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A Bronze Kline from Lydia

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Introduction

In 1982, the J. Paul Getty Museum purchased an ancient *kline* made mostly of bronze (*pl.* 9, 1)¹. It replicates, at full scale, a wooden couch with lathe-turned legs, comparable to those attested in the Greek world in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C.E.² As one of only four known bronze beds or couches that pre-date the Hellenistic period³, it is an important artifact that can con-

Antike Kunst 55, 2012, pp. 63–87 pls. 9–11

¹ Accession no. 82.AC.94. The item is mentioned in B. K. McLaughlin, *Lydian Graves and Burial Customs* (PhD Diss., University of California, Berkeley 1985) 365 n. 5, and was the subject of an appendix in E. P. Baughan, *Anatolian Funerary Klinai: Tradition and Identity* (PhD Diss., University of California, Berkeley 2004) 85–88, 566–85 figs. 224–235. Portions of what follows appeared there, but this paper presents a more detailed analysis and uses the piece as a means to explore current debates about cultural property ownership. This work is based on the authors' personal study of the *kline* at the J. Paul Getty Museum in 1996 and 2001–2002, supported in part by a Humanities Research Grant from the University of California, Berkeley. We are grateful to the J. Paul Getty Museum and its former and current Curators of Antiquities – Marion True, Karol Wight, and Claire Lyons – for allowing us to study and publish the piece and for providing drawings and photographs. For assistance and valuable insights, special thanks are owed to John Papadopoulos and Ken Lapatin, past and current Associate Curators of the Department of Antiquities, and to Jeff Maish (Associate Conservator) and David Scott (then head of the Getty Museum Research Laboratory), who kindly shared the results of their technical analyses, now published in D. A. Scott – J. P. Maish, *A Lydian Bed of Iron, Bronze and Copper. Technical Examination of a Metallurgical Masterpiece*, *Studies in Conservation* 55, 2010, 3–19. We are also deeply indebted to Crawford H. Greenewalt, Jr., for introducing us to the piece, sharing records of his own investigations into its history, and helping to decipher its rather unpredictable decoration. For editorial assistance, thanks are also due to Rachel Starry and to the editors of *Antike Kunst*. It should be noted here that the *kline* is “the subject of ongoing discussions” between the Turkish Ministry of Culture and the J. Paul Getty Museum (Claire Lyons, personal communication).

² Baughan *op. cit.* (note 1) 23–28, 579–80.

³ The other three are Etruscan: – 1. the bronze bed from the Regolini Galassi Tomb at Caere, now in the Museo Gregoriano Etrusco Vaticano 559 (here *pl.* 10, 5–6); L. Pareti, *La Tomba Regolini-Galassi del Museo Gregoriano Etrusco a la Civiltà dell'Italia centrale nel sec. VII a.C.* (Vatican City 1947) pls. 1. 3. 30–31; G. M. A. Richter, *The Furniture of the Greeks, Etruscans, and Romans* (London 1966) 92;

tribute much to our understanding of ancient furniture and metallurgy, and adhering fragments and pseudo-morphs of linen cloth add to the corpus of preserved ancient textiles. The decoration incised on the surfaces of the *kline* frame offers unique variations upon Archaic ornamental motifs (rosettes, meander bands, and lotus-and-palmette and lotus bud-and-flower chains), in a freehand technique that suggests individual interpretation and adaptation.

Like many objects acquired by American museums in the 1980s, the *kline* has no certain provenance and no verifiable collection history and probably entered the antiquities market as the result of illicit excavations. Unlike most looted artifacts, however, its original context can be determined with near certainty, owing to its rarity: a bronze bed was reportedly plundered from a Lydian tumulus in 1979, and many details of the Getty

G. Colonna – E. Di Paolo, *Il letto vuoto, la distribuzione del corredo e la «finestra» della Tomba Regolini-Galassi*, in: *Etrusca et Italica. Scritti in ricordo di Massimo Pallottino I* (Rome 1997) 131–172; – 2. a similar bed from Tarquinia: C. Avvolta, *Annali dell'Istituto di corrispondenza archeologica* 1, 1829, 91–93 pl. B; Colonna and Di Paolo *op. cit.* (see above) 133 n. 7; – 3. another, composed of bronze sheeting on an iron framework, reportedly found in one of the graves in the ‘Tumulo di Mezzo’ at Macchiaubua, with the remains of two individuals: A. Minto, *Marsiliana d'Albegna, Le scoperte archeologiche del Principe Don Tommaso Corsini* (Florence 1921) 26. A bronze bed in the Campana Collection appears to be a modern creation, inspired by the Regolini Galassi bed: G. Q. Giglioli, *Studi Romani* 3, 1955, 430; F. Gaultier in: *Les Etrusques et l'Europe. Exposition aux Galeries nationales du Grand Palais, Paris, 15 septembre – 14 décembre 1992 / Altes Museum, Berlin, 25 février – 31 mai 1993* (Paris and Milan 1992) 358. Bronze couches are attested textually in Thuc. 3.68.3, where bronze and iron fittings from the razed walls and buildings of Plataea are used to make couches for dedication to Hera, and in Pliny NH 34.4.9, on the fame of Delian bronze couches and couch-fittings. For bronze appliques or reinforcements for wooden couches of the Archaic and Persian periods, see *infra* note 124. For Hellenistic and Roman bronze (and bronze-fitted) couches and stools: Richter *op. cit.* (see above) 58, figs. 308 and 530–49; S. Faust, *Helvetica Archaeologica* 23, 1992; 82–110, figs. 9–16; A. Wallace-Hadrill, *Rome's Cultural Revolution* (Cambridge 2008) 421–25; D. Andrianou, *The Furniture and Furnishings of Ancient Greek Houses and Tombs* (Cambridge 2009) 33–38, figs. 7–8. For iron beds and bed-frames from early Etruscan tombs: Minto *op. cit.* (see above) 26. 34–39. 158–174. 282–3 fig. 7, pl. 48, 1; S. Steingraber, *Etruskische Möbel* (Rome 1979) no. 13.

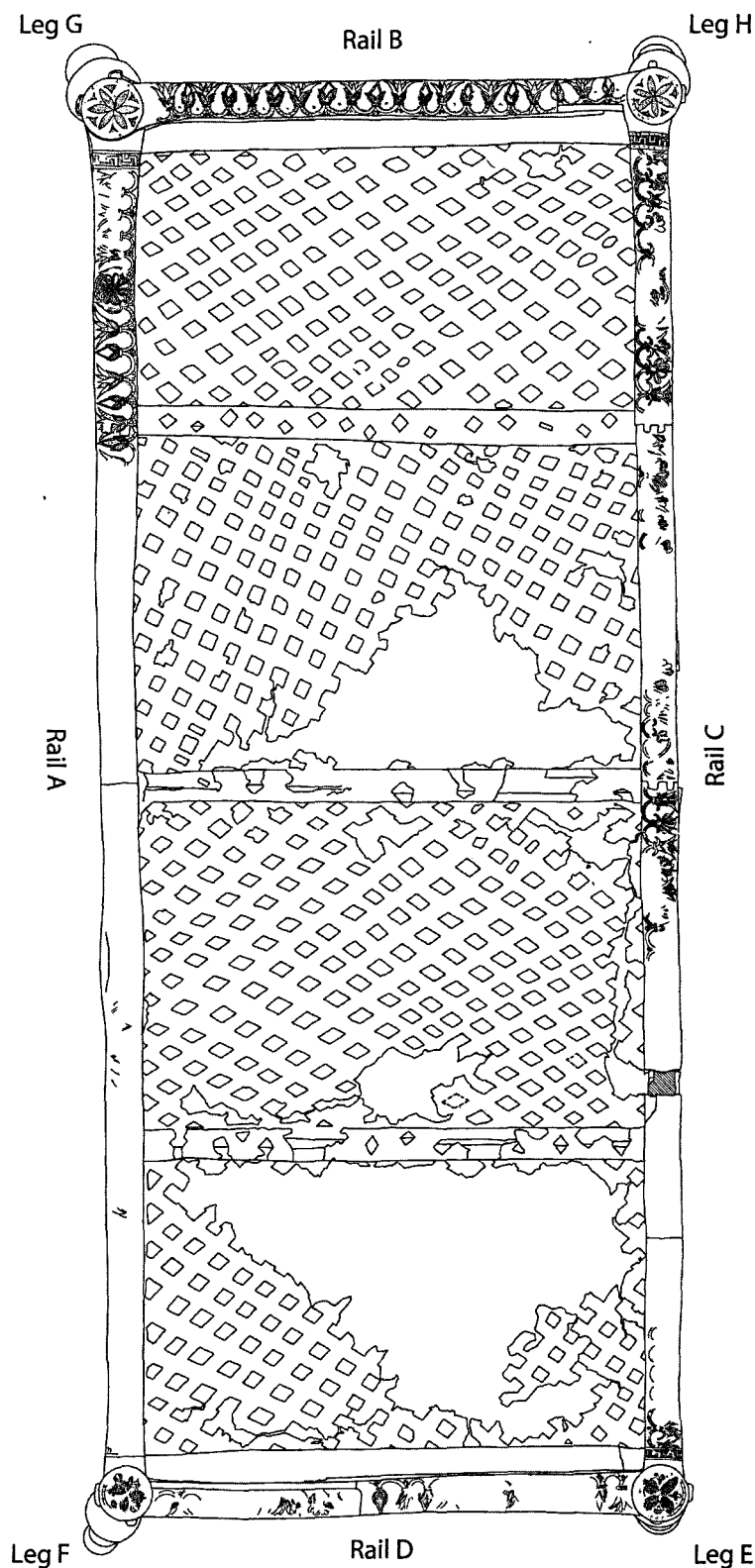


Fig. 1 Getty bronze *kline*, drawing of whole

kline's decoration and design accord with an East Greek or Lydian manufacture and a date consistent with that of the plundered tomb. This unique bronze *kline*, then, also sheds new light on Lydian burial customs and decora-

tive arts and serves to illustrate the culture of looting that plagues Lydian tumuli⁴. It also raises the important issue of how we should deal with looted antiquities in a way that best serves the archaeological community. An unprovenanced item out of context, especially a rarity like the Getty bronze *kline*, is essentially useless; but when context can be recovered, such a rarity can offer valuable insights into the culture that produced and used it. Renfrew has recently coined the term "post-disjunctive forensic re-contextualisation" for this kind of analysis and has praised the recent "successes" of such work in Italy⁵. Ignoring an object like this because of its looted status serves only to sustain the loss of archaeological information caused by the tomb robbery. This paper marks the first archaeological study of the piece and its context since its discovery more than thirty years ago and is the result of collaboration among scholars and conservators in both the US and Turkey. It is our sincere hope that publication of this piece will not only raise awareness of the ongoing problem of tumulus looting in Lydia but also enable discussion of approaches to provenance recovery and issues surrounding repatriation.

General description of the *kline*

The frame and legs of the *kline* are composed of iron encased in cast bronze, and its bed-surface consists of thin copper sheeting, perforated to create a latticed appearance (fig. 1; pl. 9, 1). Its cast legs exemplify the developed 'Type A' form classified by H. Kyrieleis, with a

⁴ C. H. Roosevelt – C. Luke, Looting Lydia: The Destruction of an Archaeological Landscape in Western Turkey, in: N. Brodie – M. M. Kersel – C. Luke – K. W. Tubb (eds.), *Archaeology, Cultural Heritage, and the Antiquities Trade* (Gainesville 2006); C. H. Roosevelt – C. Luke, Mysterious Shepherds and Hidden Treasures: The Culture of Looting in Lydia, Western Turkey, *Journal of Field Archaeology* 31, 2006, 185–98.

⁵ C. Renfrew, Combating the Illicit Antiquities Trade: Progress and Problems. Paper delivered at the International Meeting on Illicit Traffic in Cultural Property, Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali, Rome. Summary published in *Ufficio Studi, Newsletter* 2 (2009). http://www.ufficiostudi.beniculturali.it/mibac/export/UfficioStudi/sito-UfficioStudi/Contenuti/Archivio-Newsletter/Archivio/2010/Newsletter-2/visualizza_asset.html_1712427011.html (21 May 2011).

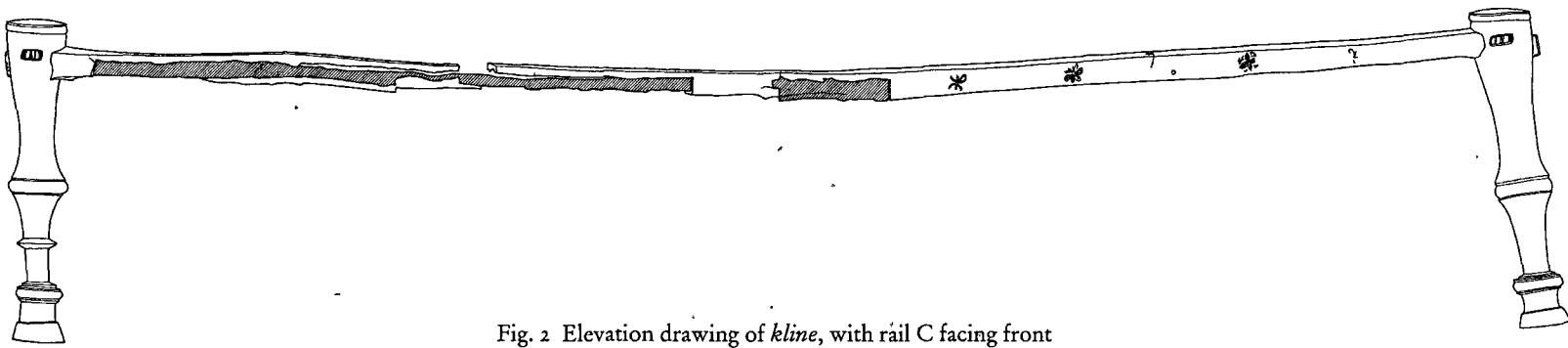


Fig. 2 Elevation drawing of *kline*, with rail C facing front

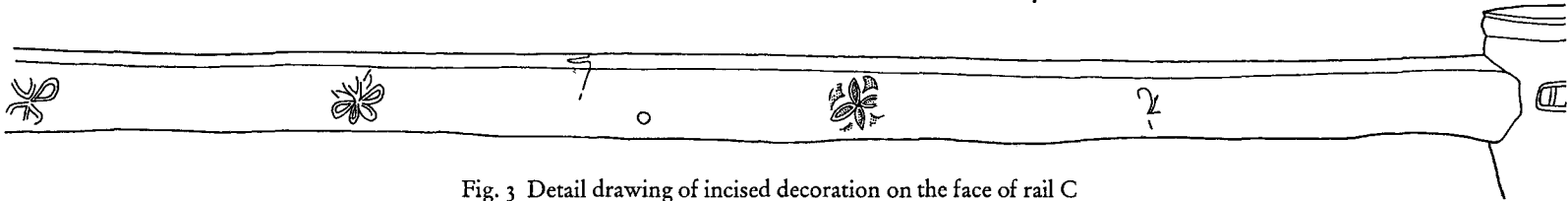


Fig. 3 Detail drawing of incised decoration on the face of rail C

central swelling balanced by concavities above and below, and a separately modeled foot⁶.

The legs on one short end are slightly taller (by ca. 1 cm) than those on the other end and are distinguished also by the presence of an additional molding on the lower concave portion of the leg⁷. Ancient *klinai* of all known types (represented in Greek vase painting and Etruscan tomb painting, and replicated in stone as burial receptacles in Lydian tombs) often have one end higher than the other, to help support an elbow (usually the left) while banqueting⁸. On Type A couches, a resting surface was sometimes provided by a board or plank extending between the corner posts of the higher end⁹. While the Getty *kline* lacks such a 'headrest' and the height difference between the two ends is very slight, for the sake of clarity in the following analysis the taller end will be referred to as the 'head' end while the shorter will be

called the 'foot' end. Variation in the incised ornament on each of the four rails and the leg tops as well as in the leg profiles make further designations necessary. The four sides of the *kline* will therefore be referred to as A, B, C, and D – A being the front of the *kline* if the head end is placed on the right, B being the short side on the foot end, C being the back long side, and D being the short side on the head end (moving clockwise from the front) – and the legs will be referred to by the letters E through H (see diagram, *fig. 1*). The taller legs (E and F) have an additional, carinated torus molding in the middle of the lower shaft.

