

FOOD AND DRINK IN THE ANCIENT WORLD

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Dis-moi ce que tu manges, je te dirai ce que tu es.
(Tell me what you eat; I will tell you what you are.)
- Anthelme Brillat-Savarin

DESCRIPTION

Human activity is regulated by the constant need to source and consume food. Finding ever better ways to produce food has helped to shape social structures, and controlling access to it has been an impetus for the development of writing and political organization. Modes of food preparation have contributed to the gendering of everyday life, and dining practices and food choices have provided key means of cultural definition. A people's foodways offer unparalleled insights into their history, society, culture and economy. Brillat-Savarin was right.

This course provides students an opportunity to understand the social history of the ancient Mediterranean world through an exploration of the production, preparation and consumption of food and drink and (re)presentations of them in word and image. We will focus our attention on Ancient Greece and Rome from the eighth century B.C. through the fifth century A.D., though we will spend some time on the earlier Ancient Near East and Egypt.

The broad themes of the course will include

- food and drink as regulators of human activities and behavior;
- the ways in which a culture shapes its cuisine and vice versa;
- the use of food and drink in cultural self-definition;
- the meal as a locus of cultural values;
- the intersection of food and the economy;
- technology and sustainability in food production;
- ancient ideas about the body and food: food as nutrition and source of sin;
- food as a socio-economic determinant;
- food and drink as expressions of cultural diversity.

We will consider a range of evidence for what and how the ancients ate and drank: literary, documentary, artistic and archaeological. Readings for the course will combine primary sources (mostly

from our assigned sourcebook), modern scholarship, and recipes (both ancient and modern interpretations).

Class sessions will comprise lectures, class discussions, and student presentations on assigned topics, sources and dishes. These will be graded and will form the basis for more extensive written papers.

A key part of the course will be experimental archaeology: the production and consumption of dishes students make according to ancient recipes. Experimental archaeology is an analytical process that recreates the lived experience and activities in order to test assumptions and interpretations that have been drawn from material and textual evidence and in order also to supplement that evidence.

Experience and/or enthusiasm in the kitchen will be a plus for this course, though not essential. You will not be graded on your cooking skills, but an ability to understand cooking methods and ingredients will be helpful to you, as will an ability to assess adaptations of ancient recipes for modern kitchens, foodstuffs, palates and dining styles.

LEARNING GOALS

The following learning goals are specific to this course:

- To employ critical analysis, historical reasoning and experimental archaeology in order to study human culture, society and development through a topical lens.
- To think about foodways as a means to understand the ancient world and also your own world.
- To understand the complex reasons for and nature of the development of foodways over time and space and across populations.
- To analyze and assess effectively a range of primary evidence in different media.
- To articulate effectively in oral presentations and in writing your analyses and assessments of primary evidence and your conclusions from experimental archaeology exercises.

The Department of Classics also has a series of conceptual and practical learning goals that may be viewed here: <http://classics.rutgers.edu/learning-goals-for-classics-majors>

READINGS

Copies of the following texts are available at the Barnes and Noble Rutgers College Bookstore. New and used copies are also available through online retailers.

Required

Donahue, John F. 2015. *Food and drink in antiquity: readings from the Graeco-Roman world: a sourcebook*. London: Bloomsbury.

ISBN-10: 1441133453; ISBN-13: 9781441133458.

Dalby, Andrew, and Sally Grainger. 2012. *The classical cookbook*. Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum. Revised edition. ISBN-10: 9781606061107; ISBN-13: 978-1606061107.

Strongly recommended

Dalby, Andrew. 2003. *Food in the ancient world, from A to Z*. London: Routledge. ISBN-10: 0415862795; ISBN-13: 978-0415862790.

This volume provides excellent summaries of most topics and foods discussed in the course. Having access to a copy will be a significant advantage.

Follow the “Not Just Dormice” blog at <https://notjustdormice.wordpress.com/> and the Pinterest board “Ancient Roman Foodways”: <https://www.pinterest.com/mothemelusine/ancient-roman-foodways/>

ASSIGNMENTS

The assignments for this class comprise one preparatory writing exercise and three projects. I will work with the class to make sure students’ work is spread as evenly as is reasonable over the semester.

