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PERSIAN PERIOD TOMBS IN WESTERN ANATOLIA AS
REFLECTIONS OF SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CHANGE

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PERSIAN PERIOD TOMBS IN WESTERN ANTOLIA AS REFLECTIONS OF SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CHANGE

A Master's Thesis

by
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July 2019

To my dear niece, Masal ÜSTÜBAL



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SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CHANGE

The Graduate School of Economics and Social Sciences
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by

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ABSTRACT

PERSIAN PERIOD TOMBS IN WESTERN ANATOLIA AS REFLECTIONS OF SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CHANGE

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Fourteen tombs in western Anatolia, from Hellespontine and Greater Phrygia, Lydia, Lycia, and Caria are analyzed in order to understand the social and political change in the Persian period, and to understand the relationship between the local elite and their Persian overlords. Monumental tombs such as the tumulus and temple tombs, their architectural forms and features, contents and artworks are within the scope of this study. The distinction between the burials of elites and administrators was not attested in Hellespontine and Greater Phrygia, nor in Lydia, whereas the securely identified tombs of the dynasts in Lycia and Caria, and their privileged locations separated the rulers from the other elite. The variations in the architectural features in tumulus tombs and the iconography used in these tombs are considered as indicators of identity in western Anatolia. Even though the 6th century BC tombs illustrated continuation of the pre-Persian period mortuary traditions, the conspicuous increase in monumental tomb construction seems to have been owed to the prosperity provided by the Persian Empire. The tumulus, which had been used by the Lydian royals, was now a common burial type

in the Persian period, and the wealth required to erect such monuments was now available for the western Anatolian elite. The 5th century BC illustrated a predominant Persian influence and support for the empire, and this phenomenon was considered as a response to the historical events that occurred in the region in the early 5th century BC. Caria and Lycia had freer and more original monuments because they were not satrapal centers in the 6th and 5th centuries BC. Dynast tombs of the 4th century BC were distinguished from the early Persian period tombs and symbolized the changing social and political agenda of these regions.

Keywords: Architecture, Iconography, Persian Period, Tomb, Western Anatolia.

ÖZET

SOSYAL VE POLİTİK DEĞİŞİMİN YANSIMALARI OLARAK BATI ANADOLU’DA PERS DÖNEMİ MEZARLARI

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Hellespont ve Büyük Frigya, Lidya, Likya ve Karya bölgelerinden 14 adet mezar, Pers döneminde yaşanan sosyal ve politik olayları anlamak için, ve yerel zenginlerin imparatorlukta nasıl yer edindiğini anlamak için analiz edilmiştir. Tümülüs ve tapınak mezar gibi anıtsal mezarların mimarisi, buluntuları ve sanatsal yapıtları bu amaç içinde değerlendirilmiştir. Hellespont Frigya, Büyük Frigya ve Lidya bölgelerinde elit ve yönetici mezarları arasında kesin bir fark gözlenemezken Likya ve Karya bölgelerinde bu ayrım, çeşitli hanedan mezar tipleri ve onların ayrıcalıklı konumları sayesinde anlaşılmıştır. Tümülüs mezarlarının mimari formlarındaki varyasyonlar ve sanatsal ikonografi, bölge elitinin değişen kimliğini açığa çıkarmıştır. MÖ 6. yüzyıl mezarları, genel olarak Pers Dönemi öncesindeki geleneklerin devamı niteliğinde değerlendirilse de bu anıt mezarların inşasının Pers Dönemindeki gözle görülür biçimde artması, bölgedeki gelişen refaha ve bu zamana kadar kraliyetin elinde olan zenginliğin belli ölçüde elitlere geçmesine işaret etmiştir. MÖ 5. yüzyıl mezarları büyük oranda Pers

etkisi ve desteęi göstermiř, bu durum bölgedeki tarihsel olaylara dayandırılmıřtır. Likya ve Karya, MÖ 6. ve 5. yüzyıllarda satrap merkezlerine sahip olmadıkları için daha özgür ve özgün anıtlara sahiptir. Bu bölgelerdeki hanedan mezarları, Erken Pers Dönemi mezarlarından ayrı özellikler göstermiř, geliřmekte olan bu bölgelerin tecrübe ettięi sosyal ve politik deęişimleri sembolize etmiřlerdir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Batı Anadolu, İkonografi, , Mezar, Mimari, İkonografi, Pers Dönemi.



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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Through patterns and divergences in architecture, decoration, and contents of tombs, I will examine the dynamics between the Persian Empire and the local peoples in western Anatolia in the Persian period. Examples, 14 in total, will come from different regions in western Anatolia, from Greater Phrygia, Hellespontine Phrygia, Lydia, Caria, and Lycia (Map 1). Although they were distinct cultural spheres in the Iron Age, the tombs of these regions will be evaluated together to compare and contrast them, so as to illustrate the changing relationship between local dignitaries and their Persian overlords in the Persian period (Roosevelt, 2012: 896-7). The examples, mostly well-published tumuli and temple-tombs, indicate a great wealth that can only be afforded by local dignitaries in the individual regions. In addition, they mostly have iconographic decorations, and are more precisely dated than other possible elite tombs in Anatolia, such as rock-cut tombs in Caria and Lycia.

The continuity of the pre-Persian period traditions, and the social and political changes during the Persian period will be revealed through analysis of ancient sources, and modern literature related to these tombs. Self-representation of the deceased in tomb art, display of wealth through monumental tomb structures, and social identities of the decedents interpreted from the finds in tomb contexts will be analyzed. The political functions of tombs and the meaning that these tombs reflect will also be examined. The extent to which these regions continued their particular traditions and to which their traditions changed in the Persian period will frame the study.

Limits to the research include a lack of historical evidence, poor preservation of the monuments, and looting activities which impede making secure claims about the specific identities of the tomb owners. Recent literature has suggested that obtaining information about ethnicities was not possible because the western Anatolian tombs showed uniformity in tomb architecture and contents despite the cosmopolitan nature of the region (Roosevelt, 2009). Therefore, the safe interpretation about the tombs was based solely on the discussion of elite signifiers that were present in their tombs (Dusinberre, 2013). However, these arguments do not explain the seemingly self-conscious variations in architectural features of standard forms. Nor do they explain the growing military character of these tombs. Following Draycott, I argue that these tombs revealed the desire of the occupants to have multiple roles and multiple identities (Draycott, 2010b: 2-3). Stylistic analysis of the architecture, objects, and artworks of these examples would contribute a deeper insight to this thesis, as they could reveal the identity of the artists, but the constraint of length for the thesis impedes such a study.

The Persian invasion of Sardis that took place in 547/546 BC unified western Anatolia within a vast imperial network¹. After the conquest, Anatolia was divided into dominions called satrapies, provinces governed by satraps, noblemen appointed by the great king (*Hist.* 3.89). Greater Phrygia, Hellespontine Phrygia and Lydia were satrapal centers in western Anatolia where the Persians had direct control (Map 2). These satraps were responsible for submitting tribute to the Persian king, overseeing solidarity in the land, maintaining royal roads and supplying warriors to the great king, but otherwise they had a certain autonomy (Dusinberre, 2013: 34-5). Religious, cultural and ethnic differences were tolerated. Caria and Lycia did not have separate satrapies but were part of the Lydian satrapy until the early 4th century BC. The Persians paid most attention to the satrapal centers, but during the 4th century BC, Caria and Lycia were given more freedom. Consequently, the ruling class in Caria and Lycia became more open to

¹ See Roosevelt, 2012: 896-897, for a brief summary of the pre-Persian political circumstances of Lydia and Lycia. Despite the probable Lydian occupation, Carians remained a distinct cultural sphere. Lycia was not a part of the Lydian empire and its influence, therefore was a distinct political entity. These regions were unified under the Persian Empire after the conquest in 540s BC.

Hellenizing features, as demonstrated by innovative tomb types such as temple tombs, which enjoyed popularity among dynasts.

Tombs were the most popular monumental structures in Achaemenid Anatolia. During the pre-Persian period, only a small group of people had the opportunity, and perhaps the means, to display power and status through monumentality in tombs. This changed swiftly following the conquest. Elites of Persian Anatolia chose to have lavishly decorated tombs in a variety of local forms to a great extent. The tumulus burials, rock-cut tombs, pit graves, and sarcophagi had been used before the Persian conquest, but they proliferated in the Persian period. The tumulus burial was a novel option for the non-royal elite, which became the paramount choice of the wealthiest elites.

While the Anatolian dignitaries had been granted autonomy to build their own traditional tombs, they² adopted some aspects of Persian behavior as evident from the images depicted in wall paintings, relief and free-standing sculptures, and objects recovered from tombs. The iconography of these artworks has been labeled as “Greco-Persian”, which shows different mixes of Persian, Greek, and local traits. This reflects the changing relationships of the locals and their overlords. The images applied on art works usually include themes of banquets, hunts, combats, sieges, receptions, and convoys with a wide variety of combinations in individual funerary contexts, rendered on a diverse choice of materials (Draycott, 2010b: 1).

“Greco-Persian” iconography, the mixed art style used in tombs, initially meant a style of art produced by the Greeks for Persians, and it reflected Persian themes in a Greek style (Draycott, 2010b: 1-2). Scholarly discussions have shifted the term’s meaning thanks to new tombs discovered decades after the term had been coined. The self-conscious choices of locals in visual representations, which include Persian, Greek and local traits, have been better outlined in more recent studies. Not only Persian and Greek

² Due to the lack of inscriptions about tombs and their owners from tomb contexts, it is not possible to distinguish between the rulers and elites. Nonetheless, the examples chosen for the thesis clearly differ from tombs of the common folk by the wealth and labor force required for their construction and decoration, and the objects they contained.

but also local traits are better understood in the later period. Furthermore, Jacobs noted that these art objects present in tombs suited the status claims of the decedents. The Persianizing aspects in these *realia* conveyed the important Persian manners the elites needed to have in order to obtain and maintain Persian support (Jacobs, 1987). Maintenance of this relationship strengthened the position of the elite, because they were being supported and protected by the great king. In exchange, the local elite became dependent on the Empire because “the benefits of collaboration outweigh(ed) the cost” (Khatchadourian, 2013: 114).

The monumental artworks in the Persian core transmit an ideology of Persian manners which local peoples could adopt as they wished. For instance, the Hall of 100 Columns and the royal tombs at Naqsh-e Rostam indicated a “participatory and cooperative imperial venture” (Khatchadourian, 2013: 108). Simply put, a world of harmony could only be possible if there was voluntary participation of the subject peoples of the empire. The door jambs of the Hall of 100 Columns had a relief depicting the great king seated on his throne, supported by the ‘throne bearers’ representing multiple ethnicities as indicated by their clothes and sometimes weapons. This scene, demonstrating the imperial ideology, does not belittle the subject peoples as they are shown in a dignified manner, holding up the great king’s throne without much effort. Through their harmonious, participatory, and reciprocal effort, these personified subjects hold up the empire (Khatchadourian, 2013: 110; Khatchadourian, 2016: 7-8)³.

The sons of satraps were taken to Persian palaces for their training⁴ (Cyr. 8.6.10). Once their education was finished, they returned to their lands, having seen Persian manners through personal relationships and the monumental art works they encountered, which constituted a direct model for them. One example comes from the inscription on the Tomb of Darius, translated by Briant (2002: 212):

³ Also see DNb.2c from the inscription on the Tomb of Darius: “The man who cooperates, him according to his cooperative action, him thus do I reward...” for the emphasis of collaborative work within the empire (Briant, 2002: 212). Moreover, Apadana reliefs depict tribute bearers in somewhat stereotypical clothes of many different peoples, who also do not represent social groups being suppressed, but different people who live in harmony through collaborative work within the empire.

⁴ Henry claims this was true for Lycian and perhaps for Carian princes, especially first born sons (Henry, 2010: 116).

Trained am I both with hands and with feet. As a horseman I am a good horseman.

As a bowman I am a good bowman both afoot and on horseback. As a spearman I am a good spearman both afoot and on horseback.

Following this model, tomb iconographies in the 5th century BC, started displaying a pronounced military character in western Anatolia. The figural paintings usually depicted the decedent in combat, defeating his enemy, imposing his superiority in martial arts. In tombs that contain Greco-Persian art works, men are often displayed wearing a *kandys* (Median robe), *anaxyrides* (Median trousers) and a *kidaris* (an upright tiara), as the Persian king wore (Smotlakova, 2014: 40; Miller, 2004: 169). In this way, the tomb owner showed himself imitating the values of the great king. This phenomenon was only natural considering the historical incidents in Anatolian history in the 5th century BC. In this period, the major external enemies of the Persians were the Greeks. The Ionian revolt and Greco-Persian wars in the beginning of the century were a decisive moment for the elite in western Anatolia. The suppression of the revolt, including the recapture of the coastal cities that had rebelled, led the local elites to make clear choices of support for the empire. The decedents often depicted themselves in military processions, and in expeditions that resulted in the favor of the Persians. This was deliberate in order to represent their loyalty to the empire.

The mixed nature of the Greco-Persian art style, combined with diverse architectural forms and their variant features indicated a wide range of identities the decedents may have represented. The Çan sarcophagus, for example, was discovered within a tumulus constructed in the Phrygian and Lydian tradition; but inside a tomb chamber of Thracian type, the sarcophagus itself was decorated with iconographic themes celebrating the Persian military. Although the empire influenced the Anatolians, they employed micro-scale local features that indicated regional, or even more local elements that related to the small cultural spheres from which they might have originated. They may be signifiers that the identities were not fixed to one group or the other for the local elite. The possible support and origin they might have had from several social spheres could have been proudly represented together with the primacy of the Persian affiliation.

1.1 The Tumulus Tradition in Anatolia

The origin of tumuli in Anatolia is still a matter of discussion. However, starting from the 9th-8th century BC, the Phrygian people in central Anatolia buried their royalty and elites in tumuli, Gordion being the most renowned center (Roosevelt, 2003: 123; Liebhart, 2010: 268). The Phrygian tumulus consisted of a tomb chamber made of wood, packing above its roof, and an earthen mound that covered a large area above and around these elements. The architectural features of tumulus burials diversified in Lydian Anatolia. The mound and its chamber were the fundamental features of any tumulus, with stone replacing wood, but the dromos, symbolic or functional doors, pitched roofs, and the type of stone used in these structures varied. This phenomenon was considered to have been a method of competition among the elites/aristocrats of society⁵.

The Lydians took over Phrygia in the 7th century BC, led by Gyges and later Alyattes. They probably appreciated the monumentality and significance of these tombs, considering that they preferred to be buried in tumuli to the north of Sardis (Bintepe) starting around 585 to 560 BC (Ratte, 1993: 5; Roosevelt, 2009: 140-3; Roosevelt, 2012: 901). Lydian period western Anatolia introduced some new features to the tumulus tradition. Symbolic and functional doors, the dromos⁶, and stone masonry replacing the wood walls in chambers were the innovations in the Lydian period.

Tumuli usually overlook dramatic landscapes from ridges, on slopes of hills or near rivers. The Greek historian Herodotus admired their majestic appearance, as he praised the tumulus of Alyattes in Sardis, suggesting its similarity to the Egyptian pyramids by its size and form (*Hist.* 1.93).

In the later 6th century BC, the tumulus burial became the paramount choice for the dignitaries of Lydia, as it was in the pre-Persian period. The difference was that this type of tomb had been exclusively used by the royal families in Sardis and Gordion in the

⁵ See chapter 3. Rose and Körpe argued that the intense use of Proconnesian marble in tumuli was a result of heavy competition among the elite in Hellespontine Phrygia.

⁶ A tunnel entered through the edge of the mound that leads to the chamber.

pre-Persian period (Roosevelt, 2009: 142). Having overthrown the Mermnad Dynasty, the Persians provided opportunities to the elites and sub-elites of Anatolia, whereby these groups were now able to signify their status with the same tomb types that the royals hitherto had used.

1.2 Dynast Tombs in Western Anatolia

Alongside tumulus burials, Lycia introduced new tomb types in the Persian period which distinguish Lycia and its tombs from the satrapal centers. These tombs were built for the dynasts, and they were located in the center of the cities, in contrast with the rural locations of the tombs in satrapal centers⁷. The first of these dynastic tombs was the pillar tomb. It was first exemplified in Xanthos ca. 550 BC, and then spread to the other Lycian settlements (Marksteiner, 2002: 278-285).

Of special interest for this thesis is a later development, the Lycian temple tomb. The Nereid monument, built ca. 380 BC, was the first example of this form. Built in the early 4th century BC in Xanthos, it derived from the architecture of Greek temples. These tombs were bordered by precinct walls, had sacrificial deposits within their premises, and were ornamented with numerous statues depicting the dynasty members and mythological heroes the deceased claimed to have kinship with. The form spread quickly to Caria in ca. 370-360 BC, evident from Uzunyuva monument at Mylasa and the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus. Although the tumulus was employed in Lycia throughout the Persian period, this innovative temple tomb form became the popular choice among the dynasts who wanted to display their power. Members of these privileged groups were distinguished by the tombs located inside the city.

The temple tombs elevated the deceased and his family to a higher point in the social hierarchy. The idea of such a type of tomb that implies deification came from the Greek world, from tyrannical regimes in the Greek and Greek-affiliated city states, and they strengthened the role of the ruler as a dynast and the founder of the city (Jeppesen, 1994:

⁷ For instance, all Lydian tombs from Sardis are extramural, except for the Pyramid Tomb (Roosevelt, 2009: 135).

73-4, 83). The innovation of such a tomb form probably stemmed from political necessities in Lycia. The Xanthian dynasty tried to unify Lycia in the 4th century, and this tomb conveyed the message that the Xanthian dynasty was the rightful ruling group over the whole region. The Heroon at Limyra, built ca. 360 BC, was the tomb of the rebellious king of east Lycia, and it had the same political message with its counterpart in Xanthos. The Mylasan dynast Mausolus, who was granted a hereditary right as satrap in Caria, built his temple tomb with similar ambitions. He was the ambitious founder of Halicarnassus and ruler of Caria, who wanted to expand his dominion in the power vacuum of the southeast Aegean, following the weakening of Athens and Sparta.

The use of tumulus burials by the regional rulers in Persian period western Anatolia is unclear due to the lack of inscriptions from the tomb contexts. Contrasted with this, the kingly status of some pillar tombs is fairly well-known due to their inscriptions, such as the inscribed pillar in Xanthos. The uninscribed pillar tombs and temple tombs, however, are attributed to the ruling class based on the historical references, their representative art works, their privileged locations, distinctly higher construction costs, and the evidence from numismatics and political history. The tumulus was employed by elites, and perhaps rulers, in Persian Anatolia, probably within the borders of their lands. They functioned as land markers of certain families who possessed estates⁸. The iconographic themes and objects recovered from them indicated loyalty to the empire. The temple tombs, however, were reserved for the ruler dignitaries, who had hereditary and expansionist ambitions over the land they ruled and in the Aegean world. The representational art they yielded also contained “Greco-Persian” themes, yet the heavy use of Hellenizing aspects in the prominent parts of these structures indicated a shift in the political and social aspects. The representations of the deceased and their family members were often depicted in a Greek manner. Further, the political function of these tombs diverged from the Anatolian-Persian background to a hereditary, expansionist one that was potentially unsettling for the empire.

⁸ Xenophon mentions some Persian landowners in the countryside who owned fortified estates in the vicinity of the Harta Tomb (Anab. 7.8). Ramage and Ramage noted that Lydian tumuli were located on strategic positions in order to control access to the lands administered by the Sardian elites (Ramage and Ramage, 1971: 58-60).

In the following chapters I will present and discuss examples of tumulus burials and temple tombs in their particular regions in western Anatolia. Each example will contribute different information about the choices of architecture and decoration that will tell us about the social and political dynamics of the privileged groups in the Persian period.

1.3 Outline of the Thesis

Chapter 2 will examine the Tatarlı tomb, located on the route between Kelainai and Gordion, dated to ca. 470 BC. This tomb provides the best example of the surviving Phrygian tumulus tradition in Anatolia, as its wooden chamber indicated Phrygian architectural traditions at a time and place in which this tradition was no longer visible. Lydian architectural traditions such as stone masonry, had otherwise replaced the Phrygian traditions in this part of Anatolia in this period. The iconographic themes it yielded were predominantly “Greco-Persian” with a military character following the trend in the 5th century BC. Anatolian and Greek elements were also used in this tomb, illustrating a non-linear direction of influence in western Anatolia. The seemingly self-conscious use of the Phrygian architectural traditions, combined with Persian and Greek themes in the tomb paintings suggests multiple identities of the deceased.

Chapter 3 will deal with three tumuli from the Granicus Valley, in Hellespontine Phrygia, approximately 68 km west of Daskyleion, the regional satrapal center. They are: The Kızöldün, Dedetepe, and Çan tumuli dating to 500 BC, 480 BC, and 375 BC, respectively. Each reveals different aspects of funerary practices in this region. A striking element that they share is Proconnesian marble, a stone first used in the Persian period. These tumuli had diverse combinations of architectural elements that may have indicated affinities of the deceased to various cultural groups.

Chapter 4 will examine six tombs in Lydia. The first is the Pyramid Tomb, dated to ca. 530 BC, from Sardis. Although little of this monument has survived, archaeological work indicated that its architecture was influenced by the Tomb of Cyrus at Pasargadae.

The Lale Tepe tumulus from the countryside of Sardis, dated to the mid-6th to early 5th century BC will be examined next. It yielded a unique combination of klinai and floor beds planned for seven occupants, presumably for an elite family, in its initial phase. The third tomb, the Harta tumulus, was found in Kırkağaç, approximately 50 km west of Güre. The wall paintings inside this tomb represented an audience, and perhaps a procession that involved a chariot. The final three tumuli are called the Güre group, located near the modern town of Güre ca. 100 km east of Sardis. They have been roughly dated to the 6th-5th centuries BC based on their objects and architectural features. These tumuli are important for their Persianizing wall paintings and objects.

Chapter 5 will evaluate three tombs in Lycia: two tumuli in the north, Kızılbél and Karaburun II, dating to the late 6th and early 5th centuries; and one temple tomb on the coast dating to the mid-4th century. The first two reveal local architectural forms and Greek and Persian themes, respectively, in their contents. The third example, the Heroon at Limyra, is dated to ca. 360 BC. It was a temple tomb that drew from Greek architecture, ornamented with Greco-Persian themes on its reliefs, and with Hellenizing aspects in its freestanding sculptures. It represented the divineness and dynastic claims of Pericle over the rule of Lycia, against the dynasty at Xanthos.

Chapter 6 will examine the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus. This and the Heroon at Limyra indicated a turn in western Anatolia at the end of the Persian period, where the local dynasts tried to reflect their dynastic and hereditary ambitions in their monumental tombs located in the heart of the city which they established as their capital. The Greek character of the artworks from the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus, paralleling the Heroon at Limyra, indicated a shift from Persian influence to Hellenization.

Local elite in western Anatolia flourished after the Persian conquest, evident from the monumental tombs they erected to display their wealth and power. The 6th century BC tombs in the region indicate continuity of indigenous architectural traditions in tombs, while the objects they yielded demonstrate Persianizing features. The 5th century BC

tombs have representational art works demonstrating a strong eastern influence in both their art works and objects.

In the early-4th century BC, however, the Lycian and Carian rulers employed new tomb forms that drew from Greek art and architecture. In this period, Athens and Sparta were weakened because of the long-lasting battles they waged with each other, while the Persian Empire focused on regaining control of their largest satrapy, Egypt. Caria and Lycia benefitted from the power vacuum in the Aegean, and were freed from the suppressing power of the Persian Empire to a great extent. They swiftly shifted towards the Greek cultural sphere, evident from their temple tombs and their contents that had symbols of divine status. Thus, Carians and Lycians made use of these tombs in order to both strengthen their dynastic and expansionist agenda in the region, and reinforce their right to rule and expand in the Aegean.

CHAPTER 2: THE TATARLI TUMULUS IN GREATER PHRYGIA

The chapter will deal with only one example from Greater Phrygia, the Tatarlı tumulus, a tomb that featured local, Persian, and Greek elements. The tumulus is situated in a village (Map 3), Tatarlı, approximately 30 km northeast of Kelainai (modern Dinar), the satrapal center of Greater Phrygia, on a route leading to Gordion (Tuplin, 2010: 186). Historical records imply the existence of a large town in the vicinity of this tomb, although physical evidence has not survived due to the perishable building materials used in rural towns (Bresson, 2010: 196).

The tomb, dated to ca. 470 BC, is an unusual archaeological find due to the fact that it is the only surviving painted wooden tomb chamber from ancient Anatolia (Tuplin, 2010: 188; Summerer, 2008: 265). The themes of the paintings on the inner walls of the wooden chamber are mostly Persian, such as banquets, military convoys and operations, with some mythology scenes drawn from the Greek world. Its architecture is striking due to the Phrygian tradition it followed, given the fact that the last known example of this tradition in Central Phrygia, Tumulus A at Gordion, was built about 70 years earlier (Table 1, Kohler, 1980: 68-9; Liebhart et al., 2016: 628). Hence, the tomb is a unique structure within which the Phrygian, Greek, and Persian features admixed. The tomb occupant could be a local dignitary who had affinity to the Phrygian past, and aware of Greek art. He indicated his loyalty to the Persian king with the Persian themes in the paintings⁹.

⁹ Representation of multiple identities by tombs is common in Anatolia. Also see Chapter 4.

The tomb was plundered in 1969. Having found nothing of value, due to the reuse and abuse of this tomb in antiquity, the plunderers cut out two painted friezes from the east wall of the chamber, which they then sold (Uçankuş, 2002: 28, fig 5). The archaeological excavation conducted by Hasan Uçankuş in 1970, following the plunder, provided information about this tomb. In order to protect the remaining materials and their study, the excavators took the remaining wooden beams of the chamber to the Afyonkarahisar Museum. In 2004, Latife Summerer proposed that the two friezes stolen from the tomb were in the Bavarian State Archaeological Collection in Munich. Collaborative dialogue between the Republic of Turkey and Germany paved way for the return of the friezes to Turkey (Summerer and von Kienlin, 2010: 16). Restoration of the chamber was finished in 2010, sponsored by both the Istanbul 2010 European Capital of Culture Agency and the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs ¹⁰ (Emerling, Demeter and Knidlberger, 2010: 234-260; Summerer and von Kienlin, 2010a: 18). The chamber is currently on display in the Afyonkarahisar Museum (Figure 1).

The tumulus is 50 m in diameter and 6 m in height, oriented north-south, with the entrance on the south side¹¹. The initial construction of the tumulus was completed with a chamber, the packing and mantle. The tomb chamber's interior walls were made of juniper and cedar while the exterior walls surrounding it were of stone, rough cut andesite (Uçankuş, 2002:22; von Kienlin, 2010: 91). The earthen mantle covering the tomb had a packing surrounding the chamber which protected the tomb from flooding and climatic fluctuations. This packing consisted of rubble, clay, soil, bark and pieces of tree trunks.

The chamber walls are 2.50 m x 2.00 m long and 1.85 m tall. Timbers used on the interior chamber were 30 cm tall in average and were laid as beams one on top of each other, then were fitted into each other excellently by mortises to consolidate the structure. The visible faces of the beams were refined smoothly, but the rear faces were left rough in comparison. Upper beams on the northern and southern walls were cut and

¹⁰ See Gebhard and Schulze, 2010: 72-74 for the initial restoration work conducted on the two beams in Munich in 1990-1992.

¹¹ Compared to the Gordion tumuli, this tomb is very modest in the scale of both its mound and chamber.

shortened in order to create a pitched ceiling. The floor probably was not paved. Uçankuş stated his frustration for not finding a pavement for such an exquisitely made tomb chamber and he suggested that it might have been due to damage inflicted by humans occupying the chamber in the following periods (Uçankuş, 2002: 35-36). Such an argument makes sense given the highly competent carpentry techniques (mortises and joints) employed in the tomb for the sake of preventing climatic contact from outside. Therefore, leaving the floor unpaved would not have been the original plan.

Certain features indicate a later phase of the construction: the vaulted dromos, the gate, and two niches in the chamber, one in the north wall, another in the west wall (Uçankuş, 2002: 24). Uçankuş explained the grounds for his claim of the second construction phase of the tumulus, which took place in the Roman era. First, the dromos was higher than the chamber so that it did not fit. Second, the niches made for secondary burials clearly cut and interrupted the wall paintings. Third, after the entrance door was cut, some parts of the andesite walls were reused and mixed with other materials in the dromos.

There were fourteen skeletons found in the tomb. Uçankuş suggested that the Roman occupants of this tomb used this chamber as a family catacomb. The original context was plundered in the Roman period and many other times following it, until the modern era. The surviving finds consist of only a Roman copper coin, two iron pins, a fragment of a glass jug, and a fragment of a terracotta plate (Uçankuş, 2002: 25; Summerer, Uçankuş and Üyümez, 2010: 66).

The tomb resembles the Phrygian tumuli in Gordion, especially the tumulus MM, dated to 740 BC, in its construction techniques, such as the use of dowels and mortises, and its gabled roof (von Kienlin, 2010: 110-118; Liebhart, 2010: 268). The Tatarlı tumulus was dated to 470 BC, the Late Phrygian Period (540-334 BC), based on the construction techniques, stylistic features of the paintings, and dendrochronological analysis (Summerer, 2008: 265; Kuniholm, Newton and Griggs, 2010: 82; Tuplin, 2010: 188). The style of the paintings and techniques used in the tomb's construction illustrated

significant continuity in Phrygian culture in a place and time in which one would not expect Phrygians to be active.

2.1 Wall Paintings

All four walls were painted, in horizontal bands separated by painted lines underneath each (Figure 2). The Persian themes were dominant in these paintings, but with an awareness of Greek myth. They indicate social and political tides of the period the tomb was constructed. Issues such as battle, convoy, myth and dance performances were the subjects they depicted. Although the paintings of the west and south walls are poorly preserved, the north and east walls provide a rich corpus of tomb paintings that shed light on the mortuary traditions of the local elite living within the Persian Empire.

The paintings were horizontally arranged on the log beams of the chamber and have varying lengths due to the gable roof. Borders separating one band from the other were provided by straight baselines, double waves and zigzag bands. Some paintings were small enough to fit on one beam while others spread over two timbers. Some neighboring friezes provide figures moving according to boustrophedon arrangement. The possible location of the kline that does not survive was in front of the northern wall which had five friezes. All the walls were painted, but the original amount might have been double what we see today (Summerer, 2010: 120). Also, some friezes had faded colors that cannot be observed clearly.

Applying a layer of stucco into the wood, which is a common practice observed on the examples from Egypt and Greece, was not done in the Tatarlı Tumulus chamber (Summerer, 2007a: 131). The process of smoothening the wood was so advanced that craftsmen incised the wood first, and then applied the colors directly on the surface.

2.2 North Wall

There are four registers on the north wall, whose subjects are, from top to bottom: a pair of felines in antithetic arrangement, weapon-dancers, departure to war, and cattle of Geryon (Summerer, 2010: 122-126, 142-152).

The exact identification of the feline pair is problematic due to the absence of their upper parts, so that determining their exact species is inconclusive. They are shown crouched, while each raises one paw toward the other. They were common in Archaic period funerary contexts in Anatolia, and were usually interpreted as guardians of tombs¹². However, their meaning might have been connected to a more profound tradition in Phrygian culture. For instance, the Yılantaş and Aslantaş tombs, dated to 550 BC and late-5th century BC in the Göynüş Valley, located approximately 100 km. away from the Tatarlı tumulus, have roaring lions on their façades (Haspels, 1971: 117-9). Furthermore, this valley has an open air sanctuary for Cybele, a significant female deity (Meter) usually depicted with two lions one on each side (Dexter, 2009: 57-9; Draycott, 2019: 18). It is uncertain, however, whether the lion reliefs on these tombs were associated with Cybele (Dexter, 2009: 57).

Weapon dancers appear on the second frieze of the rear wall (Figure 3). Two parties of warriors are depicted opposite each other with their identical equipment, composed of plumes, greaves, large shields, sickle-shaped daggers, and lances. Their shields conform to the East Greek examples with their round convex form (Summerer, 2010: 122). Even though their armor was hoplite-like, their sickle-shaped weapons were Anatolian (Summerer, 2008: 270; Sekunda, 1996: 9-17). The warriors confronted each other in lunge position, heels were raised from the ground. The subject matter of the scene does not seem to be a combat because the confronted warriors looked identical, and their positions suggest a dance, rather than a dual. This may possibly be a ceremonial dance referring to the convoy scene below this frieze.

The frieze below the dancing warriors was called "the preparations to war frieze" by Summerer (2010: 147). Even though it is probably a convoy scene, the incomplete state of the painting prevents a safe interpretation whether it depicts the marching of the army for battle, or a homecoming with trophies and captives. There are three horse carriages

¹² The Harta and Lale Tepe tumuli and the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus presented in this thesis have lions in similar arrangements, and they may be metaphoric heralds of these tombs (Carstens, 2009:70-1).

or chariots depicted in the same fashion as in the procession frieze on the east wall. Before them walk two men who were shown bigger than the chariots. Each chariot was probably depicted with riders on top, but they have faded. Summerer bases her interpretation about this frieze on two reasons: first, the representations of the carriages are identical to the ones in the battle scene on the east wall; and second, on the war equipment visible in this painting: the so-called ‘quivers’ on the carts (Summerer, 2010:144). The rest of the painting however, did not survive to provide additional information.

Underneath this band was a frieze depicting subjects from Greek mythology, the cattle of Geryon, and Herakles killing his three-bodied enemy during his twelfth labor (Figure 4). Six winged cattle are shown on the left side, moving left, while Heracles was shown wearing a feline skin, in a combat with his three-headed opponent (Summerer, 2010: 146-8). Stories of Chrysaor, the father of Geryon, and other characters related to this lineage and their relevant stories had an immense role in Anatolian funerary contexts. The Harpy tomb, the Nereid monument, and the Heroon at Limyra are some examples from Lycia that depict these mythological subjects in the early 5th and early 4th century BC Anatolian funerary contexts¹³, and they will be evaluated in Chapter 5. It is striking to see such narratives in Anatolia at a time when the Persians were at war with the Greeks.

The last remaining painting from the north wall is the ‘banquet scene’ in which only two partial human figures survive, one standing and one seated, on the right corner of the frieze. Only one figure can be attested securely. He holds a cup-like object, so this scene may pertain to a banquet or feast related to the funeral ceremony. The best preserved parallel of this representation in Anatolia is in the Karaburun tumulus, discussed in Chapter 5.

¹³ The façade of the Yılan Taş tomb in the Göynüş Valley shows a gorgon head between two local warriors (see Draycott, forthcoming).

2.3 East Wall

The east wall of the tomb has two friezes, one depicting a convoy scene above, and an unusually violent combat scene between the Persians and Scythians below¹⁴ (Figure 5). The upper frieze probably depicts a military convoy marching to the battle scene represented below, but it also may depict a funerary procession. The lower frieze, however, was clearly a battle scene, depicting crowded troops of 33 warriors, 15 horses and a chariot. The tomb owner clearly wanted to show his support to the Persian Empire by this battle scene that glorified the Persian army.

2.3.1 Convoy or Funeral Procession

The frieze is a particularly interesting depiction due to the large number of human figures and the detailed military presence. It is missing 20 cm of its original length due to the looting activity. There are 21 people, including women, two chariots and 16 horses, and a pack horse, identified. The number could have been more had the looters not damaged the beam. The convoy moves from right to left. There are two chariots, each mounted by one rider. The leading chariot shows a man with a *kandys* and a tiara, probably the deceased himself. He is followed by three lancers, who point their weapons downwards, as Herodotus described the march of Xerxes' army to Greece, while the second chariot has a closed box and other attendants are depicted on foot (*Hist.* 7.40.2). All figures, except for four people on foot, wear Persian-type red felt caps and red garments.

This procession scene has been a matter of scholarly debate. The chariot in the back with a closed box and women accompanying it are striking details (Figure 6 and Figure 7). Summerer drew attention to the resemblances of this scene to the south wall paintings in the Karaburun II chamber and the sculpted reliefs of the Mourning Women sarcophagus and Daskyleion grave stelae, which were interpreted as “*ekphora*” (Summerer, 2010: 160, figs. 29, 32, 41; Mellink, 1972: 267). Accordingly, the dignitary shown who

¹⁴ The distinction between the Persian and Scythian warriors were the pointed caps the Scythians wore, which is attributed to the nomadic peoples dwelling in Caucasasia, Iran and Central Asia by historical records. Notwithstanding, their distinction in archaeology is difficult (Adalı, 2017: 60-1).

mounted the first chariot would be going to his own funeral, while the second chariot carries his body (Summerer, 2010: 160-2). Summerer claims that the funerary convoy scenes can be an awakening of old Anatolian traditions going back to the Bronze Age. There are examples from Hittite iconography where we see such convoys with semi-circular horse-drawn vehicles in funerary contexts, so this may be a continuation in Anatolian behavior (Summerer, 2010: 153, fig. 34). However, these convoy scenes proliferate in the early 5th century after a long hiatus, right after Greco-Persian wars. They exist throughout the Persian period, and remain uniform in their iconography with a varying number of figures. Such abundance at a certain time after a long hiatus cannot be explained by continuity (Summerer, 2008: 281).