At the top of each leg are two rectangular projecting 'tenons' in relief, one on each exterior side¹⁰. Those on the long sides of the *kline* are horizontally placed, while those on the short sides are vertical. These replicate tenons used in mortise-and-tenon joinery of wooden frame to legs, as commonly seen in representations of *klinai* in Greek vase-painting¹¹. The surfaces of the tenons carry incised parallel lines, in groups of three. These striations must represent the end grain of wooden tenons, as sometimes included in painted representations of *klinai*¹².

The upper surfaces and the top parts of the legs are covered with pseudomorphs of textile material that was once in contact with the metal, and in some areas actual remains of linen textile are preserved. The top surfaces

⁶ H. Kyrieleis, *Throne und Klinen: Studien zur Formgeschichte altorientalischer und griechischer Zeit*, JdI Ergänzungsheft 24 (Berlin 1969) 118–41 fig. 22. Cf. Richter *op.cit.* (note 3) 55–56 "couch with turned legs"; J. Boardman, *Symposion Furniture*, in: O. Murray (ed.), *Symptica: A Symposium on the Symposion* (Oxford 1990) 125; Baughan *op.cit.* (note 1) 24–30. For real wooden examples of turned legs of this type: B. D. Filow, *Die Grabhügelnekropole bei Duvanlij in Südbulgarien* (Sofia 1934) figs. 145–46, and Kyrieleis *op.cit.* (see above) pl. 17, 3–4, a small wooden couch or bed found within a sarcophagus in a tumulus at Duvanli in Thrace; Richter *op.cit.* (note 3) figs. 217–18, stool (?) legs from Egypt and Olympia; and a couch (?) leg from an Etruscan shipwreck: M. Bound, *The Giglio Wreck. A wreck of the Archaic period (c. 600 B.C.) off the Tuscan island of Giglio. An account of its discovery and excavation: a review of the Main Finds*, ENAIA Suppl. 1 (Athens 1991) 27 fig. 63.

⁷ The legs on the head end are also slightly wider, with a foot diameter of 0.07 m on the head end and 0.06 m on the foot end.

⁸ See Boardman *op.cit.* (note 6) 125; Baughan *op.cit.* (note 1) 17–18.

⁹ E.g., Filow *op.cit.* (note 6) fig. 150.

¹⁰ The tenons measure ca. 3 cm × 1 cm.

¹¹ E. Simpson, *The Andokides Painter and Greek Carpentry*, in: A. J. Clark – J. Gaunt (eds.), *Essays in Honor of Dietrich von Bothmer* (Amsterdam 2002) 312–14; Baughan *op.cit.* (note 1) 25, 37.

¹² Simpson *op.cit.* (note 11) 313; Baughan *op.cit.* (note 1) 37–38. See, e.g., a red-figured kylix attributed to Makron, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 20.246 (Beazley Archive vase no. 204800), N. Kunisch, *Makron* (Mainz 1997) pl. 130, 377.

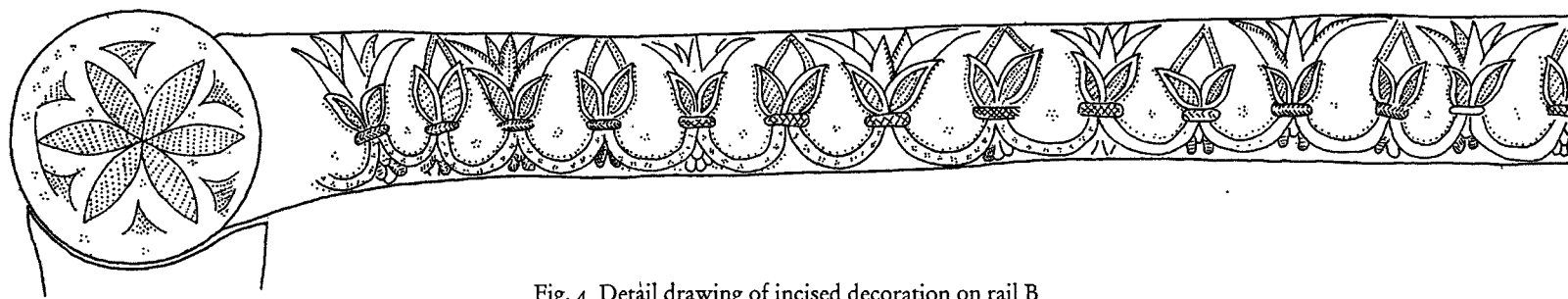


Fig. 4 Detail drawing of incised decoration on rail B

of all four rails are decorated with incised lotus chains: a lotus bud-and-flower chain on three sides (A, B, and D) and lotus-and-palmette on the other (C) (fig. 1). On the long rails (A and C), the lotus frieze is bordered at each end by a meander band, conceived as if overlying the lotus friezes, which seem to pass under them (figs. 5–6)¹³. These lotus chains are oriented with their connecting tendrils towards the bed-surface of the *kline*, and all are executed in a free style, with a high degree of variation in the spacing of the individual elements as well as in the particular details of decoration, which will be considered in greater detail below. The faces of the long rails also carry incised rosettes, at regular intervals (fig. 3)¹⁴, and the disc-shaped tops of the legs are decorated with compass-drawn rosettes or quatrefoil motifs (fig. 1; pl. 9, 3–5)¹⁵.

Composition and Construction

The construction of the *kline* was a complex process, incorporating several different types of metal and a sophisticated understanding of their relative melting points, and involving a surprising conjunction of metal and wooden joinery techniques. Radiographic imaging has revealed that construction began with a simple iron core: four bars creating a rectangular frame, secured at the corners by vertical rods that served as interior sup-

ports for the cast bronze legs¹⁶. The horizontal frame is visible in some places where the iron has corroded and expanded, causing the surrounding bronze to crack and spall off (fig. 2; pl. 9, 1). The x-ray images also reveal that the vertical rods are not of uniform length and do not in all cases extend through to the bottom of the leg¹⁷. The casting of four uniform legs must therefore have been the next step in the production process, to create the stability necessary for subsequent stages of construction. The legs were apparently cast via the lost wax method around the iron rods at their core; empty hollows between the iron rods and the surrounding bronze, visible in the radiographic analysis, must represent some other core material used in the casting process¹⁸. Confirmation of this sequence may be seen at the juncture of legs to frame, where the ends of the rails appear to ‘melt’ around the contours of the legs (pl. 9, 5).

Before the casting of the rails, however, the bed-surface had to be put in place. This is composed of four pure copper sheets, hammered thin and perforated with diamond-shaped cut-outs for a latticework effect¹⁹. These sheets were laid side by side and supported at their junctures and at the ends on five copper cross-rails, to which they are attached with small rivets. Each joint is masked by an overlying band of copper sheeting, matching the width of the cross-rail below (pl. 10, 1–2). All these overlying bands except for the two on the ends have diamond-shaped perforations that continue the overall impression of a surface composed of latticed bands/cords, though somewhat less regular and less dense than those on the copper sheets (fig. 1; pl. 10, 1). The short ends of these copper sheets were then wrapped around the iron bars that form the core of the long rails²⁰, and the copper sheeting was then further secured to the iron bars by

¹³ Cf. the lotus-palmette chain on the front rail of the terracotta sarcophagus from Caere in the Louvre, Richter *op.cit.* (note 3) fig. 451.

¹⁴ The rosette motifs are spaced 0.10–0.15 m apart and vary in shape and design. One appears to have seven petals, while another is a four-petaled rosette-star (?) with fan-shaped elements between the petals.

¹⁵ Small impressed points at the center of each design and some lightly incised arcs reveal the use of a compass in laying out these designs. Legs G and H have rosettes with six dot-filled, pointed petals and fan-shaped, dot-filled elements between the petal ends, and the whole is surrounded by ring of tiny dot-rosettes in a double-bordered band (fig. 1; pls. 9, 3, 5). Additional dot-rosette clusters float between the petals of the rosette, beneath each ‘fan’. On legs E and F (fig. 1; pl. 9, 4) are quatrefoil motifs composed of dot-filled petals, bordered by plain bands fringed with tiny, fringed petals. Clusters of smaller petals occur irregularly between the main petals of the quatrefoil, surrounded by a ring filled with tiny dot rosettes.

¹⁶ Scott – Maish *op.cit.* (note 1) 5–6.

¹⁷ Scott – Maish *op.cit.* (note 1) 7 fig. 6.

¹⁸ Scott – Maish *op.cit.* (note 1) 7–8 fig. 6.

¹⁹ Each copper sheet measures ca. 0.30–0.40 m × 0.70 m.

²⁰ The folding of the copper sheeting around the iron bar is apparent in the cracked portion of rail C (fig. 2; pl. 9, 1).

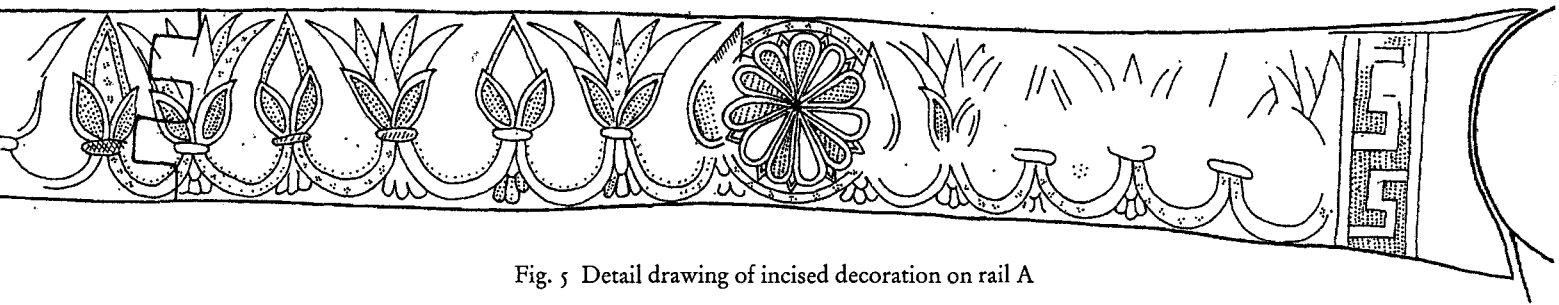
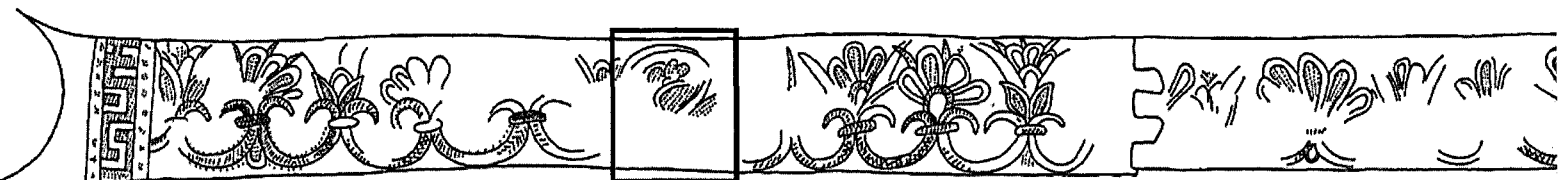


Fig. 5 Detail drawing of incised decoration on rail A



(see detail below)

Fig. 6 Detail drawings of incised decoration on rail C

riveting or soldering. Next, the rails were cast in bronze by the lost wax method, around their iron cores²¹.

The contact between the molten bronze and the copper sheeting may have been what prompted the use of pure copper for the bed-surface: since the melting point of copper is higher than that of bronze, the use of copper would have ensured that the bed-surface could withstand the casting of bronze around it²². That this was a concern to the designer(s) of the piece may also be reflected in the high lead content of the bronze alloy itself (9,3% lead, 8,5% tin)²³. Since a high lead content lowers the melting point of bronze, it could have been intended to alleviate further any potential problems in the casting of the bronze rails directly over the ends of the copper sheets²⁴. It is also possible that the choice of materials had something to do with the desired coloring of the finished product. In their recent technical report on the *kline*, Scott and Maish suggest that the combination of copper and bronze may have been intended for a polychrome effect, since the pure copper of the latticed bed-

surface would have appeared reddish, while the bronze rails and legs, with their high lead content, would have appeared yellowish. The effect may have been similar to that of a wooden couch with leather netting²⁵.

The casting of the rails was carried out in sections, using molds of varying lengths, probably to simplify the casting process by reducing the amount of molten bronze necessary at any one time²⁶. Three of the six junctures between cast sections take the form of a wooden

²¹ Scott – Maish *op.cit.* (note 1) 9–10. The short rails (B and D) were evidently cast first, because the bronze at the ends of the long rails (A and C) seeped around the legs and over the ends of the short rails in several places (*pl.* 9, 5).

²² D. Scott and J. Maish, personal communication.

²³ Scott – Maish *op.cit.* (note 1) 5. Cf. D. A. Scott – J. Podany in: M. True – J. Podany (eds.), *Small Bronze Sculpture from the Ancient World* (Malibu 1990) Table 3.

²⁴ See P. T. Craddock – A. Giunlia-Mair in: J. Curtis (ed.), *Bronze-working Centres of Western Asia c. 1000–539 B.C.* (London 1988) 319 on the effects of lead in bronze alloys, though the maximum advantages of extra fluidity were met by a 2% lead content and anything above that caused only a “slight reduction in the melting temperature.”

²⁵ Scott – Maish *op.cit.* (note 1) 10.

²⁶ As J. Maish has suggested (personal communication), based on the size of container used to pour the molten bronze. On the difficulty of casting large quantities of bronze, see H. Lechtman – A. Steinberg in: S. Doeringer – D. G. Mitten – A. Steinberg (eds.), *Art and Technology. A Symposium on Classical Bronzes* (Cambridge, MA 1970) 5–6; C. Mattusch, *Greek bronze statuary: from the beginnings through the fifth century B.C.* (Ithaca 1988) 47. Divisions between separately cast sections are visible at two points along each long rail (A and C), coinciding with the copper cross-rails of the bed-surface (*fig.* 1): one aligned with the center cross-rail, and one halfway between the center and the head end (short rail D). The line visible in the overall photograph (*pl.* 9, 1) and included in the drawing (*fig.* 1) near the opposite end of rail C, near the portion of the rail that has cracked open, represents a crack rather than a joint.

