

Cultural identity and the Peoples of the Mediterranean

‘Manners makyth man’¹ Diacritical drinking in Achaemenid Anatolia

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Is it possible to use the evidence of archaeology to assess the sense of cultural identity of any individual group within the ancient Mediterranean? Archaeologists have long attempted to define cultural groups by ancient artefact assemblages, but there have been increasing concerns that we may be simply imposing modern ideas of matters of social definitions for our own cataloguing convenience. To consider the matter, I propose to examine the evidence for one facet of drinking practice in Western Anatolia in the period of Persian predominance. I chose the region because Western Anatolia offers an interesting slippage zone in the cultural plate tectonics of the ancient Mediterranean; and I chose drinking style as a potentially useful heuristic tool for expressing self identity. My question, then, is: how did the peoples of Western Anatolia self-identify in the period of Persian predominance?

The discovery of the painted tomb at Karaburun in Lycia, dated ca. 470 BC, remains a landmark in Achaemenid studies. Though the final publication has not yet emerged, in her preliminary reports Mellink gave such extensive and clear descriptions of the tomb, and she so generously shared photographs with others, that its paintings – especially the banquet scene – have contributed to many studies.² In a programme of decoration that comprised the triad

¹ William of Wykeham (1324-1404), bishop of Winchester.

² Investigation started in 1970. Mellink, M.J., 1971, "Excavations at Karataş-Semayük and Elmalı, Lycia, 1970," *AJA* 75: 245-255: 250-255. Mellink, M.J., 1972, "Excavations at Karataş-Semayük and Elmalı, Lycia, 1971," *AJA* 76: 257-269: 263-269. Mellink, M.J., 1973, "Excavations at Karataş-Semayük and Elmalı, Lycia, 1972," *AJA* 77: 293-303: 297-301. Mellink, M.J., 1974, "Excavations at Karataş-Semayük and Elmalı, Lycia, 1973," *AJA* 78: 351-359: 355-359. Mellink, M.J., 1975, "Excavations at Karataş-Semayük and Elmalı, Lycia, 1974," *AJA* 78: 349-355: 349-353. Clearest summary description: Mellink, M. J., 1978, "Mural Paintings in Lycian Tombs," *Proceedings of the Xth Congress of Classical Archaeology 1973*, II (Ankara) 805-809. See also: Mellink, M.J., 1979, "Fouilles d'Elmalı, en

battle, symposion and funerary cortege, the predominantly Persian character of the clothing, implements and subject matter particularly struck Mellink even as it strikes us now;³ Karaburun conveys a world far removed from that of the Kızılbél tomb, constructed a mere half-century before in the same region.⁴ The painting of the gable in the west wall of Karaburun II, opposite the symbolic door of the east wall, dominated the room. Above a monolith limestone kline of Anatolian type extends a banquet scene with painted Near Eastern kline.⁵ A reclining man dubbed “dynast” by Mellink (I retain the terminology deliberately) is flanked at the head by a woman with ribbons, and at the foot by two male attendants (fan- and towel-bearer; cup-bearer). The male attendants especially wear Persian attire and handle Persian implements. The most strikingly non-Anatolian element is the manner with which the dynast handles his drinking bowl: like his red-garbed attendant at left, he balances it on three fingers.

The mannered method of holding the bowl is surely that described by Xenophon in an authorial aside, in the context of an imaginary discussion between the young Cyrus the Great and his grandfather Astyages King of the Medes (*Xen. Cyrop.* 1.3.8):

The cup-bearers of these Kings do their task elegantly and they pour the wine and hand it over neatly. They carry the phiale about on their three fingers, and they present it in such a way as to put it in the most convenient fashion into the hand of the person who is about to drink.

οἱ δὲ τῶν βασιλέων τούτων οἰνοχόοι κομψῶς τε οἰνοχοοῦσι καὶ καθαρείως ἐγγέουσι καὶ διδῶσιν τοῖς τρισὶ δακτύλοις ὀχοῦντες τὴν φιάλην καὶ προσφέρουσιν ὡς ἂν ἐνδοῖεν τὸ ἔκπωμα εὐληπτότατα τῷ μέλλοντι πίνειν.

Lycie du Nord (Turquie). Découvertes préhistoriques et tombes à fresques,” *CRAI* 476-496: 484-495.

³ Mellink: “the figures have strong Persian overtones.” *AJA* 1971, 251-2; “the attire and paraphernalia of all the persons in this frieze are Anatolian-Persian...” (p.254). She immediately observed the similarity with the Daskyleion stelai; *op.cit.* p. 253.

⁴ Mellink, M.J., 1998, *Kızılbél. An Archaic Painted Tomb Chamber in Northern Lycia* (Philadelphia).

⁵ The Anatolo-Greek stone kline (described Mellink 1971, 253) contrasts with the painted metal Eastern kline. The painted cock and dog on the stone kline also suit Anatolian practice. The tomb had a “simple stone table” Mellink 1972, 265 (in south-east corner Mellink 1979, 486). Her fullest description is Mellink 1974, 357-358.

So far as I know, this is the only verbal description of a mode of wine-manipulation that evidently characterised elegant court practice in the Achaemenid world. Yet the practice seems not in origin to be Persian; it has a long pre-history in the arts of Mesopotamia, as long as the history of using round-bottomed drinking bowls.

1. Drinking through the Ages

The earliest artistic evidence for drinking from (and holding from below) a round-bottomed bowl appears on some Ur III seals (ca. 2100-2000). Here the finger-tip mode appears in images of gods and of kings, in both throne and presentation scenes.⁶ The medium is too small to ascertain how many fingers are used, but the bowl is clearly supported from below; one can contrast the lateral grip typically used later by Greeks for their phialai and drinking bowls, even those whose lobes suggest that they are eastern imports.⁷

Stronach and Nylander have shown how wine-drinking or, more precisely, wine-bowl manipulation played an important symbolic role in Assyrian royal iconography.⁸ In ninth-

⁶ Stronach, D., 1995, "The Imagery of the Wine Bowl in Assyria in the Early First Millennium B.C.," in P. McGovern et al., eds., *The Origins and Ancient History of Wine* (Amsterdam) 175-195: 193, n. 4, citing *inter alia* Collon, D., 1987, *First Impressions. Cylinder Seals in the Ancient Near East* (London) figs. 118, 121, 122. See more generally Collon, D., 1992, "Banquets in the Art of the Ancient Near East," in Rika Gyselen, ed., *Banquets d'Orient (Res Orientales 4)*, 23-301, and Schmandt-Besserat, D., 2001, "Feasting in the Ancient Near East," in M. Dietler, B. Hayden, edd., *Feasts. Archaeological and Ethnographic Perspectives on Food, Politics and Power* (London) 391-403.

⁷ Eg the "Eurytios" krater, early Corinthian black figure: Louvre E635, ca. 600, perhaps earliest reclining scene in Greek art; also Louvre E629, Dentzer, J.-P., 1982, *Le Motif du Banquet Couché dans le Proche-Orient et le monde grec du VIIe au IVe siècle avant J.-C.* (Paris), fig. 105. Also to be found in the second quarter of the 6th century in Lakonian BF: Pratica di Mare E1986, Naukratis Ptr. cup (Boardman, J., 1998, *Early Greek Vase-Painting* (London) fig. 414); and Boeotian BF: Berlin F1727, tripod kothon (Boardman 1998, fig. 441). The lateral grip, with thumb on rim and fingers in the omphalos is especially sensible for pouring libations (see, e.g., the images in *ThesCRA I*, pl. 57-60), but seems more widely used.