Opposing the “ekphora” interpretation, Draycott argues that the scene showed a military convoy which imitated the convoy of Xerxes. Indeed, Herodotus’ description of the Persian king’s march towards Greece has a lot of similarities to the frieze which Summerer conceptualized as ‘funerary’ (Draycott, 2011: 57-58)¹⁵. Summerer had sufficient grounds to call it a funerary convoy as these scenes were always found in mortuary contexts¹⁶, and some tombs contained remnants of chariots¹⁷ (Kökten Ersoy, 1998). Nonetheless, Draycott rightfully argues the overall context of the paintings reflect more of a worldly view rather than sepulchral (Draycott, 2011: 56). No figure in the frieze indicates mourning, contrasting with the figures of the Mourning Women sarcophagus. It could be a fashion started among local grandees to imitate the marching of Xerxes in their monumental work (Draycott, 2011: 59). In agreement with this, the very strong Persian elements such as the clothes and equipment of the figures in the painting suggest that it was a reminder in the tomb that the deceased, and perhaps his

¹⁵ Draycott quoted Herodotus 7.40.2: “A thousand picked Persian horsemen led the king’s retinue, and behind them came a thousand spearmen, also elite fighting men, who marched with their lances pointing down at the ground. (Next are sentences describing sacred Nisean horses and a sacred chariot of „Zeus“.) 7.40.4 ...Behind him came Xerxes himself, seated on his chariot (harmatos) drawn by Nisean horses... 7.41 This was how Xerxes left Sardis, but he used to get out of his chariot (harmatos) and into a covered wagon (harmamaxan) instead, if he felt so inclined” (Draycott, 2010a: 11.) It is noteworthy that the Karaburun II wall paintings also had a combination of a chariot and carriage in the same frieze on the South Wall. See chapter 5 for Karaburun II.

¹⁶ For instance, Daskyleion stelae with condensed depictions, and the Kızılbel and Karaburun tomb chambers.

¹⁷ For example, the Polyxena Sarcophagus.

ancestor, stood loyal to the great king and participated in the war when he was summoned. Another related interpretation would be to consider this as an example of a local elite seizing power in the empire through martial endeavors¹⁸. Due to the fact that Xerxes himself and his predecessors have been described travelling by chariot convoys¹⁹, the local elite could have adopted this means of transportation in their own dominion. Display of such travels must have been a way to compete among the local elite since such travels were displays of prestigious status that the great king himself used (Draycott, 2010a: 10).

2.3.2 Combat between the Persians and Scythians

The crowded battle scene between the Persians and Scythians depicted the victorious group and his leader as a Persian, but probably not the Persian king. He wears Persian red garments and strapped shoes that were also represented on glyptic objects (Kaptan, 2002: 60). He has a long beard and hair, and wears a vertically longer crown compared to the royal diadems. Although he is shown as a leader, his crown is not necessarily a royal type and can belong to a wide range of people such as Ahura Mazda, servants, and women (Summerer, 2007b: 12). Further, less elaborately painted bowmen behind him have similar clothes and equipment, including the crown. Therefore, the Persian hero was probably the leader of an infantry contingent, whose usual role was to escort the Persian royal family (Henkelman, 2002: 20-2).

The leaders of the two armies confront each other in the middle of the scene and the Persian leader thrusts a dagger into the Scythian leader's belly (Figure 8). He grabs his rival's beard in his left hand at the same time. This is an unusual representation for Persian art. Persian monumental royal art may show a leader killing a monster or an animal, but never a human being (Summerer, 2010: 126-128). However, the glyptic art objects often depict scenes of violence where the humans are involved and the Persian heroes in these scenes always wear the strapped shoes the Persian leader has (Kaptan,

¹⁸ Xerxes offers rewards to the leaders who answer his summons with the best prepared troops possible (*Hist.* 7.8.).

¹⁹ See Draycott, 2010a: 11-12; Briant, 2002: 186-192 for the importance of transportation by carriage convoys in the Persian Empire.

2002:60-4, pl. 9 and 75). This painting, therefore, may be derived from perishable media which depicted such scenery, or even perhaps by minor art objects. Seals and rings are personal objects, and they are granted to the people who work for the great king (Root, 2003: 275). The crowded combat scenes are common in Lycian tomb reliefs and paintings, especially in Xanthos²⁰, themes which apparently originated from Assyrian art (Childs, 1978: 49-54; Mellink, 1998: 63-4).

The leader's elaborately treated face, contrasting with the general treatment of the other characters, indicate that it was an individual portrait of a certain person, probably of the deceased himself (Summerer, 2007b: 13). The reclining lord in the Karaburun Tumulus dating to the first half of the 5th century is the best parallel to this example²¹ (see Chapter 5). Furthermore, the absence of background, and the broadly treated nature of the characters except for the Persian leader in the center indicate that the painting does not represent a historical incident. Instead, it probably represents the deceased's level of interaction with the empire since this scene drew from the iconographies of seals, objects given to the important members of the elite in the Persian Empire.

2.4 Conclusions

The wooden structure and construction techniques used on the Tatarlı Tumulus, and its strategical location between Kelainai and Gordion signify continuation of local mortuary traditions in Anatolia. The place was probably densely populated by farmers who worked on estates in the Achaemenid Period in agreement with the tradition of tumuli locations (*Anab.* 7.8.7–9; Rose et al, 2007: 119-20; Bresson, 2010: 196). The choice of an enclosed wooden frame chamber seems a self-conscious following of Phrygian tradition and it shows a wish to maintain the deceased's connection to Phrygian culture. Its parallels are the Harta and Taşlık tumuli mentioned in Chapter 4. Although these tombs had stone masonry replacing wood, certain aspects of Phrygian architecture were indicated by paint, such as kingposts, thatch roofs, etc. Furthermore, the preservation of

²⁰ See the selected tombs of Chapter 5: The Kızılbel, Karaburun and the Heroon at Limyra have such representations. Also see the sculpted reliefs of the Çan sarcophagus in Chapter 3.

²¹ See Voigt and Young, 1999: fig 1 for well-articulated faces on painted pottery of Gordion (as cited in Summerer, 2007: 13, n. 40).

this chamber illustrates that tumulus tombs with wooden chambers were not a forgotten tradition despite a gap of 70 years after its antecedents at Gordion. Overall, the physical aspect of the Tatarlı Tomb is entirely local.

The Tatarlı tomb is the only example of paintings on wood in a funerary context in Anatolia (Tuplin, 2010: 188). Even though written sources suggest it was a very common practice in antiquity, archaeological records of figural painting on wood are rare, and they were found outside Anatolia, from tomb chambers in Egypt and grottoes in Greece (Summerer, 2007a: 129).

The iconographic program of the tomb, in contrast with the architecture, carries many external influences, most of which are Persian. All surviving paintings in the chamber depict multiple figures acting in group activities and the individuals are not highlighted. Although these friezes do not provide geographical background or specific figures or events that can relate to history, they explain social events that require high organizational skills, economic power, and prestige. Furthermore, these paintings that show parallels with tomb art in other places in Anatolia illuminate how the local elite in Anatolia became powerful in the empire. As Herodotus noted, Pithios, a local dignitary in Kelainai, offered an immense treasure to Xerxes to have his son exempted from the battle against the Greeks, but instead was forced to join the battle with his entire family as a punishment (*Hist.* 7.27-39). Although this anecdote that generalizes the despotic behavior of the great king over his subjects needs to be taken with skepticism, such a situation probably was the case during the Greco-Persian wars. Considering the rebellions against the king and the long-lasting tensions with the Greeks in this western frontier, the great king would have demanded the Anatolian elite to have clear support for him. Therefore, the paintings in this tomb should be evaluated as a clear reflection of this support for the Persian Empire.

The friezes on the east wall show a complete Persian character. The display of the convoy suggests that the deceased mimicked the great king, who encouraged local elites to follow a model of his own army. Therefore, the resemblance of Xerxes' marching

army to the convoy scene is not surprising. The clothes and equipment of the warriors and the man in the center, probably the deceased, are self-consciously Persian as well. Contrasting with the east wall are the north wall friezes. The dancing warriors depicted with their hoplite-like armor and Phrygian/Lycian weapons appear solely on this wall. The reason for this contrast may have been different, coexisting identities the deceased may have had. Paralleling the Phrygian tomb form, the owner of the tomb may have wanted to display local and non-local military groups he commanded, conforming to the Persian tradition of exhibiting the many ethnicities they ruled (Draycott, 2010a: 13).

The different types of military equipment among the warriors shown on these representations are also striking, and are common in Anatolia and the empire in general. Having been mentioned by Herodotus and Xenophon, ethnic diversity among the armies of Xerxes and Cyrus the Younger was evident (*Hist.* 7.40.2-7.40.4; *Anab.* 1.2.14). The diverse military groups in the artwork in tombs confirm such variety. The monumental art in the Persian palaces often depicted different peoples distinguished by clothes, weapons and jewelry. Nevertheless, it should not only be considered a top-down program. In a vast empire with enormous ethnic differences, identities are often distinctive, symbolized by physical appearances, and the choice of clothes and panoply (Draycott, 2010a: 8).

The military character of the tomb is only natural given that Anatolia was the western frontier of an expansionist empire which had the imperative to capture more lands in the west. On account of this, the Persian military presence in western Anatolia was intense in the 6th and 5th centuries BC since the Greeks and nomadic societies in the Balkans were the main enemies in this period (Draycott, 2010: 8). Thanks to these encounters, the Greek historians and representational art in western Anatolia provided much information about the Persian army in this period. Finally, the dignitaries of the two friezes of the east wall, the leading chariot rider on the top and Persian hero on the bottom, seem to be the same person. The high details on faces and their central locations in these scenes and the probable connection of subjects in the two friezes, the military convoy on top, the battle on the bottom suggests that it was a display of the deceased's

biography. Other tombs in the Persian period show the deceased person in different roles as well. They also indicate the increasing support for the Persian Empire and military character in Anatolia, as will be discussed in the following chapters.



CHAPTER 3: HELLESPONTINE PHRYGIA

The examples of this chapter are located around the Granicus River, midway between Troy and Daskyleion, flowing more than 60 km from the Ida Mountains to the Marmara Sea. The Granicus Valley, where this river flows, contains around 100 tumuli dating to the Persian period. Hence, these tombs were located in fertile, arable lands in the countryside of Daskyleion, the satrapal center at Hellespontine Phrygia. Rose and Körpe assumed the tumuli in this valley belonged to the elite families who owned estates in this rich valley (2007a: 248). Only a few of these tumuli have been excavated by the Çanakkale Museum, after plunder by tomb robbers. According to the survey²² conducted in the area, these tumuli date from the late 6th to the early 4th centuries BC, the Persian occupation in western Anatolia (Rose, Tekkök, Körpe et al., 2007:74).

This chapter will deal with three tumuli and their contents from this valley, which show different affinities to different cultures. One of them, the Kızöldün tumulus, dated to the late 6th century BC, is located near Gümüşçay, 68 km northwest of Daskyleion. The Dedetepe tumulus, dated to ca. 480-460 BC, is located 7 km northeast, and the Çan tumulus, dated to ca. 375 BC, was approximately 20 km southwest of Kızöldün. These examples are chosen because it has been claimed that they belonged to the same estate, and perhaps to a Persian sub-dynast from the region (Rose and Körpe, 2007a: 253, Rose, 2013: 127-8, 138-9). The basis of this assumption was the common use of Proconnesian marble for the two sarcophagi in the Kızöldün, the two klinai and the entire chamber of the Dedetepe tumulus, and the sarcophagus in the Çan tumulus. It was brought from an

²² The Granicus River Valley Archaeological Project aimed to map the region's settlements and tumuli located between the Granicus (Kocabaş) and Aesepus (Gönen) rivers.

island 30 km away from Cyzicus and was employed in the Persian period²³ for the first time in the region as a new means of competition among elites. The use of marble in these tombs contrasted with typical elite tombs in Persian period Anatolia, in which the usual material was limestone (Rose, Tekkök, Körpe et al., 2007:74)²⁴.

3.1 The Kızöldün Tumulus

The Kızöldün tumulus is located 68 km northwest of Daskyleion. One of the largest tumuli in this area, it had a diameter of 38 m and a height of 54 m. It contained two tombs without a chamber: The Polyxena and Child's sarcophagi. The Polyxena sarcophagus was found at the center of the tumulus, 6 m under the topsoil. The other, undecorated sarcophagus was discovered half a meter beneath the surface of the tumulus. The initial reports dated the Polyxena sarcophagus to 500 BC, and the child's tomb to ca. 450 BC (Rose and Körpe, 2007a: 249).

The reliefs of the Polyxena Sarcophagus have figural representations that relate to death on all four sides (Figure 9; Sevinç, 1996: 252). They show the sacrifice of Polyxena, a Homeric character, on sides A and B, and funerary scenes on sides C and D. The sarcophagus itself is 3.32 m long, 1.60 m wide, and 1.78 m high. It was found with terracotta tiles around its external sides, protecting the reliefs from the dirt. Inside the burial was a skeleton of a 40-year-old man, but the bones were not in good condition due to the pillaging activities (Rose and Körpe, 2007a: 252). No grave goods remained. Excavators found two wheels next to the sarcophagus, one on top of the other, leaning against the west side of the sarcophagus with their iron nails and wooden frame intact along with the necessary bronze material comprising the kit of a carriage that probably transported the sarcophagus to its final location (Sevinç, 1996: 251-64; Dusingberre, 2013: 172).

²³The isotopic analysis conducted on a marble relief from Sigeion suggested a date around 550-540, which is the earliest record for the use of Proconnesian marble (Rose, B, Tekkök, B, Körpe, R. et al., 2007:74).

²⁴ Some royal tombs, such as the tumulus of Alyattes has marble in its chamber. But, typical elite tombs of Anatolia usually had certain objects made of marble. The material is known to have become popular in the following centuries. For instance, the house of Mausolus also was known to have been decorated by Proconnesian marble in the 4th century BC (Vitr. *De arch.* 54).

The lid of the sarcophagus copies a gabled roof. There are simple lines starting from the peak of the sloping lid to the corners, which imitate roofs tiles. Immediately below the corner is the remarkable cornice with the combination of ovolo, bead-and-reel, and dentil decorations.

All four sides have reliefs that relate to one theme, death, especially the sculptures located on the west side (A), where Polyxena, the daughter of Priam and Hecuba of Troy, is being murdered. The scholars agree upon the meaning of the long west (A) and short south sides (B), that is, the sacrifice of the Trojan princess in the aftermath of the Trojan war. The meanings of the other two sides, however, have been debated by the scholars. Some argued that they were related to the wedding of Polyxena or an elite woman, while Rose claimed that it was a funerary scene, a typical representation of Persian period Anatolian tombs.

On the west side (A), the Greek soldiers hold Polyxena still while Neoptolemus pierces her throat with a dagger, in a similar manner to Greek and Near Eastern animal sacrifices (Figure 10). Violent scenes are seldom expressed in Greek mythology and theater (Rose, 2013: 85). Thus, this violently articulated subject is extraordinary, and perhaps is an Anatolian way of interpretation. The literary sources also tell us that this sacrifice was meant to honor the spirit of Achilles (Eur. *Hec.* 30-50; Rose and Körpe, 2007a: 250). A Tyrrhenian Amphora of the Timiades Painter parallels the iconography of sacrifice where Polyxena was sacrificed like an animal on the sarcophagus.

On one of the short sides (B) of the Polyxena sarcophagus, Polyxena's mother, Hecuba, is depicted crouching with two other women in mourning position (Figure 11). This relief is the continuation of the sacrifice scene (Rose, 2013: 87). The lamenting women direct their attention to their left, as if they would observe the sacrifice had the two reliefs been flattened into one. Hecuba holds a stick and her eyes have lines to indicate her identity as the mourning, old woman. Her squat position indicates her changed status as she lost her throne after the battle; and now she is not shown seated on it, but crouches instead.

The reliefs on the long east side (C) of the sarcophagus depict a woman seated on a throne supported by two winged males resembling one relief from the Harpy tomb at Xanthos (Figure 12). The woman on the throne holds and smells a lotus flower in her left hand, and an egg on her right hand. There are twelve women visitors bringing several gifts, and four male soldiers standing on their toes in a manner interpreted to be a pyrrhic dance²⁵.

The other short side (D) of the Polyxena sarcophagus has the relief sculptures that are key to a thorough understanding of the tomb's iconographic context (Figure 13). Five women are gathered around a kline. Two veiled women are shown seated on the kline with their legs overlapping to express the high level of interaction and intimacy between the figures while the other three figures are shown standing. Other figures, one of which is also veiled, bring gifts such as a pitcher and a wine strainer with a curved handle and an animal head finial, an egg, and a cosmetics pyxis with lid.

The sarcophagus was hitherto interpreted to have depicted a wedding in sides C and D, a typical Greek subject matter, both by the style of the treatment of the relief and by its iconography. However, the iconography of the reliefs fits into a Greco-Persian iconography, because it is actually a funerary representation, rather than the preparation of a wedding as it had been interpreted by Reinsberg, Ateşlier and Öncü, Neer, and Çevirici-Coşkun (Reinsberg, 2001; Ateşlier and Öncü, 2004; Neer, 2012: 104-111; Çevirici-Coşkun, 2017). The basis of their argument were their identification of dancers in side C as female²⁶ and the veiled woman in side D, who is shown receiving gifts. Scholars thought this tumulus, and the Polyxena sarcophagus it contained was either devoted to Polyxena herself, or to an unmarried girl who died before her time (Reinsberg, 2001: 79; Ateşlier and Öncü, 2004: 55; Çevirici-Coşkun, 2017: 215).

²⁵ Pyrrhic dance is an armed performance that was suggested to have created by Neoptolemus (Eur, *Andr.*, 1135). Neoptolemus performed the dance after he defeated Eurypylus, an ally of Trojans. Achilles also performed the dance after the death of his friend, Patroclus (Goulaki-Voutira, 1996:3).

²⁶ Tight shorts are only worn by women in pyrrhic dance, which would suggest that the relief could have depicted the preparation of a wedding (Çevirici, 2006: 132-133, Şare, 2016: 567-570; Reinsberg, 2001: 83-4). See Goulaki-Voutira, 1996 for female Pyrrhic dancers.

Rose argued that the gender of the individuals, including the dancers, was defined by their hairstyle in the reliefs. He noted that the male characters on the west side were represented with short hair, which were combed down onto their foreheads. He indicated that the pyrrhic dancers on this relief also had this hair style, and thus were actually male, which fits a funerary representation (Rose, 2013: 94)²⁷.

The argument about the veils, which suggested to have symbolized a wedding, does not stand, either. The veils were used in various contexts by both genders and they had a wide range of purposes in the ancient Greek world, such as in cases where the person feels being dishonored (Cairns, 2002: 5,7; Llewellyn-Jones, 2003: 155-88). Demeter, for instance, having lost her child to Hades, veiled herself to symbolize her dishonored situation (*Hom. Hymn Dem.* 197). In Euripides' *Hecuba*, Polyxena laments her status because she was born a free woman, a princess who had the choice of marrying a man of her choosing, but then became a slave. For instance, she pleads to her mother: "Help me instead. I would rather die than suffer the shame of wearing slavery's yoke around my neck" (*Eur. Hec.* 370-80). For this particular reason, the relief may have depicted her veiled on the kline, in her private space, to express her shame along with the other two veiled women in this scene, not because of a wedding. Therefore, this relief should be considered as part of Polyxena's story following her enslavement, to indicate that she embraces her death rather than slavery, represented on the west side (A) on the sarcophagus.

The objects represented in sides C and D, such as eggs, cosmetic containers, alabastra and lotus flowers find parallels in the Harpy Tomb reliefs where the enthroned woman and man receive such gifts from standing figures of the same gender (Rose, 2013: 90-1). The enthroned woman in the Harpy Tomb relief also sniffs the lotus in the same manner as observed in side C of the Polyxena Sarcophagus. Aligning with this, the Dedetepe tumulus chamber in this chapter, and the Güre treasure (see Chapter 4) have such

²⁷ He furthered his argument suggesting the scene was a funerary celebration that glorifies the life of the deceased, because of the intense emotions expressed by the dancers (Rose, 2013: 89-95).

cosmetic objects and cups. Further, typical gifts given in wedding representations, such as wedding vases, *kalathoi* (baskets for wool working), and *lekanai* (large household bowls) were absent (Rose, 2013: 94). Therefore, Rose asserted that sides C and D were funerary scenes honoring the deceased with such gifts, instead of a wedding (Rose and Körpe, 2007a: 251). He argued that similar iconography where the figures are shown receiving such gifts existed at tombs that bear biographical iconography elsewhere in western Anatolia such as the Karaburun tomb chamber and several stelae around Daskyleion (Dusinberre, 2013:174-5, fig. 98; Rose, 2013: 97).

The scene on side D shares features with *dexiōsis*, a common representation in Greek art where two characters clasp their hands, within the context that involves family members carved with the deceased on tomb reliefs (Arrington, 2018:9). The upper body and head of the woman in the center are depicted covered in a veil where she raises her hand as if she will touch the woman sitting next to her, who is also shown gesticulating. Adding to this is the articulation of bodies in the relief, which indicates the seated woman on the left is the center of attention because the other figures in the relief are either touching, presenting her gifts, or gazing upon her. As Arrington argues, in some of the contemporary Athenian grave stelae, a disconnectedness of the characters is another way of showing *dexiōsis*. The woman in the center does not touch the other seated woman's hand as the story remarked that Polyxena ignored Hecuba's lamentations, who begged Polyxena to keep on living. Instead Polyxena declined, and chose to go into the realm of darkness.²⁸

The sculpture program of the sarcophagus does not completely diverge from the Greco-Persian iconography, indicated by the funeral related scenes on side C and D. Admittedly more Greek than its contemporary art works due to the Homeric story it conveys on the reliefs, it contains partial Greco-Persian iconography demonstrated by its funerary scenes, a typical theme in Persian period tombs in western Anatolia.

²⁸ See Arrington, 2018:11-12 for deliberate absence of touch in iconography. See Eur. *Hec.*340-80, 540-60 for Polyxena's wish to seclude herself into "darkness", a notion associated with dishonor in epinician poetry, see Cairns, 2002:7-8.

The other tomb from the Kızöldün tumulus, the Child's Sarcophagus, was one of the rare intact tombs from western Anatolia which yielded objects of the type other burials could have had if they had not been robbed. The Child's Sarcophagus is 2.25 m long, 0.88 m wide and 1.07 m tall (Figure 14). It did not have a chamber or a terracotta tile packing around it, contrasting with the Polyxena sarcophagus (Rose and Körpe, 2007: 109-110). The sarcophagus was oriented northwest- southeast. It was not decorated, but the material was again Proconnesian marble. The skeleton found inside belonged to an eight or nine-year-old female child who suffered from anemia, evident from *cribra orbitalia* observed in the skeleton (Rose and Körpe, 2007a: 252).²⁹

Luxury objects were interred with this body. There were two gold necklaces wrapped around the neck of the skeleton, four identical gold earrings on each side of the skull, and one gold bracelet on each arm. The terminals of the bracelets had Achaemenid style antelope heads with incised beard, nose, and eyes. There were a silver phiale and a ladle with a handle ending with the decoration of an Achaemenid style calf terminal, rendered by the same technique as used on bracelets' terminal (Figure 15). There was also a wooden toy, 8 cm in height, in the shape of a female protome, on the left of the skull, and a wooden pyxis close to the shoulder. Other objects included a glass aryballos, a fragmented, single-handled flask at the northern corner of the sarcophagus, and a terracotta alabastron above the skull. Many of the tomb objects were found partially disintegrated due to a white substance of unknown composition in which they were sitting (Sevinç and Rose, 1999: 492). Scholars date the tomb to 450 BC based on the analysis of the objects recovered.

The variety and riches of the tomb gifts that relate to banquet and elite life are striking to observe in a child's tomb. The contents of contemporary child burials in Assos, not far away, cannot even compare to the wealth displayed here (Rose, 2013: 115). The only undisturbed child burial with more wealth so far known in Iron Age Anatolia was Tumulus P in Gordion, which dates to 700 BC (Young, 1981: 10). Overall, the Child's

²⁹ *Cribra orbitalia* is a condition caused by anemia. It affects the cranial vault and creates porous or spongy bone tissue on localized areas.

Sarcophagus may exemplify the richness of intact elite tombs in Persian period Hellespontine Phrygia.

3.2 The Dedetepe Tumulus

The Dedetepe Tumulus is located 7 km northeast of Kızöldün, and approximately 70 km northwest of Daskyleion. It is the largest tumulus in the Granicus Valley with a diameter of 65 m and a height of 60 m. It can be seen from anywhere in its vicinity, including from the Kızöldün tumulus. Plunderers in modern times attempted to loot this tumulus but they could not penetrate the ceiling. Subsequently, rescue excavations in the 1990s revealed the tomb chamber. It had been, however, robbed in antiquity, its original arrangement disrupted. Nonetheless, a certain number of grave goods were recovered. Based on the analysis of these items, scholars have dated this tumulus to 480-460 BC (Rose, 2013: 116; Sevinç, Rose, Strahan and Tekkök- Bıçken, 1998: 311-2). Also, a symbolic banquet for the deceased was well-attested from the combination of the funerary klinai, tables, pottery, and musical instruments discovered in the chamber (Baughan, 2013: 244-256; Rose, 2013: 125-7). In addition, three skeletons were found, but it is uncertain whether the chamber was planned for three persons, since there are only two klinai (Figure 16)³⁰.

The construction techniques of the tomb recall those used at Gordion. For example, wooden shafts were used during the process to mark the location of the chamber, as the mound size changed considerably during the construction (Rose, Körpe et al., 2007: 74). None of these shafts survived. Post holes, however, remain in their place. There were thick layers of clay, lime, and sand over the tomb chamber which served to protect it from the climate, which was also the case for the Tatarlı Tumulus.

The tomb chamber is oriented northeast-southwest and measures 3.60 m on one side and 4.20 m on the other (Figure 17). The entire chamber is made of Proconnesian marble, floor, walls, and ceiling. The floor was covered by five marble slabs, each 2 cm thick.

³⁰ The robbers in antiquity apparently threw the skeletons on the ground from the North kline. As a result, the skeletons were crushed or severely damaged.

The ceiling consisted of four large marble blocks. Having interred the bodies, the owners sealed this tumulus by a plug door facing the southwest. For the entry, a dromos was constructed, which had walls made of rubble. This dromos and stone masonry used in the chamber indicated the influence of Lydian architectural tradition.

Inside the tomb chamber were two klinai with vivid colors paralleling contemporary tombs in Lydia, perhaps to evoke the banquet atmosphere (Figure 18). Each kline was made of three marble pieces: one for the bed and two for the legs. Paintings of four red spirals imitating Ionian capitals on the joints, and plant depictions of red and blue are the main attractions of these klinai. Yellow and green colors were occasionally employed in these paintings.

The objects discovered in the chamber were prestige items which showed influence from Persia and Greece. Alabastra and instruments found in the chamber demonstrated a striking similarity to the objects represented in the reliefs of the Polyxena sarcophagus, and suggested that the representations of objects in tomb contexts could depict the actual gifts placed inside the burials.

Broken pieces of pottery such as chytra, lopas, and black glazed skyphoi were found in front of the entrance on top of a burnt layer of charcoal (Rose, 2013: 117-27). They are considered to have been used for the funerary ceremony that took place in front of the tomb.

The west kline had remains of some objects, including a few fragments of ivory. The ivory fragments were part of a 14.5 cm long splintered knife handle, decorated with a recumbent fallow deer facing left (Figure 19). Its outlined beard reached the double lobed ears, which was common in Persepolis, and the pronounced tear duct indicate that stylistically, this object drew from Persia rather than Greece. (Rose, 2013:122)³¹. A few fragments of hippo ivory on the same kline were part of a musical instrument, probably an aulos as depicted on the Polyxena sarcophagus. Considering such evidence, together

³¹ Another deer protome found at Daskyleion was almost identical to this one (Rose, 2013:122).

with the relief on the Polyxena Sarcophagus and these two tumuli, the relationship between musical ceremonies during funerals can be postulated. Music was a component of funeral ceremonies. The material, ivory, must have been imported as it is not available in Anatolia. Furthermore, an alabastron found on the north kline has stains of Tyrian purple dye on it. The use of purple, an expensive, prestigious dye, was an indication of wealth (Rose, 2013: 123). The stain might have come from a dyed ribbon. Attic white-ground lekythoi often depicted ribbons decorating tombstones and tomb gifts. Indeed, the woman on the Polyxena sarcophagus' side C is being presented with alabastra and a ribbon. Presenting alabastra as gifts in the Persian period seems to have been standard in western Anatolia, evident in the art in such tombs as the Güre tumuli in Lydia (see Chapter 4).

Remnants of two wooden tables in front of klinai were retrieved from the ground along with many smashed banquet vessels and instruments. The closest example for the table legs inside the tomb was found on the Persepolis reliefs (Baughan, 2013: 244). Owners probably imitated such royal items in Persia or in the satrapal palace of Daskyleion or the other neighboring regions (Rose and Körpe, 2007a: 253).

The architectural features of the Dedetepe tumulus illustrated an influence from Lydian tumuli, evident from the use of stone masonry and dromos. Its klinai, and contents, which recalled the objects shown in the Polyxena sarcophagus reliefs, presented the eschatological overlook of the elite in Persian Anatolia. Indeed, the symbolic banquet for the deceased, including musical ceremonies, was attested.

3.3 The Çan Tumulus

The Çan Tumulus is of particular interest because it demonstrates affinities to Thracian culture as well as to Persian and Lycian. The tomb was located in Altıkulaç, a village 20 km southwest of Kızıöldün and 78 km west of Daskyleion. It was looted in antiquity³², and in 1998, looters hid its sarcophagus in a forest, 5 km away from its original location.

³² See Sevinç et al., 1998: 386 for the descriptions of looting activities that took place in the Roman and Byzantine periods.

The Çanakkale Archaeology Museum retrieved the sarcophagus one week later, and in 1999, museum director Nurten Sevinç conducted a rescue excavation. Because the looters had attacked the tumulus with a backhoe, only the foundation and lowest course of the chamber remained intact.

The tomb chamber is circular, 3.70 m in diameter. It was oriented east-west with the entrance located on the east (Figure 20). Some of the damaged, curved sandstone building blocks were found scattered *in situ*. They had drafted margins and had been refined during the construction of the chamber, evident from the chips found nearby. The shape of the blocks indicate the chamber was beehive-shaped. Not seen in Phrygian and Lydian tomb chambers, the beehive shape does occur in Thrace (Sevinç et al., 2001: 387). For example, the Askertepe tumulus in Tekirdağ, dated to the Hellenistic period, is a typical example of Thracian tomb chambers that can compare with the Çan tomb chamber (Yıldırım, 2010: 165, drawing 5).

The sarcophagus was remarkable for its excellently preserved painted relief sculptures. It is 2.41 m in length, 0.95 m in width and 0.85 in height. Having been plundered several times in antiquity, in 1998, the Çan sarcophagus did not yield any grave goods. Inside the sarcophagus, however, was the decedent's skeleton, belonging to a strong male body whose left arm and leg were found broken, possibly due to a fall from horseback (Sevinç et al, 2001. 386, 408). The arrangement of the reliefs is unusual, because only two sides of the sarcophagus are decorated. They depict typical Greco-Persian themes. One depicts a boar hunt with three human and five animal figures; while the other, short side depicts a battle scene between a cavalryman and a foot soldier. The attendant of the cavalryman and a tree are also present in the background.

In the hunt scene, the riders were shown in Persian attire and equipment (Figure 21; Sevinç et al., 2001: 388-390). The figures wear long-sleeved tunics with Iranian trousers, *akinakes*³³, scabbards and *kandys*. The rider on the right has long red hair, a tiara hanging loose on his shoulders, and a purple *kandys*. He wears an ochre tunic and

³³ A type of short sword wielded by Persian warriors.

does not have armor. He attacks the giant rampant boar in the eye with a spear. He is shown mounted with an ochre saddle that has a thick red band on the corners. His horse's mane is tied on top, while the rest of the hair is cut short in the Lycian fashion, known as a "Lycian crewcut" (Sevinç et al. 2001: 391). The rider on the left of the relief, which is poorly preserved, was depicted differently from the first one with his red tunic and ochre breastplate. The riders have a uniform fashion of holding their spear: their tips point to the ground. The horses, dogs, and game animals were depicted rearing in order to give the impression of the figures' dramatic momentum, which is typical of Asia Minor art in the 5th century BC (Sevinç et al. 2001: 400). A third rider at the back was removed after the completion of the relief and probably exemplified a *damnatio memoriae*, which proliferated in the Persian World in the 4th century BC (Sevinç et al. 2001: 394-5). The wooded background of the hunt scene resonates with Xenophon's records about paradeisoi of the Persian Satrapy in Daskyleion in the 4th century (Bulut, 2017: 177).

The battle scene on the short side shows a cavalryman, who thrusts a spear into the eye of an infantryman in the same manner as seen in the boar hunt (Figure 22). The infantryman wears a baggy tunic. His calf does not seem to have greaves, and he does not have a plumed helmet, but he has a fillet on his head. He wields a small shield and a scabbard. He and the attendant behind the cavalryman were shown with the same fashion of clothing and equipment, suggesting that both were from the same ethnicity. Rose argued that they were Greeks based on the white fillet on their heads, but it is unlikely, because these filets disappeared after 400 BC (2013: 137; Ma, 2008: 2). They are probably a local people from western Anatolia, perhaps Mysians, a group that the Persians campaigned against (Xen. *Anab.* 1.6.7; Ma, 2008: 8). The red cuirass with projected back covering the rider's neck has no parallel in Anatolian armor depictions in monumental art, but it recalls the Greco-Persian gems contemporary with this sarcophagus (Sevinç et al. 2001: 395). Also, a cylinder seal dated to ca. 470 BC from the treasure house at Persepolis depicts a cavalry officer in the same fashion (Sevinç et al., 2001: 395, n. 57). The rider on the Çan sarcophagus and Anatolian gems who resemble each other could have been drawn from the Persian cylinder seal.

These two scenes seem to have been combined in the wooded background that fits into the environment of the tomb in order to create a link from one scene to the other as was the case in the Polyxena sarcophagus reliefs. The sculptor probably wanted to make a biographical reference to the deceased's life (Rose, 2013: 138-141). The occupant was skilled in the hunt and in battle, and so, fitting and enjoying the elite life in the empire. The second possible function of these linked relief iconographies was to belittle the enemy, depicting his defeat and the hunt of a game animal in the same manner.

Uniformity of the desperate situation of the boar and the enemy, and their murder with a spear into their eye in an identical fashion would have contributed to the Persian propaganda against the enemies of the empire. It also indicates the ongoing significance of the military in the identity of the Anatolians. This clear feature has been seen in the other examples in this thesis: The Tatarlı paintings, discussed in Chapter 2, the Aktepe kline in Chapter 4, the Kızılbél, Karaburun II and Pericle's Heroon in Chapter 5, and the Mausoleum in Chapter 6.

The presence of a *damnatio* and detailed, specific features of the second rider in the middle of the relief indicates the possibility that this depiction was the portrait of a particular character which strengthens the theory that such scenes were biographical for the deceased and their social circle. Rose argued that the rider in the middle of the hunt scene and the cavalry officer attacking the "Greek" enemy were the same person, a local dynast (Rose, 2013: 139). These arguments are compelling to an extent, but cannot be taken at face value. The large armor, covering a significant part of the face, worn by the cavalryman in the battle scene, for instance, prevents identifying him and the other rider in the hunt scene as the same person, even though they may be.

The Persian clothes and equipment worn by the riders in both reliefs are accepted as *realia*. The deceased self-consciously wanted to display his relationship with the Persian core by showing himself as victor, with his superior equipment such as the armor and horse. However, it does not suffice to identify him as a Persian, or a dynast. For instance, the local dynasts in Lycia also represented themselves in Persian clothes as a

means of representing their loyalty to the empire and power maintained by Persian support³⁴. Further, the choice of burial form also complicates understanding the identity of the deceased. The beehive chamber that has parallels in Thrace, and the choice of a decorated sarcophagus instead of a kline may indicate affinities with several identities, but surely not one identity that can be explained broadly as Persian³⁵.

The occupant of the tomb definitely had high status in the region, but his tomb was modest, compared to the dynastic heroa and temple tombs on the southern coasts of Anatolia. He probably joined the campaigns against a local group undertaken by the satrap at Daskyleion and demonstrated his participation via his tomb. The serious injury that crippled him, evident from the numerous breaks of his bones, was probably caused by a fall from horse. He apparently died five to ten years after this incident, and not directly from the fall.