Preparatory writing exercise (15%)

In this brief (1-2 pages) exercise, you will describe and analyze a dish that you have eaten. The dish may be one you have made and consumed at home or one purchased and eaten in a restaurant (or dining hall).

You should consider the following questions as you eat:

What are you eating? • Where are you eating it? • With whom are you eating? • How has the dish been presented? • How is it being eaten? • Why are you eating it? • What are the flavors (salty, sweet, sour, savory)? • What are the colors? • What are the textures? • Is the dish simple or complex? • How has it been made? • What have been the investments of money and time in this dish? • What are the ingredients? • Where do those ingredients come from? • How are they sourced, produced, packaged and transported? • What’s the origin of the dish? • What’s the nutritional value of the dish?

This exercise will help you to begin thinking about some of the key aspects of the course: the production, ingredients, preparation, tastes, presentation and social and contexts of food. The resulting paper will be due in the third class of the semester.

Project I (25%)

This project consists of a presentation and a paper.

Choose an ingredient, a utensil or a piece of equipment used in ancient cooking and prepare a ten-minute presentation that surveys the item's origins, production, development and uses; the cultural, social and/or historical significance of it; the primary evidence for it and scholarship about it.

Your presentation will be evaluated on its effective synthesis of information and evidence, the accuracy and relevance of its content and the clarity of your ideas and delivery. Your presentation must be rehearsed and polished.

You will use your presentation as the basis for a paper. Your paper will be evaluated on the accuracy and relevance of its factual content; the relevance and range of your evidence, your ability to apply historical research methods and reasoning to it, your synthesis and analysis of it; your ability to consider your topic and its development over time.

This project will test your ability to consider the broad themes of the course by consideration of a very narrow topic. In previous courses you may have written papers that have offered overviews of large topics. This paper requires you to work hard to find evidence and scholarship on and offer a synthesis and analysis of a tiny topic.

Project II (25%)

This project also consists of a presentation and a paper.

Choose (in consultation with me) a source from Donahue's *Food and Drink* sourcebook and prepare a ten-minute presentation that introduces the source's content and author. In addition provide a basic critical analysis of the source: what are its temporal, geographical, social and economic contexts? What does it tell us about ancient foodways? In what ways is the source not helpful?

Your presentation will be evaluated on its effective synthesis of information and evidence, the accuracy and relevance of its content, and the clarity of your ideas and delivery. Your presentation must be rehearsed and polished.

You will use your presentation as the basis for a paper. You should expand upon your presentation to consider the usefulness of the source in considering the broad themes listed at the beginning of this course description. You should make sure to mention other relevant primary sources and scholarship. Your paper will be evaluated on the accuracy and relevance of your factual content; your ability to apply historical research methods and reasoning to your sources.

This project tests your ability to work with primary evidence and your historical reasoning and critical analytical skills. It also tests your ability to use primary evidence to consider the broad themes of the course.

Project III (35%)

Version A

This version of the project consists of a dish with accompanying presentation and a paper. Only students with access to a kitchen should complete this version. The kitchen should contain a stove and oven (a microwave oven or toaster oven will be inadequate), refrigerator, and basic equipment and utensils. Plates and silverware will be provided.

Choose a dish from Dalby and Grainger's *Classical Cookbook* (or my list of approved recipes) and prepare it for class participants.¹ Try as far as possible to prepare the dish with authentic utensils, equipment and techniques. Prepare a ten-minute presentation that analyzes the dish (see the prompts from the Preparatory Writing Exercise above) and then discusses its significance for understanding ancient foodways.

Rework your presentation into a paper, in which you briefly present your analysis of the dish and discuss its significance. The focus of your paper should be on the experience of producing it: in what ways did the preparation and consumption of the dish confirm or undermine your understanding of ancient foodways garnered from other sources? As before, your paper will be evaluated on the accuracy and relevance of your factual content, but emphasis will be placed on your ability to apply your experience in preparing and consuming the dish to the broad themes of the course.

