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Sculpted Symposiasts of Ionia

ELIZABETH P. BAUGHAN

Abstract

Statues and statuettes of reclining banqueters were dedicated at several Ionian sanctuaries during the sixth century B.C.E., beginning with the Geneleos Group at the Samian Heraion. Though common for small bronze and terracotta sculpture, this figure type is not otherwise attested in monumental dedicatory sculpture and is rare as architectural decoration elsewhere in archaic Greece. This article explores the social implications of this Ionian sculptural tradition, which paired the luxury of the reclining banquet with bodily corpulence, in light of archaic poetry and Samian history. The short-lived trend of reclining banqueter dedications may be understood as a locally specific type of aristocratic self-definition and an Ionian corollary to burials on klinai (banquet couches) in neighboring western Asiatic dynastic cultures. These sculptures also challenge conventional distinctions between private and cultic banqueting and illuminate the place of sympotic culture in archaic Ionian sanctuaries and the social implications of East Greek sculptural style.*

INTRODUCTION

The image of the reclining symposiast is so familiar from its many occurrences on Greek vases, Etruscan tomb walls, and later funerary reliefs that its appearance in freestanding sculpture may seem to have been inevitable. But, in fact, it was only in archaic Ionia that the type was used for marble dedicatory sculpture, including both life-sized figures and smaller statuettes. The reclining figure of the Geneleos Group, set up along the Sacred Way before the entrance to the Heraion of Samos ca. 560 B.C.E., may be the earliest example of this sculptural type and is by far the most well known today, being one of the few archaic

monuments attributable to a particular sculptor (figs. 1–3; see appx.). It also offers one of the most elegant displays of East Greek sculptural style, with doughy contours and low-relief folds that gather beneath the belly like poured chocolate sauce, as Boardman has observed.¹ At least nine additional marble statues and statuettes depicting reclining banqueters, whether alone or part of a larger sculptural group, were dedicated at Samos and other sanctuaries in Ionia over the remainder of the sixth century.

This Ionian sculptural phenomenon was identified by several scholars in the 1970s,² but apart from observations that the reclining posture was likely a “status symbol” for East Greek men, the social significance of the type has yet to be explored.³ The Samian examples have been adduced in discussions of ritual banqueting at the Heraion, as possible representations of *alfresco* cultic dining,⁴ but the others have not been integrated into such questions, and even the inscribed figure from Myous (cat. no. 6) has not received much scholarly attention;⁵ and in the last few decades, several more specimens have been recognized in museum storerooms (cat. nos. 7 [Fragment B], 9, 10). This article examines these sculptures against artistic parallels, archaic poetry, and Samian history to explore some of the many questions they raise: Whom do they represent? What is the significance of their lack of banqueting furniture, or klinai? To what kind of banqueting—cultic or private—do they allude, and is such a distinction even valid for the Archaic period? Why were they dedicated, and what can they tell us about the place of sympotic culture in archaic Ionia?

* Preliminary thoughts on this topic were presented at the 107th Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America (6 January 2006) and in a chapter of the author's dissertation (Baughan 2004, 225–48), but this article supersedes both, having benefited greatly from discussion with audiences at the University of Richmond and the University of Indiana and from firsthand examination of the Myous sculptures in Berlin in 2008. I thank Volker Kästner for granting me access to fragments in storage at the Pergamon Museum and the University of Richmond Faculty Research Committee for supporting my work there. I am also indebted to all the mentors and colleagues with whom I have discussed these sculptures and the questions they raise, including Crawford H. Greenewalt, Jr., Andrew Stewart, Leslie Kurke, Adam Rabinowitz, Tyler Jo Smith, Kathleen Lynch, Marcus Folch, and

Julie Laskaris. I am especially grateful to the anonymous reviewers for the *AJA* and Editor-in-Chief Naomi J. Norman for helpful comments on earlier drafts. All translations are by the author unless otherwise noted.

¹ Boardman 1978, 70.

² Fehr 1971, 120–23; Freyer-Schauenburg 1974, 120–21; Jeffery 1976, pl. 45; Tuchelt 1976, 60–6; see also Dentzer 1982, 157, 161–63; Fuchs and Floren 1987, 376; Ridgway 1993, 198–99; Fehr 2000, 121; Keesling 2003, 181; Bumke 2004, 88; Kistler 2004, 170.

³ Ridgway 1993, 198. Similarly, see Tuchelt 1976, 63–6; Kiderlen and Strocka 2006, 70–2.

⁴ Kron 1988.

⁵ Pace Day 2000; Keesling 2003.



Fig. 1. Reconstruction of the Geneleos Group near the entrance to the Heraion of Samos, with plaster casts.

Is their corpulence merely a symptom of regional style, or may it carry social significance? The terms “symposion” and “sympotic” here refer to the social institution of elite, predominantly male gatherings centering on the ritualized consumption of wine. It is suggested that this distinctive figure type served as a vehicle of self-expression for elite Ionians in the sixth century and illuminates the sympotic aspects of sanctuary feasting in archaic Ionia. These sculptures challenge the traditional dichotomy between cultic and domestic banqueting and may reflect a time before such a distinction became important, when symposia could take place not only in private homes but also in sanctuary spaces.

THE GENELEOS GROUP

The earliest example of this figure type is *-arches*, the nearly life-sized reclining figure in the Geneleos Group from Samos (see figs. 1–3; cat. no. 1).⁶ Its plinth occupied the rightmost position on a long base for a statue group that included three korai, a draped youth with aulos, and an enthroned woman. A dedicatory



Fig. 2. Reclining figure in the Geneleos Group, front and rear views (cat. no. 1). Vathy, Archaeological Museum of Samos, inv. no. 768 (G. Welter; © DAI Athens, Samos 161, 315).

⁶The chronology presented here follows Tuchelt 1970, 1976; Freyer-Schauenburg 1974. Fuchs and Floren (1987, 347, 376) place the examples from Didyma and Miletos earlier than the Geneleos Group (ca. 570–560) and so argue that Geneleos combined established figure types in an innovative family group. For the association of the aulos fragment with this group, see Walter-Karydi 1985, 91–5.

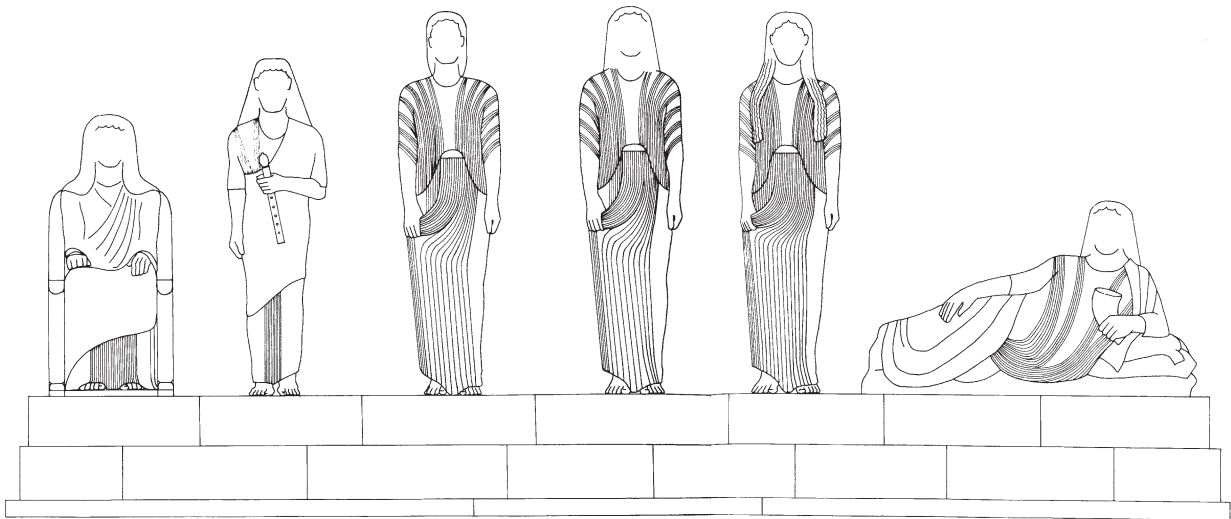


Fig. 3. Geneleos Group, reconstruction drawing (Walter-Karydi 1985, fig. 4).

inscription on the worn marble cushion on which the figure reclines reads, in retrograde:⁷

...]άρχης ἡμε[ᾱ]ς κα[ν]έθηκε τῇ Ἥρῃ

-arches dedicated us to Hera.

Since some figures carry inscribed names while the reclining figure does not, it is logical to conclude that the inscription on the mattress serves both to signal the dedication and to identify the figure reclining above it.⁸ The reading of the name, however, is controversial, inextricably tied to the questionable identification of the figure as male or female, owing to its full bosom. It was first identified, by Buschor, as “eine gelagerte Matrone” and priestess of Hera.⁹ Buschor read the name as -οχη,¹⁰ but there is consensus now for -αρχης.¹¹ Those who still believe the figure represents a woman have accounted for the masculine ending (-ης) by suppos-

ing that the word is a cult title (e.g., *agelarches*, “leader of a band”) rather than a personal name, and that the figures represent a group of priestesses.¹²

Whether *-arches* refers to a name or priestly title, iconographic details support a male identification.¹³ The long-haired figure wears a lightweight, short-sleeved chiton under a heavier himation that drapes over the back from the left shoulder to the right hip, resting over the knees and lower legs (see fig. 2, bottom). The lighter full-length chiton protrudes beneath the hem of the himation on the back of the ankles. Long chitons were evidently standard male attire in archaic Ionia,¹⁴ and it is probably not coincidental that in Homeric poetry, Ionians are described as ἐλκεχίτωνες, “with dragging chitons.”¹⁵ The figure’s posture, too, suggests the male world of sympotic banqueting. Reclining while banqueting was normally a male social privilege in ancient Greece.¹⁶ When women are shown reclining in Greek art, they are usually in the company

⁷ IG 12 6² 559; Freyer-Schauenburg 1974, 122–23, pl. 53; see also Dunst 1972, 132–35; Jeffery 1990, 329 n. 3, 341, no. 6.

⁸ Fehr 1971, 120; 2000, 121; Freyer-Schauenburg 1974, 116, pls. 46, 47, 53; Keesling 2003, 19.

⁹ Buschor 1934b, 28.

¹⁰ Buschor 1934b, 28; Simon 1986, 101 n. 113.

¹¹ Himmelmann-Wildschütz 1963; Freyer-Schauenburg 1974, 122–23; Ridgway 1987, 404; 1993, 198, 209–10 n. 5.25; Stewart 1990, 117; Löhr 2000, 16. Others read *-ilarches*, following Dunst 1972, 132–34 (Walter-Karydi 1985, 9; Fuchs and Floren 1987, 346; Fehr 2000, 124; Bumke 2004, 83; Kistler 2004, 168; Kolbe 2006, 148). For *-narche*, see Jeffery 1990, 329 n. 3.

¹² Dunst 1972, 133–34; Schanz 1980, 17–18. Others read *-arches* as the end of a cult title but still identify the figure as male (Simon 1986, 87, 369; Fuchs and Floren 1987, 346). No

personal names ending in *-arches* are listed in the index of Jeffery 1990.

¹³ Himmelmann-Wildschütz 1963; Kleemann 1969, 58; Freyer-Schauenburg 1974, 116–18.

¹⁴ Bieber 1967, 26–7, pl. 8.1; Tuchelt 1976, 64; Özgan 1978, 98; Barletta 1987, 236; Miller 1992, 99; infra n. 129. For this fashion in Attic vase painting, explained variously as effeminizing or eastern, see Kurtz and Boardman 1986; Frontisi-Ducroux and Lissarrague 1990; Price 1990; Kurke 1992, 97–8; Miller 1999; DeVries 2000.

¹⁵ Hom. *Il.* 13.685; *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* 147; see also Asius fr. 13; Thuc. 3.104; Tuchelt 1976, 65; Geddes 1987, 307.

¹⁶ Cic. *Verr.* 1.66; Dem. *Against Neaera* 33; Isae. 3.14; Dentzer 1982, 432; Simon 1986, 87; Reinsberg 1989; Kurke 1997; Burton 1998.

of male symposiasts and so identified as hetairai, an unlikely explanation in this setting.¹⁷ The wineskin that serves as a pillow supporting the left elbow also suggests a sympotic context,¹⁸ and the crescent-shaped object held in the left hand, before the chest, is most likely a drinking horn (see fig. 3). It was originally identified as a bird,¹⁹ but its shape more closely approximates a rhyton or *keras*, the most common attribute for reclining male figures, in both large- and small-scale East Greek sculpture.²⁰ Unusual, however, is its apparent orientation, with the narrow end up and the wider (open) end pointing down. This placement could suggest that the vessel was “empty” and therefore prized for its material rather than its contents, or it could signify that its contents have been consumed; alternatively, the object scar may not correspond to its full three-dimensional shape.²¹

The figure of *-arches* is therefore a male banqueter, and the group as a whole may be a sort of family portrait, with the seated lady (wife/mother) balancing the reclining male (husband/father), with three korai and a draped youth holding an aulos.²² This may be either a family enjoying a cult banquet in the Heraion²³ or, less literally, a depiction of each member of the family in his or her own particular means of worship or service to the goddess—the mother enthroned as a priestess, the daughters lifting their dresses aside for

a ritual dance to the accompaniment of an aulos, and the father reclining at a cult meal.²⁴ The question of compositional unity turns both on our reading of the aulos—does it accompany the banquet or the dance, or perhaps both?²⁵—and on the vexed question of whether families celebrated ritual banquets together at the Heraion.²⁶ Another alternative is that each family member is shown engaged in a typical activity or ideal pose, whether or not related to cult worship;²⁷ for an elite male in the Archaic period, this was banqueting, whether in a sanctuary or in a private context.²⁸

OTHER RECLINING STATUES AND STATUETTES IN ARCHAIC IONIA

In the decades following the dedication of the Geneleos Group, two additional monumental statues of reclining banqueters may have been set up at the Samian Heraion. One is attested by two large fragments, from the legs and torso of a long-haired figure wearing a long chiton and himation and leaning on the left elbow (fig. 4; cat. no. 2). Like *-arches*, this figure holds a curved object in the left hand, before the chest. In this case, the curved object terminates in a flat edge at the top and is more readily identified as a drinking horn. Another probable reclining figure of monumental scale from Samos is represented by a marble fragment in the form of a folded pillow (fig. 5; cat. no. 3).²⁹

¹⁷ Freyer-Schauenburg 1974, 119. For controversial “Het-ärensypnosien,” see Peschel 1987, 70–4, 110–12; Reinsberg 1989, 112–14; Csapo and Miller 1991, 380; Burton 1998, 152; Kurke 1999, 205–8; Ferrari 2002, 19–20; Topper 2009, 21. Isolated examples of reclining women in small-scale bronze and terracotta sculpture are not yet fully understood; some have been identified as hetairai or goddesses, and others may represent ritual banqueting or nuptial ceremonies (Jantzen 1937, pls. 2.8, 2.9; Fehr 1971, 124, nos. 541–43; Bell 1981, nos. 85–94, 478, 483; Viereis-Schlörb 1997, 316, no. 117, pl. 24; Kilker 2009).

¹⁸ Freyer-Schauenburg 1974, 116; Walter-Karydi 1985, 95–7. For the distinction of wineskins from other pillows, see Möbius 1964.

¹⁹ Buschor 1934b, 27–8; Freyer-Schauenburg 1974, 118–19, pl. 45; cf., e.g., Freyer-Schauenburg 1974, nos. 20, 21A/B, pl. 11.

²⁰ Tuchelt 1976, 57 n. 2; Walter-Karydi 1985, 95; Fuchs and Floren 1987, 347; Ridgway 1993, 199; Bumke 2004, 84. Even Schanz (1980, 17–18), who maintains that the figure is female, admits that the object “could possibly be a rhyton.”

²¹ Walter-Karydi (1985, fig. 4) restores a *keras* held in canonical, upright fashion. No parallels for the opposite orientation of a drinking horn in Greek art are known to the author, with the possible exception of a hand fragment from Samos (infra n. 29). A Minoan rhyton is carried upside down in a tribute scene in the Tomb of Menkheperreseneb at Thebes; Kieser (2005, 161) has suggested that this placement was meant to show its inherent value; see also Koehl 2006, 247–48, 343–44 (with earlier references).

²² Walter-Karydi 1985, 94.

²³ Walter-Karydi 1985, 98–9; Fuchs and Floren 1987, 346–47, 376; Day 1994, 46; Kolbe 2006, 149. Ridgway (1993, 210 n. 5.25) raises the possibility that the youth could be a “hired man for the ritual banquet or dance.”

