

MENDAIAN AS CHALKIDIAN WINE

In memory of Virginia Grace

One of the most well known, widely exported, and highly regarded wines of Classical antiquity was Mendaian, named after the Chalkidian *polis* (Fig. 1), and the distinctive amphora type that carried the appellation (Figs. 2–6) has come under close scrutiny in a number of recent studies, following the seminal work of Virginia Grace.¹ The latter was the first to observe that a particular coin-type of Mende—Dionysos on an ass (Figs. 7, 8)—was used as a stamp on the handles of a specific type of amphora, consequently dubbed Mendaian.² Beyond the amphoras, the literary evidence

1. Grace 1949, esp. pp. 178, 182, 186, pl. 20: no. 1; see also Grace 1953, pp. 106–107, nos. 161, 162; Corbett 1949, p. 337; Abramov 1993, pp. 13, 33–34, figs. 24–26 for possible forerunners of the Mendaian amphora type dating as early as the late 6th or early 5th century B.C. A summary listing of Mendaian amphoras was published in Eiseman and Ridgway 1987, p. 40, note 3. Much of the modern literature on Mendaian amphoras has been conveniently collected and discussed in Ian Whitbread's important petrological study, Whitbread 1995, pp. 198–209. Mendaian amphoras have also been fully discussed in two unpublished dissertations, Paspalas 1990, esp. pp. 58–87, and Lawall 1995, pp. 117–129; see, most recently, Lawall 1997. Lawall (1998), in discussing the date of the Porticello wreck, provides a brief history of Mendaian amphoras, concentrating on very late 5th- and early-4th-century B.C. examples. The three complete or nearly complete amphoras from the Athenian Agora (Figs. 2–4) derive from various dated contexts, as follows: Fig. 2 (P 2377), from well R 13:4, ca. 440–425 B.C., see *Agora* XII, p. 398; Fig. 3 (P 24210), from well H 13:4 Lower Deposit, ca. 425–

400 B.C., see *Agora* XII, p. 393 (a date around 425 B.C. or slightly later for this amphora is suggested by Lawall); Fig. 4 (P 23683), from well R 11:3 (although dated ca. 450–425 B.C. in *Agora* XII, p. 398, some of the black-glazed vases in the deposit continue well into the last quarter of the 5th century and, as such, this jar is best dated late 5th century B.C.). For the basic development in the shape of Mendaian amphoras and the relationship to the shape of Thasian and Chian jars, see Salviat 1986, p. 190, fig. 2. For a recent overview of drinking in Classical Athens, see Davidson 1997, pp. 40–69.

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2. Grace 1949. Whitbread (1995, p. 198) notes: “Few Mendeian jars appear to have been stamped.” For the coinage of Mende see Noe 1926; also Head 1911, pp. 210–212; Michaux 1981. Kraay (1976, pp. 134, 362) suggested that Mende started striking coins as early as the third quarter of the 6th century B.C., whereas Price and Waggoner (1975, p. 45) consider ca. 510–500 B.C. as the more probable starting date. See further Price 1987; Jenkins 1970, pp. 65–66; Robinson 1949. It should be noted that the coin-type was adopted as an amphora stamp relatively late; the earliest evidence for its use dates to the last quarter of the 5th century B.C.: see Grace 1949, pp. 178, 186; Corbett 1949, p. 337, under no. 106, p. 345, no. 166.

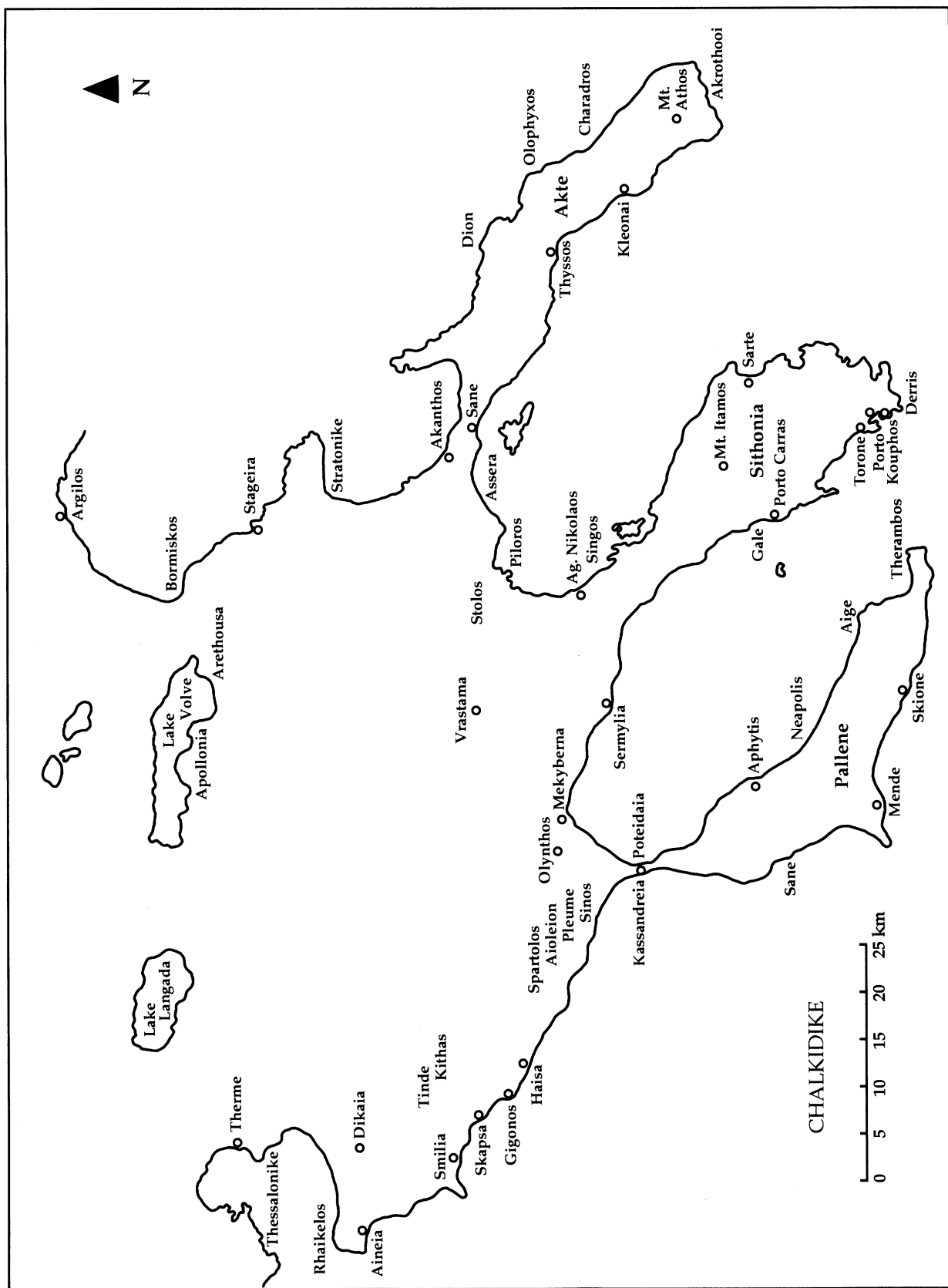


Figure 1. Map of the Chalkidike

Figure 2. Mendaian amphora:
 Athens, Agora P 2377. Graffito AP
 (restored) on upper shoulder. The
 partially preserved dipinto on the
 neck should be restored as an ivy leaf.
 Drawing by A. Hooton

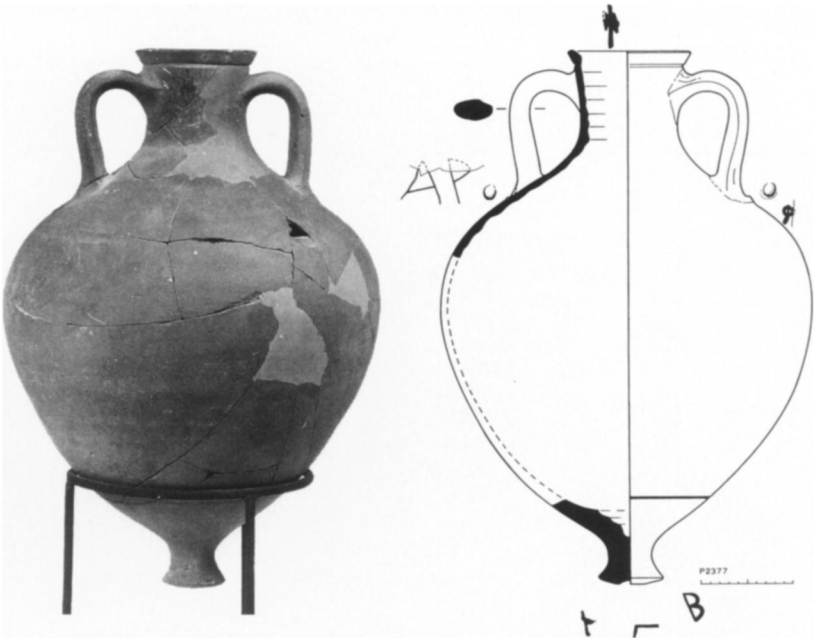


Figure 3. Mendaian amphora:
 Athens, Agora P 24210. Dipinti on
 neck. Lower surface of toe worn.
 Drawing by A. Hooton

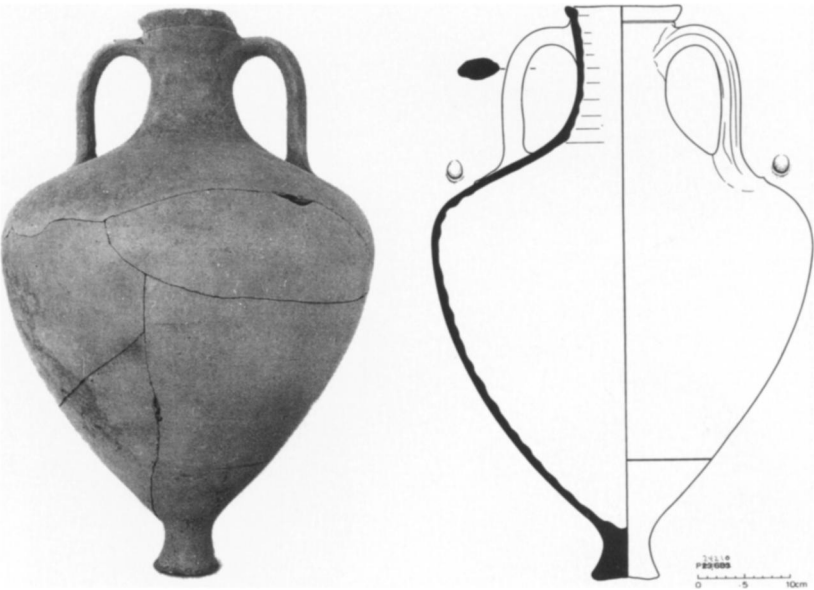


Figure 4. Mendaian amphora:
 Athens, Agora P 23683. Dipinto on
 upper shoulder, toward lower handle
 attachment. Drawing by A. Hooton

