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LE MORT DANS LA VILLE

Olivier HENRY (éd.)

Pratiques, contextes et impacts des inhumations *intra-muros* en Anatolie, du début de l'Âge du Bronze à l'époque romaine

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Institut Français d'Études Anatoliennes Georges Dumézil - CNRS USR 3131

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INTRODUCTION

Olivier Henry

Ce volume est le deuxième publié dans le cadre des Rencontres d'Archéologie de l'IFEA. Après l'organisation, en 2010, d'un colloque sur le thème « Archéologie et Espaces parcourus », l'édition 2011 fut consacrée au « Mort dans la Ville ». La conférence réunit près de vingt-cinq contributeurs internationaux, qui présentèrent vingt-deux communications. Ces dernières ne sont, hélas, pas toutes publiées dans ce volume, mais nous avons intégré à celui-ci des articles qui nous ont été soumis par des intervenants extérieurs qui souhaitaient participer aux actes de la conférence.

Il est vrai que le thème de ces Rencontres est devenu particulièrement prégnant ces dernières années, particulièrement en Anatolie. Les études portant sur les périodes anciennes, de la Préhistoire au Bronze récent, se sont multipliées, alimentant une réflexion que les archéologues et historiens des époques classiques venaient de renouveler. En effet, une série de découvertes majeures, qu'il s'agisse de la « ville des morts » néolithique de Körtik Tepe ou du Mausolée Hékatomnide d'Uzunyuva à Milas, ont orienté les travaux des scientifiques vers la question des liens parfois très étroits qu'entretenaient les vivants avec leurs morts, au point parfois que ces deux mondes se superposaient.

Le but de la conférence que nous organisions les 14 et 15 novembre 2011 à Istanbul était donc de provoquer une réflexion diachronique et interdisciplinaire sur la pratique des inhumations *intra-muros* en Anatolie. Le développement précoce des rites mortuaires complexes a eu pour conséquence de conférer un rôle croissant aux pratiques funéraires, utilisées comme moyen de resserrer les liens à l'intérieur d'une communauté. Ainsi, bien qu'il semble possible de repérer un lien continu une vaste échelle chronologique, les articles qui suivent soulignent combien les pratiques d'inhumations au cœur même du cadre de vie de la communauté diffèrent selon les époques et les lieux géographiques.

Pour les périodes anciennes (du Chalcolithique à l'Âge du Bronze), la principale difficulté à laquelle se heurte l'analyse des fonctionnements sociaux de nos ancêtres tient bien entendu principalement au manque de sources textuelles concernant les inhumations intra-muros et à l'apparente variabilité des pratiques, souvent même au niveau local. La plupart des communications relatives à ces époques soulignent ainsi la prudence avec laquelle il convient d'interpréter de telles pratiques (T. McGeorge, B. Perello, J. Patrier) et la nécessité de voir les recherches de terrain s'y intéresser davantage. Les résultats archéologiques ne sont cependant pas la seule base de réflexion. N. Laneri souligne ainsi l'intérêt que présenterait le développement d'outils, notamment terminologiques, pour l'appréhension du phénomène des tombes intramurales, particulièrement pour les périodes de la Préhistoire à l'Âge du Bronze.

Comme dans de nombreux autres domaines, c'est en effet à l'Âge du Bronze que semble s'opérer une première transformation profonde des pratiques funéraires intramurales. L'un des premiers et rares exemples connus, présenté par Chr. Kepinski à Tilbeshar, montre, à l'instar de quelques autres structures comparables mises au jour dans le nord de la Syrie, le lien existant entre le développement socio-économique et urbain des communautés et l'émergence de caveaux funéraires, utilisés sur plusieurs siècles et associés à des rituels funéraires réguliers se déroulant au cœur même du tissu urbain. Ces tombes, dont la monumentalité s'affirme rapidement, visent à exalter le rôle moteur de telle ou telle famille au sein de la communauté.

Ces prémices ouvrent la voie au culte du Héros, longtemps considéré comme une importation grecque (on renvoie ici au culte de l'oikiste, par exemple, étudié dans les contributions de O. Henry et H. Schörner) et dont on connaît de mieux en mieux l'expression aux périodes classiques. À cet égard, l'article de A. Herda est important en ce qu'il offre non seulement un large panorama de ce phénomène à Milet mais aussi et surtout une réflexion pertinente sur ses implications religieuses et les frontières moins nettes qu'on ne le croit entre le culte des Héros et celui des Ancêtres, aux profondes racines indo-européennes. L'importance et la richesse des expressions du culte du défunt sont par ailleurs soulignées dans de nombreux lieux proprement micrasiatiques, tels que la Carie, dont l'architecture (R. Descat) et l'épigraphie (D. Aubriet) ne cessent de révéler l'ampleur du phénomène à un niveau local. Si la place privilégiée que la Carie occupe dans ce volume peut s'expliquer par le fait que l'éditeur est un familier de la région, on soulignera toutefois que cette dernière fournit, avec le Mausolée d'Halicarnasse, un exemple unique de tombe intramurale. Ce bâtiment révèle l'ampleur que peut atteindre ce phénomène au 4^{e} s. aC. Le Mausolée, en effet, ne se limite plus à l'expression d'un culte local ; son architecture monumentale traduit un véritable programme de propagande politique (A.-M. Carstens) et culturel (E. McGowan) suprarégionale. La tombe monumentale intramurale devient dès lors un medium qui permet non seulement d'asseoir une autorité et un pouvoir nouvellement reconnus, mais aussi et surtout à s'assurer que ces derniers perdurent dans l'histoire de la communauté. Ce phénomène n'est pas limité à la Carie ; les exemples lyciens sont également nombreux.

Jusqu'à récemment, la Lycie fut, du reste, considérée comme un cas particulièrement enthousiasmant, puisque la plupart de ses sites recèlent de nombreuses tombes intramurales monumentales, dont certaines ne sont pas sans relation avec la Carie (M. Seyer). Cependant, il convient, selon O. Hülden, de nuancer ce constat. L'auteur note en effet qu'une nouvelle analyse des limites urbaines permet de reconsidérer ce qui fut une caractéristique locale largement répandue. Son approche de la chronologie de l'expansion des villes semble en effet indiquer, non pas que ces tombes furent implantées au cœur des villes, mais que ces dernières ont englobé les tombes construites en bordure des limites anciennes de l'habitat. Le phénomène de la place du mort dans la ville semble donc ici s'inverser par une intégration a posteriori des monuments funéraires, ce qui n'est pas sans soulever un certain nombre de questions quant au rôle de ces tombes et à l'importance accordée à leurs propriétaires dans le panthéon local.

Dans les périodes ultérieures, le statut de ces morts, Héros ou Ancêtres, a suivi la même série de mutations que celles qui ont amené les transformations des sociétés urbaines hellénistique et romaine. À l'avènement de nouvelles représentations du pouvoir, notamment économique, correspond l'émergence de nouveaux espaces funéraires urbains dédiés aux évergètes (Chr. Berns). Ces espaces ne sont plus désormais des îlots funéraires distincts de l'activité « séculaire », mais deviennent parfaitement intégrés au tissu urbain et participent parfois même à son développement social et communautaire (cf. la bibliothèque de Celsus à Ephèse). Les monuments ne perdent pas pour autant de leur splendeur et deviennent de véritables vitrines, archives, mémoriaux, à la gloire de la ou des personnes honorées.

Cette caractéristique des tombes intramurales des périodes classique, hellénistique et romaine est d'autant plus remarquable qu'elle tranche très nettement avec la tradition chrétienne qui lentement s'implante dans les cités d'Asie Mineure. L'heure n'est plus alors à la démonstration de puissance et à la remémoration de l'importance des morts au service des vivants, mais à la salvation de l'âme des morts eux-mêmes, dont les tombes, modestes et discrètes, colonisent les espaces sacrés les plus importants de la ville, délaissant peu à peu les zones traditionnelles, périurbaines (M. Steskal).

Bien entendu, ce volume ne prétend pas répondre à toutes les interrogations liées aux pratiques funéraires intra-urbaines. Son objectif est de faire un point à partir des nouvelles données livrées par l'archéologie et de renouveler les questionnements qui portent sur ces problématiques. Les intenses discussions suscitées par telle ou telle session de la conférence, qui continuèrent souvent bien après la fin du programme, montrent, s'il en était besoin, la nécessité de telles rencontres, lesquelles ont mis en évidence l'utilité que présenterait un réseau des études funéraires anatoliennes qui manque singulièrement.

L'organisation de la conférence ainsi que la réalisation de ce volume doivent beaucoup à Nora Şeni, directrice de l'IFEA de 2008 à 2012, qui souhaita remettre l'archéologie au cœur des préoccupations de l'Institut, ainsi qu'à Olivier Chalvon-Demersay, directeur de TOTAL Turquie jusqu'en 2012, dont le soutien a été déterminant. À l'IFEA même, l'énergie et le professionnalisme de Pınar Dost ont été, comme toujours, décisifs, tout autant que la disponibilité des Isabelles, Gilles et Verdier. Enfin, mes plus vifs remerciements vont à Elsa Juarez-Cedillo, qui signe la maquette de ce volume, et à Naomi Carless Unwinn, Mancunienne, Milasienne et correctrice infatigable de la plupart des textes anglais.

