

# ANCIENT NEAR EASTERN STUDIES

SUPPLEMENT 51

## OF VINES AND WINES

The Production and Consumption of Wine  
in Anatolian Civilizations through the Ages

Edited by

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## CONTENTS

Introduction. . . . .	1
Lucienne THYS-ŞENOCAK and Evangelia BALTA	
Turkey: The Birthplace of Wine?. . . . .	9
Patrick MCGOVERN	
A Vinicultural History of Tur ‘Abdin’ . . . . .	21
Mark SOILEAU	
Wine and Vineyards in the Hittite Kingdom: A Case Study of Northern Anatolia and the Southern Black Sea Coast . . . . .	41
Carlo CORTI	
Banqueting in Western Anatolia: Dynastic Lifestyle Under Persian Rule. . . . .	61
Alessandro POGGIO	
Pramnios Wine and Pramnian Wines. . . . .	83
Stavroula KOURAKOU-DRAGONA	
The Sweet Wine of Bithynia in the Byzantine Era . . . . .	93
Ilias ANAGNOSTAKIS	
Wine in the Public Discourse and Banqueting Practices of the Early Ottomans . .	119
Oleksandr HALENKO	
From <i>Ypolonion</i> to <i>Bolum</i> : The Viticultural Transition in Cappadocia through Ottoman Sources and Oral Tradition . . . . .	155
Evangelia BALTA	
A French View of the Ottoman-Turkish Wine Market, 1890-1925 . . . . .	169
Edhem ELDEM	
Cultural Heritage and Cultural Routes: Wine in Turkey Today . . . . .	211
Lucienne THYS-ŞENOCAK	

## BANQUETING IN WESTERN ANATOLIA: DYNASTIC LIFESTYLE UNDER THE PERSIAN RULE<sup>1</sup>

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Themistocles, the Athenian who led the Greeks to victory against the Persians in the battle of Salamis, finally took refuge with the Persian King, who granted him various privileges, according to the fifth century BCE historian Thucydides:

There is a monument of him [Themistocles] in the agora of the Asiatic Magnesia, where he was governor – the King assigning to him, for bread, Magnesia, which produced a revenue of fifty talents in the year; for wine, Lampsacus, which was considered to be the richest in wine of any district then known; and Myus for meat.<sup>2</sup>

The fame of Lampsacus, situated on the Asian side of the Hellespont, was not isolated. Literary sources and archaeological evidence witness the importance played by vine and wine in various areas of Western Anatolia between the sixth and the fourth centuries BCE, which is the period of the Persian domination.<sup>3</sup> Ancient authors stress the abundance of viticulture (Thphr. *HP* IV 5 4) and wine (X. *Cyr.* VI 2 22) in Lydia, and archaeological finds seem to confirm the popularity of wine-drinking in Sardis.<sup>4</sup>

With regard to imagery, drinking activity was represented in Western Anatolia between the sixth and the fourth centuries BCE both in religious and funerary contexts.<sup>5</sup> In mainland Greece, on the contrary, such depictions appeared mainly on pottery. Although I shall focus mainly on the fourth century, the earlier phases are worth mentioning here. In Archaic Ionia drinking vessels—notably horns—were a typical feature in the free-standing sculptures depicting reclining figures, widespread throughout the second half of the sixth century BCE in Eastern Greek sanctuaries.<sup>6</sup> The earliest and most famous case is that of the Geneleos Group (ca. 560 BCE) as seen in **Fig. 1** from the Heraion of Samos; here the male figure is reclining on a wineskin holding a horn in his hand.<sup>7</sup> Contemporary archaic Greek poetry

<sup>1</sup> Abbreviations for Greek authors and works follow H. G. Liddell and R. Scott, *Greek-English Lexicon*, 9th ed., rev. by H. Stuart Jones and others. With a revised supplement. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996. Abbreviations for Latin authors and works follow S. Hornblower and A. Spawforth (eds.), *Oxford classical dictionary*, 4th ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.

<sup>2</sup> Th. I 138 5. Translation by Jowett 1900, p. 94. For comments on this passage, Gomme 1945, pp. 292 and 445; see also Hornblower 1991, p. 224; Frost 1980, pp. 219–223; Briant 1985, pp. 58–59.

<sup>3</sup> McGovern 2003, chaps. 8 and 10–11. On drinking practices and behaviours in Achaemenid Anatolia, see Miller (2011a) and Dusinberre (2013, pp. 114–140).

<sup>4</sup> Dusinberre 2003, pp. 93–95 (funerary sculpture) and 173–174 (vessels). Moreover, the tomb at Aktepe in Lydia (ca. 525–500 BCE) had a monolithic limestone burial couch in form of a *kline* (Baughan 2010 and 2013, pp. 112–115). For the agricultural aspect in Lydia, see Roosevelt (2009, pp. 49–52). For an overview of the ancient sources on wine, see V. Chapot, in *Dar.-Sag.*, 'Vinum'; Brock and Wirtjes 2000, pp. 464–465.

<sup>5</sup> Baughan 2011 and 2013; Draycott 2016. I refer to these contributions for a comprehensive analysis and the complete bibliography.