⁸ Stronach 1995; Nylander, C., 1999, "Breaking the Cup of Kingship. An Elamite Coup from Nineveh?" in R. Bouchardat, J.E. Curtis, and E. Haerinck eds., *Neo-Assyrian, Median, Achaemenian and Other Studies in Honour of David Stronach*, vol. 1 (*IrAnt 34*, Ghent) 71-84. For significance of the royal cup much earlier: see Winter, I.J., 1986, "The King and the Cup," in M. Kelly Buccelati et al., edd., *Insight through Images, Studies in Honour of Edith Porada*

century relief sculptures from the North-west Palace of Nimrud (ca. 860), Ashurnasirpal II can be found with his bowl balanced on all fingertips in a variety of contexts that could not be described as convivial, seated on throne or standing with bow or over dead prey; sometimes the context seems to indicate a libation.⁹ The same is true of Shalmaneser III, who holds his bowl while receiving tribute from Jehu on the Black Obelisk of ca. 825.¹⁰

Ashurbanipal's "Garden Party" relief from Nineveh (a celebration of the victory over the Elamite king Teumman of the mid 650s) figures large in any discussion of Near Eastern banqueting mode and the adoption of the practice of reclining in Greece.¹¹ The researches of Amiet, Deller, Stronach and Nylander suggest that in Assyria, royal activities (including drinking) under a vine-arbour had layered signification, possibly adopted from Elam.¹² Nylander's investigation of the precision-damage inflicted on the relief prompted his suggestion that the vandalism was the product of Elamite revenge centuries later: the Assyrian king and his queen have suffered typical Assyrian punishments of facial disfigurement. More

(Malibu: Bibliotheca Mesopotamica 21) 253-268. Winter, I.J., 1987, "Legitimation of authority through image and legend: Seals belonging to officials in the administrative bureaucracy of the Ur III state," in McG. Gibson and R.D. Biggs, ed., *The Organization of Power: Aspects of Bureaucracy in the Ancient Near East* (Chicago) 69ff.

⁹ Throne: London BM 124564-6; standing with bow: New York MMA 32.143.4 and London BM 124535. Stronach, Nylander; refs to NW palace sculpture. Indeed, Collon stresses the association of banquet scenes as part of a post-hunt ritual: Collon 1992: 27.

¹⁰ The Black Obelisk: London BM 118885.

¹¹ London WA 124920, about 645. Notably B. Fehr, 1971, *Orientalische und Griechische Gelage* (Bonn) 7-25; Dentzer, J.-P., 1982, *Le Motif du Banquet Couché dans le Proche-Orient et le monde grec du VIIe au IVe siècle avant J.-C.* (Paris), hereafter "Dentzer."

¹² Amiet, P., 1986, *L'âge des échanges inter-iraniens 3500-1700 avant J.-C.* (Paris) 159, with figs. 113 and 114, for Elamite scenes with divine couples under a vine arbor. On the grapevine: Alabenda, P., 1974, "Grapevines in Ashurbanipal's Garden," *BASOR* 215, 5-17. Deller, K. H., 1987, "Assurbanipal in der Gartenlaube," *Baghdader Mitteilungen* 18, 229-238 identifies the vine-canopy with *qirsu*, a place where a war ritual culminates in Assyrian texts. Stronach, D., 1995, "The Imagery of the Wine Bowl in Assyria in the Early First Millennium B.C.," in McGovern, P., et al., eds., *The Origins and Ancient History of Wine* (Amsterdam) 175-195. Nylander, C., 1999, "Breaking the Cup of Kingship. An Elamite Coup from Nineveh?" in R. Bouchard et al., eds., *Neo-Assyrian, Median, Achaemenian and Other Studies in Honour of David Stronach*, vol. 1 (*IrAnt* 34, Ghent) 71-84. On the Elamite elements, see now Alvarez-Mon, J., forthcoming, "Ashurbanipal's Feast: A View from Elam," *Iranica Antiqua*.

particularly the King's cup has been carefully excised, underscoring the continuing special importance attached to the royal cup as long before in Uruk.¹³ One result of the damage is that we cannot see clearly how the king held his bowl, but he probably held it as did his queen: from below, using all fingers.

The Syrian quality of Ashurbanipal's couch (and by extension possibly his drinking stance) has been noted; the schema of grasping a lotus in the right hand may be another import of the day from the west, enriching the older iconogram king + cup by the addition of another symbol.¹⁴ The representation of Ahiḫam of Byblos at table on his sarcophagus shows the Phoenician king seated with a small drinking bowl raised in one hand and a *wilted* lotus in the other; elsewhere in western royal iconography of feasting the lotus is erect, held in one hand by a personage who grasps from below a drinking bowl (as is customary also in early Iron age south-east Anatolia and North Syria, where at least sometimes the image appears on a funerary stele).¹⁵

In contrast to the rich imagery and symbolism of wine-bowl holding in Assyrian relief sculpture and other arts, Achaemenid Iran offers a near void. We have no comparable subject-matter on palatial decorated surfaces; what images appear can be found on cylinder seals whose value as evidence for Persian praxis is compromised by their deliberate retention of traditional Near Eastern imagery. There arises a corresponding uncertainty as to Achaemenid Persian drinking practice. Wherever figures appear on Achaemenid cylinder seals in the

¹³ Nylander *op. cit.*; see also on the significance of the cup as an emblem of power in the earlier (late third millennium) tradition: Winter 1986, 1987.

¹⁴ For the couch the most notable detail is the "woman at the window" decoration at the top of the legs. Collon 1992: 27 summarises the western material; see the series in Dentzer figs. 28-30. I borrow the term "iconogram" from Nylander.

¹⁵ Lotus: E. Porada, 1973, "Notes on the Sarcophagus of Ahiḫam," *Journal of the Ancient Near East Society of Columbia University* 5, 354-372, cites Maurice Chehar, 1970-1971, "Observations au sujet du sarcophage d'Ahiḫam," *Mélanges de l'Université St. Joseph*, 216, *Mélanges Maurice Dunand*. Sarcophagus, Byblos Tomb VI, Beirut museum; Dentzer 1982, 31 n.113 has full references. South-east Anatolia and North Syria: Dentzer 1982, 34-46. Stele of Neirab: Louvre AO 3027, Dentzer 1982, 44 (and fig.56), rightly stresses the importance of the inscription in establishing securely the funerary function.

context of food or drink, they are seated rather than reclining often in contexts that seem ritual rather than convivial. If they hold a drinking bowl, they hold it from below, as on a rock crystal cylinder seal in Zurich.¹⁶ Here a Persian male wearing court robe holds a deep bowl in one hand and a flower in the other; a flag-fan bearer attends at his rear and before him, across a laden table, an attendant in rider dress holds what appear to be service implements and perhaps a flywhisk. The lack of provenance for this interesting seal is regrettable.

Amidst the overwhelming preponderance of heroic combat imagery in the corpus of the seal impressions from the Persepolis Fortification Texts can be found scenes of “images with human activity”. Some include human figures handling bowls, including two who hold a bowl from below; one of them, a seated figure, holds his bowl on fingertips (PFS 170).¹⁷ He is attended by a flag-fan bearer; possibly the figure at rear on PFS 467 was also a flag-fan bearer.

In Babylonia to the west, one of the seal impressions of the Nippur’s Murasu archive of about 422 includes a seated drinker who is manifestly intended to be Persian: his throne and incense burner are Persian and he even wears Persian clothes.¹⁸ Alas, the sealing (that of one Hannatuni) is enigmatic, its separate elements making it look more like a rebus than figural narrative, with the inclusion of a hand behind and a horse in front.

¹⁶ Zurich University, 1961: Boardman, J., 2000, *Persia and the West* (London), fig. 5.8; Moorey 1979.

¹⁷ I am greatly indebted to Margaret Root for showing me drawings she and Mark Garrison have compiled of the in preparation for their forthcoming, *Seals on the Persepolis Fortification Tablets, II: Images of Human Activity* (Chicago: OIC). For PFS 170 and PFS 467: Garrison, Mark, 2000, “Achaemenid Iconography as evidenced by glyptic art: Subject Matter, Social Function, Audience and Diffusion,” in C. Uehlinger, ed., *Images as Media: Sources for the Cultural History of the Near East and the Eastern Mediterranean (1st Millennium BCE)* (Leiden, Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis no.175). 115-163: 147, fig. 26 and 148, fig. 27.

¹⁸ Philadelphia 12866, on a document dated to the second year of Darius which should be 422. Legrain, L., 1925, *The Culture of the Babylonians from their Seals in the Collections of the Museum* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, University Museum: Publications of the Babylonian Section, 15) 984, drawing from his pl. 59. Bregstein, Linda Beth, 1993, *Seal Use in fifth century B.C. Nippur, Iraq: A Study of Seal Selection and Sealing Practices in the Murasû Archive* (PhD Diss: University of Pennsylvania: UMI), no. 214 on p.612. Briant, P., 2002, *From Cyrus to Alexander* (Winona Lake) fig. 62.