²⁴ von Steuben 1989; Kienast 1992, 29; Matthäus 1999–2000, 43–4.

²⁵ Walter-Karydi (1985, 95) and Stewart (1990, 117) both read the aulos as an attribute of the banquet (infra n. 152).

²⁶ Kron (1988) presents compelling evidence for ritual outdoor feasts in the Heraion, but there is no indication that these were family affairs, unless we read representations of men and women reclining together on Attic and Lakonian black-figure vases found there as scenes tailored for a Samian audience, as Pipili (1998, 90) suggests for cups by the KX and Arkesilas painters (infra n. 152). For the question of mixed dining, see Bookidis 1990, 91; 1993, 49–51, 57 n. 2; Kilker 2009.

²⁷ Fehr 2000, 124; Bumke 2004, 88.

²⁸ For the blurring of this distinction in the Archaic period, see Goldstein 1978, 4; Walter-Karydi 1985, 98–101; Schmitt-Pantel 1990, 1992; Stein-Hölkeskamp 1992.

²⁹ A marble fragment of a hand holding a horn, now lost, associated with fragments of a bare torso and attributed to Geneleos, could have belonged to another monumental reclining figure, but other interpretations (lyre player, archer, Theseus with Minotaur) are equally plausible (Buschor 1934a, 16–17, figs. 47–51; 1935, 59, fig. 226; Schmidt 1971, 31–2, pls. 16.1, 16.2; Freyer-Schauenburg 1974, 130–35, no. 64A/B, pls. 53, 54; Ridgway 1993, 90, 116 n. 3.70, 433; 2005).



Fig. 4. Reclining figure with drinking horn (cat. no. 2). Vathy, Archaeological Museum of Samos, inv. no. I 142a, b (© DAI Athens, Samos 320).

Around the same time (ca. 540–530), the type also appeared in monumental form at Didyma. From the Temple of Apollo, fragments belonging to two under-life-sized reclining banqueters were excavated and later lost.³⁰ One was rediscovered in 1974, and part of an additional, life-sized reclining figure was found in a nearby field that same year.³¹ The newly discovered figure (fig. 6; cat. no. 4), like those from Samos, is fully draped and holds a drinking horn. The rediscovered figure (fig. 7; cat. no. 5) is more fragmentary but evidently was bare-chested and held a grape cluster and drinking horn. Owing to its small scale and the treatment of its undersurface with anathyrosis, Tuchelt has suggested that it may have served as architectural sculpture,³² but anathyrosis could also have been used to prepare the bottom of a sculpture for placement on its plinth.

Three marble reclining figures on a smaller scale (best considered large statuettes) come from Myous, near Miletos, and are now in Berlin (cat. nos. 6–8). All have been dated stylistically to the mid or late sixth century. Their original findspots are not known, but one carries an inscription that proclaims its dedication

to Apollo, for whom there was evidently a sanctuary at Myous.³³ The dedication reads, in boustrophedon across the figure's chest:³⁴

Ἑρμῶνάξ με καὶ τ[ὸ] τ[έ]κνον ἀνέθεσαν δεκάτην ἔργων
τῶ[ι] Ἀπόλλωνι

Hermonax and his son(?) dedicated me [as] a tenth of [their] works to Apollo.

This figure also wears a long chiton with a himation draped loosely around the back and holds a large cup that looks remarkably like a modern beer mug (fig. 8; cat. no. 6).³⁵ The second large statuette from Myous

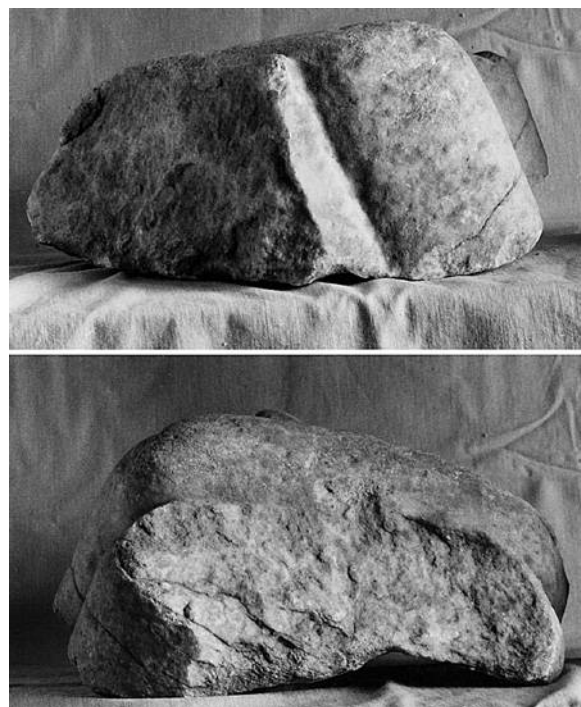


Fig. 5. Fragment of a sculpted pillow from Samos (cat. no. 3), two views. Samos, Heraion Depot (© DAI Athens, UJL 360/3, UJL 360/4).

³⁰ Tuchelt 1970, 66–7, nos. K34, K35; 1976, 60; Freyer-Schauenburg 1974, 120.

³¹ Tuchelt 1976. The other (Tuchelt 1970, no. K35) remains missing.

³² Tuchelt 1976, 61.

³³ Marble blocks found reused in the Theater of Miletos, including one with an inscription to Apollo Terminus, may be from Myous but are Hellenistic in date (Weber 1965, 47; 1967, 140; *infra* n. 79).

³⁴ SEG 34 1189; Jeffery 1976, pl. 45; 1990, 473, no. 39a; Bravo 1984, 115–16. Blümel (1963, 63) read the middle portion as “κα... ευνον” and inferred that the last letters completed a personal name, probably that of Hermonax’s wife; Jeffery (1976, pl. 45) read “... ξυνον.” Close examination of the letter forms

under raking light supports Bravo’s (1984, 116) reading, “καὶ τὸ [τ]έκνον,” though the omicron in τὸ could not be discerned by the author before the break in the middle of the statuette, where the two fragments have been joined with a restoration.

³⁵ In unpublished notes, Jeffery identified the figure simply as “Drinker, holding beer mug” (Anne Jeffery Archive, no. 1311 [http://poinikastas.csad.ox.ac.uk/]). Comparable one-handed deep cups with flaring profile, though not quite as tall, have been found in seventh-century contexts at Samos (Vierneisel and Walter 1959, Beilagen 39.6–8, 40.8), and the flared mug, though not as common as other ceramic cup shapes, persisted through Mycenaean, Etruscan, Attic, and later pottery (e.g., *BAPD*, nos. 9012699, 9014984, 9015863, 9018350).

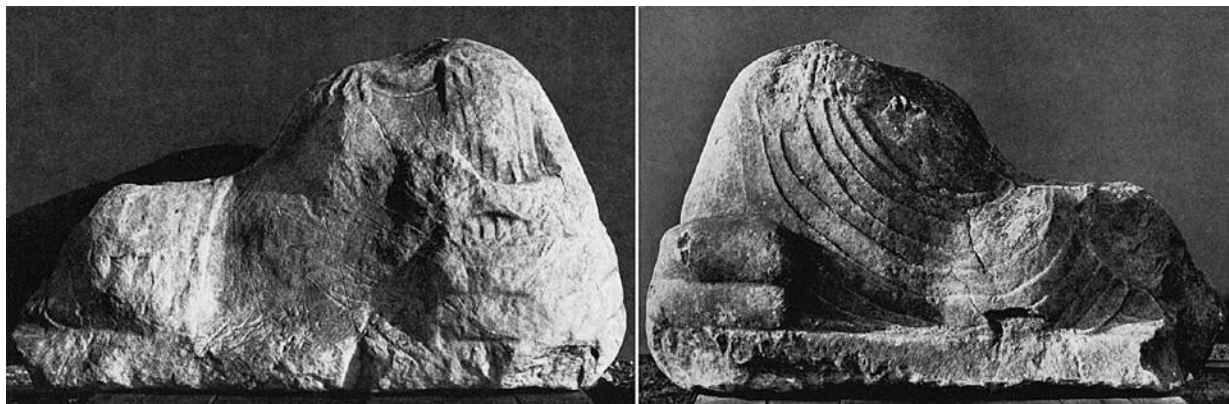


Fig. 6. Life-sized reclining figure with drinking horn, front and rear views (cat. no. 4). Didyma, Didyma Excavation Depot, inv. no. S105 (Tuchelt 1976, figs. 1, 2).

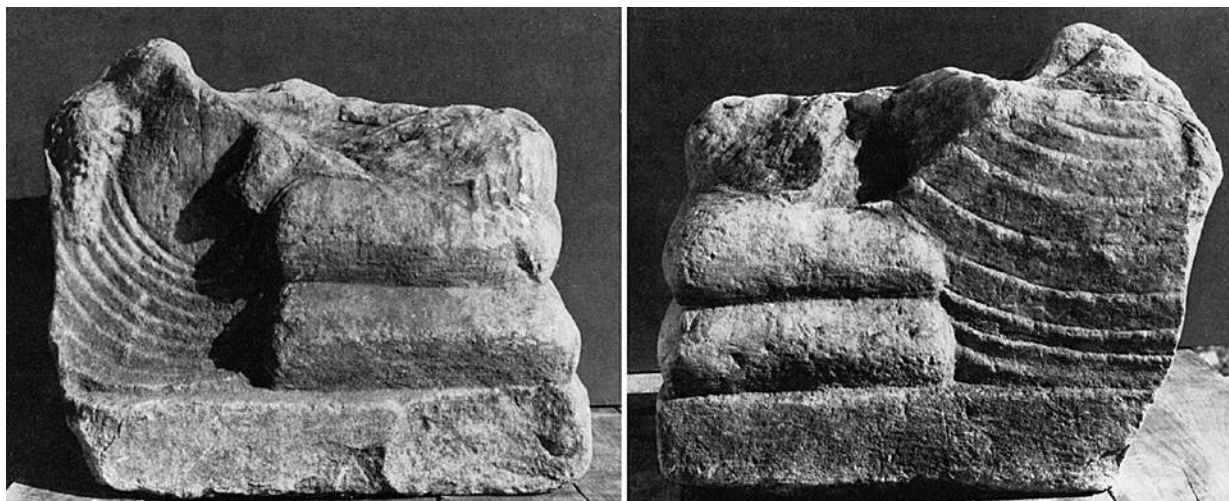


Fig. 7. Fragment of an under-life-sized reclining figure with grapes and drinking horn, front and rear views (cat. no. 5). Didyma, Didyma Excavation Depot, inv. no. S106 (Tuchelt 1976, figs. 4, 5).

is similar, though uninscribed and without a drinking vessel preserved (figs. 9–11; cat. no. 7). Similarities in drapery, workmanship, form of pillow and plinth, marble type, and dimensions allow for the possibility that catalogue numbers 6 and 7 may have been associated with each other in a sculptural group.³⁶ The third statuette from Myous (fig. 12; cat. no. 8) is somewhat larger and reclines to a greater degree than the others, with the whole left side of the torso as well as the outstretched legs completely supported by the cushion below. It, too, wears a full-length chiton with himation

draped over the shoulders and across the back. This figure has been dated slightly later than the others, to the second half of the sixth century, owing to its more fluid rendering of bodily forms.³⁷

Two archaic marble fragments in the Miletos Sculpture Depot belong to two other reclining banqueters from the vicinity, though their exact findspots are uncertain: the back of a small reclining statuette, which may have come from Myous, since it is stored with items from Wiegand's excavations (fig. 13; cat. no. 9); and a life-sized bare foot relaxed over a curved,

³⁶ Length cannot be exactly compared, since neither figure is completely preserved and each exists in two fragments, but the distance from the bottom of the plinth to the top of the

shoulder varies by only ca. 0.01 m.

³⁷ Fuchs and Floren 1987, 376; Kiderlen and Strocka 2006, 70.



Fig. 8. Statuette from Myous dedicated by Hermonax (cat. no. 6). Berlin, Staatliche Museen, inv. no. 1673 (© Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz/Art Resource, NY).

mattresslike plinth, with the hem of a long chiton surrounding the heel (fig. 14; cat. no. 10). The latter probably came from Miletos, Didyma, or the Sacred Way connecting the city and the sanctuary. The genre of reclining banqueter dedications thus appeared in several different Ionian sanctuaries by the middle of the sixth century, but its brief floruit appears to have ended by ca. 500.³⁸

RECLINING BANQUETERS IN ARCHAIC IMAGERY

The reclining banqueter motif has been the subject of numerous studies.³⁹ A Near Eastern origin has been assumed, though the Garden Party relief of Ashurbanipal (fig. 15), long heralded as the progenitor of the type, no longer occupies chronological primacy; if the recent redating of some Cypro-Phoenician bowls (e.g., fig. 16) to the eighth or early seventh century is correct, these now provide the earliest known representations of reclining banqueters, and they are concurrent with the earliest literary testimonia for such dining.⁴⁰ By the end of the seventh century, the motif occurs in Etruscan and Corinthian art.⁴¹ In the eastern Aegean and western Asia Minor, *-arches* provides our earliest visual attestation of the practice, though it is celebrated by East Greek poets of the seventh century and is suggested also by sanctuary dining rooms equipped with klinai in the late seventh century.⁴² In much of the archaic Greek world, representations of reclining banqueters were generally confined to scenes painted on pottery used in symposia and small-scale figures of bronze and terracotta (e.g., figs. 17, 18); the bronzes



Fig. 9. Fragment of a reclining statuette from Myous (cat. no. 7 [Fragment A]). Berlin, Staatliche Museen, inv. no. 1674 (© Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz/Art Resource, NY).



Fig. 10. Fragment of a reclining statuette from Myous (cat. no. 7 [Fragment B]). Berlin, Staatliche Museen, inv. no. V3-91 (© Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz/Art Resource, NY).

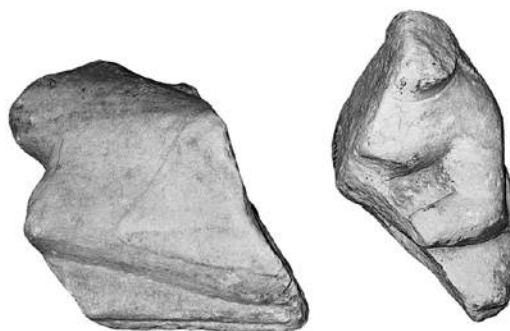


Fig. 11. Two fragments from Myous (cat. no. 7). Berlin, Staatliche Museen, inv. nos. 1674, V3-91.

³⁸ A similar marble statuette from Proconnesus seems to be an archaizing Roman version of the type (Kleemann 1969).

³⁹ Most notably Thönges-Stringaris 1965; Dentzer 1971, 1982; Fehr 1971.

⁴⁰ Fehr 1971, 7–25, 128; Dentzer 1982, 51–5, 72–6, fig. 90; Markoe 1985, 149–56, nos. Cr 8, Cy 5, 6, 13; Matthäus 1999–2000, 47–59; Baughan 2004, 193–98; Kolbe 2006, 145–46.

⁴¹ Fehr 1971, 28; Dentzer 1982, 78–81; Boardman 1990, 125; Baughan 2004, 26, 210. An Etruscan cinerary urn with a reclining figure on the lid (Torelli 2001, no. 193 [ca. 630–620]) predates the earliest Greek examples.

⁴² Fehr 1971, 26; Boardman 1990, 124; Matthäus 1999–2000, 42–3; Baughan 2004, 207–10; Franklin 2007, 197; Leybold 2008, 15–18, 202.



Fig. 12. Statuette of a reclining figure from Myous (cat. no. 8). Berlin, Staatliche Museen, inv. no. 1672 (© Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz/Art Resource, NY).

were usually attached to kraters,⁴³ and the terracottas have been found in votive deposits and funerary contexts.⁴⁴ A few archaic reliefs showing reclining male banqueters and seated women seem to presage later Totenmahl reliefs, but their function (votive or funerary) is uncertain, and their findspots are disparate: Tegea, Paros, Thasos (fig. 19), northern Ionia, and (possibly) Miletos.⁴⁵ Reliefs with similar subjects but in Anatolian-Persian style, from satrapal centers of Asia Minor such as Daskyleion (fig. 20), are more probably funerary, and most are dated later (fifth and fourth centuries).⁴⁶ These funerary monuments are corollary to the conceptualization of the dead in elite tombs of western Asia Minor (particularly Lydia) as banqueters, through furnishings such as funerary klinai (fig. 21), grave offerings such as drinking vessels and tables, and sometimes tomb decoration.⁴⁷ Outside of Etruria, the reclining banqueter motif does not become common for funerary sculpture until the Roman period, when it is used on sarcophagus lids and other funerary monuments throughout the empire.⁴⁸ An important early exception, and the only known example of this figure type in monumental archaic Greek sculpture

⁴³Fehr 1971, 120–24; Dentzer 1982, 163–221; Walter-Karydi 1985, 96–7; Klinger 1997, 359–60; Smith 1998, 80. Kolbe (2006, 146 n. 14) augments Dentzer's list of known bronzes to 45 examples, though Vermeule (1968, 167) questioned the authenticity of some. For their function as vessel attachments, see Jantzen 1937, 18; 1955, 89–90; Walter-Karydi 1981, 18–19; Kunze 1992, 250.