<sup>6</sup> Fehr 1971, p. 125.

<sup>7</sup> Freyer-Schauenburg 1974, pp. 116–123; see also Walter-Karydi 1985, pp. 95–97; Baughan 2011, pp. 20–22.



Fig. 1. Geneleos Group, reclining figure. Vathy, Archaeological Museum of Samos, inv. no. 768. D-DAI-ATH-1970-1096.

gives evidence of the establishment of the symposium as an aristocratic practice.<sup>8</sup> In this ritualised social event the participants, specifically male citizens belonging to the aristocratic elites (*aristoi*), drank together after the meal proper as equals, following exact procedures. For instance, the correct way to consume the wine—a fundamental element of the private luxury displayed by the elites—was to mix it with water.<sup>9</sup> A statue from Didyma (ca. 540–530 BCE), the site of a famous Temple of Apollo, represents a figure reclining in a position similar to that of the figure of the Geneleos Group, holding not only a drinking horn, but also grapes.<sup>10</sup> The value placed on drinking activities in sacral contexts is not surprising if we consider the close connection between the symposium and the religious sphere in archaic Greek poetry.<sup>11</sup>

The most important example of architecture decorated with a sympotic theme in sixth century Western Anatolia is the epistyle relief of the temple of Athena at Assos (ca. 530 BCE;

<sup>8</sup> For the relationship between symposium and Greek poetry, see West (1974, pp. 11–12); see also Murray 1984, p. 264; Della Bianca and Beta 2002, pp. 27–42; Budelmann and Power 2013.

<sup>9</sup> Kurke (1992, p. 96) analyses the elements of the aristocratic lifestyle in the archaic societies. For the phenomenon of symposium, see Hobden (2009), Catoni (2010), and Schmitt Pantel (2012, with bibliography).

<sup>10</sup> Tuchelt 1976, pp. 58–60 and Figs. 4–5; Baughan 2011, p. 23. For vines in Ionia, see Greaves (2010, pp. 72–73).

<sup>11</sup> See, for instance, the Ionian poet Xenophanes of Colophon (Ath. XI 7 (462c–463a) = Xenoph. fr. B 1 West<sup>2</sup>), who lived between the sixth and the fifth centuries BCE. For banquets within sacral contexts, see Lohmann (2012).



Fig. 2. Temple of Athena at Assos, epistyle relief. Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. Ma2829. photo © RMN-Grand Palais (musée du Louvre) / Hervé Lewandowski.

Fig. 2), in the Troad. Along with other themes it was decorated with a scene showing four men who are served by a boy reclining, apparently, on the ground and using a great variety of vessels. As stressed by scholars, here the importance of drinking is evident thanks to the absence of food, and at the same time the presence of the crater on the left.<sup>12</sup> The crater, in fact, being the vessel for mixing wine with water and the starting point for the distribution of the beverage, was a symbol of the equal status shared by the participants, and of the symposium itself.<sup>13</sup> If one follows the convention of reading the relief from left to right, here the crater has the first position within the scene.

Quite different is the role of the *deinos*, a mixing vessel standing on a tripod, depicted on a stele from Daskyleion, in Mysia, and dating to the end of the sixth century; it is part of a well-defined corpus, the so-called Graeco-Persian stelai (Fig. 3).<sup>14</sup> The lower register depicts a single man ('monoposias') reclining on a *kline*—a couch used in symposiastic contexts—and surrounded by his wife and two servants, one in charge of the food (on the left) and one of the wine (on the right).<sup>15</sup> The 'monoposias' banquet is a peculiar feature of the Graeco-Persian stelai, and its combination with other various iconographies such as parades and hunts speaks in favour of the representation of a particular social status. Here the main vessel does not seem to be the symbol of an institutionalised event such as the symposium proper, but is shown as part of the household furnishings, which along with servants, contribute to convey a picture of wealth and luxury enjoyed by the deceased.<sup>16</sup>

As we have mentioned, these depictions were intended to show a social standard to which the deceased wanted to associate himself. Also the occurrence of the fan-bearer seems to be connected to this purpose. This particular servant appears, between the sixth and the

<sup>12</sup> Baughan 2011, p. 29; see also Miller 2011a, p. 113; Wescoat 2012, pp. 164–173.

<sup>13</sup> This vessel was so rich with symbolic meanings and cultural associations that it featured prominently in the figurative decoration of many Greek vases connected with symposia (Lissarrague 1990).

<sup>14</sup> For this corpus, see Kubala 2003. For the stelai from Daskyleion, see Nollé 1992, esp. pp. 79–88 for the banquet theme.

<sup>15</sup> Pfuhl and Möbius 1977, pp. 9–10 no. 4; see also Dentzer 1982, pp. 271–276 (cat. R 69); Nollé 1992, pp. 16–19.

<sup>16</sup> Fabricius 1999, pp. 33–38.



