

# NEW WINE IN ANCIENT WINESKINS

## THE EVIDENCE FROM ATTIC VASES

(PLATES 29–32)

For Virginia Grace

IN A FAMOUS PARABLE, Jesus said, in the words of the gospel of Luke: “And no one puts new wine into old wineskins; if he does the new wine will burst the skins and it will be spilled, and the skins will be destroyed. But new wine must be put into fresh wineskins.”<sup>1</sup> This paper does not deal with the theological implications of these statements but instead discusses the early stages of the process of making wine and the use of wineskins during this process, a matter that has not received sufficient attention. The main evidence comes from a red-figured psykter in the Getty Museum, which has been attributed to the vase painter Smikros.<sup>2</sup>

The production and procurement of wine was of considerable interest to the Attic vase painters, whose products were largely used at drinking parties. A famous stamnos by Smikros in Brussels<sup>3</sup> shows in front a symposium scene and on the back two servants filling a large dinos on a stand (Pl. 29:a). On the left a youth named Euarchos has just arrived with a fresh supply of wine and greets his companion on the right, a bearded man, Euelthon, who has placed his amphora on the ground and seems to be waiting. Both wear cloaks wrapped around their middles: they are clearly servants. On the ground stand two jugs, from which the wine will eventually be dispensed to the company on the other side of the stamnos.

Several scholars have pointed out that this vase is heavily indebted to a more recently discovered calyx-krater by Euphronios in Munich.<sup>4</sup> The similarity includes the reverse.

<sup>1</sup> Luke 5:37–38; the parable is also related in Mark and Matthew.

This paper reproduces, with a slight change of title, the first part of a lecture in honor of Virginia Grace as delivered at the Gennadius Library in Athens on February 14, 1989, under the auspices of the American School of Classical Studies. At the request of a referee and the editor of *Hesperia* I have omitted the discussion of the role of Dionysos as the discoverer of the vine and the (admittedly skimpy) evidence for must and new wine in the Dionysiac winter festivals, except for some brief concluding remarks.

Works frequently cited are abbreviated as follows:

*Beazley Addenda*<sup>2</sup> = T. H. Carpenter, *Beazley Addenda: Additional References to ABV, ARV<sup>2</sup>, and Paralipomena*, 2nd ed., Oxford 1989

Deubner, *AF* = L. Deubner, *Attische Feste*, Berlin 1932

Migne = J.-P. Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus*, series Graeca, Paris 1857–1866

Sparkes = B. A. Sparkes, “Treading the Grapes,” *BABesch* 51, 1976, pp. 47–64, figs. 1–27

<sup>2</sup> J. Paul Getty Museum 83.AE.285. J. Frel, “Euphronios and His Fellows,” in *Ancient Greek Art and Iconography*, W. G. Moon, ed., Madison, Wis. 1983, p. 147, fig. 10:1 a–c. I thank Marion True for facilitating my study of the psykter. The vase is one of a number of psykters by this painter: Louvre G 58 (*ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 21, no. 6) with a komos scene; Malibu 82.AE.53 (Frel, *op. cit.*, p. 147, fig. 10:2–6) with lovers, now fully published in Antikenmuseum Berlin, *Euphronios der Maler* (exhibition catalogue 20.3–26.5 1991), no. 60; New York, M.M.A. L 1980.104 (unpublished).

<sup>3</sup> Brussels A 717 (*ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 220, no. 1; *Beazley Addenda*<sup>2</sup>, p. 154).

<sup>4</sup> Munich 8935 (*ARV*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 1619, 1705; *Paralipomena*, p. 322; *Beazley Addenda*<sup>2</sup>, p. 152). See E. Vermeule, “Fragments of a Symposium by Euphronios,” *AntK* 8, 1965, pp. 34–39, pls. 11–14, esp. p. 34, note 5

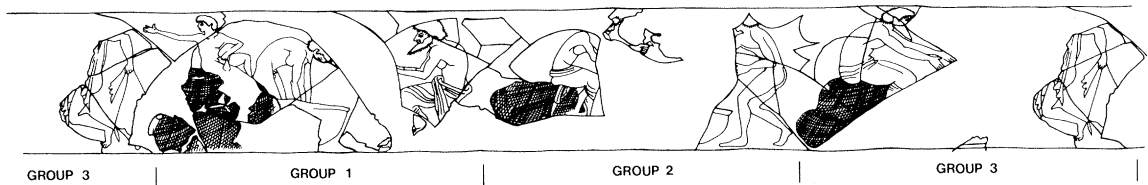


FIG. 1. Malibu 83.AE.285

Here also two figures, a youth and a man, flank a large dinos on a stand, but there are differences. The youth on the left is naked and does not carry anything; he turns back and raises his hand in greeting to the members of the symposium on the other side. He is not a servant but an *oinochoos*, himself a member of the banquet. The man on the right is filling an oinochoe from the dinos, which he will no doubt hand to the *oinochoos* to take to the symposium. There are also some banquet paraphernalia, a stand with ladles and a lyre, which show that Euphronios' scene is much more closely connected with the main picture on the obverse than is the reverse of the stamnos. Smikros' picture shows a greater interest in the servant class and is in this sense more down to earth.

A similar interest in the servant class is manifest on the psykter in Malibu. This vase is quite fragmentary, poorly drawn and consequently difficult to visualize and interpret. Three groupings may be distinguished (Fig. 1), each consisting of a man and a youth, with the first (Group 1) having a second youth added on the viewer's left. This figure (Pl. 29:b) sits naked on a high pile of mysterious objects and holds a small bag in his left hand, which is almost certainly a purse, as Robert Guy has pointed out to me.<sup>5</sup> He has turned away from the group he is closest to and gesticulates toward the group on his right (Group 3). He is in fact speaking to them (see pp. 123 and 126 below). He may be considered the central character. Closely following on his left is a scene (Pl. 30:a) in which another naked youth appears to be standing in a vat with both hands immersed in it. On the right sits a bearded man, with his cloak wound around his middle, who holds out an empty wineskin.<sup>6</sup> The "standard" shape of a wineskin is arrived at by sewing together the animal skin, leaving open only the four legs and the neck; the open parts are then bound up separately and can be untied.<sup>7</sup> The typical depiction shows only two or three of the "legs" (*ποδεῶνες*) sometimes with carrying loops attached and the neck opening by which the askos is carried. Empty wineskins are usually shown flat,

(Smikros' vase is an experimental reflection of the Euphronios krater while that was still in the workshop). E. Simon, *Die griechischen Vasen*, Munich 1976, p. 100 (the krater the model for the stamnos).

<sup>5</sup> For such a purse compare, e.g., the youth in a wineshop on the cup by Douris cited below, note 32.

<sup>6</sup> Only the bottom of the wineskin is preserved; for the action of holding it out, compare the similar arrangement in Group 2 (Fig. 1), where the neck alone is preserved.

<sup>7</sup> There are variants: Munich 2343, red-figured neck-amphora by the Alkimachos Painter (*ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 531, no. 27; *CVA*, Munich 5 [Germany 20], pl. 209 [924]:2), shows on side B a wineskin made up of pieces sewn together. Ordinarily, the skins are turned inside out, but a few pictures seem to show a shaggy outside: Adria Bc 21 (*CVA*, Adria 1 [Italy 28], pl. 12 [1260]:1a; *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 406, no. 5, by the Briseis Painter, used as a pillow in love making); see also Basel, BS 440 (note 8 below); *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 326, no. 86 bis; *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 339, nos. 51 and 55; *Paralipomena*, p. 68, no. 4; cf. H. Möbius, "Kissen oder Schlauch?" *AA (JdI 79)* 1964, cols. 294–300 and I. Peschel, *Die Hetäre bei Symposion und Komos*, Frankfurt am Main 1987, p. 239, no. 185 (ill.).

as in Group 1, although sometimes they are hung up and narrow.<sup>8</sup> The figure's seat, which is lost, is raised in relation to the vat and may have been another pile of crosshatched objects. Here also inscriptions show that a conversation is in progress.