INTRAMURAL INFANT BURIALS IN THE AEGEAN BRONZE AGE

Reflections on symbolism and eschatology with particular reference to Crete

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Abstract

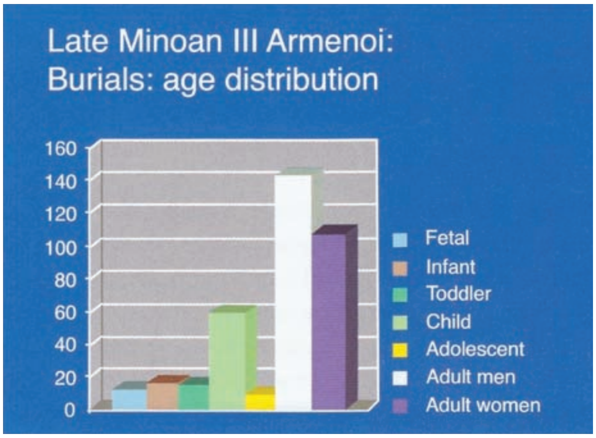
This paper reviews the cultural practice of intramural burials for infants in Greece, making reference to parallel practices in Anatolia, the Levant and Egypt. This age-old and widespread custom began with the earliest settled communities in the Near East and continued through the Chalcolithic and Bronze Age. Intramural burials in pits, cists and pots are known in Greece throughout the Bronze Age, whereas despite being relatively common on the mainland the practice barely impacted Crete until LMIA, the peak of Minoan trade exchanges with the Levant. In LMIA intramural *pithos* burials of infants occur, sporadically, at sites in East Crete and later in South Central Crete, while pit burials and a cist burial are known from LMIA at Knossos continuing until LMIII. Intramural burial was practiced for many millennia in different cultural and geographical settings, which may or may not suggest an underlying koine of belief, because given the complexity of human nature and the infinite variety of expression of human culture and beliefs there need not necessarily be a single explanation for this phenomenon at all times and in all places. In Crete, however, the context of some *pithos* burials seems to convey a funerary symbolism, which articulates the Minoans' religious belief in rebirth and hope for an afterlife.

Introduction

Settled communities in the Near East practised intramural burial of both adults and children as early as the Xth millennium BC. In the Neolithic period pots were used as burial receptacles, cooking jars being used for the burial of infants and small children. When burial was removed from living sites to organized cemeteries, the custom of intramural jar burial for infants continued. This practice had firm roots in North Syria and SE Anatolia, and spread to neighbouring areas including the Aegean and mainland Greece, where intramural burial for infants and children occurs in the Neolithic and Bronze Ages. However, in Crete there are a few Neolithic intramural burials at Knossos and one Early Minoan II intramural burial at Nopigeia, a coastal site in West Crete. Intramural burial for children is only evident on a broad scale in the Late Minoan period at several major urban sites.

Infant mortality

Neonatal and infant mortality throughout the prehistoric period was high and probably rose during the Bronze Age owing to greater population densities stimulating an increase in pathogenesis. To illustrate this point one need only look at the figures for the Late Minoan cemetery at Armenoi near Rethymnon, where there were 114 sub-adults in a sample of 364 individuals nearly a quarter of whom had died at or not long after birth (fig. 1). Infant mortality at Armenoi is equivalent to 69 ‰ and comparable with World Health Organisation figures for infant mortality in contemporary West Africa. At another LMIIIA2-LMIIIB1 cemetery in Khania, one teenage mother had a fetus still in her womb, illustrating that childbirth could be a complicated event with a very uncertain outcome for both mother and child[1]. The causes of perinatal mortality are often associated on the one hand with poor maternal health during pregnancy (any bacteria in the mother's blood stream would penetrate the placenta and attack the embryo's brain, heart and other vital organs) and on the other hand with genetic or developmental abnormalities and birth traumas.



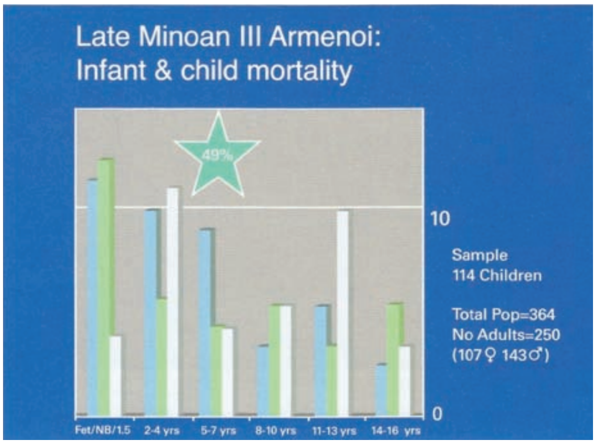


Fig. 1 : Infant mortality in Late Bronze Age Crete.

Greece

Intramural infant burials occur on the Greek mainland and islands from the Neolithic period. The earliest examples are seven intramural burials: an embryo, newborns and children in pits below at hut at Knossos, dated to the Aceramic Neolithic[2]. On the mainland, intramural burials in small pots occur in the Early Neolithic at Axos, Sesklo, Argissa; in the Middle Neolithic at Chaeronea and on the islet of Aghios Petros; and during Late Neolithic at Nea Nikomedeia, Rachmani and Lerna, interred below floors.

The use of coarse ware vases for intramural burial is frequent in the Early Bronze Age, but less frequent in the Middle or Late Helladic. New or stillborn babies were placed either in baskets, or wrapped in cloth of which an impression occasionally survives (as at Malthi), or in a wooden box (as at Modi), in small clay jars, or in simple pits, or stone cists below the floors of houses. Burials are sometimes double or even triple.

Intramural burial was practised at a large number of EBA settlement sites: at Poliochni on Limnos (4), Bozcaaada on Tenedos, Thermi I and III on Lesbos (5), Emborio on Chios (1), Akrotiri on Thera (10), Paroikia on Paros (1), Phylakopi on Melos (9), Nopigeia on Crete (1), Kolona on Aigina (several), and at Askitario (1 under *pithos*

1 McGeorge 2008, 119; Hallager/McGeorge 1992, 32.
2 Evans, 1964, 136.

Map 1 : Aegean Bronze Age sites with intramural burials.

fragments), Eutresis (1), Kirra (1)[3], Platygiali (4), Pelekita on Ithaca (4), and in the Peloponnese at Tzoungiza, Berbati, Strephi, Epidaurus (12), Tyrins (1), Asine and Lerna (9), at Ayios Stephanos, (22) Koufovouno and Olympia (3) (map 1)[4]. The actual number of burials per site (in brackets) is small.

Middle Bronze Age intramural infant burials have been found at Poliochni, Akrotiri, Thebes, Eleusis, Eutresis, Korakou, Argos, Asine, Tyrins, Ayios Stephanos, Peristeria and Malthi[5]. Sites with exceptional numbers of intramural burials are Asine[6] with 57 infant/child burials: 45 in pits, 6 in *pithoi*, 5 in cists and 1 in a brick enclosure; and Ayios Stephanos[7] with about 22 EH-MH infant/child burials, many in cists.

At some sites the custom of intramural burial for infants and children (occasionally adults too) is carried over from Early Helladic to the Middle Helladic period, or from Middle Helladic to the Late Helladic period. Burials are either the stone cist, earth-cut or pit types; jar burials are less frequent, while large sherds were used to cover inhumations of infants and children at Lefkandi.[8] Three shaft graves were used for the intramural inhumation of infants at Korakou.[9] On the islet of Modi,[10] an inaccessible fortified trade post for the temporary storage of goods in transit, the ivory inlay survived from the wooden box used for the burial of a newborn infant.

The number of LBA sites with intramural infant and child burials is quite numerous, whereas the number of burials at each site for the most part ranges between one and four. Sites with intramural burials are Ayios Stephanos (2 *pithos* burials), Asine (8), Tiryns (3), Lerna (1), Korakou (3), Tzoungiza (1) and Peristeria (9), Argos (3), Mycenae, Midea (3), Modi Troizina (1), Chalandritsa (4), Mygdalia (2), Drakotrypa (4), Kataraktes Achaia (2), Makrigianni Athens (1), Aghios Kosmas (9), Thebes (1), Kynos

3 Dor 1960, 43-44, 119, Pls. 23.2 and 24.4.

4 Here the references are given in order for each site, eg. Brea for Poliochni/Dörpfeld for Olympia. Likewise in all the following footnotes where many sites are mentioned the sources are listed in site order. Brea 1976; Massa/Sahoglu 2011; Lamb 1936; Hood 1981; Doumas forthcoming; Rubensohn 1917; Dawkins/Droop 1911; Karantzali 1997; Welter 1938; Theocharis 1955; Goldman 1931; Dor *et al.* 1960; Delaporta/Spondyles 1988; Heurtley 1934-35; Pullen 1990; Kanz *et al.* 2010; Forsén 1992; Frodin/Person 1938; Caskey 1956 and 1957; Taylour/Janko 2008; Forsén 1992; Dörpfeld 1935.

5 Brea 1976; Lanaras 2003; Piteros 1983; Kaza 1980 and 1985; Nordquist 1987; Mylonas 1932 and 1953-54; Goldman 1931; Blegen 1921; Forsén 1992;Taylour/Janko 2008; Marinatos 1961; Valmin 1938.

6 Frodin/Persson 1938.

7 Taylour/Janko 2008.

8 Musgrave/ Popham, 1991.

9 Blegen 1921.

10 Mårtenson 2002; Konsolaki-Giannakopoulou 2003.

Lokrida (several), Dimini (2), Karvounolakkoi Naxos (1), Lefkandi Euboeia (15)[11]. At Mycenae there are said to be as many as 50 intramural infant burials, mainly unpublished, but some are mentioned in publications. Tsountas reported Late Mycenaean infant burials in four small cist graves in a single room: one accompanied by a bronze pin, another by two clay vases and a bronze pin[12]. Mylonas reported a LHIIIB child burial with a small painted animal figurine, under the floor of the southwest corner of a large room in House I-2[13]. A child burial in Petsas House, room T, was exceptionally rich with three vases and a necklace of gold papyrus beads[14].

Crete

At the southern edge of the Aegean, Crete seems not to have embraced this particular burial practice in the Early Bronze Age, whereas there were a great variety of extramural burial practices. The Early Minoans buried their dead in caves, rock shelters, crevices, tombs: house tombs, *tholos* tombs, chamber tombs, cists or in cemeteries sometimes using clay coffins (*pithoi* or larnakes). At present, the only intramural child burial known is an EMII *pithos* burial at Nopigeia, Kissamos in west Crete (60 miles from Cape Malea in the Peloponnese). A child <3 years old was buried with two obsidian blades, in a *pithos* (< 0.5 m tall) at the corner of a building in an open area paved with pebbles. The *pithos* lay on its side in a shallow pit, the mouth of the jar pointing westwards[15].

Intramural burials of infants and small children begin to occur from LMIA, centuries later, at several sites on the island. The burials fall into three main categories: inhumations in pots or in pits and one in a stone-lined cist, made under the floors of houses that were occupied.

