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Burial *Klinai* and *Totenmahl*?

Elizabeth P. Baughan
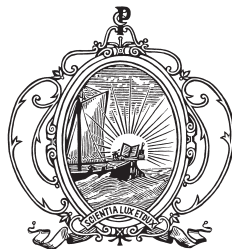*University of Richmond*, ebaughan@richmond.edu

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DINING AND DEATH:
INTERDISCIPLINARY PERSPECTIVES
ON THE 'FUNERARY BANQUET'
IN ANCIENT ART, BURIAL AND BELIEF

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BURIAL *KLINAI* AND *TOTENMAHL*?

Elizabeth P. BAUGHAN

Abstract

How can burial furnishings help to clarify the meanings of banqueting imagery in funerary art and the place of banqueting in funerary ideologies? Should tombs furnished with *klinai* or replicas of banquet couches be understood as representations of banqueting, meant to equip the dead for an eternal '*Totenmahl*'? Or do funeral couches mark their occupants as members of the elite class that enjoyed banqueting and/or luxury furniture while alive? These questions are not so easily answered, because *klinai* in the ancient Greek world were multifunctional furnishings, used for sleeping and resting as well as for dining and revelry, and because burial assemblages are constructed representations, much like tomb paintings or reliefs. This paper presents a brief history of burial *klinai* in the Mediterranean world and proposes parameters for interpreting funerary *klinai* as symbolic banquet couches, with discussion of archaeological and cultural contexts as well as ethnographic parallels. Consideration of burial furniture complements the study of the banquet motif in contemporary funerary images and underlines the importance of the 'funerary banquet' concept – however defined – in certain eras and regions.

INTRODUCTION[1]

While other papers in this volume focus on images of banqueting in funerary art or banqueting implements in funerary deposits, this paper explores the significance of banqueting furniture in tomb assemblages: in particular, the use of banqueting couches, or *klinai*, as burial receptacles in the ancient Mediterranean world. Funeral couches were particularly common in the 6th and 5th centuries BC in the tumulus chambers and rock-cut tombs of Lydia, Phrygia and

neighbouring regions of Anatolia (Fig. 1). They were usually made of stone and were often carved and painted to recall wooden *klinai* of Greek type, with distinctive volute-shaped cut-outs on the sides of the legs (Fig. 2). Tombs with burial couches may be understood as three-dimensional counterparts to banqueting scenes on funerary monuments, serving to represent the dead as a banqueter, and they are therefore subject to the same interpretive questions that surround banqueting imagery in funerary contexts: does the placement of a corpse on a banqueting couch, or a replica thereof, imply belief in a *Totenmahl* concept[2] by equipping the dead for an eternal afterlife banquet? Does it represent the dead as a participant in an actual funerary banquet that took place around the corpse as part of the funeral ceremony? Or does this furniture type serve to mark the tomb occupant as a member of the elite class that enjoyed banqueting and/or luxury furniture while alive? These questions raise a key interpretive problem of mortuary archaeology – that is, determining whether 'burial language' more concerns life, death or afterlife.[3]

For burial couches, answering these questions is further complicated because the furniture type itself was multifunctional in the ancient world and so could carry a range of meanings. The word *kline* (*klinai*, pl.) comes from the Greek verb *klino*, 'to recline', and in ancient Greek sources it is applied both to beds for sleeping and to couches for reclining while dining – a fashion that evidently developed in the Near East by the 8th or 7th century BC and quickly spread among elite circles across the Mediterranean.[4] In fact, the same piece of furniture could serve both functions. In Greek vase painting of the 6th and 5th centuries, *klinai* are most often featured in scenes of banqueting (for example, Fig. 3). Scenes of people sleeping or ill are quite rare in this period, but *klinai* do sometimes appear in myths involving beds, such as the murder of Ismene or the infant Heracles wrestling the snakes.[5] The same standard *kline*

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[2] *Totenmahl*, or 'meal of the dead', here refers to the idea of eternal banqueting in the afterlife rather than a ritual funerary meal located at or near a tomb.

[3] The term 'burial language' is adopted from Houby-Nielsen 1995. Fabricius, this volume, coins the terms 'sociohistoric-retrospective', 'ritualistic' and 'prospective-eschatological' for these three interpretive approaches and stresses that they are not mutually exclusive. *Cf.* also D'Agostino 1989, 2: 'social', 'realistic' and 'magico-ritual'.

[4] For *klinai* used as beds for sleeping or being ill, see Herodotus 6. 136; Aristophanes *Plutus* 527; Isocrates *Aegineticus* 24. For *klinai* used as banquet couches, Alkman fr. 19 (Page); Herodotus 9. 16; Aristophanes *Acharnenses* 1090; *Ecclesiazusae* 840; Xenophon *Anabasis* 4. 4. 21. Andrianou (2006, 567, 571, n. 82) translates the term as 'bed-couch' in order to encapsulate this multifunctionality; see also Andrianou 2009, 31. For the origins and transmission of the custom of the reclining banquet, see Fehr 1971; Dentzer 1982; Matthäus 1999, 1999–2000.