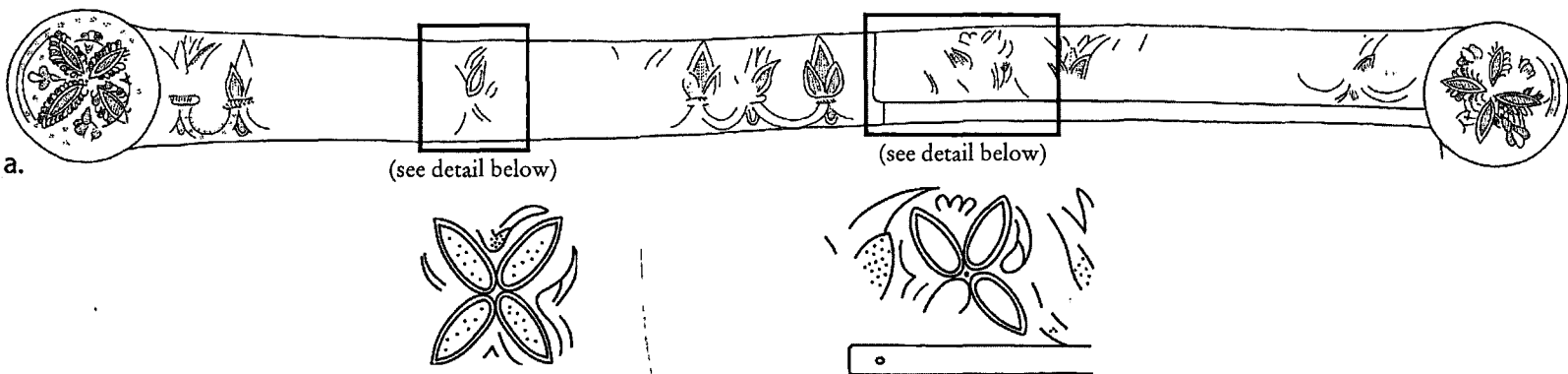


Fig. 7 Detail drawings of incised decoration on rail D

tongue-and-groove joint (figs. 1. 5, 6; pl. 10, 1-2), while the others end in a straight line, or butt joint. The tongue-and-groove patterns are not simply etched into the bronze to resemble wooden joinery that may have been commonly seen on wooden *klinai*²⁷ but are real joints between two separate sections of molten bronze. One was cast with projecting tongues at the end, and the other filled in the space around those tongues to make a tighter fit and a stronger joint than would result from two sections of bronze merely abutting one another²⁸. There was evidently a concern for creating a stable, strong bond between these sections of separately cast bronze²⁹. That these joints align with the divisions between the copper sheets and the reinforcing copper bars suggests that the fastening of the copper sheets and the casting of the rail sections may have been done in step, one section at a time³⁰. The fact that the most severe cracking occurred on the side with no division of cast sections raises the

possibility that this approach to the problem of casting long segments of bronze really did add extra strength, whether or not that was the intended effect.

Shallow rectangular depressions on the inner edges of the smaller section of both rails B and D probably reflect the shape of the molds used³¹. The larger of the two rectangular depressions (on rail D) was filled with a thin strip of bronze, riveted in place at the end opposite the leg and about halfway along its length. Since the engraved lotus chain does not carry over onto the added strip but 'jogs' to avoid it (figs. 1. 7), the decoration was most likely executed before the depression was filled. The recessed strip on the opposite end of the *kline* (fig. 1; pl. 10, 4), was never apparently filled, as pseudomorphs of linen indicate that its surface was covered by the textile laid over the whole *kline* at the time of its archaeological deposition.

Textile Remains

Actual remains and pseudomorphs of linen textile are preserved on all upper surfaces of the *kline*, overlapping all four rails, and on the tops of the legs (pls. 9, 5; 10, 1-4). These must represent one or more cloth coverings placed on the couch. Multiple layers of cloth are visible in some areas, but it is difficult to determine whether these belong to different coverings or different folded layers of the same cloth. The preserved pieces of textile are off-white in color and appear to be plain-weave linen. Two different thread twists (S-spun and Z-spun) have been detected through microscopic analysis of the fibers³². As Scott and Maish conclude, this could result from two different people having spun the thread, or it could mean that two different layers of textile are represented³³. The

³¹ Or perhaps a problem in casting necessitated the insertion of something flat and rectangular in each of these locations.

³² Scott - Maish *op.cit.* (note 1) 11.

³³ Scott - Maish *op.cit.* (note 1) 11.

²⁷ That wooden *klinai* may have sometimes had tongue-and-groove joints visible in similar locations on the fronts of long rails is evidenced by a *kline* painted by Smikros, on an Attic red-figured stamnos (Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts A717; ARV² 20, 1; Beazley Archive vase no. 200102): on the front rail of the *kline* occupied by the figured labeled "Smikros", a vertical line indicating such a joint appears near a rosette, just behind the legs of an aulos-player.

²⁸ The real three-dimensionality of the joints is clear on the front faces of the rails, especially on rail C, where the bronze outer shell of the rail has split open. For mechanical joints of this type, see Lechtman - Steinberg *op.cit.* (note 26) 6. For other mechanical joints (with dowels etc.) and metallurgical joints (through fusion or flow welding), see Lechtman - Steinberg *op.cit.* (note 26); A. Steinberg in: W. J. Young (ed.), *Application of Science in Examination of Works of Art* (Boston 1973) 103-38.

²⁹ Scott - Maish *op.cit.* (note 1) 8-10. They note that breaks in the iron in these locations "suggests there is some movement, or flexing, associated with these joints", so the mechanical juncture may reflect an effort to strengthen potential weak points.

³⁰ Or it may reflect a desire for aesthetic balance, possibly intended to further the illusionism implied by the tongue-and-groove joints - if this were a wooden couch, such a joint would most likely be placed at a point on the rail with some other structural significance.

cloth (or cloths) may have been decorated in some way. In the preserved remains on the latticed surface of the bed, there are some areas that appear to have a tighter weave pattern, possibly part of a decorative border³⁴. Wispy, wavy patterns in the textile pseudomorphs on the inside of leg G, at about mid-height, in one spot overlying a plain-weave layer, may belong to a fringed border or corner tassel, as seen in some Greek and Lydian depictions of *klinai*, particularly in the Persian period³⁵.

Radiocarbon analysis of some of the textile fragments provides a date of ca. 505 B.C.E., with a two-sigma range of 792–419 B.C.E.³⁶.

³⁴ Two bands of tighter weave, ca. 0.01 m wide, are visible near the foot end of the bed-surface.

³⁵ The earliest Greek depictions of reclining banqueters (of the late seventh to early sixth century) show cloths covering the upper parts of Type A couches, sometimes with a fringed border, but by the middle of sixth century the tops of *klinai* are usually shown. Examples from the Persian period include the couch on a funerary stele from Hayalli in Lydia, Manisa Museum 6225; C. H. Roosevelt, *The Archaeology of Lydia, from Gyges to Alexander* (Cambridge 2009) fig. 6, 21; and the rock-cut *klinai* in Tomb 59 at Myra in Lycia; J. Borchhardt (ed.), *Myra: Eine lykische Metropole in antiker und byzantinischer Zeit* (Berlin 1975) pl. 62a. See also, the carved and painted couches in a Macedonian-style tomb at Vathia near Eretria, K. G. Vollmoeller, *AM* 26, 1901, 332–76; C. Huguenot, *La Tombe aux Érotés et la Tombe d'Amarnthos. Architecture funéraire et présence macédonienne en Grèce centrale, Eretria XIX* (Gollioni 2008) pls. 82–83. A long, overhanging coverlet is one of the features that distinguishes banqueting scenes in Anatolian-Persian funerary art from those on contemporary Attic vases or Etruscan tombs: P. Calmeyer in: G. Herrmann (ed.), *The Furniture of Western Asia, Ancient and Traditional: Papers of the Conference Held at the Institute of Archaeology, University College London, June 28–30, 1993* (Mainz 1996) 223; M. Nollé, *Denkmäler vom Satrapenstiz Daskyleion. Studien zur graeco-persischen Kunst* (Berlin 1992) 69; B. Jacobs, *Griechische und persische Elemente in der Grabkunst Lykiens zur Zeit der Achämenidenherrschaft*, *SIMA* 78 (Jonsered 1987) 35; Kyrieleis *op.cit.* (note 6) 146. See, for example, the cloth with knotted corners covering a couch of Persian type on a relief from Daskyleion, Istanbul Archaeological Museum 5763; J.-M. Dentzer, *Le motif du banquet couché dans le Proche-Orient et le monde grec du VII^e au IV^e siècle av. J.-C.* (Rome 1982) figs. 334–35; H. von Gall, *Anadolu* 22, 1981/1983 (1989) 144 fig. 2; Nollé *op.cit.* (see above) 16–19, 107–8 no. S2; C. M. Draycott, *Images and Identities in the Funerary Art of Western Anatolia, 600 – 450 B.C.* (Ph.D. diss., Oxford 2006) 114–16 no. 12.

³⁶ University of Arizona Radiocarbon Laboratory, sample no. V20535; Scott – Maish *op.cit.* (note 1) 11.

Analysis and Comparanda

Construction

Several features of the construction of the *kline* are paralleled in other works, while others are evidently unique. The bronze bed from the Regolini-Galassi tomb at Caere (*pls. 10, 5–6*) makes a useful comparison³⁷. While both have legs and rails made of cast bronze, the bed-surface of the Regolini-Galassi bed is composed of strips that are interlaced, like the leather straps or woven cords on a real wooden bed would be³⁸, and riveted to the frame and cross-rail and, in a few places, to each other. The perforated copper sheets that form the bed-surface of the Getty *kline* are very different, resembling a latticed network but not actually replicating it. Their attachment to the long rails is also quite different than the Regolini-Galassi bed, since their ends are wrapped around the iron framing bars and then encased in cast bronze. Other Etruscan metal beds consist of iron frames that supported latticed bronze strips or a netting of perishable materials that have not survived³⁹, and interwoven metal strips are also attested for some Hellenistic bronze couches and on an iron bed from

³⁷ Pareti *op.cit.* (note 3) 124–125, pls. 1. 3. 30–31; Richter *op.cit.* (note 3) 92; S. T. A. M. Mols, *Wooden Furniture from Herculaneum. Form, Technique and Function* (Amsterdam 1999) 36–37 with n. 136.

³⁸ As on the bed from Duvanli, Filow *op.cit.* (note 6) 119–26 figs. 143–150. Its frame was composed of ash wood, and its bed-surface was made of netted hemp cords, which ran through holes pierced through the wooden rails. For similar holes in other wooden furniture rails, see Richter *op.cit.* (note 3) fig. 216 (wooden stool and *kline*? rails from Olympia); G. Kopcke, *AM* 82, 1967, Beil. 74 (wooden furniture rail from Samos). Cf. also, the holes along the rails of Prokrustes' bed on a red-figured amphora attributed to the Alkimachos Painter (Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen 2325; ARV² 530, 19; Beazley Archive vase no. 205995), where part of a latticed bed-surface is also shown. On latticed/woven bed surfaces, see also RE 3, 1 (1897) 370 *s.v.* Betten (A. Mau); Richter *op.cit.* (note 3) 53; S. Laser, *Hausrat* (Göttingen 1968) 26ff.; Mols *op.cit.* (note 38) 36 n. 136.

³⁹ See Minto *op.cit.* (note 3) 26, 282–283, for three beds from tombs in Marsiliana d'Albegna (near Vetulonia), all of which had iron frames and crossbars while only one supported a network of bronze strips as on the Regolini-Galassi bed.

Paestum⁴⁰. The imitation rather than replication of a latticed bed-surface, then, makes the Getty *kline* more removed, in concept, from wooden prototypes. Similarly, the tenons on the legs of the Regolini-Galassi bed seem to be real structural elements – i.e., they project from one rail through a hole in another to form a connection – rather than molded representations, as on the Getty *kline*. But the Getty *kline* is of course not devoid of structural elements derived from real wooden construction, and the tenons and rails are slightly staggered, just as they would need to be in real wooden joinery so as not to collide⁴¹. The mechanical tongue-in-groove joinery of the cast bronze sections of the long rails is even more remarkable. Replication of wood joinery methods in bronze is rare, but some parallels are known. Rabbetted joints connect separately cast bronze parts of a small Geometric bird once in the Schimmel Collection⁴², and of a sixth-century Etruscan statuette⁴³. Much more common is the use of an iron rod as the core of a *kline* leg composed of another material. This was standard practice by the Hellenistic and Roman period, for couches of bronze, ivory, bone, and alabaster. It usually marks the center of a wooden core, on or around which a finer

material was attached or cast⁴⁴. Thus, the empty hollows visible in the radiographic images of the Getty *kline*, around the iron center-rods, may once have been filled with wood.

Form

The Type A leg profiles of the Getty *kline* are most closely paralleled on couches (and representations thereof) dated to the late sixth and early fifth centuries B.C.E.⁴⁵. Couches and thrones of this type first appear in Greek art in the late seventh century, with broad legs deeply undercut in the lower half, between a flaring (often carinated) midpoint and wide foot (e.g., *fig. 8a–c*). The concave profiles of the upper and lower parts of the legs suggest that these forms are meant to represent lathe-turned wooden legs, round in section. Over time (by the end of the sixth century), the proportions lengthen and become more balanced, with less extreme variation in width between the upper and lower portions of the leg – the upper half gets narrower, while the lower half widens yet still remains more slender than the upper half (e.g., *fig. 8d–h*). By the late fifth century, the type appears in Attic and South Italian vase-painting with extremely attenuated legs, though it is unclear to what extent these paintings are faithful representations of real furniture, as it is hard to imagine such spindly legs providing sufficient structural support (e.g., *fig. 8i*). This attenuated variety occurs, for example, on the couch shared by Plouton and Persephone in the tondo of a red-figured cup attributed to the Codrus Painter (ca. 420, *pl. 11*,

⁴⁰ P. C. Sestieri, *Archaeology* 9, 1956, 23 figs. 5–6; R. V. Nicholls, *Archaeologia* 106, 1979, 13. 28 nn. 24–25; J. G. Pedley, *Paestum. Greeks and Romans in Southern Italy* (London 1990) 36–39. Faust (in: G. Hellenkemper Salies [ed.], *Das Wrack: Der antike Schiffsfund von Mahdia* [Köln 1994] 588–89), however, questions the identification of bronze strips found in association with *kline* fragments in Mahdia wreck as remnants of latticed bed-surfaces, since bronze lacks elasticity. It may not be coincidental that all other known examples of metal netting come from funerary or ritual beds, not necessarily ever occupied by the living, though it is also possible that funeral beds were used by their occupants in life, before relegation to the tomb.

⁴¹ The long rails (A and C) are ca. 0.01 m higher than those on the short sides (B and D). The horizontally-placed tenons, on the long sides, are placed at a higher level than the vertical tenons on the short sides.

⁴² Lechtman – Steinberg *op.cit.* (note 26) 18–19 fig. 20; O. W. Muscarella (ed.), *Ancient Art. The Norbert Schimmel Collection* (Mainz 1974) no. 10; J. Settgast, *Von Troja bis Amarna. The Norbert Schimmel Collection New York* (Mainz 1978) no. 10; Mattusch *op.cit.* (note 26) 47 n. 46.

⁴³ M. Cristofani, *I Bronzi degli Etruschi* (Novara 1985) 45 fig. 12.

⁴⁴ Richter *op.cit.* (note 3) 57; Nicholls *op.cit.* (note 40) 9. 28 n. 14; Mols *op.cit.* (note 37) 36; A. St. Clair, *Carving as Craft. Palatine East and the Greco-Roman Bone and Ivory Carving Tradition* (Baltimore 2003) 28. See also, a Roman ivory couch from a tomb near Ancona, E. Brizio, *NSc* 1902, 445–62 fig. 18; Wallace-Hadrill *op.cit.* (note 3) 421–35.

⁴⁵ The development of Type A furniture legs is discussed in more detail in E. P. Baughan, *Couched in Death: Klinai and Identity in Anatolia and Beyond* (Madison, forthcoming).