11 Reference are given in order for each site: Taylour/Janko 2008; Nordquist 1987; Kilian 1982; Caskey 1957; Blegen 1921; Touchais 1986; Marinatos 1960; Kaza 1980; Tsountas 1891; Daux 1964; Demakopoulou/Divari-Valachou 2002; Mårtenson 2002; Kolonas 1985; Papazoglou/Paschalides pers. comm. Morgan 2010; Rizio 2011; Rizio 2011; Touchais 1996; Mylonas 1959; Piteros 1983; Nikolaou 1999; Huber, Varalis 1995; Schallin 1993; Popham 1991.

12 Tsountas 1891.

13 Mylonas 1959.

14 Shelton forthcoming.

15 Karantzali 1997, 66-88.

Intramural burials in vases

At Petras an infant in a small *pithos* was buried in the north courtyard of House I, close to a wall. The 32-week fetus, the youngest so far found on Crete, was exceptional thanks to the *pithos* container. The child's head was near the opening of the jar, which had been placed in an inverted position within a circle of stones (fig. 2) The burial is securely dated to LMIA[16].

At Sissi there are two burials in adjacent Rooms 6 and 8 of house BC[17]. A newborn infant was buried in a *pyxis* which lay on its side close to an interior wall in room 6, its opening sealed by the wall. The infant's head pointed downwards. An older child, between 3.5 to 6.5 years old, was buried in a smaller *pyxis*, which lay on its side in the south corner of Room 8. The child was positioned on its right side with the upper part of its body and head exposed, protruding from the vase. Room 8 had a hearth and was used for the preparation of food. Both burials are dated to LMIA.

At Palaikastro a newborn infant, crouched in a decorated amphoroid krater with a small *kalathos* on its head was found in a 50 cm dense deposit of pottery below "a cupboard or storage compartment" (1.60 x 0.80 x 1.40m) with a trodden earth floor on which a gourna had been set in the southwest corner[18]. The almost complete articulated skeleton of the child illustrated in the publication appears to be newborn. The date of the deposit is LMIIIA2/IIIB.

At Phaistos there are two intramural *pithos* burials: full-term low birth weight or near-term newborn infants[19]. The infant in Room 5 was buried in a double handled globular cooking jar and covered with the bottom of another coarse ware vessel near the north wall of the room (fig. 3). On the LMIIIC floor, a stone cupboard located directly above the burial contained another cooking jar with burnt seeds. The 'cupboard' actually appeared to be constructed around the jar to keep it stable (fig. 3). It is believed that the seeds might have been an offering. A few metres to the east of this burial, was another infant buried in tubular vase below the floor of Room 4. Both burials date to LM IIIB.

16 McGeorge 2012.

17 Dreissen, 2011

18 MacGillivray *et al.* 1988, 259 ff., fig. 7, and 273, Pls. 47f.

19 McGeorge 2012.

Fig. 2 : The Petras jar burial.

Fig. 3 : The cupboard with the jar of seeds at Phaistos.

At Knossos Warren has reported that sub-floor infant burials were discovered all over the site behind the Stratigraphical Museum[20]. The majority was provisionally dated to LMIIIC, while two were dated to Sub-Minoan. A few published details mention that one of them was covered by a large lekane found below the floor of a room with a clay bench and a large krater in its fill. Warren has since revised the date of the lekane to LMIIIB[21].

In conclusion, the majority of the intramural burials on Crete were newborn infants buried without grave gifts. All the vases were coarse ware vessels with the exception of the Palaikastro vase, which was a decorated amphoroid krater. At Sissi the *pyxis*-type vessels lay flat on their sides, like the EMII *pithos* burial at Nopigeia. At Phaistos and Palaikastro the vases were upright, the mouth of each vase sealed by a sherd from another vessel, whearas at Petras the vessel was inverted.

Intramural burials in pits or cists

Popham found four sub-floor intramural burials in the Unexplored Mansion (three fetuses: 33, 35 and 38 weeks and a newborn) in Rooms C, M and L. He had some doubts about the date of one in the fill of corridor L, but the other three were securely dated to LM IA: a 38-week fetus had been buried in a shallow pit close to the west wall in Room C, a 35-week fetus was buried under the floor of Room M, and a newborn, which had survived a few days, lay crouched on its side in a stone-lined cist below the west end of Corridor L. There were no finds with these burials[22].

Hogarth found the grave of a newborn infant under “the flooring of a room” in one of the houses excavated on Gypsadhes Hill[23]. There were no finds with the burial; however, a stemmed cup with a banded adder pattern was found in the room, so the burial may be dated to LM IA or possibly to within the LM IB period. Perhaps these ‘houses’ were no ordinary dwellings, since a large number of inverted conical cups containing vegetal matter were found in a room with pillars, which Evans believed to be

20 Warren 1980-81, 73-92 and 1982-83, 63-87. I recently studied 20 burials from this excavation all newborn or stillborn infants.
21 Warren (in Hallager/Hallager 1997, 169-172).
22 Popham 1984, 309.
23 Hogarth 1899-1900, 70-84, fig. 23.

baetyls[24]. Also a large number of stone rhytons have been found in a surface survey of the vicinity, leading Warren to suggest that the house may have been a shrine treasury dedicated to a goddess of vegetal matter; thus a precursor of the later shrine to Demeter located nearby[25].

The Artisan's Quarter at Mochlos[26], consisting of two multi-room buildings constructed gradually through the addition of new rooms, produced eight burials: six in jars, two of them outside the building. Seven of them were made in LMIII after the abandonment of the buildings. Burial 8 (age not determined) was discovered after floatation and must have been a sub-floor pit burial contemporary with the occupation of Room 2 in Building A[27]. This room (2.26 x 2.92 m) functioned as a kitchen with equipment for making olive oil, preparing and serving food.

The Stratigraphical museum excavation at Knossos uncovered an infant burial in a pit below an LMII floor in a building named the Gypsum house, owing to the liberal use of gypsum for floors, thresholds, staircases and cupboards. Next to central room adorned with frescoes, was the room with the burial which had a simple earthen floor and was furnished with kitchen ware: a tripod cooking pot, a decorated jug, a plain *kylix* and a stirrup jar[28].

At Khania, an intramural burial was found under an LMIIIB2 house floor in the Agia Aikaterini Square excavations. A pre-term infant, about 37 weeks' gestation, had been buried in a shallow pit less than a metre from the hearth in the centre of the sizeable room E (6.5 x 4.5 m). Only two iliac bones survived, in excellent condition. There were no gifts. On the clay floor there were two bowls, found in different corners, a small tripod cooking pot and a cooking dish[29].

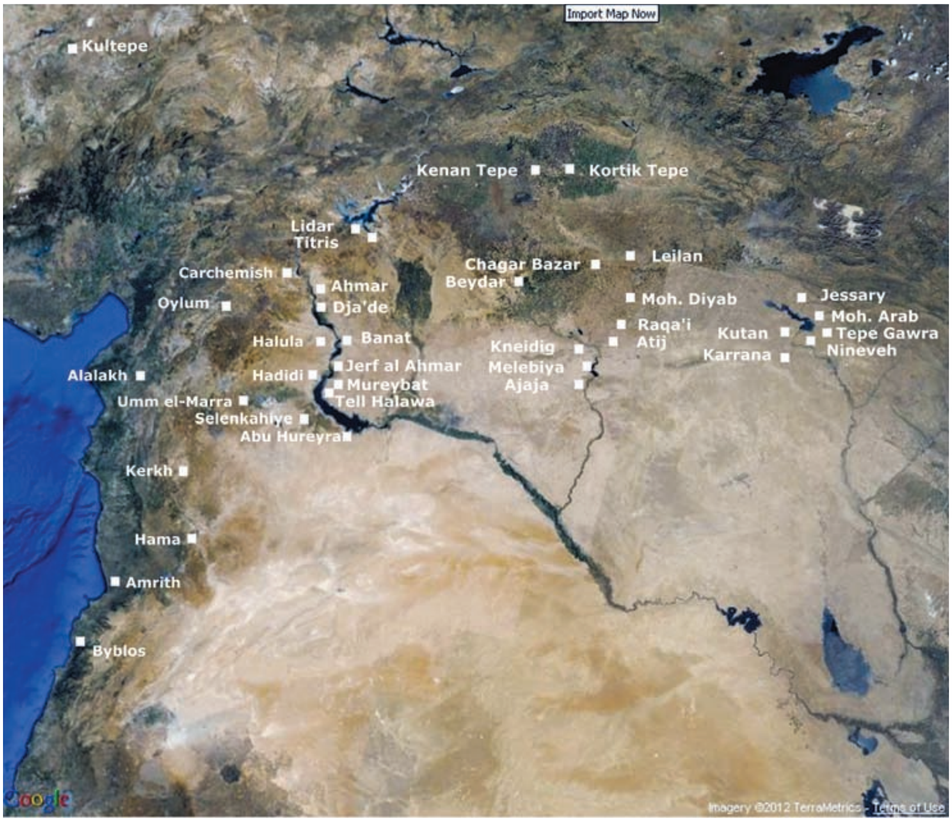
It would be an omission not to mention here the interment of multiple children excavated by Warren in the basement of the LM IB North House at Knossos. Two small rooms were accessed through a corridor leading off the north courtyard. In the first and smaller of the two rooms (1.85 x 1.10 m), were the remains of four children, aged 12, 8 and younger. Many bones bore cut marks, which created an enigma[30]. A collection of drinking vessels and bowls were stored in the adjacent room (2.18 x 1.60 m). In another much larger room accessed from the courtyard, there were similar vessels, tripod cooking pots and a jug inside a large *pithos* containing nine more human bones, including a vertebra with a cut mark, besides other items characterized as cult equipment. The excavator judged that the cut marks on the bones in the small room in conjunction with the finds in the other rooms were evidence of ritual. These, albeit unusual, inhumations are intramural[31].

Near East, Anatolia, Cyprus and Egypt

The practice of burying infants and children in a domestic setting has an impressively long lineage in the Near East. The earliest settled communities practised intramural burial of children and adults at Natufian and PPN sites (Körtik Tepe, Ain Mallaha, Nahal Oren, Jericho and 'Ain Ghazal' where half the burials were infants)[32]. The same custom occurs in Cyprus in the PPN and Aceramic Neolithic at Khirokitia and Kalavassos-Tenta[33], and appears in Crete in the Aceramic at Knossos[34].

