building Z (Phase 3, bottom left)

(Knigge 1991)



Figure 52. Building Z in the Kerameikos

(photo C. Kelly-Blazeby)

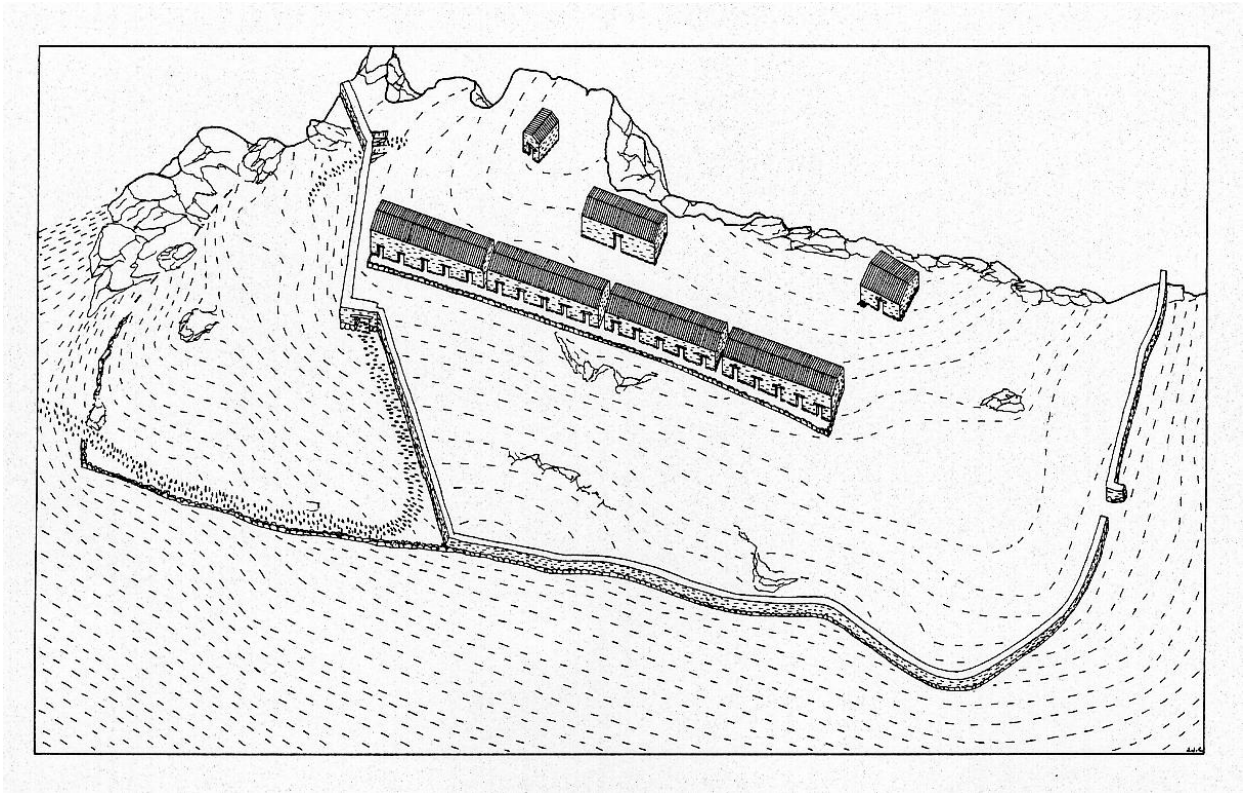


Figure 53. Reconstruction of the barrack building at Phylla Vrachos

(Coulton *et al* 2002)

