

**The Symposium: The Art of Reclining in Ancient Greece**

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## Abstract

Though the official purpose of hosting symposia in ancient Greece changed from the Archaic period to the Hellenistic Age, its association with luxury remained constant, while the focus on display of personal wealth grew more important. The introduction of the reclining posture from the aristocratic symposia of the Near East in the 7<sup>th</sup> century BCE was the catalyst for the increase in Greek symposiasts' engagement in indulgent extravagance and desire to be distinguished as individuals among peers. Although drinking and homosexual love are essential to the symposium, this thesis paper will examine symposia through written sources, visual representations, surviving furnishings, and architectural settings.

## Introduction

The συμπόσιον, or the symposium, translates into English as “the drinking together.” Although the translation sounds inclusive, symposia were restricted to upper-class males. Ritualized, communal drinking accompanied by sex and entertainment was an essential feature of the symposium and ancient Greek tradition. It was customary for the symposiasts, as egalitarians, to participate in all of the activities in order to solidify their status through ceremonial drinking.<sup>1</sup> First, symposiasts would enjoy a formal banquet together, typically followed by a separate, more intimate prolonged drinking session where deeper conversation would ensue.<sup>2</sup> A symposium enabled a group of men assembled together as equals to allocate effort, time, and consideration to interpersonal relations through honest dialogue involving philosophy and politics.<sup>3</sup> A successful symposium allowed thoughtful discourse regarding both. The coupling of drinking and philosophy indicates that a balance between gravity and

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<sup>1</sup> Dunbabin, Katherine M. D., 2010, 3.

Burkert, Walter, ed. William J. Slater, 1991, 7.

<sup>2</sup> Burkert, Walter, ed. William J. Slater, 1991, 7.

<sup>3</sup> Paul, George, ed. William J Slater, 1991, 157.

gaiety existed. Though the “official” intention of the symposium was to bring men together as equals and to discourage personal gain, the venue allowed the host an advantage unavailable to the guests. The symposiarch, the homeowner whose feast it was, was able to showcase his status through control over the accoutrements, entertainment, and conversation present at the symposium. Predictably, hidden tension between egalitarianism and individual recognition existed since the culture was notorious for romanticizing competitiveness and the quest for immortality through glory.<sup>4</sup>

### **History**

The custom of the symposium is central to ancient Greek culture. Many scholars agree, however, that the practice transformed in response to foreign trade influences, namely those of the Near East. During a period commonly referred to as the “Orientalizing Period,” which began during the second half of the 8<sup>th</sup> century BCE<sup>5</sup>, the Greeks made numerous adaptations to their sympotic rituals based on practices of the ancient Near East. Trade routes from Assyria, an important player in these developments, reached such Greek cities as Knossos, Mycenae, and Troy as early as the Middle Bronze Age (2200-1570 BCE). Assyria’s main contribution was introducing the reclining posture as a staple element of formalized drinking parties to Greek symposiasts. The posture probably encouraged symposiasts to engage in languor.

In its earliest phase in the Hellenic world during the Archaic period (c. 600-478 BCE), the symposium was associated with the aristocracy, thus becoming a social phenomenon to display of wealth and political power.<sup>6</sup> Scholars agree that the symposium

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<sup>4</sup> Lynch, Kathleen M., 2007, 249.

<sup>5</sup> Dunbabin, Katherine M. D., 2010, 11.

<sup>6</sup> Dunbabin, Katherine M. D., 2010, 11.

was exclusive to the elite class.<sup>7</sup> By the beginning of the Classical age in the 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE, however, the practice had been embraced by many outside the aristocratic circle, transmitting vertically through society.<sup>8</sup> Though the symposium grew into an institution adopted by a wider social class, it was still mainly restricted to wealthy individuals interested in leisure.<sup>9</sup> Continuing to associate the symposium with its eastern origins, however, allowed the survival of its aristocratic subtext through the Hellenistic period.<sup>10</sup> The elitist connotations of the tradition became incongruent with the democratic ambitions of the people for the *polis* as a whole.

### **The Practice of Reclining**

As discussed above, the Classical symposium was a highly-selective affair due to its aristocratic beginnings; the elitist connotations of the symposium continued to exist well after the ritual became more widely embraced. A major concept adopted in the Greek world during the Orientalizing period was the reclining posture. Demonstrated by the images in many works of art, the reclining posture was absolutely crucial to the sympotic practice. Its significance is reinforced by its potency in Graeco-Roman art that persisted for more than a thousand years, from the 7<sup>th</sup> century BCE to the 5<sup>th</sup> century AD. It is depicted on the surfaces of drinking cups and other vessels, on the walls of tombs, on the walls and floors of private homes in paint and mosaic, and upon funerary monuments and religious buildings.<sup>11</sup> As a fundamental signifier, the reclining posture remains constant throughout the progression of time, place, and culture.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Topper, Kathryn, 2009, 9.

<sup>8</sup> Dunbabin, Katherine M. D., 2010, 13.

<sup>9</sup> Dunbabin, Katherine M. D., 2010, 11.

<sup>10</sup> Topper, Kathryn, 2009, 9.

<sup>11</sup> Dunbabin, Katherine M. D., 2010, 14.

<sup>12</sup> Dunbabin, Katherine M. D., 2010, 14.

The first appearance of reclining on a *kline* (κλίβη), or of the symposium motif at all, was in a relief sculpture found at the bit-hilani, or palace, of Ashurbanipal, an Assyrian king who ruled from 681 to 669 BCE in Nineveh (modern day Iraq) (Figure 1). The bas-relief sculptures were discovered in Room S of the west corner of Ashurbanipal's North Palace in 1854.<sup>13</sup> The king, Ashurbanipal, is depicted reclining on a couch elevated off the ground, drinking out of some sort of vessel. He rests his left arm on the couch with his right hand raised to bring the vessel close to his mouth. His wife, the queen, also lifts a drinking vessel toward her mouth, but instead of reclining on a couch, she sits upright on a throne with her feet resting on a footstool. Flanked by servants, musical entertainers, and trees, the king and queen are placed in the center of a courtly environment. According to Pauline Albenda's analysis of this imagery, the position of the royal figures in the center of the composition was a way to emphasize their importance as esteemed individuals.<sup>14</sup>

As one examines this relief more closely, additional elements of the imagery speak to luxurious tendencies. To the left of the reclining king and his wife is the severed head of Elamite king Teumman, who was decapitated after his defeat at the Uлай river in 653 BCE.<sup>15</sup> As the story goes, king Teumman's head traveled a long way into the hands of Ashurbanipal, fulfilling the prophecy that the goddess Ishtar would deliver the Elamite king to the Assyrian king.<sup>16</sup> This trophy in the bas-relief sculpture represents military success as well as the authority bestowed upon Ashurbanipal through divine might. Clearly, the intention of including the head in the depiction of the royal garden was to emphasize visually the power and distinction of the king and queen and to reflect the strength of the Assyrian kingdom as a

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<sup>13</sup> Albenda, Pauline, 1976, 49.

<sup>14</sup> Albenda, Pauline, 1976, 58.

<sup>15</sup> Albenda, Pauline, 1977, 29.

<sup>16</sup> Albenda, Pauline, 1977, 30.

whole. The military equipment resting on the table to the right of the couple underscores the kingdom's combat ability. Because there is no evidence of any other Assyrian king doing so, it can be concluded that this relief was the first instance in which a trophy, such as Teumman's head, was displayed in the king's own palace, supporting the notion that its incorporation served as both a warning to others and an emblem of distinction.<sup>17</sup>

The varied heights of the furniture in the relief convey status, too. Purposefully, the height of the king upon his *kline* is greater than that of the queen upon her throne, greater than the heights of the standing servants. This makes visible the hierarchy of rank within the pictorial frame.<sup>18</sup> The furniture also carries meaning; scholars agree that the footstool was reserved for royalty and divinity, therefore elevating the queen's status. As mentioned above, the couch upon which the king reclines is the first used in depicting a royal banquet. The *kline* itself is quite lavish with billowing cushions and beautifully carved legs which help to reinforce the king's indulgent lifestyle.