[5] For example: Late Corinthian amphora, Paris, Louvre E640 (*LIMC* 5, *s.v.* 'Ismene I' 3* [I. Krauskopf]); Attic white-ground cup, Paris, Louvre G109 (*BAPD* 2851; *LIMC* 5, *s.v.* 'Ismene I' 6* [I. Krauskopf]); Attic red-figure stamnos attributed to the Berlin Painter, Paris, Louvre
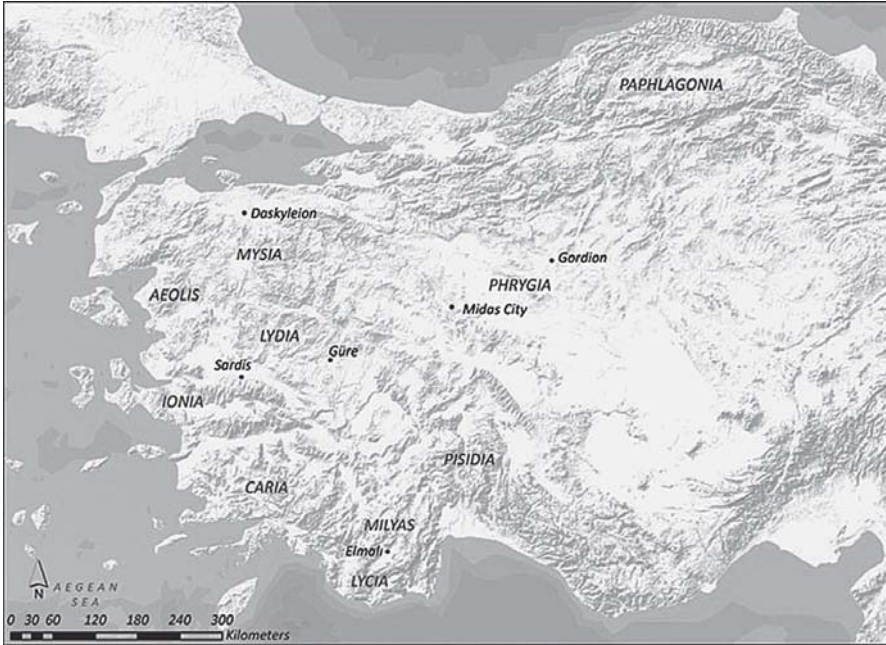
Fig. 1. Map of Anatolia showing locations of sites mentioned in text.

Fig. 2. The interior of the 'West Tomb' at Midas City (Yazılıkaya) in the Phrygian Highlands, south of Eskişehir, West Central Turkey. *In situ*. Couches *ca*. 0.65 m high. Tufa. 6th century BC. Source: photograph by author.

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Fig. 3. Athenian black-figured hydria from Vulci, Etruria, attributed to the Alkmene
Painter, showing Heracles banqueting. London, British Museum B301 (1843.11–3.73)
(*BAPD* no. 320244). H. 0.45 m. *Ca.* 525–500 BC.
Source: photograph © The Trustees of The British Museum.
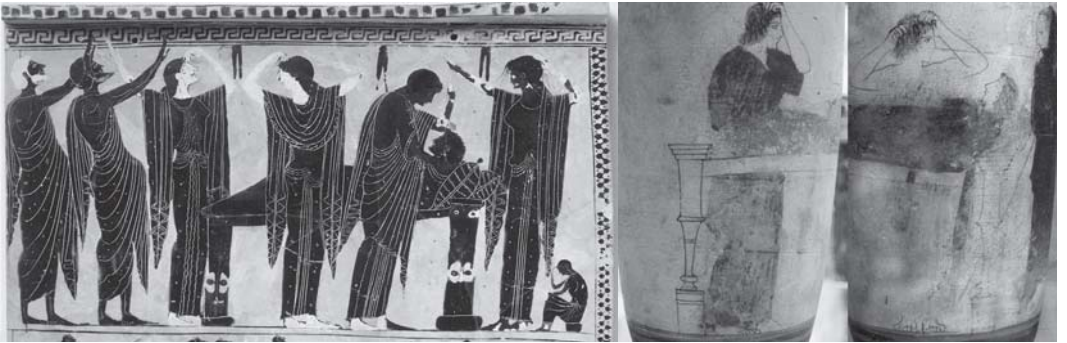
Fig. 4. *Prothesis* scenes:
a. with Type B *kline*, on an Athenian black-figured funerary plaque. New York, The Met-
ropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1954 (54.11.5) (*BAPD* no. 3749). H. 0.260 m.
Ca. 520–510 BC. Source: © The Metropolitan Museum of Art;
b. with Type A *kline*, on an Athenian white-ground lekythos attributed to the Sabouroff
Painter, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1907 (07.286.40),
ARV² 846.190 (*BAPD* no. 212338). H. 0.318 m. *Ca.* 450 BC.
Source: © The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

types occur in both contexts on Greek vases. These were classified by Kyrie-leis in the 1960s as Types A and B: Type A couches had round legs with lathe-turned mouldings; Type B had rectangular legs with volute capitals and volute and palmette ornament on the faces and were particularly associated with luxury, with inlaid decoration in ivory, bone, amber or glass.[6] Both types also occur in funerary scenes, as the location of the *prothesis* (Fig. 4), and the word *kline* is attested in some textual sources as 'burial bier'.[7] In an intriguing passage of Plato's *Laws*, the word *kline* refers both to a *prothesis* bier and to the stone resting places of the 'Examiners' of the ideal state.[8] So when a *kline* occurs in a tomb as burial furniture, there are a number of possible conceptual explanations that must be weighed, and parameters must be established for interpreting a burial *kline* as first, a reference to banqueting, and second, as a reflection of a *Totenmahl* concept.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF BURIAL *KLINAI*

The earliest known burials on *klinai* occur in the 6th century in western Ana-tolia. Earlier burials on wooden or metal beds or bed-like platforms of stone or bedrock are known in Anatolia and elsewhere in the Mediterranean, from Egypt to Etruria, but this discussion is limited to burials on beds that may be clearly identified as *klinai* on the basis of form, corresponding with the Type A and Type B schemes. Limestone and marble replicas of Type B *klinai* occur in Lydian monumental tombs by at least the middle of the 6th century,[9] and rock-cut versions are found in two Middle Phrygian tombs at Midas City, probably made during the era of Lydian expansion just before the middle of the 6th century (Fig. 2).[10] Around the same time, inlaid wooden Type B *klinai* supported at least two burials in the Athenian Kerameikos, in graves associ-ated with East Greece and Lydia in other ways (the pottery is predominantly

G192 (*ARV²* 208.160; *BAPD* 201979); and Attic red-figure hydria, Paris, Louvre CA 1853 (*ARV²* 1121.18; *BAPD* 214836).

