A TOMB WITH A VIEW: CONSTRUCTING PLACE AND IDENTITY IN THE FUNERARY
MONUMENTS OF HELLENISTIC ANATOLIA

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ABSTRACT

Katherine Elise Rice: A Tomb with a View: Constructing Place and Identity in the Funerary
Monuments of Hellenistic Anatolia
(Under the direction of Mary C. Sturgeon)

This dissertation examines the roles of place, identity, and self-definition in the royal

tombs of the independent Anatolian kingdoms of Galatia and Pontos during the 4th-1st centuries

BCE. After the unprecedented military conquests of Alexander the Great, Anatolia played host to

a myriad of cultural traditions disseminated by Alexander's army. In a struggle to maintain

sovereignty, these smaller Anatolian kingdoms appropriated hybrid forms of material culture –

projecting Persian, Greek, local Anatolian, and Roman cultural identities – to articulate their

relationships to the rapidly changing power structures within the larger Greek and Persian

empires. Building on recent scholarship that stresses the significance of topography and material

culture in shaping identity, I argue that the funerary architecture of ancient Anatolian elites

reflected, shaped, and participated in the shifting political landscape of the Mediterranean during

the Hellenistic period.

Because the royal tombs of Galatia and Pontos are not well-documented, a significant

portion of this dissertation makes innovative use of digital interpretive tools, generating a series

of GIS-based maps, viewshed analyses, and SketchUp reconstructions in order to provide an

accessible means of understanding the physical context and visual features of these tombs. Using

GPS- and GIS-based analytical tools allows for an investigation that makes use of "place-based"

theoretical approaches in archaeology, which prioritize the ways in which power, identity, and

meaning are constructed within a topographical framework. Through this "place-based" approach, I explore how the topographical contexts of the royal necropoleis in Galatia and Pontos were manipulated for socio-political purposes: each necropolis' situation within a meaningful *place* amplified the ideological charge of the monuments by structuring socio-political appeals to different viewers. Finally, this project explores the cultural identities expressed in each monument, complicating narratives of "Hellenization" that have been construed for the political patrons of these tombs. I argue that the complex array of cultural signifiers presented in the royal Galatian and Pontic necropoleis appealed to a wide range of viewers, simultaneously communicating broad political claims and subtly distinguishing the kings' position according to a privileged, elite dialogue.

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unhesitatingly took me off-roading in pursuit of ancient monuments that not even they knew how to find. Furthermore, the GIS-based portions of this project were enhanced by my participation in the Getty Institute-funded "Building a Digital Portfolio" summer institute in Digital Humanities offered by the Roy Rosenzweig Center for History and New Media at George Mason University.

I am forever indebted to the unwavering support of my precious family, who have always had faith in me even when I could not see the light at the end of the tunnel. They have provided me with encouragement from every direction and a welcome respite from the stress of graduate school. I am also thankful for the friends whose company I cherish and who have helped preserve my sanity throughout this process: Lindsay Dunn, Robin Holmes, Davenne Essif, Beth Fischer, and Franny Brock.

Lastly, this dissertation is dedicated to my beloved John. His unconditional love and support have sustained me through countless endeavors, not least of which include this project. In addition to the encouragement and stability that he offered me during my years of graduate school (many of which were spent apart), he also accompanied me on my first two research trips to Turkey. Were it not for his willingness to jump headfirst into this adventure with me, I would never have experienced many of the defining moments that shaped the outcome of this project. While braving the perilous streets of Kümbet, interrogating locals about directions to some rather remote monuments, and praying that our rental car would not sustain any damage as a herd of cows bumped into it, together we learned the deep meanings of the phrase "problem yok." I would not have accomplished nearly as much as I have, in graduate school and otherwise, without his help. John, you must know - surely, you must know - it was all for you.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AA	Archäologischer Anzeiger
AAA	Athens Annals of Archaeology
ActaArch	Acta archaeologica
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology
AM	Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung
AMIran	Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran
Anadolu	Anadolu: Revue annuelle des études d'archéologie et d'histoire en Turquie
Anatolica	Anatolica: Annuaire international pour les civilisations de l'Asie antérieure
AnatSt	Anatolian Studies
AncW	The Ancient World
Antiquity	Antiquity: A Quarterly Review of Archaeology
AntW	Antike Welt: Zeitschrift für Archäologie und Kulturgeschichte
AnzWien	Anzeiger: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien, Philologisch-historische Klasse
ArchDelt	Archaiologikon Deltion
ArchEph	Archaiologike Ephemeris
ArcheologiaPar	Archeologia: Trésors des âges (Paris)
ASAtene	Annuario della Scuola archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni italiane in Oriente
BASOR	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research
BCH	Bulletin de correspondance hellénique

Belleten	Belleten: Türk Tarih Kurumu
BIABulg	Izvestija na Arheologiceskija institut: Bulletin de l'Institut archéologique bulgare
BJb	Bonner Jahrbücher des rheinischen Landesmuseums in Bonn und des Vereins von Altertumsfreunden im Rheinlande
BSA	Annual of the British School at Athens
CAJ	Cambridge Archaeological Journal
Chiron	Chiron: Mitteilungen der Kommission für alte Geschichte und Epigraphik des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts
CRAI	Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres
Dacia	Dacia: Revue d'archéologie et d'histoire ancienne
EpigAnat	Epigraphica Anatolica: Zeitschrift für Epigraphik und historische Geographie Anatoliens
ÉtCelt	Études celtiques
GaR	Greece and Rome
Hesperia	Hesperia: The Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens
IstArkMüzYıll	İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri Yıllığı
JAnthArch	Journal of Anthropological Archaeology
JdI	Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts
JGH	Journal of Garden History
JHS	Journal of Hellenic Studies
JKF	Anadolu Araştırmaları/Jahrbuch für Kleinasiatische Forschung
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies
JRA	Journal of Roman Archaeology

JRS	Journal of Roman Studies
JSAH	Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians
IrAnt	Iranica Antiqua
Iraq	Iraq, published by the British School of Archaeology in Iraq
IstForsch	Istanbuler Forschungen
IstMitt	Istanbuler Mitteilungen
Minerva	Minerva: The International Review of Ancient Art and Archaeology (London)
OCD	S. Hornblower and A. Spawforth, editors. *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*. 3rd edition. New York: Oxford University Press, 1996.
OGIS	Orientis Graeci inscriptiones selectae
ÖJh	Jahreshefte des Österreichischen archäologischen Instituts in Wien
ÖJhBeibl	Jahreshefte der Österreichischen archäologischen Instituts in Wien, Beiblatt
OpRom	Opuscula Romana
PastPres	Past and Present
Phoenix	Phoenix: The Classical Association of Canada
RA	Revue archéologique
RE	A. Pauly and G. Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*. Stuttgart: Metzler, 1893-1978.
RÉA	Revue des études anciennes
RHA	Revue hittite et asianique
RhM	Rheinisches Museum für Philologie
RN	Revue Numismatique
RStPomp	Rivista di studi pompeiani
SEG	Supplementum epigraphicum graecum

TTAED   Türk Tarih, Arkeologya ve Etnografya Dergisi

TürkArkDerg   Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi

TüBA-Ar   Türkiye Bilimler Akademisi Dergisi

CHAPTER ONE: APPROACHING THE FUNERARY LANDSCAPE OF HELLENISTIC ANATOLIA

Introduction

The ancient, monumental tombs that populate the landscape of modern-day Turkey have remained iconic representations of local inhabitants of the region from the first millennium BCE until the present day. The tombs' long-term significance is most immediately linked to evidence for the aims and aspirations of individual patrons who constructed and occupied these tombs; on a broader scale, the structures reflect values of specific groups of people and the political, cultural, and even ethnic influences that shaped local communities and their participation on a wider international stage. The tombs' monumentality, in the sense of their physical endurance, is tethered to their situation within the spectacular and dramatic landscape features of Anatolia (in the case of rock-cut tombs), or the man-made emulation of natural hill or mountain formations (in the case of the many tumuli in this region). This persistent relationship with the landscape not only underscores the physical durability of these monuments over thousands of years, but it also situates them firmly within the imagination and conceptual visual language that influenced elite identity across a remarkably broad chronological and geographical span.

This network of topographical, architectural, and historical exchanges similarly characterizes the complex nature of Anatolian tomb monuments from the Hellenistic period, particularly those of local rulers who, in a struggle to develop and maintain sovereignty after the military campaigns of Alexander the Great's Macedonian army, appropriated various forms of visual culture as a means of articulating their relationships to the rapidly changing power

structures within a host of larger empires. Consequently, this study explores the ways in which the funerary architecture of ancient Anatolian elites reflected, shaped, and participated in the shifting political territories of the Mediterranean during the Hellenistic period.

More specifically, this study is concerned with the identity of royal tomb patrons and the expression of its political, cultural, and ethnic counterparts in material form. The potential of mortuary evidence for determining the relationship between an individual, a community, and collective constructions of identity has long been recognized. Funerary monuments are often the most permanent record of self-presentation, and because of this they are useful in providing a substantial extant body of evidence in the archaeological record. Yet despite the growing bibliography seeking to understand ethnic identity and cultural exchange in the ancient Mediterranean from a complex, localized perspective, scholarship on the tombs of local Anatolian kingdoms has maintained a broad approach, considering issues of identity mostly in cursory form.[1] Furthermore, the descriptive nature of studies specific to the tombs I study offers little engagement with more recent theories of interpretation. Together, these funerary monuments in Anatolia comprise a visible body of evidence that contributes to recent efforts to more carefully nuance patterns of acculturation in the ancient Mediterranean.

Identity, however, is a difficult construct to analyze and attempts to unravel its various forms in the ancient world often result in a representation that cannot be interpreted according to a one-dimensional approach. For example, in the region of ancient Galatia, a little-known royal tumulus in the modern village of Karalar presents a complex array of cultural signifiers (Fig. 1). The tomb consists of a first-century BCE stone burial chamber, constructed beneath an earthen mound, and accompanied by a Greek inscription identifying the deceased as a *philoromaios*; a

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[1] For a useful overview of the tradition of analyzing "identity" in Hellenistic studies, see R. Mairs, "An 'Identity

"friend of the Romans." Surprisingly, the occupant was not Anatolian, Greek, or Roman. The tomb belonged to Deiotaros II, a Galatian leader whose ethnic identity is represented only in the inscription's reference to his position as a tetrarch over the Tolistobogian and Trokmian Galatian tribes.[2] The multiple layers of identity projected in this tomb literally bury parts of the occupant's identity, which is tied to the question of visibility: what identities were visible, when, and to whom were they visible? Why were different cultural signifiers chosen, and what did they mean in a funerary context?

Similarly, the royal tombs of ancient Pontos deploy unusual syntheses of visual features drawn from Persian, Greek, and local Anatolian tradition, but the types of foreign influences indicated remain imperfectly understood (Fig. 2). Analogous patterns can be discerned in the comparanda of northwestern Anatolia, for example, in the elite tomb architecture known from the regions of ancient Bithynia and Thrace, and the following questions related to these tombs compel this study: what choices were available to the patrons of these tombs, and why did those patrons choose specific visual features? What meanings did these visual features carry, both locally and in a wider international context? What audiences were available to see the tombs, and how were these monuments visually and physically experienced? How did royal tombs relate to non-royal elite, or even non-elite funerary architecture of the time? Perhaps most broadly, what can monumental tombs of Hellenistic royalty tell us about the nature of sovereignty and the conceptualization of identity during the Hellenistic period?

Answering these questions, moreover, requires a geographical focus that encompasses, in addition to a large swath of the regions of Anatolia, modern Turkey's closest neighbors to the

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[2] For the inscription, see J. Coupry, "Les tumuli de Karalar et la sépulture du Roi Déiotaros II," *RA* 6me serie 6 (1935): 131-51; for Deiotaros II, see the brief references in descriptions of his father, Deiotaros I: A. Çoskun, "Deiotaros of Galatia," in *The Encyclopedia of Ancient History*, ed. R. S. Bagnall, et al. (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), 1963-1964; *OCD*[3] 440.

west and east. The majority of this study examines funerary monuments in the regions of Galatia and Pontos, but comparative material from the Anatolian regions of Thrace, Bithynia, Mysia, Ionia, Karia, Lykia, and Paphlagonia will also be considered. Because modern demarcations of regional borders do not adequately represent patterns of exchange and influence across cultures, archaeological material from Greece, Macedonia, and present-day Iran also plays an important role in developing ideas concerning the antecedents of the Galatian and Pontic tombs and from which other cultures the patrons of these tombs might have derived specific meanings.

I have chosen the sites of Karalar in Galatia and Amaseia in Pontos as focal points for this study because they provide evidence for specifically royal burial practices in Hellenistic Anatolia. While literature on Hellenistic royal tombs tends to focus on the well-known necropoleis at Vergina and Nemrut Dağı, the royal necropoleis at Karalar and Amaseia remain relatively unexplored in scholarship and have not been investigated according to theoretical or analytical frameworks that elucidate the ideological constructions informing the monuments at each site. Furthermore, the fact that royal personages can be attached to the monuments at each site heightens their political significance: because these monuments are royal, they are necessarily invested with an array of cultural, political, and historical signifiers that compel interpretation of their content. The monuments at Karalar and Amaseia are relatively securely dated and identified, and thus illustrate how local elites represented themselves within larger imperial networks. The visual forms that were meaningful to the indigenous kings and how they were used to appeal to different types of viewers provide a productive means of analyzing acculturaltion in the Hellenistic period against a Hellenocentric grain and nuancing its patterns within a more localized context.

This dissertation both challenges and substantiates the broad scope of studies on Hellenistic tombs, investigating systematically the original context of select royal monuments from Galatia and Pontos. It moves beyond the descriptive nature of scholarship specific to the tombs that form the core of my research, and engages a theoretical framework that articulates why these monuments take on their particular appearance and the ideology that informed their construction. Because the royal tombs of Galatia and Pontos are not well-documented, a significant portion of this dissertation makes innovative use of digital interpretive tools, generating a series of GIS (Geographic Information System)-based maps, viewshed analyses (calculating the extent of geographical area visible from each location), and SketchUp reconstructions in order to provide an accessible means of understanding the physical context and visual features of these tombs as they appeared in antiquity.[3] Using GPS (Global Positioning System)- and GIS-based analytical tools, moreover, allows for an investigation that makes use of "place-based" theoretical approaches in archaeology, which prioritize the ways in which power, identity, and meaning are constructed within a topographical framework. Through this "place-based" approach, I explore how the topographical contexts of the royal necropoleis in Galatia and Pontos were manipulated for socio-political purposes: each necropolis' situation within a meaningful place amplified the ideological charge of the monuments by structuring socio-political appeals to different viewers. Finally, this project explores the cultural identities expressed in each monument, complicating narratives of "Hellenization" that have been construed for the political patrons of these tombs. I argue that the complex array of cultural signifiers presented in the royal Galatian and Pontic necropoleis appealed to a wide range of

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[3] The maps and reconstructions can be viewed on the website that accompanies this project: http://www.kerice.net/omeka.

viewers, simultaneously communicating broad political claims and subtly distinguishing the kings' position according to a privileged, elite dialogue.

The remainder of this chapter provides a historiographical and methodological context for this project, focusing on how my approach to the necropoleis at Karalar and Amaseia is distinct from previous studies of Hellenistic tombs, as well as how it participates in recent scholarly discourse that seeks to nuance the acculturation of this period according to a complex, localized perspective. My methodological focus stresses the importance of transparency in GIS-based studies, and outlines how place-based archaeological approaches and identity studies contribute significantly to an understanding of the tombs at Karalar and Amaseia. Finally, this chapter covers the evidence for royal and elite funerals in the Hellenistic world, suggesting parallels between conceptualizations of the deceased's social and political roles in both ritual action and material culture.

Historiographical Context

The modern historical construct of the "Hellenistic period," as it is defined today, was largely the creation of J. G. Droysen, whose monumental publication of 1836 labeled the very messy aftermath of the death of Alexander the Great to the organized rise of Rome as a period characterized by *Hellenismus*, i.e., "Greek-ism."[4] Droysen's view of the period was religiously motivated; he originally conceived of it as a positive intermingling of Greek and Eastern cultural elements (*Mischkultur*) that prepared the way for the rise of Christianity under the Roman Empire. Although scholarly frameworks for analyzing the Hellenistic period have changed over the past two centuries, the era's defining *Mischkultur* and its appeal to a variety of scholarly

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[4] J. G. Droysen, *Geschichte des Hellenismus* (Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuch, [1980]).

approaches has remained constant. In contemporary scholarship, a preoccupation with identity

and self-definition finds fertile ground for exploration in the "hybridized" material culture of the

period, which some scholars have further attempted to define as instances of "creolization."[5] In

short, "who people were and how they defined themselves has always been the central theme,"

and it persists as a method of inquiry today largely because "Hellenistic identity, it seems, is

something that speaks to the twentieth and twenty-first centuries' sense of fragmented,

hybridized, constantly-evolving national and personal identities."[6] Questions regarding identity

and self-definition will permeate this study as well, focusing on the role of architecture in

shaping and defining specific instances of the representation of identity during the Hellenistic

period.

What has profoundly evolved in scholarship of the Hellenistic period, however, is a

shifting valuation of the term "Hellenistic." *Hellenismus* cannot be translated "Hellenic" but is

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[5] A. M. Carstens, "Karian Identity - A Game of Opportunistic Politics or a Case of Creolization?" in *4th Century Karia: Defining a Karian Identity under the Hekatomnids*, ed. O. Henry (Paris: De Boccard, 2013), 209-15. "Hybrid" is a term that often garners critique in scholarly literature because it implies notions of cultural purity and has a tendency, in many cases, to essentialize notions of ethnic identity. A thorough critique of the terminology that has traditionally been applied to "Graeco-Persian" artifacts can be found in J. E. Gates, "The Ethnicity Name Game: What Lies Behind 'Graeco-Persian'?" *Ars Orientalis* 32 (2002): 105-132. While recognizing the problems associated with the term "hybrid," I employ the term loosely, simply as a way of signalling the presence of multiple cultural referents in the monuments under discussion and rejecting the categorical implications of cultural and ethnic boundedness. Nevertheless, it is still important to recognize that certain actions and iconographies have points of origin that directly relate to specific cultural spheres. For example, the Pontic king Pharnakes I's euergetism towards Athens that resulted in an honorific statue dedicated to him and his wife Nysa on the island of Delos specifically references royal practices that were familiar to a Greek audience, but it does not imply a paradigmatic process of Hellenization or philhellenic attitude of the Pontic court in the early second century BCE. I have modeled my approach to such "hybrid" material culture after Rachel Mairs' analysis of the "hybrid" Hellenistic city of Ai Khanoum in Bactria, in which she investigates how the different cultural referents and material forms made sense in their specific context to the people who made them (Mairs, "An Identity Crisis?" 4-5). I mention Anne-Marie Carstens' use of the term "creolization" as a recent metaphor that has been used to describe the process of "casual ... imprecise ... inspired eclecticism" that she interprets as characteristic of Hekatomnid architecture in Karia. "Creolization," however, is a term that was initially developed for a specific linguistic development and not as a metaphor for broad paradigms in material culture. Its use in this context seems wholly inappropriate to me, especially considering that the tombs of Hellenistic kings (and the state monuments of Hekatomnid Karia, for that matter) are not "casual" or "imprecise;" rather, they are carefully constructed and precisely defined ideological statements meant to represent specific political personas.

[6] Mairs, "An 'Identity Crisis'?" 2.

rather more accurately rendered "Greek-ism," which Paul Cartledge attributes to the "notion of failed imitation" that has unfortunately too-frequently colored scholarly perception of Hellenistic achievements.[7] In surveys of Greek art and architecture, Hellenistic material culture often exists primarily as an appendage to the Classical or Late Classical period and has traditionally been compared unfavorably to fifth-century BCE achievements; one only needs to look as far as Dinsmoor's defining study to find the latter section on Hellenistic architecture berated as "decadence."[8] Analyzing Hellenistic architecture primarily as an appendage to the fifth and early fourth centuries BCE poses the danger of reiterating a problematic center/periphery model in which fifth-century Athens becomes the basis for a subjective valuation of achievement. Value, consequently, is directly related to the accuracy with which a monument adopts Classical Greek visual forms. This valuation silently underscores the teleological focus that has characterized much of the traditional scholarship on the so-called "Greek Revolution," i.e., the major intellectual and cultural changes that occurred especially in Athens in the decades following the Persian defeat in 479 BCE. Such a valuation falls prey to the tendency to characterize Archaic or non-Classical art as a type of "Other."[9]

Theodore Fyfe's early monograph on Hellenistic architecture makes explicit these subject assessments, characterizing Droysen's *Hellenismus* as a form of "much diluted Hellenism" and defining its baroque qualities as "an absorption of the less into the greater [i.e., the Greek

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[7] P. Cartledge, "Introduction," in *Hellenistic Constructs: Essays in Culture, History, and Historiography*, eds. P. Cartledge, P. P. Garnsey, and E. Gruen (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 2.

[8] W. B. Dinsmoor, *The Architecture of Ancient Greece: An Account of Its Historic Development* (New York: Batsford, 1950).

[9] J. Elsner, "Reflections on the 'Greek Revolution' in Art: From Changes in Viewing to the Transformation of Subjectivity," in *Rethinking Revolutions through Ancient Greece*, ed. S. Goldhill and R. Osborne (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 68-95.

elements] in an architectural composition."[10] In 1983, Anton Bammer's interpretation of the

carved columns of the Ephesian Artemision contributed to a more positive outlook on the period,

attempting to establish a basis for the fourth-century BCE artistic forms in the contemporary

social, political, and economic changes that took place rather than in the moral shortcomings of a

cosmopolitan population, and in 1986, Hans Lauter's reappraisal of the subject, *Die Architektur

des Hellenismus*, similarly examined the new, dynamic forms of Hellenistic architecture as a

response to unprecedented social and political challenges.[11] New archaeological discoveries,

such as the royal necropolis at Vergina and re-examination of earlier discoveries as well as a

"general spirit of revisionism" paved the way for a new respectability for the Hellenistic period.[12]

Considerable attempts to rectify the negative gloss perpetuated in earlier studies of the

Hellenistic period were made in the 1980s and 1990s.[13] Now, substantial attention is given to the

contentious nature of terms such as "Hellenism" and "hellenization." Droysen's original

Mischkultur is still acknowledged, but the questions of how to define that culture, how separate

communities defined themselves, and the validity of applying terms such as "Hellenism" and

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[10] T. Fyfe, *Hellenistic Architecture: An Introductory Study* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1936), 84.

[11] A. Bammer, "Architecture et société en Asie Mineure au IVe siècle," in *Architecture et société de l'archaïsme grec à la fin de la République romaine. Actes du Colloque international organisé par le Centre national de la recherche scientifique et l' École française de Rome, Rome 2 - 4 décembre 1980* (Rome: École française de Rome, 1983), 271-86. H. Lauter, *Die Architektur des Hellenismus* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1986).

[12] A. Frazer, "Review of *Die Architektur des Hellenismus* by Hans Lauter," *JSAH* 47, no. 3 (1988): 297-98.

[13] Major publications from the 1980s and 1990s include: R. Bichler, *"Hellenismus": Geschichte und Problematik eines Epochenbegriffs* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1983); L. Canfora, *Ellenismo* (Rome: Biblioteca universale Laterza, 1987); H.-J. Gehrke, *Geschichte des Hellenismus* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1990); P. Green, *Alexander to Actium: The Historical Evolution of the Hellenistic Age* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990); F. W. Walbank, *The Hellenistic World* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993); P. Cabanes, *Le monde hellénistique: de la mort d'Alexandre à la paix d'Apamée, 323-188* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1995); C. Vial, *Les Grecs: de la paix d'Apamée à la bataille d'Actium* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1995); P. Cartledge, P. P. Garnsey, and E. Gruen, eds., *Hellenistic Constructs: Essays in Culture, History, and Historiography* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997).

"hellenization" to their cultural processes has been the subject of recent debate.[14] One of the problems of using these terms is the danger of prioritizing the dominant cultural models and overlooking more nuanced aspects of intercultural relations among local communities. A more productive approach investigates these achievements (for example, architectural and artistic monuments) in their own contexts, relying on the assumption that they exist not merely as addenda to Greek (or even Persian) cultural influence, but that they existed in their own right as major capitals, centers, and crossroads, whose visual culture arose alongside a society that was subject to a myriad of competing influences, only one of which was Greek.

One of the most important contributions of Lauter's volume on Hellenistic architecture was his acceptance of the non-linear structure of Hellenistic history, and, consequently, his recognition that models developed for the study of the Archaic and Classical periods in Greece could not be effectively evoked by Hellenistic scholars.[15] Lauter's influence can still be perceived in recent publications; for example, Albrecht Matthaei and Martin Zimmermann's edited volume, *Stadtbilder im Hellenismus* (2009), which interprets the transformation of the Greek *polis* in the Hellenistic period not according to a teleological decline of the Classical institution, but rather as a development and necessary alteration of a Greek model in response to the rapidly changing political climate of the Hellenistic period. Civic structures are related to civic self-perception, thus providing an interpretation of identity in the Hellenistic period that relates more to the agency of individual communities rather than a passive "failed imitation" of a Classical Greek model.[16] Hans-Ulrich Cain explores the transformation of political institutions

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[14] Mairs, "An 'Identity Crisis'?" 5, 7.

[15] Frazer, "Review of *Die Architektur des Hellenismus*," 297-98.

[16] A. Matthaei and M. Zimmermann, eds, *Stadtbilder im Hellenismus* (Berlin: Verlag Antike, 2009).

on a larger, historical scale, challenging the traditional perception of Alexander the Great's

conquest of Persia as having only historical consequences. Rather, Cain argues that the

Macedonian victory can be seen as the initiation of developments (instead of decline) in other

aspects of society.[17] Furthermore, in an effort to address the problematic one-directional model

of "Hellenization" in the Hellenistic world, Eftychia Stavrianopoulou's recent edited volume has

the overarching goal "to understand the multidirectional processes of cultural interaction, to

describe their different modes, and to explain their consequences."[18] The papers in

Stavrianopoulou's volume achieve this by enlisting the concept of "social imaginary" and

envision visual culture as the reflection of community identities "imagined" by its inhabitants.[19]

This approach marks the inhabitants of a community as agents in the process of acculturation as

opposed to passive bystanders being influenced (i.e., "Hellenized") by larger imperial structures.

My research builds on recent methodologies that seek more nuanced explanations for the

changes that took place in local communities after the arrival of Macedonian troops. The

individual studies first develop the topographical, historical, and architectural context for each

site, and position the patrons of the associated tomb structures not as mere reflectors of larger

cultural paradigms, but as intentional agents in the deployment of various cultural signifiers.

     The complicated nature of this process of acculturation is highlighted in Frederick

Winter's study of Hellenistic architecture (2006), the most recent monograph on the subject to

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[17] H.-U. Cain, *Hellenismus: eine Welt im Umbruch* (Stuttgart: Konrad Theiss Verlag, 2012).

[18] E. Stavrianopoulou, "Introduction," in *Shifting Social Imaginaries in the Hellenistic Period: Narrations, Practices, and Images*, ed. E. Stavrianopoulou (Boston: Brill, 2013), 19.

[19] For the concept of the "social imaginary," see C. Castoriadis, *The Imaginary Institution of Society* (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1987), and B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983).

date.[20] Winter acknowledges that much of the difficulty in assessing the Hellenistic material

arises from not only its relation to the varied community identities that arose at this time, but also

its wide geographical dispersal. He maintains a comprehensive control over the corpus by

structuring his analysis according to typology, investigating religious, entertainment, athletic,

and residential buildings relative to their architectural type, and a contribution by Janos Fedak

forms a separate chapter on funerary monuments. Dealing with such a large and complex body of

material has its limitations, and the typologically focused narrative leaves little room for detailed

analyses of specific buildings in various contexts and engagement of the formal qualities with

broader mentalities.[21] Similar critiques have been leveled against Fedak's monograph on

Hellenistic tombs, which, twenty-five years after its original publication, remains the standard

reference work for studies of Hellenistic funerary monuments.

Fedak's *Monumental Tombs of the Hellenistic Age* (1990) is the easiest and most obvious

starting point in any discussion of Hellenistic tombs as a comprehensive group.[22] It remains the

only synthetic work dedicated solely to Hellenistic funerary architecture, and while the range of

monuments investigated is quite broad, the bulk of the evidence is drawn from Western Anatolia

and its surrounding regions. The book has been summarized as a publication that is useful for

classification and typology, but the broad scope of the material is also criticized for not providing

a systematic, in-depth investigation of the monuments.[23] This criticism is especially pointed

towards Fedak's limited use of historical or religious context. Gossel-Raeck, for example, singles

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[20] F. Winter, *Studies in Hellenistic Architecture* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006).

[21] A. M. Carstens, "Review of *Studies in Hellenistic Architecture*," *AJA* 111, no. 4 (2007). Published online at www.ajaonline.org/online-review-book/513.

[22] J. Fedak, *Monumental Tombs of the Hellenistic Age* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990).

[23] B. Gossel-Raeck, "Review of Janos Fedak, *Monumental Tombs of the Hellenistic Age*," *Gnomon* 7 (1993): 647-49.

out instances in which Fedak speaks "*ex cathedra*" in relation to historical or religious information.[24] One of the goals of this study is to provide what Fedak does not: to analyze specific issues of identity systematically in a few select monuments, situating them against a historical background that takes into account the socio-political atmosphere of the indigenous kings and to provide comparisons with their known self-representations as the foundation for investigation of the archaeological material. A wide breadth of material has its advantages, however: a strong historical framework serves to tie the disparate pieces together, and the wide geographical range moves away from an Athenocentric approach to various types of Greek architecture, exemplified in the recent studies on Greek architecture by Marie-Christine Hellmann.[25]

Fedak divides his corpus into four major typological categories: built tombs, rock-cut tombs, mixed-construction tombs, and tumuli, and many other subgroups exist within these larger categories. The broad typological distinctions are generally more successful for two reasons. First, any attempt to coerce widely varying architectural developments that are deeply tied to the notion of individuality into a strictly defined framework is virtually impossible and exceptions are often the rule. Secondly, some of these broad categories - namely rock-cut tombs and tumuli - represent distinct types of intervention in the natural landscape, and a topographical focus in discussions of architecture is quickly gaining momentum in recent scholarship,

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[24] Ibid.

[25] M.-C. Hellmann, *L'architecture grecque*, 3 vols (Paris: Picard, 2002-2010). See especially volume II, which is focused on religious and funerary architecture. Cf. the online review by L. Nevett, "Review of *L'architecture grecque. Vol. 3, Habitat, urbanisme et fortifications*," *AJA* 115, no. 4 (2011), www.ajaonline.org/online-review-book/999, which discusses the various aspects of Hellmann's approach common to all three volumes.

particularly regarding Anatolian art and architecture.[26] This last point, that rock-cut tombs and tumuli constitute a distinct category of landscape alteration and manipulation, is not pursued by Fedak, but it remains a highly productive line of inquiry that will be traced throughout my study. Fedak's study, furthermore, introduces one of the most compelling features of monumental tomb construction: that it is an opportunity for elites to create structures suitable for their self-image and self-representation. In other words, the individuality of expression available in sepulchral monuments was not possible with other building types. Again, Fedak, merely introduces the concept, and the theme of identity does not clearly resonate in the study, but it is an important aspect of these monuments and the topic has generated a rich bibliography analyzing how different peoples chose to represent themselves and why the funerary sphere was such an active place for the production of identity.

Beyond the broad scope of Fedak's Hellenistic material, Sarah Cormack analyzes Anatolian tombs of the Roman period and sets them within a more structured theoretical framework.[27] Although Cormack primarily focuses on imperial-era monuments, her adoption of what Björn Ewald terms the "spatial turn" in cultural studies provides a more flexible framework for interpreting monumental tombs as both architecturally and ideologically fluid points of contact between the living and the dead.[28] Structuring her conceptualization of the heroon according to Foucaultian *hétérotopies*, Cormack's articulation of the staged negotiations that are specific to the burial of the heroized deceased contributes to a fuller appreciation of the functions

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[26] Ö. Harmanşah, ed., *Of Rocks and Water: Towards an Archaeology of Place* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2014); see also Ö. Harmanşah, *Place, Memory, and Healing: An Archaeology of Anatolian Rock Monuments* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2015).

[27] S. Cormack, *The Space of Death in Roman Asia Minor* (Vienna: Phoibos, 2004).

[28] B. Ewald, "The Tomb as Heterotopia (Foucault's "hétérotopies"). Heroization, Ritual, and Funerary Art in Roman Asia Minor (review of *The Space of Death in Roman Asia Minor* by Sarah Cormack)," *JRA* 21 (2008): 624-34.

and symbolic significance of the monuments. Cormack's discussion of the Hellenistic material is necessarily brief, although it exposes further one of the problematic areas in scholarship on this subject. Both Cormack and Fedak treat the visual communication of monumental tombs relatively generally; Cormack solicits her interpretation of the nature of heroization in the Roman East primarily from the tombs' relationship with the urban topography, and Fedak presses each of the tombs into a typological relationship that considers the function of the imagery only briefly or in general terms. Conversely, I argue that an analysis of Hellenistic funereal imagery should be pushed beyond an iconographic categorization of origin such as "Greek" or "Eastern/Persian," and should further analyze the context within which each formal element communicates. These formal elements speak both to the level of local viewership and political concerns as well as to a broader audience as a function of commemorative royal architecture: why were these images chosen, and what do they mean in a specifically royal and a specifically funerary context?

In addition to typological and spatial considerations of funerary monuments, their strongly political significance is analyzed in Ingeborg Kader's consideration of heroa and commemorative buildings in terms of the changing political scene in the post-Classical Mediterranean.[29] Kader discusses how these monuments express the identity of individual citizens within the framework of their dynamic relationship to the polis, noting a certain degree of restriction of self-presentation in the fourth and early third centuries BCE, which gradually dissolves over the course of the Hellenistic period and the monuments begin to increasingly assume the appearance of public architecture. The blurred distinctions between public life and private citizen life continue after the demise of the Hellenistic kings, when elite citizens begin to

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[29] I. Kader, "Heroa und Memorialbauten," in *Stadtbild und Bürgerbild im Hellenismus. Kolloquium, München 24. bis 26. Juni 1993*, ed. M. Wörrle and P. Zanker (Munich: Beck, 1995), 199-229.

shoulder the responsibilities for public building with fewer and fewer spatial and functional limitations. The pattern changes again with the advent of the Roman Empire in the first century BCE, where local prestige is often suppressed in an effort to focus on the supremacy of Rome. Kader's analysis has much to offer in the way of focusing on the purpose of adaptations of public architectural form and what political connotations the visual mechanics bore for the relationship between the individual and the city as a whole. Kader's analysis focuses on architectural form, but incorporates this into a broader analysis of the image of the individual framed within the larger context of the city.

This study builds upon and contributes to scholarship on funerary monuments in Anatolia and those of the Hellenistic period more broadly. In contrast to the breadth of Fedak's monograph, this study investigates systematically two specific regions (Galatia and Pontos) and provides a detailed analysis of the royal necropoleis associated with each, discussing the various architectural referents and political and historical events that shaped the construction of each monument, as well as the complex language of identity deployed throughout the iconographic design. Fedak's references to the royal necropoleis in Galatia and Pontos are remarkably brief, and the excavation reports specific to these tombs necessarily focus on describing the architecture and associated finds more than interpretation of the visible wealth of cultural exchange implicit in the material. Furthermore, a study of exclusively "royal" Hellenistic tombs has yet to appear; many publications lament the paucity of evidence for such constructions outside of the Macedonian tombs at Aigai (Vergina) and the Kommagenian hierothesion at Nemrut Dağı despite the fact that significant counterparts of these tombs are encountered at Karalar and Amaseia.[30] Digital representation of the tombs' visual features has thus become a

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[30] In his recent mention of the only royal Hellenistic tombs discovered "more or less intact," Rolf Strootman does not seem to know of the tombs at Karalar or Amasya, listing only the royal burials at Aigai (Vergina), the shrine of

crucial element in this project, as the lack of published maps, photographs, and reconstructions of these important monuments has severely limited their inclusion in studies of material acculturation and exchange in the ancient world. Part of my goal in conducting this study is to bring the Galatian and Pontic royal tombs out of the realm of relative obscurity and to contextualize this significant, albeit overlooked, body of evidence that advances recent scholarship stressing material culture as a productive part of cultural and ethnic identity. My research, therefore, moves beyond both a broad, sweeping approach and a focused yet purely descriptive one: first, by resolving some of the difficulties in visually accessing these monuments by providing three-dimensional reconstructions of their form and analysis of their topography; and second, by using this information as the foundation for embedding the monuments in a theoretical and ideological framework that highlights their potential for exploring relationships between individuals, communities, and constructions of identity.

Methodological Structure

The major criterion for typological frameworks that have defined studies such as Fedak's is the method of architectural construction, stemming from a broad designation of a tomb as rock-cut, built, tumulus, or mixed, and branching out to form numerous sub-groups designating features such as shape (or type of architecture reproduced), method of roof or wall construction, degree of free-standing or engaged components, location in relation to other civic structures, presence of a sarcophagus, etc. I have retained Fedak's typological division in its broad form (i.e., the division between rock-cut and tumulus tombs). The general distinctions are particularly

Antiochos of Kommagene at Nemrut Dağı, and the Herodion of Herod the Great at Bethlehem as extant examples of royal Hellenistic burials. R. Strootman, *Courts and Elites in the Hellenistic Empires: The Near East after the Achaemenids c. 330-30 BCE* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014), 213-14.

useful because the formal differences between rock-cut tombs and tumuli lend themselves readily to a clear distinction in construction technique: rock-cut tombs are produced by the application of a reductive method, carving out of a natural surface in order to produce a man-made structure, while tumulus tombs employ an additive process, building elements and adding man-made materials in order to give the appearance of a natural earth form in the landscape.[31] While the broad designations are useful, however, my purpose in this study is to move beyond an intricate list of detailed architectural sub-categories and investigate more subtle distinctions - topographical situation, visual and symbolic relationship to other structures, interior and exterior arrangement and decoration, epigraphic language, and ritual use, for example - that provide a useful context for understanding why these monuments were built in a particular way.

Instead of simply categorizing these monuments according to a strict typology, my investigation foregrounds the detailed social, political, historical, visual, and topographical contexts underlying the construction of royally-commissioned tombs from a defined geographic region during a particular historical moment. My methodology hinges on the detailed reconstruction of each tomb's specific architectural and topographical context, and I utilize Global Positioning System (GPS) and Geographic Information System (GIS) technology to produce maps situating the tombs in a geographic relationship to other cities, roads, settlements, and architectural monuments, as well as to analyze the elevation and respective viewshed (the extent of geographical area visible from a specific location) of each tomb. I have created three-dimensional reconstructions of the major tombs studied using SketchUp in order to understand more fully the relationship between the interior and exterior spaces of the tomb and, especially,

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[31] It should be noted, however, that tumulus tombs often utilize man-made elements that preserve their appearance as artificially-constructed monuments: for example, a stone krepis wall might be visible at the base of a tumulus, as in the Belevi tumulus, or statues and other figures might be placed at the top or around the sides to mark the location or define ritual activity, such as in the hierothesion at Nemrut Dağı.

to highlight places of emphasis in tomb construction; these concepts are not readily legible from a two-dimensional reconstruction of the facade or burial chamber. Central to this study is the question of visibility: which components of the tombs were visible, when, and to whom were they visible? What visual forms are deployed on the interior and exterior of the tombs, and what sort of audience would have had visual or physical access to these parts? Once the physical framework is established, I situate each group of tombs in a historical architectural trajectory, establishing the visual traditions that defined the funerary landscape in each region and exploring the choices that were made by individual patrons to adopt similar forms or to incorporate a different architectural vocabulary into their tomb constructions. Focusing on the specific, local context of each tomb group offers a more carefully nuanced picture of the considerations that informed monumental tomb construction during the Hellenistic period, and, consequently, a more precise articulation of how identity was constructed and maintained during this politically volatile era.

A few words of methodological caution are worth noting here. GIS has become an attractive medium for presenting scholarship largely because it maintains a semblance of accuracy and objectivity, providing a way to quantify numerically something that is inherently intangible; in this case, the experience of space. Much of the usefulness of GIS in art historical applications thus lies in its ability " ... to provide a finite space for the imagined ancient space."[32] This "finite space" refers to the spatial database that structures visualizations of the ancient world (such as the maps used in this study), or what might be termed the "back end" of the

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[32] L. Ullmann, "The Significance of Place: Rethinking Hittite Rock Reliefs in Relation to the Topography of the Land of Hatti," in *Of Rocks and Water: Towards an Archaeology of Place*, ed. Ö. Harmanşah (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2014), 105.

visualization. GIS-based visualizations are thus "only as good as the datasets being entered,"[33]

embodying considerable potential for a deceptive facade of objectivity that does not represent

inconsistencies in the quality of recording components that comprise the dataset.

For example, the maps created for this study make extensive use of locational

components (for example, a point location of an archaeological site) in order to illuminate

topological components (i.e., relationships between geographic components).[34] One of the

important advantages of using a GIS-based map is its internal structuring based on "layers," or

thematic collections of data, which can be combined, separated, overlaid or manipulated in other

ways to perform analyses of various topological and geographical relationships.[35] Individual

layers in this study include ancient road systems, monumental tombs within a particular region,

and known cities or archaeological sites relative to that region. The maps of Hellenistic Galatia

and Pontos are intended to be customizable so that each layer can be manipulated toward specific

questions. Yet in order to create dynamic layers that maintain accurate spatial relationships, the

locational components require "georeferencing;" i.e., fixation to specific locations within a GPS

coordinate system, which can contribute to a false sense of precision in the map. These GPS

coordinates themselves originate from a variety of sources: those I took myself on-site represent

the most accurate sets of data, while the coordinate locations for sites that I could not visit

personally were approximated based on previously published maps and descriptions relevant to

each region. The resulting methodological inconsistency is that the requisite geo-referenced

location of some of the sites (the GPS coordinates) assumes a more accurate location than what I

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[33] Ibid.

[34] For a discussion of the various types of components that structure GIS datasets, see D. Wheatley and M. Gillings, *Spatial Technology and Archaeology: The Archaeological Applications of GIS* (New York: Taylor & Francis, 2002), 23.

[35] Ibid., 25-26.

was able to record in some cases. Both the accompanying catalogue and the metadata for each

map acknowledge where these inconsistencies have arisen, but they are not visible on the map,

and the final GIS-based visualization is limited in its utility because it cannot visualize locational

component data obtained with varying degrees of precision. Despite the methodological

hindrances of GIS applications, my justification for its use in this study rests first on its broad

scale, and second on its utility as an explicative tool rather than an end in and of itself.[36] These

maps are intended to be broad in scale and to cover a large geographical area, minimizing the

margins of error in precision and providing for comprehension of each site's relative location

with enough accuracy to be useful for general conclusions about geographical location, not

unlike conventional maps produced without the use of GIS technology. The maps' primary

restriction, however, is that they cannot be used for full-scale reconstruction of topographic

features specific to every single locale, which is far beyond the scope of this project.[37] Similarly

to Lee Ullmann's study, my project records distinct sites that have received very little spatial and

topographical documentation, and the customizable maps in particular allow for a large quantity

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[36] Methodological use of GIS as a means to an end, rather than an end in itself, is applied in recent projects such as E. Farinetti, *Boeotian Landscapes: A GIS-based Study for the Reconstruction and Interpretation of the Archaeological Datasets of Ancient Boeotia* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2011) and discussed in A. Watterson, "Beyond Digital Dwelling: Re-thinking Interpretive Visualization in Archaeology," *Open Archaeology* 1 (2015): 120. The methodological implications for researchers extends beyond archaeology and art historical disciplines. Much ink has been spilled in the humanities more generally regarding whether "digital" applications such as GIS should be considered as tools or ends in and of themselves. J. Huggett argues for greater innovation in the use of digital tools in archaeology, i.e., for the use of the technologies as more than mere tools, and for the development of digital technology that specifically addresses archaeological questions with transformative potential for the discipline and its methodology ("Challenging Digital Archaeology," *Open Archaeology* 1 (2015): 79-85). For a recent summary of these issues as they affect humanities scholarship more generally, see M. K. Gold, *Debates in the Digital Humanities* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012).

[37] GIS maps themselves are only relative projections of the imperfect sphere of the Earth. GPS coordinates of the same site might differ from visit to visit as well; because of the high precision involved in GPS systems, a coordinate taken from the north side of a tumulus will be different from one taken from the south side. Atmospheric conditions may also interfere with a GPS device's ability to accurately read locational data. I tried to minimize these inconsistencies by double-checking the coordinates I took on site with those contained in GoogleEarth, and in the reconstruction of the necropolis at Karalar and accompanying viewshed analysis below, I positioned the GPS coordinate at the entrance to the tumuli to maintain consistency with how the site likely would have been experienced in antiquity.

of land, space, and geographic data from the regions of Galatia and Pontos to be holistically

analyzed and conceptualized.[38] The questions that compel this study are primarily about identity

and its interpretation, not necessarily about the digital technology *per se*, but I envision the

usefulness of GIS to this project as currently the most effective tool for providing visual

comprehension of and access to specific interpretations.

Acknowledging the methodological restrictions of the "back end" of these databases

engages a reflexive discourse of visual literacy that illuminates the subjectivities underlying the

"front end" visualizations that condition interpretation. Methodological caution is important here

because images are not simply contributors to archaeological and art historical interpretation;

rather, they function as "catalyst[s] to interpretation."[39] GIS-based maps and reconstructions

often used in these disciplines, however, have been criticized for the lack of qualification of

subjectivities involved in their creation.[40] Uncritical, or unreflexive, use of images is problematic

partly because it can result in what John-Gordon Swogger has termed "the tyranny of

representation," in which created reconstructions or visualizations morph into "fixed" truths

about the past; in other words, they are conceptualized as representing a reality of the past rather

than a potential interpretation of reality.[41] My study aims at transparency; i.e., the articulation

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[38] Ullmann, "The Significance of Place," 105, and Wheatley and Gillings, *Spatial Technology and Archaeology*, 9.

[39] Watterson, "Beyond Digital Dwelling," 121.

[40] Ibid., 119. See also B. L. Molyneaux, ed., *The Cultural Life of Images: Visual Representation in Archaeology* (London: Routledge, 1997); S. Smiles and S. Moser, *Envisioning the Past: Archaeology and the Image* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2005); A. Cochrane and I. Russell, "Visualising Archaeologies: A Manifesto," *CAJ* 17, no. 1 (2007): 3-19.

[41] J.-G. Swogger, "Image and Interpretation: The Tyranny of Representation?" in *Towards Reflexive Method in Archaeology: The Example at Çatalhöyük*, ed. I. Hodder (Cambridge: MacDonald Institute for Archaeological Research, 2000), 143-52; Watterson, "Beyond Digital Dwelling," 127. Even the term "reconstruction" has been problematized as promoting a more objective agenda than is possible: cf. Watterson, "Beyond Digital Dwelling," 120. Ullmann alludes to a related problem in the use of modern technology to describe ancient geography, arguing that such visualizations are reliant on models that express modern, Western conceptualizations of space that "cannot fully re-create a past reality or the ways in which ancient peoples experienced their physical world." See Ullmann,

and justification of where subjectivities reside in the associated maps and reconstructions, where

I have "imagined" rather than "recorded." Rather than undermining the accuracy of my claims,

transparency here is intended to provoke further discussion and analysis, on the assumption that

uncritical presentation of these images would threaten their meaning and significance.[42]

Overcoming the "tyranny" or what could be termed the "iconic power" of visualization

remains a pervasive problem in the use of three-dimensional models to represent antiquity. For

example, in her analysis of the reconstructions of ancient Rome housed in the University of

California at Los Angeles Cultural Virtual Reality Laboratory, Diane Favro articulates the

difficulties in graphically illustrating hypothetical areas of reconstruction in contrast to actual

architectural remains.[43] Even when such illustrations successfully adjudicate between speculation

and concrete evidence, "the potent visual and kinetic experience of the models trumps the 'state

of knowledge' concept."[44] Like the *Imaging Rome* project, I have created three-dimensional

models of the tombs at Karalar and Amaseia, connoting speculative reconstruction through

visually greyed areas and rendering unknown information in sketchier detail. These

reconstructions are intended primarily as illustrations of ideas, allowing the reader to translate

more readily the corpus of knowledge regarding these monuments into lived experience and

approximation of ancient reality. They are perhaps best described as "re-creations," a term

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"The Significance of Place," 105. A useful discussion of best practices for archaeological data sets can be found in Wheatley and Gillings, *Spatial Technology and Archaeology*, 23-88. M. S. Monmonier, *How to Lie with Maps* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), introduces some of the techniques by which visualizations of data, in the guise of objectivity, can be manipulated to elicit a variety of interpretations from the same data set.

[42] Cochrane and Russell, "Visualising Archaeologies," 3.

[43] D. Favro, "In the Eyes of the Beholder: Virtual Reality Re-Creations and Academia," in *Imaging Ancient Rome: Documentation, Visualization, Imagination: Proceedings of the Third Williams Symposium on Classical Architecture, Held at the American Academy in Rome, the British School at Rome, and the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome, on May 20-23, 2004*, ed. L. Haselberger and J. Humphrey (Portsmouth, RI: JRA, 2006), 325-28.

[44] Ibid., 326.

employed in recent literature to differentiate between computer-generated, three-dimensional "images" that function as exact copies (albeit smaller in scale) of original buildings, and the more abstract "re-creations," produced as a result of synthesizing diverse sources of information, and which function as conceptual illustrations.[45] A larger-scale example of such a recreation is the model of the *Domus Severiana* on the Palatine in Rome, a building whose investigations had often been frustrated by missing information or unclear plans.[46] The principal objective of modeling this structure in three-dimensions, then, was simply to re-create its general appearance through the process of synthesizing what is presently known about it, establishing a foundation for further analysis and interpretation.[47] I have pursued similar goals with my reconstructions in that they should not be taken as exact replicas, but rather interpreted as syntheses of the current knowledge base, with some speculative gaps necessarily filled in for the purpose of visualization. Thus, the digital model serves primarily as a "working tool,"[48] enabling specific modes of investigation - such as interior perspectives, interior and exterior relationships, and visibility analysis - that are not readily apprehended from existing documentation. The underlying assumption is that the process of creating the model itself is interpretive, and provides a mode of access to physical and abstract conceptualization of the monuments and the furtherance of a dialogue concerning the broader architectural and cultural paradigms in which these structures are situated.

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[45] A. Riedel and T. Bauer, "Pretty and Useful? - Three-dimensional Computer Models as a Working Tool for Documentation and Investigation in Building Archaeology," in *Layers of Perception: Proceedings of the 35th International Conference on Computer Applications and Quantitative Methods in Archaeology (CAA), Berlin, Germany, April 2-6, 2007*, ed. A. Posluschny, K. Lambers and I. Herzog (Bonn: Habelt, 2008), 141.

[46] Ibid.

[47] Ibid.

[48] Ibid.

Because such paradigms shape the construction of funerary monuments, I include the tombs in this study within a developing discourse of an "archaeology of place." Maria Zedeño and Brenda Bowser define "place" as a geographical location "where environment, people, and meaning converge ... and, in the process, create a record of human behavior, perception, and cognition."[49] According to this framework, a place, while rooted in a geographical referent, ultimately derives its significance from the human activity at that particular site.[50] Late Bronze Age and Iron Age Anatolian rock reliefs, for example, have generated a robust history of "place-making" in which the continuity of human landscape alteration and ritual practices at each site encourage analyses nuanced by their complex histories of human interaction.[51] Specifically, the relationship between human activity and the environment is well suited to the use of GIS and visualization technologies. While it is impossible to recreate the actual reality of ancient viewers in a specific place, the reconstructive and visualization capabilities of these programs offer a humanized perspective.[52] They allow the analyst to approach "something similar in experience to real places;" i.e., the encounters that potentially shaped patrons' choices and viewers' perceptions regarding these monuments.

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[49] M. N. Zedeño and B. J. Bowser, "The Archaeology of Meaningful Places," in *The Archaeology of Meaningful Places*, ed. B. J. Bowser and M. N. Zedeño (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2009), 1. See also Ö. Harmanşah, "Introduction: Towards an Archaeology of Place," in *Of Rocks and Water: Towards an Archaeology of Place*, ed. Ö. Harmanşah (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2014), 1-12.

[50] Zedeño and Bowser, "The Archaeology of Meaningful Places," 5; Harmanşah, "Introduction," 1-2.

[51] Ö. Harmanşah, "Stone Worlds: Technologies of Rock Carving and Place-Making in Anatolian Landscapes," in *The Cambridge Prehistory of the Bronze and Iron Age Mediterranean*, ed. A. B. Knapp and P. van Dommelen (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 379-93.

[52] Favro, "In the Eyes of the Beholder," 332-33; Ullmann, "The Significance of Place," 105.

Topography and Landscape

In recent years, theoretical constructs of space and place have found increasing prominence in architectural and art historical studies, as is highlighted in Cormack's work on Roman tombs in Asia Minor. Most recently, Anika Greve's study of the monumental tombs in Alexandria, Nea Paphos on Kyprus, and Kyrene compares the monuments as spaces of interaction, focusing specifically on the space of the courtyard, relating the space framed by the courtyard to a variety of activities that could have occurred therein.[53] My study adopts Jaś Elsner's characterization of architecture as an especially powerful agent in the production of ritual, with the ability to reinforce visually social hierarchies that condition a viewer's interaction with and experience of a particular space.[54] Furthermore, recent scholarship has begun to address the significance of natural landscape in the shaping of human interactions with space and exploring the relationships between people and specific places.[55] As communities and shared cultural practices continue to be seen as contributing to a social imaginary or constructed identity, archaeologists are also increasingly interested in "questions of long-term practice whereby the significance of place in the collective imagination and social memory continuously shifts."[56] Because monuments play a significant role in structuring movement through and interaction with the landscape, they endow a place with cultural significance that accumulates

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[53] A. Greve, *Sepulkrale Hofarchitekturen im Hellenismus: Alexandria - Nea Paphos - Kyrene* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014).

[54] J. Elsner, "Material Culture and Ritual: State of the Question," in *Architecture of the Sacred: Space, Ritual, and Experience from Classical Greece to Byzantium,* ed. R. Ousterhout and B. D. Wescoat (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 2.

[55] Advances in landscape archaeology, spatial theory, and analytical map-making techniques have contributed greatly to this development. This development is discussed in Ö. Harmanşah, *Of Rocks and Water*, 2, as well as R. Bradley, *An Archaeology of Natural Places* (New York: Routledge, 2000); B. Bowser and M. N. Zedeño, eds., *The Archaeology of Meaningful Places* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2009).

[56] Harmanşah, *Of Rocks and Water*, 3.

over time, generated by the continued use of the space in cultural, ritual, and political practice.

Place, then, is not merely a location; it also embodies a complex temporal aspect in its

accumulation of meaningful associations. This temporal aspect of place, along with the locally

specific practices that characterize its use, are seen in both the rock-cut tombs of the Pontic kings

and the tumuli of the Galatian tetrarchs. By reproducing an iconographic pattern already

established in the Persian capital, the Pontic kings symbolically associated the space of their

necropolis in Amaseia with the sacred sepulchral place of the Persian kings at Naqš-e Rostam in

Persepolis. The later Galatian kings similarly capitalized on previously established funereal

associations, appropriating architectural and iconographic forms from northwestern Anatolia that

endowed their own tomb monuments with meaning.[57]

Considering architectural types of funerary monuments as a significant intervention in the

landscape opens the door for a more comprehensive analysis of the setting and context of each

tomb. Rather than stopping at a comparison of architectural form and variation across regional

and geographic boundaries, foregrounding the issue of natural and built topography sharpens our

focus on the *places* where these monuments were constructed. These monuments were not "stand

alone" constructions; their specific siting actively engaged with pre-existing cultic, religious, and

political associations, becoming part of the history of places and place-making in antiquity.[58]

Ömür Harmanşah has recently argued that deliberate modification of natural rupestral, or rock-

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[57] The practice of reproducing iconographic or ritual patterns to inscribe a particular place with a specific meaning, or to transfer the symbolic associations of a prominent, prestigious place to a more localized context is well attested in religious contexts. The creation of sacred space is studied in modern scholarship under the name *Hierotopy*, and is especially pronounced in Byzantine ritual. Cf. A. Lidov, "The Flying Hodegetria: The Miraculous Icon as Bearer of Sacred Space," in *The Miraculous Image in the Late Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. E. Thunoe and G. Wolf, (Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 2004), 291-321. Lidov articulates the inscription of sacred space that occurred during regular processions of the *Hodegetria* icon in Constantinople, and argues that the reproduction of this rite elsewhere in Greece, Italy, and Russia served to liken the local environment to the sacred space of the capital.

[58] Harmanşah, "Stone Worlds," 381.

cut, landscapes for ritual and funerary purposes should be understood as a technology that has much to do with the "inscription of places as culturally meaningful, politically contested locales."[59] He notes the standard interpretation of Hittite rock reliefs as politically motivated, imperialist constructions within the landscape, whose functions primarily consisted of marking borders as well as guarding territories and highways.[60]

Shifting the focal point of analysis to the topographical features of Hittite rock relief locations illuminates several common characteristics: the use of liminal mountain locations and geologically prominent outcroppings that are frequently located outside of cities and near water sources. These features showcase a distinct commemorative aspect of the politically charged rock reliefs, embedding political discourse into the framework of geological spectacle, thereby "naturalizing" state power and the authority of the inscriber of this space.[61] Constructing power within a topographical framework, according to Harmanşah, serves to "appropriate existing local and located practices, geological wonders, and symbolically charged landscapes into state discourse," in effect, creating a place of unusual human interaction that provokes human imagination.[62] Appropriation of imaginative properties of landscape is an especially potent means of suggesting interaction between the natural world and the chthonic one, and the siting of

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[59] Ibid., 380.

[60] Ibid., 383. See also G. Hirschfeld, *Die Felsreliefs in Kleinasien und das Volk der Hethiter* (Berlin: Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1887); D. Bonatz, "The Divine Image of the King: Religious Representation of Political Power in the Hittite Empire," in *Representations of Political Power: Case Histories from Times of Change and Dissolving Order in the Ancient Near East*, ed. M. Heinz and M. H. Feldman (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2007), 111-36; J. Seeher, "Der Landschaft sein Siegel aufdrücken-hethitische Felsbilder und Hieroglypheninschriften als Ausdruck des herrscherlichen Macht - und Territorialanspruchs," *Altorientalische Forschungen* 36 (2009): 119-39; C. Glatz, "Empire as Network: Spheres of Material Interaction in Late Bronze Age Anatolia," *JAnthArch* 28 (2009): 127-41.

[61] Harmanşah, "Stone Worlds," 383-384.

[62] Ibid., 380, 383-384. See also R. Bradley, *Altering the Earth: The Origins of Monuments in Britain and Continental Europe* (New York: Routledge, 1993); *The Significance of Monuments: On the Shaping of Human Experience in Neolithic and Bronze Age Europe* (London: Routledge, 1998); *An Archaeology of Natural Places*, 33.

rupestral monuments near rivers, streams, and other sources of water (which, in antiquity, were widely regarded as points of communication with the underworld) articulated their function as transitional, liminal places between the world of the living and the world of the dead. Rupestral monuments, furthermore, could function as places not only of funereal interaction, but, more generally, as places of divine advent. "Doors" or "niches" in the rock constitute what Valeria Fol has called an "interactive zone," representing a passage leading to divine contact or epiphany.[63] This function of the rupestral niche is common among Phrygian, Thracian, and Urartian monuments, and represents a significant cultural borrowing across geographically distinct areas. While similarities in the form and iconography of these niches indicate their shared function, the specific alterations of the natural landscape, according to Valeria Fol, define the symbolic significance of the place and its associated practices.[64]

An analytical focus on topography should not be exclusive, however, and architectural type and geographic distribution of formal features are highly significant aspects in the construction of funerary architecture. For example, the architectural form of the chamber tombs at Karalar is comparable to late-fourth and early-third century constructions in Bithynia and Thrace, suggesting cultural interaction and appropriation across both geographic and chronological boundaries. The inscription accompanying Tumulus B and the specific cultural markers represented in the finds clarify the importance of identifying the iconographical and cultural references deployed by the Galatian leaders and their specific meanings in a funerary context. One of the most important visual signifiers, the earthen mounds beneath which the

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[63] V. Fol, "The Rock as a Topos of Faith: The Interactive Zone of the Rock-Cut Monuments - From Urartu to Thrace," in *Geoarchaeology and Archaeomineralogy: Proceedings of the International Conference, 29-30 October 2008, Sofia*, ed. R. I. Kostov, B. Gaydarska, and M. Gurova (Sofia: St. Ivan Rilski Publishing House, 2008), 159-60.

[64] Ibid., 153, 159-160.

chambers were constructed, appropriated the topographical and visual prominence of monuments

that had a long history of elite and royal associations. This provides an example of how an

investigation structured around both architectural form and topographical prominence, integrated

into complex histories associated with a specific place, has the advantage of putting forth a

viewer-oriented analysis. Not only are the interior (i.e., less-visible) components of each

chamber tomb pressed into comparative study, but the conclusions are structured around the

meaningful experience of the monument and its appeal to various levels of viewership.

Comprehension of this significance of place more carefully nuances our understanding of the

symbolic function of these monuments and the types of interactions that viewers may have had

with them. While all of the tombs in this dissertation have been published (some of them briefly),

most of the tombs I focus on have not been subjected to extensive analysis of their functional

situation within the settlement and relationship to its urban fabric. Therefore, a major part of my

project will be to assess the topographical situation of these monuments and provide more

extensive documentation with regard to their physical and situational significance.

Identity

The maintenance of specific physical and topographical situations throws into relief the

ways in which elite or royal patrons defined their separation from a community of the living and

their subsequent integration into a permanent community of the dead. Reconstructing how a

viewer's physical interaction with a monument was framed can work to illuminate symbolic

interactions with the deceased, which helps to contextualize how specific identities were

structured during the Hellenistic period. Assessing topographical and physical significance of

funerary monuments involves examination of criteria such as the relationship of the tomb to

other urban features and building projects; reference to major roads, processional routes, or axial

alignment; viewership (who would be able to see the tomb, in what perspective, and when, as well as visual relationship to other structures); and typology of the tombs and comparison to other architectural types and their significance. One of the enduring problems in addressing identity, however, is the issue of how to associate specific objects or monuments with specific expressions of identity. The relationship between material object and identity is complex, especially given the problems associated with taking as "self-evident" the assumption that "objects were produced and used by specific social and cultural groups ... therefore [reflecting] that group in some manner."[65] The specific relationship between the creation of material culture as a reflection of communities sharing memories, history, etc., - shared identity - has its roots in the prevalent socio-political interests of archaeological scholarship during the 1980s and 1990s.[66] Archaeologists sought to challenge traditional assumptions about identity (specifically, ethnic identity) that were rooted in early nineteenth and twentieth century Third Reich classifications of ethnic data that maintained that "identity" was a static, underlying "essence" of a particular community.[67] In his study, *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries* (1969), Fredrik Barth was the first to adopt a "subjectivist" approach to the study of ethnic identity, arguing that such an identity should be defined on the basis of how people define themselves instead of static, "objective" criteria, effectively placing the agency of identification in the hands of the subject.[68] Consequently, identity came to be seen as a dynamic structure, one that should shift and

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[65] S. Hides, "The Genealogy of Material Culture and Cultural Identity," in *Cultural Identity and Archaeology: The Construction of European Communities*, ed. P. Graves-Brown, S. Jones, and C. Gamble (New York, NY: Routledge, 1996), 26.

[66] S. Jones, *The Archaeology of Ethnicity: Constructing Identities in the Past and Present* (New York: Routledge, 1997), 1.

[67] Ibid., 4-13.

[68] F. Barth, ed., *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Culture Difference* (London, Allen & Unwin, 1969).

transform based on context, daily practice, and historical circumstances, but always subjected to the manipulation of distinctions imagined by individuals or communities.[69]

Ethnic identity poses a special problem: it is viewed in the same subjective, dynamic light as "identity" in general, but recent scholarship has called for a clear differentiation between *ethnic* identity and *cultural* identity.[70] Scholars have argued over a broad range of criteria for defining each concept; in my study, I adopt a somewhat narrow definition of each, defining culture as a series of practices aligned with a particular community, and distinguishing ethnicity as criteria linked to a shared kinship or history rather than a specific set of practices, although the two often overlap. Cultural identity, in some cases, may be seen as granting a greater degree of agency to the individuals it defines, as someone may choose what kind of clothes to wear, what religion to follow, what kind of pottery to use, even what kind of tomb s/he wants to construct. Ethnic identity, on the other hand, might be construed as a passive manifestation over which the individual has little or no control, but shared histories and lineages may be exaggerated, manipulated, or just as easily invented to suit the ambitions of an individual or group. For example, Mithridates VI of Pontos (120-63 BCE) claimed descent from both Dareios I and Alexander the Great, and while some scholars have attempted to investigate the authenticity of these claims, it is sufficient for my purposes to acknowledge the exaggeration (or perhaps invention) of a particular line of kinship as an example of an ethnic identity construction.

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[69] Jones, *The Archaeology of Ethnicity*, 13.

[70] J. M. Hall, *Hellenicity: Between Ethnicity and Culture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002); K. Strobel, "The Galatians in the Roman Empire: Historical Tradition and Ethnic Identity in Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor," in *Ethnic Constructs in Antiquity: The Role of Power and Tradition*, ed. T. Derks and N. Roymans (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2009), 117-44; C. M. Antonaccio, "(Re)Defining Ethnicity: Culture, Material Culture, and Identity," in *Material Culture and Social Identities in the Ancient World*, ed. S. Hales and T. Hodos, 32-53 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

Broader definitions of ethnicity emphasize a notion of origin as the main point of reference,[71] but it is worth noting that many other cultural practices (rituals conducted, gods worshiped, language spoken) can also have a common point of origin that has nothing to do with shared ethnic origin. Identity as a general concept is dependent upon this common point of origin as a reference point, and while the "original" meaning may resonate among many different individuals or groups of people (for example, a rock-cut "temple" tomb will always register as a Greek cultural adaptation no matter where it is located), that meaning may be modified or altered as the object is continually recontextualized.[72] My study attempts to trace this process of origin and recontextualization, using royal and elite identities as expressed in Hellenistic tomb construction as specific case studies.

Yet the question still remains as to what material objects, if any, can be used to identify cultural and ethnic identity. Because the Galatian and Pontic tombs in this study have not been subjected to analyses of their ideological constructions, it is helpful to look to comparanda of necropoleis whose material remains and publication records are more extensive, and can provide a more complete picture of the range of material that can be used in discussions of identity. Funerary art and architecture from the Roman Near East offer useful comparisons, in part because of the wealth of funerary art that survives from sites such as Palmyra and Tyre, and the types of art and architecture that survive visually negotiate local priorities within a Roman imperial framework.[73] Such monuments are often discussed in terms of "hybridity;" i.e., they

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[71] Antonaccio, "(Re)Defining Ethnicity," 34.

[72] Ibid.

[73] M. K. Heyn, "Gesture and Identity in the Funerary Art of Palmyra," *AJA* 114, no. 4 (2010): 631-61; L. de Jong,"Performing Death in Tyre: The Life and Afterlife of a Roman Cemetery in the Province of Syria," *AJA* 114, no. 4 (2010): 597-630. A discussion of "hybridity" in Hellenistic architecture of the Near East can be found in Mairs, "An 'Identity Crisis'?" 3-6, who explores the city of Ai Khanoum in Bactria as a case study for questions related to identity, hybridity, and architecture.

serve as "space[s] of mediation" in which social peers could transcend ethnic boundaries and communicate using a shared cultural and visual language to facilitate "an encounter among peers - elites - rather than a cultural, economic, and military domination by a superior culture."[74] The multicultural and multiethnic encounter that occurred in the Roman Near East is represented materially by specific aspects of the local elites' funerary monuments: not only in the urban location and new architectural type of tomb developed in the cemetery near Tyre, but in the variations in gesture, jewelry, hairstyle, and dress that nuance the specific identities of the deceased in the otherwise homogenous-looking portraits excavated at Palmyra.[75] Similar criteria have been examined in the funerary art of Achaemenid Anatolia as well; Elizabeth Baughan's 2013 study of klinai in Anatolian tombs suggests a variety of objects such as grave offerings, luxury items, furniture, tomb iconography and decoration, epigraphic language, and dress as potential signifiers of imperial Persian or local Anatolian identities.[76] Rather than directly equating material culture with cultural and ethnic identities, however, Baughan suggests that such objects reveal the importance of presenting the deceased in a particular way, and that they represent only a few of many possible ways an individual could articulate his or her identity.[77] While not all of the criteria outlined above are available in the case of the royal Galatian and Pontic tombs, my study focuses on those surviving elements that do correspond to constructions of identity: in addition to topographical setting, the architectural type, interior/exterior

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[74] Antonaccio, "(Re)Defining Ethnicity," 36. See also J. Ma, "Peer Polity Interaction in the Hellenistic Age," *PastPres* 180 (2003): 9-39.

[75] de Jong, "Performing Death in Tyre," 602-24; Heyn, "Gesture and Identity in the Funerary Art of Palmyra," 631-32.

[76] E. Baughan, *Couched in Death: Klinai and Identity in Anatolia and Beyond* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2013).

[77] Ibid., 233-35. Baughan also highlights how the representation of cultural identities often intensifies during times of profound social change (pp. 235, 265), a theme that resonates strongly not only during the period of Achaemenid domination in Anatolia, but also in the politically volatile environment of the Hellenistic kingdoms.

architectural relationship, epigraphy, and objects in each tomb all shed light on the particular way in which the deceased chose to be represented.

Furthermore, the rituals that took place in and around each tomb contribute substantially to an understanding of how the survivors represented the deceased and integrated him or her into the world of the living. To better assimilate the ritual contexts of death in the ancient world to its material corollaries, the next section considers the evidence for royal and elite funerary rituals of the Hellenistic period. It presents several case studies preserved in ancient sources that document the ways in which politically significant bodies were treated following the person's death and the symbolic representations of cultural and political ideologies that are manifest at the moment of death. The richest source of evidence for postmortem treatment from the Hellenistic period comes from the many accounts of the death of Alexander the Great, and the section focuses both on the ideological outgrowths of these actions as well as how those same ideas are expressed in surviving monuments. I argue that society's relationship to the deceased was structured through a play of physical contact and distance, and that in the case of royal deaths, it was especially important to filter the deceased's presence through the medium of abstraction in both the treatment of the body and the design of the funerary monument in order to successfully negotiate his or her new position in society.

Body and Abstraction in the Hellenistic Funeral

> Consider Lenin in his glass coffin in Red Square. He has probably been seen by more people than any other leader in history. In his will he asked to be buried simply, in accordance with his egalitarian principles. But he was overruled; his successors still needed him.[78]

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[78]R. Huntington and P. Metcalf, *Celebrations of Death: The Anthropology of Mortuary Rituals* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 122.

For many viewers, the image of Vladimir Lenin's embalmed body is a vivid reification of Russian society's attempt to memorialize not simply the image, but the actual substance of one of its most revered leaders. The extraordinary conditions of Lenin's burial, however, are strikingly antithetical to his final wishes prior his death in 1924. The "overruling" of his egalitarian will is materialized in both the continued preservation of his physical body as well as in his elaborate mausoleum, which, somewhat ironically, emulates imperial monuments such as the Step Pyramid of Djoser in the Saqqara necropolis near Memphis, Egypt (ca. 2667 - 2648 BCE) and the Tomb of Kyros the Great in Pasargadai, Iran (d. 530 BCE) (Fig. 3). Lenin's tomb - a permanent stone embodiment of architectural precedents deployed not merely for important rulers, but for rulers often revered as gods - represents the exceptional treatment of his body and indelibly frames not the anti-imperialist ideology he espoused, but rather the profound political significance he held for Russia and stands as a structural embodiment of its citizens' desire to immortalize him.

The account of Russian society's successful overturning of Lenin's final wishes in the form of an imperial-style mausoleum is significant for a study of ancient funerals precisely because the story is not a new one. The questions raised by this account (Why would society overturn a powerful and respected leader's final wishes? Why was preservation of his physical remains significant? Perhaps most importantly, what purpose did his physical body serve?) provide points of contact with the surviving evidence for the deposition of Alexander the Great, who died unexpectedly in 323 BCE, and whose burial constitutes the single most extensive account of postmortem treatment to survive from the Hellenistic period (ca. 323 BCE - 31 BCE). While Alexander may not have held the same egalitarian principles as Lenin, the treatment of his body and circumstances of his burial reflect analogous ideological concerns of the societies over

which he ruled. Significantly, the disposal of his body - the iconographical framework provided by his elaborate funeral hearse, the hijacking of his body *en route* to burial in Macedon, and the proximity of his final resting place, the *Sēma*, to the Ptolemaic rulers in Alexandria[79] - underscore the ideological significance of Alexander's body in the same way that Lenin's burial provides the physical corollary to Russia's perception of his political significance.

In the cases of Lenin and Alexander the Great, as well as in the case studies from Hellenistic Anatolia that form the core of this dissertation, the funereal monument functions as an architecturalized frame for the corpse; i.e., a physical actualization of the ideology determining the treatment of the deceased body, and a reflection of the political and cultural mentalities that informed the monument's construction. My dissertation examines the funerary monuments of royal and elite patrons in fourth-century BCE and Hellenistic Anatolia and the diversity of expression that characterizes these prestigious monuments in the regions of Galatia and Pontos. Specifically, I analyze how the patrons of these monuments manipulated the formal diversity of rock-cut tombs and earthen tumuli as part of complex constructions of cultural identity. Consideration of the early Hellenistic case of Alexander the Great and the more recent case of Lenin's burial highlights specific correspondences between the sociopolitical force of the powerful corpse and the ideology informing the visual language of the tomb. My focus in this chapter is to study the postmortem treatment of the body in Hellenistic elite funerals to understand better the cultural values and identities underscoring contemporaneous monumental

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[79] The term *Sēma* (the "Sign" or "Symbol") comes from Strabo's description of Alexandria during his residence there in the 20s BCE (17.1.8). The manuscripts actually read *Sōma* (the "Body"), but the term is usually emended to *Sēma*. Andrew Erskine notes that "the very strangeness of the name 'the Body' makes it more appealing and more plausible [than *Sēma*]." If the tomb was indeed referred to as the *Sōma*, the fact that Alexander's body had become a place name emphasizes the significant relationship between body and monument. A. Erskine, "Life after Death: Alexandria and the Body of Alexander," *GaR*, Second Series 49 (2002): 166-67.

tomb construction; in other words, to use ritual as a means of accessing an interpretation of architecture and visual culture.

The potential for mortuary evidence to reflect the relationship between individuals, communities, and constructions of identity has long been recognized. Because funerary monuments are often the most permanent record of self-presentation in ancient societies, they are useful in providing a substantial extant body of evidence in the archaeological record through which intentional presentations of both individual and communal identity may be apprehended. The intentional self-presentations that motivate these structures meld well with scholarly conceptualizations of identity in terms of demarcation and construction.[80] For example, in Barbara Borg's study of Egyptian mummy portraits, the subject's appearance is always manipulated by facial expressions and gestures superimposed upon the "physiological foundation," characterizing the subject in a way intended to evoke a desired interpretation of his or her persona.[81] The "construction," then, may constitute any alteration or representation of the physiological foundation. Ritual can, in this sense, be construed as a kind of identity construction: during the funerary ritual, the method of burial or the imposition of certain customs (as in the case of the burials of Alexander and his family members, conducted according to either "Macedonian" or "royal custom") in the treatment of the physiological foundation (the corpse)

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[80] See R. Mairs, "Ethnicity and Funerary Practice in Hellenistic Bactria," in *Crossing Frontiers: The Opportunities and Challenges of Interdisciplinary Approaches to Archaeology*, ed. P. Bray, et al. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 115-16. These concepts are also expressed in M. Parker Pearson, *The Archaeology of Death and Burial* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1999), and the specific nature of constructed identities has been analyzed as early as Barth, *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries*, and more recently in B. Borg, "The Face of the Elite," trans. G. W. Most, *Arion* 8, no. 1 (2000): 67-68. Borg's article abbreviates some of the concepts expressed more fully in *Mumienporträts: Chronologie und kultureller Kontext* (Mainz: P. von Zabern, 1996), and *"Der zierlichste Anblick der Welt--": ägyptische Porträtmumien* (Mainz: P. von Zabern, 1998).

[81] Borg, "The Face of the Elite," 67-68.

may comprise a certain type of "construction."[82] In architecture, the physiological foundation is more difficult to define, and perhaps recent emphases on the centrality of landscape and topography in architectural design might argue that the geographical site itself comprises such a foundation. Yet the choice of materials, the style of a column, a roofing technique, or the language of an inscription, for example, all work as manipulations or constructions that characterize a patron and elicit interpretation, i.e., they show the subject as he or she wanted to be seen.

Furthermore, anthropological approaches to the material remains of Classical antiquity have criticized archaeological methods that travel unobstructed from material remains to sociological interpretation, suggesting that visual analyses should instead harness the potential of ritual interpretation and use it as the filter through which tangible (i.e., burial) artifacts are given meaning.[83] Art historians, archaeologists, and architectural historians, however, must be wary of "too-swift leaps in interpretation," problematic because the constitution of "ritual" is fundamentally distinct between disciplines: anthropological studies have the advantage of designating a ritual through empirical observation, but art historical and archaeological methods must *infer* a ritual from the tangible evidence, oftentimes sustaining the claim with pertinent textual, contextual, or epigraphic evidence.[84] The problem of deriving a ritual interpretation from material evidence is further complicated by the difficulty scholarship has in defining precisely what "ritual" is, its relationship to constructs of "religion," and what is meant by each term. Over two decades ago, Ian Morris acknowledged this difficulty, ultimately conceding that ritual is an

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[82] Paus. 1.6.3; Diod. 19.52.5, 20.37.6; Just. 38.10.10.

[83] I. Morris, *Death-Ritual and Social Structure in Classical Antiquity* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 1-30.

[84] Elsner, "Material Culture and Ritual," 4, 10.

active, creative process, "[producing] its own kind of symbolic knowledge."[85] More recently, Jaś

Elsner has echoed Morris' hesitancy to define ritual concretely, preferring to describe not what it

is, but rather what it is about: "liminality and the articulation of boundaries between sacred and

profane."[86] My study relies heavily on Elsner's characterization of ritual because it provides an

effective interpretive filter for architectural and topographical studies especially. Architecture's

ability to articulate representative spaces, defining centers, boundaries, and liminal areas, and to

construct frames wherein people and bodies relate to that space effectively produces a kind of

symbolic knowledge, becoming the material manifestation of such knowledge obtained through a

viewer's relationship to ritually demarcated space.[87] Mortuary is especially significant in this

context; I define it as an architectural frame for the corpse that structures how the living

physically and conceptually relate to the deceased person. Because I position the corpse as a part

of the material culture of the tomb, the process by which funerary rituals enact manipulative

elements on the physiological foundation of the corpse serves as an appropriate starting point for

interpreting the tomb as a significant element of identity construction. My perspective engages

responses to the deceased body in the postmortem period as a means to apprehend a more

nuanced interpretation of the corresponding funerary monuments, exploring how the nexus of

body, tomb, and topography worked together to formulate identity construction in the Hellenistic

period.

      Liv Nilsson Stutz has argued that while responses to the corpse aid in constructing

memories of the deceased and conditioning his/her memory and identity among the living

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[85] Morris, *Death-Ritual and Social Structure in Classical Antiquity*, 2, 8-9.

[86] Elsner, "Material Culture and Ritual," 2.

[87] Ibid.

participants in the funerary ritual, archaeologists often avoid discussion of the bodily aspect of death.[88] When approaching the elite body and its ritual function, scholarship has tended to approach the cadaver theoretically, as a sign or a symbol instead of a potent physicality. Recent approaches to the study of the corpse, however, criticize this focus on abstract symbolism and argue for a more sustained examination of the biological realities of death.[89] This revised focus has been applied to the study of the Roman *funus*, the process of decay, and the effect such physical changes would have had on the memories associated with the ancestors and the spaces in which these memories were enacted during Roman funerary ritual.[90] While the materiality of the corpse forms an integral part of this study, the cadaver's function as an aspect of the material culture of the funerary ritual more effectively conveys its significance in the Hellenistic world than the biological processes of decay. Fredrik Fahlander and Terje Oestigaard do not consider the human body a physicality aligned with the concept of material culture, but given their definition of material culture as an object "manipulated ... by humans" and that contains "a *potential* of being active in the sense of stimulating ... or determining social action," I argue that the dead body does, in fact, perform as material culture during the funerary ritual. The very fact that the dead are *treated* in a certain way and that living people *do* things to their remains (in

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[88] L. Nilsson Stutz, *Embodied Rituals and Ritualized Bodies: Tracing Ritual Practices in Late Mesolithic Burials* (Lund: Acta Archaeological Lundensia No. 46, 2003), 131. A fuller discussion of a methodological framework that suggests both a theoretical location for bioarchaeology and practices for understanding the archaeological dead body as materially distinct from a living body are elaborated upon in J. Sofaer, *The Body as Material Culture* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006). Sofaer, however, focuses primarily on actual skeletal remains, and does not deal specifically with "taphonomic processes," although strong arguments for incorporation of these processes into the discourse of material culture can be found in Parker Pearson, *The Archaeology of Death and Burial*. Reiteration of the corpse's importance is traced in specific examples from the Roman period in E.-J. Graham, "Memory and Materiality: Re-embodying the Roman Funeral," in *Memory and Mourning: Studies on Roman Death*, ed. V. M. Hope and J. Huskinson (Oxford: Oxbow, 2011), 21.

[89] L. Nilsson Stutz, "More than Metaphor: Approaching the Human Cadaver in Archaeology," in *The Materiality of Death: Bodies, Burials, Beliefs*, ed. F. Fahlander and T. Oestigaard (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2008), 19-28.

[90] E.-J. Graham, "Memory and Materiality," 21-39.

Parker Pearson's words, "the dead do not bury themselves") in many ways renders a corpse the dead counterpart to the physiological foundation for a portrait of a living person.[91] According to Borg's model, the living person constitutes the physiological foundation on which, in portraiture, gestures, facial expressions, etc. are applied to produce the portrait, an object of material culture understood as a manufactured interpretation of the subject's persona. In the same way, the physiological foundation of the deceased person is acted upon - for example, dressed, adorned, cremated, embalmed, etc. - during the taphonomic process in order to generate an interpretation of the deceased's persona that can reflect a wide variety of cultural, social, and political ideals. Habermas' theory of communicative action is useful in this context to understand how such actions upon the corpse help to construct, maintain, and communicate social identities.[92] These actions relegate the dead body to a symbolic element, making visible the transformative process of death and necessitating the living community's action in order to gain control over both the body and the transitional identity of the deceased.[93]

The manipulation of the corpse and its potential agency is socially determinate, particularly in the case of politically significant or royal corpses. In the examples below, I focus my analysis on how actions taken by the living in response to the royal dead represent a paradigm reflecting the significance of the corpse as an agent of material culture. Given the perspectives of Nilsson-Stutz and Emma-Jayne Graham's studies on the study of funerary ritual,

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[91] Parker Pearson, *The Archaeology of Death and Burial*, 3. For a broad overview of general, normative treatments of the material corpse, see F. Fahlander and T. Oestigaard, "The Materiality of Death: Bodies, Burials, Beliefs," in *The Materiality of Death: Bodies, Burials, Beliefs*, ed. F. Fahlander and T. Oestigaard (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2008), 5-6.

[92] J. Habermas, *Theorie des kommunikativen Handelns* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1981); A. Gramsch, "Treating Bodies: Transformative and Communicative Practices," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Archaeology of Death and Burial*, ed. S. Tarlow and L. Nilsson Stutz (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 460-61.

[93] Gramsch, "Treating Bodies," 462; A. van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage*, trans. M. B. Vizedom and G. L. Caffee (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1977).

in the examples presented here, the symbolic potential of the corpse becomes an effective conduit for expression of cultural values and the ways in which an individual's self-representation appealed to those values.

Focusing on ritual responses, including those that deal directly with the physical corpse, better informs our understanding of the material culture associated with mortuary ritual; i.e., the architecture of death. My approach to monumental funerary architecture hinges on a two-fold argument presented in this section: first, that the dead body is a significant part of the material culture of the funerary ritual, and second, that examining the relationship of the body to architecture and its framing within architectural and topographical space (i.e., its ritual context) is a critical element in interpreting the function and significance of the surviving monument. I argue that the dead body performs centrally in the spectacle of the Hellenistic elite funeral, structuring a relationship to various audiences based on physical contact and/or distance as well as visual abstraction that both reflect the specific identities and ideologies of the Hellenistic kings. I analyze the ritual treatment of the body through a comparison of literary evidence concerning royal and elite Hellenistic funerals, a treatment that has been overlooked in previous discussions of Hellenistic funerary monuments, as well as through an analysis of selected monuments, most prominently, the late fourth century BCE Macedonian royal necropolis at Aigai (modern-day Vergina), Greece. The manner in which each monument frames, contains, and presents the body of the deceased also sheds light on conceptualizations of the nature of rulership during this politically tumultuous period.

Anthropological approaches to mortuary culture have generally considered death ritual as a means of understanding social structures and values of the living. These approaches highlight the death state as one of liminality (which, especially in the case of political *personae*, equates to

a state of vulnerability), and examine funerary ritual as a means by which the living amend this

liminal or vulnerable state. Robert Hertz's and Arnold van Gennep's respective studies instigated

this preoccupation with the liminal state of death in anthropological discourse: Hertz recognized

it as a dangerous state, in which the survivors must care for the body, approaching it as an object

of both solicitude and fear, while van Gennep's seminal work established the stages of liminality

as a single, tripartite structure beginning with initial separation, transitioning with the liminal

stage to the final stage of reincorporation.[94] In this context, burial - motivated by a desire to

accomplish a transition between states[95] - is construed similarly to ritual; it is primarily about the

articulation of boundaries. Building on van Gennep's theories, Victor Turner posited a symbolic

function for the corpse, in which its active dissolution and decomposition became a physical

metaphor for the stage of liminality.[96] In the next decade of scholarship, Huntington and Metcalf

developed Turner's theories of the symbolic liminality of the corpse, arguing that a cultural

understanding of death could be apprehended in the symbolism of the dead body, reinforcing the

significance of cultural and social values of the living that could be understood by focusing on

how the living deal with death.[97] This assumption, that anthropological and archaeological

understandings of lived societies may be reconstructed through a society's ritual encounters with

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[94] R. Hertz, *Death and the Right Hand*, trans. R. and C. Needhanm (Glenco, Ill.: Free Press, 1960), 33-34; van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage*.

[95] J. Robb, "Burial Treatment as Transformations of Body Ideology," in *Performing Death: Social Analyses of Funerary Traditions in the Ancient Near East and Mediterranean*, ed. N. Laneri (Chicago: The Oriental Institute of Chicago, 2007), 287.

[96] V. W. Turner, *The Forest of Symbols: Aspects of Ndembu Ritual* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1967), 98. Turner writes that "Much of [the symbolism surrounding the liminal *persona*] is modeled on human biological processes ... They give an outward and visible form to an inward and conceptual process."

[97] Huntington and Metcalf, *Celebrations of Death*, 1-2. The authors set out this premise at the beginning of their study: " ... the issue of death throws into relief the most important cultural values by which people live their lives and evaluate their experiences ..." and argue that through studying the issue of death, "fundamental social and cultural issues are revealed."

death, is echoed in subsequent studies and the analysis of death, in many cases, remains "an analytical entrance to humanity and humans' beliefs and perceptions of what matters most: life."[98] This methodological approach continues to frame social and cultural studies across disciplines, as the deployment of mortuary evidence "to reconstruct or interpret past social structures, hierarchies, traditions, social identities, or sex/gender relations is seldom questioned by most archaeologists."[99] Presentations like that of Lenin in his glass coffin validate this approach, demonstrating that, especially with regard to political bodies, postmortem treatment is influenced primarily by the needs of the survivors rather than the wishes of the deceased. This deliberate manipulation of the corpse serves as the central focus of this chapter; similarly resting in part on the assumption that the material framing of and ritual responses to the corpse reveal aspects of both the values informing a society's preservation of the memory of the deceased as well as his desired interpretation and re-presentation of his own identity.

The funerary monuments I investigate here, taken as visual encapsulations of the identity and cultural memory of a deceased person, perform within a specifically elite cultural context, for which anthropological literature illuminates how analyses of elite culture can be informative for identity studies more broadly. Elite identities represent a specific form of agency in the shaping and structuring of identity. In other words, elites "represent a way of conceiving power in society and attributing responsibility to persons rather than to impersonal processes."[100] The cultural and ethnic interaction that is so prevalent in Hellenistic studies can here be tethered to specific patrons and monuments, whose intentional cultivation of integration, distinction, and

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[98] Fahlander and Oestigaard, "The Materiality of Death," 1.

[99] Ibid.

[100] G. Marcus, "Elite as a Concept, Theory, and Research Tradition," in *Elites: Ethnographic Issues*, ed. G. Marcus (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1983), qtd. in C. Shore, "Towards an Anthropology of Elites," in *Elite Cultures: Anthropological Perspectives*, ed. C. Shore and S. Nugent (Florena, KY: Routledge, 2002), 4.

differentiation from various cultural groups is a major theme in the so-called "philhellenic"

atmosphere of the Hellenistic East. A crucial aspect of elite identity is the noted tension between

"universalism" and "particularism,"[101] as well as the tension between the need to distinguish

oneself from the masses and yet simultaneously appeal to their support. It is precisely this

principle of distinction that makes it possible to identify elite funerary monuments, as the

distinction is based on criteria of sheer size,[102] urban context and relationship to other

monuments in the city, wealth and grave goods, an inscription or dedication, and use of a

permanent or enduring medium. Because the archaeology of death tends to view mortuary

constructions as "acts of representation,"[103] this study highlights questions concerning the role of

elite material culture in the formation of cultural identity and what the associated material culture

(in this case, tombs) tell us about regional identity in the Hellenistic period. One challenge in

interpreting this evidence is recognizing the ideological leap that is often made between the

social and the political and being sensitive to the fact that the monument of a wealthy, elite, or

privileged person does not necessarily represent political authority, which entails a complicated

relationship to social hierarchies.[104] I have tried to focus my study as much as possible on royal

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[101] A. Cohen, *The Politics of Elite Culture: Explorations in the Dramaturgy of Power in a Modern African Society* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1981), qtd. in Shore, "Towards an Anthropology of Elites," 2.

[102] See E. Thomas, *Monumentality and the Roman Empire: Architecture in the Antonine Age* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 1-14 for a fuller discussion of the concept of "monumentality," both in its ancient context suggested by the Latin *monumentum* as well as the development of its definition and value throughout early modern Europe and contemporary usage of the term. The funerary monuments explored in this study reflect the concept of monumental architecture as a *monumentum*, i.e., a structure whose primary function is commemorative, informed by its physical size and durability. Furthermore, I consider royal and elite tombs "monumental" in a wider sense of the word, i.e., as structures whose significance exceeds their practical function, becoming agents in the production of social and political statements (H. von Hesberg, "Bemerkungen zu Architekturepigrammen des 3. Jahrhunderts v. Chr," *JdI* 96 (1981): 56; Thomas, *Monumentality and the Roman Empire*, 5).

[103] A. Smith, "The Politics of Loss: Comments on a Powerful Death," in *Performing Death: Social Analyses of Funerary Traditions in the Ancient Near East and Mediterranean*, ed. N. Laneri (Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2007), 163.

[104] Ibid., 164.

patrons or those elites with demonstrable political consequence in order to avoid this slippage, and, when a monument emerges that does not directly correspond to a known political persona, to utilize the material evidence as the primary means of distinguishing social politics from civic politics. Because of the political gravity with which royal tombs are endowed, they constitute a special case in which an enhanced or heightened sense of particularism and universalism (either in the sense of social particularism and universalism amongst elites, or local cultural appeal versus empire-wide) may be reflected in a marked change in established funerary tradition, which is directly tied to the consolidation of power. When power is consolidated, ethnic identity comes to the fore as an immediate concern, as a sovereign is placed in a position in which he is required to address different ethnic groups that now find themselves under his regime. As a result, the ruler's process of self-legitimation often necessitates a visible change in the established funerary tradition in order to align his perceived identity among disparate groups with the material manifestation of the wider limits of his power. Literary sources that describe the funerals of Hellenistic kings and their postmortem treatment generally do not preserve a one-to-one correspondence between the written record of a royal funeral and a surviving monument, yet, within the disparities of the extant evidence and each unique local context, a pattern emerges that allows for recognition of a broad discourse in the historiography that addresses a critical question for our understanding of the architecture: how did the politically significant dead body function, and what did possession of it (or at least the ability to manipulate it) accomplish in terms of symbolizing the unique values of a particular community?

The dramatic saga of Alexander the Great's life and death is usually framed as the starting point, or inspiration for, a pattern of actions, accomplishments, and historiographical *logoi* in the

biographies of Hellenistic and Roman leaders.[105] Alexander's death and burial provide the

foundation for Victor Alonso's recent study of Hellenistic funerals, in which the king's

postmortem treatment served as an exemplar after which the Successors modeled their own

actions in an effort to legitimize their power.[106] Rather than construing Alexander, his actions,

and the actions of others towards him as a general *incipit* for the Hellenistic period, the wealth of

information about his death and burial is better examined as the culmination of ideas and values

resonant in the Archaic and Classical Greek world, providing, simultaneously, a point of contact

between Archaic and Classical burial tradition and the responses given to royal bodies in the

succeeding Hellenistic period. Because this chapter focuses on responses to the dead body and its

manipulation as a part of the material culture of the funerary ritual, an exploration of how

Alexander responded to the death of his father, and subsequently, how the Successors responded

to Alexander's dead body provides a valuable source of information for the political, cultural,

and symbolic values embedded in the treatment of the corpses of the Hellenistic kings.

The rapid spread of the institution of kingship during the Hellenistic period is probably

due to Alexander's political innovations and introduction of monarchical custom to much of the

Greek world. Nascent political states that resulted from his conquests in Anatolia and elsewhere

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[105] For examples of *imitatio Alexandri* in the Hellenistic world, the Roman Empire, and Egypt and the Near East, see C. Bohm, Imitatio Alexandri *im Hellenismus: Untersuchungen zum politischen Nachwirken Alexanders des Grossen in hoch- und späthellenistischen Monarchien*, vol. 3 (Munich: Tudov-Verlag-Ges, 1989); D. Spencer, *The Roman Alexander: Reading a Cultural Myth* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2002), 165-204; T. Daryaee, "*Imitatio Alexandri* and Its Impact on Late Arsacid, Early Sasanian and Middle Persian Literature," *Electrum* 12 (2007): 89-97; A. Kühnen, *Die* Imitatio Alexandri *in der römischen Politik (1. Jh. v. Chr. - 3. Jh. n. Chr.)* (Münster: Rhema, 2008); G. Pugliese Carratelli, "La '*imitatio Alexandri*' nel mondo romano," in *La lupa e la sfinge: Roma e l'Egitto dalla storia al mito*, ed. E. Lo Sardo, et al., 29-35 (Milan: Electa, 2008); A. A. Trofimova, Imitatio Alexandri *in Hellenistic Art: Portraits of Alexander the Great and Mythological Images* (Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 2012); K. Ryholt, "*Imitatio Alexandri* in Egyptian Literary Tradition," in *The Romance between Greece and the East*, ed. T. Whitmarsh and S. Thomson (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 59-78.

[106] V. Alonso, "Some Remarks on the Funerals of the Kings: From Philip II to the Diadochi," in *Alexander and His Successors: Essays from the Antipodes*, ed. P. Wheatley and R. Hannah (Claremont, CA: Regina Books, 2009), 276-98.

seem to have appropriated monarchical systems similar to the Macedonian structure as "the

simplest way of solving the problem of sovereignty," thus making kingship one of the "most

important single institution[s] in the Hellenistic world."[107] While the concept of kingship in the

Greek world after Alexander has been well studied, the most recent generation of scholarship has

shifted from a focus on the pragmatic functions of administration and management to an

emphasis on the symbolic explication of inherent values surrounding the kingship.[108] Funerals,

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[107] P. Bilde,"Introduction," *Aspects of Hellenistic Kingship*, ed. P. Bilde (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 1996), 9-11. For an introduction to the smaller kingdoms and their dynamic relationships to the larger imperial structures of the Hellenistic world, see J. Kobes, "Kleine Könige": *Untersuchungen zu den Lokaldynasten im hellenistischen Kleinasien (323-188 v. Chr.* (St. Katharinen: Scripta Mercaturae Verlag, 1996).

[108] P. Bilde, "Introduction," 12. Important early studies of Hellenistic kingship include E. R. Goodenough, *The Political Philosophy of Hellenistic Kingship* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1928); C. W. McEwan, *The Oriental Origin of Hellenistic Kingship* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1934); C. B. Welles, *Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1934); and H. W. Ritter, *Diadem und Königsherrschaft: Untersuchungen zu Zeremonien und Rechtsgrundlagen des Herrschaftsantritts bei den Persern, bei Alexander dem Grossen und im Hellenismus* (Munich: Beck, 1965). The ensuing decades produced avid interest in the image and representation of the king within a historical context, for example, N. Davis and C. M. Kraay, *The Hellenistic Kingdoms: Portrait Coins and History* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1973); R. R. R. Smith, *Hellenistic Royal Portraits* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988); B. Hintzen-Bohlen, *Herrscherrepräsentation im Hellenismus: Untersuchungen zu Weihgeschenken, Stiftungen und Ehrenmonumenten in den mutterländischen Heiligtümern Delphi, Olympia, Delos und Dodona* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1992); G. Weber, "Interaktion, Repräsentation und Herrschaft: Der Königshof im Hellenismus," in *Zwischen "Haus" und "Staat": antike Höfe im Vergleich*, ed. A. Winterling (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1997), 28-71. Studies on the visual representation of the king were followed by studies on the functions of the architectural space that he inhabited; for example, I. Nielsen, *Hellenistic Palaces: Tradition and Renewal* (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 1994); G. Brands and W. Hoepfner, eds., *Basileia: die Paläste der hellenistischen Könige: Internationales Symposion in Berlin vom 16.12.1992 bis 20.12.1992* (Mainz: P. von Zabern, 1996), as well as the royal area and its relationship to the *chora* under the dominion of the king, cf. C. Mileta, *Der König und sein Land: Untersuchungen zur Herrschaft der hellenistischen Monarchen über das königliche Gebiet Kleinasiens und seine Bevölkerung* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag Berlin, 2008); R. Strootman, "Kings and Cities in the Hellenistic Age," in *Political Culture in the Greek City After the Classical Age*, ed. O. M. van Nijf and R. Alston (Leuven: Peeters, 2011), 141-54. A more explicitly symbolic focus can be found in A. Chaniotis, "Theatricality Beyond the Theater: Staging Public Life in the Hellenistic World," in *De la scène aux gradins: théâtre et représentations dramatiques après Alexandre le Grand*, ed. B. Le Guen (Toulouse: Presses universitaires du Mirail, 1997), 219-59, and H. von Hesberg, "The King on Stage," in *The Art of Ancient Spectacle*, ed. B. Bergmann and C. Kondoleon (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1999), 65-75. Studies on the role of problem of succession, heralded by J. Seibert's *Historische Beiträge zu den dynastischen Verbindungen in hellenistischer Zeit* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1967), have more recently highlighted the role of royal women in the production of marriage alliance and succession, for example, in R. Ogden, *Polygamy, Prostitutes, and Death: The Hellenistic Dynasties* (Oakville, CT: David Brown Book Co., 1999); and an explicit focus on the function of gender symbolic royal representation has been explored by J. Roy, "The Masculinity of the Hellenistic King," in *When Men Were Men: Masculinity, Power and Identity in Classical Antiquity*, ed. L. Foxhall and J. Salmon (London: Routledge, 1998), 111-35. The theoretical basis and manifestation of royal ideology remains the dominant focus of current scholarship on Hellenistic kingship, and has been explored in its various forms in B. Virgilio, *Lancia, diadema e porpora: il re e la regalità ellenistica* (Pisa: Istituti editoriali e poligrafici internazionali, 1999); C. Michels, *Kulturtransfer und monarchischer Philhellenismus: Bithynien, Pontos und*

moreover, are a significant part of these symbolic functions, comprising staged performances

representing the semiotic corollary to the most vulnerable moment of a monarchy: the transfer of

power from one king to another. In nearly all of the ancient sources that record information about

deaths amongst the Hellenistic kings, activities recognizing the inauguration of a new king

directly correspond to the process of burying his predecessor.[109] These events often occurred

simultaneously, were performed as a spectacle, and observed by a preferably military audience

whose presence implied acceptance of the transfer and ratified the legitimacy of the successor's

claims.[110] Alexander's efficacy in applying his authority upon the death of his father, for

example, was bolstered both by the immediacy with which he conducted the burial rites and the

performance of such rites before a public assembly, which dispelled any doubts about his

succession.[111] Furthermore, Justin reports that the only person spared from those who had been

privy to Philip's murder was a certain Alexander Lynkestes, who had been the first to salute

Kappadokien in hellenistischer Zeit (Göttingen: V & R Unipress, 2009); R. Strootman "Hellenistic Imperialism and the Ideal of World Unity," in *The City in the Classical and the Post-Classical World: Changing Contexts of Power and Identity*, ed. C. Rapp and H. A. Drake (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 38-61, with court society most recently becoming a specialized area of research, cf. G. Herman, "The Court Society of the Hellenistic Age," in *Hellenistic Constructs: Essays in Culture, History, and Historiography*, ed. P. Cartledge, P. Garnsey, and E. Gruen (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 199-224; and especially R. Strootman, *Courts and Elites in the Hellenistic Empires* (2014).

[109] Strootman, *Courts and Elites in the Hellenistic Empires*, 210. In addition, I. Savalli-Lestrade discusses the circumstances surrounding the death of a monarch and details a classification of specific types of death and ways of dying in "Rumeurs et silences autour de la mort des rois hellénistiques," in *La mort du souverain: entre Antiquité et haut Moyen Âge*, ed. B. Boissavit-Camus, F. Chausson, and H. Inglebert (Paris: Picard, 2003), 65-82.

[110] Strootman, *Courts and Elites in the Hellenistic Empires*, 210. A useful comparative analysis of the literary evidence for the last moments of the Hellenistic kings can be found in Savalli-Lestrade, "Rumeurs et silences autour de la mort des rois hellenistiques," 78-80, in which the king deliberately calls an audience of friends or relatives to his death bed in order to read his will or appoint a successor (as in the case of Antiochos IV, before he died in Elymais). On the other hand, pretenders to the throne might use the king's incapacitation as an opportunity to falsify his will and to present the "will" before an audience: for example, Laodike I, wife of Antiochos II, poisoned her husband, concealed his body, and had a certain Artemon (who resembled the king) pretend to be Antiochos so that he could announce before an audience the decision to return the crown to the children he had with Laodike (pp. 79-80; Val. Max. 9.14; Plin. *HN* 7.53).

[111] Diod. 17.2.1-2; Just. 11.1-2.

Alexander as king and acknowledge his royal authority.[112] Alexander's sparing of Alexander Lynkestes highlights the significance attached to recognizing the new royal title at the time that the successor assumes physical control over the corpse and accompanying funereal rites of the deceased king.

Details of the treatment of Alexander the Great's corpse after his unexpected death in Babylon in 323 BCE offer a provocative reading of the importance of contact with the physical body of the king, as well as a model through which later actions of the Successors and subsequent Hellenistic kings can be interpreted. Alexander himself served as the presiding participant in several politically significant funerals throughout his life; i.e., the funeral at Aigai for his father Philip II in 336 BCE, his escort to Athens of the ashes of the dead after Chaironeia in 334 BCE, and his ordering of the rites performed for Dareios III at Persepolis in 330 BCE.[113] The political vulnerability that accompanies a state death, intensified in the case of an autocrat or monarch, is mirrored in Alonso's ascription of a similar sense of instability as the motivating factor behind Alexander's predominance over his father's ceremony. Although the funeral did not function as the official designation of the successor, Alonso argues that the son's performance of the funeral rites proclaimed his legitimacy and right to inherit.[114] The specific actions performed by the successor, however, function as more than points of connection between a son's duty and his legitimation as heir; in effect, the actual usurpation of power is

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[112] Just. 11.2

[113] For the funeral of Philip II, see Diodoros Siculus 17.2.1 and Justin 11.2.1; for the Chaironeia episode, see Justin 9.4.2; and for Alexander's treatment of Dareios' corpse, see Arrian, *Anabasis Alexandri* III, 22. In addition to presiding over the burials of the deaths of his contemporaries, Alexander also made a spectacle of caring for the body of Cyrus at Pasargadae, in order to associate himself with the Persian king. See M. P. Canepa, "Achaemenid and Seleukid Royal Funerary Practices and Middle Iranian Kingship," in *Commutatio et Contentio: Essays in the Late Roman, Sasanian, and Early Islamic Near East*, ed. H. Börm and J. Wiesehöfer (Düsseldorf: Wellem, 2010), 6-7.

[114] Alonso, "Some Remarks on the Funerals of the Kings," 278-82, 284-85.

persuasively acted out through the successor's role in physically taking control of the late king's corpse and administering funeral rites. Physically displacing the empowered body of his predecessor becomes his first act of proclaiming dominance over the king and his kingdom; it is a visual transfer of power from the dead to the living because the successor has authority over the king's body. Furthermore, the symbolic resonance of this action is more potent than any "official" declaration of conference of authority precisely because of the fact that it is executed in front of an audience. The audience, especially if it is a military one, possesses the power to approve or rebel against the transfer of state power, and the deceased is relegated to a passive entity in the negotiations, which may or may not honor his will in life (as in the case of Lenin, whose final wishes were "overruled"). The potency of the display is perhaps the most significant feature of this context, in which the public ceremony carries with it a broad visual witness to the successor's assumption of control over the monarch's body and, by extension, his kingdom.[115] This was the thrust of Alexander's argument when he paid for the interment of his enemy Dareios (and presumably what Pompey later insinuated when he buried Mithridates in 63 BCE): Alexander may not have been Dareios' legitimate heir, but his control over Dareios' body demonstrated his ultimate power over the Persian Empire, despite the manner in which he had obtained it.

Alexander's generals' initial response to his death in 323 BCE illuminates not only the fragile state of his vast empire, which was ill-equipped to manage the loss of its sovereign, but also the profound symbolic function performed by the physical body itself. Anthropological studies have traditionally defined the funeral as the final process of reintegrating a deceased

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[115] Huntingon and Metcalf, *Celebrations of Death,* 162-63. The theory of the "body politic," i.e., the symbolic counterpart of a monarch's physical, mortal body, is developed in E. H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1957).

person into their new position in society; put more simply, "a funeral marks an end."[116] The

fragility of Alexander's empire at the time of his death is certainly evident in the political strife

that promptly ensued, but the difficulty of "reintegrating" Alexander into society as a deceased

king, and reintegrating his generals into their new social and political roles, is symbolically

manifest in the prolonged observation of funeral rites for the king immediately before and after

his death. According to Plutarch, when Alexander first became ill in Babylon, he was escorted to

the palace, after which each of the Macedonians filed past his kline. Thus, even before his actual

death, Alexander's kline was transformed into a funeral couch and the Macedonians ritually

enacted a prothesis, initiating the liminal state before his death and which would eventually

extend to nearly two years after, when he was finally buried in Egypt in 321 BCE.[117] Instead of

immediately receiving proper burial, Alexander's body was embalmed (in other words, the

physical process of decay and its symbolic representation of the liminal state were put off) and

plans were made for an elaborate hearse.[118] Even before the embalming, Alexander's body itself

allegedly did not decay, refusing to enter a permanent, reintegrated state of death before his

kingdom was securely in the hands of an heir. Plutarch states that the body, "although it lay

without special care in places that were moist and stifling, showed no sign of such a destructive

influence, but remained pure and fresh."[119] Quintus Curtius' report corroborates this miraculous

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[116] van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage*, 146-165; Erskine, "Life after Death," 168.

[117] Plut. *Alex*. 76.3-4.

[118] Erskine, "Life after Death," 168. The need for proper funeral rites to be performed is mentioned in Curt. 10.6.7 and 10.8.18, but sources record that the body was left in state for many days (Plut. *Alex*. 77.3), perhaps as many as thirty days (Aelian *V.H.* 12.64). Gramsch, "Treating Bodies," 463. Gramsch highlights van Gennep's and Turner's cautioning that the stages of separation and liminality are not neatly demarcated, often overlapping when pre-burial practices intended to preserve the corpse are enacted upon it, prolonging the liminal state for either emotional or symbolic purpose.

[119] Plut. *Alex*. 77.3: τὸ σῶμα κείμενον ἐν τόποις θερμοῖς καὶ πνιγώδεσιν οὐδὲν ἔσχε τοιαύτης φθορᾶς σημεῖον, ἀλλ᾽ ἔμεινε καθαρὸν καὶ πρόσφατον. Translation: Plutarch, *Lives, Volume VII: Demosthenes and Cicero. Alexander and Caesar*, trans. Bernadotte Perrin (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1919).

preservation; so remarkable was the uncorrupted body that "the Egyptians and Chaldeans who were ordered to care for the body after their manner, at first, as if he were still breathing, did not dare to lay their hands upon him."[120] Although those in Quintus Curtius' day may not have actually believed that Alexander's body did not suffer decay,[121] his recounting of the scenario underscores the physical body as a central part of the material culture of mortuary ritual action and its significance for understanding farther-reaching social and political ideas and the body's central performative role in the dispensation, transference, and legitimation of power.

Considered within a theoretical framework that suggests a semantic function of the corpse effective through the very process of decomposition and decay, the uncorrupted state of Alexander's corpse and the deliberate prolonging of this state reflects the inability (or unwillingness) of the Successors to reintegrate Alexander into his new, permanent role as a deceased member of society. There was no clear heir and no plan for how to manage the empire upon Alexander's death, and the decision to embalm may therefore be interpreted as a deliberate attempt to amend the susceptibility of the empire that would have been visually signified by the biological decay of his body. Alexander's embalming can, therefore, be seen as an attempt to preserve not simply the substance of the leader, but the stability he offered as well. In this way, the manipulation of Alexander's body renders it an object of material culture. The central focus on the body's physicality (materiality) is politically and socially determinant, itself an agent in the political drama of the empire. What emerges from this analysis is an intense correlation

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[120] Curt. 10.10.13: Vigor quoque, qui constat ex spiritu, non dum destituerat vultum. Itaque Aegyptii Chaldaeique iussi corpus suo more curare primo non sunt ausi admovere velut spiranti manus: deinde precati, ut ius fasque esset mortalibus attrectare deum, purgavere corpus, repletumque est odoribus aureum solium et capiti adiecta fortunae eius insignia. Translation: Quintus Curtius, *History of Alexander, Volume II: Books 6-10,* trans. J. C. Rolfe (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1946).

[121] Curt. 10.10.11-12.

between body and empire, reinforced in Arrian's description of Perdiccas' invasion of Egypt, during which Perdiccas "[gained] control of Alexander's body."[122] Andrew Erskine notes that the verb used for "gaining control" is *kratein*, which usually indicates the exercise of power. The specific vocabulary in this case highlights a broader discourse about the relationship between body and empire: Perdiccas, in other words, intended to exercise power over Alexander's body and thus, by extension, his kingdom.[123]

In the case of Philip II, as well as the other Successors and kings explored in this chapter, the handling of and response to the physical corpse culminate in its burial within a monument, the final rite during the ritual process that permanently frames an individual's completed reincorporation into society. The prolonged transitional state of Alexander's corpse is highlighted in the fact that his initial deposition was not a permanent one: his body was contained not within a tomb, but instead within an elaborate hearse that served as the architectural frame for the embalmed corpse during the transitional period (Fig. 4). This frame is significant because it visually displayed the Successors' interpretation of the function of Alexander's body and the political and cultural significance his physical remains would bear on future generations of leaders.

Diodorus Siculus provides the most complete description of Alexander's hearse, which, like several well-known funerary monuments prior to its construction (for example, the Nereid Monument of Xanthos in Lykia, ca. 380 BCE, and the Mausoleion of Halikarnassos in Karia, ca. 350 BCE) (Figs. 5-6), would have been commonly recognized as a temple-like structure (aedicula):

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[122] Erskine, "Life after Death," 171. Arrian, *Ta meta Alexandron* (Roos), frag. 24.1-8 (*FGrH* 156 F10.1)

[123] Erskine, "Life after Death," 171.

First they prepared a coffin of the proper size for the body, made of hammered gold, and the space about the body they filled with spices such as could make the body sweet smelling and incorruptible. Upon this chest there had been placed a cover of gold, matching it to a nicety, and fitting about its upper rim. Over this was laid a magnificent purple robe embroidered with gold, beside which they placed the arms of the deceased, wishing the design of the whole to be in harmony with his accomplishments. Then they set up next to it the covered carriage that was to carry it. At the top of the carriage was built a vault of gold, eight cubits wide and twelve long, covered with overlapping scales set with precious stones. Beneath the roof all along the work was a rectangular cornice of gold, from which projected heads of goat-stags in high relief. Gold rings two palms broad were suspended from these, and through the rings there ran a festive garland beautifully decorated in bright colors of all kinds. At the ends there were tassels of network suspending large bells, so that any who were approaching heard the sound from a great distance. On each corner of the vault on each side was a golden figure of Victory holding a trophy. The colonnade that supported the vault was of gold with Ionic capitals. Within the colonnade was a golden net, made of cords the thickness of a finger, which carried four long painted tablets, their ends adjoining, each equal in length to a side of the colonnade.[124]

One of the most significant parts of Diodorus' description is that he begins the discussion by outlining the arrangement of the body and the coffin, focusing the reader's attention on the physical and symbolic crux of the passage. The remaining description, consequently, frames this central element, as the temple-like hearse would have framed the embalmed body functioning much like a cult statue in its architectural frame.[125] While the spectators would have seen the Ionic colonnade and temple facade first, looking in from the outside, Diodorus chooses to use the

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[124] Diod. 18.26: Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἁρμόζον τῷ σώματι κατεσκευάσθη χρυσοῦν σφυρήλατον ἀγγεῖον καὶ τοῦτ᾿ ἀνὰ μέσον ἐπλήρωσαν ἀρωμάτων τῶν ἅμα δυναμένων τὴν εὐωδίαν καὶ τὴν διαμονὴν παρέχεσθαι τῷ σώματι. ἐπάνω δὲ τῆς θήκης ἐπετέθειτο καλυπτὴρ χρυσοῦς, ἁρμόζων ἀκριβῶς καὶ περιλαμβάνων τὴν ἀνωτάτω περιφέρειαν. ταύτης δ᾿ ἐπάνω περιέκειτο φοινικὶς διαπρεπὴς χρυσοποίκιλτος, παρ᾿ ἣν ἔθεσαν τὰ τοῦ μετηλλαχότος ὅπλα, βουλόμενοι συνοικειοῦν τὴν ὅλην φαντασίαν ταῖς προκατειργασμέναις πράξεσι. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα παρέστησαν τὴν τοῦτο κομιοῦσαν ἁρμάμαξαν, ἧς κατεσκεύαστο κατὰ μὲν τὴν κορυφὴν καμάρα χρυσῆ, ἔχουσα φολίδα λιθοκόλλητον, ἧς ἦν τὸ μὲν πλάτος ὀκτὼ πηχῶν, τὸ δὲ μῆκος δώδεκα, ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν ὑπωροφίαν παρ᾿ ὅλον τὸ ἔργον θριγκὸς χρυσοῦς, τῷ σχήματι τετράγωνος, ἔχων τραγελάφων προτομὰς ἐκτύπους, ἐξ ὧν ἤρτηντο κρίκοι χρυσοῖ διπάλαιστοι, δι᾿ ὧν κατακεκρέμαστο στέμμα πομπικὸν χρώμασι παντοδαποῖς διαπρεπῶς κατηνθισμένον. ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἄκρων ὑπῆρχε θύσανος δικτυωτὸς ἔχων εὐμεγέθεις κώδωνας, ὥστ᾿ ἐκ πολλοῦ διαστήματος προσπίπτειν τὸν ψόφον τοῖς ἐγγίζουσι. κατὰ δὲ τὰς τῆς καμάρας γωνίας ἐφ᾿ ἑκάστης ἦν πλευρᾶς Νίκη χρυσῆ τροπαιοφόρος. τὸ δ᾿ ἐκδεχόμενον τὴν καμάραν περίστυλον χρυσοῦν ὑπῆρχεν, ἔχον Ἰωνικὰ κιονόκρανα. ἐντὸς δὲ τοῦ περιστύλου δίκτυον ἦν χρυσοῦν, τὸ πάχος τῇ πλοκῇ δακτυλιαῖον καὶ πίνακας παραλλήλους ζωοφόρους τέσσαρας ἴσους τοῖς τοίχοις ἔχον. Translation: Diodorus Siculus, *Library of History, Volume IX: Books 18-19.65*, trans. Russel M. Geer (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1947).

[125] For the analogy between Alexander's body and a cult statue, cf. Erskine, "Life after Death," 174. A reconstruction of the hearse can be found in S. G. Miller, "Alexander's Funeral Cart," *Ancient Macedonia* 4 (1986): 401-11.

body/coffin to structure the other components. The coffin, made of hammered gold, was covered with what Diodorus calls a *phoinikis*, an elaborate red or purple robe usually associated with military contexts. In Plutarch, the *phoinikis* appears as a specific trait of the Macedonian army, and its primary function was to signal attack at the crucial moment of battle.[126] The *phoinikis* was distinct from a royal standard or heraldic flag; its uniqueness resulted from its vivid red or purple color combined with its sudden apparition to convey military orders from the king rapidly.[127] The brilliantly colored cloak laid over the body and adjacent to Alexander's weapons symbolized the authority, agility, and success he had attained on the battlefield; even in death, he maintained symbolic command of the army, vested with the singular emblem of tactical authority.

Diodorus' emphasis on the central importance - both physical and symbolic - of Alexander's body informs an interpretation of the impetus behind the Successors' treatment of his corpse. Centuries after his death, Alexander's body still exercised a powerful political rhetoric in the years preceding the advent of the Roman Empire, during which Julius Caesar and later Octavian (the future Emperor Augustus) visited the *Sēma* in the hopes of legitimizing a political association with the Macedonian leader. Octavian's visit layered both distant and recent political parallels in its discourse: it affirmed his political connection with Alexander, yet it also demonstrated a more immediate dynastic linkage to his adoptive father, Julius Caesar.[128]

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[126] Plut. *Aem*. 18; Plut. *Philopoimen* 6.2.

[127] C. Nylander, "The Standard of the Great King: A Problem in the Alexander Mosaic," *OpRom* 14 (1983): 19-37.

[128] The dynastic framework forms a defining element of later biographers' discussions of the lives of these rulers. Diana Spencer suggests that Plutarch's comparison of Alexander and Julius Caesar highlights the void of succession and civil wars that followed each of their deaths, and that Octavian, the legal heir of Caesar, made strides post-Actium towards positioning himself as the heir of Alexander, for example, in his founding of Nikopolis just after the visit to Alexander's tomb. He appropriated the successful qualities of Alexander (military prowess, divine favor, charisma), although the qualification of the adoption of Alexandrian imagery will be discussed below. Spencer, *The Roman Alexander*, 175-77, 195.

Octavian's emulation of Caesar's encounter was an expression of *pietas* that secured his position in the dynastic lineage of Hellenistic and Roman rulers. Retracing Caesar's steps in Alexandria reinforced Hellenistic dynastic ties according to the Roman *princeps*' interests, binding both his individual and state identity to the framework established by both Alexander and Caesar. In this way, physical engagement with the body and the mausoleum iterates constructions of both personal and public identities.

In the case of Alexander, as in the case of Lenin, the deceased body does not simply remain passive in the negotiations of the living successors; rather, its presence serves as a powerful validating agent for successive generations. When Alexander died, the amount of effort exerted to take possession of the body, including the hearse's hijacking by Ptolemy, who memorialized the body at Memphis, and the corpse's later incorporation into the dynastic palatial complex at Alexandria by Ptolemy IV Philopator in the late third century BCE[129] directly corresponds to the Successors' awareness of the potency of displaying successive rights through a funeral ceremony, i.e., by publically displaying control over the material remains of the deceased predecessor. The early Roman monarchs did not initiate this pattern; rather, Julius Caesar and Octavian embedded the significance of their actions into a paradigm established by the actions of both Alexander's Successors and later Hellenistic kings. For example, the Indo-Greek king Menander I Soter's death in 130 BCE resulted in rival claims regarding possession of his remains; finally, and with great difficulty, the claimants came to the agreement that the king's ashes should be divided equally among them.[130] The ashes were then incorporated into

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[129] A. Stewart, *Faces of Power: Alexander's Image and Hellenistic Politics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 369-75; Erskine, "Life after Death," 163-79; Strabo 17.1.8.

[130] Plutarch, *Moralia*, 821 D-E.

monuments within each of the rival cities, becoming a permanent fixture in the ritual life of the cities of his empire.[131] The very notion that warring over Menander's physical remains was conducted by rival leaders mirrors the hijacking of Alexander's corpse by Ptolemy in addition to highlighting the powerful directive of legitimation that could be enacted upon possession of royal remains.

A more graphic illustration of this concept is provided by Plutarch's account of the Roman general Pompey's reception of the news in 63 BCE of the death of Mithridates VI of Pontos: Pompey's army, "filled with joy … gave itself up to sacrifices and entertainments, feeling that in the person of Mithridates ten thousand enemies had died."[132] Pharnakes, Mithridates' son (and according to some accounts his assassin), gave the body a perfunctory embalming and delivered it either to Amisos or to Sinope, where Pompey received it along with many other gifts that had been brought from Pharnakes as well as many other dead bodies of the royal family.[133] Plutarch writes that Pompey could not bring himself to look upon Mithridates' body, already disfigured on account of the cursory treatment given by Pharnakes' embalmers, who neglected to remove the brain, but those who were keen to see it recognized it by the scars.

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[131] Canepa, "Achaemenid and Seleukid Royal Funerary Practices and Middle Iranian Kingship," 10, n. 43.

[132] Plutarch, *Pomp.*, 42.1: ἐκ τούτου τὸ μὲν στράτευμα τῇ χαρᾷ χρώμενον, ὡς εἰκός, ἐν θυσίαις καὶ συνουσίαις διῆγεν, ὡς ἐν τῷ Μιθριδάτου σώματι μυρίων τεθνηκότων πολεμίων. Translation: Plutarch, *Lives, Volume V: Agesilaus and Pompey. Pelopidas and Marcellus,* trans. Bernadotte Perrin (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1917).

[133] J. M. Højte, "The Death and Burial of Mithridates VI," in *Mithridates VI and the Pontic Kingdom*, ed. J. M. Højte (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 2009), 121. A slight discrepancy in the initial transfer of the body is evident in the accounts of Plutarch and Appian: Appian states that Pharnakes sent the body straight to Sinope (*Mithr.* 16.113), while Plutarch records that Pompey first inspected it at Amisos and later it was removed to Sinope (*Pomp.* 42.3)

Out of admiration for the unique achievements of the Pontic king, Pompey provided for

Mithridates' funeral and royal interment in the tombs of his forefathers at Sinope.[134]

Several details in the sequence of events given by Plutarch and Appian warrant a closer

examination. First, whether Mithridates died at the hands of his son or by his own sword, it is

nevertheless unusual that Pharnakes did not handle the corpse properly and immediately

distanced himself from it by leaving the remainder of the disposal process to be completed by

another. When Pharnakes deferred the privilege of ceremonial disposal traditionally granted to

the son and heir, he sent the corpse accompanied by a request to rule his paternal kingdom,

instead of conveniently usurping his inheritance upon the demise of the reigning king. The image

of a son presiding over the funeral of his father was a conventional sign of the legitimation of

succession in the Hellenistic kingdoms, and perhaps it is a testament to the victories of Rome

that Pharnakes wantonly leaves the appropriate ceremonial in Pompey's hands.[135] The semantic

function of this gesture is revealing: Pharnakes did not properly manage the physical remains of

his father, and he is relegated to requesting, rather than automatically usurping, sovereignty over

the Pontic kingdom. Furthermore, it is significant that Pompey appears on the scene already

familiar with this custom, and, as the narrative appears in Appian, assumes the duty without

hesitation. The actions of both Pharnakes and Pompey reveal a recognition of the fundamental

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[134] Plutarch, *Pomp.*, 42.2-3: καὶ ταχὺ τὰς ἐν μέσῳ διεξελθὼν ἐπαρχίας εἰς Ἀμισὸν ἀφίκετο, καὶ κατέλαβε πολλὰ μὲν δῶρα παρὰ Φαρνάκου κεκομισμένα, πολλὰ δὲ σώματα τῶν βασιλικῶν, αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν Μιθριδάτου νεκρὸν οὐ πάνυ γνώριμον ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου· τὸν γὰρ ἐγκέφαλον ἔλαθεν ἐκτῆξαι τοὺς θεραπεύοντας· ἀλλὰ ταῖς οὐλαῖς ἐπεγίγνωσκον οἱ δεόμενοι τοῦ θεάματος· οὐ γὰρ αὐτὸς Πομπήϊος ἰδεῖν ὑπέμεινεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἀφοσιωσάμενος τὸ νεμεσητὸν εἰς Σινώπην ἀπέπεμψε; Appian, *Mithr.*, 16.113: Φαρνάκης δὲ Πομπηίῳ τὸν νέκυν τοῦ πατρὸς ἐς Σινώπην ἐπὶ τριήρους ἔπεμπε, καὶ τοὺς Μάνιον ἑλόντας, ὅμηρά τε πολλὰ ὅσα ἦν Ἑλληνικά τε καὶ βαρβαρικά, δεόμενος ἢ τῆς πατρῴας ἀρχῆς ἢ Βοσπόρου γε βασιλεύειν μόνου, ἥν τινα καὶ Μαχάρης ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ βασιλείαν παρὰ Μιθριδάτου παρειλήφει.

[135] Plutarch lists the body of Mithridates almost as a part of the war booty sent from Pharnakes to Pompey: καὶ κατέλαβε πολλὰ μὲν δῶρα παρὰ Φαρνάκου κεκομισμένα, πολλὰ δὲ σώματα τῶν βασιλικῶν, αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν Μιθριδάτου νεκρὸν … ("he found many gifts that had been brought from Pharnaces, and many dead bodies of the royal family, and the corpse of Mithridates himself … "); *Pomp.* 42.2. Translation: Plutarch, *Lives, Volume V*.

political role played by the person who enacts the proper funereal rites upon the body of the deceased king. By assuming the funereal duties normally delegated to the successor, Pompey aligns his actions with those of Alexander at the death of Dareios, positioning himself as a new Alexander and Mithridates as an eastern despot.[136]

The account of the death and burial of Mithridates VI illuminates several important features of the process of deposition in which the materiality of the corpse, the method of its public display, and the specific political concerns of the Hellenistic kings together reinforce and reconstruct the cultural ideologies that are most clearly manifest at the vulnerable moment of succession. During the politically volatile period of the Hellenistic monarchs and, eventually, the early Roman emperors, the charged political potential of a public funeral became increasingly important. While the general relationship between political motivation and display of funerary rites is a common thread in contemporary scholarship on ancient funerals, the connections between the specific nature of the relationship of the living audience to the physical remains of the deceased remain largely underexplored. In the extant literary record, the dead body performs centrally in the spectacle of the public funeral, and its relationship to the audience constitutes a constant play between display and concealment, contact and distance, which underscores specific political ideologies characteristic of the Hellenistic Successors, kings, and early Roman leaders.