This relief sculpture is significant because it illustrates the *kline* as an element of banqueting that distinguishes the diner from the people surrounding him physically and metaphorically for the first time. Every detail included in the banquet scene, such as the decapitated head trophy, Egyptian necklace, and military equipment, was intentional in communicating themes of power and prestige. Therefore, one can deduce that it is very unlikely that Ashurbanipal assumed the reclining posture haphazardly; it, too, was a purposeful tactic to propagate the king's power. Ashurbanipal's reclining practice was probably adopted by the Greeks during the Orientalizing period. This is interesting to note

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<sup>17</sup> Albenda, Pauline, 1977, 32.

<sup>18</sup> Albenda, Pauline, 1976, 64.

since the first mention of *klinai* in Greek literature occurs around the same time in history, when oral works by Homer were transcribed around the 7<sup>th</sup> century BCE.<sup>19</sup>

Another element that exudes luxury is the inclusion of an ornate necklace hanging from the couch on which the king reclines. This particular type of necklace, with seven rows of tight beading fastened at either side with a bell-shaped catch, was likely unfashionable at the time due to its absence in any other depictions of Assyrian kings.<sup>20</sup> Stylistically, it is dissimilar to any other Near Eastern jewelry of the time. However, it does carry resemblance to Egyptian jewelry. Suspending this necklace off the king's couch in the banquet scene suggests a relationship between the Assyrian Empire and Egypt. It is presumed to have either been a gift from a contemporary Egyptian king or one of the objects brought to Assyria following Ashurbanipal's Egyptian campaign (667/668 and 664 BCE).<sup>21</sup> Either way, the necklace is a symbol of decadence, worldliness, and power, all themes adopted by the Greeks during the Orientalizing Period.

The visual information provided by depictions in art demonstrates that there was a standard, proper technique to reclining derived from the Near Eastern practice. In the Assyrian relief sculpture, this standard position required the participant to lean on his left elbow with his legs outstretched to the side. His torso would be upright and ordinarily his right knee would be bent on top of the *kline*.<sup>22</sup> By the Classical period, this position was employed by upper-class males at both the eating and drinking segments of the symposium. A person is most comfortable and able to relax in the reclining posture. By dining in this position, the banqueter remains unperturbed in his state of repose as attendants serve his food

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<sup>19</sup> Albenda, Pauline, 1976, 65.

Topper, Kathryn, 2009, 4.

<sup>20</sup> Albenda, Pauline, 1977, 33.

<sup>21</sup> Albenda, Pauline, 1977, 35.

<sup>22</sup> Dunbabin, Katherine M. D., 2010, 14.

and wine. Thus the posture denotes power, privilege, and prestige.<sup>23</sup> The appropriation of the reclining posture from eastern cultures represents the acceptance of elements of that lifestyle, which directly affected how Greek citizens thought about enhancing their social identities with pretention and ostentation.<sup>24</sup>

The posture's role in early Greek history reveals that reclining took place on the ground and was associated with primitivism by later commentators. *Klinai* began to appear in Homeric texts in the 7<sup>th</sup> century BCE and in Greek art around the same time, indicating a change in colloquial dining customs.<sup>25</sup> As Kathryn Topper discusses, the act of reclining without such luxuries as the *kline* was seen as uncivilized, though engaging in convivial reclining was perceived as a step toward social sophistication.<sup>26</sup> She argues that reclining on the ground on rustic floor cushions called *stibades* served as the transition between culturally unaware symposia and “the symposia on *klinai* that constitute a central component of civilized society.”<sup>27</sup> The adoption of the *kline* advanced the drinking custom to a refined, formal activity crucial to society.<sup>28</sup>

During Aristophanes' and Plato's time, it is possible that elitist symposia had become problematic due to their potential for contradicting the democratic reforms.<sup>29</sup> Hence, their writings on the subject require further analysis and discussion. In Plato's *Republic* (380 BCE), Socrates and Glaukon spend time discussing the origins of a just city. In doing so, the two explore how dining customs will function, namely how the symposiasts will position themselves and what they will eat. Socrates is adamant that the city folk need little except for

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<sup>23</sup> Dunbabin, Katherine M. D., 2010, 11.

<sup>24</sup> Topper, Kathryn, 2009, 14.

<sup>25</sup> Topper, Kathryn, 2009, 14.

<sup>26</sup> Topper, Kathryn, 2009, 18.

<sup>27</sup> Topper, Kathryn, 2009, 16.

<sup>28</sup> Topper, Kathryn, 2009, 38.

<sup>29</sup> Lynch, Kathleen M., 2007, 249.

the essentials: flour, barley meal to make cakes and bread, simple wine, and *stibades* made from holm oak and myrtle on which to recline. Glaukon retorts that from Socrates' description of harmony in dining, the people will live without any pleasantries. Socrates adds that, of course, they will have olives and cheese, as well as vegetables and figs and berries while they drink in moderation (Plato, *Resp.* 2.372b-d). Socrates insists this is all that they need for sustainable, harmonious living, but Glaukon is deeply offended, which indicates his approval of luxurious communal dining.

Καὶ ὅς, Εἰ δὲ ὑὼν πόλιν, ὃ Σώκράτης, ἔφη,  
κατεσκεύαζες, τί ἂν αὐτὰς ἄλλο ἢ ταῦτα ἐχόρταζες;

Ἀλλὰ πῶς χρή, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ὃ Γλαύκων;

Ἄπερ νομίζεται, ἔφη· ἐπὶ τε κλινῶν  
κατακεῖσθαι εοῖμαι τοὺς μέλλοντας μὴ  
ταλαιπωρεῖσθαι, καὶ ἀπὸ τραπεζῶν δεῖπνεῖν, καὶ  
ὄψα ἄπερ καὶ οἱ νῦν ἐχουσι καὶ τραγήματα.

Εἶεν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ· μανθάνω. οὐ πόλιν, ὡς ἔοικε,  
σκοποῦμεν μόνον ὅπως γίγνεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
τρυφῶσαν πόλιν. ἴσως οὖν οὐδὲ κακῶς ἔχει·  
σκοποῦντες γὰρ καὶ τοιαύτην τάχ' ἂν κατίδοιμεν τήν  
τε δικαιοσύνην καὶ ἀδικίαν ὅπῃ ποτὲ ταῖς πόλεσιν  
ἐμφύονται. ἢ μὲν οὖν ἀληθινὴ πόλις δοκεῖ μοι εἶναι  
ἣν διεληλύθαμεν, ὥσπερ ὑγιής τις· εἰ δ' αὖ  
βούλεσθε, καὶ φλεγμαίνουσαν πόλιν θεωρήσωμεν·  
οὐδὲν ἀποκωλύει.

And he said, "If you were laying out a city of  
pigs, what else would you slop them on?"

"But what else should I feed them with then,  
Glaukon?"

"With what is customary," he said. "To avoid  
enduring hardship, I think they should lie down on  
couches and eat their meals and dried fruits off  
tables as they do today."

"Well!" I said, "I understand. We are not only  
contemplating how a city comes into being, but also  
how a luxurious city does so. It is not a bad idea  
then, for in contemplating one such as this also, how  
injustice and justice implant themselves in cities.  
Certainly to me the city we have discussed and gone  
through seems to be a healthy one. But if you wish,  
we can explore an inflamed city. Nothing is  
hindering us." (Plato, *Resp.* 2.372d-e).

This quote from Book 2 of the *Republic* provides excellent context for understanding the importance of convivial dining customs in Antiquity—banqueting habits reflected the character of the city as a whole.<sup>30</sup> Throughout their discussion of the origins of the ideal city, Glaukon and Socrates are in agreement until they explore necessities for proper dining. Socrates' argument that *klinai* are superfluous upends the agreement between the two, because Glaukon views the furniture and associated lifestyle as necessary. Glaukon's reaction to

<sup>30</sup> Topper, Kathryn, 2009, 33.