⁴⁴Winter 1903, 191–207; Stillwell 1952, 104–12, pls. 18–23; Fehr 1971, 122, 126, nos. 496–525; Herdejürgen 1971, 5 n. 29; Freyer-Schauenburg 1974, 120–21; Tuchelt 1976, 63; Dentzer 1982, 163–216. These were most likely freestanding offerings, but some could have been attached to ceramic vessels (Dentzer 1982, 218 n. 627; Klinger 1997, 360, fig. 18); cf. balsamaria (alabaster) in the form of reclining banqueters (e.g., Boldrini 1994, no. 87).

⁴⁵Thönges-Stringaris 1965, pls. 4–6; Fehr 1971, 111;



Fig. 13. Fragment of a reclining figure (cat. no. 9). Miletos, Miletos Sculpture Depot, Balat Museum, inv. no. 1836 (von Graeve 1985, no. 8, pl. 26.3).



Fig. 14. Foot of a life-sized reclining figure (cat. no. 10). Miletos, Miletos Sculpture Depot, Balat Museum, inv. no. 553 (von Graeve 1985, no. 7, pl. 26.4).

in the round, aside from the works catalogued here, is an archaic sarcophagus lid with reclining banqueter from Pantikapaion, a colony of Miletos.⁴⁹

Dentzer 1982, 252–62; Smith 1982; Baughan 2004, nos. D1–D4. For the Miletos relief with a figure sitting on the middle of a kline, see Müller-Wiener 1977–1978, 115–16, pl. 30.4.

⁴⁶Akurgal 1966; Metzler et al. 1983; von Gall 1989; Nollé 1992; Baughan 2004, 328–50; Draycott 2007a, 57–61, 109–34, 171–75.

⁴⁷Dentzer 1982, 224–30; Hanfmann and Mierse 1983, 59, figs. 115, 116; Özgen et al. 1996, 33–52; Mellink et al. 1998, 59–60; Baughan 2004, 2008; Roosevelt 2009, 157–58, 177–82.

⁴⁸Wrede 1977, 1981; Haynes 2000, 215–17; Dunbabin 2003, 110–14; Roller 2006, 26, 41–4.

⁴⁹In Moscow, State Historical Museum (Sorokina and Zhuravlev 1997, 174, figs. 2.4, 2.5). Other occurrences of the type in funerary sculpture outside of Etruria include a Late Classical reclining figure from Ephesos (Strocka 2007, fig. 1), probably from a funerary *naiskos*, and the sarcophagus from



Fig. 15. Relief with banquet scene, from the palace of Ashurbanipal, Nineveh. London, British Museum, inv. nos. WA 124920, WA 124922 (© Trustees of the British Museum).

Reclining banqueters are also found among archaic Cypriot limestone votive statuettes and statuette groups, from Cyprus and some East Greek sanctuaries (fig. 22).⁵⁰ Those from Samos and Lindos have been dated to the first half of the sixth century, contemporary with the earliest Ionian sculpted banqueters.⁵¹ They share with the Ionian sculptures the basic reclining pose (which Fehr dubs the “östliches Liegeschema,” with legs laid flat, to be distinguished from the “western” scheme with one knee raised)⁵² and lack of banquetting furniture, but they differ in style, placement of the left hand (usually resting on a pillow rather than holding a drinking vessel), and the frequent inclusion of a woman seated on the hip of the reclining man. These statuettes may be understood as a localized expression of banquetting imagery, and they strengthen the idea that the reclining banquet was particularly at home in the Cypro-Phoenician realm, but it is unclear whether such imports played a role in the establishment of the sculptural type in Ionia, given their contemporaneity.⁵³

Interpretations of small-scale banqueter sculptures have varied widely depending on context. While the



Fig. 16. Bronze bowl from Cyprus. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. no. 74.51.4555 (© The Metropolitan Museum of Art/Art Resource, NY).

the Belevi mausoleum, near Ephesos (Praschniker and Theurer 1979, fig. 118).

⁵⁰ Myres 1914, 147, no. 1020; Blinkenberg 1931, 445–46, pl. 75; Schmidt 1968, 62–3, pl. 111; Fehr 1971, 119–20, nos. 484–90; Dentzer 1982, 155–61, figs. 123–32; Ridgway 1993, 198; Karageorghis 2000, no. 203.

⁵¹ Schmidt 1968, 54, 96–8.

⁵² Fehr 1971, 120–24, 126; Freyer-Schauenburg 1974, 120–21; Dentzer 1982, 219–20. The two categories refer to

probable production areas rather than findspot and do not sufficiently apply to all known types, as semidraped banqueters with legs laid flat are also known: e.g., four banqueters that may have belonged to the same vessel (Fehr 1971, 181, no. 533A–D; Dentzer 1982, 217, nos. B16–B19). Inversely, a raised knee can occur with chiton (Kolbe 2006), and one naked example is known (Jantzen 1955, 90, pl. 61.1).

⁵³ Fehr 1971, 122; Tuchelt 1976, 65 n. 3.



Fig. 17. Small bronze banqueter from Samos. Berlin, Staatliche Museen, inv. no. Sa 116 (© Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz/Art Resource, NY).



Fig. 18. Small bronze banqueter from Samos, front and rear views. Vathy, Archaeological Museum of Samos, inv. no. B2 (H. Wagner; © DAI Athens, Samos 1845, 1846).

Cypriot groups seem to represent mortals engaged in communal banquets, lone figures are more difficult to classify. Those found in graves tend to be seen as representations of the deceased enjoying the pleasures of life or in the afterlife, while those from sanctuaries (often nearly identical in appearance) are read as dedicants engaged in ritual meals or banqueting deities or heroes.⁵⁴ Lone banqueters on moldmade reliefs from Tarentum and Corinth, usually shown reclining on couches, have been associated with hero cults and have been read as representations of heroes, though this identification only seems certain when other heroic attributes are present.⁵⁵ Similar problems surround interpretations of so-called Totenmahl reliefs (see figs. 19, 20); although the later examples often include heroic attributes, the earliest (late sixth century) lack any clearly heroizing traits.⁵⁶ And the figure of a reclining banqueter is clearly presented as a mortal worshiper in the protection of a deity in a small terracotta group in Bonn, where a reclining man occupies the lap of an enthroned goddess.⁵⁷ Moreover, the occurrence of small bronze banqueters in sets of three or four around the edges of large bronze mixing vessels suggests that, in concept, they represent communal banqueters rather than isolated deities or heroes.⁵⁸ This

range of interpretation highlights the adaptability of this figure type, and it is possible that it was used with different intended meanings in mind, in different contexts, sometimes to show a god or hero “receiving the banquet offering” and sometimes to show mortals “participating in a ritual banquet for the god.”⁵⁹

Architectural occurrences of the reclining banquet motif in archaic Greece are limited to Ionia and western Asia Minor, with the exception of a pediment from Kerkyra (probably for a temple of Dionysos, ca. 500).⁶⁰ At Samos, evidence suggests that a reclining banquet was depicted on two fragmentary archaic limestone friezes,⁶¹ and one fragment from the parapet frieze of

⁵⁴ Dentzer 1982, 163–67; Pemberton 2000, 104 nn. 72–3.

⁵⁵ Neutsch 1961; Herdejürgen 1971, 5, 26–33; Kingsley 1979; Merker 2000, 65–8; Pemberton 2000, 104 n. 72.

⁵⁶ Thönges-Stringaris 1965; Dentzer 1982, 453–557; Smith 1982; Fabricius 1999.

⁵⁷ Himmelmann 1986, 19–20, fig. 2 (with reference to two possible parallels from Delos and Samos). The Bonn group is thought to be from Caria, ca. 540.

⁵⁸ For a set of banqueters that probably belonged together on the same vessel, see *supra* n. 52.

⁵⁹ Ridgway 1993, 213 n. 5.42; see also Walter-Karydi 1985, 96. On this ambiguity for other figure types, see Day 1994, 45 n. 26; 2000, 42.

⁶⁰ Choremis 1974; Cremer 1981; Dentzer 1982, 248–51, fig. 573; Ridgway 1993, 281, fig. 114. The symposiast is identified as Dionysos by the panther beneath his couch, and the occasion may be the banquet that enabled the return of Hephaistos to Olympus. The provenance of a terracotta relief fragment with a reclining banqueter in the Metropolitan Museum of Art is unknown (Dentzer 1982, 251–52, fig. 721).

⁶¹ Buschor 1933, 14–16, 19, figs. 5, 6, Beilagen 5–8; Fehr 1971, 117, nos. 476–78; Freyer-Schauenburg 1974, 199–201, 225–29, nos. 124–26, 155–72, pls. 83, 93–5; Dentzer 1982, 237–38; Furtwängler and Kienast 1989, 55–6, 156–58, nos. 29–32, fig. 36, pl. 12.5. Fragments of the “Kleiner Tempelfries,” now assigned to the porch of the North Building, include a kline

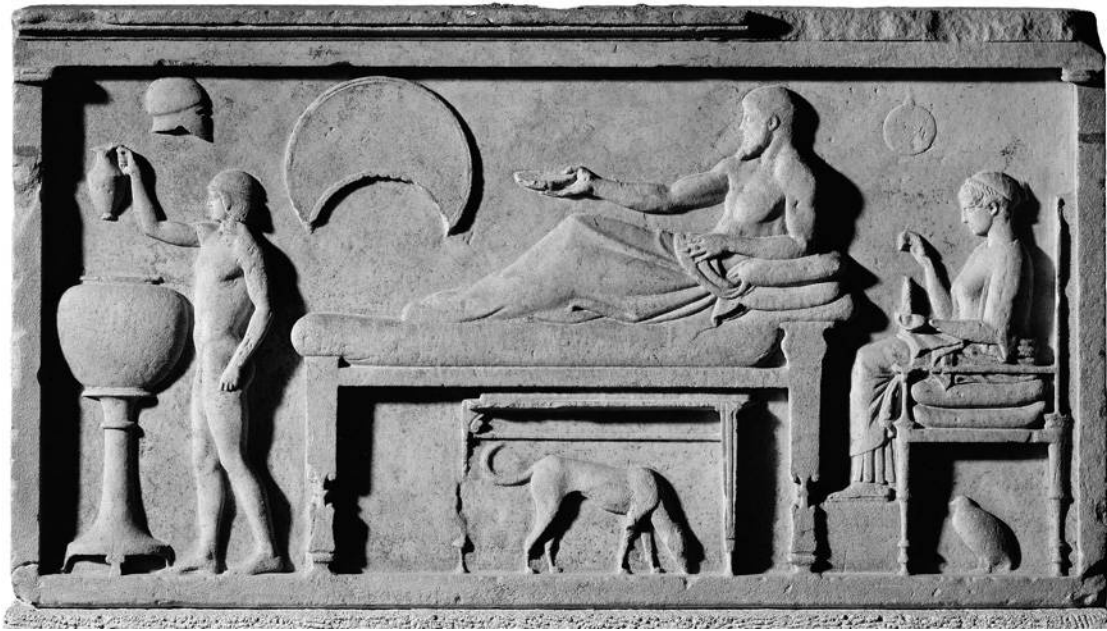


Fig. 19. Relief from Thasos. Istanbul, Istanbul Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 1947 (© E. Lessing/Art Resource, NY).

the archaic Artemision of Ephesos shows an elbow of a reclining figure.⁶² The Samos and Ephesos banquet friezes are too fragmentary to identify with certainty, but the presence of feathers or wings on associated fragments suggest nonmortal contexts.⁶³ Less fragmentary but still ambiguous is the banquet on the unusual architrave frieze from the Temple of Athena at Assos (ca. 530), with figures reclining on the groundline supported by pillows under their left elbows and holding various drinking vessels (fig. 23).⁶⁴ It may depict a mythical banquet, since other parts of the frieze are decorated with mythical animals or myths involving Herakles (and he may be identified as the figure with an extra pillow to lean on and a Persian-style vessel to

drink from),⁶⁵ but a real cultic banquet has also been proposed, owing to the lack of identifying attributes and klinai.⁶⁶ At Larisa on the Hermos in the middle of the sixth century, reclining banqueters decorated a series of lively architectural terracottas (fig. 24) for a building of uncertain function, and fragments produced from the same matrix have been found at Çal Dağ (Kebren).⁶⁷

The geographic concentration of these architectural banquets is probably not a coincidence of survival: a motif that elsewhere in Greece was normally restricted from monumental contexts was, in Ionia and western Asia Minor, explored in both temple sculpture and votive monuments. The high visibility

volute capital, legs, and cushion. The “Grosser Tempelfries,” associated with the Late Archaic temple, includes a reclining male figure (though with legs stretched toward the right, the reverse of the normal pictorial convention for banqueters). Another unassigned frieze fragment with a volute suggests the form of a kline (Buschor 1957, 34, Beilage 44.2).

⁶² Pryce 1928, 84, no. B203, fig. 125; Muss 1994, 81, 86; Wescoat 1995 n. 5. This reclining figure also relaxes, unusually, on the right side.

⁶³ For various mythical and cultic interpretations, see Buschor 1933; Walter-Karydi 1973, 34–5; Dentzer 1982, 238; Finster-Hotz 1984, 48; Fuchs and Floren 1987, 357.

⁶⁴ Fehr 1971, 116–17, no. 475; Dentzer 1982, 235–37, fig. 330; Finster-Hotz 1984, 46–78, 120, 131–32, pls. 6–11; Wescoat 1995, 2010.

⁶⁵ Finster-Hotz 1984, 74–8; Wescoat 1995, 296; Paspalas

2000, no. 6.

⁶⁶ Dentzer 1982, 237; Wescoat 1995, 296–97. If klinai had been included, though, the scale (and visibility) of the figures would have been greatly reduced; see also Miller (forthcoming).

⁶⁷ Boehlau and Schefold 1940, figs. 27–30; Kjellberg 1940, 15–16, 64–80, 160–63, pls. 22–33; Åkerström 1966, 7, 56–8, fig. 2, pls. 28, 29; Fehr 1971, 107–9, nos. 465, 466; Langlotz 1975, 84–6, pl. 22.3; Dentzer 1982, 230–35, figs. 320–28, 331. The fragments were found within a general deposit of archaic material that served as fill for a podium of the “Small Sanctuary” on the Acropolis, so it is unclear to what type of building this frieze belonged. Langlotz (1975, 84) assigned it to a palace, but it is associated with the Temple of Athena in current scholarship (Winter 1993, 245; Marconi 2007, 21).

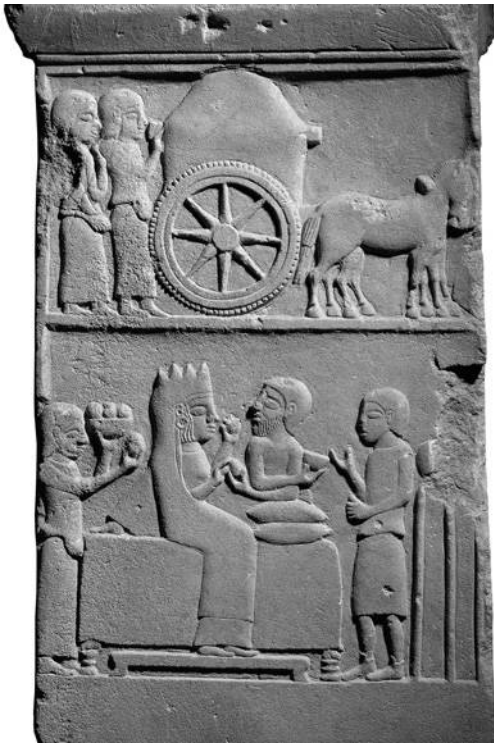


Fig. 20. Stele from Daskyleion. Istanbul, Istanbul Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 5763 (© E. Lessing/Art Resource, NY).