When Kassander aspired to the Macedonian throne in the years following Alexander's death, his decisions concerning his public image required special manipulation because he was not the heir apparent. Recognizing the necessity of creating a spectacle in which he physically exercised control over the legitimate royal body, Kassander publically performed secondary funerary rites for Philip III Arrhidaios, the elder half-brother of Alexander, and his wife Adea

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[136] Højte, "The Death and Burial of Mithridates VI," 123.

Eurydike in 316 BCE.[137] After their deaths at the hands of Olympias, Kassander removed their bodies to the royal necropolis at Aigai in a ceremony that included funerary games and a series of *monomachia* entered by four of his soldiers.[138] Alonso notes that Diodoros explicitly links Kassander's actions with those expected of a king: "after this, already conducting himself as a king in administering the affairs of the realm, he buried Eurydike and Philip, the king and queen … as was the royal custom."[139] A similar pattern emerges in Appian's account of the burial of Seleukos I, for whom Philetairos, the governor of Pergamon, paid a large amount of money to cremate, sending the ashes to Seleukos' son Antiochos for ceremonial disposal.[140] While Philetairos did what was necessary for the body at the moment, he deferred, like Pharnakes, comprehensive ritual treatment to the actual, functioning successor. In some instances, a concern for control over the physical remains turned into a veritable anxiety, as evident in the accounts of Lysimachos' end. Lysimachos died in battle at Corpedium in 281 BCE, and Appian records that the king's dog protected the body for some time until it was found, already partly decomposed, by either Thorax of Pharsalus or Lysimachos' son Alexander after he fled from Seleukos.[141] Alexander reportedly searched for the body for a long time, and the bones were later deposited in the temple of the Lysimacheians, their presence powerful enough to confer the title of "Lysimacheion" upon the structure. These anecdotes, although probably the result of a

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[137] Alonso, "Some Remarks on the Funerals of the Kings," 287.

[138] Ibid., 287-88.

[139] Diodoros 19.52.5: … μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα βασιλικῶς ἤδη διεξάγων τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν Εὐρυδίκην μὲν καὶ Φίλιππον τοὺς βασιλεῖς, ἔτι δὲ Κύνναν, ἣν ἀνεῖλεν Ἀλκέτας, ἔθαψεν ἐν Αἰγαιαῖς, καθάπερ ἔθος ἦν τοῖς βασιλεῦσι. Translation: Diodorus Siculus, *Library of History, Volume IX: Books 18-19.65*.

[140] Appian, *Syr.*, 10.63. Alonso, "Some Remarks on the Funerals of the Kings," 293-94.

[141] Appian, *Syr.*, 10.64. Alonso, "Some Remarks on the Funerals of the Kings," 295.

historiographic *logos*,[142] nevertheless demonstrate that later writers recognized the importance of the successor coming into contact with and memorializing the physical body of the king, even going so far as Lysimachos' son did in intentionally returning from Seleukos to search for the decomposing remains of his father.

Public demonstration of physical contact with and control over a deceased king's body conveys specific political ideas that rapidly emerge at the forefront of a monarchy at its potentially weakest moment. Yet this construction of political propaganda is managed differently for those participating as spectators of the performance. From this viewpoint, the explanation of the symbolic power of the corpse is achieved through a distancing; i.e., an abstract idea of the king, which is used to further the political designs of those in power. The translation of physical remains into abstract signifiers appears in Plutarch's mention of the Indo-Greek king Menander I, whose death prompted the division of his ashes and their incorporation into various monuments around his kingdom.[143] Clearly, the importance of physical contact with Menander's ashes could be paralleled by no other memorial, although their literal incorporation rendered his body a symbolic ideal.

Additionally, the funeral of Demetrios Poliorketes (d. 283 BCE) is often discussed as an example of the "theatricality" that characterized the presentation of Hellenistic monarchs to their subjects.[144] Plutarch remarks that even in death, "there was something dramatic and theatrical" in

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[142] Alonso, "Some Remarks on the Funerals of the Kings," 295.

[143] Plutarch, *Moralia*, 821 D-E. Canepa, "Achaemenid and Seleukid Royal Funerary Practices and Middle Iranian Kingship," 10. Canepa suggests that these monuments were likely Buddhist stupas, rather than a Greek temenos and naos complex, as had been employed for Seleukos I by his son Antiochos.

[144] J. J. Pollitt, *Art in the Hellenistic Age* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 6-7; Chaniotis, "Theatricality Beyond the Theater," 244-45.

the ceremonies that transported Demetrios to his final resting place.[145] When Demetrios' son

Antigonos finally met the fleet carrying his father's cremated remains,

> They were given to him in a golden urn, and he placed them in the largest of the admiral's ships … some brought garlands to adorn the urn, others sent men in funeral attire to assist in escorting it home and burying it. When the fleet put in at Corinth, the cinerary vase was conspicuous on the vessel's poop, adorned with royal purple and a king's diadem, and young men stood about in arms as a bodyguard.[146]

In Plutarch's biography, the urn functions as a signifier of the king's body, even to the point that

it was vested with garlands as well as the royal purple and diadem as the king himself would

have been. During the Late Classical and Hellenistic period, textiles played a poignant symbolic

role in funerary rituals. Textiles could adorn the tomb as well as the body, and clear evidence

exists of cremated bodies being wrapped in cloth prior to placement within a funereal

container.[147] Textiles containing the bones or ashes of the deceased have been interpreted as a

gesture of care, preventing the remains from coming into contact with the mortuary vessel;

perhaps less frequent, and expressing a different symbolic nuance, are instances in which the

vessel itself is wrapped in cloth.[148] This is how Plutarch describes the display of Demetrios'

ashes. As a protective cloth covering shields the deceased's physical remains from contact with

the vessel, so the cloth that covers the vessel (in this case, interpreted as a stand-in for the body)

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[145] Plutarch, *Demetr.*, 53.1-2: ἔσχε μέντοι καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν ταφὴν αὐτοῦ τραγικήν τινα καὶ θεατρικὴν διάθεσιν. Translation: Plutarch, *Lives, Volume IX: Demetrius and Antony. Pyrrhus and Gaius Marius*, translated by Bernadotte Perrin (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1920).

[146] Ibid. καὶ δεξάμενος εἰς τὴν μεγίστην τῶν ναυαρχίδων ἔθετο τὴν ὑδρίαν χρυσήλατον οὖσαν … τοῦτο μὲν στεφάνους ἐπέφερον τῇ ὑδρίᾳ, τοῦτο δὲ ἄνδρας ἐν σχήματι πενθίμῳ συνθάψοντας καὶ συμπαραπέμψοντας ἀπέστελλον. Translation: Plutarch, *Lives, Volume IX*.

[147] D. Andrianou, "Eternal Comfort: Funerary Textiles in Late Classical and Hellenistic Greece," in *Dressing the Dead in Classical Antiquity*, ed. M. Carroll and J. P. Wild (Stroud, Gloucestershire: Amberley, 2012), 44. In Tomb II at Vergina, the burnt bones of the royal bodies were found wrapped in traces of a purple cloth and placed inside a gold *larnax* before final deposition in a marble sarcophagus. M. Andronikos, *Vergina: The Royal Tombs and the Ancient City* (Athens: Ekdotike Athenon, 1984), 75-81, fig. 41 and 42.

[148] Andrianou, "Eternal Comfort," 47-48.

results in the body's heightened removal from physical contact. Both the urn and the drapery, therefore, effectively remove the abstract royal body into an elevated, sacred, literally untouchable realm. Intensifying the corollary between body and urn, the bodyguard surrounding Demetrios' urn is also analogous to the royal retinue that traditionally accompanied living kings; in fact, all of the accouterments are present in this scene to give the impression of a parade accompanying the king except for the body itself, contained, concealed, and physically protected within the expensive pageantry. A similar arrangement was provided for the funeral of Herod the Great in 4 BCE, in which the king's body was laid upon a solid gold bier, wrapped in royal purple, and adorned with a diadem and golden victory wreath on the head and a scepter placed at his right hand. Herod's processional escort included his sons and kinsmen, followed by an international guard and the entire army in full battle array, and finally five hundred household servants and freedmen, who accompanied the body twenty-four miles to Herodion, where it was buried.[149] These features, considered together with an analysis of the theatricality underlying much of contemporary monarchical presentation, structures a specific political rhetoric that resonates with other propagandistic tactics familiar to Hellenistic rulers.

Plutarch's suggestion that the funeral ceremonies of Demetrios were particularly theatrical, in accordance with his role as "tragic actor" on the Athenian political stage, is a theme that increasingly characterizes the relationship between monarch and subject in the Hellenistic period.[150] Angelos Chaniotis argues that popular perception of public life assumed the language and semiotic patterns of theatrical performances initiated in Athens and subsequently diffused

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[149] Josephus, *BJ* 1.671. See also Strootman, *Courts and Elites in the Hellenistic Empires*, 213.

[150] Pollitt, *Art in the Hellenistic Age*, 6-7. Plutarch's comparison is summed up in *Demetrios* 41.3: οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι, καὶ μάλιστα Δημήτριος, ὡς ἐπὶ σκηνῆς τὸ βάρος ὑποκρίνοιντο καὶ τὸν ὄγκον τοῦ ἀνδρός ("[other kings], and particularly Demetrius, did but assume Alexander's majesty and pomp, like actors on a stage.") Translation: Plutarch, *Lives, Volume IX*. Other comparisons can be found in 34.3-4 and 44.6.

throughout the Hellenistic world.[151] The popularity of theatrical performances made them a

"ubiquitous experience," substantially underscored by the theater's role as a dominant

architectural component of Hellenistic cities and the casting of a king or statesman in the role of

actor or performer "as a means of provoking specific reactions and gaining control of the

feelings of the spectators.[152] As a result of this, the citizens, i.e., spectators, became separated

from the civic activities and festivals, creating a "culture of onlookers" that increasingly

differentiated between the "protagonists" of public life (kings, professional generals, and other

urban elites) and the common people.[153] The language employed by Plutarch to describe

Demetrios' funeral is similarly inflected with dialogue borrowed from the theater, and, like the

monarchs who used such language as a distancing mechanism between themselves as

protagonists and the rest of the city, the pomp and ceremony accompanying Demetrios' urn

clearly marks it as an individual, differentiated focal point. This distance has also been termed a

"protective shell;" in order to preserve his function as a possessor of power, the monarch "must

conceal his actual human frailty, blow himself up into a being larger than life, above the common

run of humanity."[154] Concealing the mortal body of Demetrios mitigated one of the essential

paradoxes of "mortal divinity" that characterized many Hellenistic kingships.[155]

This concept is intensified in the evidence that survives for the funerals of Republican

Roman elites and later Roman emperors. In her discussion of the imperial funerary pyre as a kind

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[151] Chaniotis, "Theatricality Beyond the Theater," 220.

[152] Ibid., 221, 224, 232-45.

[153] Ibid., 247, 252-53.

[154] A. Wallace-Hadrill, "*Civilis Princeps*: Between Citizen and King," *JRA* 72 (1982): 32.

[155] For a discussion of this problem, see A. Chaniotis, "The Divinity of Hellenistic Rulers," in *A Companion to the Hellenistic World*, ed. A. Erskine (Oxford: Blackwell, 2003), 431-32. Demetrios' physicality is elsewhere celebrated as an embodiment of *epiphaneia*, or the "visibility of divine power." (431).

of "ephemeral architecture" the very temporality of which accentuated its imprint on public memory, Eve D'Ambra has argued that the focus on the body's decomposition during *crematio* heightened the distinction between Roman protagonist and spectators.[156] In the elaborate funeral for the Roman general Sulla in 78 BCE, conducted in the Roman Forum before the eyes of the entire city, he was given a sculpture made out of incense that, once lit, de-materialized into a cloud of perfumed smoke that stimulated an ethereal atmosphere among the spectators.[157] During imperial funerals, an eagle bearing the soul of the emperor to the heavens would be released as the pyre was lit, and it was precisely this physical elimination of the imperial corpse that enabled apotheosis to take place before the eyes of the Roman people.[158] In other words, deification - the ultimate distinction between royal protagonist and mundane spectator - was made possible by the complete dissolution of the physical relationship of the corpse to anyone still living.

Concealment, moreover, could offer a dissonant message as well. The dissolved physical relationship effected by the concealment of the body operated at two extremes: not only did it provide visual justification for the apotheosis of an individual, it also, in the cases of improper burial, supported the dissonant message that a royal family member was not a legitimate successor. For example, in the midst of his aspirations to the Macedonian throne after Alexander's death, Kassander was responsible for the covert murders of Alexander IV (the teenaged son of Alexander the Great) and his mother Barsine, ordering "that their bodies should

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[156] E. D'Ambra, "The Imperial Funerary Pyre as a Work of Ephemeral Architecture," in *The Emperor and Rome: Space, Representation, and Ritual*, ed. B. Ewald and C. Noreña (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 290.

[157] Ibid., 305. Plut. *Sull.* 38.

[158] D'Ambra, "The Imperial Funerary Pyre as a Work of Ephemeral Architecture," 305.

be privately buried in the earth lest the murder should be betrayed by a regular funeral."[159] Justin

reports that the same fate fell on other members of Alexander's family, including Roxane and her

infant son, and Olympias, Alexander's mother, along with her other son.[160] Like Alexander IV

and Barsine, these family members likely did not receive proper burial. Kassander's insistence on

secrecy and concealment was the most effective method of legitimizing himself. Alexander's

sister, Kleopatra, met a similar end when she was secretly murdered by Antigonos in 308 BCE.

Antigonos, however, blamed others for her murder and "took care that the funeral should be

conducted in royal fashion."[161] Antigonos' initial concealment of the body exonerated him from

the crime, and making a deliberate statement by later pretending to have uncovered the plot

against Kleopatra and himself taking charge of the public funeral demonstrated his control over

her remains, and, by extension, her legitimacy.

The values of contact and association with a legitimate predecessor as well as a

spectacular, elevating distance inherent in Hellenistic royal funerals are described visually in the

late-fourth century BCE Macedonian tombs at Vergina (ancient Aigai) (Fig. 7). The royal

necropolis of the Argeads was excavated by Manolis Andronikos beginning in 1977, and the

remarkable quality and relatively good state of preservation of the tombs and their paintings has

demanded scholarly attention ever since.[162] The identities of the tombs' inhabitants have been

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[159] Just. 15.2.3. Translation: Justin. *Justin, Cornelius Nepos, and Eutropius*, trans. J. S. Watson (London: H. G. Bohn, 1853).

[160] Ibid.; see also Paus. 9.7.2.

[161] Diod. 20.37.6. Translation: Diodorus Siculus, *Library of History, Volume X: Books 19.66-20*, trans. R. M. Geer (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1954).

[162] M. Andronikos, "Some Reflections on the Macedonian Tombs," *BSA* 82 (1987): 1-16 and M. Andronikos, *Vergina* (1984). For recent treatments of the frieze of Tomb II and its potential occupants, see H. Franks, *Hunters, Heroes, Kings: The Frieze of Tomb II at Vergina* (Princeton: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 2012), 116-26 (with review by O. Palagia, Review of H. Franks, *Hunters, Heroes, Kings: The Frieze of Tomb II at Vergina*, *JHS* 134 (2014): 255-56); R. J. Lane Fox, "Introduction: Dating the Royal Tombs at Vergina," in *Brill's Companion to Ancient Macedon: Studies in the Archaeology and History of Macedon, 650 BC-300 AD*, ed. R. J. Lane Fox

debated since their discovery, but a recent re-evaluation of the chronological evidence for the tombs suggests that Tomb II contained the burials of Philip III Arrhidaios and his wife Eurydike (Fig. 8).[163] Tomb II is distinctive in several of its features: the use of a barrel vault, the double burial of a middle-aged man and younger woman occupying the main chamber and the antechamber, respectively (usually the antechamber was reserved only for grave goods), and the presence of a painted frieze on the entablature of the quasi-illusionistic façade (Fig. 9).[164] The hunting scene has attracted a significant amount of attention because of its uniqueness in this context: although the quarry hunt is attested in references to earlier monuments such as the funeral pyre of Hephaistion (324 BCE),[165] as well as royal monuments from the western Persian empire (for example, the Nereid Monument at Xanthos, the Heroon of Trysa in Lykia, and the Mausoleion of Halikarnassos in Karia), the frieze of Tomb II is "the earliest-known monumental representation of a multiple quarry mounted hunt this side of the Aegean."[166] The frieze depicts a series of separate beast hunts – from left to right, a deer, a boar, lion, and a bear – artificially connected by a continuous landscape. There are a total of ten hunters (three mounted, seven on foot), most of whom are nude (seven of ten) and beardless (nine of ten).

The general political significance of this type of imagery accords well with Borza's and Palagia's identification of the tomb as that of Philip Arrhidaios, the Successor known to have

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(Boston: Brill, 2011), 1-34; M. B. Hatzopoulos, "The Burial of the Dead (at Vergina) or The Unending Controversy on the Identity of the Occupants of Tomb II," *Tekmeria* 9 (2008): 91-118; E. N. Borza and O. Palagia, "The Chronology of the Macedonian Royal Tombs at Vergina," *JdI* 122 (2007): 81-125.

[163] Borza and Palagia, "The Chronology of the Macedonian Royal Tombs at Vergina," 81-125.

[164] Ibid., 83-85. The most recent treatment of the facade frieze is Franks, *Hunters, Heroes, Kings* (2012); see also the original publication of the frieze in C. Saatsoglou-Paliadeli, *Βεργίνα. ο τάφος του Φιλίππου. Η τοιχογραγίαμε το κυνήγι* (Athens: Archaeological Society at Athens, 2004).

[165] Diod. 17.115.3

[166] Ibid., 90.

been buried at Aigai with his wife, Adea Eurydike. It has been argued that hunting imagery

associated with the Successors did not develop out of either Persian or Macedonian tradition;

rather, it functioned specifically as an allusion to their participation in the military conquests of

Alexander.[167] Furthermore, Palagia has proposed that following Alexander's death, the image of

the lion hunt was a deliberate symbolic appropriation used by the Successors to establish their

legitimate claims to his divided empire, a point which seems to be corroborated by the fact that

lion hunt imagery in the late-fourth and early-third centuries BCE usually feature Alexander in

combination with an aspirant to the throne.[168]

     Identifications have been suggested for several of the hunters in the Vergina frieze, most

notably the "portrait" of Alexander appearing on the central, mounted horseman and the

possibility of the bearded figure representing either Arrhidaios or Philip II (depending on the

identification of the occupant). Precise identification is elusive partly because of the

environmental damage inflicted on the fresco, but largely because individual figures are

distinguishable primarily on the basis of their clothing and hunting gear, rather than discernable

physiognomic features.[169] The "sameness" of the hunters' physical appearance alludes to the

communal values of these social protagonists, creating "a sense of cohesion … legitimizing and

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[167] E. Carney, "Hunting and the Macedonian Elite: Sharing the Rivalry of the Chase," in *The Hellenistic World: New Perspectives*, ed. D. Ogden (Oakville, CT: David Brown Book Co., 2002), 59-80. Borza and Palagia, "The Chronology of the Macedonian Royal Tombs at Vergina," 97.

[168] Borza and Palagia, "The Chronology of the Macedonian Royal Tombs at Vergina," 97. See also O. Palagia, "Alexander the Great as Lion Hunter: The Fresco of Vergina Tomb II and the Marble Frieze of Messene in the Louvre," *Minerva* 9 (1998): 25-28; "Hephaistion's Pyre and the Royal Hunt of Alexander," in *Alexander the Great in Fact and Fiction*, ed. A. B. Bosworth and J. Baynham (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 167-206. Recent discussions can be found in A. Cohen, *Art in the Era of Alexander the Great: Paradigms of Manhood and Their Cultural Traditions* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 64-118, 237-297 and Franks, *Hunters, Heroes, Kings* (2012).

[169] Borza and Palagia, "The Chronology of the Macedonian Royal Tombs at Vergina," 102-3.

reinforcing the reality of their power."[170] I would further suggest that such cohesion presents the

hunter group in an idealized, fictional realm that underscores the separation between the

figurehead of civic institutions and average citizens already felt in the early Hellenistic

representations of the ruler. The onlooker cannot parallel this idealized royal retinue, as the

figures physically exist above and beyond each visitor to the tomb. In addition to their sameness,

the figures also appear relatively static and posed, especially when viewed in contrast to the

expressive dynamism illustrated in the Persephone fresco of Tomb I (Fig. 10). This phenomenon

encourages a "monumentalization" of their poses, contrived to enhance the display factor of the

bodies and their spectacular effect; put simply, "A hero requires time for others to observe

him."[171] The arrested spectacle of the hunt at Vergina resonates with the political theatricality

evident in later manifestations of rulership: the hunters simultaneously engage in a self-absorbed

activity, yet present their bodies to the viewer for display, reinforcing the conceptual distance

between us and them, and allowing for the monumental pause in which the spectator can

appreciate this difference.[172] The significance of this moment is more fully apprehended when

the frieze is analyzed as a crowning element of the entrance to the double burial. Before the

visitor gains visual or physical access to the bodies, he or she must encounter the deceased as an

idealized concept somewhat removed from a realistic setting. Crowning the entrance, this

abstraction immediately frames the deceased, who assumes a heroic identity by the implication

of contact with Alexander and the physical and ideological differentiation between himself and

the viewer.

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[170] Cohen, *Art in the Era of Alexander the Great*, 294.

[171] Ibid., 289.

[172] Ibid., 290.

The excavation of the late-fourth-century BCE royal necropolis at Aigai alongside surviving accounts of the deaths of Philip and other members of Alexander's family are a fortuitous exception to the scattered nature of the evidence regarding subsequent Hellenistic royal funerals and burials. There exists no one-to-one correlation between a funeral record of a Hellenistic king and an extant tomb, but in piecing together the surviving evidence, specific patterns emerge that allow for the discernment of ideas and ideals present in the construction of such monuments. Literary sources inform us of Alexander's burial first in Memphis and finally in Alexandria, but the limited state of excavations in Alexandria problematizes the collection of information about the Ptolemaic basileia circuit and royal tombs known to have been contained within it (including Alexander's tomb). After Antiochos I completed the funeral rites for his father, Seleukos I, he established Seleukos' remains inside a temple within the grounds of the basileia at Seleukia Pieria. The remains of a temenos and small naos excavated in the early twentieth century may correspond to the Nikatoreion, as it was called, but no definitive identification exists.[173]

Possible evidence of Bactrian royal burials (ca. 250-150 BCE) exists at Ai Khanoum, but the first definitively royal structure comes from the early third century BCE - early second century BCE rock-cut tombs at Amaseia in Pontos.[174] Literary evidence again informs us of Parthian royal burials at the imperial capital Nisa, and the Roman emperor Caracalla supposedly plundered Arsacid royal tombs at Arbela, but so far no archaeological evidence for these

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[173] Alonso, "Some Remarks on the Funerals of Kings," 293; Canepa, "Achaemenid and Seleukid Royal Funerary Practices and Middle Iranian Kingship," 7; R. Stillwell, ed., *Antioch-on-the-Orontes: The Excavations of 1937-1939* (Princeton: Pub. for the Committee by the Department of Art and Archeology, 1941), 33-34; L. Hannestad and D. Potts, "Temple Architecture in the Seleucid Kingdom," in *Religion and Religious Practice in the Seleucid Kingdom*, ed. P. Bilde (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 1990), 116.

[174] Canepa, "Achaemenid and Seleukid Royal Funerary Practices and Middle Iranian Kingship," 8; R. Fleischer, "The Rock-tombs of the Pontic Kings in Amaseia (Amasya)," in *Mithridates VI and the Pontic Kingdom*, ed. J. M. Højte (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 2009), 109-120.

necropoleis has come to light.[175] The Belevi Mausoleion, although its occupant is not definitively known, was probably constructed in the third century BCE and likely belonged to a Hellenistic king or prince (Fig. 11).[176] From the first century BCE, the hierothesion constructed for Antiochos I ca. 64 BCE atop Nemrut Dağı and the accompanying royal female tumuli at Karakuş and Sesönk are perhaps the best-known royal tombs constructed after the death of Alexander (Fig. 12), and the lesser-known tumulus B at Karalar in Galatia preserves an inscription identifying it as the final resting place of Deiotaros II (d. 43-41 BCE), the Galatian prince and son of the Galatian king Deiotaros I.[177]

Highlighting the instances in which definitive identification is possible, I have chosen to focus primarily on the royal Hellenistic tombs in Pontos and Galatia, structuring my narrative around a series of case studies that emphasize regional comparison. The regions of Galatia and Pontos each provide a unique presentation of archaeological evidence for ethnic and cultural identity. Their justification for inclusion in a study of identity is based on the fact that each represents a kingdom in which the sovereign (and, by extension, a large part of the royal and elite circles) originated from the local population instead of the larger Successor dynasties. Furthermore, these indigenous kingdoms were closely linked historically as well as geographically. These areas were each ruled by local leaders, as opposed to Macedonians instituted by Alexander's Successors, and the kingdoms' engagement with both the spread of

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[175] Canepa, "Achaemenid and Seleukid Royal Funerary Practices and Middle Iranian Kingship," 15; A. Invernizzi, *Nisa Partica: Le sculture ellenistiche* (Florence: Le lettere, 2009); Cass. Dio. 71.26, 74.1.

[176] C. Praschniker and T. Max, *Das Mausoleum von Belevi* (Vienna: Im Selbstverlag des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes, 1979); W. Hoepfner, "Zum Mausoleum von Belevi," *AA* (1993): 111-23.

[177] D. H. Sanders, ed., *Nemrud Dağı: The Hierothesion of Antiochus I of Commagene: Results of the American Excavations Directed by Theresa B. Goell* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1996); F. K. Doerner, "Ein Drehbohrgerät löst das Problem der sepulkralen Kultanlage auf dem Karakuş," *AntW* 6 (1975): 60-63; M. Blömer, "Der Tumulus von Sesönk: Ein Monument des kommagenischen Ahnenkults?" in *Vom Euphrat bis zum Bosporus. Kleinasien in der Antike. Festschrift für Elmar Schwertheim zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. E. Winter, F. Biller, and A. Bossmann (Bonn: Habelt, 2008), 103-10; Arık, "Karalar Hafriyati," 102-67.

Hellenic culture and their local traditions necessitated a complex and multi-faceted presentation of their own cultural identities.

Returning to Red Square, we might once more consider the political implications of Lenin's entombment. Although he was embalmed at great expense and lies within an imperially suggestive monument, Huntington and Metcalf's statement that Lenin "has probably been seen by more people than any other leader in history" implicates one of the idiosyncrasies of his current state: that virtually anyone, on any day, can walk into the mausoleum and visually come into contact with the actual body of the Russian leader. Interpreted according to the principles of contact and distance outlined above, this seems strikingly unusual in that an entire population - not just royals, political leaders, social elites, or close family members - can potentially have close physical contact with his corpse. Perhaps, in this way, Lenin did receive his egalitarian burial after all.

Overview

In the last decade of scholarship, burial sites and necropoleis have increasingly been labeled as constituents of a funerary or burial "landscape;" a term that has not been the subject of semantic investigation despite its somewhat contradictory position: tombs and burials essentially connote a built environment, while addressing something as a landscape suggests patterns found in the natural environment. In most cases, the term "funerary landscape" or "burial landscape" has very little to do with the natural environment at all; it is most frequently used to denote a synoptic view of tomb traditions and burial patterns, taking a holistic view of monuments in the region.[178] A funerary "landscape," then, may be synonymous with a funerary "ensemble," akin to

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[178] See, for example, A. L. C. Emmerson, "Reconstructing the Funerary Landscape at Pompeii's Porta Stabia," *RStPomp* 21 (2010-2011): 77-86, where Emmerson's focus is on the placement of Pompeian tombs in their urban

how the term is used in defining sacred landscapes, i.e., an overview of the religious structures that describe the ritual life of a settlement's inhabitants.[179] A different usage, however, is provided by Anne Marie Carstens, who derives her study of funerary landscapes from J. J. Pollitt's emphasis on the "role of setting and vista," capitalizing on the intersection of nature and the built environment proffered by integration of dramatic natural features into the layout and planning of tombs.[180] In Carsten's definition, the funerary landscape is an ideological construction, in which the appropriation and incorporation of natural topography constitutes a conscious underscoring of specific architectural and ideological themes. Such paradigmatic use of topography can be observed in many Hellenistic sepulchral settings outside of Karia, lending justification to the notion that these appropriations were intentional, and that landscapes played a prominent role in the visual performance of symbolic and ideological associations. My study utilizes the term "funerary landscape" in both senses of the word: I aim to provide a synoptic view of specific burial traditions relative to their historical and regional contexts, as well as to investigate the ways in which natural topography and spectacular landscape features served an ideological need amongst Hellenistic royals and elites.

Chapter Two, "Funerary Architecture in Anatolia Prior to the Hellenistic Period," offers a brief review of the major rock-cut and tumulus traditions in Anatolia before Alexander's eastern campaigns in order to help define the architectural context for the structures from Amaseia and

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context and relationship to the city's infrastructure, and C. G. Cereti and S. Condet, "The Funerary Landscape between Naqš-e Rostam and Estahr (Persepolis Region): Discovery of a New Group of Late Sasanian Inscribed Rock-Cut Niches," *IrAnt* 50 (2015): 367-403, in which the tombs' situation within a rocky topography is considered, but is secondary to their relationship to other built structures.

[179] Cf. the volume edited by C. Gates, J. Morin, and T. Zimmermann, *Sacred Landscapes in Anatolia and Neighboring Regions* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2009).

[180] A. M. Carstens, "The Sepulchral Landscape of the Halikarnassos Peninsula in Hellenistic Times," in *Hellenistic Karia*, ed. R. van Bremen and J.-M. Carbon (Paris: De Boccard, 2010), 331; Pollitt, *Art in the Hellenistic Age*, 230-49.

Karalar. Chapter Three, "Structural Innovation and the Tumulus Traditions of Macedonia, Thrace, and Bithynia," outlines the major developments in funerary architecture that took place in the fourth century BCE. It highlights both the longstanding tradition of tumulus construction in the Mediterranean as well as specific innovations in roofing techniques of the chamber tombs beneath tumuli that had a profound impact on the Anatolian tumuli considered in this study. This chapter contends that the developments in roofing technique were inherently tied to the visibility and function of the tomb, and that, especially in the case of the Macedonian barrel vault, structural changes signal a change in the conception and function of the tomb itself. Analyzing the structural change as a means of comprehending the function of the tomb influences my interpretation of the royal Pontic tombs at Amaseia, which display unusual architectural features that are related to their function within a ritual context. Additionally, specific roofing techniques adopted in Thrace in the fourth-century BCE were transmitted through Bithynia and Western Anatolia, eventually appearing again during the first-century BCE in the Galatian necropolis at Karalar (ancient Bloukion). Analyzing the potential visibility of these roofing techniques and their semiotic value to the Thracians and Bithynians contributes to an understanding of why the Galatian kings appropriated a similar visual language in the construction of their tombs.

The case studies that form the heart of this dissertation are presented in Chapters Four and Five, "The Royal Galatian Necropolis at Karalar," and "The Royal Necropolis of the Mithridatic Kings at Amaseia," respectively. Chapter Four, dedicated to the royal Galatian necropolis at Karalar, dovetails with the analysis of tumuli presented in Chapter Three. I focus on providing a reconstruction of the necropolis and the three chamber tombs found there, making innovative use of GPS mapping technology as well as three-dimensional modeling in SketchUp. This technology allows for a fuller comprehension of the ancient site, which has previously been

inhibited by limited accessibility of both the site and the excavation report.[181] Using the digital

reconstruction as a foundation on which to build interpretive theories, I argue that the Galatian

kings buried in the necropolis at Karalar carefully constructed representations of themselves that

depended on a series of visual relationships. The orientation and topographical situation of the

tombs, the use of a monumental tumulus, the sculptural and architectural assemblages in front of

the tomb, the construction techniques employed in the interior chamber, as well as the small

finds from inside the tomb all unique appeals to distinct cultural practices in the Hellenistic

Mediterranean, and I argue that the Galatian kings used each of the elements to articulate their

cultural and ethnic identities to a variety of audiences.

A similar approach is employed for my discussion of the royal Pontic tombs at Amaseia

in Chapter Five. In this chapter, I also present GPS-based maps and three-dimensional

reconstructions of the tombs in order to substantiate the limited publication record of these

tombs. My study aims to rectify this scholarly gap, suggesting that the royal tombs at Amaseia

make visibly charged statements concerning the political and cultural identities of those interred.

When the Mithridatic tombs have been treated in scholarship, they are classified according to a

polarizing system that defines the earlier tombs as exhibiting a high degree of "Greekness," and

the later tombs as gradually relinquishing their Greek architectural influence in favor of local,

"non-Greek" architectural forms. This results in a highly tenuous paradigm in which architecture

serves as the basis for understanding the kings' political policies. I question these assumptions,

and argue instead that all 5 of the tombs deliberately appropriate visual/architectural vocabulary

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[181] The ancient ruins at Karalar are seldom visited today and are, consequently, somewhat difficult to find. The archaeological site is not distinguished by any signage or local literature, and requires a lengthy negotiation with the terrain in order to visit the tumuli. The tumuli themselves cannot even be seen from the modern village below; a visitor is first required to locate the ancient fortress (also unmarked) and, from that height, approximate an uphill course leading toward the tumuli. Furthermore, because the excavation report utilizes Ottoman verbage, it presents certain linguistic barriers even for native Turkish speakers. I am grateful to the assistance of fellow art historian İrem Yalçın in translating the text.

drawn from the Greek world in an effort to communicate notions of power and legitimize the

Mithridatic kings' authority to an audience familiar with the contemporary Mediterranean

language of power. Furthermore, other physical features (such as the topographical situation of

the tombs) indicate close affinities with Persian imperial authority. This interpretation cautions

us that Greek visual form cannot simply be interpreted as indexical to affinities with Greek

political policy, but rather suggests an innovative use of Hellenic visual vocabulary as a means of

authenticating local power to an international audience. A brief conclusion follows this analysis,

synthesizing my results and offering avenues for future research.

CHAPTER TWO: FUNERARY ARCHITECTURE IN ANATOLIA PRIOR TO THE HELLENISTIC PERIOD

Monumental tomb construction in Anatolia has generally been divided into three major categories: rock-cut tombs, tumuli and underground tombs, and built tombs.[182] This overview is structured around the broad typologies of rock-cut tombs and tumuli, which constitute a useful categorical division for two reasons. First, of the two major foci in this study, Amaseia contains a royal rock-cut necropolis and Karalar contains a royal tumulus necropolis. Second, while both types depend on natural topography, there is an essential distinction in the different construction processes used to emphasize characteristic features of the landscape. Built tombs are covered only briefly at the end of this chapter; a more comprehensive review is available elsewhere and they do not directly parallel the tombs at the forefront of this study.[183]

Because rock-cut tombs and tumuli negotiate an intimate relationship between natural topography and human interaction, they comprise a significant corpus of "places;" i.e., monuments that simultaneously result from human agency at a particular site and structure movement and experiences there. One of the most salient features of a place-based archaeological approach is the assertion such monuments cannot be treated in isolation from the complex assemblage of political, ritual, and settlement history that was created at each of these sites.[184] The monuments created at each site thus maintain agency in the articulation of power,

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[182] Fedak, *Monumental Tombs of the Hellenistic Age*, 29-64.

[183] Ibid., 29-46.

[184] Harmanşah, "Introduction," 1-12.

local history, and identity. For example, Hittite rock reliefs have been analyzed as politically

motivated, imperialist constructions within the landscape, whose functions primarily consisted of

marking borders as well as guarding territories and highways.[185] Tumuli also could be employed

as "ancestralizing strategies," demarcating not only territorial and community boundaries, but

also physically authenticating authority over those boundaries.[186] Similar patterns emerge upon

analysis of the topographical setting of later tombs, which utilized the ideological significance of

places to articulate more abstract notions of history and identity.

Rock-Cut Tombs

Situating funerary architecture within a topographical paradigm focuses our attention on

analyzing the practice of inscribing the landscape, providing comparative material for

articulating relationships between cultures and the use of shared objects, rather than using

architecture or iconography as a means of defining or symbolizing ethnic boundaries. Ethnicity is

a notoriously difficult concept to define, particularly with the limited evidence that exists for its

function in Classical studies. The historiography of Urartian architecture has traditionally defined

the ethnic associations with this culture's distinctive material culture as "unmistakable," but some

scholars have challenged this association, declaring the "confusion of pots with peoples, cultures

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[185] Harmanşah, "Stone Worlds," 383. See also Hirschfeld, *Die Felsreliefs in Kleinasien und das Volk der Hethiter*; Bonatz, "The Divine Image of the King"; Seeher, "Der Landschaft sein Siegel aufdrücken-hethitische Felsbilder und Hieroglypheninschriften als Ausdruck des herrscherlichen Macht - und Territorialanspruchs"; Glatz, "Empire as Network," 127-41.

[186] J. Hall, *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 138-40; *Hellenicity*, 23; O. Doonan, "Sacred Landscapes and the Colonization of the Sinop Promontory," in *Sacred Landscapes in Anatolia and Neighboring Regions*, ed. C. Gates, J. Morin, and T. Zimmermann (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2009), 74-75.

with assemblages, and languages with states" as "archaeological heresy."[187] Because no

epigraphic evidence elucidating funerary ritual survives from Urartu or its contemporary

neighbors, Charles Burney has argued that assigning an ethnic context based on "Urartian"

material culture is unreliable; while Iranian heritage for Urartian culture seems probable because

of the shared architectural relationships, ethnic affiliations are unreliable precisely because they

cannot be tethered to a shared funereal practice.[188] At most, the archaeological material from

Urartu, particularly the rock-cut tombs, indicates a general association with Iran, rather than a

clear ethnic lineage.[189]

The most impressive assemblage of Urartian rock-cut tombs marks the citadel of ancient

Tushpa (modern Van), the seat of Urartian government until 735 BCE, when it was attacked by

Tiglath-Pileser III (Fig. 13). Burney suggests that the innovation of rock-cut tombs should

probably be associated with the rise of the Urartian state, functioning as a striking visual mark of

royalty or governorship.[190] While there is no "fixed" sepulchral design, a great deal of

importance seems to have been given to the accessibility of the tombs, usually approached by a

broad, rock-cut stairway.[191] The tombs are identified as Urartian because of their situation within

Urartian fortress walls, but specific funerary functions are difficult to prove because of the

variety in design. In general, however, the rock tombs occupy prominent positions in the

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[187] P. Zimansky, "Urartian Material Culture as State Assemblage: An Anomaly in the Archaeology of Empire," *BASOR* no. 299/300 (1995): 103. See also C. Kramer, "Pots and Peoples," in *Mountains and Lowlands: Essays in the Archaeology of Greater Mesopotamia*, ed. L. D. Levine and T. C. Young (Malibu: Undena, 1977), 91 and O. Muscarella, "Median Art and Medizing Scholarship," *JNES* 46 (1987): 111-12.

[188] C. Burney, "Urartian Funerary Customs," in *The Archaeology of Death in the Ancient Near East*, ed. S. Campbell and A. Green (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 1995), 205. Possible indications of burial ritual may be indicated in the shallow insets in the rock floors, which were probably used for altars or offering tables.

[189] Ibid., 205-6.

[190] Ibid., 205-8.

[191] Ibid.

mountainous terrain, stimulating imaginative possibilities and strengthening political agendas

through their appropriation of the naturally rocky terrain for the symbolic presence of the state.

At the Urartian fortress of Palu, three rock-cut chamber tombs are accessible only by a narrow

ledge traversing the cliff in which they are cut. Because of the overhang of the cliff, the approach

and the entrances to the chambers are normally invisible from below,[192] suggesting that these

prestigious monuments intentionally manipulated the imposing topography in an effort to display

natural or supra-natural power, distanced from and inaccessible to the vast majority of people

who would see the monument.

While it is clear that the siting of the monumental Urartian rock-cut tombs intentionally

provoked associations with the state and its ability to construct a narrative of power situated

within the historical significance of place, the immediate architectural referent for the tombs is

more difficult to determine. Many scholars believe that the tombs' architectural design imitates

houses; it may, however, also derive from large tents or marquees.[193] In addition to occupying

prestigious, precipitous locations near Urartian fortresses, the most elaborate rock tombs are

situated in direct proximity to monumental state inscriptions.[194] For example, the annals of

Argishti I (r. ca. 785-763 BCE) are carved near the entrance to the chamber of Tomb I at Van

Kalesi. His father, Menua (r. ca. 810-786 BCE), similarly recorded his accomplishments at the

entrance to Tomb VI in the Van citadel. Another large inscription belonging to Menua can be

found at the site of Palu, located higher than and at right angles to a nearby tomb entrance (Fig.

14). The inscription faces the Murat River, and it is not known whether it was physically

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[192] Y. van Hulsteyn, "Urartian Built and Rock-Cut Tombs" (Ph.D. diss.: Bryn Mawr College, 1981), 135.

[193] Burney, "Urartian Funerary Customs," 207.

[194] Zimansky, "Urartian Material Culture as State Assemblage," 109-10.

connected (or even related) to the tomb by the stairs. The text iterates the conquest of the city of Sebeteria (possibly the ancient name of Palu), the city of Huzana, and the land of Supa. Additionally, an inscription of Rusa II (r. ca. 680-639 BCE) is located in the anteroom of a tomb chamber at Kale Köyü/Mazgirt, situated in the left corner of the side and back walls.[195] The text of Rusa's inscription differs significantly from other inscriptions known from the eighth century BCE. It does not portray typical motifs of conquest and territorial acquisition; rather, it references "men," a "limit," "boundary," and "water," as well as the phrase "before the sun god."[196] The intentional physical relationship between the tomb and the inscription is evident, but van Hulsteyn argues that the subject of the text should be seen as cultic, and not necessarily funerary.[197] The other inscriptions in proximity to Urartian rock-cut tombs do not contain any evidence for funerary custom, and instead highlight royal accomplishments, especially military conquests. A primary function of the rock tombs, therefore, seems to have been the legitimization, or naturalization, of state power through the manipulation of topographical features. This theme was reinforced through the degree to which these monuments were visible, especially the tombs in the capital. Visible to many primarily from a distance, and accessible only to a few, the tombs echoed the Urartian royalty's conquest of territory (i.e., nature) and solicited a psychological response that provoked viewers to acknowledge, albeit from a distance, the power and ability of the Urartian state. These monuments may have also referenced a certain supernatural power, acting as physical boundaries between the living and the realm of the dead. Burney suggests that specific associations with the bedrock, which in many examples has

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[195] Ibid. See also van Hulsteyn, *Urartian Built and Rock-Cut Tombs*, 180-91.

[196] van Hulsteyn, *Urartian Built and Rock-Cut Tombs*, 188.

[197] Ibid.

ventilation shafts perhaps used for cult ritual, implies a profound importance of the chthonic

deities in Urartian religious practice.[198]

It is difficult to identify a single, consistent funereal element among Urartian tombs, but

the formal relationships between them allow for six major classifications of Urartian tomb

architecture. Group I consists of rock-cut tombs with entrances leading into a main room with

smaller chambers attached; Group II consists of two-level rock-cut chambers that lead into a

main room on the upper floor; Group III contains tombs similar to those in Group II, except that

they have only one level reached by a rectangular shaft; Group IV is composed of rock-cut cist

graves with a superstructure; Group V is primarily cemetery tombs found in groups, which can

be either rock-cut or built, and have a single chamber with an entrance on the short end; Group

VI is composed of large built tombs, such as those at Altıntepe.[199]

On the interior, monumental Urartian rock tomb roofs could have either high or flat

vaulting, or simply consist of slabs placed side-by-side, parallel to the short sides. Floors are

smoothed earth or rock, and internal stairs are widespread. The entrances may be either

rectangular (as in most examples) or arched (a less common feature), but their definitive

"Urartian" characteristic has been defined as a recessed doorway.[200] Niches, recesses, and shafts

all appear in the rock tombs, but their function remains only vaguely understood.[201] Benches also

appear, and are in some ways formally comparable to platforms.[202] More than any other feature,

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[198] Burney, "Urartian Funerary Customs," 206.

[199] van Hulsteyn, *Urartian Built and Rock-Cut Tombs*, 137.

[200] Ibid., see pages 149-54 for a detailed discussion of interior architectural elements. Van Hulsteyn notes that while the recessed doorway is considered an "Urartian" feature, not all tombs, including the main ones, have this feature.

[201] Ibid., 155-64. Van Hulsteyn notes that the arched form, while relatively rare in doorways, is more common in niches.

[202] Ibid., 164.

however, the interior plans unite monumental Urartian tombs. Generally, the tomb design features a narrow platform at the entrance, leading into a wider main chamber that often has between four and seven smaller chambers radiating around it. The interiors and exterior facades were usually finely worked and smoothly finished, occasionally depicting architectural elements or patterns in relief.[203]

One of the best-known examples of Urartian tomb architecture is the Khorkhor (Argishti) Chamber at Van Kalesi, which contains many of the features considered typical of Urartian rock tombs (Fig. 15). The exterior platform was accessed by a staircase cut into the rock, showcasing a facade with cuneiform inscriptions documenting the annals of Argishti I and projections on either side of the doorway. These projections may have been intended to mimic walls in antis, possibly indicating a temple-like function for the tomb.[204] The main chamber measures approximately 10.50m in length, 6m in width, and 3.5m in height, with four smaller rooms attached to it. One rectangular and one square depression in the floor may have been used for ceremonial furniture or sarcophagi, and ten recessed-frame niches possibly contained offerings or grave goods. The side rooms may also have served as burial chambers, and each contained four niches (excluding the northwest room, which had a shaft instead of a fourth niche).[205] Aside from the suggested formal relationship between the rock tombs and Urartian domestic architecture, the single "cella" design, emphasis on the facade, and recessed frames of Urartian

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[203] Ibid. See also T. B. Forbes, *Urartian Architecture* (Oxford: B.A.R., 1983), 100-13.

[204] Forbes, *Urartian Architecture*, 100. For the possibility of the tomb functioning as a temple, see C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien, einst und jetzt* II (Berlin: B. Behr, 1926), 123.

[205] Forbes, *Urartian Architecture*, 100, 103.

temple facades and monumental rock niches suggests a potential analogy between sacred

architecture and tomb architecture.[206]

A second important group of rock-cut tombs in Anatolia exists in the Phrygian highlands.

Emilie Haspels' seminal study has been cited as representative of a place-oriented

archaeology,[207] and her "intimate engagement with the Phrygian Highlands," Harmanşah argues,

comes closer to "understanding the complexity of places in a diachronic perspective [that] is not

sacrificed to the typological and chronological parsing of its constituents."[208] While Haspels does

structure her analysis according to geography and topography, in many places she remains

typologically focused, dividing the pre-Hellenistic Phrygian rock tombs into two architectural

groupings according to form and chronology.[209]

The first group consists of earlier tombs that Haspels dates to the late eighth century

BCE. Their architectural form indicates imitation of wooden domestic architecture; the tombs,

therefore functioned as literal and metaphorical dwelling places for the dead. In general, the

chambers are relatively compact, with plain floor space except for one to three couches carved

against the wall. They often have pitched ceilings, and sometimes contain rafters. Group I

consists of tombs located at several sites, including Yazılıkaya (Midas City), the Doğanlı Valley,

and the Kümbet Valley (Fig. 16). A particularly high concentration of tombs occurs in the

Köhnüş Valley, allowing for analysis of the wide range of design within a close geographical and

chronological distribution. Haspels arranges the Group I tombs in the Köhnüş Valley into four

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[206] M. T. Tarhan and V. Sevin, "The Relation between Urartian Temple Gates and Monumental Rock Niches," *Belleten* 153 (1975): 398-412.

[207] Harmanşah, "Stone Worlds," 389. C. H. E. Haspels, *The Highlands of Phrygia: Sites and Monuments*, 2 vols. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1971).

[208] Harmanşah, "Stone Worlds," 389.

[209] Haspels, *The Highlands of Phrygia*, 112-13.

distinct types: those with a plain interior, those with three klinai, those with two klinai, and those with only a single kline.[210] While there is discussion of topographical location and siting, Haspels' presentation is primarily organized by architectural type and design components.

Group II, which Haspels dates to the sixth century BCE, is a much less numerous group of chamber tombs in Phrygia consisting of one more spacious chamber in which klinai are arranged against the wall as if for a symposium. In contrast to the earlier tombs from Group I, the Group II examples have doorways of "normal" size and are usually adorned with moldings and reliefs. In addition, the Group II tombs do not have the wide geographical distribution of the earlier tombs, and are found only in the Midas and Kümbet Valleys, apart from a single example at Gökçe Kısık. Haspels cites the famous Triclinium Tomb at the approach to Midas Kale as a "typical" example of the later group, with an actual doorway leading into a large chamber with three klinai facing as if the occupants were participating in a symposium (Fig. 17). A smaller, less carefully hewn room was added later, to the right of the main chamber, and the pitched ceiling was decorated with relief work that imitated a ridge-pole, roof-beams, and rafters.[211]

Like the Urartian examples, the Phrygian rock tombs are most often positioned high above the ground. The entrances, however, are somewhat simpler than the Urartian tomb entrances. They are identified on the exterior by a small door opening, and it is uncommon for the exterior to bear relief decoration.[212] Furthermore, unlike many of the Urartian monumental tombs, there are no large inscriptions providing a clear dating context or associating the monuments with a specific state or political ideology. In this sense, the topographical situation of

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[210] Ibid., 112-26.

[211] Ibid., 126-34.

[212] For a full discussion of this type, see Haspels, *The Highlands of Phrygia*, 112-38.

the Phrygian tombs, i.e., their visual and physical isolation and perceived inaccessibility, combined with the architectural prestige of inscribing a chamber tomb into the rock, provides the basis for interpreting the tombs as products of an elite, and possibly royal, social sphere.

The most recent report on the rock-cut tombs of the Phrygian highlands follows a descriptive outline of the general architectural and iconographical characteristics not only of Haspels' Groups I and II, but also of specific tombs individually and several addenda to the corpus collected by Haspels; namely, two rock-cut tombs in the village of Tekören in the province of Eskişehir, as well as those recently discovered in surface surveys conducted around Eskişehir since 2001.[213] As in Haspels' publication, the rock-cut tombs are grouped according to geographical location, with more extensive discussion surrounding their iconographic features and possible relationship to other structures of wood, such as houses.[214] Continuity of specific iconographic features from the "Phrygian" period forms the basis for assessments of the later proliferation of rock-cut tombs that appeared during the Hellenistic and Roman periods in the highlands; Kortanoğlu, however, acknowledges the importance of the physical relationship between monuments, and highlights the utility of physical proximity in identifying specific practices and the transference of iconographic motifs from the Phrygian period to later monuments.[215]

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[213] H. Sivas, "Frig Kaya Mezarları. Phrygian Rock-Cut Tombs," in *Frigler. Phrygians. Midas'ın Ülkesinde Anıtların Gölgesinde. In the Land of Midas, In the Shadow of Monuments*, ed. T. Tüfekçi Sivas and H. Sivas (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2012), 260-85.

[214] Ibid.

[215] Kortanoğlu focuses on the existence of rock-cut tombs that were constructed in Phrygian-period necropoleis and in the vicinity of Phrygian-period tombs at some point after the Phrygian period. See R. Kortanoğlu, "Dağlık Frigya Bölgesi Hellenistik ve Roma Dönemi Kaya Mezarlarında Frig Etkileri. Phrygian Influences on the Hellenistic and Roman Rock-cut Tombs of the Phrygian Highlands," in *Frigler. Phrygians. Midas'ın Ülkesinde Anıtların Gölgesinde. In the Land of Midas, In the Shadow of Monuments*, ed. T. Tüfekçi Sivas and H. Sivas (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2012), 288-307.

Another region in north-central Anatolia whose rupestral monuments show a similar affinity for hybrid Greek and Persian iconographical elements and whose symbolic topographical functions closely parallel those in Urartu and Phrygia is the Paphlagonian kingdom. The Paphlagonian rock tombs have been known since the late nineteenth century,[216] but they remain imperfectly understood largely because they are difficult to date and understanding of Paphlagonian rulership is similarly vague. Herodotos and Plutarch indicate similarities between the Paphlagonians, Thracians, and Phrygians in terms of their dress and religious beliefs, and correspondence between the two regions is evident in their funerary monuments.[217]

In Paphlagonian tombs, the decoration of the gable, often with relief images flanking a kingpost, is thought to represent Phrygian influence on Paphlagonian monuments. The kingpost may resemble a column or pillar, and scholars have pointed out that the "arrow-shaped" kingpost on a base on the facade of the Gerdek Boğazı tomb in Karakoyunlu (Cat. V.10; Fig. 18) has parallels in Phrygia, specifically, the gable of the Yapıldak tomb facade and the interior of Tomb 5 in the Köhnüş Valley.[218] In addition, the Evkayısı tomb in Kastamonu depicts two sphinxes flanking an anthropomorphic kingpost (Fig. 19). The sphinxes are similar to those on the facade of the sixth-century BCE Arslankaya monument in Phrygia, and the central image seems closely

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[216] G. Hirschfeld, *Paphlagonische Felsengräber: ein Beitrag zur Kunstgeschichte Kleinasiens* (Berlin: Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1885); R. Leonhard, *Paphlagonia: reisen und forschungen im nördlichen Kleinasien* (Berlin: D. Reimer [E. Vohsen], 1915), H. von Gall, *Die paphlagonischen Felsgräber: eine Studie zur kleinasiatischen Kunstgeschichte* (Tübingen: Wasmuth, 1966); recent studies in R. Matthews, T. Pollard, and M. Ramage, "Project Paphlagonia: Regional Survey in Northern Anatolia," in *Ancient Anatolia: Fifty Years' Work by the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara*, ed. R. Matthews (London: British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, 1998), 195-206; L. Summerer and A. von Kienlin, "Achaemenid Impact in Paphlagonia: Rupestral Tombs in the Amnias Valley," in *Achaemenid Impact in the Black Sea: Communication of Powers*, ed. J. Nieling and E. Rehm, (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 2010), 195-221.

[217] M. Vassileva, "The Rock-Cut Monumenta of Phrygia, Paphlagonia, and Thrace: A Comparative Overview," in *The Black Sea, Paphlagonia, Pontus and Phrygia in Antiquity: Aspects of Archaeology and Ancient History*, ed. G. R. Tsetskhladze (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2012), 243. Herodotos 7.72-73; Plutarch *De Iside et Osiride*, 69.

[218] Vassileva, "The Rock-Cut Monuments of Phrygia, Paphlagonia, and Thrace," 245.

related to representations of Matar in Phrygian rock niches. These similarities in form may represent a cultic or religious relationship with the Mother Goddess worship that took place in Phrygia.[219]

Three of the most well-preserved Paphlagonian tombs, the monumental temple-like facades near the villages of Donalar, Salarköy, and Terelik, have been the subject of recent study because their state of preservation allows for complex analysis of their original display context.[220] Like many of the Urartian, Phrygian, and Thracian monuments, these tombs were not constructed in isolation from other structures, even though they are the most visible remains of each site today. Each tomb was constructed in association with and visibly related to a complex of other tombs, tunnels, fortresses, and settlements.[221] Considering these related elements immediately highlights the role of topography in constructing identity, as the tombs' situation among fortresses, perhaps functioning alongside the forts as markers of strongholds and visual controls over major routes must have inspired a similar sense of naturalization of power as was inspired by the Urartian tombs, deliberately integrated into state defensive architecture and inscriptions.

The Paphlagonian tombs are complex in their synthesis of a wide variety of formal and functional elements. Several features of these monuments display affinities with Phrygian rupestral architecture and perhaps cult ritual related to Matar as well. On a different level, however, formal elements and style depict a hybridization of Persian and Greek artistic styles,

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[219] Ibid. See also L. E. Roller, *In Search of God the Mother: The Cult of Anatolian Cybele* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999).

[220] Summerer and von Kienlin, "Achaemenid Impact in Paphlagonia," 195-221.

[221] Ibid., 196.

which has led some scholars to date the monuments to the fifth and fourth centuries BCE.[222] One

characteristic taken from Greek architecture that is common to all three tombs is the existence of

two or three columns in the portico, of generally short and wide proportions, tapering upwards

on torus-like bases with square plinths.[223] While the torus and base combination is known in

early Greek architecture, the upper part of the columns displays affinities with Achaemenid

Persian architecture. Instead of capitals, the visible remains of the columns indicate that in all

three tombs there was a bull or bull-man figure crowning the column shaft.[224] The most

prominent examples of bull capitals in Achaemenid architecture occur at Dareios' palaces in Susa

and Persepolis, as well as on the facades of the royal rock-cut tombs at Naqš-e Rostam.[225]

Features drawn from Greek architecture include a triple-fasciaed framing of the portico, which

Lâtife Summerer and Alexander von Kienlin argue is a deliberate evocation of Greek window

frames (a function possibly related to the tombs' elevated topographical situation), and detailed

treatment of the ceilings, especially in the porticos, that suggests wooden architecture.[226]

In addition to the common architectural features, the tombs at Donalar, Salarköy, and

Terelik, which probably date to the late fourth century BCE or later, all bear substantial relief

decoration on the facade.[227] At Donalar, the proliferation of relief sculptures contains no less

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[222] Ibid. 214-15.

[223] Ibid., 200.

[224] Ibid., 201-3.

[225] Ibid.

[226] Ibid., 207.

[227] Ibid., 214-15. Summerer and von Kienlin contend that Donalar would have been the earliest construction, ca. 425 BCE, followed by Salarköy, and finally Terelik, ca. 375 BCE. They base their conclusions on the style of the reliefs at Donalar and the iconography of the Herakles (?) and lion relief in its pediment as compared to Attic reliefs showing the same composition. This method of dating is highly tenuous, as basing the date of sculptural iconography in north-central Anatolia on the iconography of Attic vases does not produce an adequate diagnostic comparison, and it is not known whether the other reliefs on the facade of the Donalar are contemporary with one

than ten figures, including (from top to bottom) a large eagle at the apex of the pediment, two

combating felines, two lion-griffins, a bull relief on the left side, a lion on the right, a single-

horned "bull" figure below the lion, and a motif above the columns identified as Herakles

wrestling the Nemean Lion (Fig. 20). Many of these elements, especially the feline and

Heraklean figures, have parallels in Greek art.[228] The Salarköy and Terelik tombs are less

lavishly decorated (Figs. 21-22). There are five animals depicted on the facade at Salarköy (all of

which are above the roof line), consisting of an eagle, two antithetical lions, and two frontally

facing lions at the outer corners, in addition to a similar Herakles and lion wrestler group in the

pediment. One frontally facing lion was placed at the level of the column bases. While there is

no pediment at Terelik, a Herakles and lion group was carved in an analogous position above the

column on the right side.[229] Each element of the facades of these tombs (i.e., the columns,

fasciae, bull/bull-men figures, Herakles and lion groups) articulates a relationship to the larger

Greek and Persian power structures. The patrons of these tombs participated in elite exchange of

ideas and visual motifs that further emphasizes their desire to appeal to an international audience.

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another (the ones at the bottom, in fact, seem never to have been finished). P. Johnson, however, argues that the tombs are later, for example, the Donalar tomb is dated to the first two thirds of the fourth century BCE, approximately the same time that columnar tombs appear in western Anatolia (Late Iron Age and Hellenistic pottery sherds were also found nearby); Salarköy is probably late fourth century BCE or slightly later in date, based on the Hellenistic-period ceramics that were discovered in conjunction with the settlement remains; Terelik is surrounded by a Hellenistic and Roman necropolis, and it follows that the settlement with which the tomb was affiliated was contemporaneous. Furthermore, two survey projects in the Sinop region in 1997 and 1998 dated the settlement remains to the Early Bronze Age, Hellenistic, and Roman periods, confirming a Hellenistic or later date for the tomb. The Herakles(?)/lion motif is similar to the one at Salarköy, which would prompt one to think they were contemporaneous. Lastly, Johnson argues that the tombs situated at nearby sites around the confluence of the Gökırmak River with the Kızılırmak River adopt multiple-column porticoes in emulation of the third-century BCE royal tombs at Amasya. See P. Johnson, "Landscapes of Achaemenid Paphlagonia" (Ph.D. diss.: University of Pennsylvania, 2010), 309, 316, 332-33.

[228] Ibid., 210-13

[229] Ibid.

In western Anatolia, the three regions of Karia, Lydia, and Lykia provide significant evidence for the rock-cut tomb tradition in Anatolia prior to the Hellenistic age. One of the best-known rock-cut tomb traditions exists throughout the region of Lykia, whose rock-cut house tombs appeared around the mid-fifth century BCE. The tombs appear to represent wooden architecture in stone, likely reproducing the general appearance of a Lykian house in petrified form.[230] During the fourth century BCE, these tombs gradually took on the appearance of temples, exemplified by the Tomb of Amyntas from Telmessos (modern Fethiye) (Fig. 23). The Tomb of Amyntas is the largest of a group of rock-cut tombs overlooking the harbor at Telmessos, and is the most elaborate rendition of a popular type throughout the region that consisted of a columned portico excavated from the surrounding rock, which fronted a small burial chamber that often had klinai along the walls.[231] The monumentality of the Amyntas tomb is emphasized by the "large niche" in which it is carved, where the limestone has been hewn around all sides of the facade to give the appearance of a fully articulated, freestanding building.[232] The tomb is approached by four steps that lead to an Ionic distyle in antis portico. The columns and antae display a number of decorative elements, some of which are drawn from Greek architectural vocabulary. For example, the pediment is crowned with acroteria, and a course of large dentils sits above the fasciaed architrave. Carved rosettes are located beneath the capital of each anta, the left one of which has an inscription identifying the tomb's owner. The

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[230] For the most recent survey of Lykian tomb architecture, see L. Mühlbauer, *Lykische Grabarchitektur: vom Holz zum Stein* (Vienna: Phoibos, 2007).

[231] For the tomb of Amyntas, see H. von Gall, "Zu den 'medischen' Felsgräbern in Nordwestiran und Iraqi Kurdistan," *AA* 81 (1966): 37 with n. 40 and bibliography; for the type in general, see Fedak, *Monumental Tombs of the Hellenistic Age*, 96.

[232] The tomb, however, is not fully freestanding, as the limestone is only partially hollowed out. The rock-cut tombs at Amaseia achieve a similar effect, although many of the Pontic tombs were fully disengaged from the living rock and a narrow corridor encircles the entire structure. The term "large niche" is used by Fedak, *Monumental Tombs of the Hellenistic Age*, 97.

ornate stone door leads to a relatively small burial chamber with three carved stone klinai. The

tomb has been tentatively dated to the late fourth century BCE on the basis of increased regional

building activity during that time and the possible Macedonian presence indicated by the name

"Amyntas."[233] Two rock-cut necropoleis that may date to the same period are also found at Myra.

Most of these burials correspond to "Lykian type" architecture; i.e., imitations of timber

construction in stone. A few, however, show Greek architectural facades and adopt the plan of an

Ionic prostyle temple with a burial chamber containing klinai.[234] Both "Lykian" and "Greek" or

"temple" types of rock-cut tombs are found at a number of places in Lykia, for example, at

Antiphellos, Patara, and Tlos.[235]

    The border area between Lykia and Karia was particularly proficient in the production of

rock-cut "temple" tombs; especially prominent are the tombs carved into the cliffside at Kaunos

(Fig. 24).[236] In Karia, the rock-tombs at Kaunos can be dated generally to the fourth century

BCE, although there is no evidence for a monumental rock tomb tradition in Karia before ca. 400

BCE.[237] The tomb at Berber İni, the earliest known monumental tomb in the rock-cut "temple"

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[233] Fedak, *Monumental Tombs of the Hellenistic Age*, 97-98. See also E. Akurgal, *Ancient Civilisations and Ruins of Turkey: From Prehistoric Times until the End of the Roman Empire* (Istanbul: Haşet Kitabevi, 1973), 256; O. Benndorf and G. Niemann, *Reisen in Lykien und Karien* (Vienna: Gerold, 1884), 41.

[234] J. Borchhardt, *Myra: eine lykische Metropole in antiker und byzantinischer Zeit* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1975), 129; Fedak, *Monumental Tombs of the Hellenistic Age*, 98-99.

[235] Antiphellos: F. F. Gülşen, "The Doric Rock Tomb at Antiphellos," *Adalya* 3 (1998): 63-86; Patara: H. İşkan, "Die Felsgräber von Patara," in *Akten des II. Internationalen Lykien Symposions in Wien* II, ed. J. Borchhardt, 87-96 (Vienna: Verl. der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1993); Tlos: T. Korkut, "Die Ausgrabungen in Tlos," in *Euploia: la Lycie et la Carie antiques. Dynamiques des territoires, échanges et identités. Actes du colloque de Bordeaux, 5, 6 et 7 novembre 2009*, ed. P. Brun, et al., 333-44 (Bordeaux: Ausonius, 2013).

[236] P. Roos, *The Rock-Tombs of Caunus* (Göteborg: P. Åström, 1972-74).

[237] P. Roos, "Rock-Tombs in Hecatomnid Caria and Greek Architecture," in *Architecture and Society in Hecatomnid Caria: Proceedings of the Uppsala Symposium*, ed. T. Linders and P. Hellström (Stockholm: Almquist & Wiksell International, 1989), 63. Roos notes that there are many small chambers with benches, rectangular openings, and smoothed facades that predate the fourth century BCE. See also Roos, *The Rock-Tombs of Caunus* and P. Roos, *Survey of Rock-Cut Chamber-Tombs in Caria*, 2 vols. (Göteberg: P. Åström, 1985-2006).

facade series has been dated to ca. 400-370/360 BCE on the basis of architectural style; namely, the ratio between the height of the echinus and the height of the capital as well as the profile of the echinus (Fig. 25).[238] The tomb was most likely erected in honor of Hektamnos, satrap of Karia and founder of the Hekatomnid dynasty (r. ca. 395-377 BCE), although it is uncertain whether he commissioned the monument himself or if construction was initiated by his son and successor, Mausolos (r. 377-353 BCE).[239] While the tomb at Berber İni is in many ways typical of the Karian rock-cut "temple" tomb tradition that proliferated in the fourth century BCE (it is carved out of a niche, it combines Doric and Ionic elements, and the width of the colonnade is accentuated), it incorporates several unusual elements as well.[240] Its engaged colonnade is unique in all of Karia, and its blind door framed within a facade that surmounts the true access door also does not have any parallels in the region.[241] Numerous other rock-cut "temple" tombs dominate the regions of both Karia and Lykia, with the earliest of these appearing in Mylasa ca. 375 BCE, followed by tombs datable to the middle of the fourth century BCE and later.[242] These tombs were influenced perhaps by the tomb at Berber İni as well as monumental built tombs in both regions, for example, the Nereid Monument at Xanthos of ca. 380-370 BCE and the Mausoleion of Halikarnassos of ca. 350 BCE. Tomb B1 at Kaunos boasts an elaborate facade with a total of six columns (four prostyle and two behind the corner columns, with an additional two antae

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[238] O. Henry, "Hekatomnos, Persian Satrap or Greek Dynasty? The Tomb at Berber İni," in *Hellenistic Karia*, ed. R. van Bremen and J.-M. Carbon (Paris: De Boccard, 2010), 103, 105.

[239] For a discussion of the possibilities, see Ibid., 115-21. Since the tomb is rather innovative in its design and Hekatomnos is not known as an especially active patron of architecture, Henry thinks it more likely that Mausolos constructed the monument in honor of his father (pp. 115-16).

[240] Ibid., 106-7.

[241] Ibid., 107.

[242] O. Henry, *Tombes de Carie: architecture funéraire et culture Carienne VIe-IIe siècle av. J.-C* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2009), 157.

behind these), an arrangement that emulates the facade of the Nereid Monument at Xanthos.[243]

Furthermore, the larger Kaunos tombs retain the Nereid Monument's Asiatic bases without

plinths, and two tombs in Group B at Kaunos incorporate architectural parallels to the windows

in the pediment of the Artemesion at Ephesos.[244] The commissioners of these temple-like rock

tombs appropriated the symbolic significance of features derived from sacred architecture,

intentionally manipulating them to ascribe a similar sacred meaning to their personal funerary

monuments. In translating these features to tomb architecture, the designers needed to make

proportional adjustments. Large dentils and too-high column bases were incorporated into the

design so that certain details would be more visible from a distance; in other words, to suit the

topographical context in which these monuments were viewed better.[245]

Olivier Henry has recently offered an alternative suggestion to the traditional notion that

these tombs reproduce a Greek temple facade. Henry addresses the issue of architectural

representation from the perspective of patronage, acknowledging, first, that these tombs were

most likely the final resting places of elites, local dynasts, members of the *koinon* of the Karians,

and members of their families.[246] He argues that the tombs participated in the visual exchange of

ideas amongst elites, representing not sacred architecture, but a type of architecture that was

associated with Hekatomnid power: namely, androns or banquet rooms.[247] Henry argues that the

relationship between tomb and temple is not a seamless one in this context. The "temple" facade

is usually associated ideologically with the heroization of the deceased since it reproduces a

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[243] Roos, "Rock-Tombs in Hecatomnid Caria and Greek Architecture," 65.

[244] Ibid., 66-68.

[245] Ibid., 66.

[246] Henry, *Tombes de Carie*, 159.

[247] Ibid., 160.

sacred architectural form, yet heroization is a highly individualized process and, according to

Henry, it does not make sense for the tombs to be designed for accommodating multiple burials

if the tombs were created for the recognition of one person as a hero.[248] Furthermore, a building

with a pediment and a colonnaded facade is not necessarily required to represent a temple

facade; Andron A at Labraunda provides a token example of a structure that was originally

identified as a temple because of these architectural features, but was later recognized as an

andron on the basis of the inscription found with it.[249] The facades, therefore, could reproduce

palatial architecture such as andrones; indeed, the facades of the royal Persian tombs at Naqš-e

Rostam, which likely influenced the Karian rock tombs, are widely recognized as representing

the palatial architecture of the Apadana at Persepolis.[250] At the very least, the specific

architecture represented on the Karian and Lykian rock-cut "temple" tombs merits questioning,

and it seems clear that the patrons were using this architectural form in the funerary sphere as a

means of communicating visually within a particular elite *koine*.

A few rock-cut tombs are known from the Lydian capital at Sardis, where the tradition of

rock-cut chamber tombs existed as early as the seventh century BCE. The cliffs along the west

bank of the Paktolos River provided the location for most of the Lydian rock tombs, but these

were considerably less elaborate in their facade treatment than those in Karia (Fig. 26).[251] The

rock-cut tombs in Lydia are numerous - during the early excavations at Sardis at the beginning of

the twentieth century, more than 1,150 rock-cut burials were found - most of which are situated

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[248] Ibid.

[249] Ibid.

[250] Ibid.

[251] C. Roosevelt, *The Archaeology of Lydia: From Gyges to Alexander* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 139.

in the Great Necropolis, the South Necropolis, and the Southeast Necropolis at Sardis.[252]

Typically, they are accessed either vertically through the ceiling or horizontally through a short

dromos that leads to a chamber large enough for a single interment.[253] The earliest examples in

the cemeteries appear to date as early as the late seventh or early sixth centuries BCE, but the

continued reuse and/or plundering of the vast majority of burials obscures information regarding

specific chronological development.[254] These burials are much simpler than those of later Karia

and Lykia, with little or no architectural ornamentation.

Tumuli

As in the regions of Greece, Macedonia, and Thrace, the tumulus tradition was

widespread in Anatolia prior to the Hellenistic period. Tumuli were especially prolific during the

Iron Age in Anatolia; during the first half of the first millennium BCE, nearly every region of

Anatolia showed some form of familiarity with the tumulus tradition. The most conspicuous

groups of funereal mounds come from the central and western regions of Phrygia and Lydia

around the eighth-sixth centuries BCE, but other examples are known from the north (Aeolis and

the Troas),[255] west (Karia and Ionia),[256] east (Kommagene),[257] and south (Lykia).[258]

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[252] Ibid.

[253] Ibid.

[254] Ibid.

[255] T. Özkan, "Dardanos Höyüğü. Nekropolü Kurtarma Kazısı," in *I. Müze Kurtarma Kazıları Semineri, Ankara 19 - 20 nisan 1990*, 113-18 (Ankara: Ankara Kültür Bakanlığı, 1991); N. Sevinç, et al. "The Dedetepe Tumulus," *Studia Troica* 8 (1998): 305-27.

[256] W. R. Paton, "Sites in East Caria and South Lydia," *JHS* 20 (1900): 57-80; W. Radt, *Siedlungen und Bauten auf der Halbinsel von Halikarnassos* (Tübingen: Wasmuth, 1970); S. Kasper, "Der Tumulus von Belevi," in *Proceedings of the Xth International Congress of Classical Archaeology*, ed. E. Akurgal, 387-98 (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1978).

Perhaps the most well known tumulus in all of Anatolia is Tumulus MM (the so-called "Midas Mound") at the Phrygian capital of Gordion (Fig. 27). There are around 100 tumuli total in the vicinity of Gordion; around 35 of them have been excavated and date from ca. 850-825 BCE to ca. 550-525 BCE.[259] The tumuli constitute a distinctive feature in the Phrygian landscape, and their visibility solicited the attention of the German engineers who were constructing railroads in the vicinity. While the mounds themselves can range in size from 50m high and 300m in diameter (Tumulus MM) to a smaller dimension of 2.23m high and ca. 25m in diameter (Tumulus G), the burial chambers, constructed of wood, tend to be modest in size and usually contain only one burial. There are no dromoi or other access points to the burial chamber, indicating that these burials were intended to be used only once, with no further opportunity for re-entry. The burial chambers typically occur in the southwest quadrant of the tomb, and are constructed of wood surrounded by clay and rubble before being topped with an earthen mound. In many of the tumuli, a mast seems to have been placed to serve as a guide for centering the conical shape of the mound. The excavated tumuli have proven to be rich in burial goods, containing finds such as pieces of cloth, leather belts, fibulae, cauldrons and pottery, various

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[257] J. Wagner and R. Ergeç, *Gottkönige am Euphrat: neue Ausgrabungen und Forschungen in Kommagene* (Mainz: P. von Zabern, 2000).

[258] O. Hülden, *Gräber und Grabtypen im Bergland von Yavu (Zentrallykien): Studien zur antiken Grabkultur in Lykien* (Bonn: R. Habelt, 2006); "Considerations on the Tumuli of Lycia in the Pre-Classical Period," *Anatolia Antiqua* 19 (2011): 495-514.

[259] For the Gordion tumuli, see R. Young, *Three Great Early Tumuli* (Philadelphia: The University Museum, 1981); E. L. Kohler, *The Lesser Phrygian Tumuli* (Philadelphia: The University Museum, 1995); Ö. Il, "*Tumuli Asiae Minoris*. Untersuchung zu den phrygischen und lydischen Tumulusgräbern der Eisenzeit im zentralen und westlichen Kleinasien" (Ph.D. diss.: Heidelberg, 2009), 25-113; R. F. Liebhart, "Phrygian Tomb Architecture: Some Observations on the 50th Anniversary of the Excavations of Tumulus MM," in *The Archaeology of Phrygian Gordion, Royal City of Midas*, ed. C. Brian Rose, 127-200 (Philadelphia: The University Museum, 2012), and most recently, R. Liebhart and L. Stephens, "Tumulus MM: Fit for a King," *Expedition* 57, no. 3 (2015): 31-41. A smaller Phrygian tumulus necropolis exists in the vicinity of Ankara that was excavated by Makridi in the early twentieth century. Cf. T. Makridi, "Ankara Höyüklerindeki Hafriyata Dair Rapor," *Maarif Vekaleti Mecmuasi* 6 (1926): 38-45 and Il, *Tumuli Asiae Minoris*, 101-9.

bronze and silver vessels, omphalos bowls, wooden furniture, ivory carvings, and sometimes even glass objects. The burials are typically inhumations until the seventh century BCE, when cremations begin to appear, and both forms of burial exist contemporaneously. Interestingly, some of the tumuli seem to have been intentionally plotted in relationship to one another: the triangular disposition of Tumuli K-III, P, and MM suggests that topographical position might have played a role in emphasizing family or dynastic ties within the local history of the site. Arranging topographical placement according to kinship ties also seems to have occurred near the Lydian capital of Sardis, where tumuli served as structural reminders of local genealogical and legendary ties.

By the mid-sixth century BCE, Lydian elites at Sardis were using the tumulus mound as a monumental representation of social status.[260] Over 600 tumuli have been discovered throughout the region, and the vast majority of them are clustered in groups of varying size. Like the Gordion tumuli, the clustering of mounds probably represents familial associations, and it is possible that these groups of funerary monuments were deliberately located near the area of each family's settlement.[261] By far the most important evidence for Lydian tumulus groups comes from the cemetery known as Bin Tepe (the "thousand hills") and the area south of the Gygaean Lake, boasting at least 158 known tumuli clustered into 12-22 groups, with each group likely representing an elite family.[262] While the physical proximity of the Bin Tepe family tumuli

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[260] Roosevelt, *The Archaeology of Lydia*, 139-51. See also C. Ratté, *Lydian Architecture: Ashlar Masonry Structures at Sardis* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011); E. R. M. Dusinberre, *Aspects of Empire in Achaemenid Sardis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 128-57.

[261] Roosevelt, *The Archaeology of Lydia*, 91-134, especially pp. 99-101, 109-10. The excavations indicate that of the important settlements in Lydia, at least 75 percent of the mid-late Lydian period settlements are located within five kilometers of a tumulus group, and nearly fifty percent of these settlements are located within one kilometer of a tumulus group.

[262] Ibid.

groups present significant physical and visual relationships to one another, the symbolic associations further accumulated because these tumuli were situated in physical proximity to the burial mounds of early Lydian royalty and the mythological prestige of the Gygaean Lake. Early Lydian kings sited their tombs on Bin Tepe not only because it visually stands out from Sardis, but also to associate themselves with their heroic ancestors symbolically, visually situating their tombs within the highly-charged ideology, memory, and place history of the Gygaean Lake.[263]

The tumulus burial seems to have been adopted in Lydia prior to the Persian conquest, ca. 575-550 BCE. These monuments differed from the earlier Phrygian tumuli of the eighth and seventh centuries BCE primarily in the fact that the Lydians utilized local masonry techniques instead of timber in the construction of the burial chamber. The earliest tumuli may have been constructed for members of the Mermnad dynasty.[264] The largest of these monuments (and, in fact, the largest tumulus in Anatolia) is Kocamutaf Tepe, or the "Tomb of Alyattes" (Fig. 28). The tomb was so impressive in antiquity that Herodotos thought it comparable to the wonders in Egypt and Babylon.[265] The chamber itself was rectangular, constructed of finely worked marble,

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[263] Ibid., 147-48.

[264] Ibid., 142.

[265] Ibid., 144. Herodotos 1.93: "There are not many marvelous things in Lydia to record, in comparison with other countries, except the gold dust that comes down from Tmolus. But there is one building to be seen there which is much the greatest of all, except those of Egypt and Babylon. In Lydia is the tomb of Alyattes, the father of Croesus, the base of which is made of great stones and the rest of it of mounded earth. It was built by the men of the market and the craftsmen and the prostitutes. There survived until my time five corner-stones set on the top of the tomb, and in these was cut the record of the work done by each group: and measurement showed that the prostitutes' share of the work was the greatest. All the daughters of the common people of Lydia ply the trade of prostitutes, to collect dowries, until they can get themselves husbands; and they themselves offer themselves in marriage. Now this tomb has a circumference of thirteen hundred and ninety yards, and its breadth is above four hundred and forty yards; and there is a great lake hard by the tomb, which, the Lydians say, is fed by ever-flowing springs; it is called the Gygaean lake. Such then is this tomb." Trans. A. D. Godley (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1920). (θώματα δὲ γῆ ἡ Λυδίη ἐς συγγραφὴν οὐ μάλα ἔχει, οἷά τε καὶ ἄλλη χώρη, πάρεξ τοῦ ἐκ τοῦ Τμώλου καταφερομένου ψήγματος. ἓν δὲ ἔργον πολλὸν μέγιστον παρέχεται χωρὶς τῶν τε Αἰγυπτίων ἔργων καὶ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων: ἔστι αὐτόθι Ἀλυάττεω τοῦ Κροίσου πατρὸς σῆμα, τοῦ ἡ κρηπὶς μὲν ἐστὶ λίθων μεγάλων, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο σῆμα χῶμα γῆς. ἐξεργάσαντο δέ μιν οἱ ἀγοραῖοι ἄνθρωποι καὶ οἱ χειρώνακτες καὶ αἱ ἐνεργαζόμεναι παιδίσκαι. οὖροι δὲ πέντε ἐόντες ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦσαν ἐπὶ τοῦ σήματος ἄνω, καί σφι γράμματα ἐνεκεκόλαπτο τὰ ἕκαστοι ἐξεργάσαντο, καὶ ἐφαίνετο μετρεόμενον τὸ τῶν παιδισκέων ἔργον ἐὸν μέγιστον. τοῦ γὰρ δὴ Λυδῶν δήμου αἱ θυγατέρες πορνεύονται πᾶσαι,

and was accessible through a forecourt and doorway. The masonry technique is comparable to that of other monuments belonging to the first half of the sixth century BCE, and it is possible that the occupant (whether or not it was in fact the historical Alyattes, r. ca. 610-560 BCE) would have seen the royal Phrygian mounds, emulating them in Lydia and using local masonry techniques for the chamber.[266]

None of the other tumuli are as large as the Alyattes mound, but the ones that have been explored generally follow the same principle of having a single, rectangular chamber constructed in stone (some are partially cut out of the bedrock, others are fully built). It is significant that no tumulus tradition existed in Lydia prior to the construction of the Alyattes mound, and it is likely that the inspiration derived from similar monuments at Gordion in Phrygia. The tradition was later followed by members of elite society in an effort to associate themselves with Lydian royalty.[267] After the Persian conquest of Sardis, in the 540s BCE, the chamber tombs included multiple interments and the types of construction became highly diversified.[268] The general semiotic content remained constant (i.e., a large earthen mound, physically and visually situated so as to provoke associations with mythological heroes, royalty, ancestors, and to provide a centralized focal point for family cult activities), but the number of occupants and details of construction varied to accommodate a growing demand for these burials.

In addition to Phrygia and Lydia, a significant monumental tumulus tradition also existed during the Archaic period in Lykia. Key structural differences in the techniques of Lykian and

συλλέγουσαι σφίσι φερνάς, ἐς ὃ ἂν συνοικήσωσι τοῦτο ποιέουσαι· ἐκδιδοῦσι δὲ αὐταὶ ἑωυτάς. ἡ μὲν δὴ περίοδος τοῦ σήματός εἰσι στάδιοι ἓξ καὶ δύο πλέθρα, τὸ δὲ εὖρος ἐστὶ πλέθρα τρία καὶ δέκα. λίμνη δὲ ἔχεται τοῦ σήματος μεγάλη, τὴν λέγουσι Λυδοὶ ἀείναον εἶναι· καλέεται δὲ αὕτη Γυγαίη. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτο ἐστί.)

[266] Ibid., 143-47.

[267] Ibid., 144-48.

[268] Ibid., 148-51.

Phrygian tumulus building contribute to each tradition's unique functional development. The most outwardly visible characteristic of archaic Lykian tumuli is their predominately "stony character;" rather than heaped-up mounds of earth, the Lykian examples recall round architecture in stone with conical roofing.[269] Many of the excavated examples employ corbelled vaulting, and some of them additionally supply a stone krepis comprised of large, smoothly worked blocks of stone.[270] In his earlier study of the tumuli in the plain near Phellos, Jan Zahle identifies two distinctive types of Lykian tumuli: type "A" (which Oliver Hülden argues is the earlier type), situated on a relatively low krepis and utilizing a stone core; and type "B," a somewhat later development whose distinctive characteristics include a round structure with high enclosure, usually a conical roof, and one or two burial chambers accessible from the exterior through a long or short dromos.[271] Similar construction techniques can also be observed at several other areas within the Lykian *Kernland*, for example, at Büyük Çerler/ Kolaklar Tepesi, the necropolis at Tüse, and Seyret.[272] In many cases the most precise chronological sequence available for these tumuli is broadly "Archaic," but the tradition likely existed from the seventh century BCE onward. Pottery from the early "type A" tumulus near Phellos permits dating to the seventh or sixth centuries BCE, and the "type B" examples probably date from the sixth century BCE or later.[273]

The predominantly stone construction, multiple burial chambers, and potentiality for access to the exterior of the tumulus align the Lykian tumulus tombs more closely with the

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[269] O. Hülden, "Considerations on the Tumuli of Lycia in the Pre-Classical Period," 502.

[270] Ibid., 500.

[271] Ibid., 500-3. See also J. Zahle, "Archaic Tumulus Tombs in Central Lykia (Phellos)," *ActaArch* (1975): 77-94.

[272] Hülden, "Considerations on the Tumuli of Lycia in the Pre-Classical Period," 497-502.

[273] Ibid., 497-500.

Lydian tradition than those found in the Phrygian heartland of Gordion. The Gordion tumuli are primarily constructed of wood and a visible earthen mound, contain only one burial, and, once sealed, became completely inaccessible from the outside (Fig. 4). The Phrygian tumuli are also considerably larger than the Lykian examples; Tumulus P at Gordion has a lower diameter of ca. 70m and a height of 12m; Tumulus MM has a lower diameter of 300m and a height of 53m; and Tumulus W has a lower diameter of ca. 150m and a height of ca. 22m.[274] The "type A" tumulus from Phellos, the largest known in the Lykian region, has a diameter of ca. 19m and its mound is preserved to a height of ca. 2.5 – 3.0m.[275]

What these differences indicate, however, are not merely diverse architectural techniques. These comparisons also highlight significant functional differences between Lykian, Lydian, and Phrygian tradition, particularly regarding the number of burial chambers and exterior accessibility through a dromos. This distinction demonstrates that while the large earthen mound remained a common visual signifier across cultures, the Lykians, Lydians and Phrygians did not conceive of their monuments as serving entirely similar functions. The Lykians and Lydians, on the one hand, maintained posthumous communication between the tumulus exterior and the burial chamber; the Phrygians, conversely, celebrated a lavish funerary banquet in or near the chamber, closing off outside access once the ritual celebrations were complete.[276]

Two late-seventh or early-sixth century BCE tumuli excavated at Bayındır, in the Elmalı plain near the border between Phrygia and Lykia, present a unique case study for defining the

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[274] Young, *Three Great Early Tumuli*, 1, 79, 191.

[275] Hülden, "Considerations on the Tumuli of Lycia in the Pre-Classical Period," 498-500.

[276] For Lydian funeral ceremonies, see Roosevelt, *The Archaeology of Lydia*, 176-82, and E. Baughan, *Couched in Death*, 249-61 for a discussion of the representation of banqueting in Anatolian-Persian funerary art.

relationship between geography, architecture, and ethnic identity.[277] Although they are

technically located in northern Lykia, the Bayındır tumuli reflect religious, architectural, and

artistic traditions that derived from Phrygian practice. This has led some scholars to interpret an

ivory figurine from one of the tumuli ("Tumulus D") as evidence for the occupant's association

with the cult of Artemis Ephesia, despite the fact that the architecture and tomb finds bear

stronger correlations to the tumulus tradition in Phrygia than the geographically closer examples

in Lykia.[278] The figurine, however, could also be a representation of Matar, the primary Phrygian

deity. The debate surrounding the interpretation of the figure thus highlights the importance of

contextualizing the cumulative evidence of each tomb in associations of ethnic identity and

cultural practice.

Built Tombs

While a large part of the monumental funerary structures in Anatolia can be classified as

either rock-cut or tumulus burials, the tradition of Anatolian built tombs includes several unique

monuments that demonstrate the extent of "hybridization" of Greek and Persian material culture

that took place during the fifth and fourth centuries BCE. The most famous examples of this

phenomenon in Anatolia are the monumental built tombs in Lykia and Karia. The "hybrid"

artistic styles noted in each of these monuments constitute important contributions to the visual

dialogue that developed in Anatolia during the fourth century BCE and the Hellenistic period,

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[277] K. Dörtlük, "Elmalı Bayındır Tümülüsleri Kurtarma Kazısı," *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* 10 (1988): 171-74; J. Börker-Klähn, "Tumulus D von Bayındır bei Elmalı als historischer Spiegel," in *Licia e Lidia prima dell'ellenizzazione. Atti del convegno internazionale, Roma, 11-12 ottobre 1999*, ed. M. Giorgieri, et al., 69-105, (Rome: Consiglio nazionale delle ricerche, 2003); F. Işık, *Die Statuetten von Tumulus D bei Elmalı: Ionisierung der neuhethitisch-phrygischen Bildformen in Anatolien* (Antalya: Akdeniz Üniversitesi, 2003); T. Şare, "An Archaic Ivory Figurine from a Tumulus near Elmalı: Cultural Hybridization and a New Anatolian Style," *Hesperia* 79 (2010): 53-78.

[278] Şare, "An Archaic Ivory Figurine from a Tumulus near Elmalı, 53-78.

but because my study focuses primarily on tumuli and rock-cut tombs, the built tombs will be reviewed only briefly here.[279]

The Nereid Monument at Xanthos in Lykia (ca. 380-370 BCE) and the Mausoleion of Halikarnassos in Karia (ca. 350 BCE) (Figs. 5-6) combine unprecedented monumentality with appropriation of Greek sacred architectural elements, local traditions, and Persian features to articulate individual identity within the space of a tomb. In the fifth century BCE, so-called "pillar tombs," such as the Inscribed Pillar and the Harpy Tomb at Xanthos, appeared along with elevated sarcophagi in Antiphellos, Telmessos, and elsewhere.[280] The group of so-called "house tombs" in Lykia, which includes Heroa F, G, and H, also projected the tomb monument on top of a terrace or platform, although these structures are thought to have applied Lykian techniques for wooden construction to the appearance of the "cella" or cult building that housed the deceased.[281] Heroon G, for example, is constructed of ashlar masonry that showcases Greek astragals and egg-and-dart molding in its upper section (Fig. 29).[282] These monuments may have comprised part of the inspiration for the Nereid Monument, which similarly suggests appropriation from Greek and local sources. At Xanthos, the Nereid Monument uses Greek architectural elements such as battle friezes, pedimental friezes, acroteria, a peripteral Ionic temple structure, column capitals that imitate those in the Erechtheion in Athens, and freestanding statues (possibly

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[279] For a broader, more comprehensive review of built tombs in Anatolia as well as the wider Mediterranean and Near Eastern world, see Fedak, *Monumental Tombs of the Hellenistic Age*, 29-46.

[280] On pillar tombs, see P. Demargne, *Fouilles de Xanthos 1. Les piliers funéraires* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1958); C. Deltour-Levie, *Les piliers funéraires de Lycie* (Louvain-la-Neuve: Institut supérieur d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art, Collège Erasme, 1982); T. Marksteiner, *Trysa-- eine zentrallykische Niederlassung im Wandel der Zeit: siedlungs-, architektur- und kunstgeschichtliche Studien zur Kulturlandschaft Lykien* (Vienna: Phoibos, 2002); C. Rudolph, *Das 'Harpyien-Monument' von Xanthos: seine Bedeutung innerhalb der spätarchaischen Plastik* (Oxford: Hadrian Books, 2003).

[281] H. Metzger and P. Coupel, *Fouilles de Xanthos II, L'acropole lycienne* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1963); Fedak, *Monumental Tombs of the Hellenistic Age*, 42-43.

[282] Metzger and Coupel, *Fouilles de Xanthos II*, 49; Fedak, *Monumental Tombs of the Hellenistic Age*, 43.

Nereids) sculpted according to Greek standards. Lykian construction methods are used in the foundations of the building, and its tower-like base reflects a local tradition of tower tombs predominant in Lykia.[283] This type of monumental built tomb is echoed throughout Lykia, for example, in the Heroon at Limyra and the Heroon at Gölbaşı-Trysa.[284]

The Mausoleion of Halikarnassos expanded on the ideas present in the Nereid Monument (Fig. 6). It is larger in both size and concept, incorporating similar Greek features such as a peripteral temple and cella design, as well as freestanding statues of Mausolos and his family sculpted in Greek fashion. Furthermore, several of the most famous artists in Greece were employed for the structure: Pliny, Skopas designed the eastern side of the building, Bryaxis the northern side, Timotheos the southern side, and Leochares the eastern side.[285] Like the Nereid Monument, the Mausoleion incorporates use of a podium-based, tower-like structure, and is crowned by a stepped pyramid, derived from Persian tradition.[286] One of the most prominent examples of a stepped pyramid on a tomb occurs on the Pyramid Tomb at Sardis, which in its visual vocabulary borrows directly from the Tomb of Cyrus at Pasargadai (Fig. 30).[287] Its eponymous feature, the stepped pyramid crowning the monument, is an appropriation of an architectural form that existed in the Persian heartland in at least one royal tomb, that of Cyrus

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[283] P. Coupel and P. Demargne, *Fouilles de Xanthos III, Le monument des Néréides*. 2 vols. (Paris: Klincksieck, 1969); P. Coupel, P. Demargne, and P. Metzger, *Fouilles de Xanthos. VIII, Le monument des Néréides - le décor sculpté*. 2 vols. (Paris: Klincksieck, 1989); W. A. P. Childs, *The City-Reliefs of Lycia* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978); Fedak, *Monumental Tombs of the Hellenistic Age*, 66-68.

[284] O. Benndorf and G. Niemann, *Das Heroon von Gjölbaschi-Trysa* (Vienna: A. Holzhausen, 1889); F. Eichler, *Die Reliefs des Heroon von Gjölbaschi-Trysa* (Vienna: Deuticke, 1950); J. Borchhardt, *Die Bauskulptur des Heroons von Limyra: das Grabmal des lykischen Königs Perikles* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1976); Childs, *The City-Reliefs of Lycia*.

[285] Pliny, *HN*, 36.

[286] Fedak, *Monumental Tombs of the Hellenistic Age*, 71-74.

[287] See D. Stronach, *Pasargadae: A Report on the Excavations Conducted by the British Institute of Persian Studies from 1961-1963* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978).

the Great (r. ca. 559-530 BCE) Because of its formal relationship to the royal Persian structure, the Pyramid Tomb is thought to have been built for an elite Persian living in or near Sardis, probably between 550-500 BCE.[288] The Pyramid Tomb also provides the closest architectural parallel for the unusual tomb known as Taş Kule, dated to ca. 550-450 BCE (Fig. 31).[289] Its unique form is comparable to other Anatolian mausolea in that it is rectangular and double-storied, but it is unusual in its combination of "false" and "real" doors on different sides and the stepped section of the second story, resembling a stepped pyramid. Taş Kule contains several other "hybridizing" elements, including a Greek kyma reversa on the lintel above the false door, and upturned finials on the fasciae, which appear in Achaemenid Persian tombs.[290] These details, together with the bowl placed in front of the tomb, which resembles fire bowls used in Zoroastrian ritual, and the burial in a cist rather than a sarcophagus or kline, implies that the occupant was a local Persian elite, and possibly accounts for its disparity with other Anatolian built tombs.[291]

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[288] C. Ratté, "The Pyramid Tomb at Sardis," *IstMitt* 42 (1992): 135-61; Fedak, *Monumental Tombs of the Hellenistic Age*, 33.

[289] N. Cahill, "Taş Kule: A Persian-Period Tomb near Phokaia," *AJA* 92, no. 4 (1988): 481-501.

[290] Ibid.

[291] Ibid.

CHAPTER THREE: STRUCTURAL INNOVATION AND THE TUMULUS TRADITIONS OF MACEDONIA, THRACE, AND BITHYNIA

The idea that funerary monuments represent a reification of specific ideologies is evident in interpretations of the remarkable changes that took place in the funerary architecture of Greece and Anatolia during the fourth century BCE. The Nereid Monument at Xanthos in Lykia (ca. 380-370 BCE), and later the Mausoleion at Halikarnassos in Karia (ca. 350 BCE) (Figs. 5-6), are often regarded as emblematic of a newly significant, somewhat audacious mode of funerary construction that appropriated iconography from the sacred sphere and deployed it in the tombs of individuals. These monuments are sometimes classified as heroa, indicating a functional shift that allowed an individual ruler to receive worship at the tomb site and, consequently, to rival the status of a deity.[292] Burial structures that adopted sacred form were emulated throughout the region, with quite famous examples occurring in the fourth-century BCE heroa at Limyra and Gölbaşı-Trysa in Lykia and the third-century BCE mausoleum at Belevi near Ephesos, to name only a few.

These structures, which encapsulated in monumental form the lofty aspirations of their patrons and attempts to assimilate visually the honorand to an elite, exclusive, privileged status were not limited solely to funerary structures. The Philippeion at Olympia, for example, with its chryselephantine statues of the royal Macedonian family, appraised the dynasty on the level of

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[292] Fedak, *Monumental Tombs of the Hellenistic Age*, 65. Fedak notes that this particular development in the funerary architecture of Asia Minor and elsewhere is best described as "evolutionary" rather than "revolutionary," as the result of "centuries of experimentation with different types of grave monuments before a new form was created that was both grandiose and expressive in terms of architectural structure and sculptural decoration."

the gods. The location of the Philippeion near the entrance to the prytaneion suggested

something about its function as well, as it was situated in a highly visible location whose

existence required a perpetual political affirmation and condoning of such an ostentatious

display.[293] The same could be said of the fourth-century BCE tombs or heroa in Anatolia, whose

elevation of the interred to such a status similarly depended on specific political circumstances

that allowed this type of construction to take place.[294]

The concept of postmortem apotheosis or heroization is most often cited as one of the

major ideological borrowings from the Persian Empire, which is evident in the reliefs of the

royal Persian tombs at Naqš-e Rostam, where Dareios I's tomb contains a relief revealing him in

communion with Ahura Mazda, the supreme Persian deity.[295] The fourth-century monumental

tombs in Anatolia (for example, the Nereid Monument), with their "eastern" political ideas clad

in a Greek sacred architectural form, are thus presented as "hybrid" structures whose multiple

cultural appropriations anticipate the *Mischkultur* of the succeeding centuries.[296]

The spirit of formal experimentation redolent in fourth-century BCE monuments in

Anatolia also appears in tombs constructed during the latter part of the century in Macedonia and

Thrace. Chief among the developments in Macedonian burial architecture is the widespread

implementation of the barrel vault; despite the generous literature on the topic, its nebulous

origins and means of dispersal have been much discussed. Change and innovation in burial

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[293] For a discussion of the "personal" function of the Philippeion in a highly politicized space, see H. A. Thompson, "Architecture as a Medium of Public Relations Among the Successors of Alexander," in *Macedonia and Greece in Late Classical and Early Hellenistic Times*, ed. B. Barr-Sharrar and E. N. Borza (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1982), 174.

[294] Fedak, *Monumental Tombs of the Hellenistic Age*, 65.

[295] Ibid., 66. For the tomb of Dareios I, see E. Schmidt, *Persepolis*, vol. 3 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), 80-90; for the relief carving see especially pp. 84-87.

[296] I have borrowed the term *Mischkultur* from Droysen, *Geschichte des Hellenismus* (1877).

traditions, even if "only" for structural or pragmatic purposes, signal a shift in the ideology

compelling formal changes in architecture and should be treated as extremely significant, given

that funereal traditions tend to be some of the most conservative elements in society and are slow

to evolve.[297] Not only the introduction of the barrel vault, but also the application of Classical

architectural orders on the facade of the chamber tombs visually signaled conceptual and

functional changes in the elite tomb, representing the affixation of public, civic, and religious

architecture to an individual persona.[298] In this sense, perhaps one of the most influential formal

developments in funerary architecture of the fourth century BCE was the entrenchment of

funerary monuments within the repertoire of "state" architecture that had traditionally defined the

appearance of a Greek polis. For example, Christoph Michels' assessment of the so-called

"philhellenic" policies of the Pontic kings stresses the importance of the royal necropolis at

Amaseia because it is the only potential example of any "state" architecture known from the

dynasty.[299] Even royal tomb architecture, however, still maintains a distinct status because it is a

monumental *self*-portrayal of the king inside his own realm.[300] While the term "state

architecture" does not accurately represent the function of royal tombs, it is important that these

monuments tend to become more and more conflated, with the increasing adoption of political

and civic architectural forms providing visual confirmation for the various conceptual changes

taking place.

Much of the territory of northwestern Anatolia and Thrace hosted significant

experimentation and developments in the realm of monumental funerary architecture, which

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[297] See Borg, "The Face of the Elite," 72-73.

[298] R. A. Tomlinson, "The Architectural Context of the Macedonian Vaulted Tombs," *BSA* 82 (1987): 305-6 discusses the influence of the architecture of Greek city-states on the Macedonian chamber tombs.

[299] Michels, *Kulturtransfer*, 247.

[300] Ibid.

profoundly affected the types of tombs that came to be constructed in Anatolia during the Hellenistic period. This chapter provides a brief overview of these developments and traces their subsequent appearances in Anatolia as they are relevant to the royal tombs in Galatia and Pontos. Specifically, consideration of these changes will center on the issue of visibility and how visual contact with specific formal features was initiated or obscured in the context of tomb construction. Additionally, analysis of funerary rituals that would have taken place at the burial site will provide insight into when and to whom such formal elements were visible.

The Visual Tradition of Tumuli in Macedonia and Thrace

In the midst of the profound changes taking place in the burial architecture of southeastern Europe during the fourth century BCE, the most enduring and visible feature of monumental tombs in this region - the earthen tumulus mound - remained constant. It is important to note that, as far as can be deduced from the available evidence, the major technological and formal developments in sepulchral structures were entirely related to the burial chamber itself, which would remain underground and, hence, invisible for the vast majority of its existence. Tumuli were ubiquitous in the ancient Mediterranean, preserving an architectural history that extended at least to the Bronze Age in Greece and even earlier in parts of southeastern Europe and the Balkans.

The tumulus is the earliest known monumental burial form in mainland Greece, appearing first on the island of Lefkas and in Thebes during the Early Helladic II period.[301] More

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[301] M.-P. Papakonstantinou, "Bronze Age Tumuli and Grave Circles in Central Greece: The Current State of Research," in *Ancestral Landscapes: Burial Mounds in the Copper and Bronze Ages*, ed. E. Borgna and S. Müller Celka (Lyon: Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée, 2011), 391. The most comprehensive survey and catalogue of the material remains O. Pelon, *Tholoi, tumuli et cercles funéraires. Recherches sur les monuments funéraires de plan circulaire dans l'Égée de l'âge du Bronze (IIIe et IIe millénaires av. J.-C.)* (Paris: de Boccard, 1976). For Lefkas, see I. Kilian-Dirlmeier, *Die bronzezeitliche Gräber bei Nidri auf Leukas. Ausgrabungen von W. Dörpfeld*

examples have been excavated from the beginning of Early Helladic III, with a significant

increase demonstrable in the Middle Helladic and early Late Helladic periods.[302] Their frequency

decreases throughout the Late Helladic period, with some examples occurring near northern

Greece in Late Helladic IIIC.[303] Despite the fact that all of these early examples from Greece are

surmounted by similar earthen mounds, their differences in morphology and associated ritual

activities demonstrate that they are not a homogenous type derived from a single source.[304] The

tumuli's development was likely influenced by a variety of architectural and ritual traditions in

the Mediterranean, perhaps even going back to the Neolithic period.[305] What does seem

consistent, however, is the application of the earthen mound, deployed as a literal "landmark" in

order to establish a memorial function "for selected elements of [each community's] past."[306]

From their inception, therefore, the mnemonic value of these tumuli seems inextricably linked to

their long-lasting visibility within the local landscape, which was well suited to the

representation of elite status and identity.[307] The tumulus' visibility thus engaged the imagination

of local inhabitants, as well as structured political statements on behalf of those interred.

1903-1913 (Mainz: Monographien RGZM, 2005); for Thebes, see T. Spyropoulos, *Ampheion* (Sparta: publisher not identified, 1981).

[302] Papakonstantinou, "Bronze Age Tumuli and Grave Circles in Central Greece," 391-92.

[303] Ibid.; S. Müller, "Les tumuli helladiques: où? quand? comment?" *BCH* 113, no. 2 (1989): 24.

[304] S. Müller Celka, "Burial Mounds and 'Ritual Tumuli' of the Aegean Early Bronze Age," in *Ancestral Landscapes: Burial Mounds in the Copper and Bronze Ages*, ed. E. Borgna and S. Müller Celka, (Lyon: Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée, 2011), 425.

[305] Ibid., 418-21. Müller Celka takes up the question of the origin of Bronze Age tumuli in Greece at various points throughout the article.

[306] Ibid., 422.

[307] Ibid., 422-25. For additional explanations of the potential relationship between the development of the tumulus and the rising importance of agriculture and possession of land, see especially p. 424, where Müller Celko suggests that the stone walls encircling the mounds are analogous to the physical bounding and protection of space provided by precinct walls. Further discussion can be found in R. Bradley, *The Significance of Monuments*, especially pp. 132-46.

A strong tumulus tradition proliferated in Anatolia during the first millennium BCE as well. Major tumulus construction occurred not only in the prominent royal necropoleis of Phrygia and Lydia, but also in Karia, Ionia, Aeolis and the Troad, Bithynia, Paphlagonia, Kommagene, and Lykia.[308] The Phrygian tumulus necropolis (ca. eighth-sixth centuries BCE), clustered around the capital city of Gordion, and the Lydian royal tumuli (ca. late seventh-late sixth or early fifth centuries BCE), showcase a form of elite funerary display unparalleled in size and occurring in high density at specific sites that had become standard in these regions by the seventh and sixth centuries BCE.[309] Moreover, the tumuli clustered on the ridge at Bin Tepe in Lydia are widely acknowledged as memorials to the Mermnad kings in addition to visible manifestations of the associations between the dynasty and the heroic ancestors of the region.[310] The physical monuments thus articulated connections between the site's legendary past and its contemporary inhabitants, a function that was later exploited by both individuals and local communities in the Hellenistic period.

Susan Alcock has analyzed how tumuli perform as instruments of legitimation in the Late Classical and Hellenistic periods, during which cultic activity is attested at Early Bronze Age tumuli. She characterizes this activity as a validation attempt on the part of social elites who, by participating in rituals at such "tombs of the ancestors," positioned themselves as "descendants of the ancestors" and sought to authenticate their increasing power and dominance in post-Classical

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[308] Il, "*Tumuli Asiae Minoris*," 17.

[309] For the Phrygian tumuli, see R. F. Liebhart, "Phrygian Tomb Architecture," 129-47; Il, "*Tumuli Asiae Minoris*," 25-113; Kohler, *The Lesser Phrygian Tumuli*; Young, *Three Great Early Tumuli*. For the Lydian tumuli, see Roosevelt, *The Archaeology of Lydia*, 140-57; Il, "*Tumuli Asiae Minoris*," 114-208; Dusinberre, *Aspects of Empire in Achaemenid Sardis*, 128-57.

[310] Roosevelt, *The Archaeology of Lydia*, 147.

civic life.[311] This practice was part of a wider concern in the Hellenistic period to connect the

"heroic" past to contemporary institutions.[312] Monumentalization of certain types of material

culture thus played a vital role in intensifying interest in the past; i.e., not only were the cults of

heroes bolstered during this period, but the visual representations of this past were also

exemplified in monuments such as the Arsinoeion, a large tholos building in the Sanctuary of the

Great Gods at Samothrace (Fig. 32).[313] The Arisonoeion, which did not serve as a tomb, was

probably constructed during the late third or early second century BCE, but it emulates similar

structures widely known (and still visible) from the Mycenaean era. Thus, the implications of

what the monument *appeared* to represent, rather than how it actually functioned, merited

institutionalized political and religious focus in a prominent Hellenistic sanctuary.[314]

A similar monumental veneration for the heroic past can be seen in the tumulus at

Marathon (Fig. 33). The form of the monument, constructed in the fifth century BCE, is

comprised of a cremation burial beneath a mound and exterior offering trench that is closely

related to seventh- and early sixth-century BCE aristocratic burials in Attika, for example, at

Vourva.[315] In other words, it represents a conscious invocation of traditional, aristocratic

practices in the service of a newly minted Athenian democracy.[316] In this case, the structure's

form served as a mnemonic device that brought to mind a specific past, but the political context

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[311] S. Alcock, "Tomb Cult and the Post-Classical Polis," *AJA* 95, no. 3 (1991): 447-67.

[312] S. Alcock, "The Heroic Past in a Hellenistic Present," in *Hellenistic Constructs: Essays in Culture, History, and Historiography*, ed. P. Cartledge, P. Garnsey, and E. Gruen, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 20.

[313] Ibid., 20-30.

[314] Ibid., 20. See J. R. McCredie, G. Roux, and S. M. Shaw, *Samothrace: Excavations Conducted by the Institute of Fine Arts of New York University. Vol. 7: The Rotunda of Arsinoe* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992).

[315] J. Whitley, "The Monuments that Stood before Marathon: Tomb Cult and Hero Cult in Archaic Attica," *AJA* 98, no. 2 (1994): 216, 218; B. Stais, "Ὁ τύμβος ἐν βουρβᾷ," *AM* 15 (1890): 318-29.

[316] Whitley, "The Monuments that Stood before Marathon," 213-30.

of the tumulus essentially reinvented the context in which the iconography was received, broadening its appeal and claiming it as a democratic, rather than exclusively aristocratic, form. And while the mnemonic functions of tumuli were closely tied to their visibility, physical prominence was not always the most important factor in tumulus construction. In his examination of the Middle and Late Bronze Age tholos tombs in the region of Messenia, Yannis Galanakis concludes that in most cases, the visibility of the mound would have been best comprehended from a short distance, and its physical impact relatively limited in the context of Messenian topography.[317] In the Messenian mounds, the specific siting of the mound, rather than its physical prominence, accomplished ideological goals that were primarily aimed at the inhabitants of the settlement mound, such as the demarcation of settlement boundaries and the memorialization of the local histories.[318]

In addition to reinforcing traditional cultural and ethnic ties amongst relatively homogenous populations, tumuli could also forge links between diverse populations that did not share ties of kinship or links to a similar past. In a study of the fourth-century BCE tumuli in the hinterland of Sinope, Owen Doonan suggests that the Greek colonists' use of newly constructed tumuli that were formally analogous to the local Bronze Age mounds as a means of connecting with the indigenous population during their colonization efforts.[319] Tumuli were not only employed as mnemonic devices, however. Depending on their degree of visibility, the mounds

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[317] Y. Galanakis, "Mnemonic Landscapes and Monuments of the Past: Tumuli, Tholos Tombs and Landscape Associations in Late Middle Bronze Age and Early Late Bronze Age Messenia (Greece)," in *Ancestral Landscapes: Burial Mounds in the Copper and Bronze Ages (Central and Eastern Europe, Balkans, Adriatic, Aegean, 4th-2nd Millennium B.C.): Proceedings of the International Conference Held in Udine, May 15th-18th 2008*, ed. E. Borgna and S. Müller-Celka (Lyon: Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée, 2011), 219-29.

[318] Ibid.

[319] O. Doonan, "Tumuli and the Expression of a Colonial 'Middle Ground' in the Hinterland Landscape of Sinope" (forthcoming in *Tumulus as Sema: Space, Politics, Culture and Religion in the First Millennium BC*, ed. O. Henry and U. Kelp (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2016).

could serve as agents in the organization of political territory and the demarcation of space in a particular environment. Ute Kelp and Christina Williamson have investigated the situation of Hellenistic tumuli near Pergamon as a strategy in the organization of Pergamene territory (2015).[320] The pronounced visibility of İlyas Tepe, on the crest of a prominent hill east of the city, and Seç Tepe, situated along the coastal route between Smyrna (modern İzmir) and Pergamon (modern Bergama), is thought to have articulated the Pergamene creation of specific political ideas within the framework of the local topography.[321]

Macedonia: Innovation in Structural Components of Chamber Tombs

Macedonia was home to some of the most significant developments in sepulchral roofing techniques during the fourth century BCE. While these developments were limited to the mostly "invisible" burial chamber, rather than the visually prominent tumulus mound that covered the tombs, Macedonian innovation in the structural and semiotic components of the chamber reveals important information about the shift in function and representative value of the tomb that occurred during this time. The two major innovations - the widespread incorporation of a keystone barrel vault over the burial chamber, and the non-structural attachment of Doric and Ionic architectural components to the facade of the chamber - do not initially seem to be related other than chronologically. These developments, however, are similar in one important aspect: they both provide formal solutions that articulate changes related to the conceptualization and

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[320] U. Kelp and C. Williamson, "Creating Heroic Landscapes: Tumuli Visibility and Territorial Organization in Pergamum," Abstract, *Archaeological Institute of America and Society for Classical Studies Joint Annual Meeting, New Orleans, LA, 8-11 January 2015* (2015): 305.

[321] Ibid. In this case, Kelp and Williamson point out the unusual location of these monuments that encourages such an analysis: İlyas Tepe is conspicuously situated on a hilltop rather than near the other tumuli below; Seç Tepe is also somewhat isolated as it overlooks the coastal route, visually linking the coast, the bay, and the principal harbor of the city, Elaia.

function of sepulchral chamber. Understanding the shift in function of the tomb space that occurred in fourth-century BCE Macedonia provides important parallels for the later Hellenistic tombs in Galatia and Pontos that adopt similar features, for example, the roofing techniques and conceptual function of the burial chamber.

The early Iron Age necropolis at Vergina (ancient Aigai) provides a glimpse into standard burial practices that existed in Macedonia prior to the rise of the monumental chamber tombs that flourished in Macedonia during the fourth and third centuries BCE. The tombs in this necropolis were composed largely of small pit graves lined with stones and probably covered with flat timber roofs.[322] These pit graves were roughly 2m x 1.50m, large enough to accommodate an inhumed corpse, and were in many cases covered with relatively low tumuli that averaged approximately 14-16m in diameter and 1-1.50m in height.[323] Large-scale monumentalization of tombs does not seem to have occurred until the fourth century BCE, when, during the first half of the century, evidence appears for the gradual enlargement of both the width and height of stone tombs surmounted by tumuli.[324] The corpus of enlarged stone tombs comes not only from Vergina, where Tumulus I measured 3m x 1.72-1.80m, but also from Derveni (at least three of the excavated tombs measure between 2 and 3m in length), Sedes (Tomb B measured 2.56m x 2.12m), Pydna (at least four tombs exist that are more than 2m long), Potidaia in Chalkidiki (3m x 1.52m), and Olynthos (2.57m x 2.055m).[325] The largest cist

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[322] M. Andronikos, *Vergina I. The Cemetery of Tumuli* (Athens: Archaeological Society at Athens, 1969); Tomlinson, "The Architectural Context of the Macedonian Vaulted Tombs," 305-6; S. G. Miller, *The Tomb of Lyson and Kallikles: A Painted Macedonian Tomb* (Mainz am Rhein: P. von Zabern, 1993), 4-5.

[323] Tomlinson, "The Architectural Context of the Macedonian Vaulted Tombs," 305-6.

[324] For an overview of this phenomenon, see M. Andronikos, "Some Reflections on the Macedonian Tombs," 8-9.

[325] Ibid., 8-9, n. 33. See also M. Andronikos, *Ανασκαφή νεκροταφείου βεργίνας* (Thessaloniki: Aristoteleio Panepistemio Thessaloniki, 1953), 143, 150; C. Makaronas, "Τάφοι παρα το Δερβένι Θεσσαλονίκης," *ArchDelt* 18 (1963): 193-96; N. Kotzias, "The Sedes C Tomb Near the Thessaloniki Airport," *ArchEph* 3 (1937): 866-95; M.

tomb found to date in Macedonia is the so-called "Persephone Tomb" in the Great Tumulus at Vergina, which measures 3.50m x 2.09m, and dates around the third quarter of the fourth century BCE.[326] Significantly, the examples from Sedes and Olynthus both contained doorways as well as evidence for a shift in roofing construction, which may reflect an altered functional perception of the tomb chamber, discussed in further detail below. The overall enlargement of the stone tomb corresponded to difficulties in roof construction, necessitating additional support for the slabs that were now required to span a larger area. A tomb near Katerini shows one potential solution, in which the large, rectangular chamber, constructed entirely of poros blocks, contained a cross wall with a marble doorway that divided the open space into a larger burial chamber and a smaller antechamber (Fig. 34).[327] This solution, however, is not entirely satisfactory. Since it does not divide the space into equal parts and the addition of a doorway weakens the load-bearing capabilities of the lintel, it is not completely effective as a purely structural solution and seems to have been implemented as a response to requirements other than those of the ceiling.[328]

At some point during the second half of the fourth century BCE, a highly effective solution to the problems posed by the increasing size of the Macedonian burial chamber was found in the form of a true barrel (keystone) vault. The Macedonian tombs remain the most extensive body of evidence for the early use of the barrel vault in Greece, which appears sporadically during the late fourth and early third centuries at sites such as Corinth, Sikyon,

Karamanoli-Siganidou, "Poteidaia," *ArchDelt* 21 (1966): 342-43, figs. 9-10; D. M. Robinson, *Olynthus* XI (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1942), 117, no. 598, pls. 53-8; D. Kurtz and J. Boardman, *Greek Burial Customs* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1971), 194, fig. 40; A. Despini, "Ο τάφος της Κατερίνης," *AAA* 13 (1980): 198-209.

[326] M. Andronikos, *Vergina*; Andronikos, "Some Reflections on the Macedonian Tombs," 9; M. Andronikos, *Vergina II. The 'Tomb of Persephone'* (Athens: Archaeological Society at Athens, 1994).

[327] Andronikos, "Some Reflections on the Macedonian Tombs," 10; Despini, "Ο τάφος της Κατερίνης," 198-209.

[328] Andronikos, "Some Reflections on the Macedonian Tombs," 10. Evidence of its ineffectiveness as a load-bearing implement can be seen in the fact that parts of the roof and lintel were found shattered.

Eretria, Samothrace, and Nemea.[329] Yet the issue of the origin of the barrel vault in Macedonia remains a matter of some debate, with the major line of inquiry focusing on whether the adoption of the barrel vault was due to foreign influence or whether it was a domestic architectural innovation. Scholars who have argued for the introduction of the barrel vault as a sign of foreign influence have generally sought its antecedents in the Near East (primarily Mesopotamia and Egypt), where, by the sixth century BCE, a brick variation of the vault had been used in Babylonian structures such as the Ishtar Gate and the Hanging Gardens, as well as chamber tombs in Egypt.[330] Because no intermediary or exploratory stages of vault construction have come to light, it is assumed that the technique was copied ready-made from a foreign source, presumably during Alexander's conquests, and the knowledge was thus diffused by the Macedonian army.[331]

These theories remain somewhat limited for two primary reasons. First, the structural concept underlying the brick vault as it is used in Egypt and Mesopotamia is fundamentally

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[329] T. Boyd, "The Arch and the Vault in Greek Architecture," *AJA* 82, no. 1 (1978): 83-100. Barrel vaulting appears in the arched gate facade in the eastern Long Wall at Corinth: A. W. Parsons, "The Long Walls to the Gulf," in *Corinth* III *2: The Defenses of Acrocorinth and the Lower Town*, ed. R. Carpenter and A. Bon, 107-23 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1936); the gymnasium reservoirs and the theater at Sikyon: E. Fiechter, *Antike griechische Theaterbauten* III: *Das Theater in Sikyon* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1937), 15-19, 36, 40); and in the monumental propylon (Ptolemaion) for the Sanctuary of the Great Gods on Samothrace: P. M. Frazer, *Samothrace II, I: The Inscription Stones* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1960), 6, n. 19, 50-51, no. 11. The barrel-vaulted passage in the stadium at Nemea was discovered after the publication of Boyd's study, and has been dated to ca. 320 BCE: S. G. Miller, *Excavations at Nemea II: The Early Hellenistic Stadium* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001).

[330] Tomlinson, "The Architectural Context of the Macedonian Vaulted Tombs," 310; R. Koldeway, *The Excavations at Babylon* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1914); E. Fredericksmeyer, "Once More the Diadem and Barrel-Vault at Vergina," *AJA* 87, no. 1 (1983): 99-102. Additionally, Kurtz and Boardman posited that the Macedonian vault was influenced by Mycenaean and other round chamber tombs found in Thessaly, but this theory is limited by the pronounced structural distinctions between corbelling and true keystone barrel vaulting.

[331] Boyd, "The Arch and the Vault in Greek Architecture," 83, 88-89. See also R. A. Tomlinson, "Vaulting Techniques of the Macedonian Tombs," in *Ancient Macedonia II: Papers Read at the Second International Symposium Held in Thessaloniki, 19-24 August 1973*, vol. 2, 473-79 (Thessaloniki: Hidryma Meletōn Chersonēsou tou Haimou, 1977); J. P. Oleson, *The Sources of Innovation in Later Etruscan Tomb Design (ca. 350-100 B.C.)* (Rome: Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, 1982), 78-81; E. N. Borza, *In the Shadow of Olympus: The Emergence of Macedon* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990), 262, 272-74; Miller, *The Tomb of Lyson and Kallikles*, 101.

distinct from its use in Macedonia. In the Near Eastern examples, the bricks are not wedge-shaped, and attain their curvature by the packing and shaping of mortar in the interstices.[332] Individual bricks are laid on top of one another and supported primarily by the mortar and the preceding bricks, a technique that is more similar to corbelled construction than a true barrel vault, whose curved voussoirs are structurally unstable until the keystone is inserted to support the entire vault.[333] Secondly, the excavation of the royal necropolis beneath the Great Tumulus at Vergina challenged acceptance of the theory about its foreign origin.[334] The argument for indigenous Macedonian development of the arch rests on the assumption that the vault was developed specifically for the unique structural problems related to the enlargement of cist graves in fourth-century BCE Macedonia. The crucial piece of evidence in this theory is the date and identification of the occupant of Tomb II ("Philip's Tomb") at Vergina (Fig. 8). If the chamber did indeed house the remains of Philip, a *terminus ante quem* of 336 BCE could be established for the use of the barrel vault in Macedonia, effectively negating the widely-held theory that dissemination of architectural knowledge was consequent to Alexander's military campaigns.

Ideally, establishing a firm date for Tomb II would confirm whether or not the barrel vault was known and used in Macedonia prior to the eastern campaigns of Alexander the Great during the 330s and the 320s BCE. The two major competing theories about the tomb's occupants and consequent chronology posit identification with either Philip II and his wife

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[332] Tomlinson, "The Architectural Context of the Macedonian Vaulted Tombs," 310. In Egypt, a false arch is employed, which is cut from blocks already laid in a corbelled roof. See S. Clarke and R. Engelbach, *Ancient Egyptian Masonry* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1930), 181-86.

[333] Ibid. Tomlinson notes that the mortar-packed vaults were still in use at Hatra as late as the second century CE.

[334] Andronikos, *Vergina*, 223-24; "Some Reflections on the Macedonian Tombs," 3-12; Tomlinson, "The Architectural Context of the Macedonian Vaulted Tombs," 305-12; in general, see Fedak, *Monumental Tombs of the Hellenistic Age*, 165-67; and Miller, *The Tomb of Lyson and Kallikles*, 101.

Kleopatra, in which case the tomb would have been closed in 336 BCE, or Philip III Arrhidaios

and his wife Adea Eurydike, in which case the tomb would have been closed in 316 BCE

following the couple's exhumation and reburial by Kassander in that year.[335] Because the tomb

(fortunately) was found intact, nearly every possible category of evidence has been investigated

in the exhaustive debate about its chronology, including the human remains, grave goods,

iconography of the painted frieze above the entrance, pottery and metalwork, and the barrel

vault.[336] Analysis of the human remains, which might be considered the most objective method

of analysis, unfortunately does not offer any definitive proof of the occupants' identities. While it

is clear that a mature male was buried in the main burial chamber and a younger female in her

late teens or early twenties was buried in the antechamber. The ages and genders of the interred

can be associated with Philip II and Kleopatra as well as Arrhidaios and Eurydike, so forensic

specialists have attempted greater specificity in determining evidence for Philip II's notorious

eye injury and the state of bodily decay at the time of cremation.[337] Although Xirotiris and

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[335] Diod. 19.52.5

[336] The bibliography on the intense and complex debate surrounding the date of Tomb II is extensive, and is summarized in the most recent treatments of the available evidence: Franks, *Hunters, Heroes, Kings*, 116-26; Lane Fox, "Introduction," 1-34; Hatzopoulos, "The Burial of the Dead (at Vergina)," 91-118; Borza and Palagia, "The Chronology of the Macedonian Royal Tombs at Vergina," 81-125; see also the publication of the excavation in Andronikos, *Vergina* (1984). In general, proponents of an identification with Philip II and Kleopatra include Andronikos himself, A. J. N. W. Prag, J. Musgrave, and R. Neave, "The Skull from Tomb II at Vergina: King Philip II of Macedon," *JHS* 104 (1984): 60-78; J. Musgrave, "The Human Remains from Vergina Tombs I, II and III: An Overview," *AncW* 22 (1991): 3-9; S. Drougou, *Vergina: The Great Tumulus* (Thessaloniki: Aristotle University, 1996); A. Kottaridou, "Discovering Aigai, the Old Macedonian Capital," in *Excavating Classical Culture*, ed. M. Stamatopoulou and M. Yeroulanou, 75-81 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002); Saatsoglou-Paliadeli, *Βεργίνα* (2004); S. Drougou, *Βεργίνα. Τα πήλινα αγγεία της μεγάλης τούμπας* (Athens: Archaiologiki Etaireia, 2005). Proponents of identification with Philip III Arrhidaios and Adea Eurydike include P. W. Lehmann, "The So-Called Tomb of Philip II: A Different Interpretation," *AJA* 84 (1980): 527-31; "The So-Called Tomb of Philip II: An Addendum," *AJA* 86 (1982): 437-42; B. Tripodi, *Cacce reali macedoni tra Alessandro I e Filippo V* (Messina: Di. Sc. A.M, 1998); A. Bartsiokas, "The Eye Injury of King Philip II and the Skeletal Evidence from Royal Tomb II at Vergina," *Science* 288 (2000): 511-14; Borza and Palagia, "The Chronology of the Macedonian Royal Tombs at Vergina," 81-125.

[337] N. I. Xirotiris and F. Langensheidt, "The Cremation from the Royal Macedonian Tombs at Vergina," *ArchEph* (1981): 142-60; Prag, Musgrave, and Neave, "The Skull from Tomb II at Vergina," 60-78; A. S. Riginos, "The Wounding of Philip II of Macedon: Fact and Fabrication," *JHS* 94 (1994): 103-19; Bartsiokas, "The Eye Injury of

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Langenscheidt's initial forensic investigation found no evidence for serious injury to the right eye of the male deceased, Prag, Musgrave, and Neave reported trauma around the eye, further arguing that the remains suggested evidence for "green" cremation (in which flesh was still attached to the bones when they were cremated), which corresponded to the relatively hasty burial of Philip II after his assassination rather than to the later reburial of Arrhidaios, some six months after his death.[338] The "green" cremation theory was opposed by Bartsiokas, who argued for "dry" or "degreased" cremation (i.e., the flesh had already decomposed by the time the pyre was lit).[339] Here a historical perspective is worth keeping in mind, as Riginos argues that literary sources describing Philip's injury are quite possibly embellished, and Hatzopoulos notes that Arrhidaios may also have been cremated "green" soon after his death, since it seems unlikely that Kassander would exhume and subsequently cremate for public display a putrefying corpse.[340]

The grave goods constitute a similarly ambiguous source of evidence for the identification of Tomb II's occupants. Much of the discussion centers on the potential identification of the so-called "diadem" and the association of iconography presented on the armor and paraphernalia to specific personalities within the Macedonian court.[341] The "diadem" cannot definitively be identified as such; thus, it cannot be used to support a date for the tomb

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King Philip II," 511-14; A. J. N. W. Prag, et al., "The Occupants of Tomb II at Vergina: Why Arrhidaios and Eurydice Must Be Excluded," *International Journal of Medical Sciences* 7, no. 6 (2010): 1-15.

[338] Xirotiris and Langenscheidt, "The Cremation from the Royal Macedonian Tombs at Vergina," 142-60; Prag, Musgrave, and Neave, "The Skull from Tomb II at Vergina," 60-78; Prag, et al., "The Occupants of Tomb II at Vergina," 1-15.