Socrates' version, devoid of any elements of extravagance, reveals to Socrates that his friend is indeed envisioning a city rooted in ostentation and hierarchy. The Greek words used in this text Socrates' uses to describe Glaukon's ideal city, "τρυφᾶσαν" and "φλεγμαίνουσαν," translate literally to "luxurious" and "inflamed." Though impossible to iterate the potency of these words in the original Greek, this language connotes disapproval and illustrates Socrates' objection to indulgence. He explicitly communicates the essence of banqueting as bringing individuals together for pure enjoyment in noncompetitive harmony, while Glaukon's comments favor a more lavish symposium and the desire to be distinguished among peers. Equating the justness of the ideal city with its dining customs illustrates their significance to society, and chiefly, that the addition of *klinai* to formalized drinking parties encouraged other indulgent practices, according to Socrates.

Reclining became the normal dining and drinking position assumed by males belonging to upper levels of society, as illustrated by the passage in Aristophanes' *Wasps* (422 BCE) where Bdelykleon gives his father a lesson in how to gracefully and correctly place his legs, which further underlines the recline as a mark of high social status.<sup>31</sup> This passage implies that people of a lower social class did not attend the symposium.

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<sup>31</sup> Dunbabin, Katherine M. D., 2010, 11.

**Φιλοκλέων**

ὦδι κελεύεις κατακλινῆναι;

**Βδελυκλέων**

μηδαμῶς.

**Φιλοκλέων**

πῶς δαί;

**Βδελυκλέων**

τὰ γόνατ' ἔκτεινε καὶ γυμναστικῶς  
 ὑγρὸν χύτλασον σεαυτὸν ἐν τοῖς στρώμασιν.  
 ἔπειτ' ἐπαίνεσόν τι τῶν χαλκωμάτων,  
 ὀροφὴν θέασαι, κρεκάδι' αὐλῆς θαύμασον:  
 ὕδωρ κατὰ χειρός: τὰς τραπέζας ἐσφέρειν:  
 δειπνοῦμεν: ἀπονεμίμεθ': ἤδη σπένδομεν

**Philokleon**

How should I recline? Tell me!

**Bdelykleon**

Elegantly.

**Philokleon**

Did I lie down correctly?

**Bdelykleon**

Not at all.

**Philokleon**

How?

**Bdelykleon**

Stretch out your knees on the bed coverings and position yourself athletically. After, appreciate something made of bronze, gaze up at the ceiling, marvel at the tapestry over the open court. Water is poured over our hands; the tables are carried in; we have a meal; we wash up; then we make a libation offering. (Ar. *Vesp.* 1210-1217.)

Following Bdelykleon's explanation of the proper reclining posture, Philokleon exclaims that this banquet is that of a dream, incredulous that such ostentation is not only encouraged but expected within formalized drinking. Aristophanes is being facetious in this writing, commenting on the lunacy of etiquette expectations in symposia. This dialogue occurs between Bdelykleon and his father so that Philokleon does not embarrass himself in front of the well-bred attendants of the dining event. Bdelykleon's fear of his father's being perceived as barbaric illuminates the pressure for symposiasts to impress each other through sophistication in convivial dining settings. Being unable to recognize beauty in art or keep up in noble conversation would surely divulge Philokleon's lack of refinement, and ruin both his and his son's reputation. Reclining improperly would be the tell-tale sign of his utter boorishness, as the posture was something to aspire to, to be learned and imitated.<sup>32</sup> Through this satirical conversation, Aristophanes comments on the superficial presentation of one's cultivated identity being of the utmost importance within society.

<sup>32</sup> Dunbabin, Katherine M. D. *The Roman Banquet: Images of Conviviality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010. 13.

Additionally, though Athenaeus lived several hundred years later in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD, his *Deipnosophistae* continues to be a chief source for information on dining in antiquity. In this text, he affirms that the reclining posture signified an era of lavishness (*tryphe*) and moral laxity in Greece (10.428b, 8.363f-64a).<sup>33</sup> His beliefs support today's scholarly analysis that reclining, along with its aristocratic, individualistic implications, was adopted during the Orientalizing period in place of the seated posture.<sup>34</sup>

Before the reclining position became the standard posture in formalized drinking parties, symposiasts sat upright. Athenaeus mentions this in his *Deipnosophistae*, where he refers to lines of Homer's *Odyssey* in which the banqueters dine while sitting rather than reclining. As a dialogue within a dialogue, the character Athenaeus explains to his dinner guests how the nature of formalized drinking parties had changed in accordance with the shift in dining posture, prefacing the information with the notion that men, in the likeness of gods, could not resist the urge to indulge. So, by creating structured gatherings, this could be done with honor and order.<sup>35</sup> Athenaeus notes that this framework deteriorates as he compares the respectful traditions employed during Homer's time around the 8<sup>th</sup> century BCE to the current, self-indulgent approach to the symposium almost a thousand years later.

Later on in the *Deipnosophistae*, Athenaeus gets even more specific about the abandonment of the seated posture marking a transition in men's approach to formalized drinking. In Book 10, he clearly states that once the Greeks moved from chairs to couches, their indulgence in luxury greatly increased. He says:

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<sup>33</sup> Topper, Kathryn, 2009, 4.

<sup>34</sup> Topper, Kathryn, 2009, 4.

<sup>35</sup> Athenaeus., ed. S. Douglas Olson, 2008, 165.

ἔτι δὲ καὶ νῦν τοῦτο παραμένει παρ' ἐνίοις τῶν Ἑλλήνων. ἐπεὶ δὲ τρυφᾶν ἤρξαντο καὶ χλίδησαι<sup>5</sup>, κατερρύησαν ἀπὸ τῶν δίφρων ἐπὶ τὰς κλίνας καὶ λαβόντες σύμμαχον τὴν ἀνάπανσιν καὶ ῥαστώνην ἀνειμένως ἤδη καὶ ἀτάκτως ἐχρῶντο τῇ μέθῃ, ὁδηγούσης οἶμαι τῆς παρασκευῆς εἰς τὰς ἡδονάς.

This is still how some Greeks act. But When they began to live luxuriously, and they slid from chairs onto couches, and made Relaxation and ease their allies, And began drink in a careless and disorderly fashion, being led into hedonism, I think, by their possessions. (Ath. 10.428b)

In this passage, Athenaeus emphasizes that reclining at the symposium was a practice that correlated with other intemperance. He suggests that formalized drinking was once a respected activity that did not include excessive indulgence in the form of intoxication, as it did later in his day after the practice had become detached from its origins through adopting the reclining posture. Athenaeus implies here that the Greeks had lost sight of the noble themes attached to the pre-Classical symposium, and substituted hedonism. This comparison also speaks to the quote above from Plato's *Republic*. Athenaeus' quote supports the notion that the reclining posture was the catalyst for excessive indulgence in the consumption of wine and material objects, as illustrated in home décor from the Classical to the Hellenistic Age presented in this paper.

In his *Lives* (c. 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE) Plutarch also contends that reclining was indeed an activity attached to excess, citing it as one of the objects of Amos' wrath in the 8<sup>th</sup> century BCE when he criticizes against the lavishness of the *marzeah*, the Middle Eastern precursor to the Greek symposium.<sup>36</sup> Another anecdote Plutarch describes in his *Lives* is one that regards Cato the Younger, an event which takes place several hundred years after Amos. After learning of Pompey's defeat at Pharsalus in 48 BCE, Cato the Younger refused to recline at the table as a symbol of his mourning—instead adopting a sitting position,

<sup>36</sup> Paul, George, ed. William J Slater, 1991, 161.

reclining only during sleep.<sup>37</sup> Cato the Younger was deeply rooted in his denouncement of Caesar's imperialism, and in protesting the reclining position and its implications, he effectively rejected the materialism associated with symposia.