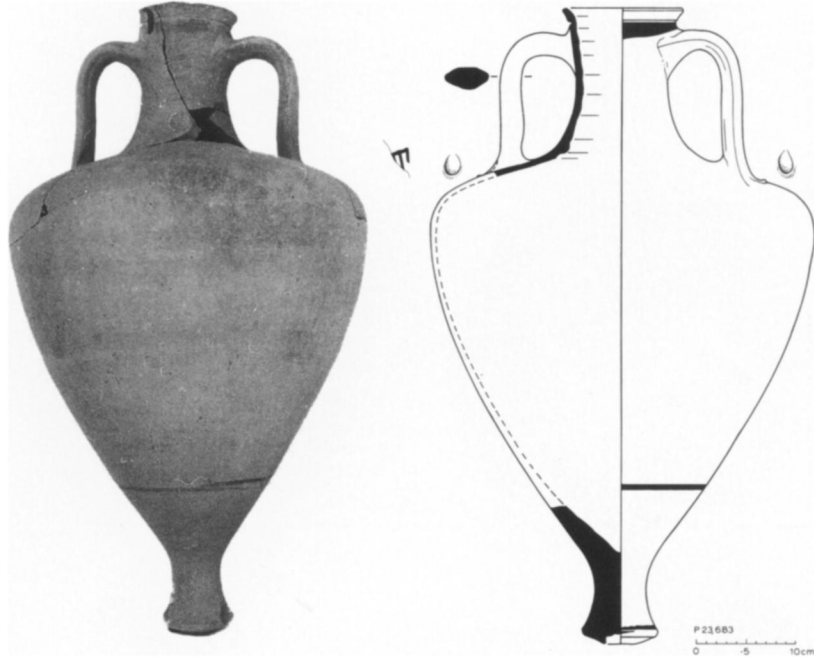




Figure 5 (above, left). Mendaian-type amphora: Torone inv. 81.729. Courtesy Australian Archaeological Institute at Athens and the Athens Archaeological Society

Figure 6 (above, right). Mendaian-type amphora, but of unusual fabric: Torone inv. 82.1359. Courtesy Australian Archaeological Institute at Athens and the Athens Archaeological Society



Figure 7. Silver stater (tetradrachm), Mende. a) *Obverse*: Dionysos on ass; b) *Reverse*: grape vine and ΜΕΝΔΑΙΟΝ legend. Private collection. Courtesy Hirmer Verlag GmbH



Figure 8. Silver stater (tetradrachm), Mende. a) *Obverse*: Dionysos on ass; b) *Reverse*: grape vine and ΜΕΝΔΑΙΟΝ legend. Head 1959, pl. 10: no. 12. Courtesy British Museum, London

concerning Mendaian wine has been admirably collected by François Salviat.³ Despite this attention, certain aspects of the Mendaian wine industry repay further study, particularly its relationship to cultivation of the grape in the Chalkidike generally. The ancient fame of Mendaian wine, the importance of viticulture in the Chalkidike, and the ceramic and numismatic evidence from Torone in particular, as well as the archaeological and literary evidence from elsewhere, all suggest that “Mendaian” may have been used in antiquity to refer to the wine of a much larger area of the Chalkidike.

Much of the evidence, literary and archaeological, for Chalkidian wine is indirect. For example, a number of 4th- or early-3rd-century B.C. inscriptions found in the southeastern portion of mainland Chalkidike, in the area north of the modern Agios Nikolaos and east of Vrastama (Fig. 1), provide important insights, often through toponyms, on the natural resources of the area and some of the economic activities that took place there.⁴ One of the first scholars to have grasped the full potential of this epigraphical evidence was Ioulia Vokotopoulou, who was able to extract information from the inscriptions to show, among other things, the importance of vines, including the sale of a vineyard, as well as apple trees, sheep-grazing, barley fields, and the exploitation of metals.⁵ Direct evidence for many of these economic activities is now provided by the faunal and floral remains found at various sites in the region, not least of which is the number of carbonized grape seeds (*Vitis vinifera* or *Vitis* sp.) recovered from the water-sieved pyre debris encountered in the tombs of the Early Iron Age cemetery at Torone.⁶ Among the more prominent aspects of the Chalkidike discussed by Vokotopoulou is the vine; the town of Ramai in the region of Aimou, for instance, is linked with *ράματα*, which she suggests should refer to the Macedonian word for grapes.⁷

Turning to a different category of evidence: the Akanthians—who also produced a distinctive type of wine amphora⁸—in 424 B.C., when facing the prospect of Brasidas’ forces destroying their grape harvest, were moved to allow the Spartans into their city.⁹ An even more indirect passage, but one important for Torone, deals with the abuse of wine in Sithonia:

3. Salviat 1990, esp. pp. 470–476.

4. Vokotopoulou 1990, pp. 109–131. See also Hatzopoulos 1988.

5. Vokotopoulou 1990, p. 114 (vines), p. 116 (apple trees and/or sheep-grazing), p. 118 (barley fields), pp. 115, 119–120 for metal exploitation (all from Thessalonike Archaeological Museum 6128), and p. 126 (sale of vineyards, based on the evidence of the inscription Polygyros Museum inv. 493). For the significance of metallurgy in the region and the association of *chalkos* with *Chalkidike*, see Papadopoulos 1996; for an opposing view see Hornblower 1997. Hatzopoulos, in Hatzopoulos and Loukoupoulou 1992, would place the

sites named in the important inscription (Thessalonike Archaeological Museum 6128) published in Vokotopoulou 1990 far west of the region preferred by the latter, indeed as far west as Hortiatia and Therme; for a response see Vokotopoulou 1996, esp. pp. 214–218. The inscription does not have a secure provenience; Vokotopoulou’s arguments that the inscription was found in the area of Plana, east of Vrastama, are well put forward in Vokotopoulou 1990 and Vokotopoulou 1996.

6. See Papadopoulos, forthcoming, especially the appendices by Sandor Bökönyi on the faunal remains and by Kristina Kelertas and Ferenc Gyulai on

the floral remains recovered from tombs. The grape seeds from the cemetery are, to date, the earliest from the site.

7. Vokotopoulou 1990, pp. 114, 126. See, however, Hatzopoulos and Loukoupoulou 1992, pp. 133, 143–144 and Vokotopoulou 1996 for a discussion of the proper form of the ethnic that would give the toponym *Ράμα*.

8. For Akanthian amphoras see Garland 1989, esp. p. 480, note 11; Rhomiopoulou 1986; also Lawall 1995, pp. 149–156. For the literary evidence on Akanthian wine see Salviat 1990, pp. 469–470.

9. Thucydides 4.84–88. For a discussion of this episode, see Hanson 1998, pp. 38, 70, 208.

in one of his odes, Horace, while singing the praises of wine, warns against overstepping the bounds of moderation. As examples of the excesses caused by too much wine, Horace refers both to the Centaurs' drunken contest with the Lapiths and to the Sithonians, who, hated by Bacchus, distinguish right and wrong only by the narrow line their passions draw when they drink too much.¹⁰ As for Sithonia more generally, although the harvesting of grapes at Torone is not explicitly mentioned by extant ancient authors, it is at least implied by Herodotus; in 7.122, the southern tip of Sithonia is referred to as *Ampelos* (grape vine), and Herodotus states that the region belonged to Torone.¹¹

In addition to the literary and epigraphical documents, there is the numismatic evidence, the full potential of which has not been utilized, particularly in the case of the viticultural emblems selected by a number of the foremost Chalkidian cities, including Mende and Torone. Whereas the coin-types of Mende have received attention with regard to wine production, those of Torone have been largely overlooked. It was the wine of the region that was boldly alluded to in the very emblems Torone—one of the oldest cities of the Chalkidike, and certainly one of the largest in the 5th century B.C.¹²—chose for its coinage.¹³ The early Toronaian stater (tetradrachm) obverse types, the earliest of which date to the first decade of the 5th century rather than the late 6th century B.C., show an amphora, with or without vine tendrils entwined round its neck or handles and associated bunches of grapes (Figs. 9–13).¹⁴ The device would have advertised the wine-producing capacity of the city or the superiority of its vintage. The earliest issues (Hardwick Group I, Kraay Group B: 500–490 B.C.) were originally struck on the Thrako-Macedonian standard,¹⁵ and slightly later on the Euboian standard (Hardwick Group II, Kraay Group A: 490–480 B.C.; Hardwick Group III: 490–460 B.C.).¹⁶ These early issues of the

10. Horace, *Odes* 1.18.9–11.

11. The passage reads: Κάμπτων δὲ Ἀμπελον τήν Τωρωναίην ἄκρην παραμείβετο Ἑλληνίδας γε τάσδε πόλεις, ἐκ τῶν νέας τε καὶ στρατιήν παρελάμβανε. Τωρώνην. Γαληψόν. Σερμύλην. Μηκύβερναν. Ὀλυνθον. [7.123] Ἡ μὲν νυν χώρα αὕτη Σιθωνίη καλεῖται. Cf. Ptolemy, *Geog.* 3.12.10 (s.v. *Ampelos*); Stephanos Byzantios (s.v. *Ampelos*). Pliny, *NH* 4.37 refers to an *oppidum* (town), *Ampelos*, while Hesychios (s.v. *Ampelos*) refers to a *polis* in Thrake by that name. Zahrnt (1971, p. 152) notes that there could not have been a *polis* at the southern tip of Sithonia, though there may have been a village *Ampelos* that was part of the *chora* of Torone. For the use of the same toponym in Athonite documents to refer to sites in southern Sithonia, see Papangelos 1996, pp. 240–241.

12. For Torone in the broader historical context of the Chalkidike, see Zahrnt 1971, pp. 12–27 and 247–251;

Papadopoulos 1996.

13. Jeffery 1990, pp. 362, 369. For the coinage proper of Torone see, among others, Head 1879, pp. xxxiii–xxxiv, 106–108; Head 1911, pp. 206–207; Imhoof-Blumer 1883, pp. 92–93; Babelon 1907, vol. II:1, pp. 1159–1164; vol. III, pl. 52: nos. 12–20; *Olynthus* III, pp. 8–12, 27, 109–110; *Olynthus* VI, pp. 96–97, pl. XX: nos. 859–876; *Olynthus* IX, pp. 314–316, pl. XXV; Gaebler 1935, pp. 114–115; Gaebler 1938, Kraay 1954, esp. pp. 10–15, pl. II: no. 5; Kraay 1976, pp. 134–135; Kraay and Hirmer 1966, pl. 130: no. 401; Seltman 1955a, p. 67, pl. 7: no. 7; Seltman 1955b, p. 67, pl. VII: no. 7; Price and Waggoner 1975, pp. 14, 21, 47–49; Fried 1987, p. 4, pl. 2: 14, 15; Dürr 1994; the most recent overview is in Hardwick 1998. For surveys of wine-related coin-types see Marathake 1992, and, most recently, Papageorgiadou-Boni 1998, specifically on north Aegean coins.

14. Dürr 1994. Both of the coins illustrated in Figs. 9 and 10 belong to

Hardwick 1998, Group II; those in Figs. 11–13 belong to Group I.

