

William S. Bubelis

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EMPLOYMENT

Associate Professor of Classics at Washington University in St. Louis (Assistant Professor: 2007-14)
Curator of the John Max Wulfinf Collection of Ancient Coins and Related Objects (2014-)
Courtesy appointment in Dept. of History (2013-)

EDUCATION

University of Chicago

Ph.D. 2007, Department of Classics; "Dignity and Power: Athenian Sacred Treasurers from Solon to the Persian Wars" Ph.D. diss.

A.M. 1999, Committee on the Ancient Mediterranean World

University of Washington, 1998 *magna cum laude*

B.A. in History (Honors)

B.A. in Greek, Minor in Latin

RESEARCH AND TEACHING INTERESTS

My work aims to elucidate not only the specific histories of certain communities and institutions in ancient Greece (from Athens to Macedon to Cyprus) but also the dynamic intersection between economics, religion, and governance that drove broader developments across the ancient Mediterranean world, c. 750-250. This work involves full engagement not only with literary and historical texts but also with a wide range of archaeological, numismatic, and epigraphic evidence. Of particular interest currently are such topics as the religious topography of fourth-century Athens and the transfer of hero cults across the Peloponnese, as well as matters such as taxation, banking, and fiscal behavior; metrology and denominations; numeracy, monetary habits, and the use of tokens.

HONORS AND FELLOWSHIPS

Sterling and Elizabeth Dow Fellow of the Center for Epigraphical and Palaeographical Studies, at The Ohio State University, May 2011

Elected as Fellow of the American Numismatic Society, 2010

Mrs. Giles Whiting Foundation Doctoral Dissertation Fellowship, 2005-06

Affiliated Doctoral Fellow of the Franke Institute for the Humanities, 2005-06

Edward L. Ryerson Fellowship in Archaeology, Spring 2005

John Williams White Fellow in Classical Archaeology, The American School of Classical Studies
at Athens, 2002-03
Phi Beta Kappa, 1997

PUBLICATIONS

Monograph:

Hallowed Stewards. Solon and the Sacred Treasurers of Athens (University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, MI: 2016), 288pp. ISBN 978-0-472-11942-4

Reviews:

- F. van den Eijnde *Kernos* 31 (2018), 316-18
- G. Marginesu *JHS* 137 (2017), 242-43
- P. J. Rhodes *AJP* 138 (Fall 2017), 555-58
- C. Taylor *CW* 111 (Fall 2017), 156-57
- C. McDonald on-line review for *Classics for All*: <https://classicsforall.org.uk/book-reviews/hallowed-stewards-solon-sacred-treasurers-athens/> (posted Aug. 5, 2016)

(= *SEG* 66.8, 31, 42-44, 52, 59)

Articles (* = Refereed; † = Invited):

- *† “*Ephodia*: Athenian Public Payments for Sacred Ambassadors and Some Implications for Monetary Circulation in Classical Greece” *Journal of Archaeological Numismatics* 10 (2022), 239-56.
- † “The John Max Wulffing Collection of Ancient Coins and Related Objects at Washington University in St. Louis” *International Numismatic Council Compte Rendu* 67 (2021), 62-68; 6 images supplied by author from the John Max Wulffing Collection
- † (with E. Baldi) “The Coins from Mursi, Albania: The Discovery of a New Chaonian Issue” in D. Hernandez and R. Hodges (eds.), *Butrint 7. Beyond Butrint: Kalivo, Mursi, Çuka e Aitoit, Diaporit and the Vrina Plain. Surveys and Excavations in the Pavllas River Valley, Albania, 1928-2016* (Oxford, Oxbow Books: 2020), 272-74.
- † “Imperial Numeracy? Athenian Calculation of Some Imperial Taxes” in T. J. Figueira and S. R. Jensen ed. *Hegemonic Finance. Funding Athenian Domination in the 5th Centuries B.C.* (Classical Press of Wales, Swansea: 2019), 25-53.
- * “The *Agorastikon* in Hellenistic Athens: Not a Market-Tax” in *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 185 (2013), 122-26. (= *SEG* 63.106, 108)
- * † “Inheritance, Priesthoods and Succession in Classical Athens: The *Hierophantai* of the Eumolpidai” in *Families in the Greco-Roman World* R. Laurence and A. Stromberg (eds.) (Continuum Publishers, London: 2012), 95-105.
- * † “Tokens and Imitation in Ancient Athens” *Marburger Beiträge zu antiken Handels-, Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 28 (2011) Peter van Alfen and Mark Lawall (eds.), 171-95.
- * (with G. H. Renberg) “The Epistolary Rhetoric of Zoilos of Aspendos and the Early Cult of Sarapis: Re-reading *P. Cair.Zen. I 59034*” *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 177 (2011), 169-200.
- * “The Sacred Triremes and their *Tamiai* at Athens” *Historia* 59 (4) (2010), 385-411. (= *SEG* 60.50)
- * “An Overstruck Stater of the Cypriot Kingdom of Salamis” *American Journal of Numismatics* 16-17 (2004-05), 1-5, pl. 1.