Further to the right is a second group of two figures (Group 2; Fig. 1, Pl. 30:b): a man, attired like the previous figure, faces right and sits on some other mysterious objects (of the lower only a small trace remains). He holds out a wineskin by its bound-up neck, while a naked youth stretches out his arms toward him; between them is another vat. Next comes a third scene of two figures (Group 3; Fig. 1, Pl. 30:c), which joins the youth with the purse on the right. Here the situation is slightly different: on the left a bearded man, with the himation slung around his waist, again sits on a pile of crosshatched objects, but his outstretched hands are empty. A figure (no doubt a youth) hastens toward him while carrying an empty wineskin; this youth has a himation slung over his shoulders (Pl. 29:b, at left). It is the youth, not the bearded man, who is carrying the wineskin. Between the two there remains the small trace of an object with a flat bottom: no doubt this was another vat. It is this group that the youth with the purse is addressing.

The psykter was published by Frel, who interpreted the scenes as fishermen sitting on their nets and playing a game; the latter he deduced from the inscriptions that accompany the figures (see p. 126 and note 25 below).<sup>9</sup> Fishermen's nets are sometimes marked with similar crosshatchings, as, for example, on a red-figured pyxis by the Wedding Painter that shows two fishermen gazing at the chest in which Perseus and his mother have traveled in the sea.<sup>10</sup> The objects on the Getty vase, however, are plainly marked as having a round and elongated shape, shown most clearly in Group 3 (Pl. 30:d), where the older man is sitting on what are obviously two separate elongated objects. The interior of an early red-figured cup

<sup>8</sup> Empty wineskins are not infrequent: e.g., black-figured cup Berlin 3151 (*ABV*, p. 79 bottom), according to M. C. Miller (*AntK* 31, 1988, p. 80, pl. 18:3); Basel, BS 458, bilingual cup by Skythes (*CVA*, Basel 2 [Switzerland 6], pl. 3 [259]:1); Basel, BS 463, red-figured cup by the Epeleios Painter (*ARV<sup>2</sup>*, p. 147, no. 16 [Arlesheim, Schweitzer]; *Beazley Addenda<sup>2</sup>*, p. 179; *CVA*, Basel 2 [Switzerland 6], pl. 7 [263]:4 [Int.: wineskin hung up empty]). Wineskins are sometimes shown very full (see below). Filled wineskins can be used as cushions (showing that they are fully tied): e.g., Adria Bc 21 (note 7 above); Orvieto 585 (*ARV<sup>2</sup>*, p. 339, no. 51, *CVA*, Umbria 1 [Italy 16], III I c, pl. 6 [763]:1 [Antiphon Painter]); Basel, BS 440 (*ARV<sup>2</sup>*, p. 326, no. 86 *bis*; *Paralipomena*, p. 359; *Beazley Addenda<sup>2</sup>*, p. 216 [Onesimos]). Cf. also two cups by the Foundry Painter, Boston, M.F.A. 01.8034 (*ARV<sup>2</sup>*, p. 401, no. 11) and Cambridge, Corpus Christi College (*ARV<sup>2</sup>*, p. 402, no. 12): *Greek Vases: Lectures* by J. D. Beazley, D. C. Kurtz, ed., Oxford 1989, pp. 80–81, pls. 52:2, 53 and p. 81, pls. 54, 55. No doubt the wineskins will be used in the komos after the symposium. Pouring from a wineskin is sometimes shown: e.g., Würzburg 265, black-figured amphora by the Amasis Painter (*ABV*, p. 151, no. 22; T. H. Carpenter, *Dionysian Imagery in Archaic Greek Art*, Oxford 1986, p. 92, pl. 19:B); Louvre CA 2997 (*ARV<sup>2</sup>*, p. 83, no. 9; *CVA*, Louvre 10 [France 17], III I b, pl. 13 [767]:5 [Skythes: filling cup from wineskin]); Würzburg 491 (*ARV<sup>2</sup>*, p. 1270, no. 17; *CVA*, Würzburg 2 [Germany 46], pl. 5 [2206]:4 [Codrus Painter]); Munich 2619A, red-figured cup (J. Boardman, *Athenian Red Figure Vases: A Handbook*, Oxford 1975, fig. 106 [Int.: Epeleios Painter]). Drinking from a wineskin is unusual: New York, M.M.A. 31.11.11, by Lydos, see note 50 below. Cf. London E 768, red-figured psykter by Oltos (*ARV<sup>2</sup>*, p. 446, no. 262; Carpenter, *op. cit.*, p. 79, note 13, and see DarSag, *s.v. uter*, p. 614). Unusual shapes: dancing with a wineskin (not a pillow as *CVA*, Ferrara 1 [Italy 37], p. 12 *ad* pl. 27 [1671]:1, 2) is shown on Ferrara T 108A VP, red-figured chous by the Meidias Painter (*ARV<sup>2</sup>*, p. 1313, no. 12); its shape is not dissimilar from what I conjecture the wineskin in Group 1 to be like.

<sup>9</sup> Frel (note 2 above), p. 147.

<sup>10</sup> Bern (*ex Clairmont*: *ARV<sup>2</sup>*, p. 924, no. 35; E. Brümmer, "Griechische Truhenbehälter," *JdI* 100, 1985, pp. 1–168; see p. 49, note 234, fig. 12:c).

in Munich (Pl. 31:a) provides a good parallel: a youth is seen carrying a similarly cross-hatched bag, which is tied at the top with strings marked in red; he moves toward a basket also marked by crosshatching.<sup>11</sup> Unfortunately, there is no indication of the contents of the bag. Another possible (but more remote) parallel can be seen on a red-figured column-krater in the Vatican by the Painter of Bologna 322 (third quarter of the 5th century) which shows Dionysos watching a vintage scene in the company of two satyrs and two maenads (Pl. 31:b).<sup>12</sup> One of the satyrs is pressing grapes on a trestle while holding onto a hanging branch(?) with both hands. The grapes are in sacks, three of which are shown (if I understand the painter's intention), with one sack shown bound up at the top. These sacks are smaller than those on the Getty psykter, and they may be of cloth rather than twigs. The mystery objects, then, are large bags; they are similar to baskets in that they are loosely woven of pliable twigs. Crosshatching is the simplest way of indicating basket weave. On many vases, the rendering is more sophisticated, for instance herringbone pattern or an alternation of "semicolons" and straight lines as on a red-figured cup by Onesimos from Spina, where a satyr is seen filling a basket with clusters of grapes.<sup>13</sup>

What do the bags on the Getty psykter contain? Frel's interpretation does not account for the vats and the wineskins (especially since two seem to be shown empty), which suggest that the vase shows an event connected with the production or distribution of wine. This brings together the large bags, the vats, and the empty wineskins. The bags would then contain (or have contained) grapes.<sup>14</sup> The purse and the vats indicate that the scenes deal with the sale of newly pressed grape juice or must. In this respect the youth standing in a vat in Group 1 (Pl. 30:a) is important. Figures standing in vats have been discussed by Ginouvès and Sparkes: they are usually shown on the interior of late 6th-century cups and most frequently, but not always, depict satyrs or humans treading grapes.<sup>15</sup> A coarse red-figured cup

<sup>11</sup> Munich 2592. I owe this photograph to the kindness of Dr. F. W. Hamdorf. See H. Bloesch, *Formen attischer Schalen*, Bern/Bümplitz 1940, p. 37; T. Seki, *Untersuchungen zum Verhältnis von Gefäßform und Malerei attischer Schalen*, Berlin 1984, p. 36, no. 104. A similar object (but perhaps made of cloth?) is carried by a man past a herm on the interior of a red-figured cup by the Triptolemos Painter, Berlin 2298 (*ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 364, no. 52; *CVA*, Berlin 2 [Germany 21], pl. 66 [1995]:5; *LIMC* V, pl. 215, Hermes 162); there is no reason to think that it contains grapes.