15. Kraay 1954, pp. 12–14, nos. 13–16, pl. 2:5; Price and Waggoner 1975, pp. 47–48, nos. 221–223, pl. 12; Hardwick 1998, p. 123, pl. 29: nos. 1, 2. Kraay (1976, p. 135) suggests that the coins on the Thrako-Macedonian standard were intended for trade with Macedonia and those on the [Attic-] Euboian for trade with Chalkis.

16. Kraay 1954, pp. 10–12, nos. 1–12, pl. 2:3, 4; Price and Waggoner 1975, pp. 47–48, nos. 224–228; Hardwick 1998, pp. 123–124, pl. 29: nos. 4, 5. Kraay's Group C types (480/75–460 B.C.) bear letters other than those of the ethnic. Several scholars have suggested that these may refer to a mint other than Torone, although it is now clear that the inscriptions are abbreviations of Toronaian magistrate names; see Hardwick 1998, pp. 124–125, pl. 29: nos. 11, 12, Group III (dated to 490–460 B.C., p. 132, table 1).

Figure 9. Silver stater (tetradrachm), Torone.
 a) *Obverse*: amphora with grapes and vine leaves hung from neck; b) *Reverse*: quadripartite incuse square. Gaebler 1935, pl. 22: no. 9.
 Courtesy Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz



Figure 10. Silver stater, Torone.
 a) *Obverse*: amphora with vine leaves attached from neck and TE legend; b) *Reverse*: quadripartite incuse square. Gaebler 1935, pl. 22: no. 10.
 Courtesy Cabinet des Médailles, Paris



Figure 11. Silver stater, Torone.
 a) *Obverse*: lidded amphora; b) *Reverse*: quadripartite incuse square. Dürr 1994, p. 19, no. 4b, pl. 1: no. 6. Courtesy British Museum, London, Coins and Medals Department 1929-5-1-4



Figure 12. Silver stater, Torone.
 a) *Obverse*: lidded amphora; b) *Reverse*: quadripartite incuse square. Dürr 1994, p. 19, no. 5, pl. 1: no. 7. Courtesy British Museum, London, Coins and Medals Department 1971-5-13-4



Figure 13. Silver stater, Torone.
 a) *Obverse*: lidded amphora; b) *Reverse*: quadripartite incuse square. Courtesy Calouste Gulbenkian Collection, Lisbon, no. 429



mint traveled widely, as is indicated by their presence in a number of Near Eastern and Egyptian hoards.¹⁷ Some of the emblems on Toronaian coins seem to depict transport or storage amphoras (such as Fig. 9);¹⁸ others, however, appear to show table amphoras: that is, footed, lidded, or fluted vessels, the last possibly alluding to metal vases (Figs. 11–13).¹⁹

The other common device on Toronaian coins is the oinochoe, appearing first on those minted ca. 490–480 B.C. and continuing to the late 5th and into the 4th century B.C.;²⁰ four silver coins of this type have been found during the excavations at Torone (Figs. 14–17).²¹ Whether it is adorned with a bunch of grapes or plain, the viticultural associations of the oinochoe, as with the amphora, are clear enough.²² Another issue, dated to the late 5th century B.C., has similar associations as it depicts a crouching satyr about to drink from a large vessel—an oinochoe.²³ Coins with obverse types representing the same scene continue to be struck into the 4th century, and scholars have identified the vessel pictured as either a hydria²⁴ or an oinochoe (Fig. 18).²⁵ In a similar vein, the viticultural richness of the

17. Including the Egyptian Hoard: Dressel and Regling 1927, esp. p. 5, note 1; Head 1911, p. 107, no. 3; Thompson 1973, p. 227, no. 1634. The Zagazig Hoard: Dressel and Regling 1927, pp. 115–116, nos. 183–185; Thompson 1973, p. 231, no. 1645. The Benha el Asl Hoard: Robinson 1930, p. 97, no. 98, pl. 8; Newell 1931, p. 67, no. 5; *Olynthus* III, p. 69, no. 8; Thompson 1973, p. 229, no. 1640. The Asyut Hoard: Price and Waggoner 1975, pp. 47–49, nos. 221–231, pl. 12; Thompson 1973, p. 230, no. 1644. The Decadrachm Hoard: Fried 1987, pp. 4, 9, table 1, pl. 12:14, 15. The Malayer Hoard: Kraay 1954, p. 13, no. 14, pl. 2:5; Thompson 1973, p. 256, no. 1790. See now Yardeni 1994 for an Aramaic text, dated by its editors to 475 B.C., that lists custom dues exacted on “Ionian” and Phoenician ships (cf. Herodotus 3.6) at an Achaemenid-held Egyptian port. Taxable goods carried by “Ionian” ships included wine and oil (in addition to empty jars: see Waldbaum 1997, esp. p. 12). Duty was payable in gold and silver. Could the “silver” referred to cover, at least in part, the north Aegean coins found in Egypt? Be that as it may, the gold must have been uncoined unless darics were meant. See Kagan 1987, pp. 27–28 for the fluctuations in the flow of Greek coinage into the Achaemenid Empire during this period. The text dates to the period in which series of transport amphoras now securely identified as north Aegean have just begun, and we do not know of any examples from Egypt.

For a sketch of an amphora found at Naukratis which may be Mendaian (end of the 5th to early 4th century B.C.), see Petrie 1886, p. 42, no. 23, pl. 17. See below, note 45, for other finds of the 5th and 4th centuries from Egyptian sites that may be compared to Mendaian amphoras. For the distinction in terms used in the Aramaic customs document for containers of oil and wine, see Lipiński 1994, pp. 63–64.

18. For the suggested identification of early-5th-century transport amphoras from the Chalkidike, contemporary with this coin, see Abramov 1993. These possible candidates are of a far squatter form than the vessel pictured on the Toronaian coin.

19. For footed amphoras see Price and Waggoner 1975, p. 47, pl. 12: nos. 222, 223; for a footed amphora with conical lid see Babelon 1907, p. 6, no. 1547, pl. 58. For fluted amphoras see Dressel and Regling 1927, p. 116, pl. 4: no. 185; Kraay 1954, p. 11, no. 6; Price and Waggoner 1975, p. 47, pl. 12: no. 221. The suggestion that the latter depict metal vessels was proposed by Johnston (1984, p. 211). Mention should also be made of a clay sealing found at Carthage that bears the impression of an amphora with a fluted zone above its foot that is very close to the fluted zone on the shoulder of the amphora Dürr 1994, pl. 1: no. 7 (Fig. 12); compare also Dürr 1994, pl. 1: no. 8; Dressel and Regling 1927, pl. 4: no. 185. The sealing (Berges 1996, p. 345, pl. 69, fig. 12; Berges 1997, p. 201, no. 780,

pls. 26, 116) has been dated to the first third of the 5th century B.C. and is classified with other sealings described as “Mutterländisch-Griechisches.”

20. Hardwick 1998, p. 132, table 1.

21. Cambitoglou 1982, pl. 54:a; Cambitoglou and Papadopoulos 1988, ill. 41; Andronikos 1988, p. 408, no. 388a–c.

22. For coins depicting an oinochoe with a bunch of grapes, see *Olynthus* III, p. 27, pl. 4: nos. 69, 71; Gaebler 1935, p. 115, no. 5, pl. 22: no. 11. For unadorned oinochoai see *Olynthus* III, p. 9, pl. 1: nos. 7–9; *Olynthus* VI, p. 36, pl. 9: nos. 138–140; *Olynthus* IX, p. 178, no. 1d, pl. 23, p. 180, pl. 25: no. 1a–c, p. 228, no. 2, pl. 30: no. 35; Gaebler 1935, p. 115, nos. 6–8, 10–11, pl. 22: nos. 12–15. 4th-century bronze coins of Torone may depict, on their reverse, either one or two oinochoai: see *Olynthus* III, pp. 109–110, pls. 22–23: nos. 887–895; *Olynthus* VI, pp. 96–97, pl. 20: nos. 859–876, pp. 35–36, pl. 9: nos. 138–140; *Olynthus* IX, pp. 228–229, nos. 3–4, pl. 30: nos. 36–37.

23. Babelon 1932, pp. 649–650, no. 1045, pl. 318:12. Hardwick (1998, p. 127) prefers to call it a “wine jar.”

24. Price 1974, p. 42, no. 35, pls. 6, 7. Gaebler (1935, p. 115, no. 8, pl. 22:16) identifies the vessel on this type as an oinochoe.

25. Gaebler 1935, p. 115, no. 9, pl. 22:17. Note the fluting above the foot, a feature that may be compared to the fluted shoulder of the amphora represented on the sealing found at Carthage (see note 19 above).

Figure 14. Silver stater, Torone:
Torone inv. 82.590. a) *Obverse:*
oinochoe and TE legend; b) *Reverse:*
quadripartite incuse square.
Courtesy Australian Archaeological Institute
at Athens and the Athens Archaeological
Society



Figure 15. Silver stater, Torone:
Torone inv. 82.581. a) *Obverse:*
oinochoe and TE legend; b) *Reverse:*
quadripartite incuse square.
Courtesy Australian Archaeological Institute
at Athens and the Athens Archaeological
Society



Figure 16. Silver stater, Torone:
Torone inv. 82.645. a) *Obverse:*
oinochoe and TE legend; b) *Reverse:*
quadripartite incuse square.
Courtesy Australian Archaeological Institute
at Athens and the Athens Archaeological
Society



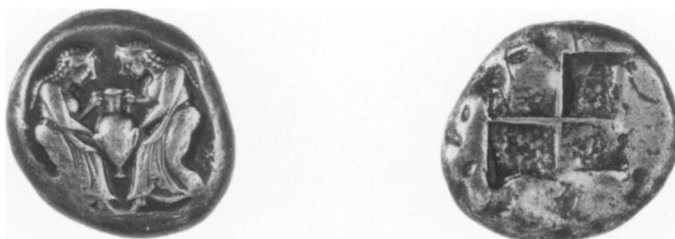
Figure 17. Silver stater, Torone:
Torone inv. M86.64. a) *Obverse:*
oinochoe and TE legend; b) *Reverse:*
quadripartite incuse square.
Courtesy Australian Archaeological Institute
at Athens and the Athens Archaeological
Society



Figure 18. Silver coin, Torone.
a) *Obverse:* satyr crouching and
holding a large oinochoe, as if to drink
from it; b) *Reverse:* goat and TE legend
within incuse square. Head 1879, p.
108, no. 9; Gaebler 1935, pl. 22: no. 17.
Courtesy British Museum, London, Coins
and Medals Department 1921-5-20-27



**Figure 19. Silver coin, uncertain north
Aegean mint (possibly Torone).**
a) *Obverse:* two female figures face to
face, supporting between them an
amphora; b) *Reverse:* quadripartite
incuse square. Gaebler 1935, pl. 26:
no. 7. Courtesy British Museum, London



region is alluded to in the *semata* struck on the coins of other Chalkidian states, not least of which is the emblem of Mende, depicting, on the obverse, Dionysos on an ass, often with grapes on the reverse (Figs. 7, 8), already mentioned.²⁶ Another early issue of a north Aegean mint shows two females (nymphs?) holding an amphora (Fig. 19); the exact location of this mint is uncertain, although the regions around Mount Pangaios or, alternatively, the Thermaic Gulf have been suggested as possibilities (the coin may prove to be Toronaian).²⁷