[339] Bartsiokas, "The Eye Injury of King Philip II," 511-14.

[340] Riginos, "The Wounding of Philip II of Macedon," 103-19; Hatzopoulos, "The Burial of the Dead (at Vergina)," 115-16.

[341] Borza and Palagia, "The Chronology of the Macedonian Tombs at Vergina," 107-17; Franks, *Hunters, Heroes Kings*, 119-22.

after Alexander's adoption of the Persian royal symbol.[342] Furthermore, attempts to relate

specific iconography, such as the Achilles and Penthesilea motif on the chryselephantine shield,

to the personal experiences of the Macedonian royal family are highly tenuous.[343] The painted

frieze above the entrance provides slightly more stable ground for iconographical analysis

because its portrayal of the lion hunt, hunt on horseback, and garments worn by some of the

participants are related to Persian royal iconography and do not feature in known Greek or

Macedonian motifs until the time of the Successors (Fig. 9).[344] It should be noted, however, that

simply because these motifs are not known to appear in Macedonian art until after Alexander's

death does not mean that they did not exist prior to his eastern campaigns: Philip II was known to

have hosted Persian ambassadors and satraps at his court, and visual narratives related to the

Macedonian court prior to the Vergina frieze do not survive to indicate what "Persianisms," if

any, might have been used in representations of royalty prior to Alexander's reign.[345]

The pottery and metalwork found in the tomb offer perhaps the most potential for

chronological clarification. The Attic black glaze ware excavated from the tomb can be attributed

to a fairly broad chronological range within the fourth century BCE, but the findings contained

four spool saltcellars whose earliest known parallels come from Alexandria, after the city's

foundation in 331 BCE.[346] Similar examples have also been found in the Athenian Agora, which,

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[342] W. M. Calder, "Diadem and Barrel-Vault: A Note," *AJA* 85 (1981): 334-35; "Golden Diadems," *AJA* 87 (1983): 102-3.

[343] Franks, *Hunters, Heroes, Kings*, 120-22.

[344] The most recent treatment of the frieze is Franks, *Hunters, Heroes, Kings* (2012), but an extensive discussion of the "Persianizing" elements is also provided in Borza and Palagia, "The Chronology of the Macedonian Royal Tombs at Vergina," 90-103.

[345] Franks, *Hunters, Heroes, Kings*, 117-18; Plut. *Vit. Alex*. 5.1, 10.1; Diod. 16.52.3-4; Palagia, Review of H. Franks, *Hunters, Heroes, Kings*, 255-56.

[346] Borza and Palagia, "The Chronology of the Royal Macedonian Tombs at Vergina," 103-6.

according to Rotroff's chronology, were produced ca. 325-295 BCE.[347] It has also been

suggested that the metalwork from Tomb II was calculated on the weight of the Athenian

drachma, a consequence of the metrological reforms of Alexander, but there is evidence that this

weight standard was used in northern Greece as early as Philip II's reign.[348]

If Rotroff's chronology is correct, the evidence tends towards the latter date of 316 BCE

for Tomb II at Vergina. Franks argues that the difference of twenty years separating the two

proposed chronologies is a minor one,[349] yet the intense political and cultural transitions that take

place within the twenty years to which she is referring suggest that the chronological gap, while

short, is of no small consequence. Antecedents for several important aspects of the tomb do not

appear in the extant repertoire of Macedonian visual culture prior to Alexander's military

campaigns, and understanding the origin of these antecedents is of paramount importance for

interpretation of their architectural and iconographic content.

One of the most significant changes in Macedonian architectural history during this time

was the introduction of the barrel vault, and the argument remains that if Tomb II belongs to

Philip II (i.e., if it predates Alexander), the barrel vault can be considered an indigenous

Macedonian development. If it postdates Philip and Alexander, however, the barrel vault could

then be regarded as a foreign implement adopted and disseminated by Alexander's army. This

logic unnecessarily rests on the assumption that Alexander's army was the only source of foreign

influence in the fourth century BCE Greek world, which seems highly speculative considering

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[347] Ibid. See also E. Breccia, *La necropoli di Sciatbi* (Cairo: Impr. de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1912) pl. 56 no. 116; S. Rotroff, "Royal Saltcellars from the Athenian Agora," *AJA* 86 (1982): 283; "Spool Saltcellars in the Athenian Agora," *Hesperia* 53 (1984): 343-54; *Hellenistic Pottery: Athenian and Imported Wheelmade Table Ware and Related Material*, Agora 29 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 166 n. 71.

[348] Borza and Palagia, "The Chronology of the Royal Macedonian Tombs at Vergina," 105-6; D. W. J. Gill, "Inscribed Silver Plate from Tomb II at Vergina," *Hesperia* 77 (2008): 335-58; Hatzopoulos, "The Burial of the Dead (at Vergina)," 117.

[349] Franks, *Hunters, Heroes, Kings*, 22.

that a long history of visual exchange between Greece and the Near East is attested in the

surviving art and architecture of both regions. Even if the barrel vault was developed outside of

Macedonia, does its implementation in the Greek world necessarily depend on the movements of

Alexander's army? Conversely, if it was an indigenous Macedonian development, could it not

have occurred during or after Alexander's campaigns? Perhaps the most troubling component in

the theories of origin of the barrel vault is the polarizing viewpoint that its invention should be

attributed either to foreign *or* domestic influence, but not both. It is possible that Macedonians

(or Greeks) saw vaulted structures in the Near East and innovated a structurally different solution

to a Macedonian architectural problem (i.e., the demand for roofs that spanned wider larger

burial chambers) that achieved a similar visual effect to the eastern examples. An intriguing

example of this can be seen in the large tomb at Labraunda in Karia, dated by its style of

masonry to ca. 350-340 BCE.[350] The two burial chambers in the tomb are covered by corbeled

vaults, but the soffit of each vault is carved to give the appearance of a semicircular barrel

vault.[351] This implies that the aesthetic - if not the technology - of the barrel vault was known

independently of the Macedonian army's alleged diffusion of the vault across the Mediterranean.

Whether the origin of the keystone barrel vault occurred in Macedonia or abroad, it is

generally agreed that the use of the vault provided a significant structural advantage for chamber

tomb construction in stone in fourth century Macedonia. Because burial chambers beneath

tumuli expanded in size during the fourth century BCE, a more effective method was needed to

span the increasing interior space of the chamber. The solution of the stone vault, then, is largely

conceived as a purely practical solution to this need: more durable than the flat, wooden roofs

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[350] Fedak, *Monumental Tombs of the Hellenistic Age*, 74-76; A. Westholm, *Labraunda I, Part 2: The Architecture of the Hieron* (Lund: C.W.K. Gleerup, 1963).

[351] Fedak, *Monumental Tombs of the Hellenistic Age*, 75, fig. 82.

that had previously covered the pits used for Macedonian burials, stone roofs were not

susceptible to decay, and the keystone technique was a more efficient and economical method

than traditional corbelling.[352] The disposition of Macedonian pit burials, moreover, was naturally

favorable to experimentation with the keystone technique: the walls were constructed within a pit

naturally "buttressed" by the soil, and thus the outward thrust of the arch would not have resulted

in a collapse the way that it would have in a freestanding building.[353]

Furthermore, the expansion in size of the Macedonian cist tombs not only necessitated

innovative roofing solutions, but also incorporated other architectural elements that signaled a

functional shift of the tomb. Andronikos argues that the presence of a door in the chamber tomb

from Olynthos and its reappearance later in the century in Tomb B at Sedes indicate a functional

shift of the burial space from a "rectangular, box-like repository" (theke) to a chamber that is

accessed by a doorway.[354] In traditional pit burials, the corpse was deposited into the cist through

the upper opening, but a door allows the space to be approached as a real architectural space.[355]

The burial space was correspondingly increased, which compelled innovation in roof design.[356]

To this end, Andronikos notes that the "Persephone Tomb" at Vergina, the largest cist grave in

Macedonia, does not contain a door and is covered with horizontal, flat slabs. Moreover, the only

flat-roofed tombs that do contain doors (the tomb at Olynthos and Tomb B at Sedes), have

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[352] Tomlinson, "Vaulting Techniques of the Macedonian Tombs," 473. The fact that stone roofs are impervious to decay is especially important considering that the Macedonian tombs were often re-entered for burial of successive family members, unlike the Phrygian wooden burial chambers beneath tumuli, which were entered and sealed only once.

[353] Tomlinson, "The Architectural Context of the Macedonian Vaulted Tombs," 308.

[354] Andronikos, "Some Reflections on the Macedonian Tombs," 8. Kotzias, "The Sedes C Tomb Near the Thessaloniki Airport," 866-95; Robinson, *Olynthus* XI, 117, no. 598, pls. 53-58.

[355] Ibid., 9.

[356] Ibid.

gabled roofs, indicating that each was likely conceptualized as a real architectural chamber rather than simply a repository or theke.[357] This functional interpretation of the Macedonian burial chamber, moreover, offers an intriguing solution to some of the idiosyncrasies of the Pontic tombs at Amaseia, which are discussed in further detail in Chapter Five.

Consideration of the Macedonian tomb in this functional context, conceptualized initially as a theke and later as real architectural space, clarifies the impetus behind the application of Doric and Ionic orders on the facade. Following the reconceptualization of the burial space as an architectural chamber, the facade developed a visual vocabulary that expressed this new function. The facade embellishment is clearly drawn from the architecture of Greek poleis, and, as mentioned at the beginning of the chapter, is potentially dependent on specific patterns of political change resulting from encounters with Near Eastern political ideologies.[358] Stella Miller suggests that while the embellishment is confined solely to the facade, the viewer is intended to imagine a freestanding structure.[359] Furthermore, Miller's reconstruction of the Macedonian suggests how these tombs were viewed in antiquity. Typically, the prepared corpse would be burned on a pyre, often located just behind the tomb. Offerings were deposited during the cremation, and afterwards the bones as well as other offerings would be collected and placed in appropriate repositories within the burial space. The doors of the tomb would be shut and sealed with large stone blocks, and the dromos filled in until the next family member died, when the rituals would be repeated.[360]

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[357] Ibid., 9-12.

[358] Tomlinson, "The Architectural Context of the Macedonian Vaulted Tombs," 306.

[359] Miller, *The Tomb of Lyson and Kallikles*, 9-10.

[360] Ibid., 64-65.

Visibility of the burial chamber, then, would have been sporadic and temporary at best. The cremation on the funerary pyre was probably a system of public display, and it would have been at this event that the facade of the chamber was most likely to be viewed (although this might depend on how long the dromos was, how difficult the facade would be to see at the end of the dromos, and who would have had access to the dromos). The pattern of abstraction and distance discussed in the previous chapter would have assisted in symbolically framing the deceased within his or her appropriate social, civic, political, or even religious context, given the evidence for ritual offerings conducted here. The decoration on the facade (for example, the painted frieze crowning the facade of Tomb II at Vergina) would have reinforced the abstracted presence of the deceased and clarified the person's new, re-integrated place within society. Additionally, the tumulus mound would have, in effect, stood as a metonymic representation of a family or dynasty, not necessarily an individual. The semiotic value of the facade was thus of great importance in ideological communication surrounding the burial.

Thrace: Expansion of Roofing Systems in Chamber Tombs

The "origin" debate that preoccupies scholarship on the development of the vaulted tomb ceiling is not unique to Macedonia. The provenance of specific features of Thracian tombs - in particular, the domed or "beehive" structures and from where the technique originated - persists in discussions of the tholos tombs that flourished in Thrace during the fifth and fourth centuries BCE.[361] Because the most notable tholos tomb tradition is known from Greece, particularly

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[361] N. Theodossiev, "The Beehive Tombs in Thrace and Their Connection with Funerary Monuments in Thessaly, Macedonia and Other Parts of the Ancient World," in *Ancient Macedonia VII: Macedonia from the Iron Age to the Death of Philip II*, ed. D. Kaplanidou and E. Chiōtē (Thessaloniki: Institute for Balkan Studies, 2007), 423. Additionally, for detailed discussions of the origin of these tombs, B. Filov, "Kupolnite grobnitsi pri Mezek," *BIABulg* 11 (1937): 1-116 is the most comprehensive study; see also B. Filov, "The Bee-hive Tombs of Mezek," *Antiquity* 11/43 (1937): 300-5; "Thrakisch-mykenische Beziehungen," *Revue Internationale des études Balkaniques* 3/5-6 (1937-1938): 1-7; V. Mikov, "Proizhod na nadgrobnite mogili v Bulgaria," *Godishnik na Narodniya*

Mycenae, scholars generally accept the notion that the Thracian tholos tombs represent a survival (or perhaps a revival) of the earlier Mycenaean tradition. Other scholars, however, have argued that the Thracian tholos tombs are descendants of the circular- or oval-shaped rock-cut burial chambers that are known from southeastern Thrace from the eleventh-sixth centuries BCE.[362] Like the Macedonian vaulted roofs, however, no clear consensus has emerged as to exactly what impetus lay behind Thracian tomb construction of this type, and it was likely a combination of influences that contributed to this complex development.

Within these rather sketchy origins, however, it does seem clear that the so-called "beehive" tombs appear regularly in Thrace during the first half of the fourth century BCE. Their relationship to earlier Greek structures, in addition to the application of Doric and Ionic facade features on many of the fourth century BCE Thracian tombs, indicates that a certain amount of contemporary cultural exchange took place between Thrace and Macedonia during which both regions experienced significant developments in the realm of monumental funerary architecture. The process of development of Thracian tholos tombs probably involved multiple sources, and while many scholars accept at least a partial influence from the Mycenaean tradition, Nikola Theodossiev argues that this relationship merits justification on the basis of the significant chronological gap (approximately six hundred years) between the construction of the Mycenaean and Thracian tholos tombs.[363] An explanation may be provided by Alcock's study of tomb cult in

Arheologicheski Muzei 7 (1942): 16-31; "Proizhod na kupolnite grobnitsi v Trakiya" *BIABulg* 19 (1955): 15-48; A. M. Mansel, *Trakya-Kırklareli kubbeli mezarları ve sahte kubbe ve kemer problemi. Die Kuppelgraeber von Kırklareli in Thrakien* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1943); K. Bittel, *Kleinasiatische Studien* (Istanbul: Universum-Druckerei, 1942), 92-95.

[362] See Theodossiev, "The Beehive Tombs in Thrace," 423, n. 2 for a comprehensive bibliography concerning the various opinions about the origins of these tombs.

[363] Ibid., 424, and Theodossiev's accompanying bibliography for discussions regarding the Mycenaean, Late Archaic, Classical, and Early Hellenistic sources for Thracian tholos tombs. For a more detailed summary of

the post-Classical poleis, which suggests that Mycenaean tombs remained known to and used by

Greeks, as evidenced by the remnants of cult and secondary burial activity in the late Classical

and early Hellenistic period.[364] Because the Mycenaean tholoi remained active centers of ritual

life in Greece, it is possible that the Thracians, too, were familiar with these structures and

wished to assimilate the heroic and ancestral prestige connoted by the tholos form. Furthermore,

various tholos tombs discovered in Macedonia, for example, the three Early Iron Age funerary

tholoi from Pydna and the late fourth-early third century BCE tomb at Derveni imply later

survival of the Mycenaean form.[365]

Not only is the revival and reuse of the Mycenaean tholos evident in Macedonia, but

strong interaction between Macedonia and Thrace is also evident in both historical and

archaeological sources. Military and political contacts between the two regions were not

uncommon, and after their initial use in Macedonia, barrel-vaulted tombs soon appear in Thrace

from the late fourth century and early Hellenistic period.[366] An interesting example of so-called

"hybrid" tombs show mixed Macedonian and Thracian elements, exemplified in the Naip

Tumulus, excavated on the northeastern slopes of Işıklar (Ganos) Mountain overlooking the

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evidence for the use of tholos tombs throughout the Aegean and Mediterranean, and how potential architectural relationships could have been formed across such a wide geographical area, see pp. 424-28.

[364] Alcock, "Tomb Cult and the Post-Classical Polis," 447-67; Theodossiev, "The Beehive Tombs in Thrace," 425.

[365] Theodossiev, "The Beehive Tombs in Thrace," 431-32; M. Besios and M. Pappa, *Πύδνα* (Thessaloniki: n.p., 1995); P. G. Themelis and I. P. Touratsoglou, *Οι τάφοι του Δερβενίου* (Athens: Ekdosē tou Tameiou Archaiologikōn Porōn kai Apallotriōseōn, 1997).

[366] Theodossiev, "The Beehive Tombs in Thrace," 431-32, n. 44 and 45. For historical evidence regarding contact between Macedonia and Thrace, see R. F. Hoddinott, *The Thracians* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1981), 104-10, 121-22; Z. H. Archibald, *The Odrysian Kingdom of Thrace: Orpheus Unmasked* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 90, 193, 204-5, 282-303; "Space, Hierarchy, and Community in Archaic and Classical Macedonia, Thessaly, and Thrace," in *Alternatives to Athens: Varieties of Political Organization and Community in Ancient Greece*, ed. R. Brock and S. Hodkinson, 212-33 (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000).

Propontis in southeastern Thrace (Cat. IV.6).[367] The plan of the single-chamber tomb consists of

a long dromos that leads to a Macedonian-style square chamber of roughly 3.0m x 3.0m

dimensions.[368] The dromos is roofed with a diagonally sloped corbel, a frequent feature of

Thracian tombs, but the burial chamber itself is covered with an unusual semicircular corbel,

which may allude to barrel-vaulted chamber tomb construction in Macedonia.[369] It is also notable

that the earliest known Thracian tholos, in the necropolis of Zone, the ancient Greek colony of

Mesembria, is dated to the eighth or seventh century BCE and occurs in an area populated by

Greeks and Thracians (Fig. 35).[370] Although the specific pattern of architectural interaction

cannot be traced from this single example, Theodossiev argues that the existence of an early

Thracian tholos in a Greek colony suggests that the idea of a tholos tomb must have migrated to

Thrace along with the Greek colonists.[371] For whatever reason, however, the widespread use of

tholos tombs in Thrace does not seem to have taken root until the fourth century BCE, alongside

the nearly synchronous development of unique roofing structures in chamber tombs beneath

tumuli in both Macedonia and Anatolia. The Thracians also maintained close cultural and ethnic

ties with parts of northwestern Anatolia, particularly the region of Bithynia, discussed in further

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[367] İ. Delemen, *Tekirdağ Naip Tümülüsü* (Istanbul: Ege Yayınları, 2004); "An Unplundered Chamber Tomb on Ganos Mountain in Southeastern Thrace," *AJA* 110, no. 2 (2006): 251-73.

[368] Delemen, "An Unplundered Chamber Tomb," 253-54.

[369] Ibid., 255. Examples of "hybrid" tombs also occur at Odessa and Kallatis on the Thracian coast of the Black Sea, which contain a square chamber similar to the Naip tomb, and at Amphipolis TIII and Terpni in Macedonia, which each contain a long dromos appended to a Macedonian tomb. For the Thracian tombs, see M. Mirchev, "Pamyetnitzi na grobnata arkhitektura v Odesos i negovata okolnost," in *Izsledvaniya v chest na Akad. D. Dechev: Studia in honorem Acad. D. Dechev*, ed. V. Beshevliev and V. Georgiev (Sofia: Bulgarian Academy, 1958), 571-73, figs. 2, 3; C. Preda, "Una nuova tomba a volta scoperta presso Mangalia-Callatis," *Dacia* 6 (1962): 157-61, figs. 1-3; Archibald, *The Odrysian Kingdom of Thrace*, 302-3; for the Macedonian examples, see B. Gossel, "Makedonische Kammergräber" (Ph.D. diss.: Ludwig-Maximilians Universität, 1980), 232-34, no. 33; S. Samartzidou, "Νέα ευρήματα από τις νεκροπόλεις της αρχαίας Αμφίπολης," *Ἀρχαιολογικό Ἔργο στη Μακεδονία και Θράκη* 1 (1987): 331, 334-35, drawing 6.

[370] Theodossiev, "The Beehive Tombs in Thrace," 435.

[371] Ibid.

detail below. Perhaps the best architectural example of Thracian-Bithynian contact occurs in the

Kutluca tumulus in western Bithynia, underneath which is a fourth-century BCE chamber tomb

that consists of a long dromos and a beehive-roofed burial chamber (Cat. I.6).[372]

A full review of the various types of Thracian tombs that occur in the fifth and fourth

centuries BCE would be repetitive and beyond the scope of this study, as detailed analyses of the

topic have been published elsewhere.[373] Nevertheless, it is worth summarizing some of the

salient features of specific examples. Roofing techniques of Thracian tombs in particular seem to

have influenced the development of certain types of chamber tombs in Anatolia, and

investigation of the types encourages questions not only of cultural exchange but also of

visibility and function. While roofing developments in Thracian tumulus tombs are in many

ways relative to contemporaneous developments in Macedonia, some Thracian roofing systems

(for example, corbelled and lantern vaults) are particularly distinctive in that they are far more

ornamental than the barrel vault and seem to have served an aesthetic, and not simply structural,

purpose. The Macedonian chamber tombs were viewed only sporadically, and depended on the

deaths of family members interred, but Thracian chamber tombs seem to have enjoyed functions

beyond the strictly funerary, serving as sites for regular local ritual and providing evidence for

the existence of permanently open tombs.[374] Perhaps this prolonged viewership initiated

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[372] Theodossiev, "The Beehive Tombs in Thrace," 432. For the Kutluca tumulus, see F. K. Dörner, *Inschriften und Denkmäler aus Bithynien (=IstForsch* 14) (Berlin: Deutsches archäeologisches Institut, 1941), 16-21; A. M. Mansel, "1968 Kutluca Kazısına Dair Önrapor," *TürkArkDerg* 17, no. 1 (1968): 105-9; "Kutluca (Bithynia), 1968." *AnatSt* 19 (1969): 16; "Gebze Yöresinde Kutluca Kubbeli Mezarı ve Onum Trakya Kubbeli Mezarları Arasında Aldığı Yer," *Belleten* 37 (1973): 143-58; "Das Kuppelgrab von Kutluca, West-Bithynien," in *Thracia: primus congressus studiorum thracicorum, Serdicae 1972, 3*, 207-20 (Serdicae: Academia Litterarum Bulgarica, 1974).

[373] See Archibald, *The Odrysian Kingdom of Thrace*, 282-303; and most recently, D. Stoyanova, "Tomb Architecture," in *A Companion to Ancient Thrace*, ed. J. Valeva, E. Nankov, and D. Graninger, 158-79 (Malden, MA: Wiley Blackwell, 2015).

[374] Archibald, *The Odrysian Kingdom of Thrace*, 287, n. 30 and 31, 290-91. Additionally, Stoyanova relates architectural developments in Thracian tombs architecture to the activities of the local elite within the broader

Thracian interest in aesthetically elaborate ceilings, the most complex of which were the

corbelled vaults and its diverse array of structural variations.

Of the eleven types of stone roofing techniques known from excavated Thracian tombs,

the most popular types were domed and barrel-vaulted roofs.[375] The domed tomb, as mentioned

above, had an extensive history of architectural precedents throughout the Mediterranean, while

the appearance of Thracian barrel vaulted tombs came on the heels of the analogous structures in

Macedonia.[376] This section, however, focuses on a rarer form of vault elaboration known as the

"lantern" vault; its unique usage comprises an important carryover between Thracian and

Anatolian chamber tomb traditions and attests to a unique form of cultural borrowing and

appropriation between peoples of these regions. Extensive evidence for corbelling in tombs is

apparent from at least the Archaic period, but one of its variants, the "lantern" or "diagonal" roof,

is known in only one instance from the Archaic period before more widespread adoption in

Thrace and northwestern Anatolia.[377] Corbel vaulting in general is produced by superimposing a

number of stone layers, offsetting each successive layer so that the space enclosed by the layers

gradually decreases until it can be closed with a single stone. Lantern vaulting employs the same

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context of the Late Classical and Early Hellenistic Mediterranean, and their subsequent "deeper acquaintance" with Greek architecture.

[375] Stoyanova, "Tomb Architecture," 159, 171.

[376] Ibid.

[377] Fedak, *Monumental Tombs of the Hellenistic Age*, 168. The earliest evidence for lantern roofing comes from the sixth-century BCE Belevi tumulus near Ephesos. See S. Kasper, "Der Tumulus von Belevi," *AA* (1975): 223-32; "Der Tumulus von Belevi (Grabungsbereicht)," *ÖJh* 51 (1976-1977): 129-80; "Der Tumulus von Belevi," In *The Proceedings of the Xth International Congress of Classical Archaeology* I, ed. E. Akurgal, 387-97 (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basimevi, 1978).

concept of offsetting successive stone layers until the space can be closed, but usually the layers

are quadrangular and are set diagonally to the preceding layer.[378]

Three examples of a lantern-roofed space in a chamber tomb beneath a tumulus are

known from Thrace, all of which are dated to the late fourth or early third century BCE. At Kurt

Kale (modern Valčepol), southwest of Mezek, a lantern-roofed, square-plan antechamber

constructed of an irregular hexagon and successive octagons precedes a circular-plan beehive

chamber (Fig. 36).[379] An analogous arrangement occurs again at Zhaba Mogila near Strelcha,

which is notable not only for the lantern-roofed antechamber combined with the beehive burial

chamber, but also for its excessively worn thresholds in each chamber and evidence for regular

opening and closing of doors, which indicate that the tomb remained open for many years

following its construction.[380] A third example, near Plovdiv, utilizes the lantern vault but is

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[378] Stoyanova, "Tomb Architecture," 172; Fedak, *Monumental Tombs of the Hellenistic Age*, 170-71. Some variation in the quadrangular shape of the layers occurs, but the most unusual example of lantern vaulting occurs in the chamber tomb beneath Tumulus C at Karalar. In this tomb, each layer is irregularly shaped and contained a different number of sides. The layers are irregularly positioned, so much so that the visual effect approximates that of a corbelled interior, despite the fact that the technique is closer to the lantern-type variation.

[379] Z. H. Archibald, *The Odrysian Kingdom of Thrace*, 283, 339-40; Fedak, *Monumental Tombs of the Hellenistic Age*, 171; Filov, "Kupolnite grobnitsi pri Mezek," 5-9, 79-83, 91; Filov, "The Beehive Tombs of Mezek," 300-4; R. Ginouvès, and A.-M. Guimier-Sorbets, "Voûte 'galate' et charpente macédonienne," *RA* (1994): 316; J. Iliev, "The Monumental Tombs in Rhodope Mountains," *Thracia* 20 (2012): cat. no. 6; Mansel, *Trakya-Kırklareli kubbeli mezarları ve sahte kubbe ve kemer problemi*, 39-41; A. M. Mansel, "Gemlik Tümülüs Mezarı," *Belleten* 38, no. 150 (1974): 188; A. K. Orlandos, *Les matériaux de construction et la technique architecturale des anciens Grecs: Seconde Partie* (Paris: Éditions E. de Boccard, 1968), 190, 210; M. Rousseva, *Trakiiska grobnichna arhitektura v bulgarskite zemi prez V-III v.pr.n.e.* (Yambol: Izdatelstvo Ya, 2002), 149-50, no. 47; N. Theodossiev, "The Lantern-Roofed Tombs in Thrace and Anatolia: Some Evidence about Cultural Relations and Interaction in the East Mediterranean," in *Thrace in the Graeco-Roman World: Proceedings of the 10th International Congress of Thracology, Komotini-Alexandroupolis, 18-23 October 2005*, ed. A. Iakovidou (Athens: National Hellenic Research Foundation, 2007), 603.

[380] N. Theodossiev, "Monumental Tombs and Hero Cults in Thrace during the 5th-3rd Centuries B.C.," in *Héros et héroïnes dans les mythes et les cultes grecs: actes du colloque organisé à l'Université de Valladolid, du 26 au 29 mai 1999*, ed. V. Pirenne-Delforge, 435-47 (Liège: Presses universitaires de Liège, 2000); Archibald, *The Odrysian Kingdom of Thrace*, 288-89, 343; G. Kitov, "A Newly Found Thracian Tomb," *Obzor* 39 (1977): 85-93; "Trakiiska grobnitsa-mavzolei krai grad Strelcha," *Vekove* 6 (1977): 12-21; *Trakiiskite mogili krai Strelcha* (Sofia: Prouchvaniva-NEK, 1979), 2-7; Rousseva, *Trakiiska grobnichna arhitektura v bulgarskite zemi prez V-III v.pr.n.e.,* 147-48, no. 46; Theodossiev, "The Lantern-Roofed Tombs in Thrace and Anatolia, 603.

organized differently than the Kurt Kale and Zhaba Mogila tombs.[381] The chamber tomb

contained a facade, antechamber, and burial chamber, but in this case both the antechamber and

the burial chamber were rectangular, and the burial chamber, rather than the antechamber, was

surmounted by a lantern roof. The lantern roof was constructed with four layers of rhomboi, an

arrangement most closely paralleled in northwestern Turkey, at Mudanya in Bithynia, where the

lantern vault took the form of an irregular octagon and four square, superimposed frames (Fig.

37).[382]

Another significant feature of Thracian chamber tombs that may relate to later structures

in Anatolia are the open spaces that frequently occur when tombs were located near the

periphery of the tumulus. This open space was usually articulated by the construction of walls

perpendicular to the tomb, a plain facade at its entrance, or even a set of two columns resembling

Greek sacred architecture.[383] In the first-century BCE royal Galatian necropolis at Karalar, where

another instance of lantern vaulting occurs, Tumuli B and C were also outfitted with an open

space in front of the tomb, which the excavator referred to as an "altar" space.[384] It is possible

that the open spaces in both the Thracian and the Galatian tombs performed similar functions and

[381] Archibald, *The Odrysian Kingdom of Thrace*, 283, 296-98, 338; L. Botousharova, and V. Kolarova, "Kupolna grobnitsa pri Plovdiv," in *Studia in memoriam Karel Škorpil*, ed. K. Miâtev and V. Mikov, 279-97 (Sofia: Éditions de l'Académie des Sciences de Bulgarie, 1961); Fedak, *Monumental Tombs of the Hellenistic Age*, 171; Ginouvès and Guimier-Sorbets, "Voûte 'galate' et charpente macédonienne," *RA* (1994): 316; Mansel, "Gemlik Tümülüs Mezarı," 188-89; Rousseva, *Trakiiska grobnichna arhitektura v bulgarskite zemi prez V-III v.pr.n.e*, 113-16, no. 25; Theodossiev, "The Lantern-Roofed Tombs in Thrace and Anatolia, 603.

[382] Archibald, *The Odrysian Kingdom of Thrace*, 283. There are several imitations of the lantern roof in other media; for example, in the ceiling of the Ostrousha Tumulus in Thrace and in the ceiling of one of the chambers of the Karakoyunlu rock-cut tomb in Paphlagonia, as well as a floor mosaic from the House of Dionysos at Pella that shows a pattern resembling the lantern roof arrangement. These instances will be discussed in further detail in Chapter Four.

[383] Stoyanova, "Tomb Architecture," 166. Stoyanova cites the example of the Chetinyova tomb in Starosel, whose architectural elaboration is such that it resembles a monumental propylon.

[384] Arık, "Karalar Hafriyati," 123-46.

were reserved for ritual use, a suggestion made all the more intriguing by the incorporation of a lantern vault into the chamber tomb beneath Tumulus C at Karalar. The notion of visibility - what parts of the tombs at Karalar were visible, when, and to whom - will be discussed in further detail in Chapter Four, but the potential similarities are worth mentioning here.

Bithynia: Gateway to Anatolia

The formal developments in roofing techniques, specifically the lantern vault, that occur in fourth century BCE and later Thracian chamber tombs also took root across the Bosphoros, especially in the northwestern Anatolian region of Bithynia. Bithynia had been under the control of Persian satraps and local dynasts during the fourth century, and it first appears as a Hellenistic power around 315 BCE when its dynast, Zipoites, attacked the Greek cities of Astakos and Chalcedon and was subsequently defeated by Antigonos Monophthlamos.[385] Several monumental chamber tombs discovered in Bithynian territory, dated to the fourth and early third centuries BCE, show evidence of a significant relationship to Thracian burial architecture and raise the issue of cultural contact between Bithynians and Thracians, with Bithynia positioned as a possible conduit for specific architectural techniques from southeastern Europe into Anatolia. As mentioned previously, a tumulus discovered in Mudanya (ancient Myrleia) with a lantern-roofed chamber directly parallels examples of the roofing technique found in Thrace.[386] Similar

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[385] L. Hannestad, "'This Contributes in No Small Way to One's Reputation': The Bithynian Kings and Greek Culture," in *Aspects of Hellenistic Kingship*, ed. P. Bilde (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 1996), 71.

[386] Archibald, *The Odrysian Kingdom of Thrace*, 283-84; Fedak, *Monumental Tombs of the Hellenistic Age*, 171; Ginouvès, and Guimier-Sorbets, "Voûte 'galate' et charpente macédonienne," 312; Mansel, *Trakya-Kırklareli kubbeli mezarları ve sahte kubbe ve kemer problemi*, 47-48; A. M. Mansel, "Mudanya Mezar Binası," *Belleten* 10, no. 37 (1946): 1-12; A. M. Mansel, "Das Grabmal von Mudanya (Bithynien)," in *Atti del I Congresso internazionale di preistoria e protoistoria mediterranea*, ed. P. Graziosi and A. Micheli, 472-78 (Rome: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1950); Mansel, "Gemlik Tümülüs Mezarı," 185; Theodossiev, "The Lantern-Roofed Tombs in Thrace and Anatolia," 603-4.

lantern-roofed burial structures have been unearthed at Gemlik (ancient Kios)[387] and Iğdir

Köyü,[388] and of the available evidence known thus far, Bithynian tombs constitute the most

significant group of lantern-roofed tombs in Anatolia. This indicates that Bithynia was an

extremely important area in the transmission of architectural developments related to cultural

practices of death in the fourth and third centuries BCE. The Bithynians seem to have fostered

close ethnic and cultural relationships with Thrace as well, which might explain the architectural

similarities discovered in these tombs. Contemporary literary sources state that the region of

Bithynia was inhabited by a Thracian tribe, referred to variously as the Bithynoi or the Thynoi.[389]

Xenophon is more specific, indicating that the Thynoi live in Europe and the Bithynoi live in

Asia, but it is not uncommon for ancient authors to refer to the Bithynians as the "Thracians in

Asia."[390] Even in the late first century BCE, Strabo remarks on the difficulty in establishing

cultural boundaries between the Bithynians, Phrygians, and Mysians, suggesting that they might

all be considered "Thracian."[391]

Zipoites' son and heir, Nikomedes I, is notable for several reasons: he was the first

Bithynian king to incorporate significant Hellenizing elements into the Bithynian monarchy, in

279 BCE he invited the Gauls inhabiting parts of southeastern Europe and Thrace across the

Bosphoros to fight as mercenaries in the war of succession against his brother, and he founded

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[387] Archibald, *The Odrysian Kingdom of Thrace*, 283-84; Fedak, *Monumental Tombs of the Hellenistic Age*, 171; N. Firatlı, "Brief Archaeological News," *IstArkMüzYıll* 13-14 (1966): 225-29; Ginouvès and Guimier-Sorbets, "Voûte 'galate' et charpente macédonienne," 312; Mansel, "Gemlik Tümülüs Mezarı," 181-89; M. J. Mellink, "Archaeology in Asia Minor," *AJA* 71, no. 2 (1967): 173; Theodossiev, "The Lantern-Roofed Tombs in Thrace and Anatolia," 604.

[388] Fedak, *Monumental Tombs of the Hellenistic Age*, 171; Ginouvès and Guimier-Sorbets, "Voûte 'galate' et charpente macédonienne," 312; Theodossiev, "The Lantern-Roofed Tombs in Thrace and Anatolia," 604; D. Tokgöz, "Iğdir Tümülüs Kazısı Raporu," *TürkArkDerg* 22-23 (1975-1976): 151-57.

[389] Herodotos 128; Hannestand, "'This Contributes in No Small Way to One's Reputation,'" 68.

[390] Xenophon, *An.* 6.4; Hannestand, "'This Contributes in No Small Way to One's Reputation,'" 68 n. 7 and 8.

[391] Strabo 12.543; Hannestand, "'This Contributes in No Small Way to One's Reputation,'" 68.

Nikomedia (modern İzmit) as the capital of the Bithynian kingdom ca. 264 BCE.[392] The

Bithynian kings were likely also buried beneath tumuli, although the royal necropolis has yet to

be identified. A tumulus necropolis approximately eight kilometers north of the modern city

center, in the village of Kabaoğlu, has received limited investigation and has tentatively been

suggested as the possible site for the necropolis of the Bithynian kings. The site is known locally

as Üçtepeler, and two of the tombs have been excavated by the İzmit Museum Directorate and

dated to the late Hellenistic or early Roman period. The tombs, Aytepe and the Büyük Tumulus,

show barrel vault construction and dromoi, but little other information is currently available, and

the Büyük Tumulus is only provisionally dated to the late Hellenistic period (Fig. 38).[393] In

addition to the Üçtepeler necropolis, the fourth-century BCE domed "beehive" Kutluca tumulus

that closely resembles Thracian burials is also in the vicinity of Nikomedia, and three other

tumuli discovered near the city contain barrel vaults that may also be related to the Thracian

examples.[394] Nikomedia's rival in prestige was the Bithynian royal city of Nikaia (modern İznik),

in which a necropolis of four Hellenistic-period tumuli was discovered in the nearby

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[392] Hannestad, "'This Contributes in No Small Way to One's Reputation,'" 74-75.

[393] N. Firatlı, M. Akok, and N. Olcay, *İzmit Şehri ve Eski Eserleri Rehberi* (Istanbul: Millî Eğitim Basımevi, 1971), 14; M. Turgut and T. Aksoy, "Kocaeli İli Üçtepeler Köyü Büyük Tümülüs Kurtarma Kazısı," *VI. Müze Kurtarma Kazıları Sonuçları, Didim 24-26 nisan 1995*, ed. İ. Eroğlu, 399-414 (Ankara: Ankara Kültür Bakanlığı, 1996); A. Çalık Ross, *Ancient Izmit: Nicomedia* (Istanbul: Delta Publishing House, 2007), 105. The report for the rescue excavation of the Büyük Tumulus indicates that the tumulus mound was approximately 12m high and 75m in diameter, with a nearly cuboid stone burial chamber (3.12m long, 3.14m wide, and 3.15m high). The chamber also contained stone klinai, but no other significant finds were made, as the tomb had been robbed at least once in its history. The excavators mention only that the "architectural finds" date the tomb to the Late Hellenistic period, and give no further discussion. It will be difficult to say much more about this necropolis and its potential occupants until more information is known about it.

[394] For the Kutluca tumulus, see *op. cit.* 372. The three other tumuli occur at Kanlıbağ in İzmit (Y. Meriçboyu, and S. Atasoy, "The Kanlıbağ Tumulus at Izmit," *IstArkMüzYıll* 15-16 (1969): 67-95), and Tersiye and Akyazı near Adapazarı (N. Firatlı, "The Tumulus of Tersiyeköy near Adapazarı," *IstArkMüzYıll* 9 (1960): 73-76; N. Firatlı, "Bitinya Araştırmalarına Birkaç İlave," *Belleten* 17 (1953): 22-25). It is also worth noting here that another tumulus, at Yayla Pınar in Kefken, was discovered along the road between İzmit and Derince and is classified as a Hellenistic example of a *hypoge* (underground) tomb chamber. See R. Güney, "The Resources and Economy of Roman Nicomedia" (Ph.D. diss.: University of Exeter, 2012), 13.

municipality of Elbeyli. The necropolis, known as Dörttepeler, is currently being excavated under the auspices of Uludağ University, but preliminary reports indicate that at least two of the tombs are also being investigated as possible resting places of Bithynian royalty (or at least, very high ranking elites).[395] Nikaia is also home to two other unusual funerary monuments, an early Roman obelisk near the ancient road whose inscription identifies it as the tomb of C. Cassius Philiscus, and a monumental limestone sarcophagus known locally as Berber Kaya, of unknown, possibly Hellenistic or Roman, date and situated on the slopes of Elmalı Dağı directly east of the city (Fig. 39).[396]

Because there is a dearth of archaeological material known from pre-Roman Bithynia, it is difficult to speculate on the nature of influence that the tombs of its kings and elites might have had on succeeding dynasties throughout the Hellenistic period. It is, however, possible to conclude that a significant tumulus and chamber tomb tradition existed in the region that bore some architectural similarities to types known from adjacent territories in fourth-century BCE Macedonia and Thrace. A few of these types make sporadic appearances in Anatolia during the subsequent centuries; for example, the lantern roof has later parallels in Galatia and Paphlagonia, and the barrel vault appears in Galatia, Paphlagonia, and in the burial chambers of some of the rock-cut tombs of Pontos.[397] This suggests that Bithynia was uniquely and significantly poised as a region where the visual transmission of ideas occurred as the Galatians passed through at the beginning of the Hellenistic period. Furthermore, the family of Mithridates I Ktistes of Pontos

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[395] No excavation report is known to me, but a brief synopsis of the project can be found here: "İznik Tümülüsleri," *Uludağ Üniversitesi Arkeoloji Bölümü*, 17 January 2016, http://www.arkeoloji.uludag.edu.tr/izniktümülüs.html.

[396] A. M. Schneider, *Die römischen und byzantinischen Denkmäler von İznik-Nicaea* (Berlin: Archäol. Inst., 1943), 7-8.

[397] The earliest known example of the lantern roof appears at Belevi, near Ephesos in Ionia, but this is an isolated example and it does not seem to have been a standard architectural form in the region.

also seems to have hailed from this region. Sallust and Florus state that a certain Artabazus, satrap of Daskyleion in the fifth century BCE, was an ancestor of the Pontic line.[398] His progeny likely eventually inherited territory around Mysia and Mariandynia from the satrap Orontes in the middle of the fourth century BCE, which later comprised the *dynasteia* centered on Kios that belonged to the father and grandfather of Mithridates I of Pontos.[399] Thus, Bithynian territory must have constituted an important nexus of interactions among local elites, nobility, and foreign mercenaries alike, who eventually gained power in other regions of Anatolia and reprised some of these architectural traditions where they settled. Given this scenario, further research and excavation in the royal Bithynian cities would provide more information about the methods of transmission and chronological development of these types of funerary architecture. Until more information is revealed, it will be difficult to articulate precisely the nature of architectural and cultural exchange that took place in this significant region during the early Hellenistic period.

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[398] Sallust, *Hist*. 2.85 and Florus 1.40.1; A. B. Bosworth and P. Wheatley, "The Origins of the Pontic House," *JHS* 118 (1998): 159-60, n. 47.

[399] Bosworth and Wheatley, "The Origins of the Pontic House," 155-61; Diod. 20.111.4. Mariandynia was close to the coastal city of Herakleia Pontika, and its territory extended inland as far as Bithynion (modern Bolu).

CHAPTER FOUR: THE ROYAL GALATIAN NECROPOLIS AT KARALAR

Introduction

Approximately thirty-five kilometers northwest of Ankara, a winding road exiting from the modern superhighway makes its way through the İnce Valley to the small village of Karalar, home to a little-known yet highly significant set of Hellenistic remains from the Galatian-period occupation of the area. About five hundred meters west along the road leading out from the village, the road passes a particularly rocky outcropping known locally as Asar Kaya. Climbing up the side of the hill, a set of rock-cut stairs and small marble architectural fragments come into view, the only currently visible remains of the fortress that once stood here, possibly the site of the Galatian king Deiotaros I's fortified palace, known in antiquity as Bloukion.[400] The castle and fort complex was situated on this enormous rock, which lies oriented from the southeast to the northwest, and commands a wide view across the valley to the east.

The view to the west is largely occupied by the massive hill rising from the road and crowned by two tumuli at the top (Fig. 1). These tumuli, along with a third tumulus located farther south, form part of what was probably the royal Tolistobogian necropolis in the second and first centuries BCE. The twin mounds visible from the fort overlook a three hundred and sixty-degree view of the terrain, and, just as they were probably visible from a distance in antiquity, are still visible from the modern superhighway that bypasses Karalar. Their identification as Galatian tumuli rests on an inscription discovered near Tumulus B identifying it

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[400] Strabo 12.5.2

as the final resting place of Deiotaros' son and intended successor, Deiotaros II (the Younger), who died during the first battle of Philippi in 42 BCE. The inscription is one of the most significant finds from Hellenistic Galatia because it provides a secure, well-dated context for a monument that can be definitively identified as "Galatian," a rarity among archaeological finds generally assumed under the title.

The finds at Karalar were excavated in the 1930s by Remi Oğuz Arık; despite their historical importance and potential contribution to the study of Galatian material culture and identity, however, the tombs have been seriously underexplored in scholarship. Arık's excavation report remains the only extensive published discussion of the necropolis, consisting primarily of an account of the excavation process and a description of the architecture and finds, briefly suggesting possible comparanda for the objects discovered in each tomb.[401] Soon after the publication of Arık's excavation, the inscription identifying Tumulus B as the final resting place of Deiotaros II garnered attention because of its ability to ascribe securely at least one of the tombs to a historically known, ethnic Galatian.[402] Smaller-scale excavation and preservation activities were undertaken at Karalar in 1986-1987, but the site has been left largely unexplored since then.[403] More recently, the stone architecture of the tombs has been documented as an example of the "Anatolianization" and "Hellenization" of the Galatian elite,[404] and the unusual example of lantern vaulting in Tumulus C has contributed to the identification of this type of

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[401] Arık, "Karalar Hafriyati," 110-23 (Tumulus A); 123-43 (Tumulus B); 134-46 (Tumulus C).

[402] Coupry, "Les tumuli de Karalar et la sépulture du Roi Déiotaros II," 131-51.

[403] T. Saatçi, "Karalar Kazısı 1986," *Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi Yıllığı* (1986): 30-33; "Karalar Kazısı Raporu (Karalar Excavation Report)," *Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi Yıllığı* (1987): 19-22.

[404] G. Darbyshire, S. Mitchell, and L. Vardar, "The Galatian Settlement in Asia Minor," *AnatSt* 50 (2000): 86-87; K. Strobel, "State Formation by the Galatians of Asia Minor: Politico-historical and Cultural Processes in Hellenistic Central Anatolia," *Anatolica* 28 (2002): 19-20, 32-33.

roofing as specifically associated with the Galatians.[405] This chapter provides a different approach to the material discovered at Karalar: my analysis is anchored first in a reconstruction of the known chronology, historical significance, and GIS-based visualization of the topographical situation of the Galatian necropolis, developing an argument that Tumulus A was the earliest of the three tombs, and that Tumuli B and C were deliberately sited to capitalize on the symbolic value of the placement of both Tumulus A and the original fortress. The tumulus form refers to long-standing elite burial traditions in southeastern Europe and Anatolia, and the location of these three tumulus mounds participated in the shaping of the political and social landscape of ancient Galatia. The discussion then turns to the material culture associated with the tombs, situating the architecture of each in a historical trajectory to highlight the architectural and geographical contexts informing the adoption of these forms by the Galatian elite. Tumulus B provides an effective case study for how Greek, Roman, and Anatolian forms of material culture were aimed at different audiences. I demonstrate that Deiotaros II, the occupant of Tumulus B, used a variety of material culture in his burial to differentiate himself socially and politically from a broad, general population as well as to distinguish his position amongst an elite group of peers. Ultimately, the architectural, sculptural, and epigraphic finds from the Karalar necropolis are related to the question of identity. First, I contend that the lantern vault, or the so-called "Galatian vault," cannot be associated with a specifically Galatian identity. Second, I explore how the material finds associated with the Karalar tombs participate as agents in expressing of cultural and ethnic identities of the Galatian elite. Rather than attempting to define a large-scale process of "Hellenization," "Romanization," or "Anatolianization," the specific

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[405] Ginouvès and Guimier-Sorbets, "Voûte 'galate' et charpente macédonienne," 312. For lantern vaulting in general, see Fedak, *Monumental Tombs of the Hellenistic Age*, 170-72.

iconography used in the Karalar necropolis represents a series of structured appeals to specific contexts of viewership.

History of the Galatians in Anatolia to the Reign of Deiotaros I (63-41 BCE)

In Greek and Roman literature, the Galatians are often characterized as a fearsome "barbarian" horde with a lust for spoils and wreaking havoc on neighboring territories. Livy, in particular, describes the Galatians' "tall bodies, long reddish hair, huge shields, very long swords; in addition, songs as they go into battle and yells and leapings and the dreadful din of arms as they clash shields," tactics that were deliberately used "to terrify their foes."[406] Pausanias records an invasion of Greece by the Gauls during which the aggressors had "tasted the joy of plunder and acquired a passion for robbery and plunder."[407] Consequently, much of our knowledge of the history of the Gallic settlement in Anatolia is related to their battle campaigns, particularly those events surrounding their crossing into Asia in 278 BCE, their defeat at the hands of the Roman general Manlius Vulso in 189 BCE, and their conflicts with Seleukid powers during the first half of the second century BCE.

Before the Celts settled in Anatolia, their southeastward expansions from northern Europe led them to the Balkans, where they occupied various sites in northwestern Thrace (northwest Bulgaria and eastern Serbia) beginning in the fourth century BCE.[408] Evidence for the

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[406] Livy 38.17: procera corpora, promissae et rutilatae comae, vasta scuta, praelongi gladii; ad hoc cantus ineuntium proelium et ululatus et tripudia, et quatientium scuta in patrium quendam modum horrendus armorum crepitus, omnia de industria composita ad terrorem. Translation: Titus Livius, *The History of Rome*, translated by E. T. Sage (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1936).

[407] Paus. 10.19.6: ... ἐνῆγον δὲ μάλιστα οἱ ὁμοῦ Καμβαύλῃ ἐκστρατεύσαντες ἅτε λῃστειῶν τε ἤδη γεγευμένοι καὶ ἁρπαγῆς καὶ κερδῶν ἐς ἔρωτα ἥκοντες ...

[408] N. Theodossiev, "Celtic Settlement in North-Western Thrace During the Late Fourth and Third Centuries BC: Some Historical and Archaeological Notes," in *Celts on the Margin: Studies in European Cultural Interaction VII c*

early Celtic settlement (late fourth-early third centuries BCE) in Thrace is controversial, as the archaeological record from this period does little to bolster knowledge of Celtic presence in the region, which is attested mainly in historical sources.[409] Perhaps the most evocative archaeological evidence comes from the cemetery in the region of Pecine near Kostolac in northeastern Serbia, where late fourth and early third century BCE Celtic inhumation and cremation burials are found alongside earlier graves thought to belong to native Thracians during the late fourth century BCE.[410] Nevertheless, during the fourth and third centuries BCE, Celtic expansion into Serbia and the Balkans continued during the time that Macedonian sovereignty was crumbling under the weight of Alexander the Great's death and continuous warring between his generals.[411] In particular, stability in the regions of Thrace and Macedonia was coming unglued due to the deaths of both Seleukos I and Lysimachos and the extension of power under Ptolemy Keraunos in 281 BCE. The Celtic bands took advantage of the chaotic situation by attacking Thrace, Paeonia, and Illyria in 280 BCE, soon vanquishing the Macedonian army and resulting in the death of Ptolemy Keraunos in 279 BCE.[412] That same year, the Celts under their

BC - I c AD: Essays in Honor of Zenon Woźniak, ed. H. Dobrzańska, V. Megaw, and P. Poleska (Krakow: Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology of the Polish Academy of the Sciences, 2005), 85.

[409] Ibid., 1-2. Theodossiev mentions, for example, a gold Celtic torque from the end of the fourth or beginning of the third century BCE found near Gorni Tsibar as possible evidence of Celtic presence in this region, but because it comes from an unreliable find context, it remains unclear whether the torque belonged to a Celtic leader living in the region, or whether it was a political gift or perhaps even part of the spoils from a local battle. For a full discussion of the torque, see N. Theodossiev, *North-Western Thrace from the Fifth to First Centuries BC* (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, International Series 859, 2000): 116, cat. no. 84. For historical attestations of Celtic presence, see Arrian, *Anab.* 1. 4, 6-8 and Strabo 7.3.8, who affirm that the Celts attended agreements between the Thracian Triballian king Syrmos and Alexander the Great in 353 BCE.

[410] Theodossiev, "Celtic Settlement in North-Western Thrace," 86; Theodossiev, *North-Western Thrace from the Fifth to First Centuries BC*, 120-21, cat. no. 113; B. Jovanović, "La necropoli di Pečine," in *I Celti*, ed. S. Moscati, et al. (Milan: Bompiani, 1991), 380; B. Jovanović, "Les sépultures de la nécropole celtique de Pećine près de Kostolac (Serbie du nord)," *ÉtCelt* 21 (1984): 63-93.

[411] K. Strobel, "State Formation by the Galatians of Asia Minor," 2.

[412] Ibid., 2-3.

chieftain Brennos suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of the Greeks when they tried to invade central Greece and plunder the sanctuary at Delphi.[413] To the Greeks, the Celts' distinctive appearance, boisterous behavior, and passion for battle made them seem to be the embodiment of the barbarian and their defeat a latter-day reincarnation of the Greek victory over the Persians two hundred years earlier.[414] Victory over the Celts was subsequently fashioned as liberation from the barbarian, becoming an ideological construct exploited by Hellenistic rulers, most notably the Attalids in Pergamon, throughout the succeeding centuries.[415]

Shortly before Brennos' attempt on Delphi, about twenty thousand Celts defected from Brennos, forming a splinter group under the leadership of Leonnorios and Loutarios, whose primary goal was the conquest and settlement of Balkan territory.[416] Livy reports that they made their way across Thrace as far as Byzantion, occupying the coast of the Propontis along with its cities.[417] Rumors of the richness of the land in Asia reached their ears, and the Celts initially tried to negotiate passage across the Hellespont with the prefect Antipater. While negotiations were under review, a revolt broke out between Leonnorios and Loutarios, and, as a result, Leonnorios returned with his followers to Byzantion. Loutarios eventually stole ships from the Macedonian ambassadors and covertly transported his entire force across the narrow strait. Shortly thereafter, Leonnorios and his followers were recruited as mercenaries in Nikomedes I of Bithynia's war of succession against his brother, Zipoetes, who was allied with Seleukid forces, and permitted

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[413] Ibid., 3; Paus. 10.19.5-12.

[414] Strobel, "State Formation by the Galatians of Asia Minor," 3.

[415] Ibid. For a discussion of the representation of Celts in battle, see S. Mitchell, *Anatolia: Land, Men, and Gods in Asia Minor* I (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 44-46.

[416] Strobel, "State Formation by the Galatians of Asia Minor," 3; A. Çoşkun, "Belonging and Isolation in Central Anatolia: The Galatians in the Graeco-Roman World," in *Belonging and Isolation in the Hellenistic World*, ed. S. L. Ager and R. A. Faber (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013), 73; Livy 38.16.1-15.

[417] Livy 38.16.1-9.

passage across the Bosphoros strait. Thus, by 278 BCE, both groups of Celts had secured

passage into Asia and were reunited, continuing to provide military support for Nikomedes until

he had definitively ousted his brother.[418] It is unclear from Livy's account whether the Celts were

given settlement land in Asia in return for their support or if their martial activies were

conducted with an eye toward conquest and settlement; he states only that the three main tribes

(the Trokmi, Tolistobogii, and Tektosages) divided the resulting land holdings amongst

themselves into three large territories.[419]

Nikomedes' anti-Seleukid pursuits continued into the next year, and from 277-275 BCE

the Celts provided military service to the Bithynian king in exchange for territory in northeastern

Phrygia as far as the Halys River, and extended their reaches into the border area between Pontos

and Kappadokia and the fertile areas surrounding the Kappadox River after fighting alongside

Mithridates I of Pontos during a Ptolemaic sea invasion in 274 BCE.[420] Epigraphic evidence

attests to the continuation of Galatian oppression amongst the cities of Anatolia mostly between

the years 277-275 BCE, and a "Galatian War" as late as 267 BCE, around the time of what some

historians refer to as Antiochos I's so-called "Elephant Victory" over the Galatians.[421]

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[418] Ibid.

[419] Livy 38.16.10-11. The Trokmi occupied the coast of the Hellespont, the Tolistobogii held Aeolis and Ionia, and the Tektosages began settling in the interior parts of Asia. Strobel assumes that the land holdings (along with pay and spoils) were offered to the Celts in exchange for their military services. This pattern of granting land in exchange for mercenaries, continued after Nikomedes' defeat of Zipoetes and involved several Hellenistic kings, including Nikomedes, Mithridates I of Pontos, and the Attalids of Pergamon. Cf. Strobel, "State Formation by the Galatians of Asia Minor," 5; A. Çoşkun, "Deconstructing a Myth of Seleucid History: The So-Called 'Elephant Victory' Revisited," *Phoenix* 66 (2012): 69 and n. 40.

[420] Strobel, "State Formation by the Galatians of Asia Minor," 6.

[421] Çoşkun, "Deconstructing a Myth of Seleucid History," 57-73; A. Çoşkun, "Galatians and Seleucids: A Century of Conflict and Cooperation," in *Seleucid Dissolution: The Sinking of the Anchor*, ed. K. Erickson and G. Ramsey (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2011), 89, n. 14; Strobel, "State Formation by the Galatians of Asia Minor," 6.

Over the course of the third century BCE and the first decade of the second century BCE, the Galatians - as the Celtic-speaking peoples of Anatolia and their descendants are generally called - engaged in a complicated series of political alliances and military struggles involving the Seleukids, the Mithridatids, and the Attalids. It seems that the Galatians alternated between being hired mercenaries and fierce enemies of the major political powers in Hellenistic Anatolia, and while they suffered defeat as well as enjoyed success, "[n]o single battle seems to have imposed a longer-term foreign rule on the invaders or their descendants."[422] Two major events in the early second century BCE, however, seem to have had a profound impact on their position within the region. The first event was the crippling defeat delivered to them by the Roman general Manlius Vulso in 189 BCE. After some initial success against the Romans, the Galatians retreated to the hilltop fortresses of Mount Olympos and Mount Magaba, but eventually Vulso's army overcame them.[423] Almost a generation later, however, in 166 BCE, the Galatians were accepted as friends of the Romans, an act that protected them from the hostility of Pergamon and its Roman-friendly kings.[424]

During the latter half of the first century BCE, Galatian power gradually came to be consolidated in the hands of the Tolistobogian tribe, which had emerged as the most powerful group already by the time of the friendship with Rome.[425] Galatian power was originally divided equally according to the three major tribes, each divided into four portions called "tetrarchies,"

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[422] Çoşkun, "Belonging and Isolation in Central Anatolia," 74.

[423] Livy 38.17-19. For the location of Mount Olympos, see Darbyshire, Mitchell, and Vardar, "The Galatian Settlement in Asia Minor," 89, n. 24.

[424] Çoşkun, "Belonging and Isolation in Central Anatolia," 74.

[425] Ibid.

which were ruled by a "tetrarch."[426] Thus, the Galatians as a whole were initially ruled by twelve

tetrarchs, although this number had dwindled significantly by the first century BCE.[427] Strabo

remarks on this consolidation of power, noting that during his lifetime the power had been

passed to three rulers, then to two, and then to one, Deiotaros. After Deiotaros died in 41 BCE,

Amyntas succeeded him, ruling until his death in 25 BCE.[428] At some point in the mid-first

century BCE, Deiotaros managed to exert control over the entire region, and he is perhaps most

notable for Cicero's defense of his character in the *Pro Rege Deiotaro*. While Julius Caesar was

en route to Bithynia following his victory at Zela, he spent successive nights at Deiotaros' castles

at Bloukion and Peion. Caesar later claimed that while he was a guest there, Deiotaros had

attempted to kill him, prompting Cicero's defense and thus the source of much of the surviving

information about Deiotaros. Deiotaros, moreover, plays a key role in this study because the

tomb of his son, Deiotaros II (the Younger) is known from the necropolis at Karalar, which has

tentatively been identified with the royal residence of Bloukion.[429]

At the time of Deiotaros I's rule in the mid-first century BCE, the Galatians occupied a

substantial territory in central Anatolia. The Trokmi, the easternmost Galatian tribe, ruled over

the area adjoining Pontos and Kappadokia and whose most prominent stronghold was Tavium

(modern Büyüknefes, west of Yozgat); the Tektosages occupied central Galatian territory

adjacent to Greater Phrygia and around Pessinus (modern Ballıhisar), with a fortified stronghold

at Ancyra (modern Ankara); finally, the Tolistobogii, the most powerful of the Galatian tribes in

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[426] Strabo 12.5.1

[427] Ibid. For a detailed discussion of Galatian tribal organization, see Strobel, "State Formation by the Galatians of Asia Minor," 4-5, 7-9.

[428] Strabo 12.5.1. Deiotaros' son, Deiotaros the Younger, ruled jointly with his father until he preceded his father in death in 42 BCE.

[429] Arık, "Karalar Hafriyati," 102-67; Coupry, "Les tumuli de Karalar et la sépulture du Roi Déiotaros II," 131-51.

the Hellenistic period, held northwestern Galatian territory adjoining Bithynia and Phrygia

Epictetus and which contained the two major forts of Deiotaros, Bloukion (possibly Karalar) and

Peion (possibly Tabanlıoğlu Kale) (Fig. 40).[430]

Burial Contexts and Funerary Architecture in Hellenistic Galatia

Evidence for a standardized Galatian burial practice or form is tenuous at best. One of the

difficulties of identifying a standard "Galatian" burial type is, quite simply, the fact that such a

type does not seem to exist given the available archaeological evidence. Identification of a tomb

as having a Galatian occupant is usually made on the basis of the objects found within, for

example, a torque, fibula, or specific type of pottery found amongst the grave goods.[431] In a few

exceptional circumstances, more concrete evidence is given, as in the case of Tumulus B at

Karalar, in which the inscription specifically identifies the occupant as a Galatian prince known

from historical sources.[432] Another exceptional find comes from the western tumulus at Taşoluk-

Hıdırşıhlar near Bolu; the gold plate bearing the face of a man thought to represent a Galatian is

often cited as evidence that the tomb belonged to a Galatian (Fig. 41).[433] Torques are thought to

be somewhat reliable indicators for Galatian influence when found within a tomb context, largely

because they are visually represented on sculptures of Gauls, most notably in the *Dying Gaul*

from Pergamon, thought to be a first- or second-century CE Roman adaptation of a Hellenistic

original, commissioned to celebrate Attalos I's victory over the Galatians in the late second

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[430] Mitchell, *Anatolia*, 51-58.

[431] For a recent discussion of the limited effectiveness of using these types of material culture as diagnostic of ethnic Galatian identity, see A. Çoşkun, "Latène-Artefakte im hellenistischen Kleinasien: ein problematisches Kriterium für die Bestimmung der ethnischen Identität(en) der Galater," in *IstMitt* 64 (2014): 134-38.

[432] Arık, "Karalar Hafriyati," 131; Coupry, "Les tumuli de Karalar et la sépulture du Roi Déiotaros II," 131-51.

[433] N. Firatlı, "Two Galatian Tumuli in the Vicinity of Bolu," *AJA* 69, no. 4 (1965): 365-67.

century BCE (Fig. 42).[434] It should be acknowledged, however, that these objects alone do not definitively identify a tomb as "Galatian" any more than an Attic vase found in a grave indicates an Athenian occupant. The inscription from Karalar is the exception rather than the rule; thus, criteria used to identify tombs as Galatian should take several factors into consideration: the probable date of the tomb, settlement history and whether a community of Galatians is known to have existed at that location, evidence for ritual activity, etc.

Identification of Galatian tombs is further complicated by the fact that most of the tombs have been looted, and excavation reports cannot speculate on what is missing or whether the finds that do survive are typical for a particular area. Importantly, we do not have a clear idea of what a "normal" Galatian burial might have contained or whether burials varied from tribe to tribe or place to place; any sort of normative evidence is difficult to detect. Finally, when allegedly Galatian objects do show up in tombs, the architectural type is significantly varied and seems more to be an adoption of local practices rather than the development of a distinct, individual style of architecture that could be called "Galatian;" the few burials known do not seem to be informed by European La Tène burials.[435] Livy explains that the Gauls were quick to adopt certain Hellenizing practices and attributes, to the point that he referred to them derogatively as *Gallograeci*, and it seems that they adopted local precedents in monumental tomb architecture as well, choosing construction methods and burial forms (especially tumuli) that have a long history attested outside of Galatia, with nothing appearing as a distinctively

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[434] See, for example, J. R. Marszal, "Ubiquitous Barbarians: Representations of the Gauls at Pergamon and Elsewhere," in *From Pergamon to Sperlonga: Sculpture and Context*, ed. N. T. de Grummond and B. S. Ridgway (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 191-234; B. S. Ridgway, *Hellenistic Sculpture II: The Styles of ca. 200-100 B.C.* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2000), 160.

[435] Darbyshire, Mitchell, and Vardar, "The Galatian Settlement in Asia Minor," 85.

Galatian form.[436] At best, such graves can be regarded as having a relatively high probability of belonging to a Galatian, but given the absence of inscriptions and the paucity of evidence for normal Galatian burial forms and assemblages, it is difficult to argue for a more concrete designation. Moreover, it is possible that many of the burial forms that existed were not designed to leave a lasting trace in the material record.[437]

Nevertheless, a review of such evidence is important for understanding the choices that were likely available to the elites at Karalar and the patterns that do seem to emerge from the archaeological material (for example, a preference for tumulus burials and inhumation rituals). Some of the earliest evidence for Galatian activity in the mortuary sphere comes from third century BCE in the form of sacrificial victims excavated from the lower town at Gordion, but it will not form a significant part of the discussion regarding Galatian funerary practice.[438] While the indicators of strangulation, decapitation, and strange arrangements of human and animal remains provides intriguing evidence for specifically Celtic activity at the site and some degree of ritual continuity with European Celts, the finds should be regarded as an aberrant ritual practice that has more to say about religious or divination aspects of Galatian society than typical taphonomic processes.

At present, the archaeological material that could most nearly be defined as "normative Galatian" comes from the Galatian-period necropolis at present-day Boğazköy, the old Hittite capital of Hattuşa that was occupied by Anatolian Celts during the Hellenistic period (Fig. 43). A number of cist graves and vessel (mostly pithos) graves covered the area of the main Hittite

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[436] Livy 38.17. Livy's words are scathing: "et illis maioribus nostris cum haud dubiis Gallis, in sua terra genitis, res erat; hi iam degeneres sunt, mixti, et Gallograeci vere, quod appellantur; sicut in frugibus pecudibusque non tantum semina ad servandam indolem valent, quantum terrae proprietas caelique sub quo aluntur mutat."

[437] Darbyshire, Mitchell, and Vardar, "The Galatian Settlement in Asia Minor," 85.

[438] J. R. Dandoy, P. Selinsky, and M. M. Voigt, "Celtic Sacrifice," *Archaeology* 55, no. 1 (2002): 44-49.

temple in the lower town. The pithos graves are unusual in that all of the preserved remains are of children, although it is unclear why children received a distinct form of burial. Many of the mouths of the pithoi were sealed with Galatian-style plates or bowls, which has prompted the assumption that the burials must have belonged to children of Galatian descent.[439] The excavator, Hartmut Kühne, dated the so-called "Galatian ware" to the second and first centuries BCE, and argued that the pithos graves must be the earliest of the Hellenistic burials, as the only datable evidence from the cist graves comes from the first century BCE.[440] It is unclear why such a significant number of only children's burials predates the majority of adult burials by at least a century; it seems to me that the paucity of chronological evidence in the cist graves and its nebulous quality when it does exist is most likely to account for the perceived discrepancy.

The cist graves were created by placing 3-5 upended stones on the long sides of the grave and one stone block on each of the two narrow sides, with the largest grave measuring 2.10m long.[441] Cover stones accompanied few of the cist graves, which were either uncovered or protected with a lid constructed of perishable material, such as wood.[442] The end receiving the head of the deceased was wider than the foot end, with maximum dimensions of 0.5m and 0.3m, respectively.[443] An interesting variation of the stone cist graves appears in the cists surrounded by stone circles, which follow the conventions of the above-mentioned stone cist grave, but are encircled by a ring of stones whose diameters varied from 4.20m to 7.0m. Kühne believed that

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[439] H. Kühne, "Die Bestattungen der hellenistischen bis spätkaiserzeitlichen Periode," in *Boğazköy IV*, ed. K. Bittel (Berlin: Mann, 1969), 35.

[440] Ibid., 43.

[441] Ibid., 38.

[442] One of the burials in the Kocakızlar Tumulus near Eskişehir, in use from the 1st century BCE - 1st century CE, was contained in a marble sarcophagus covered by a juniper-planked lid. See S. Atasoy, "The Kocakızlar Tumulus in Eskişehir, Turkey," *AJA* 78, no. 3 (1974): 259-60.

[443] Ibid.

these circles should be interpreted as smaller versions of tumuli, a suggestion that has been echoed more recently.[444] Two of the stone cists contained fibulae, one of which was of Middle La Tène type and was found alongside a silver coin of the Kappadokian king Ariobarzanes I (95-62 BCE), providing tentative evidence for a date in the first century BCE.[445] A handful of other graves exist in the Boğazköy necropolis (as well as some Roman period and possibly Medieval tombs), including brick-tiled graves and earthenware coffins, but these are too imperfectly preserved to be dated reliably.

Further evidence for cist burial in a Galatian context occurs at Pessinus, an important temple-state dedicated to Kybele, which gradually came under Galatian influence over the course of the Hellenistic period.[446] The upper city was used as a necropolis beginning in the Hellenistic and throughout the Roman periods, and was later transformed into a fortress under the Byzantines. The earliest burials date from the late Hellenistic period, with grave goods dating to the first century BCE, including several cist graves constructed out of mudbricks that were "clearly constructed before the installation of Roman authority in Pessinus and Galatia."[447] In particular, two of the graves were found with a single coin belonging to the reign of Deiotaros I (63-41 BCE), presumably placed in the mouth of the deceased.[448] While the coins are not conclusive evidence for Galatian tomb occupants, the similarity with the cist graves from

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[444] Ibid., 41. Darbyshire, Mitchell, and Vardar, "The Galatian Settlement in Asia Minor," 87.

[445] Kühne, "Die Bestattungen der hellenistischen bis spätkaiserzeitlichen Periode," 43. This tomb also contained a completely preserved Megarian bowl, which bolsters the evidence for its dating during the Hellenistic period. Kühne compares the ceramic finds here to the excavations at Bağlarbaşıkayası, where fragments of a Megarian bowl were combined with shards of painted Galatian ware.

[446] Darbyshire, Mitchell, and Vardar, "The Galatian Settlement in Asia Minor," 79, n. 9.

[447] J. Devreker, H. Thoen, and F. Vermeulen, *Excavations in Pessinus: The So-Called Acropolis: From Hellenistic and Roman Cemetery to Byzantine Castle* (Ghent: Academia Press, 2003), 131.

[448] Ibid., 200.

Boğazköy and the fact that Pessinus increasingly came under the influence of the Galatians at the very least raises the possibility of Galatian occupants.

Constructing Place: The Topographical Significance of the Necropolis at Karalar

Identification of the Site: The Basileia of Deiotaros?

Before Arık's excavation of the ancient remains at Karalar, the site had been posited by J. C. G. Anderson as the location of Manegordos, a stop along the medieval "Pilgrim's Route" between Europe and Jerusalem.[449] Anderson identified the associated defensive architecture at Asar Kaya as a Phrygian fortress, potentially later destroyed by the Gauls, but Arık's excavations revealed an altogether different story.[450] In addition to Byzantine and Ottoman remains in the village proper, Arık uncovered pottery, marble sculpture, and coins that dated to the Hellenistic period, and even some ceramic figures that were reminiscent of material culture known from Phrygian and Hittite periods.[451] While the fortress clearly enjoyed a long history of use and reuse, the presence of three tumuli in the vicinity, datable to the Hellenistic period, and at least one of which is definitively associated with a member of the Galatian Tolistobogian dynasty, refuted Anderson's suggestion that the site was destroyed by the Gauls and subsequently "dwindled to a mere village."[452]

In 1935, two years after Arık's excavation, Charles Picard argued that Karalar should be identified with ancient Bloukion, the site of the Tolistobogian king Deiotaros I's royal

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[449] J. C. G. Anderson, "Exploration in Galatia cis Halym. Part II: Topography, Epigraphy, Galatian Civilization," *JHS* 19 (1899): 53-54.

[450] Ibid., 55-56.

[451] Arık, "Karalar Hafriyati," 152-55.

[452] Anderson, "Exploration in Galatia cis Halym," 56.

residence.[453] The notion has found widespread acceptance in scholarship.[454] The evidence for

identifying Karalar as the residence of Deiotaros I comes, first, from literary accounts of Julius

Caesar's westward journey through Anatolia after his victory over the Pontic prince Pharnakes II

at Zela in 74 BCE, and, second, from the identification of Peion, Deiotaros' treasury, with the

fortifications approximately fifty kilometers west of Karalar at Tabanlıoğlu Kale. The clearest

description of Deiotaros' geographic holdings comes from Strabo, who records that the

Tolistobogian fortresses at the time were Bloukion, the *basileion Deiotarou* (palace of

Deiotaros), and Peion, the *gazophulakion* [*Deiotarou*] (treasury of Deiotaros).[455] An episode that

allegedly took place at Bloukion becomes the center of controversy in Cicero's *Pro Rege

Deiotaro*, written as a defense against Caesar's accusations that Deiotaros attempted to murder

him when he stayed at Bloukion during his journey from Zela.[456] Cicero's text is murkier than

Strabo's, and he actually appears to mention two of Deiotaros' fortified sites at which Caesar

stayed on successive nights. In section 17 of the MSS of the *Deiotaro*, Cicero recounts how

Caesar arrived at "Luceum," the *domum regis* (house of the king); most scholars accept an

assumed scribal error and emend Luceum to Bluceum (Bloukion).[457] This interpretation seems

reasonable, especially in light of the fact that Cicero describes Luceum as the *domum regis*, and

Strabo identifies Bloukion as the *basileion Deiotarou*. Where Cicero's account becomes more

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[453] C. Picard, "Découverte de la sépulture du roi Déjotaros, à Karalar en Asie Mineure," *CRAI* 1 (1935): 42-44.

[454] J. Coupry, "A propos des tumuli de Karalar," *RA* 6me serie 9 (1937): 86-88. The argument seems to have been well established by the time of D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor, to the End of the Third Century after Christ* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950), 1266. The most recent assessment and strongest case for its identification is S. Mitchell, "Blucium and Peium: The Galatian Forts of King Deiotarus," *AnatSt* 24 (1974): 61-75.

[455] Strabo 12.5.2: φρούρια δ᾽ αὐτῶν ἐστι τό τε Βλούκιον καὶ τὸ Πήιον, ὧν τὸ μὲν ἦν βασίλειον Δηιοτάρου, τὸ δὲ γαζοφυλάκιον.

[456] Cicero, *Pro Rege Deiotaro*, 17, 21.

[457] Cic. *Deiot*. 17. For a discussion of the scholarly emendment, see Anderson, "Exploration in Galatia cis Halym," 94, and Mitchell, "Blucium and Peium," 63.

problematic is in section 21, in which he refers to "Luceum" a second time, here described as a

castellum at which Caesar was due to arrive the next day.[458] Again, most scholars assume that

this is a scribal error (and rightly so, as Caesar likely did not stay at two different places of

Deiotaros with the same name on successive nights). Establishing the correct name of the second

Luceum, however, is more difficult, and publications subsequent to Arık's excavation of Karalar

indicate that the second Luceum should be a reference to Peion, since it is the other fortified

holding of Deiotaros mentioned by Strabo. These two conclusions - that the two places named as

Luceum in the MSS of Cicero's text should be emended to Bloukion and Peion, respectively -

give rise to the theory that the physical locations of Bloukion and Peion should be within one

day's journey of each other, and that they should be situated approximate to the westward route

Caesar likely took through Anatolia, with Peion being the more westerly of the two.

Karalar seems to suit these conditions favorably: it is near the only plausible route

through Galatia between Zela and Bithynia (where Caesar was headed, apparently in a hurry),[459]

and it is reasonably close to the site known as Tabanlıoğlu Kale, which has been identified as

Peion based on the Hellenistic-era fortifications that bear architectural similarities to Isaura, the

defensive complex constructed by Deiotaros' successor Amyntas (d. 25 BCE).[460] Furthermore,

Stephen Mitchell argues that a passage from the life of St. Theodore of Sykeon (late sixth-early

seventh century CE) mentions a certain Peōn located in the vicinity of the Lagantine.[461] The

Lagantine is the area surrounding the Roman town of Lagania, tentatively identified with

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[458] Cic. *Deiot*. 21.

[459] *Bellum Alexandrinum* 78. Mitchell, "Blucium and Peium," 72, astutely notes that the text of the *Bellum Alexandrinum* implies that Caesar did not enter the Roman province of Asia until he arrived in Bithynia, and that the later Pilgrim's Route through northwest Galatia is the only east-west route that would satisfy this condition.

[460] Mitchell, "Blucium and Peium," 65-73.

[461] Ibid., 72 and n. 19.

Dikmen höyük, a short distance south of Tabanlıoğlu Kale.[462] Thus, the locations of Bloukion

and Peion are taken to be well established, with Karalar's association with Bloukion seemingly

reinforced by the fact that its fortifications lie in the shadow of a group of Hellenistic tombs, one

of which is definitively associated with Deiotaros' son. Configuring a royal necropolis as part of

a basileia complex was an established Hellenistic precedent with wide geographic dispersal by

the time of Deiotaros' reign. Prominent examples of this arrangement occur at the royal Pontic

residence at Amaseia and the palatial complex of the Ptolemaic kings in Alexandria.[463]

While Tabanlıoğlu Kale's architectural relationship to Isaura and potential toponymic

connections to the Peōn mentioned in the life of St. Theodore are intriguing, because the

connection with Strabo's Peion depends on an identification of Lagania with Dikmen höyük that

is only tentative, it cannot be proven that Peion should be sought at Tabanlıoğlu Kale.

Furthermore, if one accepts the assumption that the two Luceums in Cicero's text should be

emended to Bloukion and Peion, then the location of one site necessarily depends on proximity

to the other, neither of which can be proven independently. There is no internal archaeological

evidence definitively linking Tabanlıoğlu Kale with Peion or Karalar with Bloukion. Moreover, I

would argue that while the *domum regis* called Luceum in the *Deiotaro* is very likely to be the

same as Strabo's *basileion Deiotarou* at Bloukion, there is no certainty that the second Luceum

mentioned in Cicero is, in fact, a reference to Peion. It is emended to Peion merely on the

grounds that Peion is the other fortified establishment of Deiotaros mentioned in Strabo, but it is

probable that Deiotaros possessed more than two strongholds in his own territory. Indeed, the

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[462] Ibid.,73, n. 21 and 22.

[463] The connection between the Karalar tombs and the fortress is mentioned in Darbyshire, Mitchell, and Vardar, "The Galatian Settlement in Asia Minor," 89. For comprehensive studies on royal residences in the Hellenistic age, see I. Nielsen, *Hellenistic Palaces: Tradition and Renewal* and more recently, R. Strootman, *Courts and Elites in the Hellenistic Empires*, 54-90.

recent archaeological surveys conducted in the province of Ankara confirm the existence of many Galatian-period forts in the territory.[464] Therefore, there is nothing to indicate that the second Luceum *must* be Peion. It follows that if this Luceum does not necessarily have to be Peion, then Bloukion and Peion do not necessarily have to be within one day's distance from each other. Instead of establishing precise links between the archaeological remains at Karalar and the known basileia at Bloukion, the theories about this identification seem built on a series of unproven assumptions, the inaccuracy of any one of which would dismantle the hypothesis. The best that can be said is that while Karalar remains a good candidate for the identification of Bloukion, there is nothing to prove it, and it would be more productive to investigate its geographical and topographical situation to elaborate on its significance to the history and cultural identity of the Galatians in Anatolia.

Despite the historical significance of the site, the small village of Karalar and its archaeological remains today reside in relative obscurity. Part of the reason for this is the difficulty of accessing the site: it is far off the beaten path, and visiting the necropolis requires a somewhat strenuous uphill trek. Two of the three tumuli are visible from the modern superhighway that runs north-south from Ankara, but the remains are difficult to see from the

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[464] Results from the Turkish project undertaken by L. E. Vardar to document Galatian forts in Anatolia were published annually from 1996-2006: L. E. Vardar and N. Akyürek Vardar, "Galatia Bölgesi Kaleleri. Yerleşmeleri Yüzey Araştırması: Ankara İli 1996," *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı* 15, no. 1 (1996): 245-279; "Galatia Bölgesi Kaleleri. Yerleşmeleri Yüzey Araştırması: Ankara İli 1997," *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı* 16, no. 1 (1998): 287-296; "Galatia Bölgesi Kaleleri. Yerleşmeleri Yüzey Araştırması: Ankara İli 1998," *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı* 17, no. 1 (1999): 163-168; "Galatia Bölgesi Kaleleri. Yerleşmeleri Yüzey Araştırması: Ankara ve Kırıkkale İleri 1999," *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı* 18, no. 2 (2000): 237-248; L. E. Vardar, "Galatia Bölgesi Kaleleri. Yerleşmeleri Yüzey Araştırması: Ankara ve Bolu İlleri, 2000," *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı* 19, no. 1 (2001): 297-308; "Galatia Bölgesi Kaleleri. Yerleşmeleri Yüzey Araştırması: 2001," *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı* 20, no. 2 (2002): 203-218; "Galatia Bölgesi Kaleleri. Yerleşmeleri Yüzey Araştırması: Ankara ve Eskişehir İlleri, 2002," *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı* 21, no. 2 (2003): 117-132; "Galatia Bölgesi Kaleleri. Yerleşmeleri Yüzey Araştırması: Ankara ve Kırıkkale İlleri, 2003," *Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi Yıllığı* 2003/2004 (2005): 315-338; "Galatia Bölgesi Kaleleri. Yerleşmeleri Yüzey Araştırması: Ankara İli, 2004," *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı* 23, no. 1 (2005): 267-282; "Galatia Bölgesi Kaleleri. Yerleşmeleri Yüzey Araştırması: Ankara İli, 2005," *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı* 24, no. 2 (2006): 79-100.

local road that winds through the village. Furthermore, once a visitor reaches either the fortress

or the tumuli, s/he realizes that most of the architecture has long been covered over with soil for

protection; any attempt to visualize the ancient site is dependent on the diagrams published in the

excavation report. The problems of accessibility, unfortunately, are compounded by the report.

Arık's lengthy description of the excavation is peppered with Ottoman vocabulary, which renders

translation difficult for readers of modern Turkish. Consequently, a fundamental part of this

project is to rectify the difficulties in visualizing the ancient site, and to this end I have deployed

GIS and three-dimensional digital modeling technologies to help reconstruct what is known

about the site. This section includes a GIS-based map of Karalar and its geographical

relationship both to other known Galatian sites as well as to data on ancient road systems derived

from the Ancient World Mapping Center at The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

(http://www.awmc.unc.edu). This map is intended to be interactive, allowing users to turn

specific layers on and off in order to customize the sites and roads visibly related to Karalar and

other Hellenistic Galatian (or modern) sites. It is accessible in its interactive format online, but

digital stills of each layer are included in this document for ease of reference (Figs. 44-46).[465]

The inevitable methodological limitations of the use of GIS applications for this project

have been outlined above (Chapter One, pp. 18-24). Because I have tried to deal as objectively

and accurately as possible with the known geographical data for Hellenistic Galatia, a certain

degree of transparency is warranted here concerning the sources of this data and their visual

representation. As discussed in Chapter One, GIS datasets require consistency in the form of

exact GPS coordinates. In order to be visually represented on a map, each locational component

(for example, a site or a monument) must be assigned a specific GPS coordinate regardless of

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[465] The interactive map is embedded in a WordPress site at http://kerice.net/doingdh2015/maps/.

whether or not an accurate coordinate is known for that particular location. In his GIS-based

study of ancient Boeotia, Emeri Farinetti outlines several "types of position" for these locational

components based on the relative degree of precision used in obtaining the data.[466] I used two of

these types in collecting my data: first, "precise" positions, which are GPS coordinates that I took

onsite, and second, "approximate" positions, in which the general area of the site was known, but

no specific GPS coordinates were recorded for it. In these cases, I estimated a GPS coordinate

based on the location of the nearest modern village using GoogleEarth Pro or based on spatial

relationships deduced from previously published maps by the British Institute of Archaeology at

Ankara and a more recent publication by Karl Strobel.[467] As a result, the map visualization tends

to elide such discrepancies and to present all recorded locations as equally accurate, but

situations in which the data is approximated are noted in my spreadsheet databases. For tombs

that appear in the accompanying catalogue, monuments for which I was unable to obtain a

precise coordinate are marked in the GPS line as "unrecorded." Nevertheless, the broad scale of

the map justifies visual representation of this data and continues to be useful for illuminating

general geographical relationships among the sites of Hellenistic Galatia.

The information contained in the map reveals that Karalar lies slightly north of the major

east-west route through the region, which crossed through the highly significant sites of Tavium,

Ancyra, Gordion, and Pessinus. It is located in the fertile plain of the Murted Ovası, and is fairly

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[466] Farinetti, *Boeotian Landscapes*, 32-34, especially Table 5.

[467] Darbyshire, Mitchell, and Vardar, "The Galatian Settlement in Asia Minor," 75-97, especially Fig. 3; Strobel, "State Formation by the Galatians of Asia Minor," 1-44. I did not include sites that only produced pottery, fibulae, coins, or other small objects associated with the Galatians, as these are too easily transportable and do not confirm Galatian occupation of a site. I kept the list of "Major Galatian Sites" (colored black on the map) to those that could demonstrate Galatian occupation (in the form of architecture, or confirmation in literary sources). A long list of potential Galatian hilltop forts is presented in Darbyshire, Mitchell, and Vardar (91-92), but Galatian identification is rejected by Strobel (37). To acknowledge this discrepancy, I listed these sites under the layer "Possible Galatian Sites" and colored the points grey to emphasize their nebulous status. Tombs, or potential tombs, of Galatians are colored red and are given their own layer.

centrally located within Galatian territory. Karalar is on the route to Gordion, the major

Tolistobogian emporion. Despite the fact that Deiotaros I and his son were Tolistobogian

dynasts, however, Karalar is much closer to the major Tektosagian site of Ancyra and lies almost

on the border between Tolistobogian and Tektosagian territory. Deiotaros I was the first Galatian

tetrarch to consolidate power among all of the Galatians, and perhaps he took advantage of

Karalar's position near the southeastern border of Tolistobogian territory and the Tektosagian

stronghold of Ancyra to secure and control the area (a hypothesis reinforced by the viewshed of

the fortress at Karalar, which is heavily weighted towards the east and south). Karalar is also

situated amidst several other potential Galatian forts, making it an easily defensible site (and also

giving credence to the idea that Peion was not the only other fort held by Deiotaros I).

Reconstructing the Galatian Necropolis

The fortress at Karalar, situated to the northwest of the modern village atop the rocky

promontory locally known as Asar Kaya, is the earliest extant construction at the site (Fig. 47).[468]

Ceramic and numismatic finds testify to occupation of the fort during the Hellenistic period (and

perhaps even earlier), and its wide view to the east and south would have afforded effective

defensibility from those directions.[469] Of the three extant tumuli, Tumulus A, to the south of the

village and at a lower elevation than Tumuli B and C, was likely the earliest, constructed during

the second or early first centuries BCE. The mound comprising Tumulus A is not discernible

today (at the commencement of Arık's excavation in 1933, he did not even believe there was a

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[468] For the description of Asar Kaya, see Arık, "Karalar Hafriyati," 146-62.

[469] Ibid., 152-54.

tumulus mound there).[470] I have approximated the location of Tumulus A based on Arık's map

and description of the site, but was unable to ascertain a specific GPS coordinate for the tomb

based on its current state of preservation.[471] Tumuli B and C are located adjacent to one another

on the ridge to the west of the village, situated roughly between the Asar Kaya fortress and

Tumulus A (Fig. 48). Tumulus B is securely dated to ca. 42 BCE based on its accompanying

inscription, and while a precise date for Tumulus C is impossible to define, its proximity to

Tumulus B, similar configuration of a chamber tomb preceded by a stone "altar" area, and

unusual interpretation of a lantern vault relegates it to the Hellenistic period, and it is likely first

century BCE as well. Interestingly, the most sweeping, panoramic views are accommodated not

by the defensive fortress, but by the elevated location of Tumuli B and C.

     Analysis of the viewshed is an effective means of connecting the physical conditions of

the site to a more ideological understanding of its topographical situation.[472] The landscape of

the necropolis at Karalar played an important role in the construction of social and political

relationships between the elites interred beneath each tumulus and the visitors who came into

visual and physical contact with the tombs. While the term "landscape" can be used in a general

sense to refer to the geographic surface of the earth, I employ it here as a concept that "denotes

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[470] Ibid., 110.

[471] Ibid. 110, Fig. 2.

[472] For a historiography of how archaeology has applied visibility analysis, see Wheatley and Gillings, *Spatial Technology and Archaeology*, 212-14, as well as various problems associated with its use, 209-10. Useful discussions regarding the significance of vision and visual politics in interpretation of landscape, see D. E. Cosgrove, *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1998), 13-18, and D. Harris and D. Fairchild Ruggles, eds., *Sites Unseen: Landscape and Vision* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2007).

the external world mediated through subjective human experience."[473] My goal in using GIS applications to calculate the viewshed covering a specific geographical area, or landscape, is to provide an objectively quantified basis for building an argument about what ideological functions of landscape are represented in the necropolis at Karalar. Because the monuments are positioned in view of other structures, how the patrons of these tombs imagined (or constructed) a relationship to the local topography constituted a way of communicating social roles, political ideas, and identities to other viewers.[474] One of the primary functions of vision in this context, according to Dianne Harris and D. Fairchild Ruggles, is to "establish the subject's position in a field of relations."[475] GIS-based viewshed analysis is a crucial element in identifying this "position in a field of relations" because it illuminates the possibilities of what could be seen by a particular subject; in other words, it approximates the viewpoint, perspective, or experience of an ancient viewer (see Chapter One, pp. 23-24 and n. 52). In these instances, defining the subject becomes a critical element of interpretation: in my viewshed analysis, I have used a GPS coordinate located at the entrance to the tombs in order to establish the "viewpoint" of the person buried within the tomb. The perspective offered by viewshed analysis assumes that the deceased is the subject, while my description of the necropolis and approach to the tumuli articulates the perspective of someone positioned as an object within that viewshed.

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[473] Cosgrove, *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape*, 13. For more comprehensive histories of the use of the term "landscape," see pp. 16-18, as well as Zedeño and Bowser, "The Archaeology of Meaningful Places," 2; Farinetti, *Boeotian Landscapes*, 4-5.

[474] For a more detailed discussion on the ideological functions of landscape, see Cosgrove, *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape*, 15.

[475] D. Harris and D. Fairchild Ruggles, "Landscape and Vision," in *Sites Unseen: Landscape and Vision*, ed. D. Harris and D. Fairchild Rugges (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2007), 15.

Figs. 49-54 present the viewsheds for Tumuli A, B, and C, calculated using GoogleEarth Pro's viewshed analysis tool.[476] The green area represents what is visible from the ground level of the entrance to each tomb, automatically adjusted two meters to compensate for the eye-level height of an adult. I have also provided viewsheds calculated from the height of the tumulus mound at the time of excavation, which presents a substantially more comprehensive viewshed than at ground level.[477] The viewshed of Tumulus A is heavily weighted to the southeast, but would have also included the fortress to the north and, later, Tumuli B and C in its purview. Significantly, the facade of the chamber tomb beneath Tumulus A faced westward, and looked toward the later double tumuli of B and C.[478] Tumuli B and C have a similar viewshed, which, from ground level, is also heavily weighted to the east, but which expands greatly to the south and west once the viewpoint is adjusted for the height of the mound, approximately 11m in the case of Tumulus B.[479] The fortress and Tumulus A are well within the visible range of the double tumuli, as well as most of the valley and surrounding territory. Most likely, the mounds were even higher at the time of their construction, and an even greater expanse of territory would have come under the visual control of a person situated in proximity to the mounds. Although it is unlikely that visitors to the tomb would have climbed to the full height of the tumulus, the symbolic import behind such a constructed viewshed should not be understated.[480] The entrances

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[476] The viewshed for Tumulus A is necessarily an estimate, as a specific GPS coordinate could not be determined.

[477] I based the height of the mound of Tumulus C off of the height of the mound of Tumulus B, as they are of similar size and Arık does not give the height of Tumulus C at the time of his excavation.

[478] Arık, "Karalar Hafriyati," 118.

[479] Ibid., 124. Arık does not provide the height of the mound comprising Tumulus C.

[480] Wheatley and Gillings caution scholars to be careful of the underlying assumption of reciprocity in viewshed analysis, as the case of Karalar demonstrates. While a viewshed shows what is visible in a landscape from a specific location, Wheatley and Gillings argue for the importance of acknowledging that the converse is not necessarily true. At Karalar, Tumuli B and C are not visible from the valley below, despite the fact that they command a wide viewshed over the entire valley. They are, however, visible from the modern superhighway as well as from the

to both chamber tombs were fronted by stone "altar" areas, with the entrance to the tomb beneath Tumulus B facing north and the entrance to the tomb beneath Tumulus C in the east.[481]

Given that Tumulus A is the earliest construction, and it looks toward Tumuli B and C, it is possible to conclude that this is a deliberate manipulation of the viewshed by the patrons of Tumuli B and C to position the patron of Tumulus A as quite literally looking up to them. The spatial configuration of the later tumuli, which is emphasized by the westward view from Tumulus A, constructs a notion of "difference" that privileges the occupants of Tumuli B and C.[482] Furthermore, while the viewshed from Tumuli B and C contains Tumulus A, the double tumuli do not look toward Tumulus A or provide evidence for directed visual contact with the earlier tomb. Instead, their position atop the dominant ridge accommodates a 360-degree view of the entire valley, incorporating Tumulus A, the Hellenistic fortress, and the surrounding fertile plain into their visual command. Significantly, the plain surrounding Karalar is one of the most fertile in the region, and it is possible that the visual prominence of the monuments overlooking such a productive swath of natural resources functioned as a visual focal point for the Tolistobogian regime.[483] Additionally, the position of the tombs advances the ideological implications of subjugation and control; the deceased in a sense "owned" the view and, by extension, the territory contained within it, as a landscape positioned within his eternal gaze (Fig. 55).[484]

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fortress and likely Tumulus A, demonstrating that the mounds were visible from very specific locations (although not everywhere) in the territory.

[481] Arık, "Karalar Hafriyati," 130-35.

[482] For a discussion of vision and "difference," see Harris and Fairchild Rugges, "Landscape and Vision," 18.

[483] Darbyshire, Mitchell, and Vardar, "The Galatian Settlement in Asia Minor," 87, 94.

[484] For a discussion of how spectatorship implies ownership and control, see Cosgrove, *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape*, 26.

Acknowledging the ideological dimension to the landscape of Karalar also implies that not only what is seen in these views, but how they are seen, is important to the self-representation of those interred at Karalar. The landscape is thus "perceived by an accumulation of observations in which not only optics but also memory come into play."[485] The fortress and three tumuli were not the only other monuments near Karalar; at least five other tumuli are known to have existed in the vicinity.[486] It is important to recognize that Karalar A-C were not isolated in the regional landscape, despite the fact that the state of knowledge regarding the other tumuli is regrettable. Nevertheless, the existence of other nearby tumuli testifies to the possibility of the Karalar burials participating in the construction of a specific "place" associated with the memories and meanings of the other tumuli. Harmanşah has recently argued for the recognition of "archaeological places" that are analyzed not only in terms of their iconographic and epigraphic content, but also as "locales of cultural practice and social memory."[487] "Place" in this sense is distinct from space because it functions not merely as a geographical location, but as a nexus of geographical environment, human interaction, and memory, deriving its significance from the relationships and connections structured within the site.[488] Thus, when places are used by distinct individuals or groups of people over the long term, different meanings are generated,

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[485] Harris and Fairchild Ruggles, "Landscape and Vision," 6.

[486] Strobel, "State Formation by the Galatians of Asia Minor," 20, with n. 72. Strobel notes two tumuli at Çimşit (approximately eight kilometers south of Karalar), a small tumulus at an unspecified distance east of Karalar, and at least two other tumuli at an unrecorded location that were destroyed before excavation could take place. It is unfortunate that more detailed information about the locations of these tumuli does not exist. It should also be noted that since these tumuli have not been the subject of systematic excavation, their identification as intentionally constructed burial mounds as opposed to natural formations or mounds constructed for purposes other than burial should remain tenuous.

[487] Harmanşah, "Introduction," 3.

[488] Zedeño and Bowser, "The Archaeology of Meaningful Places," 1-8.

the accumulation of which should be considered in academic discourse alongside analysis of the original context of a particular site.[489]

At Karalar, this engagement with layers of meaning can be grasped in the spatial relationships between Tumulus A and Tumuli B and C. The patrons of the latter two monuments appropriate the initial significance of Tumulus A and use it to inflect their own monuments with Tumulus A's associated history and memories. Furthermore, the presence of additional tumuli in the region suggests that other monuments were similarly involved in the negotiation of these relationships. For example, if the other tumuli known from the region existed prior to the tumuli at Karalar, Tumuli A, B, and C could have been designed to capitalize on the memorial associations with the royal ancestors or elites buried in the earlier structures. If, however, the additional tumuli are later than the Karalar tombs, they might represent a conscious adaptation of a royal custom amongst local elites (similar to the flourishing of tumulus construction that occurred at Bin Tepe in Lydia), appropriating the symbolic value of the Karalar tumuli for their own self-presentations. Thus, the tumuli of this region played off an accumulation of meanings, including both the local significance as well as the long-standing semiotic value of the tumulus mound throughout the Mediterranean (discussed above in Chapter Three), which influenced the perception of identities of those interred within the monuments. Future research and excavation of the known tumuli in this region would help to clarify the chronological relationships and contribute to the discourse of identity construction amongst the elites who lived here.

The objective quantification of viewshed analysis can illuminate various aspects of a perceived experience of space at the Karalar necropolis, providing a reconstruction of what people saw and how they saw it relative to other significant landmarks and monuments. While the technology is useful for analyzing site selection and topographical or landscape situation, the

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[489] Harmanşah, *Place, Memory, and Healing*, 15.

question remains as to how the actual architecture of these tombs can best be represented. The next section contains detailed descriptions of each of the tombs, based on Arık's report since the actual structures are not visible today, accompanied by three-dimensional models of the burial chambers that I have created using SketchUp. These models are important for providing a readily accessible and comprehensible visualization of the architecture as it existed in three-dimensional space, which, furthermore, allows scholars to draw more detailed comparisons between these structures and related architecture to understand better the historical architectural trajectory to which these monuments belong. The SketchUp models, like any other methodology, also have their limitations (see Chapter One, pp. 22-24, for a more detailed discussion). For example, creating the models from two-dimensional plans has necessitated the inference of a few of the measurements not provided in Arık's plans or description. Most of the measurements are taken from his plans, but a few were carefully estimated in order to fill in what would otherwise be "empty" components of the model. In Tumulus A, the walls of the dromos are left grey in order to suggest their inferential quality; Arık does not provide measurements for them although he refers to them in his description, so I have estimated based on the other dromos measurements where they might have existed. In the model, the rest of Tumulus A is colored with a cream-colored and purple-colored stone-like veneer to mimic the colors used in Arık's description. He mentions that the stones were laid in order to take advantage of their natural polychromy, but does not describe exactly how they were laid according to color (horizontal stripes, vertical stripes, checkerboard pattern, etc.), so I have taken the liberty of suggesting a horizontal stripe pattern. The colors are likely exaggerated in the digital scheme as well, as photographs of the polychrome vault are not in color and it is impossible to replicate exactly the color of the original stone. Additionally, the "altar" spaces in front of Tumuli B and C are left in two-dimension to

suggest spatial relationships between the "altar" area and the entrance to the tomb, but many details are missing from the report that would allow for full, three-dimensional reconstruction of these spaces.

Constructing Identity: Anatolian, Hellenistic, and Roman Material Culture at Karalar Tumulus A and the Establishment of the Necropolis

Excavations at Karalar were initiated in 1933, and primarily consisted of four parts: the necropolis to the south-east of the village near the modern cemetery, which yielded mostly Byzantine finds; the village itself, whose historical components were mostly of Seljuk and Ottoman date; the tumuli (A, B, and C) overlooking the village; and the fortifications located on the rocky outcropping known as Asarkaya, about five hundred meters to the west of the village. Of the pre-Roman finds, the inscription found among the remains of Tumulus B is the most historically significant, as it attests to one of the few well-dated, definitively Galatian monuments known in Anatolia. The three tumuli are usually assumed to be roughly contemporaneous with one another, although in this section I focus on establishing the chronological precedence of Tumulus A, which provided the situational foundation for the necropolis. An interpretation of the orientation of Tumuli B and C depends on their chronological relationship to Tumulus A; in other words, the establishment of Tumulus A as the earliest tomb in the necropolis is crucial for understanding the manipulation of its perspective and construction of meaningful place that informs the historical identities espoused here.

Tumulus A (Cat. II.1) is situated at somewhat of a distance to Tumuli B and C, occupying a small mound in a field, south of the village (Figs. 56 and 57).[490] Local villagers had

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[490] The majority of my descriptions of Tumuli A, B, and C are taken from the full excavation report published in 1934 by Arık, "Karalar Hafriyati," 102-67. I am deeply indebted to fellow art historian İrem Yalçın for her assistance in translating Arık's text; his Ottoman-derived vocabulary and alternate spelling choices rendered parts of

apparently reported that some artifacts had been found in the vicinity of the flattened, oval

hillock overlooking the İnce Valley on its eastern side and surrounded to the west, north, and

south by fields. The height of the tumulus at the time of the excavation was 6.25m (Arık does not

speculate on the original height or dimensions of the mound), and it was unusually elongated in

the east-west direction, with a smaller diameter of 35.40m, and a larger diameter of 45.90m in

the north-south direction.[491] Arık excavated the tumulus using a series of large, crosswise

cuttings, cutting first through the smaller (east-west) diameter across the top of the mound, and

making an additional cutting at the midpoint in a northwest-southeast direction. In the upper

layers of the mound were found a variety of skeletons and tombs made by placing a roughly

smoothed flagstone over a hole dug in the ground, but these were poorly preserved and the

pottery discovered dated to the Byzantine period or later.

At a depth of 2.30m, Arık and his team discovered several layers of a mud floor made of

fine, yellow soil alternating with layers of large and small stones. Small pits were found in the

mud layers of approximately 0.15-0.30m in depth and filled with a fine, dry dust. The opening of

new sections revealed more pottery and skeletons somewhat irregularly distributed. Finally, an

opening made of cut stones was found, leading the excavators to a pit filled with a breathtaking

array of jewelry, gold wire and ornaments, pieces of iron tools, and more skeletal fragments.

Arık notes that all of the findings were tinged purple, a hue that had also been imparted on the

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the text confusing even for a native speaker (let alone my abilities as a mere student of Turkish). At the time of my
visit to the site in July 2013, the tumuli and much of the fortifications at Asarkaya had been covered over for
protection. The exterior mounds and some stone fragments were visible, but I am reliant on Arık's publication for
details of construction and findings. For the full description of Tumulus A in the excavation report, see pages 110-
23.

[491] Ibid., 110. Arık describes the shape of the mound as oval, which is highly unusual given the predominance of
conical-shaped tumulus mounds in Anatolia. The unusual shape may be due to patterns of erosion specific to the site
at Karalar, or perhaps the builders were unfamiliar with the technology used to build conical mounds.

soil and some of the stones; perhaps the findings were originally contained within a purple cloth no longer extant.

During the excavation of this hole the original tomb construction began to appear. The burial chamber was preceded by a dromos covered by two slabs of soft argillite each measuring 4.35m x 1.90m. Parts of a gold garland and the broken pieces of a vase were found between these stones. Because of the damaged state of the dromos, a complete reconstruction of its architectural components was impossible, but it had a length of 3.20m and a width of 2.75m. The two long sides of the dromos were constructed on a krepis 0.25m high. The mortises forming the krepis were joined with T-shaped bronze clamps, and secured in place with molten lead. Although the excavators were unable to determine whether or not the dromos had originally been roofed, a large monolith measuring 2.20m long x 1.15m wide x 0.25m thick with a clamp hole in the center was noted as possibly being the upper cover of the dromos.

Significantly, the facade of the tomb faced west, toward where Tumuli B and C would later be erected. While cleaning this area, more golden objects were found. The lintel of the facade had been subjected to serious damage, but a torus and scotia design was discernible on its upper jamb, likely matched on the other side and framing a small door or passageway. The burial chamber itself was roughly square, measuring 2.70m in its east-west dimension and 2.75m in its north-south dimension. It was covered by a 3.25m-high barrel vault, which was erected on an orthostate composed of squared blocks attached with clamps. Each keystone was also attached to the adjacent stones with clamps. Although the front part of the barrel vault had collapsed, it could be determined that the vault, along with its semicircular back wall, was composed of local purple-colored stones and cream-colored stones, constituting a natural polychromatic design. Large breaks and holes in the stones along with bronze and lead remnants indicated that these

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stones, too, had been secured with bronze T-shaped clamps and molten lead. Mortar was used

sparingly on the upper joints between stones. In addition to the polychromatic stones used in the

construction of the barrel vault, the aesthetic interest of the burial chamber was further enhanced

by plastering the whole surface of the vault and covering it with small pebbles and pieces of

stone. The upper layer was plastered yet again in preparation for a layer of larger, irregular

stones, which Arık suggests gave the vault the appearance of a corbelled dome (Fig. 58). If

Arık's theory is correct, Tumulus A would bear a remarkable similarity to the corbelled domes

frequently found in Thrace, and possibly provide another instance (or at least imitation) of an

architectural technique borrowed from southeastern Europe, as has been argued for the lantern-

roofed construction of Tumulus C.[492] Near the front (west) side of the barrel vault, a number of

bones were discovered, which Arık speculated belonged to the same body. An Ottoman coin

found at a depth of 3.50m, near the entrance to the dromos indicated that the tumulus was not

found intact, likely subject to plundering at least by the Ottoman period, if not before.

Additionally, pieces of bird or other small animal skeletons were located with the human

bones, including a horsehead and bronze fibula that were discovered separately from the rest of

the assemblage.[493] Arık remarks on the similarity of the horsehead to Makridi's finds during his

excavation of the Phrygian tumulus necropolis in Ankara, which may have influenced the type of

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[492] The earliest example of the "lantern roof" technique, a variation of which is employed in Tumulus C at Karalar, is the Archaic tumulus near the modern village of Belevi, approximately 14 kilometers northeast of Ephesos. It is sometimes suggested that the stone lantern roof had its origins in similar timber construction of residential architecture contemporary with the monumental tombs. See Theodossiev, "The Lantern-Roofed Tombs in Thrace and Anatolia," 602-3. See also Mansel, *Trakya-Kırklareli kubbeli mezarları ve sahte kubbe ve kemer problemi*, 53; Mansel, "Mudanya Mezar Binası," 8-9; Mansel, "Das Grabmal von Mudanya (Bithynien)," 478; Mansel, "Gemlik Tümülüs Mezarı," 189; R. S. Young, "The Campaign of 1955 at Gordion: Preliminary Report," *AJA* 60, no. 3 (1956): 252; H. von Gall, *Die paphlagonischen Felsgräber*, 81-82; Fedak, *Monumental Tombs of the Hellenistic Age*, 171. At present, three tombs from Thrace are known to have been roofed by a lantern vault (Kurtkale near Mezek, the Zhaba Mogila tumulus near Strelcha, and the Golemiya Aigar locality near Plovdiv, all dated to the late fourth or early third century BCE), as well as three from Bithynia in northwestern Anatolia (at Mudanya, Gemlik, and Iğdir Köyü).

[493] Arık, "Karalar Hafriyati," 118, 122-23.

burial initiated at Karalar several centuries later. The latest excavated tumulus in the Ankara

necropolis, Makridi III, contained equine remains, which Makridi assumed was the personal

mount of the tomb's occupant.[494] The depth of the remains indicated that the horse was buried

during the final stages of funerary ritual, with other presumably ritual elements (including a

deposit of burnt material, charcoal, ash, bronze fragments, a horse bridle, decorative panels, a

shield, carved ivory, and fragments of burnt wooden furniture) discovered within the immediate

vicinity.[495] Of the excavated tumuli, Makridi III is the latest known from Phrygian Ankara,

constructed in the early sixth century BCE and roughly contemporary with K II at Gordion. All

three of the burials at Karalar are much later than the sixth century, but burials of elites that

included horses or references to horses are known throughout Europe and the Mediterranean as

early as the Bronze Age.[496]

Examining the specific combination of dromos and barrel-vault that occurs in Tumulus A

at Karalar establishes its date of construction to the Hellenistic period as well as its participation

in the geographic diffusion of a tomb form that became widespread throughout Anatolia during

the 3rd - 1st centuries BCE. The earliest known barrel-vaulted chamber tombs constructed

beneath tumulus mounds occur in Macedonia in the fourth century BCE (see Chapter Three), and

the form appears in Anatolian regions of Pontos and the Paphlagonian-Bithynian border area

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[494] Makridi, "Ankara Höyüklerindeki Hafriyata Dair Rapor," 38-45; Il, "*Tumuli Asiae Minoris*," 412-14. See also M. Schede, "Archäologische Funde in der Türkei," *AA* (1930): 481-83; T. Özgüç, "Untersuchungen über archäologische Funde aus Anatolien," *Belleten* 10 (1946): 618; E. Akurgal, *Phrygische Kunst* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basimevi, 1955), 50, 84.

[495] Makridi, "Ankara Höyüklerindeki Hafriyata Dair Rapor," 38-45; Il, "*Tumuli Asiae Minoris*," 412.

[496] For an overview of the archaeological evidence for and interpretation of elite horse burials, see A.-M. Carstens, "To Bury a Ruler: The Meaning of the Horse in Aristocratic Burials," in *Cyprus: Religion and Society from the Late Bronze Age to the End of the Archaic Period*, eds. V. Karageorghis, H. Matthäus, and S. Rogge, 57-76 (Möhnesee-Wamel: Bibliopolis, 2005).

around the third century BCE.[497] Both were originally covered with earthen mounds, marking the closest known parallels to Karalar Tumulus A as occurring well outside of Galatia. A tumulus mound discovered at İkiztepe in the region of modern-day Samsun (ancient Amisos) was dated to the Hellenistic period on the basis of pottery and a gold coin found inscribed with the name of Lysimachos, one of Alexander the Great's successors (Fig. 59).[498] One side of the coin showcases a portrait of Alexander the Great, while the other shows Athena, a figure of Nike above her right hand, and a monogram "A" below Athena's right hand, which has been taken to signify the city of Anchiale. Below the group is the monogram "BY," which is thought to symbolize the city of Byzantion, and the inscription "ΒΑΣΙΛΕΟΣ ΛΥΣΙΜΑΧΟΥ" flanks Athena.[499] According to this analysis, the coin recognizes the alliance of the cities Anchiale and Byzantion and the portrait of Lysimachos indicates that it was minted at some point after his death in 281 BCE; thus, the coin should date to between 281-250 BCE.[500] Because the tomb had been robbed, it is possible that the coin could be an intrusive element, but if the excavators are correct in assuming that the robbery occurred at an early period, perhaps only shortly after its original construction, the tomb may date broadly to the early third century BCE.

The dromos and facade of the tomb opened to the west. The dromos itself was 7.90m long and 1.55m wide, and niches were observed on its north and south walls.[501] Two descending steps formed the entrance, and at the end of the dromos, the outline of a barrel vault was

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[497] The soffit of the large tomb at Labraunda, dated ca. 350-340 BCE, is carved to resemble a barrel vault, which suggests that the appearance of the form, if not the technique, was known in Anatolia prior to the third century BCE. See Fedak, *Monumental Tombs of the Hellenistic Age*, 74-76; Westholm, *Labraunda I*.

[498] U. Alkım, H. Alkım, and Ö. Bilgi, *İkiztepe* vol. I (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1988), 204-6.

[499] Ibid., 205.

[500] Ibid.

[501] Ibid., 204.

discernible in the slightly curved upper stones of the facade. The burial chamber was 2.38m x

3.40m, and is preserved at its highest point along the south wall at 2.24m.[502] The chamber was

constructed with cut limestone blocks held together with clamps.[503]

Another tumulus in the borderland between Bithynia and Paphlagonia, at Beşevler near

modern-day Eskipazar (ancient Hadrianopolis) is tenuously dated to the third century BCE (Fig.

60; Cat. I.2). After the Macedonian conquest of Anatolia in the fourth century BCE,

experimentation with barrel-vaulted chamber tombs beneath tumuli seems to have begun,

possibly as a result of local leaders attempting to imitate royal and elite Macedonian

constructions; for example, the well known barrel-vaulted structures at Vergina (Aigai) and

Lefkadia.[504] A barrel-vaulted tomb and dromos appears in Thrace at Kırklareli (Cat. IV.1), and it

is possible that the construction type spread from Macedonia via Thrace and throughout the

north-central regions of Anatolia.[505] Wolfram Hoepfner identifies the barrel vault as an intrusive

element in the tradition of dromos-chamber tomb construction in Thrace and Bithynia.[506] The

barrel vault covering the burial chamber of the Beşevler tomb presents a somewhat unusual

example of construction technique, in which the soil of the tumulus mound was built up

simultaneously with the barrel vault, providing a mold or framework to stabilize the vault

construction.[507] Construction in other parts of the tomb appeared somewhat careless: the stones

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[502] Ibid.

[503] Ibid.

[504] See P. Petsas, *Ho Taphos tōn Lefkadiōn* (Athens: Archaeological Society at Athens, 1966); Andronikos, *Vergina*, especially Tomb II; and Miller, *The Tomb of Lyson and Kallikes*, 4-11; K. Rhomiopoulou, *Das Palmettengrab in Lefkadia* (Mainz: P. von Zabern, 2010).

[505] For example, the Kırklareli tumuli (Mansel, *Trakya-Kırklareli kubbeli mezarları*) and the Dardanos tumulus (Özkan, "Dardanos Höyüğü," 113-18).

[506] W. Hoepfner, "Ein Kammergrab im bithynisch-paphlagonischen Grenzgebiet," *AM* 86 (1971): 137.

[507] Ibid., 132.

comprising the dromos wall were not laid carefully, and in order to construct the pitched roof of

the dromos, stones were simply laid diagonally to each other and, Hoepfner notes, did not appear

to be well balanced.[508] Furthermore, the burial chamber was not properly squared off and, as a

result, the long axes of both the chamber and the dromos do not form a straight line.[509] These

elements could suggest that the tomb was constructed rapidly, but the curious technique with

which the barrel vault was built in conjunction with the tumulus mound led Hoepfner to suggest

that the Beşevler tomb is an example of the early adaptation of Macedonian barrel vault,

potentially placing its construction date in the third century BCE, while local builders were still

experimenting and did not completely understand the architectural type.[510] Hoepfner also argues

that the topographical situation of the Beşevler tomb could associate it with a Paphlagonian

chieftain: it lies a few kilometers north of a Paphlagonian fortress at Semail with stepped tunnels

carved into the rock, and, significantly, right at the point where a passerby would reach the

fortress from the old road.[511] The barrel-vaulted chamber beneath the Külcüler tumulus near

İkiztepe is possibly Hellenistic as well, indicating that the architectural type became increasingly

known during the Hellenistic period (Cat. V.2).[512] With the lack of acceptable dating criteria for

the Beşevler tomb, the alternative construction technique might indeed presuppose an early date

for the tomb, but the excavators of the İkiztepe tumulus do not mention this technique in the

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[508] Ibid., 128.

[509] Ibid.

[510] Ibid.,138.

[511] Ibid., 139.

[512] For the Külcüler tumulus, see U. B. Alkim, "Samsun Province," *AnatSt* (1972): 56; Z. Kızıltan, "Samsun Bölgesi Yüzey Araştırmaları 1971-1977," *Belleten* 56 (1992): 220; Ö. Bilgi, et al. "Samsun (Amisos) Bölgesinin Kültürel Gelişimi Projesi ile ilgili Yüzey Araştırması-2000," *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı 2001* 19, no. 1 (2002): 281, 294 fig. 4; Ö. Bilgi, et al. "Samsun (Amisos) Bölgesi'nin Kültürel Gelişimi Projesi," *Belleten* 68 (2004): 392, fig. 11; Johnson, "Landscapes of Achaemenid Paphlagonia," 402.

construction of that tomb, which suggests that familiarity with barrel vault construction had

reached northern Anatolia by the second quarter of the third century BCE.

One of the earliest known instances of barrel-vaulted tomb construction occurs in far

inland Anatolia, in the Kalınkaya tumulus near Alaca Höyük. If the excavators are correct in

surmising that the small, vaulted burial chamber discovered in the southwest quadrant of the

mound is roughly contemporary with (or even slightly later than) the terracotta sarcophagus

discovered at the center of the mound, which is dated based on numismatic evidence to the late

fourth century BCE, this would be a startlingly early example of the type at a significant

geographical distance from contemporary examples in Macedonia and Thrace. The potential

evidence from the Kalınkaya tumulus, combined with the third-century BCE barrel-vaulted

chamber tomb discovered at İkiztepe in the Pontic region, render Hoepfner's dating of the

Beşevler tumulus unreliable and thwart any attempt to define a geographic paradigm in which

the architectural type gradually disperses farther and farther from its point of origin over the

course of the Hellenistic period.[513]

Barrel-vaulted chamber tomb construction continued to proliferate in northern and

northwestern Anatolia throughout the Hellenistic period, as evidenced by the second-century

BCE construction of a tomb in the Kanlıbağ district of İzmit (Fig. 61; Cat. I.3).[514] The tumulus

mound had been flattened due to the construction of a garden over it (which, unfortunately, also

resulted in the accumulation of mud and water in the chamber, obscuring details of the burial

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[513] Hoepfner dates the Beşevler tumulus to the third century BCE on the basis of the designer's alleged misunderstanding of barrel vault construction, leading him to propose that it is an early example of barrel vaulting in Anatolia, constructed before the roofing technique was fully understood in Anatolia. Hoepfner, "Kammergrab in bithynisch-paphlagonisch Grenzgebiet," 138.

[514] Y. Meriçbolu and S. Atasoy, "The Kanlıbağ Tumulus at İzmit," 67-95.

assemblage), but it was determined to be part of the eastern necropolis of ancient Nikomedia.[515]

The tomb was built of local limestone, the dromos was simply covered with a large, flat stone, and the chamber was covered with a barrel vault. The walls were constructed using large, roughly finished stones secured with cement and metal clamps, while stones forming the vault were held in place by the keystone and reinforced with cement in between.[516] Two funeral beds were placed along the north and south walls and were connected by a stone bridge across the rear (western) wall, on which offerings were likely placed.[517] A number of grave goods were present at the time of the excavation, including terracotta perfume flasks, glass perfume flasks, fragments of gold diadems, and lamps, but three chronologically significant finds appeared in the form of coins from the Hellenistic and Roman periods. An impression of a Lysimachos stater belonged to the second century BCE, while two coins dated to the Roman imperial reigns of Domitian (81-96 CE) and Trajan (98-117 CE). The excavators do not report evidence of looting, indicating only that the tomb had been reused over a long period and had undergone some structural modification at certain point.[518] If these coins are not intrusive, we can conclude that the tomb was constructed by the second century BCE at the latest and reused at least until the late first or early second century CE.[519]

The dromos, chamber with barrel vault, and stones joined with metal clamps comprising the Kanlıbağ tumulus find close parallels with the İkiztepe tumulus, Tumulus A from Karalar, and the early first-century BCE tumulus in the village of Tersiye at Adapazarı (Fig. 62; Cat.

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[515] Ibid., 91.

[516] Ibid., 92, 94.

[517] Ibid., 93-94.

[518] Ibid., 93, 95.

[519] Ibid., 95.

I.4).[520] In 1958, villagers ploughing through a field came across the funeral chamber built of local limestone. The dromos opens to the south and is slightly offset from the center of the chamber, flush with the east wall. Both the dromos and burial chamber are covered with barrel vaults, and the marble-framed doors of the dromos indicate an unusual costly addition to the construction.[521] Some of the most important finds from the tomb include silver urns and cups that resemble finds from a Pontic tumulus in the village of Darma as well as silver objects in a first-century BCE hoard from Sincraeni in Romania.[522] The pottery finds resembled objects found elsewhere in Anatolia, including a *laginus* of the same type as that found in tumuli in Paphlagonia, and *unguentaria* that resembled objects found in the tumulus near Kefken in Bithynia as well as Tumulus A from Karalar.[523] The similarity of the silver objects and pottery to other finds, in addition to the architectural plan, suggests a date in the early first century BCE.[524] The tomb is located about six hundred meters north of an isolated hill (Şıra Tepesi) identified as the ancient Bithynian city of Tarsia in the *Regio Tarsa*, a fertile plain of the Sakarya (ancient Sangarius) River.[525] In the Bithynian period, the route that led from Nikomedia (İzmit) eastward to Bithynion (Bolu), and continued to the Greek coastal city of Herakleia (Ereğli) on the Black

[520] The Beşevler tumulus is certainly similar in the fact that it contains a barrel-vaulted chamber beneath an earthen mound, but the unusual construction technique employed for the vault and the absence of clamps to secure the blocks marks it as a quite distinct example of this form of burial, and not as closely related as the four tumuli mentioned above. For the Tersiye village tumulus, see Fıratlı, "The Tumulus of Tersiyeköy near Adapazarı," 73-76.

[521] Fıratlı, "The Tumulus of Tersiyeköy near Adapazarı," 73.

[522] Ibid., 76, n. 8; D. Popescu, "Le trésor dace Sincraeni," *Dacia* II, N. S. (1958): 157, pl. 4-6.

[523] Fıratlı, "The Tumulus of Tersiyeköy near Adapazarı," 74-75; Fıratlı, "Bitinya araştırmalarına birkaç ilâve," 24, n. 28; G. Jacopi, *Esplorazioni e studi in Paflagonia e Cappadocia: relazione sulla seconda campagna esplorativa, Agosto-Ottobre 1936* (Rome: Istituto d'archeologia e storia dell'arte, 1937), 145-146; Arık, "Karalar Hafriyati," 110-23.

[524] Fıratlı, "The Tumulus of Tersiyeköy near Adapazarı," 75.

[525] Fıratlı, "The Tumulus of Tersiyeköy near Adapazarı," 73. For the remains on Şıra Tepesi, see W. von Diest and E. Oberhummer, *Von Tilsit nach Angora: Forschungsreise zweire preussischen Stabsoffiziere im Frühjar 1896* (Gotha: J. Perthes, 1898), 65; K. F. von der Goltz, *Anatolische Ausflüge* (Berlin: Schall and Grund, 1896), 39.

Sea would have passed through Tarsia; perhaps this tumulus at its original height would have been intended for viewership along the road.[526] The Tersiye village tomb, moreover, bears a remarkable similarity to the Küçücek village tumulus near Akyazı (Cat. I.1): both have barrel vaults covering the dromos and burial chamber. Although the Küçücek tomb is dated to the era of the Roman emperor Marcus Aurelius (r. 161-180 CE) on the basis of coins found within the tumulus, it is possible that these coins are an intrusive element or an accidental deposit when the tomb was plundered at a later date.[527]

Finally, a remarkable find near Alpu in the district of Eskişehir yielded an extremely lavish multi-use burial contained within an elaborately designed and decorated tumulus tomb (Fig. 63; Cat. V.1).[528] The mound in its original proportions must have been impressive; when it was discovered, the diameter was approximately 80m and the height had been reduced to six meters.[529] Like the Tersiye village tumulus, it was probably meant to be seen from a distance by travelers; it is situated between the ancient cities of Midaeum (Karahöyük) and Accilaeum (Uyuztepe) in Phrygia Epictetus, in the midst of major Roman roads passing from Dorylaeum (Eskişehir) to the Galatian territories of Ancyra (Ankara) and Pessinus (Ballıhisar).[530] The tomb was oriented east-west, with an entrance facing west, and was entered via two consecutive dromoi. The front dromos was closed by a slab of blue marble and was approximately 7.56m

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[526] Firatlı, "The Tumulus of Tersiyeköy near Adapazarı," 73; Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor*, 1185.

[527] Firatlı, "Bitinya Araştırmalarına Birkaç İlâve," 21-25.

[528] Atasoy, "The Kocakızlar Tumulus in Eskişehir, Turkey," 255-63.

[529] Ibid., 255.

[530] Ibid.; Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor*, 1000; W. Ramsay, *Historical Geography of Asia Minor* (London: John Murray, 1890), 238-39.

long.[531] At the end of this dromos, a second one begins, this one 5.69m long and covered by a barrel vault constructed with bricks. The walls and vault had been plastered, and a panel likely intended for an inscription on the south wall has a few scattered letters carved into it.[532] Three separate chambers formed the burial space in the tomb. The front chamber, which opened directly onto the rear dromos, also had a bricked barrel vault and traces of wine-colored zigzag designs in fresco. A single osteotheke indicated the burial inside.[533] In the south wall of the front barrel-vaulted chamber, a door opened onto the side chamber, which also contained frescoes. Three inhumations were placed side-by-side on the floor. No information is available for the roofing device used.[534] The same is true for the rear chamber, which was accessed by a door in the eastern wall of the front chamber. The remains of the frescoes in the rear chamber were more elaborate, containing horizontal and vertical bands in addition to the zigzag pattern, as well as stylized red flowers forming a border. Two sarcophagi and an osteotheke were contained within.[535] Three coins, along with numerous pieces of gold jewelry, objects of amber, crystal, ivory, wood, bronze, alabaster, terracotta, and glass workmanship were discovered within the tomb. One of the most significant finds was an ivory relief representing a male bust, wreathed and wearing a Heraklean lion skin and club.[536] The numismatic finds included a gold impression of a denarius minted in Rome in 58 BCE, a denarius from the reign of Tiberius (14 CE - 37 CE),

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[531] S. Atasoy, "The Kocakızlar Tumulus in Eskişehir, Turkey," 255.

[532] Ibid., 256.

[533] Ibid., 258.

[534] Ibid.

[535] Ibid., 258-60.

[536] Ibid., 262-63.

and a bronze coin of Tiberius minted in 15-16 CE.[537] Comparison of the walls, frescoes, and finds accompanying the burials suggests an original construction date of sometime within the first century BCE (which seems likely based on the denarius impression from 58 BCE), with the tomb being used for several generations, at least until the first century CE.[538]

Other than the initial burgeoning of the use of barrel vaulting in underground tombs in Macedonia during the late fourth century BCE, there does not seem to be a clear distributional pattern of the type in Anatolia during the succeeding centuries. After an "initial period of experimentation,"[539] barrel-vaulted chamber tombs within tumuli appear at various sites in Anatolia. The type seems relatively well dispersed at various sites in north and central Anatolia, with three examples occurring in Bithynia during the second and first centuries BCE (Küçücek, Kanlıbağ, Tepecik) along with Karalar Tumulus A in Galatia, and isolated examples appear in Pontos (Lerdürge) (Cat. III.21), Phrygia (Kocakızlar) (Cat. V.1), and Karia (Yanartepe) (Cat. V.3) during the first century BCE. Thus, the architectural context of the chamber tomb constructed beneath Tumulus A at Karalar cannot specify a chronological range other than the Hellenistic period. If the tomb belongs to a Galatian, it would postdate the early third century BCE, considering the possibility of the Celts encountering barrel-vaulted chamber tombs within tumuli during their expansion into southeastern Europe and after they crossed over the Bosphoros in 278 BCE. The barrel vault, nevertheless, was certainly not a Galatian invention, and the example from Karalar A indicates that the Galatian elite were adopting architectural forms popular amongst the elite in territories they had encountered during their passage through

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[537] Ibid., 262.

[538] Ibid.