The initial excavators suggested that the tomb belonged to the first quarter of the 4th century BC, and the later report of Sevinç et al. confirms this chronology based on the stylistic analysis since the tomb had been robbed several times and no pottery or other material survived to provide a secure date (Sevinç et al. 2001: 399-402; Rose and Körpe, 2007a: 254). This date reinforces the importance of such representation of the enemy due to the fact that the first quarter of the 4th century BC witnessed a drastic rise in the number of battles between the Persians and Greeks, in which the satraps such as Hekatomnus, Pharnabazus, and later Mausolus dealt with the Greek problem while Artaxerxes was trying to protect the Levant and reclaim Egypt (Ruzicka, 2012: 55). In other western Anatolian regions, Lycian and Carian dynasts depicted more ambitious political claims by their tombs compared to the Çan tumulus.

³⁴ See Chapter 6: The Heroon at Limyra. Also see Chapter 4 for the relationship between Persian clothes and identity.

³⁵ See Chapter 2 for discussion of multiple identities that is illustrated in the iconography and architectural form of the Tatarlı tumulus.

3.4 Conclusions

The Granicus Valley tombs explained here demonstrate the multicultural society present in the region (Rose, 2013: 96)³⁶. First, the Dedetepe tumulus shows Phrygian-Lydia features of architecture and continuity of these architectural traditions in Hellespontine Phrygia. Second, the Çan tumulus is striking with its unorthodox shape of tumulus chamber. Moreover, it contains a sarcophagus, rather than a kline or funerary bed. Third, the Kızöldün sarcophagi were buried directly inside a large tumulus, not inside a chamber. The Dedetepe klinai and Çan sarcophagus were painted, and the Polyxena sarcophagus would also have been painted if the artisans had been able to complete it.

Social and political changes in the Persian period were reflected in these tombs. The pattern of gradual increase in Persianizing aspects of tomb contexts is striking. The Polyxena sarcophagus dated to the late 6th century BC has a dominant Greek theme in its reliefs, and has parts of a funerary chariot, recalling the Archaic period funerary chariots in the Greek world, but its funerary scenes were part of the Greco-Persian iconography (Neer, 2012: 99). The Dedetepe tumulus and its luxurious chamber dated to the early 5th century BC did not have representational artworks except for the lavishly decorated klinai, but its setting created by couches evoked a banquet that fits the Persian period elite lifestyle. The Persian style ivory scabbard that the Dedetepe contained was a rare example of weapons in tomb contexts in western Anatolia, and can be associated with the growing military identity in the region in the 5th century BC. The Çan sarcophagus dated to the early 4th century BC had a strict Greco-Persian iconography depicting hunt and combat reliefs with biographical references to the deceased's life. The deceased demonstrated himself as a Persian with his clothes and equipment participating in a military campaign, which was standard in 4th century BC western Anatolian tomb reliefs, especially in Lycia. Grave goods such as drinking cups and musical instruments, and their representation on reliefs signify the Anatolian behavior of funerary feasting in the region. They are absent in the Çan sarcophagus, even though combat scenes usually combine with iconographies of feasting. The objects initially placed in the tomb could

³⁶ See Rose, 2013: 73. For example: Aramaic bullae and funerary stelai recovered, a bilingual inscription written in Phrygian and Greek indicate a mixed society in the region.

have been related to the funerary feasts, but the looting of the tomb impedes such an argument.

The manifold identities of the Anatolian elite were articulated with the mixed nature of the tomb contexts, such as the Çan sarcophagus. Even though the reliefs represented Persian themes, the tomb form drew from tomb traditions of other local groups in Anatolia, and Thrace. The same can be said for the Dedetepe tomb chamber, as its form was Anatolian, whereas the klinai were of the Greek type, and objects were from Persian-Anatolian backgrounds. There is a visible demonstration of identity of the elite in these tombs, where they seemed to have self-consciously chosen features of many cultures, in order to show their affinities to each group, and their wide network inside a multi-cultural empire.

CHAPTER 4: LYDIA.

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I will examine six tombs in Lydia, whose diverse architecture and artistic features illustrate the different aspects of the integration of local elites into Persian culture. This group consists of one free-standing tomb structure located in Sardis, one tumulus from the countryside of Sardis, one tumulus in the vicinity of Manisa, and three tumuli in the vicinity of modern Güre, a probable ancient rural town.

These tombs, dating from the 6th to the 5th centuries BC, have a combination of Persian, local, and to a lesser extent Greek elements. The first example, the Pyramid Tomb at Sardis, is important because it resembles the Tomb of Cyrus at Pasargadae, and was located in the satrapal center. It exemplifies a rare non-local tomb form that can be interpreted as a will to cooperate with the Persian Empire, if its unknown occupant were a local. Second, the Lale Tepe tumulus, is from the countryside of Sardis. It has a Lydian style architecture, and its architecture imitates elite houses. The argument for the tomb chambers representing houses for the dead can be attested in this tomb as the architectural decorations confirm this argument (Summerer and von Kienlin, 2015: 501, 504). Also, its chamber has a unique arrangement of resting places for the dead. The final examples, the well-published contents of Harta and the three Güre tumuli illustrate the self-identification of the elite during the region in the Persian period. The richness of the tombs contrasts with the poorly preserved contents of contemporary tombs elsewhere in western Anatolia. The purpose of evaluating these particular tombs is, first, to analyze the local and external elements used in the architecture of Lydian tombs. Then, this analysis will clarify the origins of the architectural forms and the contents of the tombs,

and it will also reveal the eschatological ideology of the region. Finally, the changes these tombs underwent during the Persian period will be presented.

4.2 The Pyramid Tomb

The Pyramid Tomb exemplifies the rare freestanding tombs in Lydia that were made for high status people, and were contemporary with the Tomb of Cyrus the Great in Pasargadae (Figure 23). Roosevelt argues that this tomb and later freestanding tombs in Caria and Lycia are successors of structures that stemmed from an Anatolian architectural tradition post-dating the Persian conquest (Roosevelt, 2009: 140). The masonry of the tomb and the finds recovered during the excavations were dated to the 6th or early 5th centuries BC (Ratte, 1992: 152).

The Pyramid Tomb is located on the western edge of Sardis, on the east bank of the Pactolus River and the southwest of the lower city. It sits on a 7.5 m square foundation on the slope of a ridge that views the Pactolus, and rises atop six steps leading to the tomb chamber. Only the stone pavement of the chamber and one stone block were recovered from the superstructure.

The construction techniques used in this structure yield priceless information for the development of architecture in the region, and for the dating of the monumental buildings in the area. Earth and rubble were employed in the core of the building; the masonry was built around these primary materials. The tightly fixed ashlar masonry was applied with a technique close to anathyrosis but less precise in treatment, rather than clamps, joints or dowels (Ratte, 1992:144). Also, the claw chisel was absent in the finishing of the surfaces, which is important for the dating of the structure. Preceding the Pyramid Tomb, the Tomb of Alyattes, dated to 560 BC, did not show use of the claw chisel, either³⁷. The widespread use of the claw chisel probably took place around 530-518 BC, as the monuments in Pasargadae where Lydian and Greek craftsmen worked had marks of such tools (Ratte, 1992: 153). Hence, the sporadic use of banded line technique (similar to anathyrosis) and such tools used for precise smoothening are

³⁷ The claw chisel and hammer were used in repaired parts of the Alyattes tomb after its construction.

essential in the dating of the structure and understanding the development of the monumental architecture in the region. Similar construction techniques between the Pyramid Tomb and the Tomb of Alyattes, ca. 560 BC, and the first record of claw chisel in the Persian Empire, that is, the Tomb of Cyrus dated to 530 BC, place the date of the structure between 560 to 530 BC (Ratte, 1992: 160; Stronach, 1978: 26-43). Although the ambition of the structure was great, the rough state of the step surfaces, and such other imprecise treatment of masonry indicate that the tomb was not finished (Ratte, 1992: 149).

The poor preservation of the tomb does not allow a secure and complete reconstruction (Figure 24). Still, Butler and Kasper, early excavators of Sardis, proposed several reconstruction possibilities; among them, the probable one resembles the Tomb of Cyrus in Pasargadae on the grounds that Lydian and Ionian craftsmen worked on this tomb (Figure 25 and Figure 26; Ratte, 1992: 158-9; Nylander, 1970: 16-7). The stepped platform of the tomb, resembling a pyramid, is a key feature for the possible resemblances these two structures once may have had. Therefore, it is highly possible that this stepped platform had a freestanding chamber as the Tomb of Cyrus did.

The identity of the tomb's occupant is unknown. One possibility is Abradatas, the king of Susa and a trusted lieutenant of Cyrus; Xenophon mentions his death in the battle of Sardis in 547 BC (*Cyr.* 7.3.4.5). He further conveys that he was buried by his wife beside the Pactolus river. This possibility, although tantalizing, cannot be proven due to the poor condition of the structure and the absence of a body. Nevertheless, the tomb form surely indicates overt Persianizing elements in the western frontier of the empire, where the tombs were otherwise built in local architectural traditions for both the locals and probably for the Persians (Ratte, 1992: 160).

4.3 Introduction of Tumuli to Sardis

Tumulus burials had a particular importance in Lydia from the beginning of the 6th century BC. In the Bintepe area, to the north of Sardis, only a few tumuli dated to the pre-Persian period are present. They had single interments for the members of the

Lydian royalty. The best known of them is the Tomb of Alyattes, dated to ca. 560 BC (Ratte, 1993: 3). The introduction of tumulus burials to Lydia was considered to have been a result of influence from Phrygia in the early 6th century BC, where tumulus burials were already frequent from the 9th-8th centuries onwards (Ratte, 2011: 4,48). These burials reflected the growing imperial power of Lydia by their monumentality and superior construction techniques (Ratte, 2011: 55). Despite conforming to the Phrygian tumuli by form, the tomb chambers were built of ashlar masonry, not wood. Lydian masonry is celebrated for its elaborate use of ashlar blocks, mostly of limestone, usually observed in fortification walls and tombs. These stones were laid in courses and fitted without mortar.

In the aftermath of the Persian conquest, the Bintepe area became a popular location for other tumuli, half of them being designed for several occupants with new architectural features such as dromos, krepis walls, porch, and symbolic doors (Roosevelt, 2008: 9; Roosevelt, 2009: 150). These new tumuli are associated with the newly risen elite of Sardis.

The function of the tumulus, aside from burial, was to serve as land markers of the dignitary feudal families (Hanfmann and Mierse, 1983: 85; Roosevelt, 2009: 100). It seems that every elite family in this period erected one in order to show possession of land, and to compete with their rivals by the level of luxury with which they ornamented these burials.

4.3.1 The Lale Tepe Tumulus

The Lale Tepe tomb probably imitated elite houses, and aimed to reflect elite life by sympotic features due to its architectural features such as a functional door, a painted thatched roof, a chamber, its furniture, and rich paintings on the walls. The tumulus is located 11 km west of Sardis, in the middle Hermus Valley near modern Ahmetli, and is one of 17 tumuli in this area. It measures 11 m in height and 53 m in diameter (Figure 27). It was located in a rich agricultural landscape and probably belonged to at least one

important family in Sardis. The date of its construction was determined to be ca. 540-early 5th century BC (Roosevelt, 2008 :1).

Despite looting activities, the finds recovered from the salvage excavations conducted in 1999 by the Manisa Museum of Ethnography and Archaeology could be grouped into at least seven distinct contexts (Roosevelt, 2008: 1-2). This might be due to continuous use, reuse, or abuse of the tomb (Figure 28). The construction, decoration, and outfitting of the tomb indicate a mixture of traditions of Late Lydian material cultures from Sardis and its western and eastern neighbors.

The tomb structure was completely made of ashlar masonry. It had a dromos, porch, pitched ceiling, and a chamber in the tumulus (Figure 29). These architectural features were common in Lydia. Seventeen of 115 tumuli in the Bintepe area and its surroundings in the central Lydia yielded the same architectural units, and they usually have been dated to the late 6th and 5th centuries BC (Roosevelt, 2008: 7).

The complex is oriented northwest-southeast with the entrance facing southeast (Stinson, 2008: 25-48). The dromos and porch leading to the chamber together measure 6.45 m in length. The entrance to the dromos was found sealed by a combination of rubble and mud mortar. The dromos has a pitched roof and earthen floor. Its walls were made of sandstone ashlars while its roof was made of schist slabs. The pitched roof steps down to a flat ceiling 4 m in front of the entrance, then steps down again to another flat ceiling, to the area of the porch. The porch is made of trimmed limestone blocks. One plain limestone plug type outer door obstructs the entrance to the chamber. A functional marble door is located at the border between the chamber and porch.

The chamber, made of limestone ashlars like the porch, measures 3.01 m in length, 2.42 m in width and 3.03 m in height (Figure 30). Its ceiling is the tallest and steepest among all known tomb chambers in Lydian tumuli (3.03 m higher than the floor and 44 degrees) (Roosevelt, 2008: 7).

The chamber consists of one double-bed kline at the back, one floor bed underneath the double-bed kline concealed by two limestone panels with paintings of palm trees, and on each side, a single kline with a floor bed underneath each. (Figure 31). The innovative combination of floor beds, double-kline, and single-kline made space for seven individuals (Baughan, 2010a: 277).

The resting places in the Lale Tepe were all anthropoid in form, in that the klinai and the funerary beds had hollows, carved for the heads of the deceased. These hollows were designed in a way that the occupants would look to their left, which is canonical in the Greek representations of symposium (Baughan, 2013: 21-4). Indeed, because the majority of the wares found during the rescue excavations were banquet related, and had burn marks, the relationship between death and a banquet is well attested (Baughan, 2008: 58). However, the side kline on the left disrupts the Greek banquet arrangement because its hollow indicates that the occupant would look to the right. Also, the rear kline is considerably larger than the rest and higher than the side klinai, and it overlaps the side klinai, probably due to the desire to create space for the large rear kline. This arrangement places the rear kline in the focus of the chamber, contrasting with the Greek symposium. The Greek symposium aims to create an equal environment for the participants with the arrangement of klinai occupying equal space in the room (Baughan, 2016: 205). Therefore, the layout of the tomb indicates a hierarchy in a banquet setting as we witness in the 4th century Karian androns such as Androns A and B in Labraunda (Hellström, 1987: 135-6). Also, such hierarchical setting corresponds to the descriptions of the banquets of Cyrus the Great in historical accounts where the person of focus has a seat in the center that is higher than the rest (O'Connor, 2015: 73-4; *Cyr.* 8.4.3-5). The evidence indicates the burials that evoke banquets in western Anatolia follow Near Eastern traditions instead of Greek, as such an arrangement of klinai is quite common in western Anatolia. The western Anatolian tomb chambers that have three klinai usually have a large kline at the back, covering the entire rear wall. The Lydian tumuli usually have one couch at the back, covering the entire rear wall (Baughan, 2016: 205-7). This is the case even for the chambers with multiple beds (Baughan, 2016: 205-7). Therefore, it is an arrangement that clearly diverges from the Greek world.

The decoration of the chamber of Lale Tepe also makes it unique. The original door that had been removed and deposited somewhere else in the tumulus in antiquity, then retrieved in fragments during the excavations, has traces of paint with the decoration of scrolls on each side of the door (Stinson, 2008: 38, figs. 18 and 20). It was also ornamented with rosette reliefs on each side on top and crescent-like shapes on the middle panel. It could have imitated contemporary wooden doors. Tomb doors were considered to have been transition points for immortality that mortals pass through after death (Bingöl, 2016: 445). It is possible that they constitute an element to the concept, a symbolic house for the dead.

The paintings that decorated the tomb chamber imitate elite houses of antiquity, exemplifying the phenomenon known as the house of the dead. The top of the walls in the chamber were ornamented by two friezes, egg-and-dart and bead-and-reel, known as the Ionian Cymation. The gables were painted in Phrygian style, being divided by king posts. The king posts had anthemion decorations. The ceiling slabs were painted in a way that gives the impression that it is a thatched roof, having zigzagging bands of reed-mat-like panels. Similar to the Lale Tepe tumulus chamber, a considerable number of Late Archaic/ Early Classical period tombs imitated houses with their decorations. In the Beyce tumulus near Pergamon, a timber roof was imitated by carvings on the stone ceiling (Summerer and von Kienlin, 2015: 502 fig. 1, 507). The Akçaavlu tumulus, also near Pergamon, had architectural paintings recalling a wooden house (Summerer and von Kienlin, 2015: 503 fig. 2-4). Wooden structures imitated by architectural decorations in stone are seen in the Topyeri tumulus near Phrygian Metropolis. It had a small rectangular chamber partially hewn from bedrock and partially constructed by stone masonry that imitated wooden structures by its sculptured and painted architectural features (Summerer et al, 2015: 504-6 fig 7-14). Similar sculptured and painted architectural elements seen at the Taşlık tumulus chamber, near Örenköy (Kütahya), conform to Topyeri with its painted relief decorations (Summerer et al., 2016: 506-7 fig. 15-18; Sivas, 2010, 331-341).

The well-organized, interlocking arrangement of the seven funerary beds indicates that the structure was planned as a family tomb from the beginning (Baughan, 2008: 52). This contrasts with the Phrygian tumuli designed for one individual and sealed off from the outside world due to the absence of entrance to the chambers (Roosevelt, 2009: 144). This change indicates the proliferation of family tombs in Lydia as half of the tumuli within the region contained more than one resting place.

The craftsmanship, tools utilized and construction techniques used in the masonry here are typical to the tumuli in all Lydia and especially in Bintepe, and the fortification and terrace walls at Sardis (Stinson, 2008:29). Clamps were employed to integrate large blocks to each other in the complex. Dowels were used in the rear kline. The flat chisel was the prominent tool used for the treatment of the chamber's blocks and traces on block surfaces overlapping other blocks indicates the final stage of treatment was done in situ, as is the case for the Dedetepe and Çan tumulus chambers (Stinson, 2008: 30-31). The claw chisel might have been utilized on the marble door's smoothening process but it was not clearly attested. The banded jointing on the vertical faces of the chamber and possible use of claw chisel suggest the earliest construction date to be around mid-6th century BC (Stinson, 2008: 45).

Features in the Lale Tepe Tomb illustrate a very mixed picture of origins in its architecture, furniture, and iconography. The architecture is typical for Lydia, with its tomb chamber made of stone, covered by a tumulus. Its dromos and the interment of multiple bodies are also typical Lydian elements. Its klinai belong to the East Greek tradition, yet their placement and hierarchal arrangement indicate a Near Eastern or Anatolian practice. Features such as the Ionian Cymation beneath the ceiling is typical in Anatolia, and are thought to imitate lavishly decorated public buildings in the cities.

4.4 The Harta Tumulus

The Harta Tumulus is located in Kırkağaç, Manisa, 40-50 km west of the Güre tumuli, and approximately 70 km north of Sardis. It rests on a natural hill and is close to the Kaikos (Bakır Çayı) and the Lykos (Kum Çayı) rivers, and it views these rivers and the

plain around it (Figure 32). There might have been a town in the tomb's vicinity, possibly Nakrasa, but this remains uncertain (Özgen and Öztürk, 1996: 36). The structure was dated to ca. 500 BC on stylistic grounds.

The tomb was oriented north-south with the entrance located on the south. It has a short dromos, porch, and a main chamber (Figure 33). The dromos is uncovered and consisted of two short walls, approximately 1.25 m long, made of roughly trimmed limestone blocks and chips, and they lean on the bedrock at each end. The inner end of the dromos was blocked by a wall. Between the porch and chamber was a flanged door block providing an isolated environment for the chamber. Plundering activities in 1964-1966 inflicted great damage to the chamber and its kline. Plunderers excavating on top of the mound eventually broke a hole in the ceiling of the chamber, causing the insulating layer of charcoal to fall on the ground. This layer of charcoal was also found over the ceilings of Tatarlı tumulus in Greater Phrygia, and Aktepe and İkiztepe among the Güre tumuli (Özgen and Öztürk, 1996: 37).

The porch and chamber were made of ashlar sandstone masonry. The walls of the chamber are 2.12 m high. They were made of tightly fitted rectangular blocks, among which some iron swallow-tail and pi clamps were discovered. The block where the pi-clamp was used had anathyrosis. The floor was made of rectangular paving blocks, and the flat ceiling was made of stone beams.

Inside the chamber a marble funeral couch supported by two sphinxes was located at the back (Figure 34). Traces of paint were preserved on the 20 cm thick bed slab. It had two shallow depressions implying its design for two people. Kline supports in the shape of sphinxes are common in the Near East, as they were used as throne legs (Baughan, 2013: 74, fig. 53). In contrast, Greek examples have decorations of a sphinx on couch legs, whereas Near Eastern kline legs are in the shape of sphinxes³⁸ (Baughan, 2013: 73, fig. 53). Hence, the kline supports of the Harta tomb are attested to have followed this

³⁸ An example of couch leg with sphinx decoration is evident on the Harpy tomb.

eastern tradition. Thus, the kline indicates that the occupant was aware of the Near Eastern royal traditions, and imitated this royal item in his tomb.

The porch and chamber were painted with repeated patterns of checkerboard, egg-and-dart and bead-and-reel. These bands, 80 cm above the ground, were outlined in black and painted with red, green, and blue. Above this line were figural paintings, removed during the illegal excavations. Although retrieved from the Metropolitan Museum, they cannot be securely attributed to a certain wall of the chamber or porch. Nevertheless, they show two male figures, presumably in a reception scene, who seem to carry a pile of objects, perhaps textiles, comparable to the Persepolis reliefs (Figure 35 and Figure 36). Also, the northwest corner of the chamber had faded traces of paint showing a chariot. Perhaps, they were part of military processions such as shown in the Tatarlı tumulus, and in the Lycian tombs presented here in Chapter 6, at Kızılbél, Karaburun, and the Heroon at Limyra³⁹, or were funerary chariots similar to the prothesis scenes carved on many stelae around Daskyleion.

The rescue excavations recovered only one contemporary object from the tomb chamber, a clay Achaemenid bowl. Özgen and Öztürk dated the tomb to ca. 500 BC on the grounds of the late Archaic- early Classical marble sphinxes and the style of wall paintings, fully profiled eyes of the figures, and the ogival egg decorations (Özgen and Öztürk, 1996: 46). The use of anathyrosis would also indicate that the structure should have been built after the 530s BC.

4.5 Güre Tumuli

The Töptepe, Aktepe and İkiztepe tumuli belong to a cluster of tombs excavated around Güre (Map 4). They fell victim to the clandestine activities that occurred in the 1960s, and the data about them are incomplete due to the robberies and unpublished excavation reports. Therefore, this part of the chapter on Lydian burials will rely on the secondary sources oriented toward thematic approaches, and will lack some important details about the features of their earthen mounds and construction methods. Nevertheless, these

³⁹ See Chapter 6.

tumuli were included because of the highly informative contents in the chamber, such as the resting places and small objects. Their examination will allow a closer approach to the self-identity and behavior of the land-owning elite.

4.6 The Toptepe Tumulus

This burial was the first illegally excavated tumulus in the Güre area in 1965. The collapse of the roof during this clandestine activity blocked the entrance of the chamber, so that a precise date of the tumulus has not been possible, and the information about the tomb was acquired through the looters' statement (Özgen and Öztürk, 1996: 52). About the complex itself, the only information observed was that the structure was oriented east-west, with the entrance located on the west. The objects recovered from the tomb, however, date between the early 6th and early 5th centuries BC (Zeren Hasdağı, 2017: 69)⁴⁰. There was not a trace of charcoal above the roof, opposed to some other tumuli in Anatolia. However, a significant assemblage of objects was retrieved subsequently, and they will be discussed together with the other objects belonging to the Güre tumuli at the end of this section.

4.7 The Aktepe Tumulus

The Aktepe Tumulus, the second of the Güre group, contains a dromos and a vaulted chamber room (Figure 37). The complex was oriented northwest-southeast, entered from the northwest (Figure 38). Stylistic analysis has suggested the tomb's date to be early-mid-5th century BC (Baughan, 2010b: 30-31).

The unroofed dromos leading to the chamber's walls was made of rubble. The complex contains a small, almost-square chamber made of ashlar masonry (Figure 40). It was roofed with a corbel-vaulted ceiling. It measures 3.69 m in length, 3.66 m in width and 2.63 m in height.

⁴⁰ See Özgen and Öztürk, 1996: 149-168 for the catalogue of the objects from Toptepe.

Immediately beneath the lintel of the chamber door were volute decorations projecting towards the porch; they were painted on their incised faces (Figure 39). The center of the stone decoration had a carved rosette, flanked on top by palmettes, imitating Ionic capitals.

On the chamber walls, red paint on corbel-vaulted blocks was found, a typical Greek architectural feature seen elsewhere in Lydia such as in the Karnıyarık tumulus (Özgen and Öztürk, 1996: 40). A 2.05 m long monolithic limestone type B kline stood against the rear wall⁴¹ (Figure 41). Its front rail was incised and decorated, representing a wheeled vehicle, combat scenes among humans, and animals (Figure 42). The hunting scene in the center resembles the Ödemiş tomb relief, dated to mid-to-late 6th century BC, with its lions or sphinxes flanking a bull (Roosevelt, 2009: 172. fig. 6.20. cat. 19.2A). Its right leg, was topped with a decorative projection representing a capital, as was the case on the double kline in the Lale Tepe tomb and the kline in Chamber 2 at İkiztepe. The capital decoration on the kline's leg in Aktepe probably derived directly from the Aeolic capital, such as the ones found at Larisa, Neandria, and Mytilene, dated to the 7th-6th centuries BC (Özgen and Öztürk, 1996: 54). Type B klinai examples dated to 570 BC started having projected leg supports on one or both ends to elevate the head, and the kline at Aktepe is an example of this (Baughan, 2013: 53). Therefore 570 BC can be suggested to have been a *terminus post quem*. On each leg's base was a red painting of a deer, and a palmette decoration above it. Considering the artistic decorations on the kline, Baughan suggested that the tomb would have been constructed in the first quarter of the 5th century (Baughan, 2008: 78). More specifically, the style used on the kline paintings on the rail, such as the riders, executed in an almost three-quarter perspective, places the tomb to sometime between early to mid-5th century (Baughan, 2010b: 30-1).

On the rear wall were traces of black paint used in the meander pattern. The lateral walls had one figure each, one belonging to a male and another to a female. The male figure

⁴¹ Type B kline are characterized with back to back volutes on top and semi-circular cut outs in lower parts and palmette decoration over them. They are often decorated with inlaid materials (ivory, bone, amber and glass) (Baughan, 2013: 49-53).

was shown holding a branch of a plant, seemingly myrtle, in his right hand and another unidentified object in the other (Figure 43). In contrast, only one object held by the woman has survived. A golden wreath in the shape of a myrtle branch that was discovered in the Tomb of the “Carian princess” in Halicarnassus offers a parallel (Özgen and Öztürk, 1996: 58). Such objects in the form of myrtle are not rare in funerary contexts, because myrtle was associated with Aphrodite, one of whose attributes was death.

4.8 The İkiztepe Tumulus

This tumulus was built on a natural knoll. It rises 10 m and its diameter is 30 m. The complex is oriented northeast-southwest with the entrance facing the southwest. It was dated to ca. 500 BC based on the sigilos found in the dromos during the rescue excavations (Özgen and Öztürk, 1996: 29). The stone chambers were covered by timber and small stones first, then by earth and pebbles above this packing. Some charcoal was discovered above the roof, paralleling the Aktepe and Harta tombs, in order to prevent leakage of moisture (Özgen and Öztürk, 1996: 49).

The entrance was through a 14 m long and 2.20 m wide uncovered dromos made of rubble. Two symbolic marble doors, probably designed to stand at the edge of the tumulus as observed in the Karaburun II in Milyas, were found reused in the construction of a mosque in Beylerhanı village (Figure 44; Özgen and Öztürk, 1996: 50; Roosevelt, 2006: 75). They had four bow-like decorations on the top section. Below it were bands of egg-and-dart, and bead-and-reel motifs, respectively.

The tomb complex consists of two identical chambers side by side, each preceded by a porch (Figure 45). The chambers measure 2.67 m in length, 2.16 in width and 2 m in height. The entrances of the chambers were sealed by stone slabs, that of Chamber 1 being flanged.

In each chamber and porch, ashlar masonry of sandstone and limestone was used; in contrast, the pitched roof over each chamber was made of andesite, recalling Carian

tomb ceilings of triangular form, such as the Kavaklı tomb (Henry, 2016: 431). Swallow-tail clamps of 25 cm long were employed in the joints of the walls and roof of the chambers. The pitched roofs of the chambers were closed at their fronts by slabs. Within these triangular roofs, a packing of charcoal and burnt oak was observed.

Inside Chamber 1 was a monolithic couch, with a depression in the center. Above the couch was a lid with an antefix projecting above it. Both the couch and lid were severely damaged by looters before the official excavation of the tumulus (Özgen and Öztürk, 1996: 49).

Inside Chamber 2 were two marble klinai located side by side across the width of the room, and they had shallow depressions for the bodies. Despite their damaged state, one of the klinai was apparently monolithic, recalling the Lale Tepe klinai.

4.9 Objects Found in the Harta and Güre Tumuli

The objects recovered from the Güre group offered valuable information on the rituals and individual choices of the region. The relationship between the decedent and a symbolic banquet was securely attested, especially in the İkiztepe burials, because of the combination of a marble kline and 45 vessels attributed to eating and drinking, and nine ladles for serving (Baughan, 2016: 203). The Harta, Toptepe, and Aktepe tumuli also provided similar arrangements, but İkiztepe leaves little doubt about the symbolic banquets for the dead. This evidence indicated a parallel with Dedetepe in Hellespontine Phrygia, where the musical instruments, klinai and wooden tables were combined; Kızılbel in Lycia, where the stone table next to the stone couch had bosses for the vessels to be placed; and Karaburun near Kızılbel, where the deceased was painted in a flamboyant banquet over his funerary couch. In the perspective of individualistic choices, the jewelry from the tombs indicated local appropriation of Persian style objects such as brooches, rings, and earrings. This illustrated the will of the elite to be a part of the empire as the standard choices of imperial elite paraphernalia and Persianizing aspects were overtly visible in the corpus of these tombs.

The contents of Lydian tombs included excellent quality metal vessels, prominently oinochoai and phialai, wares that were used for the serving and consumption of wine. These wares often diverged from the typical Persian examples because of their East Greek techniques of manufacture. This signifies the local appropriation of these materials, although their overall appearances can be evaluated as Persianizing. Ladles and strainers are also among these tomb gifts yet they constitute a smaller portion of the total sum. They are examples of service utensils for the symbolic banquet of the deceased. Furthermore, different from the East Greek tradition, Lydian beer cups were also evident in these tombs as attestations of a favorite local habit (Greenewalt, 2010: 127-8).

The Ikiztepe tumulus in Güre yielded many phialai and bowls. One of the phialai had an engraved monogram, presumably a participant in the funerary ceremony dedicated to the deceased. Tumulus MM in Gordion also contained some votive vessels with such incisions, perhaps monograms, suggesting a long lasting tradition within western Anatolia (Özgen and Öztürk, 1996: 32). The Ikiztepe tomb chamber also yielded vessels that have clear Persianizing features although their production was attested to have been local, such as the lobed phialai (Özgen and Öztürk: 1996: 55; Miller, 2007: 50-69). Certain differences in the width of space between the lobes, and eclectic use of the Persian symbols in these vessels, evident from the “creative innovation and reciprocity” of the Lydians as a feature of the interculturalization within the empire, indicate their local production (Miller, 2007: 68).

The ladles from the Güre tombs could have functioned to serve beverages on the grounds that cooking cauldrons and other culinary pots are absent from these tomb contents, and that Xenophon mentioned the function of these ladles was for the servants to taste the wine before serving it (Özgen, 2010: 318).

The abovementioned inscription on the drinking cup suggests a continuing local tradition to leave votive gifts for the deceased that recalls the inscribed cups found in Tumulus MM. However, the relatively smaller amount of cups retrieved from the Güre

tumuli indicates a lesser participation in these funerals, even if they were of better quality and higher expense. Furthermore, the absence of cooking ware in these tombs could indicate a shift in banquet behavior in the region, given the abundant number of bronze cauldrons recovered from Iron Age tombs in Phrygia (Greenewalt, 2010: 125-134). This may suggest a focus on drinking and creating an atmosphere for the dead, provided by incense burners and perfume containers which were found in great numbers, rather than an actual banquet for the mourners.

The Gordion tumuli contained funerary beds and were accompanied by feasting utensils. Yet the funerary banquets held in Iron Age Phrygia do not seem to be merely symbolic, an eternal banquet for the deceased, but rather seem to have been an actual banquet for the mourners following the funeral, as evident from the food residues found in Tumulus MM (McGovern, 2000: 26-27). Also, Tumulus P, a child burial, contained contents similar to the ones in other tumuli around Gordion: bowls, cauldrons and ladles made of precious metals. Given the young age of the deceased, the child probably would not have taken part in such activities in his real life that involved absorption of alcohol. Thus, the presence of such items suggests that the banquet was for the participants of the funeral, not for the deceased. Another possibility is that these gifts were completely symbolic as the decedent would have been expected to enjoy banquets as an adult, as a part of his elite life (Baughan, 2013: 186, n. 72).

The introduction of funerary klinai and banquets to western Anatolia were often attributed to the Persians. Although their existence in Persian period western Anatolia was quite frequent, Baughan considers them as a local development. Indeed, in the Persian Empire, outside Anatolia, only a few examples are known. It is more likely that this practice of funerary banquets and their representations in the burials originated in Anatolia (Baughan, 2013: 182). She postulates that the kline may have been first employed in funerary context in Lydia, perhaps inspired from Phrygian funerary beds (Baughan, 2016: 199).

Dusinberre also draws attention to the drastic increase of the banquet phenomenon in the Persian period and states that the banquet could have been a signifier of adjusting to a new religious system (Dusinberre, 2003: 136). One reason Dusinberre argued that banquet behavior in Lydia increased during the empire is that the Persian nobles celebrated their birthdays with large banquets (Dusinberre, 2003: 138). She argues that completion of the yearly cycle recalls the death to come. Repetition of banquet iconography in Persian funerary art is a sign of such a mentality. Iconographic themes displaying banquets are also standard in Lydian funerary art, especially stelae after 430 BC, and actually all over western Anatolia in this period (Dusinberre, 2003: 92). Therefore, it is likely that the significance of the banquet increased dramatically in the Persian period, with a symbolic, funerary banquet dedicated for the dead.

Incense burners, alabastra and lydia found in Ikiztepe provide further data to attest the association of perfume and funerary rites in the region. The large number of stone alabastra found on the funerary couch in the Toptepe tumulus strengthens this statement. Two silver incense burners found in this tumulus correlate with the ones in the Persepolis reliefs and thus indicate their use in a very wide range of geography within the empire (Özgen and Öztürk, 1996: 34).

The silver oinochoe from the Toptepe tumulus is one of the highest quality objects in the Lydian treasure, and it has a blend of Achaemenid, Lydian, Anatolian and Greek features (Figure 46; Özgen, 2010: 308). Its handle consists of a pair of seated lions on its top terminal, held by a nude, young male leaning backwards. His feet form the bottom terminal of the handle along with a pair of seated goats on each side of the feet. The male figure is designed in three dimensions and in Greek style while the animals indicate a Near Eastern taste.

The overall assessment of the types and styles used in the Harta, Toptepe, Aktepe and Ikiztepe tumuli objects indicates a great deal of influence from Achaemenid themes and iconography, but the local taste in the region also manifested itself on these objects. For

instance, the winged sun disc⁴², the gold hippocamp brooch⁴³, phialai with the great king and predator animals⁴⁴ are examples of eastern influence whereas decoration on the silver alabastron⁴⁵ with five friezes showing combat scenes of hoplites and animals and an alabastron decorated with confronting cavalry are examples of the Greco-Anatolian taste (Özgen and Öztürk, 1996: 124, 239, cat. 78, 228).

The appliques were another significant category of the finds in these tombs, and they are believed to have ornamented clothes the elite wore in their life-time. From the Sardis necropolis and Bintepe tumuli, numerous Achaemenid type appliques were found. Some had Persian iconography such as sphinxes facing each other, and the sun disc (Meriçboyu, 2010: 166).

The prevailing features on the seals, rings, and other small objects from Lydia including the Güre tombs are within the Greco-Persian style, yet are mostly confined to the Achaemenid iconography that signal elite status, and not ethnicity (Dusinberre, 2010:185). Such objects consist of jewelry, personal seals, and stamped gold foil ornaments (Dusinberre, 2003:146). These have paramount importance because they are probably daily items these people wore during their lives, and they indicate their elite status in the society with their Persian or Persianizing features.

Agreeing with the abovementioned argument, Roosevelt remarks that uniformity of burial forms and mortuary offerings do not allow for the discerning of ethnicities (Roosevelt, 2009: 135). At Sardis, grave assemblages illustrate consistency from one grave to the other, with elite items that are similar to each other.

4.10 Conclusions

Tumulus construction in Sardis probably began after the campaigns of Alyattes against the Medes in the 6th century BC. The Mermnad dynasty wanted to display its grandeur

⁴² See Özgen and Öztürk 1996, cat. 128.

⁴³ See Özgen and Öztürk, 1996, cat. 112.

⁴⁴ See Özgen and Öztürk, 1996, cat. 33,34,35.

