

Couched in Death: Klinai and Identity in Anatolia and Beyond. By ELIZABETH P. BAUGHAN. Wisconsin Studies in Classics. Madison: UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN PRESS, 2013. Pp. xvii + 487, illus. \$65.

Elizabeth Baughan's *Couched in Death* is a welcome addition to the scholarly literature on ancient furniture—with the *kline*, the couch or bed, considered here in its funerary context but also in terms of its wider use. The book is based on her PhD dissertation, which was centered on the funerary *klinai* of Anatolia, here expanded to include examples from other areas of the Near East and Mediterranean worlds, incorporating new research and information. Anyone familiar with the art and architecture of the first millennium BC in Greece, Anatolia, and Italy will have encountered the *kline* in its many manifestations. This important publication helps to clarify much about the ubiquitous furniture form and its use for banqueting and the grave.

After an introduction on “approaches to *klinai* and the cultures of Anatolia,” the chapters discuss, in turn, Archaic and Classical Greek *klinai*, Anatolian funerary *klinai*, the origins of the *kline*-tomb and the reclining banquet, “banqueting and identity in Achaemenid Anatolia,” and finally the legacy of the funerary couch. While ostensibly limited to one particular furniture type, the scope is in fact broad, resulting in a vast tapestry of evidence that forms an impressive if uneven picture. Baughan has assembled a large number of *klinai*, both surviving examples and those illustrated in painting and sculpture; as her detailed review of the literature makes clear, she has produced the most comprehensive study of the subject to date.

The term *kline* (from κλίνω, ‘to lean or recline’) is one of several ancient Greek words used to denote a bed or couch, and is commonly found in texts of the Classical period (Richter 1966: 52–63). The various terms have not been linked conclusively to particular types of beds, either extant or depicted in art, although Baughan explores the possibilities (pp. 65ff.). Scholars have long wondered whether such furniture might have been reserved exclusively for sleeping or banqueting—or used for multiple purposes. This has not been completely resolved by Baughan, who considers a priori that “*klinai* were by nature multifunctional” (p. 11). This “functional versatility” makes the *kline* apt for funerary purposes, according to Baughan, and indeed the dead are shown lying in state on beds as soon as funerary scenes are depicted in the Geometric period.

While Near Eastern prototypes are considered here, the *kline* as discussed by Baughan is a type (or types) of couch developed in Greece, and then adopted in the lands to the west and east. Stone and bronze funerary couches, depictions from painted vases and sculpture, and literary references are drawn upon to develop a very complete picture of this furniture form.

Baughan follows the classification of Helmut Kyrieleis, calling the two main types of Greek *klinai* Types A and B, distinguished largely by their different leg styles (Kyrieleis 1969). Type A corresponds to Richter's couch with “turned legs,” and Type B to her couch with “rectangular legs.” Actually neither characterization is quite accurate. Type A legs look as though they were turned (on a lathe) although they could have been carved, and metal versions were cast or overlaid with sheet. Type B legs are not actually “rectangular,” but made from upright planks with sections cut out at both sides near the bottom of the leg, leaving a very thin strip flanked by circular elements to support the entire weight of the couch—emphasizing the virtuosity of the Greek woodworker and underscoring his ability to utilize the material to best advantage.

Technical details are discussed but not always fully explicated; topics such as mortise-and-tenon joinery and lathe-turning might have been further explained, for those readers not familiar with woodworking tools, techniques, and terminology. The same situation pertains for ancient sites, texts, authors, terms, mythological figures, and the names of vase painters, for example. In these and other ways, *Couched in Death* is geared primarily toward the specialist. Discussions are sometimes discursive, and, although Baughan provides a great deal of valuable information, some of her narrative might profitably have been condensed, moved to the notes, or even published as separate articles. The book's chapters have the same discursive, speculative quality, taking the reader on an intriguing—if not always linear—journey.

Baughan does not hesitate to describe and decry the looting of so many of the tombs featured in her study. Among the more than 600 tumuli in Lydia, the burial chambers of only 115 have been “archaeologically investigated,” and of these only two were found intact (p. 6). She rigorously cites

the lack of provenience for looted objects, although some of these items become integrated into her discussion with rather more certainty. Such is the case with a bronze *kline* acquired by the Getty in 1982, following the reported looting of a bronze bed from a tumulus at Alahıdır, west of Sardis (pp. 97–98, fig. 23); the Getty *kline* is said to be “probably from Lydia” and then “from Lydia,” although this has not been proven.

More problematic is “a grave stele from Memphis,” which is said to show a man in Persian dress lying on “a couch of hybrid Assyrian-Achaemenid form” (pp. 181–82, fig. 123); this stele was purchased by F. W. von Bissing from an antiquities dealer in Egypt before 1930 and is certainly a modern forgery (Muscarella 2003).

One of the most important features of *Couched in Death* is its survey of Anatolian tombs with funerary beds or couches from the sixth–fifth centuries BC, many being carved or painted as Type B *klinai*. These are discussed in chapters 2–4, and Appendix A lists 171 such tombs with information and bibliography for each. The appendix entries are organized by tomb type (tumulus or rock-cut) and then by region (Lydia, Phrygia, etc.); the index will aid those looking for individual tombs in this extensive list.

Baughan accepts the new Gordion chronology in her discussion of rock-cut chamber tombs in Phrygia, as well as a late date for Arslan Kaya (sixth century BC), relegating dissenting opinions to brief citations in her notes—with uncertain consequences for the dating of these Phrygian tombs (pp. 132ff.). Admittedly, the dating conundrum has caused difficulties for scholars of Iron Age Anatolia—and has not yet been resolved to general agreement. In Appendix A, Baughan dates every one of these tombs with a question mark, most with ranges of “eighth–fifth century?” Funerary couches in tombs from sites in Lycia, Caria, and Paphlagonia carry the discussion into the fourth century BC and later.

