

THE TABLE OF MÊN

(PLATE XI)

ON my first journey in Turkey, in 1955, I copied and photographed the following inscription, which to my knowledge has never been published. The letters are very roughly cut on the upper surface (102 cm. by 51 cm.) of a stone which now forms part of a stairway in a house of Kızılca Mahalle (ward), Yalvaç, not far from the site of Pisidian Antioch. The irregularity of the lettering is clearly shown in the photograph (PLATE XIa).

Ἡ τράπεζα Μηνὸς
Πρωτίωνος εὐχή

This is not the only epigraphic document that connects a man named Protion with Mên. There is also an altar built into a house wall in Abecilar Mahalle and published by W. M. Calder¹ (PLATE XIb):

[Σ]τήλην τοι καὶ τοῦτον ἐπέυχάδιον θέτο βωμὸν
Πρωτίων Ἀσκαίης τῶι μεδέοντι θεῶι·
τὸν Μοῦσαι θρέψαν[τ]ο, σὺ δ' ὦ παροδείτα προσεύ[ξαι]
χαίρων καὶ σπένδ' εὖ σαίσιν ἐπ' εὐτυχίαι[s].

Calder's commentary on this inscription raised a question which may be given a tentative answer. He thought that Protion set up a stele (containing his own epitaph) *and* a bomos in fulfilment of his vow, but mentioned W. M. Ramsay's view that this one stone constituted both stele and bomos. The language of line 1 favours the first interpretation, and so does common sense: a stele is not the same as a bomos. A third inscription, copied like the first in 1955, *might* be part of the epitaph that Calder conjecturally ascribed to the missing stone: it is cut into the pediment of a broken stele which has been built into the wall of a house in Yalvaç (I think in Leblebeciler Mahalle):

[---] παροδείται
[---] στήλην²

Only the two words remain and it is not more than guesswork to suggest that here, after exhorting the passer(s)-by to be of good cheer,³ as he did on the bomos, Protion claimed the stele as his own, just as he had claimed the bomos.

May our three inscriptions from Yalvaç, or at least the first two, really be the work of one man? We know nothing of the Protion who set up the τράπεζα; the Protion of the bomos tells us only that he was brought up by the Muses: an artist, then, or poet (his elegiacs scan nicely), rather than a priest of the god. The use of the iota adscript on the bomos led Calder to award it a relatively early date (first century A.D. or even earlier);⁴ and the elongated, irregular lettering of the τράπεζα looks late, considerably later than that of the bomos. On the other hand it is notoriously dangerous to rely on the style of lettering as a criterion of

Dr S. Weinstock kindly read a draft of this note many years ago; Professor O. Gurney and Mrs A. Morpurgo Davies have interpreted some Anatolian documents for me, showing their total irrelevance to the inscription under discussion. For all this help I am very grateful; but responsibility for the present form and content of the note is entirely mine.

¹ *JRS* ii (1912) 93, no. 22; cf. E. N. Lane, 'A Restudy of the God Men. Part I: The Epigraphic and Sculptural Evidence' in *Berytus* xv (1964) 31, no. 10.

The eagle on the altar recalls the βωμὸς μαρμάρωος ἔχων ἀετὸν ἐν ἑαυτῷ Διὸς of Smyrna (*SIG*³ 996, with Dittenberger's note).

² *Anat. St.* xvii (1967) 114, no. 34.

³ See R. D. Lattimore, *Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs* (Urbana 1962) 235 f.

⁴ In *CR* xxiv (1910) 78, Calder admitted that it occurs sporadically in later times; he cited J. S. Sterrett, *Epigr. Journ.* 148 (precisely from Pisidian Antioch).

date. The name Protion is otherwise unknown at Pisidian Antioch, and in both cases it is unaccompanied by the *nomen* and *praenomen* that proclaim the Roman citizen. Then there is the fact that the erection both of bomos and of *τράπεζα* constituted the fulfilment of Protion's vow. That is not a strong argument: almost all the votive inscriptions associated with the cult of Mên at Antioch end with the phrase *Μηνὶ εὐχὴν*. The table and the bomos were functioning in one respect in the same way as the votive tablets, and it is not surprising that the same idea, differently expressed, should occur in the inscriptions under discussion.