### **Images in Painting, on Pottery, and on Walls**

Figures lying on *klinai* in isolation or in a group of other symposiasts are most frequently depicted on pottery. The first time a reclining symposium occurs in Greek art is on a Corinthian column krater depicting a group of noblemen reclining on *klinai* accompanied by *trapezas*, tables, holding food and libations, likely from the 7<sup>th</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> century BCE (Figure 2). Similar to the Assyrian relief, the men are depicted reclining on the couches while the women stand at their ends. The posture and furniture mirror those of the Assyrian sculpture so much that a coincidence seems unlikely.<sup>38</sup> Rather than a singular royal figure reclining, however, this vessel depicts an uninterrupted frieze of reclining banqueters.<sup>39</sup> This places importance on a shared dining experience among high-class citizens, as well as connections to the other noble themes of the Near East through the lower frieze of men riding on horses, presumably in battle.

The date of this vessel supports the notion that the posture was adopted during the Orientalizing period. Geographically, Corinth was a popular trading post just northeast across the Mediterranean Sea from the Assyrian Empire. Its location and function as a center of trade support that this vase represents Near Eastern cultural appropriation. The vessel was found in Cerveteri, an Etruscan city. Etruria was one of the areas earliest and most heavily influenced by the Near East through settlement and trade.<sup>40</sup> Its aristocratic connotations were

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<sup>37</sup> Paul, George, ed. William J Slater, 1991, 161.

<sup>38</sup> Topper, Kathryn, 2012, 15.

<sup>39</sup> Topper, Kathryn, 2012, 15.

<sup>40</sup> Topper, Kathryn, 2012, 12.

also included in said acquisition in that the symposium was an activity restricted to the elite class. The reclining posture, as the foundation of the symposium and its elitist undertones, could have driven citizens of the Hellenic world to demonstrate their status. The Corinthian krater serves as strong evidence of the adaptations Greeks made during the Orientalizing Period.

Vessels and their visual content supply valuable commentary on how they functioned as drinking accessories and on the symposiasts themselves.<sup>41</sup> The *kylix* with “Youth and Men on Couches” by the Foundry Painter, dating from around 490-480 BCE, has two major sympotic scenes. The first takes place within the *tondo*, in the center of the cup (Figure 3). The image depicts two men reclining on a couch, one older, as suggested by his developed facial hair and larger stature who holds a vessel in the crook of his left arm and a *kylix* in his right, outstretched hand. His head is turned and his gaze is fixed upon the youth, who lies beside him while playing the *aulos*, a flute-like instrument. Illustrated below the couch is a table. In addition to the design inside the *kylix*, the outside is decorated with a more elaborate, convivial sympotic scene (Figure 4). Here are three couches, each holding a reclining male. An indoor setting is indicated by the objects shown hanging from the walls.<sup>42</sup> Interaction among the symposiasts is suggested by the gazes and outstretched arms of the two men on the middle and right couch. One appears older because of his facial hair, likely the *erastes*, or older man who was thought to transmit his wisdom and knowledge through sexual love to the *eromenos*, the younger male.<sup>43</sup> This kind of relationship is characteristic of symposia of the Classical Age. Sometimes they would be shown lying together on a single

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<sup>41</sup> Dunbabin, Katherine M. D., 2010, 15.

<sup>42</sup> Lynch, Kathleen M., 2007, 244.

<sup>43</sup> Dover, K. J., 1978, 43.

couch, but here each has his own *kline*. Each holds at least one *kylix*, indicating that they are participating in the heavy drinking portion of the symposium. Including imagery of *kylikes* on the actual *kylix* itself is an effective choice of the vase painting artist in portraying the intended use of such vessels.

Imagery like this aids in understanding the purpose of the *kylix*, which was designed specifically for drinking while reclining.<sup>44</sup> Its size and wide, shallow shape made it the best choice for consuming wine mixed with water. Following the democratic reforms in 508 BCE in Athens, there was a major increase in *kylix* production; this suggests that the number of men participating in formal drinking events escalated in response to the political shift into a democratic society.<sup>45</sup> Important to note is the correlation between the number of *kylikes* found and a peak number of sympotic representations rendered by vase painters. More men were engaging in formalized drinking, motivated by the potential to gain political power among those newly involved in the democratic government. The reforms increased the number of individuals involved in the government, thus creating more opportunity for bonding and securing relationships within newly formed circles of society;<sup>46</sup> a new life had been breathed into the symposium. Through the provision and use of more specialized equipment to elevate drinking events into a more formal domain, namely *kylikes* and other elaborately decorated vessels designed for symposia, the symposiarch could emphasize his high status. Coupled with reclining, a behavior that clearly communicated prestige, the use of objects dedicated to gatherings of consumption illustrates the yearning of men to distinguish themselves among their peers, especially in the age of democratic equality.

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<sup>44</sup> Lynch, Kathleen M., 2007, 247.

<sup>45</sup> Lynch, Kathleen M., 2007, 247.

<sup>46</sup> Lynch, Kathleen M., 2007, 247.

### Architectural Setting

Rooms designed to be used solely for banquets appeared in the Greek world as early as the sixth century BCE and recurred in domestic architecture during the fifth and fourth centuries.<sup>47</sup> The dining room was referred to as the *andron* (Figure 5), which translates literally into “the room of men,”<sup>48</sup> reinforcing the exclusivity of the dining experience. Perhaps due to the increase in the number of men engaging in formalized drinking via the symposium, the appeal of having a space dedicated to the activity also grew. By 400 BCE, the *andron* was a common feature of the home.<sup>49</sup> During this age, the *andron* was usually placed on an outside corner of the home for accessibility and for reducing the noise interference between symposiasts and other members of the household.<sup>50</sup> Possessing an *andron*, an unnecessary but prized feature of private homes, implied that the homeowner was sophisticated with refined tastes.

The characteristics of the *andron* were crucial in fostering an engaging environment for the symposiasts, as the size and layout of the space determined how many men could be accommodated and consequently the intimacy of the conversation.<sup>51</sup> A space where dialogue could occur naturally and without strain ensured a successful symposium. Reconstruction of the layout of the *andron* is possible because the traces of fittings for couches and tables survive in excavated houses. The design and construction features also indicate where furniture was meant to be situated.<sup>52</sup> The *andron* was an approximately square room with a door slightly off-center. Around three and a half sides was a somewhat raised band that

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<sup>47</sup> Dunbabin, Katherine M. D., 2010, 36.

<sup>48</sup> Dunbabin, Katherine M. D., 2010, 36.

<sup>49</sup> Lynch, Kathleen M., 2007, 248.

<sup>50</sup> Dunbabin, Katherine M. D., 2010, 37.

<sup>51</sup> Dunbabin, Katherine M. D., 2010, 36.

<sup>52</sup> Dunbabin, Katherine M. D., 2010, 36.



hugged the walls called the *trottoir* or *kline-band*, where the couches were placed.<sup>53</sup> The couches, or *klinai*, were set head-to-tail on the *trottoir*, each with its own accompanying table, or *trapeza*.<sup>54</sup> Due to the presence of the undecorated *trottoir*, the *andron* has been easily identifiable in archaeological excavations.<sup>55</sup>

That fact that the *trottoir* was a raised platform indicates that the room's sole purpose was to accommodate the *klinai* and, therefore, symposia.<sup>56</sup> It was common for the *andron* to accommodate three to five couches, each measuring approximately 1.80 to 1.90 meters long and about .80 to .90 meters wide. Rooms that outfit seven or, more rarely, eleven couches also occasionally occur, depending on the size of the *andron*. The most significant consequence of arranging the couches directly adjacent to one another is their creation of a unified circle around the room interrupted only by the entryway.<sup>57</sup> This organization places importance on the fundamental ideas of camaraderie and solidarity at the symposium.