<sup>12</sup> Vatican (*ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 1170, no. 7; Sparkes, p. 55, note 81:c).

<sup>13</sup> Ferrara T 196 (*ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 328, no. 120). Herringbone pattern: Boston, M.F.A. 63.952 (note 49 below). Syracuse, inv. no. 20065, red-figured pelike by Myson (*ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 238, no. 5; *CVA*, Syracuse 1 [Italy 17], III I c, pl. 7 [821]:1). For another example of crosshatching see Louvre AM 1008 (D. von Bothmer, *The Amasis Painter and His World*, Malibu 1985, p. 117, fig. 72).

<sup>14</sup> It is not clear to me whether the bags are to be thought of as full or empty. I assume that they have the firmness of baskets (but note that on Munich 2592 the top is drawn together by a string), and so they may well be full, but if they are as firm as baskets they may also be empty.

<sup>15</sup> R. Ginouvès (*Balaneutikè*, Paris 1962, pp. 51–54) prefers the vintage interpretation but does not altogether rule out washing. Sparkes, p. 53 and note 59. Figures standing *near* vats may be thought of as decanting liquid from them; but some have both hands immersed in the vats (lug kraters), e.g., on two cups by the Euerigides Painter: ex Castle Ashby (*ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 91, no. 50; *CVA*, Castle Ashby [GB 15], pl. 34 [689]:4) and Athens, N.M. 18709 (*ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 95, no. 127 [vidi]). Figures standing *in* vats may be pressing grapes: so on a black-figured amphora, Munich 1388 (*ABV*, p. 140, no. 2 at bottom; see Sparkes, p. 51 and fig. 10). Red-figured examples: Boston, M.F.A. 24.453 (see note 16 below); London, Victoria and Albert Museum 4807.1901, by the Euerigides Painter (see note 19 below). A man treading grapes in a pithos is shown with both hands *inside* it: red-figured cup, Münster 584 (*ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 1705 [add to p. 136, Poseidon Painter]; *Griechische Vasen aus westfälischen Sammlungen*, B. Korzus, ed., Münster 1984, p. 223, no. 90, fig. 90:d). For the production of

in Boston shows a man treading grapes in a vat while holding on to a ring suspended above him, a necessary precaution since the grapes are slippery.<sup>16</sup> Treading grapes in a closed vat is a method by which the stalks and skins remain with the juice. This produces a dark red wine and differs from the more commonly shown method by which the juice is strained, producing a light red or a white wine, depending on the thoroughness of the straining. The Getty vase suggests the making of red wine.<sup>17</sup>

A red-figured lug krater by the Kleophrades Painter in Basel provides an example of the straining method: a satyr treads the grapes in a basket placed on the pressing table, while holding on to a suspended loop and one of the handles of the basket.<sup>18</sup> The wine is strained by the basket and flows into a vat partially set into the ground. A hydria contains water to be poured on the grapes to allow for further pressing after the first must has been squeezed out. Note that the shape of the vase on which this scene is depicted, a lug krater, is itself derived from the vintage vat, as Beazley has pointed out. Figures engaged in pressing the grapes in closed vats also hold on to rings or loops (Boston, M.F.A. 24.453; see note 16 above), or sometimes to the rim of the vat, as is the case on a red-figured cup by the Euergetes Painter in the Victoria and Albert Museum.<sup>19</sup>

Figures that immerse both hands in the vats are generally shown in profile. There exists a whole series of such scenes on cups, several of them by the Euergetes Painter. A good example is a fragmentary cup by the Aktorione Painter in Vienna, on which a satyr has both his legs and his arms deeply immersed in a vat.<sup>20</sup> On another cup, by the Euergetes Painter, in Cambridge, a youth, wreathed and nude, is in a similar position but is perhaps kneeling (Pl. 31:c).<sup>21</sup> To be sure, it is not certain that these figures stand *in* the vats,

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must, see J. L. Prickett, *A Scientific and Technological Study of Topics Associated with the Grape in Greek and Roman Antiquity* (diss. University of Kentucky 1980), pp. 50ff.

<sup>16</sup> Boston, M.F.A. 24.453 (*ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 129, no. 28; Sparkes, fig. 16; H. R. Immerwahr, "The Signatures of Pamphaios," *AJA* 88, 1984, p. 351, no. 43, pl. 44, fig. 24).

<sup>17</sup> Since the color resides in the skin, not the pulp, white wine can be made by straining red grapes while red wine needs the skins to stay with the juice; see Sparkes, pp. 53 and 55. Of course, some of the foreign matter (*marc*) will have to be removed or settled before the wine can be drunk. For winemaking see also *Wine Growing and Wine Types* (Wine Advisory Board, Wine Handbook Series, No. 2, 1943), pp. 4–7. See further M. A. Amerine and V. L. Singleton, *Wine: An Introduction*, 2nd ed., Berkeley 1977, esp. p. 68 for anaerobic fermentation, p. 73 for pigments found in the skin of grapes, and pp. 100 and 102 for the making of red and white wine.

Virginia Grace has called to my attention an article by Y. Garlan, "Remarques sur les timbres amphoriques de Sinope," *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres* 1990, fasc. 2, pp. 490–507; on pp. 499–503 the author discusses some amphora stamps from Sinope (two illustrated in figures 8 and 9) that show the pressing of wine in a basket placed on a trestle. He cites the obverse of an unattributed column-krater of the later 5th century, Athens, N.M. 15112 (bibliography in Sparkes, p. 55, note 81; illustrated 'Αρχ'Εφ 1924, p. 106, fig. 3 and see also p. 109, fig. 6; Garlan, *op. cit.*, p. 501, fig. 10 [part]), which includes a nude man treading grapes in a tall basket, such as would ordinarily be used to carry grapes, placed on a trestle. The baskets on the Malibu vase could also be used in this fashion to make white wine.

<sup>18</sup> Now Basel, BS 482 (*ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 1632, no. 49 *bis*; Beazley *Addenda*<sup>2</sup>, p. 188; Sparkes, p. 53, fig. 19; *CVA*, Basel 3 [Switzerland 7], pl. 11 [323]:1–5).

<sup>19</sup> London, Victoria and Albert Museum 4807.1901 (*ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 89, no. 14; Sparkes, p. 53, fig. 15).

<sup>20</sup> Vienna 1930 (*ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 137, no. 4; Sparkes, p. 53, fig. 18). By the same painter: Boston, M.F.A. 13.82 (*ARV*<sup>2</sup>, no. 137, fig. 2). See further J. D. Beazley, *CVA*, Oxford 2 (GB 9), p. 105.