[6] Kyrieleis 1969, 98–105, 151–77. See also Richter 1966, 55, 58–59; Faust 1989, fig. 1.

[7] For example, a 5th-century sumptuary law from Keos (*IG* XII 5, no. 593, ll. 6, 13–14; Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 200–01).

[8] Plato *Laws* 12. 947b–e. See also, Vollmoeller 1901, 52; Carpenter and Bon 1936, 301.

[9] For the earliest datable examples, see Bilgin *et al*. 1996, 216–22; Roosevelt 2003, 408–10, nos. 42–43; 2009, 209–10, no. 1.19; Baughan 2004, nos. A17–18.

[10] Haspels 1971, 127, figs. 56, 495, 542; Berndt 2002, 59, 21, fig. 26; Baughan 2004, nos. A128 and A131; Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 98. Ivory inlays found in 6th-century tumuli at Gordion (Tumuli K-II and D) may also belong to *klinai* (see Körte and Körte 1904, 110–14, figs. 87–94; Kohler 1958, 124–25, fig. 6; Sheftel 1974, 110–12; DeVries 1983; Baughan 2004, 100–03; Naso 2007, 31).

East Greek and Lydian);[11] and inlays for similar luxury *klinai* have been iden-
tified in isolated cases in 6th-century tombs as far afield as Celtic Germany.[12]
In Etruria, burial beds of a different type had been common in rock-cut tombs
from as early as the 7th century, before the custom of the reclining banquet
was evidently adopted there, and contemporary with tomb assemblages that
seem to represent seated banquets, as in the Tomb of the Five Chairs at
Cerveteri;[13] but in the 6th century, some of these beds began to display details
characteristic of Greek *klinai*, notably the side cutouts of the Type B scheme.[14]
It may be that a conjunction of prior traditions of funerary beds and of ban-
queting in funerary rituals and representations made certain areas, such as
Phrygia and Etruria, particularly ripe for the introduction of *kline*-burial, once
the practice of reclining while banqueting and furniture designed to accom-
modate it became fashionable in the 7th and early 6th centuries.

In Anatolia, the popularity of burial on a *kline* seems to have blossomed in
the late 6th and 5th centuries, under Persian rule. Many Anatolian *kline* tombs
have overt Persian or Persianising elements, in decoration or grave goods. The
tumulus known as İkiztepe in eastern Lydia (Fig. 5), for example, had
embossed phialai, bowls and ladles of Achaemenid shape and with Persian
motifs such as the archer king or animal protomes, along with two Type B
klinai and another of non-standard form. So many *kline* tombs in Anatolia are
datable to the Persian period that some scholars have assumed the practice was
introduced to Anatolia by Persians after their conquest of Lydia *ca*. 545 BC.[15]
While such tombs do certainly belong to the era of Persian rule, burial *klinai*
are not found elsewhere in the Persian Empire, and in Anatolia they evidently
appealed equally to local elites and immigrant Persian nobility.[16] It was also in
the Persian period that the Lycian, Carian and Paphlagonian rock-cut tomb

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[11] Knigge, 1976, 60–83, figs. 21–22, pls. 103–109; Houby-Nielsen 1995; Stroszeck 2003.

[12] Fischer 1990; Mastrocinque 1991; Naso 2007. The identification of these fragments as
kline-decoration is, however, not certain (since the same Type B design scheme also occurred on
thrones: Jung 2007), and some of these did not evidently support burials (for example, the *kline*
from a royal Picenian tomb at Numana, which was found in a chamber full of grave offerings
rather than in the burial chamber itself – see Landolfi 2001).

[13] See Mitterlechner, this volume.

[14] Minto 1921, 34–37, 158–74, 222, 282–83, fig. 7, pl. 48.1; Åkerström 1934, figs. 32.1–2
and 34.2; Pareti 1947, pl. 30; Prayon 1975, 41–43, 57; Curri 1979; Steingräber 1979. For exam-
ples with Type B features, see Prayon 1975, pl. 67.2; Steingräber 1979, nos. 712–713, 743,
790–791; Berggren and Berggren 1972, figs. 55, 59; Bugli 1980, 155; Naso 1998, fig. 36. For
the reclining banquet in Etruria, the earliest visual evidence is now the reclining figure on the lid
of a cinerary urn from the Tolle necropolis of Chianciano Terme near Chiusi, from a grave dated
by pottery to *ca*. 630–620 BC, see Torelli 2001, no. 193.

[15] von Gall 1989, 150; Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 284; Dusinberre 2003, 130–54. For the
date of the Persian conquest of Lydia, see now Stronach 2008; Cahill 2010, 344.

[16] Baughan 2002–04, 227; 2004, 317–406.
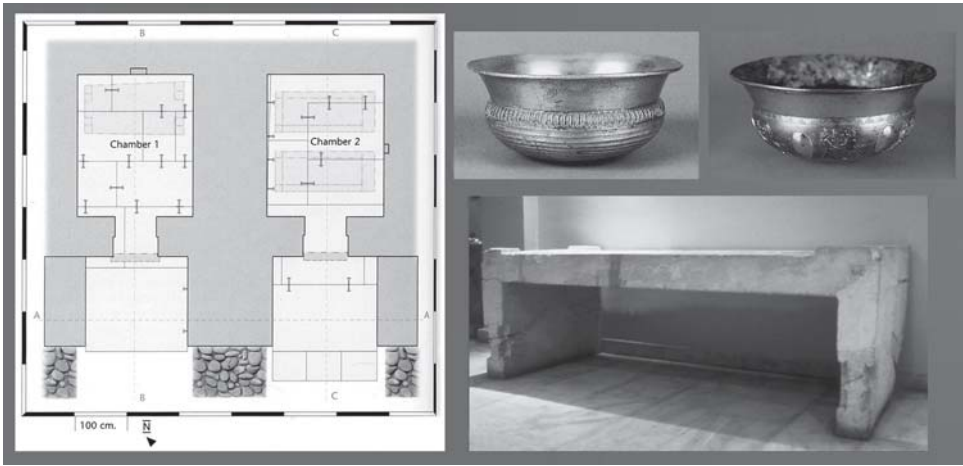
Fig. 5. The İkiztepe Tumulus, eastern Lydia, near Güre, western Turkey. *Ca.* 500–450 BC.
a. Plan of tomb chambers within the tumulus;
b–c. Silver bowls from Chamber 2 (Uşak Museum 1.41.96 and 1.30.96).
H. 0.048 m (b) and 0.045 m (c);
d. Marble *kline* from Chamber 2, partly restored (Uşak Museum). H. 0.67 m.
Sources: a.–c. Özgen *et al.* 1996, 48, figs. 93, 88, no. 34 and 99, no. 47;
d. photograph by author.