[539] Fedak, *Monumental Tombs of the Hellenistic Age*, 166-67.

southeastern Europe and northwestern Anatolia. A similar pattern of "Anatolianization" and "Hellenization" can be observed in some of the material finds from the tomb, contextualization of which may also provide greater specificity in dating the construction of the tomb.

While the architectural context of Tumulus A only provides a general date range within the Hellenistic period, the fibula and unguentarium that were found with Tumulus A indicate that the burial should be dated to the middle of the Hellenistic period, perhaps as early as the second century BCE. The fibula exhibits the distinctive "horns" above the catch indicative of Phrygian-type fibulae, and its semi-circular arc with decorative moldings at each end is typical of Blinkenberg's Asia Minor Group XII (Fig. 64).[540] The additional moldings or swellings on the fibula from Karalar are specifically characteristic of Muscarella's definition of Group XII, Type 14 fibulae (Fig. 65).[541] The additional moldings of Type XII,14 can consist of either sharp discs or can be shaped similarly to the rounded forms at either end; alternatively, in later examples, the apex of the arc might exhibit a large "lump" as opposed to an articulated molding.[542] Stratigraphical contexts suggest that the chronological range for Type XII,14 is similar to that of Type XII,13, which are found at Gordion in many tombs from the eighth-sixth centuries BCE as well as in levels from the Citadel Mound as late as the third-second centuries BCE.[543] Arık's photograph of the Karalar fibula appears to show an unarticulated "lump" at the apex of the arc rather than a clearly defined molding, which can be associated with some of the later examples known from the third-second century BCE levels on the Citadel Mound at Gordion.[544]

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[540] For the typology, see C. Blinkenberg, *Fibules grecques et orientales* (Copenhagen: Høst, 1926).

[541] O. Muscarella, *Phrygian Fibulae from Gordion* (London: Quaritch, 1967), 13, 24-25, and Figs. 58, 61, 63-76.

[542] Ibid., 23-24.

[543] Ibid., 22-23. See Muscarella's Appendix C for the distribution of the type outside Gordion.

[544] Ibid. 23, Figs. 58, 74.

Muscarella does not provide a precise chronological classification for the Karalar fibula, but he does note that it "apparently has one of the latest examples of the type known," suggesting that it probably dates to the third-second century BCE as well.[545]

The fibula from Tumulus A shows a definite formal connection to Phrygian fibulae known from Gordion, but the wide chronological range attributed to Type XII,14 precludes the fibula's ability to stand alone as a reliable chronological indicator for Tumulus A. A more precise chronological directive is offered by the unguentarium found at the entrance to the dromos, which substantiates heretofore tentative claims about the date of Tumulus A, as it belongs to a well documented and extensive series of funerary vessels found amongst a wide geographic area throughout the Hellenistic period (Fig. 66). These unguentaria, of uncertain function, first appear in Spain in the early mid-fifth century BCE, and begin to appear with increasing regularity in the Eastern Mediterranean beginning in the late fourth century BCE.[546] This type of vase occurs mostly in burial and domestic contexts, with some exceptions found in public areas, possibly functioning as implements used in religious sanctuaries.[547] They appear to have eventually superseded the Classical lekythos as a ubiquitous grave offering.[548] The chronological development of unguentaria, moreover, can be articulated most clearly by their shape: the earlier, "fusiform" (spindle-shaped) type was prevalent from the late fourth to the first centuries BCE,

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[545] Ibid., 25.

[546] V. R. Anderson-Stojanović, "The Chronology and Function of Ceramic Unguentaria," *AJA* 91, no. 1 (1987): 108. For a discussion of the possible functions associated with unguentaria, see pp. 115-22.

[547] Ibid., 106. Close geographical parallels for the Karalar unguentarium are found at Gordion, where numerous unguentaria are found in domestic contexts, largely concentrated in a few, well-appointed houses, suggesting that at least in Gordion, only socially elite households had financial access to the vases (or, more probably, the ungent contained within). See S. Stewart, "Gordion After the Knot: Hellenistic Pottery and Culture" (Ph.D. diss.: University of Cincinnati, 2010), 211-213; Cat. 400-410.

[548] Ibid.

and the later, "bulbous"-shaped unguentaria predominated in the first century BCE to the first century CE.[549] The unguentarium from Tumulus A at Karalar belongs to the earlier fusiform type, whose primary characteristics, in addition to the spindle-shaped body, include a long, tubular neck with downturned rim and a cylindrical stem with a small, ringed foot.[550] Fusiform unguentaria tend to have minimal decoration (if they are decorated at all); the most common ornamentation is a slip applied in horizontal lines or diagonal stripes, and on some examples, a dark slip on the neck is fired either brown or red to contrast with the lighter color of the clay.[551]

Several variations of the fusiform type exist; again, these changes seem to take place chronologically rather than regionally. Among the variations, there is a general tendency to decrease gradually the amount of interior space of the vessels; consequently, the earliest fusiform unguentaria have a rounder, more "globular" bodies than the later examples, which are narrower.[552] The Karalar unguentarium, with its relatively narrow profile, closely resembles the variations prevalent during the second century BCE and later. One of the most extensive cross-sections of unguentaria types and development comes from the Hellenistic and Roman necropolis of Tralleis in southwestern Anatolia, continuously used from the late fourth century BCE to the second half of the fourth century CE.[553] The documentation of over 60 unguentaria found in well dated deposits at Tralleis makes it a particularly valuable corpus for understanding the chronological variation amongst unguentaria types, especially considering that the forms

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[549] H. A. Thompson, "Two Centuries of Hellenistic Pottery," *Hesperia* 3, no. 4 (1934): 472; A. Saraçoğlu, "Hellenistic and Roman *Unguentaria* from the *Necropolis* of Tralleis," *Anadolu* 37 (2011): 4-5.

[550] Saraçoğlu, "Hellenistic and Roman *Unguentaria* from the *Necropolis* of Tralleis," 4.

[551] Anderson-Stojanović, "The Chronology and Function of Ceramic Unguentaria," 114-15.

[552] Ibid., 108.

[553] Saraçoğlu, "Hellenistic and Roman *Unguentaria* from the *Necropolis* of Tralleis," 1-42.

excavated from Tralleis reflect some of the most characteristic forms of the region more broadly

and can be paralleled in the Hellenistic and Roman pottery finds from the Athenian Agora, the

Kerameikos, Delos, Pergamon, Labraunda, Ephesos, Metropolis, Eretria, and Tarsus, for

example.[554] Thus, a clear chronological evolution of the fusiform type can be discerned, which

corresponds well to the tradition of common Anatolian forms and fabrics.[555] The Karalar

unguentarium exhibits a long, slender neck with downturned, beveled lip, a slight bulge in the

body of the vase that is relatively narrow for the type and has no clearly defined shoulder, a clear

separation of the foot from the body by means of a narrow stem, and an upturned ring around the

foot. All of these characteristics, particularly the long neck and stem, are featured among the

Tralleis unguentaria from the second century BCE (Fig. 67).[556] More specific variations, such as

the lack of articulated shoulder and the narrow profile of the body, are common in examples

from the mid-late second century BCE, with parallels not only at Tralleis but also in the

Athenian Agora, Kerameikos, Tarsus, Eretria, and Samothrace.[557] Based on shape alone, the

unguentarium from Tumulus A most likely belongs to the late second century BCE. Perhaps the

most unusual feature of the Karalar unguentarium is its relatively elaborate decoration; in

addition to the dark horizontal stripes often found on this type of vase, the upper half of the body

contains a simple floral decoration, and the stripes themselves vary in width, from the wide

bands at the neck, to the alternating thick and thin stripes framing the floral motif. The

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[554] Ibid., 6, n. 44-52 for bibliography on each of these sites.

[555] Saraçoğlu, "Hellenistic and Roman *Unguentaria* from the *Necropolis* of Tralleis," 1-42.

[556] Ibid., cat. no. 13-32.

[557] Ibid., cat. no. 20, 23, 28, 29. See also U. Knigge, *Der Südhügel*. Kerameikos IX (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1976), Taf. 69, no. 390; S. I. Rotroff, *Hellenistic Pottery*, Pl. 85, no. 1170; Thompson, "Two Centuries of Hellenistic Pottery," fig. 78, D 78, fig. 104, E 138; F. F. Jones, "The Pottery," in *Excavations at Gözlü Kule, Tarsus. Volume I. The Hellenistic and Roman Periods*, edited by H. Goldman, 149-296 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950), fig. 135, no. 244; I. R. Metzger, *Die hellenistische Keramik in Eretria* (Bern: Francke, 1969), Taf. 28, no. 2; E. B. Dusenbury, *Samothrace 11: The Necropoleis*, 2 vols (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), S138-6.

decoration is applied in a dark red slip that contrasts with the lighter, buff color of the fabric. Arık relates the naturalism of the floral decoration to the characteristic artistic principles found in the pottery of Pergamon, an observation that would further suggest a date in the 2nd or 1st century BCE.[558] I would argue, furthermore, that the unguentarium is likely to be contemporary with the burial that took place in Tumulus A, based on the understanding of this type of vase as a funerary vessel that is most commonly associated with burial offerings.

From the available finds in the tomb, a date range from the late second century BCE to the early first century BCE is most likely for Tumulus A. Tumulus A is thus at least a generation or two older than Tumulus B, an observation that is reinforced by the topographical distance between Tumulus A and the other two tumuli in the necropolis, Tumuli B and C, situated right next to each other, which physically disrupt the view directed at the occupant of Tomb A. The appropriation of significant place and the manipulation of Tomb A's perspective, moreover, are relevant to the historical identities expressed by Deiotaros II and the occupant of Tumulus C, and the degree of chronological proximity of the three tumuli nuances the way in which identity is expressed here. For example, if Tumulus A was constructed more than a few generations, or even centuries before Tumuli B and C, one could infer that the occupants of Tumuli B and C were deliberately capitalizing on the long-standing history of the region, perhaps claiming a link with the legendary or mythological history of the site. Since Tumulus A is likely not more than one hundred years older than Tumuli B and C, however, the chronological proximity indicates a closer historical, perhaps even a genealogical association between the occupants. Tumulus A did not yield evidence of who its occupant might have been,[559] but the physical orientation of the

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[558] Arık, "Karalar Hafriyati," 123.

[559] Strobel suggests that the occupants of Tumuli A and C include Sinorix, the father of Deiotaros I, and Deiotaros I himself (Strobel, "State Formation by the Galatians of Asia Minor," 20), but this is purely speculative.

necropolis implies some kind of relationship, and a negotiation of identity that was articulated by means of visual correspondence among the three tombs.

Tumulus B: A Case Study in Visualizing Identity

At some distance from Tumulus A, located in the hills approximately five hundred meters west of Karalar village and visible from the fort at Asar Kaya, lie the double hills of Tumuli B and C. Tumuli B and C command a full, three hundred and sixty-degree view of the Ovaçayı valley and offer even greater visibility than that obtained from the fort. The two tumuli are assumed to be roughly contemporary because of their physical proximity to one another, although only Tumulus B may be dated absolutely based on its accompanying inscription (Cat. II.2).[560] The architectural finds from Tumuli B and C were more extensive than those of Tumulus A; the north sides of their respective tumuli were each fronted by an architecturally defined space that Arık referred to as an "autel" (or "altar") space designed for continuing ritual activity (Fig. 68). The "autel" area of Tumulus B contained significant sculptural finds whose significance is often overshadowed by the attention given to historical personas mentioned in the inscription. In addition to providing a detailed description and reconstruction of Deiotaros II's tomb, my goal in this section is to analyze the viewing experience of the finds from the "autel." The architectural and sculptural finds demonstrate a careful construction of Deiotaros II's self-representation, articulated according to cultural practice and ethnic linkages that straddled

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[560] I have based the majority of my description of Tumulus B on the account given in Arık, "Karalar Hafriyati," 123-34.

definitions of "Hellenization," "Romanization," and even "Galatisation" in order to appeal to specific viewers.[561]

At the time of Arık's excavation, the height of Tumulus B was 10.58m, and it was ovoid in shape, similar to Tumulus A, with a larger diameter of 70.50m and a smaller diameter of 50.80m, approximately three or four times the size of Tumulus A (Figs. 69-71). Arık made a cutting first on the western side of the tumulus using a method similar to that employed during the excavation of Tumulus A. Only a few pottery sherds were found in this part, but at a depth of 1.10m, the workers found stone mounds, one of which contained sherds of a decorated vase and bones. For several more meters, nothing appeared other than stones, but eventually Arık discovered a small pit in the north side of the tumulus that contained pottery pieces (terra-sigillata) from the Hellenistic period, mostly flat bowls and plates, made of fine, red clay.

Eventually, the workers had excavated a tunnel 25-26m in length and, at a depth of 8.60m, where the western and northern cuttings joined, a pit was revealed. Diagonal stones appeared to constitute the dromos that led northward towards the burial chamber, whose entrance faced southward in the direction of Tumulus A. The stone roof of the dromos was collapsed, but enough evidence remained to deduce that the roof of the rectangular dromos was composed of twelve large stones arranged in six lines, forming a triangular-pitched roof (Fig. 72). The stones were carefully cut so that they fit together easily, some of them clamped together and others filled with rubble where there were spaces in between. It is unclear whether mortar had been used between any of the stones. More pottery sherds, bones, and a glass bead were found during the cleaning of the dromos, which appeared to be constructed of finely worked, isodomic masonry. Pieces of fine gold wire covered with a purple dye were found in the soil, similar to the

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[561] The term "Galatisation" is used by Strobel, "The Galatians in the Roman Empire," 119; for a brief discussion of "Hellenization," "Romanization," and problems of terminology in identity studies, see Mairs, "An 'Identity Crisis'?" 1-4.

finds from Tumulus A. A glass vase was also discovered, with one of its pieces decorated with a naturalistic leaf and branch motif, which Arık noted for its similarities to Pergamene and Alexandrian artistic schools.

A small door led to the burial chamber, which measured 3.20 x 2.60m. A triangular stone above the door indicated that it had been covered by a pitched roof. One of the most remarkable finds in this area was a huge, T-shaped porphyry stone that constituted an altar or offering table in the tomb. The table was sculpted on all of the sides except where it had been leaning against the wall. In the soil surrounding the offering table, more fine gold wires were found, again covered with traces of purple dye from some type of fabric. Several gilded bronze nails along with pieces of decomposed wood were discovered (Arık suggests that the nails could have been nails from military sandals, *caliges*, or perhaps parts of wooden furniture), and some bronze pieces seemed to have belonged to the surface relief of a metal cup. The skeleton was found in hundreds of small, broken pieces, which also contained pieces of fine gold wire covered with the purple dye. Bones of birds, human teeth, and animal teeth (perhaps horse teeth) were found alongside pieces of an iron knife and dagger.

Arık continued excavations along the northern cutting at the northern foot of the tumulus, where he found sculpted marble pieces, a marble lion's head, pieces of the feet and body of the lion, and sculpted architrave pieces in a stone-paved area he referred to as an "autel." Approximately 22.50m from the north side of the entrance to the tomb were sections of a krepis wall, erected on three layers of rough, purple stone, the color of which was used decoratively. In the east, fragments of a marble tropaion were scattered, including parts of a tree trunk, a tunic, a shield, and the bust of an armored warrior who likely originally wore a helmet. Unfortunately, all

of these pieces were found dispersed from their original location and it was impossible to determine the intended arrangement.

Among the most significant finds was a Greek inscription carved into a large block in the area in front of the structure. The block on which the inscription was clamped was 1.05m in diameter, and Arık remarks that it recalled half of a thick column, suggesting that the inscription had been attached to the round surface of the column to the left side of the stylobate (i.e., the top layer of krepis stone). The inscription has been restored as:

Βασιλεὺς Δηϊόταρος Φιλο-
πάτωρ [or μήτωρ] καὶ Γαλατων Τολισ-
τοβωγίων καὶ Τρόκμων
τετράρχης ὁ ἐγ βασιλέως
Δηιοτάρου Φιλορωμαίου
καὶ Γαλατῶν Τολιστοβωγί-
ων καὶ Τρόκμων τετράρχου
καὶ ἐγ βασιλίσσης Βερενίκης[562]

The tomb thus belonged to Deiotaros II (the Younger), son and intended successor of the Tolistobogian tetrarch Deiotaros I (d. 41 BCE), who was responsible for unifying the Galatian tribes under his rule. Deiotaros II is known to have preceded his father in death in 42 BCE as a result of the first battle of Philippi. The inscription, therefore, is one of the most important Hellenistic Galatian finds to have been discovered: it establishes a clear, well-dated context for a princely Galatian tomb belonging to someone known in the historical record and at a site most probably known from the historical record.

The fortuitous discovery of the inscription accompanying Tumulus B gives a secure date around 40 BCE for the construction of the chamber tomb and a secure royal identity for its occupant. Although the dating of Tumulus A is not as concretely fixed, the bronze fibula and

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[562] For a discussion of the inscription, see Coupry, "Les tumuli de Karalar et la sépulture du Roi Déiotaros II," 140-51. The inscription is translated as: "Basileus Deiotaros Philopator, tetrarch of the Tolistobogian and Trokmian Galatians, son of Basileus Deiotaros Philoromaios, tetrarch of the Tolistobogian and Trokmian Galatians, and Queen Berenike."

fusiform unguentarium found within give a general range from the late second century BCE to the early first century BCE, and the geographical distance between Tumuli A and B suggest a chronological disparity between the two. Moreover, Tumulus A was oriented to the northwest, roughly in the direction of Tumuli B and C, while the entrance to Tumulus B was in the south, and the door and dromos of Tumulus C was in the east. Given the chronological precedence of Tumulus A, it is highly likely that the latter two tombs were deliberately constructed within view of the former, and must have formed a symbolic visual relationship between the three mounds. The identity of the occupants of Tumuli A and C is unknown, but the intentional visual contact between each tumulus perhaps served as a means of reinforcing either familial bonds, dynastic claims, or political legitimacy; suggesting that the occupant of Tumulus A was the tomb of an earlier Galatian sovereign, and that the occupant of Tumulus C must also have been related to the royal family. Furthermore, while all of the tombs were found robbed, the extant finds among them are similar - gold wire jewelry, scraps of ornaments and precious metals - indicating a similar status among the individuals buried within the chamber tombs.

While many of the architectural and sculptural finds associated with the tomb were found dispersed from their original location, it is possible to approximate the conditions in which a particular viewer might have encountered these objects and formulated a perception of Deiotaros II's identity. The succeeding sections contextualize the significance of the various parts of the tomb complex, analyzing what each element signified, and conclude with a reconstruction of the experience of a privileged viewer who had visual and physical access to restricted parts of the complex. Tumulus B thus constitutes a revealing case study in the self-representation of the Galatian elite, discussions of which are often limited because of a dearth of evidence.

The Architecture of the Chamber Tomb

The historical architectural tradition of pitched-roof construction in Anatolian funerary architecture is more difficult to track than barrel-vaulted or lantern-roofed structures, largely because there are fewer examples known to archaeologists. The Beşevler tumulus discussed above is likely a relatively early example of the technique, as it combines a pitched-roof dromos with a barrel-vaulted burial chamber.[563] The dromos was 2.84m long and had a width of 1.22m, and was closed to the outside by the installation of a large stone leaning against the opening. The walls of the dromos are bricked somewhat carelessly; the blocks are of different sizes and are only roughly squared.[564] Even the joints were placed somewhat haphazardly, and the gaps between joints were filled in with small stones. Only the visible (interior) part of the dromos was roughly smoothed, and the exterior surface was lined with rubble stones, followed by the soil comprising the tumulus mound.[565] Like the barrel-vaulted burial chamber, the construction technique of the dromos' pitched ceiling does not demonstrate a sophisticated or precise rendering of the architectural concept: the walls of the dromos were inclined slightly, and on top of these, flat stones were simply laid against one another in order to create the pitch of the roof. The stones were not cut to fit precisely; rather, the large gaps at their meeting points were filled in with smaller stones. The dromos was approximately two meters in height, tall enough for a person to stand upright.[566] Based on the configuration of the barrel vault over the burial chamber and the fact that it seems to be an early experiment with barrel vaulting, the Beşevler tumulus has been dated to the third century BCE, although the date is far from being fixed.

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[563] Hoepfner, "Ein Kammergrab in bithynisch-paphlagonisch Grenzgebiet," 125-39.

[564] Ibid., 127.

[565] Ibid., 127-28.

[566] Ibid.

A Hellenistic tumulus discovered in the Dörttepeler necropolis near Elbeyli, approximately six kilometers northwest of Iznik (ancient Nikaia), shows a design similar to the Beşevler tumulus, albeit with more regular masonry.[567] The tumulus was constructed of ashlar masonry quarried from the local marble and consists of a dromos and a burial chamber. The dromos was covered with a pitched roof and contains a simple slab for the door, while the burial chamber was covered with a barrel vault and measured 2.50 x 2.50m square.[568] The chamber still contained two klinai with traces of red paint on the covers and carved pillows.[569] Remarkably, the hinged door system was discovered still operating, and the double doors would have been locked and unlocked using a hinged mechanism that allowed a single person to open the three- or four-ton doors relatively easily. The possibility for opening and closing the doors with relative ease corroborates the evidence that the Uludağ Üniversitesi archaeological team discovered for the tomb's continual use and re-use, during which earlier remains would be swept away to make room for new burials as needed. The archaeological team dates the tomb to the third or second centuries BCE, and suggests that it belonged to an elite family, possibly the royal Bithynian family or a group close to them.[570]

At another site in eastern Bithynia, on the slopes of the hills between the villages of Taşoluk and Hıdırşıhlar approximately eight kilometers south of ancient Claudiopolis (modern Bolu), two tumuli were explored by Nezih Fıratlı and suggested to be Galatian tombs from the

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[567] M. J. Mellink, "Archaeology in Asia Minor," *AJA* 75, no. 2 (1971): 179.

[568] Ibid.

[569] Ibid.

[570] Information on the excavation can be found on the university website at: http://www.arkeoloji.uludag.edu.tr/izniktümülüs.html (accessed 22 October 2015). Unfortunately, little other information is available and the site is currently closed to visitors.

early second century BCE (Cat. I.5).[571] The tombs were situated on a terrace approximately two kilometers from an ancient thermal spring. They were unfortunately subjected to significant damage done by "treasure hunters" who had mistakenly been issued a permit to excavate in the area, which made interpretation of a large portion of the finds difficult.[572] The eastern tumulus provides another example of a pitched roof tomb construction, although in this case the roofing technique was constructed over the burial chamber rather than the dromos (Fig. 73). The dromos was partially destroyed by the activities of the treasure hunters, who had used a bulldozer to demolish the ceiling and enter the tomb from above. It is lined with regular stone blocks and narrows towards the top by the slightly projecting upper courses. The entire structure was surrounded by a stone krepis that is still visible on the south side.[573] The burial chamber was also constructed of very carefully laid local andesite, blocks of which had, like the Beşevler tumulus, been laid at an angle to one another in order to construct the pitch. Three courses of horizontally laid blocks covered the angled blocks, forming a false arch.[574]

Fifty meters to the west of the first tumulus was another tumulus, although the damage to this western one was so extensive that the exact nature of the burial chamber and roofing system cannot be ascertained. This tomb, however, yielded significant finds, including a sarcophagus made of pinkish andesite and a variety of gold, silver, and bronze gifts.[575] Of the grave gifts, three are especially important in the identification of this tumulus as Galatian: two gold torques were discovered along with a gold buckle showing the face of a man surrounded by a floral motif

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[571] Fıratlı, "Two Galatian Tumuli in the Vicinity of Bolu," 365-67.

[572] Ibid.

[573] Ibid.

[574] Ibid., pl. 94, fig. 5.

[575] Ibid.

that resembles motifs found on Hellenistic Galatian pottery in Anatolia (Fig. 41).[576] The tombs

are considered to be roughly contemporaneous with one another, and, since the objects found in

the western tumulus are assumed to represent a Galatian owner of both tombs, are dated based

purely on historical circumstances surrounding the Galatian occupation of the area.

The "Autel" Complex

Both Tumulus B and C contained what Arık referred to as "autel" areas; i.e., open spaces

at the front of each tumulus that were articulated by stone foundation walls and, at least in the

case of Tumulus B, marble statuary and superstructure derived from Greek architecture.[577] In

both cases, the "autel" area was located on the north side of the tumulus mound (in Tumulus C, it

was slightly northwest). In Tumulus B, the space fronted the axis of the dromos and entrance to

the tomb, which faced north, while in Tumulus C the "autel" area was located at a distance from

the dromos and the main tomb entrance, which was in the northeast side of the mound. Arık

suggested that one of the functions of these structures might have been to hide and protect the

main chamber, and in the case of Tumulus C, the location of the "autel" space relative to the

tomb's entrance may have served to disorient potential thieves.[578] Arık's use of the term "autel"

to describe the space alludes to a suspected ritual function of these areas. The performance of

funerary or cult ritual in the space of the tomb is evident in the T-shaped porphyry offering table

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[576] Ibid., see also F. Maier, "Bemerkungen zur sogenannten galatischen Keramik von Boğazköy," *JdI* 78 (1963): 218-55, figs. 3-4. For a recent discussion of the so-called "Galatian pottery," see Çoşkun, "Latène-Artefakte im hellenistischen Kleinasien," 134-38.

[577] Tumulus C may have contained more extensive ornamentation, indicated by the pedestal belonging to a column that was found in the area during the excavations, but no statuary survives as it does for Tumulus B.

[578] Arık, "Karalar Hafriyati," 135.

discovered in Tumulus B,[579] although it is difficult to identify any other specific ritual

implements from either excavation, as both tombs were found mostly robbed of their original

contents.

Because the "autel" area in front of Tumulus B is documented more carefully and

produced a greater diversity of finds, it will serve as an example of the type of space that was

most likely constructed for both tumuli. Arık began his excavation of the area in front of

Tumulus B approximately twenty-five meters north of the tomb's entrance, and he encountered

marble fragments before the team had reached 0.50m in depth.[580] A krepis wall constructed of

local purple stone appeared 22.5m to the north of the entrance to the chamber tomb.[581] The

lowest layer constituted a euthynteria and the upper layer served as a stylobate, while three

additional walls (possibly anta walls) defined the north, west, and east sides of space measuring

3.80m long and 5.45m wide. There is no mention of a wall on the south side, and it does not

appear on Arık's diagram of the area, and presumably this side was left open, facilitating visual

or physical correspondence between the "autel" area and the dromos. The krepis walls projecting

from the west and east sides of the "anta" walls are slightly curved towards the tomb. To the east,

fragments of a marble tropaion were found, although Arık laments the inability to determine the

original location of the sculptural remains due to the scattered nature of the finds. A large block,

1.05m in diameter and recalling in shape half of a thick column, contained the inscription

identifying the occupant of the tomb as Deiotaros II, son of the Galatian monarch Deiotaros I.

The inscription had been attached to the surface of a column with clamps, and Arık estimated

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[579] Ibid., 128.

[580] Ibid., 130-34 for the description of this part of the excavation.

[581] See Ibid., pl. 11, fig. 26 for a diagram of the tomb and "autel" complex. The "autel" is slightly offset to the west of the axis of the dromos and tomb chamber.

that it adorned a column on the east side of the stylobate because of a rounded section there that corresponded to the diameter of the column used for the inscription. To the north (back) side of the "autel" area, three terraces were found that could have been retaining walls for the entire structure.

The "autel" area in front of Tumulus C was similar in character: sculpted construction elements were found at a depth of 0.25-0.40m, an open area that showed evidence of paving, measuring 2.60-2.70m x 5.70m, a stylobate, a retaining wall, and pieces of a pedestal of a column. Pottery and tegula were also found here, and Arık suggested that the sculpted exterior sides of both sets of retaining walls in Tumulus B and C indicate that they were meant to be seen from the outside.

Two specific elements of the "autel" area of Tumulus B, the inscription and the marble tropaion, warrant further analysis and will be discussed below. The existence of an open space in front of a tumulus tomb, however, is somewhat unusual in the repertoire of Anatolian funerary monuments. Earlier parallels for this addition to the tomb can be found in Thrace, where plain facades or walls constructed of mudbrick or stone sometimes articulated an open space in front of a tumular tomb.[582] The Shushmanets tomb near Shipka, for example, contains a Π-shaped "dromos" in front of the antechamber, although the term "dromos" is used loosely because it is greater in width than in length, and its side walls take the form of elongated antae (Fig. 74).[583] On the west side, a curved krepis wall extends perpendicularly to the "dromos" wall.[584]

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[582] Stoyanova, "Tomb Architecture," 166.

[583] D. Dimitrova, "Shushmanets Tumulur Temple near Shipka (Central Bulgaria)," in *The Thracians and their Neighbors in the Bronze and Iron Ages: Proceedings of the 12th International Congress of Thracology, Târgovişte 10th-14th September 2013. Vol. II: Necropolises, Cult Places, Religion, Mythology*, ed. C. F. Schuster, C. Ovidiu, and M. Cosac (Targoviste: Cetatea de Scaun, 2013), 134-35.

[584] Ibid. Dimitrova remarks that a similar wall most likely stood on the east side as well, but has been destroyed.

Dimitrova suggests that this curved krepis wall was constructed as support for the earthen embankment of the tumulus, while the "dromos" area, to the south, remained open and accessible to visitors.[585] This arrangement is analogous in many ways to the "autel" area in front of Tumulus B at Karalar, and it is possible that the curved stone krepis wall discovered by Arık similarly functioned as a support for the tumulus mound; thus, the "anta" walls may have remained open and visible to visitors, explaining the placement of the inscription on the north "anta" wall and perhaps the tropaion positioned nearby. Furthermore, Dimitrova argues that the presence of clay roof tiles in the "dromos" of the Shushmanets tumulus indicates that that section was not covered by tumulus fill, and the tegula found in the "autel" area of Tumulus C suggest something similar. Finds from the Shushmanets tumulus date its construction to the second half of the fourth century BCE, although aspects such as the multiple layers of plaster, later extension of the "dromos" walls, and worn threshold of the tholos tomb chamber attest to a long period of access to the burial chamber.[586] The Galatians likely imported ideas and techniques of funerary architecture from Thrace, and it is possible that the type of construction seen in the "dromos" of the Shushmanets tomb was visible to the Galatians as they passed through Thrace before crossing into Anatolia in the early third century BCE.[587] Additionally, the monumental tumulus and terraced funerary complex of the Kommagenian king Antiochos I at Nemrut Dağı dates to the decades before Deiotaros II's death, and the Galatian prince may have been inspired by the ostentatious Anatolian precedent as well (Fig. 12).[588]

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[585] Ibid.

[586] Ibid., 139-40. It is not known when the tomb was finally closed.

[587] For other examples of architecturalized open areas in front of Thracian tumular tombs, see Stoyanova, "Tomb Architecture," 166.

[588] T. Goell, H. G. Bachmann, and D. H. Sanders, *Nemrud Dağı: The Hierothesion of Antiochus I of Commagene* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1996).

The Inscription

The inscription found in the "autel" area of Tumulus B is of paramount importance for an analysis of this funerary complex (see p. 193 and Fig. 75). It securely attributes the monument to a historical person and his specific date of death; furthermore, it allows for analysis of a monument that can definitively be identified as belonging to an ethnic Galatian. The inscription, which was most likely attached to an exterior column with clamps, states that the tomb belonged to Deiotaros II (d. 42 BCE), the son of and co-ruler with the Tolistobogian tetrarch Deiotaros I.[589] Although little is known about the occupant of the tomb, Deiotaros II Philopator, his father, Deiotaros I Philoromaios, is known from several literary sources, the most notorious of which is Cicero's *Pro Rege Deiotaro*, in which he defended Deiotaros I against Julius Caesar's accusations that the Galatian tetrarch tried to murder Caesar when Caesar stayed at Deiotaros' residence during his journey from Zela to Bithynia in 47 BCE. Deiotaros I was heavily embroiled in Roman politics, providing the Romans with an important ally in Asia Minor during the Mithridatic Wars.[590] Pompey rewarded his loyalty with large sections of Pontic territory as well as the kingship, after which Deiotaros assumed the epithet "Philoromaios," eventually being recognized by the Roman senate as *rex Armeniae minoris* as well.[591] By 51 BCE, the Senate had granted his son, Deiotaros II, the royal title as a reward for the king's service against the Parthians, and the loyalty of both father and son was praised by Cicero during his consulship of

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[589] See Coupry, "Les tumuli de Karalar et la sépulture du Roi Déiotaros II," 131-51.

[590] Plut. *De mul. vir.* 259; App. *Mith*. 46.178

[591] Çoskun, "Deiotaros of Galatia," 1963-1964.

Cilicia.[592] The use of the title *basileus* in Deiotaros II's funerary inscription indicates that they

ruled jointly from that time until the latter's death.

In Galatia, Deiotaros battled with his son-in-law Brogitarus, tetrarch of the Trokmi, over

control of Trokmian territory, eventually assuming the Trokmian realm after Brogitarus' death.[593]

He continued to struggle over territorial claims in Asia Minor, having been stripped of Armenia

Minor by Julius Caesar (possibly as punishment for his support of Pompey during the civil war),

although he recovered the territory after Caesar's death in 44 BCE.[594] Deiotaros I and II were

both dragged into the subsequent Roman civil war involving the triumvirs: although Deiotaros II

died in the first battle at Philippi in 42 BCE, Deiotaros I ended victoriously on the side of Marc

Antony and Octavian after the second battle.[595] After his death ca. 41-40 BCE, he was succeeded

by Amyntas, tetrarch of the Tektosagians.[596]

The inscription accompanying Deiotaros II's tomb contains several important cultural

signifiers. The inscription is written in Greek, and the Galatian royal court's affinity for

Hellenistic culture is known from an honorific statue of Deiotaros I erected in Athens as well as

his erudition in Greek poetry and literature.[597] The Galatian king's political involvement in Rome

is well attested, and the use of the term *basileus* for both kings as well as Deiotaros I's epithet

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[592] Ibid.; Cic. *Att*. 5.17.3, *Fam*. 15.1.5

[593] Cic. *Har. resp.* 29

[594] Çoskun, "Deiotaros of Galatia," 1963-1964. Deiotaros recovered the territory after giving payment to Marc Antony (Cic. *Att*. 14.21.1, *Phil*. 2.95).

[595] Çoskun, "Deiotaros of Galatia," 1963-1964; App. *BCiv*. 4.88.373; Cass. Dio 47.48.2

[596] Strabo 12.5.1

[597] *IG* II² 3429; Cic. *Deiot*. 25; Varro, *rust*. 1.1.10 (Diogenes of Bithynia presented an abridgment of several books on agriculture to Deiotaros I); Strobel, "The Galatians in the Roman Empire," 137 and n. 131.

"Philoromaios" allude to official Roman recognition of the family's loyalty to the Republic.[598]

Cicero's *Pro Rege Deiotaro* is rife with allusions to friendship (*amicitiae*) in the service of political ambition, and he refers specifically to Deiotaros I as *amicissimum nostrae rei publicae*.[599] The inscription, therefore, promotes the Galatian king's involvement with larger Greek and Roman political and cultural structures, while simultaneously referencing the royal family's claims over Galatian tribal territory. Furthermore, Deiotaros II's use of the term tetrarch invokes a separate, inherited authority that was unique to the Galatian tribes.[600] His use of both *basileus* and tetrarch indicates his appeal to different audiences; first to a wider audience who understood the international political and cultural prestige of those given the royal title by Rome, and second, to a domestic, ethnically-linked audience who recognized the genealogically conferred, territorially inscribed authority of their traditional sovereigns.

The Tropaion

The sculptural remains found in the vicinity of Tumulus B and its "autel" area included the unmistakable trappings of a military trophy, or tropaion: a marble sculpted tree trunk, warrior bust with tunic and armor, and decorated shield (Fig. 76).[601] Tropaia first appear as a symbol of military victory in Greece in the second quarter of the fifth century BCE, where there is a reference to one in Aischylos' *Seven Against Thebes* (945-954), and a depiction of Nike

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[598] For a brief discussion of the epithet "Philoromaios," see D. Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King: The Character of the Client Kingship* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1984), 106-7.

[599] Cic. *Deiot*. 3. For a discussion of *amicitiae* and political ambition in the context of the *Pro Rege Deiotaro*, see A. Coşkun, "*Amicitiae* und politische Ambitionen im Kontext der *causa Deiotariana* (45 v.Chr.)," in *Roms auswärtige Freunde in der späten Republik und im frühen Prinzipat*, ed. A. Coşkun (Gottingen: Duehrkohp & Radicke, 2005), 127-54.

[600] Strobel, "The Galatians in the Roman Empire," 119.

[601] Arık, "Karalar Hafriyati," 130, pl. 12, fig. 28-30.

constructing one on an Attic red-figure pelike that dates to ca. 460 BCE.[602] In its more general

form, the tropaion consisted of a wooden trunk (in the form of either a tree trunk, stump, or

wooden post) on which the arms and armor of the defeated were hung, construed as a type of

military mannequin.[603] Originally, the tropaion was a temporary structure, erected at the *trope*,

the physical turning point of the battle at which the enemy was forced to flee.[604] In these cases,

the significance of the monument hinged on the immediacy with which it could be constructed; it

signified defeat and demonstrated control over the battlefield. Thus, in its earliest usage, it

represented the physical territorial control offered by a military event. Because part of the

significance of the tropaion was linked to physical proximity to the battlefield, it has been

suggested that a particular social value was associated with the construction of a tropaion in

which "victory depend[ed] on possession of a plot of ground and not in the extermination of the

opposing force."[605] This social value is evident as early as Thucydides, who explains the

Milesians' dismantling of an Athenian tropaion because the Athenians no longer had control of

the land on which the tropaion was placed.[606]

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[602] M. Trundle, "Commemorating Victory in Classical Greece: Why Greek *Tropaia*?" in *Rituals of Triumph in the Mediterranean World*, ed. A. Spalinger and J. Armstrong (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 127. For the *pelike*, see F. Lissarrague, "The Early Greek Trophy: The Iconographic Tradition of Time and Space," in *Patterns of the Past: Epitēdeumata in the Greek Tradition*, ed. A. Moreno and R. Thomas (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 59, fig. 3.1 (Boston 20.187). For a comprehensive review of the evidence for battlefield tropaia, see W. K. Pritchett, *The Greek State at War*, vol. 2 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), 246-75.

[603] Diod. 13.24.5; Trundle, "Commemorating Victory in Classical Greece," 124-25. The monuments were often anthropomorphic, but some evidence exists of a tumulus- or cairn-type of victory trophy, in which mounds of stones were piled to mark a victory: Xenophon, *Anabasis*, 4.7.25; Pausanias 3.2.6.

[604] Trundle, "Commemorating Victory in Classical Greece," 126 discusses the ancient sources that enumerate the etymological connection between *trope* and tropaion.

[605] M. Sage, *Warfare in Ancient Greece: A Sourcebook* (London: Routledge, 1996), 100.

[606] Thuc. 8.24 (οὐ ... κράτους τῆς γῆς). Trundle, "Commemorating Victory in Classical Greece," 131-32; Pritchett, *The Greek State at War* 2, 259-60.

Eventually, a second type of tropaion emerged in the form of a permanent memorial constructed on either the battlefield or in a city or sanctuary belonging to the victor.[607] These permanent memorials retained the iconographic components of the wooden trunk and the armor of the defeated enemy, but translated the iconography into a more durable medium of stone or metal.[608] Hölscher has argued that the manifestation of permanent tropaia corresponds to a shift in their ideological function, and that while ephemeral wooden tropaia reflected temporary military gains (i.e., a "momentary factual event"), the permanent tropaia reified an enduring, "long-term structural concept of political power."[609] Despite the shift in medium and ideology of the tropaion, its function as a monument marking a specific *place* seems to have remained constant.[610] The Romans utilized tropaia during their expansionist military campaigns in the late second century BCE, which, according to Hölscher, symbolically facilitated the transition from Roman military conquest to actualized political control.[611] After the defeat of the Arverni and Allobrigi in 121 BCE, the Roman generals Cnaeus Domitius Ahenobarbus and Quintus Fabius Maximus placed a tropaion on the battlefield alongside temples dedicated to Mars and

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[607] Trundle, "Commemorating Victory in Classical Greece," 125; K. Woelcke, "Beiträge zur Geschichte des Tropaions," *BJb* 120 (1911): 127-35. For the ephemeral nature and sacred associations of tropaia related to their iconography, see Lissarrague, "The Early Greek Trophy," 57-64. The cultic dimension of these monuments is also expressed in G. Charles-Picard, *Les trophées romains: contribution à l'histoire de la religion et de l'art triomphal de Rome* (Paris: de Boccard, 1957), although this interpretation is not universally accepted; see the discussion in Trundle, "Commemorating Victory in Classical Greece," 133-36, and n. 35.

[608] Paus. 5.27.11, 8.10.15; Strabo 4.1.11

[609] T. Hölscher, "The Transformation of Victory into Power: From Event to Political Structure," in *Representations of War in Ancient Rome*, ed. S. Dillon and K. E. Welch (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 27.

[610] A notable exception to this is Pausanias' description of a tropaion at the northern edge of the Athenian Agora, between the statue of Hermes Agoraios and the Stoa Poikile. Pausanias describes a gateway there with a tropaion that celebrated the victory of the Athenians against Pleistarchos, a brother of Kassander, in ca. 304 BCE (Paus. 1.15.1). The place of combat was not in the Agora itself, but the location of its associated tropaion was chosen for commemorative purposes, and memorialized the victory for Athenian citizens rather than the enemy (Hölscher, "The Transformation of Victory into Power," 31 and n. 9).

[611] Hölscher, "The Transformation of Victory into Power," 32.

Hercules.[612] In 86 BCE, Sulla erected two tropaia marking the place of victory against Mithridates VI, one on the plain where the armies fought and the other on Mount Thourion, where Sulla's forces encircled a detachment of Mithridates.[613]

The tropaion associated with Tumulus B at Karalar was constructed of marble, indicating that Deiotaros II intended for an enduring symbol of his military and political authority to stand near the entrance to his tomb. The selection of a funeral site for the display of a tropaion is somewhat unusual given its predominantly military connotations, but casting it as a monument to political and territorial control may clarify its context there. As noted above, Karalar is located in the southeast of Tolistobogian territory, near the border with what had traditionally been Tektosagian territory. The precise location of this border between the two Galatian tribes is unknown, but Ancyra was one of the strongholds of the Tektosages, and the city center lies only about 45 kilometers southeast otosagian influence likely extended some distance farther than the limits of Ancyra, and the existence of a major Tolistobogian fortress at nearby Karalar must have rendered the area in between a highly contested territory, especially following Deiotaros I's consolidation of the Galatian tetrarchic power under his sole authority.[614] Presumably, the establishment of a tropaion near the territorial exchange between the two tribes signified Tolistobogian political control over the region. Furthermore, Deiotaros I is known to have struggled with his son-in-law, Brogitarus, over control of Trokmian territory to the east, eventually assuming Brogitarus' realm after his death.[615] While not located near Trokmian

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[612] Ibid.

[613] Ibid., 32-33, and n. 14 (Plutarch, *Sulla*, 19.9-10 and Paus. 9.40.7). Sulla further enshrined the tropaia on his coin issues, extending the physical reach of his power to all territories in which his coins were disseminated.

[614] Strabo 12.5.1

[615] Çoskun, "Deiotaros of Galatia," 1963-64; Cic. *Har. resp.* 29

territory, the tropaion may still have carried connotations related to the unification of Galatian power under a single head. Such "landscape trophies" demarcating territorial victories were erected contemporaneously by Roman authorities: for example, Julius Caesar set up a trophy at Zela commemorating his victory against Pharnakes II, which "overshadowed and in a sense overthrew" the nearby trophy of Mithridates VI.[616] The future emperor Augustus later set up a victory monument (although not a tropaion in a strict sense) at Actium/Nikopolis, marking the divide between east and west where he had preserved Roman unity, and later, the Roman senate dedicated a trophy to him at La Turbie with an inscription listing the local tribes that he had conquered.[617] Hölscher describes the character of these monuments as demonstrating "a universal and almost abstract imperialism," and referring to "a general idea of the *orbis Romanus*;"[618] ideas that accord with the consolidation and unification of the Galatian tribes under Deiotaros I. The effect of the tropaion might have been more pronounced with it situated in the shadow of a tumulus mound, which could also hold associations of territorial demarcation and control (see Chapter Three). It is possible that Deiotaros II did plan for a tropaion to commemorate a victorious battle in which he played a leading role, but we know too little about his princely career to associate a specific event. While the authoritarian gains were accomplished by his father, Deiotaros I, the younger Deiotaros likely sought to authenticate his joint rule with his father in the context of the elder's power, which is made explicit in the reference to his royal lineage in the inscription accompanying the tomb. Additionally, the context of the tropaion,

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[616] Hölscher, "The Transformation of Victory into Power," 33; Cassius Dio 42.48.2: καὶ εἶδεν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐνίκησε. καὶ τά τε λάφυρα πάντα, καίτοι πλεῖστα γενόμενα, τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐδωρήσατο, καὶ τρόπαιον, ἐπειδήπερ ὁ Μιθριδάτης ἀπὸ τοῦ Τριαρίου ἐνταῦθά που ἐγηγέρκει, ἀντανέστησε: καθελεῖν μὲν γὰρ τὸ τοῦ βαρβάρου οὐκ ἐτόλμησεν ὡς καὶ τοῖς ἐμπολεμίοις θεοῖς ἱερωμένον, τῇ δὲ δὴ τοῦ ἰδίου παραστάσει καὶ ἐκεῖνο συνεσκίασε καὶ τρόπον τινὰ καὶ κατέστρεψε. Translation: Cassius Dio, *Roman History* vol. IV, translated by E. Cary (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1916).

[617] Hölscher, "The Transformation of Victory into Power," 33.

[618] Ibid.

constructed in a permanent medium, contained within a setting that included an altar and funerary implements, seems generally ideological and abstract in purpose.

Viewing Deiotaros II's Tomb

Although the size of Tumuli B and C has likely diminished significantly since their construction, they are still visible from the northbound highway from Ankara that bypasses the modern village. Without knowledge of the original height of the mounds, it is impossible to determine the extent to which they were visible throughout the surrounding territory, but they likely functioned as prominent markers visible from a significant distance. They are visible from the fortress today, as they would have been in the late first century BCE, and even general viewers to the site or to the royal fortified residence would have recognized the allusions to the centuries-old tumulus tradition in southeastern Europe and Anatolia. The Galatians may have initially occupied the territory as immigrants, but the adoption of a long-standing local form of elite burial signifies their fluency in the visual dialogue of local royals and elites in Thrace and Anatolia, perhaps suppressing their "foreign" status in Central Anatolia. The chamber tomb itself would have been physically and visually inaccessible once Deiotaros II was interred, and likely represented a locally-known practical solution to the need to protect the tomb from collapsing under the weight of the earthen mound above. Depending on the scale of the columns and architectural elements defining the "autel" area, the Greek-derived architectural forms might have been visible to an outsider viewer as well, signifying the Galatian monarchs' engagement with the Hellenistic culture, which Deiotaros I was already known to have propagated.

A privileged viewer, for example, a family member or other close associate who participated in the funerary rituals of the "autel" area, would have seen the tropaion and read the

inscription that celebrated Deiotaros and his father as *basileus*, tetrarch, and *philoromaios*. The tropaion represented in symbolic form the military successes of Deiotaros II's family and the unification of Galatian territory under his father's throne, a sentiment that is echoed in the language of the inscription as the two kings are referred to as "tetrarchs" of specific Galatian tribes. Depending on placement, it is possible that the tropaion would have been visible from the fortress at Asarkaya, and it is tempting to imagine other Galatian dignitaries tacitly acknowledging the supremacy of Deiotaros II's reign in viewing the tropaion from the royal fortress. Only the most privileged viewers would have been able to see the inscription (indeed, the elite few who saw it may have also constituted an exclusive group that could actually read it), which contained a complex arrangement of references to Greek culture, Roman political prestige, and indigenous Galatian sovereignty. Thus, the claims of elite social distinction couched in local Anatolian and Hellenistic visual forms were aimed at the broadest audience, while more subtle differences in status within the Roman and Galatian political spheres were reserved for a more privileged, intimate audience.

Excursus: A "Galatian" Architectural Style in Tumulus C?

Adjacent to Tumulus B on its northwest side was another mound, Tumulus C (Cat. II.3), which closely resembled Tumulus B in relative size of the tumulus mound and the presence of a similarly architecturalized "autel" space on the north side of the mound (Figs. 77-79). The chamber tomb beneath Tumulus C, however, was vaulted with a relatively unusual technique known as a "lantern roof," in which layers of stone are superimposed on top of one another, gradually decreasing in size until a small capstone closes the top. The discovery of this technique

in Tumulus C has led to the appellation of the lantern roof as a "Galatian" vault.[619] By contextualizing the geographical and chronological spread of the lantern roof, however, I argue below that the lantern roof has no demonstrable connection to the Galatians, and approaching this type of construction as a kind of ethnic signifier or associating it with a specific ethnic identity is ultimately misguided.

Soon after making initial cuttings Arık and his team encountered sculpted construction stones and a constructed "autel" area similar to that found in front of Tumulus B.[620] The area had a width between 2.60-2.70m and a length of 5.70m. Parts of the orthostates and stylobate were visible, as well as a retaining wall composed of approximately one-meter long stones. A stone decorated with molding, a piece of the pedestal of a column, numerous terra-sigillata pieces, marble pieces, and iron pieces were found in this area. This section was paved, and roofing tiles (tegula) indicated that it had been covered. According to Arık, these "autel" areas in both Tumuli B and C were probably left uncovered to divert potential robbers from the main tombs, which were not located in the center of the mound.

Towards the center of the tomb, small pieces of gold were found that were similar to the garland pieces discovered in Tumulus A. Closer to the antechamber, thick mud layer was discovered as well as a pit that contained large and small pottery pieces belonging to a large amphora, possibly used as a votive offering. The excavators deepened the cutting and, after finding more stones, bricks, and decomposed wood pieces, the entrance to the antechamber

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[619] The specific roofing technique is described as "Galatian" in H. T. Bossert, *Altanatolien. Kunst und Handwerk in Kleinasien von den Anfängen bis zum völligen Aufgehen in der griechischen Kultur* (Berlin: E. Wasmuth, 1942), 86-87, 296, figs. 1123-26; Mellink, "Archaeology in Asia Minor," 173; Ginouvès and Guimier-Sorbets, "Voûte 'galate' et charpente macédonienne," 311-21; M.-C. Hellmann, *L'Architecture grecque* I, 268-69. For a brief discussion of the term and its potentially inappropriate ethnic association, see Theodossiev, "The Lantern-Roofed Tombs in Thrace and Anatolia," 602-3.

[620] My description of Tumulus C is based largely on the excavation report of Arık, "Karalar Hafriyati," 134-46.

appeared (remarkably, an emerald left behind by ancient tomb robbers was discovered here). Arık remarks that from the outside, the antechamber looked like a gradual, corbelled dome. Animal bones, handles, and belt buckles were discovered at the main entrance door, approximately fifteen meters away from the "autel" area. Two parallel stones situated 2.10m from one another formed the end of a dromos, which faced eastward along with the entrance door. Votive vases were found near the entrance to the chamber.

The exterior of the antechamber consisted of diagonally aligned cut stones filled in with pebbles and mortar, and when Arık opened the rear of the chamber, a second dome appeared, larger, and constructed in the same manner (Fig. 80). A kind of orthostate had been formed over the interior walls, and was topped by a series of thick blocks of varying shapes placed over the corners, gradually decreasing in size towards the top, until a capstone could be fitted over the small opening. Mortar was placed between the blocks. This kind of structure is referred to as a "lantern roof," which appeared in western Anatolia as early as the sixth century BCE and flourished in Thrace and northwestern Anatolia during the fourth and third centuries BCE. In all other known instances of the technique, however, the layers, or "frames" superimposed on one another are square or rectangular in shape; the vault in Tumulus C seen here is highly irregular, using a combination of rectangles, octagons, and pentagons to achieve the desired effect.

In addition to the enhanced visual effect of the two lantern vaults in Tumulus C, the door between the two chambers was elaborately contrived, closed by a double-winged door that moved on hinges. The larger chamber measured 4.40 x 3.20m, and although the finds cannot conclusively prove it, Arık assumed that the smaller front chamber served as a vestibule to the main burial chamber, based on the visual significance given to the door in the middle. At least four people had been buried in the larger chamber, but the bones were scattered and it was

difficult to determine their placement. Although the tomb had been robbed, some pieces of gold and beaded ornament remained, one of them studded with a ruby. Pieces of iron armor and the bottom of a leather shoe were also discovered along with numerous fragments of decomposed wood and bronze or copper nails. Small pottery vessels of pink clay rounded out the finds for Tumulus C.

The earliest known example of a lantern-roofed burial chamber in Anatolia is the Belevi tumulus, approximately 12 kilometers northeast of Ephesos, and in use from at least the sixth century BCE (Fig. 81; Cat. V.5).[621] A number of scholars have speculated that the technique of lantern roofing may have first appeared in Thrace and passed to Anatolia by way of the Galatians in the early third century BCE, but the fact that the Belevi tumulus precedes any of the known examples in Thrace negates this argument.[622] This theory may have also arisen from the interest in lantern-roofed structures that arose after the excavation of Karalar Tumulus C, resulting in the designation of the technique as "*Galatisches Kuppelgrab*," "a 'Galatian' corbeled roof system," and "*voûte 'galate'*."[623] The technique, however, cannot appropriately be called "Galatian" since it appears only in two relatively late examples from Galatia (most of the known Anatolian examples come from the fourth and third centuries in northwest Anatolia), although the prevalence of the term has likely fueled the theory that the Galatians were the primary agents in the transmission of the form throughout Anatolia. It should be recognized, however, that Karalar

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[621] The most recent excavation report is Kasper, "Der Tumulus von Belevi," 387-98. See also Kasper's earlier publications on the site: "Belevi-Grabtumulus," *ÖJh* 47 (1966): 12-16; "Der Tumulus von Belevi," *AA* (1975): 223-32; "Der Tumulus von Belevi (Grabungsbericht)," *ÖJh* 51 (1976-1977): 129-80.

[622] Theodossiev, "The Lantern-Roofed Tombs in Thrace and Anatolia," 603. Scholars who have argued for a Thracian origin include: Young, "The Campaign of 1955 at Gordion," 252; E. Schneider Equini, *La necropoli di Hierapolis di Frigia: contributi allo studio dell'architettura funeraria di età romana in Asia Minore* (Rome: Accademia Nazionale Lincei, 1972), 132; Fedak, *Monumental Tombs of the Hellenistic Age*, 171.

[623] Theodossiev, "The Lantern-Roofed Tombs in Thrace and Anatolia," 602-3. The ethnic designation is deployed by Bossert, *Altanatolien.* 86-87, 296, figs. 1123-26; Mellink, "Archaeology in Asia Minor," 173; Ginouvès and Guimier-Sorbets, "Voûte 'galate' et charpente macédonienne," 311-21; Hellmann, *L'Architecture grecque* I, 268-69.

C is a very strange interpretation of the so-called "lantern roof" technique, especially when the plan of the irregular vault is compared to the other examples, each of which utilize an extremely regular and roughly square plan for each "frame" (Fig. 82). At Karalar, the "frames" are highly irregular and are not set exactly diagonal to one another, giving the appearance of a mish-mash of irregularly-shaped frames seemingly haphazardly stacked on top of one another. A number of explanations for this arrangement is possible. Perhaps the occupant died suddenly and the builders prioritized expeditious construction; perhaps the occupant desired an irregular vault that more closely resembled the aesthetic effect of a corbelled dome; or, perhaps, the easy and too-often ubiquitous description of provincial builders who did not properly understand the construction technique is applicable here. Fedak defines a "lantern" or "diagonal" roof as one that utilizes "a series of superimposed 'frames' of more or less square shape," and if his definition is taken to the letter, Karalar C cannot even be included among the examples. Despite its unusual arrangement, however, Karalar C does seem to belong to this group, and it does achieve the same general effect of "regular" lantern roofing, which in many ways approximates corbelling. Whatever the architectural definition may be, however, the fact that only two examples of the technique occur in Galatian territory, one in a tenuously dated tumulus at Gordion that cannot definitely be identified as a Galatian tomb, and the other the highly unusual arrangement within Karalar Tumulus C, hardly constitutes legitimate evidence to refer to the form as a "Galatian" vault.

The Belevi tumulus stands at the top of a hill on the northern slope of the mountains, commanding a wide view of the valley below. The tumulus blends in well enough with the surrounding landscape, but the stone krepis surrounding its base and the manufactured shape of its peak alert passersby to the existence of a constructed monument above the road. Finds from

the tomb suggest that it was in continued use from the Archaic period (sixth century BCE) to at least the beginning of the Hellenistic period, and its visual prominence in the topography would probably have been accentuated by a continuous series of offerings, dedications, and visitations garnering attention from travelers to and from Ephesos. The location was so significant, in fact, that the patron of the Belevi Mausoleion constructed an enormous stone-built tomb in its shadow on a smaller hill to the east.[624] On the other side of the valley lie the quarries of the Archaic temple of Artemis and it has been suggested in Sándor Kasper's excavation report (as well as in the tourist literature at Ephesos) that the tomb functioned as a heroon to the legendary local shepherd, Pixodorus, who discovered the quarries for the Artemision.[625] A more recent analysis associates the structure with a sixth-century pro-Persian tyrant of Ephesos.[626]

The tumulus is surrounded by a circular krepis 65.4m in diameter with a radius of 32.7m. These measurements indicate the likelihood that the krepis was constructed according to a foot unit of 32.7cm, producing a radius of exactly one hundred feet.[627] Because the tumulus mound is situated on a mountain ridge, it has a roughly elliptical shape and is reinforced with five

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[624] Praschniker, et al., *Das Mausoleum von Belevi*.

[625] Kasper, "Der Tumulus von Belevi," 398. Vitruvius testifies to the existence of a heroon for the shepherd and monthly grave offerings that were made there: " ... and to this day the chief magistrate goes out to that very spot [where Pixodorus discovered the marble quarries] and offers sacrifice to him [Pixodorus], and if he does not, he is punished." (" ... hodieque quotmensibus magistratus in eum locum proficiscitur et ei sacrificium facit, et si non fecerit, poena tenetur") (10.2.15). Vitruvius. *Vitruvius: The Ten Books on Architecture*, translated by M. H. Morgan (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1914).

[626] A. Eckert, "Ein Grab für Könige und Bürger: Studien zum monumentalen Tumulusgrab als Mittel der Selbstdarstellung mittelmeerischer Eliten vom 8. bis zum 6. Jahrhundert v.Chr," Ph.D. diss.: University of Hamburg, 1998.

[627] Kasper, "Der Tumulus von Belevi," 388, n. 4. It is possible, as suggested by Kasper, that the radius referenced some sort of hekatompedon concept that appears sporadically during the Archaic period. The most famous potential "hekatompedon" is the "H"-temple on the Archaic Athenian Acropolis: W. B. Dinsmoor, "The Hekatompedon on the Athenian Acropolis," *AJA* 51, no. 2 (1947): 109-51. The German excavations at Samos, furthermore, have yielded evidence for what may have been a series of hekatompedons in the sanctuary of Hera: H. Walter, *Das Heraion von Samos: Ursprung und Wandel eines griechischen Heiligtums* (Munich: R. Piper, 1976).

additional layers of stone on the north (descending) side, which were added in the Late Classical or Hellenistic period.[628]

From the south side of the hill, a dromos cut from the bedrock leads north towards the main burial chamber, where a system of clay pipes indicated a ritual of libation pouring.[629] The dromos was closed with a single block, and the burial chamber was divided into two rooms. The front room was larger, approximately square in shape, and was used for ceremonial or symbolic purposes. The second room, which was rectangular in shape and accessed through a small opening in the center of the wall 0.57m above the floor, constituted the actual burial chamber. As with the dromos, both rooms were cut from the bedrock and supplemented with cut masonry as needed.[630] The burial chamber was outfitted with a Lydian-style kline as well as other Lydian features, such as the krepis wall and a possible crowning monument; perhaps not surprising considering its prestigious position along the major route between Sardis and Ephesos.[631]

The larger ceremonial room was covered by a relatively simple, yet unmistakable "lantern"-roofing technique. It is comprised of only two frames: large squares set diagonally on top of the other, which, at the apex, left a smaller, open square that was covered with three large, flat stones interlocked with one another. Just below the lantern roof is a crowning Ionic kymation.[632] Of the known examples of lantern roofing, the Belevi antechamber constitutes the simplest manifestation with only two frames; by contrast, the lantern roof at Karalar contains

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[628] Ibid., 388.

[629] Ibid., 389.

[630] Ibid., 389, 393. Kasper notes that the block closing off the burial chamber would have been inserted from above, and therefore only possible when the lintel was not yet installed. Thus, either the corpse was interred during construction, or the monument is actually a cenotaph. See p. 393, n. 15, 395.

[631] Ibid., 395. Baughan, *Couched in Death*, 8, 225, cat. 63.

[632] Kasper, "Der Tumulus von Belevi," 392-93.

seven complex, irregular frames surmounted by a capstone. The ceiling of the smaller burial chamber at Belevi is a barrel vault running in a north-south direction secured with bronze clamps at the top.[633]

In the rubble before the entrance to the dromos a number of ritual offerings were found, including a variety of animal bones and ceramic wares. The ceramics date from the mid-sixth century BCE to the end of the fourth century BCE, Kasper interprets the continuity of offerings as a sign that a community hero was worshiped at the site, rather than a private persona.[634] The complex apparently remained open for centuries, prompting a long history of worship and offerings at the site consonant with the identity of a local hero. Furthermore, the extended period during which the monument was open indicates that it was well known and increases the probability that it would be emulated in later constructions. If the Belevi tumulus is indeed one of the earliest examples of the lantern-roof technique in Anatolia and remained visible, hosting several centuries of worshipers, it may have inspired the spread of lantern-roofed constructions in other parts of Anatolia. Why and how this form came to western Anatolia at such an early date remains unknown, but the Belevi tumulus provides clear evidence that the form existed in Anatolia by the sixth century BCE and could have influenced other monumental tombs in the region well before the advent of the Galatian tribes during the third century BCE.

After the early example of the Belevi tumulus, the largest proliferation of the lantern-roofed burial chamber occurs under tumuli in Thrace and northwestern Anatolia, including parts of Bithynia and Mysia, during the fourth and early third centuries BCE. In Thrace, most of the roofed chamber tombs discovered within tumuli are corbelled in a traditional "beehive" fashion

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[633] Ibid. The barrel vault in this case is not a true barrel vault (there are not known until the fourth century BCE in Macedonia), but depends on projecting layers in a technique that resembles corbelling.

[634] Ibid., 395.

that in many ways resembles Classical tholoi. It is important in this context to distinguish

between a "corbelled" roof and a "lantern" roof; although both had a similar structural and visual

effect of laying successive courses of stone that gradually decreased the volume of the ceiling,

corbelled domes commonly (and more easily) cover round spaces, with special modifications for

their covering of square or rectangular spaces, whereas lantern roofs more naturally

accommodate the space above a rectangular chamber.[635] A late-fourth century BCE Thracian

tomb at Kurtkale near Mezek (or Valcipol, Bulgaria), situated in the eastern part of a large

tumulus, distinguishes between these two types of "corbelling" by using both: the lantern roof

covers the antechamber of the tomb and is comprised of five superimposed rectangular levels

(Fig. 36; Cat. IV.2).[636] The burial chamber itself, conversely, was roofed using a standard

Thracian "beehive" corbelling technique, which Mansel refers to as a "false" dome, with a

diameter of 3.25m and a height of 3.45m.[637] A second, roughly contemporary tomb was

discovered in the Zhaba Mogila tumulus near Strelcha (Bulgaria) (Cat. IV.3).[638] The tumulus was

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[635] For example, the Royal Kourgan near Pantikapaion (Kerch) contains a square burial chamber roofed by a corbelled dome. Modifications were made to the corners of each stone layer of the roof, so that additional, slightly overlapping courses were set diagonally, eventually overlapping so far that they formed a circle on which the remaining space could be corbelled inward in a more regular fashion. J. Durm, "Die Kuppelgräber von Pantikapaion," *ÖJh* 10 (1907): 230-42; Fedak, *Monumental Tombs of the Hellenistic Age*, 169.

[636] Ginouvès and Guimier-Sorbets, "Voûte 'galate' et charpente macédonienne," 316, fig. 1f, 2a. See also B. Filov, "Die Kuppelgräber von Mezek," *BIABulg* 11 (1937): 79-85 (in Bulgarian, summary p. 114); Young, "The Campaign of 1955 at Gordion," 252; M. Cicikova, "Le tombe monumentali tracie," in *Traci, Arte e cultura nelle terre di Bulgaria dalle origini alla tarda romanità* (Milan: Art World Media, 1989), 50; Theodossiev, "The Lantern-Roofed Tombs in Thrace and Anatolia," 603. Filov, "Kupolnite grobnitsi pri Mezek," 5-7, 79-83, 91; Mansel, *Trakya-Kırklareli kubbeli mezarları*, 39-41; Mansel, "Gemlik Tümülüs Mezarı," 188; Orlandos, *Les matériaux de construction et la technique architecturale des anciens Grecs*, 190, 210; Fedak, *Monumental Tombs of the Hellenistic Age*, 171; Ginouvès and Guimier-Sorbets, "Voûte 'galate' et charpente macédonienne," 316; Archibald, *The Odrysian Kingdom of Thrace*, 283, 339-40; Rousseva, *Trakiiska grobnichna arhitektura v bulgarskite zemi prez V-III v.pr.n.e.*, 149-50, no. 47; Theodossiev, "The Lantern-Roofed Tombs in Thrace and Anatolia," 603.

[637] Ginouvès and Guimier-Sorbets, "Voûte 'galate' et charpente macédonienne," 316. See also B. Filov, "The Bee-hive Tombs of Mezek," 300-15; Mansel, *Trakya-Kırklareli kubbeli mezarları ve sahte kubbe ve kemer problemi*, 39, figs. 6-7. This tendency to provide the construction with a sockel and profile suggested to Filov that the Kurtkale tomb was slightly later than Maltepe and dated to the second half of the fourth century BCE.

[638] Theodossiev, "The Lantern-Roofed Tombs in Thrace and Anatolia," 603.

approximately twenty meters high and about eighty or ninety meters in diameter, with the burial

chamber located in the southeastern edge of the mound.[639] It closely resembles the tomb at

Kurtkale with its facade and combination of the lantern-roofed antechamber with a beehive

tholos burial chamber, and is considered to be roughly contemporary with the Kurtkale tomb.[640]

Finally, a third contemporaneous Thracian funerary monument with lantern roofing was

identified beneath a tumulus in Golemiya Aigar near Plovdiv (ancient Philippopolis) (Cat. IV.4).

The burial chamber near Plovdiv, however, is distinct from the other Thracian examples in

several aspects. The horizontal layers of blocks that comprise the facade are longer at the base

and shorter at the top, giving the whole facade a gentle upward taper, and the lintel over the

doorframe corresponds to the entire width of the burial chamber.[641] The burial chamber, in this

case, was adorned with the lantern roof rather than the antechamber.[642] Silver coins from the

time of Philip Arrhidaios and pottery sherds date the tomb to the last decades of the fourth

century BCE or the first decades of the third century BCE.[643] Thus, it appears that the lantern-

roofing technique was known and applied in Thrace at least by the second half of the fourth

century BCE, and had undergone greater development (i.e., greater complexity in the number of

superimposed frames) since its early appearance in western Anatolia at Belevi. An interesting

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[639] Ibid.

[640] Ibid.

[641] Mansel, "Gemlik Tümülüs Mezarı," 188-89, figs. 25-26.

[642] Ibid. See also L. Botousharova and V. Kolarova, "Kupolna grobnitsa pri Plovdiv," in *Studia in memoriam Karel Škorpil*, ed. K. Miâtev and V. Mikov (Sofia: Éditions de l'Académie des Sciences de Bulgarie, 1961), 279-89, 296-97; Mansel, "Gemlik Tümülüs Mezarı," 188-89; Fedak, *Monumental Tombs of the Hellenistic Age*, 171; Ginouvès and Guimier-Sorbets, "Voûte 'galate' et charpente macédonienne," 316; Cicikova, "Le tombe monumentali tracie," 49-51; Archibald, *The Odrysian Kingdom of Thrace*, 283, 296-98, 338; Rousseva, *Trakiiska grobnichna arhitektura v bulgarskite zemi prez V-III v.pr.n.e.*, 113-16, no. 25; Theodossiev, "The Lantern-Roofed Tombs in Thrace and Anatolia," 603.

[643] Mansel, "Gemlik Tümülüs Mezarı," 189.

example utilizing the aesthetics of lantern roofing occurs in the Ostrusha tumulus near Shipka, which was likely built ca. 330-320 BCE to serve as a monumental heroon (Cat. IV.5). The burial chamber resembled a monumental sarcophagus, the ceiling of which consisted of coffers and painted decoration, and the central section imitated a lantern roof.[644] In this case, there was no structural need to cover the space with a lantern roof, but the aesthetic appeal of the architectural type must have carried some visual currency in its own right, and perhaps participated in a visual dialogue amongst elites in various parts of the Mediterranean.

A second group of tombs, relatively similar to the Thracian examples and therefore considered to be roughly contemporary, exists in the northwestern Anatolian region of Bithynia from the second half of the fourth century BCE, with some possibly later examples in the third century BCE (Tepecik/Izmit) and second-first centuries BCE (Yalacık). In the modern Turkish town of Mudanya (ancient Myrleia), on the southern shore of the Propontis, a tumulus that utilized a perfectly symmetrical lantern-roofing technique was discovered in the Alçakbayır neighborhood (Fig. 37; Cat. I.7).[645] Because of its similarity in form and technique to the Kurtkale tumulus in Thrace, the Alçakbayır tumulus was dated to the second half of the fourth

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[644] G. Kitov, "Trakiiski grobnichno-kultov kompleks v mogilata Ostrusha krai Shipka," *Problemi na Izkustvoto* 27, no. 4 (1994): 13-20; A. Barbet, G. Kitov, and J. Valeva, "Tombeau-mausolée d'Ostroucha," *ArchéologiaPar* 313 (1995): 62-66; G. Kitov, A. Barbet, and J. Valeva, "Plafond peint du tombeau de Chipka dans le tumulus Ostrucha (Bulgarie)," in *I temi figurativi nella pittura parietale antica (IV sec.a.C. - IV sec.d.C.). Atti del VI convegno intern. sulla pittura parietale antica*, ed. D. Scagliarini Corlàita, 221-24 (Imola: University Press Bologna, 1997); J. Valeva, "Tombeau mausolée du Tumulus Ostroucha près de Chipka (Bulgarie)," in *La pittura parietale in Macedonia e Magna Grecia. Atti del convegno intern. di studi in ricordo di Mario Napoli*, ed. A. Pontrandolfo (Paestum: Pandemos, 2002), 53-56.

[645] The street known as Alçakbayır in Mudanya flanks a very large hill overlooking the sea and presumably the tumulus was located in the vicinity. A visit to the neighborhood in the fall of 2014, however, did not yield any remains of the construction and much of the hillside had been covered over with modern residential structures. For the publications of the tumulus and accompanying plans, see Mansel, *Trakya-Kırklareli kubbeli mezarları*, 47-48; Mansel, "Mudanya Mezar Binası,"1-12; Mansel, "Das Grabmal von Mudanya (Bithynien)," 472-78; Fedak, *Monumental Tombs of the Hellenistic Age*, 171; Ginouvès and Guimier-Sorbets, "Voûte 'galate' et charpente macédonienne," 312; Archibald, *The Odrysian Kingdom of Thrace*, 283-84; Theodossiev, "The Lantern-Roofed Tombs in Thrace and Anatolia," 603-4.

century BCE.[646] It was entered through a flat-roofed dromos 8.82m long and constructed of polygonal masonry. The burial chamber, however, was constructed of orthogonal masonry with alternating high and low stone layers and formed a perfect square measuring 2.60m on each side.[647] Like the tomb near Plovdiv, a lantern roof covered the burial chamber and comprised five distinct layers that totaled 1.54m in height, bringing the total height of the burial chamber, including both the height of the walls and the lantern roof, to 3.70m. Because the chamber itself was designed as a perfect square, the lantern "frames" are also square, lending a precise symmetry to the overall arrangement.[648] The roofing apparatus over both the dromos and the burial chamber, therefore, was conceived as a combination of concentric and linear design,[649] an effect that was heightened by the contrast in polygonal and orthogonal masonry courses. No evidence for the type of burial was uncovered, and, as the tomb had been robbed, no grave goods were discovered and dating relies solely on the construction technique.

The accidental discovery of a tumulus in the Küçük Çukur locality to the west of Gemlik (ancient Kios) brought to light another fourth-century BCE lantern-roofed burial chamber near the shores of the Propontis (Fig. 83; Cat. I.8).[650] The initiation of construction works demolished part of the tumulus and the subsequent rescue excavation of the tomb uncovered the burial chamber in a partly ruinous state; nevertheless, the stone blocks were numbered and the tomb

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[646] Mansel, "Das Grabmal von Mudanya (Bithynien)," 478.

[647] Ibid., 472-73. The combination of polygonal and orthogonal masonry in the same construction existed in Anatolia up until the Hellenistic period.

[648] Ibid. 472-73, figs. 1-2.

[649] Ibid., 478.

[650] Fıratlı, "Brief Archaeological News," 229; Mellink, "Archaeology in Asia Minor," 173; H. Alkım, "Explorations and Excavations in Turkey, 1965 and 1966," *Anatolica* 2 (1968), 39-40; Mansel, "Gemlik Tümülüs Mezarı," 181-189; Fedak, *Monumental Tombs of the Hellenistic Age*, 171; Ginouvès and Guimier-Sorbets, "Voûte 'galate' et charpente macédonienne," 312; Archibald, *The Odrysian Kingdom of Thrace*, 283-84; Theodossiev, "The Lantern-Roofed Tombs in Thrace and Anatolia," 603-4.

was reassembled at a different location near the shore.[651] A short dromos, which was badly damaged at the time of discovery, gave access to a door and a burial chamber both constructed out of marble.[652] The burial chamber was nearly square, 1.95 x 2.07m; consequently, the four layers of frames comprising the lantern roof appear nearly square as well. As with the Mudanya tomb, no findings were reported along with the discovery, and dating of the structures is based primarily on comparison to similar structures in Bithynia and Thrace.[653] This fourth-century BCE type is also seen in inland Bithynia, closer to the border with Phrygia and Galatia, in a tumulus uncovered near Iğdir Köyü (Cat. I.9).[654] The tomb was entered through a short, wide, rectangular dromos covered by a flat roof. The burial chamber reiterated the rectangular plan of the dromos, and consequently the five layers of the lantern roof are oblong rather than square.[655]

A slightly later example can be seen in the Yalacık tumulus near Yukarı Bağdere, excavated in 1989 and located approximately twenty-five kilometers north of the Nallıhan-Eskişehir highway (Fig. 84; Cat. I.10). The tumulus is quite large, preserved to a size of 70m in diameter and 14.40m high, and contained the remnants of six later Byzantine graves in addition to the primary burial located deeper within the mound.[656] A 4.50-meter long dromos leads to a

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[651] Mellink, "Archaeology in Asia Minor," 173.

[652] Ibid, pl. 59, figs. 22-23.

[653] Ibid. See ill. 1 for a reconstruction of the lantern roof.

[654] Tokgöz, "Iğdir Tümülüs Kazısı Raporu," 151-57; M. Waelkens, "Hausähnliche Gräber in Anatolien vom 3. Jhr. v. Chr. bis in die Römerzeit," in *Palast und Hütte: Beiträge zum Bauen und Wohnen im Altertum von Archäologen, Vor- und Frühgeschichtlern: Tagungsbeiträge eines Symposiums der Alexander von Humboldt-Stiftung, Bonn-Bad Godesberg, veranstaltet vom 25.-30. November 1979 in Berlin*, ed. M. Strocka (Mainz: P. von Zabern, 1982): 431; Fedak, *Monumental Tombs of the Hellenistic Age*, 171; Ginouvès and Guimier-Sorbets, "Voûte 'galate' et charpente macédonienne," 312; Theodossiev, "The Lantern-Roofed Tombs in Thrace and Anatolia," 604.

[655] Tokgöz, "Iğdir Tümülüs Kazısı Raporu," figs. 1-4.

[656] D. Mermerci and R. Yağcı, "Yukarı Bağdere Yalacık Tümülüsü 1989 Kurtarma Kazısı [Yukarı Bağdere, Yalacık Tumulus, Rettungsgrabung 1989]," *Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi Yıllığı* (1989): 101-15; D. Mermerci and R. Yağcı, "Yukarı Bağdere Yalacık Tümülüsü 1989 Kurtarma Kazısı," *Müze Kurtarma kazıları semineri* (1990): 163-76; D. Mermerci and R. Yağcı, "Yukarı Bağdere, Yalacık Tümülüsü 1989 Kurtarma Kazısı [Rettungsgrabung 1989

square antechamber, 1.10 x 1.10m, which then gives access to a burial chamber constructed of pink andesite and square in plan, measuring 1.94 x 1.94m. The burial chamber is badly damaged, but enough of the walls and ceiling remain to discern a lantern vault covering the chamber. The tomb is tentatively dated to the second or first century BCE, based primarily on comparison to other similar structures.

In Propontic Mysia, to the west of Mudanya and Gemlik, the Közemtuğ tumulus discovered at Daskyleion illuminates similar, likely contemporary burial monuments to those found in Thrace and Bithynia (Fig. 85; Cat. V.8).[657] The rescue excavation of the tumulus, which had been looted in Hellenistic times, revealed a nine-meter-long dromos and several burnt ceremonial remains in front of the door to the burial chamber, as well as eighty-four gilded clay beads in bud, acorn, and grape shapes along with bronze parts of a necklace.[658] The burial chamber measured 3 x 3m square, constructed of carefully worked andesite masonry, and "roofed in the manner of Thracian vaulted tombs," i.e., it contained a lantern roof.[659] Marble accents were included on the door and thresholds, and a marble column supported a damaged ceiling block. The inner threshold was composed of a repurposed marble block that contained part of a Phrygian inscription, and which the excavators took as an indicator of Phrygian presence at the site.[660] It has been suggested that the tomb dates to the first half of the fourth

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am Tumulus Yalacık, Yukarı Bağdere]," in *I. Müze Kurtarma Kazıları Semineri, Ankara 19 - 20 nisan 1990 [1. Seminar über Rettungsgrabungen durch Museen, Ankara 19 - 20 April 1990]* (Ankara: Ankara Kültür Bakanlağı, 1991), 163-76; Theodossiev, "The Lantern-Roofed Tombs in Thrace and Anatolia," 604.

[657] T. Bakır and R. Gusmani, "Eine neue phrygische Inschrift aus Daskyleion," *EpigAnat* 18 (1991): 157, 159; M. J. Mellink, "Archaeology in Anatolia," *AJA* 96, no. 1 (1992): 148; Theodossiev, "The Lantern-Roofed Tombs in Thrace and Anatolia," 604.

[658] Mellink, "Archaeology in Asia Minor," 148.

[659] Ibid.

[660] Ibid. For the inscriptions, see Bakır and Gusmani, "Eine neue phrygische Inschrift aus Daskyleion," 157, 159.

century BCE or possibly as late as ca. 330 BCE, but no discussion has followed these proposals.[661] In inland Mysia, a lantern-roofed burial chamber was discovered in the vicinity of Kepsut in Balıkesir province; unfortunately, however, Fıratlı was only able to document a single photograph of the partially destroyed and looted chamber without taking any measurements, and it is only assumed that the monument could belong to the Late Classical or Hellenistic period (Cat. V.9).[662] Finally, in southern Mysia, close to the border with Lydia, another lantern-roofed burial chamber was discovered at Musahocaköy (Kırkağaç) (Cat. V.6). It is approximately one hundred and eighty-five kilometers north of Belevi, and, of the known examples of lantern roofing in Anatolia, the tomb at Musahocaköy is geographically closest to the Archaic tumulus at Belevi.[663] The tomb consists of a long dromos, a rectangular antechamber that had collapsed prior to excavation, and a rectangular lantern-roofed burial chamber constructed of four interlocking squares and, unusually, topped by a triangular-shaped capstone.[664] As the tomb had been robbed of its contents before the excavation, no precise dating material is available, although it is assumed to be Late Classical or Hellenistic.[665]

Two other somewhat unusual examples of the lantern-roof technique can be found in Macedonia and Paphlagonia. At Pella in Macedonia, the mosaic in room A of the "House of

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[661] Theodossiev, "The Lantern-Roofed Tombs in Thrace and Anatolia," 604.

[662] Mansel, "Gemlik Tümülüs Mezarı," 189, fig. 19; Fedak, *Monumental Tombs of the Hellenistic Age*, 171; Theodossiev, "The Lantern-Roofed Tombs in Thrace and Anatolia," 604.

[663] M. J. Mellink, "Archaeology in Asia Minior," *AJA* 67, no. 2 (1963): 189; Mansel, "Gemlik Tümülüs Mezarı," 186-87; Fedak, *Monumental Tombs of the Hellenistic Age*, 171; Ginouvès and Guimier-Sorbets, "Voûte 'galate' et charpente macédonienne," 312, fig. 1j; Theodossiev, "The Lantern-Roofed Tombs in Thrace and Anatolia," 604.

[664] Mellink, "Archaeology in Asia Minor," 189; Ginouvès and Guimier-Sorbets, "Voûte 'galate' et charpente macédonienne," 312, fig. 1j.

[665] Mansel, "Gemlik Tümülüs Mezarı," 187; Theodossiev, "The Lantern-Roofed Tombs in Thrace and Anatolia," 604.

Dionysos" resembles a lantern roof (Cat. V.11).[666] Room A was most liüely a large antechamber

of a dining room, and featured a floor mosaic with a two-color composition of six interlocking

squares that alternated having edges parallel to the wall or intersecting the wall at an angle, a

design clearly reminiscent of the lantern-roofing technique.[667] This compositional device is rare

among mosaics, and in the second century CE Mausoleion at Mylasa, the floor of the aedicula

was covered with a similar lantern-vault design that reproduced the octagonal design on the

ceiling.[668] Although it is impossible to say whether Room A in the House of Dionysos at Pella

would have also been covered by a lantern roof, the mosaic is sufficient to demonstrate that the

technique was known well enough to be applied to floor decoration in Macedonia by the fourth

century BCE.[669]

    In Paphlagonia, the rock-cut Karakoyunlu tomb also shows an unusual adaptation of the

lantern-roofed technique (Figs. 18 and 86). The tomb is fronted by a triple-columned porch that

leads into the main chamber, and the eastern side chamber was roofed by a false lantern vault.[670]

The lantern vault in the Karakoyunlu tomb is described as "false" because it does not actually

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[666] Ginouvès and Guimier-Sorbets, "Voûte 'galate' et charpente macédonienne," 319-21, fig. 4; Theodossiev, "The Lantern-Roofed Tombs in Thrace and Anatolia," 7.

[667] Ginouvès and Guimier-Sorbets, "Voûte 'galate' et charpente macédonienne," 320, fig. 4. See also A. Barbet and A.-M. Guimier-Sorbets, "Le motif de caissons dans la mosaïque du IVe siècle av. J.-C. à la fin de la République romaine: ses rapport avec l'architecture, le stuc et le peinture," in *La mosaïque gréco-romaine* IV, ed. J.-P. Darmon and A. Rebourg (Paris: Association internationale pour l'étude de la mosaïque antique, 1994), 24-38; A-M. Guimier-Sorbets, "Mosaïques et dallages dans le monde grec aux époques classique et hellénistique," in *Fifth International Colloquium on Ancient Mosaics: Held at Bath, England, on September 5-12, 1987* (*JRA* Suppl. 9), ed. P. Johnson, R. Ling, and D. Smith (Ann Arbor: JRA, 1994-1995), 13-25.

[668] Ginouvès and Guimier-Sorbets, "Voûte 'galate' et charpente macédonienne," 321. For another, much later, example discovered at Chalcis, see E. Sapouna-Sakellaraki, "Ια' Εφορεία Προϊστορικών και Κλασικών Αρχαιοτήτων," *ArchDelt* 42 (1987): 208-9.

[669] Ginouvès and Guimier-Sorbets, "Voûte 'galate' et charpente macédonienne," 321.

[670] Johnson, "Landscapes of Achaemenid Paphlagonia," 352-55; see also B. Varkıvanç, "Mezar Mimarisi örtü Sistemlerinde Form ve Teknik II: Tüteklikli Örtü," in *Calbis; Baki Öğün'e armağan/Melanges offerts à Baki Öğün*, ed. C. Işık, Z. Çizmeli Öğün, and B. Varkıvanç (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 2007), 205-17.

deploy a series of rectangular frames to construct the ceiling; rather, shallow rectangular spaces were carved out of the ceiling in order to create the appearance of a lantern vault. Because the tomb makes use of Corinthian capitals, it cannot be earlier than the fourth century BCE, and the tomb shares architectural similarities with the Kilise tomb at Hasırcıköprü and the Evkayası tomb in Kastamonu, both of which date to the late fourth century BCE.[671] The lantern-roofed side chamber in the Karakoyunlu tomb, however, is likely a later addition.[672]

Additionally, two Hellenistic examples of lantern roofing are known from Phrygian territory. A first century BCE example of a lantern roof was discovered in two tombs in the northern necropolis of Hierapolis, although in both cases, the tombs were constructed underground (Cat. V.7).[673] Additionally, during the summer of 1954, at a short distance to the west of the citadel mound at Gordion, a built tomb was discovered underneath a small tumulus by local shepherds (Fig. 87; Cat. II.5).[674] The tumulus was approximately five meters tall, and the built chamber was discovered in the southeast quadrant of the mound, oriented roughly east-west, with an entrance at the east. An antechamber, 2.47 x 1.67m in size, gave access to the burial chamber, which was 2.47 x 2.48m square. It was constructed of carefully cut and neatly fitted limestone that was worked to a smoother finish on the interior. Traces of lime plaster indicated that the whole interior had once been covered with stucco. Interestingly, both chambers

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[671] Johnson, "Landscapes of Achaemenid Paphlagonia," 352-55; Haspels, *The Highlands of Phrygia*, 158-59.

[672] Johnson, "Landscapes of Achaemenid Paphlagonia," 347, n. 936.

[673] Schneider Equini, "La necropoli di Hierapolis di Frigia," 132; Fedak, *Monumental Tombs of the Hellenistic Age*, 171; Ginouvès and Guimier-Sorbets, "Voûte 'galate' et charpente macédonienne," 312.

[674] Young, "The Campaign of 1955 at Gordion: Preliminary Report," 250-52. Schneider Equini, *La necropoli di Hierapolis di Frigia*, 132; F. A. Winter, "Phrygian Gordion in the Hellenistic Period," *Source: Notes in the History of Art* 7 (1988): 64; Fedak, *Monumental Tombs in the Hellenistic Age*, 171-72; Ginouvès and Guimier-Sorbets, "Voûte 'galate' et charpente macédonienne," 312; G. K. Sams and I. Temizsoy, *Gordion Museum* (Ankara: Dönmez Offset, n.d.), 90-91.

were roofed using the lantern-roof technique, with a series of six stone courses laid diagonally across each other in order to reduce the opening gradually so that it could be easily closed by a capstone. Although both the antechamber and the burial chamber deployed the same number of stone courses, the slabs over the burial chamber were slightly thicker, giving the roof over the burial chamber slightly greater height than that of the antechamber. Traces of bolt-holes and door sills in the doorway between the chambers indicate the existence of wooden or metal doors, but the exterior of the tomb was closed by a large stone slab. In all probability, the tomb was plundered at least once in late Hellenistic or early Roman Imperial times, and no precious objects survived.

The stone chamber tomb beneath Tumulus O, which was relocated and reassembled on the grounds of the Gordion Museum in 2000, has been described as "Galatian" because of its perceived architectural similarity to Tumulus C at Karalar.[675] Yet there was nothing discovered inside the tomb (which was discovered thoroughly looted) that would specifically point to a Galatian identity of the occupant. Karalar C and Gordion O are similar in some architectural details, for example, the two oblong chambers and the fact that both the antechamber and the main burial chambers in each are covered with a lantern vault.[676] The lantern vaulting at Karalar, however, is highly unusual in its irregularity, and the four-sided regular frames employed in Gordion O are more closely matched to the types encountered in the regions of Thrace and Bithynia. The chamber tomb is also assumed to be Galatian on the basis of its Hellenistic date and known Galatian occupation of Gordion from the third century BCE onward, but the simple fact that Galatians lived in Gordion during the period of the tomb's construction does not

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[675] İ Temizsoy and V. Kaya, "Kıranharman "O" Tümülüsü Nakil Çalışması," *Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi 1999 Yıllığı* (2000): 7-25. See also Young, "The Campaign of 1955 at Gordion," 250-52.

[676] Young, "The Campaign of 1955 at Gordion," 252.

guarantee a Galatian identity of the occupant. Moreover, the date of the tomb cannot be

described with any more precision than "Hellenistic." Young dated the tumulus to the second or

first century BCE because the pits near the surface of the tumulus were from the first century

BCE,[677] but more recent scholarship favors an earlier date of sometime during the third century

BCE, which is based on the preconceived notion of a deserted Gordion following the slaughter of

the city's Galatian inhabitants by Manlius Vulso in 189 BCE.[678] The archaeological picture of

Hellenistic Gordion is increasingly complex, as newer excavations yield evidence of occupation

before the late third century BCE as well as pottery from the later settlement that dates into the

first century BCE.[679]

The terracotta larnax reconstructed from the pieces found scattered in the chamber and

antechamber unfortunately does not provide any further evidence for the date (Fig. 88). The

larnax is rectangular in shape, tapers from head to foot, with an opening at the head that might

have once been covered by a lid. Raised clay designs separate each side into six segments, with

an "X" pattern in the second and fifth sections. Young comments on the similarity of this larnax

to examples in the Afyon Karahısar museum, but no information on their provenance was

available.[680] Similar examples also exist in the Samsun and Amasya museums, which are

generally cylindrical instead of rectangular, but still contained raised clay "X" decoration and

segmentation, along with open or lidded heads; again, however, no information on provenance is

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[677] Ibid.

[678] Strobel, "State Formation by the Galatians of Asia Minor," 20; Darbyshire, Mitchell, and Vardar, "The Galatian Settlement in Asia Minor," 86.

[679] M. M. Voigt, "Celts at Gordion: The Late Hellenistic Settlement," *Expedition* 45, no. 1 (2003): 14-19. The evidence for occupation beyond the traditional outline of settlement between the late third and early second centuries BCE suggests the possibility of a wealthy or elite class (of the type that would have been buried in this tomb) during a period when it was thought that the site was abandoned.

[680] Young, "The Campaign of 1955 at Gordion," 252, n. 10. Young remarks that he initially thought the larnakes were Roman, but the museum staff thought they were Islamic.

available and the Samsun examples are listed only as belonging to the "Hellenistic" period, while the examples in Amasya are described as Roman, from the first century CE (Fig. 89). The Kalınkaya tumulus (Cat. II.4), located approximately three kilometers north of Alaca Höyük, contained a larnax very similar to those in the Samsun museum, but it can only be dated to a period after the conquest of Alexander the Great on the basis of a coin found within the larnax.[681] Therefore, the most that can be said about the date of Tumulus O is that it is Hellenistic: it should postdate the fourth century examples in Thrace and northwest Anatolia because of the complex lantern roof, and it should predate the late first century BCE because of the pits found in the surface of the tumulus mound. There is nothing specifically "Galatian" about it, and it is best used as evidence for the historical trajectory and dispersion of the lantern vault rather than as evidence for ethnic associations with the Galatians.

In sum, any ethnic connotations of the lantern-roof tomb type are inherently problematic, and its specific association to Galatian burials cannot be sustained. The earliest form of the lantern roof occurs in Western Anatolia during the Archaic period, well before the Galatians settle in Central Anatolia, and the largest subsequent group of lantern-vaulted tombs occurs in northwest Anatolia and Thrace during the fourth century BCE.[682] There are only two documented examples of a lantern-roofed tomb that occur in Galatian territory during the Hellenistic period, both of which are probably significantly later than the early Hellenistic examples cited above. While the example from Gordion occurs in Galatian territory at a time when the Galatians occupied the city, an ethnically Galatian occupant cannot be proved.

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[681] R. Temizler, "Fouilles Faites au Tumulus de Kalınkaya," *Belleten* 13 (1949): 795-809, fig. 13-14.

[682] Theodossiev briefly discusses a significant group of Etruscan tombs dated to the fifth century BCE with ceilings that resemble lantern roofs, although there are key structural differences between the two types: "[in Etruria] the visible sides of the superposed rectangular 'frames' were laid perpendicular to the visible sides of the rectangular 'frames' below (not diagonally across the corners like in the Thracian and Anatolian examples), while the rectangles alternate in width as they go up into the roof." ("The Lantern-Roofed Tombs in Thrace and Anatolia," 606, with n. 27).

Moreover, while the occupant of Tumulus C at Karalar was very likely a Galatian, the highly irregular form of the lantern vault is difficult to compare to the square- and rectangular-shaped frames with which the other examples are constructed. If any symbolic significance can be attached to the lantern vault, it might be discerned from analyzing the disposition of the lantern vault within the tomb. In Thrace, the lantern vaults seem mostly confined to the antechamber (for example, the tombs near Kurtkale and Strelcha) with the exception of the tomb near Plovdiv, in which the lantern roof appears over the burial chamber. In Anatolia, the lantern vault is almost exclusively placed over the burial chamber (for example, in the tombs found near Mudanya, Gemlik, Yukarı Bağdere, Közemtuğ, Kepsut, Musahocaköy), with the exception of the Belevi tumulus, in which the lantern roof covers the large, ceremonial antechamber.

Karalar and the Expression of Identity in the Material Culture of the Galatians

Ascribing a specific architectural type to particular ethnic group illuminates some of the ways in which scholarship on the ancient Galatians has sought to define Galatian identity in terms of its material culture. Galatian identity, and even Galatian presence, is notoriously elusive in the archaeological record; despite the many literary portraits of the Galatians produced by their western contemporaries, a clear idea of how the Galatians represented themselves does not emerge from the extant evidence.

The Galatians are generally not given favorable treatment by ancient authors. Their crossing into Anatolia was in the service of military pursuits, and it is this reputation for violence that consistently follows them.[683] Pausanias, for example, gives a thorough account of their invasion of Greece and attack on the sanctuary at Delphi. His narrative, derived from an early

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[683] For a comprehensive overview of the literary sources that discuss the movement and migrations of the Galatians, see K. Tomaschitz, *Die Wanderungen der Kelten in der antiken literarischen Überlieferung* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2002).

Hellenistic source (possibly Hieronymous of Kardia), comprises one of the most disparaging

characterizations of the Galatians, accusing them of such heinous acts as cannibalism and

necrophilia.[684] Their alleged barbarism initiated parallels between their attacks on the Hellenistic

world and the "barbarian" invasions of Greece undertaken by the Persians two centuries earlier.

Because the ancient authors "laid enormous stress on the cruelty and savagery of these new

barbarians," the soteriological perception of local Hellenistic kings against the Celts became a

fundamental trope of contemporary kingship.[685] The Attalids especially marketed their victories

over the Galatians in monumental form, establishing a victory monument at Pergamon, and other

manifestations of this theme subsequently appeared at Delos, Athens, and Rome.[686] In the

gigantomachy frieze of the Great Altar at Pergamon, the thick, unkempt hair and robust beards of

the giants are generally considered to be iconographic allusions to the physical features of the

Galatians.[687]

These "etic" interpretations of Galatian physiognomy are the predominant sources used to

evaluate representations such as the face on the belt buckle from Bolu as Galatian "self-

representation" (Fig. 41). The man's thickly sectioned hair and moustache resonate with

Diodoros' description of the thick, shaggy, lime-washed hair of the Celts."[688] Because of these

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[684] Pausanias 10.22.2; see also Mitchell, "The Galatians," 280.

[685] S. Mitchell, "The Galatians: Representation and Reality," in *A Companion to the Hellenistic World*, ed. A. Erskine (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2003), 280-87; R. Strootman, "Kings against Celts: Deliverance from Barbarians as a Theme in Hellenistic Royal Propaganda - from the Soteria of Delphi to the Great Altar of Pergamon," in *The Manipulative Mode: Political Propaganda in Antiquity*, ed. K. Enenkel and I. L. Pfeijffer (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 101-41; see also Polybios 18.41.1, who records that Attalos I of Pergamon assumed the title of king only after his defeat of the Galatians.

[686] Mitchell, "The Galatians," 286; *IG* 11.4, 1109-10; Paus. 1.25.2

[687] Mitchell, "The Galatians," 286; K. Strobel, "Die Galater im hellenistischen Kleinasien. Historische Aspekte einer keltischen Staatenbildung," in *Hellenistische studien: Gedenschrift für Hermann Bengston*, ed. J. Seibert (Munich: Editio Maris, 1991), 110-11.

[688] Diod. 5.28.2

similarities, it is tempting to associate objects such as the Bolu buckle with Galatian self-representations, but these isolated finds do not provide a clear articulation of the forms of material culture that the Galatians adopted, used, or brought with them from Europe. Scholarship on the Galatians often resorts to using terms such as "Anatolianization," "Hellenization," and "Romanization" to describe the material culture that appears to have been used by them, and the term "Galatization" has entered the discourse to denote when their influence infiltrated the culture of the territory they occupied.[689] For example, the incorporation of local structural forms into the architectural repertoire of the Galatians (especially fortified residences and monumental burial structures) has been classified as evidence of the group's "Anatolianization,"[690] while the same criteria is presented as evidence for Galatian "Hellenization."[691] "Hellenization" of the Galatians is also used to explain the presence of Greek artist workshops and graffiti in the Galatian-period levels at Gordion, as well as the use of the Greek language in epigraphic texts.[692] "Romanizing" elements of the Galatians are chiefly ascribed to the political activities of Deiotaros I, who took the title of *philoromaios* and involved himself heavily in Roman political and military endeavors.[693] "Galatian" or "Celtic" aspects of society that seem to have persisted in

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[689] Strobel, "The Galatians in the Roman Empire," 125. Strobel uses the term "Galatisation" as part of the complex process of the "ethnogenesis" the Celts in Central Anatolia, in which the transformation of the migrating groups, tribes, and clans into new social groups re-shaped the *ethnos* as a whole.

[690] Ibid., 127; Çoşkun, "Latène-Artefakte im hellenistischen Kleinasien: ein problematisches Kriterium für die Bestimmung der ethnischen Identität(en) der Galater," 142; Darbyshire, Mitchell, and Vardar, "The Galatian Settlement in Asia Minor," 87.

[691] Strobel, "The Galatians in the Roman Empire," 127-28; "State Formation by the Galatians of Asia Minor," 30, 32; Darbyshire, Mitchell, and Vardar, "The Galatian Settlement in Asia Minor," 89, 95.

[692] Strobel, "State Formation by the Galatians of Asia Minor," 30; A. Çoşkun, "Annäherungen an die lokalen Eliten der Galater in hellenistischer Zeit," in *Lokale Eliten und hellenistische Konige: zwischen Kooperation und Konfrontation*, ed. B. Dreyer and P. F. Mittag (Berlin: Verlag Antike, 2011), 97-98; *IG* II² 3429.

[693] Çoşkun, "Amicitiae und politische Ambitionen im Kontext der *causa Deiotariana*," 127-54; "Belonging and Isolation in Central Anatolia," 85-87.

Central Anatolia include the evidence for ritual manslaughter at Gordion,[694] the use of Celtic personal names and toponyms,[695] and the preservation of the tetrarchy, which was a genealogically based authoritative claim.[696]

Karl Strobel has attempted to interpret the armor found in Tumulus C at Karalar and the western tumulus at Bolu as illustrative of "the continued existence of Celtic chieftain burials with weapons as grave goods," but Altay Çoşkun has rightly pointed out that, at least in the case of Karalar, Arık's description of the armor is so cursory that it precludes determination of whether the armor was constructed in Celtic or Roman style.[697] The La Tène fibulae discovered throughout Anatolia are similarly ambiguous: no La Tène fibulae have been discovered from demonstrably Galatian contexts, and the geographical and chronological range of their dispersal suggests that, rather than being indicators of Galatian status, they are more convincingly tied to Celtic mercenaries in the service of the Hellenistic kings, especially the Attalids in the 3rd-2nd centuries BCE and the armies of Mithridates VI of Pontos in the 1st century BCE.[698] Thus, trying to define the ethnic identity of Galatians in terms of their material culture is misleading.[699]

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[694] M. M. Voigt, "The Violent Ways of Galatian Gordion," in *The Archaeology of Violence: Interdisciplinary Approaches*, ed. S. Ralph (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2012), 203-31; Dandoy, Selinsky, and Voigt, "Celtic Sacrifice," 44-49.

[695] Çoşkun, "Annäherungen an die lokalen Eliten der Galater in hellenistischer Zeit," 97-98.

[696] Ibid., 98.

[697] Strobel, "State Formation by the Galatians of Asia Minor," 20; Çoşkun, "Latène-Artefakte im hellenistischen Kleinasien," 145.

[698] Strobel, "The Galatians in the Roman Empire," 118; Çoşkun, "Latène-Artefakte im hellenistischen Kleinasien," 138-42; Polenz, "Gedanken zu einer Fibel vom Mittellatèneschema aus Káyseri in Anatolien," 181-216. Darbyshire, Mitchell, and Vardar are in the minority in their view that the La Tène objects were part of the material culture of the Galatians in Anatolia; see "The Galatian Settlement in Asia Minor," 83-84, 87.

[699] Strobel, "The Galatians in the Roman Empire," 118.

The associated terms of "Anatolianization," "Hellenization," "Romanization," etc. are also misleading, because while they are deployed in a way that purports to describe the original source from which the Galatians borrowed certain forms of material culture, but that actually implies more complete cultural assimilation to larger political powers. Yet the adoption of certain architectural or artistic forms is not necessarily indexical to wholesale cultural assimilation; in fact, a contrary picture is given in Strobel's recent assessment of Galatian ethnic identity, in which he argues that the long-term persistence of the Galatian language is the single most important indicator of a lasting Galatian ethnic identity even after they lost their political independence to Rome in the 1st century BCE.[700] Language, in this context, can function as a marker of self-representation, which is invaluable in a study of a society for which such markers are rare.

The buckle from Bolu, accompanied by a torque, is one of the most intriguing possibilities of Galatian self-representation, but interpretations are difficult to obtain because the identifying criteria that lead to the conclusion that it represents a Galatian come from the characterizations of outsiders. The difficulty is further enhanced by the fact that there are virtually no comparable Galatian "portraits." The Galatian kings are not known to have issued coins before the reign of Deiotaros I, and when Deiotaros does begin issuing coins, the laureate portrait is of Zeus, not the king himself.[701] The only other potential example of Galatian self-representation in portraiture is a portrait bust of Adobogiana, daughter of Deiotaros I and wife of the Trokmian tetrarch Brogitaros, which belonged to her portrait bust in the Temple of Hera at

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[700] Ibid., 119-21.

[701] A. M. Burnett, M. Amandry, and P. P. Ripollès, *Roman Provincial Coinage*, Vol. 1 (London: British Museum Press, 1992), 536.

Pergamon.[702] The honorific portrait was set up in a prominent place within the temple, and she was portrayed in Greek dress and showcasing a highly individualized portrait type. The distinction between standardized Greek dress and an individualization of facial features, Strobel argues, must have been specifically designated by the Galatian royal family as a kind of distinguishing self-identification.[703]

As is the case with Adobogiana's portrait, even when identity or self-identity can be discerned through iconographic features, how many of these can actually be said to constitute a representation of "ethnic" identity, or even be associated with a specific ethnic group? My understanding of ethnic identity for the purposes of this study (see Chapter One, pp. 30-35) is defined partly in a claim to common heritage, lineage, or kinship, but it also entails the construction of differences and group boundaries.[704] Definitions of ethnic identity are dependent on a certain mental acknowledgment and perception of difference related to heritage and ancestral claims, which is also subject to perceptions of others.[705] Given this definition, it seems highly unlikely that material artifacts such as the lantern-roofed tomb type can be ascribed to a particular ethnicity: not only is the architectural type's geographical, chronological, and typological connection to the Galatians highly tenuous, but use of this type of roofing construction likely did not serve as a device by which the Galatians constructed boundaries that

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[702] Strobel, "The Galatians in the Roman Empire," 137; "Die Galater im hellenistischen Kleinasien," 130 and n. 194 for full bibliography; M. N. Filgis, et al., *Die Stadtgrabungen, Teil 1: Das Heroon* (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1986), 136-40.

[703] Strobel, "Die Galater im hellenistischen Kleinasien," 130.

[704] Strobel, "The Galatians in the Roman Empire," 120-21; Hall, *Hellenicity*, 1-29; J. McInerney, "Ethnos and Ethnicity in Early Greece," in *Ancient Perceptions of Greek Ethnicity*, ed. I. Malkin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 51-73; S. Mitchell, "Ethnicity, Acculturation and Empire in Roman and Late Roman Asia Minor," in *Ethnicity and Culture in Late Antiquity*, ed. S. Mitchell and G. Greatrex (London: Duckworth, 2000), 117-51; T. H. Eriksen, *Ethnicity and Nationalism: Anthropological Perspectives* (London: Pluto Press [2002], reprint of 1993 edition), 4.

[705] Strobel, "The Galatians in the Roman Empire," 120-21.

distinguished them from other people groups. Ethnic identity, therefore, may only be rarely discernible in material culture, especially in this case given the nebulous context of Galatian self-representation. Because of the dearth of evidence for Galatian self-representation, the necropolis at Karalar is extremely important precisely because it provides a definite example of Galatian self-representation. What appears from the necropolis is a variety of references to cultural identities largely couched in Hellenistic and Roman terms, consonant with the types of viewers that would have accessed the monument and the socio-political aims of the occupant.

The siting of Tumulus B and C, for example, exploited the topographical advantage of a commanding position, not only structuring social differences between the deceased and those positioned within his "view," but also manipulating the viewshed of the occupant of Tumulus A. This visual contact fostered a potentially legitimizing relationship between the older and younger elites that simultaneously yielded an advantageous interpretation of the physical position of the occupants of Tumuli B and C. The trio of tumuli further participated in the historical funerary landscape of the region, situated relatively near several other tumuli, but the precise nature of these relationships remains to be clarified following the excavation of the other extant structures.

The architectural tradition of each chamber tomb is drawn from local Anatolian, southeastern European, and Thracian precedents. Each roofing device provided a practical (or possibly symbolic) solution to the need for covering a chamber tomb beneath the earthen mounds. The tumulus mounds themselves appropriated the long-standing semiotic value of the tumulus tradition throughout Anatolia, legitimizing the immigrant Celts within a local elite historical framework. Furthermore, the architectural and sculptural elements of Tumulus B are drawn from a variety of sources. The "autel" area may have been adopted from similar architectural arrangements in front of tumuli known from Thrace, or perhaps from Anatolia, such

as the hierothesion of Antiochos I at Nemrut Dağı. The "autel" area provided a basis for continuing ritual activity and a stage for Greek visual forms, embodied in the column and inscription, which would have communicated the Galatian king's familiarity with Hellenistic culture. The tropaion, which originated as a Greek and subsequently Roman mode of symbolizing authority over a given territory, would have been particularly meaningful in the context of Deiotaros I's unification of the Galatian tribes under his sovereignty and his joint rule with Deiotaros II. Finally, the inscription identifying the occupant of the tomb would have been legible only to an elite group of viewers. Its use of the Greek language and invocation of the terms *basileus* and *philoromaios* established a privileged status meaningful in a specifically elite context, and functioned to distinguish Deiotaros II and his father from their peers. Each of these elements designates specific cultural practices with which Deiotaros II articulated his identity, but labeling Deiotaros I and II as tetrarchs of the Galatian tribes constitutes perhaps the strongest notion of ethnic identity in this assemblage; it alluded to an exclusively genealogically driven, Galatian authoritative source that was directly related to kinship and shared heritage amongst the tribes.

CHAPTER FIVE: THE ROYAL NECROPOLIS OF THE MITHRIDATIC KINGS AT AMASEIA

Introduction

Dominating the spectacular southern ridge of Harşena Dağı above the Yeşilırmak River as it winds through the modern-day city of Amasya (ancient Amaseia) are five monumental, rock-cut tombs situated beneath an imposing citadel, the most prominent remains of the Mithridatic dynasty of Pontos (Fig. 2). The dynasty ruled much of the southern Black Sea coast and parts of northern and central inland Anatolia from the late fourth through the early first centuries BCE, eventually producing one of Rome's fiercest enemies in the person of its most famous sovereign, Mithridates VI Eupator (d. 64 BCE). Despite the profound historical importance of this kingdom, the monumental tombs at Amaseia and the Hellenistic foundations of its citadel are the only significant remains known from an unfortunately scarce archaeological record, yet even these prominent works have inexplicably failed to solicit a robust publication record reflective of their significance to archaeologists and art historians.[706] The spectacular topographical setting of the tombs, their prestigious urban location in the Pontic capital, sheer monumentality, and vestiges of elaborate decoration all signal a highly significant intervention in the development of royal funerary architecture in the Hellenistic world. This chapter parses the

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[706] See Fleischer, "The Rock-tombs of the Pontic Kings in Amaseia (Amasya)," 109-20, and C. Özdemir, *Amasya Kalesi ve Kral Kaya Mezarları* (Amasya: Kendi Yayını, 2000). Stephen Mitchell went so far as to write that "Archaeologists have every reason to feel ashamed of the way in which the ruins of Amaseia have been neglected." S. Mitchell, "In Search of the Pontic Community in Antiquity," in *Representations of Empire: Rome and the Mediterranean World*, ed. A. K. Bowman, H. M. Cotton, and S. Price (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 55. Rolf Strootman does not mention Amaseia in his recent list of royal Hellenistic tombs; see Chapter One above n. 30. The welcome exception to the scant publication record on the Amaseian tombs will be Robert Fleischer's forthcoming monograph, *Die Felsgräber der Könige von Pontos in Amasya* (Istanbuler Forschungen, in press).

royal tombs' visibly charged statements concerning the political, cultural, and perceived ethnic identities of those interred, and thus contributes to the broader discourse on the material manifestation of identity and self-representation among local elites during the Hellenistic period. My analysis of identity construction focuses on the prominent royal necropolis of Amaseia, but also incorporates discussion of several other monumental tombs, both within the city itself and in the outlying districts, to provide a more comprehensive picture of the architectural context and visual relationships evinced by the royal tombs.

The importance of the Amaseian royal funerary structures in the historical trajectory of ancient tomb architecture is further underscored by the specific historical identities attributable to these monuments. Strabo (12.3.39), a native of Amaseia, confirms their identification as components of the royal necropolis, and the precise kings associated with each tomb can be relatively reasonably surmised from the order in which they were constructed, beginning with Mithridates I Ktistes (d. 266 BCE) and ending with the unfinished tomb of Pharnakes I (d. 155 BCE), securely identified by the inscription above it. Because of their historical situation and physical relationship to other royal and elite funerary monuments, the tombs at Amaseia should be studied as participants in the dialogue of peer competition and legitimation, individual and communal identity, and cultural and ethnic affiliations that characterized much of the relationships between monarchs and elites during the dissolution of Alexander's empire into the hands of his Successors. The Mithridatic kings are notable for their appeals to Greek, Persian, and Anatolian identities elsewhere, and their tombs provide an instance of the manipulation of visual language in the service of such identity expression. Like my analysis of the Galatian tombs at Karalar, my discussion of the royal Pontic tombs at Amaseia is linked to GIS-based reconstructions of the architecture and viewing context of each tomb. My argument here is two-

fold: first, I contend that the topographical situation of the royal tombs at Amaseia emphasizes

the tombs' significant urban setting as a symbolic threshold, defining movement and conditioning

a viewer's experience of urban space at Amaseia, as well as reinforcing a visual hierarchy that

had its roots in the Anatolian tradition of rock relief carving. Second, I maintain that this

conditioning of the viewer's experience suggests varied levels of viewership alluding to distinct

identities presented within each experience: on the exterior, a "normal" viewer would recognize a

visual language derived primarily from the broad dissemination of Greek artistic influence and

cultural practice, while a privileged visitor experiencing the inner space of the tomb would be

confronted with Persian and likely Zoroastrian iconography that espoused kinship and ethnic ties

to Persian elites. These distinctions between Greek and Persian iconography, however, should

not be considered mutually exclusive, and the visual language deployed to communicate specific

ideas often encompasses a degree of fluidity between artificially strict categories such as "Greek"

or "Persian."[707]

The tombs at Amaseia were first systematically recorded in the late nineteenth century by

Georges Perrot, Edmond Guillaume, and Jules Delbet during their archaeological explorations in

Anatolia.[708] They have since appeared in print only briefly and sporadically, but Robert

Fleischer's forthcoming monograph on the subject will help rectify this gap in the publication

record. Fleischer carried out research on the royal tombs in 2002 as a part of the Deutsches

Forschungsgemeinschaft's "Forms and Ways of Acculturation in the Eastern Mediterranean and

the Black Sea-area in Antiquity," during which his team conducted a detailed architectural study

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[707] For example, the facades of some of the tombs in Amaseia are related to both the Greek/Ionian and the Persian/Median tradition, in which case it is difficult to maintain a strict categorization of iconographic influence, and both contexts must be articulated for a fuller understanding of the iconographic significance of the monuments.

[708] G. Perrot, E. Guillaume, and J. Delbet, *Exploration archéologique de la Galatie et de la Bithynie d'une partie de la Mysie de la Phrygie, de la Cappadoce et du Pont*, vol. I and II (Paris, Librairie de Firmin Didot Fréres, 1872). 367-71.

of the tombs and created reconstructions of the architecture using CAD (Computer-aided design) software.[709] Fleischer's study includes a brief description of the situation of each tomb and mention of prototypes in Persia, Karia and Lykia, but there are no extended comparisons between the tomb types. His discussion of their architectural development suggests that they follow a pattern of gradually becoming increasingly "un-Greek" in form, based on the fact that the earliest tomb is in the form of a hexastyle temple and the latest tomb contains an archivolt facade, which he claims has no known precedent and must be an unknown, local architectural form. According to this model, the uniqueness of the Pontic tombs' development is compounded by the fact that the Pontic kings' activities show that they presented themselves as philhellenes, so the question of why they would adopt increasingly un-Greek tomb forms remains unanswered.

In this section, I propose an altogether different framework for studying the royal tombs of Amaseia, which focuses on the construction of identity through the context of viewership and visibility. I begin with a discussion of the topographical significance of the tombs in the city of Amaseia, highlighting how different modes of viewership were addressed by the urban context and symbolic form of the royal necropolis. While Fleischer asserts that the form of the archivolt tombs has no known precedent, I argue that antecedents for the architectural form exist in the funerary iconography of Western Anatolia and the Greek East, thereby demonstrating that all five of the tombs showcase Greek-derived architectural forms on their exterior. Furthermore, the

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[709] Fleischer, "The Rock-Tombs of the Pontic Kings in Amaseia," 109-20. The tombs of Tês and Hikesios have received scholarly treatment of their inscriptions in order to determine their date (R. Fleischer, "Zwei pontische Felsgräber des hohen Hellenismus mit monumentalen Inschriften." *Chiron* 35 (2005): 273-85), and the inscription of Tomb E at Amaseia has recently been analyzed in the context of its referral to Achaemenid precedent (Canepa, "Achaemenid and Seleukid Royal Funerary Practices," 11-12). Michels briefly mentions the tombs at Amaseia as potential elements of "state architecture" and self-presentation of the kings, but follows Fleischer's analysis of their progressively "un-Greek" development (Michels, *Kulturtransfer*, 247). A comprehensive review of the ruins in the city was published in Turkish by Özdemir, *Amasya Kalesi ve Kral Kaya Mezarları*. While the description of the royal tombs as well as other tombs located throughout the city are helpful, particularly for the tombs that are currently inaccessible, the photographs are often unclear, and Özdemir's text remains largely descriptive and does not address questions of representation and identity.

interior design of the burial chambers can be shown to relate to Iranian ritual precedents, suggesting that the Pontic kings deliberately forged cultural and ethnic ties with the Achaemenid kings to construct a notion of identity for an elite group of viewers. Lastly, a comparison of material culture related to the Pontic kings - coins, statue dedications, etc. - complicates the polarizing construction of royal identity as either philhellene or anti-Hellenic.

Kings in Context: The Cultural Foundations of the Mithridatid Dynasty and the Amaseian Capital

The origins of the Mithridatic dynasty, which ruled most of the coastal and inland territory south of the Black Sea from the late fourth century BCE - 63 BCE, are notoriously nebulous. The kingdom's founding dynast, Mithridates I Ktistes, emerges in the literary sources as a shadowy figure whose rise to power is cobbled together from events in the biographies of more prominent figures; he appears as a participant in suspiciously legendary accounts that operate within known historical circumstances.[710] Nevertheless, the kingdom's indisputable importance was abundantly clear by the time of its dissolution upon the death of its last and most illustrious king, Mithridates VI Eupator, whose reputation as one of Rome's fiercest competitors is eloquently portrayed in Plutarch's statement that, upon hearing the news of Mithridates' death, "[Pompey's army], filled with joy, as was natural, gave itself up to sacrifices and entertainments, feeling that in the person of Mithridates ten thousand enemies had died."[711] Precise dates and historical events surrounding the establishment of the kingdom by Mithridates I Ktistes are

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[710] See especially Bosworth and Wheatley, "The Origins of the Pontic House," 155-64. See also B. C. McGing, *The Foreign Policy of Mithridates VI Eupator, King of Pontus* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1986), 13-42.

[711] Plut., *Pomp*. 42.1: Ἐκ τούτου τὸ μὲν στράτευμα τῇ χαρᾷ χρώμενον, ὡς εἰκός, ἐν θυσίαις καὶ συνουσίαις διῆγεν, ὡς ἐν τῷ Μιθριδάτου σώματι μυρίων τεθνηκότων πολεμίων. See also J. M. Højte, "The Death and Burial of Mithridates VI," 121.

difficult to pin down, but it is possible to trace his movements across a broad geographical area during the late fourth century BCE - beginning with his flight from the Antigonid court in Syria westward to Kappadokia, Paphlagonia, and finally landing at Amaseia - in order to suggest important influences in how he chose to present himself and express visually his royal identity in the establishment of the royal necropolis and construction of his tomb at Amaseia.[712]

It is not known at exactly what point Amaseia emerged as the capital of Mithridates' kingdom (its pre-Hellenistic history is equally as shadowy as its founder's), but its strategic position at the heart of several important north-south and east-west trade routes undoubtedly influenced Mithridates I's choice to establish a royal city there. The interactive map of Hellenistic Pontos accompanying this chapter (Figs. 90-92) highlights the geographical significance of Amaseia relative to known pre-existing Pontic sites along the coast, as well as the major known settlements and religious sanctuaries that populated inland areas.[713] It is similar in concept to the interactive map representing Hellenistic Galatia, reinforcing geographical relationships both to other known Pontic sites as well as to data on ancient road systems derived from the Ancient World Mapping Center at The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill (http://www.awmc.unc.edu). The map's interactivity allows users to turn specific layers on and off in order to customize the sites and roads visibly related to Amaseia and other Hellenistic Pontic (or modern) sites. Because the map is GIS-based, each point on the map is tethered to a fixed GPS coordinate within the spatial projection; thus, the map encounters similar advantages as well as methodological limitations imposed by this structure in the map of Hellenistic Galatia. An objective approach to the collection and organization of data on ancient sites necessarily

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[712] Bosworth and Wheatley's reconstruction of events and locations is generally accepted; cf. "The Origins of the Pontic House," 162-63; see also Plut. *Demetr*. 4.1; *Mor*. 183A; App. *Mithr*. 9.27-28; Strab. 12.3.41.

[713] The interactive map is embedded in a WordPress site at http://kerice.net/doingdh2015/maps/.

"ask[s] for order, conformity, systematic process and repeatability;" however, these very

attributes that give GIS data its veneer of objectivity and accuracy "are not often feasible or

desirable within visual research practice."[714] I was able to visit several sites, including the royal

tombs at Amaseia, and collect finite, precise GPS coordinates for these monuments, but a truly

objective approach to collecting data and creating a GIS-based map would require the precise

GPS coordinates of every tomb and archaeological site, a process that is not feasible given the

fact that the location of every site is not necessarily known to archaeologists. Moreover, even

when locational identifications are secure, a monument or settlement is spatially larger than a

precise GPS coordinate, and questions then arise as to which location, or GPS point, describes

the monument or site in the most accurate way. To facilitate transparency in my process of

collecting data, it is important to note that various types of data, ranging from "precise" to

"approximate" exist within the same visualization.[715] As a result, the map visualization tends to

elide such discrepancies and to present all recorded locations as equally accurate, but situations

in which the data are approximated are noted in my spreadsheet databases. For tombs that appear

in the accompanying catalogue, monuments for which I was unable to obtain a precise

coordinate are marked in the GPS line as "unrecorded." These methodological implications are

fundamental to the limitations in the use of the map, which, similarly to the map produced for

Hellenistic Galatia, is intended for the interpretation of broad connections between places and

relative proximities, rather than detailed topographical analysis of every site. The map visually

clarifies Amaseia's locational import, derived in large part from its position as the only inland

Pontic city of significant size, lying about eighty-two kilometers directly inland from the Black

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[714] Watterson, "Beyond Digital Dwelling: Re-thinking Interpretive Visualization in Archaeology," 123.

[715] My classification of types of data is based on Farinetti, *Boeotian Landscsapes*, 32-34 and Table 5. More detailed descriptions of the methodology are discussed above, in Chapter One (pp. 18-24) and Chapter Four (pp. 161-62).

Sea coast. It linked three major trade routes, situated about one hundred and thirty-six kilometers from Amisos (modern Samsun) by way of the only feasible north-south route through the Pontic Alps, connecting the Milesian coastal colony of Amisos with Kappadokian Mazaca (later Caesarea) in the central Anatolian plateau. Amaseia served as a junction on the east-west trade route that joined the regions of Armenia Minor and Bithynia, and a third route, which began at Ancyra in the southwest, ran through the city and eventually merged with the larger northern highway at Kabeira (later Neocaesarea).[716] Not only did it serve as a major crossroads in antiquity, but Amaseia was also ideally situated amongst several important fertile plains; its reputation for the production of fruit, especially apples, is today enshrined in the form of a colossal sculpture of a hand holding an apple at northeast entrance to the city on the road coming from Samsun (ancient Amisos).

Recent archaeological surveys in the broader region of Amasya have shed light on the historical context of the surrounding territory, providing important insight into what little is known about the history of the capital city prior to its Mithridatic occupation. Surveys of several sites in the modern province of Amasya show evidence in the form of ceramic stratigraphy that

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[716] H. Lindsay, "Amasya and Strabo's *Patria* in Pontus," in *Strabo's Cultural Geography: The Making of a Kolossourgia*, ed. D. Dueck, H. Lindsay, and S. Pothecary (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 180; D. R. Wilson, "Amaseia," in *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites*, ed. R. Stillwell, W. L. MacDonald, and M. H. McAllister (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1976), 47; S. Ireland, *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Coins in the Museum at Amasya (Ancient Amaseia), Turkey* (London: British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, 2000), 1-2. For roads, see J. A. R. Munroe, "Roads in Pontus, Royal and Roman," *JHS* 21 (1901): 51-66; Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor*, 1078-80 n. 25; Mitchell, *Anatolia*, 129-32. For other studies on Strabo and Amaseia, as well as early traveler's descriptions of the city, see W. J. Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor, Pontus, and Armenia: With Some Account of Their Antiquities and Geology* (London: John Murray, 1842), 367-69; Perrot, Guillaume, and Delbet, *Exploration archéologique,* 366-85; F. Cumont and E. Cumont, *Studia Pontica II. Voyage d'exploration archéologique dans le Pont et la Petite Arménie* (Brussels: H. Lamertin, 1906), 136-84; J. G. C. Anderson, F. Cumont, and H. *Grégoire, Studia Pontica III. Recueil des inscriptions grecques et latines du Pont et de l'Arménie* I (Brussels: H. Lamertin, 1910), 109-10, 114-18; W. J. Childs, *Across Asia Minor on Foot* (New York: W. Blackwood and Sons, 1917), 72-73; G. de Jerphanion, *Mélanges d'archéologie anatolienne: Monuments préhelléniques, gréco-romains, byzantins et musulmans de Pont, de Cappadoce et de Galatie* (Beyrouth: Beyrouth Imprimerie Catholique, 1928), 5-14; G. W. Bowersock, "La patria di Strabone," in *Strabone e l'Asia Minore*, ed. A. M. Biraschi and G. Salmeri (Naples: Edizioni scientifiche italiane, 2000), 13-24.

demonstrates occupation from the Early Bronze Age, Middle Bronze Age, Late Bronze Age, Middle Iron Age, and Late Iron Age in addition to the Hellenistic period.[717] The site of Doğantepe in particular, about twenty-five kilometers southwest of Amasya, has produced intriguing evidence that suggests not simply settlement activity from the Early Bronze Age to the Hellenistic period, but important religious activity taking place in the environs of Amasya during the Hittite period. The enormous rock mass at Doğantepe was much exploited by early settlements, and its most famous remains include a fifteenth-century BCE statuette of the Hittite storm god and principal deity, Teşup (Fig. 93).[718] Moreover, the worked basalt blocks and subterranean construction discovered at Oymaağaç Höyük (Höyük Tepe) in Vezirköprü are thought to be part of a defensive wall and postern system, which has led some scholars to suggest that the site may have been the holy city of Nerik, cult city of Teşup.[719] Although decisive evidence is as of yet unavailable, most scholars identify Nerik with Oymaağaç, as is assumed to be the case in Alparslan's recent localization of the Hittite sacred city of Hakmiš, mentioned in Hittite texts as a cult center for worship of the mountain god.[720] Based on known geography and the Hittite cult inventories, Doğantepe is tentatively identified as the most likely candidate for

[717] Ş. Dönmez, "The 2nd Millennium B.C. Settlements in Samsun and Amasya Provinces, Central Black Sea Region, Turkey," *Ancient West & East* (2002): 243-93.

[718] S. Alp, "Amasya Civarında Zara Bucağında Bulunan Hitit Heykeli ile Diğer Hitit Eserleri," *Anadolu* 6 (1963): 91-126. Dönmez, "The 2nd Millennium B.C. Settlements in Samsun and Amasya Provinces," 268.

[719] Dönmez, "The 2nd Millennium B.C. Settlements in Samsun and Amasya Provinces," 274-75; J. C. Macqueen, "Nerik and Its 'Weather God,'" *AnatSt* 30 (1980): 179-87. Although the precise location of Nerik is indeterminate, the current general consensus is that it is located somewhere east of the confluence of the Hittite Dahara (modern) Devrez and Marassanta (modern Kızılırmak) rivers. See R. M. Czichon and J. Klinger, "Auf der Suche nach der hethitischen Kultstadt Nerik," *Alter Orient* 6 (2005): 18-19 and R. Matthews and C. Glatz, "The Historical Geography of North-Central Anatolia in the Hittite Period: Texts and Archaeology in Concert," *AnatSt* 59 (2009): 51-72.

[720] M. Alparslan, "Das Land Hakmiš: Geschichte, Lokalisation und Politische Bedeutung einer Hethitischen Metropole," in *Acts of the VIIth International Conference of Hittitology in Çorum, 25-31 August, 2008,* Vol. 1, ed. A Süel (Ankara: n.p., 2010), 34.

the location of Hakmiš, which had previously been identified with Amasya itself.[721] Although

precise locations for the Hittite religious center of Nerik and Hakmiš remain speculative, it

seems clear from known Hittite historical geography and preliminary archaeological

investigations that the area comprising the present-day Amasya province hosted multiple sacred

centers that played significant roles in Hittite state cult. Thus, when Mithridates I of Pontos

chose to establish his capital here, he effectively appropriated the sacred history of this region

and structured his own empire's identity within the physical context of one of Anatolia's most

prestigious empires, heightening the symbolic capital of his emergent kingdom.