The cylinder seals with seated Persians in the context of wine-bowl handling leave more questions than answers, precisely because of the deliberate retention or even re-introduction of the imagery repertory of the Near Eastern glyptic past in Persian-period seal manufacture and the past conflation of banquet and presentation scenes.¹⁹ The problems increase in view of the arguments for a heightened meaning associated with holding a raised drinking bowl in Elam and Assyria; it is conceivable that a similar meaning lingered in Achaemenid imagery, independent of court praxis. Differences of medium and style aside, the seated figure of PFS 170 has much in common with Ashurnasirpal on his throne, bowl in one hand and lotus in other. It is difficult to make confident observations about the Achaemenid-period cylinder seals beyond the fact that holding a drinking bowl from below is not alien. Are these scenes schematic or realistic? – the inclusion of the lotus blossom in each suggests the former but perhaps in life enthroned kings and satraps also held a flower.²⁰

To examine the matter from a slightly different perspective, in his study of metalware bowls, Pfrommer commented on the frequent restriction of bowl diameters to 10 centimeters, and suggested that the small scale reflects the use of these bowls “nach medischer Sitte mit der Fingerspitzen in der hohlen Hand.”²¹ He also noted that the bowls are frequently found with a ladle, clinching their identification as drinking bowls.

If we move away from the heartland, we begin to find a range of images that share a common Persian grammar of drinking set within a local context. They are few but very wide-

¹⁹ On seal patronage at Persepolis, see Root, e.g., Root, M.C., 1990, “Circles of Artistic Programming: Strategies for Studying Creative Process at Persepolis,” in A.C. Gunter, ed., *Investigating Artistic Environments in the Ancient Near East* (Washington) 115-39, Root, M.C., 1991, “From the Heart: Powerful Persianisms in the Art of the Western Empire,” in H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg and A. Kuhrt, ed., *Achaemenid History VI* (Leiden) 1-29.

²⁰ In this context the stele of Djedherbes is especially interesting, as it manifests both bowl and lotus (see below).

²¹ Pfrommer, Michael, 1987, *Studien zu alexandrinischer und grossgriechischer Toreutik frühhellenistischer* (Berlin), 42; citing B.B. Shefton, 1971, “Persian Gold and Attic Black - Glaze. Achaemenid Influences on Attic Pottery of the 5th and 4th Centuries B.C.,” *AAS* 21, 109-111, pl. XX-XXII: 111, who had linked the small bowls with the fingertip method, dubbing them “toasting cup.”

flung: In the far west on a fragmentary terracotta votive tablet dedicated to Demeter in Locri in Italy, a woman holds a Persian-style carinated bowl on fingertips.²² The votive plaque would seem to fit the pattern of the goddess holding a phiale – sometimes quite deep – found on several other votive plaques of Demeter and a fairly common attribute of Greek divinity. Why this particular one should so clearly employ the Persian mode of vessel-holding is difficult to explain; all the others grasp their bowl in the more conventional Greek fashion, seemingly about to pour a libation.

Egypt offers the funerary stele of one Djedherbes from Saqqara, dated to the first Persian occupation, 525-404.²³ The stele comprises a mixture of good Egyptian funerary iconography and practice in an upper scene with a Near Eastern offering scene below. A man in Persian dress on a Persian throne holding a lotus raises a hemispherical drinking bowl on three fingers. Here the inscriptions in hieroglyphs and demotic suggest that the deceased had a Persian father (one Artam) and an Egyptian mother, Tanofrether. The excavators debate whether the Persian-looking figure is meant to represent the Persian father or the satrap and exclude the possibility that it may be the deceased, already depicted above (beardless). The lower scene utterly breaks with the conventions of Egyptian funerary iconography in every way, having more in common with the seal in Zurich than anything else. The translation of the hieroglyphic inscription would seem to suggest that the man is indeed Djedherbes, as the image presents an offering (but I am no Egyptologist).²⁴

Spell. Osiris, the foremost of the West, the great god, the lord of the sanctuary, (may) he give an invocation-offering of bread, oxen, fowl, clothing, alabaster(?), incense(?), things

²² Naples MN (no number). Prückner, H., 1968, *Die lokrischen Tonreliefs: Beitrag zur Kultgeschichte von Lokri Epizephyrioi* (Mainz), pl. 5, 3 (Type 21; cf. fig. 6, after Orsi, P., 1909, "Locri Epizefiri," *Bd'A* 3, 406-435, fig. 17); I am grateful to Margaret Root for drawing my attention to this fragment. Pfrommer, Michael, 1987, *Studien zu alexandrinischer und grossgriechischer Toreutik frühhellenistischer* (Berlin), 50.

²³ Mathieson, I. J., et al., 1995, "A Stela of the Persian Period from Saqqara," *JEA* 81, 23-41: Abb. 3; an outstanding publication in every way.

²⁴ Translation: Mathieson et al., p. 35; the demotic inscription would seem to have said something analogous.

perfect and pure, the luxuries upon which the god lives, to the *ka* of Djedherbes, son of Artam, born of the lady Tanofrether.

From east of the Black Sea, women holding a bowl on (all) fingertips appear on two fourth-century objects. A gold ring from Vani in Georgia features a woman seated on a Persian stool/throne, with branch (rather than a lotus) in one hand and bowl on fingertips in the other.²⁵ The Greek inscription, DEDATOS, attests to the total mixture of cultures. A silver calf-head rhyton from Erebuni, Armenia features a woman seemingly about to proffer a bowl on fingertips to a seated man.²⁶ She seems to wear Persian dress; her curious crossed-arms stance might be attributed to artistic incompetence were it not also found in Anatolian relief sculpture (see below for the reliefs of Adda, Aksakal and Ödemiş). Indeed, Summerer has argued that the vessel derives from an Anatolian workshop.

In fact the preponderance of Persian-period depictions of figures holding drinking bowls on fingertips comes from Anatolia, and seem to attest to a widespread, if selective, adoption of the practice among the non-Greek peoples of Anatolia.²⁷ They are especially to be found in the stelai of the region of Daskyleion, but are attested also in Paphlagonia, Lydia, west Phrygia and Lycia. The early funerary stelai from southern Anatolia / North Syria suggest that the idea of funerary stelai with banqueting was possibly native; the novelty of the Persian period is the manner of wielding wine vessels. Though the banquet image can stand alone, it more frequently appears as one strand of an image complex (usually funerary) which typically include such scene types as the funeral cortege and the elite activities of warfare and the hunt.

²⁵ Vani, Grave 9. Soltes, O. Z., 1999, *National Treasures of Georgia* (London) p. 173. Lordkipanidze, O., 1976, *Vani 2* (Tbilisi), pp. 116-166 = original pub (Georgian with a Russian summary). Lordkipanidze 1991, pl. 32.1. Boardman, J., 1994, *The Diffusion of Classical Art in Antiquity* (Princeton) fig. 6.48.

²⁶ Summerer, L., 2006, "Bemerkungen zum silbernen Kalbskopfrhyton in the Ermitage," in S. Conrad et al., edd., *Pontos Euxeinos. Beiträge zur Archäologie und Geschichte des Antiken Schwarzmeer- und Balkanraumes* (Langenweissbach) 135-143, pl. 1.2, 2.2. Refers to *Arménie. Trésors de l'Arménie ancienne des origines au IVe siècle* (Nantes 1996, Musée Dobée) cat. no. 183. **ILL**

²⁷ Dentzer 35-46 for North Syrian / south Anatolian antecedents.

The funerary stelai of Hellespontine Phrygia are well known; their tendency to cluster in the region of Ergili contributed to the identification of the site as Daskyleion (see convenient map produced by Kaptan).²⁸ Their dating continues to be a problem. As they are never found *in situ*, arguments are based on style and the style sequence is derived from Greek sculpture, which may always be an inappropriate point of reference but is especially so in the earlier period. Six of the stelai have banquet scenes in which a figure, presumably the deceased, is depicted reclining on a kline, attended by cup-boy and joined by a female figure whose footstool declares her to have some social significance. She is normally identified as the wife of the deceased.²⁹ Each shows a drinking bowl held on fingertips, either by the banqueter or the cup boy. One feature especially deserves emphasis: while only a few of the stelai have incised inscriptions, those inscriptions that do survive speak to an ethnically and linguistically mixed population that nonetheless shared a common visual language. While the practice of making such funerary monuments is probably West Anatolian, the parallelism of theme and its handling elsewhere in the Persian empire suggest that aspects of a Persian elite lifestyle are rendered.