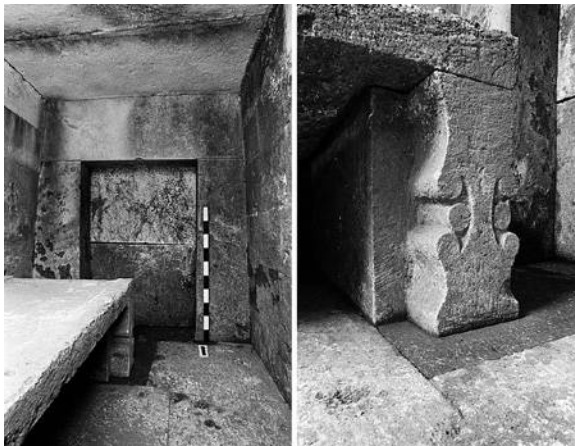


Fig. 21. View of tumulus chamber near Sardis (Tomb BK 71.1) (*left*) and detail of kline (*right*) (© Archaeological Exploration of Sardis/Harvard University).

⁶⁸ Small 1971, 1994; Weber-Lehmann 1985; Rathje 1994; Flusche 2001.

⁶⁹ Miller (forthcoming) suggests that the mode of banqueting depicted on the Larisa plaques is self-consciously Lydian.

⁷⁰ The exceptional Divine Banquet cup, attributed to the



Fig. 22. Limestone statuette group from Cyprus. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. no. 74.51.2577 (© The Metropolitan Museum of Art/Art Resource, NY).

of the reclining banqueter in Ionia is matched only in Etruria, where the motif is found on architectural terracottas, tomb paintings, and figural sarcophagi as well as in bronze attachments and other small-scale works. In Etruria, monumental images of reclining banqueters, whether decorating tombs or palaces (or sacred or civic structures, as the function of buildings decorated with architectural terracottas is often uncertain) seem to encapsulate or project an idea of the elites' "good life."⁶⁸ The Larisa terracottas may have sent a similar message,⁶⁹ but the temple friezes may represent cultic or mythical banquets. Whether this banqueting imagery was included in these contexts because it was representative of cult festivities or of the lifestyles of the elite that worshiped in these sanctuaries, even if circumscribed within the realm of myth, its relative prominence is striking.

IDENTIFICATION AND SELF-REPRESENTATION

The Ionian votive sculptures presented here clearly represent banqueters, but were these banqueters gods, heroes, or mortals? The anthropomorphism of Greek deities allows for the possibility that nearly any figure type could apply to mortal or god, depending on context or situation. Few divine figures, however, were ever shown reclining in Greek art.⁷⁰ Only Herakles and Dionysos offer regular exceptions to this rule, both explained by their connections with the mortal realm—Herakles as originally a mortal himself, and

Codrus Painter, with coupled deities sharing klinai, may be explained by connotations of marriage or death (London, British Museum, inv. no. E82 [ARV², 1269, no. 3; BAPD, no. 217212; Dentzer 1982, 122; Carpenter 1995, 163; Avramidou 2006]).



Fig. 23. Architrave frieze from the Temple of Athena at Assos. Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. 2829 (© Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, NY).

Dionysos as god of the mortal symposion.⁷¹ Dionysos was also frequently shown holding a drinking horn, the most common attribute of these reclining figures. A close examination of their iconography and votive contexts suggests that these sculptures were most likely intended to represent their dedicants—elite Ionian males—and not Dionysos himself.

The two inscribed figures are crucial to this question. Although the “X dedicated” formula does not necessarily identify an associated statue as “X,” several factors support reading both figures as self-representational “speaking statues,” and it is likely that the uninscribed figures were understood in a similar light in their Ionian dedicatory contexts.⁷² For the reclining figure in the Geneleos Group (see figs. 1–3), it is the lack of a name label on the figure itself, unlike the other members of the group, that gives the dedicatory inscription on its plinth an identifying function. The identity of the inscribed figure from Myous (see fig. 8) is less clear, since two dedicants are named (Hermonax and his son); but the consecration of the figure “to Apollo” makes it unlikely to represent Dionysos. We may assume, then, that it represents the primary (named) dedicant.⁷³ If the similar, uninscribed statuette from Myous (cat. no. 8) accompanied this figure, it is possible that it was meant to represent Hermonax’s son.



Fig. 24. Terracotta revetment fragments from Larisa on the Hermos. Istanbul, Istanbul Archaeological Museum (after Kjellberg 1940, pl. 24).

Such self-representational “speaking statues” are attested for archaic Greece only in Ionia, probably inspired by Near Eastern models.⁷⁴ In addition to *-arches*, Keesling lists only the enthroned statue of Chares of Teichioussa at Didyma and a lost work from Samos as true “speaking statues,” to be distinguished from “talking objects” that identify the dedicator but not necessarily the subject (as is clear, e.g., with *korai* dedicated by men).⁷⁵ Although Hermonax’s dedication falls into

⁷¹ De Marinis 1961, 113; Dentzer 1982, 153; Boardman 1990, 124; Verbanck-Piérard 1992; Wolf 1993; Fehr 2003; Sourvinou-Inwood 2003, 83–5; Bruit and Lissarrague 2004. The two are sometimes shown enjoying this shared privilege together, as on an Attic red-figure cup in Basel (*BAPD*, no. 352; *Beazley Addenda*² 394).

⁷² Keesling 2003, 16, 104.

⁷³ See also Dentzer 1982, 163; Fuchs and Floren 1987, 376; Ridgway 1993, 198.

⁷⁴ Keesling 2003, 16–21, 103–4, 175–78; see also Tuchelt 1976, 65–6.

⁷⁵ Keesling 2003, 19. For Chares’ dedication, see Boardman 1978, 70, fig. 95; Ridgway 1993, 185, fig. 76. On the lost figure from Samos, see Tuchelt 1970, 82, 119–20, no. K50; Lazzarini 1976, 75, 201, no. 168; Jeffery 1990, 332 no. 24; see also Lazzarini 1976, 74–5; Thomas 1992, 63–4; Svenbro 1993, 41–3; Day 2000; Keesling 2003, 19–20.

the more ambiguous category of “talking objects,” in its Ionian votive context it would have easily been perceived as a representation of Hermonax himself. When Herodotus saw two wooden statues dedicated by Amasis of Egypt behind the doors of the “great temple” in the Samian Heraion, he assumed they were depictions of the pharaoh himself,⁷⁶ and Theodorus of Samos was said to have created a self-representational bronze statue, probably for the same sanctuary.⁷⁷ The many uninscribed enthroned statues from Ionian votive contexts (e.g., Samos, Didyma, Miletos, the Sacred Way Temenos) were probably also understood as representations of their dedicators, members of priestly and/or noble families, or rulers such as Chares and their wives and/or ancestors.⁷⁸ Even if intended to represent dead ancestors rather than living dedicants, these figures seem to embody mortals rather than gods. In the same way, Hermonax’s dedication was probably meant to embody its dedicants and, in particular, their lifestyle of leisure.

The inscribed figures also attest to the versatility of the reclining figure type as a dedicatory medium, since one served as an offering to Hera on Samos and the other to Apollo at Myous. The uninscribed statuettes from Myous were likely offered to Apollo or Dionysos, the two deities known to have been worshiped there, but since their precise findspots were not recorded, we cannot be more specific.⁷⁹ This versatility suggests that the figure type reflects more on the identity of

the dedicant himself than the nature of the divine recipient and therefore provides further support for the self-representational function of such dedications.

But what about the three reclining figures from Didyma, including one holding a grape cluster (see fig. 7)? Find location makes Apollo the most likely dedicatee, but the grape cluster has led scholars to identify its holder as Dionysos and therefore to assume that all three sculptures were dedicated to the wine god.⁸⁰ The act of holding a grape cluster is a rare occurrence in Greek iconography but need not necessarily identify a figure as Dionysos. Grapes were indeed standard Dionysiac pictorial elements, but archaic representations of the god holding them while reclining are quite rare and always show him holding a whole vine rather than a single cluster.⁸¹ Moreover, there are no certain images of Dionysos reclining like a symposiast until ca. 540–530 B.C.E., concurrent with the Didyma figures but a few decades later than the onset of our figure type.⁸² If the grape-holding figure does represent Dionysos, it is among the earliest examples of the reclining god. The meaning of the figure’s bare chest is ambiguous, since in archaic art, Dionysos usually wears the long chiton that was standard male attire in archaic Ionia.⁸³

The most common attribute held by these figures—the drinking horn, or *keras*—likewise does not require a divine identity. As a natural alternative to a man-made cup, a drinking horn connotes rustic as well as

⁷⁶ Hdt. 2.182; Simon 1986, 85.

⁷⁷ Plin. *HN* 34.83; Tuchelt 1976, 65.

⁷⁸ Tuchelt 1970, 71–89; Özgan 1978, 12–41; Ridgway 1987, 404; 1993, 185–90; Himmelmann 1994, 64; Tuchelt et al. 1996; Löhr 2000, 180; Bumke 2004, 95–101. The identity of the enthroned figure dedicated to Hera by Aiakes of Samos remains controversial, dependent on interpretations of its full chest, loose strands of hair, and details of drapery (Freyer-Schauenburg 1974, 139–46, pls. 56, 57; Ridgway 1993, 191–93, 210–11 nn. 5.27–5.28; Keesling 2003, 240 n. 33).

⁷⁹ Paus. 7.2.11; supra n. 33. The results of Wiegand’s 1908 excavations at Myous were never published, but Weber (1965, 48–9) summarizes them, based on letters from Wiegand to his wife. Two archaic temple terraces were identified; the lower of the two, with the remains of a marble Ionic temple, has been assigned to Dionysos and dated to the middle of the sixth century (Blümel 1963, no. 65, figs. 193–211; Weber 1965, 49; 2002).

⁸⁰ Tuchelt 1976, 63–5; Dentzer 1982, 163 n. 66; Walter-Karydi 1985, 96; Ridgway 1993, 198, 213–14 n. 5.42. Although the worship of Dionysos is not otherwise attested at the Didymaion, his cult was well established at Miletos by the end of the sixth century (Tuchelt 1976, 64; Müller-Wiener 1977–1978, 99–100 [with references]).

⁸¹ Two examples are known to the author: a red-figure cup once on the Basel market (*BAPD*, no. 352; *Beazley Addenda*²

394; Wolf 1993, fig. 38) and a black-figure amphora attributed to the Priam Painter (*ABV*, 333, no. 1; *BAPD*, no. 301810). Reclining symposiasts holding grape clusters are found only on later red-figure vases (of the late fifth and fourth centuries), and they normally hold them aloft rather than before their waists: e.g., on Attic red-figure bell kraters in Paris (Musée du Louvre, inv. no. G524 [*ARV*², 1427; *BAPD*, no. 260104]) and in Oxford, Mississippi (University of Mississippi Museum [*ARV*², 1453, no. 2; *BAPD*, no. 41004]).

⁸² Fehr 1971, 62–7; 2003. One of the earliest representations of Dionysos reclining occurs on Exekias’ famous eye cup (Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek, inv. no. 2044 [*ABV*, 146, no. 21; *BAPD*, no. 310403]); see also an Attic black-figure lekanis lid from Xanthos attributed to the Antimenes Painter, with Dionysos reclining in a vineyard while satyrs harvest grapes (Istanbul, Istanbul Archaeological Museum, inv. no. A15.1176 [*ABV*, 691, no. 137; *BAPD*, no. 306586]). In both scenes, the god reclines in Fehr’s “western” scheme (bare-chested, with right knee raised) and holds a large drinking horn.

⁸³ *LMC* 3:414, s.v. “Dionysos”; Jameson 1993, 48–50. Since the legs of the figure are not preserved, it is impossible to say whether the right knee may have been raised, in which case the bare-chestedness and pose would be characteristic of Fehr’s “western” reclining scheme (supra n. 52), attested for both mortal and divine banqueters (supra n. 82).

abundant drinking (since it cannot be put down).⁸⁴ The *keras* is a frequent attribute of Dionysos,⁸⁵ but in early Greek art, especially on Corinthian and Attic vases of the late seventh and early sixth centuries, it is more commonly held by human revelers—reclining male figures as well as komasts or “padded dancers.”⁸⁶ We can be sure that such reclining figures are meant to be mortals when they occur in groups, as on an Attic black-figure dinos in the British Museum, where three symposiasts out of 14 hold such drinking horns;⁸⁷ but even lone banqueters surrounded by revelers on some komast vases need not be identified as Dionysos.⁸⁸ The drinking horn is also the most common attribute for small bronze and terracotta banqueters of the “eastern” variety (see figs. 17, 18), and these often occur in groups suggesting their identity as mortal banqueters. In addition, drinking horns appear in the background of some symposium scenes.⁸⁹ Whether these are meant to suggest objects hanging on a wall in a sympotic space or are included as attributes of the symposium,⁹⁰ their presence in such scenes reveals that they were perceived as items appropriate to the mortal symposium. *Kerata* have been seen as material residue of the eastern heritage of the reclining banquet in Greece, but they do not have markedly exotic or foreign associations in Greek art.⁹¹ As Dentzer notes, “the banqueters using the *keras* are apparently in the same milieu as the riders or warriors figured on the

same vases,” and the use of the *keras* is not limited to special circumstances or special banqueters such as Herakles or Dionysos.⁹² By the mid sixth century, the drinking horn had become emblematic of elite banqueting in Greece. Hermonax’s tankard has few parallels,⁹³ but its size suggests heavy drinking, as does *-arches*’ wineskin pillow.

Other possibly diagnostic aspects of the iconography of these reclining figures are their long hairstyles and, when preserved, their bare feet (cat. nos. 7, 8, 10). A few have long locks falling over the front of the shoulders (cat. nos. 2, 4), while others have a single trapezoidal mass terminating over the back, with individual segments delineated (cat. nos. 1, 6–8). Ridgway has suggested that the long tresses before the shoulders of the smaller reclining figure from Samos (see fig. 4; cat. no. 2) may signal divine or at least heroic status,⁹⁴ but this variation probably has more to do with sculptural style and date than with the identity of the figure represented. Such differentiation is also found among small-scale bronze banqueters and large-scale kouroi.⁹⁵ Long hair in general was associated with the lifestyle of *habrosyne* (luxury) embraced by East Greek elites and so does not suggest divinity.⁹⁶ Barefootedness is notable because for comparable small bronze banqueters, it is typical only for the bare-chested varieties (whether with both legs laid flat or with one knee raised);⁹⁷ the fully clothed “eastern” variety usually

⁸⁴For real (natural) *kerata* in Celtic tombs, see Krause 1993; Witt 1997 (also available online at <http://www.iath.virginia.edu/~umw8f/barbarians/first.html>). For ceramic versions of the *keras* shape, see, e.g., a Klazomenian painted rhyton from sixth-century Smyrna (İzmir, İzmir Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 3371 [Asgari et al. 1983, no. B67]) and later Tarentine examples illustrated in Krause 1993, fig. 3.

⁸⁵E.g., *LIMC* 3:414–514, nos. 286, 291, 303–4, 326, 328, s.v. “Dionysos”; supra n. 82.

⁸⁶Seeberg 1971, 73; 1995, 3; Dentzer 1982, 144; Carpenter 1986, 117 n. 82; Fehr 1990, 189; Krause 1993, 191–92; Smith 2000, 311–12; 2007, 56; Green 2007, 99. E.g., a Corinthian cup in Oxford (Ashmolean Museum, inv. no. 1968.1835 [BAPD, no. 550003]). Symposiasts on red-figure vases also occasionally hold drinking horns: e.g., a red-figure kylix attributed to the Epeleios Painter (Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek, inv. no. 2619A [ARV², 146, no. 2; BAPD, no. 201289; Osborne 1998a, fig. 6]).

⁸⁷London, British Museum, inv. no. B46 (ABV, 91, no. 5; BAPD, no. 300850; Iliffe 1926, pls. 12, 13; Dentzer 1982, 144).

⁸⁸E.g., Pemberton 2000, 87, 102; Green 2007, 97, 99. Green’s (2007, 98) view is shaped, however, by the extreme position that all figures in Greek art of the sixth century and earlier are “myth-historical unless one can demonstrate otherwise” (cf. Ferrari 2002). On “monoposists,” see infra n. 116. For the more accepted reading of such scenes (even with single symposiasts) as mortal symposia, see Pipili 1987, 72–5;

Schäfer 1997, 30–4; Smith 1998, 78; 2000, 309–12; Fehr 2003, 25–6.

⁸⁹E.g., on a Lakonian kylix (Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. E667 [BAPD, no. 800036; Stibbe 1972, no. 13, pl. 6]) and a Siana cup fragment attributed to the C Painter (Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum, inv. no. 6445.45 [BAPD, no. 2954]).