The meaning of funerary *klinai* is addressed throughout the book. Baughan finds that in some tombs *klinai* were clearly conceived as banqueting couches—as in Tumulus II, Karaburun, which features a banqueter reclining on a *kline* in a painted scene on the rear wall of the tomb, above the actual couch. This brings her to the “reclining banquet,” which is treated in detail in chapter 3. The banquet relief of Ashurbanipal from Nineveh (ca. 645 BC), showing the king lying on an ornate Syro-Phoenician couch, has been considered the earliest instance of the reclining banquet in the Near East (Simpson 2002: 310 n. 58). Baughan disagrees, citing a fragmentary “Phoenician” bowl “thought to be from Kourion” in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Cesnola collection (pp. 202ff., fig. 34). The bowl, “now dated to the late eighth or early seventh century,” shows two banqueters reclining on couches. For the date, Baughan turns to Markoe, who places the bowl in his Period III (ca. 710–675 BC); however, Markoe asserts but does not demonstrate his chronology, which is by no means proven (Winter 1990: 237–38).

Baughan also cites the Old Testament prophet Amos, who lived in the eighth century BC. His famous condemnation of “those who lie on beds of ivory, who sprawl upon their couches,” in connection with eating and drinking (6:4–7), is taken to refer to the reclining banquet at this early date. The passage is not well understood, however, and it is not clear that the beds are actually connected to the feasting (Anderson and Freedman 1989: 562). It is of course possible that the custom originated at this time in the eastern Mediterranean, but the banquet relief of Ashurbanipal remains the earliest securely dated representation. Baughan’s suggestion that Megaron 3 at Gordion may have included “a couch used for banqueting,” dating to “the late ninth century” by the new chronology, thereby constituting “our earliest known physical evidence for the reclining banquet, anywhere,” is completely unfounded (p. 219).

The main narrative concludes with a study of the Persian period in Anatolia, as seen through its tomb architecture and associated cultural artifacts. Persian, Lydian, East Greek, Phrygian, and other styles and customs combine or are found together, as exemplified by the “Lydian Treasure,” which Baughan addresses at some length. *Kline*-tombs include Aktepe, Toptepe, Ikiztepe, Harta, Lale Tepe, and Karaburun II, as well as Dedetepe (its wooden stool or bed legs incorrectly identified as table legs by the excavators). Numerous influences combined to create a “hybridized cultural identity,” adopted by the local elites and resident Persians. In northern Greece, the *kline* occurs in Macedonian tombs, notably the ivory-inlaid couch from Tomb II at Vergina (fourth century BC); the *kline*-burial continues into the Roman period.

Three basic theories—that the main *kline* types originated in East Greece, that the *kline*-tomb developed in Anatolia, and that the reclining banquet began (and continued) as an expression of luxury—run

throughout this wide-ranging book, which Baughan sees as a kind of exploration of multiple issues. Whether convinced on all points or not, scholars will find a wealth of information here about the ancient couch and its use, as well as details for a large number of examples. Almost anything one is looking for regarding *klinai* can be located, and the enormous amount of data and numerous illustrations have not been compiled elsewhere—making this an essential reference work on the subject.

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The Many Faces of Herod the Great. By ADAM KOLMAN MARSHAK. Grand Rapids, Mich.: WILLIAM B. EERDMANS PUBLISHING Co., 2015. Pp. xxxi + 400, illus. \$35 (paper).

As a man whose vilification extends into the present era, Herod the Great presents a significant challenge for the biographer. Adam Marshak approaches the challenge by examining the multiple images of himself that Herod presented to the world, focusing in particular upon four roles: Herod as rightful successor to the Hasmonean rulers of Judaea; as Hellenistic ruler among the successors of Alexander; as Roman client-king; and as King of the Jews in a wider sense, including the Diaspora. By performing these roles, Marshak argues, Herod was able to achieve a largely successful reign according to the criteria of the day: His reign was long and relatively peaceful; he died of natural causes; and he left his kingdom to his designated heirs.

How exactly did Herod perform these roles? As well as discussing the main political events, Marshak concentrates on the visible artifacts of his reign that presented powerful messages to his people, to his fellow rulers, and to Rome, including in particular his coinage and his extensive building program. Much of the written evidence for Herod's reign comes from the work of Josephus, and indeed Marshak relies on Josephus for much of his evidence, especially for the building program, for which he finds Josephus generally more reliable than rabbinic sources. For other aspects of Herod's reign, Marshak finds that Josephus's rhetorical style can make him a less reliable source, and so he focuses on aspects attested in multiple sources.

After providing historical groundwork in chapters on Rome and its client kings, Hellenistic monarchies, and Judaeon history from the Maccabees to Herod, Marshak begins his detailed study of Herod's rise to power and his use of visual symbols in order to consolidate that power. As Marshak points out, Herod was a commoner and a foreigner (he was from Idumaea, and his mother was Nabataean). As he had no priestly lineage, he could not rule as both king and high priest, as his Hasmonean predecessors had. To overcome these deficits, Herod married Mariamme, a Hasmonean princess, and appointed her brother as high priest.

To further link himself with the Hasmonean dynasty, Herod adapted Hasmonean architectural forms for the palaces he built in the desert fortresses he constructed to protect his realm. Structural similarities