The floorplan of the *andron* with the placement of the *kline* against the walls facilitated a harmonious dining experience in an environment that encouraged open, organic discussion. In response to the layout, the center of the floor was frequently decorated with mosaic, visible to each symposiast.<sup>58</sup> In the Classical period, mosaic was fairly limited in terms of design and quality of material. Pebbles were used to create smooth flooring as early as the Bronze Age, but it was not until the 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE that they were employed in decorative mosaics.<sup>59</sup> During this time, pavement was laid using smooth, natural pebbles no larger than five centimeters in diameter. Patterns such as triangles, meanders, and wavebands

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<sup>53</sup> Dunbabin, Katherine M. D., 2010, 36.

<sup>54</sup> Dunbabin, Katherine M. D., 2010, 37.

<sup>55</sup> Westgate, Ruth, 1997, 94.

<sup>56</sup> Lynch, Kathleen M., 2007, 244.

<sup>57</sup> Dunbabin, Katherine M. D., 2010, 38.

<sup>58</sup> Westgate, Ruth, 1997, 102.

<sup>59</sup> Westgate, Ruth, 1997, 93.

were laid around the room in front of the *trottoir*, typically rendered in white to contrast with the dark background (Dunbabin 16) (Figure 6). The purpose of mosaic in the Classical period was to decorate the *andron* and surrounding dining area, where 80% of pebble mosaics from residential settings have been found.<sup>60</sup> Since the *andron* was the only room where outsiders were entertained during the Classical period, hosts likely felt pressure to have this communal dining space elegantly decorated to communicate their identity in society to their guests.<sup>61</sup> Even in Classical Greece, the so-called egalitarian symposium acted as a brilliant opportunity for competition, mirroring the intentions of aristocratic symposiasts in the Archaic period.<sup>62</sup>

Visual evidence in art supports the layout implied by archaeological finds, seen in examples such as the Tomb of the Diver, c. 480 BCE, found at Paestum (Figure 7). This wall painting covering the walls of the tomb in which it was found depicts the symposium. On the north wall of the tomb, the depiction of the *kline* shows that they were placed right next to one another, head to toe, around the *andron*. The tables for each of the *kline*, the *trapeza* are also painted. The one farthest to the right bears two *kylikes*, customarily used in symposia. As was customary, each couch holds two reclining men. The sense of unity attained and venerated at the symposium can be drawn from the artistic and architectural evidence concerning the layout of the *andron*.

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<sup>60</sup> Westgate, Ruth, 1997, 94.

<sup>61</sup> Westgate, Ruth, 1997, 94.

<sup>62</sup> Westgate, Ruth, 1997, 100.

## Hellenistic Age

Significant historical events, such as the Peloponnesian Wars, the Macedonian Conquest of Greece, and Alexander the Great's Asian campaigns affected the quality of life in Greece. Following the short-lived democratic era of the Athenian world (508-404 BCE) and after the death of Alexander the Great in 323 BCE, transformations in the economic, social, and political conditions of Hellenistic Greece encouraged ostentation at a personal level.<sup>63</sup> Tension between the original egalitarian intentions of the symposium and the desire for individual recognition still existed, but the unprecedented prosperity brought about by Alexander the Great's campaigns was accompanied by a general increase in acceptance of luxury within the home.<sup>64</sup> Consequently, private houses from the Classical age appear understated and scarcely furnished in comparison to the luxurious residences of the Hellenistic age. As a palpable and visual symbol of the owner's status, the home's significance in affirming his prestige intensified from the Classical to the Hellenistic period. In other words, the collective ideals held by the *polis* were exchanged for those focused on the achievement of the individual.<sup>65</sup>

Homes of the Classical age were private, save for the *andron*, while the Hellenistic household in its entirety provided an opportunity for the host to communicate the extent of his wealth to guests. Homeowners invested in luxury décor such as wall paintings, floor mosaic, furniture, and vessels. The layout of dining and entertainment spaces changed drastically in the Hellenistic period and reflected the shift in the collective mentality involving the symposium. Instead of having a square room to accommodate *klinai*, houses of

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<sup>63</sup> Westgate, Ruth, 1997, 115.

<sup>64</sup> Westgate, Ruth, 1997, 112.

<sup>65</sup> Westgate, Ruth, 1997, 115.

the later era had long, rectangular rooms serving as communal dining spaces connected to two smaller rooms, as in the case of the House of Masks at Delos (Figure 8).<sup>66</sup> Houses at Delos provide a plethora of information regarding Hellenistic home design. The city was abandoned in the first century BCE after being devastated by countries at war with Rome, with whom Delos had a friendly relationship. The city accurately represents the caliber of luxury embraced by people of the Hellenistic period since its position as an island and port made it an incredibly wealthy place.<sup>67</sup> The Villa of Good Fortune at Olynthus, a less affluent Hellenistic city, has a similar layout (Figure 9). Homeowners in the Classical period only allowed guests into the *andron* to keep domestic areas of the home private. Within the reception portion of the house, the size and decoration of rooms were tailored for their intended functions. Rather than one room designated for symposia in the Classical sense, there were multiple rooms that could be used for the reception and entertainment of guests.

In emulation of the Classical *andron*, more intimate gatherings with highly esteemed guests took place in smaller, more private rooms which were usually more extravagantly decorated via mosaic and wall painting.<sup>68</sup> Larger rooms were utilized for larger drinking parties, perhaps with a less selective company.<sup>69</sup> This layout suggests that intimate conversation had lost value, replaced with the opportunity to display one's wealth and esteem. Elaborate decoration of the best rooms created a stark contrast between the living and entertainment areas of the home that did not exist in the more modest Classical home.<sup>70</sup> Because the entrance of each *andron* would have been blocked by *klinai* when the dining area was in use, these rooms must have been multi-functional. This theory is also supported

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<sup>66</sup> Dunbabin, Katherine M. D., ed. William J. Slater, 1991, 122.

<sup>67</sup> Westgate, Ruth, 2000, 393.

<sup>68</sup> Westgate, Ruth, 2000, 425.

<sup>69</sup> Westgate, Ruth, 2000, 414.

<sup>70</sup> Westgate, Ruth, 2000, 426.

by the fact that the raised *trottoir* was no longer present in the dining areas.<sup>71</sup> The information at hand suggests that the symposium no longer required its own designated space, and that the significance of Classical symposia must have also declined.<sup>72</sup> Formalized drinking remained essential to Greek life, however, with the objective to form new relationships and strengthen current ones. Nevertheless, competition among men to distinguish themselves from their contemporaries only intensified with the abundance of material luxuries in the Hellenistic age.

At Delos, where many beautiful homes were left in their late Hellenistic state, mosaics also revealed much about the changes in interior design since mosaic and architecture were so interwoven. Not all could afford high-quality mosaic, resulting in compromises in material and complexity of design for individuals with lesser means. In the House of the Masks at Delos, four complicated mosaics were found, three of which were placed in very large rooms, though detailed figural motifs were usually assigned to smaller rooms due to their intricacy.<sup>73</sup> These mosaics are reputed as impressive works, however, it is obvious that the commissioner of the mosaics felt pressure to order designs that exceeded his capital. Though the content was chosen in good judgment, the execution of the mosaics is simply inadequate. With the exception of one of the mosaic panels, all were completed using standard-size tesserae, which left the figural motifs with an utterly crude aesthetic, as seen in photo of the mask mosaic (Figure 10).<sup>74</sup> This house at Delos supports the notion that the demands of individual ostentation rose in the Hellenistic period at the expense of the homeowner's finances and self-esteem.

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<sup>71</sup> Westgate, Ruth, 2000, 414.

<sup>72</sup> Dunbabin, Katherine M. D., ed. William J. Slater, 1991, 122.

<sup>73</sup> Westgate, Ruth, 2000, 395.

<sup>74</sup> Westgate, Ruth, 2000, 396.