⁹⁰As Heinrich (2007, 105) maintains (infra n. 158).

⁹¹Dentzer 1982, 143–44; Krause 1993, 195–97.

⁹²Dentzer 1982, 144 (trans. from French).

⁹³Supra n. 35.

⁹⁴Ridgway 1993, 193, 213 n. 5.42; see also Buschor 1935, 47; Tuchelt 1976, 64.

⁹⁵Cf. Samos, Vathy Museum, inv. no. B2, ca. 550 (Buschor 1934b, figs. 181, 182; Jantzen 1937, 18; Fehr 1971, 123, no. 582; Dentzer 1982, 216, no. B2, figs. 174, 175; see also fig. 18 herein) and Ioannina, Ioannina Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 4910, attributed to a Samian workshop (Evangelidou 1953, 162–63, fig. 3; Walter-Karydi 1985, pl. 27.2). For kouroi, cf. Richter 1960, nos. 63, 69, figs. 208–9, 230–33.

⁹⁶Asius fr. 13; Xenophanes fr. 3; O’Sullivan 1981; Brown 1983, 9; Kurke 1992.

⁹⁷E.g., Athens, National Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 6192, from Olympia (Furtwängler 1890, pl. 7, no. 76); Berlin, Staatliche Museen, inv. no. 10586, from Dodona (Neugebauer 1931, 111–12, no. 217, pl. 36); Brunswick, Maine, Bowdoin College Museum of Art, inv. no. 1923.17, possibly Samian (Mitten and Doeringer 1967, no. 43).

wears pointed boots (see figs. 17, 18).⁹⁸ While barefootedness has sometimes been read as a mark of divinity in Greek and Roman art, it is also conventional in certain iconographic contexts. It is customary for representations of symposiasts in Attic vase painting and is sometimes emphasized by shoes depicted beneath a kline.⁹⁹ Barefootedness in a sympotic context signifies relaxation and comfort (and perhaps a practical respect for the fine coverlets used with klinai).

With the possible exception of the grape-holding figure from Didyma, the reclining men depicted in these sculptures most likely represent mortal symposiasts, the dedicants themselves.¹⁰⁰ They thus fit into a larger, though limited, body of self-representational dedicatory sculpture in archaic Greece, such as the famous Moschophoros from the Athenian Acropolis.¹⁰¹ As Steiner has summarized, votive statues showing the dedicant engaged in worship serve to display “the value, status, and social connections surrounding the individual for whom it stands in” and “to negotiate and display his relations with his fellow men and with the gods” in the visible, and frequently visited, landscape of the sanctuary.¹⁰² A life-sized representation, such as those in the Geneleos Group or the figure to which the foot in Miletos belonged, would have conferred even greater prestige on the dedicant, given the expense.¹⁰³

Although the motif of the reclining banqueter is so familiar to us, because of its proliferation on Athenian vases and later reliefs, it is important to reiterate just how exceptional it would have been in archaic votive contexts and how the custom itself would have, in the Archaic period, been politically charged. The very act

of reclining on the left elbow signaled membership in the elite class that enjoyed the luxury of reclining banquets. In archaic Greece, reclining was equated with soft living (*habrosyne*) and eastern, particularly Lydian, finery.¹⁰⁴ Some archaic poets refer to seated rather than reclined banqueting, and the two dining postures probably coexisted through much of the sixth century; seated dining seems to have continued into the Classical and later periods in certain geographical, religious, and political contexts.¹⁰⁵ Even in late fifth-century Athens, reclining while dining was still evidently associated with elite luxury.¹⁰⁶ These reclining banqueter sculptures, then, identify their dedicants as adherents of a particular aristocratic, leisure-loving lifestyle.¹⁰⁷

The statue of *-arches* was part of a group including other figure types, and it has been suggested that Hermonax's dedication and the other known reclining figures were also paired with enthroned figures and set on bases as family groups “beim feierlichen Gelage,” on the model of the Geneleos Group.¹⁰⁸ It is worth noting that family dedications are attested epigraphically at Didyma, and the Geneleos Group was likely not the only family group at the Samian Heraion.¹⁰⁹ And, as noted above, the seated statues from the Sacred Way temenos probably also represent members of a family and their illustrious ancestors.¹¹⁰ Enthroned figures on a small scale comparable to some of the reclining sculptures (statuettes) are known from Miletos and from the Sacred Way.¹¹¹ Even without inscriptions, the grouping of otherwise “formally ‘generic’ marble statues would have helped contemporary viewers to identify them as representations of families.”¹¹² Groups

⁹⁸ See also Halle-Wittenberg, Martin Luther University of Halle-Wittenberg Museum, inv. no. 86 (Kolbe 2006, 146); Frankfurt, Liebieghaus, inv. no. 1593 (Bol and Weber 1985, no. 9; Walter-Karydi 1985, pl. 27.3); Ioannina, Ioannina Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 4910 (supra n. 95).

⁹⁹ E.g., red-figure kylikes attributed to Douris in Karlsruhe (Badisches Landesmuseum, inv. no. 70.395 [BAPD, no. 4704; *Beazley Addenda*² 393]) and Florence (National Archaeological Museum, inv. no. V48 [ARV², 432, no. 58; BAPD, no. 205103]); and one assigned to the Proto-Panaetian Group (Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, inv. no. 01.8018 [ARV², 317, no. 9; BAPD, no. 203247]).

¹⁰⁰ See also Dentzer 1982, 163.

¹⁰¹ Steiner 2001, 16; Keesling 2003, 181–82; cf. Walter-Karydi 1985, 98.

¹⁰² Steiner 2001, 11.

¹⁰³ Simon 1986, 370.

¹⁰⁴ Kurke 1992, 93; Baughan 2004, 218–22; Franklin 2007, 197.

¹⁰⁵ Phocylides of Miletos fr. 14; *Theognidea* 33–4, 563–64; Thönges-Stringaris 1965, 5–6 n. 14; Cooper and Morris 1990; Tomlinson 1993, 1497–98; Baughan 2004, 208–10, 214–22.

¹⁰⁶ Arist. *Wasps* 1208–20; Steiner 2002, 351.

¹⁰⁷ Tuchelt 1976, 65; see also Bumke 2004, 88.

¹⁰⁸ Fuchs and Floren 1987, 376; Ridgway 1993, 198. Tuchelt (1976, 63) wondered whether the figure type ever existed on its own in dedicatory contexts but noted that terracotta figurines of reclining banqueters were often deposited as lone figures. Funerary sculptures such as the sarcophagus lid from Pantikapaion (supra n. 49) provide further lone parallels.

¹⁰⁹ Tuchelt 1970, 119–20, 211; 1976, 63; Keesling 2003, 102–6. Cf. also Cheramyes' dedication, with at least three korai and one kouros (Kyrieles 1986, 41–3, pls. 18–22; Ridgway 1993, 136, 165 n. 4.35; Löhr 2000, 156, 175; Bumke 2004, 90–5). The inscription on a lost enthroned figure from Samos (supra n. 75) implies that it was also part of a group. For family dedications at Didyma, though not all family group representations, see Löhr 2000, nos. 1, 4, 5.

¹¹⁰ Supra n. 78.

¹¹¹ Blümel 1963, 55, no. 53, figs. 152, 153; Tuchelt 1970, 129; von Graeve 1985, 118–19, nos. 3, 4, pl. 25.1–3; Kiderlen and Strocka 2006, 76, no. 22.

¹¹² Keesling 2003, 106.

pairing reclining and enthroned figures would have been three-dimensional expressions of the basic scheme found on so-called Totenmahl reliefs and Anatolian-Persian stelae (see figs. 19, 20),¹¹³ with likely origins in Near Eastern art, as seen in Ashurbanipal's Garden Party relief and also on a Cypro-Phoenician bowl from Cyprus (see figs. 15, 16).¹¹⁴ But the reading of *teknon* in Hermonax's dedication and the possibility that catalogue number 7 may have accompanied it introduce another possible scenario, with multiple reclining figures. Comparanda for groups of reclining figures are found among Cypriot limestone statuettes (see fig. 22) and even, it could be argued, bronze vessel attachments.¹¹⁵ Perhaps both schemes were possible, with different implications: when the sole reclining figure in a composition, a banqueter may be construed as a "monoposiasit," with the eastern (and royal) connotations that carries;¹¹⁶ when accompanied by other reclining figures, he becomes a participant in a communal banquet or symposion. This distinction may be removed, however, if we understand a family sculptural group not as a snapshot of a family event but a portrait of each member in a characteristic or ideal activity, as has been suggested for the Geneleos Group; in that case, the reclining figure may be conceived as part of an imagined symposion, and the other dedications of reclining banqueters at nearby sanctuaries could be seen as members of his conceptual *hetaireia*. At the same time, the group context defines the individual through another vector of identity—the family—and the prevalence of family groups as a mode of dedication in archaic Ionia may reflect the importance of familial ties in aristocratic, clan-based communities.

ATTIRE AND PHYSIQUE

If not for certain iconographic details, the reclining banqueters dedicated at Ionian sanctuaries would simply reflect the prominence of banqueting imagery in this region, in another monumental medium. Several features, however, distinguish the best preserved of these works from the more common image of the

reclining banqueter seen in a range of other media: the specific way the himation is worn over the chiton, leaving the chiton fully exposed over the belly, and the general plumpness of belly and chest. Other reclining banqueters in contemporary Greek and Etruscan art wear their himatia fully wrapped around the lower body, whether or not a chiton is underneath (see figs. 17, 25).¹¹⁷ Standing and seated male figures in East Greek monumental art also usually wear a mantle draped over one shoulder and around the abdomen.¹¹⁸ In contrast, of the Ionian reclining sculptures with torso fully or partially preserved, all except the bare-chested figure from Didyma (cat. no. 5) wear the himation differently: hanging to the *front* over the left shoulder and draped around the back to rest loosely along the right side of body, leaving an ungirt chiton fully exposed in the front.¹¹⁹ The result is not only a relaxed appearance, befitting the repose of a banquet, but also a visual emphasis on the belly. That these differences are not simply regional variations in the iconography of the reclining banqueter in Ionia is demonstrated by comparative examples found or made on Samos (see figs. 17, 18).¹²⁰ So in contrast to reclining figures with himatia covering their waists, *-arches* and his corollaries at Samos and other Ionian sanctuaries seem to be "letting it all hang out."

The bellies and chests exposed by this distinctive manner of wearing the himation are notably plump and round. It is, in fact, *-arches*' corpulence that has fueled the long debate over its gender. Buschor's original identification of the figure as a priestess was based on his interpretation of the figure's full chest as a mark of matronly status, with breasts more "developed" than those of the accompanying korai.¹²¹ Fehr, on the other hand, sees a "well-fed body" that, together with the wineskin pillow, characterizes the figure as a "prosperous hedonist."¹²² As Stewart summarizes, determinations of the figure's sex have depended on "whether one regards its suspiciously full chest as a woman's or simply a mark of Ionian opulence."¹²³ A similar plumpness can be found in other reclining

¹¹³ Supra nn. 45–6.

¹¹⁴ Fuchs and Floren 1987, 376; supra n. 40.

¹¹⁵ As Tuchelt (1976, 63) suggests.

¹¹⁶ On "monoposiasits," see Senff 1992; Bowie 1997, 7; Steinhart and Slater 1997, 204–8; Fearn 2007, 58–61; supra n. 88.

¹¹⁷ For other small bronzes of both "eastern" and "western" reclining schemes (supra n. 52) with this arrangement of dress, see supra nn. 95, 97. For comparable banqueters in terracotta, see, e.g., Jacopi 1929, fig. 136; Mollard-Besques 1954, 33, no. B190, pl. 24; Laumonier 1956, 83–4, nos. 169–71, pl. 20; Dentzer 1982, fig. 139; Gercke and Löwe 1996, 43–4.

¹¹⁸ Özgan 1978, 98–101.

¹¹⁹ On catalogue numbers 2 and 7, the position of the himation is revealed by a folded corner on the lower legs, which indicates that it terminated along the right side of the body and did not extend in front of the belly.

¹²⁰ A Samian workshop has also been suggested for the bronzes in Frankfurt, Ioannina, and Bowdoin (supra nn. 95, 97, 98); see also the terracotta from Tomb 28.2 at Samos (Gercke and Löwe 1996, 43–4).

¹²¹ Buschor 1934b, 28.

¹²² Fehr 2003, 25; see also Fehr 2000, 121–25.

¹²³ Stewart 1990, 117. Schanz (1980, 17) maintains Buschor's view.



Fig. 25. Fragments of Fikellura amphora. Nicosia, Cyprus Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 1960/X-29/2 (Cook and Dupont 1998, fig. 10.2; courtesy Department of Antiquities, Republic of Cyprus).

sculptures with well-preserved torsos. Freyer-Schauenburg notes the “weichen, vollen Brust” of the other figure from Samos (see fig. 4),¹²⁴ and Fuchs and Floren note how “die schwere, teigige Masse des Körpers” of Hermonax’s dedication and the Miletos fragment (see figs. 8, 13) “scheint in das weiche Polster eingesunken zu sein.”¹²⁵ The torso of the figure that may have accompanied Hermonax (see fig. 9) also has a prominently protruding chest. The other Myous figure (see fig. 12) has a more subtly convex upper torso, but its belly is a swollen oval mass—similar in shape to that of *-arches*, though not accentuated by pooling drapery folds, as Geneleos contrived. Kiderlen aptly describes the figure’s “weichen Bauch” and

“geschwellten Volumina.”¹²⁶ And Kleemann identified “weichen fülligen Körperlichkeit” as a characteristic feature of this sculptural type in general.¹²⁷

This soft corpulence should be distinguished from the exaggerated or grotesque bellies of some komasts and athletes in archaic art, which may have signified a tendency to eat and drink in excess, or comic exaggeration.¹²⁸ These contoured forms are more subtle (one might even say more naturalistic) and have normally been attributed to regional style. Archaic Ionian sculpture in general is characterized by “fleshy,” stout male figures, whether reclining or standing, and the gender of enthroned statues has been “notoriously difficult” to determine.¹²⁹ Akurgal described the up-

¹²⁴ Freyer-Schauenburg 1974, 148–49.

¹²⁵ Fuchs and Floren 1987, 376.

¹²⁶ Kiderlen and Strocka 2006, 70.

¹²⁷ Kleemann 1969, 58.

¹²⁸ Fehr 1990, 189; Smith 2000, 313; see also Seeberg 1971, 1995; Schäfer 1997, 30–4; Smith 1998; 2007, 61–72; 2010 (on the multiplicity of contexts for such dancers); Pemberton 2000; Green 2007, esp. 99 (for criticism of Fehr).

¹²⁹ Barletta 1987, 234; Keesling 2003, 105. On Ionian style, see Akurgal 1961, 229–34; Tuchelt 1970, 175–76; Pedley 1976, 58; Özgan 1978, 42–69; Sheedy 1985, 622–23; Walter-Karydi 1985, 92; Barletta 1987, 234; Fuchs and Floren 1987, 377; Stewart 1990, 117; Ridgway 1993, 83, 91. For standing draped

male statues, see Akurgal 1961, figs. 193–97; Blümel 1963, 64, no. 69, fig. 217; Özgan 1978, 42–69, 100–23; Walter-Karydi 1985, 91–5; Barletta 1987, 235–36; Ridgway 1993, 91–2. For Branchidai, see Tuchelt 1970, no. K55, pls. 53–5. These difficulties extend also to small-scale sculpture: a draped, standing male terracotta figure from Samos was, like *-arches*, identified as female upon discovery (Boehlau 1898, 51, no. 5, pl. 14.7; Buschor 1935, fig. 163; Gercke and Löwe 1996, 86). Similarly, the seated figure on the south side of the Harpy monument from Xanthos has been variously identified as a plump eunuch or woman but, most recently, as an Ionian-type male (Draycott 2007b, 124).

per body contours of draped male statues from Samos and Pitane as “runden und weiblichen.”¹³⁰ Boardman explains that Ionian sculptors seem to have preferred contoured, “sinuous,” even “boneless” forms and “fluent masses.”¹³¹ But this softness probably reflects more than a local sculptural style. A full and fleshy male body seems to have been the aristocratic ideal in archaic Ionia,¹³² and the physiques of our banqueter sculptures express elite status and opulence.