⁴⁶ London, British Museum E82; ARV² 1269, 3; Beazley Archive vase no. 217212. Cf. especially the shape of the central molding. On this cup, see A. Avramidou, *AJA* 110, 2006, 565–79. Cf. also, the couch in

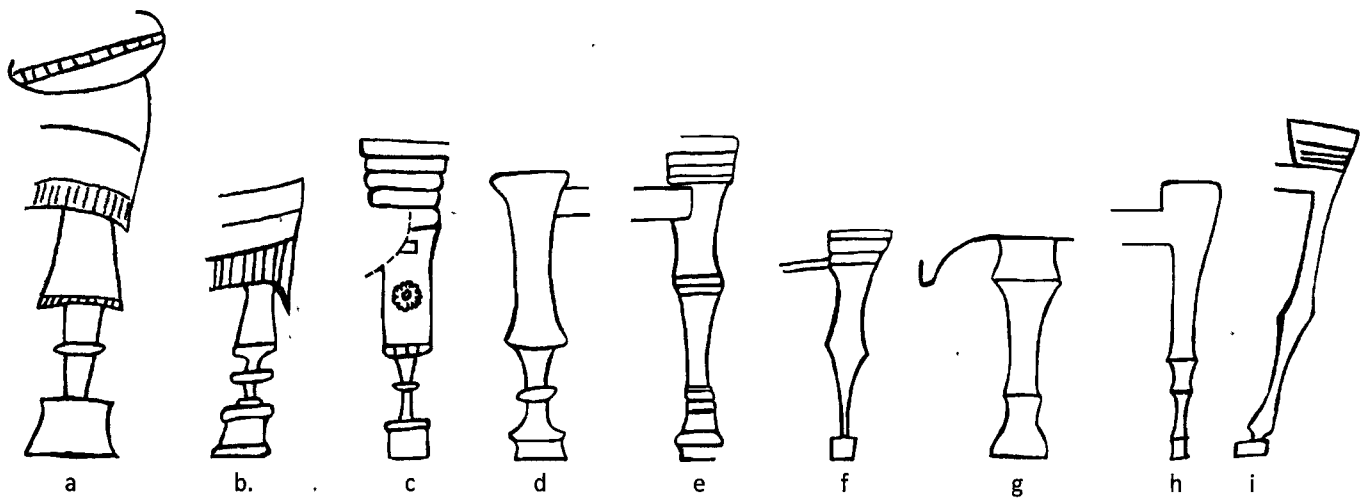


Fig. 8 Line drawings of Type A *klinai* legs: a) Early Corinthian krater; b) Attic black-figured krater attributed to the Ptoon Painter; c) Attic black-figured oinochoe; d) Terracotta revetment plaque from Tarquinia; e) Etruscan limestone *cippus*; f) Attic red-figured kylix attributed to Olto; g) Sarcophagus lid from Xanthos; h) Tomb of the Diver, Paestum; i) Attic red-figured krater attributed to the Leningrad Painter

1)⁴⁶. The profile and proportions of the Getty *kline* legs are closer to examples from the early part of the fifth century. Good comparisons can be made with a small wooden bed or couch from a sarcophagus burial at Duvanli in Thrace (Bulgaria), dated to the early fifth century on the basis of a lekythos found with it (fig. 9)⁴⁷, and with the *klinai* painted on the slabs lining the Tomba del Tuffatore (Tomb of the Diver) at Paestum (fig. 8h, ca. 470)⁴⁸. The Getty *kline* legs are similar to both in depth of concave contours and proportional width of upper and lower portions of the leg, but fall somewhere in between the two in terms of proportional height – the lower portion of the Getty *kline* leg profile is taller in relation to the upper portion than those on the Duvanli bed, but shorter than the lower part of the legs depicted on the Paestum tomb. Similar proportions are found on Type A *klinai* represented in Late Archaic Etruscan art, such as on terracotta revetment plaques from Tarquinia (fig. 8d) and a limestone *cippus* in Berlin (fig. 8e)⁴⁹; on the Polyxena Sarcophagus from the Kızöldün Tumulus



Fig. 9 Type A *kline* leg from Duvanli, Thrace, ca. 500 B.C.E., wood

in the Troad, probably ca. 500 B.C.E.⁵⁰; and in Lycian funerary reliefs of the late fifth and fourth centuries (e.g., fig. 8g)⁵¹. The Berlin *cippus* (fig. 8e) also provides a good parallel for the convex disc capitals of the Getty *kline*, with the head end only slightly higher than the other. Most Type A *klinai* in Greek and Etruscan art have one clearly differentiated head end, with a higher raised capi-

relief outside the fourth-century 'Painted Tomb' (Tomb 81) at Myra in Lycia, though its top is shown covered with a long cloth, Borchhardt *op.cit.* (note 35) 136 pls. 75a. 77a. c.

⁴⁷ Filow *op.cit.* (note 6) 119–26. 229–30 figs. 143–50; Kyrieleis *op.cit.* (note 6) 126ff. pl. 17, 2–3; Z. H. Archibald, *The Odrysian Kingdom of Thrace: Orpheus Unmasked* (Oxford 1998) 160. 162.

⁴⁸ M. Napoli, *La Tomba del tuffatore. La scoperta della grande pittura greca* (Bari 1970); R. R. Holloway, *AJA* 110, 2006, 365–88.

⁴⁹ A. Cataldi, in: E. Rystedt *et al.* (eds.), *Deliciae Fictiles. Proceedings of the First International Conference on Central Italic Architectural Terracottas at the Swedish Institute in Rome, 10–12 December 1990* (Stockholm 1993) 207–20 fig. 10; Richter *op.cit.* (note 3) fig. 458. On this couch type in Etruria, see Steingraber *op.cit.* (note 3) 9–13 (Type 2); Richter *op.cit.* (note 3) 92.

⁵⁰ N. Sevinç, *Studia Troica* 6, 1996, 251–64 figs. 14–15; C. Reinsberg, in: R. Bol – D. Kreikenbom (eds.), *Sepulkral- und Votivdenkmäler östlicher Mittelmeergebiete* (7. Jh. v. Chr. – 1. Jh. n. Chr.). Kulturbegegnungen im Spannungsfeld von Akzeptanz und Resistenz. Akten des Internationalen Symposiums, Mainz, 1.–3.11.2001 (Möhnesee 2004) 199–217.

⁵¹ E.g., in a banquet scene on a sarcophagus lid from Xanthos, Istanbul Archaeological Museum 5239T; P. Demargne, *Fouilles de Xanthos V. Tombes-maisons, tombes rupestres et sarcophages* (Paris 1974) pl. 24. See also, a Type A stool depicted on a relief from Kiraz in Lydia, now in the Ödemiş Museum (once in the collection of S. Başoğlu), ca. 470–450: V. M. Strocka, *JdI* 94, 1979, 143–73 fig. 1; E. Berger, *Antike Kunstwerke aus der Sammlung Ludwig III. Skulpturen* (Mainz 1990) Beil. 2, 4.

tal and sometimes, as in the case of the Duvanli bed, a headboard or armrest plank extended between the capitals on the higher end.

Klinai used for *protheseis* on white-ground lekythoi attributed to the Sabouroff Painter (ca. 450) display similar leg profiles, and offer further details that are comparable to the Getty *kline*⁵². The couch on a lekythos in New York (pl. 11, 2) offers the best parallels for the form of the foot and torus molding at the central carination, though its capitals are of a different type, with multiple layers (stepped fasciae), and its feet rest on high cylindrical bases, perhaps intended to raise the couch for the *prothesis* ritual⁵³. Like the Getty *kline*, it also has an extra ring-element midway along the lower portion of the leg. But on the lekythos this ring consists of horizontal lines outlining a flat band, rather than a projecting torus, and it occurs on both ends of the couch.

The extra torus-ring on the lower portion of the legs on the head end (legs E and F) is in fact one of the most distinctive features of the Getty *kline*'s design. A wide projecting disc or torus in this location is characteristic of the earliest Type A furniture legs represented in Greek art (on Corinthian vases, Attic Siana cups, and Tyrrhenian amphorae, etc.), with very few exceptions (e.g.,

fig. 8a–b)⁵⁴. In Greek and Etruscan art of the later sixth and fifth centuries, however, the lower half of a Type A leg usually has a smooth, uninterrupted profile (e.g., fig. 8e–g, i; pl. 11, 1)⁵⁵. There are, however, notable exceptions, with projecting bands or carinated tori similar to those on the Getty *kline* (e.g., fig. 8b)⁵⁶, and projecting rings on the lower leg never disappear entirely from the Type A scheme, for they are also found on South Italian vases⁵⁷.

⁵⁴ E.g., Richter *op.cit.* (note 3) figs. 294, 456, 593 (Early and Middle Corinthian column kraters and an Etruscan black-figured kyathos); Kyrieleis *op.cit.* (note 6) pl. 16, 1–2 (Lakonian and Attic black-figured cups); Ö. Murray (ed.), *Sympotica: A Symposium on the Symposium* (Oxford 1990) pl. 13b (Corinthian bowl). See also, Siana cups attributed to the C Painter or the manner of the C Painter (Athens, National Museum P3639 and 12522; ABV 53, 31 and 59, 12; Beazley Archive vase nos. 300408 and 300517; Hannover, Kestner Museum 1959.1; Paralipomena 24, 32bis; Beazley Archive vase no. 350157); early Attic black-figured vases attributed to the Ptoon Painter (amphora in New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 59.64; Beazley Archive vase no. 350203; column krater in Paris, Musée du Louvre E623; ABV 83, 1; Beazley Archive vase no. 300775) and to Lydos (amphora, Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco 70995; ABV 110, 32; Beazley Archive vase no. 310178); and Tyrrhenian amphorae (e.g., Bochum S1104, CVA Bochum 1, 2005, pl. 24, 1–2). Early examples without this element are, however, known: e.g., an Attic black-figured skyphos, Athens, National Archaeological Museum 996; Beazley Archive vase no. 46491.

⁵⁵ See also Richter *op.cit.* (note 3) figs. 213–215, 219, 297. For examples in other media, see Richter *op.cit.* (note 3) figs. 458–59, 461–462 (Etruscan cippi, tomb painting, and bronze mirror); Kyrieleis *op.cit.* (note 6) pl. 17, 1 (East frieze of the Siphnian Treasury); and E. Pfuhl – H. Möbius, *Die ostgriechischen Grabreliefs* (Mainz 1977) no. 23 pl. 6 (Type A throne on a mid-fifth-century stele from Sinope).

⁵⁶ On a red-figured kantharos fragment attributed to the Brygos Painter, there is a thin, sharp projection on the lower part of a Type A leg: Athens, National Archaeological Museum; ARV² 1649; Beazley Archive vase no. 275212. At least one of the couches on a fragmentary kylix attributed to the same painter had a rounded molding on the lower leg at the head end: Paris, Cabinet des Médailles 585; ARV² 372, 28; Beazley Archive vase no. 203926. Flat (non-projecting) bands are delineated in this location on some *klinai* on white-ground vases: on another lekythos attributed to the Sabouroff Painter, London, British Museum D62 (see note 52 above) and on the Eretria Painter's squat lekythos in New York (see note 52 above).

⁵⁷ E.g., Richter *op.cit.* (note 3) figs. 221, 300, 642; and a fragmentary Lucanian red-figured krater in New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 58.13.1; Kyrieleis *op.cit.* (note 6) pl. 18, 1; R. Hirschmann,

⁵² London, British Museum D62; ARV² 851, 273; Beazley Archive vase no. 212421. Houston Museum of Fine Arts 37.8; Paralipomena 424, 37bis; Beazley Archive vase no. 276010; H. Hoffmann, *Ten Centuries that Shaped the West. Greek and Roman Art in Texas Collections* (Mainz 1970) no. 185. Mannheim, Reiss-Museum 195; ARV² 851, 274; Beazley Archive vase no. 212422. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 07.286.40; ARV² 846, 190; Beazley Archive vase no. 212338 (pl. 11, 2). Cf. also, a white-ground lekythos attributed to the Painter of the New York Hypnos, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 23.160.37; ARV² 1242, 3; Beazley Archive vase no. 216742; and the white-ground prothesis scene (Achilles mourning Patroklos) on a squat lekythos attributed to the Eretria Painter, ca. 420, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 31.11.13; ARV² 1248, 9; Beazley Archive vase no. 216945, with the addition of a down-turned leaf molding above the foot, reminiscent of Achaemenid furniture. The upper part of a similar *kline*, with rectangular tenon outlined, is preserved on a fragmentary white-ground lekythos attributed to the Woman Painter, ca. 430–420, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum 3748; ARV² 1372, 16; Beazley Archive vase no. 217615.

⁵³ H. Mommsen, *Exekias 1. Die Grabtafeln* (Mainz 1997) 18; Baughan *op.cit.* (note 1) 253–54.

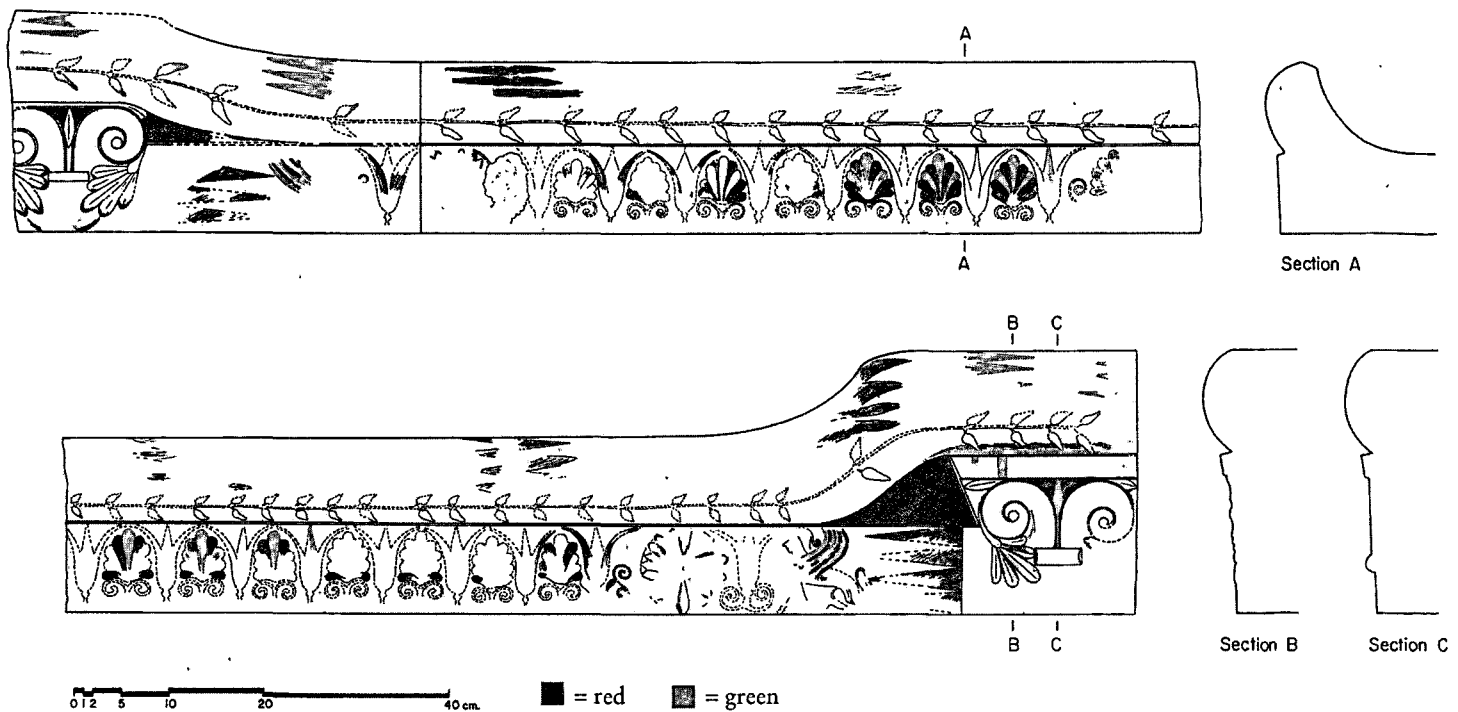


Fig. 10 Elevation and sections of the carved and painted front edge of the rear *kline* bedslab, Lale Tepe, marble

Such variation of Type A leg details from one end of a *kline* to the other is itself unusual, and parallels are notably scattered. It occurs, for instance, on an Attic Siana cup and on an Etruscan cinerary urn⁵⁸. On the first, the variation is the addition of an extra ring molding in the lower portion of the leg on only the right/head end of *kline*, as was probably the case for the Getty *kline*. Interestingly, the same kind of extra turning distinguishes the right-/head-end leg on at least two of the seven *klinai* painted on the slabs of the Tomb of the Diver at Paestum (fig. 8b), and these *klinai* also provide good parallels for the overall form of the Getty *kline*⁵⁹.