⁴⁵ See Özgen and Öztürk, 1996, cat. 78.

with this newly introduced type of tomb, because of its visibility and expense. The Bintepe area contained abandoned Bronze Age settlements and fortifications. For this reason, tumuli constructed here probably also functioned to consolidate the dynasty's right to rule, linking itself to Bronze Age predecessors, and formed an identity in Lydia due to the choice of location of these tomb structures (Luke and Roosevelt, 2016: 408). In the Achaemenid Period, the construction of tumuli dramatically increased in the countryside where the agricultural production was happening. This swift proliferation hints at a new elite group owning land in the region who also were able to cover the expenses to build monuments of grandeur.

Architecturally speaking, these tumuli did not have Persian features but they were rather produced by the readily available construction methods and craftsmen. The Pyramid Tomb, in this aspect, exemplifies a unique outlook in this region, because it indicated a diverging trend to construct a more eastern type of monument, although the identity and ethnicity of the patron remain uncertain. However, its unfinished state raises questions whether this had been an accepted attitude.

Objects recovered from the tombs, however, provided a different picture, in which the ethnicity was not discerned, but the Greek, Anatolian, and Persian features were mixed in an eclectic style. These objects such as vessels, wall paintings, and furniture illustrated the significant relationship of banquet and being elite in the region due to the expense of the materials used in them and repetition of a standard set of these materials in funerary context. The military character deduced by paintings and objects from the tombs in the previous chapters was not salient in these Lydian tumuli, which impedes the interpretation of a pronounced influence from the Persian royal ideology (Meriç, 2018: 53).

It is not possible to suggest a strong Achaemenid presence in Lydia in the sense of architecture, but prominence of the elites in the empire and their ties with banqueting were apparently strong, and this behavior may have been modified by the Achaemenid ideology. Objects bearing clear Persianizing features, such as locally produced drinking

wares that have Persian iconography, were recovered in great number. In light of this iconography, rings, seals and pendants, comprising the daily used items of the occupants of Lydian tombs, were probably important for the Achaemenid ideology. Also, standard, and repetitive iconographical themes indicate an imperial imperative and its success in order to establish a new elite group in the empire's western frontier, such as reception, funerary chariots, hunts, and battles. In the next chapters, Lycia will show a similar corpus with these Achaemenid features in the 6th and 5th century. However, the 4th century BC, in Lycia as well as in Caria, will see a decrease of Persianizing features in funerary iconography, and instead, a rise of Hellenic elements in funerary architecture, iconography, and objects of aristocrats and dynasts.

CHAPTER 5: LYCIA

Lycia has a rough geography. Communication from one town to the other was not easy because of the mountainous terrain. The authority of the region was probably not centralized until being included in the Persian Empire because of the geographical issues (Map 1 and 2; Hdt. *Hist.* 1.176). Northern Lycia, known as Milyas, was not considered as a part of Lycia until the 4th century BC, when Pericle of Limyra included it in Lycia (Draycott, 2018: 41-2). Moreover, western, central, and eastern Lycia did not have a unified culture, either. Persian period Lycia, however, was more centralized in its administration; hence it was a stage for an impetus for monumental building constructions and urbanization as a result of its greater connection in the Persian Empire (Boardman, 1995: 188).

The Persians respected the choices of locals about burial forms, evident from their continuity in this period. The paramount monumental tomb the Lycian elites used was the tumulus in both the pre-Persian and Persian period⁴⁶. Throughout the Persian period, a change in the favor of Lycian and Greco-Lycian forms designed specifically for the dynasts, the pillar tomb and temple tomb, was observed (Hüllden, 2011: 495-6). These tombs were located in cities instead of the countryside. The first of these structures, the Lion Tomb in Xanthos, is dated to 560-550 BC, around the time the Persians conquered the region (Demargne, 1958: 32). This drastic shift in the region's political atmosphere, evident with their ambitious tombs inside the cities, seems to have been owed to the Persian Empire (Boardman, 1995: 188).

⁴⁶ Only a few of the approximately 100 tumuli at Bayındır were excavated and were vaguely dated to the 8th-late 6th centuries BC (Çevik, 2015: 271-4).

This chapter will examine three tombs: two in Milyas, Kızılbel and Karaburun II, and the Heroon at Limyra in east Lycia (Map 5). They date to 525, 470 and 370 BC, respectively, and they show significant similarities and differences that give a glimpse of the political processes the region experienced in these periods. The former two are in the form of tumulus, Kızılbel having a dominant Greek influence while Karaburun II had strong Persianizing features. They are the only known examples in Lycia of tumuli with figural mural paintings in their chamber; the first one represented scenes of mythology, while the second depicted the Persian affiliated occupant in a banquet. The third tomb exemplifies a different type, the temple-tomb, which demonstrated the power and deification of its occupant and dynasty in the most visible location of the city. The common feature of these tombs is that they represented biographical scenes of the occupants, which is a common feature specifically in Lycia.

Lycia and Caria, subjects of Chapters 5 and 6, were considered backwaters of the Persian Empire in the 6th-5th centuries BC. In the course of the 4th century BC, however, the dynasts from the region developed a pattern of utilizing monumental tombs for political benefits. These dynasts wanted to consolidate their regions, and expand further outside the cultural spheres of their regions. Their tombs reflected their political ambitions with their temple-like architecture and mythological characters which imply the deification of the tomb owners (Borchhardt, 2016: 404). The sources of influence for these elements were Greek to a great extent, although many oriental features also contributed.

5.1 Tumulus Tradition in Lycia

Tumuli in northern and coastal Lycia were distinct from each other in their architectural features (Hüllden, 2006: 266). The northern Lycian examples followed the Phrygian-Lydian tradition, while the coastal Lycian tumuli are considered indigenous (Hüllden, 2011: 504). The main characteristics of the indigenous Lycian tumuli are the use of

stone in the packing of the mound, corbel vaulted chambers made of rough-hewn stones, and perhaps krepis walls.

The Bayındır tumuli in the Elmalı plain, two tumuli in Limyra, a few tumuli in the vicinity of Kibyratis in northern Lycia, tumuli around Phellos, Kyaneai and in the Yavu mountain region of central Lycia are examples of this form (Hüliden, 2006: 263-5; 2011: 496- 507; 2016: 377). The majority of these tumuli are not precisely dated, and they have often been attributed to the pre-Persian period due to the regional diversity (Hüliden, 2011: 497). Nevertheless, some of them were securely dated to the 5th century BC and later. They are: The Büyük Çerler tumulus in the Yavu mountain region, the tumulus at the Kolaklar tepesi (close to Kyaneai), the Hızırlık near modern Fethiye, the Kayacık and Yuvalak tumuli in and near Kibyratis, and the Bademli tumulus, close to Burdur (Hüliden, 2006: 263-5; 2011: 497-505).

5.1.1 The Kızılbel Tomb

The Kızılbel tumulus tomb has unique mural paintings representing local and Greek mythological themes in its chamber. The tomb indicated additional affinities to Lycian culture with its pseudo-polygonal masonry. These features contrasted with other tumuli found in Milyas, which followed Phrygian-Lyidian tradition in tumulus construction to a considerably greater extent (Hüliden, 2016: 377-8).

The tomb was located on the peak of the Uzunburun ridge in Elmalı viewing a fertile plain and a lake below it. It is in the vicinity of Choma/ Hacımusalar Höyük, and the habitation in this plain has a long history including the Iron Age (Özgen and Baughan, 2016: 318; Mellink and Angel, 1970: 250). The fertile plain was a convenient place for agriculture, herding and timber production throughout its history, and therefore the Kızılbel and Karaburun II tumuli are considered to have belonged to “pastoral lords” of Milyas (Draycott, 2018: 42-3).

The tumulus was robbed in 1969 and data about the earthen mound and a possible krepis wall was lost due to this activity, along with other factors, such as agricultural activity and erosion. The tumulus was then excavated by a Bryn Mawr College expedition team and the Antalya Museum in 1969 (Mellink and Angel, 1970: 251-3). As a result of the disturbance from the robbers, the ground level of the mound was reduced to only 10-20 cm above the gabled roof of the chamber, so that the information about the packing was fragmented and disturbed (Mellink, 1998: 3). Mellink argued that the tumulus may originally have had a low mound which may not have been intended to be a land marker, differing from the Lydian and Phrygian tumuli tradition in Anatolia (Mellink and Angel, 1970: 251). The Kızılbél tomb could have had neighboring tumuli around it since rock-cut spolia found in a nearby village were suitable for use in tumulus structures, although their existence has not yet been proven by archaeological data.

The foundation of the tumulus consisted of three layers. In the ground level was a rectangular cutting in which the chamber was built (Mellink, 1998: 7). On this, a layer of chips from the processing of the stone architecture formed a supportive packing for the chamber's floor. On this roughly flat surface were placed the stone slabs that form the floor and bedding for the chamber walls.

5.1.1.1 Architecture

The tumulus contains a single-roomed rectangular chamber made of pseudo-polygonal limestone masonry, with a floor made of stone slabs, a gabled roof of four megalithic beams covering the room, and a door on the southeast. The chamber walls are rectangular in shape and they extend 2.40 m east-west by 2.00 north-south (Figure 47). They were formed by quadrilateral and polygonal slabs that fit tightly with each other. The chamber was entered through the off-center portcullis door (Figure 48; Tiriyaki, 2017: 389). The walls are freestanding, and they do not bond with each other save for the southeast wall, where the door existed. The floor slabs that the walls rest upon are unfinished and show a varied quality in different parts. A stone kline and a stone table were found in this tomb, the former placed near the west wall, the latter near the north wall.

5.1.1.2 Masonry and Construction Techniques

The masonry style of each wall is distinct. This, combined with the fact each of the walls abutted each other in an irregular manner, indicate that each of them was built separately by different masons (Mellink, 1998: 11). The exterior faces of the walls were left rough, as is the usual case for the terrace walls in Lycia. The upper faces of the blocks were treated to a fair level of smoothness in order to make a suitable bedding for the block that would be put atop. The lower edges of the blocks had bevels in order to prevent damage during the placement of the blocks, as was observed in Lydian tombs as well. The interior faces of the blocks received the best treatment: first by hammer, and second by flat chisel, yet they were not perfectly smooth as they had visible tool marks on them (Mellink, 1998: Pl. 17B). Dowels or clamps do not seem to have been utilized in this structure. However, some plaster was employed in small amounts on certain parts of the walls.

5.1.1.3 Skeleton Analysis

The few bones found on the kline were discolored by brown and black colors, and thus were considered to have been contained in a funerary box or textile in the tomb (Mellink, 1998: 3-4, 71). The fairly robust structure of other bones of the skeleton indicated that this skeleton belonged to a fairly strong male who habitually rode horses (Mellink, 1998: 71). Furthermore, the injury on his left leg indicates a wound, probably received in a battle, but it is uncertain whether it was this wound that killed him.

5.1.1.4 Vessel Impressions Found in the Chamber

The tomb chamber was emptied of its objects apart from some fragments of pottery (Mellink, 1998: 3-5). Nevertheless, even though the metal vessels were stolen, the stone table accompanying the stone couch, and impressions of metal vessels that had stood on the table and hung in the wall indicates a symbolism of banquet in the tomb chamber (Baughan, 2013: 248). Had they not fallen victim to the robbery, the dating of the tomb would have been more secure through style analysis of them.

5.1.1.5 Paintings

The paintings were executed on plaster, ignoring the slightly uneven surface and the joints between the blocks. Their bases are mostly over the joint lines (Mellink: 1998: 21). Presumably the entire chamber was painted except the parts where the kline and the table were set, but only one-third of these paintings survived in sufficient condition to convey meaning to the observer (Figure 49; Mellink, 1998: 49). The floor and ceiling were painted, too, and the floor's decorations resemble textiles (Figure 50; Mellink, 1976a: 378; Tiriyaki, 2016: 389).

The surviving paintings are not organized in horizontal bands, and they usually do not follow one direction; instead the friezes are in an irregular arrangement (Mellink and Angel, 1970: 252). This arrangement, and the absence of the full context of these paintings makes it harder to interpret meanings they may have borne. The separation of friezes was provided by red base lines and guilloches (Mellink and Angel, 1970: 247). Preliminary sketches of the paintings were done in red, with contours in black, whereas the final paintings were in black, green, blue, white, and multiple shades of red.

5.1.1.6 Iconography

The representations in the Kızılbel tomb have common themes with Greco-Persian iconography, but they diverge from this group because of their subject matter that is conveyed, Greek mythology. None of the depictions of figures is Persian, and the objects are rarely Persian affiliated. All the themes were derived from Greek and local mythologies, except for the possible biographical west wall friezes, which represent a procession above, and the departure of a warrior and a banquet scene below it (Mellink, 1998: 57-64).

The west wall friezes over the kline represent the biographical scenes, connected to some extent in boustrophedon order (Mellink, 1998: 49). They depict the decedent in different roles, a common feature in Lycia (Figure 51; Şare, 2013: 68). On the left of the

upper frieze, the warrior is arming himself to participate in a battle as the family stands next to him (Mellink and Angel, 1973: 302). The chariots on the right of the frieze move to the left toward the warrior. The lower frieze represents the warrior equipped in the hoplite style on a chariot, as he looks back to a female figure to bid farewell (Figure 52). This scene of departure probably conveys a tradition from the region, as the Tatarlı tumulus provided a similar example (see Chapter 2). A crouched old man gesticulates to the warrior. A winged creature hovers over him with a lotus in her hand. On the right of the frieze, a banquet takes place where the decedent is shown enjoying the event on a kline. The scale and position of the friezes, located over the kline, indicate that these two friezes were the center of attention in the chamber.

The five irregular friezes on the north wall are considered to be mythological. Only three of these friezes are well-preserved enough to be interpreted. It is possible to consider the whole wall as one story conveyed in boustrophedon order (Figure 53 and Figure 54; Mellink, 1998: 52). The key figures in the well-preserved friezes are singled out. In frieze I⁴⁷, a ship was depicted sailing with numerous men, among which a seated man is attended by a servant holding a parasol for him. In frieze II, a seated woman is being presented gifts by some men right before or after a journey. The gifts include horses, and a hybrid creature (Figure 55). Frieze IV depicts an audience scene where a dignitary, a suppliant and servants of the dignitary are present. Mellink considers these scenes not to be biographical but related to Odysseus's visit at the court of Alcinous and Arete (Frieze II); Bellerophon delivering the Chimera to the queen (Frieze II); and his audience with the king (Frieze IV) (Mellink, 1998:53, 58). Draycott, however, argues that the friezes demonstrate the journey of Perseus on the grounds that the blue men in the entourage represented Africans who presented Andromeda to Kraken, and that the feline head shown next to the seated queen belonged to this beast (Draycott, 2018: 58, figs. 12-14). However, there does not seem to be a clear parallel to these paintings. Therefore, Mellink's consideration of them as an eclectic version of Greek myths, molded in the local culture instead of being adopted from the Greeks, seems more plausible (Mellink, 1998: 58).

⁴⁷ The North wall friezes are labeled from I to V in Mellink, 1998, starting from the ground.

On the south wall, a dominant Greek subject matter is noted. There are the scenes of Achilles ambushing the Trojan prince Troilos (Figure 56), Perseus and Gorgon, the decapitation of Medusa, and the birth of Pegasus and Chrysaor (Figure 57). The scene representing Perseus, Medusa, Pegasus and Chrysaor is particularly important for Lycia because these characters have special ties with southwestern Anatolia (Mellink, 1998: 57). Pegasus, for instance was ridden by Bellerophon, who had interactions with the Lycian king, and married his daughter (Draycott, 2018: 44-5). Although the subject matter of the south wall was derived from the Greek context, the iconography was attributed to the local culture because its specific representation was not shown in the Greek world (Mellink, 1976b: 28; Mellink, 1998: 57).

5.1.1.7 Style and Date

The style employed in the tomb paintings has a wide range of aspects. The artists were considered to have been East Greeks due to the following features: profile postures of human figures, costumes and equipment of the people, and simple drapery of the costumes typical of the minor arts and sculpture examples from major East Greek centers such as Chios, Samos, Ephesos and Miletos (Mellink, 1998:55). The use of contrasting colors such as red and blue, black contours, and the use of a light colored background instead of blue are comparable to the Til Barsib paintings, and such features are found widely in Anatolia in the Archaic period (Mellink, 1998: 63). Therefore, the style is dominantly East Greek, but there are elements drawn from the Near East as well.

Features such as frontally shown eyes on profile faces, sparse and simplified anatomical details, absence of foreshortening of body or face and lack of dynamism in movements of figures indicate a date in the second half of the 6th century BC (Mellink, 1998: 55). The absence of fold lines and zigzag edges on cloaks, however, suggests a date before 525 BC (Mellink, 1998: 55).

5.1.1.8 Conclusions

The Lycian pseudo-polygonal architecture and the demonstration of Lycia-related characters indicate that the region was “partly-Lycian” (Mellink, 1998: 56). The painted scenes in the chamber walls were derived from Greek subject matter, even though they bear local features. These scenes may reflect an eclectic version of Greek mythology, created by the locals (Mellink, 1976b: 30). The Birth of Chrysaor and Pegasus were clearly special for the Lycians. They are relevant characters from the stories of Bellerophon and Perseus, who were believed to have founded Lycia. These myths connected to the founders of Lycia were later utilized in genealogies by the Lycian dynasties in order to justify the right to rule in the 4th century BC as will be discussed with regard to the last tomb example of this chapter.

5.1.2 Karaburun II

The Karaburun II tumulus was built around 470 BC, roughly half a century after the Kızılbey tomb, and reflected a great change on how an elite from the region represented himself as a Persian by the paintings used on the walls (Miller, 2011: 97). The tomb is located on a ridge between Semayük and Karataş villages, in Elmalı. It was built on a Chalcolithic site along with three other tumuli; all four were disturbed in antiquity (Mellink, 1976a: 384)⁴⁸. Karaburun II was plundered again in modern times. The grave goods were looted. After the illegal excavation, these tumuli were investigated by Sevim Buluç in 1970, with Machteld Mellink and others continuing the study of Karaburun II (Mellink, 1971: 249-250).

⁴⁸ The other three tumuli were poorly preserved as they were damaged by ancient and modern robbers. Noteworthy finds are the simple sarcophagus discovered in Karaburun I, and cremation burials discovered from Karaburun III and IV (Mellink, 1972: 261-4). Karaburun I was dated to the 6th-5th centuries BC, while Karaburun III and IV were dated to the late 6th century BC (Mellink, 1971: 250; Mellink, 1972: 263). The discoveries did not include any trace of paintings in these tumuli.

5.1.2.1 Architectural Elements

The diameter of the mound was 30 m; and its height was 4 m as it was found. The tomb was oriented east-west with an off-center symbolic door at the east. The walls, floor and kline were painted in this tomb.

On the southeast edge of the tumulus, two limestone blocks, perhaps parts of a monument base, found together parallel to the façade of the chamber were discovered during the excavations of 1974 (Figure 58; Mellink, 1975: 349-350). The excavations in 1975 recovered fragments of stone that seem to have been part of a door panel (Mellink, 1976a: 383). The blocks and the door panel were considered to have been features of a funerary structure, possibly marking the tomb's location or used in sacrificial performances (Mellink, 1975: 350-1). Perhaps they were parts of a symbolic door or a sculpted relief of the tomb chamber. The front rail and upper face of the blocks were smoothed with a claw chisel, but the other faces were left rough (hammer dressed) so that the excavators inferred the structure was not designed to be freestanding. Dovetail clamps and pins were employed along with anathyrosis.

The chamber was made of limestone blocks, with the entrance on the east. The room has a rectangular shape with the measurements 3 m by 2.61 m in length and a gable roof with 2.66 m in height. As in the Kızılbél tumulus, the interior faces of the walls were refined while the exterior faces were left rough (Figure 59). The floor was paved with well-dressed square blocks.

The roof was made of two megalithic stone slabs abutting one another and was waterproofed with mortar. A triangular stone over the lintel supported the sloping slabs. This feature was postulated to be Phrygian, used in timber structures such as the Midas tumulus (Mellink, 1971: 251).

The monolithic limestone kline was set against the West wall. It is a B type kline decorated with palmettes and double-C cut-outs (Baughan, 2013: 245-8; Baughan, 2016: 202-5). The panel under the kline, between the legs, had a painting that depicted a cock,

a running dog, a hen and a partridge against a blue background. Contrasting with this panel, the backgrounds in the other paintings of the chamber had lighter colors.

5.1.2.2 Paintings

The paintings were applied directly on the walls without a layer of plaster (Mellink, 1976b: 28). All these paintings were executed on straight ground lines. The preliminary work was drawn in red, while the final contours were black. The basic colors were red, black, white and blue, recalling the Kızılbel paintings, but with the addition of purple and green. On the west wall, the occupant was represented reclining on a kline with his wife standing next to him and bearing gifts, and two servants attending the man. On the south wall was a chariot procession; while the north wall contained a concise battle scene. The east wall depicts a bearded male figure with a rich purple and green color scheme, an unusual combination compared to the Kızılbel tomb (Mellink, 1971: 251).

Stylistic evaluation of the paintings indicates a date around 470 BC, based on comparisons between the Karaburun wall paintings and Greek art (Mellink, 1976b: 26). The craftsmanship was more developed and better than the Kızılbel paintings since the paintings were laid out in regular bands. The Karaburun paintings in their regular borders are easier to understand than the Kızılbel paintings in their loosely arranged placements on the walls. The figures in the Karaburun paintings were elaborately drawn, especially the banquet scene, without the archaizing features of Kızılbel (Mellink, 1971: 254).

5.1.2.3 Iconography

The iconography of the paintings is Greco-Persian with the banqueting occupant on the west wall, the combat scene on the north wall, and a funerary or military procession on the south wall. Contrasting with the Kızılbel tomb, these paintings do not have any mythological story, but depict scenes of an elite man in the Persian period that can be considered as biographical, with this dignitary, identified by his beard and clothes, appearing on each of the three walls.

The west wall's paintings are the center of attention in the room (Figure 60). This painting was located above the funerary couch standing against the west wall. The bearded occupant was displayed reclining on a Near Eastern type kline with one of his leg extended, the other bent in comfort (Baughan, 2013: 246-8). In front of this kline is shown a Near Eastern type of table that has three legs with decorations of lion claws and palmettes.

The dignitary on the kline is shown in Persian clothes and a tended, Persian beard (Figure 61; Miller, 2011: 117). He wears a baggy tunic with rosette decorations bordering the sleeves and neck, and over this tunic a green himation with blue and red borders. On his head he has a blue colored diadem. In his left hand, he is holding a fluted phiale. His wife, standing next to the kline, holds an alabastron in one hand, a fillet in the other. The servants on her left have a towel, fan, ladle, and phiale in their hands, ready to serve their master. The Near Eastern kline is considered as a Persianizing element, because the actual kline in this and many other chambers are usually B type kline (see Chapter 4; Baughan, 2013: 233-66).

On the left edge of the north wall, paintings adjoin the west wall's narrative with two more servants attending the bearded man on the kline (Figure 62). On the right of the servants of the north wall, however, a combat scene takes place where the tomb occupant is represented as a cavalryman trampling his enemy while two infantrymen fight on his right; the soldier on the left spears the fallen, enemy (Figure 63). The combat iconography seems Greco-Persian because of the style used to draw horses and imprecise soldiers (Mellink, 1971: 254). The costumes and equipment of the victor, a mix of Anatolian, Greek and Persian, indicate them as locals, but the vanquished one are shown as Greeks (Mellink, 1972: 268).

The convoy scene on the south wall depicts two horse drawn chariots (Figure 64). The leading chariot is mounted by the dignitary, probably the deceased himself; the following cart has no one on it, but it carries a box, which again raises the question what

it symbolizes, as for the Tatarlı procession scene discussed in the second chapter. The dignitary is shown with his distinctive beard and Persian clothing, but the striking detail is the gesture of his right hand which seems to be holding a ribbon of his kandys (Figure 65). Nylander pointed out the resemblance of this representation to the figure from the North Apadana figure from Persepolis (Mellink, 1974: 356-7, fig. 14)

The Persian aspects of the paraphernalia in the Karaburun paintings include: the combined use of alabastron, towel, fan, and a diadem which was known to be a Persian court tradition (Mellink, 1971: 254; Miller, 2013: 23-4). Furthermore, the banqueter is shown balancing the Achaemenid bowl with three fingers, as is the custom in the Persian tradition⁴⁹, correlating to earlier Near Eastern representations (Baughan, 2013: 247) . This way of holding the bowl was interpreted as a self-conscious depiction since the participants of Greek banquets do not hold drinking vessels in the same way (Miller, 2011: 97; Tuplin 2011: 155). However, banquet scenes are not common in the Persian Empire. Only a few cylinder seals represent seated characters holding drinking vessels⁵⁰. Contrasting with the Persian Empire, in Assyria, reliefs do depict banquet scenes. The manners of banquet could thus be regarded as a long-lasting tradition in the Near East, continuing in the Persian Empire (Miller, 2011: 100).

In addition, the clothes, the kandys, the seal stone hanging from a cord around the neck of the dignitary, and his garment with a rosette border should also be evaluated as Persianizing. As discovered in many representations, satraps and rulers in Anatolia were often represented in Persian clothes, and ancient writers even discussed whether such dress was obligatory or not. Athenaeus and Plutarch addressed the issue of clothing in the Persian periphery, mentioning Themistocles and Demaratus, who apparently were advised to wear Persian clothes by the Persian king (Ath. *Deipn.* 30A; Plut. *Vit. Alex.* 31;

⁴⁹ The cup bearers convey the wine as they hold the goblet in three fingers as a manner of elegance (Cyr. 1.3.8). Miller argues that it could have been a tradition copied from the Assyrians, because the descriptions of the Assyrian banquets depict dignitaries holding cups on their fingertips (Miller, 2011: 100, fig. 4). The glyptic objects from the Persian Empire also show such a manner of cup holding (Miller, 2011, figs. 5-13, 15 and 16). Considering the representational evidence from the glyptic objects, Miller concluded that the banqueters could have held the cup on fingertips (2011: 98).

⁵⁰ Also, the limited Achaemenid period representations show the cup holding banqueters seated, not reclining as their Anatolian counterparts.

Tuplin, 2011: 155-6). This Persian fashion in clothes was probably a privilege of the elite, issued by the great king. The Persians seem to have designed a model for elite clothing, which the leaders in peripheries could follow, but they do not seem to have required it. Instead, the Persians expected the ruling class to adapt to Persian ways gradually (Brosius, 2011: 145).

5.1.2.4 Conclusions

The wall paintings of the Karaburun II tumulus indicate a pastoral lord of a clearly Persianizing character as shown by his objects and clothes. The cup type he had, the manner he held it, his hair and beard style, along with his clothes reflected the identity of a rural lord who represented himself in a Persian manner. The Karaburun paintings did not yield any mythological element, and were only about the ideal elite life. They were representative, rather than narrative. It is striking to observe this approach in this region because the Kızılbey tumulus preceding Karaburun II by some 50 years had strong Hellenic features in its mythological iconography. This change from Greek culture to Persian iconography might have been related to the historical progresses in western Anatolia as was discussed for the other 5th century BC tombs in the preceding chapters. The Heroon of Pericle at Limyra, my final example from Lycia, will demonstrate a renewed popularity of Greek culture in the 4th century BC.

5.2 Tombs from the Lycian Coast: Introduction

The tumulus tradition continued in Persian period Lycia, as discussed in the beginning of the chapter. Apart from the tumulus burials, new monumental tomb types were invented in the region, as a result of the development of the social hierarchy in the region, such as pillar tombs, house tombs, rock-cut tombs, and temple tombs (Borchhardt, 2016: 402). These new monuments were located in significant places inside the city and they often had decorations of flamboyant relief sculptures, which contrasted with the large tombs that were located in the countryside in western Anatolia. These new monumental tombs were reserved for the members of the dynasties who administered Lycia on behalf of the Persian king (Keen, 1992: 53). The introduction of these new tomb types seems to be due to the growing political ambitions of the dynasts in the

region. The viewers would have been able to see the tombs, notice the mythical stories represented on them, and associate the deceased and his dynasty with the immortal characters of mythology (Dusinberre, 2013: 190).

The first of these new types, the pillar tombs, were comprised of a tall pillar and a square limestone box⁵¹ on top of it that was usually decorated with relief sculptures. They were introduced in Xanthos ca. 550 BC with the Lion Tomb. Then they spread out to the other Lycian settlements such as Isinda and Trysa, and were kept in use until the early 4th century BC with at least 33 examples, until being replaced by the temple tombs of the 4th century rulers (Keen, 1998: 63). One of the most significant examples is the Harpy Tomb, built in 480 BC and located on the Acropolis of Xanthos (Draycott, 2007: 119-127; Dusinberre, 2013: 190-1). It had sculpted reliefs representing mythological beings such as harpies, creatures that take one's soul to the other world, and audience scenes on all four sides where the seated dynast is receiving gifts from standing figures, paralleling Persian palace iconography.

The second type, house tombs, were built in the second half of the 5th century BC on the acropolis of Xanthos, and were attributed to king Kupprli. The so-called "petrified" houses tombs, F, H and G are examples of this type (Draycott, 2015: 114-6).

The third type, rock-cut tombs, are numerous in both Lycia and Caria, but are difficult to date, and so are not considered in this thesis. Sometimes they contain façade details inspired by Greek temple architecture, and thus may connect with the development of the temple tomb (Kuban, 2016: 410-21).

The fourth of these types, temple tombs, the subject of interest of this last section, were invented in the early 4th century BC in Xanthos. They rose on a large podium and were topped by a façade recalling Greek temples, and were decorated with numerous sculptures which resonated with imperial overtones. The best-known example of this type is the Nereid monument, attributed to Errbina (Kolb, 2018: 686-94). It was built ca.

⁵¹ Sometimes they were topped by a sarcophagus.

390-380 BC inside Xanthos on a scenic location, and was the source of inspiration for the Heroon of Pericle and the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus (Dusinberre, 2013: 200). Contrasting with the preceding monumental tombs, the Nereid monument was made of fine marble (Ridgway, 1997: 79). Its podium had relief sculptures representing victories of the dynast, shown as a Persian ruler (Borchhardt, 2016: 403-4). The Ionic peristyle had sculptures between the columns: Nereids, mythological creatures who take the soul to Mt. Olympus, and portraits of the dynasty members. The acroteria statues are considered to have represented mythological characters such as drunken Herakles and Auge (Ridgway, 1997: 86). The style of the freestanding statues on the building was Greek, while the friezes on the podium were a blend of local and Persian features (Ridgway, 1997: 87).

These new monumental tombs indicate a change in the mindset of the dynasts in the region, as well as increasing urbanism. Dynasts in Lycia now attempted to display their wealth and successes through smaller, yet still very conspicuous, Greek-influenced forms of tombs which were designed for the viewers in the city, not in the countryside. An important example, the Heroon of Pericle, is located in Limyra, in eastern Lycia, approximately 100 km from Xanthos. Its position inside the city contrasts with the more private prestige display of elite in the Elmalı tumuli. This tomb reflected dynastic ambitions with the freestanding sculptures of family portraits of the dynast and characters from Greek mythology, and support to the Persian Empire with the cella reliefs imitating military parades of the great king.

5.2.1 The Heroon of Pericle

This heroon, built in the first half of the 4th century BC, was a temple tomb dedicated to Pericle, the ambitious ruler in Limyra. Its prominent and visible location in the acropolis, its temenos wall, an altar next to the building with sacrificial remains, and sculpted decorations representing mythological beings and militaristic scenes suggest that the tomb reflected religious and dynastic ambitions (Borchhardt, 1999: 45-6).

The political stance of Pericle and the political messages reflected on the structure have been a matter of discussion. His name, similar to the Athenian leader, and the form of burial he chose have been interpreted as a Greek affinity by some. In contrast, others, considering the political past of the dynast, have offered compelling arguments suggesting that the Persianizing aspects in the acroteria and cella friezes expressed support for the Persian Empire.

The structure was excavated by Borchhardt between 1969 and 1976. It was situated on the southern corner of Limyra's fortifications in its acropolis (Map 6). The location of the structure was carefully chosen, as it was set on the middle section of the citadel's south wall which made it the most visible building in the city. It faced Phoinikous (Finike), the harbor town of Limyra.

The poorly preserved state of the heroon, possibly because of an earthquake, prevents a comprehensive view of the structure, but Borchhardt's systematic excavations enabled a reliable reconstruction of the building (Figure 66).

5.2.1.1 Architecture

The heroon consisted of two parts: a tall podium containing the grave chamber and a tetrastyle amphiprostyle temple chamber with a façade on two sides, the front and the back. It was oriented north-south with an entrance at the south (Bean, 1978:145). The ground plan measured 10 m x 7 m. Caryatids were set in the porticos of both sides as columns, and the spaces between them were ornamented with numerous sculptures. The outside faces of the cella walls had low relief friezes with numerous unique figures. The acroteria on the roof had freestanding statues of mythological characters identified as Perseus and Bellerophon within their epic contexts including other relevant characters. Borchhardt remarked that, during the excavations, the burial room contained remains of a kline and other tomb furniture, but they later became victims to an accidental fire (Borchhardt, 1999: 46).

5.2.1.2 The Owner of the Tomb

The attribution of the tomb to Pericle has been mostly accepted by scholars because the structure was generally dated ca. 370 BC, and numismatic evidence yielded his name and face on the coins of Limyra at this date (Ridgway, 1997: 94; Keen, 1998: 156-7). Further, he was considered as the only leader who was powerful and ambitious enough to erect such an ostentatious building in this period (Keen, 1998: 156-7)⁵². On the grounds of historical sources, Pericle should have died sometime between 370-362 BC, during the failed revolt against the Persian king. Therefore, the heroon would have been built before his fall from power, ca. 370 BC (Borchhardt 1976: 99-105; Keen 1998: 167; Şare, 2013: 59).

The Xanthian dynasty's power declined in the early 4th century, and Pericle and Trebennimi emerged as joint rulers in the east, in Limyra. They battled and defeated the dynasty in Xanthos and in its later capital, Telmessos. Funerary inscriptions found at Limyra, Timiusa, Arneae, and Kızılca (near Choma) recognized Pericle as the ruler of eastern and central Lycia (Bryce, 1983: 39; Keen 1998: 47; Keen, 2003: 274). Moreover, scholars postulated this period to be a briefly reunited region (Şare, 2013: 57). The successes of Pericle did not last long, and Lycia was once again put under Achaemenid control⁵³, after the failed satrap revolt sometime around 370-362 BC (Diod. Sic. 15.90.3; Keen, 1998: 161-170). Consequently, Pericle, who presumably took part in this revolt, disappeared because he was replaced by an officer appointed by the Hecatomnid dynasty (Keen, 1998: 171-174).

5.2.1.3 The Caryatids and Acroteria

The caryatids and the acroteria were inspired by Greek temples. They reflected the divine character of Pericle and his dynasty, and were instrumental in his claims over all

⁵² Borchhardt identifies Pericle or Trebennimi with the portraits on Lycian coins struck at this time, yet Şare and Ridgway opposes the authenticity of such an identification because the coins do not have enough detail to ensure this conclusion (Şare, 2013: 67; Ridgway, 1997: 95-6).

⁵³ Pericle was not recognized as a rightful leader by the Persians after he defeated the dynasty in Xanthos. Two Persian officers were appointed to control the situation in Lycia, Arttumpara and Mithrapata. Pericle defeated them as well. Keen considers these battles as a breaking point, because he would have understood that the Persians would not grant him the rule of the region (Keen, 1998: 167). Hence, his participation in the satrap revolt.

Lycia with an altar found on terrace of the tomb and the representations of Perseus and Bellerophon, the mythological founders of Lycia. In addition, possible statues of Pericle and his dynasty members were noted in the cella. Pericle seems to have attempted to link his genealogy with these divine characters in order to secure the right to rule.

Each façade was supported by four caryatids. The caryatids might have been modelled on the korai of the Erechtheion in Athens, but the style is different. Şare suggests a local production for them, opposing Borchhardt's claim of a Greek sculptor (Borchhardt, 1999: 47; Şare, 2013: 59). Compared to the dynamic stance of the Erechtheion caryatids, their stance in the heroon is stiff. The rendering of the folds of the clothes is less elaborate than on the Erechtheion and hence the sculptural work is suggested to have been conducted by a local school that was familiar with the Athenian works (Şare, 2013: 60; Boardman, 1995: 189). Their clothes, such as the long veil, and the distinctive tresses of the hair reflect the typical representations in Lycia that can be traced back to the Archaic period as an archaizing feature (Şare, 2013: 59-60).

The elaborately made acroteria, especially of Perseus (the best preserved), on the other hand, are as successful as Greek figures in the 4th century BC with their remarkable aesthetics and dynamism. The difference of quality between the acroteria and other sculpted works is also evident from the material employed on them: the acroteria sculptures were made of fine marble, while limestone was the material used for the rest.

The acroterion of the north gable shows Perseus after slaying Medusa (Figure 67). He holds her decapitated head while her body rests on the ground. Perseus is represented on the run, his legs are twisted to express the dynamism of movement, and his mouth is slightly open (Boardman, 1995: 191). One significant point is his tiara, a Persian feature that had no parallel in Greek representations of Perseus.