The physical elevation of the *klinai* visually conveys what the symposiasts were seeking, which was an esteemed position in society. Raising oneself off the ground while reclining on a luxurious piece of furniture was both a literal and metaphorical means of distinction, as shown in the reclining posture's earlier depiction in the Assyrian relief sculpture of King Ashurbanipal. Sosos of Pergamon, the only mosaicist whose name is recorded in literature, was a Hellenistic artist who spoke directly to this theme. Using his expert eye and fine tesserae, Sosos invented the *oikos arasotos*, which translates into the "unswept house" or "unswept floor." Pliny writes,

In this last branch of art [mosaic], the highest excellence has been attained by Sosos, who laid, at Pergamus, the mosaic pavement known as the "*oikos asarotos*," from the fact that there represented, in small squares of different colors, the remnants of a banquet lying upon the pavement, and other things which are usually swept away with the broom, they all having the appearance of being left there by accident (Plin. Nat. Book XXXVI 60.25).<sup>75</sup>

Though none of this original work survives, copies such as the one found at Aquileia, do (Figures 11 and 12). Here, one can see just how intentionally each of the food scraps is rendered using masterful mosaic skill, like in the depiction of the eaten fish with its skeleton left attached to its head. Other waste items include nuts and fruits, along with more discarded fish. Pliny also mentions the artist's signature imagery of exquisitely illustrated doves drinking water from a bowl while other birds around are seen "sunning and pluming themselves (Plin. Nat. Book XXXVI 60.25)." Since the original work does not survive, it is unknown if the doves Pliny speaks of are part of the same floor. It is possible that they were the central piece of the floor mosaic, since Pliny discusses them directly after his description of the banquet scraps.

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<sup>75</sup> Pliny the Elder, ed. and trans. John Bostock, M.D., F.R.S. H.T. Riley, 1855.

The temptation to assign the artist's mosaic to the symposium is overwhelming. If correct, Sosos of Pergamon makes patently clear the relationship that exists between the symposiasts, their indulgence, and the floor through the content of his mosaic. He comments most straightforwardly that banqueters are gluttonous in their dining and drinking activities as they throw all of their scraps onto the floor. The imagery indicates that participants in formalized drinking parties are concerned with lavishness and elitism, the ideals attached to the ritual in its aristocratic origins. What's more, the tesserae banquet remnants appear to be in the *trottoir*, where the *klinai* would have been placed. Having this splendid, expensive mosaic under the couches would have been overwhelmingly extravagant since it would seldom be visible. The combination of such opulent *klinai*, nourishment, and mosaic, that may or may not have even been enjoyed, could not produce a more decadent environment for men seeking approval in society through said luxuries.

Pergamon, an extraordinarily wealthy ancient Greek city in Aeolis, was known for its extravagant home décor. Sosos of Pergamon's "*oikos asarotos*" shows how far mosaic as an art form had come, which as previously argued, puts emphasis on the connection between reclining symposiasts and the floor. Surely an original work by Sosos would contribute to the homeowner's ego, since his work was undoubtedly quite expensive to commission, considering the cost of the time, expertise, and tiny tesserae of many colors (*opus vermiculatum*) used to produce these works. Expensive materials such as glass and faience were most effective in creating such detailed imagery.

Indulgence both in the forms of consumption and in material amenities continued to play an enormous role in communal dining, as seen first by the increase in the area dedicated to the activity. The foundation of convivial dining rituals, the reclining posture, also

maintained its significance and popularity amid the changes in the standard of quality of life. Undoubtedly, in the age where the individualistic ethos was paramount, reclining would occur only upon a *kline*, which is the addition to the symposium that originally catalyzed materialism in the Hellenic world due to its inherent elitist connotations. Many such luxuries can be seen at Vergina, twenty kilometers west of Thessaloniki, near to where Alexander the Great and other Macedonians resided in the empire.<sup>76</sup> A tomb there might have belonged to Philip II or a later Macedonian ruler. Along with the dozens of beautiful silver vessels, the ivory fragments found within the tomb were indicative of the extravagant luxury present at the time (Figures 13 and 14).<sup>77</sup> Because they were located where the *klinai* must have been placed, it can be almost certainly concluded that the ivory was used to decorate an incredibly ornate reclining couch, as depicted in the reconstruction attached (Figure 15). Most likely, it was made of wood which disintegrated over time, leaving only the ivory to be discovered. Two types of ivory relief sculpture were found, one in low relief depicting mythological characters and the other in high relief depicting real people, such as King Phillip II and his son, Alexander the Great. It is unknown how exactly the two types of relief would exist on the frieze; the reconstruction is a guess.<sup>78</sup> Using intrinsically expensive materials added more value to the *kline*, which in itself was a symbol of luxury. The concentration of such a precious substance into a single piece of furniture expresses just how important ornamentation was in communicating one's esteem. The material and aesthetic value of each piece accorded that of the ruler who lay upon it.

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<sup>76</sup> Tsimbidou-Avlonti, Maria, compiled by Dimitrios Pandermalis, 2004, 149.

<sup>77</sup> Tsimbidou-Avlonti, Maria, compiled by Dimitrios Pandermalis, 2004, 150.

<sup>78</sup> Andronikos, Manolēs, 1984, 128.



Regarding illustrations of sympotic scenes, wall painting became the best source of information regarding symposia in the Hellenistic age with the decline in popularity of pottery, and thus its visual information. Wall paintings in funerary settings provide ample information on how ancient Greeks lived, and what they would need in the next life. One of the most beautiful and well-preserved wall paintings comes from the Macedonian tomb at Hagios Athanasios, also near Thessaloniki, dating from the last quarter of the fourth century BCE. It is a symposium scene, reminiscent of the tradition in its Classical form in the dress, the entertainment, and the positioning of the *klinai*. What indicates the later time period is the addition of expensive, colorful blankets strewn about upon fabulously luxurious couches, the sophisticated dinnerware, and the feast itself (Figure 16). It appears that much from the Classical setting has been taken and embellished in this scene, again suggesting a more individualistic ethos among Hellenistic citizens and symposiasts. The reclining posture is ever-present, with even more prominence through their heavy decoration and the finely dressed symposiasts upon them. Even in this age, hundreds of years after the adoption of symposia, reclining is the most defining aspect of one's status as a distinguished man.

### **Conclusion**

The adoption of the reclining posture from the Near East into ancient Greek symposia catalyzed a major shift in attitude toward symposia. In the pre-Classical era, symposiasts placed a great deal of weight on philosophical and fraternal values; symposia were meant to provide a shared space for conversation and transmission of knowledge. However, in the Hellenistic Age, diners could not be considered true symposiasts in the pre-Classical sense due to their disregard for sympotic tradition. Formalized drinking became less about the

coming together of individuals and more about how that could be done in style through art and architectural surroundings in the Hellenistic Age.

One thing, however, has remained the same: the symposium always served as the platform through which an individual could communicate his identity. One's identity was created through his cultivation of wit and philosophy, as well as home décor. The symposium provided an avenue for individuals to put effort into the demonstrating the lavishness of their possessions. The more ostentatious he was, the more highly regarded he would be by his peers, as this custom became increasingly more important in solidifying personal and political relationships. Pressure to meet expectations grew as time went on, with emphasis on creating beautiful banqueting spaces and representations of them. Since the host was the one with the opportunity to exhibit his ostentation, rising to the occasion was undoubtedly an excruciatingly stressful job. As illustrated in the section discussing Hellenistic homes in this paper, men would go great lengths to outfit their homes with the most expensive paintings, mosaics, and furniture in hopes of impressing others and securing their position in society. Sosos of Pergamon's mosaics and those of the House of the Masks at Delos represent two ends of the quality spectrum, both designed as ways to visually stimulate and impress the symposiast guests. The concentration of lavish accoutrements in the Hellenistic Age compared to the understated *andrones* of the Classical era falls in line with the hedonism Athanaeus described in his *Deipnosophistae*. Ideology surrounding the Classical symposium appears to be more serious, literally in terms of *klinai* and lightly decorated dining rooms, and metaphorically regarding the kind of conversations that would take place there. With the Hellenistic Age, the *andron* itself grew in size while its sanctity diminished. Formalized

drinking parties focused almost entirely on excessiveness in drinking and ostentation, supported in the texts analyzed above.