This project tests your skills in experimental archaeology and requires you to consider the understanding you derive for yourself from practice alongside and against the information given to you in written and visual sources.

You should anticipate modest expenses for ingredients and equipment.

Version B

It is my intention that every student who wants to will be able to complete Version A. If, however, enrollment numbers make that impractical, some students may need to follow Version B. Students who cannot access a standard domestic kitchen at least at some point during the semester will also need to complete Version B.

Choose a topic related to at least one of the broad themes of the course and write a 10-15 page research paper. Your paper will be evaluated on the accuracy and relevance of your factual content, your employment of primary evidence and scholarship, and your presentation of a strong thesis statement and a compelling and well-structured series of arguments.

¹ N.B. Recipes that contain alcohol and alcoholic drinks may not be served or consumed in the course.

This project tests your skills in drawing upon a range of primary evidence and scholarship to address a broad issue that pertains to the relationship of ancient foodways to ancient culture, society, history or economics.

Assignment notices

We will work as a group to make sure that there are no duplicate presentations or dishes during the course of the semester.

All papers (except for Project III, Version B) should be at least four pages in length and no more than six (excluding images, notes and bibliography). They must be polished—free from typos and errors of syntax, well-written, and professionally presented. Papers will be due no later than two weeks after a presentation.

CLASS SCHEDULE AND READINGS

Sourcebook = Donahue, John F. 2015. *Food and drink in antiquity: readings from the Graeco-Roman world : a sourcebook*. London: Bloomsbury.

All other readings are accessible through Sakai.

Dishes are in italics.

These are readings too—make sure to read them even if you're not preparing them.

Cookbook = Dalby, Andrew, and Sally Grainger. 2012. *The classical cookbook*. Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum. Revised edition.

1. Introduction

Introduction to the course; overview of key ingredients and equipment; discussion of local area suppliers; template for list of ingredients.

An introduction to ingredients:

- *Cookbook*, introduction. Browse through this and begin thinking about which recipe you might like to cook (if you will be cooking) and how you will source ingredients.

An overview of Greek and Roman food and drink:

- Grimm, Veronika. 2007. "The Good Things that Lay at Hand," in *Food: The History of Taste*, ed. Paul Freedman, 62-97. (If you're unable to read this for the first session, try to read it as soon as possible thereafter.)

Ungraded assignment: prepare a meal without running water. (If you're brave, try not to use electricity.)

2. Evidence

Introduction to the ancient evidence for food and drink, including literary texts, archaeological finds, inscriptions, artistic representations, archaeobotany; the nature of ancient recipes

An introduction to literary sources:

- *Sourcebook*: chap. 2—browse through this chapter, but make sure to read the introduction to each genre.

A brief history of the recipe:

- Katz, Solomon H., and William Woys Weaver. 2003. *Encyclopedia of Food and Culture*, s.v. 'recipe.'

An overview of archaeobotany:

- Nesbitt, M. 2006. "Archaeobotany," in *The Encyclopedia of Seeds: Science, Technology and Uses*, ed. M. Black, J. D. Bewley, and P. Halmer, 20-22.

On archaeological evidence:

- Samuel, D. 2006. "Archaeology of Food", in *The Oxford Companion to Food*, ed. Alan Davidson, 33-34.

3. Agriculture I: arable farming

Earliest evidence of farming; farming and human development; farming equipment and technological change; sustainability

- *Sourcebook*: introduction to chap. 3; 3.1–3.4

On essential grains, start with:

- Dalby, Andrew. 2003. *Food in the ancient world, from A to Z*, s.v. "wheat."

On ancient ploughing technology:

- White, K. D. 1984. *Greek and Roman Technology*, 58-67.

A popular article on the socio-economic significance of eating millet:

- "Most Ancient Romans Ate Like Animals" <http://www.livescience.com/27569-ancient-romans-ate-millet.html>

And here's the research behind the article:

- Killgrove, Kristina, and Robert H. Tykot. 2013. "Food for Rome: A Stable Isotope Investigation of Diet in the Imperial Period (1st–3rd Centuries AD)." *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 32.1: 28-38.