Such depictions on coins were not limited to the north Aegean. The island of Chios, for example, a noted wine producer, depicted on its coinage a sphinx accompanied by an amphora, a motif established on early issues and which continued into the later Classical, Hellenistic, and Roman eras.²⁸ Other regions of the Greek world that alluded to their wine production through appropriate emblems on their coinage include, among many others, Peparethos (Skopelos), Karthaia on Kea, and Sicilian Naxos.²⁹ Here it is worth adding that one of the earliest emblems struck on the Athenian *Wappenmünzen* series is an amphora (Fig. 20), remarkably similar to SOS amphoras (Fig. 21)³⁰—which may have been used for the trans-



Figure 20. Silver didrachm, Athens (*Wappenmünzen* series). Obverse: amphora. Head 1884, pl. 24, no. 21. Courtesy Hirmer Verlag GmbH

26. See above, note 2. Knoblauch (1998) identifies the male figure as Hephaistos (an intriguing suggestion, not without its problems) but retains the oinological connotations of the type. Note the roof tile with the stamp of an ithyphallic ass found at Mende, in a context dated in a preliminary report to the Archaic or Early Classical period: Vokotopoulou 1988, p. 335, ill. 3. For similar types, often with other elements in the field, on early Mendaian coins, see Noe 1926, pl. 2: nos. 10–12, 13–14, 18; Michaux 1982, pl. 1. The viticultural complexities of Mende are also alluded to on the reverses of Mendaian coins, which can depict, among other motifs, vine in incuse square, an amphora, or amphoras, whether in a shallow incuse square or associated with branches or sprays of ivy; see Head 1911, p. 211. The vine motif set in an incuse square also appears on the reverse of coins from other north Aegean mints: see, for example, Price 1987, p. 46, pl. 9: nos. 8 (Maroneia) and 9 (Aphytis).

27. Kraay and Hirmer 1966, pl. 123: no. 374, listed as uncertain mint; the earlier, German edition (Franke and Hirmer 1964, p. 95, pl. 123, top left) lists the coin as “Pangaion-Gebiet (oder Therme?).” We wonder, with Jenkins

and Castro Hipólito (1989, p. 23), whether this coin-type is not an issue of Torone, an attribution considered long ago by Svoronos (1919, p. 67) and Babelon (1922, p. 114).

28. Head 1892, pp. 328–346, pls. 32, 33. For the links between the amphoras on Chian coins and actual Chian amphoras, see Grace 1961, text relating to figs. 43–51; Grace 1979, pp. 120–122, pl. 35: nos. 5–7; Kraay 1976, pp. 242–243; Abramov and Paromov 1993, p. 29, no. 6, fig. 1.

29. The coinage of Peparethos depicts, on the obverse, a bunch of grapes and, on the reverse, a variety of motifs, including a seated figure of Staphylos: see Kraay 1976, pp. 119–120, pl. 22: nos. 402–405; for the attribution of Soloha Type I amphoras to Peparethos see Doulgéri-Intzessiloglou and Garland 1990. The coinage of Karthaia depicts an amphora, with or without accompanying dolphin, sometimes with the ethnic ΚΑΡΘ-, see Papageorgiadou-Boni 1997, pp. 34–36, or alternatively a bunch of grapes, see Wroth 1886, pp. 90–93, and various examples pl. 21. The coinage of Sicilian Naxos depicts the head of Dionysos on its obverse (or, later on, Apollo) and, on the reverse, either grapes or, as is most common, a kneeling silen drinking

from a kantharos (Kraay 1976, pp. 206–230, pl. 44: nos. 755–759); kantharoi, often with bunches of grapes, are found on the coins of Cycladic Naxos (Kraay 1976, pl. 6: no. 118; Kraay and Hirmer 1966, pl. 162: nos. 523, 524). Grapes are also found on the coinage of Tenos (Kraay and Hirmer 1966, pl. 162: no. 525), Maroneia (Kraay 1976, pl. 31: nos. 548–551; Kraay and Hirmer 1966, pl. 139: nos. 430, 431), Soli in Cilicia (Kraay and Hirmer 1966, pl. 194: no. 675), and Ikarian Oinoe (Head 1892, p. 347, pl. 34: no. 2). Grapes are also occasionally found in association with the Rhodian rose (Kraay and Hirmer 1966, pls. 188, 189: nos. 644 and 646). Related images, such as an oinochoe/jug, are also found on some of the coins of Melos (Kraay 1976, pls. 6, 7: nos. 124, 129; cf. also the Melian kantharos, Kraay 1976, pl. 7: no. 139); see also the kantharos on the reverse of some of the later issues of Teos (Head 1892, pl. 30: nos. 12–15). Note also the Thasian coin with a satyr holding a kantharos on the obverse and a volute krater on the reverse (Kraay and Hirmer 1966, pl. 141: no. 438). For the amphora on the coinage of Hipponion, see van der Mersch 1986.

30. Kraay 1976, pp. 56–60, pl. 9: no. 161.

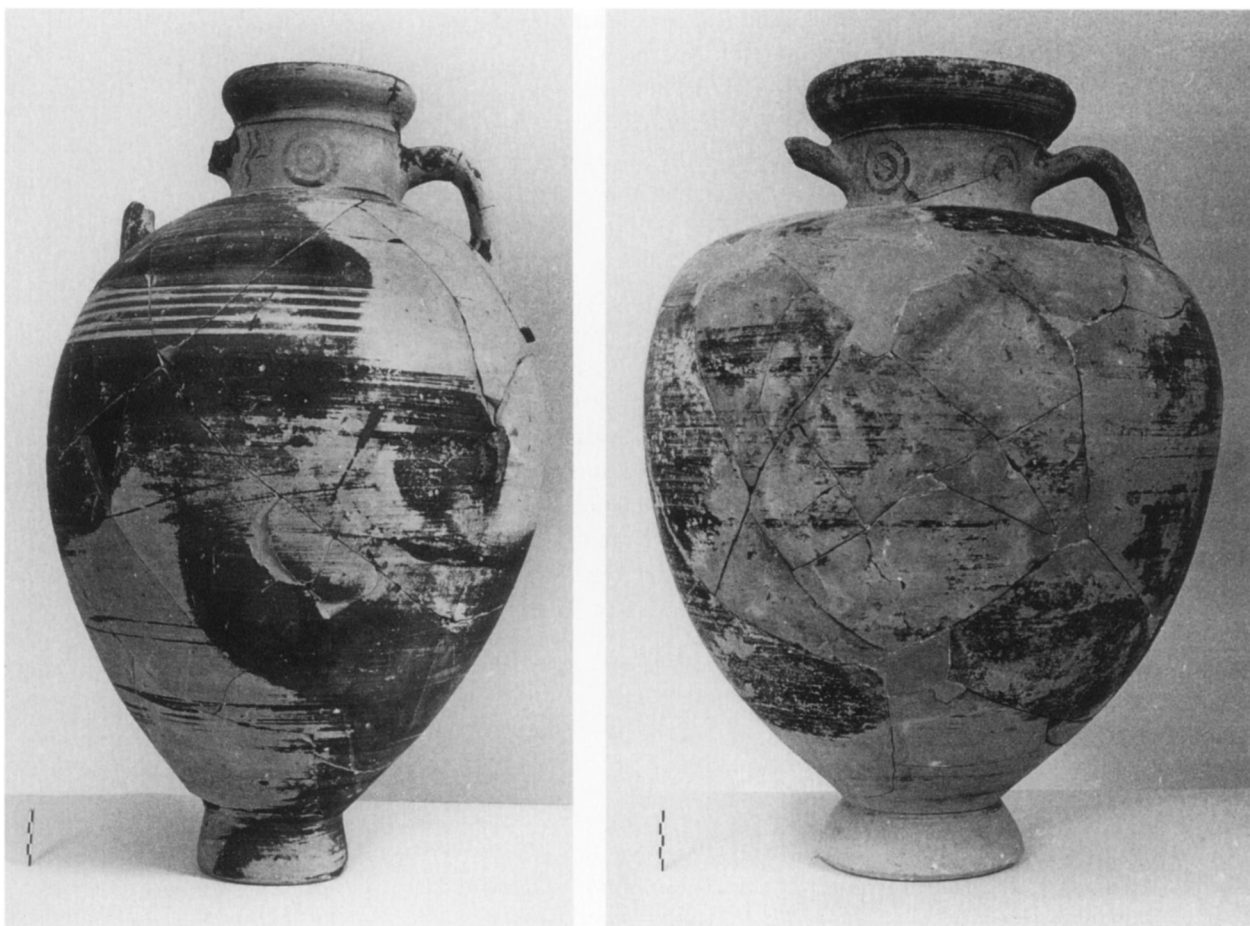


Figure 21. SOS amphoras: Athens,
Agora P 23883 and P 22733



Figure 22. Olpe depicting amphora:
Athens, Agora P 8996

port of wine in addition to oil³¹—and to the amphora illustrated on an Athenian olpe of the 7th century B.C. (Fig. 22).³²

The very fact that Torone chose as its emblems a wine amphora and an oinochoe not only highlights the importance of wine in the economy of the region, but may even suggest that the city was a transport amphora production center, as Ian Whitbread states is likely.³³ Sarah Peirce, on the basis of a possible “Parmeniskoid” waster, was the first to suggest that Torone may have been the production center of Parmeniskos Group amphoras.³⁴ This suggestion followed earlier studies that indicated a north Aegean provenience for this type of amphora as the most probable.³⁵ Whitbread discusses the possibility of Torone being the production center of the so-called Parmeniskos Group amphoras; he finds the idea attractive but notes that the organization of amphora production in the Chalkidike is a complex problem on account of the manufacture of several classes of transport amphoras in the region.³⁶ Moreover, the similarities in the geology of the various parts of the Chalkidike limit the value of fabric analysis, and although, as Whitbread notes, the Akanthian and Soloha Type I amphoras may prove distinctive, the similarities between the fabrics of Parmeniskos Group amphoras, Mendaian amphoras, and Toronaian “local” products do not permit straightforward differentiation.³⁷

Despite the current difficulties in determining or locating amphora production with any certainty, Torone seems an unlikely production center for Parmeniskos Group amphoras. First of all, the fragment isolated as a possible Parmeniskoid waster is not clearly a waster; although the rim of the vessel, as preserved, may have suffered minor damage during its production phase, prior to firing, it is unlikely that that damage was serious enough for the vessel to have been discarded.³⁸ Second, and more impor-

31. For SOS amphoras see Johnston and Jones 1978; Docter 1991 (both with references). Docter (1991, p. 45) points out that Kraay's downdating of the *Wappenmünzen* (to ca. 550 B.C.) may mean that a Panathenaic amphora is depicted, rather than an SOS amphora. Alternatively, the vessel depicted may be the 6th-century “à la brosse” amphora, for which see Johnston and Jones 1978, pp. 121–122; Rizzo 1990, pp. 71–72, nos. VII1 and VII2, figs. 99, 100; Boss 1993, pp. 322–324, nos. L15–L28 (for date see pp. 343–344); Dupont 1995/96, pp. 85–87. For a discussion of Panathenaic amphoras and trade in Athenian oil, see Valavanis 1986.