Though no parallels include all the distinctive features of the Getty *kline*'s form and leg profiles, the best comparanda fall in the second half of the sixth and the first

half of the fifth century. The wide geographic range of these parallels – from Attic vases to Etruscan reliefs and a burial bed from Bulgaria – reflects the widespread use and popularity of Type A *klinai* in the Late Archaic and Early Classical period.

Decoration

The decorative friezes incised on the rails of the *kline* provide further clues for dating and provenance and offer more variations on typical decorative schemes. The rosettes at intervals along the faces of the long rails (fig. 3) are a common sort of *kline* decoration, seen in representations of *klinai* in Athenian vase painting as well as among stone funerary couches, but normally on *klinai* of the Type B variety⁶⁰. This kind of decoration is much rarer for Type A couches, which usually had no surface ornament. Only three known parallels occur with the Type A scheme: on stone *klinai* from a Lydian tomb (the side couches in the chamber of the Lale Tepe

Symposienszenen auf unteritalischen Vasen (Würzburg 1985) no. L7 pl. 25. Richter *op.cit.* (note 3) 56 thinks these "extra turnings" impair the "sweep" of the fifth-century Attic examples, but they seem instead to be holdovers from or reinterpretations of earlier Type A form.

⁵⁸ Murray *op.cit.* (note 54) pl. 14b, for the Siana cup, in the Kropatschek Collection in Helgoland (Beazley Archive vase no. 6358); C. Ransom, *Studies in Ancient Furniture: Couches and Beds of the Greeks, Etruscans, and Romans* (Chicago 1905) fig. 7, for the Etruscan urn. For the difference between front and rear legs on the head end of a *kline*, see the Tomb of Amarynthos near Eretria: Vollmoeller *op.cit.* (note 35); Huguenot *op.cit.* (note 35) 214–215, 222 pls. 52, 83.

⁵⁹ Napoli *op.cit.* (note 48) pls. 1, 5, 11 (the two rightmost *klinai* on the north slab). The right legs of the other *klinai* are not well enough preserved to determine whether they, too, carried additional moldings.

⁶⁰ E.g., A. Choisy, *Note sur les tombeaux lydiens de Sardes*, RA 1876, 73–81 fig. 13, pl. 13a; U. Knigge, *Der Südhügel. Kerameikos IX* (Berlin 1976) fig. 22; M. J. Mellink, *Excavations at Karataş-Semayük and Elmalı, Lycia, 1973*, AJA 78, 1974, 358 fig. 16, pl. 69. See also, E. P. Baughan, *Lale Tepe: A Late Lydian Tumulus near Sardis. 3. The Klinai*, in: N. D. Cahill (ed.), *Love for Lydia. A Sardis Anniversary Volume Presented to Crawford H. Greenewalt, Jr.* (Cambridge, MA 2008) 72.

tumulus, near Ahmetli, ca. 500–475, *pl. 11, 3*)⁶¹; on one of the *klinai* depicted in a symposium scene painted on a Klazomenian sarcophagus from Akanthos, attributed to the Albertinum Group⁶²; and on the couch occupied by Plouton and Persephone on the Codrus Painter's cup (*pl. 11, 1*)⁶³.

The lotus friezes on the top surfaces of the rails are even more distinctive. Although lotus decoration sometimes occurs on the rails of *klinai* or other furnishings, in all other cases lotus chains occupy outer rail faces, not upper surfaces, and appear only on furnishings (couches or thrones) of the Type B scheme. Again, Lale Tepe (*fig. 10; pl. 11, 4*) provides a significant parallel, with a lotus-palmette frieze on the center face of its rear *kline*, capped by a sphinx at each end. The Etruscan terracotta sarcophagus in the form of a couch with reclining couple from Caere, in the Louvre, also has a lotus-palmette chain decorating the front rail⁶⁴, and lotus-palmette decoration occurs on the front rail of a Roman bone couch in Cambridge⁶⁵, but it is more commonly found on Type B thrones, on sunken panels beneath the sides rails of thrones in several Archaic reliefs⁶⁶. It may have been used even more widely on the wooden prototypes for such representations, and since it was infinitely expandable, it was suited to furniture rails of varying lengths.

Although the lotus chains decorating the Getty *kline* rails are unique in their freely executed style and almost whimsical variation, the particular characteristics of their

floral structures find ready parallels in lotus friezes on other types of metalwork, architectural ornament, and painted pottery, especially that of the Archaic East Greek world⁶⁷. In the bud-and-flower chains (on rails A, B, and D), the lotus flowers are composed of two outer, flaring and three inner, pointed petals (*figs. 4, 5; pl. 10, 3*). The calyx from which the petals emerge is composed of two 'sepal' petals bordered by plain bands and filled with dots⁶⁸. Similar calyces contain the tips of the unopened flowers, which are bordered at the top by inverted-V-shaped bands. In some cases (especially on rail B, *fig. 4*) these bands are filled with tiny dots. On rail C, the lotus flowers alternate with palmettes and differ also in form, with small palmettes rather than pointed spikes between the spreading outer petals of the blossoms (*figs. 1, 6*). The large palmettes that occur in alternation with the lotus flowers are composed of four to six petals, outlined with plain bands and alternately plain and dot-filled within. Occasionally, dot-filled pointed spikes emerge from between the petals near the center of the palmette, extending upward beyond the level of the petals themselves.

The careful distinction of calyx petals on both flower types is a feature of Near Eastern lotus decoration that appears only in some Greek versions, such as on Caeretan hydriae and in 'Vroulian'-style bands on some Late Wild Goat Style vases⁶⁹. A fragmentary polychrome hy-

⁶¹ Baughan *op.cit.* (note 60) 72 pl. 3b. On the tomb and its dating, see also C. H. Roosevelt, in: N. D. Cahill (ed.), *Love for Lydia. A Sardis Anniversary Volume Presented to Crawford H. Greenewalt, Jr.* (Cambridge, MA 2008) 1–24; P. T. Stinson, in: Cahill *op.cit.* (see above) 25–47.

⁶² N. Kaltsas, *ADelt* 51/52, 1996/1997 (2000) 35–50 pl. 15. 21a–b.

⁶³ See note 46 above.

⁶⁴ Richter *op.cit.* (note 3) *fig. 451*. Bronze plates decorated with stamped/impressed lotus buds once adorned a wooden bed or couch of uncertain type in a late seventh-century Etruscan tomb, the Tomba della Pania at Chiusi: W. Helbig, *Bullettino dell'Instituto di corrispondenza archeologica*, 1874, 205; Steingräber *op.cit.* (note 3) no. 8.

⁶⁵ Nicholls *op.cit.* (note 40) 12 *fig. 3*.

⁶⁶ Berger *op.cit.* (note 51) 30–34 *fig. 5*; V. Brinkmann, *Die Polychromie der archaischen und frühklassischen Skulptur* (Munich 2003) nos. 180. 194. 277.

⁶⁷ For discussions of lotus friezes in general, see E. Kunze, *Kretische Bronzereliefs* (Stuttgart 1931) 97–103; I. Kleemann, *Der Satrapen-Sarkophag aus Sidon, IstForsch* 20 (Berlin 1958) 51–71; E. L. B. Terrace, *Two Achaemenian Objects in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts*, *AntK* 6, 1963, 74–75; Å. Åkerström, *Die architektonischen Terrakotten Kleinasien* (Lund 1966) 26; H. J. Kantor, *Plant Ornament. Its Origin and Development in the Ancient Near East* (PhD Diss., University of Chicago 1945, <http://oi.uchicago.edu/OI/DEPT/RA/HJK/HJKIntro.html>) 782–783, 807–814; Hemelrijk *op.cit.* (note 68) 96–97. 169ff.; B. Borell – D. Rittig, *Orientalische und griechische Bronzereliefs aus Olympia* (Berlin 1998) 144–47.

⁶⁸ For the terminology of lotus parts used here, see R. M. Cook, *Clazomenian Sarcophagi* (Mainz 1981) 91; J. M. Hemelrijk, *Caeretan Hydriae* (Mainz 1984) 96–97.

⁶⁹ In most East Greek vase painting, the calyx petals are indicated, if at all, by means of diagonal lines or lines dividing the buds in half: R. M. Cook, *Greek Painted Pottery* (London 1997) *fig. 19*; see also, Payne *op.cit.* (note 80) 154–55. For exceptions, see Hemelrijk *op.cit.* (note 68) pls. 135–39 and R. M. Cook – P. Dupont, *East Greek Pot-*

dria from Samos, executed in a free style similar to that of the Getty *kline* lotus friezes, offers a particularly apt parallel⁷⁰. More generally, the distinctive, V-shaped juncture of the two calyx petals seen on the Getty *kline* is found in lotus-and-palmette friezes in terracotta and stone and on some stele anthemia: architectural terracottas from Larisa, Magnesia on the Maeander, Didyma, Temnos, and Pergamon, as well as from Caulonia in Magna Graecia⁷¹; marble simas from Archaic treasuries at Delphi⁷²; an anta capital from Didyma⁷³; marble reliefs from Samos (from the Rhoikos altar, a stele anthemion, and relief vessels)⁷⁴; and stele anthemia from Sardis⁷⁵. Comparanda in metalwork include an Achaemenid silver relief amphora from Duvanli in Thrace (early to mid fifth century B.C.E.) and a very similar one in the collection of G. Ortiz, with similarly outlined petals but squatter flowers⁷⁶, and an

tery (London 1998) fig. 8, 19. See also, a Pontic amphora by the Paris Painter, R. M. Cook, *La parola del passato* 44, 1989, 161–73 fig. 2.

⁷⁰ A. E. Furtwängler, *AM* 95, 1980, 149–224 Beil. 1, pl. 54. Only the top part of the lotus frieze is preserved, so the arcing tendrils cannot be compared.

⁷¹ Åkerström *op.cit.* (note 67) pls. 9, 4; 13, 1; 31, 1; 52; 57; E. D. van Buren, *Archaic Fictile Revetments in Sicily and Magna Graecia* (London 1923) pl. 3.

⁷² P. de la Coste Messelière, *Au Musée de Delphes* (Paris 1936) pl. 22. See also, U. Wallat, *Ornamentik auf Marmorsimen des griechischen Mutterlandes* (Frankfurt am Main 1997) pls. 12–15, 17–19, for sima fragments from the Alkmeonid Temple of Apollo at Delphi, the Aphaia Temple at Aigina, and Amyklai.

⁷³ W. B. Dinsmoor, *The Architecture of Ancient Greece* (New York 1950) pl. 31.

⁷⁴ E. Buschor, *AM* 72, 1957, Beil. 6–7; Dinsmoor *op.cit.* (note 73) fig. 54.

⁷⁵ G. M. A. Hanfmann, *On Lydian and Eastern Greek Anthemion Stelai*, *RA* 1976, 35–44 figs. 1–2; C. Ratté, *AJA* 98, 1994, 593–607 figs. 1. 9, 14–15.

⁷⁶ Filow *op.cit.* (note 6) pl. III; G. Ortiz, *The George Ortiz Collection. In Pursuit of the Absolute. Art of the Ancient World* (Berne 1996) no. 205. On the Duvanli amphora, see also P. Amandry, *AntK* 2, 1959, 40–43; M. Pfrommer, *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* 23, 1990, 193 pl. 40, 2; E. Rehm, in: J. Nieling – E. Rehm (eds.), *Achaemenid Impact in the Black Sea. Communication of Powers* (Aarhus 2010) 161–94 fig. 9; M. Y. Treister, in: Nieling – Rehm, *op.cit.* (see above) 224, 257 n. 22; and M. C. Miller, in: B. Jacobs – R. Rollinger (eds.), *Der Achämenidenhof / The Achaemenid Court. Akten des 2. Internationalen Kolloquiums zum Thema «Vorderasien im Spannungsfeld*

klassischer und altorientalischer Überlieferungen», *Landgut Castelen bei Basel*, 23.–25. Mai 2007 (Wiesbaden 2010) 872. Cf. also, a bronze *kados* in the Steinhardt collection, C. Stibbe, *The Sons of Hephaistos: Aspects of the Archaic Greek Bronze Industry* (Rome 2000) fig. 111; a silver bowl in Boston, Terrace *op.cit.* (note 67); an Achaemenid silver stag-rhyton in the collection of G. Ortiz, *Ortiz op.cit.* (see above) no. 206; and Achaemenid gold spacer-beads from Pasargadae, D. Stronach, *Pasargadae* (Oxford 1978) pl. 153d.

Both the flowers and the buds sit atop disc-like torus bases or ‘collars,’ sometimes plain but often filled with tiny lines – crosshatched, herringbone, or parallel vertical lines. These collars also derive from Near Eastern precedents. In Greek lotus chains, these are sometimes omitted or abbreviated to round button-like knobs. When they do appear, they are generally seen as an Ionian feature⁸¹. The elongated shape of this feature on the Getty lotus friezes is found on East Greek and Lydian

klassischer und altorientalischer Überlieferungen», *Landgut Castelen bei Basel*, 23.–25. Mai 2007 (Wiesbaden 2010) 872. Cf. also, a bronze *kados* in the Steinhardt collection, C. Stibbe, *The Sons of Hephaistos: Aspects of the Archaic Greek Bronze Industry* (Rome 2000) fig. 111; a silver bowl in Boston, Terrace *op.cit.* (note 67); an Achaemenid silver stag-rhyton in the collection of G. Ortiz, *Ortiz op.cit.* (see above) no. 206; and Achaemenid gold spacer-beads from Pasargadae, D. Stronach, *Pasargadae* (Oxford 1978) pl. 153d.

⁷⁷ Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin 42, 1, 1984, 1–72 no. 49; İ. Özgen *et al.* (eds.), *Heritage Recovered: The Lydian Treasure* (Istanbul 1996) fig. 4; M. Y. Treister, in: A. Ivantchik – V. Licheli (ed.), *Achaemenid Culture and Local Traditions in Anatolia, Southern Caucasus, and Iran. New Discoveries. Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia* 13 (Leiden 2007) 76 fig. 7, 3; Treister *op.cit.* (note 76) 224.

⁷⁸ N. Sevinç *et al.*, *Studia Troica* 9, 1999, 489–510 figs. 16–17.

⁷⁹ J. Boehlau – K. Schefold, *Larisa III. Die Kleinfunde* (Berlin 1942) pl. 23, 8.

⁸⁰ H. Payne, *Necrocorinthia. A Study of Corinthian Art in the Archaic Period* (Oxford 1931) 145.

⁸¹ Payne *op.cit.* (note 80) 155 n. 1; Stibbe *op.cit.* (note 76) 152. For Assyrian precedents, see, e.g., F. Thureau-Dangin – M. Dunand, *Til-Barsib* (Paris 1936) pl. 45; J. Boardman, *The Greeks Overseas* (London 1999) fig. 88c; R. D. Barnett, *A Catalogue of the Nimrud Ivories* (London 1975) pl. 113. For smaller, rounder versions: Payne *op.cit.* (note 80) fig. 64; Cook – Dupont *op.cit.* (note 69) fig. 8, 13.

architectural terracottas⁸² as well as on the Achaemenid-era metalware cited above⁸³. The detailed fillings of the collars as well as the connecting arcs are less easily matched. The necklace from the Kızöldün sarcophagus has hatched collars and arcs, while the Metropolitan skyphos has hatched lotus petals and arcs but plain collars⁸⁴.

On rails A, B, and D, the flowers and buds are connected below the torus collars by arcing bands filled with tiny clusters of dots, like dot-rosettes, at fairly regular intervals. Rows of tiny dots outline the concave side of the arcs and in some cases extend upwards to follow the contours of the calyces. On rail C, the arcing bands extend up through the oblong collars and flare out to the sides and down again in the manner of volute tendrils, though without terminating in spirals. In most Greek lotus-palmette friezes, only the palmettes sit atop volutes in this manner⁸⁵. Parallels for the occurrence of volute-like forms beneath both elements in a lotus-and-palmette chain are few and scattered: e.g., an Orientalizing ivory inlay plaque from Gordion, from a cremation burial beneath Tumulus C⁸⁶; glazed brick decoration from the throne room of Nebuchadnezzar II at Baby-

lon⁸⁷; ornamental bands on Doric capitals of the Basilica at Paestum⁸⁸; a fifth- or fourth-century silver ram's head rhyton in the Hermitage⁸⁹; and a gold lion's-head finial from Kul Oba⁹⁰. Parallels for the dot filling of the connecting arcs are more chronologically confined, including late seventh- or early sixth-century bronze sheets that decorated a *kore* statue at Olympia (in association with torus-collars filled with cross-hatched patterns)⁹¹, and the painted lotus chains of Early and Middle Wild Goat Style and Ephesian Ware pottery⁹².