A brief outline of the six or possibly seven stelai with banquet scenes is in order. Two of the earliest (dated about 500 so by their curiously flat sculptural style) have inscriptions. The **stèle of Adda** from Sultaniye is massive at 2.52 m. tall; cortege and hunt friezes are set below the symposium.³⁰ The inscription is Aramaic, judged to be the local *lingua franca*, and

²⁸ Fundamental: Nollé, M., 1992, *Denkmäler vom Satrapensitz Daskyleion* (Berlin) with references, updated with helpful comment by Kaptan, D., 2003, "A Glance at Northwestern Asia Minor during the Achaemenid Period," in W. Henkelman and A. Kurht, ed., *A Persian Perspective. Essays in Memory of Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg* (Leiden: *Achaemenid History* XIII) 189-202, with valuable map p. 193.

²⁹ The inherent plausibility of the identification derives some support by the occasional use of the Anatolian schema by Attic pot painters for the Greek gods, e.g. Codrus Ptr cup, in the period of the adoption of the schema for hero cult in Athens and the mainland.

³⁰ In Bursa Museum. Nollé 1992, S3, with references; note the crossed-arms gesture of the banqueter.

its owner bears a Semitic name; but Adda is somehow connected (the word is unclear) with one Aryabama, an Iranian name. Here the cupbearer at the left certainly holds the bowl on fingertips. On the contemporary **stele of Manes** both the cup-boy and the banqueter balance a bowl on fingertips; the parallelism of iconography is especially interesting as the stele is inscribed in Phrygian for a man whose name is either Phrygian or Lydian.³¹ The stele of Manes therefore marks a clear instance of Anatolian adoption of the motif and perhaps practice.

The slightly fleshier forms of the **stele from Aksakal**, with its funerary cortege and banquet, have raised the suggestion that it dates a little later, perhaps mid fifth century.³² The banqueter's arms are crossed over his chest; in his left he holds an egg-like item while he balances his wine bowl on fingertips. The raised right hand of the cup-boy at right suggests that he has just delivered the bowl. Here it is the woman with the curious crown-like element below her veil who wields the lotus.³³

The **stele from Çavuşköy**, one of the first to be found, can be more confidently dated by analogy with Greek sculptural style to the early fourth century.³⁴ An unfortunate break in the stone makes the banqueter's grasp hard to read, but he seems to offer a bowl to a woman seated with footstool at right; and he seems to use the lateral (Greek) grip. The cup-bearer at left perhaps uses finger-tips. The hunt scene above is fully in the Achaemenid mode (clothing; horse; attendant). The possibly contemporary **stele from Muradiye** is dated by its

³¹ Daskyleion depot. Gusmani, R., and Gürçan Polat, 1999, "Manes in Daskyleion," *Kadmos* 38, 137-162. Of the sculpted decoration only the banquet frieze survives; the upper portion of the stele is lost.

³² Istanbul 5763, Prokonnesos marble. Nollé 1992, S2, with references. Nollé dates ca. 500; Gusmani/Polat 1999, 147, down-date to mid fifth century. *Anatolian Civilisations* B142. The banquet appears below the cortege scene. Just a bit earlier, perhaps, is the **stele from Dereköy**, now at Bursa (Nollé 1992, S4), whose fragmentary and badly weathered state makes it difficult to read; but the vessel just appearing at the left edge of the extant work is a drinking bowl held possibly on fingertips by the cup-boy.

³³ The oddity is to find it here; parallels are seen elsewhere in the Persian empire, as notably the enthroned female on a cylinder-seal, Louvre AO 22359 (Spycket, A., 1980, "Women in Persian Art," *Ancient Persia: The Art of an Empire* (Malibu) pl. XXV, fig. 7). Does this signify a mixed marriage?

³⁴ Istanbul 1502. Nollé 1992, S7, with references.

anthemion.³⁵ Its poor state of preservation makes it difficult to distinguish details. As on the stele from Çavuşköy, a hunt lies above the banquet; but this banquet is fully in the Persian mode with both banqueter and cup-boy balancing bowls on fingertips.

The monument found in 1968 by Nursin Asgari at **Veziirhan** in Bithynia to the east can only hesitantly be included in the group. Not only is its shape quite different (judged akin to Late Hittite stelai by Asgari); the handling of its subject prompts the identification as a ritual rather than banquet scene: both figures sit beside what seems to be an incense burner.³⁶ The figure below the scene at the right should belong but what he bears and how he bears it is unclear. Yet there are some parallels with the group around Daskyleion in the respective placement of the figures – woman on the left, man on the right, with an attendant behind each – and the boar hunt below has many Achaemenid features, not least the bobbed tail of the horse. The bilingual inscription (Greek and Phrygian) makes the stele especially interesting.

Elsewhere in Anatolia, a handful of “banqueting” scenes have emerged in a variety of media; they can be quickly surveyed by region. To the east of Bithynia, at **Afirözü** in ancient Paphlagonia south of the Black Sea, a block of local stone with a central vertical cutting (.27 x .43 x .43 in size) bears a relief sculpture of a banquet on one side.³⁷ The banquet has a number of idiosyncrasies, not least the apparent masculinity of the figure who sits on the end of the banqueter’s kline, in the usual place of the female customarily identified as the wife of the banqueter. All figures are presented in clearly identifiable “Persian rider dress.” While the reclining banqueter (flower in right hand) grasps a bowl from below with his left hand, the cup-boy at the left balances his bowl on finger-tips. Donceel-Voûte suspects that the block

³⁵ Bursa museum, limestone, from Muradiye mosque. Nollé 1992, S8, with references.

³⁶ Asgari, N., *et al* 1983, *The Anatolian Civilisations, II: Greek/Roman/Byzantine* (Istanbul exhibition) B146; Neumann, G., 1997, “Die Zwei Inschriften auf der Stele von Veziirhan,” in R. Gusmani, ed., *Frigi e Frigio* (Atti del 1° Simposio Internazionale Roma, 16-17 ottobre 1995, Roma) 13-32. ILL

³⁷ Kastamonu mus. 438 (2192): P. Donceel-Voûte, 1984, “Un banquet funéraire perse en Paphlagonie,” in R. Donceel, R. Lebrun, edd., *Archéologie et religions de l’Anatolie ancienne: mélanges en l’honneur du professeur Paul Naster* (Louvain-la-Neuve) 101-118.

formed the central element on a Lycian-style funerary pillar. Despite the difference of monument type (?pillar rather than stele) and manner of presentation, the scene shares the fundamental grammar of the West Anatolian banquet-scenes.

Funerary stelai with banqueting scenes appear also in west Phrygia and Lydia. With the stele from **Altıntaş** we are again in territory akin to the series from Daskyleion to the north; many elements found on Manes' relief, for example, appear also here.³⁸ Once again the surface is too coarse for great clarity of detail in the area of the banqueter (dates range, e.g., 500-400) but the cup-boy at left may use the fingertips handling mode. Similarly, the stele from **Ödemiş**-Hypaipa in west Lydia, dated ca. 500, features a cup-boy at left with bowl on fingertips as well as an attendant for the seated woman at right and just possibly the woman herself.³⁹ The banqueter holds possibly a fan in his left hand; his right hand crosses over his chest to hand a garland to (or to receive one from) the enthroned woman.

With the relief from Lydian **Ödemiş** should be compared the earlier symposion scenes on the terracotta architectural revetment plaques from **Larisa** on the Hermus, not least in view of the current consensus that the Larisa series should date to just before the Persian period.⁴⁰

³⁸ Afyon Karahisar museum. Only the central part of a long stele is extant; above are Persoid phoenixes and below a ?sacrificial procession with musicians and cow. Pfuhl, E., H. Möbius, 1977, *Die Östgriechischen Grabreliefs* (Mainz) no. 75, pl. 19. Dentzer R63, pl. 59, fig. 319. Asgari, N., et al 1983, *The Anatolian Civilisations, II: Greek/Roman/Byzantine* (Istanbul exhibition) B145

³⁹ **Ödemiş**: Izmir 4338; Pfuhl, E., H. Möbius, 1977, *Die Östgriechischen Grabreliefs* (Mainz) no. 6, pl.2. Dentzer R62, pl. 58, fig. 318 – note the crossed-arm stance of the banqueter: he holds what looks like a large fan in one hand (a misunderstood flower??) and seems to be handing a garland to the seated woman. Clothing looks Persian (cup-boy has dagger? – kitharist? hard to tell for wife or her attendant).