<sup>21</sup> Cambridge 37.15 (*ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 91, no. 54). It is also possible that the shallowness of the vat and the bent figures are due to lack of space in the tondo, since in most cases the figure is standing; if kneeling, the figure would probably be cleaning the vat.

although it seems unlikely that they should stand behind them. They cannot be treading grapes but in some cases may be cleaning out the vats. The youth on the Getty psykter may be removing impurities or filling a jug in order to fill the wineskin, although this cannot be proved. At any rate, Ginouvès rightly inclines toward rejecting the notion that these figures are washing themselves.<sup>22</sup>

The scenes on the psykter have interesting inscriptions, which are unfortunately fragmentary. From the mouth of the youth with the purse (Pl. 29:b) issues a string of retrograde letters, clearly addressed to the group on the left: *πέντε χολ*[---]. Under the youth's right armpit is *καλά*. This can be restored as one inscription: *πέντε χολ[δία]|καλά*, "five good little *choes*," that is, he demands (or will give: see below) good measure. The displacement of *καλά* is due to the limitation of free space to the right of the youth's missing head in Group 3. *Choïdion* is here the popular diminutive rather than an indication of size; presumably we are dealing with the regular *chous* as a measure.<sup>23</sup> This interpretation is supported by the conversation between the two figures of Group 1 (Pl. 30:a), where the man says: *τρία*, and the youth apparently answers: *τρία τοι δ[όσο??]*.<sup>24</sup> The man wants three *choes*, and the youth confirms the order: "I will put in three *choes*, certainly." These inscriptions refer to the quantity of must to be put in the skins.<sup>25</sup>

At this point, a brief summary of the actions on the Getty psykter may be useful: there are three scenes, each of which features a bearded man seated on bundles (where preserved) and a youth engaged in some activity, as well as a vat and a wineskin. In Group 1 the youth is probably standing in the vat and has both hands immersed in it, while the man holds out an empty wineskin; he is probably having it filled. In Group 2 the youth is moving toward the vat and the man is holding out a wineskin, which is mostly lost; but since its neck is tied, it was perhaps shown already full, and the youth will carry it away. In Group 3 the man is empty-handed and a youth, not naked but with himation over his shoulders, rushes toward him carrying an empty wineskin. This scene has a connection with the youth sitting on the high pile of bundles in Group 1, who is addressing them. Since he is holding a purse, we are

<sup>22</sup> Ginouvès (note 15 above), pp. 51–54.

<sup>23</sup> *Χοΐδιον*: LSJ, *s.v.* and *Suppl.* The best passage is Suda, *s.v.*: 375 *Χοΐδια· σταμνία κατεσκεύασαν χοΐδια τὸ μέγεθος, λεπτὰ ταῖς κατασκευαῖς διαφερόντως*. [Apparatus: *Χοαῖα utrob.* Schneider *Χοιαῖα* Lekides, *utrumque contra ordinem*.] Translation: "They made small wine jars [to rack off the wine, see LSJ, *s.v.* *σταμνίον*] of the size of a small *chous*, i.e., holding a *chous* (here a measure, see LSJ). . . ." The emendation *χοαῖος* or *χοιαῖος*, accepted by LSJ but not by Adler, the latest editor of the Suda, should be rejected for disturbing the alphabetic order of the entries. Elsewhere, the diminutive occurs mostly to designate small objects, e.g., *πρόχους/προχοΐδιον*, *οἰνοχοΐδιον* (*IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 1641 C, line 44). *χολνίκας* is of course not suitable, as it is a dry measure. *χοΐσκος* is barely possible: *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 1533, line 115 (4th century B.C.); *Inscr. Délos*, 1426 A 1, line 15 (2nd century B.C.). *χοΐσκιον*: *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 1533, line 102. *χοΐδιον* is also found in the inscription *Hesperia* 32, 1963, p. 175, no. 9, line 9 (Athens, 4th century B.C.) but is of the object, not the measure. For diminutives as terms of endearment see W. W. Goodwin and C. B. Gulick, *Greek Grammar*, Boston 1958, §831.

<sup>24</sup> After *τοι*, there is a trace of a letter followed by a break; hence the suggested restoration, which is very uncertain.

<sup>25</sup> Other inscriptions on the Getty psykter: by the man holding out the wineskin in Plate 30:b is a retrograde alpha: --|α|--. Behind him, retrograde: --|εντος|--, perhaps another name. Robert Guy, however, told me that he thought the last letter an iota (the iotas slant in the inscriptions on this vase), in which case we could read: *εὖ τοι*, although the location is not ideal for an utterance. Behind the youth in the same scene is [---<sup>5</sup>---] *ος* *καλός*. Frel ([note 2 above] p. 147) states that [Λέαγρ] *ος* *καλός* would fit; but the number of missing letters is not quite certain. By the man in Plate 30:c is (retrograde) --|ας, perhaps the end of a proper name.

apparently dealing with a sale. A group of servants has come to a vineyard to fill their masters' wineskins, which will be used, as we often see on the vases, in the *κῶμος*.<sup>26</sup> Whether all the men are sellers and the youths buyers or vice versa is not clear: on the first assumption, the youth in the vat in Group 1 is making some preparation while the vineyard worker is holding his skin; in Group 2 the skin has been filled and is being handed to the youth; and in Group 3 the worker is about to receive the wineskin brought by an approaching youth. But other scenarios are possible, and I suspect the division cannot be made so neatly, especially in Group 1.

So far as I know, the Getty psykter is unique in showing both the making and selling of wine on the same vase; more precisely, it depicts a moment after the completion of the vintage when the fresh must is sold. In other representations the making and selling of wine are strictly separated. The typical vintage scene almost always works with pithoi and amphoras or kraters. A good example is a column-krater by the Pan Painter in Aleria which shows a lug krater and an amphora placed under the *ληνός* or pressing table.<sup>27</sup> On a few vases, however, the two methods of making wine are juxtaposed. One is a column-krater by the Pig Painter in Naples:<sup>28</sup> on the left, the grapes are processed on a wine press, with a basket on a trestle; the juice flows into a tall vat. On the right, wine is being pressed directly in the vat. These two methods will produce white and red wine, respectively (see p. 125 above). This combination is not often shown.

The typical selling scene also deals with regular vessels more often than with wineskins, for as a rule these pictures reproduce the sale of finished wine in a wineshop. Since it is sometimes difficult to tell whether the product sold is wine or oil, I will not discuss these vases in detail. One probable instance of wine-selling is an amphora by the Princeton Painter in Brussels where we have on one side a woman customer handing a small object to a man who appears to be the proprietor. Between these are a large and a small amphora. On the left are two other men, probably also customers, one of whom carries an empty amphora upside down on his shoulder and holds out a jug. On the right a fourth customer speaks to his servant, who carries a *full* amphora on his shoulder. The reverse shows another scene from a similar *καπηλεῖον*. On the left a man holding a jug talks in an animated fashion with another woman customer, while his assistant squats on the ground with a wineskin (Pl. 31:d). To the right is another scene, in which a man is seated, with one hand in the neck of a large amphora, between two men who are in conversation. Because of the wineskin, I believe that this side of the Brussels amphora certainly shows the sale of wine, perhaps some special wine doled out in small quantities. The interpretation of the obverse is less certain: some have called it the sale of oil.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>26</sup> See note 8 above.

<sup>27</sup> Aleria 2094, L. Jehasse, "Un cratère du Peintre de Pan découvert à Aléria," *Mon Piot* 58, 1972, pp. 25–41, pls. 4, 5; Sparkes, p. 54, fig. 20.