The lower angles of the arcing tendrils are sometimes empty but in most cases contain a rounded petal or tongue (on rail D) or a tiny, three-petaled palmette (on rails A and B, with dotted, hatched, or empty petals, usually in some alternation). In Greek lotus-palmette friezes, if this location carries any decoration at all, it is usually occupied by a single tongue or lozenge⁹³. The occurrence of a palmette in this location seems to be an eastern element, particularly comparable to Achaemenid-era metalwork: on the upper lotus frieze of the Duvanli amphora-rhyton

⁸² Åkerström *op.cit.* (note 67) pls. 9, 4 (Pergamon); 13, 1 (Temnos); 46–47 (Sardis). A unique approach to this element of the lotus chain is seen on lotus-and-palmette sima fragments from Larisa, where it takes the form of a tiny bead-and-reel motif: Åkerström *op.cit.* (note 67) pls. 31–32. The same element is filled with vertical bands on the lotus flowers decorating the gold necklace from Gümüşçay, Sevinç *et al. op.cit.* (note 78) figs. 16–17.

⁸³ See notes 76–78, above; Treister *op.cit.* (note 76) 224. See also, the interior decoration of a silver omphalos bowl from Susa, Paris, Musée du Louvre Sb 2756, J. Curtis – N. Tallis (eds.), *Forgotten Empire: The world of Ancient Persia* (London 2005) 178 no. 277.

⁸⁴ See notes 77–78, above.

⁸⁵ E.g., Filow *op.cit.* (note 6) pl. III; Åkerström *op.cit.* (note 67) pl. 10; de la Coste Messelière *op.cit.* (note 72) pl. 22.

⁸⁶ Gordion Museum BI 14: E. L. Kohler, *A Study of the Wood and Ivory Carvings from Gordion, Phrygia* (Ph.D. Diss., Bryn Mawr College 1958) 111–12 no. 107, fig. 5; P. A. Sheftel, *The ivory, bone and shell objects from Gordion from the Campaigns of 1950 through 1973* (Ph.D. Diss., University of Pennsylvania 1974) 106, 48, 141, pl. 15b; E. L. Kohler, *The Lesser Phrygian Tumuli, Part 1: The Inhumations in The Gordion Excavations (1950–1973)* (Philadelphia 1995) 26, pl. 83c.

⁸⁷ M. Roaf, *Cultural Atlas of Mesopotamia and the Ancient Near East* (New York 1990) 200.

⁸⁸ A. W. Lawrence, *Greek Architecture* (New Haven 1983) fig. 123.

⁸⁹ M. A. Dandamaev – V. G. Lukonin, *The Culture and Social Institutions of Ancient Iran* (Cambridge 1989) fig. 21.

⁹⁰ M. I. Artamonov, *The Splendor of Scythian Art: Treasures from Scythian Tombs* (New York 1969) pl. 263. See also, a gilded silver bowl from the Oxus Treasure, now in the Miho Museum, I. R. Pichikyan, *Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia* 4, 1997, 361, fig. 19.

⁹¹ Borrell – Rittig *op.cit.* (note 67) Sheet II, fig. 2, pls. 36–38; on the dating, see E. Guralnick, *AJA* 108, 2004, 187–222.

⁹² E.g., Boehlau – Schefold *op.cit.* (note 79) pls. 19, 2; 21, 4; 24, 14; 35, 14; H. Walter, *Frühe samische Gefässe: Chronologie und Landschaftsstile ostgriechischer Gefässe. Samos V* (Bonn 1968) pl. 59, 350; C. H. Greenewalt Jr., *California Studies in Classical Antiquity* 6, 1973, 91–122 pl. 12, 2–3; Furtwängler *op.cit.* (note 70) pl. 46, 9; M. Kerschner, *ÖJh* 66, 1997, 16–17; id., *ÖJh* 66, 1997, Beibl. 84–226, especially 131 no. 48, pl. 7, figs. 24–25. For dot-filling composed of tiny dot-rosettes or dot-clusters, no exact parallels are known to the authors, but the dot-centered circles filling the tendril on a ram's head rhyton in the Hermitage are similar in concept: see Dandamaev – Lukonin *op.cit.* (note 89) fig. 21.

⁹³ See, e.g., Kunze *op.cit.* (note 67) fig. 8; de la Coste Messelière *op.cit.* (note 72) pl. 22; Boehlau – Schefold *op.cit.* (note 79) pls. 21, 4; 29, 4–5; 33, 4; Åkerström *op.cit.* (note 67) pl. 10; Walter *op.cit.* (note 92) pls. 59, 350, 104, 554–555, 131, 630; Cook – Dupont *op.cit.* (note 69) fig. 8, 13.

these spaces are filled with single tongues, while on the lower frieze there are small palmettes⁹⁴. The Duvanli amphora has recently been classified as 'satrapal art,' with a hypothetical origin in Sardis or Daskyleion⁹⁵.

On rail A, the lotus bud frieze is interrupted by a compass-drawn rosette, ca. 0.20 m from leg G (fig. 5; pl. 10, 3). The rosette is composed of eleven petals with rounded ends, alternately plain and filled with dots (except for four petals in a row filled with dots). Between the tips of the petals are small pointed spikes or sepals. The whole is encircled by a band filled with a ring of tiny dot rosettes, like the ones encircling the rosettes on the disc-tops of legs G and H. Interestingly, the rosette partly overlies two consecutive lotus buds, and its dot-filled ring border forms, on the inner side of the rail, a continuation of the arcing tendril connecting the lotus chain. It appears that this unusual occurrence of a rosette in the midst of a continuous lotus chain may have covered a mistake (the carving of two buds in a row)⁹⁶. The interruption of a lotus frieze with a rosette is quite uncommon. The only known parallel again comes from the Lale Tepe tumulus

⁹⁴ J. Boardman, *Persia and the West. An Archaeological Investigation of the Genesis of Achaemenid Persian Art* (London 2000) fig. 5, 71. A lotus chain nearly identical to the upper frieze on the Duvanli amphora is found on a silver stag-rhyton once in the Schimmel collection and said to be from Cappadocia, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 1989.281.30a.b, Pfrommer *op.cit.* (note 76) fig. 1, 1-2; Settgest *op.cit.* (note 42) no. 177; O. W. Muscarella, Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin 49, 1992, 16-17. For small, three-petaled palmettes below both lotus buds and flowers, see a bronze-pyxis in New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 61.147, probably of the seventh or sixth century and Assyrian or pre-Achaemenid Iranian, O. W. Muscarella, *Bronze and Iron: Ancient Near Eastern Artifacts in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York 1988) no. 500. For a larger palmette in this location, see Walter *op.cit.* (note 92) pl. 131, 631. For the alternation of a pointed petal or lozenge with a small palmette, cf. glazed brick decoration from Babylon, Roaf *op.cit.* (note 87) 200; the rim frieze of a Fikellura bowl from Samos, E. Walter-Karydi, *Samische Gefässe des 6. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. Samos VI.1* (Bonn 1973) no. 335, fig. 27; and a relief sima from Amyklai, E. Fiechter, *JdI* 33, 1918, fig. 14b.

⁹⁵ Rehm *op.cit.* (note 76) 173-74. See also, Pfrommer *op.cit.* (note 76) 193; Miller *op.cit.* (note 76) 872.

⁹⁶ For a similar mistake, with two flowers in a row in a lotus bud-and-flower chain, see the Lakonian black-figured cup fragment from Miletos, Museum Z92.88.2, C. Stibbe, *Lakonische Vasenmaler des sechsten Jahrhunderts v. Chr., Suppl.* (Mainz 2004) pl. 17 no. 17, 3.

near Ahmetli in Lydia: the front rail of the rear couch was decorated with a lotus-palmette chain that terminated on each end with a rosette, a final lotus and spiral flourish, and an inward-facing sphinx (fig. 10)⁹⁷. The type of rosette used to cover up the mistake is also distinctive: a "short-lived" Ionian type found in architectural ornament from Samos, Ephesos, Miletos, and Larisa, as well as Pasargadae, ca. 540-520 B.C.E.⁹⁸. Rosettes with intervening sepals are found in other media over a broader range of time⁹⁹, but similar, spiky sepals between the petals of palmettes, as seen also on rail C of the Getty *kline*, seem to have been a specialty of East Greece / Ionia and Ionian colonies in the north Aegean in the mid- to late sixth century. These occur on stele anthemia from Samos, Amorgos, Daskyleion, and Abdera as well as from Lydia (one from Sardis and one in the Bergama Museum that probably came from Lydia)¹⁰⁰.

⁹⁷ Baughan *op.cit.* (note 60) 65 fig. 20, pl. 7.

⁹⁸ C. Nylander, *Ionians in Pasargadae. Studies in Old Persian Architecture* (Uppsala 1970) 140, fig. 40a; Stronach *op.cit.* (note 76) 125-26 fig. 64; Boardman *op.cit.* (note 94) 80 figs. 2, 64-65 (also fig. 3, 21). See Baughan *op.cit.* (note 60) 65 n. 85.

⁹⁹ E.g., in filling ornament on the Protoattic amphora from Eleusis with Odysseus blinding Polyphemos: J. Boardman, *Early Greek Vase Painting* (London 1998) cover illustration; on a sixth-century bronze disc from Isthmia: I. K. Raubitschek, *The Metal Objects (1952-1989). Isthmia VII* (Princeton 1997) pl. 44, 283; or the rosettes decorating the rotelles on the handle of a bronze hydria in the collection of G. Ortiz, said to be from Greece, dated to the mid-fifth century: Ortiz *op.cit.* (note 76) no. 144.

¹⁰⁰ E. Buschor, *AM* 58, 1933, 22-46, especially 44; Hanfmann *op.cit.* (note 75) 11 figs. 9-11; L. Marangou, in: H. Kyrieleis (ed.), *Archaische und klassische griechische Plastik I* (Mainz 1986) 119-38 pl. 49, 2; J. de la Genière (ed.), *Nécropoles et sociétés antiques: Grèce, Italie, Languedoc: actes du colloque international du Centre de recherches archéologiques de l'Université de Lille III, Lille, 2-3 décembre 1991* (Naples 1994) 59 fig. 33; Ratté *op.cit.* (note 75) figs. 1-3. 10-11; W. Radt, *IstMitt* 33, 1983, 65 pl. 9. See also, architectural terracottas from Lesbos and Linos in Rhodope (Thrace), and an akroterion of a Late Archaic temple at Olbia: Åkerström *op.cit.* (note 67) pl. 11, 1; E. Anagnostopoulou-Chatzipolychroni, *Αρχαία Θράκη. Πρακτικά 20ου Διεθνούς Συμποσίου Θρακικών Σπουδών, 1997*, 584 fig. 3; S. D. Kryzhitsky, *Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia* 4, 1997, 15-34, figs. 14-15. Cf. also, the palmette filling of the lotus flower held by the winged figure on the west wall of the Kızılbel tomb, M. J. Melink - R. A. Bridges Jr. - F. C. di Vignale, *Kızılbel: An Archaic Painted Tomb Chamber in Northern Lycia* (Philadelphia 1998) pl. Xa.

In the corresponding location on the opposite rail (C) (figs. 1, 6), traces of another compass-drawn roundel can just barely be discerned: a circular band filled with tiny dot clusters surrounding a quatrefoil or palmette-star motif, only about half of which is preserved (two dotted petals with pointed ends facing out, bordered by plain bands, with small three-petaled palmettes between them). In contrast to the rosette medallion on rail A, this roundel (though admittedly much more obscured by corrosion of the bronze) does not seem to overlie the lotus chain but rather to be incorporated into it – a palmette is abruptly cut off in the middle by the roundel, and then the chain resumes with another half palmette, as if picking up where it left off. Therefore, it seems not to have been intended to ‘cover’ a mistake but rather to balance out the interruption of the lotus frieze on the opposite side of the *kline*¹⁰¹. The quatrefoil motif itself finds parallels in a range of media in the Archaic period, with notable examples from East Greece and Lydia¹⁰². The motif of the four-pointed star composed of leaves/petals with small palmettes between them is found, for instance, on shield bands from Olympia, Etruscan jewelry, East Greek pottery, Caeretan hydriae, a grave stele from Attica, and architectural terracottas from Sardis and Gordion¹⁰³. It also occurs as incised decoration on a symbolic door stele from near Sardis¹⁰⁴, and it appears on the Lydian-Achaemenian silver skyphos in the Metropolitan in a medallion bordered by a crosshatched band, between two lions¹⁰⁵.

¹⁰¹ A high level of corrosion on the head end of each long rail makes it impossible to determine whether corresponding rosettes or roundels were engraved here to balance those on the other end.

¹⁰² For the East Greek origin of the motif (Blütenstern), Åkerström *op.cit.* (note 67) 92.

¹⁰³ P. C. Bol, *Argivische Schilde* (Berlin 1989) pl. 58; H. Heres – M. Kunze (eds.), *Die Welt der Etrusker, Internationales Kolloquium 24.–26. Oktober 1988, Berlin* (Berlin 1990) pls. 60–61; Walter-Karydi *op.cit.* (note 94) 84 fig. 154, pl. 49, 440a; Hemelrijk *op.cit.* (note 68) 172 figs. 58a.f; J. Boardman, *Greek Sculpture. The Archaic Period* (London 1978) fig. 229; Åkerström *op.cit.* (note 67) 92–93 pls. 44–45. 83. See also, Payne *op.cit.* (note 80) 148 fig. 104e.

¹⁰⁴ Sardis Expedition depot NoEx 00.4: C. H. Roosevelt, *Lydian and Persian Period Settlement in Lydia* (PhD Diss., Cornell University 2003) 180 n. 193; C. H. Roosevelt, *AJA* 110, 2006, 83 no. 4, fig. 6.

¹⁰⁵ *Supra* note 77.

Quatrefoil motifs also interrupt the bud-and-flower frieze on rail D, in two locations (fig. 7)¹⁰⁶. Like the petals of the quatrefoil on rail C, these have dot-filled centers enclosed in plain bands. The small lotus flowers that fill the spaces between them have dot-filled calyces and wide-arc outer petals. It is difficult to determine whether these were filled with subsidiary petals or with palmettes, if anything at all. In one case, three rounded petals of a small palmette are clear in this location, but since no accompanying lotus flower is discernible it is impossible to say whether this palmette represents the filling of a lotus flower or perhaps an alternative filling of the space between the quatrefoil petals, as on rail C.

In sum, then, the lotus friezes on the Getty *kline* contain notable Ionian features and have some close parallels in other western Anatolian and Achaemenid art. One could argue that such a broad amalgamation of stylistic parallels may call into question the authenticity of the decoration incised on the *kline*. Autopsy – or even close examination of detailed photographs – quickly dispels such suspicions. Many of the designs have been worn away or obscured by corrosion of the metal, and in many areas, textile pseudomorphs overlie the incisions (pls. 9, 5; 10, 3–4). There is no doubt that these engravings – however whimsical and non-standard they may be – are as ancient as the *kline* itself. Considering all the comparative evidence for form and decoration presented here, a date ca. 540–470 B.C.E. and manufacture in eastern Greece or western Anatolia seems most likely; this stylistic date accords well with the recent radiocarbon dating of the textile remains to ca. 505 B.C.E.