traditions seem to have begun, and benches or couches for the placement of the dead are often included in these tombs. The couches in Lycian tombs are usually plain but, as in Phrygia, sometimes have carved legs that clarify their identification as *klinai*.[17] By the 4th century, the practice of *kline*-burial had been adopted by royalty and elites in Thrace and Macedonia.[18] Macedonian-style tombs and funerary *klinai* soon appeared in Greece and South Italy and then began to occur more widely during the Hellenistic period, with new couch details inspired by Persian furniture designs.[19] By the Roman period, the practice is found sporadically for elite tombs across the Mediterranean, from Syria to Gaul.[20]

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[17] Borchhardt 1975, 111–12, fig. 25, pls. 59, 62a–b; Mühlbauer 2007, 79, fig. 125.

[18] Gossel 1980, 58; Paspalas 2000, 552; Venit 2002, 18–19; Huguenot 2008, 111–15. For a late 5th-century example in Macedonia, see Kottaridi 1989, 6.

[19] Steingräber 2000, 53–59; Guimier-Sorbets and Nenna 2003; Huguenot 2008. The 'Tomb of the Funeral Bed' at Corinth is now dated to the late 4th century (Carpenter and Bon 1936, 297–301; Robinson 1962, 133, n. 125).

[20] For example, Nicholls 1979; Faita 1989; Pedde 1991; Béraud and Gébara 1986; Béal 1991; Obmann 1998; Bianchi 2000, 95–136; Bianchi 2010; Sapelli Ragni 2008.

CONTEXT

Given the range of functions a *kline* could serve, how can we determine when a funerary *kline* was meant to be perceived as a banquet couch? In some cases, there is little doubt: it is clear, for instance, that the *kline* in the Macedonian-style Naip Tumulus in Turkish Thrace served not only as eternal resting spot for the dead but also as a symbolic banquet couch because the stone table set before it has vessels carved on top.[21] The representational nature of the banquet equipment makes it clear that this is a symbolic offering, not an actual banquet offered to or provided for the dead, so the *kline*, too, symbolically marks its occupant as a banqueter. In other cases, there are traces of actual vessels placed in a tomb to create a complete banquet service, though because of looting such finds are very rarely *in situ*. Many have been recovered from looters or in salvage excavations of Lydian tombs, as at İkiztepe (Fig. 5). This tomb alone held at least 45 eating or drinking vessels, plus nine ladles and one strainer.[22] In the contemporary Dedetepe Tumulus in the Troad region, rescue excavations following looting uncovered pieces of musical instruments along with wooden table legs, fragments of pottery vessels, and two marble couches carved and painted to resemble Type B *klinai*.[23]

Indirect evidence for looted grave goods is also sometimes available. In the Kızılbel Tumulus, one of the Persian period tumuli near Elmalı in northern Lycia (*ca*. 525 BC), the stone table that stood next to the burial platform had faint impressions of the metal vessels it once held, and on the chamber wall were more impressions of vessels that once hung suspended (Fig. 6).[24] In this case, evidence for banqueting equipment helps us to understand even a plain, non-standard funeral bed (a profiled slab supported in the centre on a block base) as a sort of *kline*. Here, tomb imagery also strengthens such a reading, for the remarkable wall paintings, which cover a range of mythical and possibly biographical subjects in a vibrant late Archaic style, include a banquet scene, just above the burial couch.[25] The relationship between tomb imagery and burial location is even clearer in the somewhat later tumulus at Karaburun, also in the Elmalı region, *ca*. 475 BC (Fig. 7).[26] Here a large limestone block

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[21] Delemen 2004; 2006; Andrianou 2009, 49, 55, 62.
[22] Özgen *et al*. 1996, 48–52, nos. 11–103; Özgen 2010, 311–18; Baughan 2010a, 281–82, 289, fig. 16.
[23] Özgen *et al*. 1996, 56–57; Sevinç *et al*. 1998.
[24] Mellink *et al*. 1998, 19, pl. 4. See also Draycott, this volume, Fig. 6.
[25] Mellink *et al*. 1998, 24–25, pl. 12; Miller 2010.
[26] Mellink 1971, 251–54; 1972, 265–66, pl. 58; 1974, 358, figs. 16–19; Miller 2010. See also Draycott, this volume, Fig. 3.
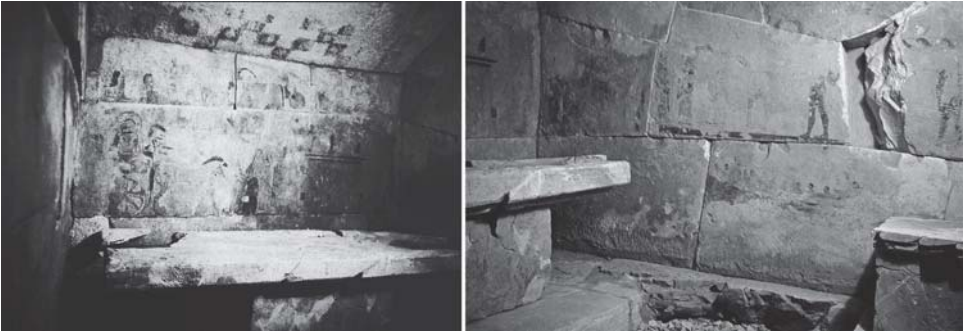
Fig. 6. Two views of the burial chamber in the Kızılbel Tumulus, northern Lycia, near Elmalı, south-western Turkey, showing the couch and table (restored) and the west and north walls with preserved wall paintings. *In situ*. Couch 0.43 m high. Limestone. *Ca*. 525 BC. Source: photographs by M.J. Mellink, courtesy of Bryn Mawr College (MJM–04141).