In addition to Mithridates' capitalizing on the Hittite sacred history of the area

surrounding Amaseia, his choice of location situated the new capital in the midst of territory that

played a crucial role in the religious life of contemporary local peoples as well. At Komana

Pontike (Hittite Kummami, near present-day Niksar), an important temple to the Anatolian

goddess Ma succeeded the Hittite temple to Hepat.[722] At Zela (modern Zile), the Persian goddess

Anaitis was worshiped along with Omanes and Anadates in a temple probably dedicated in the

late fourth century BCE, and Strabo reports that the temple held such significance for the local

population that the people of Pontos swore their most important oaths here.[723] Additionally, the

establishment of the royal cult of Mēn Pharnakou at Ameria near Kabeira, most likely by

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[721] Ibid., 39; A. Goetze, "Bemerkungen zu dem hethitischen Text AO 9608 des Louvre," *RHA* (1930): 18-30.

[722] E. Sökmen, "Characteristics of the Temple States in Pontos," in *Mithridates VI and the Pontic Kingdom*, ed. J. M. Højte (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 2009), 278, 282.

[723] Strabo 12.3.37; Sökmen, "Characteristics of the Temple States in Pontos," 281; Mitchell, "In Search of the Pontic Community in Antiquity," 57.

Pharnakes I, demonstrates the Mithridatic kings' deliberate integration of both Persian and Anatolian tradition into the nature of their sovereignty in taking the royal oath here.[724]

Amaseia remained the heart of the Pontic Empire for approximately one hundred years, from Mithridates I's foundation of the dynasty in the early third century BCE until Pharnakes I captured Sinope in 183 BCE and transferred the capital there.[725] Amaseia's importance continued in the second and first centuries BCE. Throughout the reign of the Pontic kings, it maintained a significant civic and sacred status, owing both to its strategic location and its associated sanctuary of Zeus Stratios, and a garrison existed in the fortress at least to the reign of Pharnakes I.[726] The city fell to the Roman general Lucullus in 70 BCE, and following Mithridates VI's demise in 63 BCE and Pompey's subsequent reorganization of territory in Asia Minor, it was officially annexed to the Roman province of Galatia in 3/2 BCE, forming part of the region Pontus Galaticus. Numismatic evidence indicates that Amaseia possessed the coveted title of "metropolis" of Pontus Galaticus, and also that it retained the honorary title even after Neocaesarea assumed the official role during the formation of the province Pontus Mediterraneus in 64 BCE.[727] Thus, Amaseia was extraordinarily well suited to serve as the seat of power in a

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[724] Strabo 12.3.31; Mitchell, "In Search of the Pontic Community in Antiquity," 57; Sökmen, "Characteristics of the Temple States in Pontos," 283. Sökmen argues that the genitive modifier in Mēn Pharnakou is a reference to the cult's foundation by the reputed forefather of Mithridates Pharnakes, husband of Kyros' maternal aunt Atossa, but most scholars believe that it was Pharnakes I of Pontos, grandfather of Mithridates VI, who instituted the cult.

[725] Strabo 12.3.39-40.

[726] D. B. Erciyas, *Wealth, Aristocracy and Royal Propaganda under the Hellenistic Kingdom of the Mithradatids in the Central Black Sea Region of Turkey* (Boston: Brill, 2006), 40; *OGIS* 365. The inscription comes from Tomb E at Amaseia, which is generally assumed to be the tomb of Pharnakes I, and mentions a certain Metrodoros, the *phrourarchesas* of the citadel. The *OGIS* interprets the Pharnakes mentioned in the inscription as Pharnakes II, the son of Mithridates VI, and thus Erciyas comes to the conclusion that the garrison must have existed at least to the time of Mithridates VI. The Pharnakes in the inscription, however, is now generally taken to be Pharnakes I (d. ca. 155 BCE), the grandfather of Mithridates VI.

[727] Erciyas, *Wealth, Aristocracy and Royal Propaganda*, 41.

location that held accumulated political, ethnic, and religious associations for the local inhabitants of the region.

Contextualizing Amaseia

Reconstructing the Ancient City

Focusing a GIS-based approach to reconstructing the context of Amaseia provides a visual representation of the ancient city itself, locating in the topography the known monuments that structured the ancient city and their physical and visual relationships to one another. The term "reconstruction," however, is a somewhat loaded term, often implying "a level of interpretive certainty which is largely unobtainable."[728] A reflexive acknowledgement of the inconsistencies associated with such terminology illuminates a second methodological limitation of the use of GIS technology that purports to describe, or re-construct, a "reality" experienced by ancient peoples. Such a reality is impossible to construct: firstly, because the archaeological and historical records are incomplete, and we simply do not possess all of the information necessary to reconstruct any ancient city in its entirety; secondly, as Ullmann points out, ancient peoples largely experienced their territory in the form of relational significance rather than as fixed, finite points on a digitized map.[729] The accompanying map (Figs. 94 and 95) locating the known archaeological evidence from Hellenistic and Roman Amaseia should be read not as a representation of reality at the time of the Mithridatic kings, but rather as a representation of the available archaeological evidence presented in scholarly visual convention. My analysis makes

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[728] Watterson, "Beyond Digital Dwelling," 120. See also Molyneaux, *The Cultural Life of Images*; Swogger, "Image and Interpretation," 143-52; Smiles and Moser, *Envisioning the Past.* For a more detailed discussion of the methodology used in this study, see Chapter One, pp. 18-24.

[729] Ullmann, "The Significance of Place," 105-7.

use of the interpretive possibilities offered by this convention, which includes viewshed analysis

to explore topographical relationships and the significance of the tombs' location.[730]

Excavation in the region has been limited, but associating the extant structures with

Strabo's detailed description provides a productive assessment of the organization of the

Hellenistic city and its monuments' relationships to one another. It is possible to identify virtually

all of the monuments mentioned by Strabo; clearly, these were the most significant features that

defined the city's character and appearance. The most imposing remains are indeed the

fortification walls that crown Harşena Dağı ("citadel" on the city map). Due to considerable

alteration during the Byzantine and Ottoman periods, no less than six occupation levels have

been identified overall, with the original Hellenistic construction visible in the tower's lower

courses of isodomic masonry and in the dungeon on the summit.[731] Strabo mentions two tunnels

associated with the fortress's water supply, both of which are known today: one on the summit,

and another farther down the slope near the river. When Hamilton examined the tunnels in the

early nineteenth century, he found the entrance and parts of the walls of the latter tunnel built up

with blocks of Hellenic masonry as well as a small pool of cold water still in existence about

three hundred feet from the opening.[732] Within the fortification circuit, Strabo indicates, were the

royal basileia and *mnemata* (i.e., the royal tombs), the former of which were located on the ledge

now occupied by the Ottoman-period Kızlar Sarayı ("basileia" on the city map), and the latter of

which, the most conspicuous remnants of the ancient city, lie adjacent to the palace, still

overlooking the river (Tombs A-E on the city map). These *mnemata* are integrated into the same

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[730] See Chapter Four, pp. 164-67, for a discussion of viewshed analysis.

[731] Cumont, *Studia Pontica II*, 152, 157; Lindsay, "Amasya and Strabo's *Patria* in Pontus," 188; Erciyas, *Wealth, Aristocracy and Royal Propaganda*, 41.

[732] Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor*, 367-69.

rock mass as the palace and the city walls, and it is likely that they formed a restricted complex in which entrance to the basileia provided access to the *mnemata*. Strabo also mentions two bridges. One leads from the city to the suburbs, and is easily identified with the Alçak Köprüsü (labeled "Alçak Köprüsü" on the city map), whose Hellenistic/Roman arches are still visible beneath the modern footbridge. The second bridge, leading from the suburbs to the outside territory, has been identified with the modern Tersakan Su.[733] Roman-era remains include an aqueduct that can still be seen above the Tokat road (labeled "Roman aqueduct" on the city map), which yielded an inscription recording repairs made in the third century CE, and a cemetery that has been excavated in a central area of the modern city.[734] Epigraphical finds suggest that an arena, a theater, and an agora once adorned the city, but these have yet to be located.[735] Additionally, Gregory of Nyssa describes a temple to the Great Mother beside the river, and Stanley Ireland suggests the possibility of the existence of other temples dedicated to the imperial cult, Hades-Serapis, Athena, Apollo, Asklepios, Tyche, and Ares with Aphrodite, as these all feature as motifs on Roman coins minted in the city.[736] Further afield, on a mountaintop approximately ten kilometers east of the city near the modern village of Yassıçal, lay the great

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[733] For the Alçak Köprüsü, see de Jerphanion, *Mélanges d'archéologie anatolienne*, 41-42; Lindsay, "Amasya and Strabo's *Patria* in Pontus," 190. In 1926, the Yeşilırmak river was low enough that de Jerphanion was able to discern that the river had silted up about five or six meters since antiquity and suggested that this was the level of the ancient city. For the Tersakan Su, see Cumont, *Studia Pontica II*, 147-48 and Lindsay, "Amasya and Strabo's *Patria* in Pontus," 190.

[734] For the aqueduct, see O. and C. Nicholson, "The Aqueduct of Amasya in Pontus," *AnatSt* 43 (1993): 143-46; for the Roman cemetery, see M. Tektas, "Amasya Merkez Eski Şamlar Mezarlığı," *Belleten* 52 (1988): 1715-19; H. Takaz, "28.12.1973 - 26.1.1974 Amasya Kulistepe Nekropol Kazısı Ön Raporu," *TürkArkDerg* 22, no. 1 (1988): 109-15; A. Yuce, "Amasya Merkez Eski Şamlar Mezarlığı 1993 Yılı," *V. Muze Kurtama Kazilari Semineri, 25-28 Nisan 1994, Didim* (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 1995), 1-16.

[735] Ireland, *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Coins in the Museum at Amasya*, 5, n. 38; Anderson, Cumont, and *Grégoire, Studia Pontica III, 133 no. 109.*

[736] Gregory of Nyssa, *De S. Theodoro Mart. Patrologia Graeca* 46 p. 744A; Ireland, *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Coins in the Museum at Amasya*, 5.

sanctuary of Zeus Stratios frequently represented on Roman coins (labeled "Zeus Stratios

Sanctuary" on the city map), which has attracted recent scholarship due to the possibility that it

may be associated with Mithridates VI's sacrifices after his military victories in 82 BCE and 74

BCE.[737]

    In the early 2000s, excavations led by Şevket Dönmez began in the province of Amasya

and continue to the present, focusing on Iron Age settlements in the region as well as Hellenistic-

and Roman-period sites, particularly the settlement mound of Oluz Höyük.[738] Excavations near

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[737] App. *Mithr*. 66, 70; C. Williamson, "Power, Politics and Panoramas: Viewing the Sacred Landscape of Zeus Stratios near Amaseia," in *Space, Place, and Identity in Northern Anatolia*, ed. T. Bekker-Nielsen (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2014), 175-88.

[738] Summaries of the excavation reports began appearing in 2001, and have appeared regularly since 2009: see Ş. Dönmez, "Amasya Müzesi'nden Boya Bezekli İki Çanak Işığında Kızılırmak Kavsi Geç Demir ve Helenistik Çağları Çanak-Çömleğine Yeni bir Bakış," *TüBA-Ar* 4 (2001): 89-99; Dönmez, "The 2nd Millennium B.C. Settlements in Samsun and Amasya Provinces, 243-293; M. Özsait and N. Özsait, "Les céramiques du Fer Ancien (l'âge obscur) dans la région d'Amasya," *AnatAnt* 10 (2002): 79-95; M. Doğanbaş, "Amasya Merkez Kurşunlu Mahallesi Temel Hafriyatı Kurtarma Kazısı," in *12. Müze Çalışmaları ve Kurtarma Kazıları Sempozyumu. Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi müdürü sayın Dr. Turhan Özkan'ın anısına. Kuşadası, 25 -27 nisan 2001*, ed. K. Olşen (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Millî Kütüphane Basımevi, 2002), 63-72; Ş. Dönmez, "1997 - 1999 Yılları Yüzey Araştırmalarında İncelenen Amasya İli Demir Çağı Yerleşmeleri," *Belleten* 69 (2005): 467-97; Ş. Dönmez, "Amasya Province in the Iron Age," in *Anatolian Iron Ages 5: Proceedings of the Fifth Anatolian Iron Ages Colloquium Held at Van, 6-10 August 2001*, ed. A. Çilingiroğlu and G. Darbyshire (London: British Institute at Ankara, 2005), 65-74; F. A. Yüksel and O. Tarhan-Bal, "Amasya: Oluz Höyük 2007 Yılı Jeofizif Uygulamaları," *Arkeometri Sonuçları Toplantısı* 24 (2009): 1-12; M. Doğanbaş, "Amasya Merkez Harşena Kalesi 2007 Yılı Kurtarma Kazısı," in *17. Müze Çalışmaları ve Kurtarma Kazıları Sempozyumu. 28 nisan - 1 mayıs 2008, Side*, ed. A. N. Toy and C. Keskin (Ankara: T. C. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 2009), 11-28; Ş. Dönmez and E. E. Naza-Dönmez, "Amasya-Oluz Höyük Kazısı 2007 Dönemi Çalışmaları: Ilk Sonuçlar," *Belleten* 73 (2009): 395-422; Ş. Dönmez and E. E. Naza-Dönmez, "Amasya-Oluz Höyük Kazısı 2007 Dönemi Çalışmaları: Ilk Sonuçlar," *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* 30, no. 4 (2009): 87-106; F. Yüksel and E. Dönmez, "Amasya (Harşena) Kalesi 2009 Arkeojeofizik Araştırmaları," *Arkeometri Sonuçları Toplantısı* 26 (2010): 37-50; F. A. Yüksel, O. Tarhan-Bal, and Z. Keçeli, "Amasya - Oluz Höyük Kazısı Jeofizik Araştırmaları ve Coğrafik Bilgi Sistemi (CBS) Uygulamaları," *Höyük* 2 (2010): 55-65; V. Onar, "Amasya - Oluz Höyük Kazısı 2008 Dönemi Arkeozoolojik Sonuçları," *Höyük* 2 (2010): 29-53; M. Özsait and N. Özsait, "2008 Yılı Tokat ve Amasya İlleri Yüzey Araştırmaları," *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı* 27, no. 2 (2010): 195-222; Ş. Dönmez and E. E. Naza-Dönmez, "Oluz Höyük Kazısı Dönemi Çalışmaları," *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* 31, no. 3 (2010): 379-400; Ş. Dönmez and E. E. Naza-Dönmez, "Amasya - Oluz Höyük Kazısı 2008 Dönemi Çalışmaları: Yeni Sonuçlar ve Değerlendirmeler," *Höyük* 2 (2010): 1-27; M. Ş. Yildiz, F. A. Yüksel, and Ş. Dönmez, "Amasya Terziköy Roma Hamami Arkeojeofizik Çalışmaları," *Arkeometri Sonuçları Toplantısı* 27 (2011): 121-38; E. E. Naza-Dönmez, "Amasya Harşena Kalesi ve Kızlar Sarayı Kazısı 2009 Yılı Sonuçları," *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* 32, no. 4 (2011): 111-20; Ş. Dönmez, "Oluz Höyük Kazısı 2009 dönemi çalışmaları," *Kazı sonuçları toplantısı* 32, no. 4 (2011): 92-110; E. E. Naza-Dönmez, "Amasya-Harşena Kalesi ve Kızlar Sarayı Kazısı 2010 Dönemi Çalışmaları," *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* 33, no. 3 (2012): 267-81; Ş. Dönmez, "A New Excavation in Pontic Cappadocia: Amasya-Oluz Höyük. Preliminary results for the Hellenistic Period and Iron Age Layers," In *The Black Sea, Paphlagonia, Pontus and Phrygia in Antiquity: Aspects of Archaeology and Ancient History*, ed. G. R. Tsetskhaldze, et al. (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2012), 67-78; C. Kocabıyık, "Investigation of the Rural Settlements in NW of Amasya During the Hellenistic and Roman Periods by

the ancient citadel of Amaseia, especially the sloped area between the east and west groupings of

tombs are ongoing, and it is hoped that the results of these endeavors will shed further light on

the pre-Mithridatic history of the city and its organizational layout during the Hellenistic and

Roman periods. Additionally, recent surveys and excavation projects have started to illuminate

the cultural development of the Samsun[739] (ancient Amisos) and Sinop[740] (ancient Sinope)

regions along the Black Sea Coast, which will provide invaluable contributions to understanding

the historical and cultural contexts that shaped the areas that fell under the sway of the

Mithridatic kingdom.[741]

A Roman Imperial coin showing a panorama of the city of Amaseia, minted during the

reign of Severus Alexander (222-235 CE), offers a useful comparison to the description provided

Using GIS," In *Exploring the Hospitable Sea: Proceedings of the International Workshop on the Black Sea in Antiquity Held in Thessaloniki, 21 - 23 September 2012*, ed. M. Manoledakes, 175-80 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2013); Ş. Dönmez, "Oluz Höyük: Preliminary Results for the Hellenistic Period and Iron Age Layers," in *The Bosporus: Gateway Between the Ancient West and East (1st millennium B.C. - 5th century A.D.): Proceedings of the Fourth International Congress on Black Sea Antiquities, Istanbul, 14th - 18th September 2009*, ed. G. R. Tsetskhladze, et al. (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2013), 363-71.

[739] For a recent summary of survey projects in the Samsun area, see Ö. Bilgi, et al., "Samsun (Amisos) Bölgesi'nin Kültürel Gelişimi Projesi," *Belleten* 68 (2004): 387-402. Specific studies include those on coinage: A. G. Malloy, *The Coinage of Amisus* (Chicago: A. Malloy, 1970), pottery: A. Alexandropoulou, "The Late Classical and Hellenistic Pottery of Sinope and Amisos," in *The Black Sea, Paphlagonia, Pontus and Phrygia in Antiquity: Aspects of Archaeology and Ancient History*, ed. G. R. Tsetskhladze, E. Laflı, J. Hargrave, and W. Anderson (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2012), 9-11; terracottas: L. Summerer, *Hellenistische Terrakotten aus Amisos. Ein Beitrag zur Kunstgeschichte des Pontosgebietes* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1999), and tumuli: S. Atasoy, M. Endoğru, and Ş. Dönmez, "Samsun-Baruthane Tümülüsleri Kurtarma Kazısı," *JKF* 18, no. 2 (2007): 153-65; M. M. Jackson, "The Amisos Treasure: A Hellenistic Tomb from the Age of Mithradates Eupator," in *The Black Sea, Paphlagonia, Pontus and Phrygia in Antiquity: Aspects of Archaeology and Ancient History*, ed. G. R. Tsetskhladze, et al., 109-16 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2012).

[740] The most recent systematic research on the Sinop promontory is the Sinope Regional Archaeological Project, with extensive bibliography on the project website: http://srap.newmedialab.cuny.edu/publications/bibliography, especially the annual field reports. Cf. O. Doonan's monograph, *Sinop Landscapes: Exploring Connection in the Hinterland of a Black Sea Port* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum Publications, 2004), and more recently, Doonan, "Sacred Landscapes and the Colonization of the Sinop Promontory," 68-78.

[741] Additionally, the recent Project Paphlagonia conducted under the aegis of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara provides recent research concerning the neighboring region of Paphlagonia, through which Mithridates I initially passed before establishing the capital of the Pontic kingdom at Amaseia. See R. Matthews and C. Glatz, eds., *At Empires' Edge: Project Paphlagonia Regional Survey in North-Central Turkey* (London: British Institute at Ankara, 2009), as well as the website hosted at: http://www.ucl.ac.uk/paphlagonia/.

by Strabo and the present archaeological remains in the city (Fig. 96).[742] Amaseia is presented in schematic panorama, a typical stylistic device of ancient coins that emphasizes prominent, immediately recognizable features at the expense of the elaboration of finer details in order to accommodate the limited pictorial space of a coin. The Severan coin of Amaseia indicates a schematic perspective of the south face of Harşena Dağı, seen perhaps from the approximate location of the Alçak Köprüsü, loöing up towards the fortification circuit described by Strabo. The twin fortification towers of Harşena Dağı are clearly distinguishable on the left and right sides of the image; situated between them near the bottom is a hexastyle temple to the right and an unusual niche to the left; near the top of the fortified peaks are a tetrastyle temple to the left and a cylindrical projection emitting fire or smoke to the right. A similar arrangement is visible on a less-frequently cited Domitianic coin (81-96 CE), which depicts fortification towers ascending two clearly distinguishable mountain peaks, and a schematized temple between them near the bottom of the fortified circuit.[743]

The twin fortification towers clearly articulated with ashlar masonry, the existence of two temples, and the identification of the cylindrical projection with a fire altar are the only unanimously agreed-upon features of the Amaseian mountain shown on this coin.[744] The specific dedication and location of the temples and fire altar as well as the nature of the niche-like opening have raised significant questions about the monuments represented and what

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[742] W. H. Waddington, et al., *Recueil général des monnaies grecques d'Asie Mineure* vol. 1 (Paris: E. Leroux, 1904), pl. 10, no. VI; M. Price and B. Trell, *Coins and Their Cities: Architecture on the Ancient Coins of Greece, Rome, and Palestine* (London: Vecchi, 1977), 91-93; Ireland, *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Coins in the Museum at Amasya*, 5; Lindsay, "Amasya and Strabo's *Patria* in Pontus," 190-91; S. Dönmez, "The Achaemenid Impact on the Central Black Sea Region," in *The Achaemenid Impact on Local Populations and Cultures in Anatolia (Sixth - Fourth Centuries B.C.): Papers Presented at the International Workshop Istanbul 20-21 May 2005*, ed. İ. Delemen, (Istanbul: Turkish Institute of Archaeology, 2007), 109.

[743] Price and Trell, *Coins and Their Cities*, 91-93.

[744] Ibid.; Ireland, *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Coins in the Museum at Amasya*, 5; Lindsay, "Amasya and Strabo's *Patria* in Pontus," 190-91; Dönmez, "The Achaeamenid Impact on the Central Black Sea Region," 109.

information they provide about the city in both the Hellenistic and the Roman Imperial periods.

Dönmez interprets the tetrastyle temple and fire altar as located near the entrance to the citadel, rather than as emblems of the important sanctuary of Zeus Stratios, located about ten kilometers east of the city near the modern village of Yassıçal.[745] Zeus Stratios, a military deity, was worshiped at several cult centers in Anatolia, and it has been suggested that the sanctuary at Yassıçal was the site of Mithridates VI's famous Persian-style sacrifice to the god after his victory in the Second Mithridatic War (83-81 BCE).[746] The significance of the cult to the region continued even after the Romans took control of Pontos, evident in the frequent appearance of its distinctive altar on Amaseian coin issues during the Roman period.[747] Price and Trell argue that the earlier Domitianic coin, which does not include the temple and altar in its representation of the mountain, should be taken as evidence that the structures appearing on the Severan coin were not actually situated on the mountain. This interpretation, however, is highly tenuous, as the sanctuary of Zeus Stratios lies not directly behind, but rather to the east of Amaseia, and the peak is at such a distance that it is not visible from the citadel. Furthermore, even though there was a Roman temple built on the site, in Imperial coinage clearly showcasing the altar of Zeus Stratios,

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[745] Price and Trell argue that the temple and altar were designed according to the numismatic convention of "showing above what actually stood behind." See *Coins and Their Cities*, 91-93. The cult of Zeus Stratios had worship centers throughout Anatolia.

[746] Appian, *Mithr*. 66. A later Mithridatic sacrifice to Zeus Stratios during the Third Mithridatic War is recorded in Appian, *Mithr*. 70. The most recent study of the sanctuary is Williamson, "Power, Politics, and Panoramas," 175-88. Historical manifestations of the cult in Anatolia are discussed in A. Teffeteller, "Strategies on Continuity in the Construction of Ethnic and Cultural Identity: The Lineage and Role of Zeus Stratios in Pontus and Paphlagonia," in *The Black Sea, Paphlagonia, Pontus and Phrygia in Antiquity: Aspects of Archaeology and Ancient History*, ed. G. R. Tsetskhladze (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2012), 223-28, and previous analyses of the cult can be found in: J. Dalaison, "Le culte de Zeus Stratios à Amaseia du Pont sous l'empire romain," in *La norme religieuse dans l'Antiquité. Colloque organisé les 14 e 15 décembre 2007 par les Universités Lyon 2 et Lyon 3*, ed. M.-O. Charles-Laforge and B. Cabouret (Paris: De Boccard, 2011), 203-18 and L. Ballesteros Pastor, "El culto de Mitrídates a Zeus Estratio," in *Histoire, espaces et marges de l'Antiquité: hommages à Monique Clavel-Lévêque*, ed. M. Clavel-Lévêque, M. Garrido-Hory, and A. Gonzalès (Besancon: Presses universitaires franc-comtoises, 2003), 209-22.

[747] V. Sauer, "Urban Space: The Evidence of Coins," in *Space, Place, and Identity in Northern Anatolia*, ed. T. Bekker-Nielsen (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2014), 117, and J. Dalaison, "Civic Pride and Local Identities: The Pontic Cities and their Coinage in the Roman Period," in the same volume, p. 137.

it appears in a rectangular, rather than cylindrical, form.[748] Because of this evidence and the fact that the temple is actually overlapped by part of the fortification walls, suggesting its situation within the fortification circuit, it is far more likely that the unit represents some form of sacred construction that was instituted at the summit of the mountain rather than some ten kilometers east and not even remotely visible from the city. Looking at the citadel from a similar vantage point today reveals that even in their ruinous state, the constructions atop the citadel would have been clearly visible above the highest point of the mountain, rendering the projection of the temple and altar beyond the height of the tallest tower plausible. Perhaps the fire altar indicates a form of eastern religious practice in place at the citadel since the time of the Mithridatids, or a localized urban correspondent of the larger, rural Zeus Stratios sanctuary, such as the city Eleusinion in the Athenian Agora provided for the great rural sanctuary at Eleusis.

The larger, hexastyle temple at the bottom of the scene seems to dominate the location that the Hellenistic palace had once occupied at the foot of the mountain; consequently, it is probable that this temple is a Roman construction, possibly the temple of the imperial cult that gave Amaseia its coveted status as *Neokoros* in the mid-second century CE or the temple dedicated to the Great Mother known to have stood beside the river.[749] The unusual opening to the left of this temple has garnered surprisingly little attention, yet it is the most instructive feature of the coin for the purposes of this study. Price and Trell argue that it represents one of the tombs of the Pontic kings mentioned by Strabo,[750] the most likely explanation given the opening's location to the left (west) of a larger structure occupying the former site of the

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[748] See the numerous examples in Waddington, et al., *Recueil général des monnaies grecques d'Asie Mineure* vol. 1, pl. IV, no. 14; pl. V, no. 12-14, 26; pl. VI, no. 1-4, 8-9, 12-14.

[749] Price and Trell, *Coins and Their Cities*, 91-93; Ireland, *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Coins in the Museum at Amasya*, 5.

[750] Price and Trell, *Coins and Their Cities*, 91-93.

Hellenistic basileia and its positioning on a lower ledge of the mountain. It could be argued that the hexastyle temple is actually a depiction of Mithridates I's hexastyle temple tomb, but if the opening is also a royal tomb, the pictorial limitations of numismatic representation would make it extremely difficult and visually confusing to show two adjacent temple-style tombs in the same space. Moreover, Fleischer's recent reconstruction of Tomb A (believed to be the tomb of Mithridates I) shows an entrance to the burial chamber remarkably similar in shape to the opening represented on the Severan coin (Fig. 97). Thus, the founder's tomb functions metonymically, alluding to all five tombs with the abbreviation of one monument. Two important conclusions can be drawn from this assessment. First, in both Strabo's verbal portrayal of Amaseia and its schematized representation on Roman Imperial coins, the tombs of the Pontic kings functioned as significant visual markers and played an important role in defining the character of the city and its urban topography. Second, rather than showing the royal tomb as it actually appeared with an architecturalized temple facade, the artist chose to reduce the tomb's depiction to one characteristic visual feature: the smaller, elevated opening that conditioned both visual and physical access to the royal grave. Significantly, this point of access does not refer to a figural representation, as one might encounter upon entering the naos of a Greek temple; rather, it signals a predominantly inaccessible opening that likely has its roots in Zoroastrian- or Achaemenid-inspired tombs (discussed below). The ambiguity represented here was a recognizable element of the royal tomb, articulating a symbolic threshold in the rock mass, yet obscuring visual and physical access to the contents within.

The Royal Tombs

The royal tombs in Amaseia are situated in a roughly east-west line across the southern slope of Harşena Dağı, the modern name of the double-peaked mountain overlooking the Yeşilırmak River that commands the center of the ancient as well as the modern city. The tombs are the latest in a long line of Anatolian rupestral tombs stemming from Urartu in the ninth-seventh centuries BCE to those constructed in Lykia and Karia during the fifth and fourth centuries BCE, which they closely resemble in many aspects. Three of the tombs, generally considered to be the earliest of the five, are grouped adjacent to one another on the southeastern side of the mountain near the remains of the Hellenistic basileia, whose foundations are now obscured by the Ottoman Kızlar Sarayı ("Palace of the Maidens"). A rock-cut staircase leads from the area of the basileia to the tombs, labeled in order from east (right) to west (left) as Tomb A, Tomb B, and Tomb C. The proposed chronological sequence for this group (A as the earliest, followed by C and lastly B) acknowledges the rather awkward positioning of Tomb B between A and C, indicating that it is the latest of the three.[751] Tomb A, thought to be the earliest and therefore that of Mithridates I Ktistes, is reconstructed as a pedimental facade consisting of a three-dimensional Ionic hexastyle portico. From Tomb A, another rock-cut staircase provides access to C and B. Tomb C, associated with Mithridates I's successor Ariobarzanes, which generates a somewhat unusual architectural form with its rounded top and lack of columns. A recognizably Greek temple form is picked up again in Tomb B, associated with Mithridates II, and consisting of a pedimental facade and Ionic distyle portico.[752] The tunneled access to the

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[751] Fleischer, "The Rock-tombs of the Pontic Kings in Amaseia (Amasya)," 109-20.

[752] Fleischer describes Tombs B and D as tetrastyle (Ibid., 115), but my reconstructions based on Perrot, Guillaume, and Delbet, *Exploration archéologique,* pl. 77.III and pl. 79.I suggest that the facades were likely distyle. In Perrot, Guillaume, and Delbet's drawing of the plan of Tomb B (pl. 77.III), markings are noted for only two columns of approximately one meter in width. If the tomb facades were tetrastyle, the intercolumniations would be unusually narrow (the spacing between the west wall and westernmost column is less than two meters, while the central

tombs continues in a northwest direction, from where either the acropolis, or, further west,

Tombs D and E could be reached.

On the southwestern side of Harşena Dağı, a narrow staircase leads to the latter two royal

tombs, spaced somewhat farther apart than the three earlier structures. Tomb D, identified as the

tomb of Mithridates III, reiterates the Greek temple form of Tomb B with its pediment and Ionic

distyle portico. The final definitively royal tomb at Amaseia, Tomb E, has been associated with

Pharnakes I (the grandfather of Mithridates VI) based on an inscription found above the tomb.

The inscription above Pharnakes' tomb is the keystone in the proposed chronological analysis:

Pharnakes' tomb was left unfinished, and it is assumed that after his transference of the Pontic

capital from Amaseia to Sinope in 189 BCE, he abandoned work on the Amaseian tomb and all

subsequent royal tombs were constructed at Sinope, which has unfortunately received too little

systematic archaeological excavation to determine if any Hellenistic tombs are present.[753] As a

result, the other four royal tombs at Amaseia are associated with the four dynasts preceding

Pharnakes, although definitive evidence for identifying each of the other tombs is based

primarily on the assumed chronological sequence of A-C-B-D, in which the awkward

positioning of Tomb B in between A and C suggests that it was constructed later, and the

resulting lack of space in the southeastern face of the mountain would have prompted the

location of D and E in the southwestern face. Pharnakes' tomb demonstrates an arched facade

similar to that of Tomb C, which Robert Fleischer characterizes as "un-Greek" and diagnostic of

a trend "opposite" to that occurring in Phrygia, Lykia, Karia, and Paphlagonia, in which "the

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intercolumniation is approximately 2.50 meters). Although no column markings survive in the porch of Tomb D, the width of the porch is approximately 6.60 meters, which similarly would seem to indicate that the facade was distyle (assuming column widths of approximately one meter as in Tomb B); a tetrastyle facade as Fleischer describes would also produce here extremely narrow intercolumniations.

[753] E. Akurgal and L. Budde, *Vorläufiger Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Sinope* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1956); Y. Boysal, "Über die älteren Fünde von Sinope und die Kolonizationsfrage," *AA* (1959): 8-20.

local forms disappear gradually; they are first enriched with some imported Greek forms and later replaced by an entirely Greek appearance."[754] While the arched facade of tombs C and E does present a facade design largely unparalleled in Anatolia up to this time, it will be demonstrated below that the facade constructions of these tombs have their closest known parallels in the rupestral tombs of Karia and the funerary stelai in eastern Greek territories, regions which, much like Pontos, were characterized by the fluid Greek, Persian, and local Anatolian cultural dynamics that shaped each region's development and historical significance. Accompanying the description of each of the royal tombs is a three-dimensional reconstruction of the architectural features of each tomb created using SketchUp. These models are important for providing a readily accessible and comprehensible visualization of the architecture as it existed in three-dimensional space, which, furthermore, allows scholars to draw more detailed comparisons between these structures and related architecture to better understand the historical architectural trajectory to which these monuments belong. The SketchUp models, like any other methodology, also have their limitations (see Chapter One, pp. 22-24, for a more detailed discussion). For example, although measurements of the royal tombs are given in Perrot, Guillaume, and Delbet's early exploration, constructing a three-dimensional model from a two-dimensional plan required inferencing some measurements that were not provided in the published material.[755] The Ionic columns, furthermore, were generated using a generic model, and do not represent the actual configuration of the bases and volutes because no parts of the columns survive, except for markings in the porches of Tombs A and B that denote placement of the bases. Slots in the facades of the tombs indicate that some sort of paneling was attached to

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[754] Fleischer, "The Rock-tombs of the Pontic Kings in Amaseia (Amasya)," 116.

[755] Perrot, Guillaume, and Delbet, *Exploration archéologique*, 367-71, pl. 70, 75-80. Fleischer's forthcoming monograph promises to be a detailed architectural study and should rectify any discrepancies.

the facade, which I have rendered as marble, although other materials are possible. Additionally, I have left the roofs off of the reconstruction of the burial chambers to facilitate comprehension of the interior space. Curved tops of the walls indicate where the soffit was carved to resemble a barrel vault, and flat tops of the walls indicate where the soffit was carved flat. Some minor estimations remain in the reconstructions, for example, where the length of a wall was not given, but it could be reasonably estimated based on where it was necessary to join to another element. These estimations were necessary to render a complete reconstruction using the modeling software.

Tomb A: Mithridates I Ktistes, r. ca. 314 BCE - ca. 266 BCE

Tomb A, considered the earliest of the royal tombs at Amaseia and therefore attributed to the reign of Mithridates I Ktistes (r. ca. 314-266 BCE)[756] boasts a façade that adopts the form of a Greek temple, with traces of columns indicating an in antis hexastyle façade crowned by a triangular pediment (Figs. 98-99; Cat. III.1).[757] Three monumental steps in the front lead to a spacious courtyard beneath the portico, but these steps must have been provided solely for visual monumentality or ceremonial function rather than practical considerations, as they terminate at the edge of a cliff, and the only feasible entrance to the portico is from the rock-cut staircase leading from the basileia east of the tomb. An attempt was made to excavate the structure entirely from the surrounding rock by means of a corridor and to give it the effect of a freestanding building, but this was never completed due to the crumbly nature of the rock and its

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[756] I have retained the traditional associations of specific Pontic kings with individual tombs, but it is important to note that the chronological sequencing of the tombs and their associated patrons is not definitive (except in the case of Tomb E, which is known by epigraphic evidence to have been prepared for Pharnakes I). In each description I have explained the reasoning behind its association with a particular king.

[757] Fleischer, "The Rock-tombs of the Pontic Kings in Amaseia (Amasya)," 115, fig. 4a-d.

numerous fissures.[758] As a result, only some of the space above the pediment has been carved

out, likening the appearance of the façade to the lesser-known tombs at Kyllandos and Idyma in

Karia.[759] Precedents for the hollowed-out corridors characteristic of the tombs at Amaseia occur

elsewhere in fourth-century BCE Karia, notably at Kaunos and the Tomb of Amyntas at

Telmessos.[760] Square-shaped holes in the front wall of the structure indicate the existence of

some kind of revetment or scaffolding.[761] In front of the entrance to the burial chamber are slots

in the floor in which table legs or an altar may have been placed, providing a privileged space for

a variety of sacrificial or ceremonial activities related to the funerary cult to take place.[762]

The burial chamber itself is accessed through an opening in the front wall, set slightly

off-center (towards the east), reachable only by means of a ladder (Fig. 100). The opening is

surrounded by a triple-fasciaed frame that possibly resembles the entrance to a naos or other

sacred space. The height of the opening is perhaps the most notable feature, however,

representing a break with the tombs' formal predecessors in Karia and elsewhere that utilize a

full-length door extending to the floor of the portico. The unusual, inaccessible height of each

entrance into the burial chambers at Amaseia is most likely a reference to Iranian and

Zoroastrian standards of purity regarding burials (discussed below).

The interior of Tomb A, as in each of the other tombs, is relatively compact, comprising

only a single burial chamber surrounded on three sides by rock-cut benches (the benches do not

extend to the wall space taken up by the opening). The corpse(s) were probably placed directly

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[758] Ibid., 111.

[759] Özdemir, *Amasya Kalesi ve Kral Kaya Mezarları*, 90.

[760] Fleischer, "The Rock-tombs of the Pontic Kings in Amaseia (Amasya)," 111.

[761] Ibid., 155; Özdemir, *Amasya Kalesi ve Kral Kaya Mezarları*, 90.

[762] Özdemir, *Amasya Kalesi ve Kral Kaya Mezarları*, 92.

on the stone benches, and there is a depression in the middle of the floor of the chamber.[763] The

burials would have been extremely limited in number, possibly only containing one, two, or at

most three bodies, but aside from the placement of the kings themselves as recorded by Strabo,

no information survives to indicate who else, if anyone, was buried here. The opening would

most likely have been closed by a wooden or metal door that could be opened and closed with a

locking, lead clamp, as grooves and traces of iron clamps found on the edge of the opening

indicate.[764]

A clear picture of Mithridates I's reign and the early history of the Pontic house is

obfuscated by conflicting and sometimes vague sources as well as a dynastic line dominated by a

few repeated names, but historians generally agree that when the Pontic dynasty first appears on

the Hellenistic political stage, its earliest known patriarch held power in the area of Bithynia near

the Marmara Sea and possibly along the southern shore of the Black Sea. Gradually the

Mithridatids gathered support throughout Paphlagonia and parts of Kappadokia, eventually

settling in Amaseia and claiming direct lineage from both Kyros and Dareios by the time of

Mithridates VI Eupator.[765] The earliest known Pontic dynast appears in Diodoros' account of the

campaign of Ipsos (301 BCE), during which a certain Mithridates, who was a subject of

Antigonos, was executed on suspicion of loyalty to Kassander.[766] Diodoros reports that this

Mithridates was killed "in the vicinity of Cius in Mysia, having ruled over 'it' and 'Arrhine' (or

'Marine') for 35 years. The successor to his *dunasteia* was Mithridates [his son], who acquired

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[763] Ibid., 91.

[764] Özdemir, *Amasya Kalesi ve Kral Kaya Mezarları*, 92.

[765] Sall. *Hist*. 2.85; Just. 38.7.1; Tac. *Ann*. 12.18.2.

[766] Diod. 20.111.14

many additional subjects and ruled over Cappadocia and Paphlagonia for 36 years."[767] The

former Mithridates' *dunasteia* (or as it is referred to elsewhere by Diodoros, his *basileia*) has

traditionally been interpreted as a reference to the ancient city of Kios, a disappointingly small

territory for the impressive vocabulary employed by Diodoros.[768] Bosworth and Wheatley,

however, have convincingly demonstrated that the *dunasteia* is likely a reference to the whole

territory of Mysia, and the territory listed as "Arrhine" should probably be identified with

Mariandynia, in the hinterland of Herakleia Pontika along the southwestern coast of the Black

Sea.[769] This interpretation accords well with Polybios' statement that "the royalty of Pontus was

descended from one of the Seven [Persian noble families] and had preserved the *dunasteia* along

the Black Sea coast which had been conferred by Darius I."[770] Furthermore, Diodoros details

several events regarding Orontes, satrap of Mysia, and Bosworth and Wheatley speculate that

upon his death in 360 or 350 BCE, his territory in Mysia was removed from his family's control

and taken into possession by Ariobarzanes, the predecessor to Mithridates "of Kios."[771] The

accounts of Mithridates "of Kios" result in a picture of an emerging dynastic house that initially

received a land grant from Dareios I (Mariandynia), and at some point at the end of the fourth

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[767] Ibid. Translated in Bosworth and Wheatley, "The Origins of the Pontic House," 155.

[768] Bosworth and Wheatley, "The Origins of the Pontic House," 156; Diod. 15.90.3.

[769] Bosworth and Wheatley, "The Origins of the Pontic House," 156-58. In the passage from Diodoros stating that Mithridates ruled over "it" (i.e., either the city of Kios or the entire region of Mysia), Bosworth and Wheatley demonstrate the grammatical probability that "it" (*autes*) refers to Mysia instead of Kios, as it has been traditionally interpreted. The pronoun *autes* could technically refer to either antecedent, but the authors compare the sentence structure to Diodoros' description of the campaign of Kyros into Kilikia, when Kyros and his army "marched to Tarsus, the greatest of the cities in Kilikia, and quickly became master of 'it'" (Diod. 14.20.2). The syntax of this passage is clear that Diodoros is describing Kyros' mastery of the satrapy of Kilikia, not the city of Tarsos, which "was already open to Cyrus and totally vulnerable." Here again, the pronoun *autes* refers to the larger territory and the immediately antecedent feminine noun (156). Bosworth and Wheatley attribute the contraction of Maryandynia to Marine during the course of manuscript transmission, and speculate that secondary corruption lead to the transcription of Arrhine in some manuscripts.

[770] Ibid., 157. Polyb. 5.43.2.

[771] Bosworth and Wheatley, "The Origins of the Pontic House," 157; Diod. 15.91.1.

century added Mysia to its territory.[772] Later, Mithridates' nephew and successor, Mithridates (who would eventually become Mithridates I Ktistes) expanded the terriory to include Kappadokia and Pontos.[773]

The younger Mithridates, founder of the Pontic kingdom, fought with Eumenes' forces in Iran early in his career and was later accepted into the court of Antigonos, where he became close with Antigonos' son, Demetrios.[774] Plutarch's *Life of Demetrios* gives a detailed account of the extraordinary circumstances under which Mithridates was forced to abandon the Antigonid court: Antigonos told Demetrios about a prophetic dream he had in which he perceived Mithridates as a threat and that he intended to kill Mithridates. Demetrios, on account of his friendship with Mithridates, warned him and thus allowed Mithridates to escape from Antigonos. The prophetic dream may be a later historiographical invention, but most scholars accept the historicity of Mithridates' flight from court.[775] Bosworth and Wheatley favor a date for Mithridates' flight around 314 BCE, since the context of Plutarch's account suggests that it occurred early in Demetrios' career, while he was still under the watchful eye of his father, and after ca. 314 BCE Antigonos and Demetrios generally operated separately and had little contact with one another.[776] If Mithridates' flight from Antigonos did take place around 314 BCE, it seems likely that he would have fled from Syria, in the area of Tyre or its environs. In 317 and 316 BCE, Antigonos was embroiled in conflicts with the other Successors at Paraitakene and Gabiene, and in 315/314 BCE, Antigonos and Demetrios collaborated on the siege of Tyre, of

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[772] Bosworth and Wheatley, "The Origins of the Pontic House," 158.

[773] Ibid.

[774] Ibid., 162.

[775] Ibid. Plut. *Demetr*. 4, *Mor*. 183A; App. *Mithr*. 9.27-28.

[776] Bosworth and Wheatley, "The Origins of the Pontic House," 162-63.

which Mithridates was likely a part.[777] Mithridates, then, would have spent significant time in the

central and western limits of Persian territory at the time of his northward escape through

Kappadokia and Paphlagonia.

It is at this point that we pick up the narrative of Appian and Strabo regarding

Mithridates' fortification of the base at Kimiata, where he attracted a following, eventually

declaring himself a founding king and establishing the capital of the Pontic kingdom at

Amaseia.[778] The date for the establishment of Amaseia is unknown, but if we can assume that he

fled to Paphlagonia around 314 BCE, allowing enough years for him to establish a substantial

following, then later construct a capital with fortification walls, a basileia, and a tomb at Amaseia

before his death in 266 BCE, the move to Amaseia probably took place during the first quarter of

the third century BCE.

It is on the occasion of Mithridates I Ktistes' proclamation of himself as a *basileus* that

we have the only potential remains of material culture that circulated under him. A gold stater in

emulation of the typical Alexander staters is often attributed to the reign of Mithridates I. The

obverse contains an Athena, while the reverse shows a standing Nike with the inscription "of

King Mithridates."[779] It is dated to the early Pontic period because of its use of Hellenic imagery

as well as its close relationship to the Alexander staters; additionally, it is the only Pontic stater

that lacks a royal portrait and the only gold stater struck until the reign of Mithridates IV. It does

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[777] Ibid., 162. Plutarch records that after Antigonos revealed his dream and intentions to kill Mithridates to Demetrios, Antigonos swore his son to silence. Demetrios was able to subvert the oath to his father by secretly conveying a warning to Mithridates in writing; in Plutarch's *Moralia*, he wrote it in the sand while the two of them were walking along the sea (183A). This small geographical detail accords well with a location in Tyre or its surroundings given its proximity to the Mediterranean Sea and the relative remoteness of Paraitakene and Gabiene from major bodies of water.

[778] Ibid., 163-64; App. *Mithr.* 9.28; Strabo 12.3.40-41.

[779] H. von Aulock and G. Kleiner, *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, Deutschland, Sammlung Hans Von Aulock* (*SNGvA*) I (Berlin: Mann, 1957); Waddington, et al., *Recueil général des monnaies grecques d'Asie Mineure* vol. 1, pl. 10, no. 1.

not include the emblematic crescent and star motif, one of the primary symbols of the Pontic

dynasty.[780] Speculation regarding the "*basileus*" inscription on the coin leads to the assumption

that it was minted following Mithridates' victory over Seleukos' general Diodoros in 281 BCE or

in the aftermath of Lysimachos' or Seleukos' death, when Mithridates could have more easily

usurped the title of king.[781] More recent analyses, however, convincingly suggest that the coin

should be downdated to the period of time before Mithridates III, on the basis of control

characters that match those on a civic issue of sigloi minted at Amisos, which was only acquired

by the Mithridatids in the middle of the third century BCE.[782] Given the above information, the

finds at Kimiata and Tomb A at Amaseia are probably the only surviving remains from the reign

of Mithridates I. It is significant, however, that he was well-traveled: he inherited a dynasty in

the northwest regions of Anatolia and fought alongside Antigonos and Demetrios in Iran and

Syria, traveling northward through southern Anatolia and Kappadokia before establishing

himself in Paphlagonia and Pontos. During this time he would have been exposed to a wide

variety of imperial monuments (which probably included tombs), which more than likely

informed the specific choices he made in the construction of his own royal funerary monument.

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[780] Erciyas, *Wealth, Aristocracy, and Royal Propaganda*, 125.

[781] Ibid.; Pomp. Trog. *Prol*. 17.

[782] The later date is supported by Michels, *Kulturtransfer*, 184 and F. de Callataÿ, "The First Royal Coinages of Pontos (from Mithridates III to Mithridates V)," in *Mithridates VI and the Pontic Kingdom*, ed. J. M. Højte (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 2009), 79-80. Reinach first attributed the gold stater to Mithridates I Ktistes, arguing that Alexander-type staters were no longer produced after Alexander's death, and the disposition of the proper name before the title of king is "archaic," and the sequence is normally reversed after the fourth century BCE (T. Reinach, "Essai sur la numismatique des rois de Pont (dynastie des Mithridate)," *RN* 6 (1888): 232-63, pl. XVI).

Tomb C: Ariobarzanes, r. ca. 266 BCE - ca. 250 BCE

Tomb C, the westernmost structure in the east tomb grouping, shows a number of peculiarities in both its form and construction that distinguish it from the other royal tombs at Amaseia (Figs. 101-2; Cat. III.3). It is immediately adjacent to Tomb B, although the structural relationship between the two tombs is rather uncomfortable, suggesting that Tomb C was actually constructed prior to Tomb B, and the resulting constriction of space between Tombs A and C required several adjustments in the design of Tomb B.[783] For example, the most noticeable adjustment in the design of Tomb B is its appropriation of Tomb C's corridor space. After the construction of Tomb C, the "U"-shaped corridor surrounding the chamber was executed to completion, with three steps in the western opening and two steps in the eastern opening serving as entry points for the corridor. When Tomb B was constructed, it was easier for the builders simply to incorporate the eastern corridor of Tomb C as the western corridor of Tomb B, and two steps were carved into the northeast corner of the pre-existing corridor in order to provide access to the hollowed-out segment that ran behind Tomb B. The advantage of this was twofold: first, it alleviated the spatial restrictions between Tombs A and C and allowed Tomb B to be built in the same space at a comparable size, and second, it simplified construction of the corridor for Tomb B by one third, as the carving of these spaces had already been proven difficult by the abandonment of the project in Tomb A due to fissures in the rock.[784] Additionally, the joining of the krepis of Tomb B to the krepis of Tomb C is uneven, and the leveling discrepancy between the two sets of steps is still visible. Thus, the chronological sequence of the tombs in the eastern grouping can be established as A-C-B, and Tomb C is assumed to belong to Ariobarzanes, the

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[783] Fleischer, "The Rock-tombs of the Pontic Kings in Amaseia (Amasya)," 115.

[784] Ibid., 111.

son and successor of Mithridates I Ktistes.[785] Very little is known about this king, and no known

portraits, coins, or other forms of material culture survive from his reign, except for this tomb.[786]

Ariobarzanes' tomb is accessed from the east via the staircase leading up from

Mithridates I's tomb. Like Mithridates' tomb, it has monumental steps leading to the portico, but

these were probably largely for visual effect because they terminate at the edge of the cliff. A

small protrusion is apparent at the center of each step, whose function is unknown. The portico is

oriented roughly east-west, and two sides of the burial chamber protrude southward into the

space of the courtyard, forming supporting pillars (possibly antae?) that carry a round arch or

barrel-vaulted façade covering the portico.

This tomb, like the others, was entered through a rectangular opening in the north wall of

the courtyard. A smallish, rectangular, stone-carved protrusion extends from the wall façade

below the entrance, which Özdemir interprets as an altar or ritual table.[787] The grooves and traces

of metal clamps indicate the possibility that other furniture or objects may have been placed here

as well, and Özdemir argues that Tombs A and B likely used portable altar tables placed in front

of the entry instead of a stone-carved one as in Tomb C.[788] The burial chamber itself is oriented

east-west, the soffit is carved to resemble a barrel vault, and its floor is completely smooth,

giving no indication of the manner in which the deceased king was deposited.[789] Behind the

burial chamber, the familiar "U"-shaped, hollowed-out corridor surrounds the structure on three

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[785] Ibid., 115.

[786] Erciyas, *Wealth, Aristocracy and Royal Propaganda*, 14.

[787] Özdemir, *Amasya Kalesi ve Kral Kaya Mezarları*, 100.

[788] Ibid.

[789] Ibid., 100-1.

sides, as Tomb C was the first of the group to contain a complete corridor executed in its entirety.

Tomb B: Mithridates II, r. ca. 250 BCE - ca. 220 BCE

Tomb B, assigned to the reign of Mithridates II in the current chronological paradigm, is situated at a significantly higher level than Tomb A, and is accessed by a rock-cut staircase of twenty steps leading from the western edge of the terrace in front of Tomb A (Figs. 102-3; Cat. III.2). It is squeezed somewhat awkwardly between Tombs A and C: it appropriates the corridor space from Tomb C to the west, and its carved façade steps adjacent to Tomb C show a discrepancy between the levels of the krepis (Fig. 104). The courtyard steps themselves seem uncomfortably shallow, indicating that they, like the courtyard steps of Tomb A, were built for purely symbolic purpose. The great effort apparently exerted in the situation of Tomb B between Tombs A and C suggests that it was the latest addition to the grouping, designed to fit in the constricted space between the two previously built tombs without compromising size or monumentality in relation to them. For this reason, it is assigned to the patronage of Mithridates II.[790] Most likely, the staircase joining Tombs A and C was already constructed at the time Tomb B was planned, so it would have made sense for the latter tomb to occupy the space in the rock at the level of Tomb C, to which the staircase already led. Furthermore, the attempt at surrounding Tomb A had been abandoned because of the difficulty of the rock, and if the corridor around Tomb C was already completed (or at least in an advanced state of construction), it would have been easier to appropriate the corridor space between the tombs at that level.

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[790] Fleischer, "The Rock-tombs of the Pontic Kings in Amaseia (Amasya)," 115.

The façade of Tomb B similarly presents a model of a Greek temple, although it incorporated an in antis distyle pedimental façade rather than the hexastyle arrangement used by Tomb A. At the side of one of the antae, traces of an Attic base are visible, demonstrating that the four columns were Ionic. Most of the carved corridor was completed above the pediment and alongside the eastern wall, although a small section of attached rock still remains above the eastern corner of the pediment.

The interior is, like Tombs A and C, accessible only by a ladder, although the opening is slightly lower and more centered than that of Tomb A. The opening leads to a single, almost-square burial chamber, 3.57 x 3.06m, and the soffit is carved to resemble a barrel vault with a north-south orientation. There are no stone burial couches present, but a rectangular depression in the floor at a depth of .05 m, which Özdemir suggests was the location of a stone or wooden sarcophagus.[791]

No coinage survives from the reign of Mithridates II, son and successor of Ariobarzanes, but historical information about his rule highlights his engagement with the Seleukids, gaining support from a powerful Hellenistic kingdom in order to strengthen the emergent Pontic kingdom's participation on the larger Hellenistic world stage, a trend that continued in the marriages and alliances of his successors.[792] Mithridates II initially solidified his alliance with the Seleukids by marrying the daughter of Antiochos II Theos, who also happened to be the sister of the reigning monarch Seleukos II Kallinikos. The Seleukids, however, were embroiled in a losing conflict with Seleukos' brother Antiochos Hierax. Mithridates, wanting to appease

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[791] Özdemir, *Amasya Kalesi ve Kral Kaya Mezarları*, 97.

[792] Erciyas, *Wealth, Aristocracy and Royal Propaganda*, 14-15.

both sides, gave his sister to Seleukos in marriage and his daughter, Laodike, to Hierax.[793] Later, Antiochos married another daughter of Mithridates II named Laodike, and one of Antiochos' ministers, Achaeus, took as a bride the Laodike who had initially been given to Hierax.[794] During Mithridates' reign, the Pontic kingdom was largely focused on developing strong relations with a major Hellenistic power, thereby guaranteeing support for their enterprises from an Anatolian base.

Tomb D: Mithridates III, r. ca. 220 BCE - 189/8 BCE

The staircase leading from the basileia in the southeastern face of Harşena Dağı and past Tombs A, B, and C continues in a northwest direction to the center of the twin peaks, offering the option of either climbing up to the acropolis, or walking down to another tunnel with yet another staircase leading to the west grouping of monuments, Tombs D and E.[795] Today only the latter option is available, and the acropolis must be approached by a winding, uphill road up the northeastern flank of the mountain. Because the western group is presumed to be later than A, B, and C, and Tomb E is identified epigraphically as belonging to Pharnakes I, Tomb D was probably the burial place of Mithridates III (Figs. 105-6; Cat. III.4). Mithridates III presumably moved his monument to the west because of the lack of space in the area adjacent to Tombs A, B, and C. The new location also afforded a more commanding view of the city, a view surpassed only by the siting of the later Tomb E. The structure is situated on an impressive platform with a relatively large courtyard; this would have allowed for a larger congregation of participants and

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[793] Ibid.; Polyb. 5.74.5.

[794] Erciyas, *Wealth, Aristocracy and Royal Propaganda*, 14-15.

[795] Fleischer, "The Rock-tombs of the Pontic Kings in Amaseia (Amasya)," 111.

spectators during the ritual activities. Tomb D is quite similar in form to Tomb B, with a distyle in antis pedimental façade of 8.3m that was likely constructed in the Ionic order, as Tomb B was.[796] A broken piece of the pediment survives, lying on the ground where it fell in front of the tomb at an unknown date.

Arriving on the bottom step of the courtyard from the east, a viewer is immediately confronted with the large ceremonial space offered by the podium. Approximately in the middle of the courtyard space is another single step slightly elevating the podium on which the burial chamber sits, and the final approach to the tomb is made by a series of six steps leading to the portico. The 1.25m x 1.15m rectangular opening giving access to the burial chamber is elevated from the ground and accessible only by a ladder, as is the case with the other tombs. Markings in the courtyard measuring 1.7m x 1.7m suggest that some type of furniture or installation was placed here, perhaps an altar.[797]

The 3.35m x 2.40m burial chamber is oriented in the north-south direction, and its soffit is carved to resemble a barrel vault.[798] As in the burial chamber of Tomb B, a 0.10m depression in the middle of the floor indicates the positioning of a kline or sarcophagus containing the royal body.[799] As with the other tombs, the burial chamber is detached from the rock mass by a completely finished hollowed-out corridor.

The period of Pontic history assigned to the reign of Mithridates III is relatively silent, although it is probable that this is the Mithridates who initially attempted to capture Sinope in

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[796] Ibid., 115.

[797] Özdemir, *Amasya Kalesi ve Kral Kaya Mezarları*, 103.

[798] Ibid.

[799] Ibid.

220 BCE before his successor, Pharnakes, did so successfully in 183 BCE.[800] It is, however, during this period that material culture from the Pontic kingdom in the form of numismatic portraits is more abundant. The series of coins attributed to Mithridates III show a great deal of realism in comparison to the portraits of other Hellenistic kings: Mithridates is represented as aged, with short-cropped hair and a royal diadem. The individualization apparent in these portraits is akin to satrapal representations on the coins of Lykia and Phrygia from the fourth century BCE.[801] The obverse of his coins also show the characteristic eight-pointed star and crescent motif that would eventually become standard iconography on Pontic royal coin issues. The surviving corpus of coins belonging to the reign of Mithridates III consists of two staters, nineteen tetradrachms, and two drachms, including the unique Pontic gold stater that has traditionally been assigned to the reign of Mithridates I.[802] Although this stater shows characteristics that are more common during the late fourth and early third century BCE (for example, its resemblance to Alexander staters that were rarely struck after 323 BCE and the disposition of the legend, with the name of "Mithridates" in the right field and his title of *basileus* in the left field), Michels and François de Callataÿ have demonstrated that the control marks on this coin are remarkably similar to those of sigloi issued in the name of Amisos, convincingly downdating the coin to the reign of Mithridates III.[803]

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[800] Erciyas, *Wealth, Aristocracy and Royal Propaganda*, 15.

[801] Ibid. See also de Callataÿ, "The First Royal Coinages of Pontos (from Mithridates III to Mithridates V)," 64. For the coins of Lykia and Phrygia, see J. Zahle, "Persian Satraps and Lycian Dynasts: The Evidence of the Diadems," in *Actes du 9ème Congrès international de numismatique, Berne, Septembre 1979 (A.C.I.N.) = Proceedings of the 9th International Congress of Numismatics, Berne, September 1979*, ed. T. Hackens and R. Weiller, 101-12 (Louvain-la-Neuve: Association internationale des numismates professionnels, 1982), pl. 16.5, 7, 8, 11; C. M. Kraay, *Archaic and Classical Greek Coins* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), 272-75.

[802] de Callataÿ, "The First Royal Coinages of Pontos," 65, (Table 1), 79-80.

[803] Michels, *Kulturtransfer*, 183-85; de Callataÿ, "The First Royal Coinages of Pontos," 80.

Coin portraits of Mithridates III and his three successors (Pharnakes I, and later Mithridates IV and V) represent clear departures from the standard Greek or Macedonian portrait convention. The Pontic kings retain the diadem and naturalistic style common on Greek numismatic portraits, but sport more unkempt hairstyles, beards, and are presented as middle-aged rather than youthful.[804] R. R. R. Smith describes the portraits as treated with a "strikingly mundane and realistic style ... fleshy prominent noses, prognathous mouths with thick, outlined lips," and singles out Pharnakes I in particular for having an "almost expressionistic ugliness."[805] While Smith's description incites a rather negative view of the visual conventions deployed by the Pontic kings, it seems that the intention with this style was a deliberate rejection of Greek norms and an attempt, possibly, to engage an Iranian or local Anatolian audience who may not have given a favorable response to a king who styled himself in Greek tradition.

Tomb E: Pharnakes I, r. 189/8 BCE - 155 BCE

A long and rather slippery, half-covered rock-cut staircase leads to the final tomb in the royal group, Tomb E, identified by an inscription as belonging to the king Pharnakes I, son and successor of Mithridates III, and grandfather of Mithridates VI Eupator (Figs. 107-8; Cat. III.5). The terrace on which the tomb is situated is 8.0m x 2.5m,[806] and while not as spacious as that of Tomb D, nevertheless would have provided for some degree of ceremonial activity. Like Tomb A, the terrace terminates at the edge of the cliff, and the portico of the tomb is approached by a two-stepped krepis. It does not conform to the typical pedimental aedicula of Greek temple

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[804] Smith, *Hellenistic Royal Portraits,* 113-14, pl. 77.9-12.

[805] Ibid.

[806] Özdemir, *Amasya Kalesi ve Kral Kaya Mezarları*, 108.

facades visually expressed in Tombs A, B, and D, but rather adopts the unusual arched form supported by columns in antis for the façade. It is the largest of the five, with a total façade height of nearly 12m. On the surface of the façade are found square holes and grooves similar to those in the other tombs, demonstrating similar workmanship and the possibility of attached revetment.

The opening for Tomb E was the most difficult to access. At a height of 3.10m from the floor in the north wall of the portico, the rectangular 1.7m x 2.3m-size entry must have been reached only by a ladder, giving access to a 3.75m x 3.1m chamber oriented north-south and covered by a 2.85m-high soffit carved to resemble a barrel vault.[807] Unfortunately, no trace of the method of burial has survived in the floor or walls of the chamber, but the inscription recording a dedication for Pharnakes identifies the intended occupant and gives some insight into the types of rituals conducted here (discussed below, pp. 332-36).[808] The lack of evidence for the type of burial installed here may be due to the fact that the tomb is unfinished: the "U"-shaped corridor planned for the tomb was only partially completed, and its incomplete state is usually explained by Pharnakes' relocation of the Pontic capital from Amaseia to the newly captured city of Sinope in 183 BCE.[809] Pharnakes' final resting place is most likely to be found in Sinope, where he would have begun construction on a new monument, but a coin from the Roman period may indicate that Tomb E enjoyed some use as the burial of a different local elite.[810] Nevertheless, the form of Pharnakes' initial tomb construction at Amaseia was so influential that it is echoed in several other monumental burials of local elites in and near the city.

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[807] Ibid.

[808] Fleischer, "The Rock-tombs of the Pontic Kings in Amaseia (Amasya)," 117.

[809] Ibid., 118.

[810] Özdemir, *Amasya Kalesi ve Kral Kaya Mezarları*, 109.

Pharnakes I is perhaps best known for his expansionist policies in the early second century BCE that resulted in the Pontic kingdom's successful capture of Sinope and, consequently, the proliferation of activity and profitable contacts along the shore of the Black Sea. It was likely his aggressive methods that involved the Pontic kingdom in disputes with Galatia, Kappadokia, and Pergamon, the last of which was so significant that it instigated the first diplomatic contact between Pontus and Rome.[811] He continued the precedent of matrimonial transactions with the Seleukid family initiated by his father, marrying the Seleukid princess Nysa.[812] The two of them enjoyed the benefits of international euergetism, becoming the recipients of an honorific dedication on the island of Delos that also preserves information about the harmonious relations between the Pontic kingdom and Athens.[813]

The portraits of Pharnakes, visible in the surviving silver tetradrachms and drachms from his reign, are similar to those of Mithridates III in their individuality (what Smith derisively calls their "almost expressionistic ugliness"), showing a middle-aged man with short hair encircled by a diadem.[814] He is also shown with either long sideburns or a beard; the star-and-crescent motif also adorns Pharnakes' coins.[815] Pharnakes' coins, however, are distinct in their portrayal of a younger deity wearing a chiton, chlamys, stringed shoes, and a flat cap; holding a caduceus and cornucopia in his left hand; offering a vine branch in his right hand to a deer.[816] The identity of

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[811] Erciyas, *Wealth, Aristocracy and Royal Propaganda*, 15. Records of his expansionist activities are preserved in Polyb. 23.9.2, 25.2; Strabo 12.3.11; Livy 40.2.6.

[812] Erciyas, *Wealth, Aristocracy and Royal Propaganda*, 16.

[813] C. E. Ghiţă, "Nysa - A Seleucid Princess in an Anatolian Context," in *Seleucid Dissolution: The Sinking of the Anchor*, ed. K. Erickson and G. Ramsey (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2011), 107-16.

[814] Smith, *Hellenistic Royal Portraits*, 113-14, pl. 77.9-12.

[815] Erciyas, *Wealth, Aristocracy and Royal Propaganda*, 126.

[816] Ibid.

this deity is a matter of debate, but Summerer has recently connected it to a figure with similar attributes on a gem in Munich from the second or first century BCE, which shows both Mēn and Tyche in the same image. The star and crescent are sometimes considered to be symbols of Mēn, the deity who was often associated with the coronation oaths of Pontic kings and carried some significance in the region.[817]

Other Monumental Tombs in Hellenistic Pontos

At least eighteen rock-cut tombs existed in and around ancient Amaseia, which probably entombed members of the royal family or local elites from the Hellenistic period onward. Some of these have been destroyed, but several do survive in the modern city, and these will be discussed in further detail below. Besides Amaseia, the only other known cluster of monumental tombs in Hellenistic Pontos come from the southern Black Sea coast, around the region of Samsun. It is perhaps not surprising to find a significant cluster there, as ancient Amisos (modern Samsun), founded in the sixth century BCE by Ionian colonists and subjected to both Athenian and Persian domination before being incorporated into the Pontic kingdom, terminated the important north-south route between inland Anatolia (Kappadokia) and the Black Sea. Three prominent tumuli are known from ancient Amisos. The first two, known collectively as the Baruthane tumuli, are sited at the northern spur of Amisos Hill overlooking the sea (Fig. 109).[818] Both tumuli were looted in the 1900s, but rescue excavations in 2004 and 2005 preserved the architectural layout and measurements of each tomb. The presence of third-second century BCE

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[817] Ibid. For the debate regarding the identity of the figure see W. Wroth, *A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum: Pontus, Paphlagonia, Bithynia and the Kingdom of Bosporus* (Bologna: A. Forni, 1963); McGing, *The Foreign Policy of Mithridates VI Eupator*, 33; L. Summerer, "Das pontische Wappen: Zur Astralsymbolic auf den pontischen Münzen," *Chiron* 25 (1995): 304-14.

[818] Atasoy, Endoğru, and Dönmez, "Samsun-Baruthane Tümülüsleri Kurtarma Kazısı," 153-65.

pottery in the southern tumulus provides a probable date range for the southern tumulus, and

perhaps the northern one as well, although this cannot be confirmed given the available evidence.

The southern tumulus (Cat. III.18) is slightly larger, entered through a door and consisting of two

chambers, one of which contained a kline burial. The entire structure was surrounded by a stone

perimeter wall, and an additional wall extending in the east-west direction divided the southern

from the northern mound.[819] The north tumulus (Cat. III.17) contained three chambers, two of

which contained pseudo-columns arranged along the interior walls, and a large niche was carved

out of the western wall in the rear chamber. Unfortunately, no finds were discovered in this

tomb, but the excavators surmised a Hellenistic date based on its physical proximity to the

southern tumulus.[820] Because of their prominent siting near the ancient city and visibility from

the coastline, they likely functioned not only as burial structures, but also as important landmarks

visible to sailors coming into the harbor.[821] The third tumulus discovered at Amisos (Cat. III.19)

is one of the most extraordinary finds from the ancient city, unearthed accidentally in the İlkadım

municipality of Samsun and which contained space for five burials along with a wealth of

pottery, gold jewelry and other accoutrements that give some idea of the splendor with which

wealthy residents of the region were buried (Fig. 110).[822] Erciyas dates the style of the jewelry to

the last third of the fourth century BCE or the first half of the third century BCE, acknowledging

that the tomb was probably constructed somewhat later, as the date refers solely to the time of

manufacture of the jewelry and these were likely family heirlooms that had been in use for some

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[819] Ibid.

[820] Ibid., 156.

[821] Johnson, "Landscapes of Achaemenid Paphlagonia," 400 n. 1093.

[822] The fullest publication is Erciyas, *Wealth, Aristocracy, and Royal Propaganda*, 67-115, but see also Jackson, "The Amisos Treasure," 109-116 for a convincing re-evaluation of the date of the tumulus.

time before being buried with the deceased.[823] Jackson, however, argues for downdating the

tomb on the basis of the technique used in the Eros earrings, which involved welding the figure

directly onto a simple hook, a technique that appears in the known archaeological record only in

the late third or early second century BCE. Jackson compares the Eros earrings to similar finds

from Patras in the Peloponnese (dated 150-125 BCE), Tomb 2 in the necropolis of Taranto (175-

100 BCE), and the necropolis of Phanagoria on the Taman peninsula. Jackson thus favors a date

in the later Hellenistic period, which accords well with our knowledge of the transfer of the

Mithridatid capital to Amisos in the early second century BCE. The tomb is clearly that of an

aristocratic family, i.e., the kinds of residents who would have occupied the city during its time

as the capital of the Pontic kingdom.[824]

Several rock-cut tombs are known from the region, particularly those cut into the sides of

Toraman Tepesi, but at the moment the site (as well as the adjacent area that comprised the

ancient acropolis and city center) is occupied by the Turkish military and access to the ruins is

not possible. Slightly farther afield to the east in Ünye (ancient Oinoe), a rock-carved tomb in the

city's ancient fortress (Cat. III.15) adopts an aedicula facade similar to Tombs C and D in

Amaseia, but this structure is likely Roman (Fig. 111).[825] The so-called Tozkoparan Rock Tomb

(Cat. III.16), also in Ünye, boasts an arcuated lintel quite similar to that of Tomb B at Amaseia;

unfortunately, the only evidence that could possibly be used to date the tomb are the much-

eroded bull heads carved out of each door jamb. The presence of the bull heads constitutes the

major reason for the dating of this tomb to the period of Persian occupation in Pontos, ca. 700-

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[823] Erciyas, *Wealth, Aristocracy, and Royal Propaganda*, 67-115.

[824] Jackson, "The Amisos Treasure," 109-16.

[825] E. Eser, "Ünye İç Kalesi," *Anadolu ve Çevresinde Ortaçağ* (2010): 19-52.

500 BCE (Fig. 112).[826] No other indication of the chronological context of the tomb remains, and it could just as easily belong to a different period.

To the west of Samsun, at Asarkale in the Bafra district, three rock-cut columnar tombs are known, which may be associated with the Hellenistic fortress-type settlement located there.[827] At İkiztepe village near Bafra, a monumental tomb found beneath Tepe I (Cat. III.20) is likely from the late third century BCE on the basis of a coin dated 281-250 BCE found within.[828] Additionally, it is hoped that the ongoing Sinop Regional Archaeological Project will soon shed more light on the Hellenistic-period tumuli that exist in the region of Sinop (ancient Sinope).[829] While it seems that both rock-cut tombs and earthen tumuli were popular forms of monumental burial in Pontos during the tenure of the Mithridatid dynasty, the tenuous nature of chronological indicators (if they exist at all) makes it difficult to establish a chronological sequence that would outline the development of such monumental tombs in the region. Furthermore, where evidence is available for dating, it often indicates a date later than the fourth or early third century BCE, suggesting that many of the tombs known today did not exist during Mithridates I Ktistes' lifetime, and that he sought inspiration for the establishment of the royal necropolis farther afield. Thus, it seems more likely that the development of monumental tombs in Pontos followed the establishment of the dynasty and the consequent increase in prestige and wealth of the region.

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[826] The tourist literature from Ünye references the date of the tomb as 7000-5000 BCE, but this is surely a typographical error intended to read 700-500 BCE.

[827] Ö. Bilgi, "İkiztepe in the Late Iron Age," *AnatSt* 49, Anatolian Iron Ages 4 (1999): 38, fig. 33-35; Ö. Bilgi, et al., "Samsun (Amisos) Bölgesi'nin Kültürel Gelişmi Projesi," *Belleten* 68 (2004): 390-91.

[828] U. Alkım, H. Alkım, and Ö. Bilgi, *İkiztepe I* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1988), 204-6; Bilgi, "İkiztepe in the Late Iron Age," 27, 31, 37; figs. 1, 14-19.

[829] Cf. http://srap.newmedialab.cuny.edu/ for specific projects and accompanying bibliography; O. Doonan, "Sacred Landscapes and the Colonization of the Sinop Promontory," 69-78; Doonan, *Sinope Landscapes.*

Constructing Place: The Significance of Topography and Memory in the Design of the Amaseian Necropolis

Placement and Viewership in the Royal Necropolis of Amaseia

The reconstructed map of ancient Amaseia visually clarifies the city's major focal points (Fig. 95). The aqueduct in the southwest part of the city follows the course of the river to the dramatic, projecting ridge of Harşena Dağı. The mountain cuts into the stream and provides an ideal location for a citadel, precariously situated atop an impregnable part of the mountain yet providing an invaluable vantage point from which much of the surrounding terrain, particularly to the north and west, is visible. From the suburban area of the city, south of the river, one enters the urban limits by way of the Alçak Köprüsü, an approach that is framed by the five tombs of the royal necropolis overlooking the river beneath the citadel. Some tombs (6 and 9) are located within physical proximity to the royal necropolis on the same flank of the mountain, but others, for example, Tombs 7 and 8, are located in the suburban area, utilizing visual correspondence with the royal tombs to suggest the importance of their patrons. It is clear from the aerial view that both Tombs 7 and 8, like the royal tombs, are situated right at the edge of projecting rock ridges, a recurring feature in the tombs of Tês at Amaseia (Cat. III.13) and Hikesios at Lâçin (Cat. III.14). The primary urban area would have extended to the north of the citadel along the north banks of the river and, further afield to the north, lies the tomb of the high priest Tês. This tomb, while comparable in size to the royal tombs, is situated at a respectful distance and out of visual competition with the royal tombs, and thus may indicate the limits of the urban area in antiquity (even today, this area of Amasya is sparsely populated and is mostly used for agricultural purposes).

I argue here that the topographical situation of the royal tombs highlights the necropolis' urban setting and significance as a symbolic threshold marking entrance into the Mithridatic

capital city. This manipulation of the landscape effectively conditions the viewer's experience in the city, functioning as a topographical intervention rooted in Anatolian tradition. Rock-carving and the creation of rock reliefs as a means of defining and conditioning symbolic locales, particularly boundaries and liminal areas, had an extensive history in Anatolia, during which rock reliefs accumulated layers of meaning that intensified as more and more rulers altered the landscape. The royal Mithridatic tombs at Amaseia participate in this discourse, negotiating a symbolic relationship both with the landscape's significant past, as well as projecting these associations to the contemporary viewers entering the newly-minted royal city.

My analysis of the topographical significance of the royal tombs at Amaseia is positioned within the recent methodological interest in "place-based" archaeology, most fully developed for Anatolian rock monuments in Harmanşah's monograph *Place, Memory, and Healing: An Archaeology of Anatolian Rock Monuments* (2015).[830] Harmanşah focuses on alternative readings of Anatolian rock reliefs of the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age (thirteenth-twelfth centuries BCE), rejecting the notion that these monuments were one-time creations of Hittite kings seeking control and organization of their territory through visual media, and instead emphasizing the chronological continuity of ritual and rock-carving practices at each of these sites.[831] In his "place-based understanding of rock reliefs and inscriptions," Harmanşah argues that the physical place of the rock carving itself was of the utmost importance; the efficacy of the monument derived primarily from the sacred associations and accumulated meanings tangent to its location, rather than formal qualities such as size or monumentality.[832] Many of the known

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[830] Harmanşah, *Place, Memory, and Healing.*

[831] Ibid., 89.

[832] Ibid., 91.

Hittite rock reliefs (notably, for example, the rupestral sanctuary at Yazılıkaya near Hattuşa/Boğazköy) were inscribed on sites with evidence of pre-existing cultic activity, i.e., they engaged "places of multiple acts of inscription and re-inscription, rather than being constituted by a single act of monument making."[833] This approach is echoed in Matthew Canepa's recent work on Iranian rock reliefs, in which Hellenistic and Sasanian leaders co-opted the significance of earlier royal Achaemenid relief carvings and wove the historical accumulation of meanings of each place into the fabric of their contemporary political narratives.[834] I employ a similar place-based approach to the monuments embedded into the central rock face at Amaseia, through which the topographical site is positioned as a constant, subject to complex temporal continuities of rock-carving practices that derive agency from pre-existing associations at the site.

In Amaseia, the mountain (Harşena Dağı) is of prime importance for understanding the political rhetoric articulated by the tombs' patrons in their choice of site for the royal necropolis. Strabo's focus on the mountain itself suggests that the location was more than spectacular, it was symbolic. Few descriptions of the Pontic city of Amaseia evoke the pride in natural strength, utility, and fertility redolent in Strabo's portrait of his native city. Born in Amaseia ca. 64 BCE, the geographer's lengthy account of Amaseia's features underscores the consequence of both nature (φύσει) and divine or human providence (προνοίᾳ) on the fortunes of the site,[835] which centers on the spectacular mountain peaks that define the character of the city:

> My city is situated in a large deep valley, through which flows the Iris River. Both
> by human foresight and by nature it is an admirably devised city, since it can at

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[833] Ibid., 94, 111-12.

[834] M. Canepa, "Technologies of Memory in Early Sasanian Iran: Achaemenid Sites and Sasanian Identity," *AJA* 114, no. 4 (2010): 563-96; M. Canepa, "Topographies of Power: Theorizing the Visual, Spatial and Ritual Contexts of Rock Reliefs in Ancient Iran," in *Of Rocks and Water: Towards an Archaeology of Place*, ed. Ö. Harmanşah (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2014), 53-92.

[835] Lindsay, "Amasya and Strabo's *Patria* in Pontus," 186.

the same time afford the advantage of both a city and a fortress; for it is a high and precipitous rock, which descends abruptly to the river, and has on one side the wall on the edge of the river where the city is settled and on the other the wall that runs up on either side to the peaks. These peaks are two in number, are united with one another by nature, and are magnificently towered. Within this circuit are both the palaces and monuments of the kings. The peaks are connected by a neck which is altogether narrow, and is five or six stadia in height on either side as one goes up from the riverbanks and the suburbs; and from the neck to the peaks there remains another ascent of one stadium, which is sharp and superior to any kind of force. The rock also has reservoirs of water inside it, a water-supply of which the city cannot be deprived, since two tube-like channels have been hewn out, one towards the river and the other towards the neck. And two bridges have been built over the river, one from the city to the suburbs and the other from the suburbs to the outside territory; for it is at this bridge that the mountain which lies above the rock terminates. And there is a valley extending from the river which at first is not altogether wide, but it later widens out and forms the plain called Chiliocomum; and then comes the Diacopene and Pimolisene country, all of which is fertile, extending to the Halys River. These are the northern parts of the country of the Amaseians, and are about five hundred stadia in length. Then in order comes the remainder of their country, which is much longer than this, extending to Babanomus and Ximene, which latter itself extends as far as the Halys River. This, then, is the length of their country, whereas the breadth from the north to the south extends, not only to Zelitis, but also to Greater Cappadocia, as far as the Trocmi. In Ximene there are "halae" of rock-salt, after which the river is supposed to have been called "Halys." There are several demolished strongholds in my country, and also much deserted land, because of the Mithridatic War. However, it is all well supplied with trees; a part of it affords pasturage for horses and is adapted to the raising of the other animals; and the whole of it is beautifully adapted to habitation. Amaseia was also given to kings, though it is now a province.[836]

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[836] Strabo 12.3.39. Translated by H. L. Jones, *The Geography of Strabo* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1924). ἡ δ᾽ ἡμετέρα πόλις κεῖται μὲν ἐν φάραγγι βαθείᾳ καὶ μεγάλῃ, δι᾽ ἧς ὁ Ἶρις φέρεται ποταμός, κατεσκεύασται δὲ θαυμαστῶς προνοίᾳ τε καὶ φύσει, πόλεώς τε ἅμα καὶ φρουρίου παρέχεσθαι χρείαν δυναμένη: πέτρα γὰρ ὑψηλὴ καὶ περίκρημνος κατερρωγυῖα ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμόν, τῇ μὲν ἔχουσα τὸ τεῖχος ἐπὶ τῷ χείλει τοῦ ποταμοῦ καθ᾽ ὃ ἡ πόλις συνῴκισται, τῇ δ᾽ ἀνατρέχον ἑκατέρωθεν ἐπὶ τὰς κορυφάς: δύο δ᾽ εἰσὶ συμφυεῖς ἀλλήλαις πεπυργωμέναι παγκάλως: ἐν δὲ τῷ περιβόλῳ τούτῳ βασίλειά τ᾽ ἐστὶ καὶ μνήματα βασιλέων: αἱ κορυφαὶ δ᾽ ἔχουσιν αὐχένα παντάπασι στενόν, πέντε ἢ ἓξ σταδίων ἑκατέρωθεν τὸ ὕψος ἀπὸ τῆς ποταμίας ἀναβαίνοντι καὶ τῶν προαστείων: ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ αὐχένος ἐπὶ τὰς κορυφὰς ἄλλη σταδιαία λείπεται πρόσβασις ὀξεῖα καὶ πάσης βίας κρείττων: ἔχει δὲ καὶ ὑδρεῖα ἐντὸς ἀναφαίρετα, συρίγγων τετμημένων δυεῖν, τῆς μὲν ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τῆς δ᾽ ἐπὶ τὸν αὐχένα: ἐπέζευκται δὲ γέφυρα τῷ ποταμῷ μία μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ τὸ προάστειον, ἄλλη δ᾽ ἀπὸ τοῦ προαστείου πρὸς τὴν ἔξω χώραν: κατὰ γὰρ τὴν γέφυραν ταύτην ἀπολήγει τὸ ὄρος τὸ τῆς πέτρας ὑπερκείμενον. αὐλὼν δ᾽ ἐστὶν ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ διήκων οὐ πλατὺς τὸ πρῶτον τελέως, ἔπειτα πλατύνεται καὶ ποιεῖ τὸ Χιλιόκωμον καλούμενον πεδίον: εἶθ᾽ ἡ Διακοπηνὴ καὶ ἡ Πιμωλισηνὴ χώρα πᾶσα εὐδαίμων μέχρι τοῦ Ἅλυος. ταῦτα μὲν τὰ ἀρκτικὰ μέρη τῆς τῶν Ἀμασέων χώρας, μῆκος ὅσον πεντακοσίων σταδίων: ἔπειθ᾽ ἑξῆς ἡ λοιπὴ πολὺ ταύτης ἐπιμηκεστέρα μέχρι τοῦ Βαβανόμου καὶ τῆς Ξιμήνης, ἥπερ καὶ αὐτὴ καθήκει μέχρι πρὸς τὸν Ἅλυν: τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τὸ μῆκος, πλάτος δὲ τὸ ἀπὸ τῶν ἄρκτων πρὸς νότον ἐπί τε τὴν Ζηλῖτιν καὶ τὴν μεγάλην Καππαδοκίαν μέχρι τῶν Τροκμῶν. εἰσὶ δ᾽ ἐν τῇ Ξιμήνῃ ἅλαι ὀρυκτῶν ἁλῶν, ἀφ᾽ ὧν εἰκάζουσιν εἰρῆσθαι Ἅλυν τὸν ποταμόν. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐρύματα πλείω κατεσκαμμένα ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ χώρᾳ καὶ ἔρημος γῆ πολλὴ διὰ τὸν Μιθριδατικὸν πόλεμον. ἔστι μέντοι πᾶσα μὲν εὔδενδρος, ἡ δ᾽

Significantly, Strabo's description does not focus on Amaseia's political status or as an important major geographical crossroads; rather, it highlights the dominant role of the city's topography in ascribing significance to the place. Strabo introduces Amaseia in relationship to the large valley of the Iris (modern Yeşilırmak) river, but he quickly centers on the "high and precipitous rock" (πέτρα γὰρ ὑψηλὴ καὶ περίκρημνος) that gives the site its double advantage as both a city and a fortress. Half of Strabo's description of the city emphasizes how the mountain, known today as Harşena Dağı, structures the civic space, and the entirety of the urban area is described within the context of the mountain. The rock certainly has practical and symbolic significance not only in terms of defensibility, but it also effectively becomes the central, foundational element that frames the siting of the rest of the monuments in the city. According to Strabo, the mountain serves no less than four clearly defined functions integral to Amaseia's civic affairs: it characterizes the strategic military advantages of the site; the meeting of the mountain and the river articulates the boundary between city and suburb; it contains the reservoirs and water supply; and, lastly, its circuit defines the placement and context of the royal buildings.

Despite the elaborate attention that Strabo gives to the topography and natural advantages offered by his hometown, the pre-Hellenistic history of the site remains largely unknown. Amaseia appears definitively in the historical record for the first time already established as the royal capital of the Pontic kingdom under Mithridates I Ktistes. The earliest history of the dynasty is preserved in a passage from Diodorus Siculus (20.111.4), which Bosworth and Wheatley convincingly interpret to indicate that during the late fourth century BCE, Mithridates,

ἱππόβοτος καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θρέμμασι πρόσφορος· ἅπασα δ᾽ οἰκήσιμος καλῶς. ἐδόθη δὲ καὶ ἡ Ἀμάσεια βασιλεῦσι, νῦν δ᾽ ἐπαρχία ἐστί.

the future *ktistes* of the Pontic kingdom, ruled over an inherited swath of territory in the regions of Mysia, Arrhine, and parts of the surrounding territory. He later expanding his reach eastward into Kappadokia, Paphlagonia, and Pontos, and established a fortified base at Kimiata, beneath Mt. Olgassys (modern Ilgaz Dağı).[837] On the basis of an emendment of "Kimiata," Mithridates' fort has been identified with the site of "Kimista" near Hadrianopolis (modern Eskipazar) on the western Paphlagonian border.[838] Bosworth and Wheatley argue that by exiling himself to western Paphlagonia, Mithridates was in fact returning to hereditary family territory in order to "hide away" undisturbed, and possibly carve out a kingdom with the support of his relatives who still exercised power in the region.[839] From this base Mithridates successfully consolidated a following, so much so that he was able to declare himself a founding dynast. Some scholars argue that his declaration as king is commemorated on the earliest extant Pontic coin, a unique gold stater designed in emulation of Alexander staters with the inscription "of Mithridates king" printed on the reverse, but the coin likely belongs to the reign of Mithridates III.[840]

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[837] Bosworth and Wheatley, "The Origins of the Pontic House," 155-58; Plut. *Demetr*. 4, *Mor*. 183A; App. *Mithr*. 9.27-28; [Luc.] *Macrob*. 13; Strabo 12.3.40-41.

[838] Mithridates' flight from Antigonid court is thought to have occurred either as early as 314 BCE or as late as 302 BCE. For a discussion of the date, see Bosworth and Wheatley, "The Origins of the Pontic House," 162-63, who favor the earlier chronology. Early surveys in Paphlagonia sought a location for Kimiata near the modern town of Ilgaz. Cf. Leonhard, *Paphlagonia*, 348 and W. Ruge and K. Bittel, "Paphlagonia," *RE* 18.4 (1949): 2486-550). The location of "Kimista" is epigraphically attested at Deresemail Asar Tepe near Eskipazar, but Kaygusuz preferred a distinction between the archaeological site of Kimista and Strabo's Kimiata, which he placed at Kurmalar (İ. Kaygusuz, "Kimistene'den Yazıtlar," *TürkArkDerg* 26, no. 2 (1983): 111-46; "Zwei neue Inschriften aus Ilgaz (Olgassys) und Kimiatene," *EpigAnat* 1 (1983): 59-61, pl. 3; "Ilgaz (Olgassys)dan İki Yazıt ve Kimiatene," *Belleten* 47 (1984): 47-66, pls. 1-8; "Inscriptions of Kimistene (Paphlagonia)," *EpigAnat* 4 (1984): 69-72. More recent scholarship, however, favors the emendment of Kimiata to Kimista, and the general consensus is that this is, in fact, the location of Mithridates' initial fort, which corresponds well with Strabo's account that it was located in the vicinity of Bithynia. See C. Marek, *Stadt, Ära und Territorium in Pontus-Bithynien und Nord-Galatia*, IstForsch 39 (Tübingen: E. Wasmuth, 1993), 122-24; Bosworth and Wheatley, "The Origins of the Pontic House," 164; E. Laflı, "Hadrianopolis-Eskipazar Paphlagonia Hadrianoupolis Arkeolojik Kazıları," *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* 30, no. 3 (2009): 399-410; Matthews and Glatz, eds., *At Empire's Edge*, 174; Johnson, "Landscapes of Achaemenid Paphlagonia," 356-57, n. 963-64.

[839] Bosworth and Wheatley, "The Origins of the Pontic House," 164.

[840] App. *Mithr*. 9.28; Strabo 12.3.41; McGing, *The Foreign Policy of Mithridates VI Eupator, King of Pontus*, 20.

Because the pre-Hellenistic history of Amaseia is somewhat nebulous and there is no extant account of the founding of the city by Mithridates I, the date at which the city was established as the Pontic capital rests on assumptions regarding the amount of time he would have spent at Kimista and how long construction on the royal basileia and necropolis would have continued during his reign. If Mithridates arrived at Kimista around 314 BCE, as Bosworth and Wheatley argue, or at the very least by 302 BCE, as other scholars suggest,[841] stayed there long enough to gather a powerful following, established a capital at Amaseia and constructed the beginnings of a royal palace, citadel, and necropolis there before his death in 266 BCE, we can probably assume that he was in residence at Amaseia by the first quarter of the third century BCE. Bosworth and Wheatley's date of the flight from Antigonos' court around 314 BCE accords better with this scenario than a date of 302 BCE, as it allows for a reasonable amount of time to elapse between these events. Before Mithridates' founding, the region in general was associated with sacred Hittite territory, and large temple estates for both Persian and Anatolian deities existed in the area by the fourth century BCE. The site, therefore, was situated within a nexus of topographical, historical, and religious associations, deliberately sited in relation to the local power structures significant to the region.[842]

The coin (*SNGvA* 1; Waddington, et al., *Recueil général des monnaies grecques d'Asie Mineure*, 10, no. 1) is the only extant Pontic gold stater, and, following the early argument of Reinach, "Essai sur la numismatique des rois de Pont (dynastie des Mithridate)," 232-63, pl. XVI, has traditionally been thought to commemorate Mithridates' assumption of the royal title. Michels, 183-85, rightly challenges this interpretation on the basis of the coin's control marks, and whose skepticism is echoed in de Callataÿ, "The First Royal Coinages of Pontos (from Mithridates III to Mithridates V)," 79-80.

[841] E. Meyer, *Geschichte des Königsreichs Pontos* (Leipzig: Verlag von Wilhelm Engelmann, 1879), 37; T. Reinach, *Mithridate Eupator: roi de Pont* (Paris: Firmin-Didot et cie, 1890), 6-7; McGing, *The Foreign Policy of Mithridates VI Eupator*, 15; B. C. McGing, "The Kings of Pontus: Some Problems of Identity and Date," *RhM* 129 (1986): 249-50; R. A. Billows, *Antigonus the One-Eyed and the Creation of the Hellenistic State* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 404-5; R. A. Billows, *Kings and Colonists: Aspects of Macedonian Imperialism* (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 104-6; J. D. Grainger, *Seleukos Nikator: Constructing a Hellenistic Kingdom* (New York: Routledge, 1990), 184; H. S. Lund, *Lysimachus: A Study in Early Hellenistic Kingship* (London: Routledge, 1992), 82.

[842] S. Mitchell, "In Search of the Pontic Community in Antiquity," 57.

On approaching the urban settlement, a visitor would have been confronted with the five tombs marking the monumental, symbolic threshold into the city. Standing on the southern bank of the Yeşilırmak River, looking across to the north bank from the Alçak Köprüsü (as one would have approached the fortified urban area of Amaseia from the suburbs in antiquity), the tombs today still constitute an imposing façade and focal point of a visitor's entrance into the city. The path created by the bridge is centered between the two clusters of tombs: to the east, the view of the earlier grouping of Tombs A-C is favored by the approach from the bridge; to the west, tombs D and especially E face slightly outward, away from the bridge. These latter two are spaced farther apart, and Tomb E's seeming disengagement with the space governed by the view from Tombs A-D and distinct southwest orientation probably reflects an effort to solicit a more commanding view from the tomb itself. Nevertheless, the facades of the royal tombs seem intentionally to frame the main approach from the suburbs, suggesting a symbolic threshold to the fortified city proper. The articulation of significant liminal spaces with monumental art is a characteristic of older imperial centers in Anatolia, whose features will be discussed in greater depth below. Moreover, the royal tombs constitute a distinct intervention in both the natural topography and structuring of differentiated urban space in Amaseia. Viewing the group from the southern bank of the Yeşilırmak River, the tombs' articulation of their symbolic importance according to their relationships with the landscape, implied visual spectacle, and definition of urban space comes into sharper focus. All five tombs hover at a level between the viewer's approach and the acropolis/fortification crowning the top of the mountain, simultaneously conditioning physical and visual access to the acropolis, yet removed from the ordinary realm and isolated in their own space, accessible only visually and from a distance to the majority of visitors to the city. A viewshed analysis of each tomb demonstrates that each tomb contained the

majority of the southern section of the city and suburbs within its view, implying control over the territory (Figs. 113-17).[843] The viewshed analysis highlights the distinction between types of viewers and the types of views to which they would have had access: the analysis was calculated from a point at entrance to each tomb, approximating the commanding view that the patron of the tomb would have had as the primary subject, while the approach to Amaseia from the suburbs defines the perspective of the object within that view; i.e., a visitor to the city.

Analyzing the Pontic tombs in accordance with principles of landscape and, by extension, monumentality, suggests an intentional ambiguity in distinguishing between the natural topography of the south face of Harşena Dağı and the artificial monument constructed within the rock. Harris and Fairchild Ruggles have recently stressed the importance of "the question of nature, illusion, and 'the real'" in landscape inquiry, arguing that it should be the focus of landscape studies.[844] The primary way an ancient viewer would have known the Pontic tombs would have been through vision - indeed, by looking at the tombs from the viewpoint of the Alçak Köprüsü, the patrons' appropriation of the natural rock as the medium for their monuments obscures, to an extent, the distinction between the natural topography and the artificial construction. This effectively "naturalizes" state power and the ideological claims made through the architectural form of the tombs. The most visible way of accessing the distinction between "nature" and the "naturalized," then, is through the framing devices deployed in each of these tombs, i.e., the hollowed-out corridors behind each and the use of either a triangular pediment or archivolt top to articulate the three-dimensional space in front of the tombs. From this

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[843] For a discussion of how spectatorship implies ownership and control, see Cosgrove, *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape*, 26, as well as the discussion related to the Galatian royal necropolis in Chapter Four, pp. 164-67.

[844] Harris and Fairchild Ruggles, "Landscape and Vision," 13.

perspective, the tombs also engage the concept of "monumentality": not only their sheer size, but also their use of durable/natural materials contribute to their enduring visibility and status as "monuments" as defined by A. Gilibert, i.e., "long-term modifiers of the urban landscape, which they mark even if they are not 'in use.'"[845]

Furthermore, the perspective given from the Alçak Köprüsü initiates a complex set of relationships between the viewer and the patron determined by how the viewer sees and approaches the tombs. First of all, the inherent ambiguity between the natural rock and the artificial construction works to naturalize Pontic state ideology, which in turn implies a "naturalized" distinction between the socio-political position of the viewer and that of the monuments' patrons. Vision as a vehicle through which visual, spatial, and socio-political connections are made, which can further articulate notions of difference, suggests a heightened physical as well as socio-political status of the patron in relation to the viewer.[846]

The physical location of the royal tombs at Amaseia, therefore, played a significant role in constructing a necropolis whose *place* was ideologically enhanced by the natural topography of the site and its structuring of physical, social, and political relationships between the patrons and viewers. Locating the royal necropolis in relationship to the central mountain not only made the tombs highly visible, but also positioned them as the symbolic threshold of a visitor's first encounter in the capital city. In their appeal to a broad, general audience, the visual height of the tombs framed a symbolic social and political distinction between the patrons and viewers, "naturalized" by the medium of the living rock.

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[845] A. Gilibert, *Syro-Hittite Monumental Art and the Archaeology of Performance* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2011), 2.

[846] E. Kryder-Reid, qtd. in Harris and Fairchild Ruggles, "Landscape and Vision," 8, 18.

Topography and Memory in the Form of the Necropolis

The royal necropolis at Amaseia not only manipulated its physical space in relationship to the viewer, its rupestral form also capitalized on formal analogies to topographically similar sites, such as the Urartian fortress at Tušpa (modern Van) and Naqš-e Rostam (near the Achaemenid capital at Persepolis), inscribing the symbolic import of those places at a different geographical location (Figs. 13 and 118). In the case of Naqš-e Rostam, the place of the royal Achaemenid necropolis was not merely a location. Rather, it remained a constant in a series of continual accumulations of meaningful associations, the first and foremost of which was the iconic form of the royal rock-cut tombs. The iconic cruciform facade was replicated in later rock-cut tombs throughout Persian territory, and it was precisely the element of repetition of specific iconographic patterns that had the power to liken various geographical spaces to Naqš-e Rostam. While the Amaseian tombs do not conform to the cruciform plan of the Achaemenid tombs, their replication of specific topograhical features, medium, and placement assimilated the southern face of Harşena Dağı to the "iconic space" of Naqš-e Rostam, generating a wider geographical and symbolic presence of the Achaemenid necropolis and transforming both places into sites of memory and emblematic heritage.[847]

The integration of the royal tombs at Amaseia into both the natural topography of the site as well as their strategic incorporation into the built urban environment directly refers to the accomplishments in rock-cutting of earlier Anatolian and Iranian societies. The earliest known rock-cut tombs in Anatolia were the achievements of the Urartian kings, who ruled from the ninth-sixth centuries BCE. These tombs are most spectacularly displayed beneath the hilltop

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[847] The idea that transformative power is concentrated in repetitive ritual and iconographic form at specific locations is illustrated in A. Lidov's work on "Hierotopy," or "studies in the making of sacred space;" cf. Lidov, "The Flying Hodegetria," 291-321. For a recent analysis of Anatolian rock reliefs as sites of accumulated memory and heritage, see Harmanşah, *Place, Memory, and Healing*, 83-119.

fortress of their capital, Tušpa, known today as Van Kalesi. There are eight extant monumental

tombs at Tušpa, the majority of which are situated in the southern face of the rocky ridge that

runs east-west, terminating at Lake Van. Like the royal rock tombs at Amaseia, they are situated

below the fortress crowning the ridge, and their commanding view of the plain below

foreshadows the arrangement at Amaseia.[848] The prestigious location of the tombs, in direct

relationship to the royal fortress in the capital city as well as their proximity to monumental royal

rock-cut inscriptions clarifies their function as specifically royal tombs. The Urartian kingdom

was also responsible for several other rock-cut architectural developments, including rock-cut

step tunnels and preparation techniques for inscriptions, to which the Achaemenids monuments

were indebted, especially the relief of Dareios I at Bisotun.[849] Urartian masonry developments

made possible monumental carvings and rupestral funerary monuments of the Achaemenids,

which, by extension, found their way into the designs of elite Pontic patrons, and the ideological

claims inherent in appropriating the techniques associated with such structures are undoubtedly

echoed in the topographical and formal relationships borne by the Amaseian tombs to their

Urartian predecessors.

Perhaps the best comparison to the imposing line of rock-carved royal Pontic funerary

monuments etched into the dramatic mountainous terrain overlooking the city are the seven royal

Achaemenid rock tombs in the area of the Persian capital at Persepolis. The precipitous cliff into

which Dareios I initiated the practice of royal Achaemenid tomb carving, known today as Naqš-e

Rostam, was described by the physician Ktesias in the fourth century BCE as a "two-peaked

mountain," a phrase that anticipates Strabo's later comment on the twin peaks of Harşena Dağı in

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[848] van Hulsteyn, *Urartian Built and Rock-Cut Tombs*, 63.

[849] W. Kleiss, "Urartu in Iran," *Encyclopædia Iranica*, online edition, 2012, available at http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/urartu-in-iran (accessed on 15 December 2014).

Amaseia.[850] Ktesias' description is likely a reference to the two mountains, Husain Kuh and

Kuh-i Rahmat, divided by the Pulvar River valley, and while Strabo's slight echo of Ktesias'

description may be entirely coincidental, the analogous topographical setting chosen by

Mithridates I Ktistes for his dynastic tomb likely was not. Dareios' choice to implement a rock-

cut structure for his tomb as opposed to a masonry-built structure represented a clear break with

the precedent set by Kyros' tomb at Pasargadai (d. 530 BCE), and its ideological thrust so

effective as to warrant imitation by each of his successors: the other three Achaemenid-era tombs

at Naqš-e Rostam (the southern nose of Husain Kuh) emulate the visual form of Dareios' tomb

and are thought to belong to his three immediate successors (Xerxes, d. 465 BCE; Artaxerxes, d.

423 BCE; and Dareios II, d. 404 BCE), while the last three Achaemenid monarchs are thought to

have been interred in the tombs of the rocky ridge flanking the Persepolis terrace at Kuh-i

Rahmat.[851] Due to the particularities of the rock formations around Persepolis, the tombs all face

southwest or southeast, an arrangement that is echoed in the royal tombs at Amaseia.[852]

There are no known exact precedents for Dareios' tomb at Naqš-e Rostam, but the stone

carving technique derives from Urartian rock monuments, and the Median or early Achaemenid

rock tombs in the mountains of Kurdistan probably served in some manner as prototypes for

Dareios' tombs.[853] The site of Naqš-e Rostam had maintained some distinction in the Elamite

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[850] Ktesias' text from the *Persika* is paraphrased in the ninth-century Byzantine Phot. *Bibl*. 72.38a.38-39 (Bekker): Δαρεῖος προστάσσει τάφον ἑαυτῷ κατασκευασθῆναι ἐν τῷ δισσῷ ὄρει. The phrase "δισσῷ ὄρει" literally means "double mountain," although most translations clarify the English to read "double-peaked," "twin-peaked," or "two-peaked," which seems a reasonable substitute for the literal Greek wording. Compare the language used in Strabo 12.3.39, δύο δ᾽ εἰσὶ συμφυεῖς ἀλλήλαις, in which Strabo stresses the unification of the two peaks of Amaseia, and the description of Naqš-e Rostam in Schmidt, *Persepolis*, 80.

[851] Schmidt, *Persepolis*, 80, 96-107.

[852] For discussion of the precise orientation of each tomb, see Schmidt, *Persepolis*, 81, 90, 93, 96, 99, 102, 107.

[853] For the tombs in Kurdistan, see Schmidt, *Persepolis*, 79. For the relationship between the Urartian and Achaemenid practices of rock carving, see W. Kleiss, "Urartu in Iran"; P. Calmeyer, "Zur Genese altiranischer

period, but it was Dareios I's appropriation of the symbolism associated with the site and integration of the privileged royal tradition of rock carving that transformed the area into an ideological focal point for the visual demonstration of Achaemenid authority. Even before he began the construction of his funerary monument, Dareios became the first Persian monarch to initiate a monumental rock relief, blending the sacred religious character of the Bisotun mountain with the royally privileged medium of rock carving.[854] The Bisotun relief shows Dareios in conversation with Ahura Mazda, the supreme Zoroastrian deity, while simultaneously trampling defeated enemies. The ideological efficacy of such a monument intensified in subsequent iterations of monumental rock reliefs sponsored both by Dareios and later kings, transformed a site like Naqš-e Rostam into an accumulation of reliefs, each drawing from the preceding monuments to heighten the symbolic associations of later carvings.[855]

The general formal qualities of the Amaseian tombs correspond closely to those exhibited in the imperial rock reliefs initiated by Dareios I and exploited by later dynasties in the Near East. The Amaseian necropolis' proximity to other royal monuments, including the citadel and royal palace, as well as its visually prestigious but physically inaccessible location on the edge of a prominent mountain parallels the choice of location for both the Urartian and the Achaemenid royal rock-cut tombs. Additionally, a large surface area of the rock has been worked and smoothed over to prepare for architectural and decorative elaboration of the facade, which is greatly emphasized at the expense of the interior, as discussed below. In the Achaemenid rock reliefs, both funereal and non-funereal, the relief carving commonly portrays the king of kings in

Motive III: Felsgräber," *AMIran* (N.F.) 8 (1975): 101-7; G. Gropp, "Urartäische Miszellen," *AMIran* 22 (1989): 103-124; D. Huff, "Das Grab des Doğubayazıt," *Türk Tarih Kongresi* 10 (1990) I: 87-95.

[854] Canepa, "Technologies of Memory in Early Sasanian Iran," 574; Canepa, "Topographies of Power," 53-58.

[855] Canepa, "Topographies of Power," 57.

conversation with a deity. Perhaps similar content could be inferred for the tombs at Amaseia: while no relief decoration is known to have existed on them, the very fact that they served as tombs acknowledges their function as thresholds to and places of interaction with the supernatural world.

One of the most striking features of the rock tombs at Naqš-e Rostam is the marked contrast between the architecturally elaborate and highly ornamented facades of the tombs, and their relatively small and bare interiors. In general, the interior design of the Persian tombs consists of an elongated corridor running parallel to the façade, the rear wall of which contains openings for either one or three cists that housed a limited number of burials (Fig. 119). In each of these cists, a rectangular "trough" was carved into the rock to serve as a container for a sarcophagus or kline.[856] These relatively simple, unadorned interiors were clearly intended for a strictly limited access and viewership, and may not have been entered except for the actual deposition of a body or collection of bones. Nothing survives of the funerary equipment and burial gifts, and while it is impossible to deduce the exact nature of furniture, precious metal, food, clothes, pottery, and other portable gifts that may have ornamented the inner cist chambers, the relative size and lack of architectural decoration and relief carving on the interior of the tombs makes clear that the exterior facades received the lion's share of visual emphasis. The iconic cruciform composition and four engaged columns on the façade of Dareios' tomb have been interpreted as a representation of the entrance of the palace at Persepolis,[857] a monumental relief that dominates the rock face and commands most, if not all, the visual attention, in contrast to the architecturally bare interior. Thus, the ideological weight of the tomb bore most heavily on

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[856] Schmidt, *Persepolis*, 80-107 and figs. 31, 33-36, 38. Schmidt (p. 88) assumes that the royal dead were placed in coffins, possibly metal or wood encased in metal.

[857] Ibid., 80-81.

the exterior facade, a feature that was echoed in Achaemenid sites of cultic and funerary worship. The Persepolis Fortification Archive reveals that sacrifices offered for deceased kings did not occur within the tomb itself; rather, they were conducted in the open air, a practice that characterized Achaemenid cult ritual in the Anatolian satrapies as well.[858] The ideological impetus for Achaemenid performance of royal ritual in the open air, and thus with a specified degree of visibility, is perhaps best expressed in Margaret Cool Root's recent argument for the Apadana at Persepolis as "a display arena for magisterial depictions of empire involving the king in audience ... wherein the king is the representational fulcrum of a panoptic gaze across the peoples of the empire and their special honorific gifts."[859] In Cool Root's assessment, the image of the Persian king in actual performative appearances at the Apadana engaged a specific "reciprocity of vision and experience" during which the mutual "seeing" that took place between the king and his subjects was privileged over singular view of the king.[860] Rather than positioning the Achaemenid king as a one-way viewer, i.e., "a flat oppressive power of Foucaultian panoptic scrutiny," the ability for his Persian subjects to see the king became just as important as the sovereign's own gaze in performing imperial ritual and transmitting ideas of power.[861]

While there is no direct evidence of rituals taking place in the porticoes of the royal tombs at Amaseia, the stone projections and holes that seem designated for wooden or other

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[858] M. Canepa, "The Transformation of Sacred Space, Topography, and Royal Ritual in Persia and the Ancient Iranian World," in *Heaven on Earth: Temples, Ritual, and Cosmic Symbolism in the Ancient World*, ed. D. Ragavan (Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2012), 326, 330.

[859] M. Cool Root, "Achaemenid Imperial Architecture: Performative Porticoes of Persepolis," in *Persian Kingship and Architecture: Strategies of Power in Iran from the Achaemenids to the Pahlavis*, ed. S. Babaie and T. Grigor (London: I. B. Tauris, 2015), 34.

[860] Ibid., 34-35.

[861] Ibid., 35.

furnishings are certainly evocative of the performance of funerary ritual within the space of the portico. The state rituals enacted here, like the Apadana rituals, occurred in full view of a civic audience and engaged a similar strategy of reciprocal vision that served to negotiate the relationship between Pontic king and Pontic subject. This dynamic was structurally reinforced by the design of the tombs, which exaggerated the visual prominence of the facade and diminished the centrality of the burial chamber itself. The exterior facades of the Amaseian tombs carry the ideological thrust of the monument and articulate the political and cultural statement. The facade of the largest tomb, Pharnakes' unfinished Tomb E, is nearly 12m tall, and the antae or columns as well as evidence for expensive revetment that appear on the other tombs clarify where the visible, ritual action would have taken place. Each tomb has monumental, ornamental stairs leading to a courtyard space that would have accommodated at least a small, privileged group of elite participants. Furthermore, Tombs B, C, and D all contain markings in the stone courtyard that suggest the presence of ritual tables or other furniture. Tomb D contains the most spacious courtyard, and the footprint of a 1.70m x 1.70m square table (perhaps an altar?) is still visible in the stone today.[862] Additionally, a small stone projection still protrudes from beneath the entrance of Tomb C, probably also indicating the location of a piece of ritual furniture.[863]

The interiors, however, are disproportionately small in comparison to the exterior facades. In Tomb E, for example, while the facade is nearly twelve meters high, the burial chamber itself measures 3.38m long x 2.55m wide, and a mere 3.15m high. The size of this chamber is typical of the Amaseian tombs, allowing only enough room for a few bodies to be laid out or bones to be collected, if these tombs were even used for more than one burial. Their

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[862] Özdemir, *Amasya Kalesi ve Kral Kaya Mezarları*, 103-7.

[863] Ibid., 100-2.

form indicates that the burial chambers were used only for containment of corpse material and little else; the visual, and thus semiotic, effect was concentrated in the exterior facade, as was the case at Naqš-e Rostam. The performance of funereal ceremonies in the open air contrasts with what is known about Seleukid royal burial, particularly the burial of Seleukos I, which took place in a temenos/naos complex known as the Nikatoreion within the basileia at Seleukeia Pieria.[864] Continued cult worship for Seleukos I and his successors is attested through epigraphic evidence from Seleukeia Pieria, and Seleukid funerary *temenoi* containing temples with crypts that seem styled after deity worship rather than hero worship have been found at Seleukeia Pieria and Ai Khanoum in Bactria.[865] Unfortunately, so little of the Pontic basileia survives that no trace remains of the appearance of the palace entrance; otherwise it may be possible to examine a potential architecturally significant relationship between the Amaseian tomb facades and that of the palace, as was the case at Naqš-e Rostam. In any case, the façade of each of the royal tombs at Amaseia finds explicit analogies in Persian imperial topographies as well as in Greek architectural vocabulary (discussed in greater detail below), and the Mithridatids likely conceived their tombs in the same tradition of exclusively imperial rock carving that characterized not only Persian monarchical activities, but were known in Anatolia from the Hittite and Urartian periods as well.

The form of the royal necropolis at Amaseia addresses the general viewer in terms of a formal allusion to ideologically charged imperial sites from the Urartian and especially the Achaemenid dynasties. In particular, the topographical situation of carving monumental rock

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[864] Canepa, "Achaemenid and Seleucid Royal Funerary Practices," 7; Stillwell, ed., *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, 33-34; Hannestad and Potts, "Temple Architecture in the Seleucid Kingdom," 116.

[865] Canepa, "Achaemenid and Seleucid Royal Funerary Practices," 7-9; Stillwell, *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, 33-34; P. Bernard, *Fouilles d'Aï Khanoum I. Campagnes 1965, 1966, 1967, 1968* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1973), 85-102; R. Mairs, "Ethnic Identity in the Hellenistic Far East" (Ph.D. diss.: Cambridge, 2006), 66-76, 78.

facades into the southern side of a two-peaked mountain, along with a strong external emphasis contrasted to relatively small and visually diminished interiors, maintains a conceptual link with the royal Persian necropolis at Naqš-e Rostam. The landscape of the Amaseian necropolis, embedded within the living rock and mediated through a constructed view, thus illustrated the ideology of the Pontic kings buried there. The rupestral medium not only naturalized the social and political relations implicit in the physical positioning of the tombs above the viewer, but also compelled analogies to the Achaemenid tombs and structured a specific *place* with specific memorial associations.[866]

The structuring of place that occurs here goes beyond Harmanşah's framework, which analyzes activities that occur at a particular site. The layering of meaning at the site of the Amaseian necropolis, however, is not necessarily tied to the geographical bounds of the site. The Pontic kings adopt the symbolic topography of a different site (Naqš-e Rostam) and graft its significance onto a space within their own territory. In this case, site specificity is tied less to a physical, geographic location and more to the formal qualities and appearance of that location. This example creates a more fluid dynamic of "place" than is represented in Harmanşah's framework because it involves the idea of a meaningful site embedded within a different geographical locale. Thus, the ideological import of a meaningful place such as Naqš-e Rostam could reach beyond its geographical bounds and influence the interpretation of other geographical sites. The imperial analogy represented here did not merely address a general viewer, but suggested a political relationship that depended on a viewer who was familiar with the royal Iranian tradition.

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[866] For other examples of how landscapes work to naturalize social and political ideologies, see S. M. Whittlesey, "Mountains, Mounds, and Meaning: Metaphor in the Hohokam Cultural Landscape," in *The Archaeology of Meaningful Places*, ed. B. J. Bowser and M. N. Zedeño, 73-89 (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2009), and Canepa, "Topographies of Power," 53-92.

A Dialogue of Elites in the Tombs outside of the Royal Necropolis

In addition to the general viewer and the one visually literate in the funerary landscape of the Achaemenid Empire, another class of elite viewer is acknowledged in the arrangement of several other rock-cut tombs around Amaseia. At least eighteen rock-cut burials were constructed separately from the royal necropolis in the valley of the Iris (Yeşilırmak) River, but only a portion of these survive today. Eight of these tombs are in Amaseia itself, all of which bear a physical and visual relationship to the royal necropolis. Many of these tombs, like the royal examples, were carved into the south face of Harşena Dağı and were clearly meant to maintain symbolic proximity to the royal necropolis by virtue of their location. Perhaps among the earliest of the group, Amaseia Tomb 10 (Cat. III.10) is carved out of the southwestern slope of the fortified castle, with three stone steps leading to a rectangular courtyard with a doorway opening onto a modest-sized burial chamber.[867] In the rear wall of the burial chamber there is an arcosolium flanked by two ornamental, rectangular pillars carved in bas-relief and topped by Ionic capitals.[868] Traces of plaster are found throughout the tomb, and Özdemir compares the arcosolium arrangement to fifth- and fourth-century BCE rock tombs found near Amisos (Samsun), suggesting that Amaseia Tomb 11 (Cat. III.11) similarly dates to the fourth century BCE and possibly belonged to a Persian official living in the region.[869] The occupational levels of Harşena Dağı and its pre-Hellenistic history certainly merit further investigation; if the tomb does, in fact, date to before the Pontic kings, Mithridates I's choice to build his tomb on the mountain would indicate appropriation of an already-sacred site and an accumulation of ritual

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[867] Özdemir, *Amasya Kalesi ve Kral Kaya Mezarları*, 118-21; fig. 65-66.

[868] Ibid.

[869] Ibid.

significance beginning at least a century before Mithridates' occupation of the citadel. The most visible tomb outside of the necropolis is Amaseia Tomb 6 (Fig. 120; Cat. III.6), which occupies a prestigious location at the foot of the citadel on the southeastern side of Harşena Dağı.[870] It boasts direct visual contact with the royal tombs, just beneath the ground of the basileia, and is visible from the eastern grouping. It faces the same south-southwest direction as the eastern group, but its lower elevation does not proffer the same commanding view afforded by the height of the royal tombs. It incorporates similar architectural features as the royal tombs: ceremonial rock-cut steps leading to a courtyard, entablature flanked by antae, and possibly the suggestion of a triangular pediment crowning the structure. In its facade and interior arrangement (benches around three sides, a depression in the floor, covered by a barrel vault), it is very close in appearance to Tomb A and was likely intended to house the remains of an especially elite or politically important family. Several other tombs populate the southwestern side of the mountain: Amaseia Tomb 9 (Cat. III.9), framed by a two-stepped rectangular door opening, is located just south of Pharnakes' tomb. In the western slope of Harşena Dağı, a rectangular opening gives access to another burial chamber, Amaseia Tomb 12 (Cat. III.12) identified by a Greek inscription as belonging to a certain Rufus, governor of Bithynia, who constructed the chamber for himself and his descendants.[871] The inscription gives the tomb a *terminus post quem* of 64 BCE, when the Roman general Pompey restructured this region into the province of Pontus-Bithynia. The symbolic import of the site, therefore, was perpetuated during the Roman period as elites continually chose to construct their burials in the shadow of the Pontic kings.

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[870] de Jerphanion, *Mélanges d'archéologie anatolienne*, 6; pl. IV, 3; Özdemir, *Amasya Kalesi ve Kral Kaya Mezarları*, 115-18; fig. 64; Perrot, Guillaume, and Delbet, *Exploration archéologique*, 382; pl. 74.

[871] Anderson, Cumont, and *Grégoire, Studia Pontica III*, 128-29; Özdemir, *Amasya Kalesi ve Kral Kaya Mezarları*; 122-24; Perrot, Guillaume, and Delbet, *Exploration archéologique*, 377.

Two tombs on the south bank of the Iris (Yeşilırmak) River are not physically carved into the same mountain as the royal tombs, but they were clearly constructed in a manner that facilitated visual exchange with the necropolis and citadel. A tomb with two entrances, Amaseia Tomb 7 (Cat. III.7), appears near the modern town square, designed with two square facades and square entrance openings united under a single lintel (Fig. 121).[872] Above the lintel, there is some indication that the space around the tomb was intended to be hollowed out in a similar fashion as the royal tombs, but work apparently did not continue for long. To the northeast of this tomb is another pair of tombs, Amaseia Tomb 8, one with a low arcuated facade resembling Tomb E, containing an opening to access the small burial chamber (Fig. 122; Cat. III.8).[873] Both Tomb 7 and Tomb 8 are situated to take advantage of the direct view towards the citadel and royal necropolis, and indicate that the majority, if not all, of the monumental tombs in Amaseia were intended to foster a symbolic visual relationship with the most prestigious funerary monuments in the city.

A monumental tomb emulating the arcuated facade of Pharnakes' tomb is situated at a relatively low elevation approximately two kilometers northeast of the city center of Amaseia (Fig. 123; Cat. III.13).[874] It is of comparable size and design to the royal tombs, with a completely hollowed-out corridor on three sides of the tomb and an entrance opening situated some 4.63m above the base of the facade, which faces south-southeast and looks back toward the general direction of the citadel. The inscription on the tomb records the somewhat unusual name

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[872] de Jerphanion, *Mélanges d'archéologie anatolienne*, 10-11; pl. IV, 2.

[873] Perrot, Guillaume, and Delbet, *Exploration archéologique*, 382; pl. 73.

[874] See G. E. Bean, "Inscriptions from Pontus," *Belleten* 17 (1953): 169, no. 5; Childs, *Across Asia Minor on Foot*, 86-87; Fleischer, "Zwei pontische Felsgräber des hohen Hellenismus mit monumentalen Inschriften," 273-84; Fleischer, "The Rock-tombs of the Pontic Kings in Amaseia (Amasya)," 109-20; Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor, Pontus, and Armenia*, 369; Perrot, Guillaume, and Delbet, *Exploration archéologique*, 370-71; pl. 72.

of Tês, a high priest (ἀρχιερεύς). Robert Fleischer has established a *terminus post quem* for the tomb based on the letter forms indicating the High Hellenistic period and the fact that the position of high priest was not established in the Seleukid kingdom until the reign of Antiochos III (r. 209 BCE - 193 BCE).[875] This argument is corroborated by the fact that the facade imitates that of Pharnakes' tomb, and, assuming that trends in tomb construction traveled from the royal necropolis to the outlying funerary monuments, it can be argued that the tomb of Tês borrowed its form from Pharnakes' construction instead of the other way around. The tomb of Tês is rather inconspicuous and because of its isolated position does not directly compete with the royal tombs, which is perhaps one of the reasons why its monumentality and comparable scale to the royal tombs was deemed acceptable. Furthermore, since the tomb most likely dates to the second century BCE (after Pharnakes' capture of Sinope and transfer of the capital in 183 BCE), the fact that the Pontic kings were no longer buried in Amaseia may have provided inspiration for other elites to create monuments that emulated the royal tombs in both form and scale. A similar hypothesis could be posited for the Tomb of Hikesios in Lâçin, Çorum province (Fig. 124; Cat. III.14).[876] At nearly 13m tall it is the largest rock-cut tomb in Anatolia, and, like the tomb of Tês it also appropriates the format of an arcuated lintel resting on antae seen in Pharnakes' tomb at Amaseia. The tomb of Hikesios is approximately 80 kilometers west of Amaseia, and the distance likely afforded Hikesios the opportunity to experiment with an extremely large and prestigious monument without offending the ambitions of the kings themselves.[877]

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[875] Fleischer, "Zwei pontische Felsgräber des hohen Hellenismus mit monumentalen Inschriften," 275. Although the name of Tês is unknown in the historical record, Perrot, Guillaume, and Delbet suggest that perhaps he belonged to the elite circle of high priests of Komana and Zela described by Strabo (12.3.31-37); cf. Perrot, Guillaume, and Delbet, *Exploration archéologique*, 370-71; pl. 72.

[876] Fleischer, "Zwei pontische Felsgräber des hohen Hellenismus mit monumentalen Inschriften," 273-84.

[877] Ibid., 279.

The visual contact of the tombs in Amaseia with the royal necropolis initiates a demonstration of a specific aspect of Hellenistic kingship rooted in the "theatrical mentality" common in various aspects of urban life during the Hellenistic age.[878] Political leaders, or civic "protagonists" increasingly used the civic spectacle as a means of ideological display, giving rise to a "culture of onlookers" who silently validated the monarch's ideological claims by watching the spectacle.[879] During these spectacles, the king intentionally set himself apart from these onlookers, ideally in "an imitation of the gods."[880] Architecture thus became a powerful medium for expressing and reinforcing these ideological constructions, framing the onlookers within a specific materialization of social and political hierarchy. This hierarchy and its accompanying ideology was a source of social power whose efficacy was directly dependent on its physical materialization.[881] Because of architecture's ability to command vision, structure space, and organize movement, it is one of the most powerful means by which those who exert social and political power both enact and substantiate their claims. If the royal tombs at Amaseia are considered as a kind of public appearance of the king, the (presumably) non-royal tombs in the city mimicked the role of the onlooker and perpetually enacted a spectacle that manipulated physical distance and monumentality as a means of elevating the monarch (quite literally, as the royal tombs are physically above and beyond any other tomb in the city). Furthermore, the rituals that took place in the space of the courtyards preceding the royal tombs would have appeared as

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[878] Pollitt, *Art in the Hellenistic Age*, 4. See also Chaniotis, "Theatricality Beyond the Theater, 219-59.

[879] Chaniotis, "Theatricality Beyond the Theater," 252.

[880] Ibid., 236. Stob. 4.7.62, quoting Diotogenes' Περὶ Βασιλείας.

[881] Gilibert, *Syro-Hittite Monumental Art and the Archaeology of Performance*, 112. Gilibert argues that the specific "rhetoric of spatial practices" is deeply implicated in issues of political power.

a staged setting, visible from the city, the river, and the suburbs, reinforcing the elite status of a

small group of people and emphasizing the role that they played in the "theater" of civic life.[882]

While the Amaseian funerary monuments are exemplars of ideological structures found

among a wide range of Hellenistic kingdoms, they also engage a more specific discourse of

kingship inspired by the monuments of preceding Anatolian kingdoms. The manner in which

these monuments function as stages for spectacles and the architectural language of space and

movement derives from similar ideological manifestations in Anatolian power centers such as at

Carchemish and Zincirli that have been highlighted by recent scholarship. Based on the

reconstruction of the Hellenistic city of Amaseia and the highly charged perspective on entering

from the suburbs, the section occupied by the royal tombs can be regarded as a space with a

distinct liminal nature. The royal tombs are adjacent to the acropolis, basileia, and royal

fortification circuit, but because of their visibility from the suburban area at a prestigious spot at

the main entrance to the city, they function as markers of distinction between city and suburb;

i.e., one of the most significant points of transition, structuring the symbolic entrance to the city.

In her recent analysis of the artistic embellishment of the Anatolian centers at Carchemish and

Zincirli, Alessandra Gilibert notes a similar manifestation in which "monumental art was

employed to mark important thresholds along the main avenues of access from outside the city to

inside the city center, reaching an acme at the open spaces of the ceremonial quarter."[883] This

point is emphasized in the spaces that would have granted the most access to visitors: at

Carchemish and Zincirli, the monumental focus was placed not on the interior, but on the

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[882] For a recent discussion on the courtyard as a space of ritual interaction in the context of monumental Hellenistic tombs, see Greve, *Sepulkrale Hofarchitekturen im Hellenismus*.

[883] Ibid., 99.

exterior of the buildings.[884] Similarly, at Amaseia (as at Naqš-e Rostam), there is substantial architectural and decorative focus on the exterior facades of the tombs. Not much of the interiors survive, but they are relatively small and interior architectural embellishment seems to have been restricted to only what was necessary (i.e., the carving of klinai or the marked depression in the floor for the deposition of a body or a sarcophagus). Although no records of the funerals of the kings buried at Amaseia survive, we can assume that they were lavish affairs, especially given what we are told about the burial of Mithridates VI, and it is significant that the exterior of each monument gives the context for the associated ceremonies.[885] The courtyards and furniture[886] adorning the front of each tomb indicate that some form of ritual did indeed take place at the burial sites, but the restricted space available assumes a very exclusive set of participants, with greater and greater exclusivity as the rituals became more intimate and moved into the burial chamber proper. If we remove ourselves once again to the view from the Alçak Köprüsü, the display of funereal rites at the elevated platforms of the tombs would have become an example *par excellence* of Chaniotis' distinction between spectators and participants, with the participants literally looking up towards the privileged performance on display.

Through the construction of a specific view both to and from the royal necropolis, the royal patrons of the Amaseian tombs engineered a dialogue of performance and display amongst other elites in the city. The extant rock-cut tombs stationed around the city are mostly arranged in a way that facilitates visual access to the royal necropolis. The porticoes accompanying each of the royal tombs further accommodated elite ritual performances, which would have been

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[884] Ibid., 97.

[885] For the funeral rites given to Mithridates VI upon his death in 63 BCE, see Højte, "The Death and Burial of Mithridates VI," 121-30. The events surrounding his death are recording in App. *Mith*. 111, 113; Dio Cass. 37.13, 37.14.1; Plut. *Pomp*. 41.3-5, 42.2-3.