Reviews and Review Articles:

- Kristin Kleber ed. *Taxation in the Achaemenid Empire* (Wiesbaden: 2021) *Bryn Mawr Classical Reviews* (in preparation)
- † David M. Pritchard, *Public Spending and Democracy in Classical Athens* (Austin, TX: 2015) in *Polis* 35 (2018), 285-93.
- † Nikolaos Papazarkadas, *Sacred and Public Land in Ancient Athens* (Oxford: 2011) in *Bryn Mawr Classical Reviews* 2012 (2012.07.16).
- † ‘Athenian Community and State,’ review article of Paulin Ismard, *La cité des réseaux. Athènes et ses associations VI^e – I^e siècle av. J.-C.* (Paris: 2010) in *Classical Review* 62.1 (2012), 205-07.
- † Katerini Liampi, *Argilos. A Historical and Numismatic Study* (Athens: 2005) in *Numismatic Chronicle* 167 (2007), 315-21.

Other Publications:

- † Entries for *The Herodotus Encyclopedia* (Wiley-Blackwell) (Hoboken, NJ: 2021):
- “Amathus” (250 words, 1p.)
 - “Curium” (100 words, 1p.)
 - “First-Fruits” (500 words, 2pp.)
 - “Measures” (1500 words, 4pp)
 - “Money” (1000 words, 3pp.; 1 image, supplied by author from the John Max Wulffing Collection)
 - “Salamis, Cyprus” (250 words, 1p.)
 - “Soli” (100 words, 1p.)
 - “Stesenor” (100 words, 1p.)
 - “Talent” (750 words, 2pp.)
 - “Timonax” (100 words, 1p.)
 - “Trade” (1000 words, 2pp.)
- † “Circular History” for Center for the Humanities, Washington University in Saint Louis (February 2, 2015)
- † “Taxation and the Ancient Greek Economy” *Iris*, a Classics outreach magazine for state secondary schools in the UK (2014), 53-55.
- † Entries for *Encyclopedia of Ancient History* (Wiley-Blackwell) (2013):
- “Temple Economy” (1000 words, 2pp.)
 - “Archaic and Classical Greek Coinage” (3000 words, 7pp.; 10 images supplied by the American Numismatic Society)
 - “Greek Economy” (3000 words, 5pp.)
- † “Geometric Burial Uncovered at Corinth” *Arkoe* 50 (Summer 2003), 4.

Blog entries for the John Max Wulffing Collection of Ancient Coins and Related Objects website (johnmaxwulffing.wustl.edu/news):

In the Collection: no. 1 “The Inaugural Entry: Pattern and Difference” (May 2021); nos. 2-4: Zeus’ Toes, Parts I-III (March 2022; March 2021—June 2023)

Beyond the Collection: no. 1 “Counting Athena” (April 2021); nos. 2-4 “Counting Athena, Parts II-III” (July, August 2023)

CONFERENCE PAPERS

‘Autonomous and Equal: The Khaones of Epeiros and the Epeirote Koinon in 232/1 BC’ for the XVI International Numismatic Congress (Warsaw, Sept. 2022)

‘Adaptation and Persistence in Piety: Sacred Ships at Hellenistic Athens’ for the XVI Congressus Internationalis Epigraphiae Graecae et Latinae (Bordeaux, Sept. 2022, unable to attend due to health)