Fig. 7. View of the burial chamber in the Karaburun II Tumulus, northern Lycia, near Elmalı, south-western Turkey, showing *kline* and painted banquet scene above. *In situ* – paintings recently robbed out. Couch 0.58 m high. Limestone. *Ca*. 475 BC. Source: photograph by M.J. Mellink, courtesy C.H. Greenewalt jr. Used with permission of S.G. Miller and Bryn Mawr College.
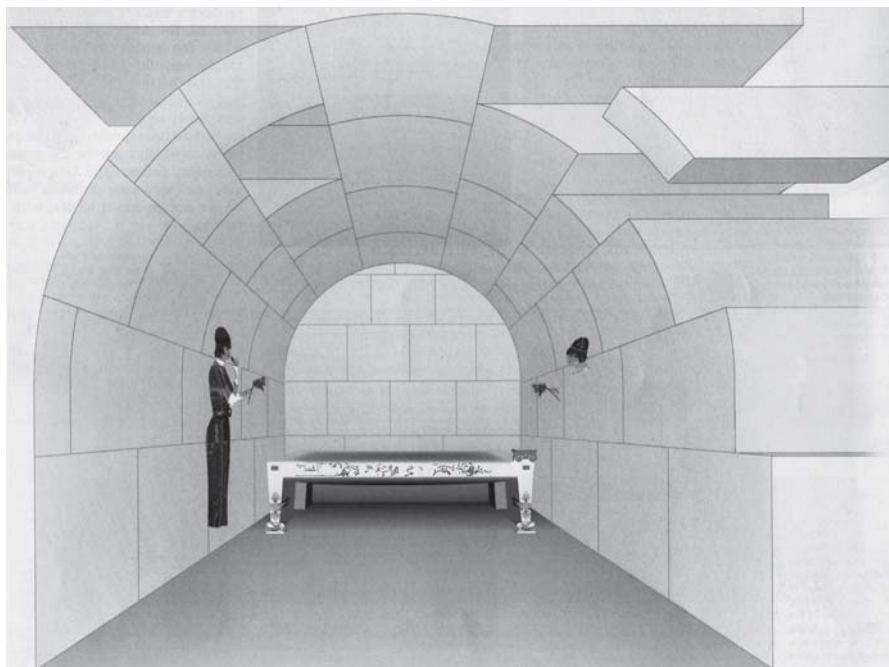
Fig. 8. Reconstruction of the tumulus chamber and *kline* at Aktepe, near Güre, eastern Lydia. *Ca*. 500–450 BC. Chamber 2.78 m high, couch 0.54 m high. Painted limestone. Fragments in Uşak Museum (1.6.96, 1.7.96, 1.8.96, 1.9.96 and 1.10.96). Source: Özgen *et al*. 1996, fig. 82.

carved and painted to resemble a Type B *kline* held the burial of a dignitary whose achievements were chronicled in paintings on the walls of the chamber; on the wall just above the funeral couch, we see the man enjoying a luxurious banquet, reclining on a couch with Persian-style moulded legs. There is little doubt that a banqueting significance was primary for the burial *kline*, as it, too, was accompanied by a stone table.[27] The animals painted on the face of the *kline* – a cock, hen, dog, and partridge, from left to right – further the idea that the room recreates a banqueting space. Dogs are commonly shown beneath the tables in symposia on Greek vases, and this particular assortment of animals is paralleled in a remarkable symposium scene on a contemporary Clazomenian

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[27] Any vessels the table once held, however, had been looted in the Roman era (Mellink 1972, 264).

sarcophagus.[28] In a contemporary painted tomb chamber in eastern Lydia (Aktepe, Fig. 8), however, the meaning implied in the relationship of the *kline* and wall paintings is more ambiguous: the figures painted on the walls face the *kline* and seem to extend offerings towards it, but the items they hold (branches, an alabastron?) would be appropriate to either a *prothesis* or banquet.[29] Such complete pictures are, however, very unusual for most *kline* tombs, since the tumuli that often covered them have been conspicuous targets for looting since antiquity, and painted chambers such as Karaburun and Aktepe are quite rare. Because of looting and vandalism, often all that remains are scraps of pottery and pieces of broken *klinai* – or, worse yet, only traces of differential wall treatment showing where they once stood.[30]

Analysis of placement and burial orientation may help to clarify the conceptual significance of *klinai* when other contextual information is lacking, but this, too, can be problematic. In Greek dining rooms, couches were placed for maximum efficiency and equality end to end against the walls, with each side of the room holding so many couch lengths plus one couch width.[31] Very few *kline* tombs demonstrate such an arrangement. The rock-cut chamber tomb known as the 'Triclinium Tomb' at Midas City in the highlands of Phrygia (Fig. 9) is one such exception, but the orientation of the left-hand couch with head end facing the door (on the left) contradicts the conventional orientation of *klinai* to suit people reclining on their left elbows, with head ends towards the right.[32] In Anatolian tombs with three couches, the rear couch normally fills the whole space of the rear wall, and the head ends of the side couches, if articulated, are normally on the ends nearest the tomb entrance.[33] The rear position is also often emphasised by more elaborate decoration or extra width

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[28] Kaltsas 1998, 47, pl. 35; 2000, pls. 15, 20–22. For dogs alone, see, for example, an Attic black-figured lekanis lid fragment in Cambridge (Fitzwilliam N118, *BAPD* 12898) and an Attic black-figured cup in Athens (National Museum CC821, *BAPD* 43016).