The discourse of consumption in archaic poetry originating from Ionia supports such a view. In works that seem to express a “middling” or non-elite perspective, rotundity or belly-ness is negatively portrayed, as a trope for aristocratic excess.¹³³ Archilochus, for example, criticizes one comrade (Pericles) for letting his “belly” (γαστήρ) lead his mind and heart astray toward “shamelessness,”¹³⁴ and he was said to have declaimed another for similar gluttony.¹³⁵ Although it is not Pericles’ obesity that Archilochus rebukes but his violation of social mores (attending symposia uninvited and without contribution, drinking unmixed wine), it is significant that he presents the γαστήρ as the source of this behavior.¹³⁶ The belly also figures prominently in the poetry of Hipponax, who condemns gluttons with uncontrollable appetites and “demonizes political enemies as rapacious pests, who threaten to gobble up the commonwealth of the city.”¹³⁷ The “belly” that Hipponax instructs his addressee in fragment 42 to turn “towards the setting sun” has normally been imagined as empty and therefore taken as a sign of the poet’s own poverty,¹³⁸ but given the context (an explanation of Lydian geography), it could also be read as a gibe at corpulent Lydians or Ionians, conceived as walking bellies. On the other hand, the charge of gluttony could be wielded by an elitist poet at a “base-born” political

rival, as in Alcaeus’ portrayal of Pittacus as a grotesque body, a slave to his belly.¹³⁹ It is the very nature of the belly, which can be empty or full, that gives it such multivalence. From the “middling” perspective, belly-ness is a sign of excess; from an “elitist” perspective, it is a sign of baseness and need. Moderate corpulence could also be a marker of economic health: in Solon’s view, “luxury in belly, sides, and feet” is equal to wealth in land or metals.¹⁴⁰ Later, in Herodotus and Aristophanes, the wealthy are sometimes referred to as “the fat” (οἱ παχέες).¹⁴¹ Perhaps we should see the memorable image of Alcmeon swollen with gold dust from Croesus’ treasury in a similar light: a caricature of the rich man swollen with his own wealth.¹⁴² The positive portrayal of male corpulence in Ionian sculpture, most evident in these banqueter statues with their visual emphasis on unobstructed bellies and full chests, should be understood as part of this discourse, an elite celebration of bodily wealth against which poets such as Hipponax wrote.¹⁴³ In the medium of dedicatory statuary, this corpulence, like the reclining posture, signaled membership in the privileged leisure class.¹⁴⁴

CULT BANQUET OR SYMPOSION?

What kind of banqueting is represented in these sculptures, and where is it taking place? Are these figures meant to be engaged in cult worship, like the Moschophoros, or could their reclining posture simply define them as members of a certain social class, participants in elite symposia?¹⁴⁵ A sanctuary context does not necessarily imply a cultic meaning. On the archaic Acropolis of Athens, for instance, stood representations of dedicants engaged in various vocations as well as in acts of worship, the troubled question of korai aside.¹⁴⁶ Iconographic clues that could indicate

¹³⁰ Akurgal 1961, 229.

¹³¹ Boardman 1978, 70.

¹³² For this ideal in early Greece in general, see Himmelmann 1996, 13–16.

¹³³ For “middling” poetry and ideology, see Morris 1996, esp. 28–31, 34–6; 2000, 155–71; Kurke 1999, 19–21; Kistler 2004. For criticism of this approach, see Hammer 2004, 491–99; Rabinowitz 2004, 171–77; 2009, 119–20. The term is used here to describe not social class but adopted perspective, which, as Rabinowitz points out (2009, 120), could have varied even within the work of a single poet according to genre.

¹³⁴ Archilochus fr. 124b.

¹³⁵ Archilochus fr. 167; Ath. 415d.

¹³⁶ Brown 2006, 37–8; Gagné 2009, 263–64.

¹³⁷ Faraone 2004, 213; see also Hipponax fr. 26, 118, 128; Brown 1983, 3; 2006, 39 n. 21.

¹³⁸ E.g., Rosen 1990, 17 n. 16.

¹³⁹ E.g., Alc. 129, 429LP; Kurke 1994, 71–2, 86–9; 1999, 34, 145; Morris 1996, 27; Faraone 2004, 238; cf. Hes. *Theog.* 26.

¹⁴⁰ Solon 21.1–4; Morris 1996, 30. When Solon detailed the trappings of a luxurious symposium, however, it was probably in criticism of excessive indulgence (Noussia 2001, 358).

¹⁴¹ Arist. *Peace* 639; *Wasps* 287; Hdt. 5.30, 5.77, 6.91, 7.156; see also Himmelmann 1996, 14.

¹⁴² Hdt. 6.125; Kurke 1999, 34, 143–45.

¹⁴³ See also D’Acunto 2007.

¹⁴⁴ Kistler (2004, 167–71) also considers these banqueter dedications in light of Morris’ model but sees them as manifestations of the “middling” perspective, in opposition to more overtly elitist enthroned statues, with connotations of eastern royalty. While the symposiast sculptures must have existed in a sort of dialogue with the seated figures in the visual landscapes of Ionian sanctuaries, Kistler’s approach does not account for the very particular attire and characteristic physique of the banqueters and projects certain aspects of the classical symposium, such as egalitarianism, back to the Archaic period.

¹⁴⁵ As Dentzer (1982, 163) also wonders.

setting are bare feet, manner of attire, and means of reclining, but none of these solves the matter conclusively. As mentioned earlier, barefootedness is common for symposiasts, but it is uncertain whether worshipers would have removed their shoes while dining in a sanctuary context; and barefootedness is, of course, very common in Greek art.¹⁴⁷ And although their particular way of wearing the himation to reveal the stomach may seem somewhat informal, there is no evidence to suggest that it would have been out of place in a sanctuary.

What has led most to interpret these sculptures as representations of cultic banqueting, besides context, is the lack of any indication of a banquet couch, or kline, when the lower part is preserved.¹⁴⁸ Geneleos' banqueter and the Myous figures recline on a plinth with a rounded profile resembling a mattress, in some cases set off from plinth proper by a recessed band. Thus, they appear to be reclining on cushions placed directly on the ground.¹⁴⁹ Literary sources and visual evidence suggest that ritual banquets were usually enjoyed outdoors, on simple cushions (*stibades*).¹⁵⁰ One source quoted by Athenaeus even describes such alfresco dining in honor of Hera at Samos, on mats

made from *lygos*.¹⁵¹ A fragmentary Lakonian cup from Samos and a Fikellura amphora from Cyprus show figures reclining on cushions on the groundline near an altar, and on the Lakonian cup, a tree (see figs. 25, 26).¹⁵² A Cypriot amphora from Amathus shows two banqueters sharing a cushion and another reclining directly on the ground, in the presence of trees hung with garlands and attended by wine servers and musicians.¹⁵³ All three vases have been interpreted as reflections of Samian cult tradition,¹⁵⁴ but their significance need not be so restrictive, as outdoor cultic banqueting was, of course, not limited to Samos. Kron finds further reflections of Samian cult banqueting in Geneleos' reclining figure and the other banqueter from Samos, but the occurrence of the same figural type in other East Greek votive contexts makes a specific connection with the Heraion unlikely.¹⁵⁵

Banqueters reclining on the ground, moreover, need not always be read as cultic or outdoor diners, for klinai may have been omitted for reasons of composition or execution.¹⁵⁶ Such abbreviation may explain the many Attic red-figure kylikes with symposiasts reclining directly on the groundline, allowing greater emphasis on human action and anatomy.¹⁵⁷

¹⁴⁶ Keesling 2003, 181–85, 201–2; cf. Eaverly 1995.

¹⁴⁷ Outdoor banqueters on the Fikellura and Cypriot amphoras discussed below (infra nn. 152, 153) and small bronze banqueters of the "western" type have bare feet, while those of the "eastern" variety do not (supra nn. 52, 98); seated statues from the Sacred Way temenos wear shoes, but most of those from Didyma are barefoot, as noted by Ridgway 1993, 210 n. 5.27. Textual sources indicate that barefootedness could be seen variously (depending on the context) as a sign of reverence (e.g., Aesch. Ag. 944–45) or abnormality (Pl. *Symp.* 220b).

¹⁴⁸ On klinai, see Richter 1966, 52–6; Boardman 1990; Baughan 2004, 16–53.

¹⁴⁹ Tuchelt 1976, 60–1; Wescoat 1995, 297; cf. Kolbe 2006, 148–51. Or they have been read as reclining on simple benches (Kiderlen and Strocka 2006, 72).

¹⁵⁰ References in Fehr 1971, 44; Kron 1988, 138–39; Sourvinou-Inwood 2003, 79–80; Heinrich 2007, 105–6; Topper 2009, 10–12.

¹⁵¹ Nicaenetus of Samos (Ath. 673b–c); Freyer-Schauenburg 1974, 120; Kron 1988, 138–39. The text quoted in Athenaeus specifies only that the wreaths worn by banqueters are made of *lygos*, but the framing commentary (Ath. 673c–d) clarifies that Athenaeus, at least, understood the mats also to have been made from the same material. On the *lygos*, or chaste tree, in ancient religion and medicine, see von Staden 1993.

¹⁵² For the Lakonian cup, see Stibbe 1972, 243–45, no. 191, pl. 58; Dentzer 1982, fig. 109; Kron 1988, fig. 4; Pipili 1998, 90, fig. 8.11; Kolbe 2006, 150. For the Fikellura amphora, see Fehr 1971, no. 42; Walter-Karydi 1973, no. 109, pl. 13; Kron 1988, fig. 5; Cook and Dupont 1998, fig. 10.2. But, of course, an altar does not a sanctuary make, since altars could have been located in domestic courtyards. Smith (2000, 317) sug-

gests that the Arkesilas Painter's scene be understood along with the band of komasts below it and therefore reads the dining space as sympotic, even though the symposiasts do not recline on "the standard klinai." For the possibility of outdoor symposia in domestic settings, see infra n. 162.

¹⁵³ London, British Museum, inv. no. C855 (Fehr 1971, no. 42; des Gagniers 1972, fig. 1; Kron 1988, 142 n. 40).

¹⁵⁴ Kron 1988, 141–42. The relevance of the Lakonian scene to banqueting customs on Samos is uncertain, as its iconography has been read both as a reflection of a Spartan practice (Powell 1998, 123–28; Pomeroy 2002, 109; Sourvinou-Inwood 2003, 82) and as proof that Lakonian painters tailored their work to a Samian audience (Pipili 1998, 90; supra n. 26). Des Gagniers (1972, 55) proposed that the Cypriot scene was modeled on East Greek imports such as the Fikellura amphora discussed here, but the local Cypriot figurines suggest that the motif was, in fact, quite at home on Cyprus (cf. fig. 22 herein).

¹⁵⁵ As Bumke (2004, 88 n. 504) also points out; see also Kron 1988, 142.

¹⁵⁶ As Kleemann (1969, 58) suggests for these sculptures. The enthroned woman balancing the reclining figure in the Geneleos Group and the many enthroned statues from Ionia (Tuchelt 1970, 71–93; Ridgway 1993, 185–93; Tuchelt et al. 1996, 139–45) confirm that Ionian sculptors did not shy away from incorporating furniture into large-scale marble monuments, but a kline would certainly require more marble and more effort than a throne. Still, even full-sized carved stone couches exist in contemporary tombs in western Asia Minor, and some are monolithic (e.g., Mellink 1974, 355–59, pl. 69, figs. 16–19; Özgen et al. 1996, 41–2, 49, figs. 78, 96–9; Baughan 2004, 54–78; 2008). The incorporation of reclining statue and kline in one funerary monument is found in archaic Etruria and throughout the Roman empire (supra n. 48).



Fig. 26. Lakonian cup from Samos in Berlin, Antikenabteilung Charlottenburg, and Vathy, Archaeological Museum of Samos (after Stibbe 1972, pl. 58).

Sometimes background details that appear to be items hanging on a wall seem to confirm an interior setting (fig. 27).¹⁵⁸ But reading space on Greek vases is no simple matter; lyres, for example, can appear to hang in a vineyard.¹⁵⁹ In a recent study of “Bodengelege” in Attic vase painting, Heinrich suggests that such details be “understood as attributes of the *symposion*” and finds no literal representations of indoor or outdoor banquets, but rather a complex of imagery with varying degrees of Dionysiac elements (vines,

vineyards, caves, and the very act of reclining on the ground) and illusionism.¹⁶⁰ In another recent study, Topper interprets such scenes as creative visions of a primitive past, where the privilege of sympotic reclining was assured to Athenian citizens by its association with Athens’ founding heroes.¹⁶¹ The identification of perceived setting becomes more complicated when we consider that within the home, a symposium could have taken place wherever there was space to recline around a krater, with or without klinai, even within a

¹⁵⁷ Dentzer 1982, 89; Finster-Hotz 1984, 61–3; Neils 1995, 439–40. Neils suggests that this innovation was “invented,” for vase painting at least, by the red-figure pioneers (possibly inspired by architectural sculpture such as the Assos frieze). Heinrich (2007, 102–5, 124–29) finds abbreviation likely only on certain vase shapes, while Klinger (1997, 349–64) sees the groundline recliners painted on the shoulders of some pots as clever allusions to bronze vessels with three-dimensional banqueters (e.g., figs. 17, 18 herein) in these locations; see also Lynch 2007, 244; Topper 2009, 10 n. 40.

¹⁵⁸ Attic red-figure kylix attributed to the Antiphon Painter (Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek, inv. no. VAS 2635 [ARV², 339, no. 57; BAPD, no. 203491]). See also a Lakonian cup in Paris (Musée du Louvre, inv. no. E667 [supra n. 89]); a red-figure cup attributed to Douris (Vatican,

Museo Gregoriano Etrusco Vaticano, inv. no. 16561 [ARV², 427, no. 2; BAPD, no. 205046]); Fehr 1971, 38–9; Heinrich 2007, 103–5; Lynch 2007, 244–45.

¹⁵⁹ E.g., on an Attic black-figure eye cup (Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, inv. no. 1974.344 [BAPD, no. 396; Boardman 1976]).

¹⁶⁰ Heinrich 2007, 105, 112. For the different significance of Dionysos reclining on the ground and on a klinē, see Heinrich 2007, 114; cf. Sourvinou-Inwood 2003, 79–89.

¹⁶¹ Topper 2009. This vision, however, would have contradicted the reality of the social custom, which was evidently not adopted by Greeks until the eighth or seventh century (Dentzer 1971, 1982; Fehr 1971; Boardman 1990; Matthäus 1999–2000; Wecowski 2002; Baughan 2004, 186–224; Franklin 2007, 196–97).



Fig. 27. Attic red-figure kylix attributed to the Antiphon Painter. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek, inv. no. VAS 2635 (R. Köhlung; © Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek München).

courtyard.¹⁶² And not all outdoor banquets were necessarily on the ground or necessarily cultic, or at least conceived as such; fully furnished banquets may be depicted outside, as in Ashurbanipal's Garden Party relief (see fig. 15) or on Attic vases showing erotic symposia with klinai in vineyards or arbors, whether or not they ever really took place there.¹⁶³ Moreover, not all cultic banquets were necessarily outdoors: even in sanctuaries, certain banqueters reclined on couches or built-in benches in dining rooms, *hestiatoria*, or

rock-cut caves.¹⁶⁴ The lack of symposion furniture in our sculptures is therefore inconclusive.

The wineskin used as a cushion by *-arches* offers no further clarification. When wineskins serve this function in Attic vase painting, they usually support satyrs or mortals reclining directly on a groundline (see fig. 27),¹⁶⁵ but there are notable exceptions in which wineskin pillows are used atop standard klinai, even in contexts lacking overt Dionysiac elements (fig. 28).¹⁶⁶ Two of the small bronze banqueters comparable to these sculptures also appear to lean on wineskin pil-

¹⁶² Lynch 2007, 244–45; see also Stein-Hölkeskamp 1992, 45; Goldberg 1999, 152; Andrianou 2006, 222 n. 9; supra n. 152.

¹⁶³ Stewart 1997, 161, fig. 99.

¹⁶⁴ Broneer 1973, 34–46, pls. 56, 57; Goldstein 1978, 315 n. 442; Bookidis 1990, 1993; Tomlinson 1990; Bookidis and Stroud 1997, 395–402; Gebhard 2002; Baughan 2004, 20–1; Leypold 2008, 143–46.