<sup>28</sup> Museo di Capodimonte 960 (*ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 563, no. 4). See Sparkes, p. 55, fig. 25, and for another example, *ibid.*, fig. 26. See also the red-figured column-krater by the Orchard Painter, Ferrara T. 254 C VP (*ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 524, no. 26; N. Alfieri, *Spina, Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Ferrara*, Bologna 1979, p. 21, fig. 54).

<sup>29</sup> Brussels R 279 (*ABV*, p. 299, no. 20). See *TAPA* 79, 1948, pp. 189–190. T. B. L. Webster (*Potter and Patron in Ancient Athens*, London 1972, p. 101) opts for wine, Beazley (in *ABV*) for oil.

Three and five *choes* respectively are to be put in the wineskins and no more. This quantity is partly determined by the process of fermentation. Although the New Testament passage speaks of *new wine* put in wineskins, what we have on the Smikros psykter is grape juice or γλεῦκος, “sweet juice”, used immediately after pressing. This juice loses no time in going into fermentation and produces both alcohol and carbon dioxide, that is, a great amount of gas. It is important, therefore, that the skins not be filled completely. A small opening must be left so that the air can be expelled by the carbon dioxide (fermentation being anaerobic), after which the skins may be closed, if they are strong enough to withstand the pressure! A partial filling is what is indicated on the Getty vase. Partial filling is mentioned directly by a late source<sup>30</sup> and is clearly implied in a passage from Job in the Septuagint (see p. 130 below). It may also be presupposed in a delightful passage in Aristophanes’ *Thesmophoriazousae* (730–759). There a woman has brought her baby to the festival, but the baby turns out to be a wineskin, to which she has attached slippers, as illustrated in a South Italian vase painting.<sup>31</sup> The vase shows Euripides’ relative, who has illegally entered the women’s festival, as he is about to sacrifice the “baby” (wineskin) on the altar, while the baby’s mother comes with a large skyphos to collect the victim’s blood. One of the jokes involved in the ensuing conversation is the question: “How old is the child? Three or four *choes*?” This gives the presumed child’s age by reference to the spring festival of the Anthesteria, in which the *Choes* were the second and most important day, and refers to the introduction of children of that age before the phratries at the later Apatouria. But when applied to the wineskin, it refers to the amount of wine contained in it, which compares well to the amounts mentioned on the Smikros psykter.<sup>32</sup> The passage refers to finished wine, not must, and there is no indication that the wineskin is not full, but we know from a number of references in comedy that three *choes*, or about nine liters, was the standard amount a person would bring to a banquet.<sup>33</sup> It is likely that this amount, regardless of the size of the skins, was determined by the fact that the fermenting γλεῦκος needed room to mature.

Γλεῦκος is the fresh juice of the grape. It is also the fermenting juice, whether placed in pithoi or amphoras (the usual method) or in wineskins. It is finally the new wine when first opened. As *gleukos*, the new wine is said to be sweet and less alcoholic than mature wine.<sup>34</sup> The reason for the ambiguity of meaning is the effervescence (πνεῦμα) inherent in the grape juice, which became a favorite subject of discussion by medical and philosophical writers

<sup>30</sup> Joannes Philoponus (6th century after Christ), *In Ph. (Commentaria in Aristotlem Graeca*, Berlin 1888, XVII), p. 699, lines 9–11: ὅθεν οὐδὲ μεστοὺς εἰώθασι πληροῦν τοὺς ἀσκοὺς . . . τοῦ γλεῦκος διὰ τὸ ἔχειν χῶραν τὸ γινόμενον πνεῦμα. . . .

<sup>31</sup> A. Kossatz-Deissmann, “Telephus travestitus,” in *TAINIA: Roland Hampe zum 70. Geburtstag*, H. A. Cahn and E. Simon, edd., Mainz 1980, I, pp. 281–290, pl. 60.

<sup>32</sup> Aristophanes, *Th.* 746–747. In the same passage (at 743) there is a reference to the quality of the wine, which is said to be τρικόνυλος, explained by Hesychios, *s.v.*, as wine sold at three kotylai for an obol. The same word is used by a youth buying wine in a wineshop on a cup by Douris, Harvard 501.1937 (*ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 445, no. 252; see *TAPA* 79, 1948, pp. 184–190).

<sup>33</sup> Three *choes* was a common measure to bring to a party: Aristophanes, *Ec.* 44; Alexis, fragment 15, lines 18–19 (Kock). In Aristophanes, *Nu.* 1238 Strepsiades thinks the loan shark would make a good [wineskin] if tanned: he would hold 6 *choes*, i.e., double the amount normally put in a wineskin.

<sup>34</sup> So at least according to Plutarch, *Quaest. Conv.* 655E–656B: Διὰ τί τὸ γλεῦκος ἥκιστα μεθύσκει.



throughout antiquity.<sup>35</sup> A famous example of γλεῦκος as unfermented grape juice is found in Kallixenos' description of the large wine press in the procession organized by Ptolemy Philadelphos in Alexandria (Athenaios 5.199a): "There followed another four-wheeled platform twenty [five] cubits in length and sixteen in width, drawn by three hundred men. On it a wine press had been erected of twenty-four cubits [in length] and fifteen in width, filled with grapes. Sixty satyrs were pressing [the grapes] while singing the vintage song to the accompaniment of flutes; their leader was Silenus. Throughout the whole procession the *gleukos* was flowing." Satyrs, who are notoriously impatient, cannot refrain from drinking this juice immediately, as for instance in a vintage scene by the Amasis Painter in Basel,<sup>36</sup> where one satyr tastes the juice from a skyphos which he has filled from a small hydria; he is pouring the excess back into the basket. This is what is meant when satyrs are called γλευκοπόται, a word found in an epigram in the Palatine Anthology (6.44), which is worth quoting in full: "These three casks filled with the first wine from his three vineyards, the first gatherings of his plantings, Heronax dedicated to the satyrs, drinkers of grape juice (γλευκοπόταις), and to Bacchus, planter of the vine. From these casks we shall drink more than the satyrs after pouring the appropriate libation to wine-dark Bacchus and his satyrs." From this poem we gather that mortals too were drinking must immediately, or at least before it was fully ripe, for the dedicant, as a drinker, compares himself to the satyrs.

<sup>35</sup> Γλεῦκος: see also LSJ, *s.v.* (1) as fresh grape juice: Kallixenos in Athenaios 5.199a (see text below). Aristotle, *Pr.* 925b, lines 16–19. Hippokrates, *de diaeta* 52.10. Nicander, *Alex.* 184. On drinking fresh grape juice: Josephus, *AJ* 2.64 (in a dream). In Galen, *de alimentorum facultatibus* 6.575–576, *gleukos* is the squeezed grape juice; it causes gas in the stomach. Longus 2.36: *gleukos* is drunk during the vintage. Immediate drinking is suggested by the Euboean lekythos (Sparkes, fig. 2), where the juice is flowing into a cup; see Sparkes, p. 48. Similar scenes: Basel, Kā 420, by the Amasis Painter (see note 36 below) and Ferrara T 254 C VP, red-figured column-krater by the Orchard Painter (note 28 above): a youth with skyphos and oinochoe at the pressing table. Cf. also *Anthologia graeca* 6.44, quoted below. Unclear is Pherekrates, fragment 16 (Kock): βύρσης γλευκαγωγού. βύρσα is here the wineskin, cf. Lucian, *Lex.* 6: οἶνος δὲ ἦν οὐ γέρον, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἀπὸ βύρσης, ἥδη μὲν ἀγλευκής, ἀπεπτος δὲ ἔτι. In Lucian this is clearly very young wine; in Pherekrates it may be that, or it may be grape juice.