Fig. 3. Stele from Daskyleion. Istanbul, Archaeological Museums, inv. no. 5763. D-DAI-IST-68/89 (W. Schiele).

fifth centuries BCE, on two Graeco-Persian stelai from Daskyleion and Altıntaş, in Phrygia, and in two funerary decorations from Lycia in southwestern Anatolia, the relief from Tüse, showing a ‘double banquet’ scene composed of two participants occupying their own *kline* (Fig. 4), and the painted funerary chamber of the Karaburun II tomb, with a ‘monoposiasit’ (Fig. 5).<sup>17</sup> Interestingly, however, in this phase, large vessels such as craters, or *deinoi*, are completely absent in the depictions from Lycia, a region characterized by a rich visual culture from the sixth through fourth century BCE.<sup>18</sup>

A clear change occurred in Lycia in the fourth century BCE, when banquet scenes modelled after those of the Greek symposium, showing more than two participants reclining in pairs, began to be depicted. This multi-participant reclining motif appears in two relevant dynastic funerary contexts dating to the first half of the fourth century BCE: the Nereid Monument of Xanthos and the Heroon of Trysa.<sup>19</sup> I would like to analyse here the Nereid Monument in detail.

The marble temple-like tomb standing on a limestone podium was erected at the southern edge of the site of Xanthos, the most important settlement in the region. This monumental tomb belonged to one local ruler and was richly decorated by sculpted friezes and pediments, and free-standing sculptures.<sup>20</sup> Although the long frieze decorating the northern wall of the cella is not entirely preserved, we can detect that the scene consists of ten *klinai* and eighteen symposiasts, sixteen of whom recline in pairs on eight *klinai*, while two are reclining separately on their individual couch—perhaps a new and enlarged version of the ‘double banquet’ which we have already found on the tomb from Tüse (Figs. 6–10).<sup>21</sup> At first glance the gathering at Xanthos resembles a Greek symposium, since the subject is clearly about drinking as shown by the presence of the crater on the left in the slab BM 898 (Fig. 6).<sup>22</sup> Nevertheless, only the general atmosphere of the symposium theme is maintained, since several details refer to the local ideology.

<sup>17</sup> Stele from Daskyleion: Gusmani and Polat 1999. Stele from Altıntaş: Dentzer 1982, pp. 268–271 (cat. R 63) and Fig. 319. Tomb from Tüse: Geppert 1998; Marksteiner 2002, p. 271; Draycott 2007, pp. 113–114. Karaburun II tomb: Mellink 1973, pp. 297–301; Mellink 1974a, pp. 355–359; Mellink 1974b, pp. 546–547; Miller 2010. Poorly preserved is the banquet on the west wall in the painted tomb at Kızılbél, in northern Lycia, dating to ca. 530 BCE (Mellink 1998, pp. 25–30). One of the servants on the stele from Ödemiş (Lydia) holds a fan or a mirror (Borchhardt 1968, p. 209; Dentzer 1982, p. 267; see also Roosevelt 2009, p. 252 no. 19.2.A and Fig. 6.20).

<sup>18</sup> For the iconography of banquet in Lycia, see Tofi (2006) and Lockwood (2016). Miller (2011b, p. 326) points out the presence in Lycia of ceramic versions of Persian metal ware bowls.

<sup>19</sup> For the Nereid Monument, see Childs 1973; Childs and Demargne 1989, especially pp. 202–209 for these slabs; Prost 2012. For the Heroon of Trysa, Benndorf and Niemann 1889; Eichler 1950; Childs 1976; Bérard 1988; Oberleitner 1994; Poggio 2007; Barringer 2008, pp. 171–202; Landskron 2008, 2011 and 2015. At Trysa two friezes depicting paired banqueters and servants (upper register), and dancers and musicians (lower register), decorated the inner southeastern corner, where a wooden structure perhaps aimed at hosting celebrations in honour of the deceased existed (Benndorf and Niemann 1889, pp. 175–180; Eichler 1950, pp. 72–74; Oberleitner 1994, pp. 48–51).

<sup>20</sup> For the identification of the owner see Keen (1992, p. 59).

<sup>21</sup> For a detailed description of the banquet on the Nereid Monument, see Dentzer (1982, pp. 415–419, cat. R 50) and Childs and Demargne (1989, pp. 202–209, with the related plates). For further considerations, see Nieswandt 1995; Ebbinghaus 2000; Tofi 2006, pp. 837–838. For additional examples of fourth-century BCE Lycian ‘double banquets’, see Dentzer 1982, pp. 396–397 (cat. R 36 and 38).

<sup>22</sup> According to Dentzer (1982, p. 416), a second crater was placed on the right of BM 900. In the Heroon of Trysa, instead, in the proximity of the banquet scene, on the eastern wall, preparation for food may be depicted (Bruns-Özgan 1987, p. 251).