Modern history of the Getty kline

Museum records contain few details concerning the acquisition of the *kline*. From letters and notes provided to the authors by Crawford H. Greenewalt, Jr., it can be determined that the piece was purchased from a collector in Geneva, with no documented history prior to

¹⁰⁶ One located about 0.20 m in from leg E and the other ca. 0.25 m from leg F.

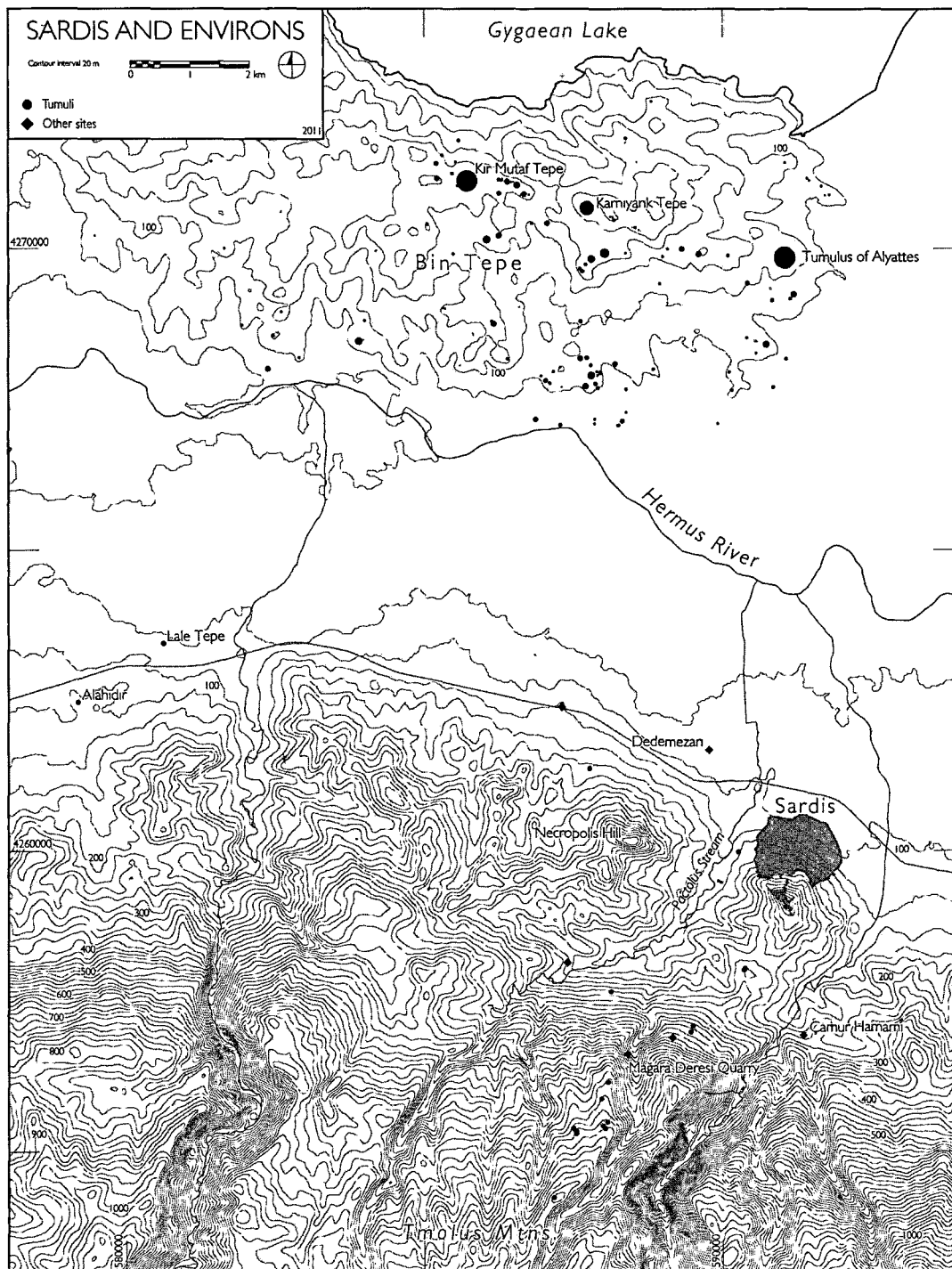


Fig. 11 Map of Sardis and central Lydia

1982¹⁰⁷. Greenwalt's inquiries into the history of the piece were sparked by an uncanny coincidence – in 1979, the Archaeological Museum of Manisa learned of an illicit excavation of a tumulus at Alahidir near Ahmetli, ca. 12 km west of Sardis (fig. 11), and the looters reported having removed a bronze bed from the tomb cham-

¹⁰⁷ In phone conversations in August 1983 and February 1985, Jiri Frel and Arthur Houghton III, then curators of antiquities at the Getty,

ber¹⁰⁸. In the rescue excavations undertaken by the museum, some fragments of bronze and linen were recov-

told Greenwalt that the *kline* was purchased in Switzerland in 1982 and had once been in the S. Schweitzer collection in Arlesheim. Frel claimed that it had been sold to a Paris dealer in 1936 and first offered to the Getty in 1969, but Houghton found no information about the piece prior to its 1982 acquisition in Getty records.

¹⁰⁸ K. Nayır, *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* 2, 1980, 74–75; K. Nayır, *Anadolu Araştırmaları* 7, 1981, 120–29.

ered, along with pottery suggesting an Archaic date for the tomb (see below). Given the rarity of bronze furnishings from the ancient world and the unlikely possibility that the looters would have invented a story about an item unparalleled in ancient Lydia (or Greece for that matter), along with the apparent similarity in date with the recently-acquired Getty *kline*, Greenewalt wondered whether the two bronze beds might in fact be the same. In light of what has now become known about acquisition practices at the Getty in the early 1980s, especially in connection with the Swiss market, it seems even more likely that the looters' reports describe the Getty *kline*¹⁰⁹.

In 1995, Greenewalt renewed his inquiries about the Getty *kline* and its possible association with the Alahıdır tumulus. He supplied Marion True, then Curator of Antiquities, with copies of his correspondence with Jiri Frel and Arthur Houghton III, and with information about the Manisa Museum's rescue excavation. Marion True and John Papadopoulos, then Associate Curator of Antiquities, consulted with Engin Özgen (Hacettepe University, then General Director of Monuments and Museums in the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Turkey) and İlknur Özgen (Bilkent University, and co-author of the present article), who happened to be visiting scholars in the Getty's Department of Antiquities at the time. All agreed that the *kline* probably came from Alahıdır, and Marion True said that the Getty would return the piece to Turkey if solid evidence could be

¹⁰⁹ The Schweitzer Collection in particular is "an old and mysterious Swiss collection often used to provide a false provenance for objects, because it had been donated to the state more than thirty years before and was difficult to cross-check": P. Watson – C. Todeschini, *The Medici Conspiracy. The Illicit Journey of Looted Antiquities, from Italy's Tomb Raiders to the World's Greatest Museums* (New York 2006) 95, and 345–6, 348–9, for other material reportedly from the Schweitzer collection but featured in Polaroids seized from Giacomo Medici's Geneva warehouse, showing vases fresh from excavation. Frel and Houghton both dealt with some of the dealers implicated in the recent Italian investigations concerning Medici, who trafficked in looted antiquities, Watson – Todeschini *op.cit.* (see above) 75, 81, 198, 284–86. See also, D. Gill – C. Chippindale, *AJA* 111, 2007, 573; *id.*, *International Journal of Cultural Property* 14, 2007, 205–40.

presented from the tomb itself¹¹⁰. By this time, unfortunately, the fragments of linen and bronze recovered at Alahıdır could not be located. Owing to the fragile state of the *kline*, its rigorous conservation demands, and the loss of the material evidence which might be used to associate it scientifically with Alahıdır tomb, the piece has remained at the Getty.

This renewed interest in the *kline* coincided with major changes at the Getty that sparked new scientific analysis of the piece. The *kline* had been on display in the original Getty Villa, and the move to storage facilities during renovations provided an opportunity for systematic investigation of the piece in order to determine its interior construction and stability. Getty conservators undertook a thorough re-examination of its chemical composition, construction, and decorative features – including radiographic analysis, creation of detailed drawings, comprehensive photographic recording, and the creation of a new, climate-controlled container. The *kline* has now been moved back to the new Villa but remains in storage.

Probable context of the Getty kline: Alahıdır Tumulus 1

As noted above, there is good reason to associate the Getty *kline* with a bronze bed allegedly looted from Alahıdır Tumulus 1, near Ahmetli, and sold to a dealer sometime in the years immediately prior to 1979. A report by the Jandarma of Turgutlu (ca. 23 km west of Ahmetli) dated March 17, 1979 records details of the looting obtained through interviews with some of the illicit diggers in February 1979. They claimed to have removed, from the middle chamber of a tomb complex with three side-by-side chambers, a bronze bed about 1.5–2 m long, 0.50 m high, and wide enough for only one person (thus probably ca. 0.65–0.85 m wide). Its length proved to be a nuisance during transport to the dealer: it was first taken to a house by tractor; when it was moved to a vehicle (presumably a truck) for highway travel, part of it protruded from the back of the vehicle and had to

¹¹⁰ A letter from True to Greenewalt dated 19 December 1995 confirms this promise.

be covered with a blanket. The looters also reported removing several vessels from the same chamber: two silver bowls, a bronze calf's head ladle, one bronze and one silver pitcher, one bronze and one silver dish, one tray, one bronze jug, and some broken pottery¹¹¹.

Salvage excavations of three tumuli at Alahıdır were carried out in April – May 1979 by the Manisa Museum, under the direction of Kubilay Nayır¹¹². These confirmed what the looters had reported about the form of the tomb. One of the tumuli contained three chambers side by side, connected by small windows¹¹³. In the middle chamber, Nayır's team recovered some small fragments of "bronze plates" with pieces of linen textile adhering, along with some small pieces of wood¹¹⁴. Also from the middle chamber came a lekythos, a ridged lydion, a skyphos base, and fragments of at least one alabastron¹¹⁵. On the basis of this excavated material, Nayır suggested that the bed was made of wood plated with bronze and dated the tomb ca. 575–540 B.C.E.¹¹⁶. A precise chronology of Lydian pottery and masonry styles, however, remains uncertain, and it is likely that most Lydian tumuli besides the largest, 'royal' ones, date to the Persian period, after ca. 545 B.C.E.¹¹⁷.

The masonry of the tomb is paralleled in other Lydian tombs of the sixth and fifth centuries, but its plan, with three adjacent chambers, is so far unique¹¹⁸. Each cham-

ber is composed of point-dressed sandstone blocks and measures 1.27 × 2.47 m, with a flat ceiling 1.49 m high. The two shared walls, between the outermost and central chamber, contain small windows near the back. The tops of the walls have thin projecting bands seen elsewhere in Lydian masonry, and the blocks on the façade have finely drafted margins and masons' marks¹¹⁹. Each chamber has a separate entrance closed by a plug-type door, composed of two separate blocks of stone¹²⁰. Given the narrow width of each chamber (only 1.27 m), the bed removed by the looters must have been placed lengthwise, probably against one of the side walls¹²¹.

The association of the Getty *kline* with the bed reportedly removed from the Alahıdır tumulus is not only suggested by the remarkable similarity of the looters' description with the Getty couch and the timing and murky circumstances of its acquisition but is also supported by certain features of its style and decoration. First, the apparent stylistic date of the *kline*, based on

¹¹¹ Turgutlu Jandarma report of 17 March 1979; Nayır *op.cit.* 1981 (note 108) 125.

¹¹² Nayır *op.cit.* 1980 (note 108) 73–75; M. J. Mellink, *AJA* 84, 1980, 514; Nayır *op.cit.* 1981 (note 108) 115–29; M. J. Mellink, *AJA* 86, 1982, 570; McLauchlin *op.cit.* (note 1) 257–58 no. E1a; Roosevelt 2003 *op.cit.* (note 104) 165, 436 no. 97; Baughan *op.cit.* (note 1) no. A37.

¹¹³ Nayır *op.cit.* 1981 (note 108) pls. 3–5, figs. 7–13.

¹¹⁴ These fragments were once in the Manisa Museum, but are now reportedly lost; Nayır *op.cit.* 1981 (note 108) 124–126 fig. 29.

¹¹⁵ Nayır *op.cit.* 1981 (note 108) 124 pl. 9, figs. 26–28.

¹¹⁶ Nayır *op.cit.* 1980 (note 108) 75; Nayır *op.cit.* 1981 (note 108) 128–29.

¹¹⁷ C. H. Roosevelt, *Journal of Field Archaeology* 31, 2006, 61–76; Roosevelt *op.cit.* (note 35) 148.

¹¹⁸ Roosevelt 2003 *op.cit.* (note 104) 165 figs. 4, 15–16. The closest parallel occurs in the İkiştepe tumulus, in eastern Lydia near Güre (home to much of the Lydian Treasure): see Özgen *et al.* *op.cit.* (note 77) figs. 93–94.

¹¹⁹ Nayır *op.cit.* 1981 (note 108) 121 pl. 6. Cf. C. Ratté, *Lydian Architecture. Ashlar Masonry Structures at Sardis* (Cambridge MA 2011) 25, 35.

¹²⁰ Roosevelt 2003 *op.cit.* (note 104) 145, 437.

¹²¹ Transverse placement against the rear wall is, however, much more common: Baughan *op.cit.* (note 1) 57; *op.cit.* (note 45); *op.cit.* (note 60) 77. Three examples of tumulus chambers with a single *kline* placed lengthwise along a side wall are known: 1.) Tomb BK71.1, near Sardis, G. M. A. Hanfmann – W. E. Mierse, *Sardis from Prehistoric to Roman Times. Results of the Archaeological Exploration of Sardis 1958–1975* (Cambridge, MA 1983) 59 figs. 115–16; Baughan *op.cit.* (note 1) 461 no. A3; 2.) Tombaktepe, near Salihli: Roosevelt *op.cit.* (note 104) 521 no. 289; Baughan *op.cit.* (note 1) no. A27; and 3.) Tomb BT05.58, near Kendirlik in Bin Tepe: Roosevelt *op.cit.* (note 35) fig. 6, 46. It is also possible that the *kline* was placed in the middle of the chamber, along its axis, but the only certain parallel for *klinai* not placed against a wall occurs at İkiştepe, where two *klinai* were placed transversely across the middle of the righthand chamber: Özgen *et al.* *op.cit.* (note 77) fig. 94. If the floor cuttings in BT63.2 were receptacles for the legs of a wooden *kline* (rather than a sarcophagus, as has been supposed), this doorless chamber would offer an additional parallel for a centrally-placed *kline*: see G. M. A. Hanfmann, *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 171, 1964, 55 fig. 35; C. H. Greenewalt Jr. – L. J. Majewski, in: K. Devries (ed.), *From Athens to Gordion: The Papers of a Memorial Symposium for R. S. Young* (Philadelphia 1980) 133–47 fig. 7; Baughan *op.cit.* (note 1) 81–84 fig. 61; Roosevelt *op.cit.* (note 35) fig. 6, 10.

parallels with other Type A couches, concurs generally with the dating of the Alahıdır tumulus, in the second half of the sixth century. Secondly, the ornamental friezes incised on the *kline* situate the piece in the late Archaic western Asiatic milieu. More specifically, there are parallels for the particular form of the rosette on rail A and for the appearance of a lotus-palmette chain on a funerary *kline* (though of a different type) in the Lale Tepe tumulus, not far from Alahıdır (fig. 10). It may not be coincidental that the other two *klinai* at Lale Tepe have supports decorated with Type A legs in relief – the only other Type A funerary *klinai* known in western Anatolia (pl. 11, 3). Finally, the linen fragments recovered in salvage excavations at Alahıdır were remarkably similar to those adhering to the Getty *kline*, and small fragments of bronze found in the tomb could belong to broken parts of the couch. Unfortunately, the loss of the bronze and textile fragments recovered by the Manisa Museum hampers any attempts to ‘match’ these fragments definitively. Surviving photographs of the bronze pieces show only amorphous forms¹²², but the fragments are described in the excavation reports as “plates” and therefore thin, perhaps like the perforated thin sheet creating the ‘latticed’ bed-surface of the Getty *kline*, from which substantial parts are missing (fig. 1). Of course, the bed-surface of the Getty *kline* is composed of copper, not bronze; but the copper is in places so heavily oxidized, with a bluish-green patina, that it could be easily mistaken for bronze. Nayır’s assertion that the bed stolen from Alahıdır was composed of bronze-plated wood undoubtedly stems from the fact that small, plank-like pieces of wood were found along with the bronze fragments¹²³. These wood remains could belong, however, to a table or footstool, common accompaniment for a *kline*¹²⁴.