The south acroterion, in contrast, is badly damaged, but fragments of the sculptures (pieces of a horse statue, and a beardless face) were enough to recall Bellerophon and Pegasus slaying Chimaera. The statues of acroteria were considered political, with

first, Pericle's claim to be the heir of Bellerophon; and second, bonding with Perseus, an easterner who became the leader of the Greeks (Borchhardt, 1976: 123).

Borchhardt argued that the structure was a "heroon", for two reasons: the round altar found on a burnt layer on the north part of the terrace, and the caryatids that have table ware in their hands. The caryatids, he proposed, symbolized the cult worshippers who were responsible for regular dedications (Sturgeon, 2000: 64). In the surroundings of the altar, numerous perfume containers and other votive objects were recovered during excavations, and the assessment of dates of these objects indicated a continuous cult activity lasting until the end of the Hellenistic period (Borchhardt, 1999: 47). The existence of cult activities devoted to the deceased agrees with the overall purpose of the tomb as a heroon.

5.2.1.4 The Friezes

The west, east and possibly south walls of the cella have friezes on their external faces. The west and east friezes represent processions involving military marching from north to south, from the north castle to the city (Şare, 2013: 61). The west frieze is well-preserved. In contrast, the east and south friezes are badly preserved, leaving limited opportunity for solid observations.

5.2.1.4.1 West Frieze

The west frieze depicted a military parade, in which warriors with different equipment were present (Figure 68). This seems to be a display of support to the empire, because it imitates depictions in Persian imperial palaces at Persepolis and Susa⁵⁴. These palatial representations indicate different ethnicities by the clothes, ornaments and physical appearance of the human figures in order to emphasize the unifying skills of the great king, and must have inspired the reliefs on this tomb.

In the frieze, a chariot in the rightmost corner leads the troops that follow from the left. The frieze comprised 45 soldiers with different equipment and costumes (Şare, 2013: 62,

⁵⁴ See Chapter 1.

fig. 7). The key characters are determined to be 22 and 38, who, because of their prominent positions, equipment and their gestures, seem to lead the following men. Behind number 38 follow eight men on foot, identified as having military, civic, and musical roles (Şare, 2013: 61). They are followed by pairs of riders wearing Persian attire. The one at their center (22) is shown in full profile and is described as the most prominent person in the scene. Borchhardt identified him as Artaxerxes III because of his upright tiara, a cap that is associated only with the great king by Xenophon (*Anab.* 2.5.23)⁵⁵. In addition, he identified number 38 as Pericle. The following characters are foot soldiers with varied helmets, swords and large shields identified as a phalanx. Different equipment observed on these foot soldiers were considered as an indication of warriors of different ethnicities (Borchhardt, 1976: 64-6).

Military parades such as this were not unusual in the Near East. Xenophon remarked that Cyrus the Younger was proud whilst displaying his army comprising Greek mercenaries and barbarians to the Cilician queen (*Anab.* 1.2.14; Borchhardt, 1976: 21-3). This is within the ideology of the Near Eastern empires who took pride bringing solidarity and prosperity to all corners of the world. Evidence is available from the many inscriptions in Assyria and Urartu in which the emperors introduce themselves as the protectors of the civilized world (Karlsson, 2017: 1-12). The door jambs of the Hall of 100 Columns and Apadana reliefs at the Persepolis palace, and the Tomb of Artaxerxes II have representations of people in different costumes which promote the unifying skills of the great king. Limyra was not the center of an empire or a strong kingdom, but it was home for an ambitious, charismatic leader who defied Xanthian dynasts with this ostentatious temple tomb⁵⁶. The Heroon of Limyra articulates the same Persian imperial message of harmony, but in a Greco-Anatolian manner. The rival of Pericle, Errbina, also conveyed

⁵⁵ This claim is falsified by several iconographical representations where the cap is worn by common soldiers, such as the Yalnızdam grave stele from Lycia and the warriors depicted in paintings of the Tatarlı chamber (Summerer, 2010: 140). However, the central position of the figure in the west frieze of the Heroon, and his gestures that seem to lead men indicate he is an important person.

⁵⁶ Keen considers the pillar tombs in Phellos and Trysa in east Lycia which correspond to the reign of Pericle supportive of the collaborative effort to challenge the authority of Xanthos (Keen, 1998: 158-9).

such a message, evident from the statue base he dedicated in the Letoon⁵⁷, but his tomb did not repeat it.

Bryce argued that Pericle was a pro-Greek leader. He wrote: “The Lycian leader saw himself as a latter day Pericles, inspired with the vision of a free, independent Lycia united against Persian despotism” (Bryce, 1980: 380). In contrast, Borchhardt and Keen claimed that he was a ruler who supported the Persians (Borchhardt, 1976: 121-3; Keen, 1998: 158). The Persianizing frieze reliefs of the structure suggests that Pericle demonstrated his support and loyalty to the empire, particularly because these scenes imitated the Persian military parades mentioned in the ancient texts.

Another important point is the implied expression of military success shown in the frieze, which can be considered as an exception in the region⁵⁸. The Heroon at Limyra did not depict violence but the military might of the leader is strongly suggested⁵⁹. However, Lycian tombs often show actual battle scenes which may reflect Greek or Assyrian influence, which strongly conflicts with the Achaemenid tradition (Childs, 1978: 5-7; Şare, 2013: 70). For instance, on the Nereid monument in Xanthos, the west frieze had one scene depicting Errbina grappling the head of his fallen enemy. Indeed, some contemporary rock-cut tombs in Limyra, too, show violent combat scenes.⁶⁰ Therefore, it seems the use of non-violent iconography was self-conscious in order to curry favor with the empire.

5.2.1.4.2 East Frieze

It is very similar to the west frieze, yet the outlines of the characters are treated slightly better (Figure 69). It depicts another procession, probably a departure for a royal hunt,

⁵⁷ This Greek inscription had a striking resemblance to the inscriptions of Darius I at Naqsh-e Rostam in the manner with which he introduces his biography and describes himself as conqueror and a mighty warrior who is proficient both as a bowman and an equestrian (Brosius, 2011: 144).

⁵⁸ Ridgway rejects biographical narrative on these friezes yet Şare thinks these two friezes may have represented his successes at the west and the east without illustrating a specific event in his career (Şare, 2013: 70).

⁵⁹ The Heroon at Trysa, an east Lycian city ruled by Pericle, did not depict violence, either.

⁶⁰ See the pictures of the contemporary rock-cut tomb reliefs that represent violence at Necropolis II and III in Seyer, 2016: 263-4, figs. 6-7.

but is poorly preserved. The assumption of a hunt scene is based on the great number of petasos⁶¹ wearers, who are often illustrated in hunt scenes. Similar hunt scenes with petasos wearers were evident from Macedonia at this period, such as the hunt fresco in Philip II's tomb at Vergina, and the mosaics of Pella that depict hunts (Şare, 2013: 69). The soldiers in this frieze seem more comfortable as they appear to be interacting with each other. Costumes shown on figures are again varied.

5.3 Conclusions

The Lycian tombs mentioned here reflected the political, social and economic processes that the region experienced in the Persian period. Tumuli were the prominent funerary structures in 6th century BC Lycia, and the ones in the Elmalı plain, Kızılbél and Karaburun II, reflected Phrygian-Lydian architectural traditions blended with Lycian architecture. The form itself, and the tools and methods used in the building process were Phrygian-Lydian in Kızılbél and Karaburun. The polygonal blocks employed in Kızılbél were a Lycian touch, which may hint at a self-conscious choice. The influence of Lydian architecture seems to be less in these two tumuli, compared to the other examples discussed in this thesis. They did not feature an ashlar masonry as elaborate as Lydian examples. Nor did they feature a permanent dromos or ante-chamber. The Heroon of Pericle at Limyra, on the other hand, was a great example of the development of the Lycian monumental tomb tradition that started in the aftermath of the Persian conquest. This architectural form was probably reserved only for the royalty in the region, where the dynasts displayed their power, strength, successes, and ties in terms of mythological characters. This tomb form was adopted by the Carians in the mid-4th century BC, to be used for a founder tomb that deified Mausolus, and his Carian dynasty.

The iconographical context of these tombs varied. It is certain, however, that Greek iconography influenced Lycia far more than it influenced other regions discussed in this thesis (Dusinberre, 2013: 190). The Kızılbél tomb had a great deal of Greek mythological subject matter. The line between biographical and religious narratives was

⁶¹ A round hat worn by Greek travelers.

ambiguous, and hence the friezes could signify one or the other. Karaburun II, on the other hand, had no mythological aspect, and the representation of the occupant showed him as a Persianizing local ruler. The contrast between the Kızılbey and Karaburun II tombs is especially interesting, since they had roughly half a century difference between their construction. A century later, the iconographic program of the Heroon of Pericle included a great deal of Greek features that had affinities in the Lycian culture such as caryatids, Perseus and Bellerophon. It also had Persianizing aspects such as the friezes showing the occupant in the hunt and in military procession. The audience of the first two tombs was limited since the tomb was sealed and covered with a mound after the funeral. The heroon, in contrast, was a much more public burial since it was publicly displayed within the city. Therefore, it is likely that the iconographic function of the tumuli was to compete among the aristocracy while the heroon's program had an ideological agenda, meant to be seen by both the commoners and the aristocracy inside the city.

The style of art employed in these tombs was predominantly East Greek, indicating the international connections of Lycia. The grandeur of Greek art was much appreciated in the region, and Greek artistic endeavors on the mainland and islands were monitored and followed by the local artists in the region.

Overall, art in Lycia was highly mixed and influenced by both the western and eastern neighbors of Anatolia. However, the architectural features remained Anatolian with a fair level of internal influence from the Phrygians in the burial customs, stronger in Karaburun than Kızılbey, eventually abandoned in the Hellenizing dynast tombs such as the Heroon at Limyra (Mellink, 1998: 56). The next chapter will examine the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus, which was directly influenced by the dynastic tombs from Lycia.

CHAPTER 6: THE MAUSOLEUM AT HALICARNASSUS IN CARIA

6.1 Introduction

The Mausoleum at Halicarnassus was built for Mausolus of the Hecatomnid dynasty, the satrap of Caria who reigned in the region between 377-353 BC (Henry, 2010: 70-2). The tomb, dated to ca. 360-340 BC, around 10 to 30 years after the Heroon at Limyra, reflected the political and religious ambitions of the ruler with its size, location, architectural elements and sculptural decorations (Ridgway, 1997:116; Sturgeon, 2000: 61)⁶². The form of the building was not a tumulus, contrasting with most of the other examples mentioned in the thesis, but it was part of a new architectural tradition that originated from the combination of Lycian burial platforms such as the Nereid Monument and the Heroon at Limyra, and Greek temples (Rumscheid, 2010: 91-2). This form, the temple tomb, as discussed in chapter 5, indicated a new change in western Anatolia, where the dynasts in Lycia and Caria started to separate themselves from the elite. Located in the cities, they were monuments that conveyed religious and political messages to urban dwellers. The prominent location of the Mausoleum, probable cult activities in its terrace, and a sculptural program that connected the Hecatomnid dynasty to the mythological founders of the region were the key similarities to the Heroon at Limyra. However, the Mausoleum's position had a higher importance in the city, because it was located next to the agora, in the tradition of founder tombs in the Greek

⁶² The identity of the person responsible for the construction of the tomb is unknown, although the ancient sources say it was Artemisia, the sister-wife of Mausolus (Strabo 656; Pliny. *HN* xxxvi. 30). However, her brief reign (2 years) and the positioning of the structure right next to the agora indicate the structure was planned by Mausolus himself from the beginning, even though its starting and completion dates are uncertain (see Hornblower, 1982: 238-9 for detailed discussion about the possible construction dates).

colonies. It was the prime monument of the Hellenic identity Mausolus wanted to create, evident from the layout of the *polis*, Halicarnassus.

6.2 Caria before the Hecatomnids

Caria was a federation of towns. They shared a common Carian language albeit with varied dialects in the individual settlements (Henry, 2010: 74). The native population lived in the hinterlands of the mountains and valleys, forming a loose identity connected by religious beliefs and practices, such as the annual gathering at sanctuaries dedicated to Anatolian-Greek deities. However, distinctions between the population groups are evident between the Greek cities scattered around the Bodrum peninsula and the more inland populations who reflected a more local cultural tradition (Carstens, 2009: 66).

6.3 The Tumulus Tradition in Caria

The tumulus burial was a fairly common mortuary practice in the region until the reign of the Hecatomnids. A large group of these tumuli, dated to the Geometric-Archaic periods, was clustered around Pedasa in the Bodrum peninsula (Diler, 2006: 109-131). Another group was clustered around the Harpasos and Marsyas Valleys in northern Caria (Map 7). These tumuli, associated with the Lydian presence in the region, were dated to the late 6th-early 5th centuries BC (Henry, 2016: 433). Although these tumuli have not been fully excavated, their archaeological data indicate that they ceased to be constructed in the reign of the Hecatomnids.

6.4 The Rise of the Hecatomnids

Caria belonged to the Lydian Satrapy from the Persian conquest until the early 4th century BC (Ruzicka, 1992: 6-7). There were only some settled Persian cavalrymen in the region, and possibly a garrison in Tralles (Sekunda, 1991: 91-5). The Hecatomnid dynasty from Mylasa was granted the privilege to rule the region in the 390s BC due to their loyal services to the great king (Cook, 1982: 167-182). Starting with Hecatomnus, Caria experienced an intense transition. Many towns in the hinterlands were abandoned

and their populations were pushed to the newly built coastal cities, most conspicuously to Halicarnassus in the reign of Mausolus (Carstens, 2013: 176).

The events at the end of the 5th century BC had brought turmoil to the Persian Empire. The revolt of Cyrus the Younger caused a civil war, and prevented the Persians from benefitting fully from the demise of the Athenian Empire. Tisaphernes' greedy activities after his loyal service to put down the revolt of Cyrus brought him to his execution. Two of the most important satraps in Anatolia died in the same decade. There was also the Egyptian problem which almost devastated the empire from within. As a result of these political developments, Artaxerxes II promoted Hecatomnus to be the satrap of Caria in 392 BC (Hornblower, 1982: 246). He ruled Caria until 377 BC; after his death, the reign of the region passed to his son and daughter, Mausolus and Artemisia.

Mausolus was a man of vision. He wanted to create a Hellenized kingdom that had ambitions in both western Anatolia and the Aegean⁶³. He took advantage of the progress achieved in his father's reign, most importantly, the right to rule Caria as a satrap⁶⁴. Mausolus raised a fleet of 100 ships to have a coercive force at his command (Ruzicka, 2012: 69, 169-170). He transferred Caria's capital from Mylasa to Halicarnassus sometime in the 370s BC. The city already had a Greek population, but people from inland towns were brought here through synoicism to increase the population and create a new identity (Plin. *HN* v.107; Hornblower, 1982: 78-105). His goal was to transform the region to a Greek polis system, contrasting with other western Anatolian satrapal centers such as Daskyleion and Kelainai. The re-founded Halicarnassus, therefore, had the governmental institutions of a *polis*, such as the demos and boule (Hornblower, 1982: 105).

⁶³ The coins Mausolus struck were in Rhodian standard –Rhodian and Milesian in Hecatomnus' coins– with new iconography depicting Apollo on obverse, and Zeus Labraundos on reverse. Before his coins, Carian coins usually had a star on one side and a lion on the other. These coins were both a propaganda and an economic development for Caria since Rhodian standard coins were used in Samos, Ephesus, Teos, Erythrae, Colophon, Cyzicus and Byzantium (Ruzicka, 1992: 38).

⁶⁴ Artaxerxes seems to have had difficulty finding loyal men in the western frontier. Mausolus was known to have participated in the satrap revolt in 360s. He then betrayed the revolt and sided with the Persians. Consequently, he was given parts of Lycia (Ridgway, 1997: 112). If there were more trustworthy nobles, the great king probably would have appointed one as satrap in place of Mausolus.

6.5 Study of the Mausoleum

Because the Mausoleum has not survived, apart from its foundations, reconstructing its appearance depends on ancient literary sources and modern archaeological explorations⁶⁵ (Figure 70). The main ancient sources for the building are Pliny and Vitruvius. However, they lived centuries after the building's construction. Thus, their descriptions are derivative (Pliny, *HN* 36. 30-1; Vitruvius, 7. praef. 12-3; Hornblower, 1982: 225). Vitruvius names the architects, Satyros and Pythios. Pliny name Pythis, who might be Pythios. Both name the famous sculptors: Skopas, Bryaxis, Timotheos and Leochares (Pliny, *HN* 36. 30-1). Vitruvius also adds Praxiteles (*De Arch.*, 7. praef. 13).

Pliny's descriptions about the Mausoleum are more detailed; Vitruvius' version is more general. The difference in quality between these two records were due to their source of information, Pliny's source was better because it at least derived from an eyewitness (Hornblower, 1982: 225-228; Waywell, 1988: 36). Pliny's measurements are controversial, however; the height of the podium, colonnade, and roof are much disputed. He states the height of the building was 25 cubits (37.5 feet), but he later suggests that the building rises to a total height of 440 feet (Pliny, *HN* 36. 30-1). His descriptions and measurements are not precise and consistent enough to allow for a fully reliable reconstruction of the Mausoleum.

Archaeological excavations led by Charles Newton first took place between 1856 and 1857. He explored the site and found numerous sculptures, which he transported to the British Museum (Newton, 1862: 93; Jeppesen, 1958: 14,19; Ridgway, 1997: 112). Major archaeological explorations were undertaken between 1966 and 1977 by the Danish Archaeological Expedition team under the directorship of Kristian Jeppesen (Carstens, 2013: 179). He published six monographs about these excavations between 1987 and 2004 (McGowan, 2013:161, n. 10). He examined questions of the measurements, architecture, form, early cult activities in the terrace of the building, and details of the structure's sculptural decoration. The measurements of the Mausoleum's foundations

⁶⁵ See the possible reconstructions of the Mausoleum rendered by several experts (Jenkins, 2013: 124, fig. 6.1).

were attested to be 32.5 m x 38.5 m as a result of his research (Rumscheid, 2010: 92, n. 51). Studies of the sculptures and reconstruction of the Mausoleum have continued, notably by Waywell (Waywell, 1978; 1988: 119, fig. 61; Cook, 2005 :1-36; Jeppesen, 1998: 161-231).

Archaeological research has permitted a more precise understanding of the appearance of the tomb. The consensus regarding the reconstruction of the monument, with archaeologists agreeing with Pliny's account, is that the tomb consisted of three parts. First, the high podium, set on a rectangular foundation on natural rock. The tomb chamber was inside. Above the podium is an Ionic colonnade of 36 columns and numerous sculptures. Third, a stepped ceiling rises high like an Egyptian pyramid, crowned with a quadriga. Every other feature of the building has been a matter of discussion, and a consensus on the original appearance of the structure has not been attained.

6.6 Origins of Influence for the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus

The Hecatomnids were known to have followed the cultural developments occurring in Lycia. Therefore, the influence of Lycian temple tombs on the design on the Mausoleum would not be a surprise (Ruzicka, 1992: 63). This being said, the best parallel for the Mausoleum is the Uzunyuva Monument at Mylasa, an unfinished tomb structure dating to almost the same time period as the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus, which was probably influenced by Lycian dynast tombs as well (Rumscheid, 2010: 91-2).

The foundation measurements of Uzunyuva, 32.60 m x 39.20 m, and the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus, 32.5 m x 38.5 m, are strikingly similar. The 5:6 proportion of the sides also corresponded in these structures. Therefore, Rumscheid claimed that Uzunyuva was intended to be a monumental tomb that looked strikingly similar to the one in Halicarnassus, and they were perhaps built by the same workmen with the same plan.

The Uzunyuva monument was situated on the southeastern slope of the Hisarbaşı Hill, on the terrace wall. It was oriented west-east like the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus. The

complex was unfinished, as there were many rough stone blocks in the building. The whole complex, except the upper surface of the built platform, was faced with marble (Rumscheid, 2010: 72). The front of Uzunyuva did not have an entrance or staircase, but it had a plain marble wall that rose 3 m in height, like the Nereid monument and the Heroon at Limyra (Rumscheid, 2010: 82).

The stylistic and typological evidence of the Lesbian cyma of the foot mouldings in the complex indicate that the Mausoleums at Halicarnassus and Uzunyuva were built at a similar time due to their striking similarities, but the precise year remains unclear. Furthermore, the techniques used on these mouldings are the same: the carved ornament fillets were completely finished first, and then were set in their places (Rumscheid, 2010: 85-6). Another common feature between Uzunyuva and the Mausoleum -and also temple of Athena in Priene, and the temple of Zeus, and south and east propylaea at Labraunda- is the use of 8 cm x 6 cm bronze dowels. One example of it in the Uzunyuva Monument was found in place in the south-eastern corner of the platform which was used to integrate the plinth to the foot moulding (Rumscheid, 2010: 86-7). Because of these shared construction techniques, Rumscheid postulated the tomb to be the initial tomb of Mausolus, which was left unfinished after Mausolus moved the capital from Mylasa to Halicarnassus.

The tomb chamber of Uzunyuva was discovered by the authorities in 2008 after detecting illicit activities of tomb robbers (Brunwasser, 2011: 25)⁶⁶. The frescoes and elaborately decorated sarcophagus depicting a bearded man reclining on a kline being served by several servants indicated that the tomb was actually used although the building was left unfinished (Figure 71). Scholars now attribute the tomb to Hecatomnus, the father of Mausolus but this is not proven yet (Brunwasser, 2011: 25).

⁶⁶ A golden crown stolen from the tomb was found in Scotland (Acar, 2017). Other grave offerings, all looted, have not been recovered.

6.7 The Mausoleum and the Urban Layout of Halicarnassus

The Mausoleum seems to have been the key monument for the development of the new urban identity of Halicarnassus due to its location in the city center, next to the agora, and its height, taller than any other building of the city (Map 8, Carstens, 2009: 66).

Reconstructing the appearance of ancient Halicarnassus relies heavily on the records of Vitruvius, but collaborative archaeological excavations conducted by the Danish Halicarnassos team and the Bodrum Museum of Underwater Archaeology also have contributed important information (*De arch.* ii.8.10-15; Pedersen, 2001: 102-110; 2010: 269-316)⁶⁷.

The geographical features of Halicarnassus provided a natural defense to the city, such as hills surrounding it and a natural harbor, supported by moles protecting it from both sides. The harbor was large enough to keep a large armada within its premises. Citadels built on each promontory near the harbor supported its defense. Mausolus built his palace on the promontory called Zephyra, in a position at the commercial and administrative center of the city (Ruzicka, 1992: 33-35). The hills at the back of the city were not easy to cross except by the established roads leading out. Adding to this natural defense, a 5 km long fortification wall with towers following the geographical contours protected the city (Hornblower, 1982: 298-305). The grid plan, the fortifications, and its overall appearance were in the Greek manner, suiting a Greek *polis*. Possessing a capable and experienced navy, Caria could now trade much more securely in the Aegean as the danger of sea raids in its basin had come to an end⁶⁸. Having included all these elements aiming at both militaristic and commercial opportunities, Halicarnassus quickly became the capital of a ‘pocket empire’ (Hornblower, 1983: 175-176; Konuk, 2013: 107-108).

⁶⁷ In addition to the descriptions of Vitruvius, Pedersen (2001), Carstens (2009; 2013), and Ruzicka (1992) are useful for the updated versions about the layout of Halicarnassus. They are more complete thanks to the excavations in certain places of the city (Pedersen, 1994: 30; 2001: 103-5).

⁶⁸ The problems with the Spartans ignited by ill-fated Tissaphernes and the revolt of Evagoras in Salamis were dealt with by an alliance that consisted of Pharnabazus, Conon, and Hecatomnus in the first two decades of the 4th century (Ruzicka, 2012: 66-76). Hecatomnus retained his ships to engage any Greek forces in the Aegean when necessity arose.

The Mausoleum, the focus of the new city, had the architectural arrangement of a sanctuary, with a rectangular temenos, measuring 106 m x 242 m, surrounding the tomb, and a propylon (Vitruvius, *De arch.* ii 8.11). The tomb rose as a temple inside this temenos on its north-east corner, with its tomb chamber situated inside the high podium, paralleling the Nereid Monument at Xanthos, and the Heroon at Limyra (Carstens, 2009: 69-70). It respected the grid plan of the city and was on the main road connecting Halicarnassus with other cities, which clearly indicates that this structure was the heart of this new capital city.

Its location was a novelty in Carian settlements. In Caria, the tombs of the commoners and royalty were situated outside the settlements⁶⁹. Having them inside the city was a rare phenomenon in the Greek world, but Lycia had royal tombs in Xanthos that trace back as early as the mid-6th century BC⁷⁰. Lycian tombs could thus be the source of origin for this new attitude in Caria.

Although the evidence from the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus and the transition of Halicarnassus to a *polis* model indicate that Caria enjoyed a significant autonomy in the 4th century BC, the Persians were clearly unhappy with the situation, because they threatened direct interventions from time to time. For instance, during the revolt of the satraps in the 360s BC, Mausolus demanded funds from Mylasans in order to build a wall around their city because of a Persian threat (Ps-Ar. *Oec.* 2.2.13). Yet the wall was never built, perhaps because Mausolus chose to move the capital to Halicarnassus, instead (Hornblower, 1982: 78-105). Before and after this incident, Carian leaders displayed a pragmatic mentality. The region was not strong enough to rival the Greeks or the Persian Empire by itself, so they often cooperated with each of them at different times to survive and thrive (Carstens, 2009: 11).

⁶⁹ An exception is possible in Hyllarima as there may be a tumulus inside its walls that post-dates Mausolus (Henry, 2013: 124-129; Rumscheid, 2013: 98, n. 68).

⁷⁰ Rumscheid argues this tradition to be a Persian one because the Tomb of Artaxerxes II was located on the cliffs of Persepolis. I disagree, first because there is abundant evidence from Lycia, a close distance neighbor of Caria, and second because Artaxerxes' tomb was in a different form (Rumscheid, 2010: 98-9).

6.8 The Mausoleum as a Founder Tomb

Founder tombs are closely associated with hero tombs and cults, which, in the Greek world, can be traced back to the 7th century BC by archaeological and literary records. Founders of Greek colonies were important. Having established a *polis*, the founder would be worshipped as a hero in his tomb at the heart of this settlement as an instrument to assert a Greek ancestry.

There is ample evidence indicating that the Mausoleum was a founder tomb. First, the sacrificial deposit under the staircase of the podium suggests a cult. Animals in great variety, 5 cattle, 25 sheep, 8 lambs, 3 cocks, 10 chickens and 8 pigeons, were killed in place and the deposit was sealed afterwards (Carstens, 2013: 180). The sacrifices did not follow Greek practice, with the fat burnt, the meat distributed. Instead, the animals were killed, their heads and feet taken, the meat left raw. Because this does not fit the usual worship of gods, at least in the Anatolian- Greek world, the interpretation is uncertain. Nevertheless, the enormous terrace around the tomb could facilitate festivals and rituals for the deceased, as mentioned by ancient sources (Rumscheid, 2010: 99-100; Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticae* 10.18). Some princely tombs in the Halicarnassus peninsula may indicate a tradition of tomb cult in the region as they were claimed to have hosted cult activities, such as the Gebe Kilise tomb, dating to the 7th century BC, the Geriş tomb, dating roughly to the Persian period, and the Belevi tumulus, on the northeast of Ephesos, dating to the 6th century BC where a pipe system was attested for offerings of libations to be done on top of the tumulus (Carstens, 2002: 402-6). The Heroon at Limyra, an inspiration for the Mausoleum, had a terrace with an altar for sacrifices. A similar terrace seems present at Uzunyuva in Mylasa, as well.

Second, the large amount of sculpture that decorated the Mausoleum seems intended to praise the founder, Mausolus, his family, his ancestors, and heroes, human, divine, and mythical (Carstens, 2009: 71-74; McGowan, 2013: 165-171). The representation of the dynasty's genealogical sequence was a symbol for the stability of power, and was a promise for the future that the region would maintain its strength (Carstens, 2009: 71-

74). The arrangement of the sculptures on the Mausoleum, however, remains uncertain (Waywell, 1978).

The quadriga crowning the Mausoleum is striking because of its connection to the myth explaining the deification of Herakles. Herakles died and was cremated atop Oita mountain. Having been reincarnated, he rose with Athena to Olympos inside a quadriga. Although the colossal quadriga was found in pieces, without a rider, scholars agree that the quadriga would not have been designed to be empty (Jeppesen, 1994: 82; Carstens, 2009: 70-1). Instead, Mausolus should have had a portrait of himself in the quadriga, perhaps with his wife, Artemisia. This was probably the key point where Mausolus claimed his divine status, mimicking Herakles as he showed himself a hero, rising to the heaven from the top of his tomb to the sky. Two colossal statues displayed in the British Museum are usually considered to be the portraits that stood in this chariot. The rendering of these statues have signature features of the 4th century BC Greek sculptures, with the addition of Anatolian and Persian elements in their clothes and hairstyle (Fullerton, 2016: 244-5).

Freestanding statues were situated on the superstructure, surrounding the cella. Jeppesen argued that these statues were possibly the ancestral portraits of the Lygdamid⁷¹ and Hecatomnid dynasties, and local heroes from inland Caria (Jeppesen, 2002: 170-182; McGowan, 2013: 162-71). Mausolus does not seem to have had a link to Lygdamids⁷². Still, an alabastron found in the staircase leading to the tomb chamber indicated that there might have been an effort to connect these dynasties because it had the inscription “Xerxes the Great King” on it (Jenkins, 2006: 203). This prestige item was probably given to Artemisia as a gift and was passed down to Mausolus. There were 53 alabastera recovered from the foundation level in the palace of Xerxes in Persepolis, among which some carried the same inscription, indicating that these were prestige objects given to selected people in the empire (Carstens, 2009: 17-18). It kept its symbolic value as a

⁷¹ The former dynasty of Halicarnassus between 520-450 BC.

⁷² Artemisia was the ruler of Halicarnassus between 484 to 460 BC. She was the daughter of Lygdamis I, the first Lygdamid dynast in Halicarnassus. She led the Carian ships in the battle of Salamis. Herodotus recorded Xerxes’ admiration of her bravery during this battle (*Hist.* 8. 68-69, 8.88).

votive object dedicated to Mausolus although its recipient and donor lived a century before him.

The Amazonomachy frieze located on top of the podium was another of the key features of the Mausoleum (Figure 72). It depicted mythological characters such as Herakles, Theseus, and the Amazons. Surprisingly, the story of this battle made its way to Anatolia as early as the 7th century. ‘Labrys’, the battle axe, acquired from the Amazon queen by Herakles, was obtained by the 7th century Mylasan King Arselis, and was brought to the cult of Zeus Labraundos in Labraunda (Plut. *Quaests. Graec.* 45; Karlsson, 2013: 75). The story remarks that “Labraundos” was derived from this double-axe associated with Zeus Labraundos. Strabo suggested Mylasan rulers were life-time priests in their sanctuaries which indicate the connection of the dynasty to the deity (Strabo, 14.2.23). Therefore, the connection of the Amazonomachy to the dynasty was essential. First, the Hecatomnid dynasty’s claim to rule Caria was legitimized because it was a Mylasan king who retrieved the axe of Zeus and brought it to Caria. Second, Mausolus was able to attain his unquestionable, divine right to rule the region because of his ancestors’ connection to the mythological characters. And last, it integrated Western Anatolia’s past to the history of the Greeks by the display of Amazons on the tomb, who possessed the ‘labrys’ before Herakles acquired it⁷³.

6.9 Conclusions

Mausolus erected his monumental tomb in Halicarnassus, indicating his divine status as a founder and a hero, and his dynasty’s legitimacy to rule the region. The inspiration of the tomb came from Lycia, from the pillar and temple tombs discussed in the previous chapter. The monumentality and quality of the art works on the structure indicated that Mausolus was not only a dynast from Mylasa, but he was a visionary leader who wanted to create a strong kingdom with a new Hellenic identity, which sought opportunities to

⁷³ Foundation myths in Anatolia asserted Car (founder of Caria) and Lydos (founder of Lydia) to be brothers. They worshipped a common storm god. It was called “Labs” in Lydian and “Zeus Labraundos” in Carian soil. Zeus Labraundos was the chief deity in the region, and was worshipped in Labraunda, whereas two sanctuaries were dedicated to Labs in Sardis (Karlsson, 2015: 77-78). Thus, ‘labrys’ not only connects Caria to the Aegean but it also cements Caria to its neighbors in religious practice.

benefit from the power vacuum in the Aegean. He symbolized his ambitions and his divine character by using this novel tomb form that was introduced to Anatolia in the early 4th century BC.



CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSIONS

The analysis of the 14 tombs discussed in the thesis has been undertaken in order to understand the social and political changes that occurred in western Anatolia during the Persian period. The architectural features, contents and iconography displayed in the tombs uncovered from archaeological excavations, together with historical sources were evaluated to reveal these changes.

The proliferation of tumulus burials was clear. Pre-Persian western Anatolia had a small number of monumental tombs, which were the burials of the royal families of the Mermnad dynasty, the former rulers of western Anatolia. Persian period Anatolia experienced an increased prosperity for the local dignitaries, evident from the hundreds of tumuli in the countryside, belonging to the landowners of the regions. Their smaller size indicated less wealth than the pre-Persian examples, but their larger number illustrated a change in the distribution of wealth in favor of the elites.

The mid-6th to 5th century BC tombs in Anatolia were characterized by local traditions in funerary architecture. All of them, except for the Pyramid Tomb in Sardis, were tumulus burials. Employment of masonry in burials, which was first used in the tombs of the Lydian kings, became wide-spread in the Persian period. Even though the form of these tumuli was uniform, their internal architectural features, such as dromos, porch, and symbolic and functional doors, showed great diversity in their combinations. This diversity was considered to have been a means for and display of competition among the owners of these burial sites.

The contents retrieved from these tumuli were also uniform. Personal belongings of the deceased and items related to banquets marked the status of the owners. Metal and imported table ware, perfume containers, incense burners, appliques, and seals exemplified such findings from these tumulus burials, best attested from the Child's Sarcophagus and Dedetepe tumulus chamber discussed in Chapter 3, and the Güre tumuli outlined in Chapter 4. These belongings were not signifiers of ethnicities, but they did represent the high rank of their owners within the social hierarchy. This phenomenon does not rule out the possible existence of objects that indicate ethnicity, since most of these tombs were not properly excavated, and clandestine activities in both ancient and modern times disturbed the contents of such burials. Further, there is a possibility that some tombs indicated affinities to certain cultural spheres by their construction material, architectural features, and iconography. For instance, the Tatarlı tumulus chamber from Greater Phrygia was made of wood, which was associated with the Phrygian tumulus tradition. This choice of material seems to have been self-conscious since the last example of a Phrygian type tumulus with a wooden chamber was constructed in the mid-6th century BC. The paintings of the chamber, however, illustrated support for the Persian Empire. This self-consciousness was also visible in the Kızöldün and Çan tumulus burials in Hellespontine Phrygia and Karaburun II in Lycia.

The iconographic programs of the tombs in Persian period Anatolia were "Greco-Persian", with themes including banquets, hunts, receptions, combats, funerary convoys or voyages in horse carts, military departures and convoys. The tombs that were dated between 550-500 BC, such as the Kızılbel tumulus, the Polyxena Sarcophagus, and the Harta and Güre tumuli represented the themes of banquets, hunts, receptions and convoys. They were interpreted to have been status markers that fitted with the Persian iconography. In addition to these themes, scenes from Greek mythology were also present in some tombs. The early 5th century BC tombs, however, illustrated a strong military character, probably related to the political atmosphere of the region at the time. The Ionian revolt on the western coast, followed by the punitive actions of the Persians, and the military campaigns of Xerxes on the Greek mainland were the probable reasons for this militaristic phenomenon. The dignitaries of western Anatolia were pushed to

clarify their support for the Persian Empire, evident from the military themes that decorated their tombs. The Karaburun and Tatarlı tumuli, dated to ca. 470 BC were clear examples of these militaristic themes⁷⁴. Military convoys, combat scenes and voyages on horse carts were represented in the iconography programs of these tombs, illustrating a striking resemblance to such processions of the Persian king, as described in the literary sources.

The eternal banquet for the decedents of the elite tombs was another phenomenon, securely attested for some of the tombs in this thesis, and was related to the eschatological outlook of the elites in western Anatolia. The Dedetepe tumulus chamber in Hellespontine Phrygia yielded elaborate klinai, drinking cups and musical instruments. The Harta and Güre group, especially İkiztepe, presented decorated klinai, an immense number of drinking cups, incense burners and perfume containers. The Kızılbeyli tumulus chamber had a banquet scene in its iconographic program and the funerary couch inside the chamber had bosses for the placement of drinking cups. The Karaburun tomb chamber had a flamboyant banquet scene directly above the funerary couch. These examples left little doubt about the relationship between the deceased and the symbolic banquets dedicated to them. These components illustrated that there was indeed a symbolic banquet for the deceased. The klinai, banquet related objects, and status markers of the deceased were placed in the tomb, perhaps so that the deceased could enjoy such activities in the afterlife.