32. *Agora* VIII, pp. 40–41, no. 84 (= no. 359), pl. 5; Docter 1991, p. 48. Brann (*Agora* VIII, pp. 40–41) writes: “This olpe has been interpreted as a container of prize oil, the amphora on it, which has the shape of the ΖΟΖ storage jar, the predecessor of the Panathenik [*sic*] amphora, being an indication of the contents.” The shape, better suited to a wine-pouring vessel, may equally refer to

the contents as wine rather than oil: see Docter 1991.

33. Whitbread 1995, p. 218.

34. Peirce, forthcoming; the possible “Parmeniskoid waster” is inv. 78.1345. It must be stressed that Peirce's proposal was penned in 1979; the long delay in the publication of *Torone* I is most unfortunate. For stamps of Parmeniskos amphoras found at Torone see Peirce (forthcoming), nos. 13.14 and 13.15; for such stamps from Poseidi: Vokotopoulou 1994, p. 269, with note 4.

35. Grace and Savvatiannou-Pétopoulakou 1970, p. 280, with note 1. Cf. Grace 1956, pp. 168–169; Makaronas 1960. For further references, especially the pioneering work of Brashinsky, see Whitbread 1995, pp. 210–223. See now Akamates 1989, pp. 80–81, and Akamates 1998, pp. 33, 38, 44, rearguing the case that Pella was the production site of the group on the basis of the similarity (visual examination) between the fabric of Parmeniskos Group amphoras and domestic wasters found at the site. Getov (1994) maintains

a Black Sea production site. For the report of a Parmeniskos Group stamped amphora handle which, it is claimed, bears the ethnic of Thessalian Meliboias: see Empereur and Hesnard 1987, p. 12, where it is so briefly mentioned as to remain essentially unpublished. Schönenberger (1998, p. 245, nos. 19, 20), on the basis of the above work, cautiously gives “Meliboia?” as the production site of Parmeniskos Group amphoras (her text was completed in 1995).

36. Whitbread 1995, p. 219.

37. Whitbread 1995, p. 219. Whitbread's caution is not fully appreciated in the discussion of a Parmeniskos amphora stamp excavated at Troy and published in Panas and Pontes 1998, pp. 227–228, 244, no. 53 (“Toronaian?”). For Peparethos as the home of Soloha Type I amphoras, see note 29.

38. On the question of damaged pots being fired and seeing service as normal, functioning vessels, see Papadopoulos 1998. Note also the discussion in *Perachora* II, p. 528, under no. 4146.

tant, is the consideration of the date of the Parmeniskos Group amphoras. Whereas most scholars assume a pre-Hellenistic origin as probable, the stamped handles known thus far date only from the early 3rd to the end of the 2nd century B.C.³⁹ Although there is evidence of habitation at Torone during this time, it is very limited indeed. The excavations at Torone have established a significant contraction in the size of the settlement area sometime toward the end of the 4th century B.C. The Late Classical houses are abandoned, and habitation at Torone during the Hellenistic era was largely confined to Promontory 1 and the isthmus connecting it with the main part of the site.⁴⁰ This clear contraction in the size of the settlement area, even in view of the construction of a massive fortification system at the end of the 4th century B.C.,⁴¹ and with it the general depopulation of the greater area of the site, appears to be the result of the *synoikismos* of Kassandreia, following the foundation of that city by Kassander in 316 B.C.⁴²

It is therefore highly unlikely that Torone had the capacity in the Hellenistic era to have been a major amphora production center. The evidence taken together suggests that Torone probably lacked the civic mechanisms required to maintain a state-regulated system of control, if that is what the names on the Parmeniskos Group amphora stamps testify.⁴³ The region of southern Sithonia, however, may well have continued producing wine throughout this period. It must be conceded that many questions remain unanswered about Hellenistic wine and amphora production in this region, questions that may be settled in part by survey work and the location of actual kiln sites. If, then, Torone was not the production center for Parmeniskos Group amphoras, what role did it play, if any, in wine production, and how are the symbols the city chose for its coin emblem—grapes, amphoras, oinochoai—to be interpreted?⁴⁴

39. Grace 1956; Whitbread 1995, p. 210; Akamates 1998, pp. 38–40, figs. 23–25.

40. See Cambitoglou and Papadopoulos 1988, pp. 180–186; Papadopoulos 1999.

41. A brief account of the various phases of the fortifications of the site is presented in chapter 1 of *Torone I* (forthcoming); for the prehistoric fortifications of Torone, see Papadopoulos, Cross, Jones, and Sharpe 1999.

42. See especially Alexander 1970; Walbank 1981, esp. p. 86. According to Diodorus (19.52.2), the inhabitants of the newly founded Kassandreia were made up of Poteidaians, Olynthians, and other neighbors from Pallene and outside it. Although the Toronaiaans are not specifically named, they appear to have made up one group among “the neighbors” from outside Pallene. See also Zahrnt 1971, pp. 112–121; Vokotopoulou 1997a.

43. For a discussion of the possible purpose of stamping amphoras see Garlan 1983, pp. 32–33; Garlan 1990; Koehler 1996, esp. p. 333. It is not known exactly what kind of control the stamps indicate and thus what civic mechanisms would have been required. Moreover, it remains unknown whether Parmeniskos Group jars were regularly stamped.

44. Are we dealing with a situation akin to Athens, where a known wine producer lacks a distinctive—or identifiable—amphora type, at least in the Classical and Hellenistic periods? It is worth stressing, however, that Athens did boast the earlier SOS amphoras, which may have served for the transport of wine in addition to oil (see above). The lack of a distinctive Athenian amphora type is noted in Lawall 1995. See also Amouretti 1992, p. 86, where it is noted that not all wine-producing areas necessarily

exported their wine. The choice of coin-type at Torone (especially that represented in Fig. 9) would, however, suggest that it did. It is also worth remembering that there are alternative types of containers, such as baskets, cloth bags, and barrels, that served numerous commodities but rarely survive in the archaeological record; see Koehler 1986, p. 49. In the case of wine specifically, the use of wineskins for the transport of wine, particularly for wines that were not shipped over long distances, has not received detailed discussion until very recently; see Labat 1998, esp. pp. 43–44. For wineskins depicted on Athenian red-figured and black-figured pottery, see Immerwahr 1992. One wonders to what extent the undistinguished local wine, what the Athenians called *trikotyllos*, “liter wine” (literally, three half-pints; see Davidson 1997, p. 41), was primarily transported in wineskins.

It is here that our literary sources on Mende and Mendaian wine provide a clue, particularly when the whole question of Toronaian and Chalkidian wine production is viewed against the backdrop of the Mendaian wine industry. On the basis of both ancient literary sources and the distribution of Mendaian amphoras⁴⁵—which are found at very widely dispersed sites, from the Black Sea to the north African coast, indicating that their distribution was not confined to a narrowly based local distribution network⁴⁶—it is clear that Mendaian wine was highly valued in antiquity. Many of the extant references to Mendaian wine are gathered in the *Deipnosophistai* of Athenaios, who drew on Attic Comedy, both old and new, for much of his source material on the subject.⁴⁷ The 5th-century B.C. poet Kratinos, for example, says of Mendaian wine that if a handsome lad catches a glimpse of it in its bloom he will tag along and follow it, saying: οἶμ' ὥς ἀπλὸς καὶ λεύκος· ἄρ' οἴσει τρία.⁴⁸

Philyllios (fl. late 5th and early 4th century B.C.) says that he will furnish Lesbian, mellow Chian, Thasian, Bibline, and Mendaian wine to his guests and nobody will have a headache.⁴⁹ Hermippos (whose known dramatic victories are dated no later than the third quarter of the 5th century B.C.) has Dionysos mentioning several varieties of wine, including Mendaian and the fact that because of it, the gods actually wet their soft beds.⁵⁰ But the gods are not the only ones to be thus affected by Mendaian wine. In a work by Euboulos (fl. second quarter of the 4th century B.C.), a certain Sikon arrives wet and in his cups, having drunk by the Zeus of Mende.⁵¹ Mendaian wine is also mentioned by Menander in the context of reckoning the expense of the largest banquet.⁵²

45. Whitbread 1995, pp. 198–209; Paspalas 1990, esp. pp. 58–87; Lawall 1995, pp. 117–129. Further finds of Mendaian amphoras, not included in these works, have been made at a number of sites. Here we note five regions in which amphoras identified as Mendaian have only recently been reported: Crete (Kommos: Johnston 1996, p. 82); north Africa (Carthage, last quarter of the 5th century B.C.: Docter 1995, with references; Coulson [1996, p. 58] writes of “derivates from Mendeian amphora toes” at Naukratis; rim and neck fragments of transport amphoras published from the northern Sinai may be compared on the basis of form with those of Mendaian amphoras: Defernez 1997, pp. 63–64, nos. 39–41, fig. 6); inland Anatolia (Gordion: briefly reported in DeVries 1997, p. 447; Lawall in Voigt et al. 1997, pp. 21–22 refers to northern Greek amphoras at the site); northern Italy (Forcello di Bagnolo S. Vito and Spina: Cattaneo Cassano 1993, p. 388, with references); and southern Italy (Roubis 1996,

pp. 244, 251, no. 14, fig. 10 [San Biagio, Montescaglioso]).

46. Mendaian wine was exported, on present knowledge, especially widely in the later 5th and into the earlier 4th century B.C.

47. Athenaios 1.29d–f, 1.31a, 4.129d–e, 4.146e; cf. Salviat 1990, pp. 470–473.

48. Athenaios 1.29d; Kratinos fr. 195 [183] (Kassel and Austin 1983, p. 221 = Kock 1880, p. 69); Salviat 1990, p. 471, no. 3. The “three” refers to the fact that it will carry three parts of water to one of wine.

49. Athenaios 1.31a; Philyllios fr. 23 [24] (Kassel and Austin 1989, p. 384 = Kock 1880, p. 787); Salviat 1990, pp. 470–471, no. 2.

50. Athenaios 1.29e; Hermippos fr. 77 [82] (Kassel and Austin 1986, p. 600 = Kock 1880, pp. 249–250, esp. p. 249); Salviat 1990, p. 470, no. 1. For the dramatic function of lists of foodstuffs and wine varieties in Attic comedy, see Wilkins 1997, esp. p. 255; Bowie 1995, pp. 120–121.

51. Athenaios 1.23a; Euboulos fr. 123 [126] (Kassel and Austin 1986, p. 263 = Kock 1884, p. 209); Salviat 1990, p. 472, no. 9.