⁴⁰ Kjellberg, L., 1940, *Die Architektonische Terrakotten* (Stockholm: *Larisa am Hermos: Die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen, 1902-1934*: II) 64-80 (on frieze VII) and 154, dates 560-540; Åkerström, Å., 1966, *Der Architektonischen Terrakotten Kleinasiens* (Lund) p. 160 down-dated to 530-520. Bookidis *AJA* 72, 1968, 81-83 thinks Åkerström's chronology too low); Winter, Nancy A., 1993, *Greek architectural terracottas: from the prehistoric to the end of the archaic period* (Oxford), 238, and 245, argues for just prior to the time of the Persian invasion, ca. 550. She also notes the many errors in Kjellberg's (ie. Scheif's, Fridell's and Gilliéron's) drawings, urges study of originals on plates 22-33 (Winter, 245, n.79). Dentzer R64.

Medium, genre and even function aside, the Larisa scenes have more to do with the Greek symposion in the general handling of furnishings and arrangement of pairs of figures on klinai than have the stelai from Hellespontine Phrygia. Details are difficult to be sure of in view of their fragmentary state, but there are no fan-bearers in the Lydian repertoire until the Persian-period stelai (further below).

The highly fragmentary state of the frieze from Larisa is most unfortunate. It appears that the pairs of recliners are carefully contrasted but it would be over-hasty to say that the differences show gender rather than age or even ethnicity.⁴¹ Many of the drinking vessels are lost, but one fragment shows that one person on the left side of Kline A held a round-bottomed bowl from below (as on Schleif's reconstruction); and two other fragments show that the right person on Kline B has a drinking horn with animal-head protome (nothing like the duck-headed cup inserted in Fridell's reconstruction).⁴² More pertinent, perhaps, the cup boy clearly holds an oinochoe on one fragment: this clearly presupposes a non-Persian mode of service. In view of the pre-Persian stylistic date, we should view the frieze as in some sense showing traditional Lydian practice, which has much in common with Greek practice. In view of Herodotos' comments about the shared practices of Greece and Lydia, the parallelism is no surprise: Λυδοὶ δὲ νόμοισι μὲν παραπλησίοισι χρέωνται καὶ Ἕλληνες (Hdt. 1.94.1). Indeed, there are good grounds for viewing Lydia as providing the model for the Greek practice.⁴³

For the Persian period in Sardis itself, we are dependent on funerary sculpture.

Weathering adversely impacts our understanding of an important sculptural monument: the

⁴¹ Fehr, B., *Gelage*, 108, saw a banquet of Greeks and barbaroi and the idea has its attractions. I wonder, from Kjellberg pl. 24, fragment 11, whether the left figure on kline A had a beard,

⁴² Both reconstructions are published by Kjellberg 1940. Schleif is fig. 26 and Fridell is pl. 27. Wescoat 1995, 297, following Fehr 1971, 122, identifies the drinking horn as an East Greek feature. The cauldron on the tripod stand on one plaque series has much in common with the Daskyleion stelai.

⁴³ We impatiently await the publication of Elizabeth Baughan's dissertation *Anatolian Funerary Klinai: Tradition and Identity* (advance notice: *JFA* 29 (2003-2004) 225-228 review of Dusinberre), which will assist in the matter.

pediment with banqueting scene c. 430 found in the Pactolus riverbed.⁴⁴ Here the banqueter seems to adopt a different format, one that will be very popular in the next century: he seems to hold a rhyton in his right hand in position to pour it into a bowl in his left. Only the disposition of his arms suggests this stance as the extreme weathering of the stone has removed the details of the objects he holds.⁴⁵ On the right half, however, the attendant closest to the kline perhaps holds his bowl on fingertips. Hanfmann and Erhart reasonably (in view of the find-spot: the Pactolus flows past a considerable necropolis of Sardis) argue that the pediment derived from a funerary monument in the form of a “temple” on a platform, which would then antedate the Lycian series.⁴⁶

The banqueter from the later (earlier fourth century) funerary monument to the son of **Manes** adopts the same stance as seen on the Sardis pediment:⁴⁷ right hand raised, holding an object that might be a rhyton, and left hand lowered, holding an object now obliterated but reasonably restored as bowl and possibly held on fingertips (there is no servant with vessel to

⁴⁴ Sardis S69.14:8047, NoEx 78.1. Dentzer R54; Hanfmann, G.M.A., 1974, “A Pediment from the Persian Era from Sardis,” *Mansel’ e Armagan’ dan ayribasim* (Ankara) 289-302. Hanfmann, G.M.A., and K.P. Erhart, 1981, “Pedimental Reliefs from a Mausoleum of the Persian Era at Sardis,” in W.K. Simpson and W.M. Davis, ed., *Studies in Ancient Egypt, the Aegean, and the Sudan: Essays in Honour of Daws Dunham* (Boston), 87-89. Discussed briefly also by Dusinger, E.R.M., 2003, *Aspects of Empire in Achaemenid Sardis* (Cambridge) 93.

⁴⁵ The same stance seems to be adopted on an inscribed but badly weathered stele from Sardis, dated somewhat later: Sardis No Ex 77.15 (IN 77.8): Ramage, N.H., 1979, “A Lydian Funerary Banquet,” *Anatolian Studies* 29, 91-95. The stele belonged to one Manes (Lydian inscription); the vessel he holds aloft has a curious protrusion below which may support the rhyton identification.

⁴⁶ A banquet scene is suspected by Summerer on one damaged wooden panel of the Tatarlı tomb; it is particularly regrettable that not much can be made of the scene: the tomb was constructed in Phrygian style from logs, but the long walls feature on one side a battle scene between Persians and Iranian nomads and on the other a typical Anatolo-Persian funeral cortege. The occupant was presumably a Phrygian with Persian affinities, like the occupant of the Karaburun tomb. Summerer, L., 2007a, “From Tatarlı to Munich: The Recovery of a Painted Wooden Tomb Chamber in Phrygia,” in Inci Delemen *et al.*, ed., *The Achaemenid Impact on Local Populations and Cultures in Anatolia, Proceedings of the International Workshop held in Istanbul* (May 2005), (Istanbul), 131-158: 145 for the symposium. See also: Summerer, L., 2007b, “Picturing Persian Victory: The painted Battle Scene on the Munich Wood,” in A. Ivantchik and V. Licheli, ed., *Achaemenid Culture and Local Traditions in Anatolia, Southern Caucasus and Iran: New Discoveries* (Leiden: *Ancient Civilisations from Scythia to Siberia* 13) 3-30.

⁴⁷ Ramage, N., 1979, “A Lydia Funerary Banquet,” *Anatolian Studies* 29, 91-95, pl. XIII.

double-check holding technique). This composition, it seems, became the iconography of banqueting in Persian-period Sardis; the inscription is in Lydian. The stele of **Atrastas** son of Timles, half a century later, shows the continuation of the format; it is an extraordinary stele, with a Lydian inscription dating it by regnal year to the fifth year of King Alexander.⁴⁸ Here a man reclines and a woman sits on a kline with no clear sign of drinking vessel (the man's left hand is damaged). The object held by the man in his right hand might be a lotus, but the detail is lost.

Stamp seals from the western empire add a different dimension, but lack of certainty about their locus of production reduces their value to this enquiry. Seals typically travel easily so that find-spot is rarely known and even when known, it need not indicate the location of manufacture. Nonetheless, the balance of evidence has suggested to students of glyptic that the stamp seals of this style derived from Achaemenid Anatolia.⁴⁹ Seals figure large in the limited corpus of representations of Achaemenid women, and a significant subset is those on which a woman walks with a bowl balanced on her fingertips (whether three or more is not clear). A scaraboid seal in Oxford shows also the intended recipient: a male seemingly in rider dress complete with kandys, seated on a padded stool with a footstool.⁵⁰ The woman holds in her lowered hand a jar, akin in shape to alabaster vessels known from Assyria.⁵¹ It is interesting

⁴⁸ Ramage, N., 1979, "A Lydia Funerary Banquet," *Anatolian Studies* 29, 91-95, pl. XIV(b) illustrates; Hanfmann, G.M.A., and N. H. Ramage 1978, 234, fig. 404; Dusinger, E.R.M., 2003, *Aspects of Empire in Achaemenid Sardis* (Cambridge) 93-94; Pfuhl, E., H. Möbius, 1977, *Die Östgriechischen Grabreliefs* (Mainz) no. 76, pl. 19.

⁴⁹ Boardman, J., 2000, *Persia and the West* (London), 170-171, summarises the situation.