¹²² R. Dinç, Lidya Tümülüsleri (unpublished Diss., Ege University 1993) fig. 171.

¹²³ For the wood fragments, Dinç *op.cit.* (note 122) fig. 170.

¹²⁴ Though gold- and silver-plated *klinai* are known in the literary record and are particularly associated with Lydia and Persia – e.g., Hdt. 1, 50; 9, 80; cf. a silver-plated diphras from a Macedonian tomb at Stavroupolis, Andrianou *op.cit.* (note 3) 28 fig. 6 – bronze-plated wooden *klinai* are not well-attested. Bronze appliqué decoration from Castel San Mariano (Perugia) is thought to have decorated a wooden

Ethical Concerns

The decision to publish an ancient artifact that was most likely looted and acquired subsequent to the 1970 UNESCO Convention¹²⁵ has been a difficult one, arrived at only after intensive consideration of all sides of the cultural property debate and a thorough exploration of the topic in a cross-listed Classics/Law course at the University of Richmond, with both undergraduates and law students. Treating such items as valid subjects of study, on a par with those found in controlled excavations, could serve to bolster the market for illicitly acquired antiquities¹²⁶. Uncertainty of provenance also raises questions of authenticity, and lack of context limits the possibilities of archaeological interpretation¹²⁷. The Archaeological Institute of America and other professional societies therefore discourage publication of previously unknown looted material, unless “the aim

couch: U. Höckmann, Die Bronzen aus dem Fürstengrab von Castel San Mariano bei Perugia (Munich 1982) 7. 48 nn. 269–270, fig. 33, pl. 32, 1–2. Bronze fittings for a wooden couch (cast legs and corner reinforcements for decayed wooden rails) were found in a Persian-period tomb at Tell Fara South, in Palestine: F. Petrie, Beth-Pelet I (Tell Fara) (London 1930) 14–15 pl. 45–46; J. H. Iliffe, The Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine 4, 1935, 182–83 pl. 89; Kyrieleis *op.cit.* (note 6) 141ff. pl. 18, 2; H. S. Baker, Furniture in the Ancient World: Origins and Evolution, 3100–475 B.C. (London 1966) 224 figs. 361–62. The Alahıdır looters, however, made it clear that the bed they removed was entirely metal, and they removed it in one piece, so the wood fragments must have been from something else.

¹²⁵ Convention on the Means of Prohibiting the Illicit Import, Export, and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property. See C. Renfrew, Loot, Legitimacy, and Ownership. The Ethical Crisis in Archaeology (London 2000) 65–67, 93–102.

¹²⁶ A. Wylie, Archaeology and the Antiquities Market: The Use of ‘Looted’ Data, in: M. J. Lynott – A. Wylie (eds.), Ethics in American Archaeology: Challenges for the 1990s (Washington, DC 1995) 18–20; A. F. Chase – D. Z. Chase – H. W. Topsey, Archaeology and the Ethics of Collecting, in: K. D. Vitelli – C. Colwell-Chanthaphonh (eds.), Archaeological Ethics (Lanham, MD 2006) 23. See also, discussion of approaches to this issue with regard to Cycladic figurines in J. Eisenberg, Ethics and the Antiquity Trade, in: K. W. Tubb (ed.), Antiquities Trade or Betrayed: Legal, ethical, and conservation issues (London 1995) 218–19.

¹²⁷ Wylie *op.cit.* (note 126) 20.

of publication is to emphasize the loss of archaeological context”¹²⁸.

The Getty *kline* stands apart from most looted artifacts, not only because it is utterly unique but also because its original context can be reasonably determined. The aim of this paper is to introduce the unparalleled and fascinating features of this rare artifact to the archaeological community right alongside its illicit history, in order to help spark discussion about the proper treatment of looted objects once provenance has been established, especially when they are difficult to transport and maintain (even more so than a vase or a marble statue). While the loss of archaeological context is deplorable, ignoring it is even more regrettable, especially when it means ignoring the object and the light it can shed on ancient peoples and their practices¹²⁹. The probable context in this case is a looted tumulus chamber in western Lydia, where illicit digging continues at an alarming rate, as the vigilant recording of the Central Lydia Archaeology Survey has shown¹³⁰. Just as it would be wrong simply to ignore the looted tumuli and the wealth of information they can offer archaeologists, even in their violated state, it would also be wrong to let potentially informative pieces plundered from these tombs languish unknown and unpublished in far-flung collections if their original contexts can in fact be determined. This publication does not invoke the basic “salvage principle”, that archaeologists should salvage at least some archaeological information from looted artifacts even if context cannot be reconstructed and therefore “should work with looted data whenever they have informational value”¹³¹. Rather, it stems from the view that when context can be reason-

ably reconstructed – of course lost context can never be fully regained – it would be unethical not to acknowledge this potential. Just as repatriation can never fully ‘right the wrong’ of looting¹³², recontextualization of a looted artifact can never undo the loss of archaeological information caused by looting; but ignoring such an object as a means of discouraging further looting does a further disservice to archaeological scholarship by perpetuating the loss.

Conclusions and Significance

Comparanda for the form and decoration of the Getty *kline* suggest that the piece was probably made in the late sixth or early fifth century B.C.E. The particular characteristics of its incised floral ornament have many parallels in Late Archaic East Greece / western Asia Minor, particularly in Lydia. The concurrence of the J. Paul Getty Museum’s acquisition of the piece and the reported removal of a bronze bed from a Lydian tomb, given the rarity of preserved bronze furniture from the ancient Mediterranean world, make it likely that the Getty *kline* and the bronze bed looted from Alahıdır are one and the same.

The significance of this rare artifact is manifold. It represents a medium for furniture known to have existed in antiquity but not well attested archaeologically. Its particular alloy content suggests metallurgical sophistication, with foresight of potential problems raised by casting molten bronze around sheets of hammered copper, and its joinery implies familiarity with assembling large pieces of bronze and with the advantages offered by traditional wooden joinery methods. The profiles of its Type A legs help to clarify the stylistic development of this furniture type, known mostly from representations rather than real specimens. Its incised decoration displays a free, almost whimsical, approach to traditional schemes of lotus patterns, with deviations introduced

¹²⁸ N. J. Norman, Editorial Policy on the Publication of Recently Acquired Antiquities, *AJA* 109, 2005, 135. See also, the Society for American Archaeology’s Principles of Archaeological Ethics, which state that archaeologists should “whenever possible ... discourage, and should themselves avoid, activities that enhance the commercial value of archaeological objects” (<http://www.saa.org/AbouttheSociety/PrinciplesofArchaeologicalEthics/tabid/203/Default.aspx>, accessed 21 May 2011).

¹²⁹ Cf. Stibbe *op.cit.* (note 76) XI.

¹³⁰ Roosevelt *op.cit.* (note 117); Roosevelt – Luke *op.cit.* (2006 [a], note 4); Roosevelt – Luke *op.cit.* (2006 [b], note 4).

¹³¹ Wylie *op.cit.* (note 126) 18.

¹³² E. Herscher, *AJA* 102, 1998, 813: “repatriation itself does not recover the archaeological context that is lost forever when sites are looted ... return does not ‘right the wrong.’ For the archaeologist, the main value of repatriation is the role it may play in repressing the market and discouraging further looting.”

both by necessity (to cover up a mistake) and for variety. And its textile remains have the potential to add to our understanding of decorative borders and tassels ca. 500 B.C.E.

Without context, these points of significance are interesting but essentially antiquarian. But when the piece is considered within its Lydian context, it can also shed light on Lydian funerary customs, regional patterns among tumuli, artistic connections with East Greece, and cultural identity in Lydia during the Persian period. This *kline* evidently served as the burial location for an important individual in Lydia. The bronze medium itself suggests wealth, and a long, tasseled cloth overhanging the couch would also have carried associations of luxury, especially since such cloths are featured in contemporary depictions of banqueting in Anatolian-Persian funerary art. Though the tomb seems to date to the era of Persian occupation in Lydia, the couch itself is a firmly Greek type, and the tomb characteristically Lydian (in both layout and masonry). Was this the tomb of Persian nobility who embraced Lydian customs, or of elite Lydians who maintained a level of wealth and status under Persian control? Either scenario is possible, and both demonstrate the popularity of *kline*-burial and the persistence of Lydian funerary traditions in the Persian era¹³³.

As the only known bronze *kline* from Lydia (or, for that matter, from the Archaic world outside of Etruria), it strengthens the idea that the much more numerous stone *klinai* in Lydia were conceived as alternatives to more expensive or more perishable couches in bronze or wood. Its striking parallels with the marble *klinai* in the Lale Tepe tumulus, in the same cluster of tumuli near Ahmetli and of roughly contemporary date, suggest that the users or makers of these tombs were aware of details within other tombs in the area; the lotus frieze and interrupting rosettes on the rear *kline* at Lale Tepe could even have been inspired by the incised ornament of the Getty couch. But even without such a direct connection, the Getty *kline* enriches the total picture of funerary couches in this region of Lydia and in Lydia as a whole.

¹³³ Cf. discussion of the nearby Lale Tepe tumulus, Baughan *op.cit.* (note 60) 78.

Lydian funerary *klinai* were evidently not confined to the most commonly seen standard types (usually following the Greek Type B design): variations in design, medium, and decoration are known. It was therefore the custom, rather than the specific appearance of the furniture, that was most important and persistent. But those variations could allow further expression of wealth (bronze) and perhaps symbolic meaning (lotus frieze). Although lotus friezes are common in many different Archaic media, and even if they were more common on wooden furnishings than surviving evidence suggests, it is striking that the lotus friezes on the Getty *kline* cover portions of the couch that would not normally carry decoration and that they proliferate so freely and with such variety. This is not the perfectly repetitive type of lotus frieze found on architectural terracottas or meticulously encircling a cup – it is executed with knowledge of traditional types but in an unrestrained and lively interpretation, as if the orderly motif when applied to a new space or by a new artist had more freedom of movement and variety. Since a lotus frieze was not standard decoration for this kind of *kline*, it is possible that it held some symbolic meaning. Lotuses were in fact associated with death in ancient Greek art and poetry¹³⁴, and the friezes may well have carried such significance in a funerary context (though they were covered with textiles at the time of burial).

From this discussion an important question emerges: was the *kline* used as a household furnishing before its relegation to the tomb, or was it made with a funerary context in mind, as a more permanent version of a wooden *kline*, and more luxurious than the more numerous stone *klinai*? Anyone who views this couch (or the Regolini-Galassi bed) likely wonders how comfortable it would be. It has been suggested that real, non-funerary bronze couches in antiquity would have had latticed bed-surfaces made of some more pliant material, like wooden couches did¹³⁵. Since the only certainly preserved examples of latticed metal bed-surfaces come from tombs (or a related symbolic context, in the case of

¹³⁴ Baughan *op.cit.* (note 60) 68.

¹³⁵ Faust *op.cit.* (note 40) 588–89.

the iron bed from a tomb-like shrine at Paestum), it is possible that this was true; but it is equally possible that domestic analogues for these finds have simply not survived, like most ancient bronzes that were not deliberately deposited. Also, the assertion that a bronze couch, like a stone *kline*, was intended to provide for the tomb a costly version of ordinary household furniture obscures the fact that wooden *klinai* could also be quite luxurious when inlaid with materials like ivory and amber¹³⁶. The Type A form replicated by the Getty *kline*, however, represents a different type, not known to have carried such decorative inlays and evidently (as far as existing

representations and remains indicate) usually made of wood. The Getty *kline* therefore stands out as the most luxurious known specimen of an Archaic Type A couch, and it is probable that it was a special commission for funerary use. A final question remains: was it made in Lydia, or was it imported from the west? The stylistic affiliations of its decorative details are most strongly Ionian, but Lydian parallels are also known. Comparanda from both of these areas in bronze are, however, lacking. Answering this question definitively must await further discoveries, in controlled excavations with contexts secure.

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¹³⁶ Cf. the ivory and amber decoration of Type B *klinai* from the Athenian Kerameikos: K. Kübler, AA 1973, 175 fig. 9; K. Kübler, Die Nekropole von der Mitte des 6. bis zum Ende des 5. Jahrhunderts. Kerameikos VII.1 (Berlin 1976) 5–6 pl. 4, 2; 17–18; Knigge *op.cit.* (note 60) fig. 21.

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- Fig. 11 Map of Sardis and central Lydia. © Archaeological Exploration of Sardis.

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Der Artikel bildet die erste archäologische Untersuchung einer antiken Bronzekline, die sich heute im J. Paul Getty Museum befindet. Die vorgelegten Indizien sprechen für ihre Herkunft aus einem ausgeraubten Grabtumulus in Lydien. Das aussergewöhnliche Stück – eine von lediglich vier erhaltenen Bronzeliegen aus vorhellenistischer Zeit – bezeugt eine differenzierte Kenntnis der Metallverarbeitung. Die Kline ist mit einem komplizierten Ritzornament (Lotusfries und Rosetten) verziert, welches für eine Datierung in das späte 6. oder das frühe 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr. spricht. Für die anhaftenden Textilreste haben Radiokarbon-Analysen ein Datum um 505 v. Chr. ergeben. Obwohl die Museumskuratoren den mutmasslich lydischen Kontext des Stückes anerkennen, hat der Verlust der entscheidenden, bei Rettungsgrabungen im ausgeraubten Tumulus gefundenen Beweisstücke zur Folge, dass der für eine Rückgabe an das Ursprungsland erforderliche Nachweis der Herkunft nicht mehr erbracht werden kann. Mit dem Bett wird deshalb auch der schwierige Fragenkomplex angeschnitten, wie mit geraubten antiken Fundobjekten umzugehen ist und wie die archäologische Wissenschaft bei den Nachforschungen am besten unterstützt werden kann. Die Studie über dieser Kline beleuchtet eine Reihe von Themen, angefangen bei den antiken Metalltechniken und Möbelstilen bis hin zum Repertoire der Dekorelemente und der Grabideologie im archaischen Lydien.

(Übersetzung Redaktion)

RÉSUMÉ

Cet article constitue la première étude archéologique d'une kliné antique en bronze conservée au J. Paul Getty Museum et provenant très vraisemblablement du pillage d'un tumulus lydien. Il s'agit d'un des quatre exemplaires de lits ou divans de bronze antérieurs à la période hellénistique qui nous soient connus. Objet rare, la kliné lydienne témoigne d'une connaissance sophistiquée de la métallurgie, son décor incisé complexe (frises de lotus et rosettes) suggérant une datation de la fin du VI^e ou du début du V^e siècle av. J.-C. Des restes de textile adhérent au métal ont été datés par analyse au radiocarbone des environs de 505 av. J.-C. Bien que les conservateurs du Musée Getty aient admis la provenance probablement lydienne de l'objet, celui-ci n'a pas pu être restitué car les preuves des fouilles clandestines du tumulus ne sont pas établies avec certitude. Dès lors se pose le problème de l'attitude à adopter face aux antiquités qui proviennent d'un pillage et qui suscitent l'intérêt de la communauté scientifique. Enfin, l'étude de cette kliné a permis de mettre en lumière plusieurs éléments particuliers: techniques anciennes du travail du métal, styles d'ameublement, vocabulaire décoratif et idéologie funéraire dans la Lydie archaïque.

(Traduction J.-R. Gisler)