52. Athenaios 4.146d–e; Menander, Μέθη, fr. 319 (Kock 1888, pp. 91–92, esp. p. 91 = fr. 224 [264] in Kassel and Austin 1998, p. 156); Salviat 1990, p. 472, no. 10. An interesting remark is made by Theophrastos with reference to other Chalkidian wine varieties. In *De causis plantarum*, in the context of discussing the seasons for the pruning of vines, Theophrastos writes: ἐνια γὰρ οὐ φέρουσιν ἂν βραχυτομηθῶσιν. ἀλλ' εἰς τὴν βλάστησιν τρέπονται. καθάπερ ἡ Ἀφυταῖος καλούμενη. καὶ ἐν Ἀκάνθῳ δὲ ἐπὶ τέτταρας ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐλαχίστους τέμνουσιν (3.15.5). Of other Chalkidian varieties of grape that will not bear if pruned short, Theophrastos specifically names the Akanthian, a well-known vine discussed above. This reference, in the 4th century B.C., to the so-called vine of Aphytis, a town on the east coast of Pallene (Fig. 1), and well beyond the

In addition to its palatable qualities, Mendaian wine is recommended for its therapeutic purposes, not least for its laxative properties, in *De internis affectionibus* (ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΕΝΤΟΣ ΠΑΘΩΝ), a work included in the *Corpus Hippocraticum*.⁵³ The laxative aspect appears to have been enhanced by the fact that the Mendaian wine was sprinkled on the grapes on the vines with an aperient, according to the testimony of Phainias of Eresos (ca. 375–300 B.C.).⁵⁴ In *De internis affectionibus*, as in Kratinos *apud* Athenaios, the wine is referred to as *leukos* (white) and was available in a number of varieties, including *malthakos* (mild or mellow),⁵⁵ *melichroos* (honied),⁵⁶ and *austeros* (dry).⁵⁷ Athenaios also records, in the context of the foundation of Kassandreia in 316 B.C., that Lysippos, at Kassander's behest, designed a new amphora type for the purpose of exporting Mendaian wine, a passage that will be more fully discussed below.⁵⁸ Elsewhere Athenaios classed the wine of Mende with that of Thasos and Lesbos.⁵⁹ By the mid 3rd century B.C. the Mendaian vine, among an assortment of other varieties, appears to have been grown on a Ptolemaic estate in the Faiyum, indicating that Greek settlers in Egypt planted Aegean vines there.⁶⁰ The virtues of Mendaian wine continue to be praised well into the Roman period by authors such as Pollux⁶¹ and Alkiphron,⁶² the latter describing the wine as nectar. In addition, Mabel Lang has suggested that a partially preserved dipinto (Μεν) on a Late Roman amphora of the 6th century A.C. from the Athenian Agora may refer to Mendaian wine;⁶³ the second and third lines of the same graffito (μελι[and χω[, respectively) led Lang to suggest that it was perhaps Mendaian wine with honey.⁶⁴ So entrenched was the reputation of Mendaian wine in ancient scholarship that even the grammarian Stephanos Byzantios, writing in the 6th century A.C., refers to the wine of Mende in his *Ethnika*.⁶⁵

Several further aspects of the production of Mendaian wine should be emphasized. First of all, Mendaian wine, on the evidence of the numerous

chora of Mende (as defined by Zahrnt 1971, pp. 136–137, map V), is, as far as we know, the only reference to the vine of the town in antiquity. In discussing this passage, Salviat (1990, p. 473, no. 16) writes: “Aphytis, voisone de Mendé, dans la Pallène, avait un cépage qui demandait à la taille des précautions.” For the importance of agriculture at Aphytis, and its success, see Aristotle, *Pol.* 6.1319a.15–18; Aristotle says of the Aphytaians πάντες γεωργοῦσιν. The reference to Aphytis is of further interest in the light of the Euboulos statement, preserved in Athenaios, already cited, on the “Zeus of Mende,” which conceivably refers to the Temple of Ammon Zeus near Aphytis(?). It should be stressed, however, that our very meager knowledge of the cults of Mende renders this a highly tentative suggestion. For the topography of

Pallene, and for alternative names for the peninsula, see Vokotopoulou 1997b.

53. *De internis affectionibus* 7.201, 207, 209, 213, 229. The work is dated to ca. 400–390 B.C.; see Jouanna 1992, p. 528. See further Joly 1983, placing *Internal Affections* in the corpus of Knidian writing; for the Knidian medical school, see as well Sherwin-White 1978, p. 263.

54. Athenaios 1.29f; Salviat 1990, p. 473, no. 14.

55. *De internis affectionibus* 7.201; Salviat 1990, p. 471, no. 4.

56. *De internis affectionibus* 7.207; Salviat 1990, p. 471, no. 5.

57. *De internis affectionibus* 7.209; Salviat 1990, p. 471, no. 6.

58. Athenaios 11.784c; Salviat 1990, p. 473, no. 13.

59. Athenaios 4.129d; Salviat 1990, p. 472, no. 11. The occasion was the

sumptuous wedding banquet of a Macedonian named Karanos, whose marriage took place two generations after Alexander the Great.

60. Edgar 1925, pp. 54–55, no. 59033, line 13 (cf. Salviat 1990, p. 473, no. 15). The relevant letter in the Zenon Archive is dated to 257 B.C. Cf. Strabo 15.3.11 and the introduction, by Macedonians, of Greek vines to Babylonia and Susiana.

61. *Onomastikon* 6.16; Salviat 1990, p. 473, no. 17.

62. Alkiphron 3.5; Salviat 1990, p. 473, no. 18.

63. *Agora* XXI, pp. 73, 86–87, no. I 42 (P 12152), pl. 53. The first line of the inscription is interpreted (p. 112) as Μεν[δαῖος].

64. *Agora* XXI, pp. 86–87.

65. Stephanos Byzantios 444.15, s.v. *Mende*.

literary references praising it and the distribution of Mendaian amphoras, was exported in large quantities. Our clearest evidence for this is the speech *Against Lakritos* preserved in the Demosthenic corpus.⁶⁶ The Athenian Androkles (the brother of Lakritos) and Nausikrates of Karystos had lent thirty minae to Artemos and Apollodoros of Phaselis in Lycia. According to the terms of the loan, the borrowers would sail from Athens to Mende or Skione and there purchase 3,000 jars of Mendaian wine and ship the cargo to the Black Sea. Having disposed of the wine in the Pontos, they were to ship a return cargo and then sail back to Athens, and from the proceeds of the double voyage were to discharge the debt with interest. This passage refers not only to the quantity of Mendaian wine, but also to the fact that it was shipped to the Black Sea, a point well borne out by numerous finds of Mendaian amphoras at Pontic sites.⁶⁷ The boat that was to ship the cargo is referred to as a "twenty-oared ship," a term loosely applied to sailing ships.⁶⁸ On the basis of this evidence, Lionel Casson once calculated that a cargo of 3,000 jars must have weighed over 100 tons, though this figure may be somewhat low;⁶⁹ he further suggested that the average burden of a sailing ship was about 130 tons and thus an average ship of the period probably had a capacity of 3,000 amphoras.⁷⁰ As for the Demosthenic passage, in the end only 450 amphoras were actually loaded, and it is not stated whether there was any additional cargo.⁷¹

Here it is important to note the information provided by the two shipwrecks recently discovered in the northern Sporades with cargoes that included large numbers of Mendaian amphoras. One of these, the so-called Alonessos (Peristeri) wreck, is dated on the basis of associated Attic black-glazed pottery to ca. 425–410 B.C.;⁷² the other, the so-called Kyra Panaghia wreck, is dated, at least preliminarily, to the mid 5th century B.C.⁷³ The significance of these two shipwrecks, both of which predate the period of the speeches preserved in the Demosthenic corpus, is not only that the ships carried Mendaian wine, but that at least the one at Peristeri is estimated to have held some 3,000 jars or more.⁷⁴

The second aspect to highlight is that on the evidence of graffiti on Mendaian amphoras, especially from the Athenian Agora, Mendaian wine appears to have fetched comparatively high prices. If Mabel Lang's interpretation is correct,⁷⁵ then it would appear that one chous of Mendaian was worth a stater.⁷⁶ A similar price per chous is also interpreted for Chian

66. *Private Orations* 35 (*Against Lakritos*); Salviat 1990, p. 472, no. 12.

67. Whitbread 1995, pp. 198–199; Brashinsky 1962; and especially for the period under consideration, Monahov 1995/96, pp. 35, 40, 42–44, 59.

68. See Casson 1971, p. 184; cf. Whitbread 1995, p. 22.

69. Casson (1971, p. 184) estimated amphora capacity at about 20 liters. This figure is too low, since as Lang (1956) was among the first to comment, Mendaian amphoras of the 5th

century had a capacity of between 8 and 10 choes, which, on the basis of measurements presented in Wallace 1986, should amount to between 26 and 32.5 liters.

70. Discussed in Whitbread 1995, p. 22.

71. [Demosthenes] 35.20; see also Isager and Hansen 1975, p. 170; Whitbread 1995, p. 22.

72. The wreck is illustrated in Hatzidake 1992, p. 16, fig. 3; the black-glazed pottery is discussed on pp. 21–

23. See, more recently, Hatzidake 1996, 1997.

73. Reported in the Greek press, *To Vima*, 22 October 1995, p. 44 (= *AR* 42, 1995–1996, p. 23, in which it is reported that "more than 1,500 wine amphoras from Mende" are preserved from the cargo).

74. Thereby proving Casson (1971) correct.

75. In *Agora* XXI, pp. 75–76, no. He 1 (P 11382).

76. The fact that the price is quoted

as a stater, and not in drachmai, leads Lawall to suspect that the vessel may have been inscribed somewhere other than Athens (pers. comm.). Note, however, the comments in Johnston 1996, pp. 82, 87 on the problems involved in interpreting these graffiti.

77. *Agora* XXI, p. 76, He 2 (P 2366). For a useful and recent overview of the price of Chian wine, as well as notes on the connection between drinking and financial ruin, see Davidson 1997, pp. 191–193. See further Amyx 1958, p. 176; Salviat 1986, pp. 180–181.

78. Lawall, pers. comm.

79. Lang 1956, p. 15, no. 64 (P 6126).

80. Lang 1956, p. 15, no. 64 (P 6126).

81. Lang 1956, p. 14, note 18.

82. Pritchett 1956, p. 201. An important point made by Pritchett (pp. 202–203, note 192) is that many things apart from wine were kept in amphoras. He states: “We have not included in our study of the price of wine any reference to the graffiti on ancient amphoras . . . Their connection with wine is uncertain. Just as the stamnos was associated in our inscriptions with oil, olives, and vinegar as well as wine, so we know from literary sources that the amphora was a container, for example, for oil, milk, and pickled slices of dolphin . . . Presumably the contents could be extended to a wide variety of products. A price on an amphora is not, then, in itself necessarily an indication of the price of wine.”

83. On the question of the age of wine and vintages, Davidson (1997, p. 41) states: “The Greeks, unlike the Romans after them, seem to have had no appreciation of particular vintages, but certainly recognized the value of ageing, something which amazed antiquarians as late as the early eighteenth century, when wines usually deteriorated quickly.”