[29] Özgen *et al*. 1996, 43, fig. 81; Baughan 2010b, 32. (The fragment suggesting the shape of an alabastron appears to have been repainted since removal from the chamber and now shows a hand holding a flower towards the nose.)

[30] As in the tumulus near Nizam in north-western Lydia (Roosevelt 2003, 611–12, no. 520; 2009, no. 10.1; Baughan 2004, no. A55). Tumulus BT62.4 in Bin Tepe near Sardis contained 21 fragments of a *kline*, the location of which is indicated by areas of anathyrosis and claw chiselling along the bottoms of the walls in the rear part of the chamber (Hanfmann 1963, 57–59, figs. 42–44; Roosevelt 2003, 418–29, no. 56). For the continuing problem of looting in Lydian tumuli, see Roosevelt and Luke 2006.

[31] Goldstein 1978, 303–04; Börker 1983, 13; Bergquist 1990, 39.

[32] For the convention of reclining on the left elbow, see Dikaiarchos fr. 97.10 (*FHG* II, 247; Athenaeus 11. 479d–e); Lucian *Lexiphanes* 6; Goldstein 1978, 301, 303; Dentzer 1982; Boardman 1990, 125; Baughan 2004, 17–18. On the 'Triclinium Tomb', see Haspels 1971, 127, figs. 56, 542; Berndt 2002, 59; Baughan 2004, no. A128.

[33] For example, Haspels 1971, fig. 242.3–4; Demargne 1974, pl. 19. See Baughan 2008, 58.

Fig. 9. Interior of the 'Triclinium Tomb' at Midas City in the Phrygian Highlands, south of Eskişehir, west-central Turkey. *In situ*. Couches 0.60 m high. Tufa. 6th–5th century BC. Source: photograph by author.

Fig. 10. Computer reconstruction of the tumulus chamber and *klinai* at Lale Tepe, Central Lydia, near Sardis. Chamber 3.10 m high, rear couch 1.15 m high. Limestone and marble. *Ca*. 500–470 BC. Reconstruction by P.T. Stinson. Source: image courtesy of the Archaeological Exploration of Sardis.

or height – or all three, as in the Persian period tumulus known as Lale Tepe near Sardis in central Lydia, where the rear *kline* is both higher and wider than the side couches and is more elaborately decorated with Type B designs including a painted lotus frieze (Fig. 10).[34] And, in Lydia, there is often only one couch, usually located against the rear wall across from the tomb entrance, as in the Aktepe tumulus (Fig. 8). This arrangement is common even in tombs that saw multiple burials or held *klinai* of double width, for two occupants laid side by side.[35] Such differences, however, do not preclude reading these *klinai* as banquet couches; they may be explained by spatial efficiency[36] or the different demands and embedded traditions of funerary architecture, as in many cultures the *kline* tomb seems to have evolved from an earlier tradition of bed burials. Or they could reflect different dining practices: the privileging of the rear position, in particular, may have been associated with Persian or other Eastern dynastic traditions, since the Persian king was said to have occupied the central position in royal banquets.[37] Even the presentation of a single individual or a couple on a lone couch at the rear of a chamber, as at Aktepe (Fig. 8), could allude to a communal symposium, as demonstrated by the full sympotic set (with five matching silver phialai) found in association with a single *kline* in the Macedonian-style Naip Tumulus.[38] In Etruria, on the other hand, a preponderance of paired couches – or a couch on the left coupled with a sarcophagus-bed on the right, possibly corresponding with male and female burials, respectively – may reflect the importance of marriage bonds in Etruscan society and is consistent with the prominent place of women in Etruscan banqueting imagery.[39] The symbolic meanings of burial *klinai*, then, depend on their specific archaeological and cultural contexts and can vary widely from one part of the Mediterranean to another.

   If we extend our definition of context to the general visual landscapes of the societies in which these tomb assemblages were constructed, we may also

[34] Baughan 2008. For other multi-couch tombs with an emphasis on the rear position, see, for example, Haspels 1971, figs. 536.2–3, 538.7–9; Baughan 2010a, 284.

[35] For example, Hanfmann 1963, 57–59, figs. 42–44; Hanfmann and Mierse 1983, figs. 115–116; Dedeoğlu 1991; Özgen *et al.* 1996, 37, 52, figs. 58, 60; Aydın 2007, 7, figs. 2–3; Roosevelt 2009, figs. 6.42, 6.46.

[36] *Cf.* Andrianou 2009, 41, on arrangements of Macedonian funerary *klinai*.

[37] Xenophon *Cyropaedia* 8. 4. 3–5; Hegesander fr. 5, *FHG* IV, 414 (Athenaeus 7. 289e). See also, Dunbabin 1998, 87; Baughan 2008, 76–77; Andrianou 2009, 126, 184, n. 35. This may also explain the axiality of some banquet halls in Hekatomnid Caria, Hellström 1989, 101–02; 1996, 167–68; Nielsen 1994, 65.

[38] Delemen 2006, 259, figs. 9–12. On the implications of the single couch and 'monoposiasts', see Senff 1992; Steinhart and Slater 1997, 204–8; Tofi 2006, 830.