⁵⁰ Oxford 1921.2, chalcedony scaraboid (impression); the inscription, from the Koran, is later. Boardman says "scenes of Persian relaxing, with their women bringing them unguent" (Boardman, J., 2000, *Persia and the West* (London), 171). Boardman *GGR*, 353, pl. 880; Zazoff, P., 1983, *Die antiken Gemmen* (Munich) pl. 41.4, fig.50c; Boardman and Vollenweider 42, pl.32, no.178.

⁵¹ With the globular shape: compare alabaster jars from Nimrud, e.g. BM 91639 (BM website). Compare also the necked "polychrome glazed jar" from Persepolis, ht. 12.5 cm, in *Forgotten Empires* fig. 131 (Tehran 2071).

and perhaps significant to note that not this more globular jar but the tall slender “alabastron” form is the commonly found in Persian period tombs in Anatolia.⁵²

A series of other engraved gems offer what seem to be vignettes of such a scene: a woman with hair neatly tied back in a single braid walks sometimes to the right and sometimes to the left, with a bowl (sometimes carinated, sometimes not) balanced on the fingertips of her upraised hand. In her lower hand, she usually carries the jar, but once she carries a garland.⁵³ Often she seems to hook a ladle on her finger, suggesting that wine service rather than perfume delivery, is the object of the walk, but the two need not be mutually exclusive.⁵⁴ It is noteworthy (but not easily explicable) that on the stamp seals the wine-bearers are women whereas on the cylinders from Persepolis, they are men. In the Anatolian stelai, the wine-servers similarly are typically male (insofar as this can be judged in view of surface damage). Female attendants can appear but they usually stand in proximity to the woman seated with footstool.

The East Greek states partook of the Anatolian cultural koine, and so it is not surprising to see a link between what happens in Lydia and Daskylitis and what comes from Greek sites. The banqueting architrave frieze from the anomalous Doric Temple of Athena at Assos must date early in the Persian period, about 530.⁵⁵ Within an overall structure akin to a Greek

⁵² As observed generally by Mellink 1979, 489, in conjunction with the fact that the paintings of Karaburun show the alabastron (twice). More recently: Sevinç, N., and C.B. Rose, 1999, “A Child’s Sarcophagus from the Salvage Excavations at Gümüşçay,” *Studia Troica* 9, 489-509, cat. nos. 1-3 on fig. 3.

⁵³ **Berlin FG181**: Blue-grey chalcedony scaraboid “from Megalopolis”; Zazoff 1983, 177, pl. 40.1, fig.50a; Boardman 1970, 352, pl. 854. colour: *Persische Weltreich*. **New York MMA L45.56.2** (E.T. Newell coll) (same direction as Berlin FG181 but with garland): Richter, G.M.A., 1949, “The Late ‘Achaemenian’ or ‘Graeco-Persian’ Gems,” in *Commemorative Studies in Honour of Theodore Leslie Shear* (Baltimore: *Hesperia Suppl* VIII). 291-298. pl. 34, 3. **Location?**: Koch 1992, fig.177. **New York MMA 25.78.98**: Richter 1949, pl. 34, 6.

⁵⁴ Cf. Xen. *Symp.* 2.3: myrrh is offered. Total sensory pleasure may be the object.

⁵⁵ Louvre 2829; Assos’ frieze is split between Paris, Boston and Istanbul; Dentzer R66. The early work (Bacon, F.H., J.T. Clarke, R. Koldeway, 1902, *Investigations at Assos 1881-1883* (London) 145-153) is being updated by new investigation. On architecture see Wescoat, Bonna, 1987, “Designing the Temple of Athena at Assos: Some Evidence from the Capitals,” *AJA* 91: 553-568, who promises a complete study. For the iconography, see Wescoat, B., 1995,

symposion (krater, cup-boy with oinochoe, banqueters perhaps reclining in pairs), we find an interesting mixture of drinking vessels.⁵⁶ The (clothed) cup-boy pours from an oinochoe into a flat bowl held Greek-style by the first banqueter; the fact that the banqueter also carries a footed kantharos suggests that the bowl is meant to be a libation phiale.⁵⁷ Not so the vessel held by the third, whose carinated deep bowl is held in the lateral fashion. The final symposiast holds a vessel identified by Dentzer and Paspalas as a characteristically Persian tankard, otherwise attested in Achaemenid Anatolia.⁵⁸ The recent publication of a burial at Assos, dated 450, which included a terracotta statuette of a Persian man as well as three statuettes of naked Greek horsemen, testifies to the cultural mix here a few generations later.⁵⁹

With the symposiasts of Larisa should be compared the drinkers occasionally depicted on East Greek ceramic: both drinking horns and round-bottomed bowls held from below appear on vessels of the second half of the sixth century. On the Milesian amphora from Amathus, the use of metal round-bottomed bowls may well antedate the Persian presence, but

“Wining and Dining on the Temple of Athena at Assos,” in S. C. Scott, ed., *The Art of Interpreting* (University Park: Papers in Art History from The Pennsylvania State University, IX), 293-320, with a series of fine drawings of the whole programme, which includes Herakles and centaurs, Herakles and Triton as well as animal combat groups. Note that Wescoat 1995, 297, reads this as an out-of-doors symposion on *stibadia*; I would tend to see this rather as simple artistic suppression of the klinai. Her logic is partially that a sanctuary (ie. cultic) symposion makes more sense as subject matter, and that symposia in sanctuaries were conducted on *stibades*. I accept the first but not the second principle.

⁵⁶ The arrangement in pairs is suggested only by their gesture and drinking vessels.

⁵⁷ Libations are rarely shown in Greek symposion iconography, as Lissarrague has pointed out: “Un Rituel du Vin,” in Murray and Tecuşan, ed., *In Vino Veritas* (Rome) 126-144.

⁵⁸ Dentzer 235; Paspalas, S.A., 2000, “A Persianizing Cup from Lydia,” *OJA* 19, 135-174: 153-156, no. VI.

⁵⁹ Tolun, Veysel, 2007, “A Persianizing Terracotta Statuette from Assos,” in I. Delemen, O. Casabonne, S. Karagöz, O. Tekin, edd., *The Achaemenid Impact on Local Populations and Cultures in Anatolia, Proceedings of the International Workshop held in Istanbul* (May 2005), (Istanbul), 271-274. I am grateful to Dr. Tolun for the information that the osteological evidence did not permit aging the occupant.

the bowl at the left is carinated.⁶⁰ Here the pipes-player is dressed, as on the Larisa plaques but unlike the naked youth of the Assos frieze.

A series of reliefs linking to the East Greek cultural sphere, of about 530-450 in date, have been seen as the antecedents of the *Totenmahlreliefs* though they clearly bear some genetic relationship with Anatolian funerary iconography, from Paros, Thasos, Athens (of island marble) and Tegea (of local marble and with some Lakonian elements). Each has a reclining banqueter naked but for a himation; a woman enthroned with footstool; and a naked cup-boy. Dentzer comments on their manifest links with the Greek symposion, but with the significant difference that the women play a role of power as on the Anatolian reliefs.⁶¹ For our purposes, the important element is the banqueter's drinking vessel. It is worn away in Paros and Athens, but is most convincingly restored as a shallow bowl held laterally just as is clearly visible in Thasos.

Of all the reliefs in the Greek world that fit into the *Totenmahl* schema whose heyday lies in the fourth century and which carry on for centuries after, one stands out: a relief in Basel said to derive from **Kyzikos**.⁶² Here, within the conventional schema (albeit with a Macedonian / Phrygian helmet among the arms on the wall) a symposiast holds a vessel that may be a drinking horn. More importantly, at the left side, by a krater, stands a naked (in the Greek fashion) cup-boy equipped with oinochoe but holding a drinking bowl on finger-tips. If the declared provenance is correct, Kyzikos' geographical position, as the Greek city closest to

⁶⁰ London 1904.6-1.1, from Kyme, Aeolis, North Ionian deep bowl, Boardman 1998, fig. 349; Altenburg 197, Milesian (Fikellura) amphora, Boardman 1998, fig. 336; Amathus, Milesian (Fikellura) amphora fr. in Nicosia Museum, Boardman 1998, fig. 337.1, 2.

⁶¹ Dentzer discusses 252-262.

⁶² Basel: not in Berger, Ernst, und Reinhard Lullies, 1979-1990, *Antike Kunstwerke aus der Sammlung Ludwig, Basel I-III* (Archäologischer Verlag), but in Blome, P., 1999, *Basel Museum of Ancient Art and Ludwig Collection* (Zurich), fig. 154.