The pressure to exhibit one's engagement with symposia continue into the after-life, as seen through the wall paintings found in funerary settings. In both the illustration found in Tomb of the Diver at Paestum (Figure 7) and that of the Macedonian Tomb at Vergina (Figure 10), one can immediately identify the omnipresent reclining posture assumed by the symposiasts. In comparing the two, however, the Classical sympotic scene appears to be quite understated. Besides its unassuming colors, its furniture is simple, its tables are bare with the exception of a couple of *kylikes*, and the symposiasts look engaged with one another conversationally. Vibrant blue, red, and purple paint in the Hellenistic wall painting clearly communicates luxury through the expense of these colors. Moreover, the banqueters are draped in lavish cloth while reclining on highly embellished *klinai*. Delights abound on the tables next to them, and they drink their wine from silver vessels. The differences between these two scenes mirrors those argued by Glaukon and Socrates in Plato's *Republic* regarding the ideal city. Socrates' perception of this would correlate more closely with the banquet scene in the Tomb of the Diver, devoid of luxuries yet harmonious. Glaukon, on the other hand, would likely prefer the pleasantries that the Macedonian symposiasts enjoy in their symposia. From what we know about ancient Greek mentality, as exhibited by Socrates and Glaukon's conversation, opposition was important; tensions between poles served as motivation, such as the tension between democratic equality and the desire for individual distinction among peers. As mentioned, symposia in the home catered to this particular set of conflicting philosophies. Reclining on couches, and the obsession with luxury, was

absolutely cause for extravagance to eventually dominate the formalized drinking parties in ancient Greece.



Figure 1. The Banquet Scene, relief sculpture, c. 645-635 BCE, the British Museum (124920)



Figure 2. Corinthian Column Krater, c. 600 BCE, Musée du Louvre (E 635)





Figure 3. Kylix, Foundry Painter, c. 480 BCE, the Museum of Fine Arts Boston (01.8034)



Figure 4. Kylix, Foundry Painter, c. 480 BCE, the Museum of Fine Arts Boston (01.8034)



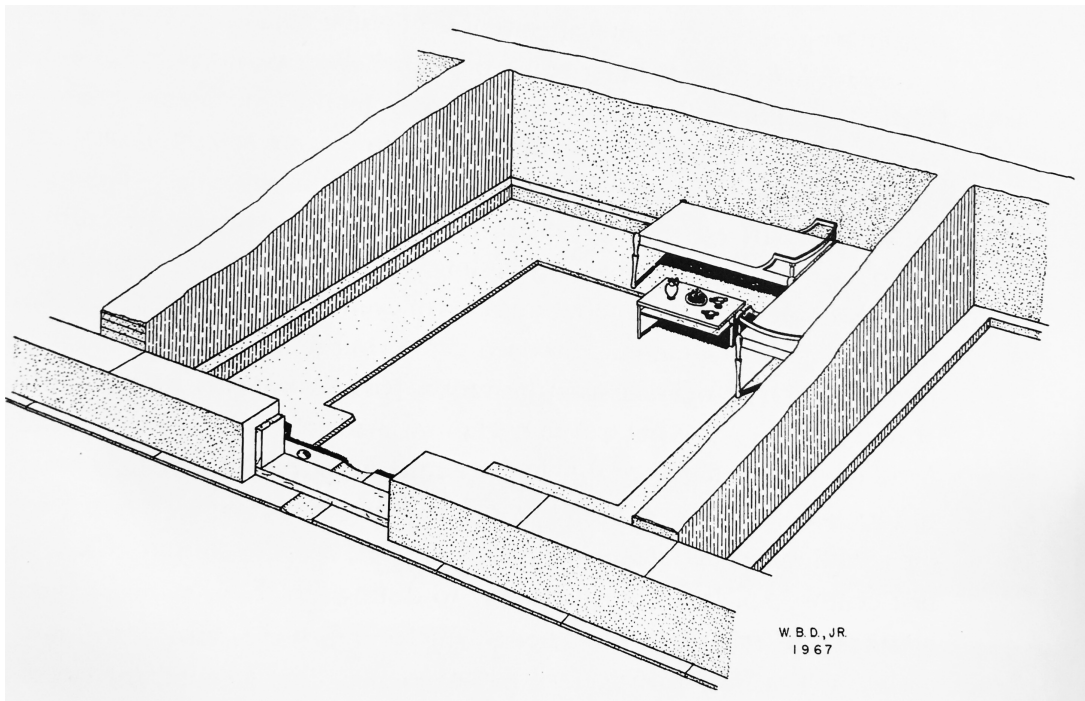


Figure 5. Plan of Classical andron



Figure 6. House of Dionysos, pebble mosaic detail, late 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE, Pella, Greece