- ‘Without Parallel? Bifurcated Duty in the Missions of Athens’ Sacred Triremes’ for the McMullen Naval History Symposium at United States Naval Academy (*to be held in Annapolis, MD, Sept. 24-25, 2021* invited, but unable to attend; paper read *in absentia*)
- ‘Lysias and the Demagogues: The Best Offense is Defense’ for the panel ‘*Classical Athenian Statesmanship and the Specter of Demagogy*’ at the Conference in Classics and Ancient History (*delivered remotely to Coimbra, Portugal, June 22-25, 2021*)
- ‘Private Religious Associations and their Finances on Hellenistic Rhodes: When is a Tax not a Tax?’ at the conference Religion and Cult in the Dodecanese During the 1st Millennium BC: Recent Discoveries and Research Results (Rhodes, October 18-21, 2018)
- ‘Audits and Opportunities: Lessons from the John Max Wulffing Collection at Washington University in St. Louis’ at the XXV ICOMON (International Committee for Money and Banking Museums) Conference (Athens, Oct. 3-6, 2018)
- ‘Siglos and Drakhma: Digital Mapping of Numismatic Metrology from Thrace to Northwestern Anatolia’ at the International Symposium on the Port Cities of the Aegean World: Coins, Seals and Weights in Izmir, Turkey (Nov. 1-2, 2017; paper accepted, but unable to attend)
- ‘Contractual Minting of Coinage on the Aegean Coast of Thrace, c. 490-475?’ for the 13th Congress of Thracology in Kazanlak, Bulgaria (September 3-7, 2017; paper accepted, but unable to attend)
- ‘Some Numismatic Reflections on Local Adaptation to the Athenian *Arkhê*: The Case of Macedonia and Thrace’ at the Celtic Conference in Classics, University of Montreal (July 19-22, 2017; invited, but unable to attend; paper read in absentia)
- ‘Siglos and Drakhma: Mapping the Coin Hoards of the Ancient Aegean’ at the Classics Colloquium, Washington University in St. Louis (April, 2017)
- ‘A Survey of Eion’s Archaic Civic Coinage’ at the XV International Numismatic Congress in Taormina, Sicily (Sept., 2015)
- ‘Cost and Value in Athenian Sacrificial Calendars’ for the panel *From Temple Banks to Patron Gods: Religion, Economy, and the Investigation of Ancient Mediterranean Ritual* organized by the Society for Ancient Mediterranean Religions at the 144th Annual Meeting of the APA (Seattle) (Jan., 2013)
- ‘Squeezing the Stone: The Study of Greek Inscriptions at Washington University’ at the Classics Colloquium, Washington University in St. Louis (Feb., 2012)
- ‘Greek Tokens and the Unraveling of Identity’ at the conference Money and the Evolution of Culture in the Ancient World, Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand (July, 2011)
- ‘Taxation, Coinage, and Tithes in *IG I³ 90*: A New Text, New Questions’ at the ‘Seminar on Athenian Hegemony and Finances’ at the Celtic Conference in Classics, University of Edinburgh (July, 2010) (invited)
- ‘Meat and its Value: Financial Expenditure and Nutritional Benefit at Greek Sacrificial Banquets’ at the conference “Dining Divinely: Banqueting in Honour of the Gods” University of Canterbury, Christchurch, New Zealand (July, 2010).
- ‘Family Matters: Becoming a Hereditary Priest or Priestess in Classical Athens’ at the Classics Colloquium of Washington University in St. Louis (Nov., 2009)
- ‘Not the Oikos: Priesthoods and Succession in Classical Athens’ at the conference “*Oikos – Familia*: The Family in Ancient Greco-Roman society. Framing the Discipline in the 21st century” Götheborg, Sweden (Nov., 2009)
- ‘Symbols, Fraud, and Citizenship in Ancient Greece’ at the Classics Colloquium of Washington University in St. Louis (Nov., 2008)
- ‘Feasts, Patronage, and Divine Treasure: The Spartans and their Gods’ at the Classics Colloquium of Washington University in St. Louis (Nov., 2007)
- ‘Divine Wealth in Early Sparta: Problems and Parallels at the Comparative Approaches to Sparta Conference, Nottingham UK (Sept., 2007)
- ‘From Athletes to Treasurers: Expressions of Power and Prestige in Early Athens’ at Washington University in St. Louis (Feb., 2007)
- ‘Sparta and Sacred Wealth in the Peloponnesian War’ at the Ancient Societies Workshop at The University of Chicago (2006)
- ‘Accounting for Tradition: Sacred Treasurers in Homer and The Early Athenian *Polis*’ at the Ancient Societies Workshop at The University of Chicago (2005)
- ‘The Hero Klaiophoros: Responses to Democratic Accountability in the Hellenistic Peloponnese’ 136th