The use of the table in the cult of Mên is already well attested: in H. Mischkowski's collection of references to tables in sculpture and inscriptions⁵ the cult of Mên shows more instances (6) than that of any Greek deity except Zeus (6), Apollo (6), Asclepius (7), and Dionysus (6). At Smyrna, perhaps in the first century A.D., we find a *Μηνὸς ἄγαλμα ἐπὶ βάσει | μαρμαρίνη, καὶ τράπεζα ποικίλη τετράγωνος, | καὶ βωμὸς μαρμάρινος ἔχων ἀετὸν ἐν ἑαυτῷ | Διός*.⁶ Everything else we know of the table in the cult comes from Attica, whither the cult was carried from Asia Minor and where it is known in the Hellenistic and Roman periods.⁷ Thus Xanthus of Lycia, the slave of Gaius Orbius, erected a shrine to Mên Tyrannus, perhaps in the first century A.D., and amongst the regulations he laid down for the maintenance of the cult was that *ἐὰν δέ τις τράπεζαν πληρῶν τῶν θεῶν, λαμβανέτω τὸ ἥμισυ[ν] | τοὺς δὲ βουλομένους ἔρανον συνάγειν Μηνὶ Τυράννῳ ἐπ' ἀγαθῆν τύχην*. | *ὁμοίως δὲ παρέξουσιν οἱ ἔραμιστοὶ τὰ καθήκοντα τῶν θεῶν, δε[ξιὸν] | σκέλος καὶ δορὰν καὶ κοτύλην ἐλαίου καὶ χοῦν οἴνου καὶ να[στὸν χοῦν] | καῖον καὶ ἐφιέρα ἰρία καὶ κολλύβων χοίνικας δύο καὶ ἀκρό[αμα, ἐ] | ἂν κατακλιθῶσιν οἱ ἔραμιστοὶ καὶ στέφανον καὶ λημνίσ[κον]*.⁸

Besides the epigraphic references there are actual representations of the table of the god, and they are some centuries earlier in date than the Attic inscription. In one, which was discovered between the Pnyx and the Areopagus,⁹ Mên, wearing tunic and cloak, holds a patera in his right hand, while his left rests on the horns or neck of a ram. In front of the ram is a table laden with cakes and loaves, and below the table is a cock, the bird associated with Mên at Pisidian Antioch and elsewhere.¹⁰ Behind the god and the ram appears his crescent emblem. On one face of another monument from Athens, a stele in the Lanckoroński collection,¹¹ Mên is seated sideways on the ram, with a table laden with flowers, fruit, and cakes in front of him. Again the cock appears, this time accompanied by a hen, and once more the crescent is behind the god and his mount. A third relief, from Thoricus,¹² assigns the god a different mount: he is seated on the cock as he approaches the table prepared for him by his worshippers. Either the crescent was omitted, or, as the editor of the stone suggested, it was shown in white paint which has long since vanished. A relief of unknown provenance, now lost, was published by P. Wolters and identified by him as a votive to Mên.¹³ The god, seated once more on his ram, accepts the offerings laid by two kneeling figures, one male, one female, on the table before him; beneath the table are a cock and a hen, and in the background a second, younger, man. Because of its resemblance to the other reliefs, Wolters assigns this one too an Attic origin. Finally, Mr E. Lane has

⁵ H. Mischkowski, *Die heiligen Tische im Götterkultus der Griechen und Römer* (Diss., Königsberg 1917) 30. He omits a garlanded 'altar' or 'basis' shown on coins of Attuda, which bears two flaming altars (?) between three pine cones (*BMC Caria*, etc., 65, no. 16 ff.; *Syll. Numm. gr. (Deutschland)*, *Samml. von Aulock* 2498 f., 2508, with clear illustrations). (I am indebted to Mr E. N. Lane for this reference.)