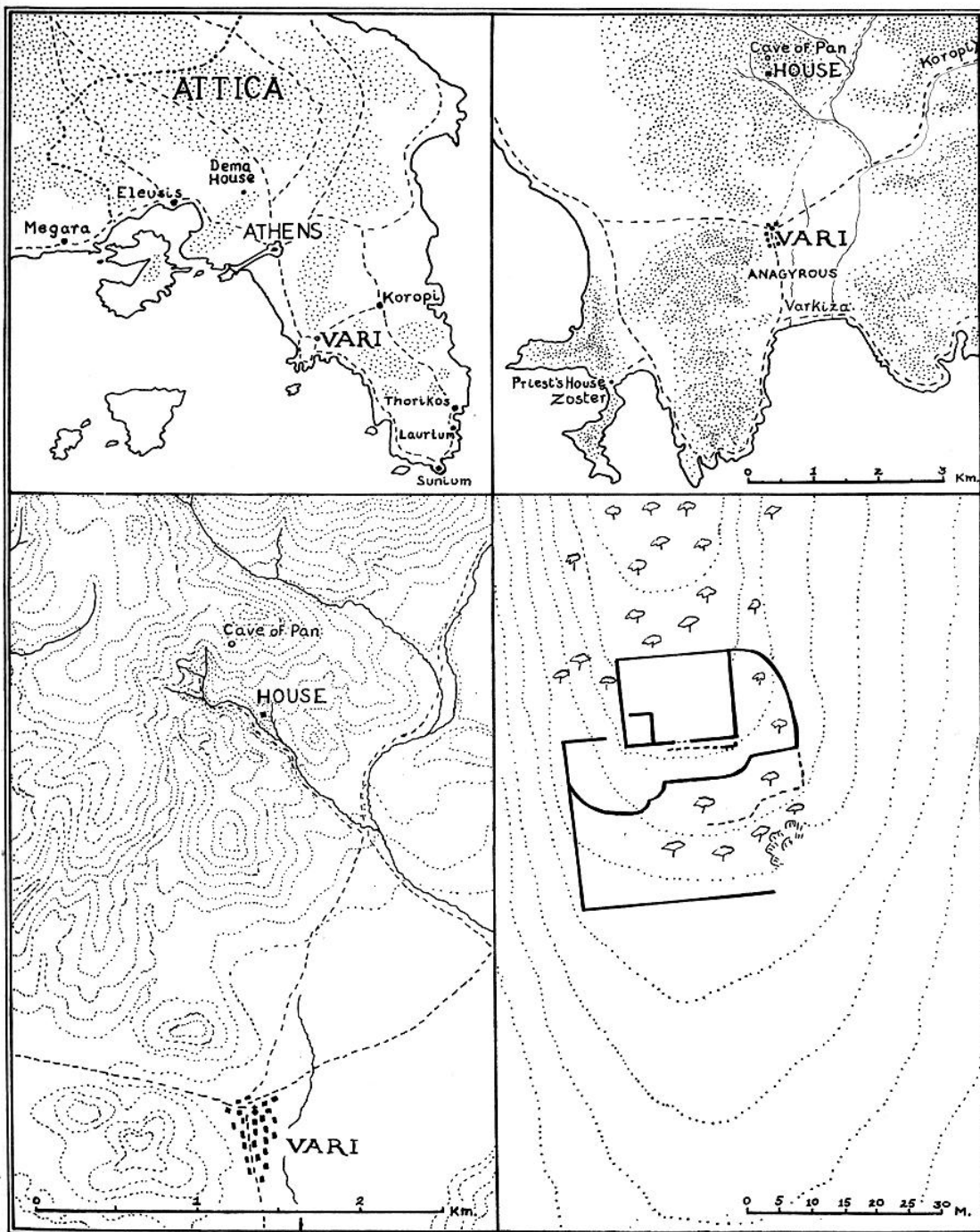


Figure 54. House below the Cave of Pan at Vari

(Jones *et al* 1973)