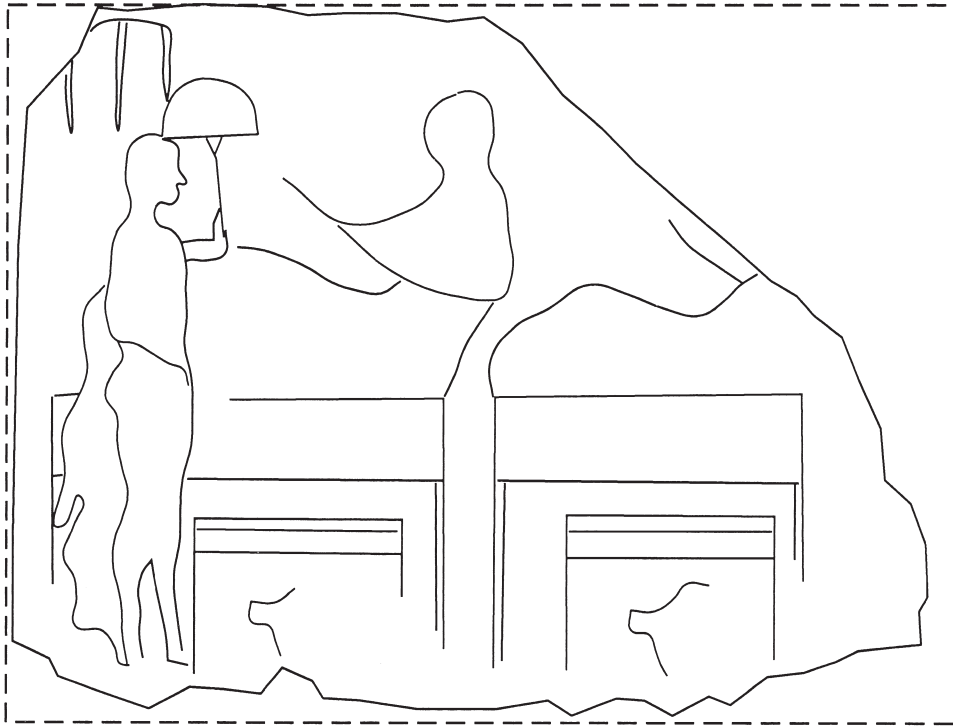


Fig. 4. Banquet relief from Tüse, drawing. Courtesy of Karin Geppert.



Fig. 5. Karaburun II, main wall. © Bryn Mawr College (MJM-04204).  
Photographed by Machteld Johanna Mellink.





Fig. 6. Nereid Monument from Xanthos, cella frieze. London, British Museum, inv. no. 1848,1020.98. © The British Museum.



Fig. 7. Nereid Monument from Xanthos, cella frieze. London, British Museum, inv. no. 1848,1020.99. © The British Museum.



Fig. 8. Nereid Monument from Xanthos, cella frieze. London, British Museum, inv. no. 1848,1020.100. © The British Museum.

As to the large number of *klinai* and symposiasts, on the Nereid Monument, the participants are not of equal social status.<sup>23</sup> One of the single reclining men can be identified as the main protagonist, probably the dynast himself, because he is portrayed with larger proportions than the other figures and with various special attributes (slab BM 903; **Fig. 9**).<sup>24</sup> The identification of this character as the dynast is fundamental since it allows the exploration of court ritual in greater detail.<sup>25</sup>

The figure wears a long beard and his head is crowned with a diadem; a dog is crouched beneath his *kline*.<sup>26</sup> One foot rests on a pillow; he holds in his hands a sumptuous rhyton and a bowl, and he is depicted frontally.<sup>27</sup> This wealth of attributes was intended to assist in the recognition of the dynast and is connected with the question of visibility. The role played by the principal figure in the composition of the scene is also significant since he is shown surrounded by his counsellor and his retinue of servants.<sup>28</sup>

The other single banqueter on the slab BM 902 (**Fig. 10**) could be considered as a member of the dynastic family too, because he is also depicted surrounded by servants and represented on a larger scale than the surrounding guests.<sup>29</sup> Noteworthy is the large number of servitors on the Nereid Monument, at least thirteen, who are depicted according to a precise hierarchy like the banqueters. For instance, the standing figure in BM 903 seems to be a butler as he is giving orders to two servants who are hurrying to serve the dynast (**Fig. 9**). This phenomenon of visual hierarchy in Lycian convivial contexts is not exclusive to the Nereid Monument and can be seen on the contemporary Salas tomb from Cadyanda, near Caria. Here, too, a single symposiast, the focus of the image and possibly Salas's wife, is surrounded by others reclining in pairs.<sup>30</sup>

On the basis of the attention to elaborate etiquette and court hierarchy one can draw an analogy to the Persian central court, which was the political reference of fourth-century BCE

<sup>23</sup> Ebbinghaus 2000, p. 101.

<sup>24</sup> For this interpretation see Demargne 1976, p. 92; Eichler 1950, p. 37; Bruns-Özgan 1987, p. 250; Nieswandt 1995, p. 134; Ebbinghaus 2000, p. 106; Tofi 2006, p. 838. Borchhardt, after sharing this opinion (1968, p. 188), interpreted the reclining character on BM 903 as the Great King and the person who speaks to him as the dynast of Xanthos (1985, p. 359).

<sup>25</sup> Murray 1996, p. 15.

<sup>26</sup> On the eastern pediment (Childs and Demargne 1989, Pl. 140, Fig. 1) of the monument as well, the dynast is portrayed with a dog beneath his seat: here the animal, therefore, appears to be a sign of the ruler's status. For the figure of the dynast the model of the heroic banquet on Greek votive reliefs was employed (Childs and Demargne 1989, pp. 285 note 156 and 360). See, for instance, the relief from Piraeus (Dentzer 1982, pp. 340–341 (cat. R 221); Kaltsas 2002, p. 138 no. 264).