Preparatory writing exercise due

4. Starches

Wheat and other grains; bread and its development; the significance of leaven

- *Sourcebook*: 3.5–3.20

Key ancient accounts of bread:

- Luke 13:20-21; Leviticus 23:5–8; Vergil, *Aeneid* 3.210-257 & 7.109-119.

An Egyptian recipe for bread (with accompanying discussion):

- Sitwell, William. 2013. *A History of Food in 100 Recipes*, 11-14.

Compare and contrast the ingredients, method, equipment and presentation of the following recipe for no-knead crockpot bread:

- <http://momprepares.com/no-knead-bread-recipe-for-the-crockpot/>

On ancient leaven and bread making:

- Pliny, *Natural History* 18.26-27

Sally Grainger on experimental archaeology with bread:

- http://www.britishmuseum.org/whats_on/past_exhibitions/2013/pompeii_and_herculaneum/pompeii_live/live_event/bread_recipe.aspx

Porridge (kykeon) (Cookbook 40-1).

Barley rolls (Cookbook 64-5).

Optional assignment, part I: grow your own leaven

5. Agriculture II: ranching

Livestock breeding; integrated farming; the cultural significance of animal husbandry

On early evidence for the social and economic importance of ranching:

- Podcast of "A History of the World in 100 Objects: Egyptian Clay Model of Cattle" (transcript, podcast and a link to images have been uploaded)

An introduction to ancient idealizations of shepherds and goatherds:

- Theocritus, *Idyll* 5

On idealizations of their modern American counterparts:

- Savage, William W. 1975. *Cowboy Life: Reconstructing an American Myth*, Editor's introduction.

From ideal to reality: battery farming and selective breeding

- Geoffrey Kron. 2008. "Animal Husbandry," in *Oxford Handbook of Engineering and Technology in the Classical World*, ed. John P. Oleson, 176-185.

6. Meats

Homeric barbecues; the popularity of pork; the late arrival of the chicken

- *Sourcebook*: 3.54–3.57

Browse the following business and mainstream media reports on modern American meat preferences:

- <https://www.meatinstitute.org/index.php?ht=d/sp/i/47465/pid/47465>
- http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2014/01/02/chicken-vs-beef_n_4525366.html
- <http://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2015-02-03/it-s-pork-over-beef-in-america-for-first-time-since-1952>

Homeric heroes also ate meat, but oddly no fish:

- Berdowski, Piotr. 2008. "Heroes and Fish in Homer." *Palamedes: A Journal of Ancient History* 3: 75-92.

On the medical, religious and sexual significance of the chicken, a relatively late addition to the ancient table:

- Lawler, Andrew. 2014. *Why Did the Chicken Cross the World?: The Epic Saga of the Bird that Powers Civilization*, 1-6, 50-56, 151-155, 196-202.

If you can, look at this article on ancient Romans' meat preferences:

- Corbier, Mireille. 1989. "The ambiguous status of meat in ancient Rome." *Food and Foodways* 3.3: 223-264.

Smoked sausages (Cookbook p. 109) or white sausages (Cookbook p. 144).

Chicken salad (Cookbook 126-7).

7. Fishes

Fishing and fish farming; fish as status symbols; fishing and ancient Mediterranean economic development

- *Sourcebook*: 3.58–3.60, 3.62

On the economic risks and social ambiguities of fish:

- Purcell, Nicholas. 1995. "Eating Fish: The Paradoxes of Seafood," in *Food in Antiquity*, ed. John Wilkins and Mike Dobson.

A poem about a fancy fish:

- Juvenal, *Satires* 4

An exploration of the social and economic contexts of ancient Rome's brief ichthyomania:

- Andrews, Alfred C. 1949. "The Roman Craze for Surmulletts". *The Classical Weekly* 42.12: 186–88. *Rock eel* (*Cookbook* 74-5) or *Toronaean tuna* (*Cookbook* 44-5).

8. Fish sauce

The garum industry: its social and economic significance; ancient marketing; garum and its modern successors

An ancient discussion of garum:

- *Geoponica* 20.46.1-5

Evidence for the garum trade from Roman Pompeii and Herculaneum:

- Cooley, Alison and M. G. L. Cooley. 2014. *Pompeii and Herculaneum: A Sourcebook*, sources H34-46.