[39] Mengarelli 1927, 164–65; 1938, 12; Prayon 1975, 41; Steingräber 1979, 140, 147, 176; Amann 2000, 39–40.

consider the relevance of banqueting imagery in contemporary funerary art. In Anatolia, banquet scenes on funerary monuments began to flourish in pre-cisely the same period as the *kline* tombs, that is, the Persian period. Banquet-ing is one of the most common motifs on so-called 'Graeco-Persian' (now Perso-Anatolian) grave reliefs, especially in the area of Dascylium, a Persian administrative capital, and the theme also occurs on some tomb walls in the Persian period, as already noted.[40] The concurrence of this trend in funerary art and the popularity of *kline* tombs is surely not coincidental, but what does it tell us? While the popularity of banqueting scenes in Persian period funer-ary art does at least confirm the importance of banqueting in funerary imagery in Persian period Anatolia, there are several reasons why we cannot use this evidence to say that funeral couches were perceived as *Totenmahl-klinai*, or that the practice of burial on a *kline* was particularly 'Persian'. First, the actual furniture types depicted are different – in the Perso-Anatolian *stelai* the couches often have turned elements that resemble Persian throne legs while the burial *klinai*, if decorated, usually replicate Greek types.[41] Secondly, such banqueting imagery does not correspond directly with *kline* burials, as it can be found on sarcophagi and in association with other burial types.[42] Thirdly, and more importantly, such banquet scenes themselves are not unequivocal renderings of *Totenmahl*; they can be read just as easily as representations of lifetime banquets illustrating social status or marriage bonds, as they often appear in conjunction with scenes of hunting or travel, other elite pastimes, and they do not contain any of the overt heroising or chthonic elements of the later *Totenmahl* reliefs.[43] What the correspondence between the tomb arrange-ments and contemporary funerary imagery *does* tell us is that the idea of presenting the dead as a banqueter – whether alone or surrounded by family

[40] Borchhardt 1968, 194–208; Dentzer 1982, 224–30; von Gall 1989; Nollé 1992; Kaptan 2003; Draycott 2007 and this volume. Banquet reliefs begin to appear also in Greek contexts around the same time, although some of these may have been votive or architectural rather than strictly funerary (Dentzer 1982, 252–62; Baughan 2011, 26). Images in this volume: Draycott, Fig. 2 (Paros) and Lawton, Figs. 2 and 3 (Thasos and Tegea, respectively). In addition to the Kızılbel and Karaburun Tumuli discussed here, a banquet scene has also been identified among the traces of wall painting on the timber walls from the Tatarlı Tumulus chamber near Kelainai in western Phrygia (Summerer 2010, 150–52, fig. 17).

[41] An exception is the Bahçetepe Tumulus near İğdecik, west of Sardis, where the faces of the stone *kline* supports have Persian-style legs (with stacked turnings as in the Karaburun banquet scene) in relief (see Roosevelt 2003, 461, no. 154; Baughan 2004, 71, 363, no. A41).

[42] For example, the two banquet scenes on the sarcophagus recently discovered at Mylasa-Milas in Caria and associated by some with Hekatomnos, father of Maussollos. For an initial news report and photographs, see Çayırlı 2010.

[43] Thönges-Stringaris 1965, 48–50; Dentzer 1982, 11–14; Fehr 1984, 340; Draycott 2007, 57–61, 121–25; Fabricius, this volume.

members and whether in a physical tomb or in a pictorial space – transcends burial type and ethnic differences in Persian period Anatolia and suggests the existence of a cultural *koine* shared by Persian nobility as well as local elites.[44]

ETHNOGRAPHIC LESSONS

Another means of trying to reconstruct a complete picture in mortuary archaeology is the study of ethnographic parallels. Although none are known for burial on a banquet couch (for obvious reasons, since both the furniture type and the practice of the reclining banquet were limited to classical antiquity), there are some modern parallels for beds in funerary rituals and in burial itself, and these offer important interpretive lessons. It is logical to assume that beds used as burial places refer to a conception of death as eternal slumber or, more simply, were meant to provide comfortable resting places for the dead. But when the intangible elements of funerary rituals – things that do not survive archaeologically, such as funeral songs – can be considered and we can ask the participants in a funeral what certain elements of the ritual are supposed to mean, we learn that such assumptions may be misguided. When a woman is buried on a bed among the Idu Mishmi people of northern India, for instance, in a chamber outfitted just like a room in house, with shelves full of pots and pans and other household objects as well as valuables, the bed is included as one of her many personal possessions and is part of the outfitting of the tomb as a whole as a house.[45] The items are buried not so much for 'use' by the dead but because of the taboo status they now hold among the living, since there are restrictions surrounding the house of the dead, and *all* of the deceased's movable possessions are buried with her.[46] Beds also figure prominently in the funeral customs of the Kalabari culture in Nigeria. In the days before burial, several rooms of the deceased's house are cleared completely and each outfitted with a canopy bed (*ede*); the walls of the rooms and the beds are lavishly covered with textiles, some imported from as far away as India, and the corpse occupies each bed in turn over the course of the funerary ritual.[47] The beds are

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[44] See also Dusinberre 2003, 202.

[45] Blackburn 2005, 92–93; Aram Tarr and Blackburn 2008, no. 45. Even so, however, the ritual songs of the funeral ritual do not focus on the house or possessions but rather on the journey of the soul to the land of the dead (Blackburn 2005, 96–97).

[46] Blackburn 2005, 86.

[47] Eicher and Erekosima 1987, 40–42. The decoration of one to three rooms is most common, but for very important individuals as many as eight rooms may be given to this purpose.

not buried with the dead but remain for a few days in the house of the deceased, where the *ededapu*, or women who decorate the beds, rearrange the cloths 'in complex and flamboyant shapes' like 'giant fabric sculpture[s] for mourners to view.'[48] In Kalabari tradition, then, funerary beds serve more as vehicles for displaying luxurious cloths than as resting places for the dead. This display is critical to family status identification, and the progression of textiles from local, family cloths to more exotic, imported fabrics charts the deceased individual's 'journey from the womb to the vault of family and community, then out into the embrace of the world beyond this life.'[49] So even when we think we know what a certain type of furniture (here, a bed) 'means', its significance in a specific cultural context may be very different.