<sup>27</sup> For a detailed analysis of the rhyta on this frieze, see Ebbinghaus (2000, p. 101). See also Simpson (2005, p. 107). On the typology, see Manassero (2008 and 2010).

<sup>28</sup> Moreover, according to Demargne (Childs and Demargne 1989, pp. 249–250) slab BM 903 was placed at the centre of the frieze; Ebbinghaus (2000, p. 100), instead, stresses that BM 903 may be placed at the western end of the frieze with BM 902.

<sup>29</sup> Childs and Demargne 1989, p. 285; Jenkins 2006, p. 196. According to Nieswandt (1995, pp. 132–133), BM 902 does not belong to the main banquet frieze. The depiction of paired banqueters appeared on Greek votive reliefs as well at the beginning of the 4th century BCE (Thönges-Stringaris 1965, p. 88 no. 138; Nieswandt 1995, p. 133).

<sup>30</sup> Dentzer 1982, pp. 398–401 (cat. R 31) and Figs. 214–217. Tofi (2006, p. 837) underlines that the representation on the Salas tomb shows the influences both of Greek and local customs.



Fig. 9. Nereid Monument from Xanthos, cella frieze. London, British Museum, inv. no 1848,1020.97. © The British Museum.



Fig. 10. Nereid Monument from Xanthos, cella frieze. London, British Museum, inv. no 1848,1020.96. © The British Museum.

Western Anatolia.<sup>31</sup> Here the royal meal was—as underlined by scholars—a social and political event, related also to the redistribution of commodities within the court.<sup>32</sup>

Below is a passage from Athenaeus, which is based on the fourth-century historian Heraclides of Cumae:

Some of those who dine with the King eat outside, and anyone who wants to can see them, whereas others eat inside with the King. But even they do not eat in his company; instead, there are two rooms opposite one another, and the King has lunch in one and his guests in the other. The King can see them through the curtain that covers the door, but they cannot see him. Occasionally, however, when a festival is going on, they all dine in a single room, that is the large one, which the King occupies. Whenever the King has a drinking party (and he does this often), a dozen people generally join him. After they are done with dinner, the King all alone by himself and his guests separately, one of the eunuchs summons the men who are going to drink with him. After they come in, they drink in his company, although not the same wine; they do this sitting on the floor, whereas he lies on a couch with gold feet. And after they get very drunk, they leave.<sup>33</sup>

In accordance with the relevant role of feasting and conviviality in defining social hierarchies in ancient societies, all the participants in the Persian royal meals were part of a precise *mise-en-scène*: the Great King occupied a distinct position, probably also for reasons of security, while the different rank of the other participants was indicated by their position during the convivial event.<sup>34</sup>

Moreover, it is worth noting that the aforementioned text of Athenaeus refers to the Persian symposium as an event in which the king was able to drink wine in the company of a few privileged persons. The frieze from Xanthos, focused on drinking, may depict this very situation in Lycia. In addition, Athenaeus' passage refers that the Great King enjoyed a wine produced expressly for him, while further varieties were normally available.<sup>35</sup> This information, which can be found in other Greek authors, witnesses that wine itself played a precise role in stressing a strict hierarchy within the court. The importance of this beverage within Persian royal meals, however, is not only testified by Greek literary sources (Polyaen. IV 3 32, for instance), but it seems to be confirmed also by the tablets from the Fortifica-

<sup>31</sup> For the imitation of the Great King's customs in the satrapal centres, see X. *Cyr.* VIII 6 10; Briant 1996, pp. 357–359.

<sup>32</sup> Lenfant 2009, p. 283; Henkelman 2010, p. 40. See also Simpson 2005, p. 110. It is worth mentioning that banquets and drinking-parties played an important role in other fourth-century BCE dynastic societies in the Mediterranean, such as Macedonia (Nielsen 1994, p. 83; Tsibidou-Avloniti 2002, pp. 93–95; Cohen 2010, p. 28; Kottaridi 2011).

<sup>33</sup> Ath. IV 26 (145b–d) = *FGrH* 689 F 2. Translation by Olson 2006, pp. 193 and 195. See Lenfant (2009, pp. 277–295) for a commentary of the text and Ebbinghaus (2000, p. 100) for some remarks. For the Persian point of view on the King's Table, see Henkelman 2010; Tolini 2013.

<sup>34</sup> Also the organization of servants was respectful of specific rules. See Ath. IV 26 (145f) = *FGrH* 689 F 2 for the officer in charge of the table; for other specific roles connected to the royal meal, see Briant (1996, p. 275). For the importance of feasting and conviviality, see Bray 2003a; Dietler 2003; Wright 2010. See also Pollock 2012.