⁶ *SIG*³ 996. Mr Lane warns (*per litteras*) against lending too much weight to the table in the Smyrna inscription, which is very eclectic in the gods it commemorates.

⁷ For the (disputed) date of the monuments see E. N. Lane, *loc. cit.* 6, n.3.

⁸ *IG* ii² 1366, *cf.* 1365 ('s. I p. Chr.'): *cf.* *SIG*³ 1042 ('saec. II/III p. Chr.'). *cf.* Lane, *loc. cit.* 9, no. 12 ff., who suggests (note 15) that the table mentioned on this inscription may be the one portrayed on the reliefs described below.

⁹ P. Perdrizet, *BCH* xx (1898) 80 f., with pl. xiv; *cf.* Lane, *loc. cit.* 7, no. 2.

¹⁰ *BMC Lycia*, etc., 176, nos. 1 and 3.

¹¹ Perdrizet, *loc. cit.* 82, with pl. xv; *cf.* Lane, *loc. cit.* 7, no. 3.

¹² Perdrizet, *loc. cit.* 83, with fig. 6; *cf.* Lane, *loc. cit.* 6, no. 1, with pl. i.

¹³ *Festschrift O. Benndorf* (Wien 1898) 126 ff., *cf.* Lane, *loc. cit.* 7, no. 4.

published a fragment of a relief from the Agora excavations, 'showing Men on a huge crescent (or animal?—only Men's feet are preserved), with the usual worshippers, roosters, and offering table . . . Men seems to be holding a long staff, an attribute with which he appears frequently'.¹⁴

To the tables of Smyrna and Attica we may now add the example from Pisidian Antioch. The discovery of this table poses two interrelated questions: what was its use in the cult of Mên at Antioch; and where was it originally housed?

In general terms it is not difficult to give an answer to the first question. Of the first two items from the temple furniture of the ancient world that have survived and preserved their function to this day, the *τράπεζα*, which stood beside the altar in front of the cult image,¹⁵ is the less familiar, and, though it lives on in all churches, it usually bears the name of its better-known companion. The altar and the table performed the same general function, that of providing a support for the offerings of devotees, and this fact has led scholars to deny that they can always be distinguished; but it seems that the altar was intended for burnt sacrifices of animal flesh, the table for bloodless offerings (as in the Attic reliefs described above).¹⁶ Again, the *τράπεζα*, unlike the *βωμός*, had important secular uses, as dining table, banker's counter, or auctioneer's platform, and so acquired in a religious context the epithet *ἱερά*.¹⁷

In all cults the table was spread with offerings intended for the consumption of the god or of the deceased person whose gravestone it formed,¹⁸ and the deity used the *ἱερά τράπεζα* as men used secular tables. To specify the connexion of a table with a particular cult other adjectives or names in the genitive case might be attached to the word, as in the inscription under discussion, but any temple or indeed any household could possess one or more holy tables.¹⁹ The distinction between sacred and secular tables was not a sharp one: the fact that a deity could be present at a secular board afforded that, too, a sanctity of its own. At the sacrificial banquet, those who take part are in the presence of the deity, eat food of which he has a share, or even consume his flesh.²⁰ But a god might be present in disguise, in the person of a stranger, at any feast; that gave an edge to the ancient *reverentia mensae*²¹ and the association of the table with the peculiarly sacred relation of host and guest.²²

Before a more specific answer to the first question can be attempted, it will be relevant to consider the second—the provenance of the inscription. According to Strabo,²³ there were two shrines of Mên Askaenos in the neighbourhood of Antioch; the site of one of these temples has never been discovered, and Sir Ronald Syme has suggested to me that it is a

¹⁴ *loc. cit.* 7, no. 5, with pl. ii 2. Mr Lane comments on all the representations described above that 'the worshippers . . . and the offering table are a peculiarity of the iconographic type that will not appear elsewhere'.