On ancient and modern garum and a trip to a restaurant that serves historical food:

- Downie, David. 2003. "A Roman Anchovy's Tale." *Gastronomica* 3.2: 25-28.

On garum, its eastern counterparts and historical reactions to both:

- Kurlansky, Mark. 2002. *Salt: A World History*, 68-79.

Patina of pears (*Cookbook* p. 151).

9. Vegetables & fruits

Olives and olive oil; the dangers of raw fruits and vegetables

- *Sourcebook* 3.51–3.53, 3.63

On the economic, social and cultural significance of the olive, a symbol of the Mediterranean:

- Boardman, J., Kathleen M. Kenyon, E. J. Moynahan, and J. D. Evans. 1976. "The Olive in the Mediterranean: Its Culture and Use [and Discussion]." *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London B: Biological Sciences* 275: 187-196.

An overview of the range of other fruits and vegetables in Antiquity:

- Alcock, Joan. 2009. "The Roman Vegetable Garden." In *Vegetables: Proceedings of the Oxford Symposium on Food and Cookery 2008*, ed. Susan R. Friedland, 36-45.

On fresh fruit and amoebic dysentery, or why an apple a day is risky:

- Mattern, Susan P. 2013. *Prince of Medicine: Galen in the Roman world*, pp.64-65, 78-80.

Athenian cabbage (*Cookbook* 62-3).

10. Dairy

The utility of cheese as a milk storage device; cheese and sacrifice

- *Sourcebook*: 3.64

An excellent overview of cheese production in ancient Greece can be found here:

- Kindstedt, Paul. 2012. *Cheese and Culture: A History of Cheese and Its Place in Western Civilization*, chap. 4.

If you have time, read chap. 5, which examines cheese production by the Romans and early Christians. *Cheese and sesame sweetmeats (Cookbook p. 66) or Cheesecake (Cookbook p. 110)*.

11. Trade

The humble amphora, cardboard box of the ancient world; local, regional and long-distance networks; territorial expansion and the political significance of new foods

A video and magazine article about excavating a trash heap of amphorae:

- “The Amphora Graveyard of Monte Testaccio, Rome”:
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2L4GLMY6unc>
- Elkin, Jose Remesal and Michael Rodríguez. 2014. “Monte Testaccio: Excavating the amphora mountain of Rome.” *Current World Archaeology*.

On archaeological evidence for the extent of ancient trading networks:

- Williams, David F. 2004. “The Eruption of Vesuvius and its implications for the Early Roman Amphora trade with India,” in *Transport Amphorae and Trade in the Eastern Mediterranean*, ed. Jonas Eiring and John Lund, 441-450.

The wine trade as a case study:

- Grace, Virginia. 1961. *Amphoras and the Ancient Wine Trade*. Browse through this slim booklet.

12. Spices

Spices in international trade; the ubiquity of pepper; silphium, asafetida and sustainability; ancient mustard and modern tastes

Start with that most common of spices—pepper:

- Podcast of “A History of the World in 100 Objects: Hoxne Pepper Pot” (transcript, podcast and a link to images have been uploaded to Sakai).

A review of some key spices in ancient cooking:

- Dalby, Andrew. 2000. *Dangerous Tastes: Spices in World History*, 16-19 (on silphium), 110-12 (on asafetida), 90-94 (pepper), 123-126 (the Mediterranean spice trade), 133-134 (mustard).

On the environmental consequences of the Romans’ mania for silphium:

- Parejko, Ken. 2003. “Pliny the Elder's Silphium: First Recorded Species Extinction”. *Conservation Biology* 17.3: 925–27.

Delian sweets (Cookbook p. 83).

13. Food supply

Feeding the masses; mass production; famine

- *Sourcebook*: 3.68–3.77

On the corn supply and Romans' dependence upon it:

- *CIL* 3, 805-6, 808-9; Tacitus, *Annals* 6.13, 12.43

Grim, but essential reading, from Peter Garnsey's overview of ancient literary evidence and modern data on food shortages and famine:

- Garnsey, Peter. 1988. *Famine and Food Supply in the Graeco-Roman World*, chaps. 1 ("Famine and Shortage") and 2 ("The Frequency of Food Crisis").