<sup>35</sup> Although Briant (1994, p. 60) hypothesizes that the words of Heraclides may be related simply to the use of a specific vessel for the Great King as a security measure, ancient sources witness the existence of a specific wine for the Great King. According to the Hellenistic author Posidonius of Apamea, it is the Chalybonian wine, produced in Syria by the Persians (Ath. I 51 (28d) = *FGrH* 87 F 68; see also Strabo XV 3 22). For the various wines, see Amigues (2003, pp. 53–55).

tion archive found in Persepolis, the administrative centre of the Persian Empire.<sup>36</sup> Consistently, the ambassador Antiochus coming back from Susa in 367 BCE reported to the Arcadians that “the King had bakers, and cooks, and wine-pourers, and doorkeepers in vast numbers.”<sup>37</sup> Therefore, since the gifts to Themistocles seem to be aimed at allowing provisions appropriate to the table of a Persian dignitary in the ‘periphery’ of the Empire, it is easy to understand the value of wine within the ideology of dynasts ruling under the Persian control, such as the owner of the Nereid Monument at Xanthos.<sup>38</sup>

In the Western Persian Empire wine could come from the dynastic possessions or be imported from the most renowned places of production, therefore the costs grew.<sup>39</sup> This beverage was transported in amphorae, and the archaeological evidence from dynastic sites in southern Anatolia and Cyprus indicates that in the fourth century BCE there was an extensive trade from more distant places.<sup>40</sup> In this context, wine must be considered a luxury commodity which the dynast must have been proud to enjoy and offer to his guests. Therefore, the appearance of the crater on the Nereid Monument does not seem connected to its original significance in the Greek world. Since the condition of parity is excluded by the hierarchical composition of the symposium, on the Nereid Monument the crater was simply the recipient of renowned—and most likely expensive—wines, and functioned as a status symbol in the dynastic banquet. Thus, paradoxically, the egalitarian aspects of Greek iconography, such as the paired symposiasts and the crater, were transformed into symbols of social distinction on the Nereid Monument.

The diffusion of depictions centred on paired banqueters in the Lycian funerary art means that this iconography became a status symbol for Lycian elites.<sup>41</sup> Circulation of individuals such as artists, and artefacts such as Greek pottery, favoured this phenomenon, which was stimulated by the common practice of feasting as well.<sup>42</sup> In the fourth century BCE Eastern Mediterranean drinking gatherings organised by dynasts ruling under the auspices of the Persian Empire offered an opportunity to display the wealth of the host:

<sup>36</sup> Henkelman 2010, p. 16. On the Persepolis Fortification archive, which records the authorisations for food rations between 509 and 494 BCE, see Kuhrt (2007, vol. 1, p. 12) and Briant, Henkelman and Stolper (2008).

<sup>37</sup> X. *HG* VII 1 38. Translation from Brownson 1961, p. 143.

<sup>38</sup> See also Briant 1985, p. 60.

<sup>39</sup> Ath. IV 27 (146d–e) and VIII 67 (364d–e) = Men. fr. 224 Kassel-Austin.

<sup>40</sup> Amphorae from the site of the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus show that in the fourth century BCE these vessels and their contents were imported not only from closer regions, such as Cos and the Cnidian Peninsula, but also from more distant places, such as Thasos and possibly Chios (Vaag, Nørskov and Lund 2002, p. 76). For the presence of Thasian and Chian amphorae in the royal palace of Amathus, see Marangou and Petit (1992) and Petit (1996, p. 220). On Greek amphoras and wine trade, see Empereur and Garlan (1986); Koehler (1996). On the distribution of amphorae within the Aegean, see Lawall (2013, pp. 109–111).

<sup>41</sup> On the crest beams of two sarcophagi from Trysa and Kyaneai are *klinai* with a pair of banqueters (Dentzer 1982, pp. 411–412 (cat. R 46) and 420–421 (cat. R 51 e); Tofi 2006, pp. 838–839). On the inner architrave of the tomb of Köybaşı, instead, is a sequence of eight *klinai*, each with a reclining man and a seated woman (Bruns-Özgan 1987, p. 164; Tofi 2006, p. 836).

<sup>42</sup> For the fifth-century fragments found in Xanthos, see Metzger (1972, pp. 157–158 nos. 358–359). Fifth- and fourth-century BCE Attic red-figured pottery has been discovered in Limyra (Rückert 2007, pp. 32–33).

Theopompus says in Book XV of his *History of Philip* that Straton, the king of Sidon, outdid everyone else in the world in the extravagant style in which he lived and his addiction to luxury. Because the life that Homer in his stories represents the Phaeacians as leading—having festivals, drinking, and listening to citharodes and rhapsodes—is how Straton behaved for a long time. He was even more excited about pleasure than they were, to the extent that the Phaeacians, according to Homer, used to drink in the company of their own wives and daughters, whereas Straton arranged for his parties to include girls who played the pipes, the harp, and the lyre. He imported large numbers of prostitutes from the Peloponnese, and many female musicians from Ionia, and other young women from all over Greece, some of whom were singers, while others danced. He made it a practice to have contests with his friends that involved these women, and he spent all his time with them, both because he enjoyed living this way, since his personality made him a slave to pleasure, and even more important, because he was engaged in a competition with Nicocles. For they were extremely competitive with one another, and each of them was concerned to make his own life the more pleasurable and easier. Their rivalry became so extreme, I hear, that they questioned their visitors about furnishings in the other man's house, and about how expensive the sacrifices he made were, and made aggressive efforts to outdo one another in these areas. They were eager to appear to be wealthy and fortunate [...].<sup>43</sup>