In Syria (map 2) from the 10th millennium adults, children and fetuses were buried in shallow pits, sometimes wrapped in matting coated with bitumen, below house floors or outside houses at many sites: Mureybet, Jerf el-Ahmar, Abu Hureyra, Tell Halula and Dja'de al-Mughara, Ain el-Kerkh[35]. Then in the ceramic Neolithic, vases were used to

24 Hogarth 1899-1900, 77.
25 Warren 2011.
26 Soles/Walker 2003, 135-147, Pls. 32-36.
27 Infant burials, not in jars and without grave gifts, easily disintegrate and escape detection.
28 Warren 1982-83, 63-87.
29 Hallager/Hallager 2003, 24-33, 276, 301-303.
30 There were two skulls. A tooth and a skull fragment which could not be attributed to child A or B represented a third individual, whilst leg bones proved that there were four children. 40% of the bones bore cut marks suggesting that they had been de-fleshed. See: Wall *et al.* 1986, 81, 341, Tab. 2.374, 377. Nine adult bones were found, one outside the corridor and eight in the courtyard, but none of these had cut marks, *op. cit.*, 346.
31 A discussion of the stratigraphic sequence *op. cit.*, 344-5 debated whether or not the bones had fallen from an upper floor; and whether they preceded or were part of the destruction layer. The excavator's interpretation of the find as evidence of human sacrifice or cannibalism (op.cit., 386-8) is one possible explanation; another is preparation for secondary burial (see Tusmasonis 1983, 306-7; Hughes 1991, 18-26).
32 Özkaya/Coşkun 2009; Boyd 1995, 17-23; Gopher/Orrelle 1995, 24-8.
33 Dikaios 1953; Peltenberg/Swiny 2001.
34 Evans, 1964, 136.
35 Van Loon 1968; Cauvin 1979; Stordeur *et al.* 1997; Moore *et al.* 2000; Molist 1999; Coqueugniot 1999; Parker Pearson 1999; de Contenson 1992; Tsuneki *et al.* 2000.



Map 2 :
Southeast Anatolia, north Syria and north Mesopotamia.

bury infants less than a year old usually without grave gifts: at Ain el-Kerkh, Halula, Khazna II, and Byblos[36], the pot being laid on its side with the infant's head pointing towards the mouth of the jar. From Chalcolithic onwards, when burial was transferred from living sites to cemeteries outside the settlement, the custom of intramural jar burial for infants continued. The practice had particularly strong roots in North Syria and Mesopotamia.

Through the late VIth right down to the Ist millennium BC, burial within the settlement beneath house floors, usually of infants and children without grave goods appears to be the rule. Infants under one-year old were never given grave goods, but children above a year old had a range of offerings. Stone or shell pendants of animals are often found buried together with them[37]. Sub-floor burials in pits, jars, cooking pots, bowls, mud-brick or stone-lined cists are found at sites almost too numerous to name, for instance: at Hama Level K, Tell Banat, Selenkahiye, Raqa'i 2, Atij, Abu Hgaira, Beydar, Umm el-Marra, Chagar Bazar 2-3 and Tell Leilan; at Barsip, Carchemish, Oylum, Lidar and Titris[38]. In the IInd millennium BC at Alalakh level VIII-V, Tell Hadidi, Umm el-Marra, Mohammed Diyab and Chagar Bazar; in Ist millennium BC at Tell Ajaja and Kneidig[39].

In northern Mesopotamia (map 2), in the late Vth - early IVth millennium BC there are 108 infant pot burials at Tepe Gawra[40]. In the late IVth and IIIrd millennium BC infants are never buried in cemeteries. They are usually buried intramurally, though not always in a cooking pot. At Tells Melebiya, Kutan and Karrana 3, infants inside cooking pots have been found in Ninevite V levels. At the latter children were put in pots horizontally

36 Munchaev *et al.* 1993; Dunand 1973.
37 Dunham 1993.

38 Akkermans/Schwartz 2003; Fugmann 1958; McClellan/Porter 1999; McClellan/Porter 1997; van Loon 1979; Martin/Wartke 1993-1994; Akkermans/Schwartz 2003, 270; Schwartz/Curvers 1992; Schwartz *et al.* 2000; Mallowan 1936, 1937, 1947; Thureau-Dangin/Dunand 1936; McMahon *et al.* 2001; Carter/Parker 1995.
39 Woolley 1955; Dornemann 1979; Castel 1996; 273-284; Schwartz *et al.* 2000; Mallowan 1936, 1937 and 1947; Suleiman 1995; Klengel-Brandt *et al.* 1997.
40 Peasnall in Rothman 2002, 171 ff.

Map 3 : Egypt, Israel, south Mesopotamia and Cyprus.

sawn in half[41]. At Tell Mohammed Arab one grave contained a horizontally sectioned urn with the body of an adult man and a child[42]. At Tell Jessary there were some Late Uruk burials (3400-3000 BC), at Mohammed Arab and Kutan the infants were buried without grave goods[43].

In southern Mesopotamia (map 3), intramural burial for all age groups seems to be normal. The custom is strong in the cities of the Old Babylonian period (20th-16th centuries BC), at Ur, Larsa, Isin, Sippar-Amnanum, Nerebtum, Nippur, Khafajah, Tello, Tell Haddad, Tell Al-Sib and Tell Al-Zawiyah, but also from Haradum and at Tell Halawa in Upper Mesopotamia[44]. At Ur, Woolley excavated 198 graves under houses in areas AH and EM, identifying ten variants of intramural burial from simple inhumations to employing a variety of receptacles, including larnakes (unusual outside Crete), bowls (5), 'hutches' (4) and pots, which are sometimes double, or several forms of built tombs. The dead were usually buried under the floors of the reception room or the chapel of the house, identified by niches and altars, but sometimes under a courtyard. Preferred gifts for infants were shells or beads, whereas older children were given toys or necklaces[45].

In Israel (map 3) during the Chalcolithic period (late Vth millennium BC) intramural burials have been reported at Tel Teo, Tel Dan, Qatif Y-3, Teluliot Batashi (level III) and Nahal Zehora II[46]. At Nahal Zehora two pre-term infants were buried in the settlement: one in a jar and the other close to the wall of a structure in the settlement; while a third child was buried in a stone cist. At Tel Dan in the MBA (ca. 2000 BC) interment was solely intra-mural, under the floors of dwellings or courtyards[47]. Jar burials were used for infants under two years of age and were often broken to insert the corpse. The head was almost always at the jar opening,

41 Exact parallels have been found at Boğazköy, see the paragraph below on Anatolia.
42 Roaf 1984.
43 Battini-Villard 1999.
44 *Op. cit.*
45 Woolley 1976, pl. 39b.
46 Ilan 1995; Gopher/Orrelle 1995a and 1995b.
47 Ilan 1995,121

which was sometimes covered with a potsherd and in some cases the jar was set in a circle of stones. The jars were usually placed next to or aligned with walls.

In Anatolia (map 2) intramural burial of adults and children, usually in jars, is found at many EBA sites: at Alişar, Kalınkaya, Kusura[48], Beycesultan, Hacılar II, Ovabayındır[49] and at Troy[50], where six intramural burials were found in Troy I, all newborn or between two to three weeks old; four were buried in amphorae. At Kalınkaya, thirteen burials in *pithoi* with flat stone lids were found under house floors. At Boğazköy (Hattusa), the intramural burials were simple inhumations with few gifts, sometimes covered by a stone slab[51]. In the coastal region of the Aegean a few intramural infant burials have been found at Bakla Tepe[52] and at Çeşme-Bağlararası in level 2b, where the pottery is said to be of central Anatolian character with a small amount of imported pottery corresponding to the MM III period. At Çeşme one jar burial had a fragment of bronze, possibly a gift[53].

In Cyprus (map 3) in the Chalcolithic period, burials at Lemva-Lakkous and Kissonerga-Mosphilia[54] in pits between houses were mainly of children or infants (62-65%)[55]. At Kissonerga two of the burials were in urns. Intramural burials of infants, not in jars, were found at Enkomi[56]. In the Iron Age, newborn and premature babies were buried in re-used Canaanite jars in the settlements at Salamis and Kition[57].

In Egypt (map 3), intramural burial occurs in the Vth millennium in settlements with South Levantine connections at el-Omari[58] and Merimde Beni-Salame[59]. In IVth millennium, in Upper and Lower Egypt children are buried in settlements sometimes in pots at Badari and Ballas[60], Adaima and Maadi[61].

48 Here, as in Northern Mesopotamia, *pithos*–halves, cut lengthwise (probably for economy) were used for burial.
49 Wheeler 1974; Mellaart 1970.
50 Blegen 1950.
51 Bittel 1935.
52 Erkanal/Özkan 2000; www.tayproject.org.
53 Wheeler 1974; Blegen 1950; Angel/Bisel 1986, 12; Erkanal/Keskin 2009.
54 Peltenberg 1985, 1991 and 1998.
55 Lunt 1995, 56.
56 Dikaios 1969/70.
57 Steel 1995.
58 Debono/Moretensen 1990.
59 Kemp 1968.
60 Brunton/Caton-Thompson 1928; Petrie *et al.* 1896.
61 Duchesne 2003; Rizkana/Seeher 1989.

Intramural burial of children occurs sporadically at IInd millennium BC sites. At Elephantine there are only two early IInd millennium intramural burials, a newborn in rubbish[62], and another under the floor of a house buried with a single bead[63]. At Kahun, the pyramid builders' town in the Faiyum, there were numerous burials of newborn infants under the floors of the workmen's houses. They were buried in wooden boxes originally for other purposes, sometimes two or three infants per box. Infants who were some months old had been buried with beads or amulets[64]. At Deir el-Medina, near Thebes (late 16th century BC), amphorae, baskets, boxes or coffins were all used for the intramural burial of children. Stillborn children were not usually given amulets or jewellery, just food in one or two vessels[65]. Thirty foreign names identified amongst the 100 or so individuals in the community lend support to the argument that intramural burial was a foreign custom. At Tell el-Dab'a "jar burials of babies have been found in the settlement located next to walls and in corners"[66]. Rosalie David contends that intramural burial for infants was not an Egyptian custom, but was introduced by immigrant, Asiatic workers employed in Egyptian households[67].