[886] Özdemir interprets the evidence for furniture as evidence for altar tables; cf. *Amasya Kalesi ve Kral Kaya Mezarları*, pp. 92, 97, 100, 103.

functioned to elevate physically the status of elite civic "protagonists" in full view of the more

ordinary "spectators." Finally, the most privileged viewer, i.e., one who was granted access to the

tunnels and stairways between the tombs emerging from the basileia, would have also physically

experienced a different set of relationships between each monument and the materialization of a

distinctly nuanced ideology of memory and monumentality. Just as the visualization of the

formal and topographical similarity of the Pontic tombs to the Urartian and Achaemenid

examples reified the memory of these former power centers in the Amaseian monuments, so the

memory of each preceding king was bound up in the movement between royal and funereal

spaces. The tunnels and staircases connecting the tombs deliberately manipulate a viewer's

movement so that, while s/he might have the goal of reaching the tomb of a later king, each of

the preceding kings' tombs must be traversed in order to reach the final destination. For example,

climbing to Tombs B or C in the east requires first passing by the founder's tomb, and even if

one could potentially walk down from the acropolis, bypassing the eastern group, to pay a visit to

the tomb of Pharnakes, s/he would still have to pass the tomb of Mithridates III, his predecessor.

One of the most important functions of monumental art is to "[mark] and [define] ceremonial

space … to locate and organize formal spatial behavior in space through a system of oriented

compositions."[887] These passageways, in effect, constitute such "oriented compositions,"

utilizing the very act of seeing and physically moving through a specific *locus* as a means of

performing memories and provoking associations among the deceased kings.

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[887] Gilibert, *Syro-Hittite Monumental Art and the Archaeology of Performance*, 98.

Constructing Identity: The Architectural Form of the Facades

In the context of the Amaseian royal tombs, the general idea of a modified rock relief seems well-established, but the precise iconographic influences adopted by Mithridates I Ktistes and his successors are imperfectly understood. At first glance, the tombs do not seem to represent a cohesive iconographic identity. Three of the monuments (Tombs A, B, and D), with their triangular pediments and remnants of columns in their porticoes, are immediately recognizable as representations of Greek temple facades. Tombs C and E, however, display an unusual rounded or arched roof that is reiterated in the nearby Tomb of Tês, about two kilometers north of the city, and the Tomb of Hikesios, located outside the village of Lâçin in the province of Çorum, about 80 kilometers west of Amasya. These arched roofs have received surprisingly little attention in scholarship, with the most recent analysis of the tombs relegating them to a kind of "un-Greek form" that possibly "had its roots in some local tradition unknown to us."[888] I argue below that these more unusual forms, like the pedimented facades, similarly derive from parallels in Greek funerary art, and thus all five tombs superficially engage with a recognizably Hellenic architectural and funereal iconographic repertoire.

Aside from the rock reliefs and royal Achaemenid rock-cut tombs, the territory that comprised the kingdom of Media, an ethnolinguistically Iranian kingdom that dominated northwestern Iran from the late eighth century BCE-ca. 550 BCE, when it was overthrown by Kyros II and assimilated into Persian rule, contains a series of monumental, rock-cut tombs that resemble certain aspects of both the later Amaseian monuments.[889] These so-called "Median"[890]

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[888] Fleischer, "The Rock-tombs of the Pontic Kings in Amaseia (Amasya), 116, 118.

[889] Although Median power was transferred to the Persian king, it seems that the Medians still maintained a prestigious standing at the Persian court as well as a privileged position throughout the Persian Empire more generally. For a recent analysis of the debates concerning Median power, geography, and relevant scholarship, see M. Cool Root, "Medes and Persians: The State of Things," *Ars Orientalis* 32 (2002): 1-16, and E. R. M. Dusinberre,

rock tombs generally consist of a portico with columns carved out of the living rock, with a door leading to one or two burial chambers. Their decorative features are not as elaborate as the Achaemenid royal tombs, but the Achaemenid precedent of carving a tomb out of an elevated, rocky location likely influenced the design of the Median tombs, and much of the relief carving visible in the Median examples links them to their Achaemenid predecessors.[891] Several of the tombs resemble examples known from Amaseia, for example, the stepped, rectangular frame surrounding the portico without a pediment or other crowning feature in the tombs of Fakhrikah at Endirkash, "Ferhad-u-Shirin" at Sahna, and Dukkan-i-Daud at Sar-i-Pol look remarkably similar to the facade arrangement of Amaseia Tomb 6 (Cat. III.6), carved at the foot of the citadel in proximity to the royal tombs (Fig. 125). This triple-fasciaed, stepped frame is present in the royal Achaemenid tombs as well as some Paphlagonian examples, for example, at Donalar/Kalekapı (Fig. 20).[892] The motif also appears briefly among the royal tombs at Amaseia, in the form of a triple-stepped frame surrounding the entrance opening to Tomb A; perhaps this iconographic motif held special significance in ritual contexts and was employed to demarcate a kind of sacred space. While Achaemenid and Median tombs share features with the Amaseian

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"An Excavated Ivory from Kerkenes Dağ, Turkey: Transcultural Fluidities, Significations of Collective Identity, and the Problem of Median Art," *Ars Orientalis* 32 (2002): 17-54.

[890] "Median" as a cultural designation for artifacts remains a highly speculative term. No information exists on the Median writing system, and no artifact that can be definitively described as "Median" has been discovered, although a small number of eighth-seventh century BCE sites are attributed to the Medians, including a religious building that housed a fire altar excavated by Stronach. See M. Dandamayev and I. Medvedskaya, "Media," *Encyclopædia Iranica*, online edition, 2006, available at http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/media (accessed on 24 September 2015). D. Stronach, "Notes on Religion in Iran in the Seventh and Sixth Centuries B.C.," *Orientalia J. Duchesne-Guillemin Emerito Oblata, Acta Iranica* 23, Deuxième série, vol. 9 (1984): 479-90.

[891] These relationships are discussed in von Gall, "Zu den 'medischen' Felsgrabern in Nordwestiran und Iraqi Kurdistan," 19-43.

[892] Ibid., 33. H. von Gall also notes that the motif can also be found in Phoenician "goddess in the window"-type ivories: cf. H. Frankfort, *Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient* (London: Penguin Books, 1954), pl. 170B, and R. D. Barnett, *A Catalogue of the Nimrud Ivories with Other Examples of Ancient Near Eastern Ivories in the British Museum* (London: British Museum, 1957), pl. 4.

tombs, and Amaseian kings likely borrowed certain formal qualities from the Iranian precedents, both the pediment and column facade and the archivolt facade are developments borrowed from Greek architectural vocabulary that forge an explicit connection to Western Anatolia, and, specifically, Hekatomnid Karia.

Instead of a progressively "un-Hellenizing" development, as suggested by Robert Fleischer, I argue that the tombs at Amaseia should not necessarily be approached in terms of a linear development (i.e., the earlier tombs exhibiting a higher degree of Hellenic influence than the later ones), but rather should be taken on a case-by-case basis in accordance with each respective ruler's policy of self-presentation. The second-earliest tomb (Tomb C, attributed to Ariobarzanes, d. 250 BCE) in fact displays the rounded top that Fleischer identifies as an unknown indigenous tradition. The general trend might be characterized better as a shift back-and-forth between an aedicula facade and an archivolt one, depending on the particular goals and ideologies of its patron. Furthermore, Fleischer assumes that the unusual archivolt is a local tradition, but I would question this assumption, considering the handful of barrel-vaulted structures beneath tumuli known from Greek and Anatolian architecture, and exploring the possibility that it could relate to the arched *naiskoi* known from eastern Greek territory.

Eastern Greek and Western Anatolian Influence in the Facades of the Amaseian Tombs

The exterior forms of the royal Pontic tombs at Amaseia closely resemble the tradition of rock-cut tomb facades inspired by Hellenic visual vocabulary that existed in Anatolia during the fourth century BCE, and Mithridates I Ktistes likely sought to imitate these established forms when he designed the initial monument for the royal necropolis at Amaseia. If we take for granted the argument that Mithridates escaped from Antigonos' court ca. 314 BCE, Mithridates

must have traveled north from Syria, most likely from someplace near Tyre to the western border

of Paphlagonia, where he fortified a base at Kimiata, beneath the massif of Olgassys (modern

Ilgaz Dağı).[893] The location of Kimiata, most likely identified with the levelled terrace and

associated finds at Asar Tepe near Deresemail Köyü (Project Paphlagonia site PS096), lies at the

junction of major east-west and north-south routes across Anatolia.[894] Mithridates likely arrived

via the north-south route, which would have taken him through Kappadokian and Phrygian

territory before he settled in western Paphlagonia, not far from the *dunasteia* along the Black Sea

coast that his family had inherited from Dareios I.[895] Monumental funerary structures known

from western Paphlagonia include several tumuli possibly from the Middle-Late Iron Age

(Kızılca Tepesi, Alakır Mevkii, Basil Avcı and Ilgaz), and, closest to Asar Tepe, a Hellenistic

rock-cut tomb at Karakoyunlu whose iconographical program derives from Phrygian rock-cut

facades as well as Achaemenid columnar buildings (Fig. 18).[896] The tomb at Karakoyunlu is

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[893] App., *Mithr*. 9.28; Strabo 12.3.41; see the discussion on pp. 286-88.

[894] R. Matthews, M. Metcalfe, and D. Cottica, "Landscapes with Figures: Paphlagonia through the Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine Periods, 330 BC - AD 1453," in *At Empire's Edge: Project Paphlagonia, Regional Survey in North-Central Turkey*, edited by R. Matthews and C. Glatz (London: British Institute at Ankara, 2009), 176. See also the discussion above in n. 831. In addition to the levelled terrace, the site at Asar Tepe contains inscriptions, rock carvings, rock-cut tombs and stairways, pottery and tile fragments, traces of dressed stone walls and carved architectural elements, and Roman imperial inscriptions dedicated to Zeus Kimistenos. Additional mentions of the site can be found in G. Mendel, "Inscriptions de Bithynie," *BCH* 25 (1901): 24, no. 161; Leonhard, *Paphlagonia*, 146, 236; A. Gökoğlu, *Paphlagonia (Paflagonya); Gayri Menkul Eski Eserleri ve Arkeolojisi* (Kastamonu: Doğrusöz, 1952), 127-28; F. K. Dörner, "Vorbericht über eine Reise in Bithynien und im bithynischpaphlagonischen Grenzgebiet 1962," *AnzWien* 100 (1963): 138-39, pl. 1; H. von Gall, "Zu den kleinasiatischen Treppentunneln," *AA* (1967): 514 no. 22; Kaygusuz, "Inscriptions of Kimistene (Paphlagonia)," 69-72; E. Laflı, "A Roman Rock-cut Cult Niche at Paphlagonian Hadrianoupolis,"*Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı* 24, no. 2 (2007): 47, 53; Laflı, "Hadrianopolis-Eskipazar Paphlagonia Hadrianoupolis'i Arkeolojik Kazıları," 404; *SEG* 1099. Additionally, Project Paphlagonia has recorded sherds of Phrygian grey ware, indicating that the site may have been occupied (or occupied and later abandoned) well before Mithridates settled there (Matthews, Metcalfe, and Cottica, "Landscapes with Figures," 177; E. Laflı and A. Zäh, "Archäologische Forschungen im byzantinischen Hadrianupolis in Paphlagonien," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 101, no. 2 (2008): 681-714.

[895] Polybios 5.43.2; Diod. 20.111.4; Bosworth and Wheatley, "The Origins of the Pontic House," 157.

[896] For the Iron Age tumuli, see Johnson, "Landscapes of Achaemenid Paphlagonia*,"* 359-63 (cat. F.3, F.4, and F.7), with bibliography; the rock-cut tomb at Karakoyunlu is discussed on pp. 352-55 (cat. E.1), with bibliography. Of these sites, the Karakoyunlu tomb is the closest geographically to Asar Tepe, although it is unclear whether it predates Mithridates' occupation of Asar Tepe. The Karakoyunlu tomb has been dated as early as the Achaemenid

probably later than Mithridates' occupation of Asar Tepe, and because the Iron Age tumuli do not present formal similarities to the Amaseian rock-cut tombs, it is unlikely that Mithridates or any of his successors appropriated visual features from the earlier, monumental tombs in the environs of Kimiata. A group of archivolt rock-cut tombs near Safranbolu and at least one archivolt rock-cut tomb from Kimiata are documented, but no information on a potential date for these structures is available.[897]

Mithridates' subsequent journey eastward to Amaseia, however, would have taken him through the Amnias river valley, where several monumental, rock-cut "temple" tombs were likely constructed before the end of the fourth century BCE and may have inspired the adoption of an aedicula facade in the earliest royal tomb at Amaseia. Three of the most impressive tombs are carved into the cliffs overlooking the river valley at Donalar, Salarköy, and Terelikkayası (Figs. 20-22), and each tomb is part of a more complex architectural plan that includes tunnels, forts, and sometimes settlements; i.e., each tomb is topographically positioned in control of the east-west route that Mithridates likely traversed while traveling east to Amaseia.[898] The tombs have been subjected to a wide range of chronological analyses, and have been dated as early as

period, but Johnson argues that the Corinthian-style capitals preclude a date earlier than the fourth century BCE, an observation that was clear to me on a visit to the tomb in October 2014. Johnson records the locations of several other single- and double-columned rupestral tombs in the necropoleis of the nearby Soğanlı River, but notes that all of the other examples date to the late Hellenistic or Roman period (355, n. 957). These later examples, combined with the evidence for subsequent use of the Karakoyunlu tomb in the later Hellenistic or Roman period (for example, the addition of its unusual "lantern-roofed" chamber, an architectural style that did not become popularized until the late fourth century BCE), suggest that this tomb was probably constructed after Mithridates' occupation of Asar Tepe. At the very least, even if the Karakoyunlu tomb existed or was under construction in the late fourth century, the inspiration for the rock-cut facades at Amaseia derives more directly from Achaemenid and East Greek, rather than Phrygian, tradition. Thus, it is unlikely that the tombs in the close environs of Asar Tepe significantly influenced Mithridates' choice of design for his tomb at Amaseia.

[897] For the tombs near Safranbolu, see C. Marek, *Pontus et Bithynia: die römischen Provinzen im norden Kleinasiens* (Mainz: P. von Zabern, 2003), fig. 50; the rock-cut tomb near Kimiata is visible on the website accompanying the Paphlagonia Project conducted in 2005 by Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi in İzmir (not to be confused with Project Paphlagonia, associated with the British Institute of Archaeology in Ankara); see www.web.deu.edu.tr/paphlagonia/text_02.html.

[898] Summerer and von Kienlin, "Achaemenid Impact in Paphlagonia: Rupestral Tombs in the Amnias Valley," 196.

700 BCE and as late as the fourth century, often because the thick, squat, tapered columns in the tomb facades are interpreted as "primitive" elements.[899] Summerer and von Kienlin date the group to between 425-375 BCE on the basis of a highly tenuous stylistic analysis of the sculptural iconography, in which the sculptural style of the Herakles and lion motif is related to the motif's appearance on Late Archaic and Early Classical Attic vase paintings.[900] The most useful, and most recent, assessment of the tombs' chronology is given by Peri Johnson, who dates the Donalar tomb (probably the earliest of the three) to the fourth century BCE based on its Achaemenid-inspired kneeling bull capitals and the historical context of columnar tombs appearing in Anatolia during the first two-thirds of the fourth century BCE.[901] The Salarköy and Terelikkayası tombs, furthermore, can be associated with Hellenistic and Roman necropoleis dated by ceramic finds. Johnson notes that the Hellenistic-period ceramics surveyed by the Sinop Project at Salarköy corroborate von Gall's dating of the tomb to the fourth century BCE or slightly later.[902] The monumental tomb at Terelikkayası similarly belongs to a Hellenistic and Roman necropolis, and its stylistic analogies to Salarköy further support the idea that these two tombs are relatively close in date.[903] Because more precise dating of the tombs is impossible at

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[899] Ibid., 214-15. Johnson, "Landscapes of Achaemenid Paphlagonia," 332-33.

[900] Summerer and von Kienlin, "Achaemenid Impact in Paphlagonia," 214-15. This comparison can hardly be upheld, considering that rock-cut tombs in northern Anatolia constitute a profoundly different medium than vase painting in Attika, and especially given that sculptural and architectural iconography in Paphlagonia appropriated elements from a diverse range of sources, including traditional Achaemenid iconography. The iconography prevalent in Paphlagonia could be characterized as a kind of hybridized style, therefore, and the use of the Heraklean image cannot be subjected to the same paradigm that is used to chronologically distinguish Attic vases.

[901] Johnson, "Landscapes of Achaemenid Paphlagonia," 331-34, cat. C.7.

[902] Ibid., 307-9, 316-19; cat. A.1, A.9. The Sinop Project surveys are published in O. P. Doonan, et al., "Sinop İli Yoğun Alan Araştırması, 1997," *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı 1998* 16, no. 2 (1999): 359-71, and Ş. Dönmez, "Sinop-Samsun-Amasya İlleri 1998 yüzey araştırması," *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı 1999* 17, no. 2 (2000): 229-44.

[903] Johnson, "Landscapes of Achaemenid Paphlagonia," 307-9, cat. A.1.

this point, it is difficult to say whether or not the Paphlagonian tombs strategically positioned

along the east-west route across northern Anatolia would have served as antecedents to the royal

tombs at Amaseia. It seems likely that the Donalar tomb would have been visible to late-fourth

or early-third century travelers, and, given that it is probably the earliest of the three most

prominent tombs, Mithridates may have already established his capital at Amaseia before

Salarköy and Terelikkayası were constructed. Given the proposed chronology, any Paphlagonian

influence on the Mithridatic tombs was therefore limited, an idea that is borne out by the strength

of the visual relationship between the royal tombs at Amaseia and the rupestral tombs both to the

east, in Achaemenid and Median territory, and further to the west, in Karia and Lykia.

While the rock-cut tombs in the royal necropolis at Amaseia certainly derive in large part

from the strong tradition of rock-cut facades and sepulchral architecture in Persia and Anatolia

(Urartu, Phrygia, Lykia, Karia, and Paphlagonia), specific comparanda to which the more

unusual forms of the tombs (hollowed-out corridors and archivolt facades) are more difficult to

identify. Robert Fleischer argues that the archivolt facade of Tombs C and E (and, by extension,

the parallels in the Tomb of Tês in Amaseia and the Tomb of Hikesios in Lâçin) represents a

local Pontic architectural tradition that remains unknown to archaeologists.[904] The temple

facades of Tombs A, B, and D are interpreted as manifestations of royal Pontic interest in Greek

visual forms, which accords well with evidence for the Pontic kings' philhellenic self-

presentation in the cultural sphere.[905] Thus, according to Fleischer's argument, the royal Pontic

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[904] Fleischer, "The Rock-tombs of the Pontic Kings in Amaseia (Amasya)," 118.

[905] Ibid., 117-18. See also E. Olshausen, "Zum Hellenisierungsprozess an pontischen Königshof," *Ancient Society* 5 (1974): 153-70; F. de Callataÿ, "Les Mithridate du Pont: une example périphérique de rapport entre cités et rois hellénistiques," in *Royaumes et cités hellénistiques de années 323 à 55 av. J.-C.*, ed. O. Picard, et al. (Paris: Sedes, 2003), 218-34.

tombs demonstrate a highly unusual trend in which the "Hellenized" architectural forms apparent in the earliest monuments gradually give way to an indigenous sepulchral format.[906]

This interpretation, however, is somewhat problematic. First of all, it is difficult to accept Fleischer's characterization of the chronological trend as one that initially embraces Greek visual forms but later rejects them in favor of a locally sourced precedent. There are only two examples of the archivolt facade in the royal necropolis, and the first example is probably the second-earliest tomb in the series, indicating that the form was known and used in the early stages of the necropolis. The tombs at Amaseia should not necessarily be approached in terms of a linear development (i.e., the earlier tombs exhibiting a higher degree of Hellenic adaptation than the later ones), but instead should be perceived as a back-and-forth shift between an aedicula facade and an archivolt one. Secondly, while use of a local architectural form would resonate ideologically with local inhabitants of the region, the Pontic kings make clear in other aspects of their funerary construction that they are appealing to an international audience and adopt topographical and ritual elements that perform on a wider stage than Pontos alone. It would follow, then, that their architectural vocabulary would similarly approach international significance.

The closest architectural parallels for the royal Pontic tombs come from the satrapy of Karia in southwestern Anatolia, which was dominated by the Hekatomnid dynasty in the late fifth and fourth centuries BCE and centered on the capital at Halikarnassos (modern Bodrum).[907] The spread of rock-cut tombs in Karia was especially prolific in the fourth century BCE, contemporanous with the Mithridatic family's prominence in northwestern Anatolia and the

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[906] Fleischer, "The Rock-tombs of the Pontic Kings in Amaseia (Amasya)," 115-16.

[907] S. Hornblower, *Mausolus* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982) remains the most complete assemblage of evidence for Hekatomnid Karia.

beginning of Mithridates I Ktistes' adventures with the Antigonids. The phenomenon of such rock-cut "temple-tombs" is often linked to Hellenizing trends among the Hekatomnid dynasty, as much of the surviving material culture from fourth-century Karia showcases Greek, rather than Iranian, influence. Previous scholarship took the absence of Iranian material culture in the Karian satrapy as evidence for weak Achaemenid control and possibly rebellious activity among the satraps, but more recent analyses have incorporated the evidence of written records, which indicate that "this area functioned as a satrapy controlled by loyal and competent administrators. [Thus,] Caria and its satraps played a significant role in the Achaemenid Empire ..."[908] What has been seen as "Hellenizing" influence in Hekatomnid material culture, in fact, served to strengthen Achaemenid power in an area geographically close to Greece and the Aegean.[909] It is possible that, through his emulation of elite tomb facades in Karia, Mithridates compelled analogies between himself and the powerful Hekatomnids; i.e., he saw himself as an emblem of Achaemenid power and used Greek visual vocabulary to extend and strengthen his potential in the wake of Alexander's Hellenizing campaigns across Anatolia.

On the north side of the Halikarnassos peninsula, about twenty kilometers by road to Halikarnassos, there is a necropolis area containing Hellenistic rock-cut tombs in the hills east of the modern resort village of Gündoğan (Fig. 126). One of the tombs with an architecturally decorated facade fronting an antechamber with benches cut into the rock stands out for its resemblance to Tombs C and E at Amaseia because the facade depicts an arcuated lintel resting

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[908] M. Weiskopf, "Caria," *Encyclopedia Iranica* IV/7, 806-812; available online at www.iranicaonline.org/articles/caria (accessed online on 30 September 2015). See also Carstens, "Karian Identity," 209-15.

[909] Ibid.

on two antae.[910] The arrangement is highly unusual, but it does bear remarkable similarity to the

Pontic archivolt tombs, especially Tomb E, with its remains of antae clearly visible. The

similarities are especially pronounced in the angle of the vault. Fleischer notes that the archivolt

tombs in Amaseia as well as the tombs of Tes and Hikesios contain vaults with angles of one

hundred and ten degrees instead of a one hundred and eighty-degree semicircle.[911] The tombs,

therefore, do not represent a real, freestanding architectural form. Because the ends of the vault

do not fully resolve at the antae in a perfect one hundred and eighty-degree semicircle, the

outward thrust of the vault would have caused the antae to collapse outward. Additional support

would be required for the facade to stand as a freestanding structure, and it is the continuation of

the solid facade wall between the two antae that effectively holds the antae together and prevents

them from splaying out. A similar arrangement is visible in the Gündoğan tomb: if the chamber

were freestanding, the arched vault would not resolve at one hundred and eighty degrees and

would push the antae outwards, if not for the support of the surrounding rock on the exterior

(rather than on the interior, as in Pontos). In another possible similarity, Anne Marie Carstens has

interpreted the horseman depicted in low relief at the right side of the vault as a portrayal of the

god Mēn, who was worshiped in Pontos during the Hellenistic period and presided as the deity to

whom kings swore their inaugural oaths.[912] The Pontic sanctuary of Mēn was founded by

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[910] Carstens, "The Sepulchral Landscape of the Halikarnassos Peninsula in Hellenistic Times," 342. Carstens describes this tomb as Lelegian; for a recent exposition on the significance of the Lelegians in the region and Lelegian archaeology, see P. Flensted-Jensen and A. M. Carstens, "Halikarnassos and the Lelegians," in *The Salmakis Inscription and Hellenistic Halikarnassos*, ed. S. Isager and P. Pedersen (Odense: University Press of Southern Denmark, 2004), 109-23.

[911] Fleischer, "The Rock-Tombs of the Pontic Kings in Amaseia (Amasya)," 117.

[912] Ibid., 344 and Erciyas, *Wealth, Aristocracy, and Royal Propaganda*, 44-45. Carstens identifies the figure as Mēn largely on the basis of his association with initiations, transformations, and especially the Underworld. On the left (opposite) side of the facade there is a snake and possible skyphos motif, which appears on tombstones and round altars from Halikarnassos and Knidos. The sepulchral nature of the snake and skyphos motif combined with Mēn's sepulchral connotations, Carstens suggests, raises the possibility that this could be a depiction of Mēn. See also E. N.

Pharnakes at Ameria near Kabeira, which was located close to the modern Turkish town of Niksar.[913] Even if the rider on the Gündoğan tomb does not represent Mēn, the visual corollary it provides to the Pontic archivolt facades is striking, and demonstrates that the form was not confined to specific localities in north-central Anatolia.

The profile of the archivolt facade in the Gündoğan tomb reflects the ornamentation of barrel vaults occurring in other parts of Hellenistic Karia and Lykia. After the initial development of barrel-vaulted structures in Macedonian tombs during the late fourth century BCE, barrel vaults appear in the context of supports and substructures elsewhere in Greece and Anatolia, for example, the fountain house reservoirs at Sikyon (ca. 300 BCE), passageways under theaters at Sikyon and Eretria (early third century BCE), and the passageways leading from the pronaos to the hypaethral adyton in the Temple of Apollo at Didyma (early third century BCE).[914] In a few instances in southwestern Anatolia, arches and vaults were ornamented as an arcuated Ionic architrave, always incorporating the projecting molding characteristic of an Ionic architrave, and sometimes including fasciae as well.[915] For example, at Alinda in Karia, two passageways in the theater and a doorway in the south end of the market building both show an Ionic projecting molding on the upper part of the arch, an arrangement echoed in the barrel-vaulted passageway of the second-century BCE theater at Letoon in

Lane, "Men: A Neglected Cult of Roman Asia Minor," *Aufsteig und Niedergang der römischen Welt* 18, no. 3 (1990): 2161-74; M. Popko, *Religions of Asia Minor* (Warsaw: Academic Publications Dialog, 1995), 192.

[913] Erciyas, *Wealth, Aristocracy, and Royal Propaganda*, 43. Cumont associated Ameria with a location near Ardıçlı or Ağuslu because of bronze bulls' heads found in the vicinity. See Cumont and Cumont, *Studia Pontica* II, 270.

[914] For general characteristics of Macedonian tombs, see Miller, *The Tomb of Lyson and Kallikles*, 1-20; for a full discussion of the development of the barrel vault in Greek architecture, see Boyd, "The Arch and the Vault in Greek Architecture," 83-100.

[915] Boyd, "The Arch and the Vault in Greek Architecture," 98.

Lykia.[916] A similar projecting molding is visible in the arch of the Gündoğan tomb, indicating that this form, while not common, had some degree of currency in southwestern Anatolia, and the specific use of the arcuated lintel as a tomb facade is attested in the funerary sphere outside of Pontos.

These architectural manifestations of an arcuated lintel also appear in the form of funerary stelai found at various locations in the Aegean and northwestern Asia Minor. One of the earliest and simplest examples comes from the fifth century BCE in Rhodes, showing a young male figure gesturing towards an older female; both are situated under a simple arch that forms the top ledge of the stele (Fig. 127).[917] No antae or columns ornament the sides of the stele. The form reappears during the third and second centuries BCE in and around Byzantion. A stele dedicated to a certain Zopyros and another belonging to a certain Stratonika, both from the third-second centuries BCE, each show the deceased, accompanied by other household members, beneath an arch with a plain projecting molding (Figs. 128-29).[918] In each case, the arch rests on two squared antae, and probably replicates some sort of entryway to interior space, as various household accouterments and wall hangings are visible inside the arch. In nearly every example of arched stelai, the arch exists below a triangular pediment with the outline of acroteria visible on each side. In the Zopyros stele, the outline of an embossed shield relief ornaments the inside

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[916] Ibid. The theater at Alinda is broadly dated to the Hellenistic period and was reconstructed during the Roman period. The ruins of Alinda have not yet been systematically excavated, but architectural surveys have taken place, which hopefully will clarify the building sequences. See V. Özkaya and O. San, "Alinda: An Ancient City with its Remains and Monumental Tombs in Caria," *RÉA* (2003): 103-25; P. Ruggendorfer and B. Ohliger, "Alinda: Development and Transformation of a North-Carian Settlement," in *Mylasa Labraunda: Archaeology and Rural Architecture in the Southern Aegean Region*, ed. A. Edgü, et al. (Istanbul: Milli Reasurans T. A. Ş., 2010), 139-51. For the theater at Letoon, see J. Des Courtils, *A Guide to Xanthos and Letoon* (Istanbul: Ege Yayınları, 2003).

[917] E. Pfuhl and H. Möbius, *Die ostgriechischen Grabreliefs* (Mainz: P. von Zabern, 1977), cat. no. 46.

[918] Zopyros stele: İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri inv. 1097 T and published in G. Mendel, *Catalogue des sculptures grecques, romaines et byzantines*, vol. 3 (Constantinople: En vente au, 1914), cat. no. 897; Stratonika stele: İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri inv. 5055 T, Pfuhl and Möbius, *Die ostgriechischen Grabreliefs*, cat. no. 507.

of the pediment, although rosettes are also commonly found in this location.[919] This stele format

seems to have increased in popularity during the late second and first centuries BCE, as

numerous other examples in Istanbul, western Anatolia, and the Aegean attest.[920]

Funerary stelai showing arcuated lintels surmounted by a triangular pediment are also

common among the corpus of funerary monuments from the island of Rheneia, necropolis for the

nearby island of Delos (Fig. 130).[921] The artists who created the Delian stelai likely borrowed

decorative elements from the architectural sphere; at Delos, the use of the marble arch is attested

from the late second century BCE.[922] Thus, the stelai incorporating a rounded arch are thought to

date primarily from the late second and first centuries BCE, reflecting a similar chronological

pattern in the examples from northwestern Asia Minor. The stelai from Rheneia also represent a

similar compositional format: a figure of the deceased and usually at least one other household

member situated beneath an arcuated lintel (often fasciaed) surmounted by a triangular pediment.

Thus, not only the barrel vault, but also the specific combination of an arcuated lintel set

atop two antae is a composition well attested in the funerary sphere in the Hellenistic Aegean and

western Anatolia. Given the roughly contemporary examples of this architectural frame

mentioned above, the appearance of the form in Pontos does not correspond to an unknown,

indigenous form as Fleischer suggests. Rather, the framing device maintained some degree of

currency in east Greece and the Greek-influenced parts of western Anatolia, and should therefore

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[919] For example, İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri inv. 3913 T and 5495 T.

[920] Pfuhl and Möbius, *Die ostgriechischen Grabreliefs*, cat. nos. 177, 199, 404, 592 (Mytilene); 191, 400, 735, 780, 885, 2036, 2315, 2316 (Istanbul); 198 (Ephesos); 2255 (findspot unknown, but currently in the Izmir museum).

[921] See M.-T. Couilloud, *Les monuments funéraires de Rhénée* (Paris: Dépositaire Diffusion de Boccard, 1974), see especially plates 3, 5-6, 10-11, 22-24, 27, 32, 36, 41, 46, 49-51, 53, 65-66, 69, 78-80, 86, 92, 96-97, 99, 101-102, 106, 110, 126, 132, 144, 169, 174, 179, 181, 189, 190, 204, 222-223, 225, 278, 283, 297-300, 311, 316, 328, 332, 337-338, 341, 343, 346, 372, 466, 473.

[922] Ibid., 249.

be seen as a tangible appropriation of a Hellenizing form in central Anatolia and familiarity with Greek material culture.

Additionally, the hollowed-out corridors surrounding the royal Pontic tombs are paralleled in earlier structures in central Karia and parts of Lykia. At Idyma, two groups of rock-cut tombs with architecturally ornate facades are situated below the ruins of the ancient city of Idymion.[923] One tomb in particular is defined by an Ionic-columned, pedimental facade that covers a portico and is surrounded by a hollowed-out corridor that allows a visitor to circumambulate the entire structure (Fig. 131).[924] Another tomb from the necropolis demonstrates similar features, although the separation from the surrounding rock was never fully completed and the central column does not survive intact (based on comparison with the other tombs, it was probably Ionic).[925] At Elmalı Kalesi (possibly Roman Kallipoli, successor to the Greek Kyllandos), a columnar Ionic tomb almost identical to those at Idyma was carved in the rock along the north edge of the valley.[926] Like the tomb at Idyma, it was completely isolated from the rock, except for a single strut connecting the right anta to the upper part of the rock.[927] The tombs at Idyma have been dated broadly to the Karian dynastic period during the fourth century BCE, but a more specific date is difficult to discern.[928] The Tomb of Amyntas at Telmessos (modern Fethiye) in Lykia, which probably belongs to the late fourth century BCE, gives the impression of being isolated from the rock on all sides, although in reality the

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[923] G. E. Bean and J. M. Cook, "The Carian Coast III," *BSA* 52 (1957): 68-72.

[924] Ibid., 71. G. Guidi, "Viaggo di esplorazione in Caria (Parte 1)," *ASAtene* 4-5 (1921-1922): 372-73, figs. 33-34.

[925] Guidi, "Viaggo di esplorazione in Caria," 370, 372, fig. 32.

[926] Bean and Cook, "The Carian Coast III," 74.

[927] Ibid.

[928] Henry, *Tombes de Carie*, 157. See also Roos, *Survey of Rock-Cut Chamber Tombs in Caria II*, 45-55.

hollowed-out section is relatively shallow and only the facade is completely isolated.[929] Like the tombs in the royal necropolis at Amaseia, most of the rock-cut tombs in Karia and the Lyko-Karian periphery are oriented to the south or southeast, contain a space dedicated to the practice of cult activity despite the burial chamber not being freely accessible, and possess interiors endowed with either a triclinium arrangement with three burial klinai or rectangular openings carved in the floor.[930]

Karia seems to have fostered the closest parallels for the royal rock-cut tombs in Amaseia, but the question still remains as to why the Pontic kings (and, specifically, Mithridates I Ktistes) would have chosen a Karian precedent to express their ideological and identity claims. Part of the explanation may lie in the fact that Karia lay in a productive, interactive zone between Persia and Greece, and early Karian history is abundant in instances of shifting alliances and resulted in a dynasty that harnessed both Persian and Greek visual forms in its monumental building programs. During the early sixth century BCE, Karia remained under the control of the Lydian kings, but later participated in the Ionian revolt against Persia that began in 499 BCE.[931] In 480 BCE, Karian ships joined the Persian navy under Xerxes against the Athenians, and in the aftermath of the Persian defeat, the coastal cities of Karia joined the Athens-led Delian League.[932] In 411 BCE, Athens lost control of the Karian region, and at some point during the late fifth and early fourth century BCE, Karia separated from the Lydian satrapy and became a

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[929] Fedak, *Monumental Tombs of the Hellenistic Age*, 97-98.

[930] L. Nováková, "What Hides Behind the Facade? Lyco-Carian Rock Cut Tombs Re-discovered," in *Turkey Through the Eyes of Classical Archaeologists: 10th Anniversary of Cooperation between Trnava University and Turkish Universities*, ed. E. Hrnčiarik (Trnava: Trnava University, 2014), 60-65.

[931] Carstens, "Karian Identity," 210.

[932] Ibid.

satrapy in its own right, with the Persian-appointed Hekatomnid family at its head.[933] Karia

experienced a long period of peace, stability, and prosperity under Hekatomnid rule,[934] which is

visibly expressed in the surviving architectural legacy of the Hekatomnids and the hybrid

iconography legible in monuments such as the Mausoleion of Halikarnassos. A recent study has

characterized the Hellenic, Persian, and Karian iconographical elements in monuments such as

the Mausoleion as a case of "creolization," in which the art and architecture created under the

influence of multiple cultures was utilized as a political strategy in defining Mausolos' and other

Karian leaders' identity as a region with strong ties to both Persia and Greece.[935] The

Mausoleion, for example, incorporated Greek elements in its civic placement, architectural form,

and artistic execution; references to Persian rule in the minor artifacts of the tomb; and Karian

iconography in the statuary.[936] It is possible that the Pontic kings, as a dynasty that similarly

shared many historical and (real or imagined) genealogical ties with Persia and Macedonia,

looked to the Karians as an example of society that successfully negotiated between distinct

cultural influences and appropriated specific hybrid visual forms to their political advantage.

The semiotic value of the Karian tomb facades has traditionally been associated with that

of Greek temple facades, but Olivier Henry has recently questioned this association, arguing that

the tomb facades are instead representations of androns, official banquet halls symbolic of elite

power.[937] Henry argues that the internal arrangement of the tombs, which more closely resembles

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[933] Ibid.

[934] P. Pedersen, "The 4th Century BC 'Ionian Renaissance' and Karian Identity," in *4th Century Karia: Defining a Karian Identity under the Hekatomnids*, ed. O. Henry (Paris: De Boccard, 2013), 34.

[935] Carstens, "Karian Identity," 212.

[936] Ibid., 213.

[937] Henry, *Tombes de Carie*, 159-61.

the organization of klinai around an andron than the interior of a temple, is not justified in the

context of heroization that is normally used to explain the adoption of the temple facade. If each

"temple" tomb did in fact represent a temple and, thus, a context of heroization, a very high

number of new heroes in the fourth century BCE must be accepted. Furthermore, the tombs were

designed to hold additional family members of the deceased, which would be surprising in the

context of heroization, since the relatives would have been promised burial there before their

death.[938] Regarding the external facades, Henry argues that any building with a pediment and a

colonnaded facade does not necessarily qualify as a temple; indeed, Andron A at Labraunda was

initially designated a temple before the Swedish excavations in 1948 discovered the dedication

on the architrave, revealing its status as an andron.[939] Similarly, the combination of Doric and

Ionic orders on the facade of the tomb at Berber İni (Fig. 25) is analogous to the facades of the

androries at Labraunda.[940] Finally, Henry points to the fact that the only monumental rock tombs

that present significant visual affinities to the Karian tombs are the royal Achaemenid tombs at

Naqš-e Rostam, for which it has long been accepted that the rock-cut facades emulate the

architecture of official palatial architecture, namely the Apadana at Persepolis.[941] The tripartite

spatial division that characterized the palatial facade of the Achaemenid tombs was thus

translated into its Greek equivalent, the royal andron, which had become a symbol for elite

power in the Aegean and constituted a shared visual vocabulary in western Anatolia. If Henry is

correct, the ideological correspondance between the Achaemenid and Hekatomnid tombs would

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[938] Ibid., 160.

[939] Ibid.; A. Westholm, *Labraunda* I.

[940] Henry, *Tombes de Carie*, 135-55, 160.

[941] Ibid., 161. Schmidt, *Persepolis*; Fedak, *Monumental Tombs of the Hellenistic Age*, 1990, 49-50; P. Briant, *Histoire de l'Empire perse: de Cyrus à Alexandre* (Paris: Fayard, 1996), 182-83. Additionally, Diodoros (14.98.3-4) indicates that younger members of the Hekatomnid dynasty were educated at Persian court, where they undoubtedly would have been exposed to the royal Achaemenid necropolis.

be expressed in the Mithridatid tombs as well, and the Pontic kings thus becoming participants in a prestigious form of communication legible to a wide range of viewership among both its western and eastern neighbors.

Entering Ritual Space at Amaseia

Consistent appeals to an audience familiar with Achaemenid architectural precedent are made in the Mithridatid kings' topographical situation of the royal necropolis and ideological conception of the exterior facades of their tombs. Their intended viewership, however, was not unilaterially Iranian; the function of the necropolis in defining a symbolic urban threshold had its roots in Anatolian tradition, and the adoption of an iconographical vocabulary specific to the Greek world demonstrates that the Mithridatid kings carefully adapted their tombs to the most effective demonstrations of power among a diverse group of contemporary people. Consequently, the interior arrangment of the tombs addresses a different level of viewership. From a purely visual standpoint, the small, high entrances to the burial chambers beg the question of whether there is evidence of Zoroastrian ritual here - at the very least, these unusual entrances need explaining - as they constitute the most striking departures from the facades of tombs known from both Achaemenid/Median territory as well as Greek-influenced western Anatolia. In both western and eastern comparanda, the doors to the tombs are real doors, not elevated "windows" or "niches" requiring the use of a ladder, and the possibility of rectifying this formal anomaly with a Zoroastrian function remains to be explored.

Of the preceding influences from the Persian heartland, Greece, and Western Anatolia that are visible in the royal tombs of Amaseia, the Amaseian monuments depart from all of these examples in one striking way: the entrances to the burial chambers are unusually high, requiring

a ladder for access instead of using a door reaching to the floor of the facade level. While access

is indeed difficult, if not impossible, without special equipment in the Persian and Median

examples (and it is not unreasonable to assume that many of the Karian examples, with their

lower entrances, were protected from unauthorized access in some manner), once a viewer

reached the floor of the facade, entry would have been relatively straightforward through the

door in the facade, except when the door was locked. The Amaseian tombs, however, make

access difficult even after one reached the facade: the entrance was too high off the ground to

step or climb into the burial chamber, and because this is the only known group of tombs to

utilize this feature, it seems that there must have been a specific reason for obscuring pedestrian

access from the level of the facade.

It is possible that the elevated entrances were conceived as a way to conform to Iranian

purification standards, but here one must be careful about finding evidence of Zoroastrian ritual

where, in fact, there may be none. The major question here is whether there is evidence for high

entrances being used in Zoroastrian contexts, or if the formal arrangement only seems to fit with

what we know about purification standards in Zoroastrian Iran. The Avestan text of the *Vendidad*

cautions against the polluting effects of the corpse when it comes into contact with the holy

creations of fire, water, and earth, and instead of inhuming or cremating the body, it should be

exposed in the highest possible place where scavenging birds could quicky devour the

corruptible parts, leaving only the bones to be cleansed by the sun and the rain for one year.[942]

After one year, the bones may be collected and, if the family of the deceased has the means,

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[942] A. Sh. Shahbazi, "Astōdān," *Encyclopædia Iranica*, II/8, pp. 851-53; available online at
http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/astodan-ossuary (accessed online at 5 October 2015); M. Boyce, "Corpse,"
Encyclopædia Iranica, VI/3, 279-86; available online at http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/corpse-disposal-of-in-
zoroastrianism (accessed online at 5 October 2015); Vd. 7.1-9, 25-27, 54-59.

deposited within an ossuary (astodan) constructed of permanent materials and inaccessible to wild animals and rainwater.[943]

The *Vendidad*, the sacred text of Zoroastrianism that contains precise instructions for burial, outlines two distinct stages of the burial process: first, exposure of the corpse on a dry, elevated place where the soft tissue would be quickly removed by vultures and wild animals, and second, collection of the remaining bones by the family for final deposition in a special ossuary (astodan) and burial within a tomb.[944] The first principle of burial, exposure, is a specific mandate, but the secondary rite of bone collection is optional.[945] Whether or not exposure in accordance with the strict rules of the *Vendidad* was practiced by the Achaemenid kings and Iranian peoples throughout Central Asia is a matter of intense debate, exacerbated by the fact that archaeological evidence for the practice of exposure is difficult to discern. The rocky topography of Iran is naturally suited to the requirements of exposure burial, offering no shortage of elevated space for the layout of a body, but it is because the natural topography suits this purpose so well that very little (if any) preparation for the disposal was needed. Thus, the archaeological evidence for the practice of Zoroastrian exposure remains questionable at best, although several sites in western Iran, primarily centered on the area of Persepolis and Naqš-e Rostam, may shed some light on the practice of exposure during the Achaemenid period and possibly the Pontic period as well.[946]

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[943] Vd. 5.6, 6.59-50.

[944] Vd. 6, 44-51; D. Huff, "Archaeological Evidence of Zoroastrian Funerary Practices," in *Zoroastrian Rituals in Context*, ed. M. Stausberg (Boston: Brill, 2004), 593.

[945] Huff, "Archaeological Evidence of Zoroastrian Funerary Practices," 593-94.

[946] Ibid., 594.

Evidence for exposure in pre-Islamic Iran may be present on a mountain ridge behind the city of Bishapur, where low platforms were carved out from the bedrock in a manner similar to the more recent receptacles for corpses, called *pavis*, and there is evidence for rectangular troughs cut into the bedrock on which bodies were laid out.[947] Rock troughs of various sizes are also attested in the mountains of Fars, especially at Kuh-i Rahmat, where the later Achaemenid kings were buried. The earlier types of troughs at Persepolis are described as coffin-like, and, as in the royal Achaemenid tombs, could have contained inhumation burials in preparation for exposure.[948] If the Pontic kings were, in fact, laid directly on the stone klinai or if the depressions in the floor were intended to serve as a kind of burial trough similar to the ones excavated in Fars, the Amaseian tombs would comprise an important body of evidence for the rite of exposure as practiced by Iranian Zoroastrians. Here, it is important to recognize the unique requirements of Zoroastrian burial spaces. Complete adherence to *Vendidad* specifications requires two distinct spaces within which disposal of the corpse takes place: first, the exposure site, and second, the astodan (ossuary) for the permanent collocation of bones of the deceased.[949] As permanent memorials, the Amaseian tombs must be seen as performing the secondary function. The location of the royal tombs admirably fulfills the requirements of an astodan, as they are situated on the sheer slope of a mountain (providing both inaccessibility and permanance) and

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[947] Ibid., 595.

[948] Huff, "Archaeological Evidence of Zoroastrian Funerary Practices," 601-3. Cf. D. Huff, "Zum Problem zoroastrischer Grabanlagen in Fars I. Gräber," *AMIran* 21 (1988): 164; R. Boucharlat, "Pratiques funéraires à l'époque sasanide dans le sud de l'Iran," in *Histoire et cultes de l'Asie centrale préislamique*, ed. P. Bernard and F. Grenet (Paris: Éditions du C.N.R.S., 1991): 75. It has also been suggested that the stage of the Greek theater at Ai Khanoum in Bactria became a site for exposure, attested by the widespread discovery of bones across the surface of the stage. See R. N. Frye, *The History of Ancient Iran* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1984), 190.

[949] Huff, "Archaeological Evidence of Zoroastrian Funerary Practices," 593-94.

the interior chambers are shielded from rainwater, but is there any evidence for a Zoroastrian preference specifically for high doors that needed a ladder for access?

Evidence primarily exists in the form of much later mortuary structures, for example, the Bavandid tomb towers from the tenth and eleventh centuries CE. Melanie Michailidis' study of Persian funerary monuments highlights several characteristics that the elite tombs from Naqš-e Rostam and Lykia have in common with the later Bavandid tomb towers: an elevated location (natural or artificially constructed), inaccessible entrances, lack of windows, and single, dark, undecorated chambers; features which "suited the functions of a mausoleum in a Zoroastrian context, when compromises needed to be made to lessen the sin of preserving a corpse."[950] In other Zoroastrian contexts where compromises were made to satisfy the ritual prescription in areas where other cultural preferences predominated, stone platforms emerged as a requisite component of Zoroastrian burial; i.e., a means of protecting the earth from the corrupting force of the decaying flesh.[951] The inaccessibility of the Bavandid towers physically indicates that the interiors were not designed for repeated entry or as sites of pilgrimage; rather, their ideological message was communicated through the exterior design of the building.[952] Although no definitive linkage exists between the high, inaccessible entrances and deliberate adherence to Zoroastrian ritual, the Bavandids were emulating the Sasanians, who in turn emulated the

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[950] M. Michailidis, "Landmarks of the Persian Renaissance: Monumental Funerary Architecture in Iran and Central Asia in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries" (Ph.D. Diss: Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2007), 308.

[951] Ibid., 310. Michailidis cites the example of the Zoroastrian Sogdians in China, whose compromise between personal religion and dominant cultural practice depended on the elevation of a platform placed inside Chinese-style tombs lined with baked brick (i.e., an impermeable material).

[952] Michailidis, *Landmarks of the Persian Renaissance*, 278-79.

Achaemenid kings, whose tombs seem to articulate a kind of compromise between earlier burial

traditions in Iran and the desire to incorporate Zoroastrian requirements.[953]

Evidence for astodans in the literal sense of functioning as a receptacle for disarticulated

bones, and thus providing reasonable evidence for the implementation of Zoroastrian ritual in

funerary monuments, can be inferred from many of the rock-cut tombs in Iran and Anatolia

dating from the Achaemenid period and later. The interior layouts of the rock-cut tombs are

outfitted with receptacles too small to contain intact bodies, and must therefore have received

disarticulated bones instead.[954] For example, the interior of the fourth-century BCE rock-cut

tomb in Iraqi Kurdistan known as Qyz Qapan contains three chambers, each with smaller-sized

pits that probably received bones.[955] Furthermore, evidence from fourth-century BCE Lykia

shows that Zoroastrian influence in the form of astodans was present in western Anatolia. The

Aramaic epitaph of Artima, a Persian official in Limyra who was probably related to Kyros the

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[953] Ibid., 310-11.

[954] Shahbazi, "Astōdān"; see also the discussions in von Gall, "Zu den 'medischen' Felsgrabern in Nordwestiran und Iraqi Kurdistan," 19-43.

[955] C. Edmonds, "A Tomb in Kurdistan," *Iraq* 1 (1934): 183-92, pl. XXIII-XXV; von Gall, "Zu den 'medischen' Felsgrabern in Nordwestiran und Iraqi Kurdistan," 27, fig. 21. The larger pits in the Achaemenid royal tombs are thought to have received sarcophagi containing inhumed bodies, but even these are referred to as astodans: cf. *Encyclopedia Iranica* "astodan," and R. N. Frye, "The 'Aramaic' Inscription on the Tomb of Darius," *IrAnt* 17 (1982), pl. III. Herodotos' (1.140) discussion of Persian burial practice refers to two methods of corpse disposal: exposure, and embalming the body with wax before placing into a coffin and subsequently a stone monument. It is thought that the latter of these was the method employed by the Achaemenid kings at Naqš-e Rostam, as a way of sealing the corpse from contact with the earth, yet still avoiding the rite of exposure. Additionally, at some point after the Greek conquest, a type freestanding mausoleum raised on a platform appears in Bactria and Margiana, which is sometimes argued to be another such compromise between burial and Zoroastrian requisites, in which corpses were placed on benches to decompose. See F. Grenet, *Les pratiques funéraires dans l'Asie centrale sédentaire de la conquête grecque à l'islamisation* (Paris: Éditions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1984), 94-101, 230, 323-24. Other scholars, however, argue that these mausoleums served as bone receptacles following the rite of exposure: cf. B. A. Litvinskiĭ and A. V. Sedov, *Tepai-shakh. Kul'tura i svyazi kushanskoĭ Baktrii* (Moscow: Izd-vo "Nauka," Glav. red. vostochnoĭ lit-ry, 1983), and E. V. Rtveladze, "Les édifices funéraires de Bactriane septentrionale et leur rapport au zoroastrisme," in *Cultes et monuments religieux dans l'Asie centrale préislamique*, ed. F. Grenet, (Paris: Editions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1987), 29-39, pls. xiv-xxiii.

Younger, labels the tomb an astodan.[956] Given the clarity of this evidence, it is not unreasonable to assume that at least some Zoroastrian burial customs were prevalent in other parts of Anatolia, especially parts that were closely connected, politically and geographically, to areas under Persian control. An interesting interpretation has been offered for the sarcophagi pits at Sakhna, which seem never to have been covered, and it is possible that they were left uncovered in order to give access to vultures that would devour the corruptible parts of the body.[957] It is entirely possible that a similar design was intended for the royal tombs at Amaseia, in which the bodies were laid out on stone couches (as in Tomb A) or in sunken pits (as in Tombs B and D), and the elevated, inaccessible entrances were intended to provide access only to scavenging birds while the flesh was cleaned from the bones.

More concrete evidence for the incorporation of Zoroastrian custom, or at the very least, Achaemenid tradition, comes from the inscription in Tomb E that would have occupied the space above Pharnakes' remains if he had actually been interred there (Fig. 132):

ὑπὲρ βασιλέως
Φαρνάκου
[Μη]τρόδωρος
[...]ιου φρουραρ-
[χή]σας [τὸ]ν βω-
[μ]ὸν καὶ [τ]ὸν
ἀνθεῶνα
θεοῖς[958]

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[956] A. Shahbazi, *The Irano-Lycian Monuments: The Principal Antiquities of Xanthos and Its Region as Evidence for Iranian Aspects of Achaemenid Lycia* (Tehran: International Communicators, 1975), 111-24.

[957] Huff, "Archaeological Evidence of Zoroastrian Funerary Practices," 601 n. 25; E. E. Herzfeld, *Am Tor von Asien: Felsdenkmale aus Irans Heldenzeit* (Berlin: Reimer, 1920), 9-14. Huff also notes that the winged disc relief carved above the entrance door explicitly links the tomb to a Zoroastrian context and a post-Achaemenid date, as the use of this symbol on a non-royal monument during the time of Achaemenid kings would have been ill tolerated (601-2).

[958] Anderson, Cumont, and *Grégoire, Studia Pontica III*, 114-15, no. 94; *OGIS* I: 573-75, no. 365. The inscription is translated as: "On behalf of king Pharnakes, Metrodoros ... the *phrourarchos* [dedicated] the altar and flower-garden to the gods."

Two aspects of the inscription warrant further discussion. The first is the reference to Metrodoros' implantation of a flowerbed (ἀνθεῶνα) near the body of Pharnakes, which may be interpreted as a deliberate evocation of special gardens (*paradeisoi*) known from Assyrian, Babylonian, and Achaemenid royal contexts in the Near East. It has been argued that the Achaemenid practice of cultivating extensive hunting and botanical parks was a legacy inherited from Assyrian and Babylonian cultures, one that had specific royal connotations as a representation of the king's domination over nature and its wild animals or the credit he claimed for the fertility of the land.[959] Archaeological evidence for royal *paradeisoi* is often difficult to decipher, but in at least one instance it is clear that a royal tomb was situated within a deliberately landscaped area beside the river. Both Strabo (15.3.7) and Arrian (*Anabasis* 6.29.4) record that the tomb of Cyrus at Pasargadai was surrounded by a royal *paradeisos*, and David Stronach's excavations seem to indicate that a large part of the space around the palaces and residences at the site could have been used for botanical cultivation, with the surplus of the palace garden extending in the direction of Cyrus' tomb.[960] Given the sheer, rocky terrain into which Pharnakes' tomb was cut, the ἀνθεῶνα could not have been anywhere near the size of a *paradeisos* like that which surrounded the tomb of Cyrus, but the deliberate implantation of a botanical installation here likely indicates a symbolic (perhaps schematic) reference to the royal gardens known from Achaemenid palaces and tombs. Matthew Canepa argues that the ἀνθεῶνα does not simply reflect royal funerary standards known from Achaemenid Persia, but it specifically indicates that "the deceased king would thus rest in a symbolic prefiguration of the

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[959] C. Tuplin, "The Parks and Gardens of the Achaemenid Empire," *Achaemenid Studies* (1996): 80, 118.

[960] Ibid., 88. For the excavations see Stronach, *Pasargadae*, 24-43 (for the Tomb of Cyrus) and 107-12 (for the palace garden).

world made new after the Apocalypse."[961] It is difficult to ascribe such profound apocalyptic

symbolism to the implied simplicity of the term ἀνθεῶνα, especially considering the primarily

secular function of *paradeisoi*,[962] yet what does seem significant about Pharnakes' ἀνθεῶνα is

that it communicates on a level that appealed to both the Iranian and the Greek world. While the

Achaemenids did not imbue their *paradeisoi* with explicitly religious overtones, Classical Greece

had a long history of perceiving divine presence in places of natural beauty, worshiping at sacred

groves and constructing temples in association with prominent topographical features.[963] The

chief symbolic import of Pharnakes' ἀνθεῶνα is the slippage in meaning it conveys to both

Iranian and Greek audiences: on the one hand, the royal context of the tomb and flowerbed

engages a specific discourse concerning the control and power of the king; on the other hand, a

Greek viewer would likely associate the flowers with religious significance, a feature that also

came to characterize temple precincts, heroa, and even the Classical peribolos tombs, for

example, the garden around the Hephaisteion and the peribolos tombs of the Kerameikos in

Athens.[964]

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[961] Canepa, "Achaemenid and Seleukid Royal Funerary Practices and Middle Iranian Kingship," 12.

[962] Tuplin, "The Parks and Gardens of the Achaemenid Empire," 116.

[963] Ibid., 117, and especially n. 120 for an extensive list of examples. Trees arranged in organized plantings, for example, were discovered at the Hephaisteion in Athens. See D. B. Thompson, "The Garden of Hephaistos," *Hesperia* 6 (1937): 396-425; D. B. Thompson and R. E. Griswold, *Garden Lore of Ancient Athens* (Princeton, NJ: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1963), 10. In the Agora, a sacred grove of olive and laurel trees was excavated around an altar: see H. A. Thompson and R. E. Wycherley, *The Athenian Agora* XIV: *The History, Shape, and Uses of an Ancient City Center* (Princeton, NJ: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1972), 135. For a general overview, see M. Carroll-Spillecke, "The Gardens of Greece from Homeric to Roman Times," *JGH* 12 (1992): 84-101.

[964] For the Hephaisteion, see above, n. 956; for the Kerameikos tombs, see K. Hagemajer Allen, "Becoming the 'Other': Attitudes and Practices at Attic Cemeteries," in *The Cultures within Ancient Greek Culture*, ed. C. Dougherty and L. Kurke (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 228; for a general overview of peribolos tombs in the Kerameikos, see W. E. Closterman, "Family Ideology and Family History: The Function of Funerary Markers in Classical Attic Peribolos Tombs," *AJA* 111, no. 4 (2007): 633-52.

Secondly, a careful reading of the recipient of the sacrifices mentioned in the inscription of Pharnakes' tomb articulates a clear relationship to the ritual practices associated with the Achaemenid kings rather than those typical of Greek funerary cult. The inscription states that the rituals were directed not to the deceased king, but to the gods. According to the inscription the ritual dedications were conducted on behalf of Pharnakes, but he was not the recipient; this honor was directed only to the gods (θεοῖς).[965] The wording of the inscription is close to the sacrificial records preserved in the Elamite tablets from the Persepolis Fortification Archive, which indicate that the cult rendered at the royal Achaemenid funerary monuments was "intended for the benefit of the soul of the king and not to the king himself."[966] Furthermore, the cult practiced on behalf of the king was not limited to the funereal ceremonies conducted at the king's death and burial; rather, before his death, it seems that the king would specially appoint stewards responsible for the upkeep of the tomb and specific rations of animals and food for regular sacrifice at it. Arrian describes the practice at the tomb of Kyros, noting that the stewards "every day ... were given by the king a sheep, fine white flour, wine and, each month, a horse, to sacrifice for Kyros."[967]

Analysis of the individual elements of Pharnakes' tomb, both extant and inferred from the inscription, give the impression of a structure that must have appeared as a microcosm of combined elements comprising the royal Achaemenid tombs. Specifically, the major monuments at Pasargadai consisted of palatial buildings and *paradeisos*, a somewhat ambiguous "sacred

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[965] Canepa, "Achaemenid and Seleucid Royal Funerary Practices and Middle Iranian Kingship," 12.

[966] Ibid., 4-5. See also W. Henkelman, "An Elamite Memorial: the sūmar of Cambyses and Hystaspes," in *A Persian Perspective: Essays in Memory of Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg*, ed. W. Henkelman and A. Kuhrt (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 2003), 101-72; W. Henkelman, *The Other Gods Who Are: Studies in Elamite-Iranian Acculturation based on the Persepolis Fortification Texts* (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 2008), 287-91, 429-32, 546; M. Canepa, "Technologies of Memory in Early Sasanian Iran."

[967] Canepa, "Technologies of Memory in Early Sasanian Iran," 582. Arrian *Anab*. 6.29.7; cf. Strabo 15.3-7.

area," an artificial terrace that may have hosted ritual activity, and Cyrus' tomb.[968] The evidence from Pharnakes' tomb indicates the presence of each of these elements, albeit on a smaller scale: a monumental royal tomb, fronted by a built terrace that likely served as a *locus* for rituals, endowed with a botanical area, and integrated into a complex system of rock-cut tunnels and stairs that connected it to the major palatial structures. The forms may have been scaled-down and slightly altered for presentation within the space of a rock-cut tomb, but the incorporation of these elements at Pasargadai suggests a deliberate collocation of the defining features known from royal Achaemenid precedent, and thus advance a direct visual linkage to the Iranian kings.

Not all of these aspects were visible to all viewers, however, and the different levels of viewership orchestrated by the physical arrangement of the royal Amaseian tombs imply that the kings enjoyed memorial celebration on two distinct levels, with those closest to him possessing the most intimate knowledge of that process. Each component of the tombs' architectural context relates somewhat differently to the intended audience, and the relationship of each is signaled clearly through its structural organization and consequential degree of visibility. On approaching the tombs from the south and below, as most viewers would, the "Hellenizing" facades would be the most recognizable features of the monuments. The size and visual clarity of the facades suggest their prominence toward the eyes of a general audience, and the Greek architectural style would have resonated directly with citizens of a region familiar with the Hellenic visual culture disseminated by Alexander's conquests. The suggestion of either a temple or andron facade presented by the Amaseian tombs address a more general, presumably subordinate viewership, creating a facade that is formally legible and conceptually comprehensible within the broader language of elite culture in the Hellenistic world.

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[968] Canepa, "Achaemenid and Seleucid Royal Funerary Practices and Middle Iranian Kingship," 3; Stronach, *Pasargadae*, 24-43, 56-112, 138-45.

A dramatic reduction in visibility occurs once the viewer attempts to enter the space of the burial chamber itself visually through the elevated opening in the facade. The burial chamber is impossible to perceive from the city below, and such reduced visibility implies its production for a privileged viewership; the specificity with which details (such as the offerings mentioned in the inscription of Pharnakes' tomb and accoutrements placed close to the body, for example, the ἀνθεῶνα) are described further underscores the notion that this exclusive audience would possess the discernment necessary to "read" the more subtle details of the burial properly. The specific form of burial - the body of the king set in an elevated, *Vendidad*-compatible mountain location within a small, functionally limited chamber that was inaccessible except by ladder, couched in a space outfitted with a small-scale *paradeisos* and implements for ritual conducted according to Achaemenid fashion - points to an expression of identity that operates on a level separate from the larger-format imagery of the facade and designates a more nuanced interpretation of the king's relationship to imperial authority. Burial customs are notoriously conservative,[969] and as the exterior monument would have been easier to manipulate according to the more broadly dispersed elite visual culture of the Mediterranean, the most intimate aspects of the Mithridatids' choice of burial must be connected to the Achaemenid tradition, with whom the dynasty had forged ties of kinship (whether real or fabricated) and from whom they claimed their authoritarial inheritance.

The Necropolis at Amaseia and Royal Self-Representation in Hellenistic Pontos

As discussed in Chapter Four, how the Galatian monarchs expressed identity through material culture has generally been sought in terms of "Hellenization," "Anatolianization,"

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[969] See the discussion in Borg, "The Face of the Elite," 72.

"Romanization," and even "Galatisation;" in other words, "identity" is treated as something that is constructed within larger cultural and political frameworks. Similar questions have occupied scholarship about the Pontic kings, particularly Mithridates VI Eupator, who is generally configured as a dynast who oscillated between expressing Greek cultura affinities and stressing his Iranian heritage.[970] The issue is often addressed as a question of how "Hellenized" the dynasty was and whether its sovereigns can be counted among the "Philhellenic" kings of Asia Minor.[971] Yet asking how "Hellenized" these kings were and whether they cultivated a "Philhellenic" identity not only has the disadvantage of constructing a polarizing framework between "Greek" and "Persian," but the terminology implicitly privileges the Greek elements of the dynasties and glosses over complexities in demonstrating "Greek" or "Persian" identities "as if this were in itself a one-dimensional description."[972]

One of the most frequently cited studies of the "Hellenization" of the Mithridatic dynasty is Olshausen's prosopographic study of the Mithridatic court.[973] While his study reveals a large percentage of Greek names known from the court of the Pontic kings, its usefulness is limited partly because the vast majority of names are known only from the time of Mithridates VI, as well as the fact that names are not always accurate indicators of ethnicity.[974] The types of identities portrayed by the kings themselves are discussed in Smith's *Hellenistic Royal Portraits*,

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[970] Erciyas, *Wealth, Aristocracy and Royal Propaganda*, 121.

[971] Olshausen, "Zum Hellenisierungsprozess am pontischen Königshof," 153-70; Michels, *Kulturtransfer*.

[972] Gates, "The Ethnicity Name Game," 109; B. C. McGing, "Iranian Kings in Greek Dress? Cultural Identity in the Mithridatid Kingdom of Pontos," in *Space, Place and Identity in Northern Anatolia*, ed. T. Bekker-Nielsen (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2014), 21.

[973] Olshausen, "Zum Hellenisierungsprozess am pontischen Königshof," 153-70.

[974] Of the 86 names known to have been associated with the Mithridatic court, only six date prior to Mithridates VI, and only two are as early as Pharnakes I: Leokritos, the *strategos* (Pol. 24.14.1-6; Diod. 29.23) and Metrodoros, the *phrourarch* mentioned in Pharnakes' tomb inscription (*OGIS* 365).

in which the series of numismatic portraits from Mithridates III onward suggest different ideas of power are bound up on the different styles of portraits.[975] Smith argues for an understanding of political and social circumstances that necessitated specific portrait types; thus, the expression of "Greek" or "Iranian" identity was primarily driven by how an individual king wanted to represent his own authority.

The political needs and ambitions of the individual kings have defined one of the most important recent studies of the "Philhellenic" aspects of the Pontic kings. Michels' *Kulturtransfer und Monarchischer Philhellenismus* is primarily concerned with analysis of the term "Philhellenism" and explores the reception of Greek culture among the dynasties ruled by non-Greek sovereigns in Anatolia. His study centers on the indigenous kingdoms of Bithynia, Pontos, and Kappadokia, assessing how the "Philhellenic" activities of euergetism, coin issuance, and city founding were used by the monarchs in order to construct particular political goals. For Michels, the term "Philhellenic" denotes cultural practice, not ethnicity; consequently, he uses the term to describe the activities of the kings, not as a blanket characterization of their general attitudes.[976] Michels rejects the idea of a specific, intentional policy of Hellenization as a goal of the court; rather, he adopts McGing's earlier conclusion that the activities of the kings were part of a political propaganda that presented a Greek face to the Greek world and an Iranian or Anatolian face elsewhere.[977]

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[975] Smith, *Hellenistic Royal Portraits*, 82-83, 99-100, 115-16.

[976] Michels, *Kulturtransfer*, 38.

[977] Ibid., 121; McGing, *The Foreign Policy of Mithridates VI Eupator*, 11. Michels rejects the conclusion of Vlahogiannis that such Hellenizing policies were directed only toward the outside Greek world, not at the indigenous interior. See N. Vlahogiannis, *Diplomacy and War: Aspects of Mithridates Eupator's Foreign Policy* (Ph.D. Diss.: Melbourne, 1987), 247.

Other recent studies have begun to explore Pontic identity outside of the foreign political activities and representations of the kings, referring instead to cultural institutions operating within the Pontic landscape and the resulting social structures that were maintained throughout the region. These studies are particularly important in light of Stephen Mitchell's emphasis on the fact that there was no clearly defined Pontic "ethnicity" under the dynasty, and the composition of the various communities over which the kings presided is not evident from the available evidence.[978] In recognition of the complexities governing Hellenistic political, religious, and cultural life in Pontos, McGing attempts to parse out not only the Hellenistic aspects of Pontic society, but also to identify institutions that engaged with other historical and cultural traditions that influenced the region.[979] For example, temples dedicated to Persian deities and Persian-style forts were prevalent in Pontos, and the social organization around villages and at least two major temple estates provide evidence of adherence to local Anatolian traditions.[980] Greek elements are also present, particularly in the cities along the coastal plain as well as in Amaseia, to which Strabo refers as both a *polis* and a *phrourion*.[981] The behavior of the kings in relation to numismatics, marriage alliances, and diplomacy is also discussed, but McGing's focus on less frequently cited areas of research is invaluable. Continuity of religious practice, especially regarding the worship of Zeus Stratios in Pontos, has also been suggested as a form of preserving cultural and ethnic identities in Anatolia.[982]

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[978] Mitchell, "In Search of the Pontic Community in Antiquity," 51-53, 56.

[979] McGing, "Iranian Kings in Greek Dress?" 21-37.

[980] Ibid., 25-27.

[981] Ibid., 28-29; Strabo 12.3.39

[982] Teffeteller, "Strategies on Continuity in the Construction of Ethnic and Cultural Identity," 223-28.

Analysis of the form of cultural institutions and how they functioned thus provide a basis for understanding the ideological context of how the kings presented themselves to their peers, court, rivals, and subjects. In my investigation, I have tried to avoid addressing the material culture of the Pontic royal necropolis according to a vague notion of Greek or Persian "style," and attempted instead to nuance my explanation of the appearance of the tombs according to a contextual (or "situational") approach. In her discussion of the limitations of a polarizing "Greek-Persian" dynamic, Jennifer Gates privileges the functional aspect of "Graeco-Persian" objects (in her case, the seal impressions from the Persepolis Fortification and Treasury archives).[983] This approach prioritizes the choices made by a specific patron rather than cultivating a notion of ethnic identity that is inherently linked to the aesthetic qualities of an object. A similar analytical method is employed by Rachel Mairs' study of the Hellenistic Bactrian city of Ai Khanoum, where the "problem" of interpretation is tied to diverse cultural and institutional forms attested at the site.[984] Some of the major institutions appear modeled on Greek tradition, while others are informed by Persian standards, but the types of cultural forms invoked defy neat classification according to social status. Instead of considering the manifestations of cultural identity at Ai Khanoum abstractly as a kind of "cultural fusion" or "Droysenian *Mischkultur* in action," Mairs highlights the functional context of each institution, arguing that Ai Khanoum "was planned, constructed and inhabited by people to whom it evidently made some kind of cultural sense."[985] My study represents a similar attempt at contextualization, in which the functional aspects of the

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[983] Gates, "The Ethnicity Name Game," 105-32.

[984] Mairs, "An 'Identity Crisis?" 4.

[985] Ibid.

Amaseian necropolis can help explain why certain visual forms were chosen and what they meant in such a context, rather than classifying them as either "Greek" or "un-Greek."

Contextualizing the specific identities portrayed in other activities and forms of material culture from the Mithridatic kingdom elucidates how the royal tombs also functioned as agents in royal self-representation. The "Philhellenic" activities of the Mithridatids can be related to their aggressive, expansionist policies; as they engaged with an increasingly international audience, their actions and dealings with those communities became couched in terms that those communities understood. Aside from the existence of large temple estates dedicated to Persian and Anatolian deities and indications that social organization was centered on villages, the structure of the inland communities in the Pontic kindgom remains largely unknown.[986] The four major Pontic cities of Amastris, Sinope, Amisos, Trapezous, however, were located on the coast, and are known to have been settled by Greeks and maintained economic contacts with the Greek world.[987] Amisos especially seems to have cultivated a strong trade relationship with Greece, maintaining commercial presence on Delos as well as at Athens.[988] Michels suggests that because of these trade contacts, it may have been the Athenians and Delians who sought relationships with the Pontic kings, rather than the Mithridatids specifically instituting a policy of "Hellenization" in their activities in Athens and Delos.[989] Clear evidence of Hellenistic diplomacy comes from the reign of Mithridates II, who not only provided assistance to Rhodes at

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[986] Mitchell, "In Search of the Pontic Community in Antiquity," 56. Strabo describes the large temple estates dedicated the Persian deities Anaïtis, Omanos, and Anadatos at Zela (11.8.4; 12.3.37), the sanctuary of Ma at Komana (12.3.32-36), and the sanctuary of Mēn Pharnakou and Selene at Ameria (12.3.31). Furthermore, Strabo's mention of the region of Chilokomon ("plain of 1,000 villages") (12.3.19) supports the idea that villages were the primary unit of social structure in Hellenistic Pontos.

[987] McGing, "Iranian Kings in Greek Dress?" 28-29; see also Ercyias, *Wealth, Aristocracy and Royal Propaganda*, 29-37.

[988] Michels, *Kulturtransfer*, 120.

[989] Ibid.

the request of Rhodian envoys after the earthquake of 227/6 BCE, but also initiated marriage alliances between his family and the Seleukids.[990] Although an attempt in 220 BCE by either Mithridates II or his son, Mithridates III, to capture Sinope and expand Pontic influence in the Black Sea area was unsuccessful, the city was eventually taken by Pharnakes I and he subsequently moved the capital there.[991] Beginning with Pharnakes I, the relationships between the Pontic kingdom, Athens, and Delos expand into the honorific realm: an Athenian honorary decree for Pharnakes and his Seleukid wife, Nysa, was established on Delos, and it records that his benefactions would be celebrated during the tragedy contest at the City Dionysia as well as in the gymnastic competitions at the Panathenaic, Eleusinian, and Ptolemaic festivals.[992] The inscription alludes to the fact that the "ancestors" of Pharnakes were already considered friends of the Athenians, which probably refers to his father and grandfather, Mithridates III and II, respectively, furthermore, the international context of these celebrations ensured that Pharnakes would be memorialized in front of an international audience. Additionally, a statue of Laodike, Pharnakes' sister, was also set up on Delos,[993] Pharnakes is recorded as a protector and benefactor of Chersonesos Taurica when the city was threated by invasion,[994] and was honored as a "philanthropos" of the city of Odessa.[995] A shield with the Greek inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΦΑΡΝΑΚΟΥ was probably dedicated at a Greek sanctuary as well.[996]

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[990] Ibid., 87. Mithridates II married Laodike, daughter of Antiochos II Theos and sister of the reigning monarch Seleukos III Kallinikos; he also gave his own daughter (also named Laodike) in marriage to the Seleukid house. McGing, "Iranian Kings in Greek Dress?" 30-31; McGing, *The Foreign Policy of Mithridates VI*, 13-42; Polybios 5.43.1-4, 5.74.5, 5.90.1.

[991] Erciyas, *Wealth, Aristocracy and Royal Propaganda*, 15; Polybios 4.56.

[992] *OGIS* 771; Michels, *Kulturtransfer*, 88-91 with n. 420 for bibliography; Ghiţă, "Nysa," 107-116.

[993] Michels, *Kulturtransfer*, 94, n. 446; *IDélos* 1555-56.

[994] Michels, *Kulturtransfer*, 95-96, n. 449, *IOSPE* I² 402; *HGIÜ* 483.

[995] Michels, *Kulturtransfer*, 96-97, n.455, *IGBulg* I² 40.

Evidence for the "Philhellenic" actions of the Mithridatids therefore suggests that a specific audience and intended viewership determined the types of activities in which the kings participated. Engagement with Greek cities and trade areas necessitated a presentation of the king in a Greek visual and honorific language, and there is no evidence of this kind of "Philhellenic" activity in inland Pontos. Although the evidence from inland Pontos is much more sparse, it does suggest that, while the Pontic kings engaged in Greek activities in Greek cities, they also participated in the ritual life of the local temple estates that dominated in the region. The temple estate dedicated to the local deities Mēn Pharnakou and Selene at Ameria, for example, was probably founded by Pharnakes I, and the Pontic kings were known to have sworn the royal oath there.[997] McGing argues that the Mithridatid's connection with the Anatolian deity Mēn likely functioned "as a sort of counter-balance to the antique authority of the priest of Ma at Komana."[998] The royal rituals that took place at the temple estate indicates that the Mithridatic kings, rather than systematically implementing a Hellenizing policy throughout the kingdom, instead sought to establish local authority in front of a local audience, authenticating their sovereignty within the context of local deities and the socio-political organization of the temple estate.

The most extensive corpus of evidence for self-presentation of the Mithridatids comes from the series of coin portraits issued beginning with Mithridates III. The numismatic iconography was likely formulated for a broad range of viewers, demonstrating a carefully constructed assemblage of motifs that would have resonated with both local and international

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[996] Michels, *Kulturtransfer*, 97-98, n. 461; Getty photo inv. Nr. 80, Ae 60.

[997] McGing, "Iranian Kings in Greek Dress?" 27; Strabo 12.3.31

[998] McGing, "Iranian Kings in Greek Dress?" 27. For the temple estates in general, see Sökmen, "Characteristics of the Temple Estates in Pontos," 277-87.

audiences. The first royal coinages of Pontos were copies of an Alexander type, evident in a gold

stater probably issued during the reign of Mithridates III, which contains a helmeted Athena on

the obverse, and Nike crowning the royal title on the reverse.[999] Soon after this issue, however,

Mithridates III began issuing coins that contained his diademed portrait on the obverse and an

enthroned Zeus together with an eight-rayed star and crescent symbol on the reverse.[1000] The

royal portrait type with star and crescent motif was repeated on numerous coin issues throughout

the reign of the Mithridatids. The distinctive, non-idealized (or "individualized") portraits have

been likened to the numismatic representation of satraps in Lykia and Phrygia, while the star and

crescent motif is probably a schematic reference to the Anatolian god Mēn.[1001] During the reign

of Pharnakes I, royal coins began to show what has been described as a "composite deity"

tentatively associated with both Mēn and Tyche: a standing male figure with a flat hat holding a

cornucopia and a caduceus in his left hand, and a vine in his right hand from which a deer

feeds.[1002] While drawing on familiar Greek and Hellenistic iconography in their coin issues, the

Pontic kings seemingly also stressed particular local aspects in their coins, incorporating local

aspects of their kingship through the use of symbols related to Mēn. Michels rightly argues that

this "mixed" iconography should not be seen as an opposition between east and west; rather, the

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[999] de Callataÿ, "The First Royal Coinage of Pontos," 66-69; Michels, *Kulturtransfer*, 183-87.

[1000] de Callataÿ, "The First Royal Coinage of Pontos," 66-69.

[1001] Ibid.; Michels, *Kulturtransfer*, 183-87, 191-92; Erciyas, *Wealth, Aristocracy and Royal Propaganda*, 15 with n. 8. For the Lykian and Phrygian satrapal coin portraits, see Zahle, "Persian Satraps and Lycian Dynasts," 101-112, pl. 16.5, 7, 8, 11 and Kraay, *Archaic and Classical Greek Coins*, 272-75. For a discussion of the various theories regarding the interpretation of the star and crescent motif, as well as a convincing demonstration that it is likely a reference to Mēn, see Summerer, "Das pontische Wappen. Zur Astralsymbolik auf den pontischen Münzen," 305-14. The potential relationship of the symbol to Achaemenid iconography is discussed in Michels, *Kulturtransfer*, 188.

[1002] de Callataÿ, "The First Royal Coinage of Pontos," 70-74. The identification with with Mēn and Tyche was first proposed by Summerer, "Das pontische Wappen," 310-12, with further discussion in Michels, *Kulturtransfer*, 193-94.

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combination of symbols emphasized the individuality of the dynasty and were specifically chosen to refer to concepts that were legible to a broad viewership with diverse cultural backgrounds.[1003]

Michels, furthermore, emphasizes the importance of coin portraits of the indigenous kingdoms in general because they constitute most of the extant self-representations of their respective patrons. Comparable "state monuments" (i.e., self-representations of the kings within their own realm) apart from the coins do not exist for Hellenistic Bithynia, Pontos, and Kappadokia, with the exception of the royal tombs at Amaseia.[1004] Despite his careful nuancing of the coin portraits' iconography, however, Michels accepts Fleischer's polarizing characterization of the Amaseian tombs as progressively "un-Greek" in type, referring to them either as "Hellenisierung" or "ungriechischen."[1005] Yet the form of royal self-representation exhibited in the necropolis of Amaseia - like the numismatic iconography - highlights the individuality of the dynasty, and its formal structure is specifically calculated in reference to the types of viewers who would have seen or accessed the monuments. The iconographic sources for the tombs of the Mithridatic dynasty, therefore, should not be characterized simply as "Greek" or "un-Greek," but are most productively understood as a combination of forms assembled in a way that effectively communicates the individual claims of the dynasty. Identity, in this case, is constructed primarily in cultural terms; the format of the necropolis implies specific practices (rather than being intrinsically linked to a particular ethnicity) that were meaningful to those who both patronized and encountered the royal tombs.

[1003] Michels, *Kulturtransfer*, 195-96.

[1004] Ibid., 247.

[1005] Ibid.

The location of the capital city and its necropolis was situated in a region that hosted numerous sacred centers integral to its Hittite, Persian, and local Anatolian histories. It is unclear exactly what significance Amaseia itself held before Mithridates I Ktistes established his capital there, but multiple sacred centers were known to have existed in the surrounding territory, with several major temple estates still flourishing during the Hellenistic period. In addition to the heightened sacred significance of the region, the natural geographical advantages of the site and its position at a major crossroads enabled frequent visibility of the tombs set beneath the easily defensible fortress. Given their urban context in relation to the rest of the city and the suburbs, the royal tombs at Amaseia clearly demarcated a symbolic threshold at the entrance to the city proper, conditioning a viewer's first encouter with the city and literally placing him or her within the view of the deceased kings. The positioning of monumental art to frame access to civic thresholds was an important feature of Anatolian centers such as Carchemish and Zincirli; this locally inspired method contextualized the visitors and inhabitants as participants in "naturalized" social and political roles.

More specifically, the arrangement of rock-cut tombs beneath a fortified citadel echoes earlier imperial centers such as the Urartian capital at Tušpa (modern Van) and the Achaemenid royal necropolis at Naqš-e Rostam. Not only did the rock-cut facades allude to royal Achaemenid heritage at Naqš-e Rostam, but their replication of topographical features, the medium, and placement assimilated the Mithridatid tombs to the "iconic space" of Naqš-e Rostam, capitalizing on the significance ascribed to the Achaemenid tombs and incorporating it into the Mithridatid's dynastic ideology. Carving a rock-cut facade was a specifically imperial practice in ancient Iran, and the Amaseian tombs' function as such a group of rock facades is articulated by the juxtaposition of a large, elaborate facade with a visually diminished interior

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space. These situational aspects all relate to how a viewer would physically experience the royal monuments; in particular, a general, non-privileged viewer's access would only extend this far. In addition to the social and political relationships that were structured and "naturalized" by the topographical and urban setting of the necropolis, the allusions to the ideologically charged sites of the Urartian and Achaemenid dynasties would be recognized by a viewer with a broad visual vocabulary. The visual connection would thus work to authenticate Mithridatid sovereignty within the framework of long-established imperial systems.

A specifically elite visual dialogue is maintained by the porticoes outside each tomb and the disposition of other elite rock-cut tombs relative to the royal necropolis. The other rock-cut facades deliberately imitate the form of the royal tombs and perpetuate visual contact with the central necropolis, heightening the status of those interred. The porticoes, furthermore, likely hosted ritual events and performances, accommodating only an elite group of participants in their limited (not to mention precarious) spaces. While ritual activities would have had restricted participation, they would have been highly visible to others in the city, initiating a dialogue between ruler and subject that may have emulated the reciprocity of seeing and being seen that took place at the Apadana at Persepolis. These visual manifestations were specific to certain practices and displayed cultural affiliation and identity specific to the context of viewership.

The exterior facades of the tombs, on which the dominant visual signifers were placed, do not, as Fleischer argues, represent a progressively un-Hellenizing development. The facades of each royal tomb are drawn from architectural traditions known from the Greece and Western Anatolia: the pedimental facades derive from the tradition of temple- or andron-tombs prevalent in Karia and Lykia beginning in the fourth century BCE, while the archivolt and antae facades showcase a form familiar in the funerary iconography of the Greek islands and Western

Anatolia. Significantly, the archivolt and antae facade form appears on stelai located in places where the Mithridatids are known to have been active; for example, Delos (represented by the stelai from Rheneia), and Byzantion, near where Mithridates I operated his family's inherited dynasty before being expelled from Antigonos' court. In terms of funerary architecture, the closest parallels for both the pedimental and the archivolt facade tombs come from Karia, which hosted a dynasty that also successfully negotiated Persian and Greek authoritative systems. Hekatomnid material culture is often characterized as displaying hybridized elements; perhaps the Mithridatids sought to foster a specific connection with the Hekatomnids, or, at the very least, the discourse surrounding their architectural developments provides a productive framework for assessing similar patterns in the Pontic tombs.

Finally, the interiors of the royal Pontic tombs are accessed by small openings that implied a very restricted viewership, likely consisting only of family members and close associates who participated in ongoing ritual activities. The openings suggest that the burial chambers are not meant to function as real, architectural spaces; rather, they are structured more like simple containers (or even large ossuaries). It is possible that these spaces resonated with Iranian or Zoroastrian burial practices, but evidence for these types of burials is notoriously difficult to discern. Even if the Mithridatids were not actually exposed or buried according to orthodox Zoroastrian strictures, the design of the spaces with their high, inaccessible entrances at least gives the impression of known Iranian burial practices, and might have served to lead viewers to that conclusion whether they were actually practiced or not. Nevertheless, the inscription above Pharnakes' tomb closely parallels many of the burial practices associated with the Achaemenids, which would have been witnessed only by family members or the caretakers of the tombs. If the royal Pontic tombs can be assessed according to Achaemenid burial

practices, the design of the tombs could be said to constitute a form of ethnic identity. Stephen Mitchell contends that the "central ideology" of the Mithridatic kings was their claim to Achaemenid descent, and, if linked to Achaemenid practices, the features included in the most intimate spaces of burial at Amaseia would reproduce, in visual form, the same genealogical claims espoused by the kings. The associated funereal rituals, moreover, would be exclusive to elites who shared this claimed kinship.

To most viewers, therefore, the tombs of the Mithridatic kings at Amaseia emphasized cultural identity rooted in the meaningful place-making practices of Anatolian and Iranian empires. The facades of the tombs were rendered in a language that was legible to a broad range of viewers accustomed to Greek cultural vocabulary, especially in areas where the Mithridatids had fostered contact and exchange. The most privileged spaces of the tombs, however, implied more than cultural practice; they emphasized dynastic lineage through the continuity of ritual burial activities. The royal Pontic tombs thus adopted a visual vocabulary that made sense to the patrons - and viewers - for which they were constructed.

CONCLUSION

This dissertation is primarily compelled by the problem of analyzing self-representation in the ancient world. The issue of cultural identity in particular is especially well suited to the material culture of Hellenistic societies in Anatolia, which functioned as "in-between," liminal spheres of interaction between larger imperial powers. After the unprecedented military conquests of Alexander the Great in the late fourth century BCE, Anatolia played host to a myriad of cultural traditions disseminated by Alexander's army. In a struggle to maintain sovereignty, smaller Anatolian kingdoms in the regions of Galatia and Pontos appropriated hybrid forms of material culture – projecting Persian, Greek, local Anatolian, and Roman cultural identities – to articulate their relationships to the rapidly changing power structures within the larger Greek and Persian Empires. My project builds on recent scholarship that stresses the significance of ancient material culture in shaping identity, and I argue that the funerary architecture of ancient Anatolian elites reflected, shaped, and participated in the shifting political landscape of the Mediterranean during the Hellenistic period (4th-1st centuries BCE).

The potential of mortuary evidence for determining the relationship between an individual, a community, and collective constructions of identity has long been recognized. Funerary monuments are often the most permanent record of self-presentation, and because of this they are useful in providing a substantial extant body of evidence in the archaeological record. Yet despite the growing bibliography seeking to understand ethnic identity and cultural exchange in the ancient Mediterranean from a complex, localized perspective, scholarship on the

royal tombs of Galatia and Pontos have maintained a broad approach, considering issues of identity mostly in cursory form. Furthermore, the very fact that the tombs in this project constituted the final resting places of local sovereigns heightens their political significance; they are necessarily invested with an array of cultural, political, and historical signifiers that compel interpretation of the persona contained within. In its infancy, this project grew out of my interest in moving beyond the descriptive nature of studies specific to the tombs that form the core of this study and engaging with more recent theoretical frameworks.

It quickly became apparent, however, that there were significant gaps even in the descriptions available of the royal tombs in Galatia and Pontos. Difficulties in physically accessing the site at Karalar in addition to the linguistic obstacles of the excavation report are two of the major contributing factors to its relative obscurity in scholarship. The lion's share of scholarship on the Hellenistic kingdom of Pontos is focused on the ambitions and activities of Mithridates VI Eupator, but why the tombs of his royal predecessors at Amaseia have not generated a study in their own right until Fleischer's 2005 architectural study and impending monograph remains a mystery to me. Nevertheless, because a clear descriptive foundation on which to base theoretical interpretations was missing for each necropolis, a significant portion of this project has been to provide an accessible means of understanding the physical context and visual features of these tombs. I combined GPS-based locational information with photographic documentation and field study at Karalar and Amaseia, generating a series of GIS-based maps, viewshed analyses, and SketchUp reconstructions of each royal tomb to approximate how each appeared in antiquity. Additionally, I have integrated these elements into a website (www.kerice.net/omeka) to facilitate accessibility of this information and encourage its

incorporation into subsequent research into the diverse range of funerary monuments of the Hellenistic period.

One of the most important aspects of using GPS- and GIS-based tools for analysis of the tombs at Karalar and Amaseia is their contribution to an analysis of the meaningful *places* that these necropoleis occupied. My investigation makes use of "place-based" approaches in archaeology, which prioritize the ways in which power, identity, and meaning are constructed within a topographical framework, and shows how the various long-term interactions with a particular site endowed it with a cumulative range of meanings that could be appropriated into later monuments. At Karalar, the later Tumuli B and C manipulated the topographical context of Tumulus A, not only constructing a perceptive "difference" between the earlier and later tumuli, but also inflecting Tumuli B and C with the history and memories associated with Tumulus A. Furthermore, analysis of the viewshed of Tumuli B and C clarifies the ideological implications of subjugation and control implicit in the fertile landscape and broad territory directly positioned within the gaze of the occupants of the tombs. At Amaseia, Mithridates I Ktistes established the royal necropolis in a landscape that drew significant parallels between his and his successors' tombs and those of Achaemenid royalty at Naqš-e Rostam, suggesting that the Pontic kings sought legitimization through visual parallels to the Achaemenids, from whom they claimed descent. The urban context of the Amaseian tombs indicates that, collectively, they functioned as a symbolic threshold conditioning a viewer's access into the city; similarly to the tombs at Karalar, they harnessed the potential of a commanding viewshed to articulate social and political relationships between the viewer and the deceased. A special dialogue between elites is also invoked in the disposition of other elite tombs around the city; most of them deliberately

maintain physical or visual contact with the royal tombs and thus lay claim to the ideological import of the royal tombs in the self-presentations of their own patrons.

Understanding the physical, topographical, and visual context of these Hellenistic royal necropoleis is thus crucial to an investigation of the types of identities that are portrayed in each. This study assumes, as a general guiding principle, that cultural and ethnic identities are fundamentally distinct: "cultural" identity relates to a set of behaviors and practices that patrons choose to define themselves; "ethnic" identity, on the other hand, involves a construction of boundaries between groups of people that is primarily based on shared history or lineage. Tumulus B at Karalar presents a complex example of the types of cultural signifiers that Deiotaros II chose to present as part of his self-definition: he incorporated the long-standing local elite burial form of the tumulus as the primary visual element that defined his elite status, yet he also further nuanced his position as distinct from other elites, showcasing familiarity with Hellenistic language and visual culture, as well as articulating his political prestige according to the special Roman designations of *basileus* (*rex*) and *philoromaios*. Ethnic identity is difficult to discern here, but it is probably indicated in his description of himself as tetrarch of the Galatians, a specific, inherited form of authority that was unique to the Galatian tribes. I have argued, furthermore, that ethnic identity cannot be discerned from the so-called "lantern-roofed" tombs such as the one constructed beneath Tumulus C, and its association with a specific Galatian ethnicity is misleading.

The royal tombs at Amaseia are generally approached in terms of whether they show "Greek" or "un-Greek" identities of the Pontic kings. This paradigm is unproductively polarizing, and the tombs actually function to complicate the narratives of Hellenization that have been construed for their occupants. I argue that all five of the tombs, in fact, demonstrate architectural

motifs drawn from Greek antecedents on their facades, with their closest architectural parallels known from Karia. The art and architecture of the Hekatomnid dynasty is now understood as having been created under the influence of multiple cultures and was utilized as a political strategy in a region that had strong ties both to Persia and Greece. A similar paradigm constitutes an effective means of analyzing the Pontic tombs; rather than declarations of political allegiance to Persia or Greece, the Pontic tombs are best understood as a hybridized form of material culture that appealed to a broad range of viewers. This point is reinforced in the interior design of the tombs, which would have been available only to the most exclusive group of viewers. The high entrances, minimalist interiors, and inscription located above Pharnakes' tomb likely refer to Achaemenid and Zoroastrian burial rituals, and the reduced visibility of these elements underscores the notion that this exclusive audience would possess the discernment necessary to interpret properly the subtle details of the burials. The specific form of burial - the body of the king set in an elevated mountain location within a small, functionally limited chamber that was largely inaccessible, couched in a space outfitted with a small-scale *paradeisos* and ritual implements - points to an expression of identity that operates on a level separate from the larger-format imagery of the facades and designates a more nuanced interpretation of the king's relationship to Iranian imperial authority.

The relationship between the specific placement of the body of the king, the form of the burial, and the associated funerary rituals, discussed in Chapter One, would be a productive line of inquiry for future research. The funereal monument in many ways serves as an architecturalized frame for the corpse, in which the ideologies informing taphonomic processes are reified in monumental form. Architecture, as a frame for ritual activities, is significant because the manner in which people and bodies relate to space can help us understand the

prevailing political and cultural mentalities that informed a patron's choice of burial form. The dead body thus performs centrally in the spectacle not only of the funerary ritual but also in the spectacle of the tomb, and the relationship of the corpse within the architectural space of the tomb to its viewers highlights principles of contact/distance and visual abstraction analogous to those discussed in Chapter One.

Analyses of physical contact and distance are implicit in how I have addressed the context of viewership of the tombs at Karalar and Amaseia, which include both uninitiated, general viewers, with only visual access to the monument, to exclusive, intimate viewers with privileged access to the tomb and perhaps the body itself. The patrons of the tombs at Karalar and Amaseia each construct presentations of self that are engineered as appeals to specific audiences, and manipulate principles of contact and distance to naturalize social and political relationships. Moreover, visual abstraction similar to that employed in the royal tombs at Vergina (see pp. 68-71) structures the architectural dialogue of the tombs at Karalar and Amaseia. All of these tombs employ a spectacular, elevating distance from their viewers, and, like the frieze above the entrance to Tomb II at Vergina, the iconography used in each generates an idealized perception of the identity of the deceased. In the Vergina frieze, the identification of the figures and other elements of the composition remain problematic, but it is clear that the figures are presented as heroic, idealized components that represent abstract values intended to be applied to a viewer's interpretation of the identity of the deceased. The viewer, rather than physically encountering the actual deceased, encounters him as an idealized concept, a visual representation of values. This is essentially how viewers would have encountered the deceased kings at Karalar and Amaseia: not as an actual body (exceptional circumstances aside), but as a specific set of abstract values and signifiers visualized in monumental form, which were intended

to condition the viewer's perception of the king's identity. Given their potential to elucidate constructions of identity during the Hellenistic period, the royal funerary monuments at Karalar and Amaseia comprise a visible body of evidence that contributes to recent efforts to nuance more carefully patterns of self-representation and acculturation in the ancient Mediterranean.

APPENDIX: CATALOGUE OF TOMBS

I. Monumental Tombs in the Region of Bithynia

I.1 AKYAZI - KÜÇÜCEK VILLAGE TUMULUS

Text: p. 182

Location: Küçücek village, seven kilometers southwest of Akyazı (near Adapazarı), Sakarya Province

GPS Coordinates: N 40.643758, E 30.588786 (approximate, based on location of Küçücek village)

Patron: Unknown

Date: Possibly 2nd century CE or earlier

Finds: Three coins, three skeletons (reportedly), terracotta oil lamps, various ceramics, perfume bottles (including one glass perfume bottle), parts of a Megarian bowl, a bronze mirror, and parts of a gold diadem.

Inscription: None

Description: At Akyazı near Adapazarı, several treasure hunters were mistakenly granted a permit to excavate finds in a tumulus discovered in the village of Küçücek, seven kilometers to the southwest of Akyazı. Much of the chamber was destroyed, but fortunately officials from the İstanbul Archaeology Museums were able to take measurements that resulted in a reconstruction of the chamber tomb, published by Firatlı in 1953.

The chamber tomb consisted of two parts, a dromos and a burial chamber, both constructed of local light brown limestone. The dromos was located to the east of the burial chamber, and was 3.00m long, 1.00m wide, and 1.50m high. The burial chamber was relatively modest in size, 2.50m long, 2.00m wide, and 2.50m high. Both parts of the tomb were barrel-

vaulted, and the walls varied in thickness up to 0.50m. Irregular stones were arranged on the exterior of the tomb in order to reduce the amount of soil needed to construct the tumulus mound, similar to the technique used in Karalar A in which smaller stones packed with clay are layered on the exterior of the barrel vault before the earthen mound was piled on top.

According to reports from when the tomb was initially opened, three skeletons and three coins were found in the burial chamber. Only one of the coins discovered can possibly be used for diagnostic purposes. It is from Nikaia (modern İznik) and contains a portrait of the Roman Emperor Marcus Aurelius on the obverse, with a griffin flying to the right on the reverse. Among the other finds from the tomb were terracotta oil lamps, various ceramics, perfume bottles (including one glass perfume bottle), parts of a Megarian bowl, a bronze mirror, and parts of a gold diadem.

Based on the coin showing a portrait of Marcus Aurelius, Firatlı concludes that the tomb must be dated to the era of his reign, 161-180 CE. The coin, however, may be an intrusive element, and Firatlı compares the glass perfume bottle to similar examples from the Lüleburgaz tumulus in Thrace, which also date to the 2nd c CE.

Bibliography:

Firatlı, "Bitinya Araştırmalarına Birkaç İlave," 22-25, pl. 5, fig. 17.

I.2 BEŞEVLER TUMULUS

Text: pp. 177-79

Location: Near the village of Hanköy, approximately 8 km northeast of Eskipazar (ancient Hadrianopolis), Karabük Province

GPS Coordinates: N 40.995726, E 32.598258 (approximate, based on published description)

Patron: Unknown

Date: Possibly 3rd c BCE

Finds: Two pieces of wooden (juniper) boards in the north corner of the burial chamber.

Inscription: None

Description: Located on the border between the regions of Bithynia and Paphlagonia, approximately eight kilometers from Eskipazar (ancient Hadrianopolis) and at the top of a 20-meter high hill, is a tumulus containing a dromos and burial chamber. The tomb was broken into twice, as evidenced by the holes in the dromos and in one corner of the chamber; consequently, the tomb was found empty except for two flat pieces of juniper possibly representing a coffin or bier.

The entrance to the tomb in in the southeast, facing the road, and it is constructed of two types of stone: a bright, fine limestone and a dark, grey sandstone, which, like the juniper logs, were probably not local to the region. The 1.70-m high outer door has antae-like projections that probably carried a horizontal bar or lintel, and gave access to a dromos 2.84m long, 1.22m wide, and 2.00m high. Access was closed to the outside by a large stone leaning against the doorway. In contrast to the burial chamber, the walls of the dromos are not carefully constructed, consisting of only approximately squared blocks and the use of smaller stones to fill in gaps without the use of dowels or clamps. The wall thickness varies between 0.50m-0.60m. The ceiling is not made of horizontally laid blocks; rather, stones leaning against each other form a kind of pitched roof, and Hoepfner notes that the construction does not seem balanced. On the exterior of the construction small rubble stones are placed, followed by the layers of soil comprising the tumulus mound (similar to the technique used at Küçücek and in Karalar A).

The burial chamber is not an exact rectangle in plan, and because of this the long axes of both the chamber and the dromos are offset and do not form a straight line. At its widest part, the

chamber is 2.76m, and it is 3.32m long. It was probably outfitted with a simple, earthen floor. Up to the level of the lintel, the walls are constructed with polygonal masonry with a thickness varying between 0.30-0.65m. This chamber was roofed by a true barrel vault, approximately semi-circular in cross-section, and utilizing a rather unusual method of construction that may indicate the technique was not well known at the time of the tomb's construction. Interestingly, the tumulus soil was deposited around the chamber at the same time that the walls and the barrel vault were being raised, and the soil served as a kind of scaffolding or framework for the construction of the vault, so that, at least theoretically, the vault was self-supporting by the time the keystone was added. The barrel vault became known in Macedonian tombs during the fourth century BCE, so the tomb is very likely Hellenistic, and Hoepfner suggests a date in the third century BCE because of the unusual, somewhat less sophisticated construction technique. He argues that this form was not yet well known in eastern Bithynia and Paphlagonia at this time and the builders do not seem to have had knowledge of proper barrel vault construction, which is achieved in the later second-century-BCE example at Karalar (Tumulus A).

The chamber contained no evidence of stone objects used for burial, but the two pieces of juniper boards in the northern corner of the burial chamber (0.03m thick, up to 0.50m long, broken at sides and ends, and very carefully smoothed and finished) perhaps represent parts of a coffin or bier.

A few other tumuli are known in the vicinity of Beşevler, but none have been excavated. Others are known around Eskipazar (ancient Hadrianopolis), and about 30km N of Beşevler, R. Leonhard noticed three tumuli near Safranbolu. Hoepfner mentions everal other examples occurring in Paphlagonia, as well as the possibly second-century BCE examples of the "Galatian" tumuli near Bolu. Hoepfner suggests that the Beşevler tumulus could be related to the

Paphlagonian-style fortress located at Semail, a few kilometers south of the tumulus, and that a Paphlagonian was buried in the tumulus. Given the imprecise means by which the Beşevler tumulus has been dated and the lack of study of the Semail fortress to date, this conclusion remains highly speculative.

Bibliography:

Hoepfner, "Ein Kammergrab im bithynisch-paphlagonischen Grenzgebiet," 125-39.

I.3 İZMIT - KANLIBAĞ TUMULUS

Text: pp. 179-80

Location: Kanlıbağ neighborhood, eastern necropolis of ancient Nikomedia (modern İzmit), Kocaeli Province

GPS Coordinates: N 40.766590, E 29.946629 (approximate, based on published description)

Patron: Unknown

Date: Constructed in 2nd c BCE; reused in 1st and 2nd c CE

Finds: A terracotta perfume flask found beneath the north kline, fragments of gold diadems and skull bones on the west side, as well as a series of other perfume flasks, gold objects, lamps, glass, and terracotta that belonged to different historical periods; skeletal remains of one woman and three men; a Lysimachos stater from the second century BCE, and two bronze coins from the reigns of Domitian and Trajan.

Inscription: None

Description: The Kanlıbağ tumulus was discovered in the eastern necropolis of ancient Nikomedia (modern İzmit), at a spot known as Kanlıbağ in the district of Kadıköy. It was situated on a slight north-south downward slope in the terrain, and it was oriented on an east-west axis. The entrance opened in the east, and revealed a standard chamber tomb plan of a

burial chamber and a dromos, which was situated slightly to the north of the central axis of the burial chamber.

The chamber tomb was constructed of local limestone. The dromos was 2.14m long, 0.94m wide, and 1.83m high. The doorway of the dromos tapered slightly, 0.67m wide at the bottom and 0.64m wide at the top, with a total height of 1.45m. The walls were 1.29m high, and at this point they were topped with large, flat stones, and the remaining height was formed by the construction of a barrel vault. Door jambs appeared on either side of the doorway, and the floor was paved with small pebbles.

The burial chamber was accessed through a one-leaf stone door whose opening, like that of the door to the dromos, tapered upwards and was flanked by door jambs on either side. The burial chamber was 2.09m long, 1.83m wide, and 1.98m at the highest point of the barrel vault that similarly covered this room. The barrel vault is a true vault, in that the force from the keystone anchors the other stones together, and small gaps between the stones were filled with cement. Metal clamps are employed to secure the wall stones together. Two limestone klinai were situated near the north and south walls of the chamber. Both were supported by two stone slabs and, on the smaller sides, were sculpted in the form of a foot. At the western end of the kline, where the heads of the deceased were likely placed, another stone slab joined the two and functioned as a surface on which to place offerings. The floor of the chamber was mostly paved with limestone, except for the space beneath the klinai, which was paved with pebbles.

The finds in the burial chamber included a terracotta perfume flask found beneath the north kline, fragments of gold diadems and skull bones on the west side, as well as a series of other perfume flasks, gold objects, lamps, glass, and terracotta that belonged to different historical periods. The skeletal remains indicated that four people had been interred here: one

woman, and three men. A Lysimachos stater from the second century BCE and two bronze coins from the reigns of Domitian and Trajan also appeared amongst the finds.

Based on the tomb's architectural similarities to Tumulus A at Karalar and the Tersiye Tumulus at Adapazarı, as well as a Lysimachos stater discovered in the tomb, it was likely constructed in the second century BCE. The bronze coins from the reigns of Domitian and Trajan, however, point to reuse during the first and second centuries CE, an argument that is corroborated by the diverse chronological range of other finds discovered in the tomb.

Bibliography:

Meriçboyu and Atasoy, "The Kanlıbağ Tumulus at Izmit," 67-95, figs. 2-39.

I.4 TEPECİK TUMULUS - TERSİYEKÖY NEAR ADAPAZARI

Text: pp. 180-82

Location: Tepecik, close to Tersiyeköy near Adapazarı (ancient Tarsia), Sakarya Province

GPS Coordinates: Unrecorded

Patron: Unknown

Date: Possibly 1st c BCE

Finds: A silver urn and two silver cups, fragments of a gold diadem of myrtle leaves, two Hellenistic lamps, six fusiform *unguentariae*, fragments of a grey bowl, and five *lagynoi*.

Inscription: None

Description: The Tepecik tumulus tomb was discovered in 1958 when villagers accidentally discovered a funeral chamber while ploughing the surrounding field. The tumulus occupies a prominent position near an isolated hill to the north of Şıra Tepe (ancient Tarsia). The tumulus is situated near one of the tributaries of the Sakarya (ancient Sangarius) River, the agent primarily responsible for the fertility of the plain. Fıratlı notes that in antiquity, this area would have been

on the route that led eastward from Nikomedia (İzmit) to Bithynion (Bolu) and Herakleia (Ereğli) on the Black Sea coast, and the siting of the tumulus was possibly connected to this road. The tumulus mound is characterized in Firatlı's publication as a "slight rise" of approximately three or four meters, giving the impression that the tumulus was once much more prominent in the landscape.

A dromos at the south end of the tumulus leads northward towards the burial chamber. The rectangular chamber is constructed of local limestone and is covered with a barrel vault. Gifts for the deceased were found on top of a kline in the west end, the most important of which were a silver urn and two silver cups. Fragments of a gold diadem of myrtle leaves were also discovered, as well as two Hellenistic lamps, six fusiform *unguentariae*, fragments of a grey bowl, and five *lagynoi*. The objects, especially the lamps, correspond to similar tomb finds dated to the first century BCE, prompting a date for the tomb in the late Hellenistic period.

Bibliography:

Firatlı, "The Tumulus of Tersiyeköy near Adapazarı," 73-76.

I.5 BOLU - TAŞOLUK-HIDIRŞIHLAR TUMULI

Text: pp. 196-98

Location: 8 km south of Bolu (ancient Klaudiopolis), between the villages of Taşoluk and Hıdırşıhlar, Bolu Province

GPS Coordinates: N 40.678353, E 31.600253 (approximate, based on published description)

Patron: Unknown

Date: Possibly 3rd c BCE - early 2nd c BCE

Finds: No finds in the eastern tumulus; in the western tumulus, a sarcophagus of pinkish andesite, a bronze ring, a bronze horsebit, a silver Megarian bowl with relief decoration, a silver

patera with leaf ornaments and an omphalos, a pair of rings made of thick gold wire, a pair of gold bracelets terminating in dogs' heads, two torques, and a gold buckle with a man's face in relief.

Inscription: None

Description: In 1964, two large tumulus mounds approximately eight kilometers south of Bolu (ancient Klaudiopolis, in eastern Bithynia) in between the villages of Taşoluk-Hıdırşıhlar were largely destroyed by treasure hunters who were mistakenly issued a permit to excavate in the area. A rescue excavation was conducted by N. Fıratlı, and, while much of the damage was sadly irrevocable, the tumuli still yielded several interesting finds. The tombs are referred to as Bolu East and Bolu West based on their geographical relationship to one another, and are set on an elevated terrace in the terrain. To the north of the tumuli is a fertile plain, and near the road to the tumuli is an ancient thermal spring.

The treasure hunters used a bulldozer to obliterate much of the upper architectural structure of the eastern tumulus, but a dromos running northeast and a burial chamber could still be discerned. The dromos appeared relatively long (although the exact length is impossible to determine now), and it was lined with regular stone blocks. A kind of upward taper was used in the walls of the dromos, as the stones increasingly project inward in the upper courses of the walls. The door between the dromos and the burial chamber was destroyed by the treasure hunters. The burial chamber contained no surviving grave goods, but several of its architectural features were still apparent. It was constructed of carefully worked local andesite, without the use of mortar. The roof was pitched in a manner similar to Tumulus B from Karalar, in which several large stones were angled against one another, forming a pitch. A false arch was constructed by placing three courses of horizontally laid blocks across these stones. Sections of

the walls still contain fragments of white lime plaster, although the nature of this decoration is no longer legible. Rocks and earth on the exterior of the chamber tomb formed the tumulus mound, and a krepis of local andesite can be seen on the south side of the tumulus.

The second tumulus lies 50m to the west of the first. Very little information is available concerning the architectural details of the chamber tomb it contained, but it also seems to have been constructed of local andesite, containing a sarcophagus of pinkish andesite, as well as a number of valuable finds that make it tempting to assign a Galatian identity to the occupant of the tomb. The burial gifts included a bronze ring, a bronze horsebit, a silver Megarian bowl with relief decoration, a silver patera with leaf ornaments and an omphalos, a pair of rings made of thick gold wire, a pair of gold bracelets terminating in dogs' heads, and, significantly, two torques and a gold buckle with a man's face in relief; his hair and beard patterning are similar to other representations of Galatians, suggesting (although with the torques) that the occupant may have been a Galatian leader. The floral design on the relief, furthermore, is of a style common in Hellenistic "Galatian" pottery.

There is little to recommend a precise date for the time, and Firatlı justifies a third century BCE or early second century BCE date based on the historical context of the region in question. The tomb is likely not older than 278 BCE, since this is when the Galatians passed through Bithynia into Asia Minor (and even if the occupant was not a Galatian, the gold torques are specifically associated with Galatian leaders and indicate Galatian contact). In 189 BCE, the Galatians were soundly defeated by the Roman consul Manlius Vulso, and Firatlı argues against the possibility of a wealthy Galatian leader affording such a burial after the defeat by Vulso.

Bibliography:

Darbyshire, Mitchell, and Vardar, "The Galatian Settlement in Asia Minor," 86.

Firatlı, "Two Galatian Tumuli in the Vicinity of Bolu," 365-67.

Strobel, "Galatien und seine Grenzregionen," 41-43.

___, "State Formation by the Galatians of Asia Minor," 34-35.

I.6 KUTLUCA TUMULUS

Text: p. 133

Location: near the modern village of Kutluca, 23 km northwest of Izmit (ancient Nikomedia),

Kocaeli Province

GPS Coordinates: Unrecorded

Patron: Unknown

Date: 4th c BCE

Finds: Traces of a stone sarcophagus or kline were discovered, but no small finds.

Inscription: None

Description: This chamber tomb, constructed beneath a tumulus mound surrounded by a Turkic

cemetery near the modern village of Kutluca, was excavated by Mansel in 1968. It lies

approximately 23 kilometers northwest of Izmit (ancient Nikomedia), and is approximately two

kilometers north of the old Nikomedia-Kalchedon road. The tomb was originally discovered by

Dörner in 1939, and was located beneath a tumulus measuring 55m in diameter and seven meters

in height.

A krepis wall constructed of irregular stone blocks surrounds the foot of the mound. This

wall, along with the chamber tomb itself, is composed of a yellowish-grey, hard limestone that is

still quarried in the area. The main axis of the grave is oriented northeast-southwest, and consists

of a circular, "beehive" burial chamber accessed by a long, narrow dromos. The walls of the

dromos survive to a length of 9.75m, and its width varies from 1.88m at its beginning to 1.68m at

its end. Mansel suggests that the original length of the dromos must have been approximately

12.75m if it extended all the way to the krepis wall.[1006] The state of preservation does not allow

for confirmation of the type of the ceiling that covered the dromos, but it may have been

composed of either flat, horizontally laid panels or perhaps slabs inclined inwards to create a

pitched or triangular-shaped roof. If the former, Mansel suggests the height of the dromos to

have been 2.15m.[1007]

A door, measuring 1.53m high, 1.34m wide at its base and 1.23m wide at its top, provides

access to the burial chamber through the chamber's southwestern wall. The doorway is covered

by a thin stone slab edged with a groove on its interior. Mansel notes two small holes, one on

either side of the dromos walls at a height of 1.25m, which may have held in place an iron bar

that served to reinforce the stone slab covering the door.[1008]

The diameter of the circular chamber varies between 4.53m and 4.58m, and it is roofed

by a cantilevered, "beehive"-type dome with a height of 3.73m. The dome consists of eight

concentric stone rings, which vary in height from 0.20m to 0.55m, and whose diameter decreases

as the height increases. The two lowest rings rise vertically and are smoothed, while the next four

layers are stepped and beveled on their interior sides. Two more stone plates act as a cover to

close the opening at the top of the vault.

Traces of a stone sarcophagus or kline were discovered within the chamber, but previous

looters ensured that no small finds, not even pottery fragments, were left for the excavators.

Similarities between the Kutluca tomb and other Thracian domed tombs, such as the tomb of

Maltepe at Mezek, tomb B from Kırklareli, and the tomb at Malko Belovo, led Mansel to date

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[1006] Mansel, "Das Kuppelgrab von Kutluca, West-Bithynien," 213.

[1007] Ibid., 213, 216.

[1008] Ibid., 213.

the tomb to the fourth century BCE. Numerous stone sarcophagi on pedestals and funerary pillars have been discovered in the vicinity of Kutluca village, and a well-preserved Roman bridge spanning a tributary of the Göksü river indicate that this area must have been located at or near a major junction in the Kalchedon-Nikomedia road, which led from the southern coast of the Bithynian peninsula to the Black Sea. The ancient toponym is not known, however, and such a road does not appear on the Tabula Peutingeriana, a 13th-century CE copy of a map of the Roman road system probably produced during the 4th-5th century CE, which in turn was based on a map produced during the reign of Augustus (27 BCE - 14 CE). The similarities between this tomb and the Thracian examples might be interpreted as another instance of the geographic and demographic relationship between these two regions, and Mansel refers to ancient sources indicating that this part of Bithynia was populated by Thracians in antiquity.[1009]

Bibliography:

Dörner, *Inschriften und Denkmäler aus Bithynien*, 16-21.

Mansel, "1968 Kutluca Kazısına Dair Önrapor," 105-9.

___, "Das Kuppelgrab von Kutluca, West-Bithynien," 207-20.

___, "Gebze Yöresinde Kutluca Kubbeli Mezarı ve Onum Trakya Kubbeli Mezarları Arasında Aldığı Yer," 143-58.

___, "Kutluca (Bithynia), 1968," 16.

I.7 ALÇAKBAYIR TUMULUS - MUDANYA

Text: pp. 220-21

Location: Alçakbayır neighborhood, Mudanya (ancient Myrleia), Bursa Province

GPS Coordinates: N 40.372751, E 28.882674 (approximate, based on published description)

Patron: Unknown

[1009] Ibid., 220.

Date: Second half of the 4th c BCE

Finds: None

Inscription: None

Description: In the modern Turkish town of Mudanya (ancient Myrleia), on the southern shore of the Propontis, a tumulus that utilized a perfectly symmetrical lantern-roofing technique was discovered in the Alçakbayır neighborhood. The street known as Alçakbayır in Mudanya flanks a very large hill overlooking the sea and presumably the tumulus was located in the vicinity. A visit to the neighborhood in the fall of 2014, however, did not yield any remains of the construction and much of the hillside had been covered over with modern residential structures. Because of its similarity in form and technique to the Kurtkale tumulus in Thrace, Mansel dated the Alçakbayır tumulus to the second half of the fourth century BCE.

The tomb was entered through a flat-roofed dromos 8.82m long and constructed of polygonal masonry. The burial chamber, however, was constructed of orthogonal masonry with alternating high and low stone layers and formed a perfect square measuring 2.60m on each side. Like the tomb near Plovdiv, a lantern roof covered the burial chamber and comprised five distinct layers that totaled 1.54m in height, bringing the total height of the burial chamber, including both the height of the walls and the lantern roof, to 3.70m. Because the chamber itself was designed as a perfect square, the lantern "frames" are also square, lending a precise symmetry to the overall arrangement. The roofing apparatus over both the dromos and the burial chamber, therefore, was conceived as a combination of concentric and linear design, an effect that was heightened by the contrast in polygonal and orthogonal masonry courses. No evidence for the type of burial was uncovered, and, as the tomb had been robbed, no grave goods were discovered and dating relies solely on the construction technique.

Bibliography:

Archibald, *The Odrysian Kingdom of Thrace*, 283-84, and passim.

Fedak, *Monumental Tombs of the Hellenistic Age*, 171.

Ginouvès and Guimier-Sorbets, "Voûte 'galate' et charpente macédonienne," 312.

Mansel, "Das Grabmal von Mudanya (Bithynien)," 472-78.

___, *Die Kuppelgraeber von Kirklareli in Thrakien*, 47-48.

___, "Gemlik Tümülüs Mezarı," 185.

___, "Mudanya Mezar Binası," 1-12.

Theodossiev, "The Lantern-Roofed Tombs in Thrace and Anatolia," 603-4.

I.8 GEMLIK TUMULUS

Text: pp. 221-22

Location: Found in Küçük Çukur locality near Gemlik (ancient Kios), Bursa Province

GPS Coordinates: N 40.431893, E 29.155516 (approximate, based on published description)

Patron: Unknown

Date: Second half of the 4th c BCE

Finds: None

Inscription: None

Description: The accidental discovery of a tumulus in the Küçük Çukur locality to the west of Gemlik (ancient Kios) brought to light another fourth-century BCE lantern-roofed burial chamber near the shores of the Propontis. The initiation of construction works demolished part of the tumulus and the subsequent rescue excavation of the tomb uncovered the burial chamber in a partly ruinous state; nevertheless, the stone blocks were numbered and the tomb was reassembled at a different location near the shore. The burial chamber was accessed through a short dromos,

which was badly damaged at the time of discovery. The burial chamber and the door were constructed out of marble. The burial chamber was nearly square, 1.95 x 2.07m; consequently, the four layers of frames comprising the lantern roof appear nearly square as well. As with the Mudanya tomb, no findings were reported along with the discovery, and Mansel's dating of the structure is based primarily on comparison to similar structures in Bithynia and Thrace.

Bibliography:

Archibald, *The Odrysian Kingdom of Thrace*, 283-84.

Fedak, *Monumental Tombs of the Hellenistic Age*, 171.

Firatlı, "Brief Archaeological News," 225-29.

Ginouvès and Guimier-Sorbets, "Voûte 'galate' et charpente macédonienne," 312.

Mansel, "Gemlik Tümülüs Mezarı," 181-89.

Mellink, "Archaeology in Asia Minor," 173.

Theodossiev, "The Lantern-Roofed Tombs in Thrace and Anatolia," 604.

I.9 IĞDİR TUMULUS

Text: p. 222

Location: near Iğdir, Eskişehir Province

GPS Coordinates: N 40.048242, E 30.642912 (approximate, based on location of the village)

Patron: Unknown

Date: 4th c BCE; probably second half of the 4th c BCE

Finds: None

Inscription: None

Description: This fourth-century BCE type of lantern roofing is seen in inland Bithynia, closer to the border with Phrygia and Galatia, in a tumulus uncovered near Iğdir Köyü. The tomb was

entered through a short, wide, rectangular dromos covered by a flat roof. The burial chamber reiterated the rectangular plan of the dromos, and consequently the five layers of the lantern roof are oblong rather than square.

Bibliography:

Fedak, *Monumental Tombs of the Hellenistic Age*, 171.

Ginouvès and Guimier-Sorbets, "Voûte 'galate' et charpente macédonienne," 312.

Theodossiev, "The Lantern-Roofed Tombs in Thrace and Anatolia," 604.

Tokgöz, "Iğdir Tümülüs Kazısı Raporu," 151-57.

I.10 YALACIK TUMULUS

Text: pp. 222-23

Location: Yalacık, near Yukarı Bağdere, Ankara Province

GPS Coordinates: Unrecorded

Patron: Unknown

Date: Probably 2nd-1st c BCE

Finds: Small objects found with later Byzantine graves

Inscription: None

Description: The Yalacık tumulus, located in the Nallıhan county of Ankara province, was the subject of a salvage excavation during the summer of 1989. Many grave stelai and small objects were known from the area, and the tumulus, positioned north of the Nallıhan-Eskişehir highway, was excavated in an effort to establish a firmer chronology for the region and its burial traditions.

The tumulus is approximately 14.40m high and 70m in diameter. Six Byzantine-period graves, labeled M1-M6, were discovered along with a variety of small ornaments and skeletal fragments. These smaller tombs were likely the graves of ordinary people who reused the

tumulus as a necropolis during the Byzantine period. The superstructure of the dromos leading to the original burial chamber was located at approximately 2m in depth. The pink andesite burial chamber was located in the southeastern quadrant of the mound and was square in shape, measuring 1.94 x 1.94m. A square-plan antechamber (1.10 x 1.10m) preceded the burial chamber, both of which were accessible via a dromos of 4.50m in length. The dromos and antechamber were constructed of sandstone. Several large blocks closed off each opening and prevented unauthorized access. The roof covering the burial chamber was badly damaged, but the diagonally superimposed rows of stone, narrowing towards the top, strongly suggests a lantern-roof arrangement. The roof over the antechamber and dromos consisted of three large blocks placed diagonally over the rooms.

Unfortunately, the burial chamber was found already looted and was likely the target of multiple robberies. No finds are mentioned in the excavation report other than the small objects contained within the Byzantine graves M1-M6. Because of the lantern-style roof, which the excavators note is similar to the structures known from Karalar and Gordion, the tomb is dated to the second or first century BCE.

Bibliography:

Mermerci and Yağcı, "Yukarı Bağdere Yalacık Tümülüsü 1989 Kurtarma Kazısı," 101-15.

___, "Yukarı Bağdere Yalacık Tümülüsü 1989 Kurtarma Kazısı," 163-76.

Mermerci, Yağcı, and Güleç, "Yukarı Bağdere, Yalacık Tümülüsü 1989 Kurtarma Kazısı," 163-76.

Theodossiev, "The Lantern-Roofed Tombs in Thrace and Anatolia," 604.

II. Monumental Tombs in the Region of Galatia

II.1 KARALAR - TUMULUS A

Text: pp. 171-90

Location: Karalar, Ankara Province

GPS Coordinates: N 40.191736, E 32.602725 (estimated from the description in Arık)

Patron: Unknown

Date: Mid 2nd c BCE - early 1st c BCE

Finds: Skeletons, pottery pieces, a copper button or nail, and marble blocks associated with smaller burials from the Byzantine or more recent periods appeared during the digging of the mound; gold garland pieces, necklaces, ornaments made of precious stones such as ruby and emerald, pieces of iron tools such as daggers and swords, bones (both from the corpse and bones of small animals), and pieces of very fine gold wire were found in the main chamber; a horsehead and bronze fibula were discovered beneath the arch of the barrel vault; a silver Ottoman coin was found under the lintel of the dromos; pieces of a gold garland and a vase with painted floral decoration similar to that in Pergamon were found at the entrance to the dromos.

Inscription: None

Description: To the south of the modern village of Karalar, at some distance to the southeast of the two most visible and probably later tumuli (tumuli B and C), lies a smaller tumulus mound that contained a chamber tomb beneath it. Before excavation, the mound was slightly oval in shape, measuring 35.40m on the east-west diameter, 45.90m on the north-south diameter, and rising to a height of 6.25m above the terrain. On its eastern side, it overlooks the İnce Valley, and the entrance to the dromos in the west faces tumuli B and C. Stone mounds were piled on the northern side of the tumulus, which was surrounded by fields to the north, south, and west.

The chamber tomb was accessed by a dromos, in front of which two large, triangular stones measuring 4.35m x 1.90m and made of soft argillite prevented easy entry. Parts of the golden garland and broken pieces of the Pergamene-style unguentarium were discovered beneath these two stones. The dromos itself was 3.20m long, 1.25m wide, and adorned on both sides with a krepis 0.25m high. The stones were fastened together with horizontal and T-shaped bronze clamps secured with molten lead as well as small amounts of mortar. A short channel in the left krepis terminated at the lintel leading to the burial chamber. Arık suggests that both sides of the krepis had been surrounded by a heavy stone, of which three sides were worked and one side was left rough, also attached with clamps.

A large purplish-brown monolith was found lying in the center of the dromos and leaning on the right side of the krepis. One side had completely turned copper, while the other sides contained evidence of being worked or decorated in some manner. The stone was 2.20m long, 1.15m wide, and 0.25m thick, and contained two mortises at each of the four corners along with one clamp hole in the center. Arık hesitantly suggested that this was probably the upper cover for the dromos, as no other evidence for the roof of the dromos exists. The dromos terminated at a small door or passageway whose upper jamb and lintel border was decorated with a torus and scotia, which was matched on the other side of the doorway.

The burial chamber itself was 2.70m x 2.25m, and was covered by a barrel vault 3.25m high above ground level. The walls and the vault were erected on a square orthostat that rose from a cut stone floor secured with clamps. The stones of the barrel vault as well as the semi-circular wall on the back side of the chamber were composed of local purple- and cream-colored stones that indicated a kind of natural polychromy was intended in this section of the tomb. Cavities in the stones showed that they, too, were fastened together with bronze horizontal and

T-clamps secured with lead, as in the dromos. Small amounts of mortar were used in the upper courses of the stones, and the keystones of the barrel vault were attached to the surrounding stones with individual clamps. The grave goods in this chamber, along with the surrounding soil, were tinged with purple, suggesting that perhaps they were originally enclosed in a purplish cloth at the time of burial.

To cover the entire structure with the tumulus mound, mortar was applied between the keystones of the barrel vault, and then the whole exterior surface of the chamber was plastered and covered with small pebbles and particles of stone. The upper part of this layer was plastered, and covered with larger, irregular stones whose gaps were filled in with clay and stone particles. This technique, interestingly, gave the mound the aspect of a corbelled dome. A mud layer varying between 7- and 55-cm thick covered this clay layer, and, finally, a thick layer of soil covered the entire structure and formed the resulting tumulus.

Tumulus A is set at some distance from Tumuli B and C, which suggests a chronological disparity between the date of its construction and that of the other two tumuli. This idea is substantiated by two significant finds from Tumulus A, a bronze fibula of Phrygian type and an unguentarium of "fusiform," or spindle-shaped, type. The fibula shares characteristics with a subgroup of fibula with a wide chronological range, Muscarella's Type XII,14, but is one of the latest examples of the group which is known to have been produced in the third and second centuries BCE.[1010] The fusiform unguentarium, moreover, is very similar in shape to those excavated from well-dated, second-century BCE contexts at Tralleis and other parts of

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[1010] Muscarella, *Phrygian Fibulae from Gordion*, 24-25. Darbyshire, Mitchell, and Vardar, "The Galatian Settlement in Asia Minor," 83-84.