¹⁵ *SIG*³ 996; *cf.* Polybius iv 35. 4; Pausanias vii 25. 10; viii 30.2. For modern studies, see H. Mischkowski, *op. cit.*; Kruse, *PW* xv (1932) 946; W. Deonna, 'Mobilier délien' in *BCH* lviii (1934) 1 ff.; *École fr. d'Ath.* 1, *Exploration arch. de Délos xviii: Le Mobilier délien* (Paris 1938) 15 ff.; C. G. Yavis, *Greek Altars* (St Louis 1949) 75; S. Dow and D. H. Gill, *AJA* lxi (1965) 103 ff. For an interesting survival, see C. Newton, *Travels and Discoveries in the Levant* i (London 1865) 246.

¹⁶ For the offerings, see Athen. iv 137. 14. For the possibility of distinguishing between altar and table, E. Pfuhl, *AM* xxviii (1903) 336; P. Stengel, *Opferbräuche de. Gr.* (Leipzig, etc. 1910) 208, n. 1; Mischkowski *op. cit.* 1 ff. A. B. Cook, *Zeus* iii 1 (1940) 579 ff.; Deonna, *loc. cit.* 69; Yavis, *op. cit.* 244, 41. Any original difference of form—a *τράπεζα* should have legs; *cf.* the use of *βωμός* for 'stand' or 'base' in Homer *Il.* viii 441, and *Od.* vii 100—might soon disappear.

¹⁷ See Stephanus, *Thesaurus* col. 2358, *s.v.* *τράπεζα*; *Catal. gén. des Ant. Égypt. du Mus. du Caire: P. Cairo Zen.* 708; *OGIS* 383, line 146; *Ar. Pl.* 678. The altar could also be *ἱερός*: *Iliad* ii 305.

¹⁸ See F. Cumont, *Recherches sur le Symbolisme funéraire des romains* (Paris 1942) 353 f.; R. Lattimore, *op. cit.* 126 ff.; J. Kubińska, *Les Monuments funéraires dans les Inscriptions grecques de l'Asie Mineure* (Warszawa 1968) *s.v.*

¹⁹ *cf.* schol. ad *Ar. loc. cit.*; Pausanias iii 16.3; viii 30. 2; ix 40. 12; *I Ep. Cor.* x 21. For the dedication of a table to a particular deity, see Theopomp. apud Athen. vi 252B; *τράπεζαν παρατίθει χωρίς ὀνομάζων τῷ δαίμονι τῷ βασιλέως.*

²⁰ Euripides, *Or.* 9; Diod. iv 74; Arnobius ii 67, *cf. Ev. Luc.* xxii 7 ff. and (conversely) 30. For a passage that might refer to a dinner table or to an altar or to both, see Antiphon *Tetr.* A a 10. ²¹ Juvenal ii 110.

²² Stephanus, *Thesaurus* col. 2357, *s.v.* *τράπεζα*, is rich in examples of *ξενικαὶ τράπεζαι* and the like.

²³ xii 577. Note Lane's acute observation, *loc. cit.* 29 n. 105; but the important sanctuary at Attuda remains undiscovered.

ghost that has risen from corruption in the text of Strabo: *καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἀσκαίου τὸ πρὸς τῇ Ἀντιοχείᾳ τῇ πρὸς Πισιδίαν, καὶ τὸ ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῶν Ἀντιοχέων*; note the suspicious repetitiousness. However, at Sağır and Kumdanlı, villages respectively about 21 and 17 km. to the north of the site of the colony and certainly situated within its *territorium*,²⁴ were discovered the contribution lists of the society called the Tekmoreian Xenoi, whose name recalls the action of *τεκμορεύειν*, normally performed by devotees of Mên Askaenos.²⁵ The remains of a shrine of some sort may yet be found in this district, for the society certainly had some connexion with the god; the principal deity of the cult at Kumdanlı and Sağır was Artemis,²⁶ but if Mên was secondary his influence is attested by the very name of the association.²⁷