Tracing the flow of ideas

In summary, intramural burial was practised over many millennia in different cultural and geographical settings and was not tied to one area. Tracing the exact flow of ideas is difficult. This custom developed strong roots in North Syria, North Mesopotamia and SE Anatolia and may have radiated from this area along the Tigris and Euphrates and their tributaries, filtering into neighbouring areas with the movement of people and ideas, developing variations[68] and putting down new roots.

62 von Pilgrim 1996, 174.
63 Grajetzki 2003, 53.
64 Petrie 1890, 24.
65 At Deir el-Medina most houses had four rooms: an entrance hall with a birthing bed and chapel was adorned with Bes, god of childbirth. Infant burials were made in the second room under a low platform, which functioned as a seating area by day and a bed at night.
66 van der Brink 1982, 19-20, 28-9.
67 David 1996, 189-90.
68 Wheeler 1974, 421 does not consider Mesopotamia the origin of the Western Anatolian custom, except for chronological priority,

In Greece there are examples of this type of burial in Early, Middle and Late Neolithic in Thrace, Rhodope, Macedonia, Thessaly and the Peloponnese[69], not to mention Crete. As we saw, there are in the Early, Middle and Late Bronze Age, intramural burials at many mainland sites in central Greece and the Peloponnese, and on Aegean islands such as Limnos, Tenedos, Lesbos, Chios, Aigina, Melos, Crete Paros, Thera, Euboea, Naxos, and Crete[70].

Despite evidence that Crete was part of a vigorous trade network established between the Aegean, Cyprus, Syria and Egypt from the 19th century BC, until LMI it does not seem to have been seriously impacted by the custom of intramural burial practised by other contact cultures, or to have been influenced by the Greek mainland, in spite of proximity and the great variety of intramural burials: simple pit or rectangular earth-cut pits, and cist graves (increasingly favoured in the Middle to Late Bronze Age), a few shaft graves, and burials using *pithoi* or fragments of *pithoi*.

The LMIA appearance of intramural burial at several sites in East Crete and at Knossos could be interpreted as the result of more intense/intimate contact and greater intellectual receptivity to new ideas, or the physical presence of people from cultures that practiced intramural burial[71]. Linear B tablets (as 1516) at Knossos record not only Greek names but also Near Eastern and Hittite names. The intramural burials in the Unexplored Mansion and on Gypsadhes predate the Mycenaean administration, though perhaps not the presence of Mycenaeans and people of other ethnicities.

It is arguable that inspiration for the LMIA intramural jar burials could have come from the Levant, where there was a robust tradition of jar burial, which was mythopoeically connected to Near Eastern religions and is alluded to in the Baal Epic and the Tale of Aqhat[72]. The entrance to the netherworld was a mountain whose name, Mt Knkny, is a derivative of the Ugaritic, Akkadian, Aramaic and Canaanite words for storage jar ('knkn'). The use of storage jars for burial is mentioned in the Tale of Aqhat (fig. 4)[73], unearthed at Ugarit, a city with a multi-ethnic, polytheistic population, and the principal commercial link between Syria and the Aegean[74].

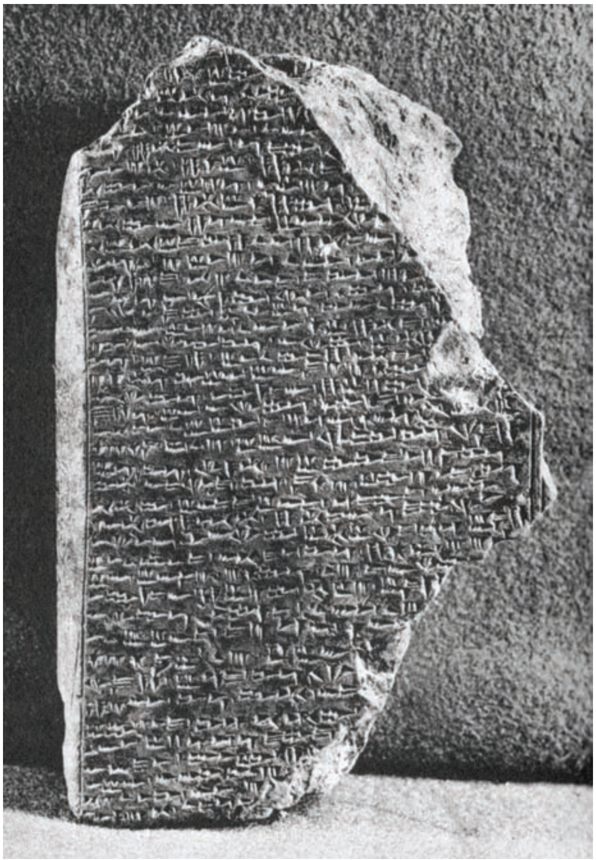


Fig. 4 : The Tale of Aqhat from Ugarit (British Museum).

because *pithoi* were made especially for funerary use, rather than appropriated from the house.

69 The custom of intramural pot burial filtered up the Struma and Vardar valleys and occurs as far North as Hungary. See Bacvarov 2006.

70 Samos (Heraion), Kos (Sanctuary of Asklepios) should probably be included as well).

71 See Wolf-Dietrich Niemeier 1990, 195-6, 199, argues for the physical presence of Minoan artists and craftsmen in Near Eastern palaces, mentions Kamares Ware was found at Ugarit, Qatna, Hazor and Byblos (p 195-196) and two silver cups from the Royal Tombs of Byblos which are probably Minoan imports.

72 Astour 1980; Pritchard 1969, 139, quoted by Ilan 1995, 136.

73 Pritchard 1969, 154; Landy 1981; Wright 2001, 177.

74 Interestingly, M. Astour (1968) argued that Mycenaean Greece was under considerable Semitic influence, both in culture and population, and endeavoured to prove this through a detailed comparative study of myths.

Rites, symbolism, myths and eschatological beliefs

Death

In all cultures, societies and religions, death is a serious matter. There are certain procedures, rules and restrictions that need to be observed. Intramural burial for infants and small children must have been connected with natal customs and ceremonies[75]. The ritual and symbolism involved would have been far more complex than we can ever know. Many societies practise rites of separation for pregnant women who are considered impure and a danger to the rest of society[76]. That impurity is naturally transmitted to infants who are subject to certain taboos and exclusions, until rites of transition and (re-) integration have been performed[77]. Some of these rituals survive even in modern societies: the 'churching' of women 40 days after giving birth represents the Greek Orthodox rite of reintegration.

Rites to assist the newborn in entering the transition might last from two to more than forty days. Rites for infants might include cutting the umbilical cord, sprinkling and lustrations, loss of the remainder of the umbilical cord, naming, the first haircut, first teeth, the first meal, the first walk, etc.[78]. If a child died before his rite of incorporation into the world, then he would have to return to his place of origin[79], believed by many modern primitives to be the earth[80]. A child that died at or soon after birth may not have been acknowledged as a member of the social group. Having no social identity, it could not be incorporated in the 'society of the dead' and would be excluded from the cemetery[81]. Burial in a community cemetery ratifies membership of the community. Burial at home would acknowledge membership of that family.

Birth

In order to interpret symbolism in these burials we need to try to explore primitive perceptions of the mechanism of human reproduction, fertility. Mythology is one way of exploring the mental universe of ancient people. Some of the earliest myths concerned with death imagined humans emerging from the earth like plants. In Greek mythology, the story of Persephone, illustrates the ancient belief that new life came out of death. The Greek myth incorporates ideas from an even more ancient Sumerian myth: The Descent of the Goddess Inanna to the Underworld[82], and bears similarities to the Tale of Aqhat. In the Greek myth[83], with which most of us are familiar, when Demeter is reunited with her mother the earth becomes fruitful again.

A new Mycenaean wall painting from Tiryns portrays a pomegranate tree beside a woman and a girl, tentatively identified as Demeter and Persephone[84]. Furthermore, it has been suggested that a shrine to a goddess of vegetal matter, possibly ancestral to the later shrine of Demeter, existed on Gypsadhes Hill in one of the LMI structures excavated by Hogarth[85]. Thus ideas associated with the myth of Demeter may have been current in LMI Crete.

The association of burials with grain has a symbolic significance illustrated by ancient mythologies. There was a prevalent belief that mechanisms of human reproduction paralleled that

75 Hodder suggested that it was invested with symbolic meaning associated with 'nurturing and caring' see Hodder 1990.

76 Van Gennep 1960, 41-49, cites many examples: the Todas of India, the Hopi of Arizona, Bulgarians (Orthodox Christians) in Europe, tribes in Africa and the Pacific to illustrate this widely held concept.

77 In some societies separation procedures during pregnancy are prolonged and involve many prohibitions and exclusions relating to diet, social, economic and sexual activities, which are lifted after reintegration. In Madagascar the Hova caste even considers a pregnant woman dead; after childbirth she is congratulated on being resurrected. See Van Gennep 1904, 165.

78 The period between birth and adolescence or initiation into adult society is broken up into stages whose length and number vary among different peoples.

79 Perhaps literally since most children are born at home.

80 According to Van Gennep, the belief that 'souls to be born' live under the earth or in rocks is prevalent amongst many modern primitive peoples, while others believe they live in trees and plants, or in springs and flowing water.

81 Taboos persist in modern Greece. If a newborn is likely to die it has to be air-baptized to ensure its passage to heaven, as there is a danger that an Orthodox priest would refuse to bury the child.

82 Inanna on her return finds that her husband the shepherd Dumuzi, whom she sentences to death, has occupied her throne. However, an agreement is reached whereby he and his sister Geshtinanna each spend six months in the underworld. As in the Greek myth of Demeter and her daughter Persephone, when Dumuzi returns to the world, the earth comes to life with the birth of lambs and the sprouting of grain.

83 Demeter is grief stricken when Hades, ruler of the underworld abducts her daughter, Persephone. In her fury Demeter withholds the harvest until her daughter is returned. Zeus then sends Hermes to rescue her, but Persephone has eaten some pomegranate seeds during her stay in the netherworld and is obliged to spend four months of the year with Hades, now her husband.