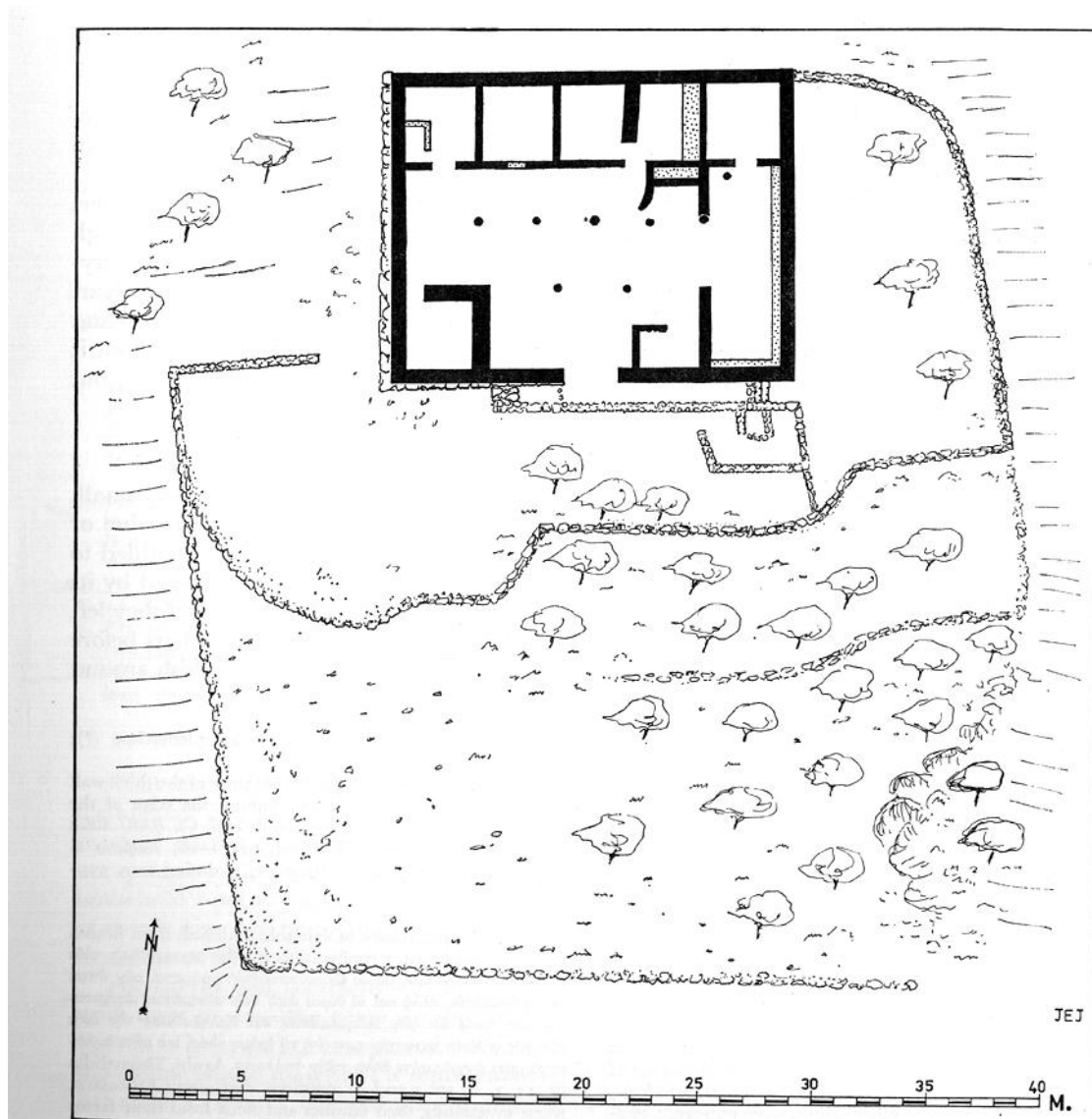


Figure 55. Outbuilding attached to the SE corner of the Vari house

(Jones *et al* 1973)