(2) γλεῦκος as fermenting grape juice: *Anth. Pal.* 7.457 (Ariston). Galen, *Nat.Fac.* 2.135 (οἶνος γλεῦκινος). *Anacreontea*, M. L. West, ed., Leipzig 1984, no. 59, lines 10–11. Much discussion of fermenting *gleukos* is found, e.g., in Theophrastos, Aristotle (*Problemata* and fragments), Alexander Aphrodisiensis, and the medical writers. Philoponus, *In Ph.* (note 30 above), p. 573, lines 26–27: τί δήποτε ῥήγνυνται ὑπὸ τοῦ γλεύκουσ οἱ ἀσκοὶ καὶ οἱ πίθοι μεταβάλλοντος τοῦ γλεύκουσ εἰς πνεῦμα.

(3) γλεῦκος as new wine: it is said to be sweet and less intoxicating: see note 34 above. New wine is probably meant by the reference to *gleukos* in a passage from Phanodemos (*FrGrHist* 325 F12), which mentions *gleukos* at or near the Limnaion; this is often referred to the Anthesteria, but K. Kerényi ("Parva Realia," *SymbOslo* 36, 1960, "1. Γλεῦκος and τρύξι: zur Geburt der Komödie," pp. 5–11) thinks the reference is not to a specific festival and to a time earlier than the Anthesteria because he distinguishes *gleukos* from finished wine; cf. also E. Simon, "Ein Anthesterien-Skyphos des Polygnotos," *AntK* 6, 1963, p. 8, note 10; a different view is presented in Deubner, *AF*, p. 127.

(4) γλεῦκος metaphorical: LXX, Job 32:19; Acts 2:13. Late Christian authors: Athanasius(?) (Migne XXVIII, p. 744, lines 35–38); Gregory of Nazianzus (Migne XXXVI, p. 485, lines 9–10); Gregory of Nyssa (Migne XLVI, pp. 700, line 43, 701, line 2); John Chrysostom (Migne L, p. 460, lines 49–54, and so often). The citations are frequently based on the two biblical passages.

The only occurrence of γλεῦκος in Attic inscriptions is IG I<sup>3</sup>, 237, line 4 (a regulation concerning taxes [or contributions] as copied by the ἀναγραφείς after 410 B.C.).

<sup>36</sup> Basel, Kā 420 (*Paralipomena*, p. 65; *Beazley Addenda*<sup>2</sup>, p. 43).

Fermenting wine produces gas both in the wineskin and in the belly. This is mentioned in the Septuagint,<sup>37</sup> where a young man speaks to Job: "I will speak, for I am full of words, since the spirit of my belly forces me. For my belly is like a tied-up wineskin full of fermenting must or a bronzeworker's bellows that is broken." And in the New Testament,<sup>38</sup> bystanders watching the Apostles speaking in tongues say that they are full of must (γλεύκους μεμεστωμένοι εἰσίν). In both passages the *pneuma* of the utterances is compared to the gas trying to escape from the wineskin. I believe that we should recognize such wineskins filled with the effervescence of wine-in-the-making in the numerous pictures of blown-up skins with which satyrs and humans like to play. On the interior of a red-figured cup by Epiktetos in Boston, a satyr is getting to ride on a very full wineskin while holding a drinking horn (Pl. 32:a).<sup>39</sup> A youth is bestriding a wineskin on an eye cup by the Bowdoin Eye Painter at Stanford (Pl. 32:c).<sup>40</sup> On the outside of another cup, related to the Nikosthenes Painter, in Cambridge,<sup>41</sup> the two satyrs on the left are having a "horse race" by riding on such wineskins. That satyrs are here imitating human behavior is shown on the exterior of a cup by the Epeleios Painter in Basel,<sup>42</sup> where on the extreme right a full wineskin is loaded on a cart pulled by youths and one youth is placed on top of the skin: no doubt his problem is to *stay* on top.

A somewhat more formalized game involved a competition, the "jump on the wineskin", or ἀσκωλιασμός, in which a number of persons in succession tried to hold their balance on wineskins that, as an ancient scholion tells us,<sup>43</sup> were blown up and greased. The game is depicted on a fragmentary calyx-krater by Euphronios in the Louvre:<sup>44</sup> in Villard's restoration (Pl. 32:d), a youth has fallen backwards on the wineskin; his foot is touching the ground. This is observed by another youth sitting in front of him, who is determining that the player has lost. Around them are four companions who are dancing wildly to the tune of a young

<sup>37</sup> Job 32:18–19. Cf. Lucian, *Philops.* 39: . . . περίεμι νή τὸν Δία ὥσπερ οἱ τοῦ γλεύκους πίνοντες ἐμπεφουσημένος τὴν γαστέρα ἐμέτου δεόμενος. For a similar passage see Lucian, *Sat.* 22.

<sup>38</sup> Acts 2:13. Cf. Galen (note 35 above [1]).

<sup>39</sup> Boston, M.F.A. 95.34 (*ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 75, no. 64).

<sup>40</sup> Stanford 70.10 (*ex* Arlesheim, Schweizer; *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 166, no. 3; *Beazley Addenda*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 160, 183; Münzen und Medaillen A.G., *Auktion* 40, 1969, pl. 30, no. 83). Compare also the Proto-Panaitian cup Brussels A 723 (*ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 317, no. 15).

<sup>41</sup> Cambridge 37.17 (*ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 133, no. 4).

<sup>42</sup> Basel, BS 463 (see note 8 above; *CVA*, Basel 2 [Switzerland 6], pl. 8 [264]:2, 3).

<sup>43</sup> Scholia Aristophanes, *Pl.* 1129. For ἀσκωλιασμός see *RE* and *KlPauly*, s.v.; Deubner, *AF*, p. 135 (Rural Dionysia?); F. Lissarrague, *The Aesthetics of the Greek Banquet* (trans. A. Szegedy-Maszak), Princeton 1990, pp. 68–76, with many examples. Note also Pollux 9.121, who has skins blown up with air, while one (not very reliable) scholion on *Pl.* 1129 has skins filled with wine and a skin given as the prize (but see Deubner, *AF*, p. 135). Others put the ἀσκωλιασμός at the Anthesteria: M. P. Nilsson, "Die Anthesterien und die Aiora," *Eranos* 15, 1916, pp. 195–197; G. van Hoorn, "L'Idole de Dionysos Limnaios," *RA*, ser. 5, 25, 1927, pp. 105–106. Wineskins are made with the shaggy side turned in (note 7 above); the outside is consequently smooth.

<sup>44</sup> Louvre G 110 (*ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 14, no. 3; *Paralipomena*, p. 322; *Beazley Addenda*<sup>2</sup>, p. 152; F. Villard, "Deux nouvelles oeuvres d'Euphronios au Musée du Louvre," *MonPiot* 45, 1951, pp. 1–10, esp. fig. 6; *idem*, *MonPiot* 47, 1953, pp. 45–46 [facsimiles of inscriptions, p. 44, fig. 3:a, b]). Side B: komasts; E. Vermeule, "Fragments of a Symposium by Euphronios," *AntK* 8, 1965, pp. 34–39; pl. 12:2 has a partial view. The scene was called to my attention by Dr. Dietrich von Bothmer. Now republished: Antikenmuseum Berlin, *Euphronios der Maler* (note 2 above), no. 2.

flautist. The scene is in agreement with a statement by one of the scholiasts on Aristophanes' *Plutus* which speaks of one wineskin placed in the middle of the contestants.<sup>45</sup> Other representations show only isolated "jumpers" trying to balance on a very full wineskin. Such is the satyr on a cup in Baltimore which belongs to the Proto-Panaitian Group:<sup>46</sup> the position of his left foot shows clearly that he is not *riding* the wineskin. A better example is the fragment of a cup by the Euergides Painter in Tübingen,<sup>47</sup> where a youth is precariously balancing on a wineskin (Pl. 32:b). This game may have developed from the existence of wineskins blown up by fermenting must.