84. Athenaios 11.784c, trans. C. B. Gulick.

wine in Athens; Chian wine was highly recognized in antiquity and commanded the premium price.⁷⁷ According to Mark Lawall, an uninventoried fragment of a Chian amphora from the Agora may suggest that Chian wine, at least at the end of the 5th century B.C., was fetching as much as 4 drachmai per chous. As Lawall suggests, this price may have been inflated on account of the political and economic conditions in Athens at the time.⁷⁸ In any case, the graffito on yet another Mendaian amphora implies, if the reading is correct, a price per chous of one and one-half drachmai.⁷⁹ Lang suggests that 15 drachmai was the price for the entire contents of the amphora, with 4 obols perhaps added as the price of the jar. She goes on to say: “The jar is too fragmentary to allow of a capacity estimate but appears to be of the Mendaian type which range from eight to ten Athenian choes. Fifteen drachmai would be a reasonable price for the wine.”⁸⁰ Such a price is still more than double that asked for the same quantity of Athenian wine as listed on the Attic Stelai.⁸¹ Kendrick Pritchett argues for significantly lower prices, largely on the evidence of the Demosthenic corpus.⁸² It should be remembered that the Demosthenic corpus lists prices at a given point in the 4th century B.C. and that such prices cannot be assumed for earlier or later periods. It should be stressed, moreover, that prices are variable and that they depend on supply and demand. Furthermore, we cannot be sure whether the three types of Mendaian wine noted above fetched the same price or whether certain varieties, or vintages, were more prized than others.⁸³

The third, and perhaps most crucial, aspect in this discussion is the status of Mende and its relationship with the rest of the Chalkidike. The exact fate of Mende following the foundation and *synoikismos* of Kassandreia in 316 B.C. is unclear, but if Athenaios’ report (11.784c) that Kassander commissioned Lysippos to design a new amphora is correct, then it is clear that Kassandreia took part in the trade, and conceivably production, of Mendaian wine. The relevant passage in Athenaios reads:

Λύσιππον τὸν ἀνδριαντοποιόν φασι Κασάνδρῳ χαρίζομενον, ὅτε συνώκισε τὴν Κασάνδρειαν. φιλοδοξοῦντι καὶ βουλομένῳ ἰδίον τινα εὔρεσθαι κέραμον διὰ τὸ πολὺν ἐξάγεσθαι τὸν Μενδαῖον οἶνον ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, φιλοτιμηθῆναι καὶ πολλὰ καὶ παντοδαπὰ γένη παραθέμενον κεραμίων ἐξ ἐκάστου ἀποπλάσασθαι ἴδιον ποιῆσαι πλάσμα.

They say that in order to gratify Kassander at the time when he founded the metropolis of Kassandreia, he being fond of glory and desirous of appropriating to himself a special kind of vessel because Mendaian wine was exported from his city in large quantities, the sculptor Lysippos exerted his best efforts and, after comparing many pieces of earthenware of every description, copied something from each and so invented a special model.⁸⁴

The passage clearly states that large quantities of Mendaian wine were exported (πολὺν ἐξάγεσθαι) from Kassandreia. By the 2nd century B.C., in the context of the Third Macedonian War, Mende was regarded merely

as the port of Kassandreia, at a time when "Mendaian" wine was still highly praised by ancient authorities, and presumably widely exported.⁸⁵ The problem of determining the distribution of Mendaian wine after 316 B.C. is that the identified Mendaian amphoras are all of an earlier date, and that the later type—the one said to have been designed by Lysippos—has yet to be distinguished.⁸⁶ In discussing Athenaios' report, Whitbread notes that two points arise: the first is that the later Mendaian jars may be represented in archaeological collections, especially in places that received the earlier jars, such as Athens, Corinth, and the Black Sea region, but that these have not yet been recognized;⁸⁷ second, without the comment by Athenaios, it may have been assumed that Mende stopped producing transport amphoras in the second half of the 4th century B.C.⁸⁸

Whatever the exact status of the "Mendaian" wine industry in the late 4th century B.C. and during the Hellenistic era, it is clear that wine known as Mendaian was being circulated and praised. Moreover, Kassandreia is not the only city to have had a hand in the export, and perhaps production, of Mendaian wine. The author of *Against Lakritos*, already referred to, states that amphoras containing Mendaian wine were to have been loaded either at Mende or at the neighboring city of Skione to the south (Fig. 1).⁸⁹ This passage appears to indicate that the wine of Skione may have been classed as "Mendaian" in the mid 4th century B.C. or, at least, that Skione, like Kassandreia slightly later on, took part in the trade of Mendaian wine. There is no evidence to indicate that Skione was in any way subject to Mende in the 4th century B.C., and such a reason for Skionian wine to be identified as "Mendaian" cannot be entertained.⁹⁰

It is clear that more work needs to be done, particularly on Mendaian amphoras and the varieties of their shape and fabric. This point is in view of the fact that at most sites where they are found there is rarely a standard fabric shared by all of the amphoras of Mendaian type. Nevertheless, the work conducted to date is revealing. For example, the results of the petrographic analysis conducted by Whitbread on Mendaian amphoras showed that two fabric classes could be distinguished in his sample.⁹¹ Whitbread's Class 2 matched well with the red clays collected in two areas that were beyond the *chora* of Classical Mende and that echo the literary evidence presented above. These are Nea Skione, located some three kilometers southwest of the site of the ancient city,⁹² and Nea Phoukas in the region of ancient Aphytis. Whitbread suggests that clays from these regions *may* have been used in the production of Mendaian amphoras of his Class 2.⁹³ Visual analysis of vessels and sherds found at Torone and believed to be local indicates a close match with the description of the Mendaian am-

85. Livy 31.45.14. The passage reads: *Inde Cassandream petentes primo ad Mendaem, maritimum civitatis eius vicum, tenuere*. See also Vokotopoulou 1997b, p. 75.

86. Whitbread 1995, p. 36.

87. Whitbread 1995, p. 36, with reference to Grace 1949; Grace 1953; Williams 1978; and Brashinsky 1962.

88. Whitbread 1995, p. 36.

89. The seminal article dealing with the location of Skione, Mende, and Torone is Meritt 1923.

90. For part of the 5th century B.C., however, the Athenian Tribute Lists record that the assessment of Skione in Period II was included in the Mendaian payment; see Meritt, Wade-

Gery, and McGregor 1950, p. 64. For the status of Skione in the 4th century see Zahrnt 1971, pp. 235–236. For the 4th-century coinage of this polis see Westermark 1988, p. 97.

91. Whitbread 1995, pp. 198–209.

92. See Meritt 1923, p. 450; Sismanides 1991.

93. Whitbread 1995, pp. 205–206.

phora fabric published by Whitbread.⁹⁴ This observation in itself can only form the basis for further research; it does not prove that amphoras of the type known as Mendaian were actually manufactured at Torone, though it is worth adding that Torone has yielded a number of eccentric examples of amphoras of a shape related to Mendaian but of atypical clay.⁹⁵

If wine producers in a number of other cities in the Chalkidike did indeed export their vintages in transport amphoras very similar to the type we know as “Mendaian,” this would indicate that they did not use the medium of *vessel shape* to distinguish their produce from that of their coproducers in the *chorai* of other Chalkidian *poleis* which also made use of similar amphora forms. Despite the fact that there are certain differences between various jars classed as Mendaian, there is also much similarity between some of the various types of amphoras of the north Aegean. This homogeneity is echoed in Lawall’s recent study, in which he argues that the amphora types of the north Aegean, especially Thasian, Akanthian, and Mendaian, share many morphological traits and, at times, even used similar marking systems.⁹⁶ This led him to propose the existence of a regional style—or *koine*—of amphora production, especially among potters working between Mende and Thasos.⁹⁷

The evidence discussed above, particularly the quantity of the product exported, the comparatively high prices it fetched, and the fact that the city of Mende was overshadowed by Kassandreia from the late 4th century B.C. onward, coupled with the stylistic similarities among several of the north Aegean amphora types, suggests that the adjective “Mendaian” may have been applied to wine produced in a region more extensive than the *chora* of Mende itself.⁹⁸ Such a possibility gains credence when viewed from the perspective of Torone.⁹⁹ The evidence from Torone taken to-

94. Whitbread 1995, p. 201.

95. One in particular, Torone inv. 82.1359 (Fig. 6), was found in a deposit of the second half of the 5th century B.C. Its body form (approximately the bottom third is missing) suggests that it should be placed ca. 425 B.C.; it is not as “turnip-shaped” as the Mendaian amphoras from the Alonessos (Peristeri) wreck, dated ca. 425–400 B.C., or as a contemporary piece from Carthage (Docter 1995, pp. 499–500, figs. 1, 3), but its proportions are more elongated and its shoulder less rounded than mid-5th-century examples (e.g., Grace 1953, pp. 106–107, nos. 161, 162). From what can be judged of the line drawing published in Ebert 1913, p. 26, fig. 28:c, the amphora found at Torone compares well with this piece, which was excavated at Gute Maritzyn and dated to the last quarter of the 5th century. Torone inv. 82.1359 shares such details of form with the Mendaian type in particular and other north Aegean

types generally as a flaring rim (somewhat bulbous on its interior face) and thumb impressions at the base of each handle (for which see Papadopoulos 1994, pp. 471, 482–483 and esp. pp. 485–486). Its fabric, however, sets it apart. While it does contain much mica, its color is a deep red (something like red 2.5YR 5/8; core: light reddish brown 2.5YR 6/4), and it is very well levigated. The exterior surface has been smoothed, though not uniformly. At a point below that of greatest diameter, the surface is at its smoothest and, in addition, two zones may be seen where the red color is darker and the surface smoother.

96. Lawall 1995, esp. p. 116.

97. Lawall 1995, p. 156; Lawall 1997. For the identification of a 4th-century *koine* of mushroom-rimmed transport amphoras among cities of coastal Anatolia and offshore islands, see Empereur and Picon 1986, p. 112.

For the similarities between Thasian and Lesbian amphoras, see Clinkenbeard 1986. For the production of “amphores ionio-massaliètes” at different sites in the western and central Mediterranean during the second half of the 6th century and into the early 5th century B.C., see Sourisseau 1998.

98. At a much later date, during the 2nd century A.C., there is some evidence to suggest that Cretan wine was sold as “Theran”; see Pollux, *Onomastikon* 6.2, but cf. Dalby 1996, p. 254, note 53. For the term “Chian” referring to a *grape type* in the Roman period, as opposed to an actual wine from the island, see Dalby 1996, p. 95.

99. One positive advantage is that by being called Mendaian, the wine of the region is at least firmly placed within the Chalkidike and is not confused with that of the Euboian Chalkis. For the confusion of Chalkidike and Chalkisin-Euboia see Papadopoulos 1996.

gether with the references to the involvement of Skione and Kassandreia in the production and/or export of Mendaian wine further supports the argument that the name "Mendaian" may have referred to Chalkidian wine in general, at least in the 4th century B.C., if not earlier.¹⁰⁰ It is clear that in antiquity mention made of the wine of Chios, Lesbos, Rhodes, Thasos, and Kerkyra, for instance, referred to that produced on each respective island as a whole and not just to the product of the main city, and in some cases perhaps also to the *peraia* of the island on the mainland opposite. The case of Knidos is also worth mentioning in this context as the appellation "Knidian" probably refers to the wine of the entire Knidian peninsula.¹⁰¹ Most of these areas, however, were not only single political units, but places where the name of the central city and its *chora*, even the islands and their *peraiiai*, were used interchangeably fairly often, and this distinguishes them from Mende and the other cities of the Chalkidike.