Figure 7. Tomb of the Diver, fresco, c. 480-470 BCE, Museo Paestum, Greece

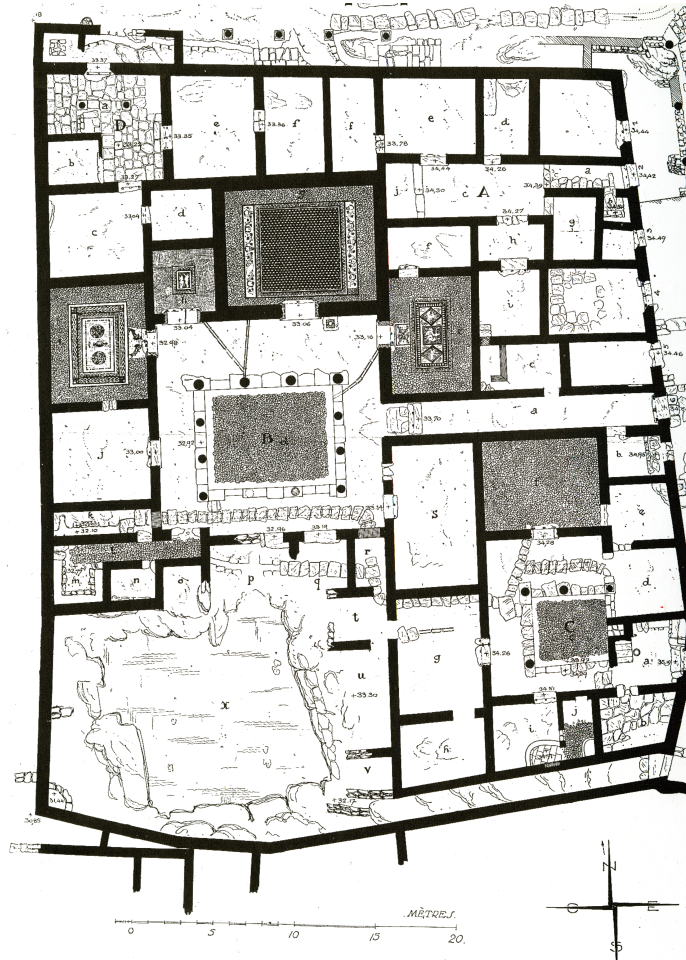


Figure 8. House of the Masks, Plan, Delos, Greece



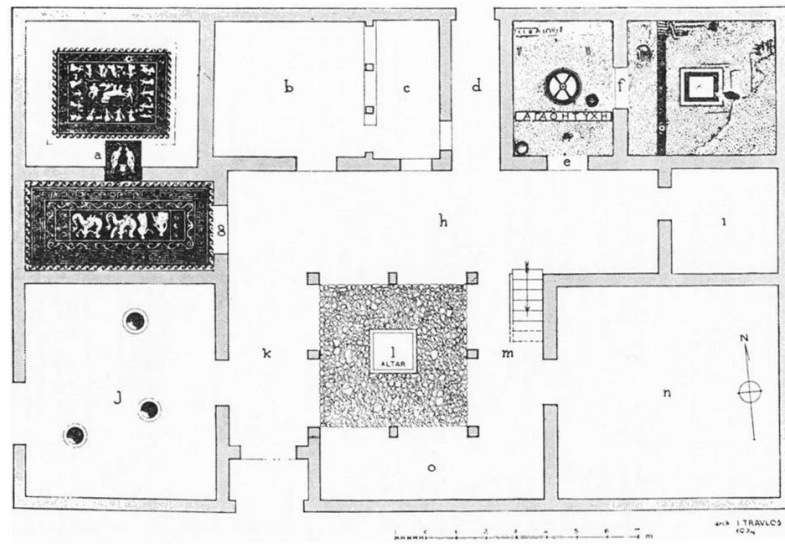


FIG. 2. RESTORED PLAN OF VILLA OF GOOD FORTUNE, OLYNTHUS

Figure 9. Villa of Good Fortune, Plan, Olynthus, Greece

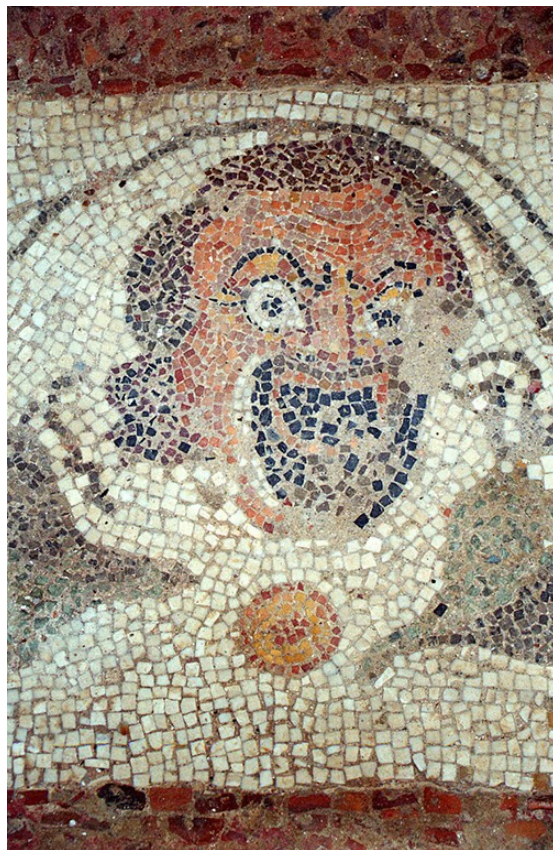


Figure 10. House of the Masks, floor mosaic detail, c. 120-80 BCE, Delos, Greece



Figure 11. *Oikos asarotos* floor mosaic detail, c. 50 BCE, Museo Archaeologico Aquileia, Italy

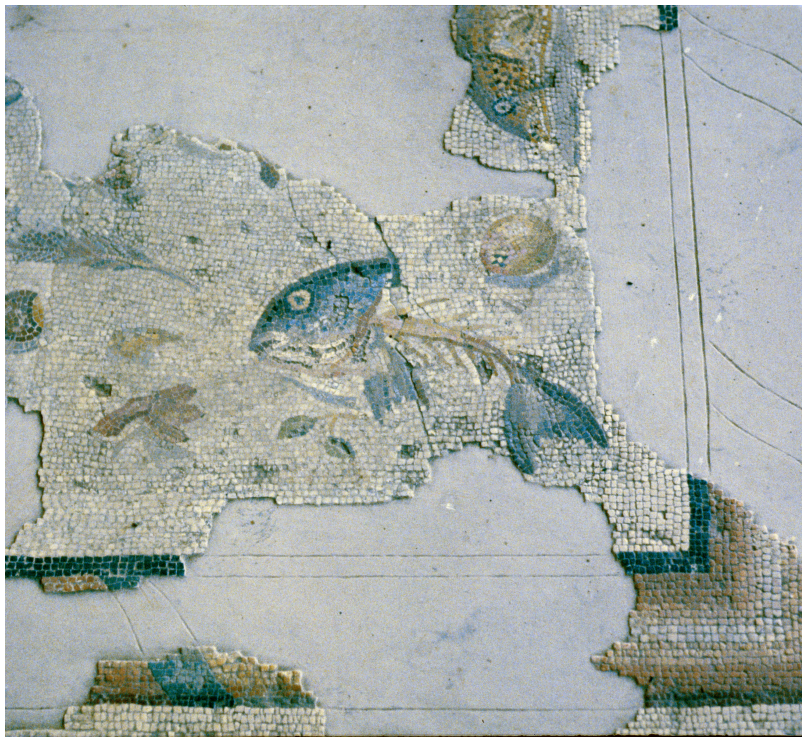


Figure 12. *Oikos asarotos* floor mosaic detail, c. 50 BCE, Museo Archaeologico Aquileia, Italy





Figure 13. Ivory relief sculpture fragment, c. 375 BCE, Vergina, Greece



Figure 14. Ivory relief sculpture fragment, c. 375 BCE, Vergina, Greece



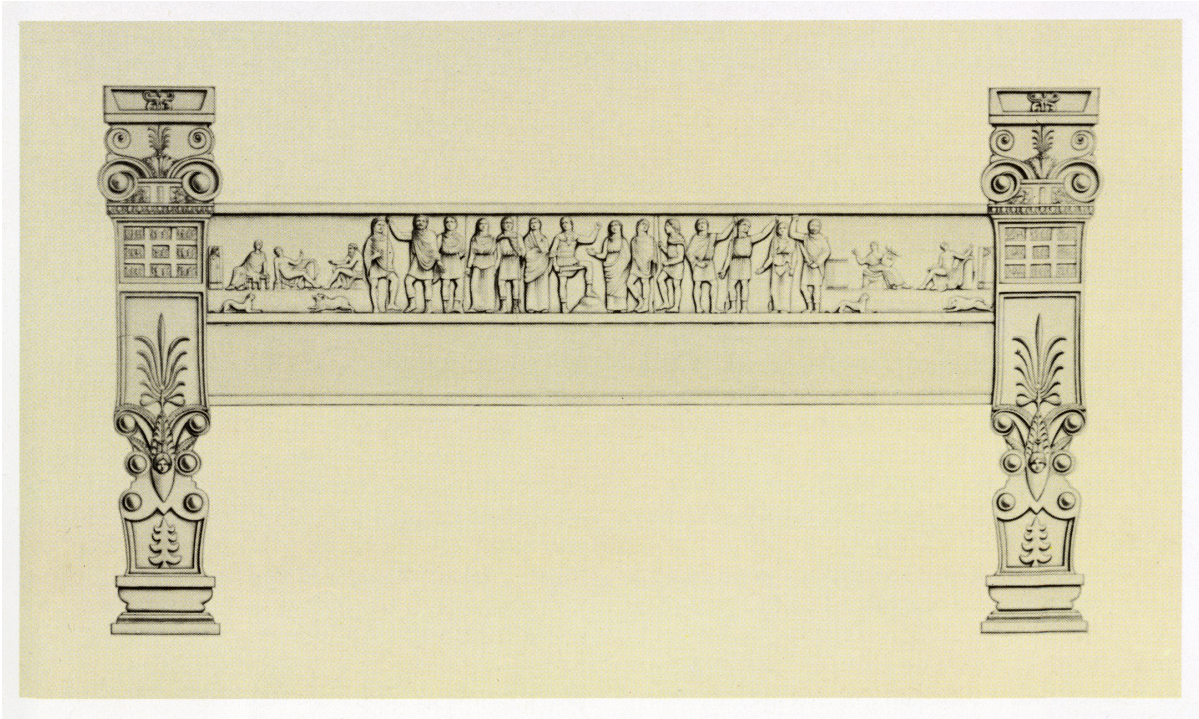


Figure 15. *Kline* reconstruction



Figure 16. Macedonian tomb wall painting, c. 375 BCE, Hagios Athenasios, Greece

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