The Getty psykter not only makes a contribution to the understanding of ancient practices of winemaking but also provides one small element in the total picture of the vicissitudes of wine in the celebration of the Dionysiac winter festivals because of its apparent emphasis on grape juice (which will be fermenting in the skins) rather than finished wine. The miraculous transformation of the *gleukos* replicates the original invention of wine as the result of Dionysos' discovery and dissemination of the vine plant, which is symbolized by his attribute, the ὄσχος or vine branch laden with fruit.<sup>48</sup> Hence the god is frequently present at the vintage.<sup>49</sup> It is probable that Dionysos was admitted to the company of the Olympians by virtue of his invention, which proved its efficacy when he brought Hephaistos back to Olympos to free Hera from her fetters.<sup>50</sup> There are some indications that the transformation of the wine in the winter months was an element in the celebrations, although the evidence is elusive. I would cite here in first place the autumn festival of the Oschophoria, which I believe (despite much scholarly controversy) to have been a vintage festival in the popular Athenian view.<sup>51</sup> The ἀσכולιασμός was probably performed at the Rural Dionysia in

<sup>45</sup> Scholion on Aristophanes, *Pl.* 1129 (see note 43 above). A fragment of the comic poet Eubulus (*Amalthaea*, fragment 8 [Kock]) also reads like a commentary on Louvre G 110: καὶ πρὸς γε τούτοις ἀσκὸν εἰς μέσον καταθέντες εἰσάλλεσθε καὶ καχάζετε ἐπὶ τοῖς καταρρέουσιν ἀπὸ κελεύματος. See further, Nilsson (note 43 above), pp. 195–196.

<sup>46</sup> *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 316, no. 7.

<sup>47</sup> Tübingen, E 41 (*ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 94, no. 104).

<sup>48</sup> Compare the famous pointed amphora by the Kleophrades Painter in Munich (2344; *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 182, no. 6), showing Dionysos with kantharos and *oschos*, two of his standard attributes.

<sup>49</sup> E.g., on a black-figured amphora in Boston, M.F.A. 63.952 (B) (*CVA*, Boston 1 [USA 14], pl. 12 [634]:3; *Paralipomena*, p. 62; *Beazley Addenda*<sup>2</sup>, p. 41, near Exekias), where Dionysos' name is inscribed. Carpenter ([note 8 above] p. 93, note 82) rightly says that the baskets show that the scene is indeed a vintage scene.

<sup>50</sup> The connection is made in a late passage by Pseudo-Libanius, but it may go back to a poem by Alkaios: see D. L. Page, *Sappho and Alcaeus*, Oxford 1955, p. 259, note 1 and *Poetarum Lesbiorum fragmenta*, Oxford 1955, Alkaios fragment 349c. The Return of Hephaistos may well be from an even earlier poem which focused on Dionysos rather than on Hephaistos: B. Snell, "Dionysos oder Hephaistos?" *Festschrift Ernst Kapp*, Hamburg 1958, pp. 15–17; differently, U. von Wilamowitz, "Hephaistos," *Nachr. Gesellsch. Wiss. Göttingen* 1895, pp. 219–222. Representations of the Return of Hephaistos on vases frequently emphasize Dionysos more than his beneficiary. So on the great krater by Lydos, New York, M.M.A. 31.11.11 (*ABV*, p. 108, no. 5; G. M. A. Richter, "Lydos," *MMS* 4, 1932–1933, pp. 169–178, figs. 1–20, esp. figs. 1–4 and pl. 1).

<sup>51</sup> On the Oschophoria see *RE*, s.v. (Ziehen); Deubner, *AF*, pp. 142–147; *FrGrHist*, 328 F14–16 (cf. III b suppl. 1, pp. 294–305); W. S. Ferguson, "The Salaminioi of Heptaphylai and Sounion," *Hesperia* 7, 1938, pp. 1–74; L. Deubner, "Das attische Weinlesefest," *AbhBerl* 1943, no. 12 (1944) = *Kleine Schriften*, Königstein/Ts. 1982, pp. 711–725. See further: H. W. Parke, *Festivals of the Athenians*, London 1977, pp. 77–80; E. Simon, *Festivals of Attica*, Madison, Wis. 1983, pp. 89–92; E. Kadletz, "The Race and Procession of the Athenian *Oschophoroi*," *GRBS* 21, 1980, pp. 363–371; and I. Rutherford and J. Irvine, "The

November or December, when late-gathered (or saved) grapes might still be fermenting. While the iconography of the Lenaia shows no wineskins, it should be mentioned that some ancient commentators speak of γλεῦκος as being dispensed in the Lenaion, and so perhaps at the Lenaia, but the reference may be to new wine rather than must.<sup>52</sup> At any rate, by the time of the Anthesteria, in early spring, the wine was finished, and the casks were opened on the first day, the *Pithoigia*. This wine was drunk at the great competition on the second day, the *Choes*, for which the prize was a full wineskin, which Dikaiopolis at the end of the *Acharnians* drinks unmixed.<sup>53</sup> Perhaps the prize recalled the time when the wine was first produced.

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Race in the Athenian Oschophoria and an Oschophoricon by Pindar," *ZPE* 72, 1988, pp. 43–51. R. J. Hoffmann ("Ritual Licence and the Cult of Dionysus," *Athenaeum*, n.s. 67, 1989, pp. 83–95) derives the name from the word for scrotum.

<sup>52</sup> Γλεῦκος at Lenaia: see Kerenyi (note 35 above [3]), p. 6; A. Frickenhaus, "Lenäenvasen," *BWPr* 72, 1912, p. 29, note 22.

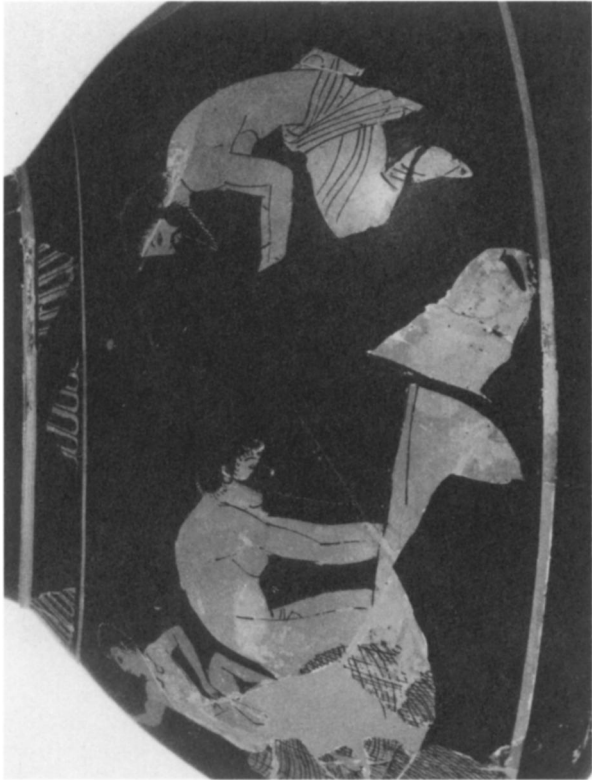
<sup>53</sup> *Ach.* 1202, 1224–1229 and scholia. Drinking unmixed wine was frowned upon as barbarian but was not uncommon: Archilochos, fragment 78 (Diehl); Anakreon, fragment 356 (Page) a–b.