¹⁶⁵ Heinrich 2007, 119–20; Lynch 2007, 245. In addition to the vases listed by Immerwahr (1992, 123 n. 8 [some with wineskin pillows used in erotic, rather than strictly sympotic contexts]), see also a red-figure cup in the manner of the Antiphon Painter (Aleria, Musée Archeologique, inv. no. 67.332 [BAPD, no. 9406; *Beazley Addenda*² 397; Jehasse and Jehasse 1973, pls. 26, 27, no. 1769]); a red-figure head kantharos attributed to the Brygos Painter (London, British Museum, inv. no. E784 [ARV², 382, no. 184; BAPD, no. 204083]); (possibly) a red-figure cup fragment in the manner of the Bry-

gos Painter (Adria, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, inv. no. 22149 [BAPD, no. 13859]); and (possibly) a red-figure column krater (Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. G484 [BAPD, no. 10716]). For a satyr reclining on a wineskin, see, e.g., a red-figure head kantharos attributed to the Brygos Painter (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. no. 12.234.5 [ARV², 382, no. 183; BAPD, no. 204082]). On satyrs' uses of wineskins, see Lissarrague 1990, 72–6.

¹⁶⁶ Attic red-figure kylix attributed to the Foundry Painter (Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, inv. no. 01.8034 [ARV², 401 no. 11; BAPD, no. 204352]); see also the Etruscan terracotta sarcophagus with reclining couple from Cerveteri in the Louvre (Richter 1966, fig. 451); another cup attributed to the Foundry Painter (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum [ARV², 402, no. 12; BAPD, no. 204353; Schäfer 1997, 42–4, pl. 15.1]); and a cup attributed to the Brygos Painter (London, British Museum, inv. no. E71 [ARV², 372, no. 29; BAPD, no. 203927]). Wineskins are also shown in association with



Fig. 28. Attic red-figure kylix attributed to the Foundry Painter, with scenes from a symposium, ca. 480 B.C.E., ht. 11.7 cm, diam. 29.8 cm. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Henry Lillie Pierce Fund, 01.8034 (© 2010 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston).

lows (see fig. 17).¹⁶⁷ Rather than signaling an outdoor or rustic setting, the wineskin pillow alludes to heavy sympotic drinking, regardless of locale, and helps disassociate *-arches*, visually, from the other members of the Geneleos Group; this compositional disunity helps the viewer perceive the figures as individual entities, engaged in their own form of cult worship or ideal activity, rather than as family members enjoying the same physical space.

The question of whether our banqueters recline for a cult meal or symposium may be not only unanswerable but also irrelevant; perhaps it was the act of reclining like a symposiast and not the location of the banquet that was important to convey. The dichotomy between “cult banquet” and “symposium” is itself misleading for the Archaic period, as it presupposes a distinction between sacred and private banqueting that is not substantiated by archaic evidence. For the Archaic period, we have more evidence for specially equipped dining rooms in sanctuaries than in domestic settings.¹⁶⁸ Rabinowitz has recently pointed out the

discrepancies between this emerging archaeological evidence and the common conception of the symposium as a private institution and, finding more references to cultic than domestic spaces in archaic poetry concerned with the symposium, has argued that archaic symposia may have taken place more often in sanctuaries than in private homes.¹⁶⁹ Our conception of the symposium as an essentially private and noncultic institution, but for certain ritualized aspects and sacred elements such as libations, is based largely on classical sources. Banqueting on the ground, then, is not an unequivocal marker of a sanctuary setting. The lack of a kline does not divorce the pose of reclining from its connotations of sympotic luxury nor require a cultic context.

HISTORICAL CONTEXT AND SIGNIFICANCE

Surely sympotic gatherings at sanctuaries and “fat,” wealthy aristocrats were not limited to archaic Ionia, so why are dedications of corpulent symposiasts found only in this region? The prominent Geneleos Group

unoccupied klinai on a cup in the manner of the Brygos Painter and a later red-figure cup in Florence (Rome, Villa Giulia Museum [ARV², 389, no. 29; BAPD, no. 204174]; Florence, Museo Archaeologico Etrusco, inv. no. 20B17 [BAPD, no. 9012358]).

¹⁶⁷ See also Halle-Wittenberg, Martin Luther University of

Halle-Wittenberg Museum, inv. no. 86 (supra n. 98).

¹⁶⁸ Baughan 2004, 212–13; Leypold 2008, 142–50; Rabinowitz 2009, 138–42; supra n. 42.

¹⁶⁹ Rabinowitz 2007, 2009; see also Bowie (1997, 3 n. 27) on the possibility that ritual dining at festivals (albeit of Dionysos) was “sympotic” (supra n. 28).

may have been the catalyst for this votive trend,¹⁷⁰ especially since all these sculptures, except the bare-chested figure from Didyma, share, where preserved, the peculiar arrangement of the himation worn by *-arches*. As we have seen, the image of the reclining banqueter was also evidently more visible in the monumental arts of Ionia than elsewhere in the archaic world. There is indirect evidence that votive images of banqueters, as a self-representational medium distinct from the more general visibility of reclining banqueters in Ionia, may have carried a special political significance.

To understand the place of banqueting in elite ideologies of Ionia, one must also consider Polycrates, tyrant of Samos (ca. 540–522 B.C.E.).¹⁷¹ Textual sources, all admittedly later than the sixth century, portray Polycrates as a seasoned banqueter, who brought the lifestyle of luxury to new heights.¹⁷² Soon after his demise, his secretary and successor, Maiandrios, dedicated the *kosmos* (gear) of Polycrates' banquet hall (*andron*) at the Heraion.¹⁷³ While it is interesting to speculate what may have constituted the *kosmos* of a lavish archaic *andron*,¹⁷⁴ the significance of this dedication for understanding the banqueter statues and statuettes lies more in its possible political message. Polycrates was notorious for seizing possessions of political enemies and has been credited with a "clampdown on aristocratic ostentation" as a "neutralization of political enemies,"¹⁷⁵ so Maiandrios' act of consecration may be seen both as a means of putting an end to the cycle of appropriation and as a way of displaying Polycrates' excess. This may have been one of Maiandrios' outwardly democratic gestures that really favored the aristocratic status quo, pre-tyranny.¹⁷⁶ If normal sympotic behavior on Samos, prior to the reign of Polycrates and the creation of his own lavish

private *andron*, had involved sanctuary dining halls decked with votive *kosmos*, then Maiandrios' dedication could be seen as a return to that aristocratic norm.¹⁷⁷ Still, Polycrates' excesses may have cast a negative light on self-identifying as an opulent banqueter, thus weakening the popularity of this figure type as a votive medium. At the same time, Polycrates' and other tyrants' transfer of sympotic activity from communal (if still elite) dining halls at sanctuaries to private *andrones* may have played a crucial role in the development of the private symposion as we know it from classical sources.¹⁷⁸ Once a clear distinction between cult meals and private symposia emerged, it may have been unusual to express one's role as a private symposiast in a votive context. Our difficulties distinguishing whether these banqueters are meant to be enjoying a cult meal or symposion and understanding why elite men would have wanted to represent themselves as symposiasts in a sanctuary underscores how much our understanding of the symposion relies on classical sources, in which that distinction is important.

The earliest of our banqueter sculptures predate the reign of Polycrates and thus possibly also the distinction between public and private banqueting. The idea that symposia took place in Ionian sanctuaries during this period must remain speculative, since no specially equipped banquet halls have been identified archaeologically at the Samian Heraion or at other Ionian sanctuaries, but it is possible that even outdoor cult banquets included sympotic groups. As noted above, cult dining in the Heraion was said to have taken place outdoors, with participants reclining on mats made of *lygos*.¹⁷⁹ *Skenai* were said to have been erected as temporary shelters, and some postholes found in the sanctuary may attest to such

¹⁷⁰ Fehr 1971, 121–22; Freyer-Schauenburg 1974, 117, 120, 122, 149; Tuchelt 1976, 60–1; Walter-Karydi 1985, 95; Ridgway 1993, 198. Walter-Karydi (1985, 93–4) also suggests that the young male figure in this group catalyzed the trend in statues of standing draped youths (cf. Barletta 1987, 235).

¹⁷¹ On the chronology of his reign, see Mitchell 1975, 76 (with n. 2).

¹⁷² Ath. 12.540d–e; Hdt. 3.121; *FGrHist* 539; Shipley 1987, 81–4; Franklin 2007, 197–98. See Günther (1999) on the questionable accuracy of these later sources.

¹⁷³ Hdt. 3.123.1: "ὅς χρόνῳ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον τοῦτον τὸν κόσμον τὸν ἐκ τοῦ ἀνδρεῶνος τοῦ Πολυκράτους ἐόντα ἀξιοθέτητον ἀνέθηκε πάντα ἐς τὸ Ἡραῖον"; see also Roisman 1985, 264–65.

¹⁷⁴ Cf. Hdt. 7.83, where "kosmos" refers to the special equipment of Xerxes' Ten Thousand. It can also mean, more generally, "adornment" (e.g., Hdt. 5.92η; Hom. *Il.* 14.187), and Polycrates was said to have "κοσμηθῆναι" Samos (Ath. 12.540d; *FGrHist* 539). Rouse (1975, 316) imagined that this dedication included "splendid furniture and ornaments," and Croesus'

consecration of gold- and silver-plated klinai, gold vessels, and rich purple cloths to Apollo via holocaust (Hdt. 1.50) provides a possible model. This *kosmos* may also have included armor and weapons; cf. Alc. 357LP; Hdt. 1.34; and a symposion scene on a Middle Corinthian column krater (Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. E629 [*BAPD*, no. 9019327; Richter 1966, fig. 311]); see also Stein-Hölkeskamp 1992, 42, 47 n. 30; Schäfer 1997, 25–7; van Wees 1998, 363–66.

¹⁷⁵ Shipley 1987, 84, 90, 92–3; see also Mitchell 1975, 84–5; von Steuben 1980, 23. The chronology of the banqueter dedications catalogued here, however, challenges the supposed decline of monumental votives in Ionia in the late sixth century; see also Sinn 1982, 50–5.

¹⁷⁶ Mitchell 1975, 86; Roisman 1985, 263–67; Shipley 1987, 104. Dentzer (1982, 446) reads it as a democratic move.

¹⁷⁷ I thank Adam Rabinowitz for this suggestion. See Roisman (1985, 263–65) for Maiandrios' establishment of the cult of Zeus Eleutherios as a vehicle for his message of "liberty."

¹⁷⁸ Rabinowitz 2004, 2007, 2009.

¹⁷⁹ Supra n. 151.

tents.¹⁸⁰ The large archaic stoa on the north side of the sanctuary, divided into smaller compartments by cross-walls, could have accommodated smaller groups of diners, perhaps cult officials.¹⁸¹ Pottery associated with the festivities, consecrated to Hera and found in deposits near the altar, are generally plain wares, but cups dominate these assemblages and indicate that drinking was an important part of the celebrations.¹⁸² Nicaenetus of Samos confirms that drinking wine was an important part of Samian cult, at least in the Hellenistic period, and he praises also the role of “the charming (χαρίεσσα) lyre” in the festivities.¹⁸³ If the Lakonian cup and Fikellura amphora discussed above are taken as representations that reflect upon cult worship in the Heraion,¹⁸⁴ we may read further sympotic elements in the musical accompaniment of an aulos, the wearing of a *mitra* (turban-like headdress associated with Lydia and the lifestyle of *habrosyne*), the use of drinking horns, and possibly (if the inner band of decoration on the Lakonian kylix is to be understood in association) even komast dancers.¹⁸⁵

The question remains why the image of the reclining banqueter was so much more visible in the monumental arts of Ionia than elsewhere in archaic Greece. Two factors may help explain this special prominence: proximity to Lydia and other Anatolian cultures where elite status was often expressed in terms of the reclining banquet; and connections with Cyprus, where the Phoenician tradition of the reclining banquet was strong. As noted above, dedications of reclining banqueters at Ionian sanctuaries may be seen as corollaries to contemporary Anatolian funerary monuments that conceptualize the deceased as a reclining banqueter, through iconography or actual furnishings in tombs. Burials on stone replicas of Greek-style klinai are common in Lydian and Phrygian tombs of the sixth and fifth centuries and are also attested in Mysia, the Troad, and northern Lycia. Most of these

are dated to the later sixth or fifth century, but the tradition seems to begin in the first half of the sixth century.¹⁸⁶ A tumulus chamber near Sardis (see fig. 21) exemplifies the type, with a limestone kline of distinctive type set against one wall of the chamber. Though most such tombs have been looted, when grave goods are recovered they often include items associated with banqueting, such as drinking vessels and tables.¹⁸⁷ A similar presentation of the deceased as a reclining banqueter is found in the funerary monuments of western Asia Minor in the late sixth and fifth centuries, particularly on Anatolian-Persian stelae (see fig. 20).¹⁸⁸ These monuments are somewhat later than the votive sculptures considered here, but, like the kline tombs, they attest the prominence of such imagery—and the encoding of elite status through the image of the reclining banqueter—among dynastic cultures of Asia Minor. For Lydians of the sixth century, monumental tomb design and decoration was the primary arena for elite self-definition; in East Greece, on the other hand, such elite self-expression took place in sanctuaries more often than in cemeteries. Geneleos’ *-arches* and his fellow banqueters can thus be seen as East Greek counterparts to kline occupants in Lydian and other western Anatolian tombs, different forms of monumentalized elite self-expression, manifesting the ideology of the banquet but in different, socially circumscribed terms.¹⁸⁹

East Greek connections with Cyprus, home to some of our earliest evidence for the reclining banquet and for its important role in elite culture,¹⁹⁰ are also relevant. These were strongest on Samos, where the reclining symposiast sculptural type was established by Geneleos. Cypriot imports, including a reclining banqueter statuette (with seated woman included), have been found at the Heraion of Samos in strata of the seventh century through the first half of the sixth century, concurrent with the Geneleos Group.¹⁹¹ The con-

¹⁸⁰ Polyaeus *Strat.* 6.45; Kron 1988, 142–43.

¹⁸¹ Kron 1988, 144.

¹⁸² Kron 1988, 144–47; Kyrieleis 1993, 139. On archaeological evidence for cult meals in the Heraion, see also Kučan 2000.

¹⁸³ Ath. 673b–c.

¹⁸⁴ For the Lakonian cup, this admittedly stretches the argument, but both Kron (1988, 142) and Pipili (1998, 90) have suggested as much because the cup was dedicated to Hera (supra n. 26).

¹⁸⁵ On the association of the dancers with the banqueting scene, see supra n. 152. On *mitrai*, see Alcm. *Partheneion* 67–8; Pind. *Nem.* 8.16; Sappho fr. 98a.10–11; Kurtz and Boardman 1986, 51–6, 61; Kurke 1992, 97; DeVries 2000, 359–60.

¹⁸⁶ Supra n. 47; Baughan 2004, 154–62, 383–92.

¹⁸⁷ E.g., Özgen et al. 1996, 33–52; Sevinç et al. 1998.

¹⁸⁸ von Gall 1989, 149–52; Nollé 1992, 79–88; Baughan 2004, 328–42; Draycott 2007a, 57–61, 121–25. Draycott stresses the significance of the female figures on these reliefs and argues that they were meant to evoke nuptial banquets.

¹⁸⁹ There is even evidence for such a tomb arrangement within the tumulus at Belevi, near Ephesos, next to the better-known Hellenistic mausoleum (Kasper 1976–1977, 129–79; Praschniker and Theuer 1979, 170–72; Roosevelt 2003, 619–20, no. 536). This is not surprising, since the tomb lies on a major travel route between Ionia and Sardis and has other Lydian affinities. Eckert (1998, sec. 4.2.2; also available online at <http://www.sub.uni-hamburg.de/disse/221/>) has suggested that the tumulus may have been associated with a pro-Persian tyrant of Ephesos in the latter half of the sixth century.

¹⁹⁰ Supra n. 40.

¹⁹¹ Schmidt 1968, 54, 62–3, 96–8, pl. 111; Shipley 1987, 87.

ception of worshiper/dedicant as a reclining banqueter is also found on a smaller scale in Cyprus, in dedications of similar statuettes and statuette groups (see fig. 22). As noted above, the Cypriot reclining banqueters seem to be contemporary with the earliest Ionian symposiast sculptures, and it is uncertain whether one type may have provided inspiration for the other; but these two contemporary traditions at least indicate a shared conception of the image of the reclining banqueter as an appropriate vehicle for votive expression. It is also worth noting that on Cyprus, as in western Anatolia, the theme also appeared on funerary monuments of the fifth century, before the more general trend of Totenmahl reliefs in mainland Greece.¹⁹²

CONCLUSIONS

Geneleos presented his patron *-arches* as a symposiast in full reclining glory, with chest and belly accentuated by the folds of an ungirt chiton, unusually revealed by a himation left open in the front. Whether this distinctive mode of attire was common for Ionian symposiasts or invented by Geneleos to highlight the physique of his patron, it appears on most other (subsequent) reclining banqueter dedications in Ionia and encapsulates the elite status and sympotic privilege of their dedicants. As attributes such as drinking horns and a wineskin pillow make clear, the context of the banquet is sympotic, but its perceived location is ambiguous; it need not have been the domestic symposia portrayed by classical sources, as sympotic gatherings in the Archaic period may well have taken place in sanctuary settings as much as, if not more often than, in private contexts, where evidence for specialized dining rooms is lacking for the Archaic period. At the same time, the lack of a kline does not necessarily mark these banqueters as cult worshipers dining on *stibades*.