- Annual Meeting of the APA (Boston) (2005)
- ‘Imperial Boundaries and Commercial Prosopography: The Case of Bankers in Ptolemaic Egypt’ 135th Annual Meeting of the APA (San Francisco) (2004)
- ‘Apoikia, Polis, Emporion, Phrourion: The Settlement at Eion in Thrace’ at the Ancient Societies Workshop at The University of Chicago) (2003)
- ‘Bankers and their Communities in Roman Egypt’ at the Chicago Consortium in Ancient History Colloquium (2001)
- ‘The Treasury Administration of Lydia under King Croesus, 560-546 B.C.’ at the Northwest Regional Conference of Phi Alpha Theta (Boise) (1997)

ARCHAEOLOGICAL FIELDWORK

- Greek Numismatist for University of Notre Dame excavations at Butrint, Albania (2023-)
- Greek Numismatist for University of Texas excavations at Kherson, Ukraine (2008)
- Field excavation at Corinth (Panagia Field; Geometric to Hellenistic), Greece (2003)
- Field excavation at Beth She’an (Late Roman to Umayyad), Israel (1996)

PROFESSIONAL SERVICE:

- Managing Committee of the American School of Classical Studies in Athens (Dec. 2015-)
- Referee for publishers of major monographs and journals in the fields of Classics and ancient history (2010-)
- Referee for major international award-granting institutions in the fields of Classics and ancient history (2014-)
- External Review Board member for Centre for Ancient Numismatics, McMaster University, Windsor, Canada (2021)
- Presided over ‘Attic Oratory’ session at the Annual Meeting for the Society for Classical Studies (January 2019)
- Organizer of panel “Role-playing and Other Interactive Pedagogies in the Teaching of Ancient History,” sponsored by Committee on Ancient History, Society for Classical Studies, New Orleans, LA (2015) [Panel awarded Honorable Mention for Best Session Overall; 3 papers also awarded Honorable Mention]
- External examiner at Knox College for Senior Honors Thesis by L. Madson “Hoplite Ideology: Poetics, Paideia, and Social Structure” (2014)
- Chair, Committee on Ancient History, American Philological Association [now Society for Classical Studies] (2012-13) and member of the Committee (2012-2014)
- External reviewer (‘Key Stakeholder’) for the Classics Programme at Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand (2013)
- Moderator for Panel on Greek Historiography, Meeting of the Classical Association of the Midwest and South, Baton Rouge, LA (March 2012)

UNIVERSITY SERVICE:

- Curator of the John Max Wulffing Coin Collection of Ancient Coins and Related Objects (2014-)
- Member of Committees to choose speakers for George Mylonas annual lectures (2015-) and for the Biggs Residency (2014-)
- Advisory Committee to the Director, Kemper Art Museum (2014-17)
- Faculty Associate for Eliot House freshmen (2013-2014)
- Neureuther Prize Committee (2012)

DEPARTMENTAL SERVICE:

Director of Undergraduate Studies (2015-2017, 2018-21)
 Faculty Co-ordinator for University College (2011-14)
 Departmental liaison to bibliographer for Classics at Olin Library (2008-12)
 Faculty Co-ordinator for Classics Colloquium series (2009-10)

Academic Advising at Washington University:

PhD Dissertations:

Member of Dissertation Committee:

2013 T. Huntsman (Dept. of Art and Archaeology) on Etruscan funerary urns
 2013 G. McClelland (Dept. of Art and Archaeology) on childhood and the funerary monuments of Roman Athens

PhD Examinations:

2020 J. Meyer (Dept. of History) on ancient Mediterranean history and empire
 2018 K. Karathanasis (Dept. of Classics) on comprehensive knowledge of classical literature
 2017 M. Mendez (Dept. of History) on ancient Mediterranean history and economy

MA Theses in Classics:

Director:

2023-24 J. Pawlush on Debt and law at late classical Ephesos
 2023-24 P. Register on Lysimakhos' coinage at the Hellespont
 2022-23 S. Doleno on Nero's Alexandrian Coinage: The Olympic Series of 66/67 and 67/68 CE and its Achaean Context
 2015-16 J. Morgan on riverine geography in the *Argonautika* of Apollonios Rhodios
 2014-15 J. Dopico on the Roman imperial iconography of Homer

Reader:

2010-11 M. Claiborne on the Gracchan agrarian reform and the Italians

Senior Honors Theses in Classics:

Director:

2023-24 A. Nunez on Dialect and Rhetoric in Thucydides
 2022-23 E. Karageorgiou on the Syrian silver coinage of Kleopatra VII and M. Antony
 2021-22 E. Ten Eyck on maintenance of religious sanctuaries in early Roman Attica
 2019-20 P. Satterthwaite on the so-called Thasian Peiraia and its economic dimensions across the northern Aegean during the classical period
 2017-18 R. Clark on the production and economy of purple dye from shellfish from Bronze Age Greece to Roman-era Phoenicia
 2014-15 L. Dorn on cardiovascular and anatomy and disease in the treatises of Erasistratos and Galen—thesis awarded *summa cum laude*
 2014-15 J. Trosch on Spartan legal philosophy and militarism—thesis awarded *magna cum laude*
 2011-12 J. Moynihan on Pretrial Procedure in Athenian Courts—thesis awarded *summa cum laude*

2009-10 N. Lam on Alexander the Great in the works of Plutarch and Arrian—thesis awarded *summa cum laude*

2009-10 M. Rosen on Religion and Prognostication in Greek Medicine—thesis awarded *summa cum laude*

Reader:

2015-16 C. Cotton on *polis* formation and the temples of Hera at Argos and Samos

2009-10 P. Katz on the Romanization of Sicily

2009-10 C. Sackett on Achilles and Patroklos in Aristarkhos

TEACHING:

Courses designed and taught at Washington University in St. Louis:

‘Lysias’ (Greek 560)

‘Thucydides’ (Greek 520)

‘Greek Epigraphy’ (Greek 510)

‘Graduate Readings in Ancient History’ (Classics 500)

‘Monetary Circulation and Commercial Structure in Classical Athens’ (Classics 493)

‘Olympian Shadows: Macedon and its Neighbors in Antiquity’ (Classics 4763)

‘Money, Exchange, and Power: Society and Economy of the Ancient Mediterranean World’ (Classics 476)

‘Topics in Greek Poetry: Verse Inscriptions’ (Greek 437)

‘Topics in Ancient Studies: Hellenistic Athens’ (Classics 4361/5360)

‘Topics in Ancient Studies: The Persian Empire and the Sea’ (Classics 4361/5360)

‘Sacred Ways and Holy Spaces: Athenian Religion and Topography (Classics 408)

‘Ancient Greek Numismatics’ (Classics 4011/5011)

‘Independent Study: Alexander the Great and the Ancient Economy’ (Classics 400)

‘Independent Study: Ancient Agriculture’ (Classics 400)

‘Independent Study: Ancient Persia and the Balkans’ (Classics 400)

‘Freshmen Seminar: Power and Persuasion: The Courts and Laws of Ancient Athens’ (Classics 176)

Other courses taught at Washington University in St. Louis:

‘Attic Orators’ (Greek 432/5320)

‘Introduction to Greek Literature: Plato, Homer’ (Greek 317, 318)

‘Intensive Beginning Greek I, II’ (Greek 190, 210)

‘Beginning Greek’ (Greek 101-02)

‘The Roman Republic’ (Classics 341)

‘Greek History: Archaic and Classical’ (Classics 345)

‘Greek History: Age of Alexander’ (Classics 346)

‘Not Members of This Club: Women and Slaves in the Greco-Roman World’ (Classics 240)

‘Introduction to Latin Literature I’ (Latin 301)

‘Writing about the Ancient World’ (Classics 375W—concurrent with other courses)

Additional Seminar Presentations at Washington University and Regional Institutions (where noted): (= also physically employing objects in the John Max Wulff Collection of Ancient Coins and Related Objects)*