a. Brussels A 717 (B)



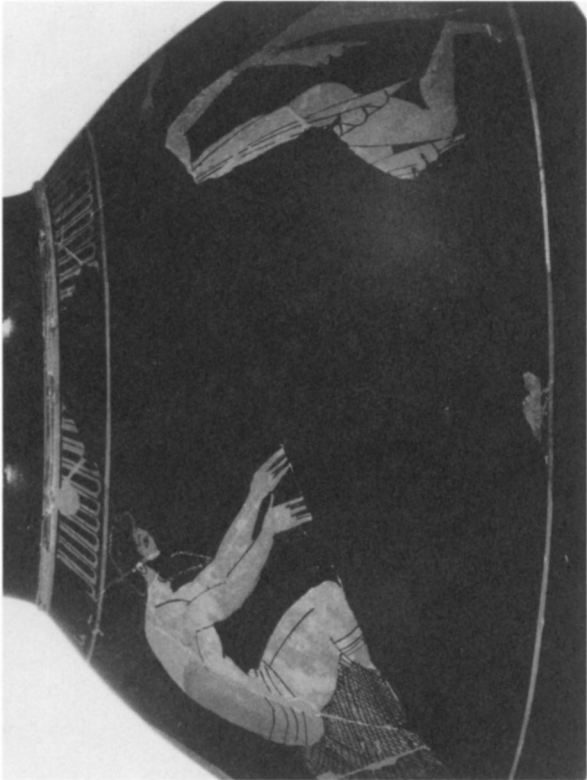
b. Malibu 83.AE.285



a.



b.

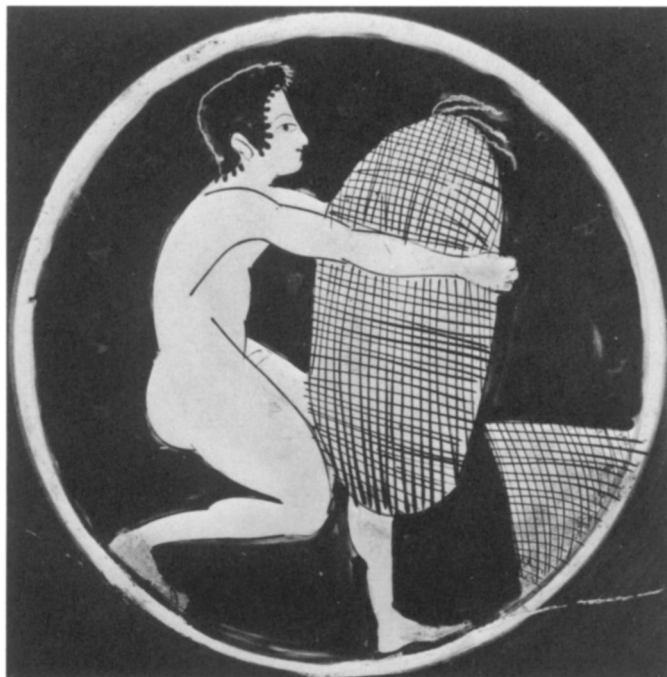


c.



d.

Malibu 83.AE.285  
H. R. IMMERWAHR: NEW WINE IN ANCIENT WINESKINS



a. Munich 2592



b. Vatican (museum photo III.38.17)



c. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam 37.15



d. Brussels R 279



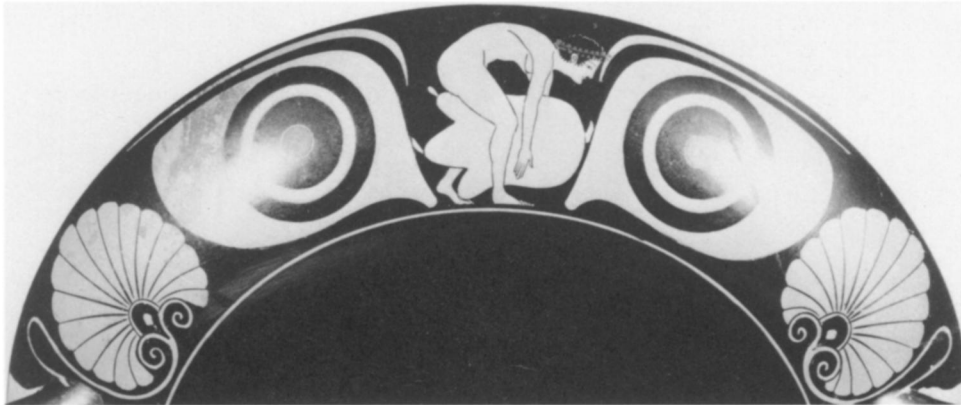
PLATE 32



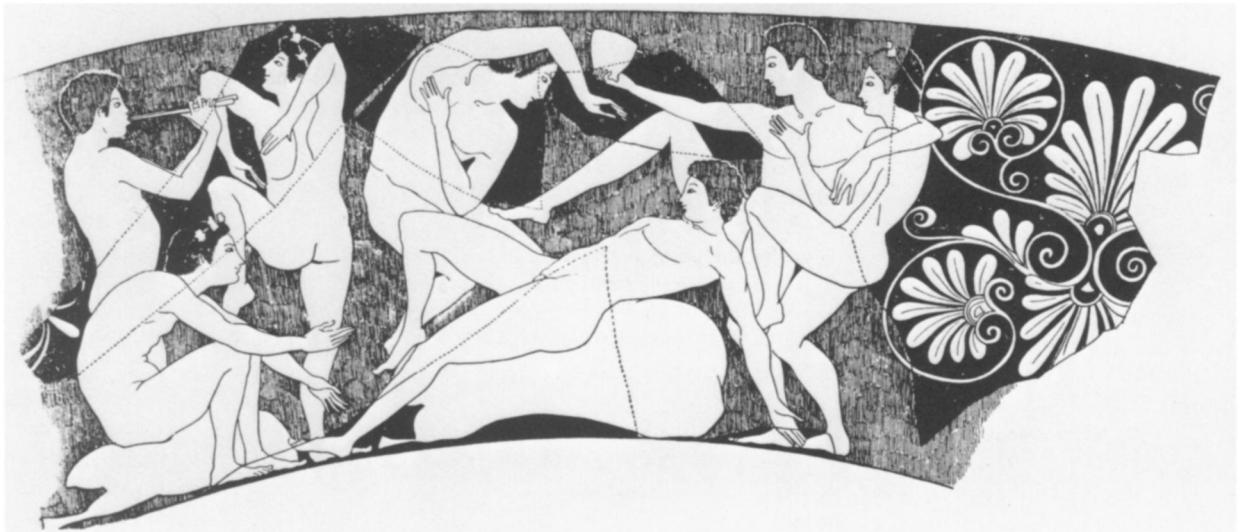
a. Boston, M.F.A. 95.34



b. Tübingen E 41



c. Stanford University Museum of Art 70.10 (Bequest of Dr. Hazel D. Hansen)



d. Louvre G 110 (=MontPiot 45, 1951, p. 7, fig. 6)