The corpulence of some of the figures is not merely an Ionian stylistic quirk but a self-conscious statement of social identity, one that embraced luxury and opulence and may have lain behind the discourse of gluttony in archaic poetry. This localized form of elite self-expression may have been inspired by the presentation of the dead as reclining banqueters in monumental funerary art and assemblages in contemporary western Anatolia and also shares formal characteristics with some Cypriot votive sculptures. In general, the image of the reclining banqueter occupied a more prominent place in the visual landscapes of Ionian sanctuaries than elsewhere in archaic Greece: during the period of the sculpted symposiasts,

reclining banqueters were depicted on several architectural relief friezes in western Asia Minor and Ionia, and Samos seems to have been a production center for small-scale bronze banqueters that served as vessel attachments. The visual prominence of this motif in Ionia is matched only in Etruria during the same period. Connections and similarities between Ionian and Etruscan art and culture in the sixth century have often been noted; a precise explanation for this particular cultural affinity lies outside the scope of this article, but it can at least be said that in both regions, the motif was employed in elite self-expression during the sixth century.

The localized votive trend represented by these sculpted symposiasts may be compared to the corpus of archaic equestrian statues dedicated on the Athenian Acropolis. Just as the equestrian type, whether used for mortal or mythical figures, was particularly suitable "for the cultic, political, and social spheres of sixth-century BC Athens,"¹⁹³ so the reclining banqueter type was appropriate to the mores of archaic Ionia, whether used as a votive type representing a mortal dedicant or divine honoree, or even in mythical narrative in temple sculpture. And just as the naked kouroi erected as votive statues or as funerary markers throughout the Greek world have been seen to embody athletic virtues and thereby to identify their dedicants as members of the social class that placed value on such virtues,¹⁹⁴ the amply clothed and amply-bodied figures of Ionian sculpture, whether banqueters or standing figures, seem to privilege a different body image and comportment. Their soft physiques look feminine to us only because we are conditioned by Atheno-centric histories of Greek art.

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Appendix: Catalogue of Banqueter Statues and Statuettes from Archaic Ionia

SAMOS, HERAION

Catalogue Number: 1 (see figs. 1–3).

Location: Vathy, Archaeological Museum of Samos, inv. no. 768.

¹⁹² Dentzer 1982, 279–81; Pogiati 2003, 74–5.

¹⁹³ Eaverly 1995, 70.

¹⁹⁴ Osborne 1998b, 29.

Findspot: Near the Sacred Way in front of the Geneleos base.

Dimensions: Preserved ht. 0.54 m (0.70 m including plinth); preserved lgth. 1.58 m; wdth. 0.54–0.58 m.

Description: Marble reclining figure from the Geneleos Group, just under-life-sized, ca. 560 B.C.E. The head, feet, and parts of both hands are not preserved. A himation with broad folds hangs loosely over the left shoulder and arm, back, and legs. Beneath it, the figure wears a short-sleeved chiton with narrow folds delineated through crisp, parallel grooves. The chiton extends beneath the hem of the himation toward the ankles. The straight edge of a trapezoidal mass of hair, divided into 19 individual locks, is preserved along the upper back. The figure holds a curved object (probably a drinking horn) in the left hand, before the chest, and rests the right hand over the right knee. The outer face of the object is broken, preserving only the outline of where it made contact with the body, except for the lowest portion, which terminates beneath the hand in a broad, flat plane. The left elbow is supported on a cushion in the form of a folded wineskin. The plinth has the rounded profile of a mattress and carries traces of painted decoration, in transverse bands, and a dedicatory inscription: "...]ἀρχης ἡμεῶς καὶ [νέθηκ]ε τῇ Ἡρῇ." References: *IG* 12 6² 559; Buschor 1934b, 26–9, figs. 99–101; 1961, 84–6, figs. 349, 350; Fehr 1971, 120–21, no. 120; 2003, 25, figs. 5, 6; Dunst 1972, 132–35; Freyer-Schauenburg 1974, 106–7, 116–30, no. 63, pls. 44, 45, 51–3; Dentzer 1982, 157, no. S19; 161–62, figs. 133–35; Walter-Karydi 1985, 95–7; Fuchs and Floren 1987, 345–48, fig. 11, pl. 31.2; Jeffery 1990, 329 n. 3, 341, no. 6; Kienast 1992; Ridgway 1993, 191, 198–99, 209–10; Löhr 2000, 14–17, no. 10; Brinkmann 2003, no. 353; Bumke 2004, 82–90; see also the Packard Humanities Institute Greek Epigraphy Web site (<http://epigraphy.packhum.org/inscriptions/>), no. 254399 (Samos 237).

Catalogue Number: 2 (see fig. 4).

Location: Vathy, Archaeological Museum of Samos, inv. no. I 142a, b.

Findspot: Reused in Late Antique wall east of the Geneleos Group base along the Sacred Way.

Dimensions: Fragment A, preserved ht. 0.42 m; preserved wdth. 0.60 m; Fragment B, preserved ht. 0.435 m (0.525 m, including plinth); preserved wdth. 0.66 m.

Description: Two marble fragments of an under-life-sized reclining figure with drinking horn, ca. 540 B.C.E. Fragment A includes the chest, part of the left arm (holding a drinking horn), and lower locks of hair falling before the shoulders. A himation drapes over the left shoulder and falls in heavy, vertical folds over the left side of the chest and in fanning folds across the back. The fanning folds of a lighter-weight chiton are

rendered on the right side of the chest; broad chiton folds are also visible on Fragment B, over the upper thighs and the lower legs. The legs extend to the left, placed parallel with knees bent, and the right hand rests on the right knee. Draped over both knees are the thick folds of the himation, which terminate over the lower (left) knee.

References: Buschor 1935, 49–50, figs. 177, 180; Fehr 1971, 121, no. 495; Freyer-Schauenburg 1974, 148–49, no. 70A/B, pl. 58; Dentzer 1982, 157, no. S20; 163, fig. 136; Sinn 1982, 52 n. 88; Fuchs and Floren 1987, 356; Ridgway 1993, 198, 213–14 n. 5.42; Brinkmann 2003, no. 354.

Catalogue Number: 3 (see fig. 5).

Location: Samos, Heraion Depot.

Findspot: The Heraion.

Dimensions: Max. preserved ht. 0.125 m; max. preserved lgth. 0.285 m; max. preserved wdth. 0.215 m.

Description: Marble fragment of a folded pillow, possibly for a reclining figure, possibly sixth century B.C.E. References: Freyer-Schauenburg 1974, 150, no. 71, pl. 56; Ridgway 1993, 213 n. 5.42.

DIDYMA

Catalogue Number: 4 (see fig. 6).

Location: Didyma, Didyma Excavation Depot, inv. no. S105.

Findspot: Found in 1974 in a field about 2 km northwest of Didyma.

Dimensions: Max. preserved ht. about 0.71 m; preserved lgth. 1.285 m; preserved wdth. 0.46 m.

Description: Fragmentary, marble, life-sized reclining figure with drinking horn, ca. 530 B.C.E. The head, right arm, and lower legs are not preserved. A himation covers the left shoulder and arm and drapes around the back (in heavy, parallel folds) to fall over the thighs in the front. A chiton with thin border and lightly incised folds covers the chest. Individual locks of hair fall before the shoulders in the front, while a solid mass of hair with banded tresses terminates on the shoulders in the back. The figure leans his left elbow on two stacked pillows, differentiated in size and firmness as well as through decoration, as Brinkmann has recorded weathering patterns indicative of former painted decoration on both: broad vertical stripes on the lower pillow, meander on the upper cushion.

References: Tuchelt 1976, 55–8, 61–6, figs. 1–3, 6; Dentzer 1982, 157, no. S24; 163; Walter-Karydi 1985, 96; Fuchs and Floren 1987, 376; Brinkmann 2003, no. 179.

Catalogue Number: 5 (see fig. 7).

Location: Didyma, Didyma Excavation Depot, inv. no. S106.

Findspot: Found in 1911 in the “upper levels” of the southwest excavation sector at the Temple of Apollo, then lost but rediscovered in the garden of the German “Stationshauses” at Didyma in 1974.

Dimensions: Max. preserved ht. 0.46 m; preserved ht. of figure 0.35 m; preserved lgth. 0.60 m; preserved wdth. 0.41 m.

Description: Marble fragment of an under-life-sized reclining figure with grapes and drinking horn(?), ca. 530 B.C.E. The lower torso, upper legs, left elbow, and two stacked pillows are preserved over a rectangular plinth. A himation is draped in neat folds around the waist and buttocks and across the back to terminate in zigzag folds over the left elbow. This arrangement and the lack of any indication of material on the preserved portion of the stomach suggest that the figure wore no chiton and was therefore bare-chested. At the left edge of the top pillow is the bottom of an oblong object that is probably a drinking horn once held in the left hand. Before the belly is an object that appears to be a grape cluster, which must have been held in the right hand. The underside is flat, with a rough-pointed center surrounded by smooth-chiseled bands on the edges (anathyrosis).

References: Tuchelt 1970, 66, no. K34; 1976, 55, 58–66, figs. 4, 5, 7–9; Freyer-Schauenburg 1974, 120; Dentzer 1982, 157, no. S25; 163; Walter-Karydi 1985, 96; Fuchs and Floren 1987, 376.

MYOUS

Catalogue Number: 6 (see fig. 8).

Location: Berlin, Staatliche Museen, inv. no. 1673.

Findspot: Probably in Wiegand’s excavations at Myous in 1908.

Dimensions: Max. preserved ht. about 0.17 m; preserved lgth. 0.37 m; wdth. about 0.18 m.

Description: Statuette of a reclining figure dedicated by Hermonax, made of blue-veined marble, in two fragments joined with a restoration in the middle, ca. 550–525 B.C.E. The figure wears a short-sleeved chiton that reaches to the ankles, with a heavy himation draped over the left shoulder and across the back, folded across the right thigh and terminating in a ball or tassel at its corner. Folds of the thinner chiton are lightly rendered on the front and back of the knee but more deeply carved across the right shoulder, radiating from two gathered points at the top of the sleeve. The figure’s right hand rests on his right leg, and the left holds a large, one-handled tankard before the chest. On the back, the pointed ends of hair locks are preserved, with vertical and horizontal divisions within a single mass. A simple rectangular pillow supports the left elbow, and the plinth is rounded at the top to resemble a cushion or mattress; on the front, a sunken horizontal band ap-

pears to define a mattress layer, on which Brinkmann has detected traces of pigment belonging to banded decoration. The drinking vessel was also painted, with a pattern composed of vertical interlocking rays, yellow ocher (below) and green or blue (above). Inscription on chest: “Ερμῶνάξ με καὶ τ[ὸ] τ[έ]κνον ἀνέθεσαν δεκάτην ἔργων τῶ[ι] Ἀπόλλωνι.”

References: *SEG* 34 1189; Blümel 1963, 63, no. 66, figs. 213, 214; Weber 1965, 48 n. 11; Fehr 1971, 120, 178, no. 492; Freyer-Schauenburg 1974, 120; Jeffery 1976, pl. 45; 1990, 473, no. 39a; Dentzer 1982, 157, no. S21; 163, figs. 137, 138; Bravo 1984, 115–16; Fuchs and Floren 1987, 376, pl. 33.5; Kron 1988, fig. 7; Ridgway 1993, 198, pl. 45, fig. 5.83; Brinkmann 2003, no. 190; Schmitt-Pantel and Lissarrague 2004, 243, no. 167; see also the Anne Jeffery Archive (<http://poinikastas.csad.ox.ac.uk/>), no. 1311; Packard Humanities Institute Greek Epigraphy Web site (<http://epigraphy.packhum.org/inscriptions/>), no. 252354 (Miletos 243*5).

Catalogue Number: 7 (see figs. 9–11).

Location: Berlin, Staatliche Museen, inv. nos. 1674, V3-91.

Findspot: Probably in Wiegand’s excavations at Myous in 1908.

Dimensions: Fragment A, max. preserved ht. 0.18 m; max. preserved lgth. 0.105 m; wdth. about 0.185 m; Fragment B, max. preserved ht. 0.095 m; max. preserved lgth. 0.195 m; wdth. 0.19 m.

Description: Two fragments of a reclining statuette made of blue-veined marble, ca. 550–500 B.C.E. Fragment A includes part of the neck, torso, and left arm, leaning on a pillow; Fragment B contains the lower legs, including both feet. The figure wears a short-sleeved, ankle-length chiton, and the corner of a himation lies folded over the lower legs. On the back of the left shoulder, the pointed ends of three locks of hair, similar to those on catalogue number 6, are partly preserved. The feet are bare, with toes articulated. On the front of the plinth, a sunken band defines a mattress layer, as on catalogue number 6. Kiderlen and Strocka do not assign these two fragments to the same figure, but the marble is compatible, and the width (depth) of the two pieces is nearly identical.

References: Blümel 1963, 63, no. 67, fig. 212 (Fragment A only); Weber 1965, 48 n. 11; Fehr 1971, 122, 179, no. 494; Freyer-Schauenburg 1974, 120; Dentzer 1982, 157, no. S23; 163; Kiderlen and Strocka 2006, 72, nos. 19, 20.

Catalogue Number: 8 (see fig. 12).

Location: Berlin, Staatliche Museen, inv. no. 1672.

Findspot: Probably in Wiegand’s excavations at Myous in 1908.

Dimensions: Max. preserved ht. about 0.19 m; preserved lgth. about 0.58 m; preserved wdth. about 0.22 m.

Description: Reclining statuette of blue-veined marble, ca. 525–500 B.C.E. The feet, head, and left arm are not preserved. The right arm rests along the side of the torso and thighs, and the right hand rests atop the right knee. The figure wears a short-sleeved chiton that reaches to the ankles, beneath a himation that drapes from the left shoulder across the back and under the right arm to cover the right leg. A corner of the himation lies folded on the left knee. Subtle modulations between the figure's lower legs distinguish the material of the lighter chiton from that of the heavier, smooth himation. The smooth heel of one foot is preserved. Although Kiderlen noted a "paper-thin sole" and presumed a "closed shoe of soft leather,"¹⁹⁵ the beginning of an arch suggests that the foot is in fact bare. Traces of a painted checkerboard pattern were noted by Kiderlen on the border of the himation. On the back of the right shoulder, the ends of four locks of hair ending in a single straight edge are evident but poorly preserved.

References: Blümel 1963, 63, no. 68, figs. 215, 216; Weber 1965, 48 n. 11; Fehr 1971, 122, 179, no. 493; Freyer-Schauenburg 1974, 120; Dentzer 1982, 157, no. S22; 163; Fuchs and Floren 1987, 376; Kiderlen and Strocka 2006, 70, no. 18.

UNKNOWN PROVENANCE

Catalogue Number: 9 (see fig. 13).

Location: Miletos, Miletos Sculpture Depot, Balat Museum, inv. no. 1836.

Findspot: Unknown, but stored with other items from Wiegand's excavations at Myous in 1908.

Dimensions: Preserved lgth. 0.235 m; preserved wdth. 0.11 m.

Description: Fragment of a marble statuette of a reclining figure, ca. 550–525 B.C.E. All that is preserved is the back part of the legs of a reclining figure, wearing a himation.

References: von Graeve 1985, 122, no. 8, pl. 26.3; Fuchs and Floren 1987, 376.

Catalogue Number: 10 (see fig. 14).

Location: Miletos, Miletos Sculpture Depot, Balat Museum, inv. no. 553.

Findspot: Unknown.

Dimensions: Preserved ht. (including plinth) 0.16 m; max. preserved lgth. 0.31 m.

Description: Marble fragment with the bare right foot of a life-sized figure, reclining on the left side, prob-

ably late sixth century B.C.E. The foot is finely carved, with the fabric of a long chiton terminating in narrow lateral folds over the middle of the foot, covering the heel and falling heavily on the plinth, which resembles a cushion.

References: von Graeve 1985, 121–22, no. 7, pl. 26.4; Fuchs and Floren 1987, 376.

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¹⁹⁵ Kiderlen and Strocka 2006, 70 (trans. from German).

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