The process by which a product of one region or center either becomes confused with that of another region or comes to be known or associated with a place other than the one where it was made finds numerous parallels in antiquity, as it does today. This has been most recently investigated by Patrice Brun in a penetrating paper dealing with *appellations contrôlées*, ranging from the cheese of Kythnos to Parian marble. Brun discusses various scenarios by which a specific geographical label can be applied or attributed to products from particular regions.¹⁰² Ceramic products are no exception and, indeed, provide classic cases in point. An interesting modern analogy is the way the well-known Iznik pottery of Asia Minor came to be known as "Rhodian." This is well treated by Katerina Korre-Zographou, who notes that during the 19th century Rhodes served as an important distribution center for Iznik and Kütahya ware and that the adjective "Rhodian" came to be used because of French dealers who purchased large quantities of pottery on Rhodes, especially Lindos, for the Musée des Arts Décoratifs (Cluny).¹⁰³

100. It is important to note that other Chalkidian towns, not acclaimed in antiquity for their wine, have yielded evidence of wine production. For example, Sismanides (1994, p. 282; 1996, p. 287) has recently interpreted a structure within the walls of ancient Stageira as a wine press, and for grape treading floors identified at Olynthos, see *Olynthus* VIII, pp. 342–343; Cahill 1991, pp. 351–352.

101. For kiln sites throughout the peninsula where transport amphoras were manufactured see Empereur and Picon 1986, pp. 116–123; Empereur and Tuna 1988; Tuna, Empereur, Döger, and Desbat 1991. For the manufacture of Rhodian amphoras at sites on the Rhodian *peraia* and on islands under the control of Rhodes, see

Empereur and Tuna 1989.

102. Brun 1997.

103. Korre-Zographou 1995, pp. 292–304, esp. p. 292 and the map on pp. 332–333. See further Lane 1971, p. 60; Hatzidakes 1957, p. 6. In a similar vein, by naming several Early Roman pottery production centers—real or imaginary—Pliny the Elder, in the well-known passage in *Naturalis Historia* (35.46.160–161), tempted subsequent students of Hellenistic and Roman ceramic history to equate these centers with recognized wares, thereby giving rise to problems of nomenclature (see the discussion in Papadopoulos 1995, p. 223). Attempting to distinguish what exactly, for example, Pliny meant by "Pergamene" pottery has challenged scholars, quite apart from

the difficulties of determining "Local Pergamene Ware" (lokalpergamenisch) from "True Pergamene" (echtpergamenisch, for which see Meyer-Schlichtmann 1988, esp. pp. 3–9), while the term "Samian" as used by Pliny should refer to a ware (or wares) produced somewhere in the eastern Mediterranean other than the island of Samos (see Hayes 1972, pp. 8–10; for an earlier discussion and classification of "Samian" pottery, see *Agora* V, p. 12, no. F15, note 9; also pp. 25, 40). Scholarly errors of this sort continue to the present, with the term "Megarian bowls," a fruit of archaeological misunderstanding first coined in 1883, assuming a life—and tenacity—all its own; see discussion by Susan Rotroff in *Agora* XXII, pp. 2–3; cf. Benndorf 1883, pp. 117–118.

We may never know to what extent Torone, like other Chalkidian towns, knowingly took part in the production and trade of a wine specifically referred to as Mendaian, or to what extent the Toronaiaans consciously used the name "Mendaian" on account of its established reputation, or whether Chalkidian wine came to be known as "Mendaian" abroad.¹⁰⁴ What is clear is that much remains to be learned from the jars themselves. Not only would the closer study of amphora fabrics, shapes, and markings offer promise, but so would the consideration of the processes at the core of production, such as the possibility that "Mendaian" amphoras were made at more than one center,¹⁰⁵ even the possibility of specialist potters moving within the Aegean, whether in an itinerant capacity or else relocating on a more permanent basis.¹⁰⁶ Indeed, knowledge of the location of the actual production sites would be fundamental to a better understanding of many of the questions raised here. Apart from the amphoras, other avenues of inquiry, such as modern traditional wine production in Greece, would provide many potential insights into ancient practices, ranging from the details of planting and the maintenance and harvesting of the grape, to the production of specialized tools and containers for the wine and the more general aspects of environment and land use.¹⁰⁷ The potential of archaeological survey to trace the material remains of ancient farms and the organization of agricultural land, as well as the relationship of *polis* and *chora*, in the Chalkidike has not been fully realized, not least for the relatively unspoiled landscape of Akte (Mount Athos).

104. Here it is worth making the analogy with modern wine production. California and South Australia are large, internationally recognized wine-producing regions, yet both at one time produced a sparkling white wine referred to as "Champagne" and a red wine bottled as "Burgundy," both being regions in the "ancient" wine country of France. In this case, both Californian and South Australian wine-makers were cashing in on the reputation and name-recognition of Champagne and Burgundy. There are other modern cases in which individual wine-growers in established wine-producing regions, such as the Hunter Valley in eastern Australia, use grapes grown in other parts of the country, whether to increase supply, which is most common, or to purposely select a variety or style of grape not easily produced in their own region. It is also worth remembering that Californian, like South Australian, wine refers to that of a very large region, in the same way that Champagne, like Burgundy, is a region that gave its name to the produce of numerous towns, villages, and individual

wine-makers. In the case of Mendaian wine, however, the opposite is true, in that the wine of an entire region came to be known by the name of one town in that region.

105. Generally speaking, the forms of Greek amphora types, or at least those that have been identified, are attributed to a specific producing state, although specific features associated with a particular type may be seen on a number of different types (see Whitbread 1995, pp. 35–36). Note, however, that Doulgéri-Intzessiloglou and Garland (1990, p. 388) conclude that amphoras of very similar form were manufactured on the neighboring islands of Peparethos (Skopelos) and Ikos (Alonessos). For similar conclusions concerning Samian and Milesian amphora types see Lawall 1995, p. 90; for the possibility that the Lesbian amphora type was made at more than one *polis* on the island see Lawall 1995, pp. 215–216. Furthermore, Lawall (1995, pp. 218–244) characterizes both Soloha I and II types as "extra-regional." Note also the case of the

Ionio-Massaliote amphoras referred to above (note 97). For the production of particular types of Roman amphoras in more than one center see Papadopoulos 1989, esp. p. 83, note 57, p. 88, note 99.

106. For discussion on this aspect see, most recently, Papadopoulos 1997 (with references).

107. The monasteries of Mount Athos, many of which still produce wine according to traditional techniques, would certainly repay closer study. For a meticulous study of modern traditional practices in the production of wine see the papers by various authors collected in *Krasiou*. See also the papers recently published in *Ampelooiinke*, which provide a wealth of information on vine growing and wine production in Greek lands from prehistory to the present. This is not to suggest that modern wine production constitutes evidence for static, unchanging agricultural practices over the centuries; on this aspect see further Amouretti 1992, p. 78. For wineskins and useful notes on the stages of wine production in antiquity, see Immerwahr 1992.



Figure 23. Laphazane wine label (1996) showing coin of Torone. Courtesy Λαφαζάνης Ο.Α.Ε.

The level to which the economies of Classical Mende and Torone, like those of other Chalkidian towns, relied on wine is best appreciated against the backdrop of the prehistory of the domestication of the grape in the north Aegean. The latter has been taken back to an even more remote past through the publication of the floral remains from Sitagroi in eastern Macedonia, where the first domestic grapes were associated with periods IV and V (the Early Bronze Age).¹⁰⁸ The more recent publication of the palaeobotanical remains and evidence for plant husbandry at prehistoric Dimitra in the Serres basin in north Greece by Jane Renfrew suggests that domestic grape seeds were present in the Neolithic levels, indicating that the vine was being domesticated in this area of the north Aegean by the Late Neolithic period.¹⁰⁹

However remote the prehistory of the Chalkidian grape, the efficacy of the coin-types of Torone to promote and advertise wine continues to this day, and it is fitting to end this survey of Chalkidian wine with ex-

108. Renfrew, Gimbutas, and Elster 1986, pp. 138, 441. It is worth noting that the domestication of the Eurasian grapevine on the basis of size measurements and morphology of grape pips is very difficult: see Olmo 1996, pp. 38–39; Zohary 1996, p. 29; Valamote 1998, pp. 138–144; Mangapha, Kotsakis, and Andreou 1998, pp. 159–165. For the view that viticulture and arboriculture did not become *widespread* farming enterprises in Greece until the later “Dark Ages,” see Hanson 1992, p. 161. The studies by Palmer and Wright

make it clear that the Eurasian grape must have been domesticated in southern Greece well before the 7th century B.C. Palmer (1996, p. 281) considers vine growing to have been widespread throughout Greece and Crete during the Mycenaean period (see also Palmer 1994); for wine consumption during the Bronze Age in the Aegean see Wright 1996. The evidence of pollen counts for the history of viticulture in central and northern Greece is presented in Athanasiades, Gerasimides, and Panagiotides 1998.

109. For Dimitra, see Renfrew 1997, p. 223, and also the overview in Renfrew 1996; see now Valamote 1998, p. 141 for a review of other Late Neolithic and Early Bronze Age finds from northern sites. For an overview of the prehistory of wine in the ancient Near East and Egypt, which predates that of the Aegean, see, most recently, McGovern 1998a; for the wine jars dating to ca. 3150 B.C. in the royal tomb of Abydos, see McGovern 1998b.



Figure 24. Chateau Carras wine label.
Courtesy the Carras wine company

amples from the present. The emblem of the city depicting an amphora with bunches of grapes (Fig. 9) is boldly displayed today on the Laphazane wine label (Fig. 23), for vintages produced in the region of Nemea, specifically in the valley of Kleonai. It is no coincidence that the region immediately to the north of Torone continues to this day to be famous for its grapes, with the wine of the Porto Carras label (Fig. 24) widely exported throughout Greece, Europe, and North America. In this particular case, history may well have repeated itself in that the grapes used for the modern wine are grown over a fairly large area of central and southern Sithonia, but that the name used for marketing and distribution refers to a single town—Porto Carras—a place that is a totally modern creation.¹¹⁰

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110. The resort known as Porto Carras was built on a previously uninhabited tract of land immediately to the south of Neos Marmaras (the latter being the site of the ancient Gale) by Ioannis Karras, a wealthy shipping magnate originally from Chios who purchased the land and built a harbor, two hotels, the winery, and other facilities, which were opened to the public in the 1970s. In an advertising campaign for Carras wine several years ago, the actual site of Torone is visible in the background in a series of photographs, as well as a film clip, taken of the vineyards several kilometers north of the ancient site.

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