Ethnographic studies of funerary feasting are also relevant, for they remind us that funerary banqueting can have as much, if not more, to do with life than with beliefs about the afterlife. Ostentatious feasts at funerals serve to strengthen social alliances and hierarchies by creating reciprocal bonds and enhancing the status of the benefactors, as Brian Hayden and others have shown.[50] These anthropological studies examine the actual feasts that take place at funerals rather than the presentation of the dead as a banqueter (or of the tomb as a banquet hall), but it is possible that this representational conceit stems from a conception of the deceased as a participant in an actual funerary or mortuary banquet. Evidence for graveside funerary feasting is particularly strong in Anatolia, as exemplified most remarkably in the tomb assemblage of Tumulus MM (the so-called 'Tomb of Midas') at Gordion, *ca*. 740 BC.[51] Leftovers from the meal were gathered and placed together with the burial, and participants may have signed their names on the roof beams covering the chamber after the ceiling was put in place and before the rest of the great mound was heaped above it.[52] There is some possible evidence for participatory, graveside feasting also in Lydia.[53] But without textual confirmation, it is impossible to say whether Phrygians and Lydians conceived of

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[48] Eicher and Erekosima 1987, 42.
[49] Eicher and Erekosima 1987, 44.
[50] Hayden 2001; 2009; Dietler 2001.
[51] On the funerary feast of Tumulus MM, see Young 1981, 100–87; Simpson 1990, 84–86; McGovern 2000; Liebhart and Brixhe 2009, 142. For other possible evidence of funerary banqueting in Phrygia, see Young 1981, 9, 198; Tuna 2001; Tekkaya 1988; Mellink 2006, 1.
[52] Some of the names recently recognised on a roof-beam of the chamber match those inscribed in wax on bowls found within it and are thought to identify the participants of the feast (see Liebhart and Brixhe 2009).
[53] For drinking and cooking vessels, animal bones and cutting implements found in association with Lydian tumuli but outside the tomb chambers and so not part of the grave assemblages, see Roosevelt 2009, 181–82.

the dead continuing to enjoy banquets in an afterlife of some kind.[54] Even in cases where whole, uneaten food items (or models thereof) were placed in tombs,[55] it is not certain that these meals were offered with the intent of symbolically nourishing the dead or providing means for afterlife banqueting. Ethnography again cautions against such assumptions: the pigs piled in a corner of the Idu Mishmi woman's tomb mentioned above were meant, according to funeral-goers, not for her soul's own nourishment or enjoyment but for her soul to take as gifts for relatives she would meet in the land of the dead.[56]

<div align="center">CONCLUSIONS</div>

With all these caveats in mind, what *can* we say about the meanings of burial *klinai*? While they do often occur with other tomb elements that suggest a banqueting significance and therefore identify their occupants as banqueters, and while we can sometimes infer such a significance even when associated finds or tomb decoration do not survive, it is no simple matter to say that the presence of a funeral couch implies a *Totenmahl* concept or equips the dead for an eternal afterlife banquet. Connections with *prothesis* or nuptial symbolism are also possible. Even when banqueting references are clear, it is difficult to say with certainty whether the banqueting represented is meant to be the banqueting of a leisured life or a blissful afterlife, or perhaps both. What makes burial *klinai* so difficult to interpret and therefore such fertile ground for questioning assumptions is that they are both multifunctional and multivalent. Their immediate function is to provide a resting place for the corpse, but they are also representational, both in the sense that they often represent furniture in another medium and in the sense that they convey something about the deceased, in their references to the world of elite banqueting or symposia, or to funerary rituals, and/or to luxury itself. Their multifunctionality and multivalence, in turn, make *klinai* particularly apt for use in funerary constructions, where a range of practical and symbolic functions may have been desired. Their very ambiguity seems to suit death, the ultimate unknown. Plato may have realised this when he envisioned the 'Examiners' of the ideal state laid out on *klinai* in their tomb: should we imagine them as participants

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[54] Similarly, Roosevelt 2009, 181.
[55] See, for example, Rudenko 1970, 35; Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 215; Dentzer 1982, 26–30, 532–36; Parker Pearson 1999, 10–11; Taylor 2001, 92–94.
[56] Blackburn 2005, 86; Aram Tarr and Blackburn 2008, no. 45.

in an eternal, otherworldly symposium?[57] In 4th century Greece, this mode of burial would have carried particularly foreign and luxurious connotations. In Plato's vision, did it serve to define the high status and distinction or sympotic bonds of the 'Examiners', and/or to suggest the possibility of a blissful after-life? Answering these questions would require a more thorough investigation of sympotic and afterlife imagery in Plato's works than space or cohesion here allow, but it seems that Plato at least recognised the essential ambiguity of burial *klinai*. A comprehensive exploration of banqueting elements in funerary imagery, grave goods, and burial furnishings may bring us closer to under-standing why the presentation or representation of the dead as banqueters was manifested in so many different ways in different ancient societies.

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Abbreviations

AJA   *American Journal of Archaeology*.
ARV²   J.D. Beazley, *Attic Red-figure Vase-painters*, 2nd ed. (Oxford 1963).
BAPD   *Beazley Archive Pottery Database* <http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/databases/pottery.htm>.
FHG   *Fragmenta historicorum graecorum* (Paris 1841–70).
IG XII 5   F. Hiller von Gaertringen (ed.), *Inscriptiones Graecae XII,* Fasc. V: *Inscriptiones cycladum* (Berlin 1903–09).
LIMC   *Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae* (Zurich 1981–97).

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[57] See n. 8, above. This possible interpretation is obscured by Reverdin's (1945, 258) recon-struction of Plato's imagined tomb with couches lined up side by side as if beds in a barracks or hospital rather than couches at a symposium and has been overlooked in recent discussions of this passage (for example, Brisson 2005).

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