The 'second' temple, which dated only from Hellenistic times,²⁸ was on the lofty peak of Kara Kuyu, above and to the east of the colony, and it is surely with the cult carried on in this nearer temple, if with any, that we should connect an inscription found at Yalvaç. Parallel to the south-west side of the temple enclosure on Kara Kuyu is a structure which W. M. Ramsay interpreted as a hall of initiation;²⁹ its function is quite uncertain. The building, which measures a mere 53 by 45 feet, is divided into two parts, and the inner and larger chamber contains 'a pair of upright parallel stones, probably intended as supports for a table. On the end of the stone the leg-like modelling is particularly noteworthy.'³⁰ If Mr Lane's interpretation of these stones is correct, another table may be added to the list of those connected with the cult of Mên. The size of the supports and their distance apart prevent their being interpreted as the base of our inscribed block, but it is not impossible that it came from another part of the hieron where it would have played a more modest part in the cult than the table in the so-called 'hall of initiation'. The hieron on Kara Kuyu is not more than $3\frac{1}{2}$ km. distant from the ward of Yalvaç where the block now is, but the task of transporting it from the peak (which is 1580 m. high) down to the town would not be an easy one. It is equally possible, and perhaps more likely, that it was brought from a private house or wayside shrine (*cf.* the address to the wayfarer on bomos and stele), whether in the colony itself or in its environs. Indeed, the roughness of the lettering would be best accounted for by supposing that the *τράπεζα* was never intended for public and ostentatious use: Protion may have reserved it for his own domestic devotions, to which the god was invited as his own personal *ξένος*. Alternatively, a late date and changes in taste could be invoked in explanation of the rough handiwork: the years 238–265 saw the heyday of the Tekmoreian Guest Friends, and even later in the century games in honour of the 'ancestral god Mên' were instituted on the hill of Kara Kuyu.³¹

Whatever the original home of the inscription, any connexion it may have had with the Tekmoreian Xenoi is of interest, and makes its appearance in the cult of Mên at Antioch peculiarly appropriate. The president of the Tekmoreian Xenoi (whose very name should suggest hospitality and the entertainment of guests) was a *πρωτανακλίτης*, which Ramsay interpreted as meaning 'he who reclines first at table'.³² This is a clear indication that the taking of a ritual meal together was one of the activities of the Xenoi. We are reminded of the provisions made by Xanthus of Lycia. Nearer home, on a Pisidian inscription now in

²⁴ See B. Levick, *Roman Colonies in Southern Asia Minor* (Oxford 1967) 44 f. W. M. Ramsay, *BSA* xviii (1911–12) 38, interprets the term more widely, as the entire Phrygian region of the Galatian province, of which Antioch was the metropolis.

²⁵ See the inscriptions published by M. Hardie *JHS* xxxii (1912) 121 ff., and by E. N. Lane, *loc. cit.* Some remain unpublished in the Classical Museum, Konya. See also W. Ruge, *PW* VA (1934) 164 f.

²⁶ W. M. Ramsay, *loc. cit.* 67 ff.; *cf.* τὴν εἰκόνα [θ] | εἰς Ἀρτέμιδος [τῆ] | ν ἐν τῷ προνα[ίω] | ἀποκειμένην, mentioned in one of the documents from Sağır (W. M.

Ramsay, *Studies in the History and Art of the Eastern Provinces of the Roman Empire* [Aberdeen, 1906] 334 f., no. 13 = J. S. Sterrett, *Wolfe Expedition* 370).

²⁷ E. N. Lane, *loc. cit.* 56 ff. is extremely sceptical.

²⁸ See J. G. C. Anderson, *JRS* iii (1913) 267 ff.

²⁹ *loc. cit.* 39 ff.; plan in fig. 1.

³⁰ E. N. Lane, *loc. cit.* 41, with photograph; *cf.* Ramsay's description, *loc. cit.* 49: the stones (3 ft. by $4\frac{1}{4}$ ft. by $1\frac{1}{2}$ ft. thick) 'stood parallel to one another, so as to form an entrance 2 ft. 8 in. broad, and 4 ft. 6 in. long'.