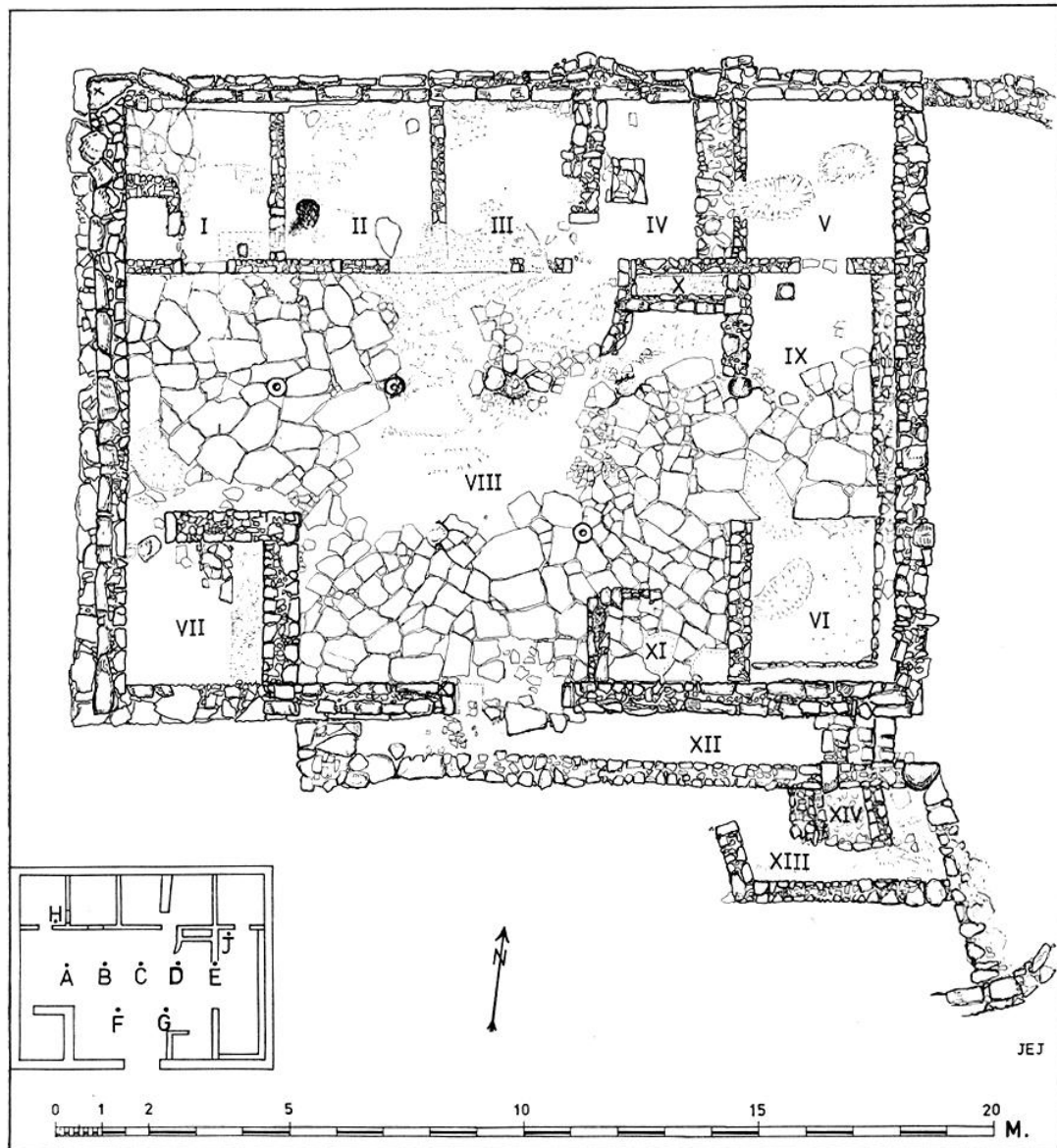


Figure 56. Vari house, state plan
(Jones *et al* 1973)

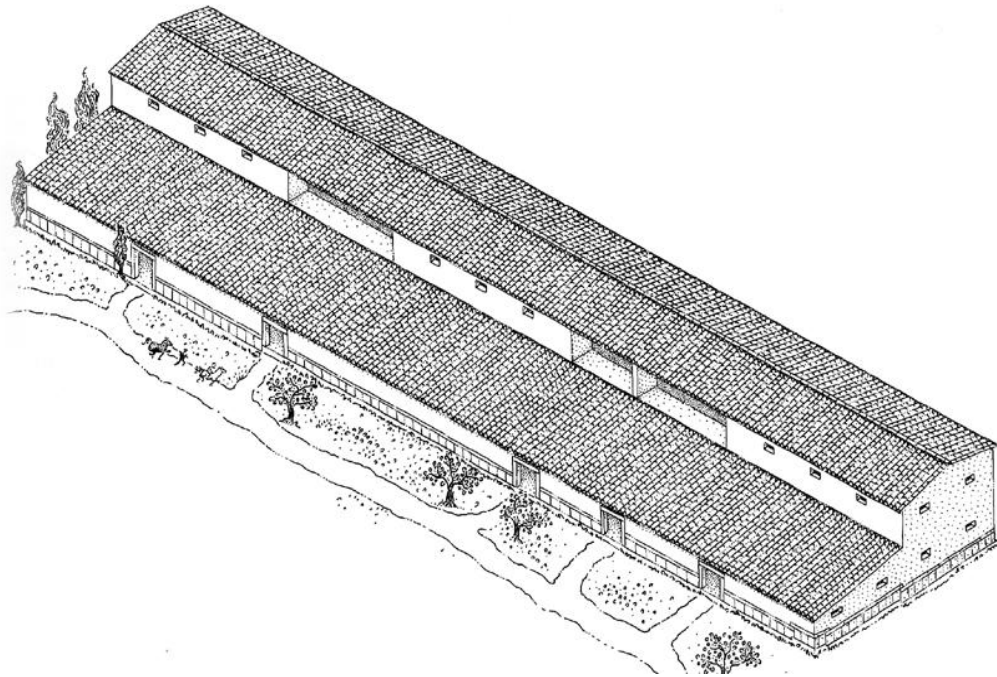


Figure 57. Restored perspective of the Xenon at Nemea
(Kraynak *et al* 1992)