84 Papadimitriou *et al.* forthcoming.

85 Warren 2011.

of plants, because to the ancient mind it was not obvious how children were conceived. The lengthy gestation of human babies obscures any clear cause and effect[86]. Aristotle believed that 'offspring derive their natures from their mothers as plants do from the earth'[87]. The enduring currency of this concept is illustrated in the 3rd century BC by Aristotle, in the 2nd century AD by Soranus' lost treatise On the Seed, and by the term 'seed' in the Bible preserving this idea in the layman's consciousness right up to modern times[88].

Rebirth

Jar burials in the Aegean were sometimes placed in pits or on a paved pebble surface, horizontally or vertically, and sealed with a slab or another pot or potsherd. At Petras the purposeful inversion of the *pithos* appears unique. Was this just a practical solution for sealing the pot in the absence of a sherd or a slab, or could there be some other eschatological explanation?

The inversion of the *pithos* suggests fusion with local customs and ideas. *Pithos* inversion of adult burials is known at a number of earlier cemeteries in east and central Crete[89]. What was the significance of inverting *pithoi*? By inverting the *pithos*, the child's head was placed in a downward position, which is the correct presentation for a fetus to be born or in this case re-born. The hope that this infant would have another chance of life must have dictated the inversion of the *pithos*, so that the fetus was in the appropriate position to facilitate its rebirth. To my mind, *pithos* inversion provides unambiguous evidence of the Minoan's belief in rebirth and an afterlife.

The seed jar in the cupboard above the Phaistos burial and the gourna in the cupboard at Palaikastro share a conceptual similarity owing to the symbolic association between grain, fertility and rebirth. Seeds are an obvious analogy for rebirth, probably the clearest evidence to preliterate minds that seeds, which appeared to be dead when planted in the earth, would eventually germinate and come back to life. This association could have nurtured the hope that a deceased infant would come back to life like the grain and the protagonists of the myths. Perhaps keeping a dead infant near its mother was believed to exercise a beneficent influence, promoting fertility, helping her to give birth to another child embodying the spirit of the deceased.

Epilogue

This research was an attempt to set intramural infant burials within a wider framework. To some extent the spread of intramural infant burial suggests an inter-regional acceptance of this mode of burial as being appropriate for infants. Thus it implies the development of a shared cosmology, which in turn implies a certain scale and intensity of interregional communication.

Despite evidence for overseas trade and the growth of contacts with the world beyond Crete where intramural burial was widely practised, the very diverse burial customs of Early Bronze Age Crete so far include only one case of intramural infant burial. In the Middle Bronze Age, a 'state' administrative system was in place and Minoan ceramics, metal artefacts, products, artistic tastes and influence were exported, while new ideas such as seals and writing fundamental to the new social order were imported. New ideas were assimilated as required or desired. In spite of the intensification of contacts with neighbouring cultures, intramural infant burial was not adopted until Late Minoan I[90].

Human societies everywhere have a tendency to be conservative. They renew their social bonds by maintaining customs and traditions, re-affirming unity through cohesive social behaviour. Myths

86 Perception of the process of conception and birth is narrated in the 14th century BC Ugaritic text of the Tale of Aqhat. In the story, similar to the patriarchal tales of Genesis, the god Il blesses Dani'il and promises him a son: "by kissing his wife there will be conception/ by embracing her there will be pregnancy/…../Let there be a son". Later on in the text: "Dani'il sat down, he counted her months/One month, a second month passed/a third, a fourth […]th month arrived". Unfortunately, there is a break in the text at this point. See commentary by Wright 2001, 70, 84-85; also Landy 1981, 20 line 55 ff and 22 line 60 ff.

87 Aristotle *Politics* 7.18.1335b.

88 It was not until the 1820's that the respective roles of men and women in the process of reproduction were clearly understood.

89 *Pithos* inversion was seen in earlier Minoan tombs and cemeteries, at Vorou and Hagios Myron, at Galana Charakia where 32 jars were inverted, at Sphoungaras and most notably at Pachyammos, where 213 burial *pithoi* were inverted. See: Alexiou 1964 and 1970; Hall 1912; Marinatos 1930-1931; Platon 1954, 1956 and 1957; Seager 1916.

90 There are two burials among those excavated in the Stratigraphical Museum excavations at Knossos, which have been dated MMIIIB-LMI. This material is currently being prepared for publication by Peter Warren, the excavator, and myself.

were invented to explain the world and had a didactic function to cultivate ethics and acceptable social behaviour. Myths and religion established psychological security, shaped identity and behaviour. Customs and beliefs were transformed or adapted according to need.

In its heyday Minoan Crete founded colonies, exerted its influence abroad and ultimately became a desirable destination for foreigners whose presence is inferred from consumer preferences for new vase shapes (eg. the *kylix*), or decorative styles, or the manufacture of handmade burnished ware, the introduction of a new script/language, the identification of foreign personal names and new styles of burial such as warrior graves, shaft graves, pit caves and intramural infant burials.

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LES CAVEAUX FUNÉRAIRES MÉGALITHIQUES DE LA VALLÉE DE L'EUPHRATE AU BRONZE ANCIEN

Le cas de Tilbeshar (2600-2300 aC)

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Résumé

Le caveau funéraire de Tilbeshar, exemple unique en Turquie, se rattache à un petit corpus de tombes mégalithiques, familiales et à utilisation multiple, de la vallée de l'Euphrate, région riche de pratiques funéraires variées. Elles renferment toujours des offrandes abondantes, exotiques et précieuses. Le nombre considérable de pots en céramique induit des banquets et des rituels élaborés et réguliers ; ceux-ci sont mentionnés dans les sources écrites. Elles sont utilisées durant quelques siècles contemporains de processus de mutations sociopolitiques importantes, de l'émergence de grandes villes et vraisemblablement de structures de domination fondées sur des liens de parenté. Elles soulignent et maintiennent le statut de certaines familles.

Introduction

Les pratiques funéraires livrent de nombreuses informations sur les sociétés anciennes : elles mettent en scène non seulement le défunt lui-même mais aussi les acteurs de ces pratiques. Il n'est pas étonnant dès lors de les voir figurer parmi les axes de recherche privilégiés de l'archéologie.

Elles ont suscité de nombreuses approches en archéologie orientale, qui toutes soulignent l'importance des informations qu'elles peuvent suggérer à la fois sur les structures sociales et les mentalités des populations étudiées[1].

Dans le cadre de l'étude des pratiques funéraires *intra-muros*, cet article présente le cas du caveau monumental de Tilbeshar.

1 Voir par exemple Binford 1971 ; Hodder 1982 ; Parker Pearson 1999 ; Laneri 2007.

Présentation générale de Tilbeshar

Fig. 1 : Carte (H. David).

Fig. 2 : Bassin de Tilbeshar (mission archéologique de Tilbeshar).

Tilbeshar est avec Gaziantep un des sites majeurs de la vallée du Sajour (fig. 1)[2]. Cet affluent de rive droite de l'Euphrate traverse la frontière qui sépare actuellement la Turquie de la Syrie (fig. 2). Le site comprend une citadelle de 6 hectares et 40 m de haut, entourée d'une ville basse conservée entre 2 et 6 m au-dessus du sol vierge. Occupé dès le Néolithique Récent (VI[e] millénaire), Tilbeshar possède sur le tell central des niveaux importants du Chalcolithique, notamment du IV[e] millénaire. Mais c'est avant tout une grande ville, depuis le Bronze Ancien (à partir de 2600 aC) jusqu'à la fin du Bronze Moyen (1600 aC) et sa superficie maximale atteint 56 hectares.

Après des occupations sporadiques, achéménides puis byzantines, Tilbeshar est à nouveau une agglomération importante durant la période médiévale et principalement aux 12[e] et 13[e] siècles de notre ère justifiant le développement d'un programme de recherche spécifique conduit par Marie-Odile Rousset. La ville est alors connue sous le nom de Turbessel et Tell Bashir[3].

Nos opérations de terrain consacrées à la prospection du site et à de brefs sondages, ont commencé en 1994 et 1995. De 1996 à 2000, cinq campagnes de fouilles se sont déroulées au printemps. Après trois courtes missions d'études, de 2001 à 2004, une nouvelle série de fouilles, destinée à permettre la publication d'un premier volume, a débuté en 2005. Depuis 2007, les travaux de terrain sont mis en veille.

Pratiques funéraires à Tilbeshar

Pratiques usuelles

Ces sept campagnes de fouilles à Tilbeshar ont permis d'identifier un certain nombre de pratiques funéraires. La population de Tilbeshar est très majoritairement enterrée à l'extérieur de la ville, dans un cimetière dont nous n'avons pas vraiment localisé l'emplacement, même si à la suite de découvertes fortuites le musée de Gaziantep a été amené à dégager quelques tombes à proximité immédiate du site, tombes qui ont pu appartenir à ce cimetière.

Toutefois, la pratique des ensevelissements *intra-muros* durant l'âge du Bronze est régulièrement constatée à Tilbeshar. Elle concerne plusieurs types de tombes, en jarre, dans des fosses ou bien encore des cistes. La plupart du

Fig 3 : Tombe en fosse, cimetière ville basse nord, chantier D, BM I (TILB IVA) *idem*.

2 Kepinski 2005 et 2007.

3 Rousset/Ergeç 1999.

Fig. 4 : Tombe en jarre, rue ville basse sud, chantier J, BA IV (TILB IIID) *idem*.

temps cependant, ces tombes ne présentent pas de relation structurelle avec l'habitat et elles ont été ensevelies, quand certains quartiers de la ville sont désertés. Des zones non occupées sont ainsi cycliquement transformées en champ de sépultures : ce cas de figure est bien illustré au Bronze Moyen I dans la ville basse nord et il est également attesté au Bronze Ancien III (TILB IIIC), dans la ville basse sud où une partie du site est abandonnée (fig. 3)[4].

Dans certains cas toutefois, il existe des ensevelissements sous des sols de maisons ou dans la rue, à la porte d'une maison (fig. 4). Nous en avons mis au jour plusieurs exemples dans le quartier d'habitation de la ville basse sud-est[5]. Il convient de souligner qu'à Tilbeshar, au Bronze Ancien, il s'agit toujours de tombes de nouveaux nés ou d'enfant en bas âge[6].

Le caveau funéraire

En dehors de ces quelques cas particuliers, ensevelissements dans des quartiers désertés ou bien tombes de très jeunes enfants, Tilbeshar voit la construction d'un caveau funéraire monumental. Il a été atteint au fond d'un carré ouvert dans la ville basse nord en 2006[7].