³¹ Ramsay, *loc. cit.* 38; J. G. C. Anderson, *loc. cit.*

³² *JHS* xxxii (1912) 153, 159, 163.

Antalya Museum, we note the banqueting furniture, two couches with bedding, two tables, and four chairs ([ἀ]νακλιτήρια) dedicated by a πάρι[ε]δρος of Mên together with a garden and other offerings.³³ Whether twice baked bread (σειτός δίπυρος) played any part in the Tekmoreian feast will remain uncertain until further and successful efforts are made to read and interpret the inscription in which Ramsay once claimed to have found the phrase.³⁴ The institution of a common meal may have gone back to the pre-colonial era, or it may have been an imitation of, or even an attempt to rival, Christian practice; but it is intolerably fanciful to see the society as a creation of the Roman government, imposed on villagers who lived on imperial estates with the idea of spreading the imperial cult and checking the advance of Christianity.³⁵ There is no evidence for the existence of imperial estates at Sağır and Kumdanlı,³⁶ and none for the imposition of the cult from above. Besides the ephemeral *eranoi* of the Attic inscription, we may note the κοινὸν Μηνιαστῶν Ἀφροδισιαστῶν and τὸ κοινὸν τὸ Μηνιαστῶν on Rhodes and other religious associations connected with the cult of Mên.³⁷ The society of Tekmoreian Xenoi was no more an 'artificial' creation than these associations, and its activities are legitimate evidence for the convictions of those who took part in them.

On the other hand, the stone with which we are immediately concerned cannot be directly connected with the activities of the Tekmoreian Xenoi. Its present situation precludes that; and it is also both too small and too heavy to be one of the boards at which the Xenoi took their communal meals (Greek dining tables were light and portable³⁸), though, as S. Dow and D. H. Gill suggest in the case of a marble table of similar dimensions,³⁹ it could have been used as a sideboard for the carving of portions to be divided amongst the members of an association. Our table stood in one place, either on the hill of Kara Kuyu, or in a private house, or in a wayside shrine.⁴⁰ It throws no direct light on the character and functions of the Tekmoreian Xenoi; for that we need further evidence or, possibly, closer analysis of evidence we already possess.

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³³ L. Robert, *Hell.* ix (1950) 39 ff.; *REG* lxiv (1951) 191, no. 217; lxx (1952) 176, no. 155; G. Bean, *JHS* lxxii (1952) 118; *Belleiten* xxii (1958) 69 f., no. 86; L. Robert, *REG* lxxii (1959) 254, no. 442; lxxvi (1953) 178, no. 198; *SEG* xvii (1960) 545; E. N. Lane, *loc. cit.* 43, no. 3. The altar was plausibly assigned by Robert to the region of Burdur and Kestel Göl. The reliefs on the bomos include, beside a seated goddess and a Hermes, Mên on horseback, confirming the connexion of the furniture with this god; Mên appears on the side of the altar opposite the face bearing the dedication, and is 'la principale divinité' (Robert, *Hell.*, *loc. cit.*).

³⁴ See W. Ruge, *loc. cit.* 166 for the present state of play.

³⁵ This view was expressed by Ramsay in, e.g. *CR* xix (1905) 422; *Stud. Hist. of East. Rom. Prov.* 305 ff.; cf. *BSA* xviii (1911-2) 66 ff.; *JHS* xxxii (1912) 151 ff. Much was once made of the word ἀμαρτάνων, which was read in one of the votives offered to Mên at the hieron on Kara Kuyu (*JHS* xxxii [1912] 142, no. 65). Even if the reading was correct (see Ruge, *loc. cit.* 168 ff.), the word need not imply a lapse into Christianity: cf. *SIG*³ 1042; δς ἂν δὲ πολυπραγμοσνήση τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ ἢ περιεργάσθαι, ἀμαρτῶν ὀφίλειτ' Μηνί|Τυράνωφ. ἦν οὐ μὴ δύνηται ἐξειλίσασθαι; and W. H. Buckler and D. M. Robinson, *Sardis* vii(1932) 98, no. 96: ἀμ[αρ]τήσας καταπίπτω ἐς ἀ[σ]θενείαν| και

ὁμολογῶ [τὸ | ἀμάρτημα Μηνί Ἀξιωτ|τηνῶ και σθη] λογρ. [αφῶ] (the resemblance was noted by E. N. Lane, *loc. cit.* 39 n. 143). Mên was to be approached ἀπλῶς, ἀπλῆ τῆ ψυχῆ: *SIG*³ 1042.