From this text we understand that feasting practices caused long-distance feuds and created competition among Eastern Mediterranean dynasts over dancers, musicians and luxurious arrangements.<sup>44</sup> We should stress that in the text above dynastic symposia are mentioned along with sacrifices. On the west side of the cella frieze of the Nereid Monument, thus in contiguity with the symposium, a sacrifice is also depicted; this could mean that such events were related to the sacred sphere.<sup>45</sup> Interestingly, archaeological investigations in Caria, the region bordering Lycia, have provided useful evidence about the religious context of convivial gatherings. The sanctuary of Labraunda, 14 km north of Mylasa, enlarged and monumentalised in the mid-fourth century BCE by the Hecatomnids, stands out for a strong emphasis on banqueting.<sup>46</sup> Regular dining-rooms suitable for egalitarian gatherings, such as the so-called *oikoi* and the East Stoa, coexisted with two large and tall *in-antis* buildings, erected on two different terraces, which were referred to as *androne*s in their monumental dedicatory inscriptions. In that of the so-called Andron B the patronage

<sup>43</sup> Ath. XII 41 (531a–d) = *FGrH* 115 F 114. Translation by Olson 2010, pp. 101 and 103. The source of Athenaeus is Theopompus of Chios, a rhetor and historian who lived in the fourth century BCE (K. Meister, in *DNP* 12,1 (2002), 395–397, *s.v.* 'Theopompos von Chios [3]'). The two historical figures mentioned in the text are Straton, king of the Phoenician city of Sidon (Kuhrt 2007, vol. 2, p. 752 note 3), and Nicocles, the Cypriot king of Salamis (P. Högemann, in *DNP* 8 (2000), 917–918, *s.v.* 'Nikokles [1]'), who ruled during the first half of the fourth century BCE. According to Athenaeus (Ath. XII 41 (531d–e) = *FGrH* 72 F 18) this rivalry was confirmed also by the fourth-century BCE author Anaximenes of Lampsacus. It is worth mentioning here the Cypriot sarcophagus from Golgoi, dating back to the second quarter of the fifth century BCE, on which it is also depicted a symposium with four participants and hetaerae on *klinai*, a servant, a musician and a crater on the right (Karageorghis 2000, pp. 204–206).

<sup>44</sup> Petit 2007, p. 12. Dancers and musicians are depicted in the banquet of the Heroon of Trysa. Bruns-Özgan (1987, p. 250) hypothesizes that the standing female dressed in a chiton and himation in BM 898 of the Nereid Monument is also a musician.

<sup>45</sup> For the scene of sacrifice on the west side of the cella frieze of the Nereid Monument (BM 904 and 905) see Childs and Demargne (1989, pp. 209–211) and Prost (2012). For the connection with the banquet see Zahle (1979, pp. 296–297) and Childs and Demargne (1989, pp. 287–288).

<sup>46</sup> Hellström 1996, p. 168. See Hellström (2007) for the history and the topography of the sanctuary and Karlsson (2008, p. 110, Fig. 2) for the plan of the site. For the role of the sanctuaries in the Carian society see Hellström (2009, pp. 278–280).

of Mausolus is explicitly mentioned, the so-called Andron A, on the other hand, might be attributed to his brother Idrieus.<sup>47</sup> In ancient Greece the *andron* was designated as a dining-room in private houses and was generally furnished with seven or eleven *klinai*.<sup>48</sup> The two *andrones* in Labraunda, instead, had an unparalleled monumental appearance—with Ionic and Doric orders combined—which competed with the nearby Temple of Zeus in scale.<sup>49</sup> The function of these buildings is suggested not only by the term *andron* in the dedicatory inscriptions, but also by the remains of the platform for the couches in Andron A.<sup>50</sup> Thus, scholars consider the *andrones* in Labraunda as banqueting-halls where ritual or ceremonial meals were held.<sup>51</sup> Each *andron* was likely able to host 20 *klinai* and its marked axiality favoured the presence of a couch for distinguished diners placed against the rear wall and surmounted by a niche which held the statues of the dynasts.<sup>52</sup> Since we know that Mausolus attended at least the annual sacrifice and festival in the sanctuary, we cannot exclude the possibility that he also took part in such convivial events.<sup>53</sup> In any case, the strong political nature of the *andrones*, strengthened by their explicit royal patronage, appears certain.<sup>54</sup>

Interestingly, an inscription from Mylasa could be dedicated by Mausolus's *grastapatis*, an office of Persian derivation in charge of the food supply connected especially with feasting and sacrifices.<sup>55</sup> Therefore, the evidence from Caria may give us an idea not only of the

<sup>47</sup> Leypold 2008, pp. 92–100 nos. 21–24. On the so-called *oikoi* and the East Stoa, see also Bergquist (1990, pp. 53 and 59); Hellström (2007, pp. 97–98, 119–125); Hellström (2011, pp. 153–154). Hellström (2009, p. 270) also proposed the function of treasury for the *oikoi*. For the chronology of the *andrones* and a history of the problem, Hellström (2011, pp. 154–155); see also Pedersen (2009, pp. 336–337). For the reason of the modern names of the two *andrones*, see Hellström (2007, p. 130). On the architraval dedicatory inscriptions, see Umholtz (2002, pp. 262, 273–276).