The evidence for ancient mass production of food—here wheat flour from a mill that could supply an entire town:

- Hodge, Trevor A. 1990. "A Roman Factory." *Scientific American* 263.5: 58-64.

Optional assignment, part II: make bread from your leaven (see recipes on Sakai).

14. Alcohol

Food safety; cultural difference expressed through alcohol (beer vs. wine); wine and gender

- *Sourcebook* 3.21–42
- Martial 10.49

The world's foremost expert on ancient wine provides an overview of the topic:

- McGovern, Patrick E. 2007. *Ancient Wine: The Search for the Origins of Viniculture*, chap. 10 ("Lands of Dionysos").

Now read about McGovern's attempts to recreate ancient alcoholic beverages:

- McGovern, Patrick E. 2007. *Ancient Wine: The Search for the Origins of Viniculture*, chap. 12 ("Molecular Archaeology").

15. The symposium

Literary and artistic depictions of the symposium; gender and the symposium; the role of alcohol

- *Sourcebook* 3.43–3.50; 5.6-5.10; 7.26, 7.30, 7.31, 7.33, 7.37

This is the most famous depiction of a symposium, which has at its heart a philosophical conversation about love:

- Plato, *Symposium*

16. Food and religion

Gods, humans and animals in pagan sacrifice

- *Sourcebook*: 4.3–4.16; 4.44–4.47

According to the Greeks, sacrifice appears first in the myth of Prometheus, which you can read about here:

- Hesiod, *Theogony* 535-616 and/or *Works and Days* 45-105.

This is a classic treatment of the myth and its socio-cultural significance:

- Vernant J.-P. 1990. "The Myth of Prometheus in Hesiod," in *Myth and Society in Ancient Greece*, ed. J.-P. Vernant, 183-201.

17. Utensils and kitchens

Problems with terminology and identification; experimental archaeology and the ancient kitchen

Sourcebook: 5.35–5.37

Our best evidence for kitchen utensils in the ancient world comes from Pompeii and Herculaneum, but sometimes archaeologists misidentify them, according to this article:

- Allison, Penelope M. 1999. "Labels for Ladles: Interpreting the Material Culture of Roman Households," in *The Archaeology of Household Activities*, ed. P. Allison, 57-77.

Sally Grainger (co-author of the *Cookbook*) has experimented with using Roman ovens. Here are her findings:

- <http://blog.britishmuseum.org/2013/07/17/heat-steam-and-roman-cooking/>
- <http://blog.britishmuseum.org/2013/07/19/a-very-versatile-roman-oven/>
- <http://blog.britishmuseum.org/2013/07/30/from-parthian-chicken-to-flat-breads-experimenting-with-a-roman-oven/>

Moretum (Cookbook 104-5)

18. Dining spaces & dinnerware

The *triclinium*; reclining to eat; self-expression and self-promotion in dining spaces

- *Sourcebook*: 5.40–45

Athenaeus' *Deipnosophistae (The Banquet Philosophizers)* is set at a banquet. The following sections discuss dinnerware, but be sure to browse more widely through this fascinating text:

- Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 169b-f, 459a-504e

A good general introduction to the Roman dining room (for which we have the best evidence):

- Dunbabin, Katherine. 1991. "Triclinium and Stibadium," in *Dining in a Classical Context*, ed. William Slater, 121-48.

The decoration of dining rooms was an opportunity for ancient cultural self-expression. Find examples of dining room frescos by browsing ArtStor's images of paintings found in ancient *triclinia*:

- Navigate to Rutgers University Library>Find>Indexes and Databases>ArtStor, search for "triclinium" and limit your search to "paintings"

19. Banquets & guest friendship

ξενία (guest-friendship) or why the Latin *hospes* means both "host" and "guest"; the banquet as cultural signifier

- *Sourcebook*: 5.38–5.39

Accounts of banquets in the ancient world begin with Homer. If you're not familiar with the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, be sure to find summaries and introductions.