Contexte général de la découverte

On rappellera qu'à Tilbeshar, l'occupation du site se limite pendant longtemps aux six hectares de la ville haute. A partir de 2600 environ aC l'occupation s'étend au pied de la citadelle au Nord comme au Sud et couvre rapidement 56 hectares. La ville basse comprend trois niveaux principaux du Bronze Ancien et le caveau a été construit très clairement sous un sol du niveau le plus ancien IIIB tout en étant toujours accessible au niveau suivant, IIIC.

C'est en fait dans les ruines du niveau IIIC, qu'on dégage tout d'abord une grande cuvette peu épaisse. Cette fosse renferme plusieurs jarres de stockage écrasées. Au fond de cette cuvette peu profonde qui perce un sol soigneusement construit, comprenant un épais radier de cailloux liés à la chaux, on atteint le sommet d'un caveau funéraire dont l'édification remonte donc à la première grande ville du Bronze Ancien, celle de notre niveau IIIB (TILB IIIB, 2700-2500). On conjecture que le sol très épais a recouvert les dalles de couverture de la tombe avant d'être percé par une fosse creusée au niveau IIIC.

Description

Le caveau funéraire est construit en pierres sèches avec de grands blocs non taillés et disposés en encorbellement (fig. 5). Le sommet est fermé par de larges dalles. La chambre mesure 6 m de long, 2 m de large et sa hauteur se situe entre 1,50 m et 2 m. Sa construction a indéniablement monopolisé une main d'œuvre importante. On note à l'Ouest une ouverture ; cette dernière est découpée dans une dalle unique fermant la tombe. Une deuxième dalle

Fig. 5 : Caveau funéraire mégalithique de Tilbeshar, *idem*.

4 Kepinski *et al.* 2006, 256 fig. 7 ; Kepinski *et al.* 2007, 280, 283.
5 Kepinski-Lecomte/Ahlan 2001, chantier J, 211-213.
6 Ce constat rejoint celui présenté par Bérengère Perello dans ce volume.
7 Kepinski *et al.* 2007, 285-287.

vient boucher cette ouverture et la tombe a été retrouvée fermée. Un petit sondage pratiqué dans un angle nous a permis d'identifier le dépôt, sur 50 à 70 cm, d'une grande quantité de pots entiers recouvrant des vases brisés. Quelques débris osseux sont mêlés à la céramique. L'absence apparente de nouveaux squelettes associés à ces pots entiers suggère que ces derniers correspondent à des visites sans dépôts de corps. Plusieurs pots contiennent encore, sous forme de graines ou d'os d'animaux, des vestiges d'offrandes funéraires. Par ailleurs, on observe une grande abondance de charbons de bois.

Devant l'importance de cette découverte faite à deux jours de la fin de la campagne et pour pouvoir constituer une équipe de circonstance et en assurer un dégagement minutieux, en accord avec la direction du musée de Gaziantep, nous décidons de poser une grille de fermeture de cette tombe, puis une bâche et à l'aide d'un bulldozer nous la recouvrons de plusieurs mètres de terre. Malheureusement et pour des raisons indépendantes de notre volonté, les autorités d'Ankara ne nous accordent plus l'autorisation de fouiller depuis 2007. Deux années se passent sans problème mais au cours de la troisième année, la terre s'est tassée et la tombe commence à être ouverte et pillée.

Fig. 6 : Hache en bronze, *idem.*

Fig. 7 : Coupes à champagne, *idem.*

Fig. 8 : Quelques éléments du matériel céramique, *idem.*

Le matériel funéraire et les indices de rituels d'accompagnement

Le petit sondage nous a permis de retirer cinquante pots et on estime le dépôt total à un millier de pots entiers ou cassés. Une telle quantité de céramique suggère la pratique de rituels et de repas funéraires[8]. Nous avons également mis au jour une hache et une épingle en bronze (fig. 6).

Nos premières observations du matériel céramique nous permettent d'identifier des pots qui ne sont pas contemporains. On reconnaît des vases à boire comme des coupes à champagne (fig. 7), de nombreuses cruches avec des becs verseurs ou des goulots suggérant leur utilisation pour des libations (fig. 8). On note également un nombre important de bouteilles syriennes ayant probablement contenu de l'huile ou du parfum. Il apparaît clairement que la tombe a été utilisée, d'une façon ou d'une autre, au cours de deux de nos niveaux du Bronze Ancien, le niveau IIIC et le niveau IIIB. Nous proposons donc que son utilisation se situe entre 2600 et 2300 aC.

Cette tombe ayant été construite sous un sol IIIB, il s'agit du sol d'un espace ouvert ou du sol d'une cour de bâtiment antérieur à notre niveau IIIC. La construction de ce sol dénote un soin tout à fait exceptionnel et est comparable à celui mis au jour à Titris Höyük. Dans ce cas, il a été suggéré qu'il a pu servir à préparer les corps des défunts avant leur ensevelissement[9].

8 Laneri 2007, 1-14.

9 Laneri 2004, 16.

On émet l'hypothèse que le sol dégagé au-dessus de cette tombe, dans la fosse, pourrait présenter avec les jarres écrasées, les vestiges d'un dernier repas funéraire qui aurait été suivi par la pose d'un grand nombre de céramique à l'intérieur de la tombe.

Comme cela a été mentionné ci-dessus, les céramiques les plus anciennes sont souvent brisées tandis que l'ensemble est recouvert de pots entiers et que la porte du caveau a été retrouvée fermée. Le bris des pots semble plus probablement lié à des rituels qu'à des pillages anciens[10]. Le caveau aurait été visité une dernière fois à la fin de l'occupation de notre niveau IIIC aux environs de 2300 aC.

Les parallèles syriens

Contexte général

Le caveau funéraire de Tilbeshar est unique en Anatolie mais il se rattache à un corpus connu de tombes monumentales, les meilleurs exemples se trouvant dans la vallée de l'Euphrate en Syrie, Jerablus Tahtani, Tell Ahmar, Qara Quzaq, Tell Banat et Tell Hadidi (fig. 1).

La vallée de l'Euphrate et de ses affluents en Turquie comme en Syrie du nord-ouest, offre durant l'âge du Bronze Ancien, au III[e] millénaire, une grande variété de pratiques funéraires, en grande partie révélées par les nombreuses fouilles de sauvetage qui s'y sont déroulées. En dehors des publications de fouilles, plusieurs synthèses en ont été proposées, essentiellement pour la Syrie mais il est bien sûr impossible de dissocier les territoires séparés aujourd'hui par la frontière actuelle entre la Syrie et la Turquie et des pratiques tout à fait comparables sont attestées tout le long du Moyen-Euphrate[11].

Ces travaux démontrent qu'au Bronze Ancien la préférence tout comme en Turquie, semble avoir été pour les ensevelissements dans des cimetières ou des tombes à proximité immédiate de la ville. Toutefois, la vallée de l'Euphrate renferme aussi une grande variété de sépultures *intra-* ou *extra-muros*, mais les caveaux monumentaux en pierre et les tombes à chambres funéraires sont absents des cimetières *extra-muros*. Il s'agit toujours de tombes *intra-muros*. Les fouilles entreprises à Tilbeshar valident ce constat et soulignent le caractère exceptionnel du caveau monumental.

Principales caractéristiques des caveaux monumentaux de Syrie

En Syrie, les meilleurs parallèles pour le caveau de Tilbeshar se situent à Tell Ahmar, Jerablus Tahtani et Tell Hadidi. L'hypogée de Tell Ahmar fouillé dans les années 1930 a fait l'objet plus récemment, d'une nouvelle expertise[12]. On note l'existence d'un puits d'accès à la chambre funéraire proprement dite. La tombe 302 de Jerablus Tahtani, quant à elle, n'est pas à l'intérieur de la ville mais se situe immédiatement aux portes de celle-ci[13]. Les caveaux de Tell Hadidi demeurent les plus proches de celui de Tilbeshar ; ils comprennent chacun une chambre funéraire et un puits d'accès[14].

L'hypogée de Tell Ahmar a été dégagé il y a fort longtemps avec des méthodes d'investigation encore rudimentaires. Quant aux deux autres exemples cités, il s'agit d'une tombe qui a été abondamment pillée avant les fouilles récentes dans un cas, et réutilisée au Bronze Récent dans l'autre cas. Avec la découverte de Tilbeshar, nous repoussons les frontières de l'aire de répartition de ce mode d'ensevelissement au nord-ouest, jusqu'en Turquie et le long d'un affluent de l'Euphrate, le Sajour.

En Syrie, il semble qu'il s'agisse de tombes familiales et on y a identifié entre deux et douze individus et un matériel funéraire toujours très abondant. Toutes, en dépit des pillages anciens, renfermaient encore des objets en or, argent, bronze et pierre précieuses.

On a également souligné l'importance de leur visibilité et le cas le plus clair de cet aspect ostentatoire est celui de Jerablus Tahtani où la tombe se trouve au pied du site et clairement construit au-dessus du sol. A Tell Ahmar, l'hypogée a pu être visible et a pu être associé à plusieurs autres structures funéraires à l'intérieur d'un complexe. La Tombe 7 de Tell Banat est souterraine mais son toit massif était probablement visible. Les tombes de Tell Hadidi, qui sont les plus proches du cas de Tilbeshar, avaient des puits d'accès et de grandes

10 De tels rituels sont attestés par les sources écrites, voir Patrier (sous presse) ; on peut également suggérer une désacralisation des lieux pour des raisons politiques ou sociales, voir Schwartz 2007, 46.

11 Carter/Parker 1995 ; Cooper 2006, 202-256.

12 Thureau-Dangin/Dunand 1936, 96, Pl XX ; Roobaert/Bunnens 1999, 164-165.

13 Peltenburg/Wilkinson 2008.

14 Dornemann 1979, 118 ; 1980, 227.

entrées depuis le sol : elles se trouvaient dans un secteur très densément occupé de la ville. En somme, tous ces monuments étaient connus et sans doute régulièrement visités.