In Lycia and Caria, however, there was a different picture. A tumulus tradition also existed for the dignitaries of these regions, but the local dynasts separated themselves from the elites by their tombs. Contrasting with the locations of tumulus burials, ambitious dynasts in Lycia constructed their tombs in the paramount locations of their cities from the mid-6th century BC onwards. These tombs conveyed the dynastic and political messages of these rulers. In the early 4th century BC, the temple tombs were developed in Lycia, and quickly spread to Caria. They were also located in cities, with, for example, the Mausoleum in Carian Halicarnassus in the very heart of the city. These

⁷⁴ The Çan sarcophagus, dated to the 375 BC, was another clear example of this phenomenon.

temple tombs emulated Lycian and Greek architectural traditions, and had divine and imperial overtones evident from their size, location, sculptural decorations and clearly attested religious aspects. Culturally, they indicated a shift to the Hellenic sphere by the sculptural artworks they presented. Politically, however, this did not indicate an opposition to the Persian Empire. The use of temple tombs was not an indication of a political stance in the Heroon at Limyra, but more of an attempt to indicate the clear religious importance of the deceased. Although the architectural features of the tomb drew heavily from the Greek world, support for the Persian Empire was visible in the military related themes represented in the cella friezes. The Mausoleum at Halicarnassus, however, was the key building in the construction of a new, Hellenic identity for the Carians, reflecting political affinities to the Greeks, as the Hecatomnid dynasty, as rulers of the region, displayed in this tomb their expansionist ambitions in the Aegean. Overall, there is clear evidence of both Persian and Greek styles in the tombs, notwithstanding the paucity of data in some instances. What is most remarkable, however, is the weaving of an independent spirit through these styles that reflected the ability and desire of the western Anatolians to negotiate their interests and presence between two power holders. That they did so is powerfully displayed in the tombs assessed in this thesis.

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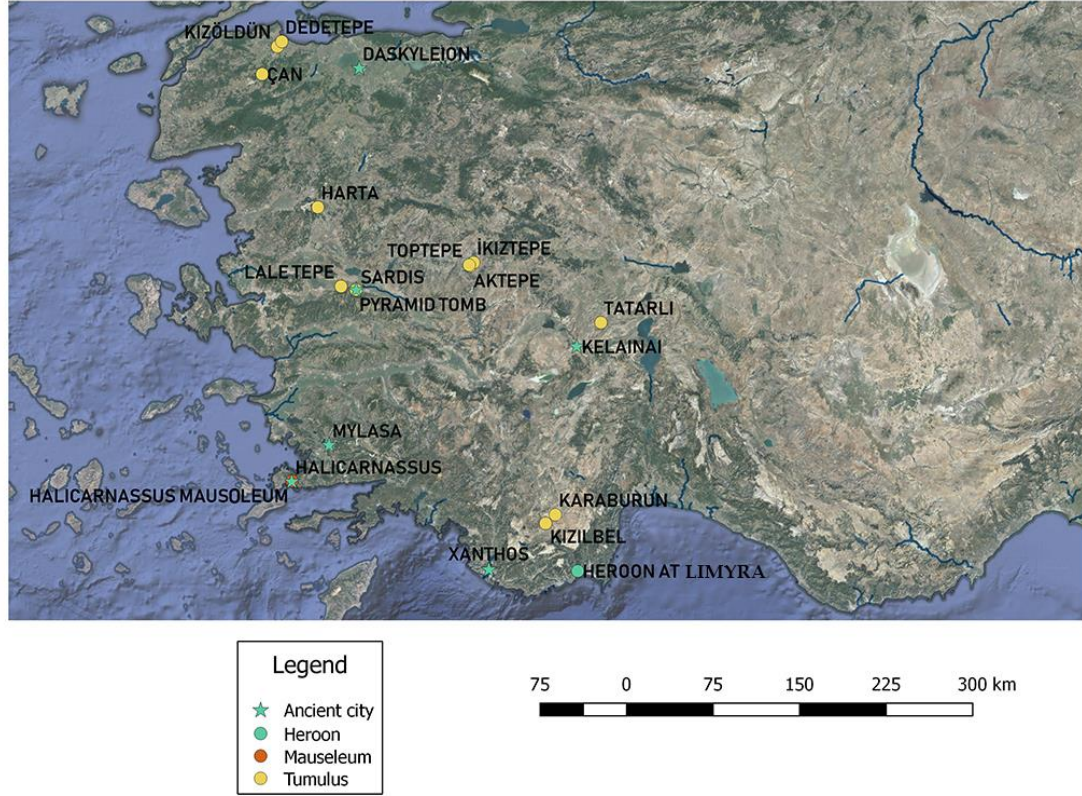
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MAPS



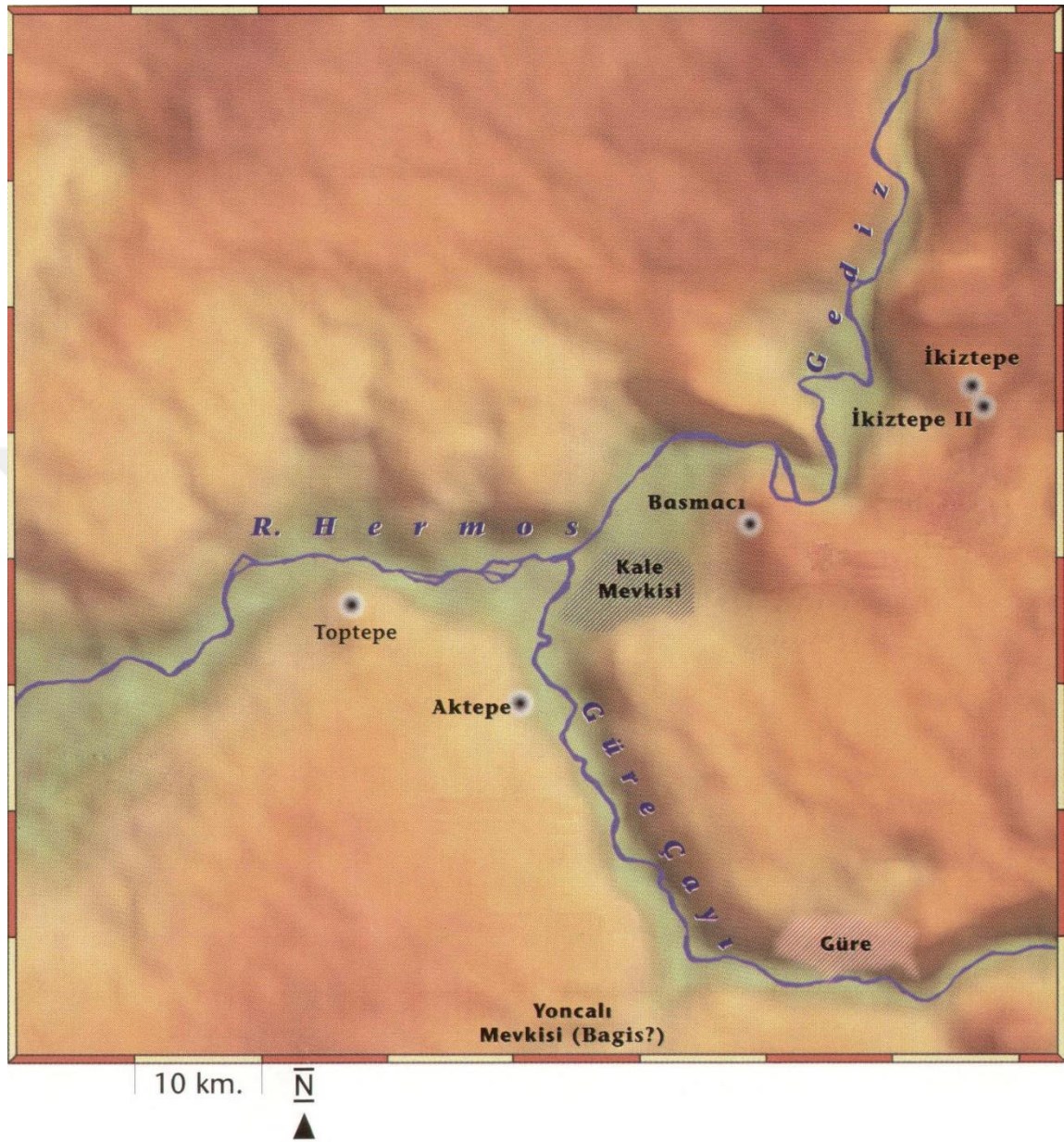
Map 1: Locations of tombs (Courtesy of Tuğçe Köseoğlu).



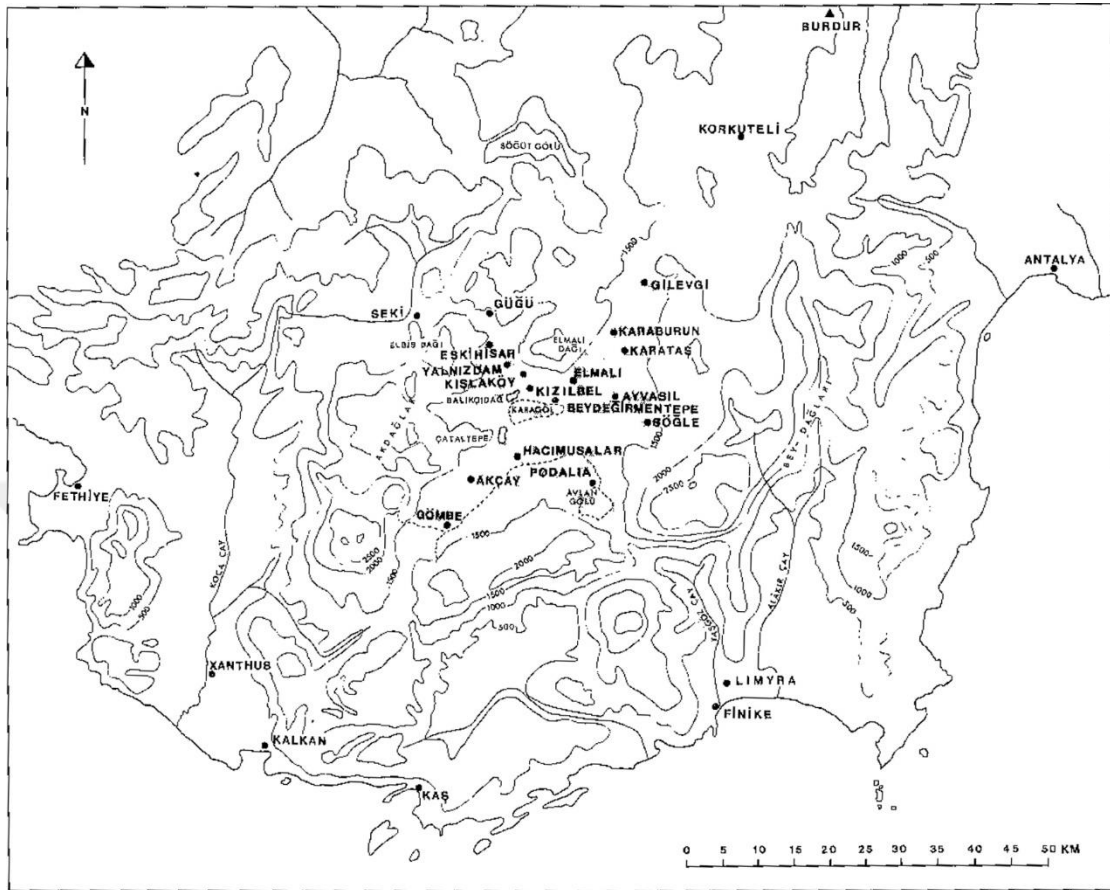
Map 2: Western Anatolia. Regions studied in the thesis. (Draycott, 2006: Map 1)



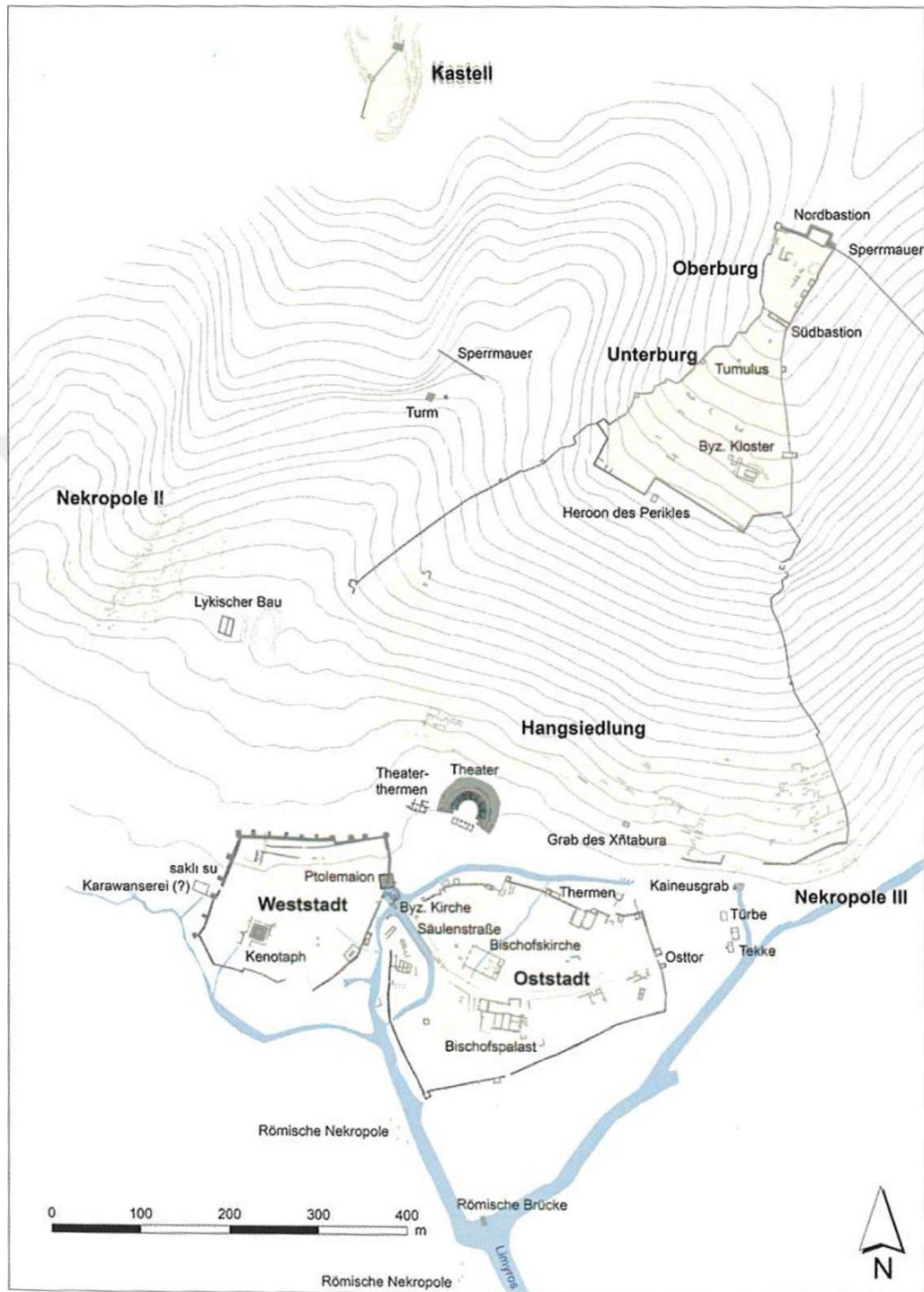
Map 3: Tatarlı and its environment (After Acar, 2010: 49).



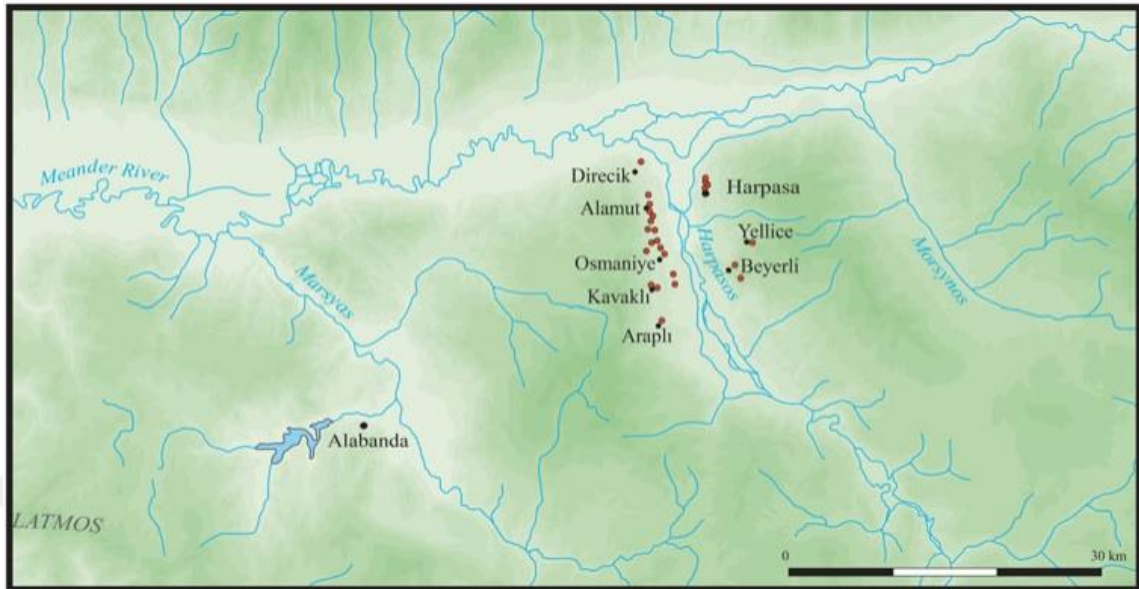
Map 4: The Güre tumuli (Özgen and Öztürk, 1996: 17).



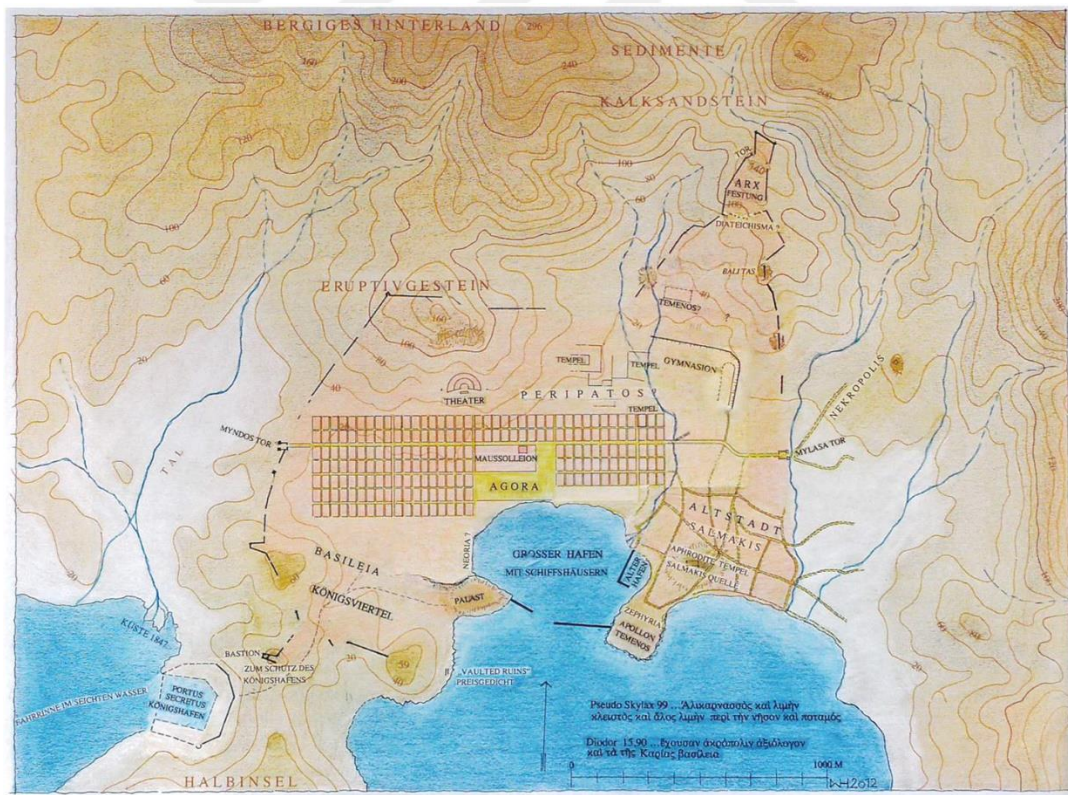
Map 5: Topographic map of Lycia, and the tombs relevant to the thesis (Mellink, 1998: Plate 1).



Map 6: Map of Limyra, showing the location of the Heroon (Seyer, 2016: 261, fig. 2).



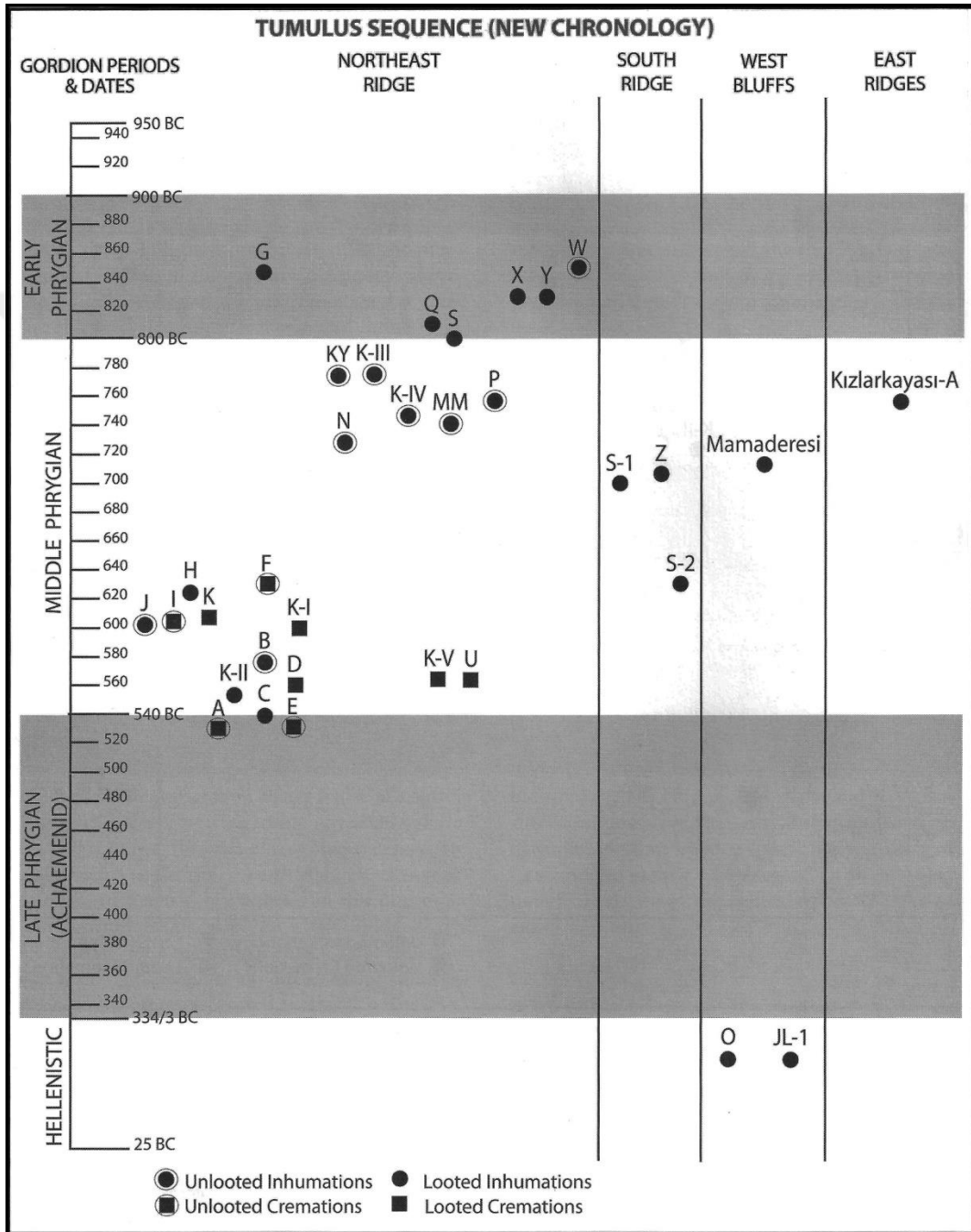
Map 7: Distribution map of tumuli in Northern Caria (Henry, 2016: plate 193).



Map 8: City layout of ancient Halicarnassus (Hoepfner, 2013: 42, fig. 18).

TABLES

Table 1: New chronology of Gordion tumuli (Courtesy of Richard Liebhart).



FIGURES



Figure 1: The Tatarlı tomb chamber's reconstruction (Emmerling, Demeter and Knidlberger, 2010: 259, fig. 32).



Figure 2: The reconstructed paintings in the Tatarlı tomb chamber/The North wall (Summerer, 2010: fig. 17).



Figure 3: Weapon dancers in the Tatarlı Tomb Chamber (Summerer, 2010: 123, fig. 2a).



Figure 4: Cattle of Geryon and Herakles frieze in the Tatarlı Tomb Chamber (Summerer, 2010: 146-7, fig. 18).

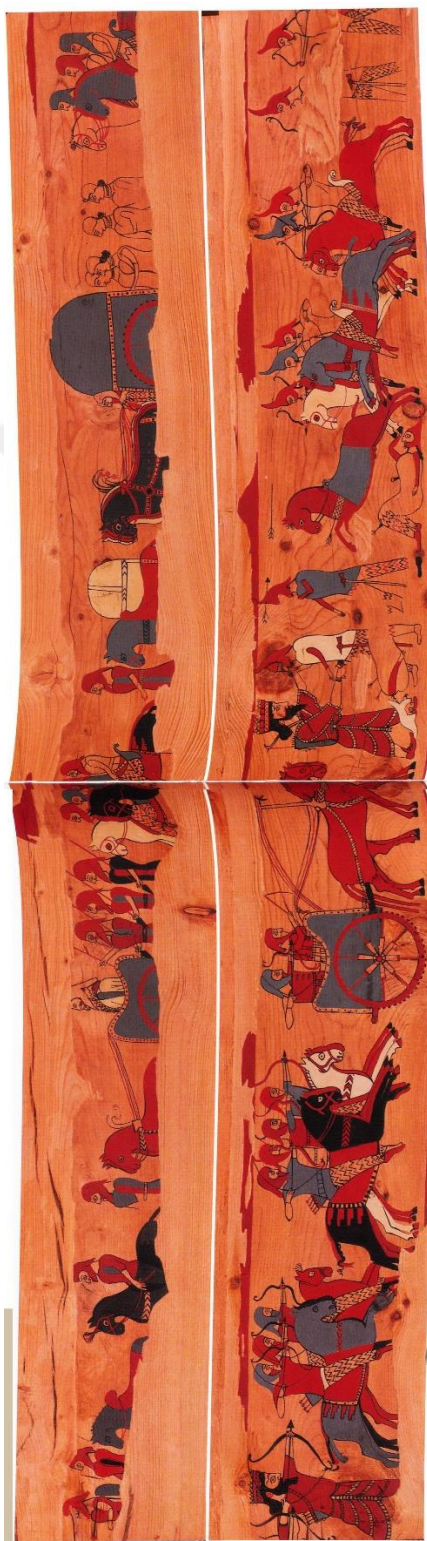


Figure 5: The paintings on the East wall in the Tatarlı tomb chamber (Emmerling, Adelfinger and Reischl, 2010: 226-7, fig. 24).



Figure 6: The chariot rider at the back in the Tatarlı tomb chamber (Summerer, 2010: 151, fig. 24a).



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Figure 7: Women attendants of the procession in the Tatarlı tomb chamber (Summerer, 2010: 155, fig. 26).



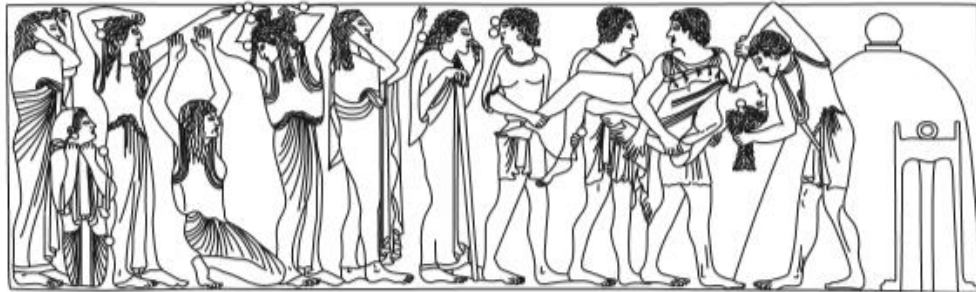
Figure 8: The combat scene among the Persian leader and his enemy in the Tatarlı tomb chamber (<https://tarihvearkeoloji.blogspot.com/2014/08/tatarli-ve-lale-tepe-lydia-kurganlari.html>)



Figure 9: The Polyxena Sarcophagus (Rose, 2013: 76, fig. 3.3).



3.7. Side A of the Polyxena Sarcophagus: the sacrifice of Polyxena. Çanakkale Archaeological Museum. Troia slide 19937.



3.8. Drawing of side A of the Polyxena Sarcophagus, by Kate Clayton, based on an original by Nurtan Sevinç. The circles represent small drill holes. Çanakkale Archaeological Museum. Troy Excavation Project drawing.

Figure 10: The Polyxena Sarcophagus, side A (Rose, 2013: 80, fig. 3.7 and 3.8).

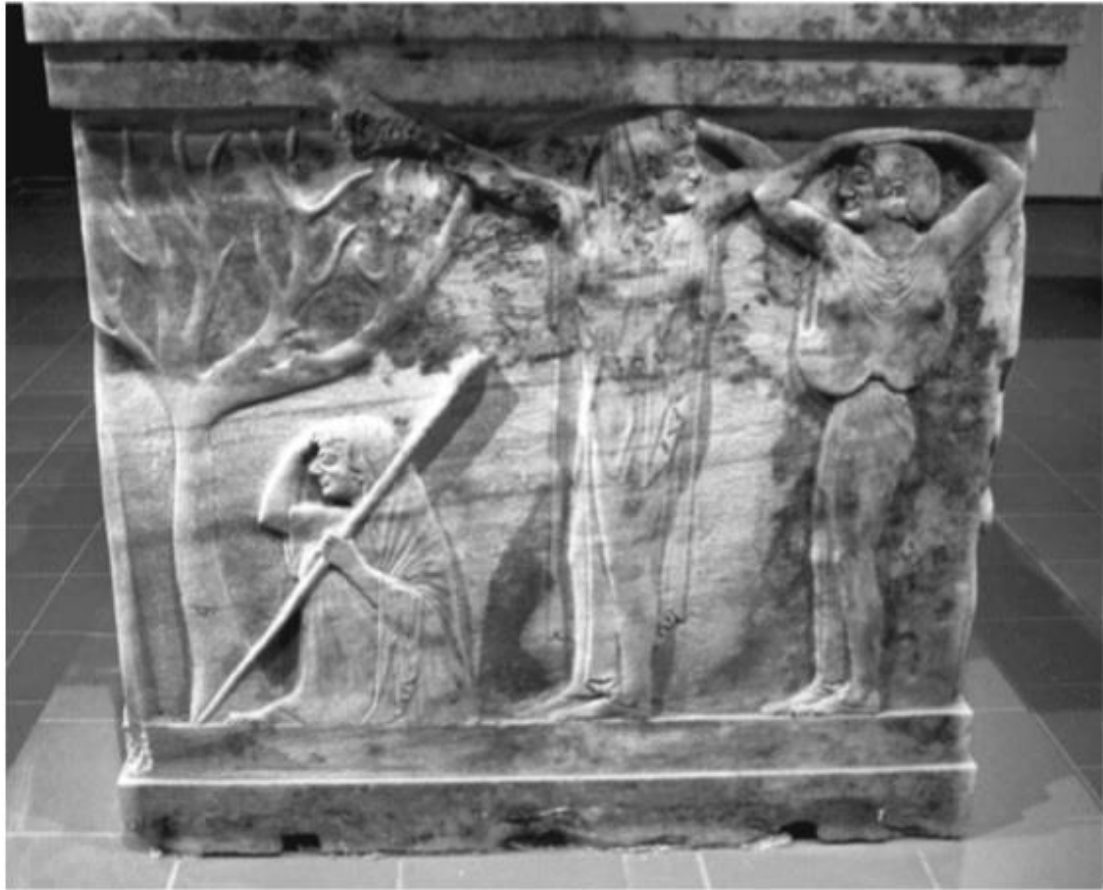
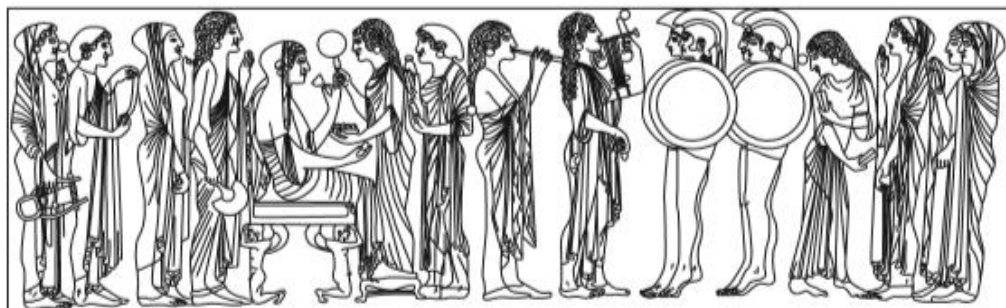


Figure 11: The Polyxena Sarcophagus, side B (Rose, 2013: 84, fig. 3.11).



3.15. Drawing of side C of the Polyxena Sarcophagus, by Kate Clayton, based on an original by Nurten Sevinç. The circles outlined in black represent small drill holes. Çanakkale Archaeological Museum. Troy Excavation Project drawing.

Figure 12: The Polyxena Sarcophagus, side C (Rose, 2013: 89, fig. 3.15).



Figure 13: The Polyxena Sarcophagus, side D (Rose, 2013: 77, fig. 3.4).



4.1. The Child's Sarcophagus from the Kızöldün tumulus. Çanakkale Archaeological Museum. Troy Excavation Project photo.

Figure 14: The Child's Sarcophagus (Rose, 2013: 105, fig. 4.1)



Figure 15: The ladle found in the Child's Sarcophagus (Rose, 2013: 109, fig. 4.8).

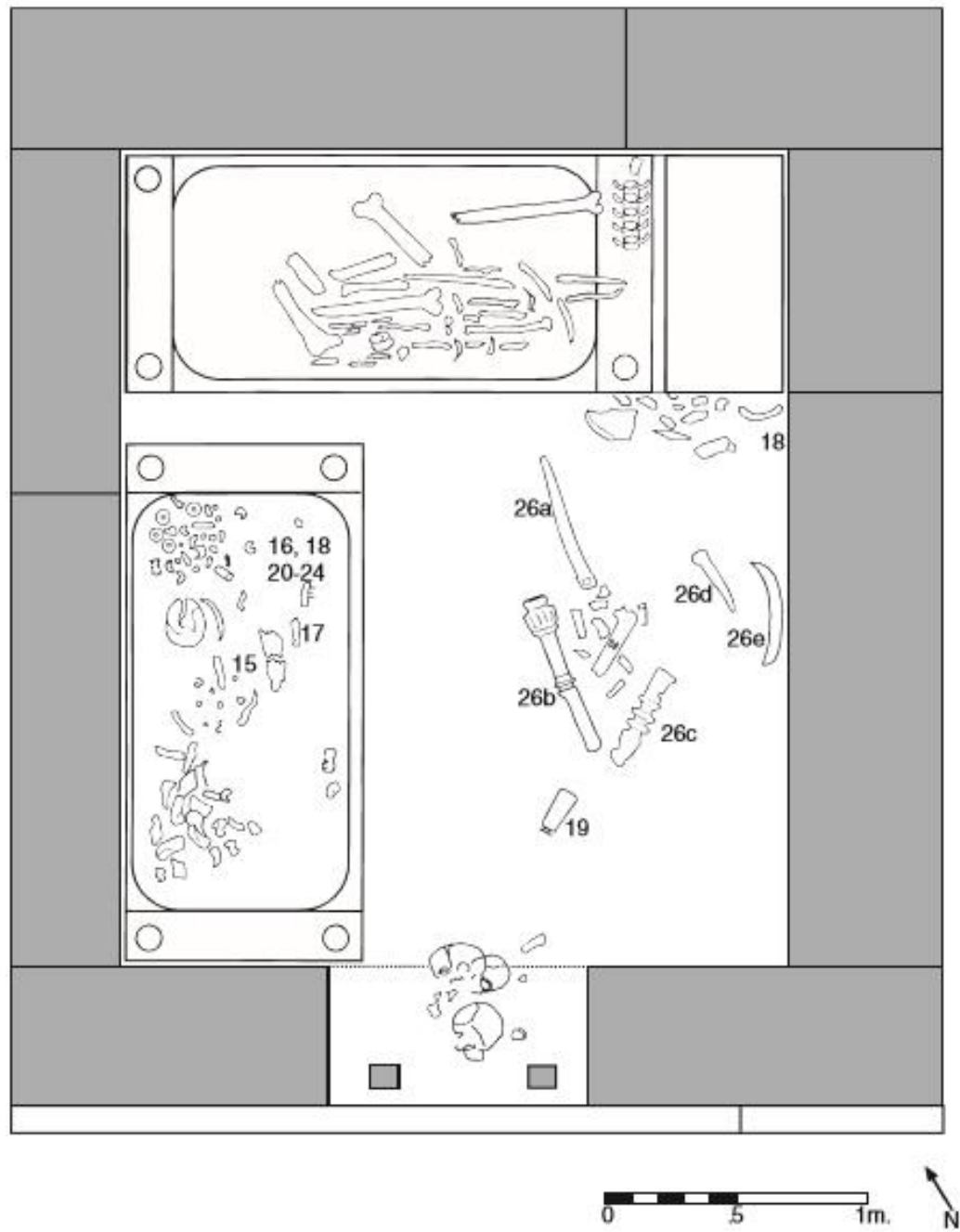


Figure 16: Plan of the Dedetepe tumulus chamber and contents (Rose, 2013: 121, fig. 5.5).