<sup>48</sup> See Bergquist (1990, pp. 37–38) for detailed observations about the seven- or eleven-couch dining-rooms in Greek contexts and their chronological occurrences. For *andrones* and flexibility in using spaces in Greek domestic contexts, see Nevett (2010, pp. 43–62).

<sup>49</sup> Held (2011) suggests a new interpretation of the mixed architectural order, and provides an overview of opinions of former scholars. Moreover, see Hellström (1997, pp. 109–111) for the sculptural decoration belonging to Mausolus's *andron*. For the acroterion in the form of a sphinx see Carstens (2011) and Held (2011). On the windows of the *andrones* and their functions, see Williamson (2014).

<sup>50</sup> Hellström 1989, pp. 101–102.

<sup>51</sup> Hellström 1989, pp. 103–104; Held 2011. After stressing the resemblances of the *andrones* to temples (Hellström 1994, pp. 53–56), Hellström (1996) interpreted the sanctuary primarily as a palace. Consequently Carstens (2009, pp. 85–100; 2011) suggests that the audiences were transferred to Labraunda; ceremonial meals would have formed the main purpose of the building program. Marksteiner (2002, pp. 85–86 and 94) underlines the adoption of the 'Megaron-Type'—connected with the palatial complexes—at Labraunda, even though he is not certain that the site functioned as a palace. For the importance of feasting at Labraunda, see Hellström (2011, pp. 150–151).

<sup>52</sup> Hellström 2011, p. 153. Bergquist (1990, p. 56, Fig. 9), instead, proposes to organize the *klinai* in the *andrones* into four smaller groups to maintain a more intimate atmosphere, but there is no archaeological evidence for such a subdivision (Hellström 1989, p. 101). However, it does not seem necessary for all banqueters to have had their heads turned towards the niches opening at the back of the inner spaces, as argued by Hellström.

<sup>53</sup> Dittenberger 1915, p. 167; see also Rhodes and Osborne 2003, p. 261 no. 54 § iii (ll. 33–36).

<sup>54</sup> A fourth-century BCE inscription, reused in the castle of Bodrum (ancient Halicarnassus), mentions an *andron* dedicated to Zeus Akraios (Jeppesen 1964, pp. 202–203; Robert and Robert 1966, p. 428; Isager and Pedersen 2014, pp. 457–461). Although its exact provenance is unknown (Pedersen 2009, p. 346), it is important to note the similarity to the Mausolus's inscription of the Andron B both for its composition and the dedication to Zeus.

<sup>55</sup> Descat 2011. For a different interpretation, Schwartz 2015.

physical spaces, but also of the organisation devoted to large convivial gatherings such as those depicted on the Nereid Monument. Finally, the so-called sarcophagus of Hecatomnus, recently discovered in the tomb chamber at Uzunyuva in Mylasa, portrays on one major side the dynast reclining on a couch and a young man carrying a rhyton, confirming that banqueting was an integral part of the dynastic ideology of fourth-century BCE Caria.<sup>56</sup>

The change in Lycian imagery represented by the adoption of the iconography of the symposium thus seems to be connected with a more defined dynastic ideology in the fourth-century BCE Eastern Mediterranean under Persian rule. Indeed, archaeological evidence and textual sources confirm that feasting and conviviality were part of the dynastic lifestyle in this context.<sup>57</sup> This aspect is witnessed by the passage of Themistocles quoted at the beginning of this paper, since it shows that the provisions at the tables of local rulers were important elements of the display of power within the framework of the Persian Empire. Wine was undoubtedly one of the accoutrements that highlighted the image of wealth and prestige.

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<sup>56</sup> The publication of the sarcophagus is pending. A description of this scene can be found in Konuk (2013, pp. 111–112).

<sup>57</sup> See also Dusinberre 2013, pp. 135–136.



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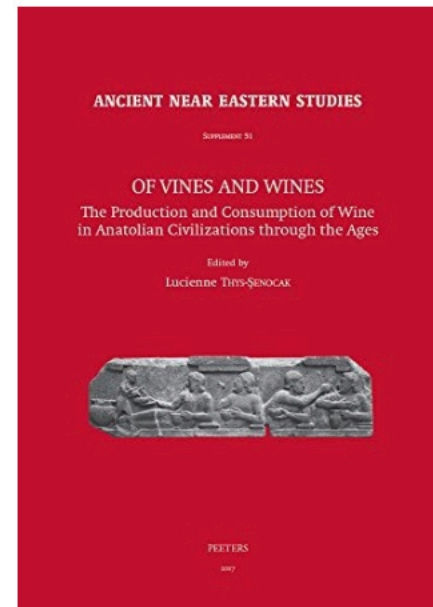
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