Anatolia,[1011] lending support to a date for Tumulus A in the mid-second century BCE to the early first century BCE.

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Kühne, "Die Bestattungen der Hellenistischen bis spätkaiserzeitlichen Periode," 35-45.

Mitchell, *Anatolia*, 55-58.

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Saraçoğlu, "Hellenistic and Roman *Unguentaria* from the *Necropolis* of Tralleis," 1-42.

II.2 KARALAR - TUMULUS B

Text: pp. 190-210

Location: Karalar, Ankara Province

GPS Coordinates: N 40.194817, E 32.595200; elevation 1078m

Patron: Deiotaros II Philopator

Date: ca. 40 BCE

Finds: Fragments of Hellenistic pottery (*terra sigillata*), bones, a glass bead, pieces of fine gold wire, a glass vase with gilded leaf and floral decoration, bronze nails, bronze ornament pieces, fragments of decomposed wood; in the "autel" area: marble fragments of a column, inscription, lion sculpture, and tropaion.

Inscription: Βασιλεὺς Δηϊ όταρος Φιλο-
πάτ ωρ [or μήτ ωρ] κ αὶ Γ αλατων Τολισ-
τοβ ωγ ίω ν καὶ Τρόκμων

[1011] Saraçoğlu, "Hellenistic and Roman *Unguentaria* from the *Necropolis* of Tralleis," 1-42.

τ ετρ άρ χης ὁ ἐγ βασιλέως
Δ ηιοτάρου Φιλορωμαίου
κ αὶ Γαλατῶν Τολιστοβωγί-
ων κα ὶ Τρόκμων τετράρχο υ
καὶ ἐγ βασιλίσσης Βερενίκης

Description: Tumuli B and C are located next to each other in the hills northwest of Karalar, and are both visible from the recently built superhighway that runs out of Ankara to the north. The mounds are not, however, visible from the İnce Valley below in which the village is situated. It is necessary first to climb the steps to the fortress (Asarkaya), and from the fortress it is possible to see the mounds in the distance to the southwest. It is possible that the tumulus mounds were much larger in antiquity (natural erosion and the activities of later tomb looters may have diminished the original size of the mounds), and they may have been visible from the İnce Valley, but at present they are only visible from a certain elevation. It is interesting to note that the location of the tumuli commands a much more expansive viewshed than the fortress at Asarkaya.

The present height of the mound forming Tumulus B is 10.58m, with a larger diameter of 70.50m and a minor diameter of 50.80, much larger than the mound of Tumulus A. In cutting into the mound, Arık and his team discovered numerous fragments of Hellenistic pottery (*terra sigillata*), mostly pieces of flat bowls and plates, made of fine, red clay. The roof of the chamber tomb was collapsed at the time of discovery, but was originally composed of 12 large stones, 1.65m long, 0.50-0.60m wide, and 0.35m thick, arranged bilaterally in six lines. The spaces between the larger, worked stones were filled with smaller stones, although it was impossible to determine whether mortar had been used to secure the stones. The stones closing the roof at the north and south ends were triangular in form; overall, the stones constituted a pitched roof over the burial chamber. The chamber itself was 3.20m long and 2.60m wide, and a soft rock

constituted the floor. A small door in the north side of the wall, 1.45m high, was closed from the exterior and did not show any decoration.

The finds from this area included pieces of fine gold wire as well as a glass vase with gilded floral decoration that was reminiscent of vase decorations known from Alexandria and Pergamon. The objects were covered with a purplish color (as were many of the objects found in Tumulus A), indicating that they had probably once been covered by a purple cloth. Additionally, a large porphyry stone with a T-shaped profile was found, which was probably a table originally leaning against the wall, as one side was not smoothed. The soil around the porphyry table contained more pieces of gold wire, similar to those found in Tumulus A, and also stained from purple fabric. A series of bronze gilded nails were discovered among pieces of wood, which Arık suggests may have belonged to military sandals, or *caliges*. Bone pieces were also found inside this area; Arık hypothesized that at least some belonged to pieces of a tool (sword, knife, or dagger) given their sculpted aspect. Some of the other bones could be identified as belonging to birds, human teeth, animal teeth (perhaps a horse?), and skeletons. According to Arık, the burial chamber should be reconstructed with the porphyry table in the corner opposite the small door and the bones of the corpse, and the offerings as well as weapons and bones of his horse would have been placed on the table.

A small, rectangular area discovered in front of the door suggested the presence of a dromos. The exterior of the door was closed by a rectangular cut stones, and two more stones above, prepared similarly to the stones constituting the roof, were joined in front of the door and leaned on three courses approximately one meter in height. More stones were stacked behind the rectangular cut stone. Traces of two lines of stones that extended in the direction of the dromos did not reach very far, but perhaps indicate that part of it was lined with an orthostat. Arık noted

that the door did not actually represent real and functional architecture, and that the functionless door indicated a tradition derived from Phrygian and earlier periods.

In the northern foot of Tumulus B (the direction in which the entrance faced), at approximately 25-26m from the entrance of the tomb, sculpted marble pieces were found, including a large section of a marble lion's head; pieces of the feet, hip, body, as well as pieces of a classical architrave were found farther inside the mound. At about 22.50m from the entrance, a krepis was located, which was constructed on three courses of local purple stone. Like the polychromatic nature of the stones used in the chamber tomb of Tumulus A, the colors of the stones here were used for decorative purpose, although much of the decoration was found scattered from its original location, so it was difficult to determine what the original arrangement might have been. The lowest course constituted a euthynteria, and the uppermost course acted as a stylobate on which a kind of antae wall rested. Blocks resembling the surface of a thick column were found above this krepis. The most notable find from Tumulus B was a huge block 1.05m in diameter and 0.24m wide (approximately half of a thick column) containing an eight-line Greek inscription identifying the structure as the tomb of Deiotaros II. Clamp holes on the back of the block indicated that it had been attached to another surface; according to Arık, this was most likely a column on the left side of the stylobate, as the diameter of this section matched the diameter of the inscription block. Remarkably, in the east, unmistakable fragments of a marble tropaion were scattered, consisting of a tree trunk, a tunic, a decorated shield, and the bust of a warrior covered with armor but whose helmet was broken. Traces of a lion's paw were visible on the left arm. The section with the krepis, columns, and inscription was designed by Arık as an "autel." The dating of the tomb to the first century BCE is confirmed by the inscription assigning it to Deiotaros II, who during the first battle at Philippi in 42 BCE.

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Darbyshire, Mitchell, and Vardar, "The Galatian Settlement in Asia Minor," 83-84, 86-87.

Mitchell, *Anatolia*, 55-58.

II.3 KARALAR - TUMULUS C

Text: pp. 210-30

Location: Karalar, Ankara Province

GPS Coordinates: N 40.194417, E 32.595867; elevation 1077m

Patron: Unknown

Date: late 1st century BCE

Finds: In the "autel" area: a stone decorated with moldings and one sculpted side, a piece of a column pedestal, numerous fragments of terra-sigillata, roofing tiles, marble, and iron; a large pink clay amphora between the "altar" and the tomb; in the chamber tomb: gold ornaments, precious stones, bones, marble, iron, and pottery pieces.

Inscription: None

Description: Tumuli B and C are located next to each other in the hills northwest of Karalar, and are both visible from the recently built superhighway that runs out of Ankara to the north. The mounds are not, however, visible from the İnce Valley below in which the village is situated. It is necessary first to climb the steps to the fortress (Asar Kaya), and from the fortress it is possible to see the mounds in the distance to the southwest. It is possible that the tumulus mounds were much larger in antiquity (natural erosion and the activities of later tomb looters may have diminished the original size of the mounds), and they may have been visible from the İnce

Valley, but at present they are only visible from a certain elevation. It is interesting to note that the location of the tumuli commands a much more expansive viewshed than the fortress at Asar Kaya.

The first explorations into Tumulus C revealed worked stones in an elaborately constructed "autel" area similar to Tumulus B, approximately 2.60-2.70m wide and 5.70m long. It contained a stylobate resting on three stone courses, which in turn were set on four more courses of rough stones, constituting the euthynteria. The total height of this section was 2.15m. The north and south sides were bordered by five courses of isodomic masonry, beginning from the lower section of the stylobate, and showed the location of three walls rising above the stylobate. A retaining wall consisting of large, roughly aligned stones similar to Tumulus B, also put together without the use of mortar. Finds in this area included a stone decorated with moldings and one sculpted side, a piece of a column pedestal, numerous fragments of terra-sigillata, roofing tiles, marble, and iron. The entire area was paved with limestone. It remains unclear whether or not these "autel" areas were meant to be seen from the exterior; Arık suggests that perhaps they functioned to hide and protect the main tomb, which was located towards the center of the tumulus mound.

A line of stones began beneath the euthynteria and ran towards the interior of the tumulus. Here were discovered small, plain pieces of gold, similar to the garland found in Tumulus A. At a distance of 10.80m from the "autel," ceramic pieces belonging to a large, pink clay amphora were found, decorated with a darker background and a cream-colored glaze. At approximately 14-15m from the "autel," a doorway made of well-cut limestone blocks and an emerald were discovered. The burial structure itself, from the outside, had the appearance of a corbelled dome, and the spaces between the stones were filled with mortar. Animal bones,

handles, and belt buckles were numerous in this area, which comprised the main entrance to the chamber tomb. The door had both an upper jamb and a lower jamb, each formed by a long, sculpted lintel stone. Larger stones had been piled in front of the door to prevent access. Two parallel courses of stones 2.10m apart started from the lower jamb, and, although incomplete, indicated the path of the dromos, which was approxmately 0.80m wide. The dromos and entrance of the tomb looked eastward at an angle of approximately 25 degrees. The dromos contained pieces of small vases, possibly votive offerings to the deceased.

From the dromos, one entered an antechamber through a door 1.25m high and 1m wide. The antechamber measured 1.70m wide, 2.10m long, and 1.55m high. This area was roofed by a somewhat abstracted version of what is known as a "lantern vault," in which a series of rectangular or square "frames" are superimposed perpendicular to one another, gradually decreasing in size until the top could be capped by a single stone. The interpretation of this kind of vaulting at Karalar, however, is unique in that the frames are not neatly geometric nor are they set perpendicular to one another. Rather, they are composed of a variety of geometric shapes (two nine-cornered polygons, an octagon, a pentagon, and finally a rectangle) and have the appearance of being haphazardly placed on top of one other, which, from the exterior, gives the appearance of corbelled domes known primarily from Thrace and northwestern Anatolia. The spaces between the stones were again filled with mortar.

A larger, main chamber existed behind the antechamber, and was accessed by an elaborately carved, two-winged hinged door, as evidenced by the holes in the upper and lower jambs. The main chamber was squared, measuring 3.20m long, 3.20 wide, and 4.40m high. It was roofed in the same unusual manner as the antechamber. Two pieces of gold ornament were found here, as well as a skull, bones, and teeth. A preserved section of the floor seemed to

indicate that individual graves were surrounded by cut limestone blocks on the floor of the chamber. At least four graves were recorded, but it was unclear precisely how many people had been buried in this chamber, as well as exactly how the graves were sealed. The bones, unfortunately, were found scattered, and it was impossible to determine in what position they had originally been lying or how the corpses might have been adorned. More pieces of jewelry were found here, including a small rose motif with a precious stone, possibly a ruby, set in the middle of it. Various beads and other gold and precious stones were found, totaling 21 pieces that had been left by earlier looters. Additionally, pieces of iron armor along with the bottom of a shoe (0.215m long), possibly a woman's sandal, pieces of rotting wood, bronze or copper nails, and small clay vases were discovered. Like the objects found in Tumuli A and B, all of the gold ornaments, bones, marble, iron, and pottery pieces were tinged with a purple color, which probably indicated that many of these items were originally covered with purple cloth.

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Young, "The Campaign of 1955 at Gordion," 252.

II.4 KALINKAYA TUMULUS

Text: pp. 228-29

Location: Dedenin Sivrisi, near Alaca Höyük

GPS Coordinates: Unrecorded

Patron: Unknown

Date: Hellenistic

Finds: Terracotta sarcophagus approximately 7m east of the burial chambers, which contained a coin with Herakles on the obverse and Zeus on the reverse, probably from the time of Alexander the Great, a gold bead, and approximately 20 pins for affixing a burial shroud.

Inscription: None

Description: This tumulus is one of 30 mounds in the vicinity of Alaca Höyük, and is situated approximately three kilometers north of Alaca Höyük, on a slope overlooking the village of Kalınkaya. The mound was excavated in the fall of 1947, and revealed two burial chambers in the southwest quadrant of the mound along with a terracotta sarcophagus approximately seven meters to the east (close to the center of the mound). The sarcophagus contained the damaged remains of a skeleton buried lying with its head to the east and its feet to the west. A coin was discovered in the skull as well as 20 pins for affixing a burial shroud to the body and a gold bead.

The contiguous, rectangular burial chambers are likely roughly contemporary with the sarcophagus, although their exact configuration was difficult to determine due to damage incurred by ancient looters. Both chambers are rectangular. The larger chamber, situated to the east, contained five large slabs of stone that were thought to have constituted a floor covering. The western side of the room tapered to form a kind of dromos, although further conclusions about its design were not discernible. The smaller chamber, situated to the west of the larger one, contained three rows of stones that likely formed part of the wall. Significantly, the smaller chamber also preserved parts of a stone arch in situ that indicated it had once been barrel vaulted. Based on this finding, it is possible that the larger chamber was also barrel vaulted, although this is impossible to confirm based on the state of preservation.

A date for the burial chambers and the sarcophagus in the early Hellenistic period seems logical, given the use of the barrel vault in the smaller chamber and the coin found alongside the skeleton in the sarcophagus. The coin shows Herakles on the obverse, wearing a lion skin and turning to the right, as well as Zeus on the reverse, holding an eagle in one hand and holding a scepter in the other. The inscription on the coin reads "ALEXANDROU," suggesting that the coin was minted during the reign of Alexander the Great (336-323 BCE); thus, the burial chambers were probably constructed during the late fourth century BCE. Even if the coin is an intrusive element deposited after the tombs' construction, the barrel vault in the smaller chamber indicates that the structure cannot predate the second half of the fourth century BCE, when barrel vaulting began to appear in Macedonia.

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II.5 GORDION - TUMULUS O

Text: pp. 226-29

Location: Gordion (Yassıhüyük), Ankara Province

GPS Coordinates: N 39.651700, E 31.997118 (approximate)

Patron: Unknown

Date: Hellenistic, possibly 3rd-1st c BCE

Finds: Fragments of a terracotta larnax.

Inscription: None

Description: At a short distance to the west of the citadel mound at Gordion, a built tomb was discovered underneath a small tumulus by local shepherds. The tumulus was approximately five meters tall, and the built chamber was discovered in the southeast quadrant of the mound, oriented roughly east-west, with an entrance at the east. An antechamber, 2.47 x 1.67m in size, gave access to the burial chamber, which was 2.47 x 2.48m square. It was constructed of carefully cut and neatly fitted limestone that was worked to a smoother finish on the interior. Traces of lime plaster indicated that the whole interior had once been covered with stucco.

Interestingly, both chambers were roofed using the lantern-roof technique, with a series of six stone courses laid diagonally across each other in order to reduce gradually the opening so that it could be easily closed by a capstone. Although both the antechamber and the burial chamber deployed the same number of stone courses, the slabs over the burial chamber were slightly thicker, giving the roof over the burial chamber slightly greater height than that of the antechamber. Traces of bolt-holes and door sills in the doorway between the chambers indicate the existence of wooden or metal doors, but the exterior of the tomb was closed by a large stone slab. In all probability, the tomb was plundered at least once in late Hellenistic or early Roman

Imperial times, and no precious objects survived. Fragments of a larnax, however, were numerous enough to reconstruct its appearance, and it measures 1.84m in length, tapering from .405m in width at the head to .31m at the foot.

A pit dug into the surface of the tumulus likely dates to the first century BCE, indicating that the tomb itself is earlier, although no finds suggest a more precise date. Young argues that the Gordion tomb more closely resembles the chamber tomb beneath tumulus C at Karalar rather than the fourth-century BCE Thracian examples because it contains two oblong chambers; thus, he dates the tomb to the second or first century BCE rather than the beginning of the Hellenistic period.

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Young, "The Campaign of 1955 at Gordion," 250-52.

III. Monumental Tombs in the Region of Pontos

III.1 AMASEIA - A

Text: pp. 261-67

Location: Amasya (ancient Amaseia), Amasya Province

GPS Coordinates: N 40.653150, E 35.830667; elevation 488m

Patron: Mithridates I Ktistes, r. late 4th c BCE - 266 BCE

Date: Before 266 BCE

Finds: None

Inscription: None

Description: Amaseia Tomb A is the easternmost of the five royal tombs, situated on the southeastern slope of Harşena Dağı and the closest to the location of the Hellenistic basileia. It is reached by stone steps carved into the living rock, which presumably led from the basileia to the tomb. Although the tomb is situated at the lowest elevation of the three in this eastern group, it serves to orient the others and faces south with a commanding view of the river, city, and suburban area. Tomb A appears to be the earliest construction, and thus is associated with the patronage of Mithridates I, founder of the Pontic dynasty.

In front of the tomb is a three-stepped krepis 0.75m in height, which formed a high, rectangular podium that is oblong in an east-west direction. These steps must be for purely symbolic purpose, however, as they terminate at a dangerous precipice in the rock. The only practical approach is from the basileia to the east, and the symbolic krepis steps thus contribute primarily to the overall monumental effect of the structure. The courtyard in front of the tomb was likely used for ceremony and ritual purposes, and its size and somewhat dangerous situation indicates that the audience for such ceremonies was composed of a small group of privileged elite.

The facade resembles a hexastyle in antis Greek temple, crowned by a triangular pediment with a total height of 8.64m. The facade wall is punctuated with a rectangular, triple-fasciaed opening that gives access to the small burial chamber, although the opening cannot be reached except by means of a ladder. Özdemir suggests that this type of entrance resembled

Greek and Roman temple doors that provide access to the *cella*,[1012] and grooves as well as traces of iron clamps found on the edge of the door indicate that probably a wooden or metal door was opened and closed with a locking, lead clamp. The hinge, with its potential for reopening, indicates that multiple royal family members may have been buried here at different times. Original architectural embellishment of the tomb is demonstrated by the row of square holes on the surface of the steps and the entrance wall. The holes on the wall are possibly for the attachment of a stone (marble?) revetment, traces of which have been noticed on the surface of Tomb E.[1013] Because traces of dowels and clamps are present in all of the tombs, it seems that many decorative parts were constructed separately, and then later attached.[1014] An early French expedition suggested the possibility that the holes in the stairs were for the insertion of *stelai*, and noted that, on the lower steps, traces of an iron grate were preserved, possibly functioning as a defense mechanism against would-be intruders who thought to approach the tombs by climbing the rock wall.[1015] Furthermore, slots in front of the entrance wall may have served as the basis for a wooden, metal, or marble table for the performance of ritual ceremonies.

The burial chamber itself, like that of the other Pontic rock-cut tombs, is rather small and plain. It is roughly square in plan, measuring 4.40m x 5.12m and, like the entrance opening, the floor of the burial chamber is elevated from the base of the facade 2.24m, although a large section of the floor is depressed 0.58m. From the bottom of the depressed area to the top of the flat ceiling, the height of the chamber is 2.80m. Thus, the burial chamber appears more as a large niche cut into and surrounded by the living rock, rather than emulating a real, architectural room

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[1012] Özdemir, *Amasya Kalesi ve Kral Kaya Mezarları*, 90.

[1013] Fleischer, "The Rock-tombs of the Pontic Kings in Amaseia (Amasya)," 115.

[1014] Ibid.

[1015] Perrot, Guillaume, and Delbet, *Exploration archéologique*, 368.

space. A stone bench carved into the living rock surrounds the chamber on all sides (except where it is interrupted by the entrance opening) at a height of 0.38m. It is slightly oversized with a width close to 1.0m, and was used for the deposition of bodies.

In all of the tombs, an attempt was made to isolate the structure from the living rock completely by means of a hollowed-out corridor, but the early attempt in Tomb A was abandoned due to the difficulty of working the rock. As a result, only two cavities at the top were hollowed out, giving shape to the triangular pediment.

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Perrot, Guillaume, and Delbet, *Exploration archéologique,* 367-71; pl. 70, 75, 76.

III.2 AMASEIA - B

Text: pp. 270-72

Location: Amasya (ancient Amaseia), Amasya Province

GPS Coordinates: N 40.653433, E 35.830317; elevation 495m

Patron: Mithridates II, r. ca. 250 BCE - ca. 220 BCE

Date: ca. 220 BCE

Finds: None

Inscription: None

Description: Tomb B is accessible from Tomb A by means of 20 stone steps, approximately 3m wide, cut into the living rock, although its awkward positioning between A and C indicates that it

is actually the latest of this group of three, probably belonging to Mithridates II, the successor of Ariobarzanes. Its foundation is some seven meters higher than Tomb A, and the topography of the rock in this place required its facade to be angled slightly more west than that of Tomb A, resulting in a more south-westerly orientation and, because of its higher position, a more commanding view of the landscape.

Like Tomb A, the staircase leads to a spacious courtyard that probably hosted ceremonial or ritual activities related to the funeral or cult of the dead. A symbolic three-stepped krepis also helps create the monumental effect of the tomb, whose facade projects with a distyle in antis pedimental facade. At the inner side of the right anta, Fleischer and his team noted traces of an Attic base, indicating these columns (and presumably those of Tombs A and D) bore Ionic capitals.[1016] The height of the facade, from the base to the top of the pediment, is 7.0m. As in Tomb A, the north wall of the tomb contains a rectangular entrance opening, elevated 1.16m from the ground so that access is difficult without the assistance of a ladder. In front of the entrance to the burial chamber is a number of symmetrical holes and slots, probably for the insertion of movable furniture or other objects endowed with ritual significance.

The burial chamber is roughly square in plan, measuring 3.64m x 3.88m. It is covered with a soffit carved to resemble a barrel vault, and the total height from floor to ceiling is 2.50m. The floor of the chamber contains a rectangular depression of 0.05m, potentially signifying the location of a body or a sarcophagus since there are no benches visible in this tomb.

The hollowed-out, "U"-shaped corridor surrounding the east, south, and west walls of the tomb was executed much more completely than that of Tomb A. Two hollowed-out cavities at the top of the facade maintain the triangular shape of the pediment, and the surrounding corridor is hollowed out completely so that one is able to circumambulate the entire structure. Because of

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[1016] Fleischer, "The Rock-tombs of the Pontic Kings in Amaseia (Amasya)," 115.

the limited space between Tombs A and C, the designer of Tomb B appropriated the eastern third of the already-completed corridor of Tomb C as the western third of Tomb B's corridor. The tombs were constructed on slightly different levels, however, and a few small steps were needed to alleviate the difference when the corridors were joined.

Bibliography:

Ainsworth, *Travels and Researches in Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, Chaldea, and Armenia*, 26.

Fleischer, "The Rock-tombs of the Pontic Kings in Amaseia (Amasya)," 109-20.

Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor, Pontus, and Armenia*, 369.

Özdemir, *Amasya Kalesi ve Kral Kaya Mezarları*, 97-99, figs. 54-55.

Perrot, Guillaume, and Delbet, *Exploration archéologique*, 367-71, pl. 70, 75, 77, 78.

III.3 AMASEIA - C

Text: pp. 268-70

Location: Amasya (ancient Amaseia), Amasya Province

GPS Coordinates: N 40.653583, E 35.830167; elevation 496m

Patron: Ariobarzanes, r. 266 BCE - 250 BCE

Date: ca. 250 BCE

Finds: None

Inscription: None

Description: Tomb C, immediately adjacent to the west of Tomb B, is the final tomb in the east grouping, although it was not the last to be built. It shares its eastern corridor with Tomb B, but the off-set foundation levels visible between Tombs B and C, the added stairs in the shared corridor leading to Tomb B, and the awkward squeezing of B into the space between A and C indicates that C is the earlier of the two, and thus is assumed to be the burial place of

Ariobarzanes, successor of Mithridates I Ktistes. Tomb C also faces southwest, and shares the same commanding view from below the acropolis over the southern bank of the Iris towards the town and suburbs.

Like the other royal tombs, the stepped pathway leading from Tomb A and passing by Tomb B terminates at a large courtyard in front of the facade. The facade, however, showcases an arcuated vault instead of a triangular pediment, and no traces of columns are present. The north wall of the structure contains the elevated entry to the small burial chamber. Unlike Tombs A and B, however, below the rectangular opening, a stone projection protrudes from the wall, and could possibly have served as an altar or table. Özdemir suggests that this was a permanent ritual table in contrast to the portable ones presumed to have been inserted into the slots in front of Tombs A and B, and there are various grooves and slots potentially for the placement of other ritual or decorative architectural elements in the courtyard of Tomb C.[1017] A row of square holes punctuates the facade of C as in the other tombs, possibly for the attachment of a revetment or other architectural ornamentation.

The burial chamber is similar in dimensions to its predecessor, and is entered through a rectangular opening in the facade whose holes on the side indicate the existence of a door. The roughly square chamber, which measures 3.21m x 3.62m, is covered by a soffit carved to resemble a barrel vault. Unlike in A and C, however, the floor of the chamber is completely smoothed, and there is no indication of the type of burial that might have taken place here. During the Byzantine period the tomb was used as a chapel, evidenced by the Byzantine frescoes covering the ceiling, now largely obfuscated by layers of blackened smoke.

Tomb C was probably the first of the royal tombs to be completely isolated from the mass of rock by a fully executed "U"-shaped corridor with and average width of about 1.46m all the

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[1017] Özdemir, *Amasya Kalesi ve Kral Kaya Mezarları*, 100.

way around. When Tomb B was constructed, the limited space between A and C necessitated the sharing of the corridor between C and B, although Tomb B's slightly higher elevation required three steps to be added in its southwest corner to alleviate the difference. The fully executed corridor undoubtedly gave Tomb C a more monumental appearance. At the very western edge of Tomb C, the stepped pathway continues to a rectangular door opening of 1.5m wide, and the path continues westward. The path's final destination is unclear due to the destruction of large sections, but it probably led either up to the acropolis or towards the second group of Tombs D and E.

Bibliography:

Ainsworth, *Travels and Researches in Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, Chaldea, and Armenia*, 26.

Fleischer, "The Rock-tombs of the Pontic Kings in Amaseia (Amasya)," 109-20.

Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor, Pontus, and Armenia*, 369.

Özdemir, *Amasya Kalesi ve Kral Kaya Mezarları*, 100-2, fig. 56.

Perrot, Guillaume, and Delbet, *Exploration archéologique*, 367-71, pl. 70, 75, 77, 78.

III.4. AMASEIA - D

Text: pp. 272-75

Location: Amasya (ancient Amaseia), Amasya Province

GPS Coordinates: N 40.652900, E 35.829133; elevation 478m

Patron: Mithridates III, r. ca. 220 BCE - 189 BCE

Date: ca. 189 BCE

Finds: None

Inscription: None

Description: Tomb D is the first tomb of the western group to be encountered via a tunneled passageway en route from the eastern group. Because much of the original passage circulating between the acropolis, the basileia, and the royal necropolis no longer survives, it is not entirely clear where this stepped tunnel originally lead. Tombs D and E are located at some distance from the eastern group, on the southwestern flank of Harşena Dağı, but occupy a similarly prestigious topographic position with a commanding view of the river and the city. After the considerable effort exerted to squeeze Tomb B into the space between Tombs A and C, it seems likely that Mithridates III removed his tomb to the southwestern flank to avoid the spatial problems encountered by his predecessors.[1018]

Perrot, Guillaume, and Delbet once again note the possible presence of a protective grate inserted into the holes in the steps leading to the tomb's courtyard.[1019] The courtyard in front of this tomb is quite spacious, accommodating an altar or ritual table whose 1.70m x 1.70m footprint is still visible in the stone floor. Perhaps one of the most distinctive elements of this tomb is the fact that in the immediate vicinity of the courtyard is a large piece of fallen denticulated cornice, presumably part of the original pediment, and giving some indication of the architectural details that adorned this tomb as well as the others.[1020] At the north end of the courtyard, six steps lead up to the vestibule and facade, which is 8.30m in height and most closely resembles Tomb B's distyle in antis facade with pediment. In the facade wall is an elevated opening measuring 1.25m x 1.15m, which leads to the burial chamber inside.

[1018] Fleischer, "The Rock-tombs of the Pontic Kings in Amaseia (Amasya)," 115.

[1019] Perrot, Guillaume, and Delbet, *Exploration archéologique,* 385.

[1020] Ibid.; Özdemir, *Amasya Kalesi ve Kral Kaya Mezarları*, 103-4, 106.

The burial chamber contains no significant deviations from the others: it is somewhat small and roughly square in plan, 3.35m x 2.40m. It is covered in the north-south direction by a soffit carved to resemble a barrel vault at a height of 2.60m, and the floor contains a shallow depression of approximately 0.10m that Özdemir interprets as a slot for the containment of a sarcophagus.[1021] Traces of whitewash plaster as well as smoke remain on the interior walls and were probably related to secondary use.

The customary "U"-shaped corridor is also present around Tomb D, with an average width of 1.91m around the east, south, and west walls of the structure. The corridor was fully executed, completely isolating the tomb chamber from the surrounding rock and allowing for circumambulation of the building. A stepped ramp passageway, covered by a partial vault, leads westward to Tomb E.

Bibliography:

Ainsworth, *Travels and Researches in Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, Chaldea, and Armenia*, 26.

Fleischer, "The Rock-tombs of the Pontic Kings in Amaseia (Amasya)," 109-20.

Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor, Pontus, and Armenia*, 369.

Özdemir, *Amasya Kalesi ve Kral Kaya Mezarları*, 103-7, fig. 58-60.

Perrot, Guillaume, and Delbet, *Exploration archéologique,* 367-71, pl. 70, 75, 79.

III.5 AMASEIA - E

Text: pp. 275-78

Location: Amasya (ancient Amaseia), Amasya Province

GPS Coordinates: N 40.653033, E 35.828217; elevation 491m

Patron: Pharnakes I, r. 189 BCE - ca. 155 BCE

[1021] Özdemir, *Amasya Kalesi ve Kral Kaya Mezarları*, 103.

Date: before 183 BCE

Finds: None

Inscription: ὑπὲρ βασιλέως
                 Φαρνάκου
                 [Μη]τρόδωρος
                 [...]ιου φρουραρ-
                 [χή]σας [τὸ]ν βω-
                 [μ]ὸν καὶ [τ]ὸν
                 ἀνθεῶνα
                 θεοῖς

Description: The final, westernmost royal tomb in the Pontic series at Amasya is Tomb E, known by its inscription to have been intended for Pharnakes I, grandfather of the infamous Mithridates VI Eupator. In many ways it is similar to the preceding four tombs, but the facade's size (nearly 12m high) and more clearly articulated arched shape simultaneously sets it apart from the others. It is also located at some distance from the other four, including Tomb D, and consequently it commands the best, most prestigious view of the city and river valley below. It is, however, unfinished, leading to the assumption that Pharnakes abandoned the project following his capture of Sinope in 183 BCE, and he moved the royal necropolis along with the royal capital from Amaseia to Sinope later that year. It is highly likely, therefore, that Pharnakes was actually buried in Sinope.

      Tomb E is approached by a lengthy, half-covered stairway cut into the rock ascending westward from Tomb D. From there, a three-stepped staircase leads to the platform of a rectangular courtyard in front of the facade measuring 8.0m x 2.8m in the east-west direction. Two antae projections on the side of the facade rise upward into a curved arch, a highly unusual form that is anticipated in Tomb C and echoed in the later Tombs of Tes and Hikesios. The

entrance is located at a height of 3.10m, and forms a rectangle measuring 1.7m x 2.3m. Numerous square holes on the exterior indicate the presence of a marble or metal revetment.[1022]

The burial chamber is covered by a soffit carved to resemble a barrel vault in a north-south direction and reaches a height of 3.15m from the floor to the top of the vault. Pharnakes' chamber is slightly more rectangular in plan, measuring 3.83m x 2.55m. There is no indication of the manner in which Pharnakes planned to be buried, whether lying on a stone kline or in a sarcophagus, but the inscription located above his tomb specifies that an altar (βω[μ]òν) and a flowerbed (ἀνθεῶνα) were present for the reception of sacrifices made to the gods for the benefit of the deceased king, following Persian royal custom.[1023] Fleischer notes that rock-cut stairs leading to this place are still visible today.[1024]

The unfinished state of the corridor intended to surround the tomb on three sides is the best indication that the project was abandoned at this late stage of construction. The corridor itself is relatively wide compared to the others (2.5m), but it is only partially completed on the two sides flanking the east and west sides of the tomb. It does not extend behind the tomb. If the project was indeed abandoned in 183 BCE, the tomb would have had to have been under construction at least during the year or two preceding Pharnakes' capture of Sinope, and this more precise dating gives an idea of how early into their reign the Pontic kings began construction on their funerary monuments (Pharnakes assumed the throne in 189 BCE). The royal tomb, therefore, was one of the first major works undertaken by the new king, highlighting its importance in the representation of royal patronage and identity.

[1022] Perrot, Guillaume, and Delbet, *Exploration archéologique,* 385; Özdemir, *Amasya Kalesi ve Kral Kaya Mezarları*, 109.

[1023] Canepa, "Achaemenid and Seleukid Royal Funerary Practices and Middle Iranian Kingship," 12.

[1024] Fleischer, "The Rock-tombs of the Pontic Kings in Amaseia (Amasya)," 117.

Bibliography:

Ainsworth, *Travels and Researches in Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, Chaldea, and Armenia*, 26.

Anderson, Cumont, and *Grégoire, Studia Pontica III*, 114-15, no. 94.

Canepa, "Achaemenid and Seleukid Royal Funerary Practices and Middle Iranian Kingship," 12.

Fleischer, "The Rock-tombs of the Pontic Kings in Amaseia (Amasya)," 109-20.

Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor, Pontus, and Armenia*, 369.

OGIS, 573-75, no. 365.

Özdemir, *Amasya Kalesi ve Kral Kaya Mezarları*, 108-9.

Perrot, Guillaume, and Delbet, *Exploration archéologique*, 367-71, pl. 70, 75, 80.

III.6 AMASEIA TOMB 6

Text: p. 302

Location: Amasya (ancient Amaseia), Amasya Province

GPS Coordinates: N 40.652950, E 35.831967; elevation 401m

Patron: Unknown

Date: Unknown, probably Hellenistic or slightly later

Finds: None

Inscription: None

Description: This tomb is not part of the royal series hovering midway between the river and the citadel, but its prestigious location at the foot of the citadel on the southeastern side and in direct visual contact with the royal tombs indicates that it belonged to an individual, or family, of very high social and/or political status. It is located in the Hatuniye neighborhood of Amasya, just above the mouth of the Samsun-Sivas railway tunnel, constructed in 1926. This is the area of the ancient city that would have been just beneath the grounds of the basileia in antiquity. The tomb

is visible from the eastern group of royal tombs, and, like them, it faces a south-southwest direction, although its much lower elevation does not offer the same "commanding" view over the city as with the royal tombs. This deliberate physical and visual relationship to the royal tombs and its architectural similarity to the so-called "Median" rock tombs makes it likely that the tomb was constructed during or shortly after the rule of the Mithridatic dynasty.

Four rock-cut steps lead to a courtyard in front of the tomb proper. Like the royal tombs, however, these steps must have had a purely symbolic purpose, as the rock face at their drop-off point has been smoothed to a vertical finish and studded with square-ish holes for the attachment of a revetment, inscription, or other ornamentation. The facade itself is noticeably wider than it is long, with a total width of 8.24m, including the two antae flanking the extremities of the vestibule. These antae probably resulted in an entablature with a cornice above the facade wall, but nothing remains of the superstructure and it is likely to have remained unfinished. The top of the northern corner of the entablature seems to indicate the beginnings of a triangular wedge of a pediment, and it is easy to imagine a pediment given the way that the rock immediately above the tomb has been worked away, but nothing else remains to give an indication of the original appearance. On the south side of the entrance there are four square holes in a horizontal line, again, probably for an external revetment or some other form of ornamentation. The door, and it is a true door as it is easily accessible from the courtyard, is 1.48m tall, and has notches in the ground nearby that suggest closed access to the burial chamber.

From the threshold, two stone steps descend into the burial chamber, at the center of which is a depression. A "U"-shaped bench surrounds the burial chamber on three sides, and in this way the chamber emulates the design present in Tomb A of the royal series. It is covered by

a low-pitched barrel vault. No attempt seems to have been made to isolate the structure from the rock with a hollowed-out corridor as in the royal tombs.

Bibliography:

de Jerphanion, *Mélanges d'archéologie anatolienne*, p. 6. pl. IV, 3.

Özdemir, *Amasya Kalesi ve Kral Kaya Mezarları*, 115-18, fig. 64.

Perrot, Guillaume, and Delbet, *Exploration archéologique*, 382, pl. 74.

III.7 AMASEIA TOMB 7

Text: p. 303

Location: Amasya (ancient Amaseia), Amasya Province

GPS Coordinates: N 40.650467, E 35.833667; elevation 440m

Patron: Unknown

Date: After the mid-3rd c BCE, possibly as late as the Roman period

Finds: None

Inscription: None

Description: This "double" tomb is located several meters above the riverbed, along the base of the spur that surrounds the valley opposite Harşena Dağı in the middle of the city. The structure is composed of a pair of tombs with two separate vestibules and entrance openings unified under the same lintel. Both tombs face the same direction (northwest), and seem deliberately situated so that they look towards the ancient palace and royal monuments, although they are quite a bit lower in elevation than the royal tombs.

The two tombs each have square facades fronted by a small vestibule, which are separated by a single vertical pillar in the middle. Square entrance openings of approximately 0.80m on each side are placed slightly lower than center of each facade wall, providing access to

burial chambers whose interior dispositions are unclear (the tombs are at present inaccessible, and to my knowledge there are no published images of the interior). The excavation work above the lintel indicates that the tombs were either intended to be hollowed out with a "U"-shaped corridor like the royal tombs, or that simply the appearance of isolation from the rock mass was desired.

Because this pair of tombs seems to have been placed in an intentional visual relationship with the royal necropolis, I propose that, at the earliest, they postdate the earliest royal tombs. No other evidence of their date survives, and because the tomb of Rufus (discussed below) indicates that prominent locals were still constructing monumental rock-cut tombs here during the Roman period, this pair may date as late as the Roman era.

Bibliography:

de Jerphanion, *Mélanges d'archéologie anatolienne*, 10-11, pl. IV, 2.

III.8 AMASEIA TOMB 8

Text: p. 303

Location: Amasya (ancient Amaseia), Amasya Province

GPS Coordinates: N 40.658850, E 35.840017; elevation 434m (approximate)

Patron: Unknown

Finds: None

Inscription: None

Date: After the mid-3rd c BCE, possibly as late as the Roman period

Description: There are actually two tombs located at this point in the north-northeast quadrant of the city, although modern construction in the area renders only one of them visible. It can be seen from the main road, the modern D100 highway that crosses Amasya in an east-west

direction, although, once again, the modern residential quarter built up around the tombs makes it impossible to access the tomb physically, resulting in my approximation of the GPS coordinates. Perrot, Guillaume, and Delbet noted that the two tombs are carved on the rock face at a near right angle to each other, one resembling a low arch and the other taking a rectangular facade form.

The first tomb, the only one visible from the D100 road, is carved more as a shallow relief in the rock face than as an actual building with a three-dimensional vestibule. The facade appears as a simplification of the royal tombs C and E, with an arched facade and a square-ish entrance opening leading to a single burial chamber. The chamber is covered by a barrel vault. In the rear of the chamber is a carved niche measuring 2.68m long, 0.89m high, and 0.60m deep, and most likely functioned as a receptor for the corpse. To the left of the entrance is a carefully hollowed out, hemispherical hole in the ground measuring 0.40m in diameter and 0.30m in depth whose purpose is unclear. The tomb faces roughly west, towards the ancient citadel and royal necropolis.

The second tomb, which is not visible from the road today, is preceded by the real architectural space of a rectangular vestibule ending in a platform, with a bench reserved on the side. The facade is clearly rectangular and a horizontal lintel is indicated, but since I did not see the tomb myself, it is difficult to ascertain whether a pedimental roof was intended. The burial chamber, accessed by a rectangular door, is covered by a gabled roof, but no niche or burial couch indicates the manner in which the deceased was disposed. Two hemispherical hollows in the floor, about 0.40m in diameter, exist just to the right of the entrance and about halfway back on the left side. Below the two tombs, Perrot, Guillaume, and Delbet note a linear groove is

carved into the rock, whose purpose remains uncertain. It may have been used as drainage for the tombs, as its existence does not seem to grant any easier access to the facades.

Because this pair of tombs seems to have been placed in an intentional visual relationship with the royal necropolis, I propose that, at the earliest, they postdate the earliest royal tombs. No other evidence of their date survives, and because the tomb of Rufus (discussed below) indicates that prominent locals were still constructing monumental rock-cut tombs here during the Roman period, this pair may date as late as the Roman era.

Bibliography:

de Jerphanion, *Mélanges d'archéologie anatolienne*, 11, nos. 12-13; pl. IV, 2.

Perrot, Guillaume, and Delbet, *Exploration archéologique*, 382, pl. 73.

III.9 AMASEIA TOMB 9

Text: p. 302

Location: Amasya (ancient Amaseia), Amasya Province

GPS Coordinates: N 40.652774, E 35.827958 (approximate)

Patron: Unknown

Date: After the mid-3rd c BCE, possibly as late as the Roman period

Finds: None

Inscription: None

Description: Farther down south from Pharnakes' tomb (Tomb E), situated above the modern Hatuniye neighborhood near one of the ancient well openings, is a modest burial chamber framed by two 1.20m x 2.90m stepped rectangular door openings. The entrance leads to an irregular chamber 3.50m x 3.03m x 3.42m x 2.90m in size, with a height of 2.15m and covered by a flat roof.

Embedded in each of the walls (except the entrance wall) is a rock-cut, rectangular niche approximately 2.15m long and 0.50m deep, which served for the reception of a corpse and was probably covered over after burial, as indicated by the fittings for lead clamps at the outer edges of each niche. The niches are apparently wider at the end that received the head and narrower at the end that received the feet. Özdemir argues that, unlike the larger tombs outfitted with an exterior courtyard for the occurrence of sacrificing and feasting at the burial site, ritual ceremonies at this tomb instead took place inside the burial chamber (evidenced by the 0.52m-square depressions in the northeast and northwest corners of the floor), and thus the niches containing the bodies of the deceased needed to be covered over.[1025] In the upper part of the north wall is a small niche, perhaps for the placement of votive statues.

Because this tomb seems to have been placed in an intentional physical proximity to the royal necropolis, I propose that, at the earliest, it postdates the earliest royal tombs. No other evidence of their date survives, and because the tomb of Rufus (discussed below) indicates that prominent locals were still constructing monumental rock-cut tombs here during the Roman period, this tomb may date as late as the Roman era.

Bibliography:

de Jerphanion, *Mélanges d'archéologie anatolienne*, 8, no. 8.

Özdemir, *Amasya Kalesi ve Kral Kaya Mezarları*, 111-14, fig. 62.

Perrot, Guillaume, and Delbet, *Exploration archéologique,* pl. 75, I and II, N on the plan.

III.10 AMASEIA - 10

Text: pp. 301

Location: Amasya (ancient Amaseia), Amasya Province

[1025] Özdemir, *Amasya Kalesi ve Kral Kaya Mezarları*, 114.

GPS Coordinates: Unrecorded

Patron: Unknown

Date: After the mid-3rd c BCE, possibly as late as the Roman period

Finds: Possibly coins from the 2nd c. CE

Inscription: None

Description: This small burial is located in the neighborhood of Kurşunlu, northeast of the Kurşunlu mosque, on the south side of the smoothed rock surface emanating from the *kale*. This grave is not particularly monumental, but is rather small and simply carved, and is situated only about 2.0-2.5m from the ground level. It consists mostly of a burial pit, possibly emulating the form of a sarcophagus, with slots of about 0.05m wide for the placement of a stone cover. Özdemir suggests that the grave pit seems to have been covered with some sort of triangular or pedimental cover, but does not offer evidence for his claim. He notes that results of an investigation in 2000 indicate the presence of a necropolis in this area, extending to the sloped walls of the palace in the east, and that coins dating to the 2nd c. CE provide a point of reference for the date of the tomb. The coins, however, may have been deposited at a date later than the initial construction of the tomb, and thus do not provide a reliable date of construction.

Because this tomb seems to have been placed in an intentional physical proximity to the royal necropolis, I propose that, at the earliest, it postdates the earliest royal tombs. No other evidence of their date survives, and because the tomb of Rufus (discussed below) indicates that prominent locals were still constructing monumental rock-cut tombs here during the Roman period, this tomb may date as late as the Roman era.

Bibliography:

Özdemir, *Amasya Kalesi ve Kral Kaya Mezarları*, 124-25.

III.11 AMASEIA TOMB 11

Text: p. 302

Location: Amasya (ancient Amaseia), Amasya Province

GPS Coordinates: Unrecorded

Patron: Unknown

Date: Possibly 4th century BCE

Finds: None

Inscription: None

Description: This tomb is carved out of the southwest slope of the fortified castle, above the modern-day Kurşunlu neighborhood in Amasya. Like the royal tombs, it is approached via stone steps (in this case, three) leading to a large, rectangular courtyard. The doorway, a 0.77m x 1.74m rectangle, is carved into the rock and could be closed and locked, as evidenced by the holes for clamps and the shaft housing seen on the inside of the door lintel.

The burial chamber is modest in size, comprising a 2.92m x 2.44m nearly square plan. It is 1.95m high and covered by a flat roof. Perhaps the most interesting feature of this tomb is the half-dome arcosolium carved into the north (rear) wall of the chamber, measuring 1.8m long in the east-west direction, 0.94m wide, and 0.52m high for the reception of the body. Slim (0.05m) edges indicate that it was covered with a lid. Flanking the east and west sides of the arcosolium are two large, ornamental rectangular pillars carved as a bas-relief. The Ionic capitals also show traces of stylized acanthus leaves. In the middle of the north wall is a small, rectangular niche, possibly for the placement of votive statues.

The interior walls of the chamber are deliberately smoothed and show traces of sand and lime plaster. It is possible that plaster frescoes were applied to these walls, as in the tombs found

in the cliffs of the eastern slope of the Baruthane river near Samsun (ancient Amisos), which also

have arcosolium-type burials. Pottery finds from these tombs date to the 5th-4th centuries BCE,

so Özdemir suggests that this tomb dates to the 4th century BCE and possibly belonged to a

Persian-period administrator in Amaseia.

Bibliography:

Özdemir, *Amasya Kalesi ve Kral Kaya Mezarları*, 118-21, fig. 65-66.

III.12 AMASEIA TOMB 12 (TOMB OF RUFUS)

Text: p. 302-3

Location: Amasya (ancient Amaseia), Amasya Province

GPS Coordinates: Unrecorded

Patron: Unknown

Date: After 64 BCE

Finds: None

Inscription: Πέτρην τὴνδ' ἐκόλ[α]ψε χάριν μνήμης ἔτι ζῶος
Ῥοῦφος ἔων προπάτωρ ἡμετέρης γενεῆς
ἐν νομικῇ προὔχοντα Κλεόμβροτον ἥρπασε μοῖρα
πρῶτα συνεπόμενον βήματι Βιθυνεκῷ
ὄστεα δ' εἰς πάτρην ὁ πάτηρ ὢ [πάσσ]ατο Ῥοῦφος
καὶ κατέθηκεν ἄ[ρας] ἔνθα[περ οἱ] πρόγονοι
ἡρῴῳ δ' ἐνί τῷδε καὶ ἄλλοι φίλτατοι κεῖνται
Τιμηεις Χρόνιος υἱός τε Πολυχρόνιος

Description: This tomb is carved into the western slope of Harşena Dağı, in the northwest of the

modern-day Kurşunlu neighborhood. It has a rectangular entrance of 1.15m x 0.94m. Apparently

the tomb was originally outfitted with external steps, but these are destroyed and no longer

visible.

From the door, two steps descend to the burial chamber, which consisted of two parts. The first part is roughly square in plan, measuring 3.65m x 3.58m, and, to the west of it is a 2.41m x 3.52m rectangular space. The floor of the first space is elevated 0.53m high than that of the second space and was covered by a flat ceiling. Inside this room, above the entrance door to the right and the left are two square, deep niches. In the 19th century, this room was used a prison cell, and the names of its French prisoners are carved into the walls. For this reason, the tomb is referred to locally as the "French tomb."

In the second space, an arcosolium niche is carved into the wall (similar to the arcosolium in III.11), measuring 2.02m long, 0.63m high and 0.64m deep. After receiving the body, the arcosolium was covered with a flat lid, and the second chamber itself was covered with 1.85m-high vault. In front of the entrance to the tomb are several traces of grooves and channels, indicating the presence of a wooden, metal, or marble couch used during the funeral.

Outside the burial chamber are small, square pits to the right and left of the entrance. These may have been used for the delivery of liquids, food, or sacrificial offerings to those buried in the tombs. Perhaps most notably, an eight-line Greek inscription was carved into the facade of the rock tomb identifying a certain Rufus, during his governorship of Bithynia, who established this tomb for himself and his descendants, and this establishing a *terminus post quem* for the tomb of 64 BCE, when the Roman general Pompey restructured this region into the province of Pontus-Bithynia.

Bibliography:

Anderson, Cumont, and Grégoire. *Studia Pontica III*, 128-29.

de Jerphanion, *Mélanges d'archéologie anatolienne,* 8-9, no. 9, pl. III, 2.

Özdemir, *Amasya Kalesi ve Kral Kaya Mezarları*, 122-24.

Perrot, Guillaume, and Delbet. *Exploration archéologique*, 377.

III.13 AMASEIA TOMB OF TÊS (Aynalı Mağara)

Text: p. 303-4

Location: Amasya (ancient Amaseia), Amasya Province

GPS Coordinates: N 40.672217, E 35.849383; elevation 394m

Patron: Tês, high priest (ἀρχιερεύς)

Date: Possibly 2nd century BCE

Finds: None

Inscription: Above the door:

> ΤΗΣ
> ἈΡΧΙ-
> ΙΕΡΕΥΣ

Below the door:

> ΚΛ ... ΟΕΟΣ
> Χ ... ΙΟΥ

Description: In the northern outskirts of the city of Amasya is a monumental tomb that rivals the royal tombs in both size and format. Because of its peripheral position, however, it remains isolated from the royal necropolis, and this situation combined with the epigraphical designation of its occupant as a high priest, rather than a king, negates its association with the Hellenistic Pontic royalty. Like the royal tombs, it overlooks the Yeşilırmak (ancient Iris) river, albeit from a much lower elevation and less precarious position amongst the rocky topography. It is known locally as Aynalı Mağara, the "mirror cave," due to the reflective appearance of the extraordinarily high polish applied to the exterior.

The facade height, at approximately 9.50m, is monumental in size, and its large courtyard is approached by a series of four steps, similar to the royal tombs. The form of the facade emulates the unusual arch crowning two antae that appears in Tomb E and seems suggested in Tomb C. A three-lined inscription, with letters 0.63m tall, is carved above the tomb door, while a later, partly-erased inscription with 0.50m-high letters was inscribed below the door. The entrance opening is quite high, at 4.63m from the base of the facade, and faces south-southeast. It leads into a burial chamber that is slightly offset, oriented northwest-southeast, and consists of a small, squared chamber with a carved rectangular annex adjacent to the right (northeast) side of the entrance.

In all probability, the tomb is later than those in the royal necropolis, but not later than the period of the Roman emperor Augustus. Its facade imitates the form of Tomb E, and, assuming that trends in tomb construction traveled from the royal necropolis to the outlying funerary monuments, it can be assumed that the tomb of Tês borrowed its form from Pharnakes' construction instead of the other way around. Furthermore, the inscription identifying the tomb as belonging to Tês, the high priest, contains letter forms indicating the high Hellenistic period.[1026] Fleischer establishes a *terminus post quem* of 209 BCE for the construction of the tomb based on both the letter forms and its reference to the office of the ἀρχιερεύς, which was not established in the Seleukid kingdom until the reign of Antiochos III (209-193 BCE), an argument that is corroborated by the fact that Tomb E (Pharnakes' tomb) could not have been constructed until the 190s or 180s BCE. Additionally, Bean has argued that differences in the formation of the sigmas in each of the inscriptions indicates that they are not contemporaneous; the inscription above the door is earlier, and the inscription below the door is later. It has been

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[1026] Fleischer, "Zwei pontische Felsgräber des hohen Hellenismus mit monumentalen Inschriften," 275.

argued that the simplicity of the antae capitals and the absence of any proper Roman molding indicate the tomb's construction no later than the time of Augustus.[1027] Although the name of Tês is unknown in the historical record, Perrot, Guillaume, and Delbet suggest that perhaps he belonged to the elite circle of high priests of Komana and Zela described by Strabo (12.3.31-37).

Bibliography:

Bean, "Pontus Yazıtları," 169, no. 5.

Childs, *Across Asia Minor on Foot*, 86-87.

Fleischer, "Zwei pontische Felsgräber des hohen Hellenismus mit monumentalen Inschriften," 273-84.

___, "The Rock-tombs of the Pontic Kings in Amaseia (Amasya)," 109-20.

Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor, Pontus, and Armenia*, 369.

Perrot, Guillaume, and Delbet. *Exploration archéologique*, 370-71, pl. 72.

III.14 LÂÇİN, TOMB OF HIKESIOS

Text: p. 304-5

Location: Lâçin, Çorum Province

GPS Coordinates: N 40.753592, E 34.912053, elevation 713m (approximate)

Patron: Hikesios

Date: 2nd c BCE - 1st c CE

Finds: None

Inscription: ΗΙΚΕΣΙΟΣ

Description: The tomb of Hikesios is located outside the village of Lâçin, some 80 kilometers west of Amasya. The tomb is isolated at the end of a rocky projection, but tunnels and rock-cut stairs indicate the possibility that a fortification or other royal/elite residence was located here.

[1027] Perrot, Guillaume, and Delbet, *Exploration archéologique,* 372.

Fleischer states that the local villagers knew of an associated settlement a few kilometers north at the opening of the valley, but it apparently has not been excavated. The tomb is the largest rock-cut grave in Anatolia, measuring approximately 13m high (higher than the almost 12-meter tall facade of Pharnakes' tomb at Amaseia). It adopts the form of Pharnakes' tomb and the tomb of Tês, showing a barrel vault resting on two antae and no columns set between the antae.

An inscription carved in letters approximately 0.80m high names the tomb owner as a certain ΗΙΚΕΣΙΟΣ. The letter forms are somewhat reminiscent of the letters carved on the facade of the tomb of Tês: the oblique bar of the sigma goes far to the left as in the Tês inscription (and which Fleischer dates to the second century BCE), while the horizontal crossbar of the sigma is similar to that of the inscription below the door of the tomb of Tês, which is somewhat later in date, possibly the first century CE.

Although the historical identity of both the settlement near Lâçin and Hikesios is unknown, it seems logical to assume that Hikesios was one of the high-ranking occupants of the fortress/castle and constructed his tomb in imitation of Pharnakes' tomb at Amaseia. As with the tomb of Tês, it seems likely that the powerful elites at that time felt at liberty to construct tombs rivaling the size and format of the royal tombs, provided that they maintain a "respectful distance" from the necropolis at Amaseia.

Bibliography:

Ainsworth, *Travels and Researches in Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, Chaldea, and Armenia*, 99-100.

Fleischer, "The Rock-tombs of the Pontic Kings in Amaseia (Amasya)," 109-20.

___, "Zwei pontische Felsgräber des hohen Hellenismus mit monumentalen Inschriften," 273-84.

III.15 ÜNYE - KALE TOMB

Text: p. 280

Location: Ünye (ancient Oinoe), Samsun Province

GPS Coordinates: N 41.096417, E 37.239700; elevation 168m

Patron: Unknown

Date: Possibly Hellenistic or Roman

Finds: None

Inscription: None

Description: About five kilometers south of the modern city of Ünye, a precipitous, fortified castle towers above the terrain and commands a 360-degree view of the surrounding territory all the way to the coast. Situated at the entrance to the fortified gate is a rock-cut tomb somewhat similarly disposed as those at Amaseia and several in Paphlagonia: it is a temple-tomb flanking the entrance to a fort, castle, or elite/royal residence.

The date of the tomb is unclear, but the citadel is largely composed of medieval construction and the tomb itself is flanked with much-faded paintings of Greek saints.[1028] Originally, rock-cut stairs would have provided access to the tomb, but these are greatly eroded and the structure is at present inaccessible except by means of special equipment.[1029]

The tomb here takes the form of a tetrastyle temple, although the columns must be presumed, based on Hamilton's description and the presence of two antae flanking the rear wall of the portico in which the entrance to the tomb is carved.[1030] As the tomb is currently

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[1028] Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor, Pontus, and Armenia*, 273-74; des Courtils, and Rémy, "Vestiges antiques sur le littoral sud de la mer Noire (d'Ünye à Trabzon)," 61.

[1029] des Courtils, and Rémy, "Vestiges antiques sur le littoral sud de la mer Noire (d'Ünye à Trabzon)," 61.

[1030] Ibid.

inaccessible, no knowledge of the interior chamber is present in existing publications, and I could not access the chamber myself. Des Courtils and Rémy estimate the entablature to be approximately eight meters wide; it is composed of seven triglyphs alternating with metopes of rather squat proportions.[1031] Three acroteria in the form of eagles decorate the corners and central peak of the pediment, which des Courtils and Rémy suggest could have held some form of carved decoration, possibly an embossed shield.[1032] The fortress is similar in many ways to other Hellenistic fortresses known from the region (for example, at Amaseia), and for this reason its foundations are sometimes thought to be from the time of the Mithridatids, although this is by no means certain. Because of the tomb's incorporation into the fortress and formal similarities to the royal Pontic tombs, the tomb is also sometimes thought to be Hellenistic. The eagles, however, may suggest a date in the Roman period, but this is purely speculative, as no other indication of the tomb's date remains.

Bibliography:

Cuinet, *La Turqiue d'Asie, gèographie administrative, statistique*, 110-11.

de Jerphanion, *Mélanges d'archéologie anatolienne*, 22-23, no. 17.

des Courtils, and Rémy, "Vestiges antiques sur le littoral sud de la mer Noire," 61-68.

Eser, "Ünye İç Kalesi," 19-52.

Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor, Pontus, and Armenia*, 273-74.

Hommaire de Hell, *Voyage en Turquie et en Perse*, 368, pl. 18.

Robert, *A travers l'Asie Mineure*, 120-21.

Texier, *Asie Mineure; description géographique, historique et archéologique*, 619.

von Gall, *Die paphlagonischen Felsgräber*, 44.

[1031] Ibid.

[1032] Ibid., 62.

III.16 ÜNYE - TOZKOPARAN KAYA MEZARI

Text: pp. 280-81

Location: Ünye (ancient Oinoe), Samsun Province

GPS Coordinates: N 41.099456, E 37.322800; elevation 50m

Patron: Unknown

Date: Possibly Persian period, ca. 500 BCE

Finds: None

Inscription: None

Description: Unfortunately, very little is known about the Tozkoparan rock tomb, which lies approximately 5 kilometers southeast of the Ünye city center, and approximately 10 kilometers northeast of the Hellenistic or Roman tomb in the kale (citadel). The tomb is situated relatively low in the terrain, and is not associated with a commanding view, fortress, or known settlement. The circumstances surrounding its production remain uncertain. Interestingly, however, it incorporates an arched facade that is very similar to the simplified form of Tomb C at Amaseia, which contains a portico and an entry door giving access to the burial chamber. On each door jamb is a sculpted bull's head, and the presence of these constitutes the major reason for the dating of this tomb to the period of Persian occupation in Pontos, ca. 700-500 BCE. No other indication of the chronological context of the tomb remains, and it could just as easily belong to a different period.

Bibliography: I am not aware of any publications except for the basic tourist literature at the site.

III.17 AMISOS - BARUTHANE TUMULUS NORTH

Text: pp. 278-79

Location: Samsun (ancient Amisos), Samsun Province

GPS Coordinates: N 41.319183, E 36.324400; elevation 52m

Patron: Unknown

Date: Probably Hellenistic

Finds: None

Inscription: None

Description: Approximately 3 kilometers west of the modern city center of Samsun are perched two Hellenistic tumuli, overlooking the southern shore of the Black Sea from atop Amisos Hill near the ruins of the ancient city of Amisos. Both tumuli were looted in the 1900s, but rescue excavations in 2004 and 2005 were able to record the architectural layout and measurements of each tomb. The presence of 3rd-2nd c BCE pottery in the southern tumulus provides a probable date range for the southern tumulus and perhaps a possible date range for the northern one as well.

The north tumulus is the smaller of the two, measuring approximately 8m high and about 30m in diameter, and was filled with layers of stones of various sizes. A 1.30-meter-high and 21.70-meter-long stone wall extending in the east-west direction divided the two hills, both of which contained chamber tombs dug into the conglomerate.

The tomb beneath the north tumulus has a total of three chambers, and is entered through a door 1.40m x 1.00m x 1.90m in size leading to a vaulted vestibule 5.50m x 3.15m x 2.55m in size. No decorative elements were discovered in this front chamber. A 0.25-meter-high step in the floor gives access to the central chamber, which is reached through an internal door 1.50m x

1.00 meter x 1.90m in size. The central chamber is also vaulted and slightly larger than the vestibule, measuring 6.00m x 4.60m x 2.80m. In the north and south walls of this room are four symmetrically placed pseudo-columns, each measuring 0.30m wide and 2.00m high. A second internal door, 1.10m x 1.00m x 1.60m in size, gives access to the final chamber. Like the other two rooms, the rear chamber, measuring 5.50m x 5.60m x 2.50m, has a vaulted ceiling and remnants of 10 pseudo-columns visible in the north, south, and east walls (four each in the north and south walls, two in the east). The pseudo-columns are identical in size to their counterparts in the central chamber. A large niche was opened in the west wall, measuring 2.50m x 3.10m x 2.50m. The excavators report that nothing was found in this tomb, thus making an analysis of the date or typology impossible.[1033] Given its physical proximity to the southern tumulus, however, it may date to approximately the same period, although this is far from certain.

In later times, the Baruthane tumuli were dedicated to the Saints Cosmas and Damian, which Cumont and Cumont believed reflected their original dedication to Castor and Pollux. The mounds, therefore, function not only as tumuli, but also as important landmarks along the coastline visible to sailors coming into the harbor.[1034]

Bibliography:

Atasoy, Endoğru, and Dönmez, "Samsun-Baruthane Tümülüsleri Kurtarma Kazısı," 153-65.

Cumont, and Cumont, *Studia Pontica II*, 121-22.

Johnson, "Landscapes of Achaemenid Paphlagonia," 400 and 402, n. 1093.

von der Osten, *Explorations in Central Anatolia Season of 1926*, 29-30, 34, fig. 49.

[1033] Atasoy, Endoğru, and Dönmez, "Samsun-Baruthane Tümülüsleri Kurtarma Kazısı," 156.

[1034] Johnson, "Landscapes of Achaemenid Paphlagonia," 400 n. 1093.

III.18 AMISOS - BARUTHANE TUMULUS SOUTH

Text: pp. 278-79

Location: Samsun (ancient Amisos), Samsun Province

GPS Coordinates: N 41.318617, E 36.324017; elevation 66m

Patron: Unknown

Date: Hellenistic, probably 3rd-2nd c BCE

Finds: Broken pieces of a 3rd-2nd c BCE amphora from Chios, an unguentarium of the 3rd c BCE, 3 bronze nails, bones, and a disc were found in the front chamber.

Inscription: None

Description: Approximately 3 kilometers west of the modern city center of Samsun are perched two Hellenistic tumuli, overlooking the southern shore of the Black Sea from atop Amisos Hill near the ruins of the ancient city of Amisos. Both tumuli were looted in the 1900s, but rescue excavations in 2004 and 2005 were able to record the architectural layout and measurements of each tomb. The presence of 3rd-2nd c BCE pottery in the southern tumulus provides a probable date range for the southern tumulus and perhaps a possible date range for the northern one as well.

The south tumulus is the larger of the two, measuring approximately 15m high and about 40m in diameter. A 1.30-meter-high and 21.70-meter-long stone wall extending in the east-west direction divided the two hills, both of which contained chamber tombs dug into the conglomerate. At the foot of this tumulus was a perimeter wall with a thickness of 2.00m.

The tomb consists of two chambers, and is entered through a door opening 1.13m high and 0.64m wide. The door was closed with a sandstone block reinforced with iron clamps, with large stones stacked in front of the ensemble to prevent entry. The front room measures 3.16m x

2.45m x 2.38m, and remnants of plaster 3 centimeters thick showed traces of white with red horizontal lines covering the surface of the walls. The design gives the appearance of a stone wall, with seven parallel, red-painted horizontal rows of stones separated by dark blue lines. In this front chamber were found the broken pieces of an amphora from Chios[1035] of the 3rd-2nd c BCE, and unguentarium[1036] from the second half of the 3rd c BCE, three bronze nails, bones, and a disc.

The second chamber is accessed through an internal door 0.95m high and 0.67m wide. Two yellow-painted niches were found on the inner face of the door, and black-painted signatures were found in the upper part of the northern niche, which the excavators believe are the signatures of the robbers who destroyed the tombs in the twentieth century.[1037] The second chamber measures 2.40m x 2.35m x 2.46m and has a vaulted ceiling. Two pieces of cedar were found in front of the north and south walls, but any further evidence for wooden construction was destroyed by the robbers. The chamber contains a kline. Cream-colored plaster covers the ceiling, walls, and floor of the room. On the east side of the kline there are traces of paint beneath the stone, and above the stone is an ovolo design executed in black paint, which the excavators note is similar in decoration to the Hellenistic wall paintings at Knidos.[1038] A red band can be seen above the ovolo design, and another red band encircles the space of the floor. The pottery sherds found in the front chamber likely date this tomb to the 3rd-2nd c BCE.

In later times, the Baruthane tumuli were dedicated to the Saints Cosmas and Damian, which Cumont and Cumont believed reflected their original dedication to Castor and Pollux. The

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[1035] Joncheray, *Nouvell classification des amphores*, 23, no. 53.

[1036] Tuluk, "Die unguentarien im Museum von İzmir," 21, fig. 2c.

[1037] Atasoy, Endoğru, and Dönmez, "Samsun-Baruthane Tümülüsleri Kurtarma Kazısı," 154-56.

[1038] Ibid., 155; Bingöl, *Malerei und Mosaik der Antike in der Turkei*, 92, pl. 17-21.

mounds, therefore, function not only as tumuli, but also as important landmarks along the coastline visible to sailors coming into the harbor.[1039]

Bibliography:

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Johnson, "Landscapes of Achaemenid Paphlagonia," 400-2 n. 1093.

von der Osten, *Explorations in Central Anatolia Season of 1926*, 29-30, 34, fig. 49.

Tuluk, "Die unguentarien im Museum von İzmir," 127-66.

III.19 AMISOS - CHAMBER TOMB

Text: p. 279-80

Location: Samsun (ancient Amisos), Samsun Province

GPS Coordinates: Unrecorded

Patron: Unknown

Date: 3rd or 2nd c BCE

Finds: Grave one: an alabastron, a terracotta double-handled goblet, and a broken terracotta plaque; grave two: skeletal remains, wooden pieces and nails, corroded bronze strings, small beads of gilded terracotta, a thin gold sheet covering the corpse, a golden wreath, and three alabastra; grave three: skeletal remains, wooden pieces and nails, six alabastra, a glass bowl, a gold hair attachment, a pair of gold earrings featuring Eros, gold and carnelian beads, 11 garment attachments, a glass phiale, a bracelet, and a cylindrical metal box; grave four: a skeleton, pieces

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[1039] Johnson, *Landscapes of Achaemenid Paphlagonia*, 400 n. 1093.

of wood and nails, two alabastra, a terracotta unguentarium, a pair of gold earrings featuring

Nike, ten gold appliques with Thetis riding a hippocamp, various pieces of gold, a pair of snake

bracelets, bracelets with lion-head terminals, 20 small gold plaques with rosettes, a gold ring,

two gold buttons with inlaid enamel floral decoration, and a terracotta double-handled flask;

additionally a terracotta oil lamp, two terracotta incense burners, three unguentaria, and two

amphoriskoi were also discovered in the tomb.

Inscription: None

Description: A 1995 construction project in the İlkadım municipality of Samsun revealed the

existence of an underground tomb, which was subject to a rescue excavation by the Samsun

Museum immediately after its discovery. The tomb was cut entirely the limestone bedrock and

was set approximately two meters below the level of the modern road. At the modern road level,

a stone wall ran along the eastern side and, underground, incorporated the door of the chamber,

which was protected by three large limestone blocks. I was unable to see this tomb on my visit to

Samsun in 2014, and my description here is taken largely from the detailed analysis provided by

Erciyas.[1040]

The door opened in the east of the chamber tomb, which consisted of a single square

burial chamber measuring 5m x 5m. The northeastern and southeastern corners extended slightly

beyond the width of the chamber, and contained a filling of earth whose purpose is unclear. Also

on the east side was a 1.80-m wall flanked by two square areas with round corners whose

purposes are similarly unclear. A 0.15m-high and 0.20m-wide step up from the ground provided

access to five rectangular graves cut out of the bedrock and dispersed along the north (2 graves),

west (1 grave), and south (2 graves) walls of the tomb. Another stone level was constructed

around each of the graves and served to separate between the burials. The graves themselves are

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[1040] Erciyas, *Wealth, Aristocracy, and Royal Propaganda*, 67-115.

sunk 0.30m below the chamber floor. The ceiling, all of the walls, and interior surfaces were plastered with mud.

Beginning from the northeast corner and continuing westward, the first grave was 1.10m x 1.92m, 0.85m deep, and contained an alabastron, a terracotta double-handled goblet, and a broken terracotta plaque. Grave two was 1.22m x 2.50m, 0.92m deep, and contained some skeletal remains, wooden pieces and nails, corroded bronze strings, small beads of gilded terracotta, a thin gold sheet covering the corpse, a golden wreath, and three alabastra. Grave three was 0.95m x 2.77m, 0.95m deep, and contained skeletal remains, wooden pieces and nails, six alabastra, a glass bowl, a gold hair attachment, a pair of gold earrings featuring Eros, gold and carnelian beads, 11 garment attachments, a glass phiale, a bracelet, and a cylindrical metal box. Grave four was 1.09m x 2.52m, 0.95m deep, and contained a skeleton, pieces of wood and nails, two alabastra, a terracotta unguentarium, a pair of gold earrings featuring Nike, ten gold appliques with Thetis riding a hippocamp, various pieces of gold, a pair of snake bracelets, bracelets with lion-head terminals, 20 small gold plaques with rosettes, a gold ring, two gold buttons with inlaid enamel floral decoration, and a terracotta double-handled flask. Grave five, in the southeast corner and measuring 1.89m x 1.18, and 0.93m deep, seems never to have been used as it contained no grave goods. Additionally, a terracotta oil lamp, two terracotta incense burners, three unguentaria, and two amphoriskoi were also discovered in the tomb.

Erciyas provides a detailed discussion of each piece of gold jewelry obtained from the tomb, and dates the production of the jewelry to the last third of the fourth century BCE and the first half of the third century BCE. Erciyas suggests, however, that the tomb was probably constructed somewhat later, as the date refers solely to the time of manufacture of the jewelry and these were likely family hierlooms that had been in use for some time before being buried

with the deceased. Jackson, however, argues for downdating the tomb on the basis of the technique used in the Eros earrings, which involved welding the figure directly onto a simple hook, a technique that appears in the known archaeological record only in the late third or early second century BCE.[1041] Jackson compares the Eros earrings to similar finds from Patras in the Peloponnese (dated 150-125 BCE), Tomb 2 in the necropolis of Taranto (175-100 BCE), and the necropolis of Phanagoria on the Taman peninsula. Jackson thus favors a date in the later Hellenistic period, which accords well with our knowledge of the transfer of the Mithridatid capital to Amisos in the early second century BCE. The tomb is clearly that of an aristocratic family, i.e., the kinds of residents who would have occupied the city during its time as the capital of the Pontic kingdom.

Bibliography:

Erciyas, *Wealth, Aristocracy, and Royal Propaganda*, 67-115.

Jackson, "The Amisos Treasure: A Hellenistic Tomb from the Age of Mithradates Eupator," 109-16.

III.20 İKİZTEPE - TUMULUS

Text: p. 281

Location: İkiztepe village near Bafra, Samsun Province

GPS Coordinates: N 41.614012, E 35.870111 (approximate, location of İkiztepe village)

Patron: Unknown

Date: First half of the 3rd c BCE

Finds: Gold coin of Lysimachos minted between 281-250 BCE, Hellenistic pottery, and a lead weight

Inscription: None

[1041] Jackson, "The Amisos Treasure: A Hellenistic Tomb from the Age of Mithradates Eupator," 109-16.

Description: In western Pontos, near the border with Paphlagonia, a chamber tomb from the Hellenistic period was discovered during the excavations at İkiztepe, near the modern-day town of Bafra. It is situated on the eastern slope of İkiztepe I, and was constructed by cutting a trench on an east-west axis through earlier habitations.

Two large, flat stones closed off the entrance to the tomb through the dromos, which was made of limestone blocks held together by lead clamps. Two steps led down into the dromos, which continued westward for 6.15m. At the west end of the dromos, two niches in the north and south walls (each 0.25m wide) form a rectangular space, and a door 0.94m high and 0.75m wide appears in the west wall. Although the roof is badly damaged, the top row of stones at the entrance curve upward, indicating that a barrel vault most likely covered this area, which is corroborated by two sets of preserved springer stones in the north and south.

The burial chamber itself is 2.38m x 3.40m, and is made of cut limestone held together by lead clamps. The total height of the walls is unknown, but the south wall is preserved to a height of 2.24m. Limestone blocks paved the floor of this room, and an additional door in the west wall indicates the probability that a second chamber existed beyond this one. Unfortunately, very little else is known about the architectural arrangement of the tomb (it was also found robbed and badly damaged), but it is included in the list of Hellenistic chamber tombs constructed beneath tumuli that contain barrel vaults. A gold coin minted after the death of Lysimachos in 281 BCE and after the alliance of the cities of Byzantion and Anchiale was found in the tomb, corroborating the Hellenistic date of much of the pottery, and indicating that the tomb was probably constructed between the years 281-250 BCE.

Bibliography:

Alkım, Alkım, and Bilgi, *İkiztepe*, 204-6.

Bilgi, "İkiztepe in the Late Iron Age," 27, 31, 37, figs. 1, 14-19.

III.21 LERDÜRGE TUMULUS 4

Text: p. 184

Location: near Lerdüge (Camyatağı) village, Samsun Province

GPS Coordinates: Unrecorded

Patron: Unknown

Date: 1st c BCE - 2nd c CE

Finds: Two gold rings, pieces of gold ornamentation of unclear nature, bronze vase containing human bones and ashes, a bronze candelabra, red terracotta pottery with polished slip.

Inscription: None

Description: Five tumuli near the village of Lerdüge were investigated in 1946 after reports of illegal plundering surfaced to authorities. The excavations focused on Tumulus 4, a mound approximately 16m in height and 35m in diameter. The burial chamber was situated exactly in the center of the tumulus mound, and was preceded by a dromos 4.15m long. A door of cut stone gave access to the burial chamber, which was roofed by a barrel vault. The interior walls of the chamber as well as the exterior surface of the wall facing the dromos were covered with drawings of men, animals, plants, and geometric designs. Finds from the chamber included two gold rings and several other pieces of gold ornamentation, a bronze vase containing human bones and ashes, a bronze candelabra, and pieces of red terracotta pottery with polished slip. The evidence, albeit scanty, indicated to the excavators that the tomb was likely constructed in the first century BCE and remained in use until the second century CE.

Bibliography:

Akok, "Samsun İli Havza İlcesi Lerdüge Köyünde Bulunan Tümülüsler," 835-54.

IV. Monumental Tombs in Thrace

IV.1 KIRKLARELİ - TUMULUS A

Text: p. 177

Location: Kırklareli, Thrace

GPS Coordinates: Unrecorded

Patron: Unknown

Date: 4th-3rd c BCE

Finds: None

Inscription: None

Description: The burial chamber beneath Tumulus A was discovered and excavated in 1874, one of several chamber tombs beneath tumuli located at Kırklareli in Thrace. An antechamber, measuring 1.80m in length, 1.13m in width, and 2.20m at its greatest height, was roofed by a barrel vault and preceded the actual grave chamber. The grave chamber, also roofed by a barrel vault, had a square plan (3.0 x 3.0m) and measured 2.66m at its greatest height. The two rooms were separated by a door with pillars. Three steps were discovered in the burial chamber to the left of the entrance. Mansel suggests that the floor plan of this tomb (along with that of Tumulus C) might be related to the so-called "dolmen" tombs that were constructed during the 8th-6th centuries in Thrace.[1042]

Bibliography:

Alkım, Alkım, and, Bilgi, *İkiztepe*, 205-6, n. 16.

Mansel, *Trakya Kubbeli Mezarları ve Sahte Kubbe ve Kemer Problemi*, 31, 52, pl. 14, fig. 32.

[1042] Mansel, *Trakya Kubbeli Mezarları ve Sahte Kubbe ve Kemer Problemi*, 52.

IV.2 "SHEINOVETS" (KURTKALE) TUMULUS

Text: p. 218

Location: Kurtkale (modern Valčepol), southwest of Mezek, Thrace

GPS Coordinates: Unrecorded

Patron: Unknown

Date: late 4th-early 3rd c BCE

Finds: None

Inscription: None

Description: The chamber tomb discovered in this tumulus in 1931 offers parallels to other examples of lantern roofing in Thrace and Bithynia. The tomb is fronted by a facade, and consists of a square plan antechamber (1.74m) and a circular plan burial chamber (diameter of 3.57m). The lantern roof occurs only in the antechamber, consisting of an irregular hexagonal frame and three irregular octagonal frames superimposed on one another. The burial chamber takes the form of the beehive tholos tomb common in Thrace in the late fourth century BCE. Archibald, furthermore, notes that some specifics of the construction (for example, the pointing of ashlars with drafted margins) are similar to construction techniques used at Mal Tepe and Zhaba Mogila, as well as paralleling examples in western Anatolia and the Greek mainland.

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Fedak, *Monumental Tombs of the Hellenistic Age*, 171.

Filov, "Kupolnite grobnitsi pri Mezek," 5-9, 79-83, 91.

___, "The Bee-hive Tombs of Mezek," 300-4.

Ginouvès and Guimier-Sorbets, "Voûte 'galate' et charpente macédonienne," 316.

Iliev, "The Monumental Tombs in Rhodope Mountains," 82-97.

Mansel, *Die Kuppelgraeber von Kirklareli in Thrakien*, 39-41.

___, "Gemlik Tümülüs Mezarı," 188.

Orlandos, *Les matériaux de construction et la technique architecturale des anciens Grecs*, 190, 210.

Rousseva, *Trakiiska grobnichna arhitektura v bulgarskite zemi prez V-III v.pr.n.e.,* 149-50, no. 47.

Theodossiev, "The Lantern-Roofed Tombs in Thrace and Anatolia," 603.

IV.3 ZHABA MOGILA TUMULUS

Text: pp. 218-19

Location: Zhaba Mogila near Strelcha, Thrace

GPS Coordinates: Unrecorded

Patron: Unknown

Date: late 4th c BCE

Finds: Wagon with two horses placed in front of the tomb; animal terracotta figurines found in ritual pits near the surface of the tumulus.

Inscription: None

Description: The Zhaba Mogila tumulus was excavated in 1976, and is one of the largest tumulus mounds known in Thrace, measuring approximately 20m high and 80-90m in diameter. Two chamber tombs were discovered in the northwestern and southeastern quadrants of the mound; unfortunately, however, the chamber tomb in the northwestern section is so badly damaged that very few observations can be made about it.

The southeastern tomb is much better preserved, and is similar to the Kurtkale tumulus in that it is entered through a facade that leads to a rectangular, lantern-roofed antechamber, and

finally to a beehive tholos burial chamber. Theodossiev notes that the excessively worn and rubbed out thresholds of each chamber along with evidence for numerous openings and closings of the doors indicate that the chambers remained open for many years following the construction of the tomb.[1043] Different rituals were likely performed here, although, according to Theodossiev, it is unclear whether or not the deceased was placed in the tomb before or after the rituals were being performed.

When the tomb was finally closed, a wagon with two sacrificial horses was placed in front of the entrance (possibly used for the *ekphora*), the doors were shut, and the entire construction was covered by the tumulus mound. Theodossiev notes the existence of numerous additional ritual pits (*bothroi*) containing animal terracotta figurines in the surface of the tumulus, probably dug shortly after the mound was completed. Additionally, some remains of a building on top of the tumulus have been unearthed, although its purpose is uncertain.

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Archibald, *The Odrysian Kingdom of Thrace*, 288-89, 343.

Kitov, "A Newly Found Thracian Tomb," 85-93.

___, "Strelchaniskite grobnitsi," 3-4, 69-70.

___, "Trakiiska grobnitsa-mavzolei krai grad Strelcha," 12-21.

___, *Trakiiskite mogili krai Strelcha*, 2-7.

Rousseva, *Trakiiska grobnichna arhitektura v bulgarskite zemi prez V-III v.pr.n.e.*,147-48, no. 46.

Theodossiev, "The Lantern-Roofed Tombs in Thrace and Anatolia," 603.

___, "Monumental Tombs and Hero Cults in Thrace during the 5th-3rd Centuries B.C.," 435-47.

[1043] Theodossiev, "Monumental Tombs and Hero Cults in Thrace during the 5th-3rd Centuries B.C.," 435-47.

IV.4 GOLEMIYA AIGAR TUMULUS

Text: p. 219

Location: Golemiya Aigar near Plovdiv (ancient Philippopolis), Thrace

GPS Coordinates: Unrecorded

Patron: Unknown

Date: late 4th or early 3rd c BCE

Finds: Silver coin of Philip Arrhidaios.

Inscription: None

Description: Excavated in 1952, the tumulus at Golemiya Aigar near Plovdiv (ancient Philippopolis) yielded a chamber tomb in the center of the mound that also contained a lantern roof, yet the plan was organized differently than the tombs at Kurt Kale and Zhaba Mogila. This chamber tomb retained the structural components of a facade, antechamber, and burial chamber, but in this case both the antechamber and the burial chamber were rectangular (instead of the burial chamber being circular), and the burial chamber itself was surmounted by the lantern roof (instead of the antechamber).

The lantern roof was composed of four rhomboi, an arrangement that finds its closest parallel in northwestern Turkey, at Mudanya in Bithynia, where the lantern vault took the form of an irregular octagon and four square frames superimposed on top of one another.[1044] Archibald also notes that the regular, pseudo-isodomic masonry courses would have situated the entire structure more firmly into the surrounding terrain. The tomb was found robbed, containing only a single, silver coin of Philip Arrhidaios.

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[1044] Archibald, *The Odrysian Kingdom of Thrace*, 283.

Botousharova and Kolarova, "Kupolna grobnitsa pri Plovdiv," 279-97.

Fedak, *Monumental Tombs of the Hellenistic Age*, 171.

Ginouvès and Guimier-Sorbets, "Voûte 'galate' et charpente macédonienne," 316.

Mansel, "Gemlik Tümülüs Mezarı," 188-89.

Rousseva, *Trakiiska grobnichna arhitektura v bulgarskite zemi prez V-III v.pr.n.e.,* 113-16, no. 25.

Theodossiev, "The Lantern-Roofed Tombs in Thrace and Anatolia," 603.

IV.5 OSTRUSHA TUMULUS

Text: pp. 219-20

Location: Ostrusha, near Shipka, Thrace

GPS Coordinates: Unrecorded

Patron: Unknown

Date: Ca. 330-320 BCE

Finds: Sacrificed horse with a few precious objects found in one of the rectangular chambers.

Inscription: None

Description: The Ostrousha tumulus near Shipka is one of the largest known from Thracian territory, measuring approximately 20m in height and 70m in diameter. The entire tumulus has not been excavated, but at least one complex chamber tomb system is known from the southern edge of the mound. The complex arrangement includes an antechamber, three rectangular chambers and a tholos chamber symmetrically arranged around a main sarcophagus-like burial chamber. Theodossiev notes that two stages of construction are clearly distinguishable: first, the monolithic sarcophagus-like burial chamber was positioned on the stylobate; second, the other

rooms were constructed around the main chamber. The degree of chronological lapse between the two phases is unclear.

The ceiling of the main burial chamber is of greatest interest here. Much of it consists of painted coffers, but the central part imitates a lantern roof, a decorative element that Theodossiev relates to the Ipogeo dei Volumni in Perugia, dated to the end of the third century BCE. The chamber tomb, like the tomb beneath the Zhaba Mogila tumulus, seems to have been used for ritual activity for an extended period of time, although once again the chronological range of this activity in relation to the interment of the deceased is unclear. Theodossiev interprets the tomb as a heroon, recalling its complicated design and the sacrificial horse remains that were found in one of the rectangular chambers, and suggests that the design can be compared to the so-called heroon discovered in the Great Tumulus at Vergina, where a monumental cist and three barrel-vaulted tombs indicate potential burial sites of the royal Macedonian family.

Bibliography:

Barbet, Kitov, and Valeva, "Tombeau-mausolée d'Ostroucha," 62-66.

Kitov, "Trakiiski grobnichno-kultov kompleks v mogilata Ostrusha krai Shipka," 13-20.

Kitov, Barbet, and Valeva, "Plafond peint du tombeau de Chipka dans le tumulus Ostrucha," 221-24.

Theodossiev, "The Lantern-Roofed Tombs in Thrace and Anatolia," 606.

Theodossiev, "Monumental Tombs and Hero Cults in Thrace during the 5th-3rd Centuries B.C.," 435-47.

Valeva, "Tombeau mausolée du Tumulus Ostroucha près de Chipka (Bulgarie)," 53-56.

IV.6 NAİP TUMULUS

Text: pp. 131-32

Location: northeastern slopes of Işıklar (Ganos) Mountain, 15 km south of Tekirdağ, Thrace

GPS Coordinates: Unrecorded

Patron: Possibly Teres, son of Kersebleptes

Date: ca. 320-300 BCE

Finds: Furniture: a kline, table with plates and bowls carved in relief, footstool, and two *diphroi* in the N and S corners, all carved from Proconnesian marble; Grave goods: five silver phialae, a small silver jug, a ladle and strainer, a Thasian wine amphora, three bronze vessels (a lekane, a patera, and fragments of a pitcher), two alabastra of coarse pottery, parts of an iron strigil, a gold laurel wreath, bronze and iron military gear (a shield, a helmet, a corslet, and a pair of spears), a bronze-cast lamp, a bronze torch and stand, a bronze chain on a hook, and bronze nails.

Inscription: Graffito of the word ΚΑΘΑΘΑ incised on the NE wall flanking the steps; a theta and epsilon inscribed on all five of the *phialae*; stippled inscription ΤΕΡΡΕΩ inside the rim of the silver jug; the inscription "Polyneikes Thasion" around the device of an alpha on the stamp on one handle of the Thasian amphora.

Description: The Naip tumulus, which is one of three tumuli known from the area around Tekirdağ, is located approximately 15 km south of the city and was excavated in 1984-1985. The tumulus is located near the northern shore of the Propontis (modern Sea of Marmara) in southeastern Thracian territory, and commands a wide vista of the shore from its situation on the slopes of Işıklar (Ganos) Mountain. In antiquity, the area was settled by Thracian tribes as well as Greek and Samian colonists, eventually coming under the sway if the Odrysian kingdom during the fifth century BCE. The region was politically and religiously significant to the Odrysians, who maintained headquarters atop Hieron Oros, the summit of Ganos. The location of a tumulus here suggests elite, or even royal, status of the occupant.

Because of early, unofficial activity at the site of the tumulus, records of its height range from 18-21m, and it had a diameter of 84m at the time of excavation. Information about the mound's stratigraphy is also incomplete, but the excavator (Delemen) has closely dated the chamber tomb to ca. 320-300 BCE based on analysis of three vessels found near the entrance of the dromos that appear to be associated with the original burial.

The chamber is constructed completely of local limestone blocks, and consists of a long dromos in the southeast quadrant of the mount that measures 6.10m long and approximately 1.00 meter wide. A diagonally sloped corbel vault covers the dromos, which terminates at a marble doorframe fitted with a marble door ornamented in imitation of double-leaved wooden doors. A series of steps lead downward for 2.90m (sinking 1.85m in depth) from the dromos to the burial chamber, which is entered through a corbelled arch. The chamber is roughly square, measuring 3.06m on the northeastern side, and 3.10m on all other sides. A corbelled vault covers this area, prompting Delemen's analysis of the tomb as part of a series of "hybrid" funerary structures that showcase both Thracian and Macedonian elements. The square chamber is considered to be a Macedonian feature, while the long dromos and corbel technology is typically Thracian.[1045] The semicircular shape of the corbel over the burial chamber is unusual, however, and Delemen suggests that it alludes to Macedonian burial vaults, which became popular during the late fourth century BCE.

The chamber tomb held a single burial, which was richly outfitted with marble furniture, metal, ceramic, and bronze serving utensils suggesting a lavish banquet, as well as fragments of bronze and iron weaponry. Delemen constructs a profile of the occupant as a man of high military office, possibly serving in Alexander's army at Egypt, and a king or prince of the Odrysian dynasty. Because the silver jug is inscribed with the name Teres, Delemen suggests

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[1045] For further discussion and examples, see Delemen, "An Unplundered Chamber Tomb," 253-55.

that the occupant may have been Teres, son of Kersebleptes, an Odrysian prince of the younger generation.

Bibliography:

Delemen, *Tekirdağ Naip Tümülüsü*, 1-120.

Delemen, "An Unplundered Chamber Tomb," 251-73.

V. Monumental Tombs in Various Regions of Anatolia

V.1 KOCAKIZLAR TUMULUS

Text: p. 182-84

Location: 3km to the northwest of Alpu near Eskişehir, region of Phrygia Epictetus

GPS Coordinates: N 39.786988, E 30.932520 (approximate, based on published description)

Patron: Unknown

Date: Construction in the first century BCE, reused until the first century CE

Finds: Two marble osteothekai, two marble sarcophagi, coins, numerous pieces of gold jewelry, amber, crystal, ivory, wood, bronze, alabaster, terracotta, glass, and bone objects.

Inscription: None

Description: The Kocakızlar tumulus is located approximately three kilometers to the northwest of Alpu, in the ancient province of Phrygia Epictetus. In antiquity, the site lay near the major Roman roads passing eastward through this region to Ancyra (modern Ankara) and Pessinus (modern Ballıhisar). Numerous other tumuli exist in the region, including the Küçükkızlar tumulus just to the southeast, but unfortunately these have not yet been subjected to thorough examination.

The entrance to the tomb is in the west, and the tomb is uniquely elaborate in that it contains two dromoi and three vaulted chambers oriented along the east-west axis. The front dromos is closed from the outside by a slab of blue marble and several other large stones placed before it. The dromos is 7.56m long, 1.20m wide, and 1.85m high, and is accessed by a single step leading 0.45m down to the pebble-paved floor. The walls are made of smooth, dressed andesite blocks and are covered by ten flat, marble slabs approximately 0.45m thick. Two small recesses are embedded in the north and south walls, although the purpose of these is uncertain.

A second dromos is entered through a doorway 1.52m high x 1.20m wide. The doorway is flanked by jambs on either side and rests on a stone threshold. The walls are 1.50m high, and the entire space is roofed by a barrel vault constructed of brick. Both the walls and the barrel vault were covered with a thin layer of beige plaster, but this is partially damaged. The floor is also made of pebbles. This second dromos is slightly shorter than the first, 5.69m long, 1.20m wide, and 1.85m high. A flat panel on the south wall was perhaps prepared for an inscription, but the few letters do not provide any legible clues as to what it might have said.

A doorway leads from the second dromos to the front burial chamber, which is 3.65m long, 2.25m wide, and 2.80m high. The rubble and mortar walls reach a height of 1.65m, and the remaining height was achieved by a brick barrel vault. This room also contains traces of beige plaster as well as a wine-colored zig-zag pattern on the vault, and also contains a pebble floor. A marble osteotheke was found in the northeast corner of this chamber, measuring 0.55m x 0.52m x 0.33m; it shows evidence of having been repurposed from its original design. A slightly smaller chamber opens to the south of the front chamber, measuring 2.95m x 2.25m x 1.95m. The walls reach a height of 1.20m, and pieces of fallen fresco indicate that this room, too, contained frescoes in the vault. It has a pebble floor, on which three burials were found.

A doorway in the east wall of the front room leads to the final (rear) chamber of the tomb. This chamber is the largest, measuring 4.53m x 3.65m x 2.80m. Like the other two chambers, the walls are built of rubble and covered with fresco, reaching a height of 1.65m. More elaborate decoration is discernible here, as the traces of fresco contain wine-colored rectangular panels, bordered by stylized flowers beneath them. A zig-zag design similar to that in the front room is also visible here. The floor in this chamber, however, is different than the other two chambers: here, a smoothed surface was achieved by pouring mortar over the pebble layer. Two small niches are embedded in the west wall of the chamber, which Atasoy suggests might have held lamps. This chamber also contained the most significant remnants of burial, including a second marble osteotheke and two marble sarcophagi, and evidence for both cremation and inhumation are present.

Atasoy suggests a date in the Late Hellenistic - Early Roman period, based on the workmanship of the walls, frescoes, offerings, lamps, and three coins that were discovered. The tomb seems to have had an initial construction date in the first century BCE, and was reused for several generations, perhaps until the first century CE.

Bibliography:

Atasoy, "The Kocakızlar Tumulus in Eskişehir, Turkey," 255-63.

V.2 KÜLCÜLER TUMULUS

Text: p. 178

Location: Near Sarıkaya village near Bafra, Samsun Province

GPS Coordinates: N 41.602700, E 35.948000

Patron: Unknown

Date: Hellenistic

Finds: None

Inscription: None

Description: The Külcüler tumulus is across from İkiztepe on the eastern side of the Kızılırmak river, near Sarıkaya village near Bafra. The tumulus mound rises approximately 12m high and with a large diameter of 80m. It is roughly comparable in size to other tumuli ne, the Baruthane and Dervent tumuli, suggesting that it, too, functioned as a kind of landmark to sailors.[1046] Unfortunately, it seems to have been the subject of many illegal excavations, and specific information about its contents is quite limited.

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Johnson, "Landscapes of Achaemenid Paphlagonia," 402.

Kızıltan, "Samsun bölgesi yüzey araştırmaları 1971-1977," 220.

V.3 YANARTEPE (YUMRATEPE) - TUMULUS A

Text: p. 184

Location: Yanartepe (Yumratepe), near Aphrodisias, Aydın Province

GPS Coordinates: Unrecorded

Patron: Unknown

Date: 1st c BCE - 1st c CE

Finds: Pottery lamps and other ceramic remains.

[1046] Johnson, "Landscapes of Achaemenid Paphlagonia," 402.

Inscription: None

Description: Located approximately 6 kilometers northwest of ancient Aphrodisias, the tumulus of Yanartepe (Yumratepe) is unusual in its presentation of two dromoi leading to a burial chamber with five klinai. Both dromoi and the burial chamber are hewn out of the native limestone, and the upper dromos leads to a flight of steps (also hewn out of the rock) that provide access to the lower dromos. The dromoi are separated by a door that is covered with a limestone slab. The lower dromos is covered by a roof constructed of angular-shaped rocks cut from the limestone.

The burial chamber is accessed through a doorway from the lower dromos, which was similarly closed by a large slab. Five burial klinai, cut from the limestone, are situated on the east, west, and north sides of the room. The tomb is dated to the first century BCE - first century CE on the basis of pottery lamps and other ceramic finds.

Bibliography:

Alkım, Alkım, and Bilgi, *İkiztepe*, 205-206, n. 13.

Atasoy, "Aphrodisias yöresindeki tümülüsler," 352-358.

V.4 ÇAMLIBEL TUMULUS

Location: Çamlıbel, near Aphrodisias, Aydın Province

GPS Coordinates: Unrecorded

Patron: Unknown

Date: Late Hellenistic - Early Roman

Finds: Pottery lamps, a small pitcher, and a phallus found on top of the chamber.

Inscription: None

Description: This relatively small tumulus is a 5-meter high mound located near Çamlıbel, between Yenice and Karacasu. The dromos and two chambers, an antechamber and a burial chamber, are all hewn from the local limestone. The antechamber is square in plan, measuring 1.20 x 1.20m and is simply roofed with two large, stone slabs. The dromos terminates in a pile of roughly hewn stones secured with clamps that close off a door in the southeastern side of the antechamber.

Another door, at the northeastern end of the antechamber, provides access from the antechamber to the burial chamber, which is 2.60m long, 1.86m wide, and 2.14m high, and contains two burial klinai. Limestone slabs cover the floor and constitute a flat roof. The interior surfaces of the walls are constructed of clamped stones that were worked on their inner faces. The excavators date this tomb to the Late Hellenistic or Early Roman period, based on the "architectural characteristics" and finds of the tomb, which included ceramic lamps, a small pitcher, and a phallus found on the top of the chamber.

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Alkım, Alkım, and Bilgi, *İkiztepe*, 205-6, n. 14.

Atasoy, "Aphrodisias Yöresindeki Tümülüsler," 354-59.

V.5 BELEVI TUMULUS

Text: pp. 213-17

Location: Belevi, approximately 12 km northeast of Ephesos, İzmir Province

GPS Coordinates: N 38.014231, E 27.467495

Patron: Unknown

Date: 6th c BCE, continued use into the Hellenistic period

Finds: Fragments of a marble kline, animal bones, ceramic finds

Inscription: Two late antique inscriptions

Description: The Belevi tumulus stands at the top of a hill on the northern slope of the mountains, commanding a wide view of the valley below. The tumulus blends in well enough with the surrounding landscape, but the stone krepis surrounding its base and the manufactured shape of its peak alert passersby to the existence of a constructed monument above the road. Finds from the tomb suggest that it was in continued use from the Archaic period (sixth century BCE) to at least the beginning of the Hellenistic period, and its visual prominence in the topography would probably have been accentuated by a continuous series of offerings, dedications, and visitations garnering attention from travelers to and from Ephesos. The location was so significant, in fact, that the patron of the Belevi Mausoleion constructed an enormous stone-built tomb in its shadow on a smaller hill to the east.[1047] On the other side of the valley lie the quarries of the Archaic temple of Artemis and it has been suggested in Sándor Kasper's excavation report (as well as in the tourist literature at Ephesos) that the tomb functioned as a heroon to the legendary local shepherd, Pixodaros, who discovered the quarries for the Artemision.[1048]

The tumulus is surrounded by a circular krepis 65.4m in diameter with a radius of 32.7m. These measurements indicate the likelihood that the krepis was constructed according to a foot unit of 32.7cm, producing a radius of exactly 100 feet. Because the tumulus mound is situated on a mountain ridge, it has a roughly elliptical shape and is reinforced with five additional layers of stone on the north (descending) side, which were added in the Late Classical or Hellenistic period.

[1047] Praschnicker and Theuer, *Das Mausoleum von Belevi*, 170-72.

[1048] Kasper, "Der Tumulus von Belevi," 398.

From the south side of the hill, a dromos cut from the bedrock leads north towards the main burial chamber, where a system of clay pipes indicated a ritual of libation pouring. The dromos was closed with a single block, and the burial chamber was divided into two rooms. The front room was larger, approximately square in shape, and was used for ceremonial or symbolic purposes. The second room, which was rectangular in shape and accessed through a small opening in the center of the wall 0.57m above the floor, constituted the actual burial chamber. As with the dromos, both rooms were cut from the bedrock and supplemented with cut masonry as needed.

The larger ceremonial room was covered by a relatively simple, yet unmistakable "lantern"-roofing technique. It is comprised of only two frames: large squares set diagonally on top of the other, which, at the apex, left a smaller, open square that was covered with three large, flat stones interlocked with one another. Just below the lantern roof is a crowning Ionic kymation. Of the known examples of lantern roofing, the Belevi antechamber constitutes the earliest known example and the simplest manifestation with only two frames; by contrast, the lantern roof in Karalar C contains seven complex, irregular frames surmounted by a capstone. The ceiling of the smaller burial chamber at Belevi is a barrel vault running in a north-south direction secured with bronze clamps at the top. The barrel vault in this case was not a true barrel vault (the earliest known examples of these come from the fourth century BCE in Macedonia), but was dependent on projecting layers (i.e., corbelling).

In the rubble before the entrance to the dromos a number of ritual offerings were found, including a variety of animal bones and ceramic wares. The ceramics date from the mid-sixth century BCE to the end of the fourth century BCE, Kasper interprets the continuity of offerings as a sign that a community hero was worshiped at the site, rather than a private persona. The

complex apparently remained open for centuries, prompting a long history of worship and offerings at the site consonant with the identity of a local hero. Furthermore, the extended period during which the monument was open indicates that it was well-known and increases the probability that it would be emulated in later constructions. If the Belevi tumulus is indeed one of the earliest examples of the lantern-roof technique in Anatolia and remained visible, hosting several centuries of worshipers, it may have inspired the spread of lantern-roofed constructions in other parts of Anatolia. Why and how this form came to western Anatolia at such an early date remains unknown, but the Belevi tumulus provides clear evidence that the form existed in Anatolia by the sixth century BCE and could have influenced other monumental tombs in the region well before the advent of the Galatian tribes during the third century BCE.[1049]

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___, "Gemlik Tümülüs Mezarı," 186.

___, "Mudanya Mezar Binası," 7.

[1049] Ibid., 388-95.

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Weber, "Tumulus et Hiéron de Bélevi sur l'ancienne route d'Ephèse à Sardes," 91-92, 96-104.

V.6 MUSAHOCAKÖY (KIRKAĞAÇ) TUMULUS

Text: p. 224

Location: near Musahocaköy, Manisa Province

GPS Coordinates: N 39.164855, E 27.706253 (approximate, based on location of

Musahocaköy)

Patron: Unknown

Date: Late Classical or Hellenistic

Finds: None

Inscription: None

Description: In southern Mysia, close to the border with Lydia, a lantern-roofed burial chamber was discovered at Musahocaköy (Kırkağaç). It is approximately 185 kilometers north of Belevi, and, of the known examples of lantern roofing in Anatolia, the tomb at Musahocaköy is geographically closest to the Archaic tumulus at Belevi. The tomb consists of a long dromos, a rectangular antechamber that had collapsed prior to excavation, and a rectangular lantern-roofed

burial chamber constructed of four interlocking squares and, unusually, topped by a triangular-shaped capstone.[1050] As the tomb had been robbed of its contents before the excavation, no precise dating material is available, although it is assumed to be Late Classical or Hellenistic.[1051]

Bibliography:

Fedak, *Monumental Tombs of the Hellenistic Age*, 171.

Ginouvès and Guimier-Sorbets, "Voûte 'galate' et charpente macédonienne," 312.

Mansel, "Gemlik Tümülüs Mezarı," 186-87.

Mellink, "Archaeology in Asia Minor," 189.

Theodossiev, "The Lantern-Roofed Tombs in Thrace and Anatolia," 604.

V.7 HIERAPOLIS - "TOMBE A FOSSA"

Text: p. 226

Location: northern necropolis of Hierapolis (modern Pamukkale), Denizli Province

GPS Coordinates: N 37.931066, E 29.122528 (approximate, location of northern necropolis)

Patron: Unknown

Date: 1st c BCE or possibly earlier

Finds: None

Inscription: None

Description: Two first-century BCE examples of lantern roofing were discovered in two tombs in the northern necropolis of Hierapolis in Phrygia, although in both cases, the tombs were constructed in rectangular pits underground instead of beneath tumuli.

Bibliography:

[1050] Mellink, "Archaeology in Asia Minor," 189.

[1051] Mansel, "Gemlik Tümülüs Mezarı," 187.

Fedak, *Monumental Tombs of the Hellenistic Age*, 171.

Ginouvès and Guimier-Sorbets, "Voûte 'galate' et charpente macédonienne," 312.

Schneider Equini, "La necropoli di Hierapolis di Frigia," 132.

Theodossiev, "The Lantern-Roofed Tombs in Thrace and Anatolia," 604.

V.8 KÖZEMTÜG TUMULUS

Text: pp. 223

Location: Közemtüg near Daskyleion, Balıkesir Province

GPS Coordinates: N 40.132088, E 28.051907 (approximate, based on location of Közemtüg)

Patron: Unknown

Date: 4th c BCE

Finds: Several burnt ceremonial remains in front of the door to the burial chamber, as well as 84 gilded clay beads in bud, acorn, and grape shapes along with bronze parts of a necklace.

Inscription: None

Description: In Propontic Mysia, to the west of Mudanya and Gemlik, the Közemtuğ tumulus discovered at Daskyleion illuminates similar, likely contemporary burial monuments to those found in Thrace and Bithynia. The rescue excavation of the tumulus, which had been looted in Hellenistic times, revealed a nine-meter-long dromos and several burnt ceremonial remains in front of the door to the burial chamber, as well as 84 gilded clay beads in bud, acorn, and grape shapes along with bronze parts of a necklace. The burial chamber measured 3 x 3m square, constructed of carefully worked andesite masonry, and "roofed in the manner of Thracian vaulted tombs," i.e., it contained a lantern roof.[1052] Marble accents were included on the door and thresholds, and a marble column supported a damaged ceiling block. The inner threshold was

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[1052] Mellink, "Archaeology in Anatolia," 148.

composed of a repurposed marble block that contained part of a Phrygian inscription, and which the excavators took as an indicator of Phrygian presence at the site. It has been suggested that the tomb dates to the first half of the fourth century BCE or possibly as late as ca. 330 BCE, but no discussion has followed these proposals.[1053]

Bibliography:

Bakır and Gusmani, "Eine neue phrygische Inschrift aus Daskyleion," 157, 159.

Mellink, "Archaeology in Anatolia," 148.

Theodossiev, "The Lantern-Roofed Tombs in Thrace and Anatolia," 604.

V.9 KEPSUT TUMULUS

Text: p. 223-24

Location: near Kepsut, Balıkesir Province

GPS Coordinates: N 39.707283, E 28.144547 (approximate, based on location of Kepsut)

Patron: Unknown

Date: Late Classical or Hellenistic

Finds: None

Inscription: None

Description: In inland Mysia, a lantern-roofed burial chamber was discovered in the vicinity of Kepsut in Balıkesir province. Unfortunately, however, Fıratlı was only able to document a single photograph of the partially destroyed and looted chamber without taking any measurements, and it is only assumed that the monument could belong to the Late Classical or Hellenistic period.

Bibliography:

Fedak, *Monumental Tombs of the Hellenistic Age*, 171.

[1053] Theodossiev, "The Lantern-Roofed Tombs in Thrace and Anatolia," 604.

Mansel, "Gemlik Tümülüs Mezarı," 187 (photograph).

Theodossiev, "The Lantern-Roofed Tombs in Thrace and Anatolia," 604.

V.10 GERDEK BOĞAZI

Text: p. 89

Location: Karakoyunlu, near Safranbolu, Karabük Province

GPS Coordinates: N 41.1372, E 32.8933

Patron: Unknown

Date: Second half of the 4th c BCE

Finds: None

Inscription: None

Description: In Paphlagonia, the rock-cut tomb at Karakoyunlu also shows an unusual adaptation of the lantern-roofed technique. The tomb is fronted by a triple-columned porch that leads into the main chamber, and the eastern side chamber was roofed by a false lantern vault. The lantern vault in the Karakoyunlu tomb is described as "false" because it does not actually deploy a series of rectangular frames to construct the ceiling; rather, shallow rectangular spaces were carved out of the ceiling in order to create the appearance of a lantern vault. Because the tomb makes use of Corinthian capitals, it cannot be earlier than the fourth century BCE, and Johnson notes that the tomb shares architectural similarities with the Kilise tomb at Hasırcıköprü and the Evkayası tomb in Kastamonu, both of which date to the late fourth century BCE. Johnson argues that the lantern-roofed side chamber in the Karakoyunlu tomb, however, is likely a later addition.

Bibliography:

Bossert, *Altanatolien*, 85.

Fedak, *Monumental Tombs of the Hellenistic Age*, 171.

Gökoğlu, *Paphlagonia*, 110-13.

Leonhard, *Paphlagonia*, 269-77.

Johnson, "Landscapes of Achaemenid Paphlagonia," 352-55.

Theodossiev, N. "The Lantern-Roofed Tombs in Thrace and Anatolia," 605.

von Gall, *Die paphlagonischen Felsgräber*, 73-82.

V.11 "HOUSE OF DIONYSOS" AT PELLA

Text: p. 224-25

Location: Pella, Macedonia

GPS Coordinates: Unrecorded

Patron: Unknown

Date: Late 4th c BCE

Finds: None associated with a funerary context

Inscription: None

Description: At Pella in Macedonia, the mosaic in room A of the "House of Dionysos" resembles a lantern roof. Room A was most likely a large antechamber of a dining room, and featured a floor mosaic with a two-color composition of six interlocking squares that alternated having edges parallel to the wall or intersecting the wall at an angle, a design clearly reminiscent of the lantern-roofing technique. This compositional device is rare among mosaics, and in the second century CE Mausoleion at Mylasa, the floor of the aedicula was covered with a similar lantern-vault design that reproduced the octagonal design on the ceiling. Although it is impossible to say whether Room A in the House of Dionysos at Pella would have also been

covered by a lantern roof, the mosaic is sufficient to demonstrate that the technique was known well enough to be applied to floor decoration in Macedonia by the fourth century BCE.

Bibliography:

Ginouvès and Guimier-Sorbets, "Voûte 'galate' et charpente macédonienne," 319-21.

Makaronas and Giouri, *Οι οικίες αρπαγής της Ελένης και Διονύσου της Πέλλας*, 133, 182, fig. 138.

Theodossiev, "The Lantern-Roofed Tombs in Thrace and Anatolia," 606.