- Sherratt, Susan. 2004. "Feasting in Homeric Epic". *Hesperia* 73.2: 301–37.

Placenta (or ancient cheesecake) (Cookbook 113-15)

20. Manners; entertainment

Good and bad manners; good and bad hosts; the meal as a locus of social and ethical values

Ancient poets and others delighted in writing about bad manners. Here's a selection of their accounts:

- Martial 2.37, 5.78, 7.20, 8.67, 11.52; Pliny, *Letters* 1.15; Catullus 12;

Greeks and Romans even scratched notices about manners on the walls of dining rooms (graffiti have only recently become frowned upon):

- *CIL* 4.7698

On manners in the Roman household:

- Bradley, Keith. 1998. "The Roman Family at Dinner," in *Meals in a Social Context: Aspects of the Communal Meal in the Hellenistic and Roman World*, ed. Nielsen & Nielsen, 36-55.

Lentils (Cookbook p. 106)

21. *Cena Trimalchionis*

Food and status; the roles of slaves; the presentation of food; the roles of guests; dinner as theater

Petronius' fictional account of a banquet hosted by a Roman former slave provides fascinating insights into the relationship between food choices and status. Our sourcebook has selected some choice passages:

- *Sourcebook*: 5.20–5.24

But you should also read the entire text in English:

- Petronius, *Cena Trimalchionis*

A brief introduction to the foods and wine that Trimalchio serves:

- Schmeling, Gareth. 1970. "Trimalchio's Menu and Wine List." *Classical Philology* 65.4: 248-251.

22. Gourmets, luxury and consumption

Archestratus and Apicius; dormice and other delicacies; the myth of the vomitorium

- *Sourcebook*: 5.1–5.5

An introduction to the best known Greek gourmet, Archestratos:

- Dalby, Andrew. 1995. "Archestratos: Where and When?" in *Food in antiquity*, ed. John Wilkins, F. D. Harvey, and Michael J. Dobson, 400-412.

Our *Cookbook* draws heavily on Apicius, but details about his identity are vague:

- Grainger, Sally. 2007. "The Myth of Apicius." *Gastronomica* 7.2: 71-77.

You are what you eat; what does the consumption of dormice reveal about Romans?

- Beerden, Kim. 2012. "Roman *dolia* and the Fattening of Dormice." *Classical World* 105.2: 227-235.

Ancient foodways have often been associated with luxury. The following pieces examine the NYC restaurant "Forum of the Twelve Caesars" (1957-1975). What does the restaurant say about modern American views of Roman foodways?

- <http://www.eater.com/2010/9/7/6720437/the-forum-of-the-twelve-caesars-on-mad-men-the-oysters-of-hercules>

- Strauss, Harold and Geoffrey T. Hellman. 1957. "Gastronomic Tour," *New Yorker*, 21 December: 20-23.

Honeyed mushrooms (Cookbook p. 137)

23. Cook shops

Fast food and class; attitudes towards cook shops; cook shops as gendered spaces

- *Sourcebook*: 5.47–5.51

An introduction to Greek food and cook shops (and their poor reputations):

- Davidson, James N. 1998. *Courtesans & Fishcakes: The Consuming Passions of Classical Athens*, 53-60.

The same on the Roman side:

- Grant, Mark. 2008. *Roman cookery: Ancient Recipes for Modern Kitchens*, 84-92.

Roman *tabernae* played an important role in communities, as Ellis explores:

- Ellis, Steven J. R. 2004. "The Pompeian Bar: Archaeology and the Role of Food and Drink Outlets in an Ancient Community." *Food and History* 2.1: 41-58.

A taste of the graffiti found in *tabernae* at Pompeii:

- On Sakai: *CIL* 4.1679; *CIL* 4.3948

Pancakes with honey and sesame seeds (Cookbook 50-1)

24. Nutrition

Adequate nutrition; sewers and skeletons from Herculaneum

For a good overview of levels of nutrition among Greeks and Romans and nutritional diseases:

- Garnsey, Peter. 1999. *Food and Society in Classical Antiquity*, chaps 1 ("Diet") and 4 ("Malnutrition").