³⁶ See T. R. S. Broughton, *TAPA* lxxv (1934) 231 ff.; D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor* (Princeton 1950) ii 1326 f.; B. Levick, *op. cit.* 224 ff.

³⁷ *IG* xii 1 162 = Lane, *loc. cit.* 11, no. 3 ('presumably of Hellenistic date'); 917 = Lane, *loc. cit.* 12, no. 4 ('presumably later in date than the last one'). cf. the mysteries of Mên in Lydia: A. E. Contoléon, *REG* v (1892) 341; T. H(omolle), *BCH* xviii (1894) 539; *AM* xx (1895) 242; Lane, *loc. cit.* 21, no. 30. The inscription mentions τῶ προ|καθημένῳ τῆς κόμης Μηνί σημήαν περιάργυρον, τὴν προπομπεύσασαν τῶν μυστηρίων αὐτοῦ. For other organisations devoted to the cult of Mên, see Lane, *loc. cit.* 16, no. 10 ff., where a ἱερός δοῦμος or ἱερά συμβιώσις και νεωτέρα is responsible for the dedications.

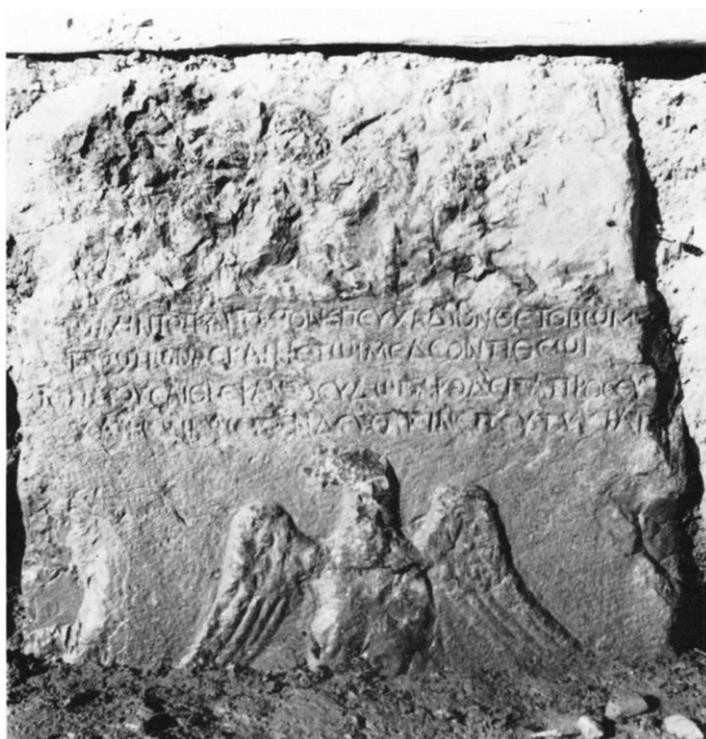
³⁸ G. Richter, *The Furniture of the Greeks, Etruscans, and Romans* (London 1966) 63 f.; see Stephanus, *Thesaurus s.v. τράπεζα* init.

³⁹ *AJA* lxix (1965) 103 ff.; cf. *MAMA* vi 84 (Attuda).

⁴⁰ Our table appears to be of Richter's type 5 (*op. cit.* 71 and 113), which was invented 'in the hellenistic period' and 'evidently for outdoor use'. For tables in the open air, see Mischkowski, *op. cit.* 7.



(a)



(b)

THE TABLE OF MÊN