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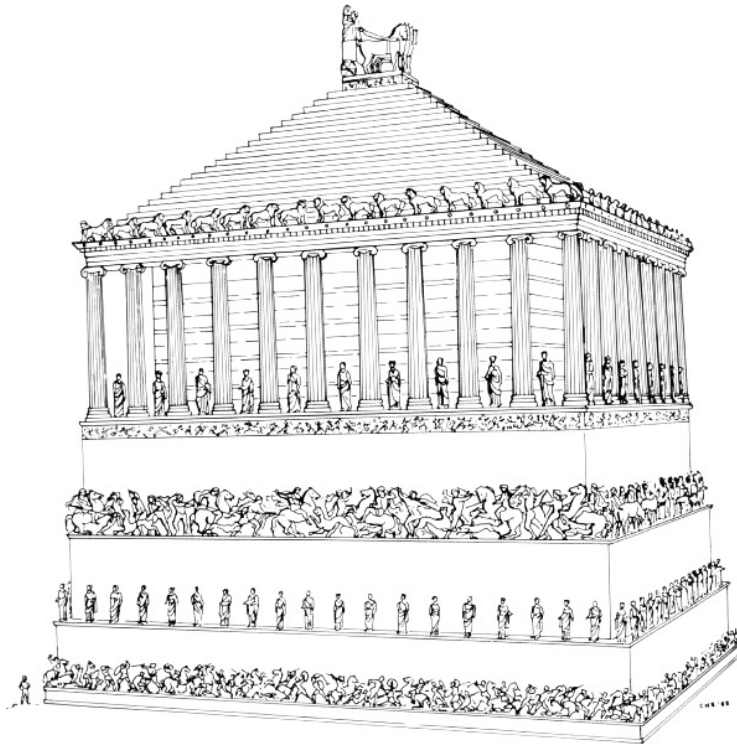
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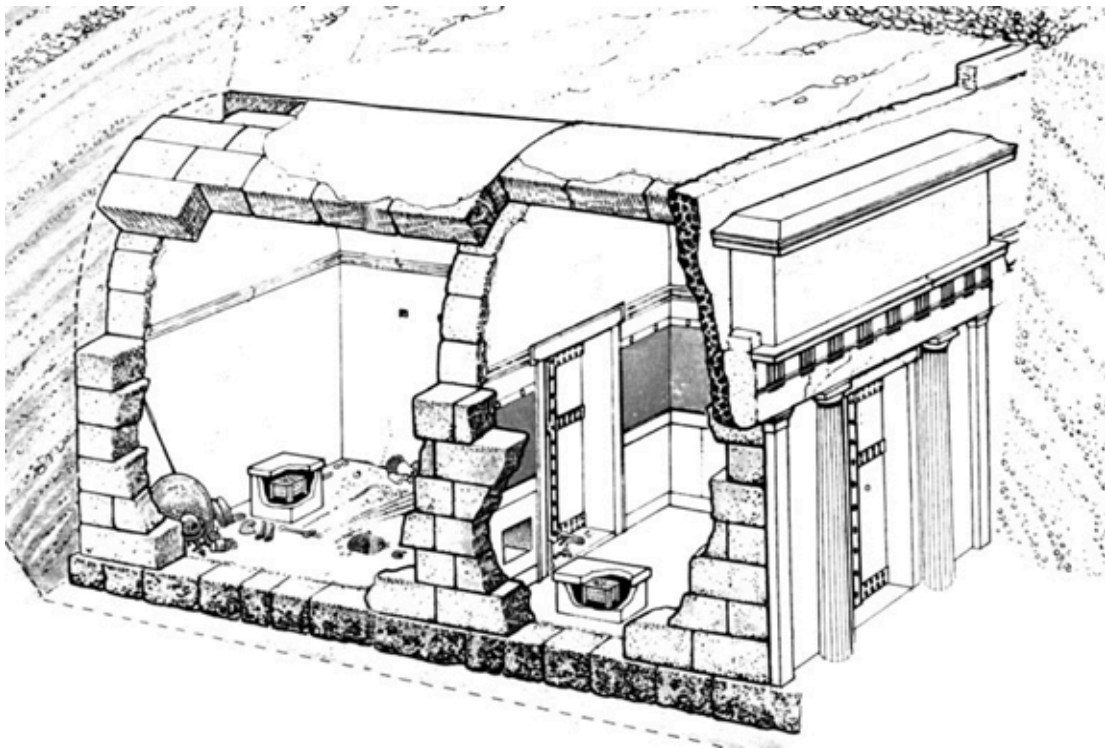
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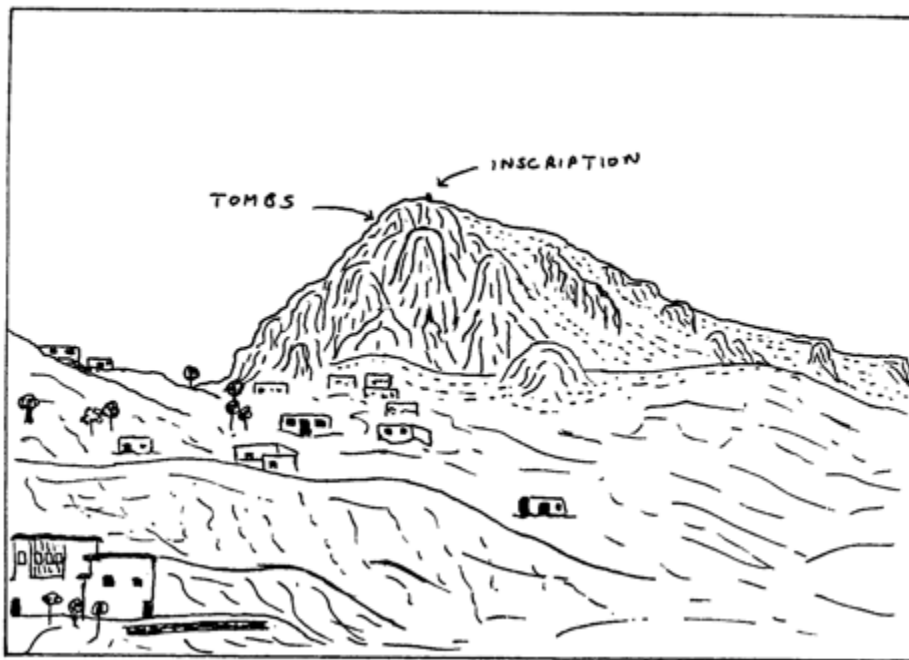
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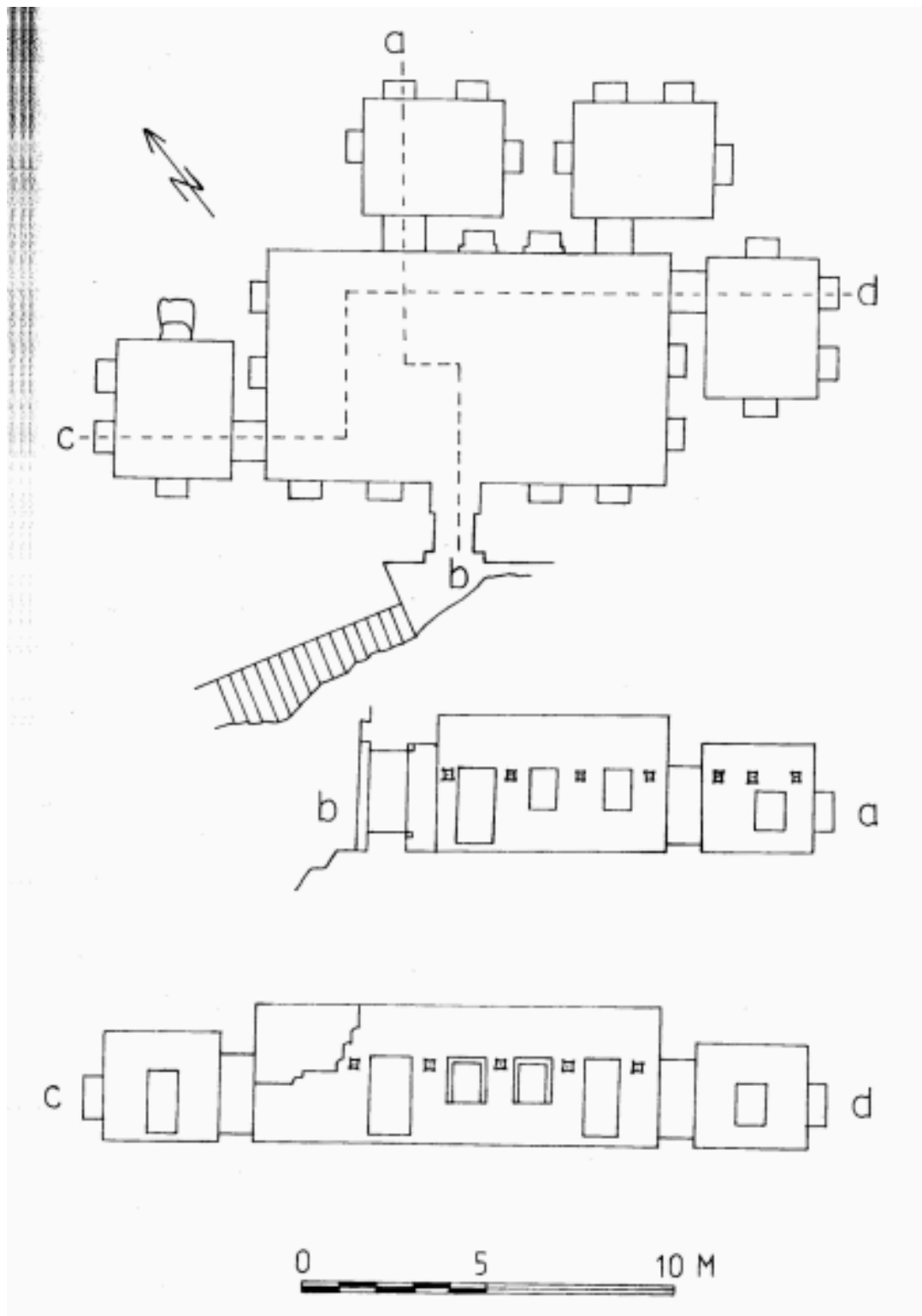
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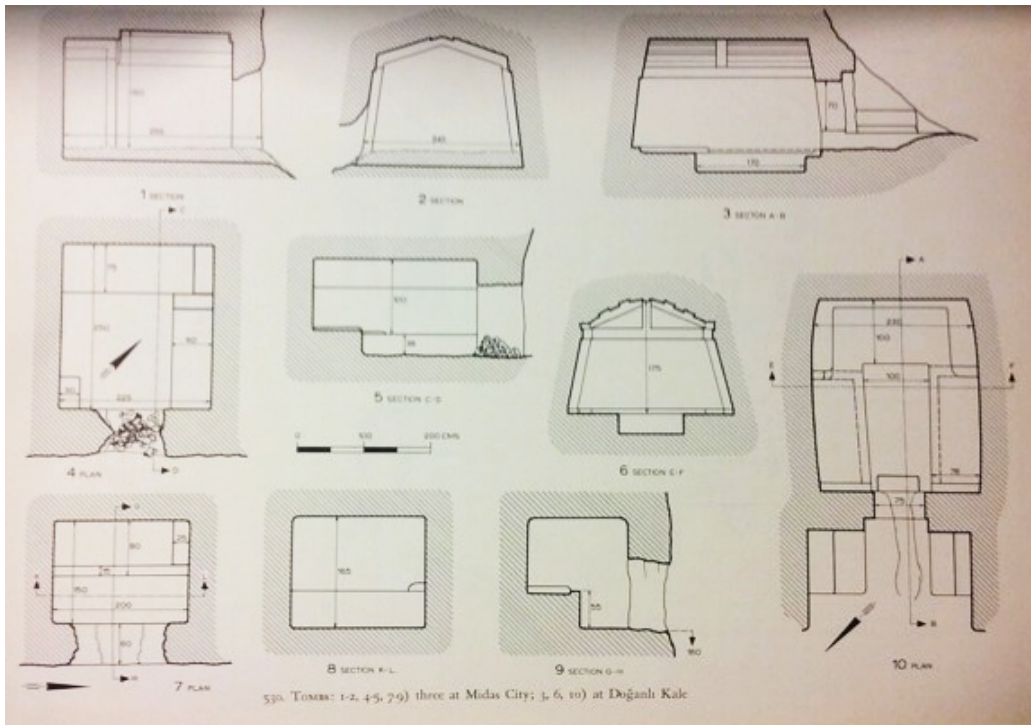
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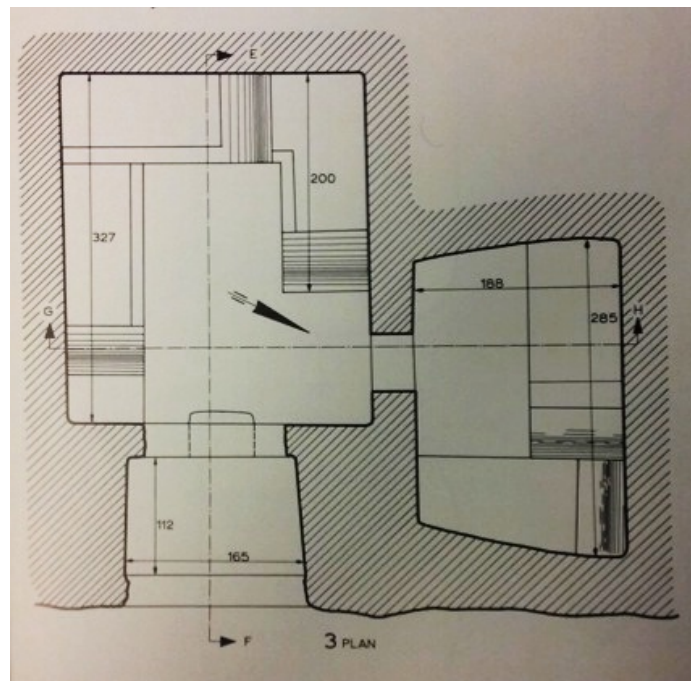
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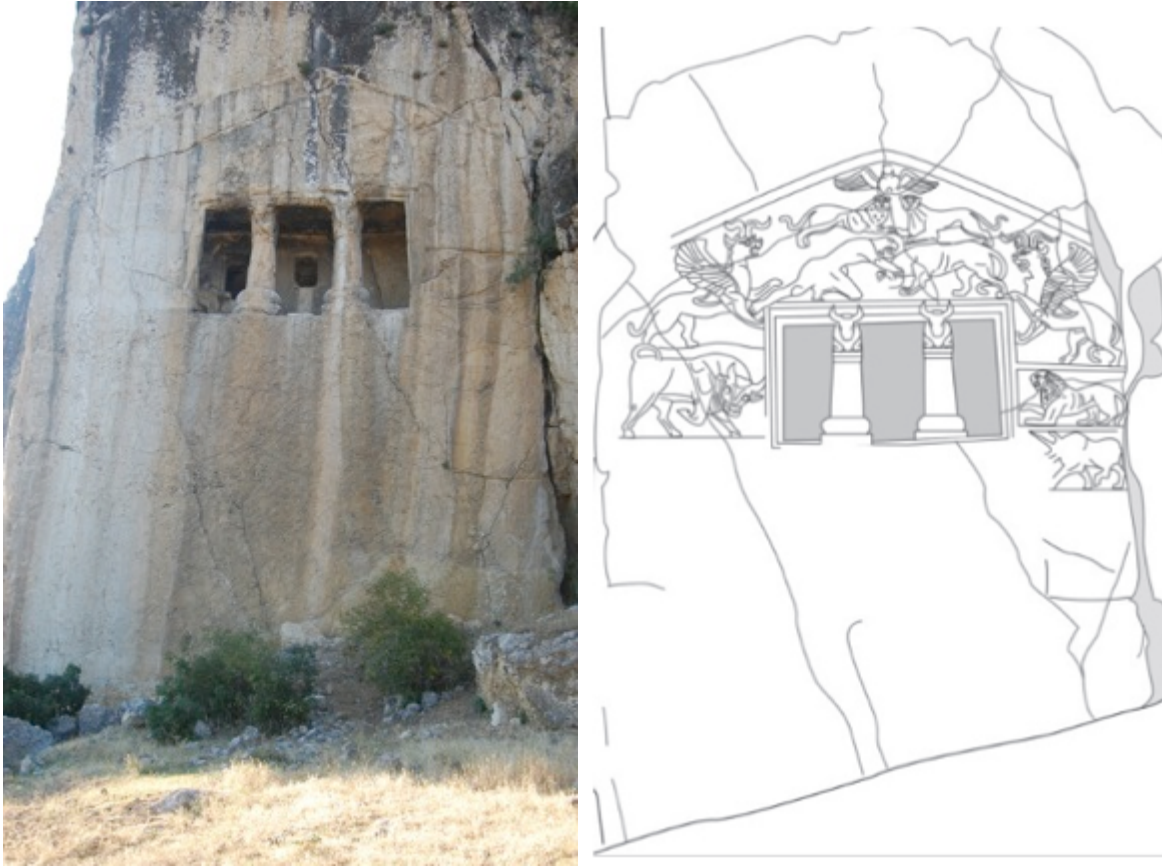
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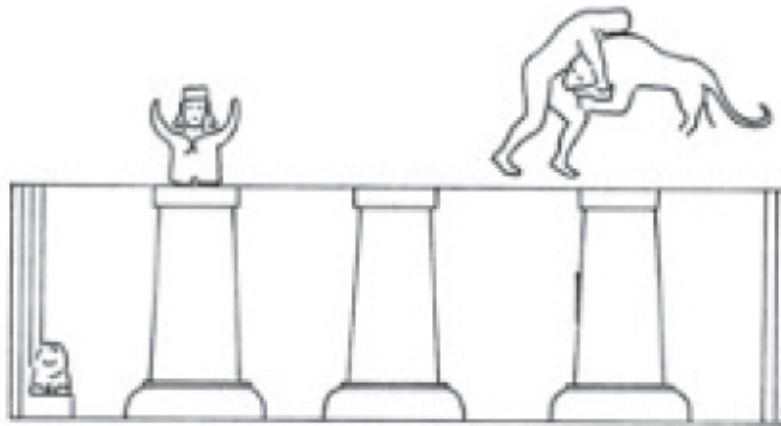
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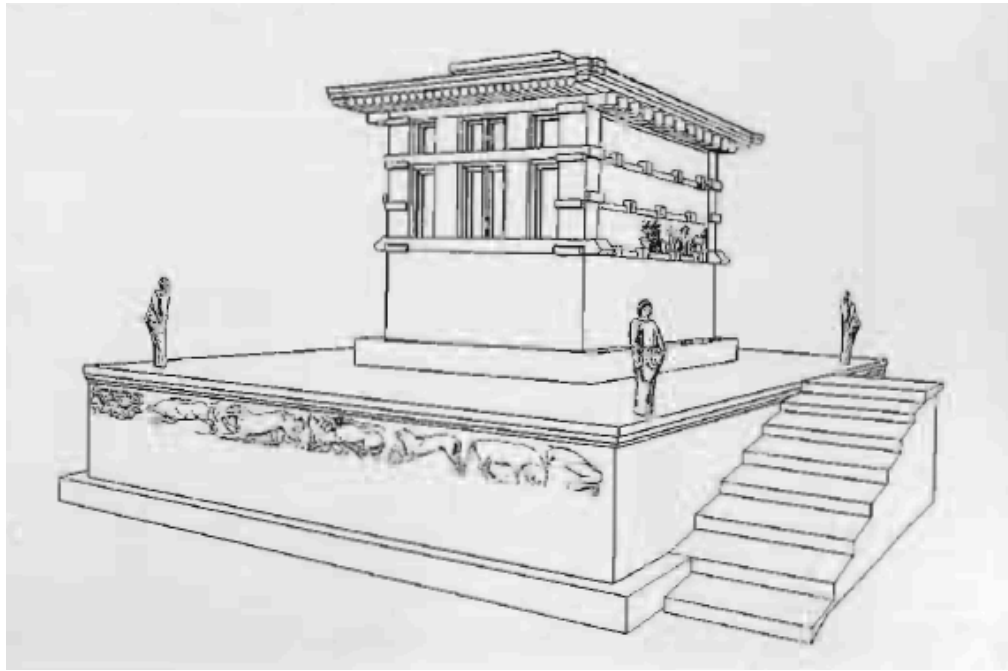
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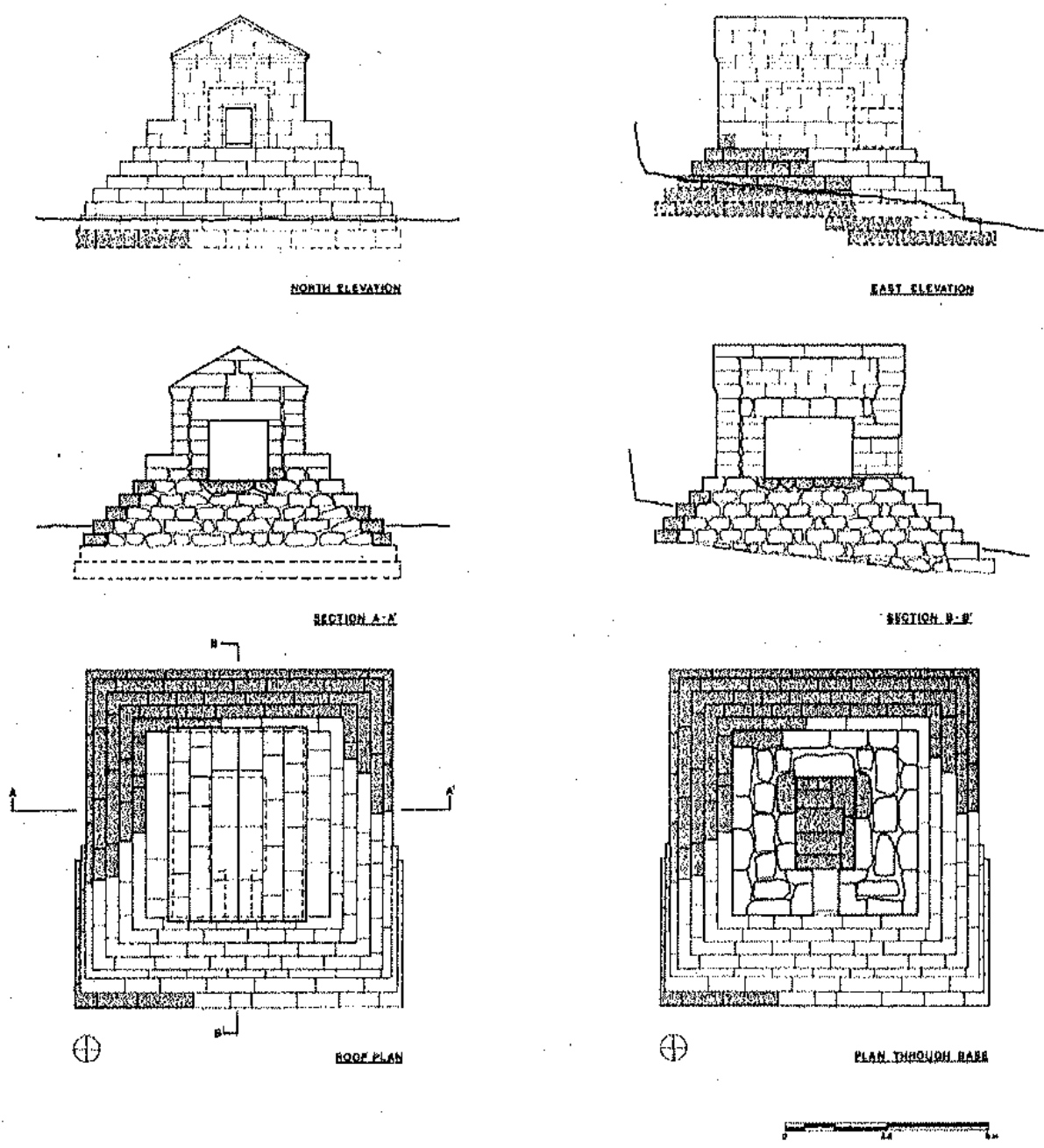
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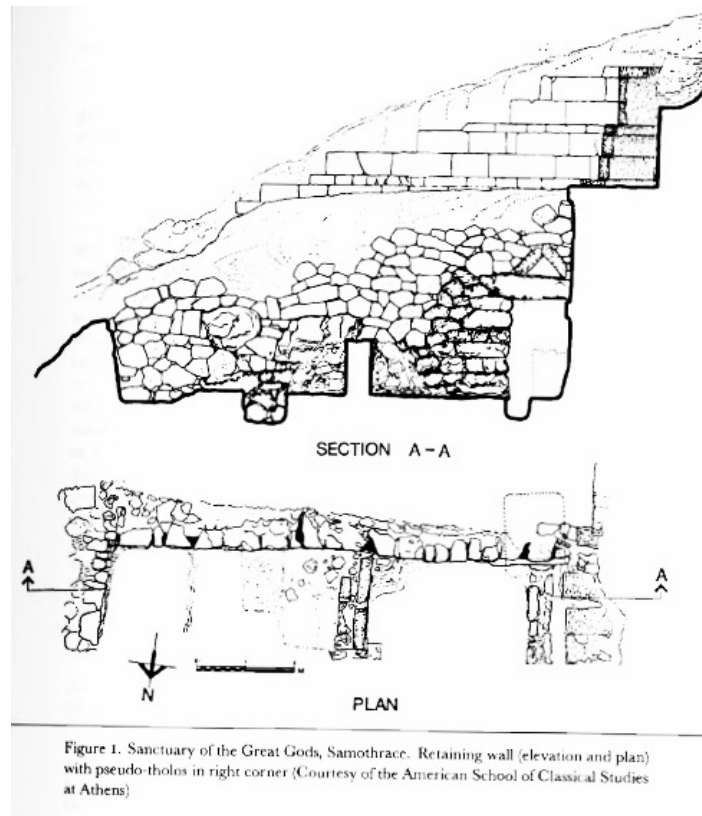
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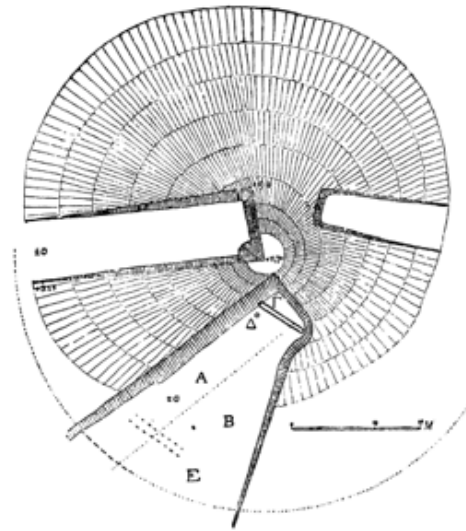
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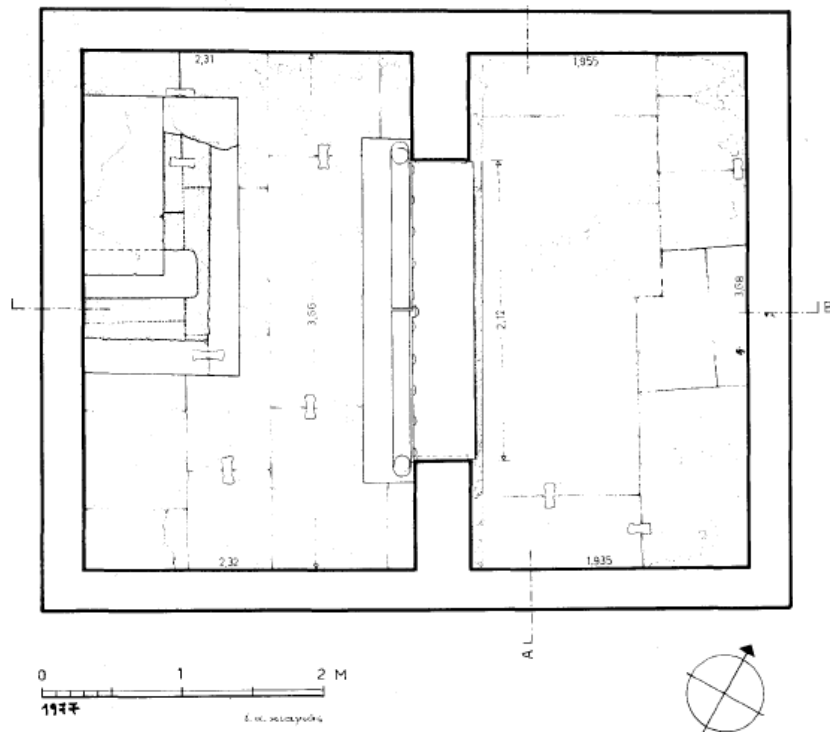
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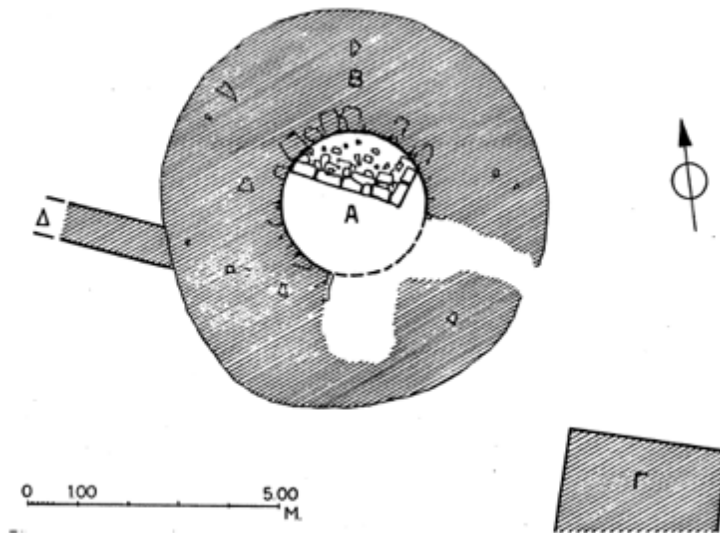
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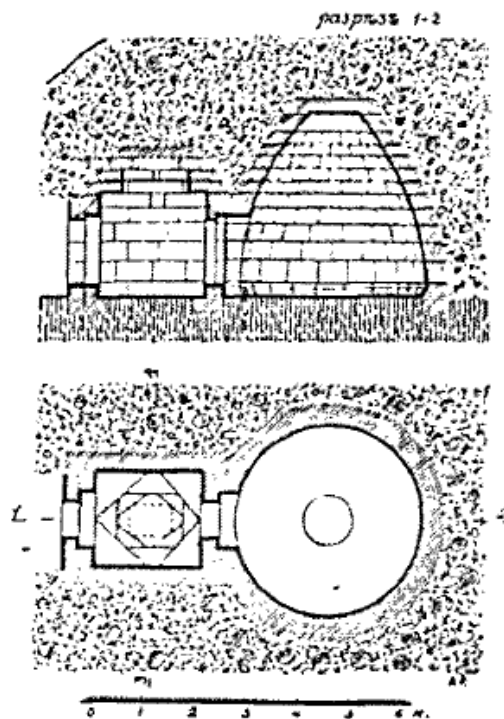
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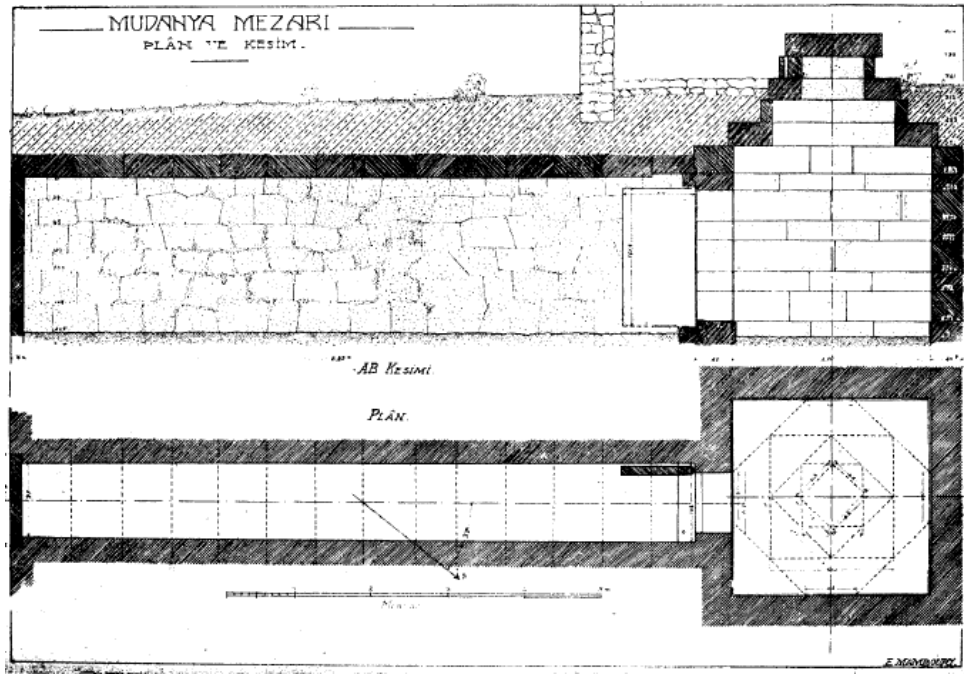
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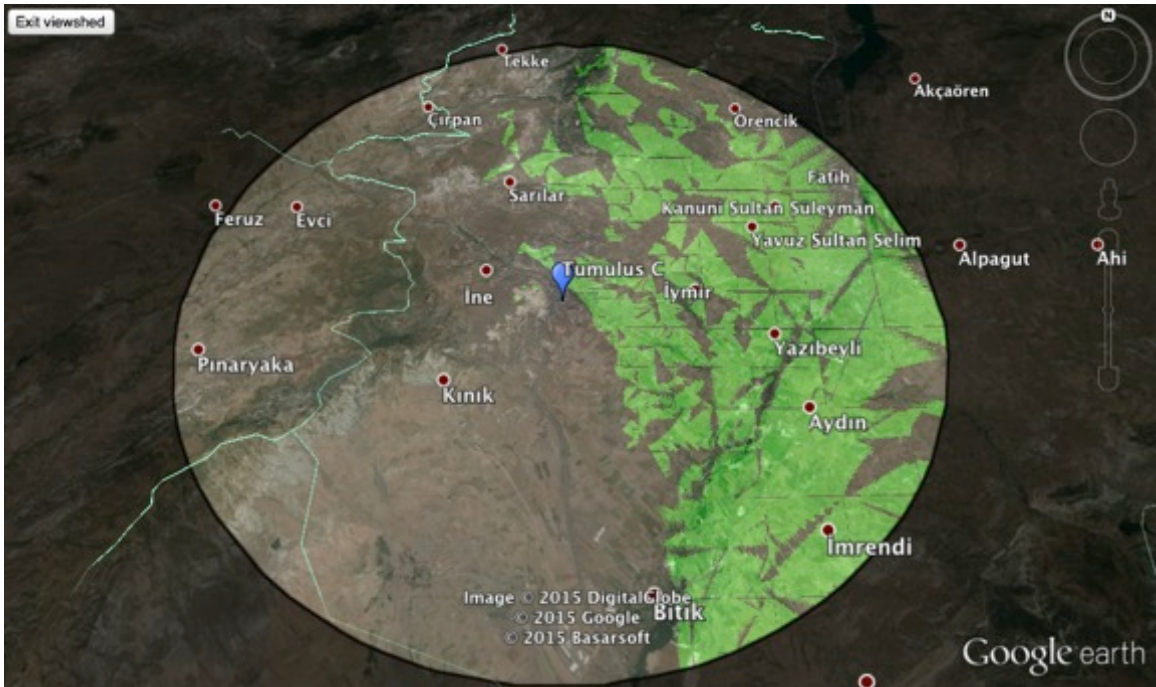
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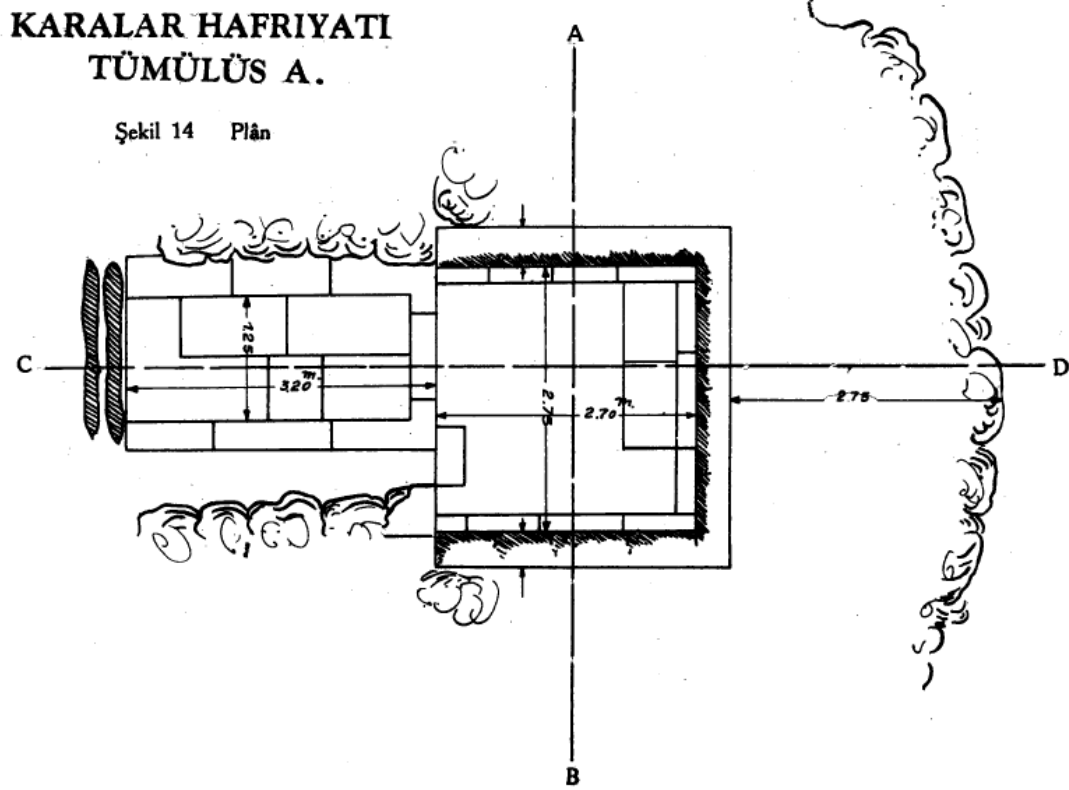
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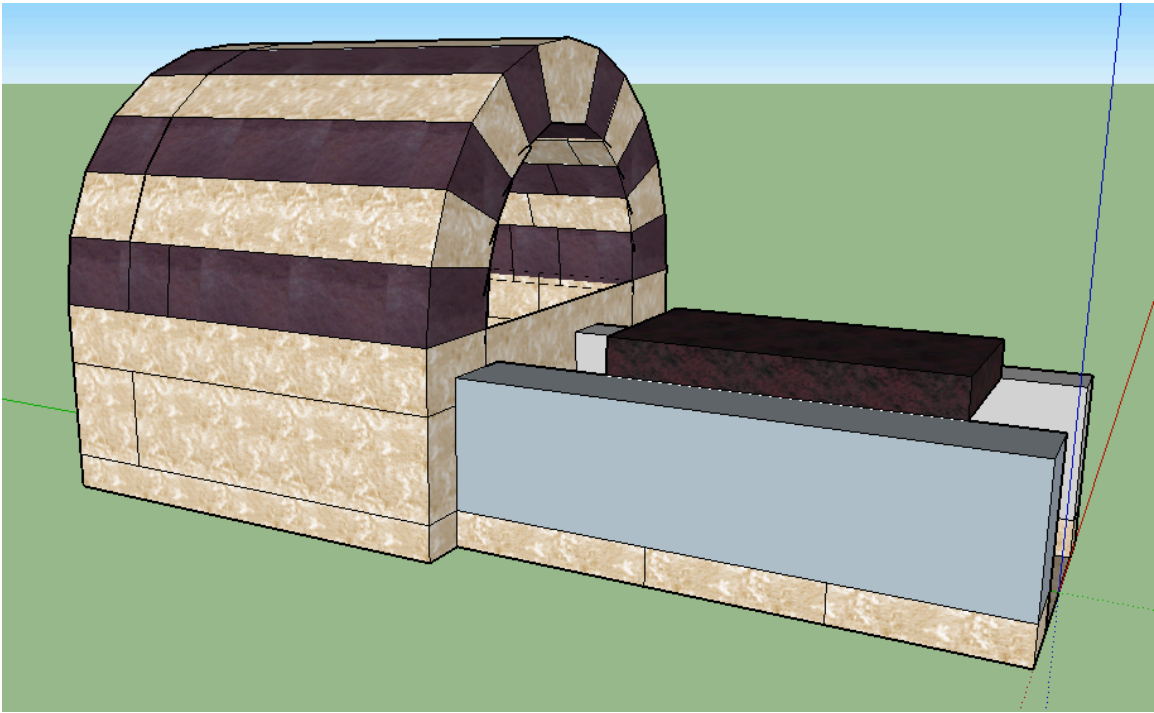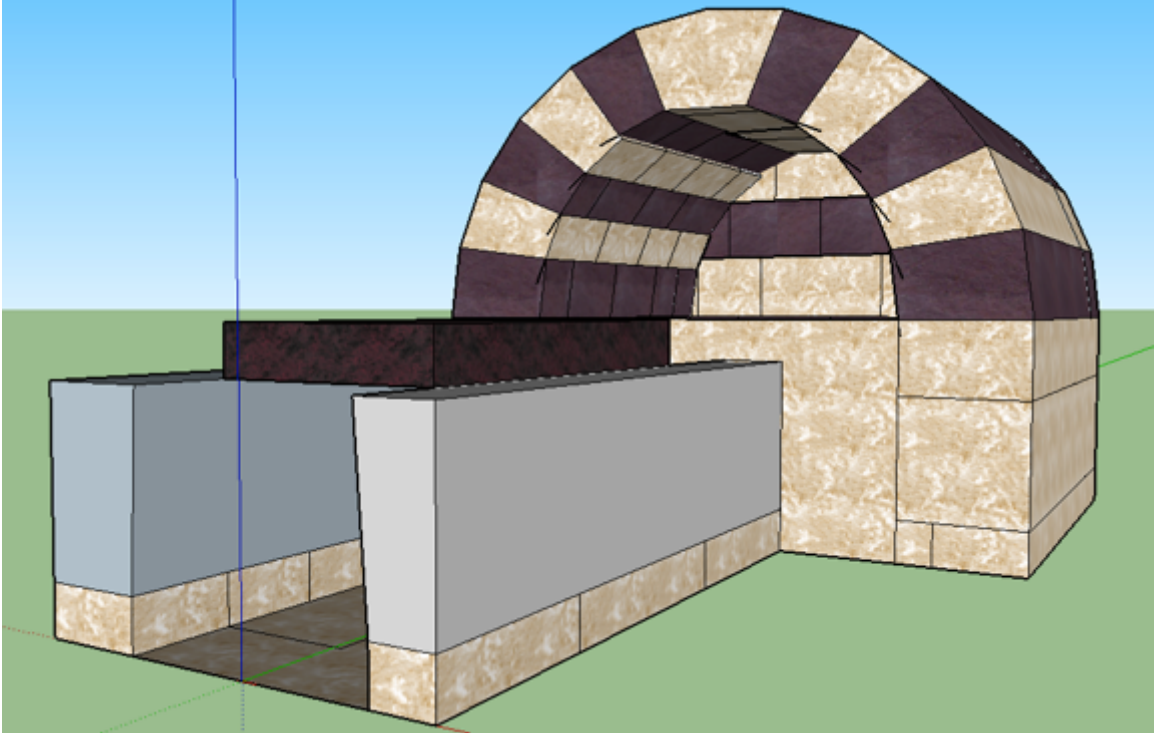
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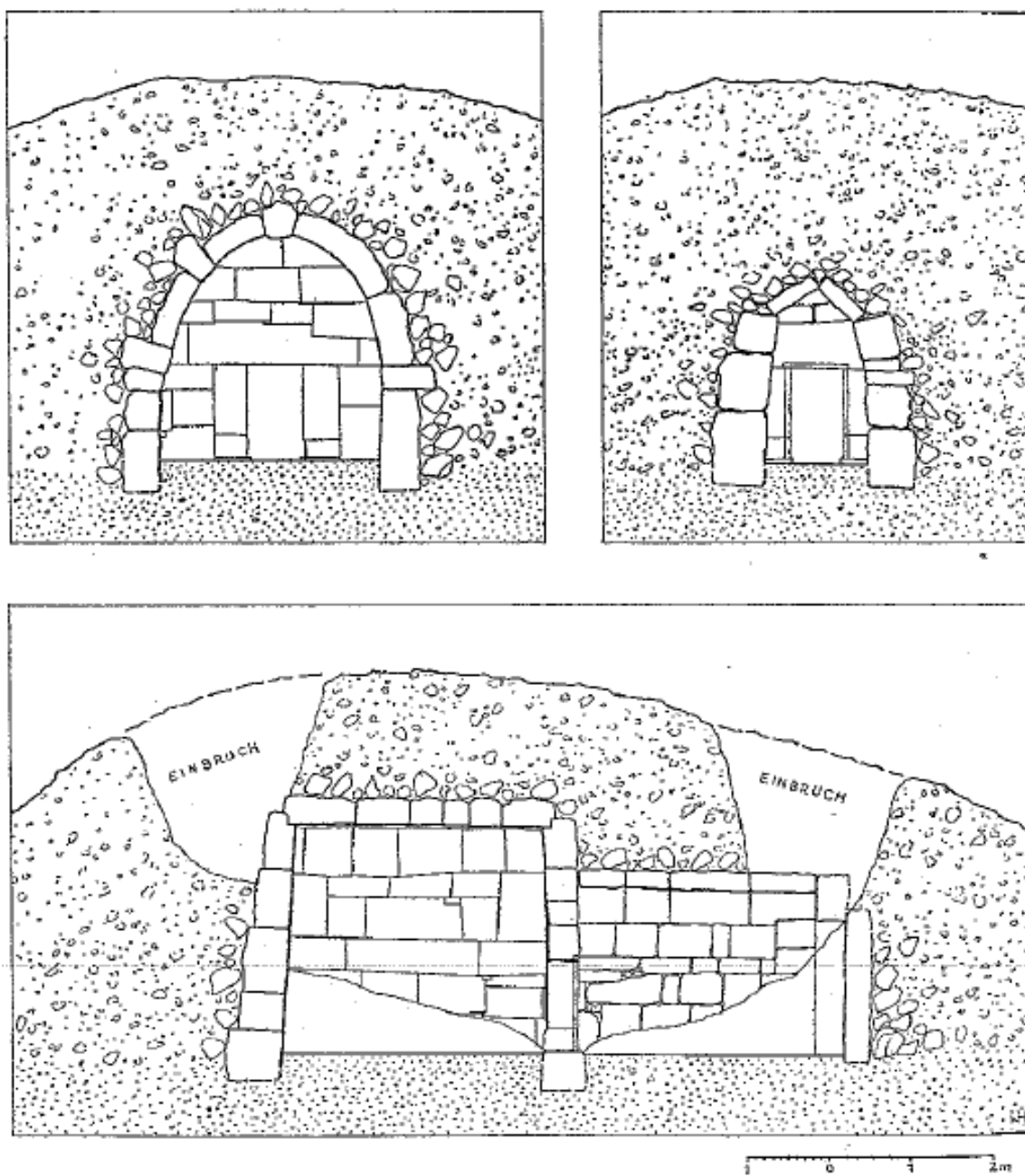
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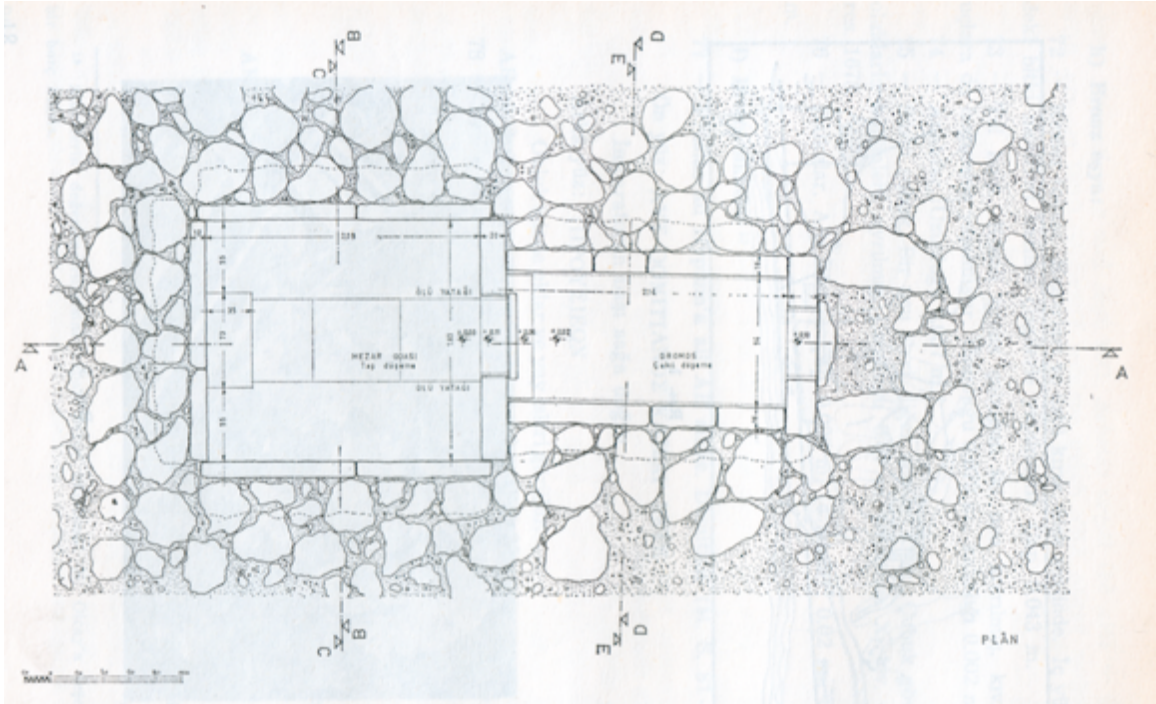
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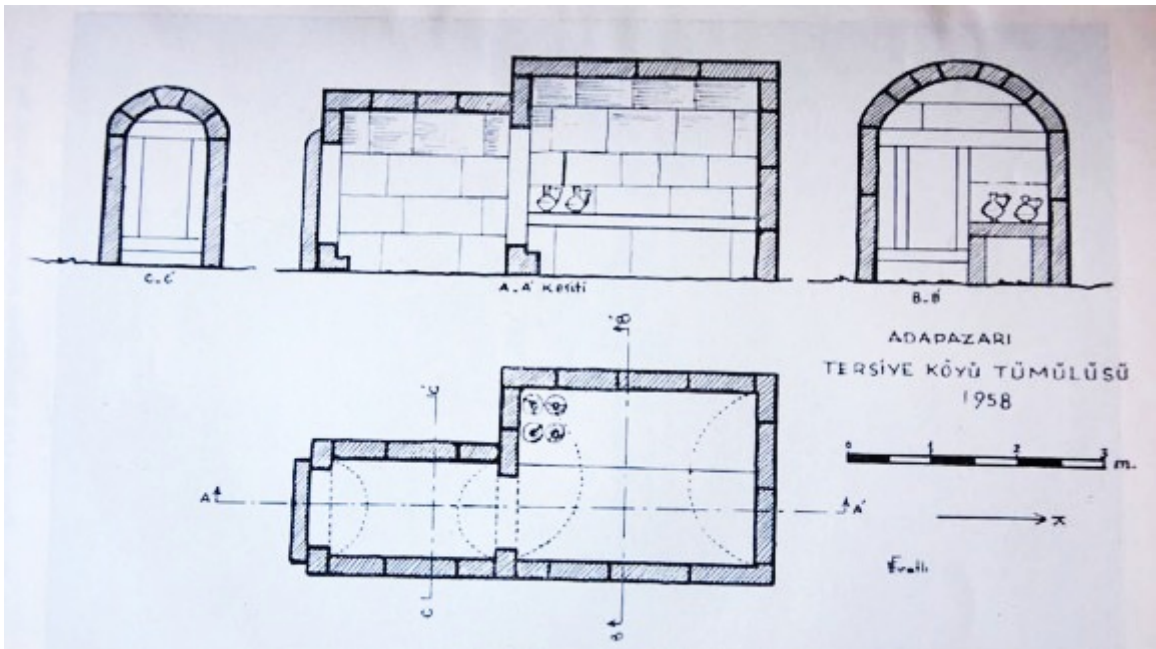
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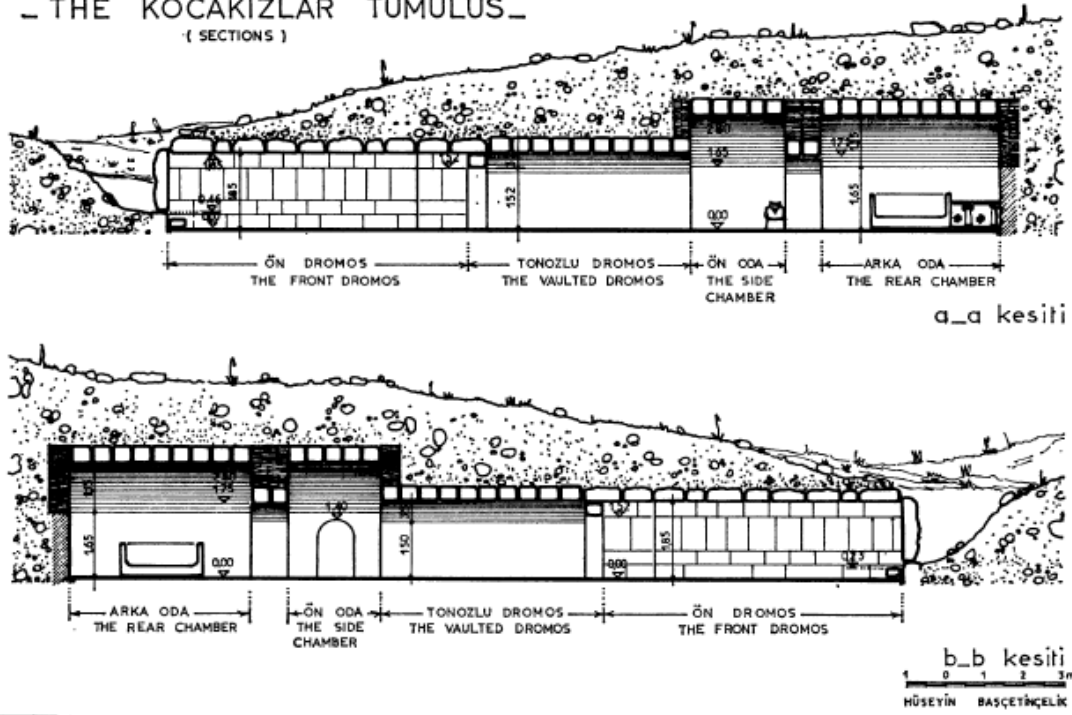
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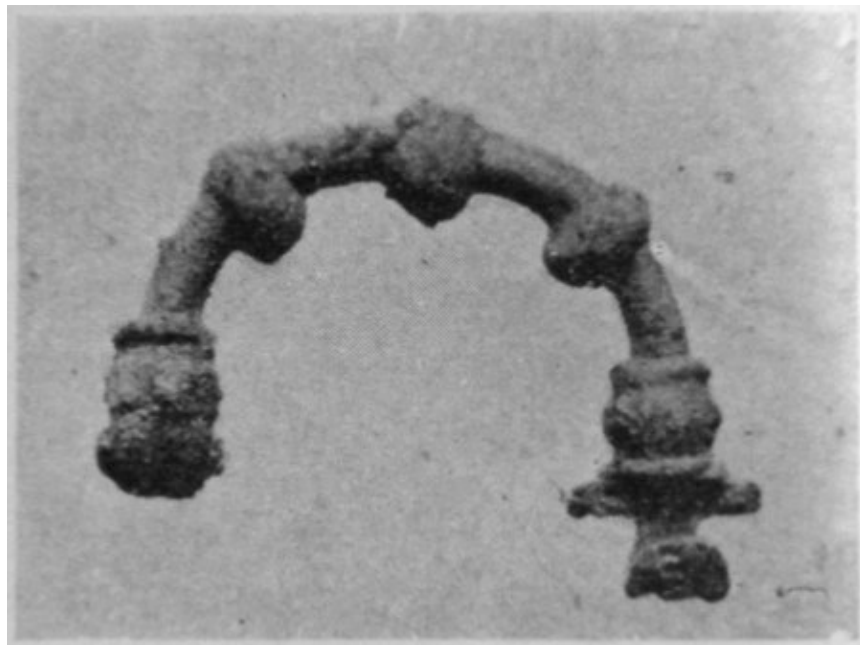
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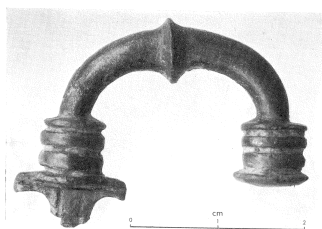
57. B1177, CM Level 6, XII, 13.
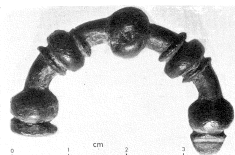
58. B612, CM Clay, XII, 14.
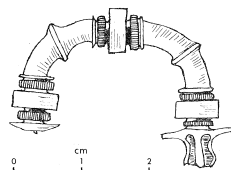
68. B354, Tumulus S₁, XII, 14.
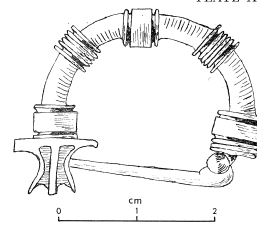
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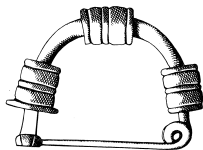
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60. Pithecusae, Ischia, Tomb 118, XII, 13.
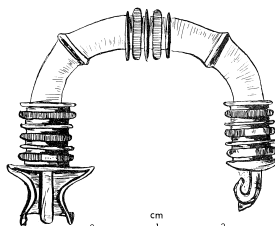
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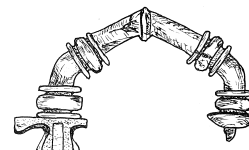
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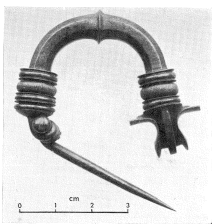
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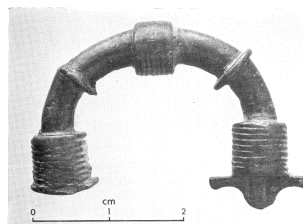
73. B319, CM Level 2, XII, 14.
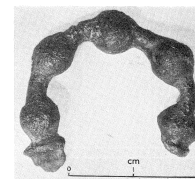
74. B672, CM Level 3, XII, 14.

Figure 65: Group XII,14 fibulae from Gordion (Image source: Muscarella, *Phrygian Fibulae from Gordion*, Pl. XI, XIII)

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Figure 67: Unguentaria from the necropolis at Tralleis (Image source: Saraçoğlu, "Hellenistic and Roman *Unguentaria* from the *Necropolis* of Tralleis," Cat. 20, 23, 28, 29)
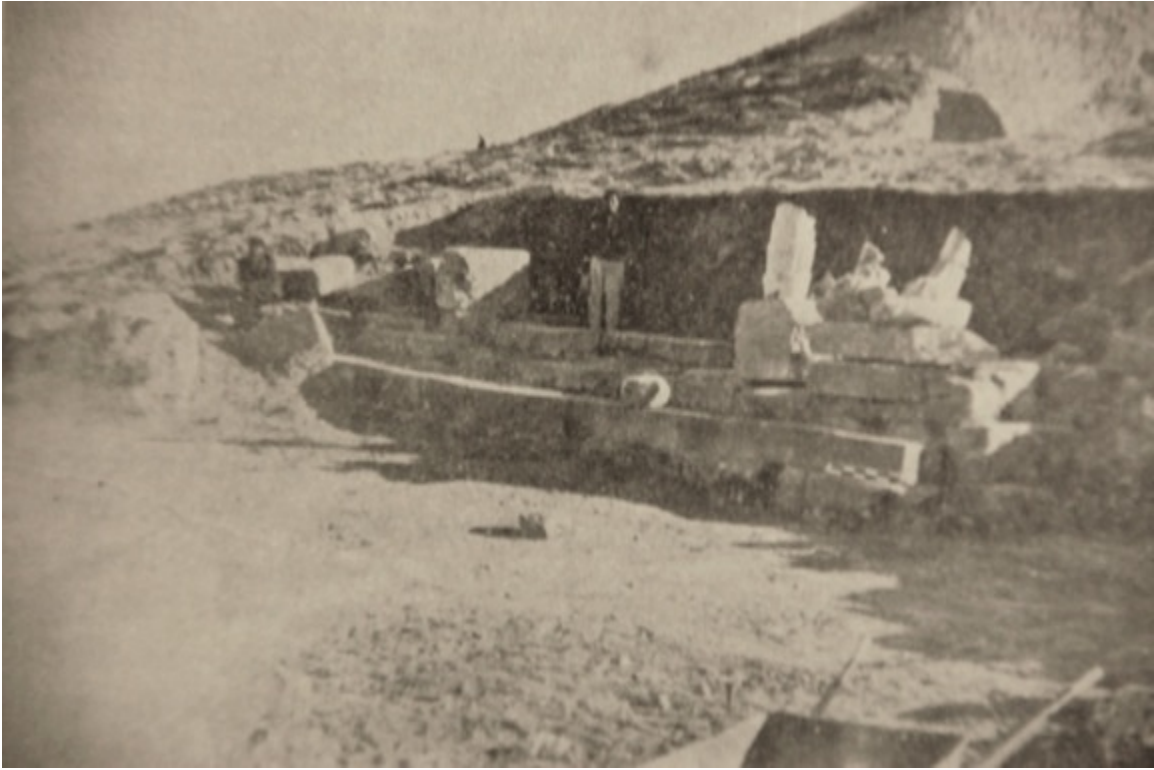
Figure 68: Excavation and restoration of the "autel" area in front of Tumulus B at Karalar (Image source: Arık, "Karalar Hafriyati," Fig. 30)

Figure 69: Tumulus B at Karalar, from the northwest (Image source: Author)
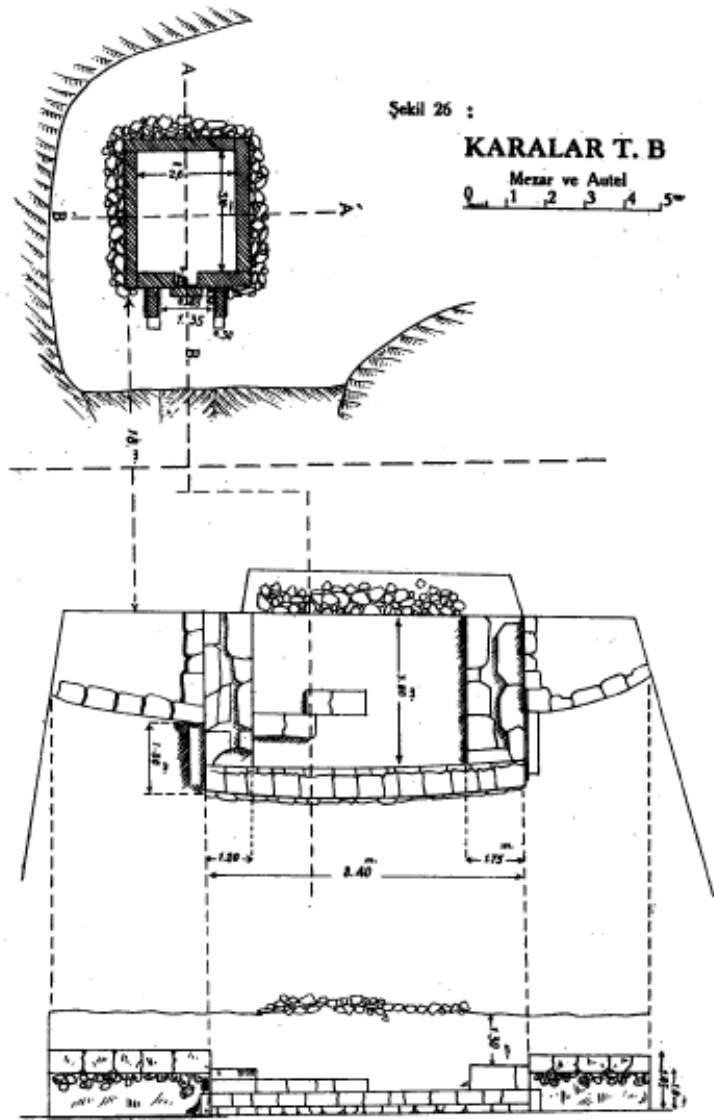
Figure 70: Diagram of Tumulus B at Karalar (Image source: Arık, "Karalar Hafriyati," Fig. 26)
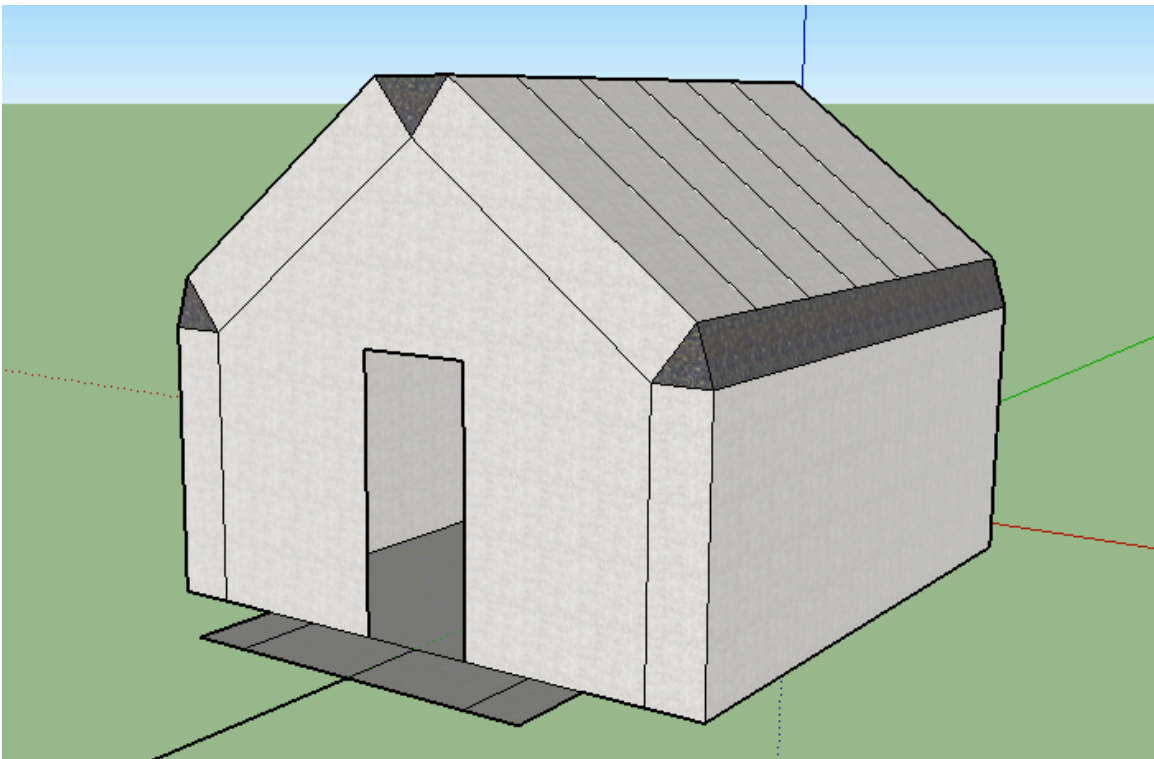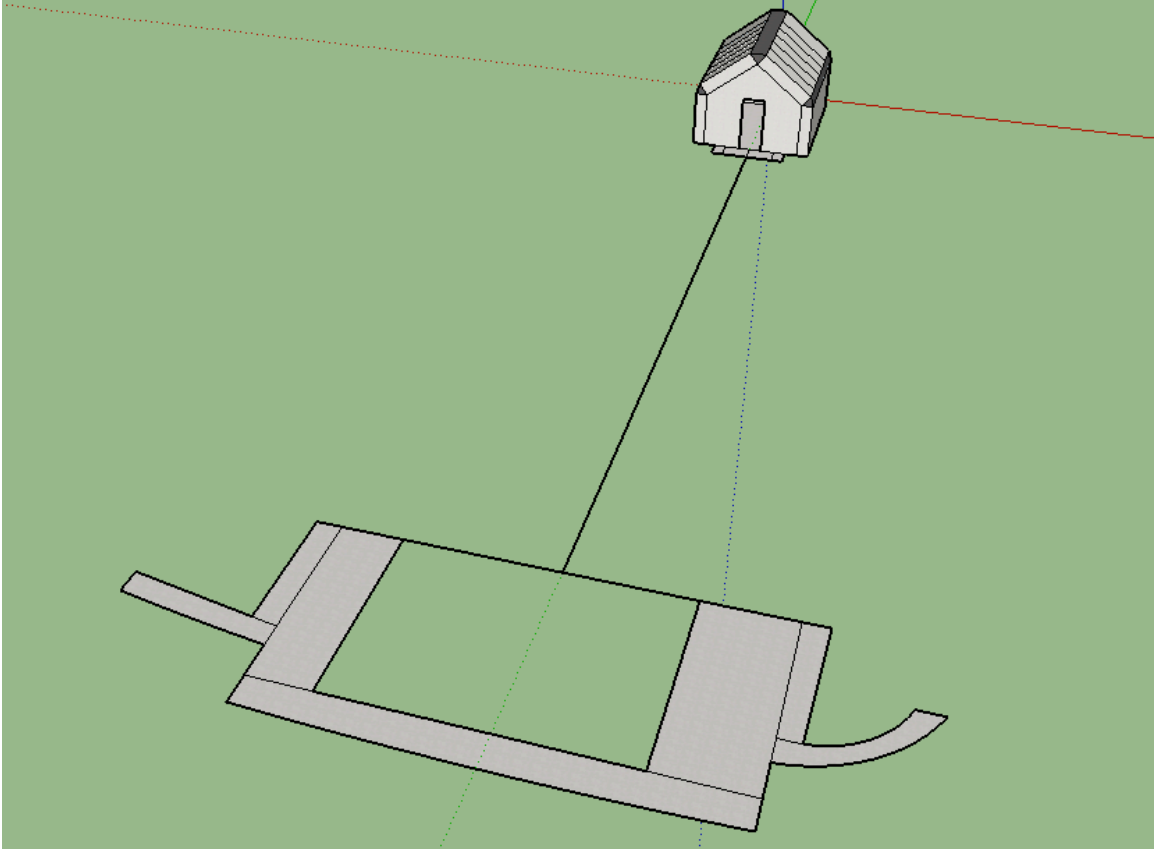
Figure 71: Reconstruction of Tumulus B at Karalar (Image source: Author, using SketchUp)

Figure 72: Triangular-pitched roof of Tumulus B at Karalar (Image source: Arık, "Karalar Hafriyati," Fig. 25)
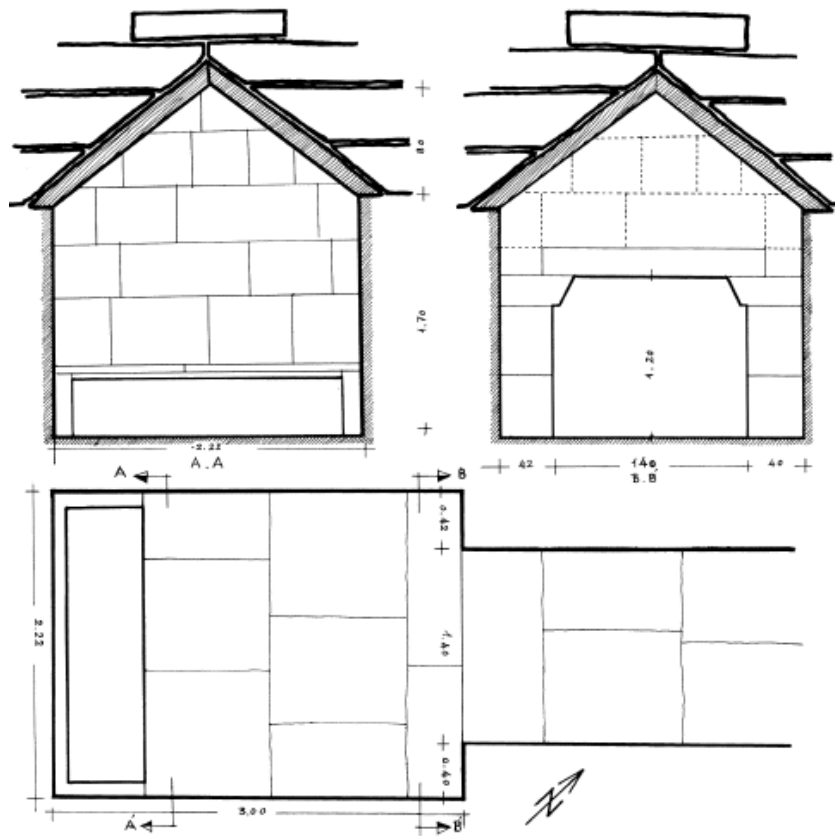
Figure 73: Plan and sections of eastern tumulus discovered near Bolu (Image source: Firatlı, "Two Galatian Tumuli in the Vicinity of Bolu," Fig. 5)

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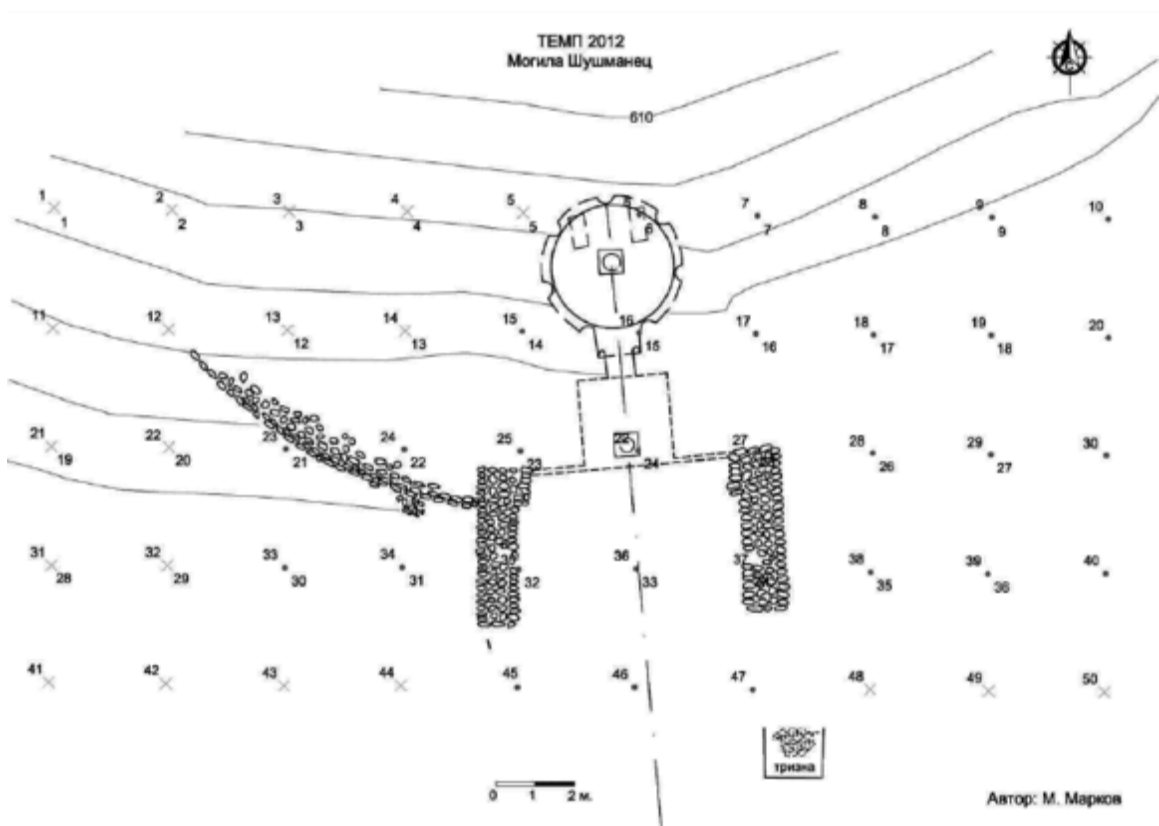
Figure 74: Plan of the Shushmanets tomb near Shipka (Image source: Dimitrova, "Shushmanets Tumular Temple near Shipka," Fig. 3)

Figure 75: Inscription from Tumulus B at Karalar (Image source: Arık, "Karalar Hafriyati," 131)

Figure 76: Sculptural fragments of the tropaion from Tumulus B at Karalar (Image source: Arık, "Karalar Hafriyati," Fig. 29)

Figure 77: Tumulus C at Karalar (Image source: Author)
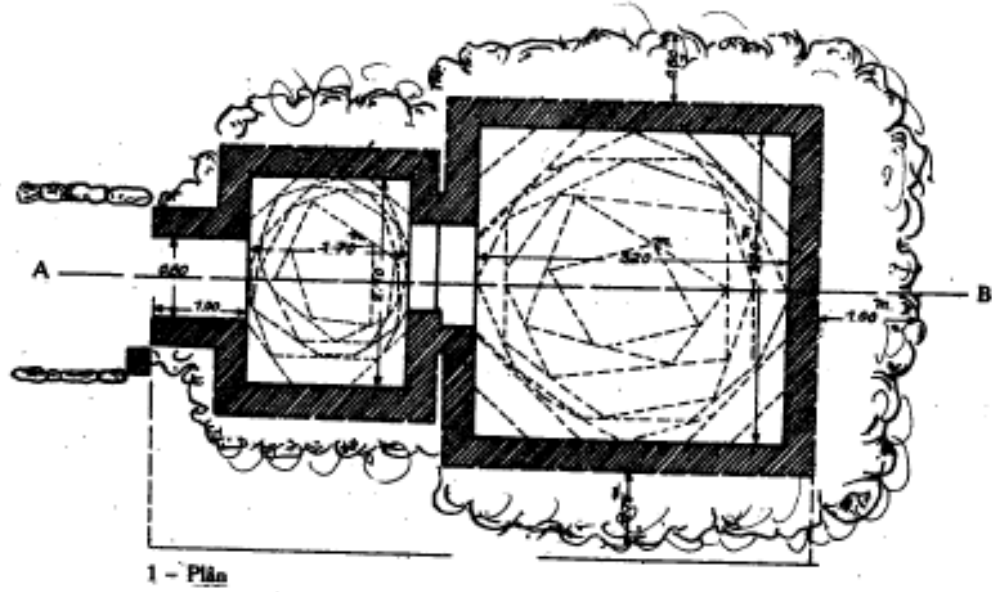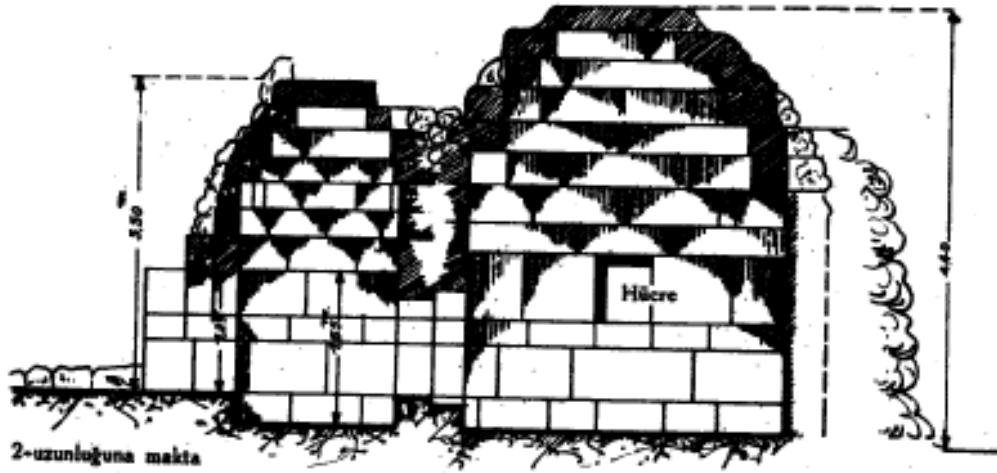
KARALAR HAFRİYATI TÜMÜLÜS C.

Çifte mezar kubbeleri (Şekil 34)

Figure 78: Plan and cross-section of the chamber tomb beneath Tumulus C at Karalar (Image source: Arık, "Karalar Hafriyati," Fig. 34)
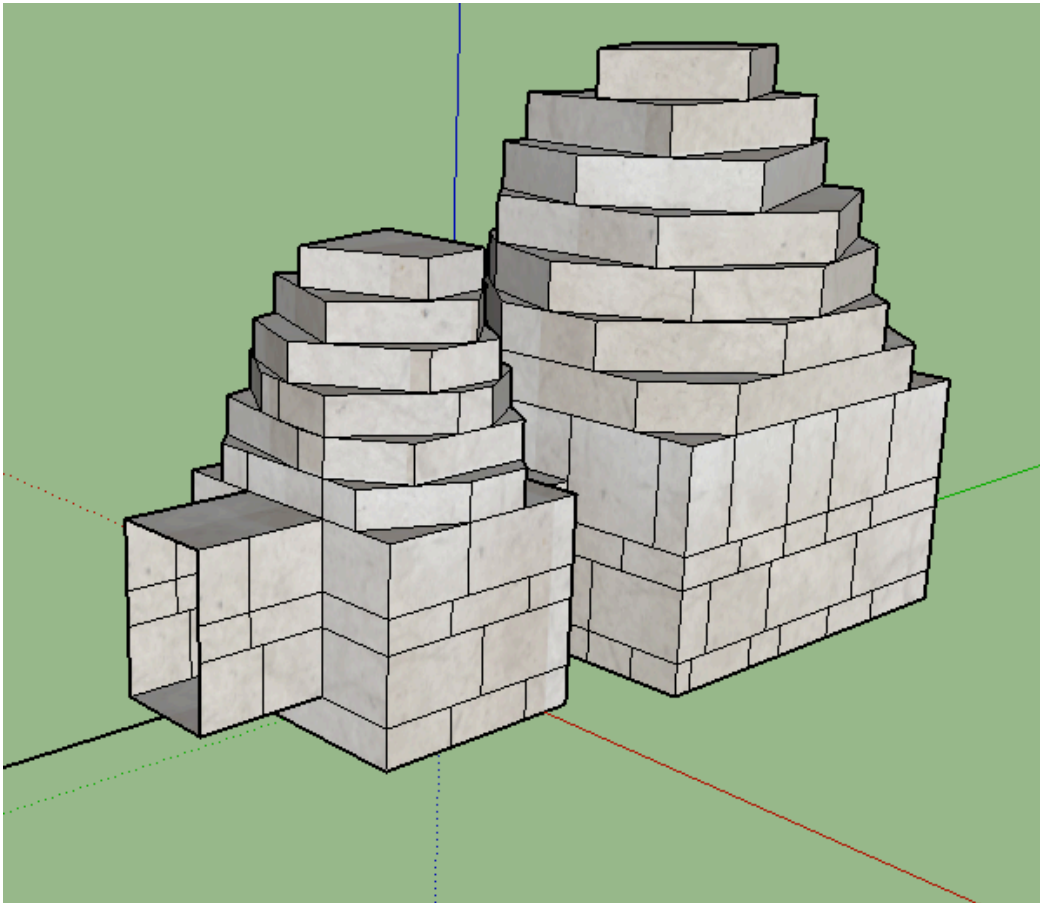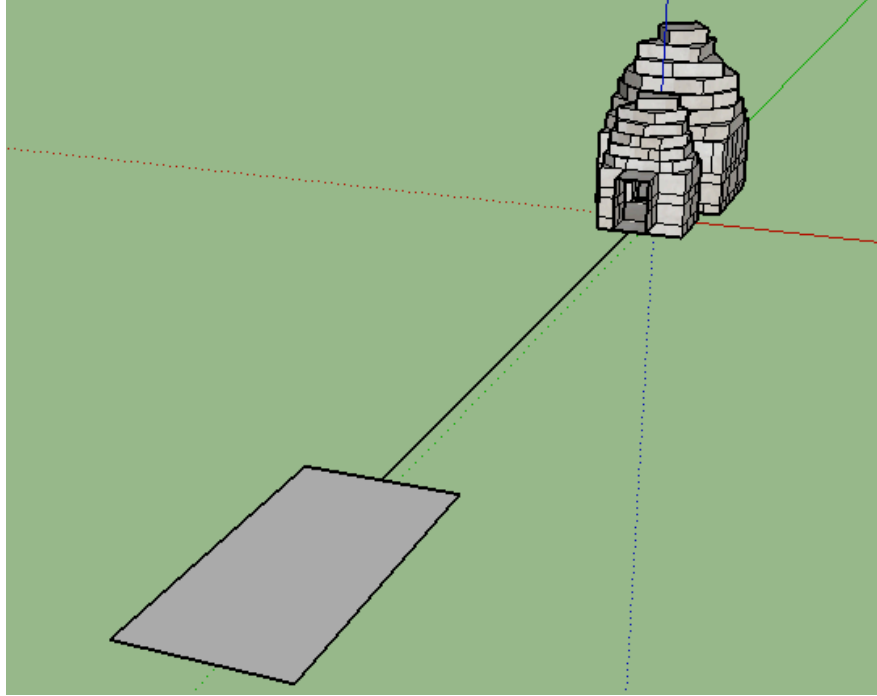
Figure 79: Reconstruction of Tumulus C at Karalar (Image source: Author, using SketchUp)
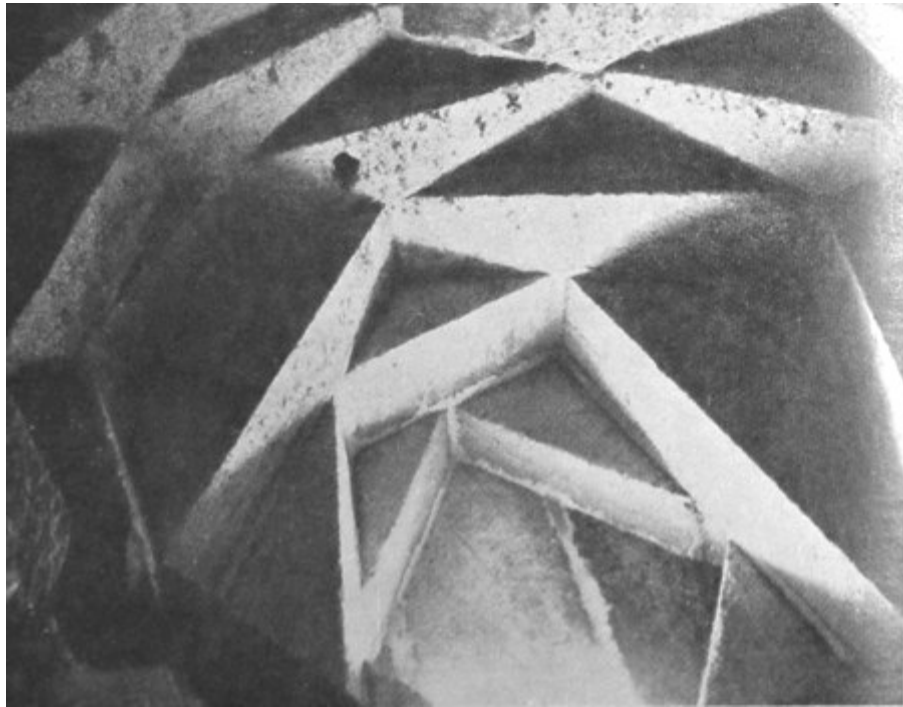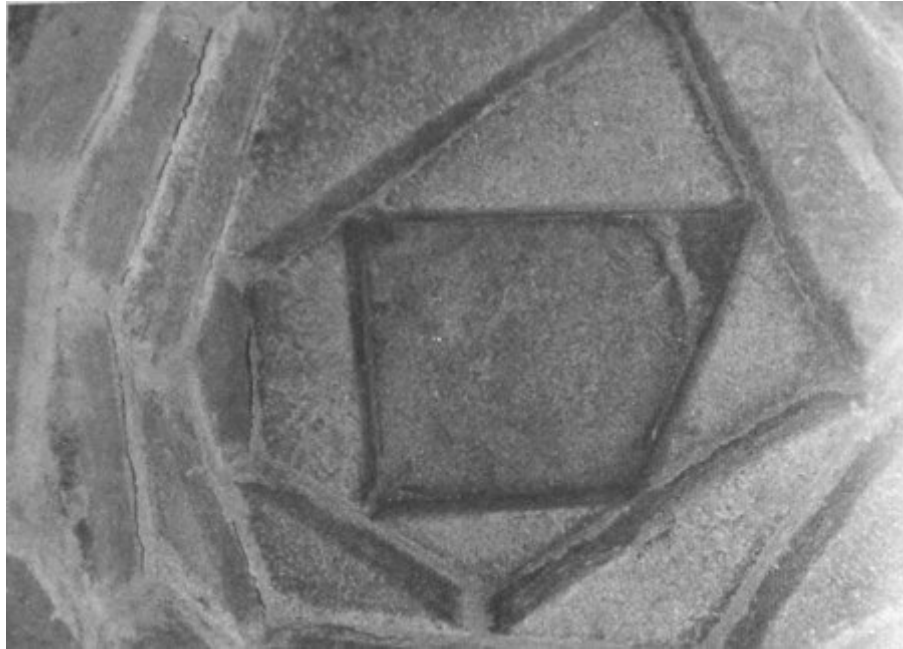
Figure 80: The "lantern" vault over the antechamber (above) and burial chamber (below) of Tumulus C at Karalar (Image source: Arık, "Karalar Hafriyati," Fig. 33 and 33a)
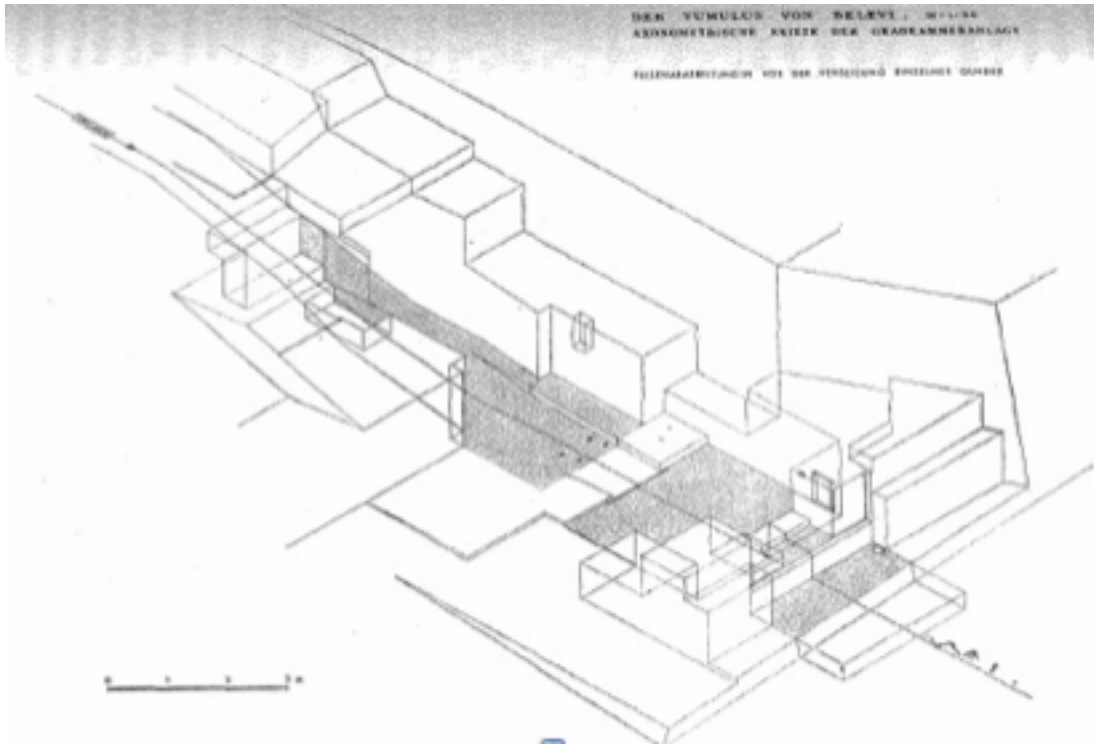
Figure 81: Plan of the Belevi tumulus near Ephesos (Image source: Kasper, "Der Tumulus von Belevi," Ill. 2)

1a-k. Schémas de composition des « voûtes galates ». *Dessins N. Sigalas, EFA.*

a. Bélévi ; b. Pandrethan ; c. Gemlik-Kios, Filipovo ; e. Ming Oei ; f. Valcipol ; h. Mudanya, Mylasa ; i. Gordion ; j. Musahocaköy ; k. Karalar.
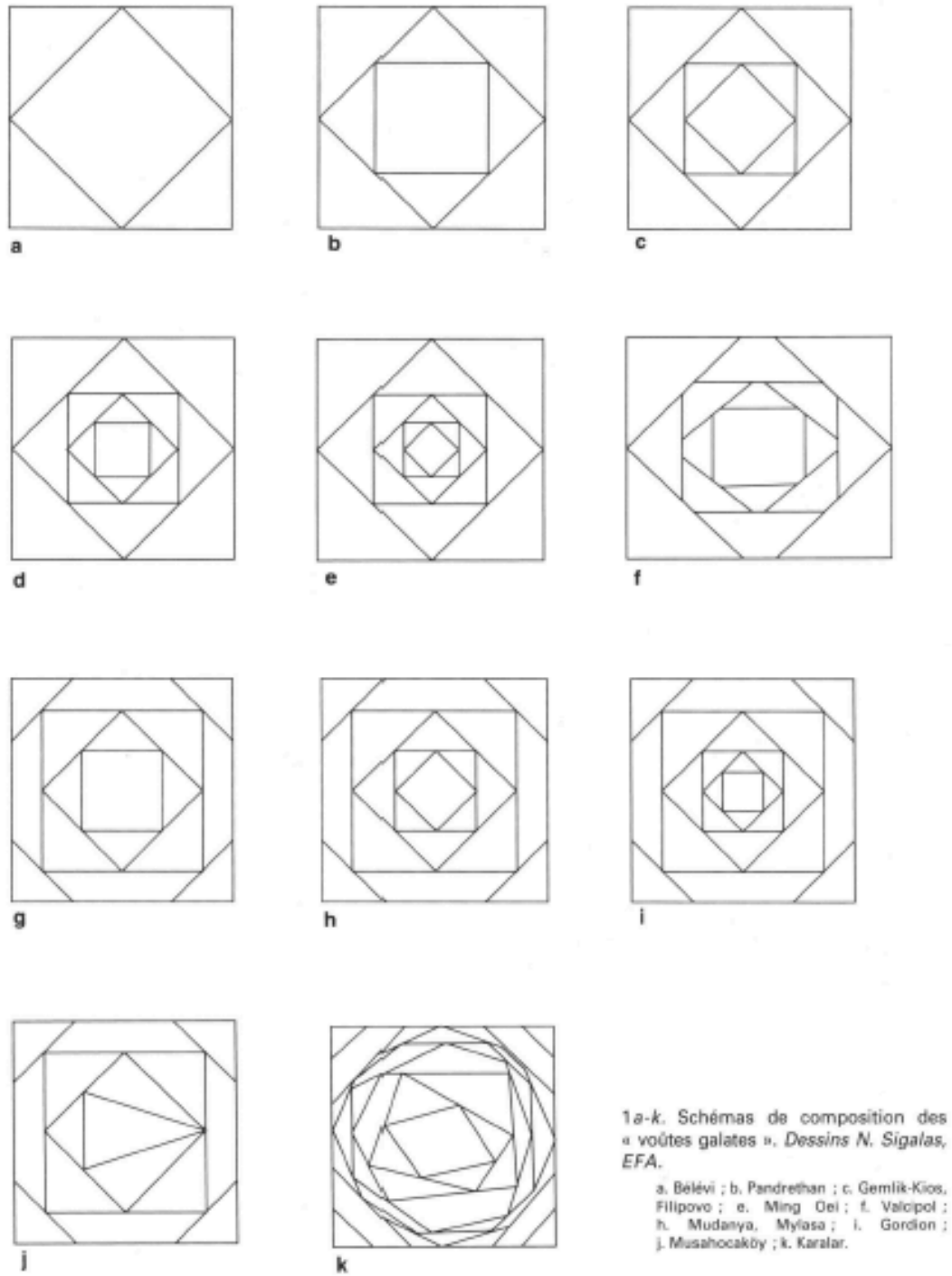
Figure 82: Comparison of "lantern-roof" schemes in Thrace and Anatolia (Image source: Ginouvès and Guimier-Sorbets, "Voûte 'Galate' et Charpente Macédonienne," Fig. 1a-k)

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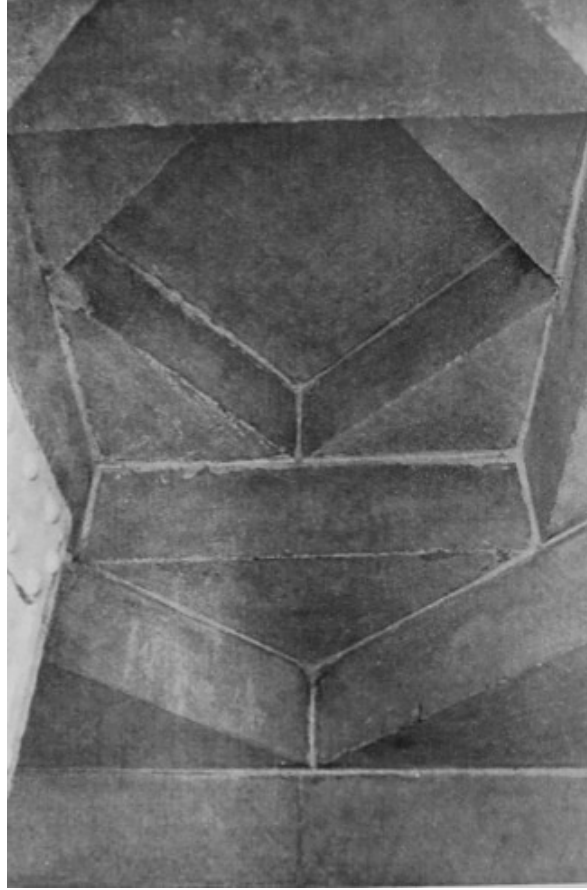
Figure 83: "Lantern" vault over the chamber of the tomb beneath the tumulus discovered near Gemlik (Image source: Mansel, "Gemlik tümülüs mezarı," Fig. 14)
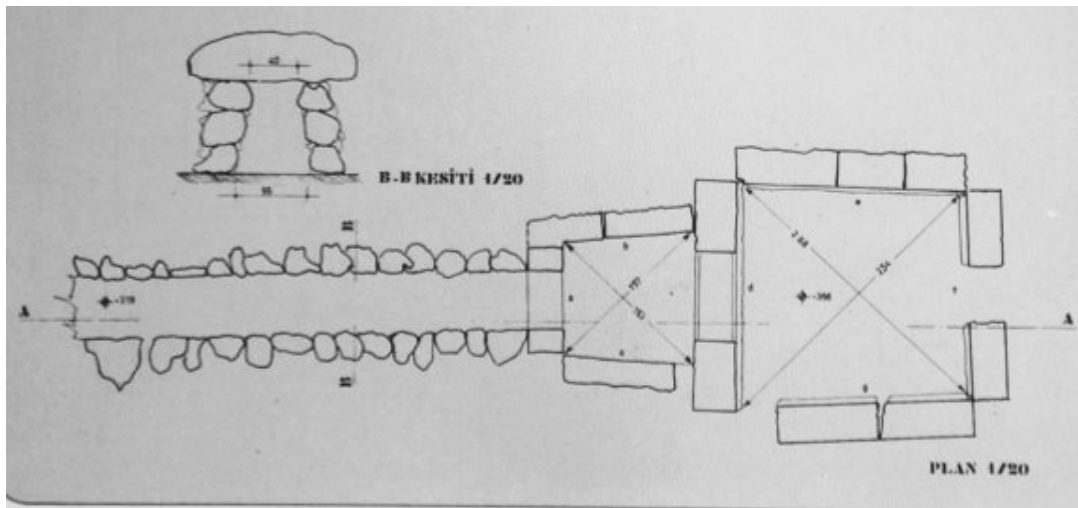
Figure 84: Plan and section of the chamber tomb of the Yalacık tumulus near Yukarı Bağdere (Image source: Mermerci and Yağcı, "Yukarı Bağdere," Plan III)

Figure 85: Közemtuğ tumulus discovered at Daskyleion (Image source: Theodossiev, "The Lantern-Roofed Tombs in Thrace and Anatolia," Fig. 20)

Figure 86: Emulation of a "lantern-roof" in the Gerdek Boğazı tomb at Karakoyunlu (Image source: Author)

Figure 87: "Lantern-roofed" chamber tomb beneath Tumulus O discovered near Gordion, reconstructed on the grounds of the Gordion Museum (Image source: Author)
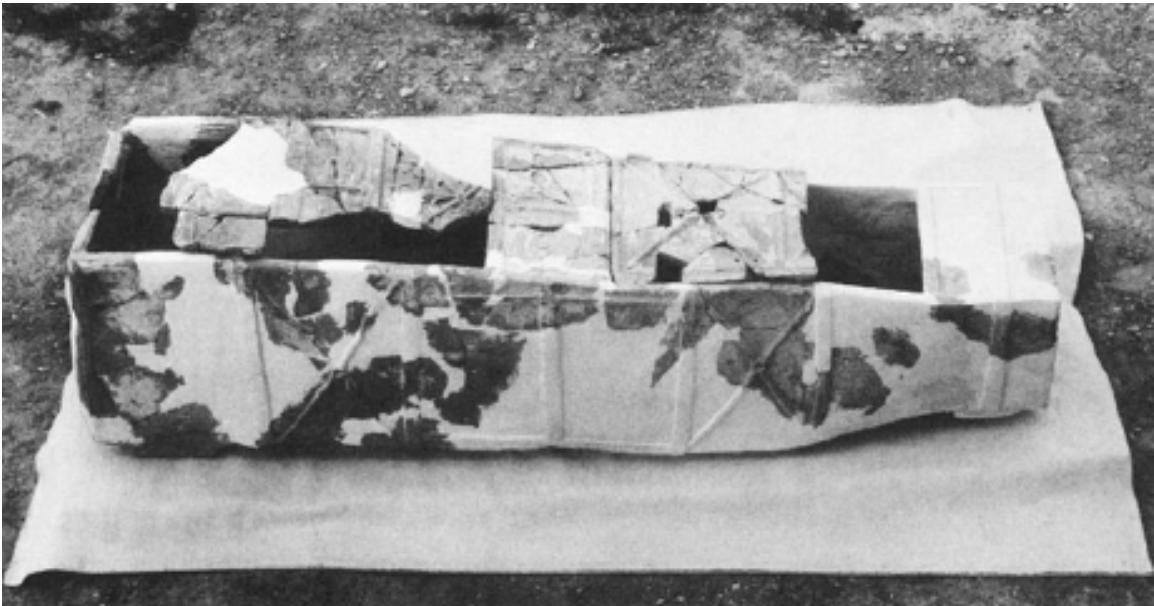
Figure 88: Terracotta larnax discovered in Tumulus O near Gordion (Image source: Young, "The Campaign of 1955 at Gordium," Fig. 9)

Figure 89: Hellenistic larnax in the Samsun Museum (Image source: Author)

Figure 90: Map of Hellenistic Pontos showing "Ancient Road Systems" and "Tombs of Hellenistic Pontos" layers (Image source: Author, using CartoDB)

Figure 91: Map of Hellenistic Pontos showing "Ancient Road Systems," "Tombs of Hellenistic Pontos," and "Major Sites of Hellenistic Pontos" layers (Image source: Author, using CartoDB)

Figure 92: Map of Hellenistic Pontos showing "Ancient Road Systems," "Tombs of Hellenistic Pontos," "Major Sites of Hellenistic Pontos," and "Tombs of Hellenistic Paphlagonia" layers (Image source: Author, using CartoDB)

Figure 93: 15th-century BCE statuette of the Hittite storm god and principal deity, Teşup, at the Amasya Museum (Image source: Author)

Figure 94: Map showing the location of remains known from Hellenistic and Roman Amaseia (Image source: Author, using GoogleEarth Pro)

Figure 95: Map showing the location of remains known from Hellenistic and Roman Amaseia
(Image source: Author, using GoogleEarth Pro)

Figure 96: Severan coin in the Amasya Museum showing a schematic view of Amaseia on the
reverse (Image source: The University of Warwick:
http://blogs.warwick.ac.uk/numismatics/entry/severus_alexander_and/)

Figure 97: Fleischer's reconstruction of Tomb A at Amaseia compared with the Severan coin showing a schematic view of the city (Image source: The University of Warwick: http://blogs.warwick.ac.uk/numismatics/entry/severus_alexander_and/; Fleischer "The Rock-tombs of the Pontic kings in Amaseia (Amasya)," Fig. 4b)

Figure 98: Tomb A at Amaseia (Image source: Author)
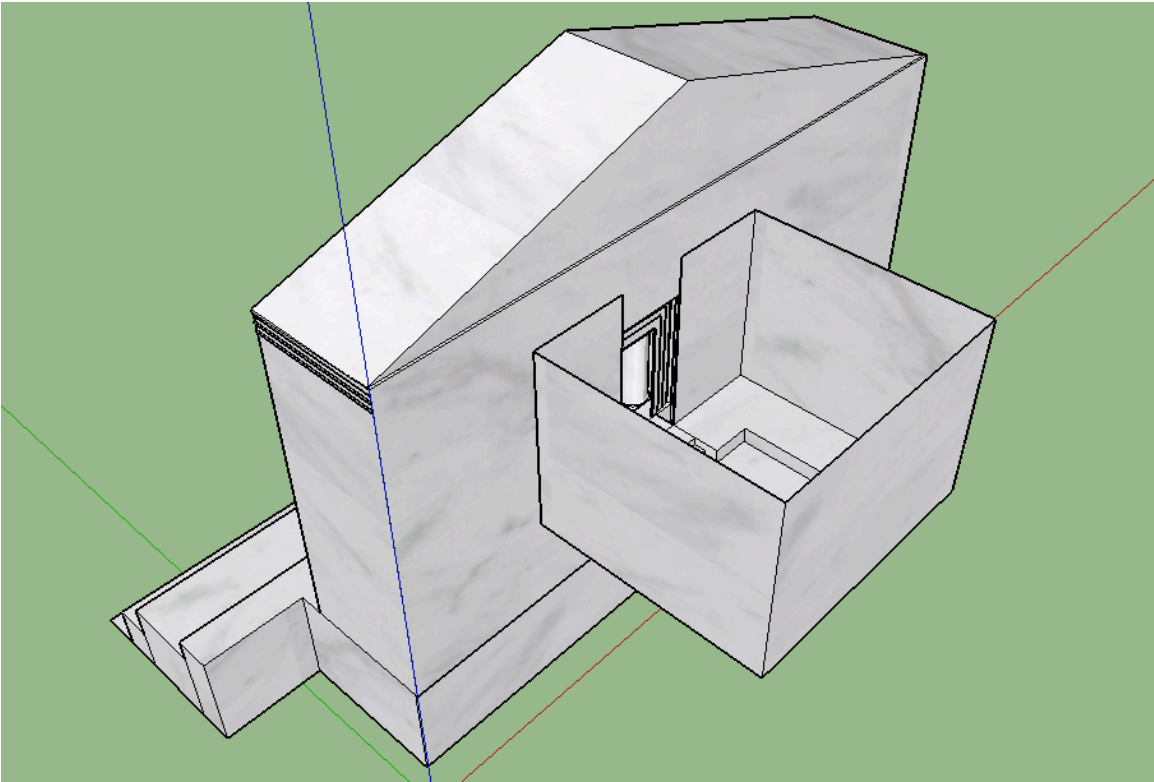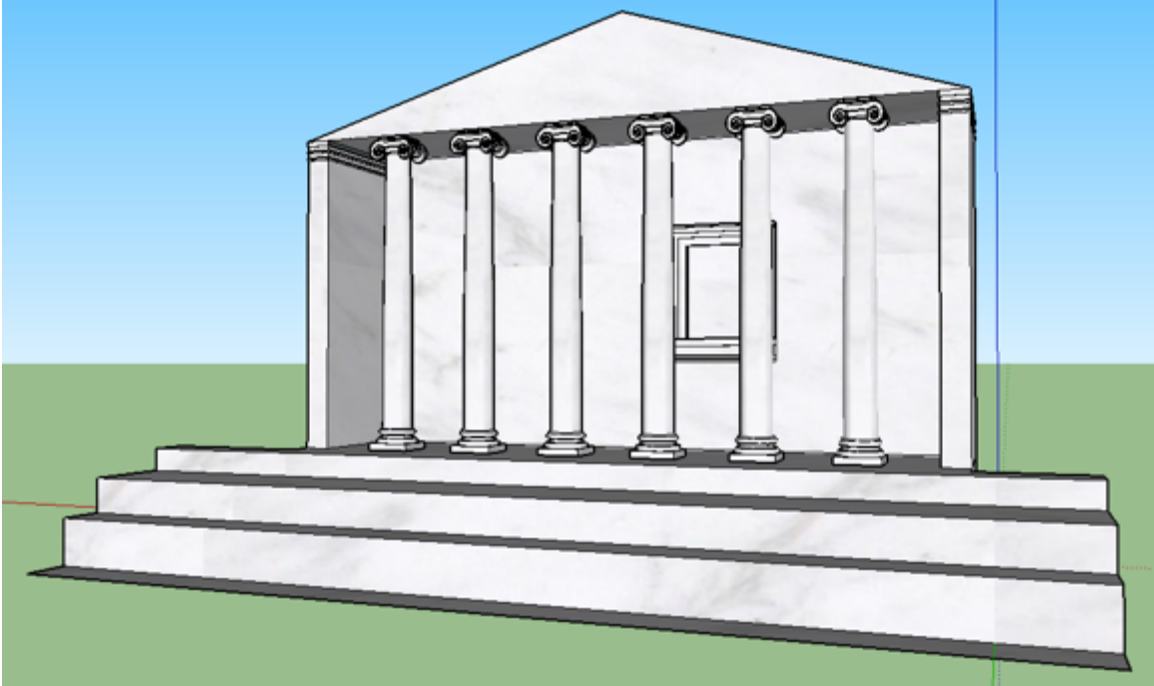
Figure 99: Reconstruction of Tomb A at Amaseia (Image source: Author, using SketchUp)

Figure 100: Interior of Tomb A at Amaseia (Image source: Fleischer, "The Rock-cut Tombs of the Pontic Kings in Amaseia (Amasya)," Fig. 7)

Figure 101: Facade and portico of Tomb C at Amaseia (Image source: Author)
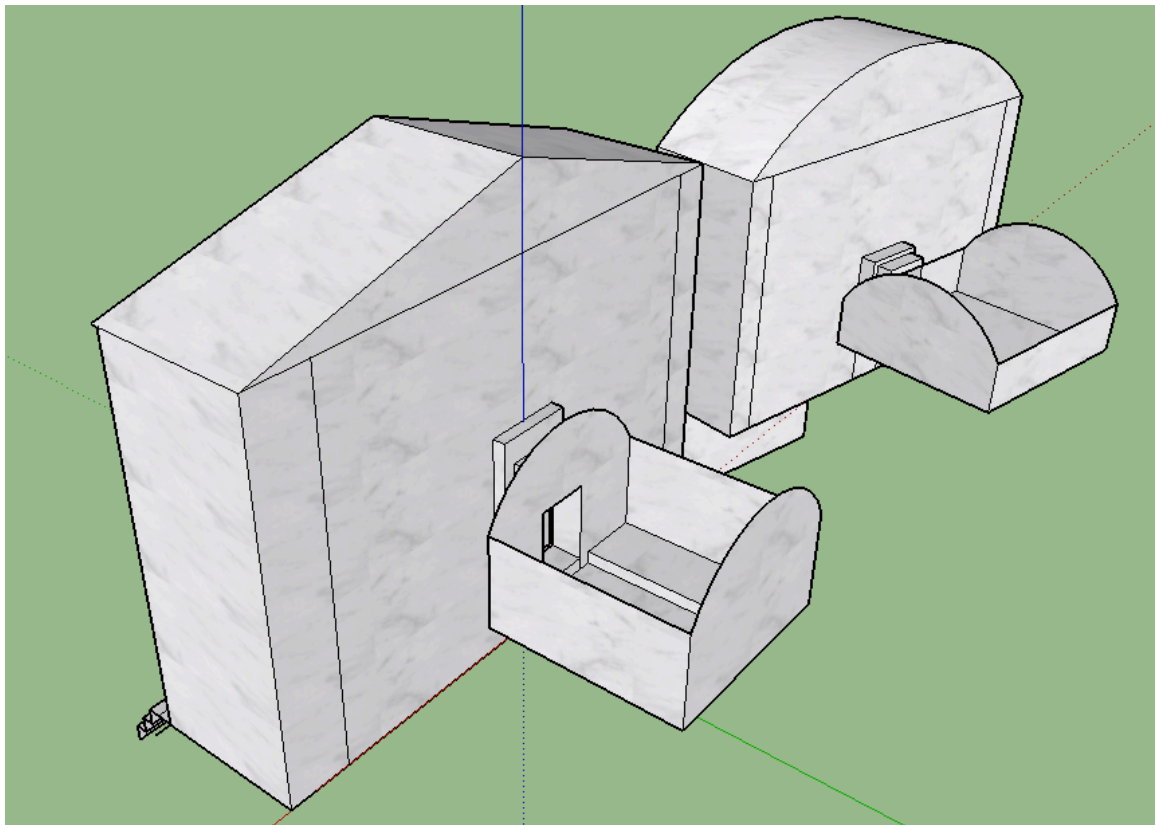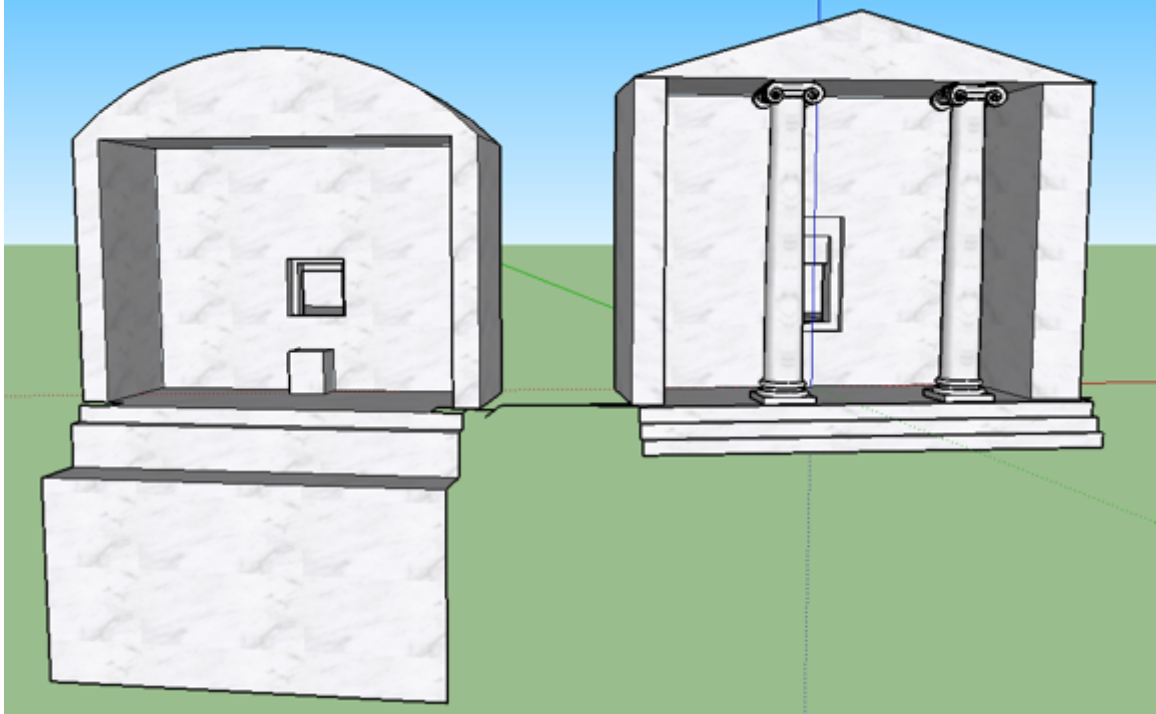
Figure 102: Reconstruction of Tombs B (right) and C (left) at Amaseia (Image source: Author, using SketchUp)

Figure 103: Tomb B at Amaseia (Image source: Author)

Figure 104: Discrepancy in foundation levels between Tombs B (right) and C (left) (Image
source: Author)

Figure 105: Tomb D at Amaseia (Image source: Author)
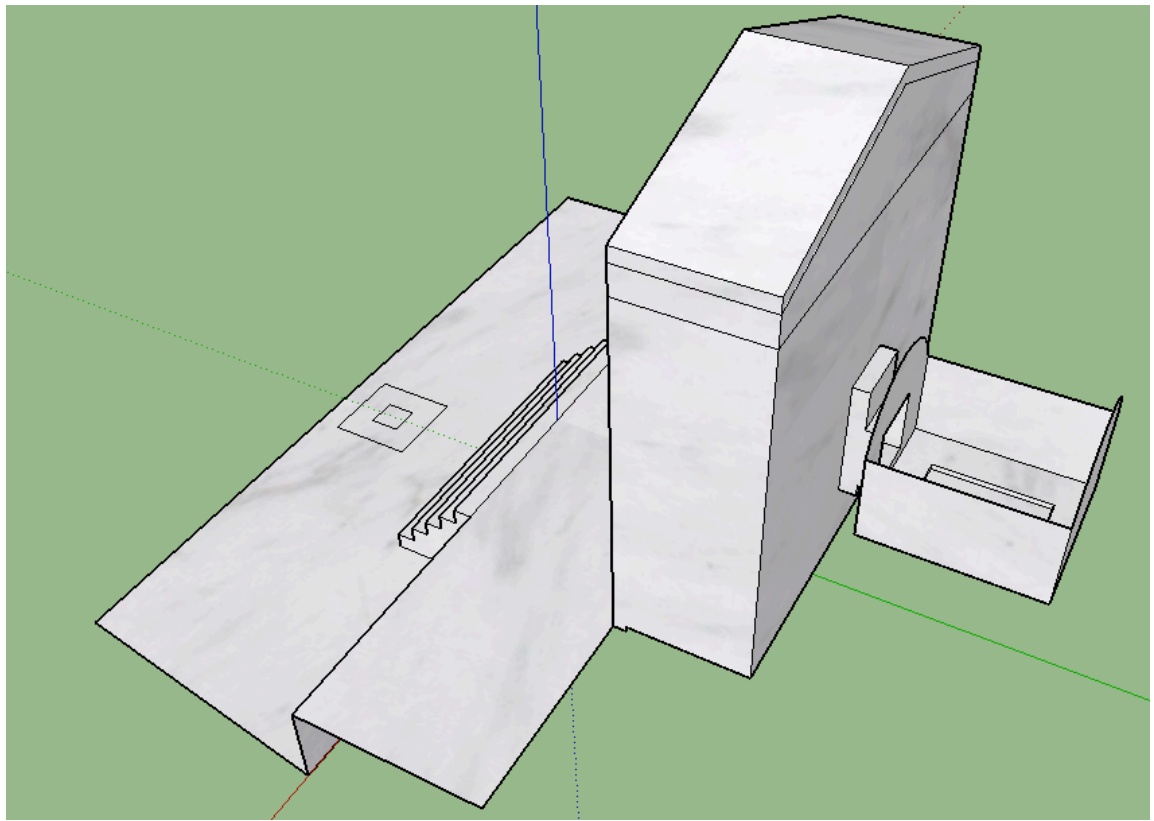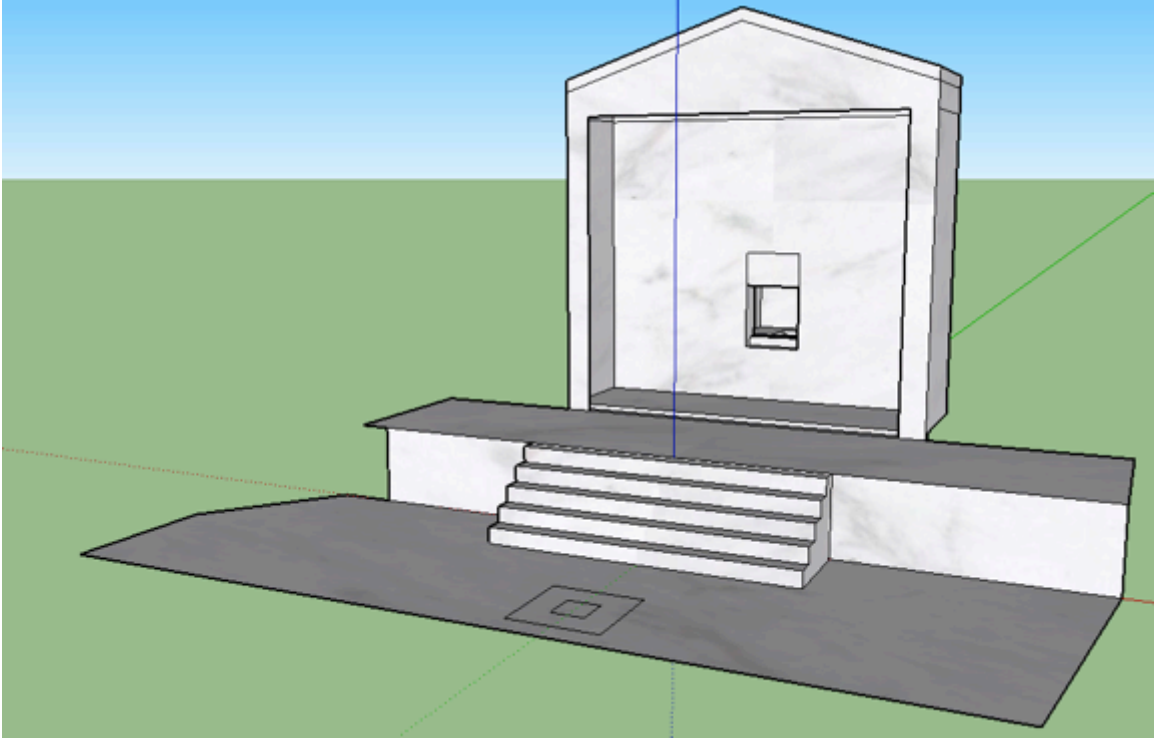
Figure 106: Reconstruction of Tomb D at Amaseia (Image source: Author, using SketchUp)

Figure 107: Tomb E at Amaseia (Image source: Author)
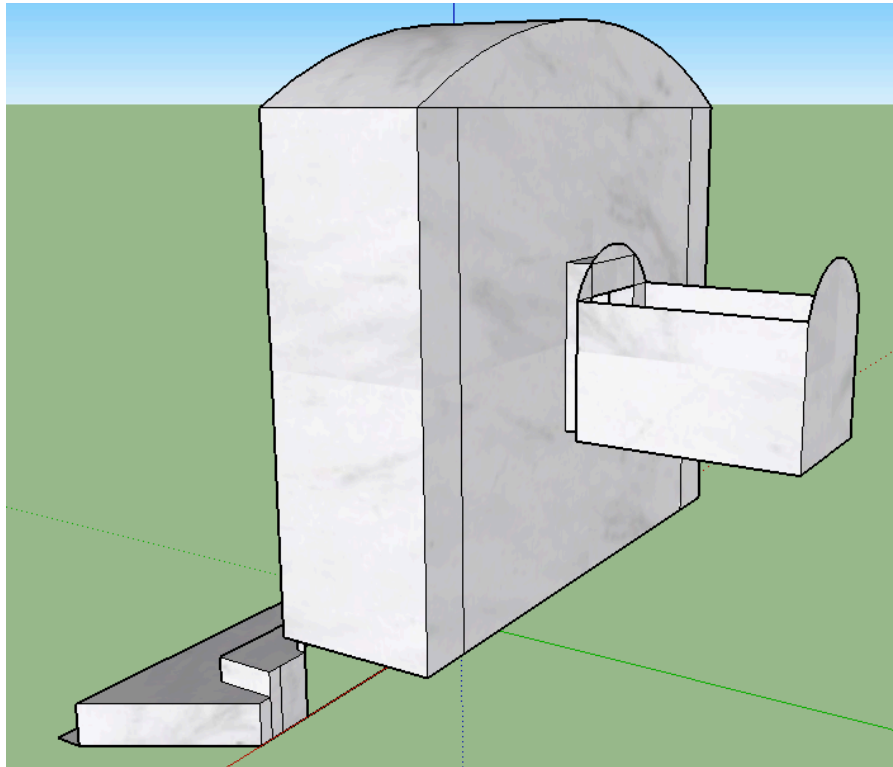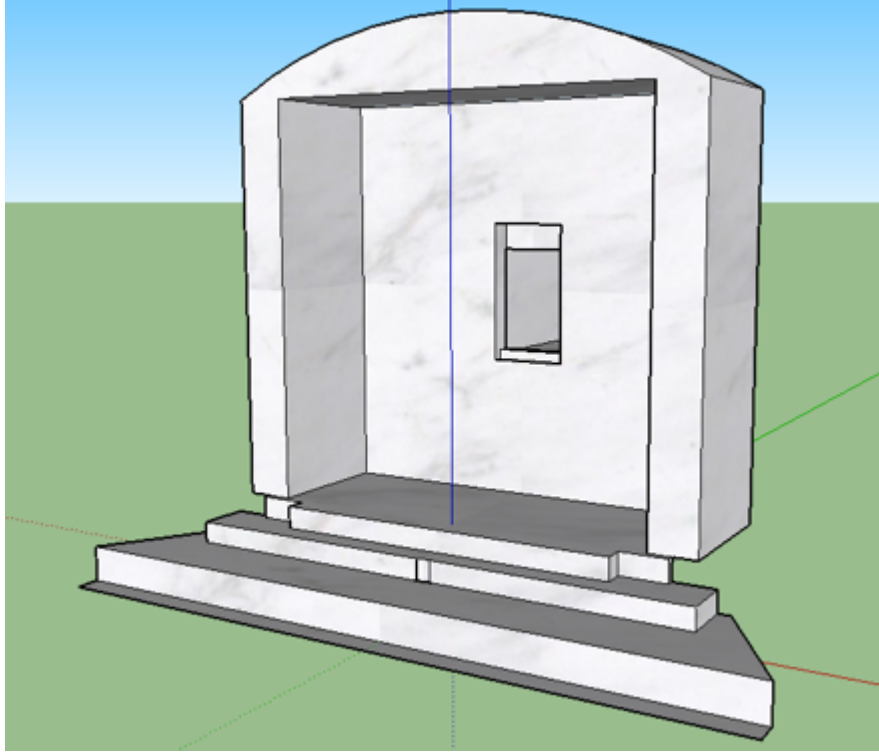
Figure 108: Reconstruction of Tomb E at Amaseia (Image source: Author, using SketchUp)

Figure 109: Baruthane north tumulus (middle ground) and south tumulus (foreground) at Samsun
(Image source: Author)
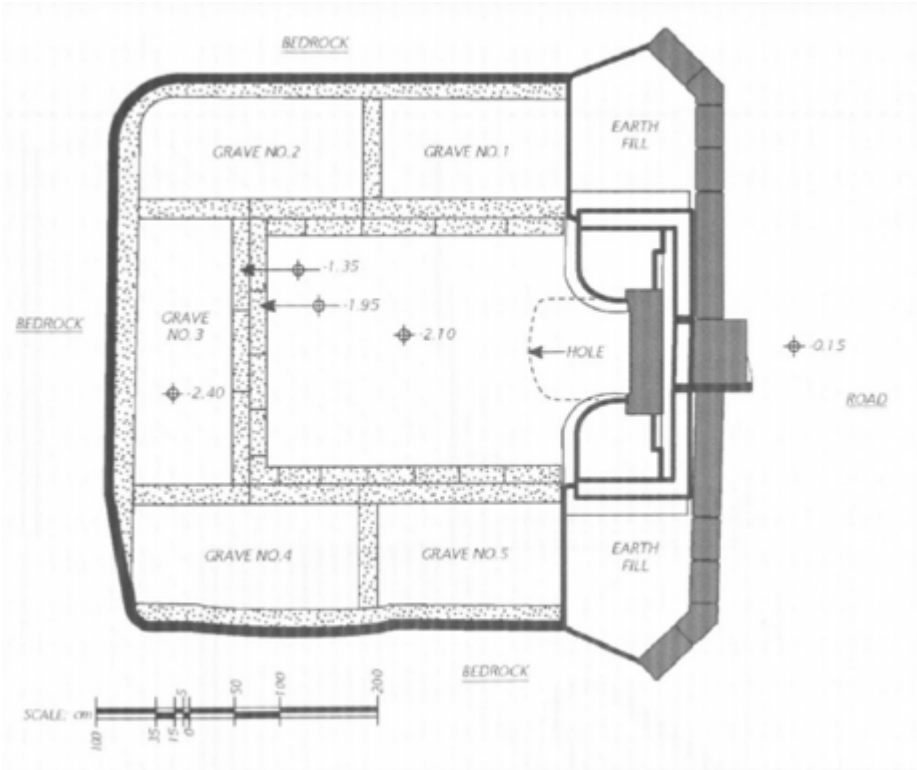
Figure 110: Plan of the Amisos tomb discovered at Samsun (Image source: Erciyas, *Wealth, Aristocracy, and Royal Propaganda*, Fig. 18)

Figure 111: Rock-cut tomb in the fortress at Ünye (Image source: Author)

Figure 112: Tozkoparan Rock Tomb near Ünye, with carved bull's head on the right door jamb
(Image source: Author)

Figure 113: Viewshed of Tomb A at Amaseia (Image source: Author, using GoogleEarth Pro)
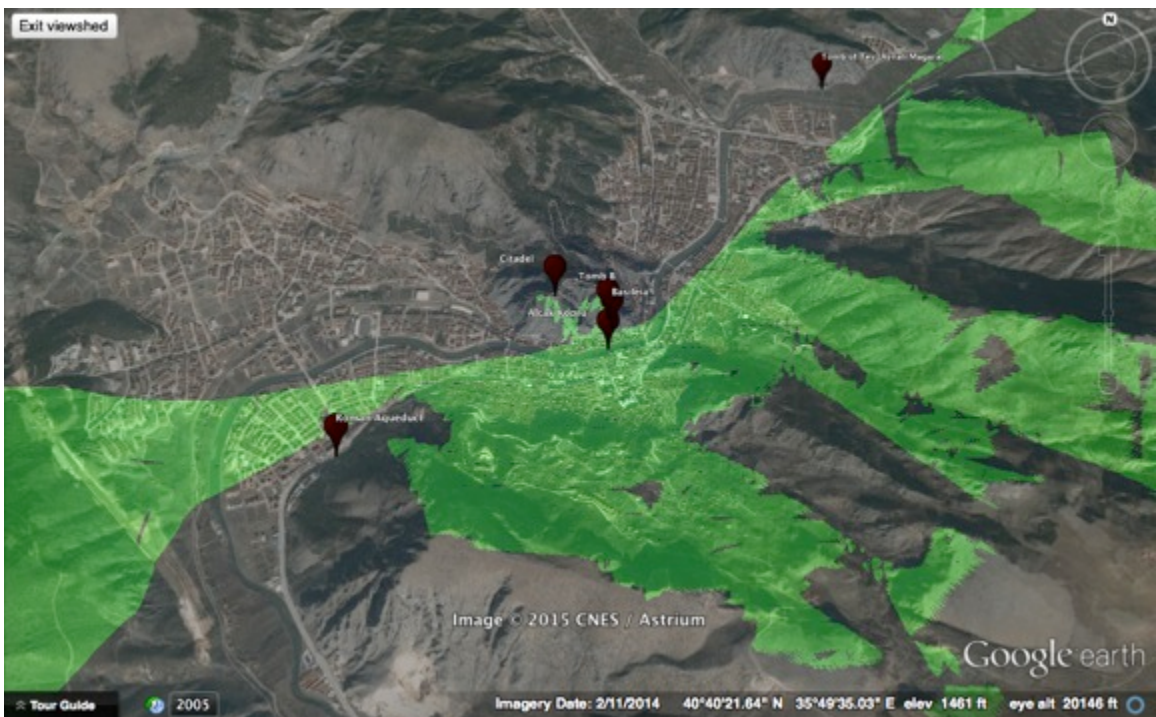
Figure 114: Viewshed of Tomb B at Amaseia (Image source: Author, using GoogleEarth Pro)
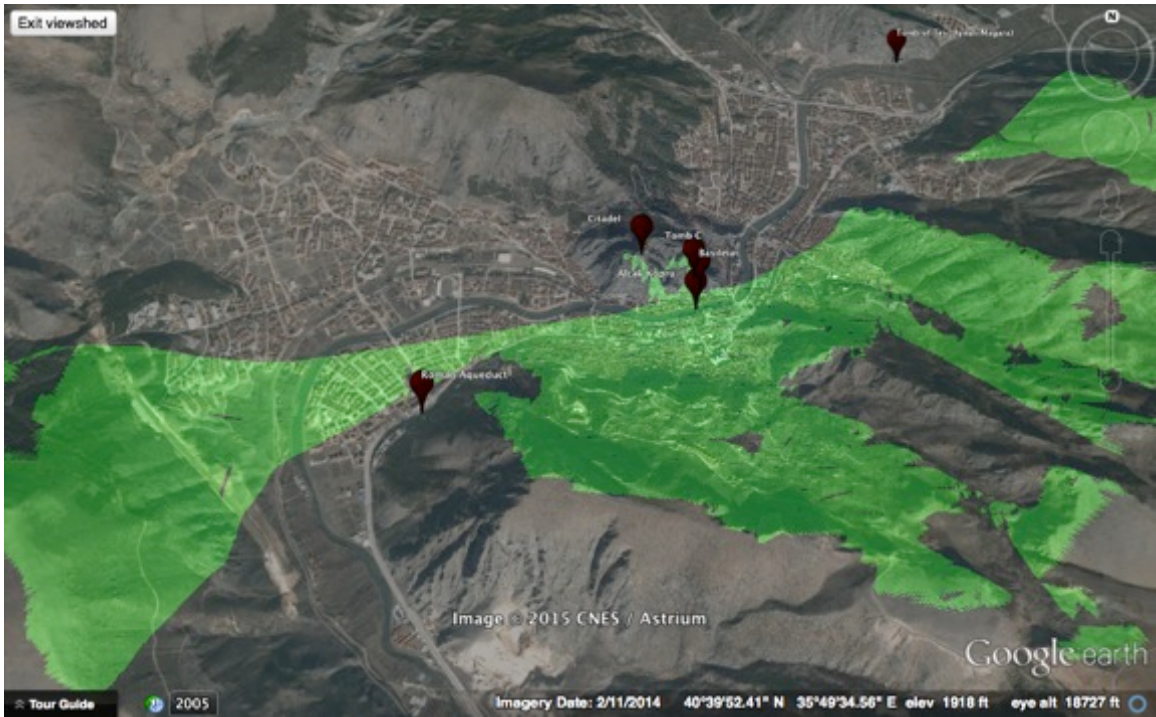
Figure 115: Viewshed of Tomb C at Amaseia (Image source: Author, using GoogleEarth Pro)

Figure 116: Viewshed of Tomb D at Amaseia (Image source: Author, using GoogleEarth Pro)
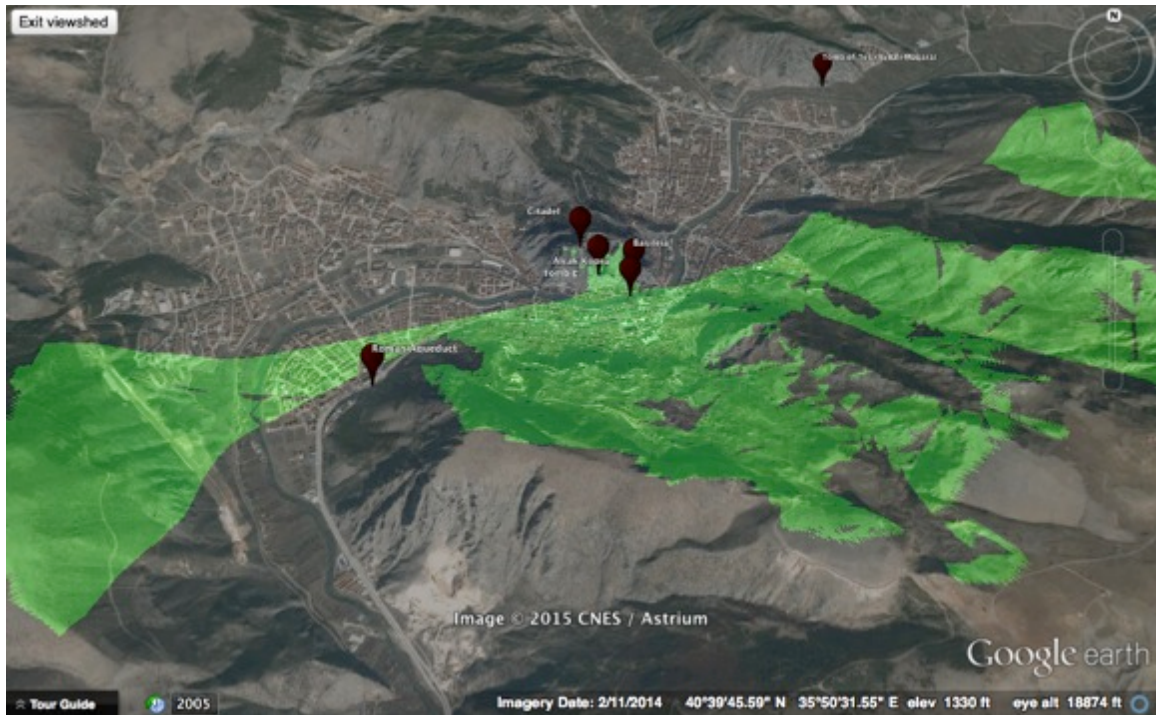
Figure 117: Viewshed of Tomb E at Amaseia (Image source: Author, using GoogleEarth Pro)

Figure 118: Achaemenid necropolis at Naqš-e Rostam (Image source: User Ggia – Own work, Creative Commons license, CC BY-SA 3.0, https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=17422810)

Figure 119: Interior of the tomb of Dareios I at Naqš-e Rostam (Image source: Erich Schmidt - Persepolis Books, Creative Commons License CC BY-SA 3.0, https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=18459089)

Figure 120: Tomb 6 at Amaseia (Image source: Author)

Figure 121: Tomb 7 at Amaseia (Image source: Author)

Figure 122: Arched facade of Tomb 8 at Amaseia (Image source: Author)

Figure 123: Tomb of Tês at Amaseia (Image source: Author)

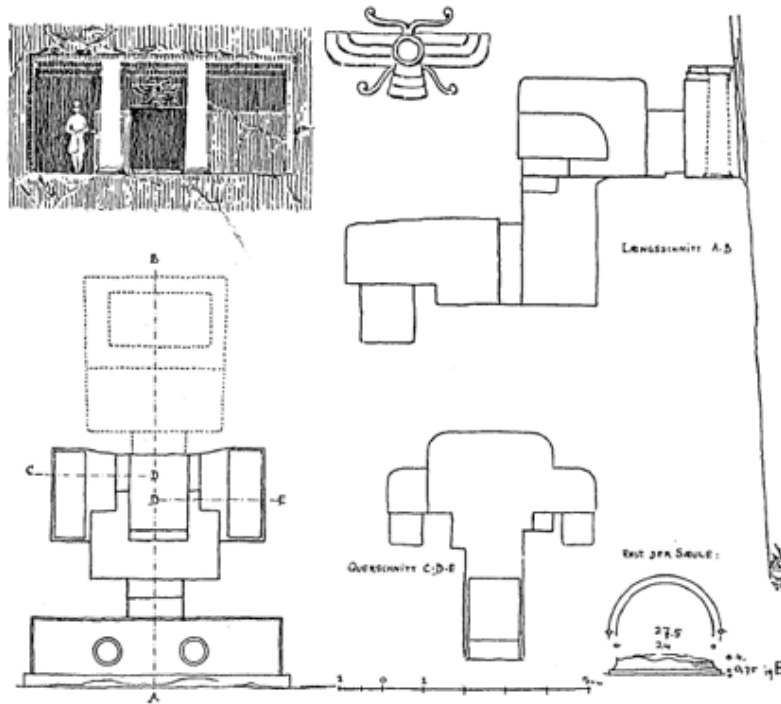Figure 124: Tomb of Hikesios in Lâçin (Image source: Author)

Figure 125: Tomb of Fakhrikah at Endirkash, "Ferhad-u-Shirin" at Sahna (Image source: von Gall, "Zu den 'medischen' Felsgräbern," Fig. 5)

Figure 126: Rock-cut tomb at Gündoğan (Image source: Carstens, "The Sepulchral Landscape of the Halikarnassos Peninsula in Hellenistic Times," Fig. 11)

Figure 127: Funerary stele from Rhodes (Image source: Pfuhl and Möbius, *Die ostgriechischen Grabreliefs*, cat. no. 46)

Figure 128: Stele of Zopyros in the Istanbul Archaeological Museums (Image source: Author)

Figure 129: Stele of Stratonika in the Istanbul Archaeological Museums (Image source: Author)

Figure 130: Hellenistic funerary stele from Delos (Rheneia) in the Mykonos Archaeological Museum (Image source: Author)
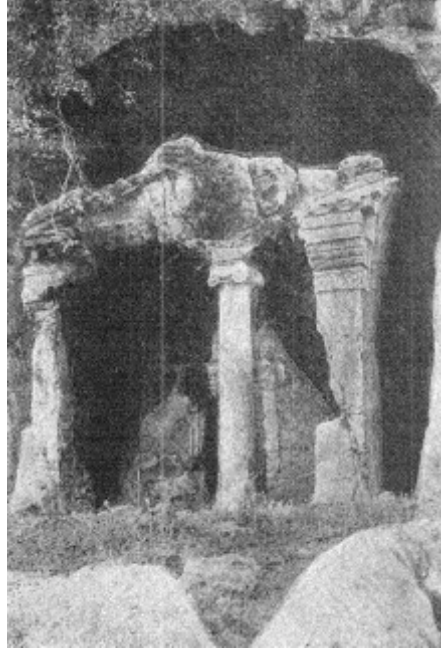
Figure 131: Rock-cut tomb from Idyma (Image source: Guidi, "Viaggio di esplorazione in Caria," Fig. 33)
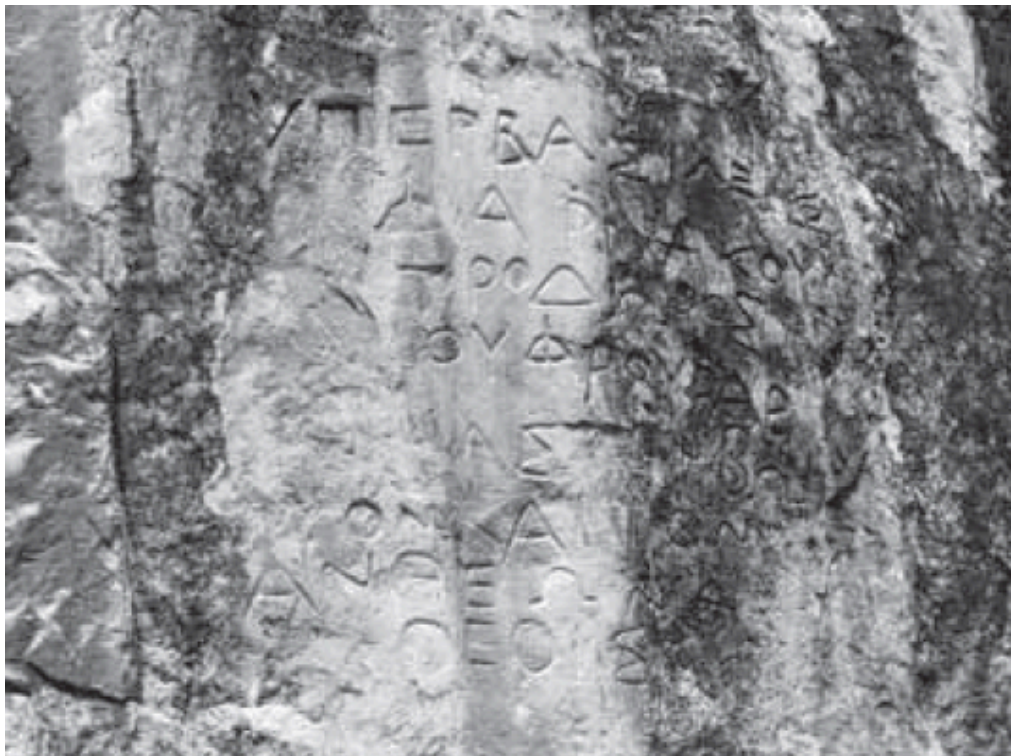

Figure 132: Inscription above Pharnakes' Tomb E at Amaseia (Image source: Fleischer, "The Rock-cut Tombs of the Pontic Kings in Amaseia (Amasya)," Fig. 10)

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