- 'The Greek Historians' for Anthropology 1037/History 1037 at University of Missouri Saint Louis (Oct. 2023)
- 'The John Max Wulffing Collection of Ancient Coins and Related Objects' for the American Numismatic Society's Long Table no. 47 (May 2021) (with Elena Baldi)
- *'Coinage in Cleopatra's Egypt: Money, Style, and Power' for Art and Archaeology of Cleopatra's Egypt Art History and Archaeology 3212 (= Classics 3212), November 2018
- 'The Ancient Historian' for Research and Publication on the Greco-Roman World (Classics 502), November 2018
- *'Coinage and Monetary Accounting in Egypt from the Achaemenids to the Sassanids' for the Summer Institute of Papyrology (American Society of Papyrologists), July 2018
- *'*Speculum Nummorum*: Ancient Greek and Roman Society as Reflected in The John Max Wulffing Collection of Coins' for the 50th Anniversary Reunion of Washington University Alumni (Class of 1968), May 2018
- *'A Survey of Roman Coinage: Style, Iconography and Economy' for Roman Art and Archaeology 334 (= Classics 334), April 2017
- 'Ritual Pollution among the Ancient Greeks' given as Discussant in Political Theory Workshop for paper by Larry May 'Crime, Pollution, and Societal Harm in Ancient Greek Legal Thought,' January 2017
- 'Ancient History, and the Disciplines of Epigraphy, Papyrology, and Numismatics' for Research and Publication on the Greco-Roman World (Classics 502), October 2016
- *'A Conspectus of Roman Coinage: Between Iconography and Value' for Roman Art and Archaeology 334 (= Classics 334), April 2016
- *'Historical and Art-historical Developments in the History of Roman Coinage' for students at Illinois State University (Prof. Lea Cline: ART 367: Greek Art and Architecture) (via Skype), April 2015
- *'Numismatics and Classics: The John Max Wulffing Collection' for Research and Publication on the Greco-Roman World (Classics 502), November 2014
- *'Ptolemaic Coinage, Cleopatra, and Mark Antony' for Freshman Seminar 'The World of Cleopatra' (Classics 1135), November 2014
- 'Classics and Ancient History: Inscriptions and Thucydides' Sicilian Expedition' for Research and Publication on the Greco-Roman World (Classics 502), October 2014
- 'Dareios, Achaemenid Kingship and The Revolt of Bardiya' for Herodotus (Greek 430), April 2014
- *'Numismatics and Classics' for Research and Publication on the Greco-Roman World (Classics 502), November 2012
- 'Classics and Ancient History' for Research and Publication on the Greco-Roman World (Classics 502), October 2012
- 'How Exceptional was the Athenian Democracy? Another Look at Aristotle on Slavery' for the Democracy and Citizenship Program, led by Profs. A. Rehfeld and I. MacMullen, March 2010
- 'Thucydides and his Melian Dialogue' for Honorary Scholars Program, led by Asst. Dean E. Harrison, February 2010
- 'Greek and Latin Epigraphy' for Research and Publication on the Greco-Roman World (Classics 502), October 2008
- *'Greek and Roman Numismatics' for Research and Publication on the Greco-Roman World (Classics 502), October 2008
- 'Governors and their Epigraphic Echoes in Roman Asia Minor' for 'Being a Roman Governor' (Latin 520), November 2008
- 'The Resonance of Achaemenid Practices in Herodotus' for 'Herodotus' (Greek 430), October 2007

COMMUNITY SEMINARS AND PRESENTATIONS:

- 'The 'Freedom of the Greeks' in Antiquity, and True Freedom in Christ' for Assumption Parish of the Greek Orthodox Church in Saint Louis (October 2017)
- *'Roman Imperial Portraiture: Style and Significance on Roman Coins in the Age of Augustus, and Some Observation on Eastern Mints' for the Classical Club of St. Louis (October 2017)
- *'From Alexander the Great to Domitius Domitianus: Seven Centuries of Ancient Egyptian Coinage' for the Classical Club of St. Louis (October 2015)
- 'Ancient Athens and its Coins' for the Gifted Resource Council's Ancient Academy students (grades 3-8), St. Louis, Missouri (July 2014)
- 'Greek Olives and Olive Oil: A Brief Culinary History' for 'Extra Virgin, An Olive Ovation' located in Clayton, Missouri (March 2012).