Herculaneum is providing some of our fullest evidence for levels of nutrition in the ancient world. This article looks at skeletal remains:

- Bisel, Sara C., and Jane F. Bisel. 2002. "Health and nutrition at Herculaneum: An examination of human skeletal remains," in *The Natural History of Pompeii*, ed. Wilhelmina Jashemski, 451-475.

This report considers a sewer at Herculaneum whose finds are currently being studied:

- http://www.herculaneum.org/hcp-home/pdf/Sewers-Roof_CurrentWorldArchaeology42.pdf

25. Food for soldiers

The evidence of Vindolanda; military food supplies as propaganda; paximada

Sourcebook: 6.4, 6.5, 6.11, 6.14, 6.21, 6.24, 6.25, 6.30, 6.33, 6.34, 6.42, 6.44

A great introduction to our evidence:

- Davies, R. W. 1971. "The Roman Military Diet." *Britannia* 2: 122-142.

Vindolanda, a fort on Hadrian's Wall, provides outstanding evidence for the military diet. Browse Oxford University's excellent Vindolanda website making sure to look at the section on diet and dining for soldiers:

- <http://vindolanda.csad.ox.ac.uk/exhibition/army-6.shtml>

26. Barbarians and the food of "others"; forbidden foods

Greek and Roman self-definition through food choices; characterization of food choices and eating styles as barbarian; food as signifier of barbarism

A classic treatment, from a Roman perspective, of those most barbarous of barbarians, the Huns:

- Ammianus Marcellinus 31.2

A later writer recounts dinner with Attila the Hun:

- Priscus, dining with Huns (<https://legacy.fordham.edu/halsall/source/attila1.asp>)

Plutarch, a Greek writer of the 1st and 2nd centuries AD, composed *Dinner Conversations*, in which speakers discussed topics related to food. One of those was the Jewish abstention from pork:

- Schiffman, Lawrence H. 1998. *Texts and Traditions: A Source Reader for the Study of Second Temple and Rabbinic Judaism*, source no. 5.2.2, 201-202.

Two excellent treatments of foods Greeks and Romans chose not to eat and refused to eat (though others did):

- Garnsey, Peter. 1999. *Food and Society in Classical Antiquity*, chaps. 5 (“Otherness”) and 6 (“Forbidden Foods”).

Parthian chicken (Cookbook p. 132)

27. Food and medicine

Ancient medicine and diet; food for health; the four humours and a balanced diet

- *Sourcebook*: 7.1–7.5; 7.9–7.10; 7.17–7.20

The connection between food and health was popular even outside medical circles:

- Wilkins, John. 2005. “Hygieia at Dinner,” in *Health in Antiquity*, ed. Helen King, 136-149.

Galen is our best source for Greek ideas about food and health. Here are his thoughts on the four humours and food:

- Grant, Mark, tr. 2000. *Galen On Food and Diet*, 14-18.

Here he provides an example of his ideas with a discussion of meat:

- Grant, Mark, tr. 2000. *Galen On Food and Diet*, 154-190.

28. Food and the body

Food and sex, the body and sin; asceticism

- *Sourcebook*: 4.50–4.52; 5.59–5.64

Veronika Grimm’s treatment of the topic is the best around. The following selections are on Sakai, and the book is on reserve for you to browse:

- Grimm, Veronika E. *From Feasting to Fasting, the Evolution of a Sin: Attitudes to Food in Late Antiquity*, introduction and chap. 2 (“The Graeco-Roman Background”).

Garnsey summarizes the shift to asceticism with early Christianity and the emphasis on fasting:

- Garnsey, Peter. 1999. *Food and Society in Classical Antiquity*, 95-98.

Harlow and Smith use archaeological evidence to question the prevalence and frequency of fasting:

- Harlow, Mary, and Wendy Smith. 2001. “Between Fasting and Feasting: The Literary and Archaeobotanical Evidence for Monastic Diet in Late Antique Egypt.” *Antiquity* 75.290: 758-768.