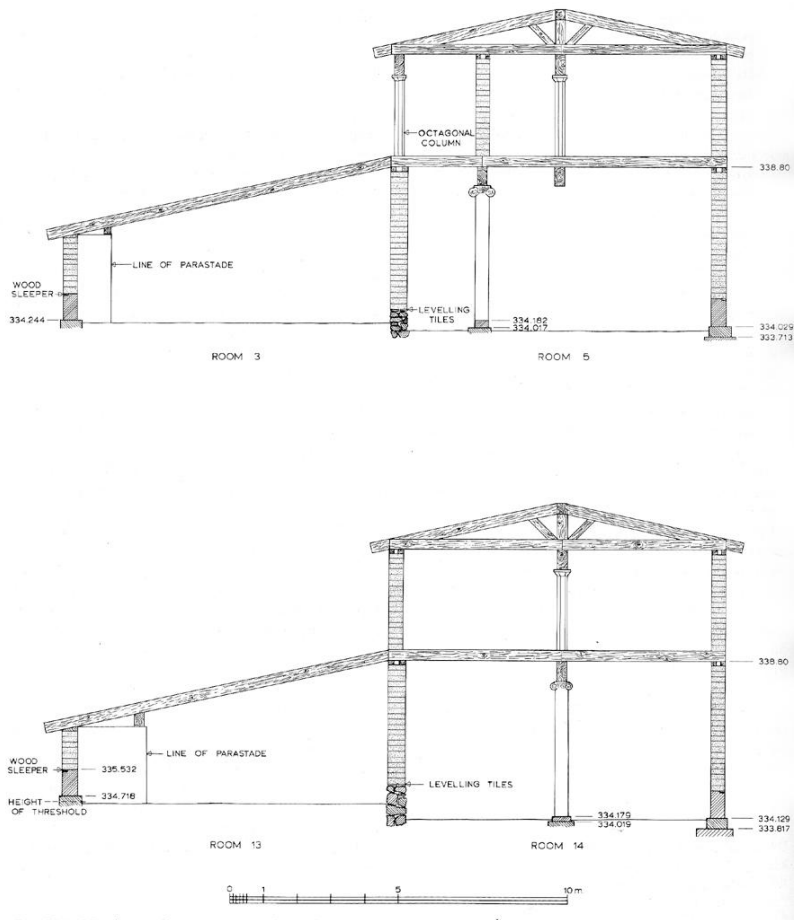


Figure 58. Restored cross-section of the Xenon at Nemea
(Kraynak *et al* 1992)