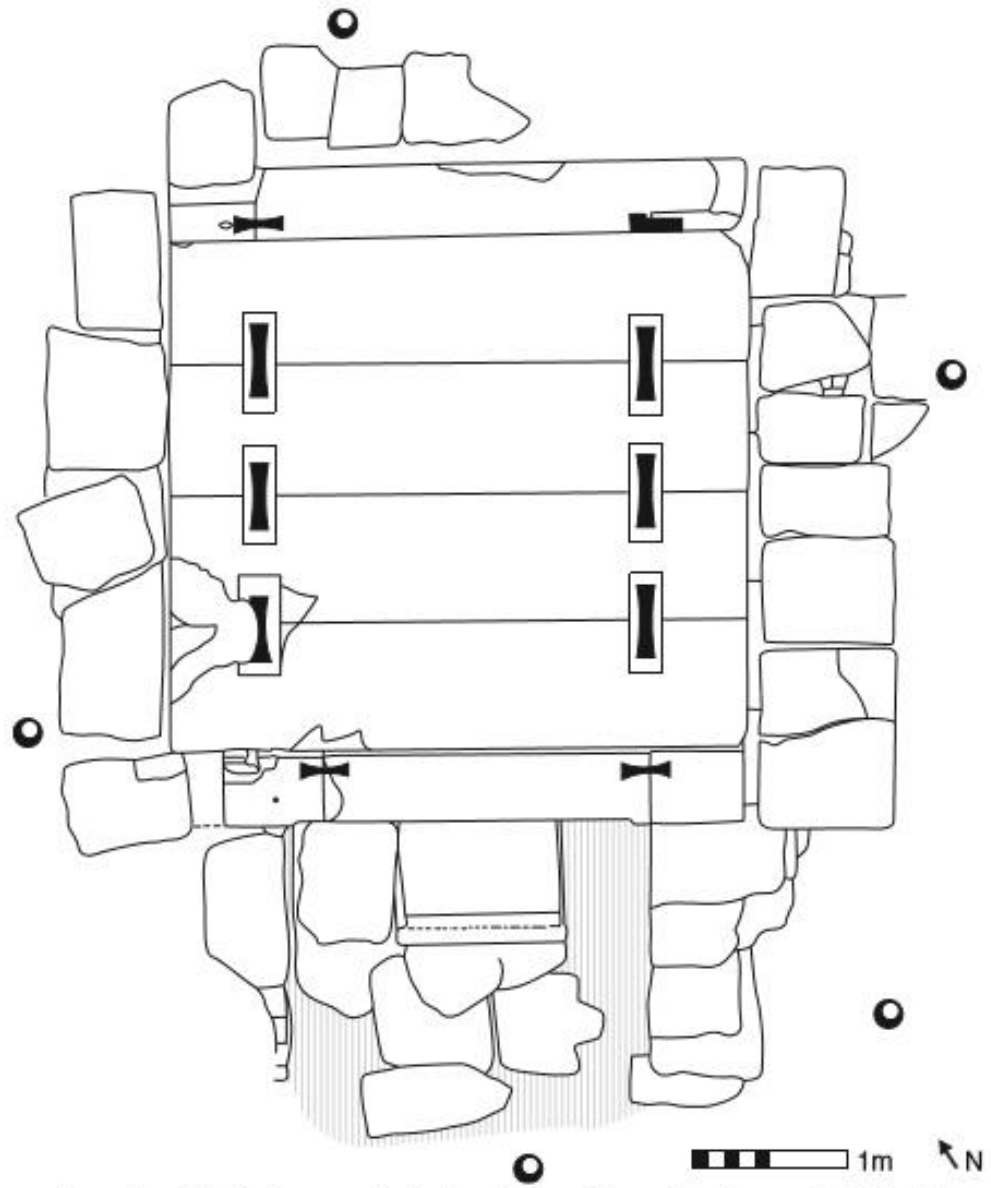


Figure 17: The Dedetepe tomb chamber (Rose, 2013: 119, fig. 5.3).



Figure 18: The Dedetepe klinai (Rose and Körpe, 2016: pl. 176).



Figure 19: The ivory protome from the Dedetepe tumulus chamber (Rose, 2013: 123, fig. 5.6).

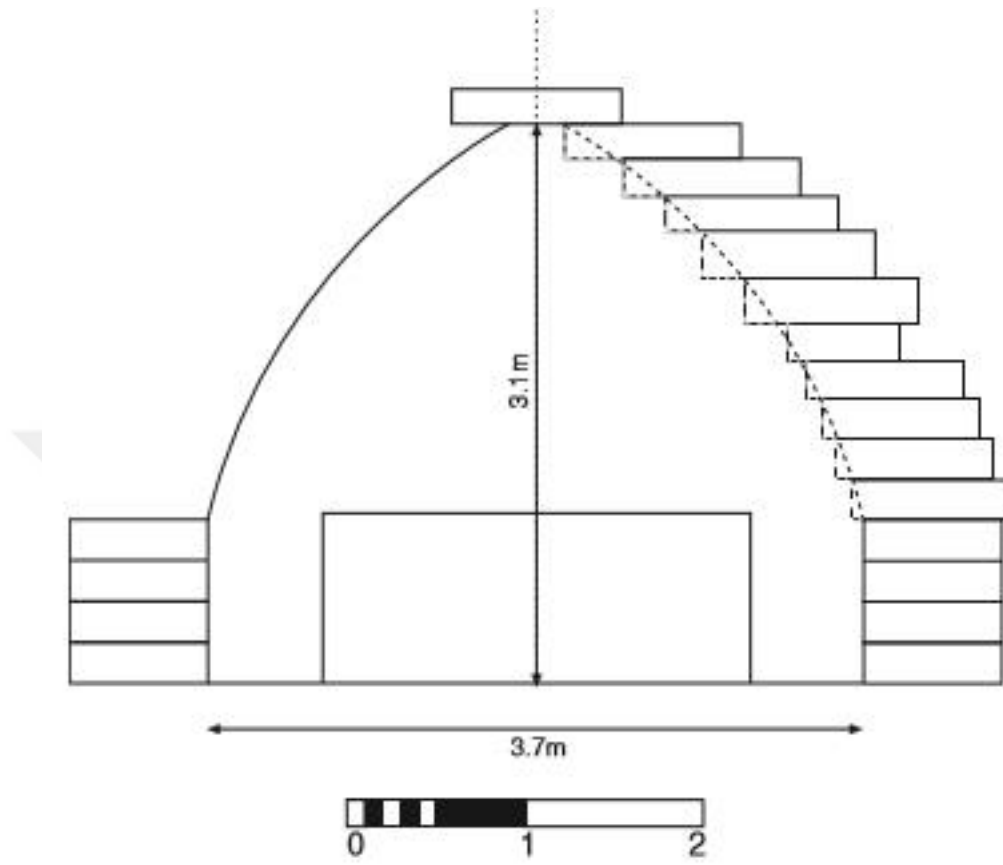


Figure 20: The Çan tumulus chamber (Rose, 2013: 130, fig. 6.1).

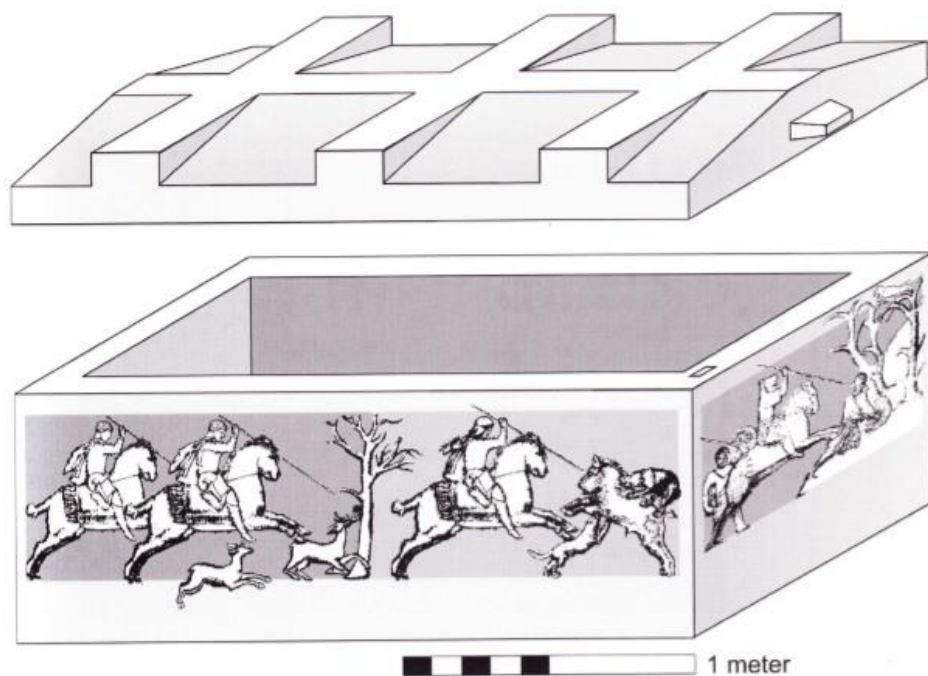


Figure 21: The hunt scene on the Çan Sarcophagus (Sevinç et al., 2001: 389, fig. 4).

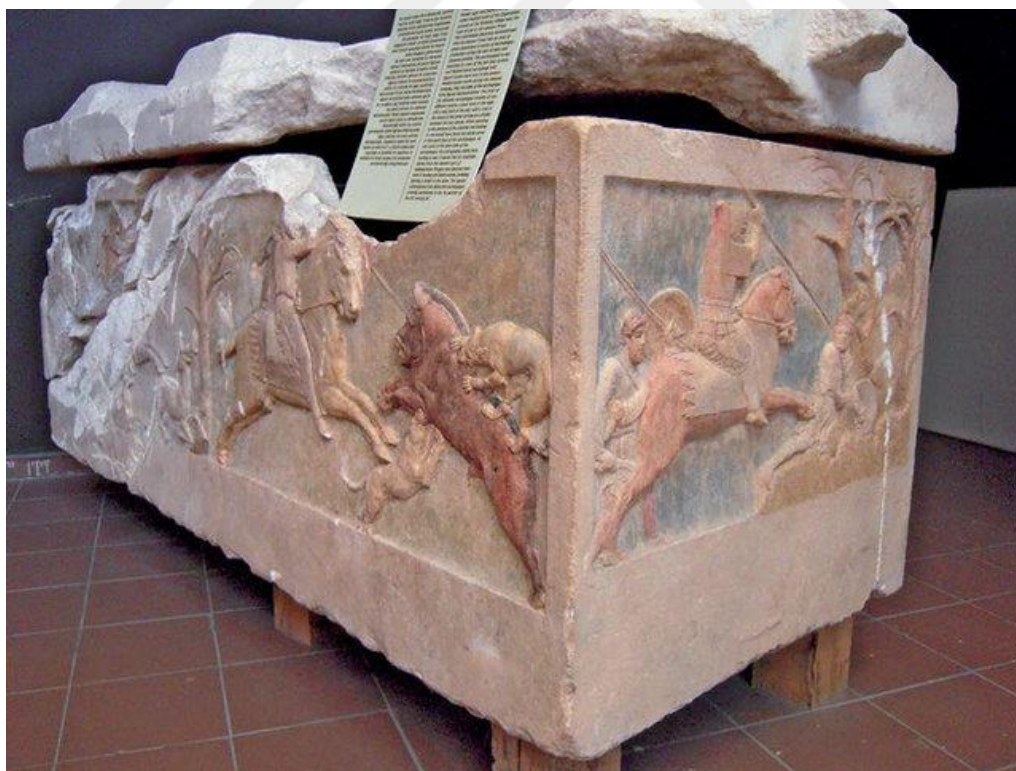


Figure 22: The Battle Scene on the Çan Sarcophagus (Rose and Körpe, 2016: pl. 177).



Figure 23: The Tomb of Cyrus at Pasargadae (<https://1.bp.blogspot.com/-LfVbI3PY0Qw/VXlgC2vuxQI/AAAAAAAAARuI/qZfsGB-pP6g/s1600/643%2BPasargadae%2BTomb%2Bof%2BCyrus.JPG>)

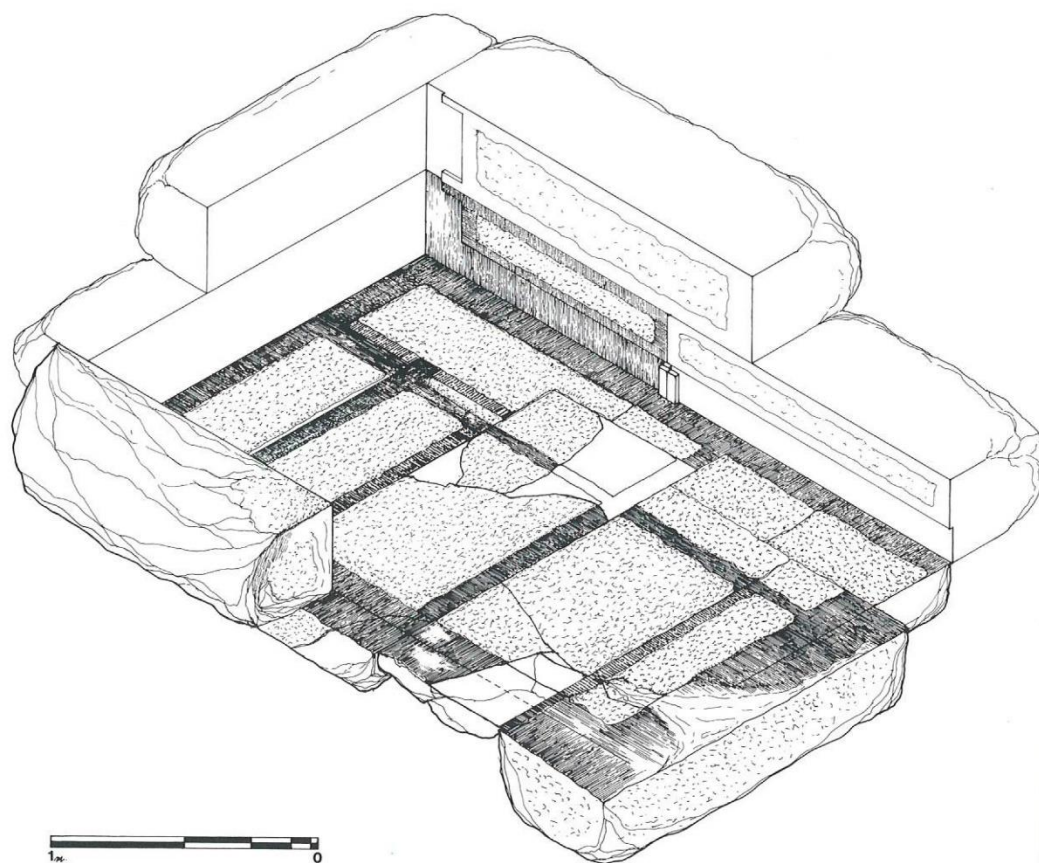


Fig. 12 Pyramid Tomb: Isometric view of chamber. Scale 1:25

Figure 24: The Pyramid Tomb at Sardis, drawing of the tomb chamber (Ratte, 1992: 152, fig. 12).

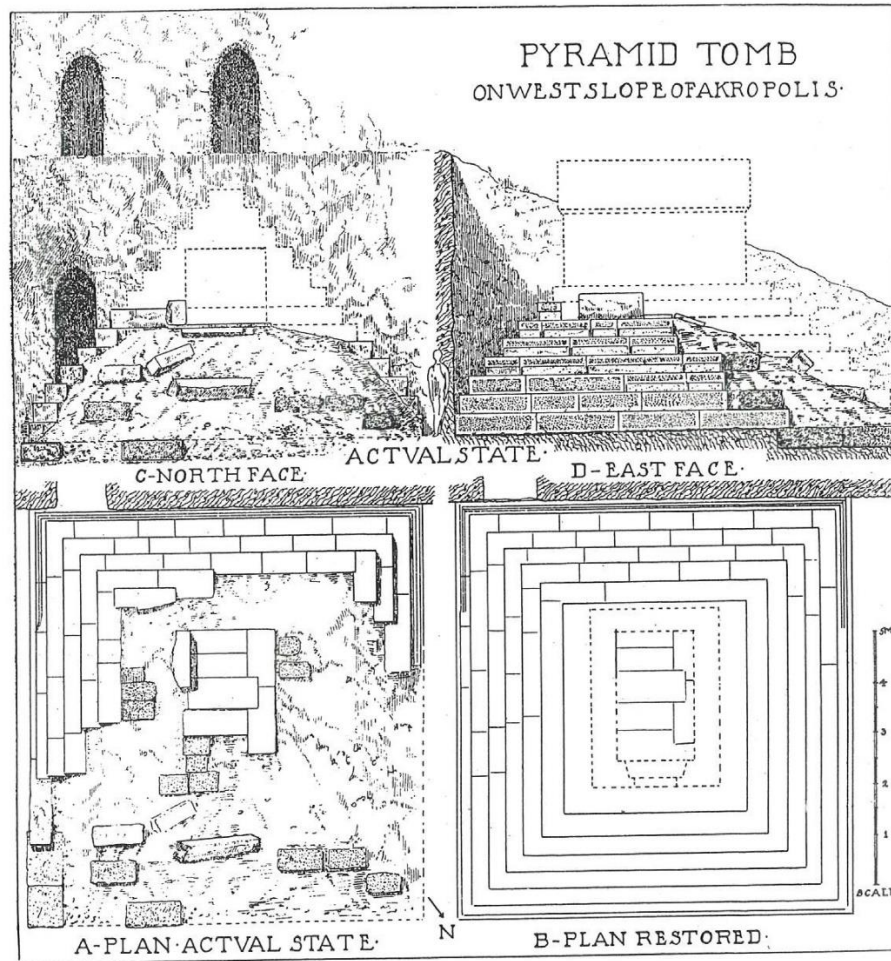


Fig. 13 Pyramid Tomb: Drawings published by H. C. Butler

Figure 25: The Pyramid Tomb, reconstruction by Butler (Ratte, 1992: 156, fig 13).

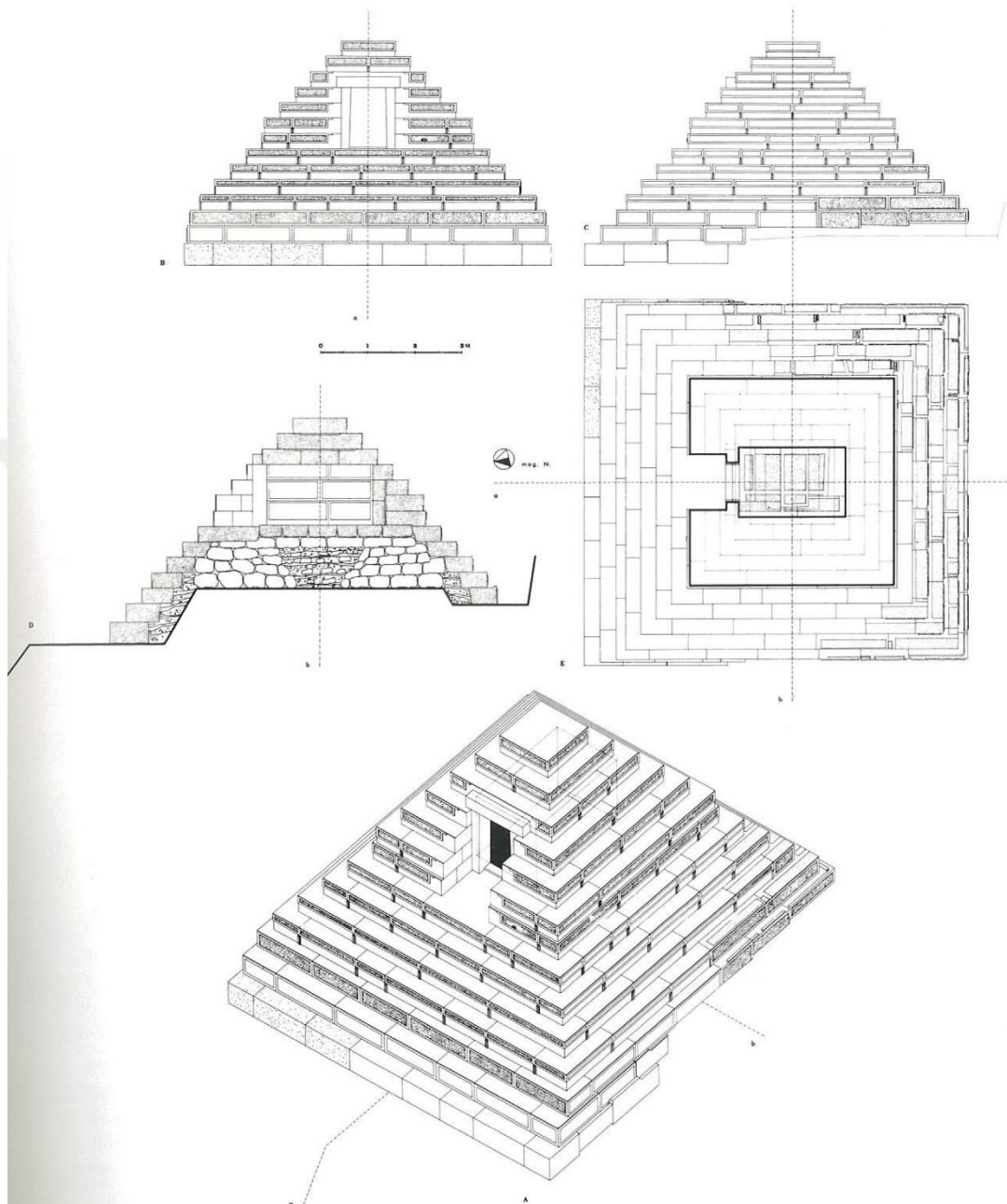


Fig. 14 Pyramid Tomb: Drawings by Sándor Kasper

Figure 26: The Pyramid Tomb, reconstruction by Kasper (Ratte, 1992: 157, fig. 14).



Figure 27: Lale Tepe, general view (Roosevelt, 2008:2, fig. 2)

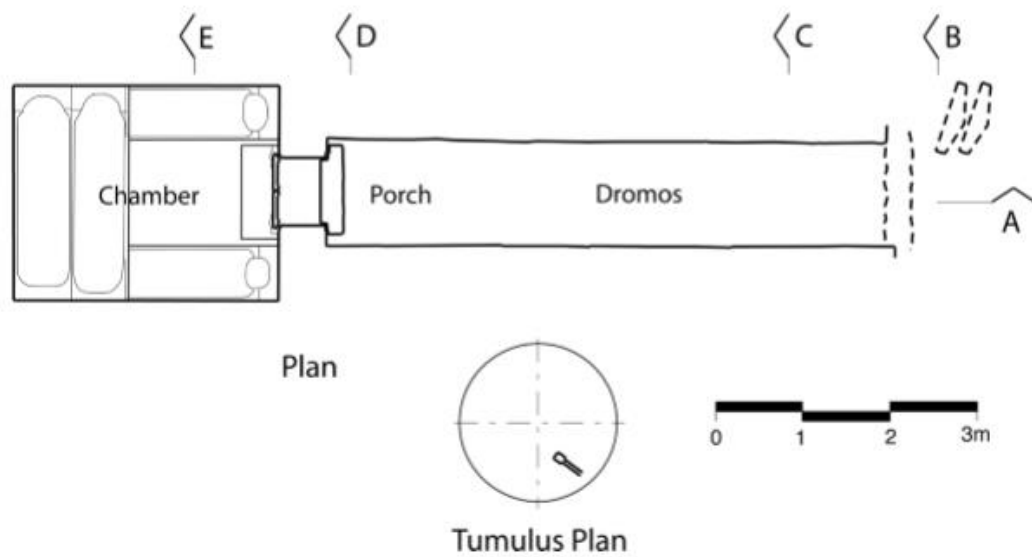


Figure 28: Plan of the Lale Tepe complex with distinct contexts recovered (After Roosevelt, 2008:4, fig. 3).

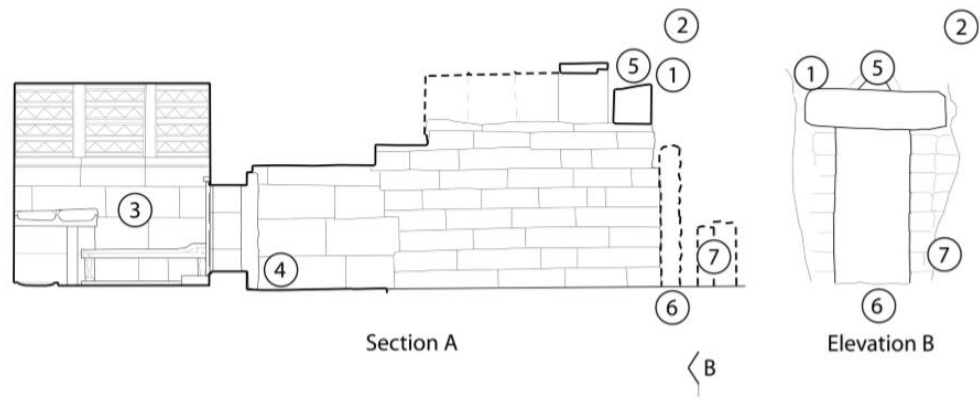


Figure 29: Plan of the Lale Tepe complex, profile (After Roosevelt, 2008: 4, fig. 4).

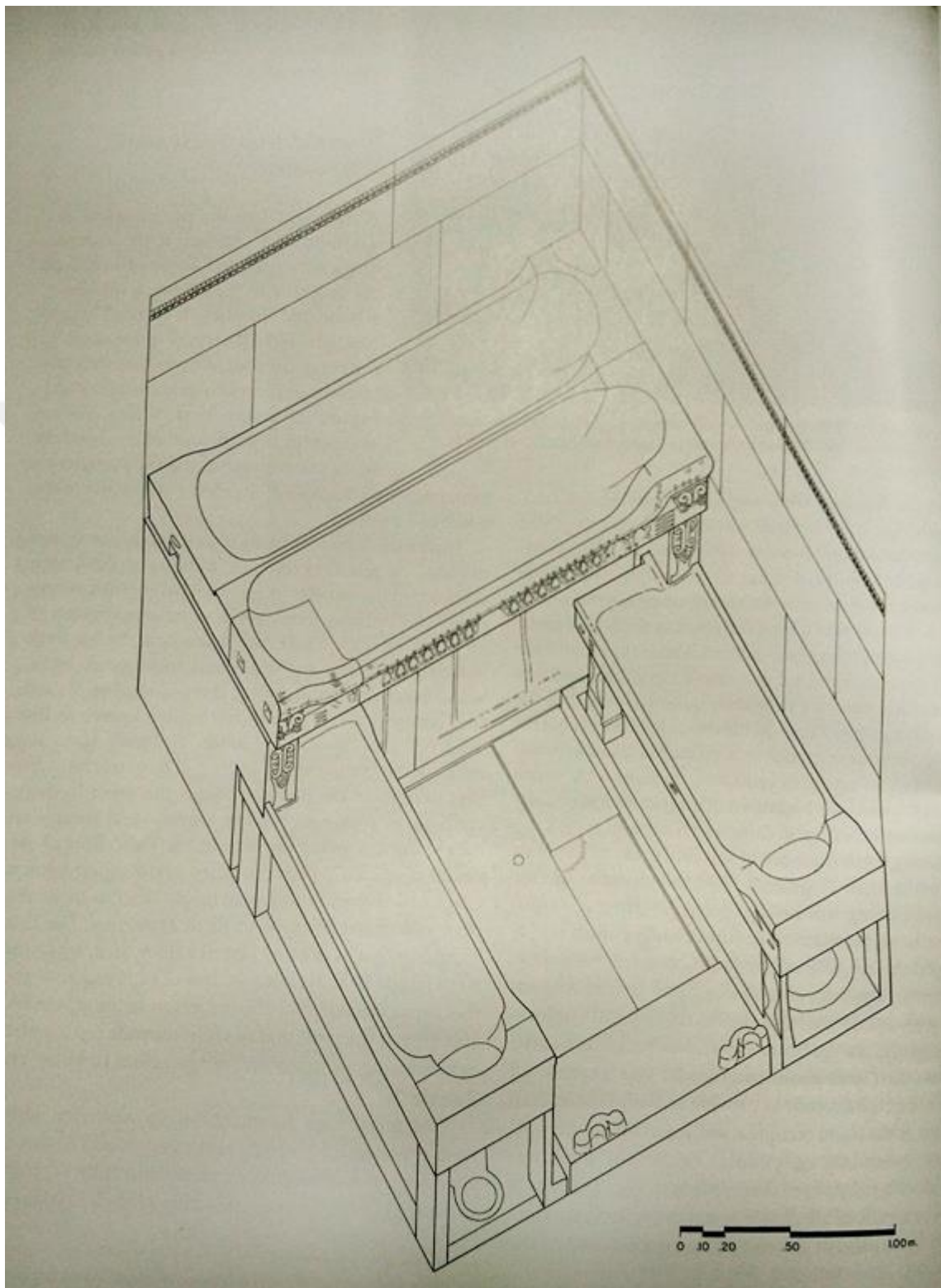


Figure 30: The Lale Tepe tumulus chamber, drawing (Roosevelt, 2008: 8, fig. 8).



Figure 31: The Lale Tepe tumulus chamber digitally rendered
(<https://ids.lib.harvard.edu/ids/view/400954808>)



Figure 32: Harta tumulus view, looking north (Özgen and Öztürk., 1996: 36, fig. 57).

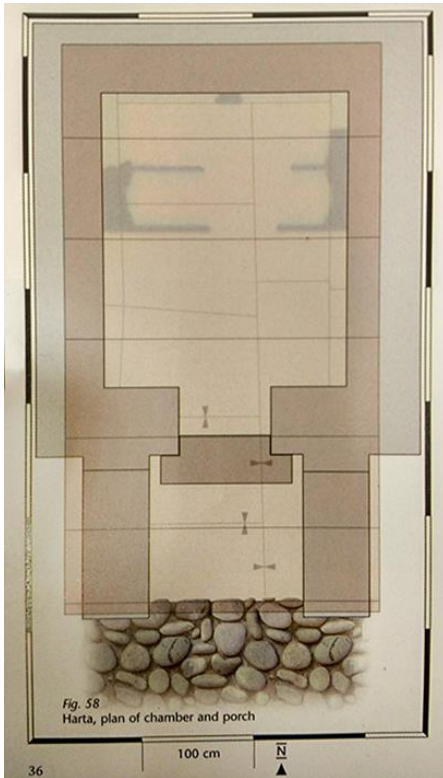


Figure 33: The Harta chamber plan (Özgen and Öztürk, 1996:36).

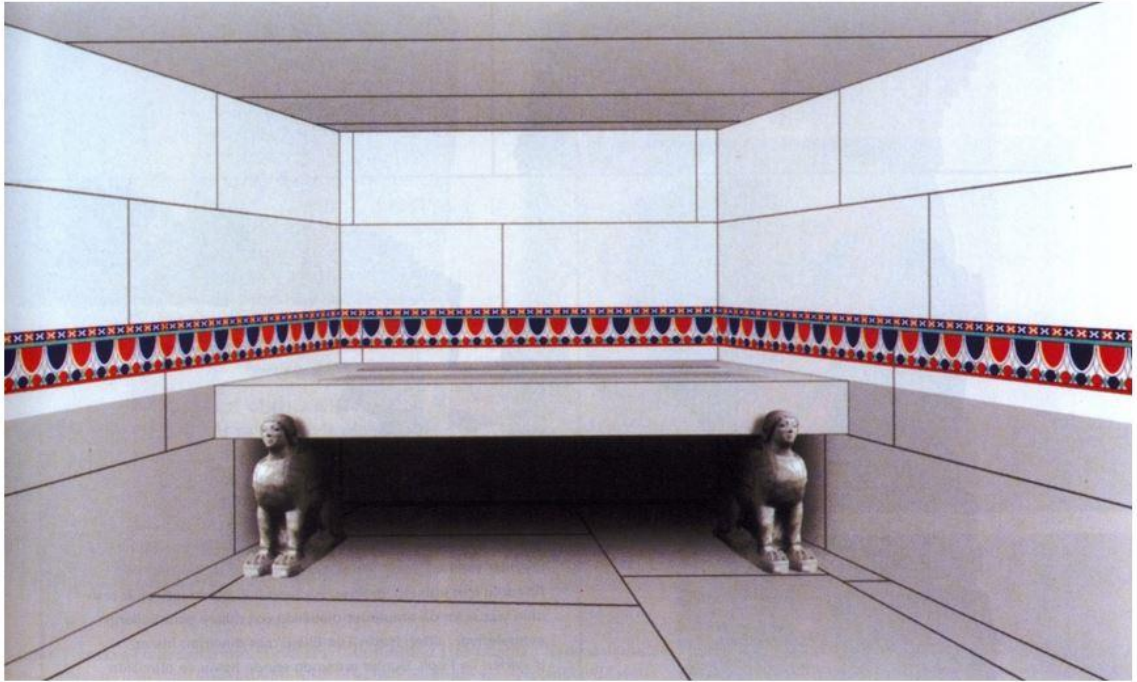


Figure 34: Kline inside the Harta tumulus chamber (Özgen and Öztürk, 1996: 37, fig. 60).



Figure 35: Figures on wall paintings in the Harta tumulus chamber (Özgen and Öztürk, 1996, cat. 2 and 3).



Figure 36: Tribute bearers in Apadana reliefs (Miller, 2013: 35: fig. 2).

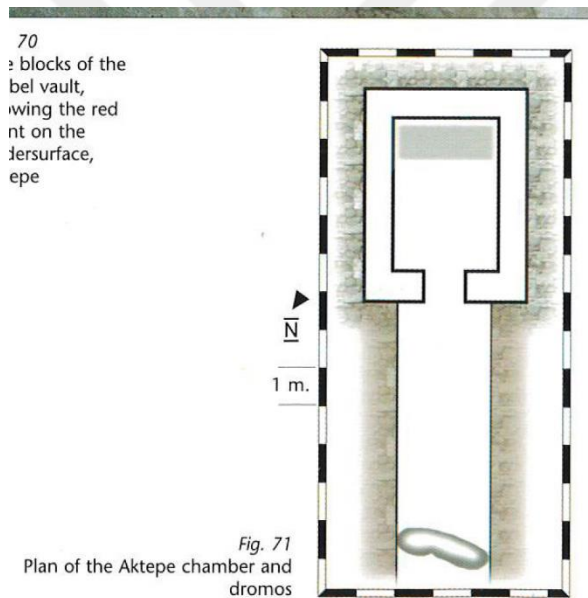


Figure 37: The plan of Aktepe chamber and dromos (Özgen and Öztürk, 1996: 40, fig. 71).



Figure 38: The entrance of the Aktepe chamber (Özgen and Öztürk, 1996: 41, fig. 72).