Daskyleion, is probably significant.⁶³ Even if the alleged provenance is wrong, the stele must come from somewhere in the intercultural zone of West Anatolia.

A quick summary before proceeding: the evidence suggests that the practice of holding a drinking bowl on three fingers was an Achaemenid Persian refinement of an older Assyrian manner of drinking. While it is not clear whether the Persians themselves followed the practice of reclining to dine and to drink (the seals and stele of Djedherbes perhaps argue against it), the appearance across the western empire of banqueting scenes in which drinking vessels are held on fingertips suggests that all examples share a common social model in Persian practice.⁶⁴

The banquet scenes frequently occur among other types that advertise an elite life-style (including notably warfare and hunting). While the local ceramic traditions of western Anatolia favoured drinking vessels with handles and bases, the art of the Persian period suggests that round-bottomed bowls became the norm, regardless of whether they were grasped from below or balanced on fingertips. (Sardis especially disappoints in its reluctance to yield clear iconographic evidence, especially in the late sixth / early fifth centuries).

In her important work on Sardis in the Persian period, Dusinger observed a shift of preferred drinking vessel: the Achaemenid carinated bowl shape begins to appear in significant amounts in deposits of the fifth century. Dusinger argued that the shift of drinking vessel reflected a deliberate effort on the people of Sardis to advertise their imperial affiliation by

⁶³ Note that Kaptan identified parallels between the coinage of Kyzikos and some of the bullae of Daskyleion. Kaptan, D., 2002, *The Daskyleion Bullae: Seal Images from the Western Achaemenid Empire* (Leiden: Achaemenid History XII) I, p.185.

⁶⁴ A precise range of mixing bowls is visible, eg.: (1) a dinos on a stand (metal or other): Aksakal stele (Istanbul 5763); Larisa frieze; Paros relief (Paros 595); Thasos relief (Istanbul). (2) a krater, as in mainland Greece: Assos frieze. (3) a large carinated bowl, akin to a krater but lacking handles: possibly Stele of Adda; Çavuşköy stele (Istanbul 1502), possibly Muradiye stele (Bursa); Sardis pediment; Stele of Djedherbes; possibly Ödemiş stele (Izmir 4338). The North Ionian deep bowl from Kyme in London (1904.6-1.1) may be a version of such a vessel (Boardman 1998, fig. 349).

adopting a new drinking practice.⁶⁵ It is an attractive theory, and the fluidity and contingency of cultural definition is increasingly appreciated. Yet I worry that the evidence – the adoption of new vessel forms – could be simply an instance of prestige goods attraction and need not signify real change in social praxis, especially as the traditional stemmed and handled cups continue within the ceramic repertoire.⁶⁶ I would argue that the combination shape + praxis must convey more meaning (and deliberately) than shape-adoption alone. The iconography must be pressed into service where possible, regardless of its ostensible ancient function (funerary monument / building decoration / votive relief).

2. Diacritical Drinking

Anthropological investigations of the many social, political and economic functions of feasting within societies has gone on for some time, but focus on drinking is a comparative late-comer to modern scholarship.⁶⁷ If feasting style is a locus of cultural definition, so too should be drinking style. Recent scholarship focuses on the importance of place, time, group, and order, all of which play a role in constructing community definition, whether the community is an Irish pub (Wilson) or a Mexican village (Ayora-Diaz).⁶⁸

⁶⁵ Dusinberre, E.R., 1999, "Satrapal Sardis: Achaemenid Bowls in an Achaemenid Capital," *AJA* 103: 73-102. Dusinberre, E.R.M., 2003, *Aspects of Empire in Achaemenid Sardis* (Cambridge), 172-195.

⁶⁶ In this context, the worrying criticism that Dusinberre under-appreciated the importance of the difference in clay fabric between the "Persian bowls" of Sardis and other local fine-ware pottery should be noted: A. Ramage, *BMCR* 2004.02.21.

⁶⁷ The pioneer is Heath, D.B., 1976, "Anthropological Perspectives on alcohol: an historical review," in M. Everett, et al., ed., *Cross-cultural approaches to the study of alcohol: an interdisciplinary perspective* (The Hague) 41-101; also Douglas, M., 1987, "A Distinctive Anthropological Perspective," in M. Douglas, ed., *Constructive Drinking: Perspectives on Drinking from Anthropology* (Cambridge).

⁶⁸ Wilson, Thomas M., 2005, *Drinking Cultures* (Oxford/New York) offers a variety of papers including those by Wilson and Ayora-Diaz. Heath 1987, 109 succinctly summarises a range of studies on contrasting alcohol use related to age, sex, religion, and so on.

After a period of intense examination, the Greek symposion has fallen away of late as a topic of classical scholarship.⁶⁹ This is curious, as the more recent upsurge of interest in “feasting” practice in the prior bronze age and in more distant cultures continues to offer heuristic insight.⁷⁰ The idea that social solidarity is both expressed and shaped by drinking convention lies behind our understanding of the role of the symposion in archaic Greek society.⁷¹ We can see the Greek symposion both bound its participants socially and, at least in the archaic period, distinguished those who had the material wherewithal to support the practice in terms of material goods and leisure. We have hints in Greek poetry that show pretty clearly that the different manners of drinking conveyed to the encoded viewer a political allegiance: “Spartan” drinking could serve as a metaphor for political allegiance.⁷²

Dietler’s investigations into the impact of foreign drinking practice on a population as part of his study of the role and impact of Mediterranean wine imported into iron age southern France and Hallstatt Germany led him to observe:⁷³

Foreign drinking customs, as opposed to forms of drink alone, will most often be adopted for their symbolic potential, in either a diacritical or associative sense. That is, exotic drinking practices may be employed to symbolically differentiate groups, categories, or classes within a society ... or to provide a symbolic link between groups.

⁶⁹ Murray, O., ed., 1990, *Symptotica. A Symposium on the Symposion* (Oxford), has a rich bibliography to date, including his own many important contributions. Slater, W. J., ed., 1991, *Dining in a Classical Context* (Ann Arbor). Murray, O., and M. Tecuşan, eds., 1995, *In vino veritas* (Rome).

⁷⁰ James C. Wright (ed.), 2004, *The Mycenaean Feast* (Princeton) = *Hesperia* 73:2 (2004) (note especially Wright’s excellent introductory essay). Halstead, P., and J.C. Barrett, eds., 2004, *Food, Cuisine and Society in Prehistoric Greece* (Sheffield Studies in Aegean Archaeology 5). Tzedakis, Y., and H. Martlew, eds., 1999, *Minoans and Mycenaeans: Flavours of Their Time* (Athens NM Exhibition). Also note that feasting was the topic of the most recent Aegeum conference (Melbourne February 2008).

⁷¹ The seminal work on this is Murray, O., 1983, “The Greek Symposion in History,” in E. Gabba, ed., *Tria Corda. Scritte in onore di Arnaldo Momigliano* (Como). 257-272.

⁷² Critias ap. Athen. 10.432D (6 D.-K.) contrasts the Lakonian and Lydian (in Athens) modes of drinking, with respective political cultures a sub-text that lay very close to the surface. Known to me from P. Wilson’s review of A. Iannucci, 2002, *La Parola e l’Azione: I Frammenti Simposiali di Crizia* (Bologna) in *BMCR* 2004.09.16.

⁷³ Dietler, M., 1990, “Driven by Drink: The Role of Drinking in the Political Economy and the Case of Early Iron Age France,” *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 9, 352-406: 377; with extensive references to comparative studies.

“Associative drinking” is drinking practices that unite and define a group. “Diacritical drinking” is drinking practices that deliberately articulate differences as a means of clarifying distinction. Diacritical practices reported usually relate to gender, social class, age-group. I am most interested in drinking practises that declare affiliation to an external entity beyond the local social group within the Persian Empire.

Sympotic practice in Anatolia of the late sixth to fourth centuries would seem, on the evidence of both drinking vessels and iconography, to have been varied, and varied significantly at that. Handling a bowl in fingertips was one of a range of possibilities for any individual drinker (or commissioning art patron). It is a reasonable presumption that when the drinking mode was adopted in West Anatolian art, it was *because* it was the Persian way of doing things.