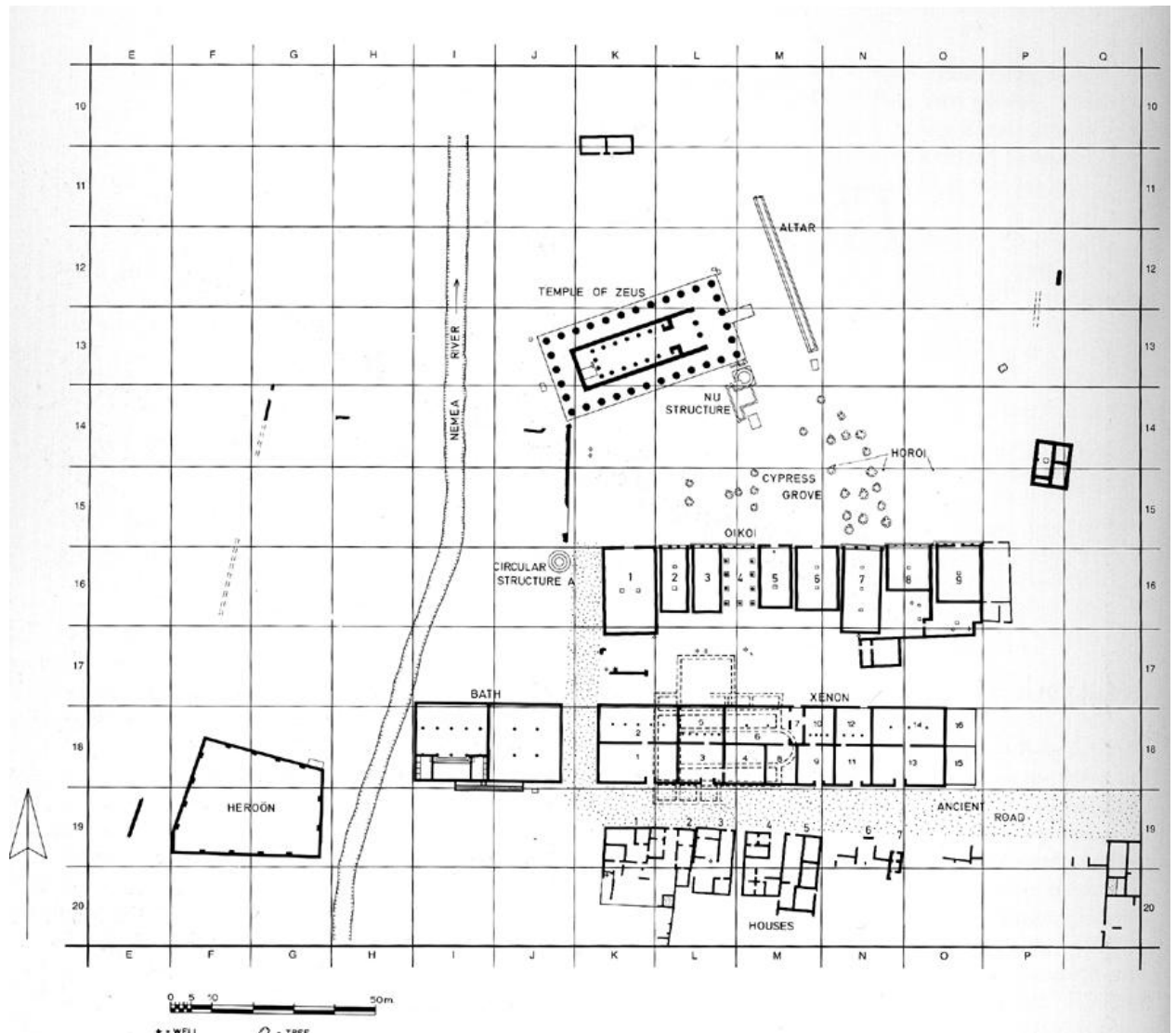


Figure 59. The Sacred Square and the Xenon at Nemea
(Kraynak *et al* 1992)

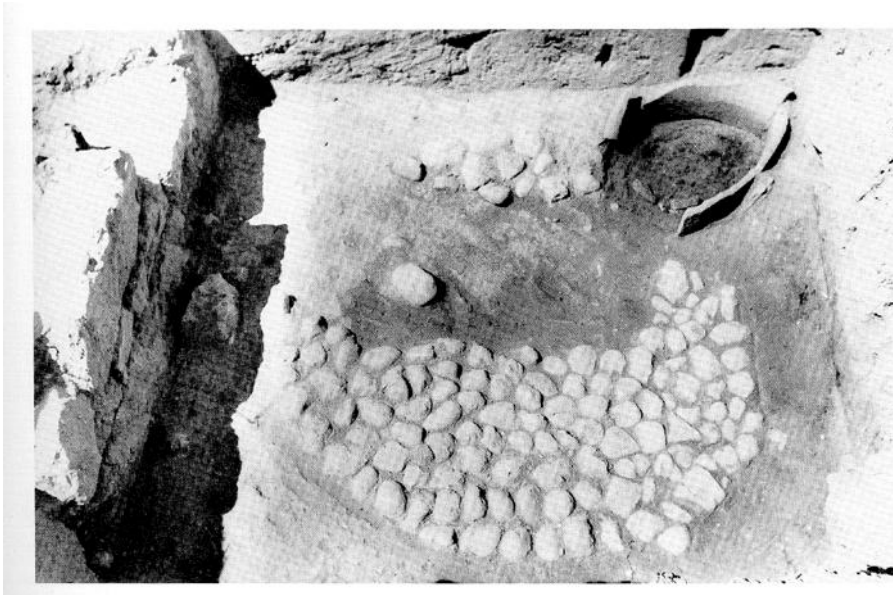


Figure 60. Cobbled hearth in room 4 of the Xenon
(Kraynak *et al* 1992)



Figure 61. Urinal(?) from the Xenon