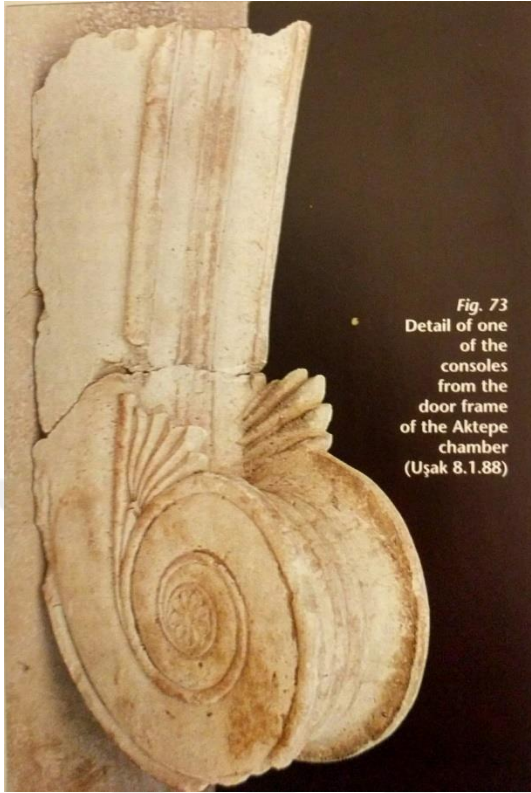


Fig. 73
Detail of one
of the
consoles
from the
door frame
of the Aktepe
chamber
(Uşak 8.1.88)

Figure 39: The door frame of the Aktepe chamber (Özgen and Öztürk, 1996: 41, fig. 73).



Figure 40: The reconstruction of the Aktepe chamber (Özgen and Öztürk, 1996: 44, fig. 82).

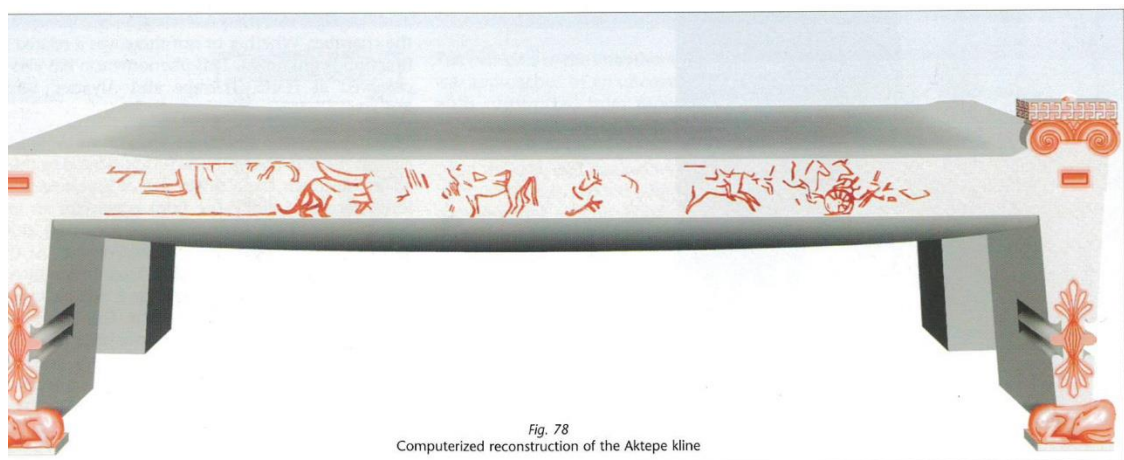


Figure 41: The painted kline from the Aktepe tumulus chamber (Özgen and Öztürk, 1996: 42, fig. 78).



Figure 42: Detail of battle at Aktepe kline rail (Baughan, 2010b: 28, fig. 8).



Figure 43: Aktepe wall painting figure (Özgen and Öztürk, 1996: 43, fig. 79).

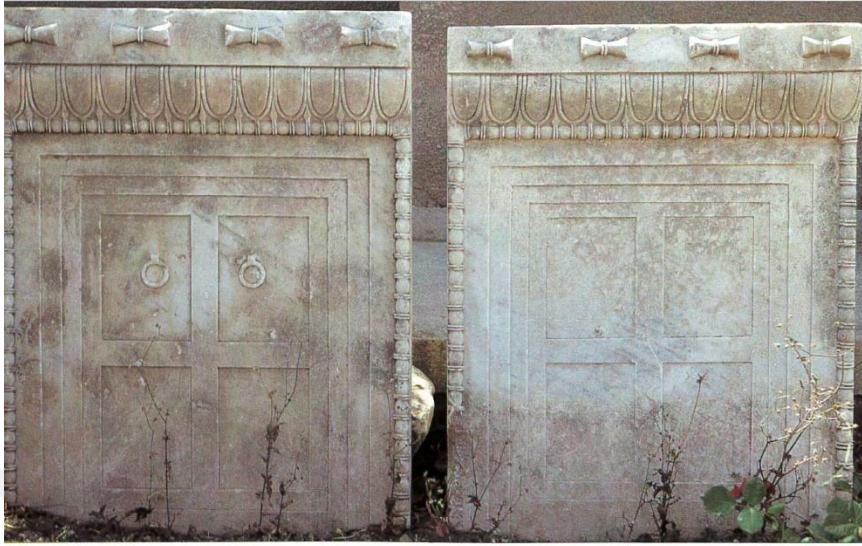


Fig. 101
Symbolic doors from the
İkiztepe tumulus

Uşak 21.32.82
(height 1.25 m.; width 0.95 m.;
thickness at top 25 cm.;
thickness at bottom 17 cm.)

Uşak 21.33.82
(height 1.23 m.; width 94 cm.;
thickness at top 18 cm.;
thickness at bottom 16 cm.)

Figure 44: İkiztepe symbolic doors (Özgen and Öztürk, 1996: 50, fig. 101).

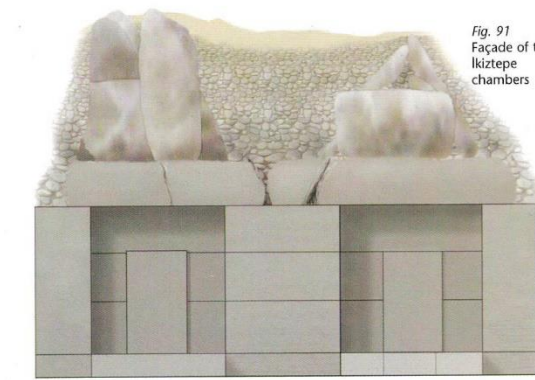


Fig. 91
Façade of the
İkiztepe
chambers

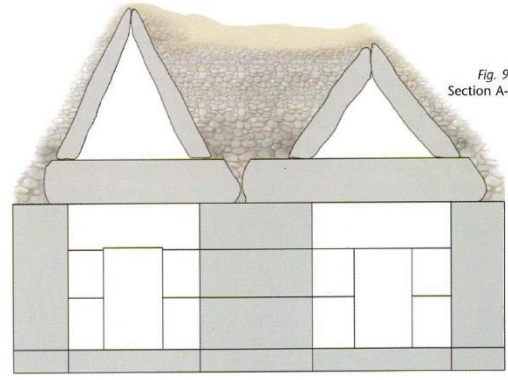


Fig. 94
Section A-A

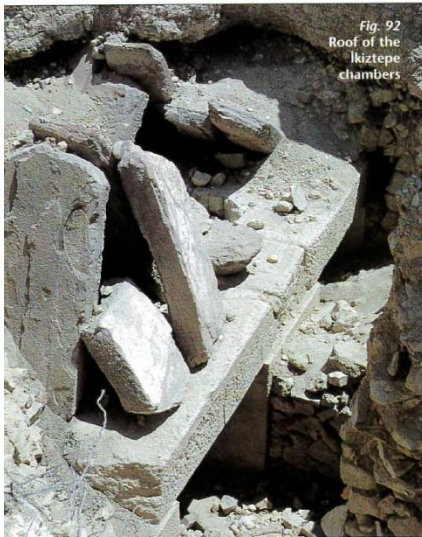


Fig. 92
Roof of the
İkiztepe
chambers

Fig. 93
Plan of the
İkiztepe
chambers

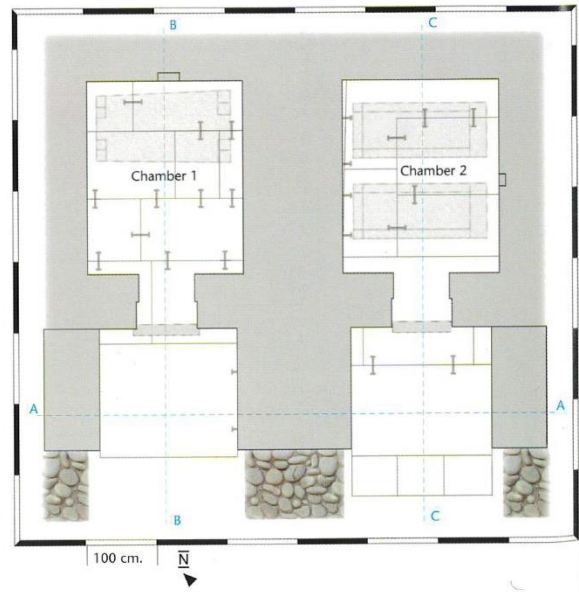
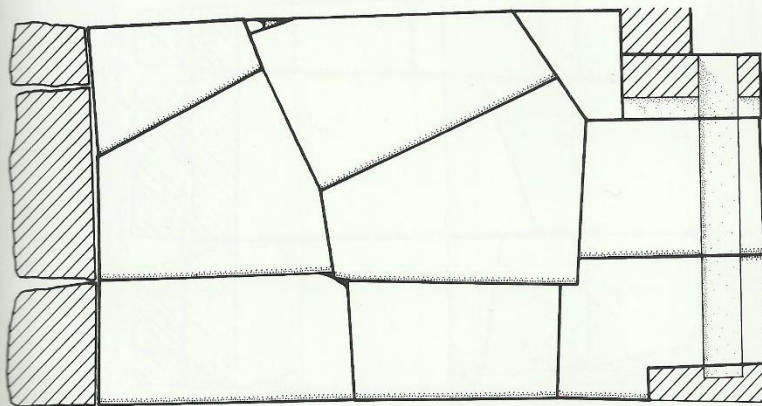
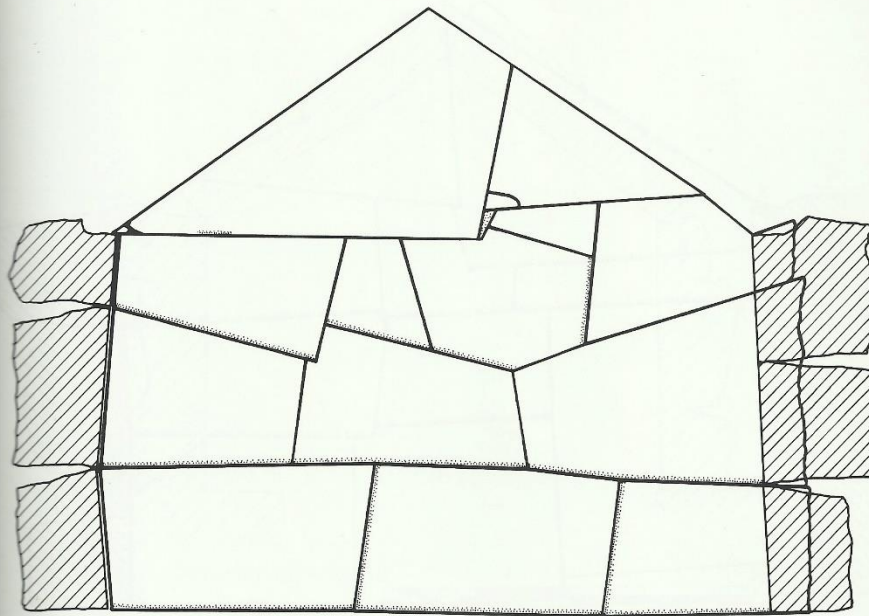


Figure 45: İkiztepe tomb complex, drawing (Özgen and Öztürk, 1996: 48, fig. 91-4).

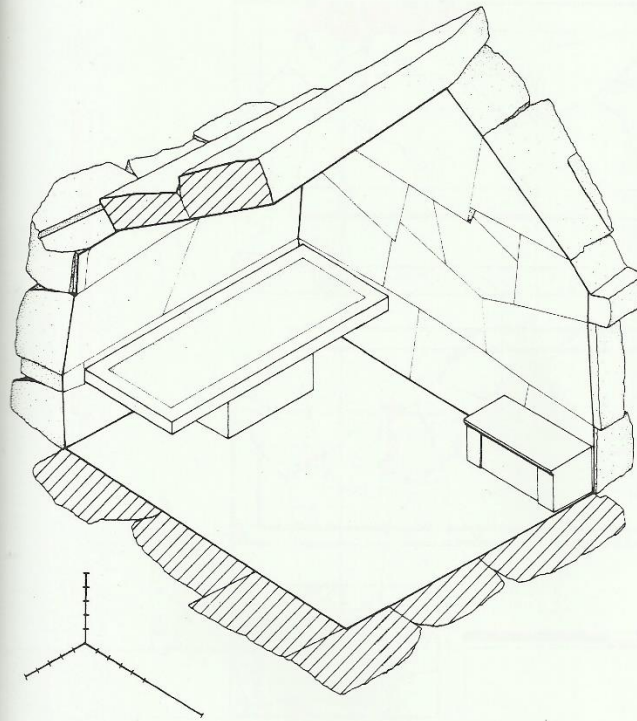


Figure 46: Silver Oinochoe with a nude male handle
(<https://ids.lib.harvard.edu/ids/view/25090127>)

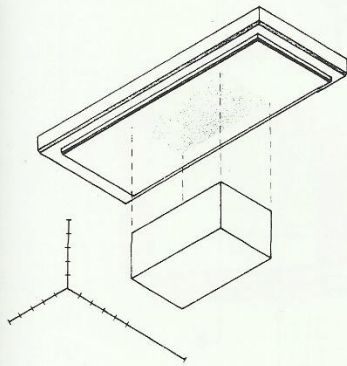


Drawing of North and East walls showing bevels

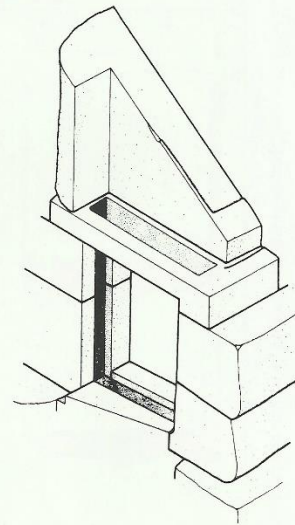
Figure 47: The Kızılbel tomb chamber (Mellink, 1998: pl. 3).



A. Isometric cutaway view of tomb chamber with furniture in position



B. Isometric drawing of kline and pedestal



C. Isometric drawing of door system

Figure 48: Kızılbey architectural features (Mellink, 1998: pl. 7).

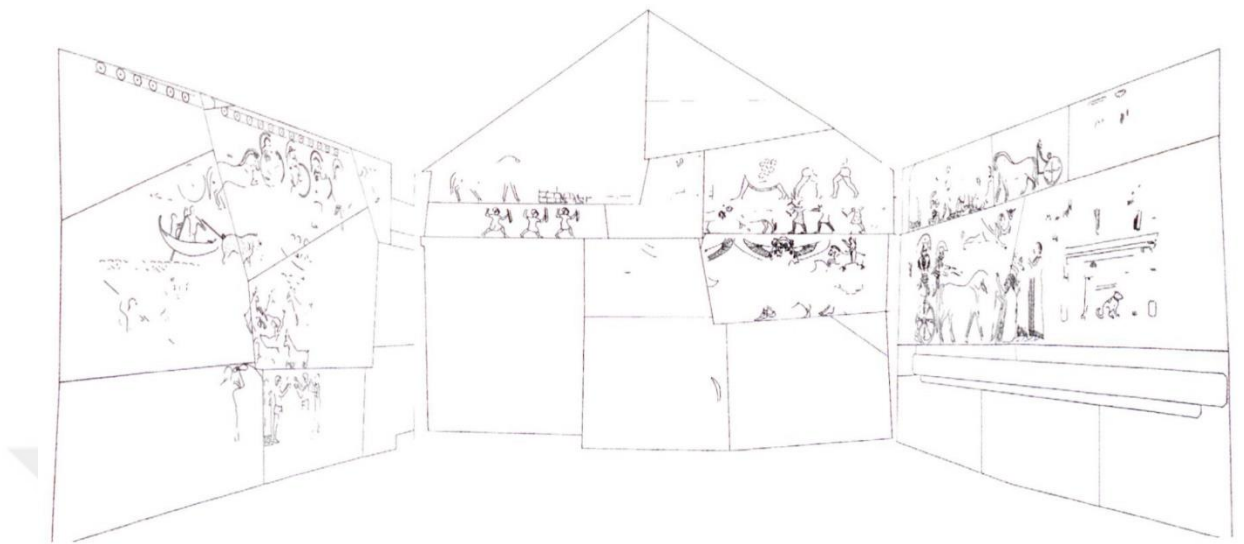


Figure 49: Reconstruction of the Kızılbel chamber paintings (Miller, 2010: 319, fig. 1).

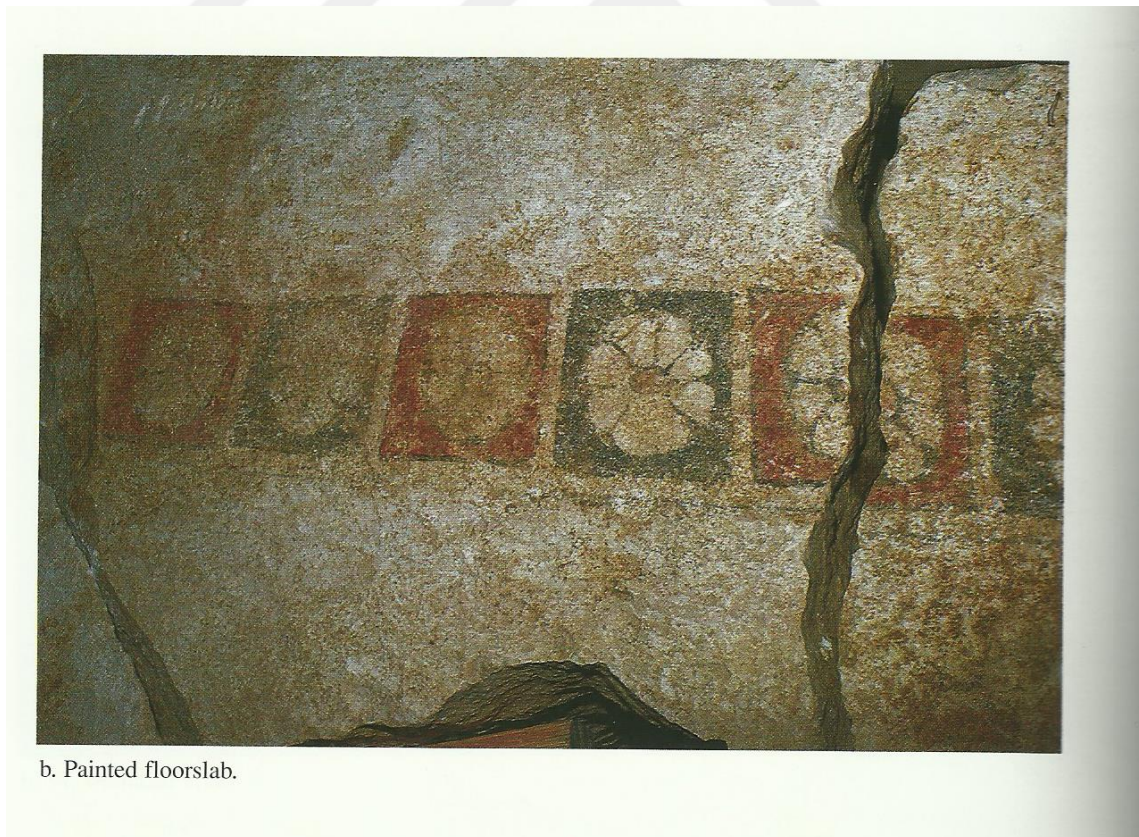


Figure 50: Paintings on the floor, resembling Phrygian textiles (Mellink, 1998: pl. XXXIIb).



West wall view with restored kline.

Figure 51: Paintings on West wall and kline (Mellink, 1998: pl. VII).



Figure 52: Kizilbel: painted tomb: West wall, the Departure of the warrior.

(https://library.artstor.org/asset/ARTSTOR_103_41822000433415)



North wall view in 1977

Figure 53: Paintings on the North wall (Mellink, 1998: pl. 31).

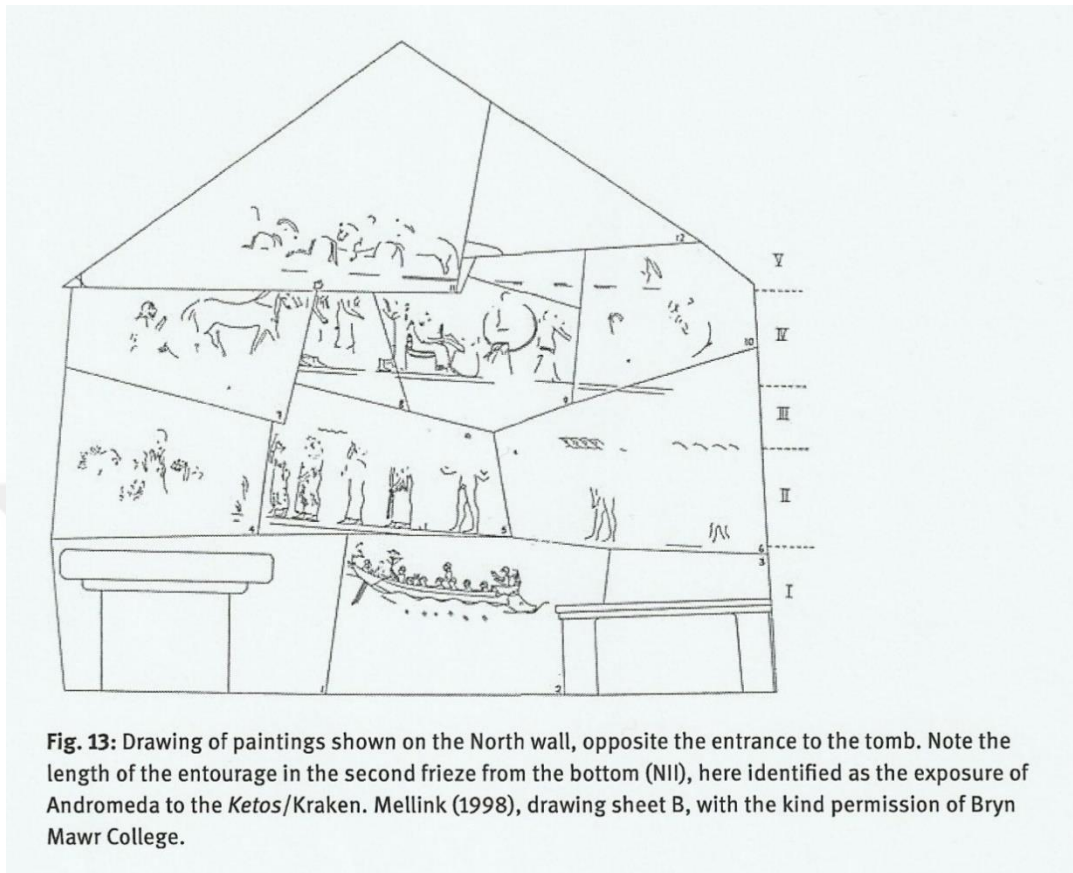


Figure 54: Digitized paintings of the North wall (Draycott, 2018: 55, fig. 13).

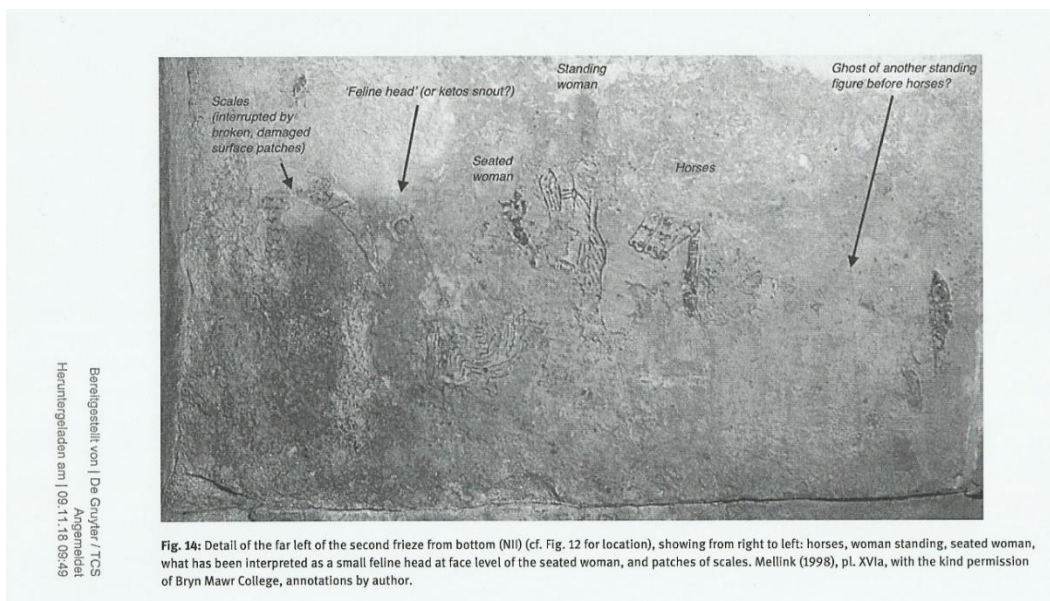


Figure 55: North wall painting depicting a tribute receiving seated woman (Draycott, 2018: 56, fig. 14).



Figure 56: Scenes of Troilos and Achilles, and the hunters

(https://library.artstor.org/asset/BRYN_MAWR_955_955_1681077)

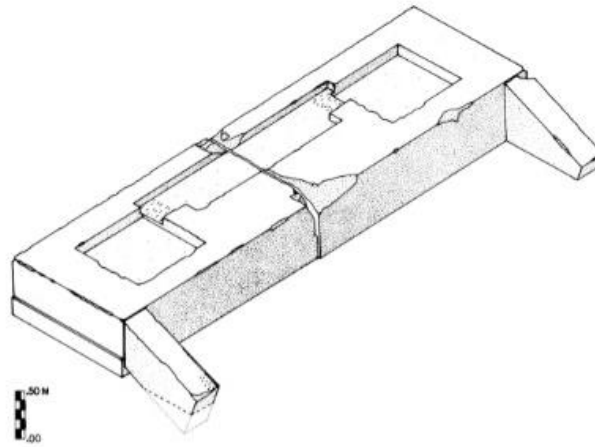


a. S4, Gorgons, Medusa, Pegasus, Chrysaor.



b. S4, head of Gorgon.

Figure 57: Gorgons, Medusa, Pegasus, Chrysaor (Mellink, 1998: pl. XXVII)

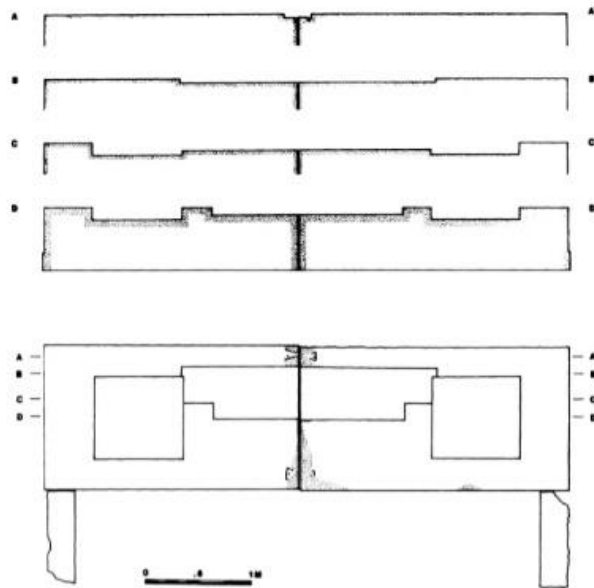


ILL. 3. Isometric view of Karaburun platform

1975]

EXCAVATIONS AT KARATAŞ-SEYAYUK

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ILL. 2. Plan and sections of Karaburun platform

Figure 58: Karaburun II platform: Plan (Mellink, 1975: 351-2, ill. 2-3).



Figure 59: Reconstruction of the Karaburun II chamber
(<https://antalyaelmali.muzeler.gov.tr/EN-170949/karaburun.html>).



Figure 60: Karaburun II: General view of the paintings
(<https://antalyaelmali.muzeler.gov.tr/EN-170949/karaburun.html>).



Figure 61: Male dignitary on kline

(https://library.artstor.org/asset/BRYN_MAWR_955_955_1680978)



Figure 62: Servants on the North wall

(https://library.artstor.org/asset/BRYN_MAWR_955_955_1681014)



Figure 63: Combat scene on the North wall

(https://library.artstor.org/asset/BRYN_MAWR_955__955_1680999)



Figure 64: Convoy scene on the South wall

(https://library.artstor.org/asset/BRYN_MAWR_955__955_1680987)



Figure 65: The dignitary on the chariot

(https://library.artstor.org/asset/BRYN_MAWR_955_955_1680975)

Fig. 3:
Akropolis
savunma duvarı
© ÖAI

Defensive wall at the
acropolis
© ÖAI



Fig. 4a:
Perikle Heroonu'nun
modeli
© ÖAI

Model of the Heroon
of Pericle
© ÖAI

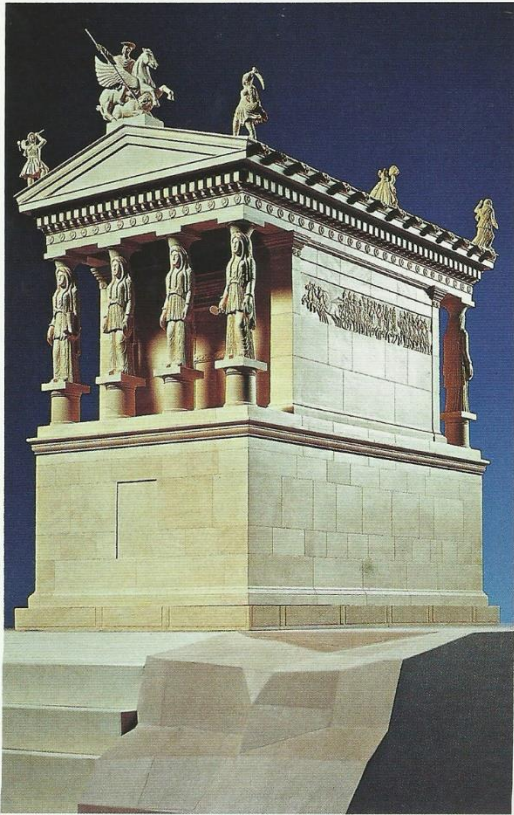


Fig. 4b:
Perikle
Heroonu'ndan
Karyatid
© ÖAI

Caryatid from the
Heroon of Pericle
© ÖAI

Fig. 4c:
Perikle
Heroonu'ndan friz
© ÖAI

Frieze from the
Heroon of Pericle
© ÖAI



Figure 66: Reconstruction of Pericle's Heroon on the left, a caryatid on the upper right, and a part of a frieze on the lower right (Seyer, 2016: 260, fig. 4).



Figure 67: Perseus holding Medusa's head, on an acroterion (Şare, 2013: 61, fig. 5).



Figure 68: Reconstruction of the West frieze (Borchhardt, 2016: 404-5, fig. 3).

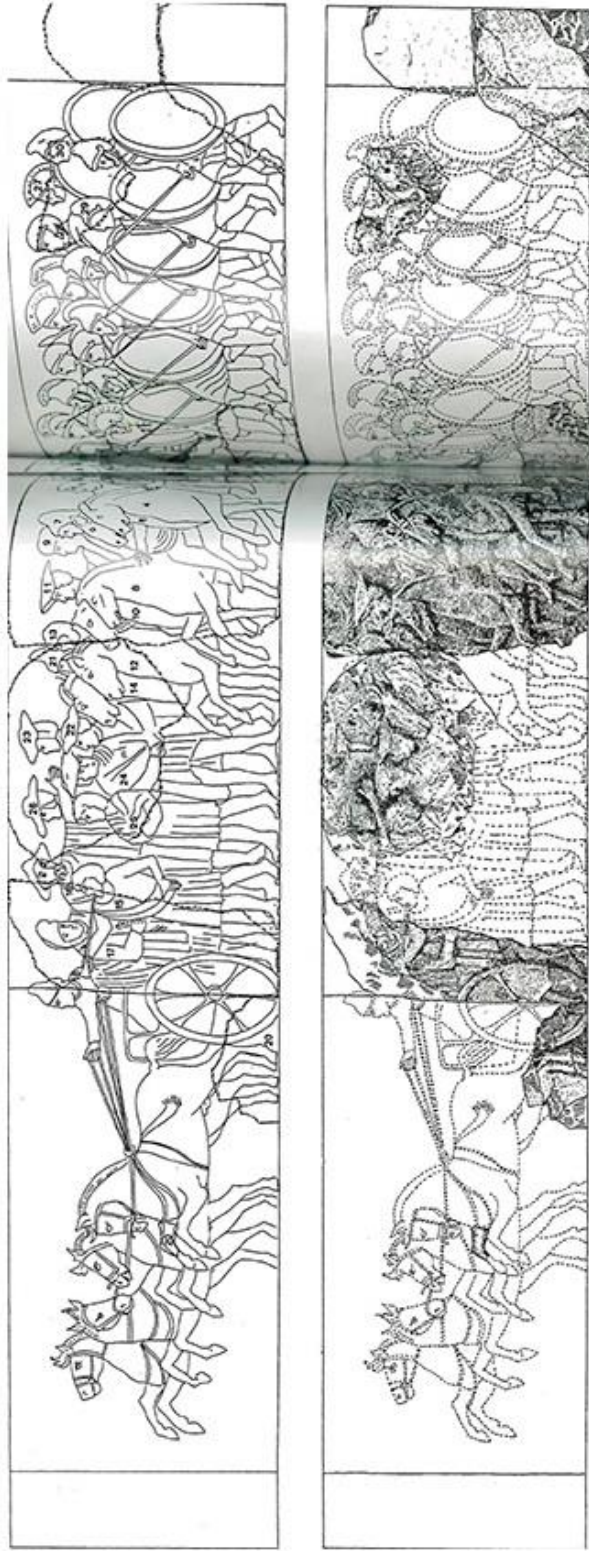


Figure 69: Reconstruction of the East frieze (Borchhardt, 2016: 406, fig. 5).



Figure 70: Model of the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus, reconstructed by K. Jeppesen (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mausoleum_at_Halicarnassus#/media/File:Mausoleum_at_Halicarnassus_at_the_Bodrum_Museum_of_Underwater_Archaeology.jpg).

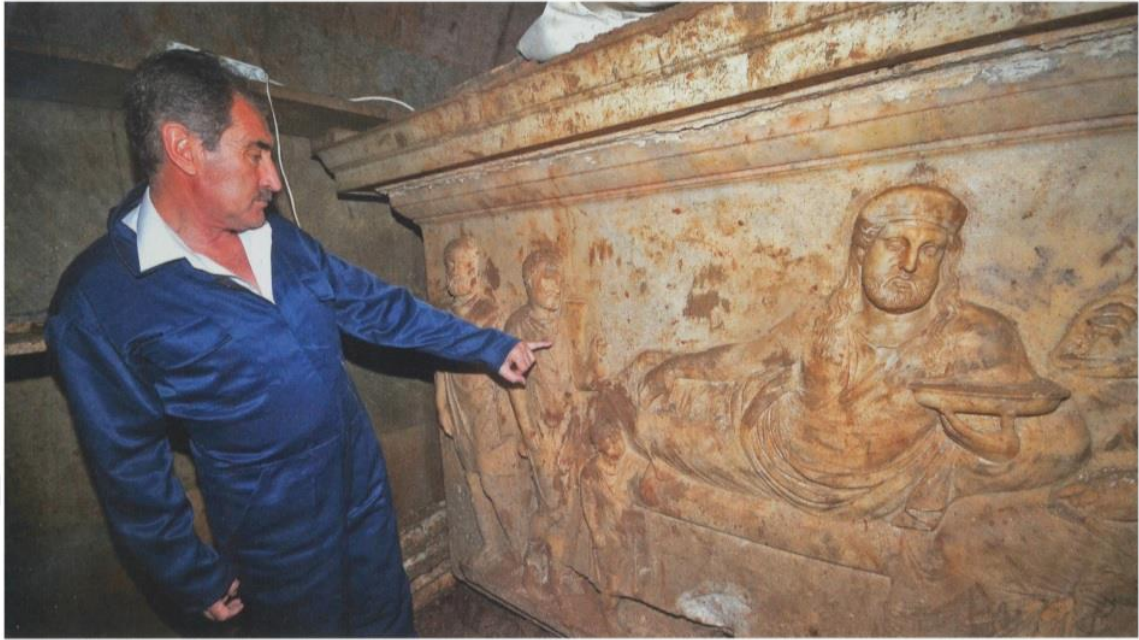


Figure 71: Sarcophagus found in the Uzunyuva tomb chamber (Brunwasser, 2011: 25).



Figure 72: Amazonomachy frieze on the top edge of the podium, slab 1006. London, British Museum.

(https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Amazonomachy#/media/File:Amazon_Frieze_BM_GR_1865.7-23.1_n01.jpg)