3. Karaburun II West Wall

It is time to re-examine the “dynast” whose majestic form dominates the west wall of the tomb at Karaburun. Who is he? Jacobs has made a number of strong arguments that the “dynast” is a Persian. He points to the carefully arranged tendrils of his beard and locks of hair, a painterly equivalent to the royal and aristocratic beards of Persepolis. The dynast’s jewellery (round earring and animal-terminal bracelet) are undeniably Persian in style. Jacobs also argues convincingly that the dynast’s garment must be the Persian *kypassis*, according to Jacobs’ (equally convincing) reconstruction of it; the crucial detail is the separation of front and back panels in the arm area.⁷⁴ Moreover, Mellink had already observed that the decorative border along the selvage at the arm is perfectly paralleled by the border on the ivory statuette from

⁷⁴ Jacobs, B., 1994, “Drei Beiträge zu Fragen der Rüstung und Bekleidung in Persien zur Achämenidenzeit,” *Iranica Antiqua* 29, 126-167: 126-135 on the *kypassis*; Boardman, J., 1994, *The Diffusion of Classical Art in Antiquity* (Princeton) 40, concurs that a Persian may have occupied the tomb.

Susa: eight-petal rosettes between strips of small red triangles.⁷⁵ The Karaburun dynast's context of drinking – on an Eastern metal kline attended by men in Persian dress, with Persian utensils, holding bowls on fingertips – also supports a Persian identification.⁷⁶ The “diadem” with its small beads along the bottom edge and pointed beads at the top remains unparalleled.⁷⁷

Yet there are also arguments that support Mellink's view that the dynast is a native Lycian who is “Persizing.”⁷⁸ Most compelling, in my view, is the fact that the tomb itself fits within the local tradition in tomb construction (a chamber constructed of stone slabs, covered over with a tumulus) and manner of burial (so far as the latter can be ascertained in view of the mess the ancient robbers made of the interior). The fact that he reclines cannot be used one way or the other in view of the uncertainty over Persian practice.

One further argument for a Lycian identification might, however, be adduced: that of gesture. The “dynast” extends his right arm towards his attendants, with the wrist flexed, rather like the modern gesture for “stop” (which of course it is not). It is not an easy way to hold the hand and so should be viewed as meaningful rather than accidental. Mellink reasonably suggested that it is a gesture of command directed to the attendants.⁷⁹ I was surprised recently to observe the same gesture on an Attic red-figure cup with symposium scene, and also on an oinochoe. In fact the gesture appears on some 15 Attic red-figured vessels of ca. 520-460, all in sympotic contexts.⁸⁰ They have been variously interpreted, each

⁷⁵ Louvre Sb 3728/9188: Mellink 1972, 266. Amiet, P., 1972, “Les Ivoires Achéménides de Susa,” *Syria* 49, 168-191: 173-174, pl. IV.4a-c. Spycket, A., 1980, “Women in Persian Art,” *Ancient Persia: The Art of an Empire* (Malibu) pl. XXI.

⁷⁶ Best photo *AJA* 1972, pl. 59, fig. 20.

⁷⁷ Mellink 1972, 266.

⁷⁸ Mellink 1979, 493: “Il est évident que l'homme enseveli à Karaburun était un ami officiel des satrapes achéménides, on pourrait même dire, du point de vue lycien ou grec, qu'il était un collaborateur.” The iconographical argument for Lycian is clearest on the battle frieze of the North wall.

⁷⁹ Mellink 1979, 489 “un geste impérieux;” Mellink 1971, 252: “his right hand is raised in a gesture to the attendants facing him.”

⁸⁰ For knowledge of which I am very grateful to Tim McNiven with his extraordinary catalogue of gesture. The two specified are: London E68, Attic RF cup, Brygos Ptr., *ARV* 371.24, 1649; *Para* 365; Boardman, *ARVA* fig. 253.1. Basel BS 1921.363, Attic RF, oinochoe

according to its own context; the precise meaning of the gesture remains unclear. However, the parallel is real. I would not want to suggest that the tomb painter was Attic or that he was “influenced” by Attic symposium scenes. I suspect rather, that the gesture is one in common idiom around the Aegean Sea, just like nodding up to signify “no”. If so, the language of gesture would identify the banqueter as Lycian.

Whoever commissioned the painting insisted on painstaking accuracy on points of detail relating to the banqueting style of the Persian elite in Anatolia. The Karaburun dynast is portrayed engaged in an act of self-association with Persians. The manner of drinking declares an adoption of lifestyle, a level of emulation beyond the mere ownership of vessels in the Persian manner:⁸¹ it declares cultural affiliation.

The same statement of affiliation can be found elsewhere, but with different accents. Whereas the drinkers on the Assos frieze use a mixture of West Anatolian and Persian vessels, their drinking style is unremarkably Greek. Their incorporation of prestige vessels does not challenge their Greekness. In contrast, the grieving family who, about 500, commissioned the stele for Phrygian Manes in the area of Daskyleion made a clear statement of cultural allegiance, even self-identity with the Persian masters of the empire for all that their names reveal their local ethnicity.⁸² Then again, the bicultural (Egyptian and Persian) family of Djedherbes in Egypt deliberately evoked both traditions in juxtaposing an Egyptian funerary scene with a Persian fingertips-drinking scene, but without certainty of who the Persian-looking enthroned man is meant to be, their level of engagement is not clear.

Where we run into difficulty is in trying to ascertain the relative social standing of (say) these three from Hellenistic Phrygia, Lycia, and Egypt; they were each well enough

Va, Harrow Ptr., ca. 470, *ARV* 276.79, Schefold, K., 1956, *Basler Antiken im Bild (Basler Zeitschrift)* ii pl. 24a; *CVA* Basel 3, Switzerland 7.

⁸¹ As, for example, the goods of the Ikiztepe tomb of Lydia attest: Özgen, İ., and Öztürk, J., 1996, *Heritage Recovered: The Lydian Treasure* (Ankara).

⁸² When our knowledge of Phrygian is more advanced, we may hope for more information from the stele’s inscription.

endowed that a permanent funerary marker could be produced for them, but only the Lycian received a whole built tomb (admittedly, neither Manes' nor Djedherbes' stele was found in situ; the latter is presumed to be a member of the elite). The Karaburun dynast's social standing, as commander of troops who battled Greeks, surely put him to some degree in company with the Persian "dominant ethno-class" of Anatolia. The case is not so clear for Manes (and his peers) who might best be described as upper middle class; others in the wider region of Daskyleion had built tombs and/or sculpted stone sarcophagi, to judge from the discoveries at Çan and Gümüşçay, which might indicate a higher social notch.

The patron of the Kyzikos relief perhaps tried to have it both ways, in combining a Greek krater and oinochoe with a (nude) cupboy holding a bowl in the Persian manner; in this case, however, the cupboy might just be a status symbol, like a Dresden tea service. The relief is probably later in date than those of Djedherbes and Manes and perhaps therefore is best read as advanced interculturalism, the result of generations of co-habitation. Are we to read the sympotic style as Persian or Greek? It will depend on our point of reference. A Persian witness would be shocked at the nudity of the boy; Asian attendants, including West Anatolian, are almost universally dressed. An Athenian witness would have been taken aback at the fingertips-handling.

According to Plutarch, when the Spartan Lysander found Ephesos "barbarised" late in the fifth century, it was their *customs* that particularly struck him rather than their attitudes or their dress (Plut., *Lys.* 3.3):

<Λύσανδρος> γενόμενος δ' ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, καὶ τὴν πόλιν εὐρῶν εὖνουν μὲν αὐτῷ καὶ λακωνίζουσιν προθυμότατα, πράττουσιν δὲ τότε λυπρῶς καὶ κινδυνεύουσιν ἔκβαρβαρωθῆναι τοῖς Περσικοῖς ἔθεσι διὰ τὰς ἐπιμιξίας, ἅτε δὴ τῆς Λυδίας περικεχυμένης καὶ τῶν βασιλικῶν στρατηγῶν αὐτόθι τὰ πολλὰ διατριβόντων

Lysander having come to Ephesos, and finding that the city was well-disposed to him and ardently lakonizing, but doing poorly and in danger of being thoroughly barbarised by Persian manners owing to the mingling, in as much as it was encircled by Lydia and the King's generals used to spend a lot of time there...

Quite possibly the sympotic practice was one of those “barbarised” customs. Definite proof we do not yet have, but the ranges of evidence suggest that when a person within the Achaemenid Empire wanted to flag affiliation to the “dominant ethno-class”, how he held his drinking-bowl was one clear way to do it. That it was not “required” is equally clear.