Place du caveau de Tilbeshar dans l'histoire général du site

Il est important de noter qu'à Tilbeshar cette tombe est construite au moment où l'occupation s'étend au pied de la citadelle pour former la première grande ville du Bronze Ancien. Cet urbanisme soudain a été diagnostiqué à des périodes comparables sur de très nombreux sites de Mésopotamie du Nord et d'Anatolie du Sud-Est.

Les caveaux funéraires monumentaux ont le potentiel d'accueillir non seulement des cérémonies importantes lors des ensevelissements, mais aussi des rituels et des visites régulières accompagnés d'offrandes et de fêtes. Comme cela a été dit ci-dessus, ils sont bien attestés par les sources écrites. Ils prennent place sur plusieurs générations et servent à renforcer le statut des élites.

L'occurrence du même type de tombes dans plusieurs sites de la vallée de l'Euphrate et de ses affluents représenterait l'expression de stratégies communes employées dans plusieurs villes par des élites ascendantes comme moyen d'illustrer et de renforcer leur statut. Le cas échéant, la désacralisation du caveau de Tilbeshar suivie de nouveaux dépôts pourrait illustrer la compétition engagée entre plusieurs familles. Ces caveaux funéraires monumentaux font écho à un développement urbain identique et nouveau, partagé par ces régions

Conclusion

Pour conclure, on retiendra du cas de Tilbeshar plusieurs leçons :

D'abord l'ensevelissement *intra-muros* n'est pas habituel. Il concerne soit des nouveaux nés soit des caveaux familiaux monumentaux enterrés mais non masqués. Ces caveaux monumentaux soulignent non seulement l'importance d'une famille mais aussi de ses descendants qui pendant deux à trois siècles perpétuent, à travers le dépôt régulier d'offrandes et de rituels, le souvenir d'ancêtres illustres. Ce type de tombe *intra-muros* assure en quelque sorte la structuration de relations sociales nouvelles parmi les habitants de la ville.

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EMPLACEMENT ET ORGANISATION DE L'ESPACE FUNÉRAIRE EN ANATOLIE OCCIDENTALE AU BRONZE ANCIEN (IIIE MILLÉNAIRE)

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Résumé

En Anatolie occidentale, le Bronze Ancien est caractérisé par l'apparition de nécropoles *extra-muros*, notamment à Demirci-Sarıket, Karataş-Elmalı, Kusura et Yortan. Ainsi, les quelques exemples référencés d'inhumation *intra-muros* sous le sol des habitations font figure d'exceptions (Beycesultan, Ovabayındır, Troie). Nous verrons que, au-delà de la distinction topographique, l'émergence des nécropoles *extra-muros* inaugure un changement majeur dans les relations entre le monde des vivants et le monde des morts et nous renseigne sur la structure et le fonctionnement de ces sociétés protohistoriques.

Cet article a pour objet d'analyser l'organisation spatiale des ensembles funéraires au Bronze Ancien (IIIe millénaire) en Anatolie occidentale (région de Marmara, pourtours méditerranéens, ouest de l'Anatolie centrale) (fig. 1). La documentation relative à la sphère du funéraire est suffisamment abondante – elle a été enrichie de manière significative dans les dernières décennies – pour que l'on puisse dresser un premier bilan[1].

Dans cette région, le Bronze Ancien est une période charnière marquée par un certain nombre de changements significatifs, parmi lesquels on retiendra entre autres : l'organisation binaire des établissements (ville haute / ville basse), la multiplication des fortifications, l'émergence d'une architecture de prestige, le renforcement de la spécialisation artisanale et l'amplification des flux d'échanges. Ces facteurs combinés vont mener à l'urbanisation progressive de cette région dans la seconde moitié du IIIe millénaire. Parallèlement aux mutations profondes qu'expérimente la société des vivants, de nouvelles

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1 Au-delà de l'analyse bibliographique, cette recherche est nourrie par l'examen de la nécropole à *pithos* du site de Karataş (Lycie, Anatolie occidentale) dont on m'a confié la publication. Ce cimetière a été fouillé à la fin des années 60 par une équipe de l'Université Bryn Mawr de Philadelphie sous la direction de Machteld Mellink.

Fig. 1 : Carte de tous les sites cités dans le texte.

pratiques funéraires bouleversent également le monde des morts. Cette période est le théâtre, sur l'ensemble de la région considérée, du développement d'importantes nécropoles *extra-muros* qui peuvent contenir jusqu'à plusieurs centaines d'individus, d'une part, et de la diffusion de la pratique de l'inhumation en jarre, d'autre part.

Dans cet article, nous nous concentrerons sur trois points. Il s'agira d'abord de présenter les différents modes d'inhumation présents, puis d'analyser leurs répartitions sur la zone géographique considérée et leurs importances respectives[2]. Nous établirons ensuite la manière dont le domaine des morts s'inscrit dans l'espace et les relations qu'il entretient avec celui des vivants. En corollaire de ce point, on analysera la signification des quelques exemples de sépultures qui sont – suivant un modèle hérité du Néolithique – intégrées à la sphère domestique. Nous terminerons enfin par l'examen de l'organisation et de l'agencement de ces nécropoles.

Les différents modes d'inhumation

L'un des traits distinctifs des nécropoles du Bronze Ancien est qu'elles accueillent des tombes de types différents. Quatre grandes pratiques d'inhumation (en jarre, en ciste, en pleine terre et à chambre) cohabitent en Anatolie occidentale, au III^{e} millénaire[3].

Dans ces ensembles funéraires, ont été découvertes essentiellement des sépultures individuelles mais également des sépultures collectives, c'est-à-dire d'une succession d'inhumations à des périodes différentes,

2 En revanche, on ne cherchera pas dans cet article à établir les raisons qui conditionnent le choix d'une pratique au détriment d'une autre. Ce sujet mérite un article à part entière et les données nécessaires pour y répondre sont en cours d'analyse.

3 Seeher 2000, abb. 9.

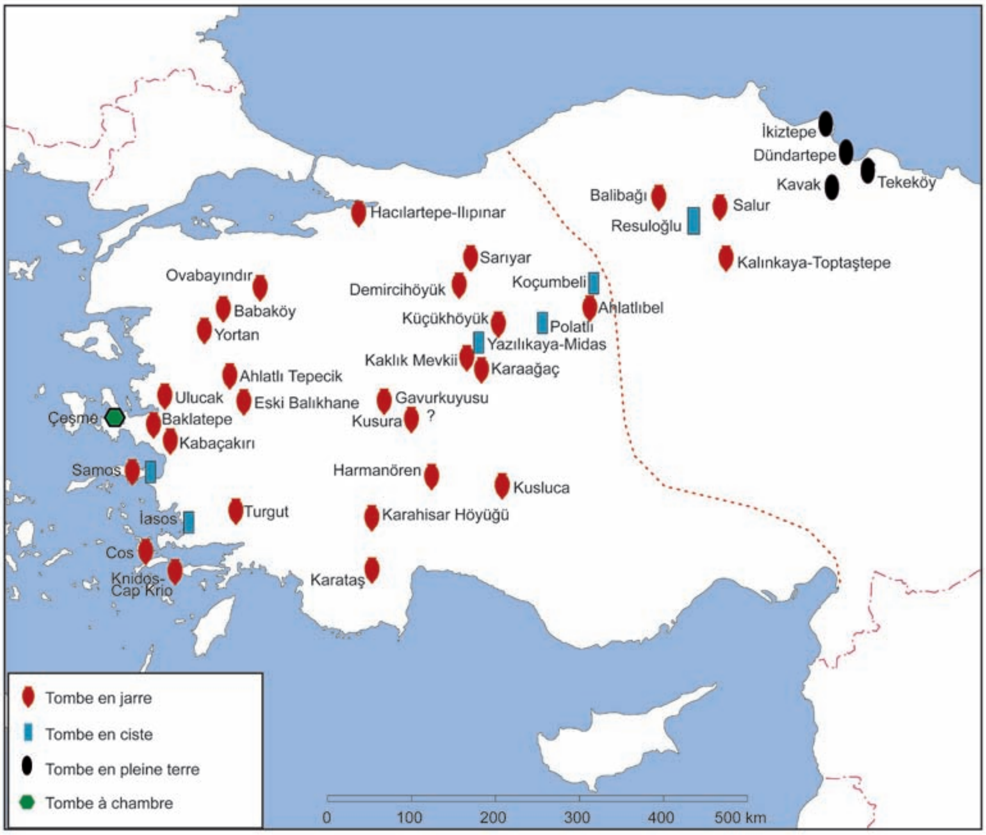

Fig. 2 : Carte du mode d'inhumation le plus largement représenté dans chacun des ensembles funéraires.

comprenant de deux à huit individus. Le mode de sépulture est l'inhumation primaire. Un unique cas de crémation – pratique qui se répandra durant le II^e^ millénaire – est attesté à Kaklık Mevkii (tombe 15)[4].

Les tombes en jarre ou en pot

Cette pratique est attestée dès le Chalcolithique Récent à Beycesultan (niveaux XXVIII, XXIII, XXI)[5], mais c'est durant le Bronze Ancien qu'elle prend un nouvel essor. La tombe en jarre[6] est le type le plus largement représenté en Anatolie occidentale[7], aussi bien du point de vue de sa dispersion géographique que de son importance quantitative (fig. 2). En effet, bien qu'elle coexiste souvent avec d'autres types, elle est la pratique majoritaire sur un grand nombre de sites.

Dans les nécropoles, les jarres sont enterrées à 25/50 cm sous la surface d'occupation. Elles sont disposées à l'horizontale avec une légère inclinaison, dont le but est certainement de faciliter la mise en place du défunt. Les grandes jarres, destinées essentiellement aux adultes, mesurent entre 1,20 m et un peu plus de 2 m, celles des enfants mesurent moins de un mètre. Des pots sont utilisés pour les périnataux. Dans les jarres, le corps est couché sur le côté droit ou gauche avec les jambes repliées et il est éventuellement accompagné d'offrandes. La tête du défunt est généralement située du côté de l'ouverture de la jarre, cependant sur certains sites, la tête est placée au fond (Ulucak Höyük[8]). La jarre peut être fermée de plusieurs manières : un pot retourné, un tesson, une dalle de pierre. Sur ce premier scellement pouvait être ajouté un amas de

4 Topbaş *et al.* 1998, 35.
5 Lloyd/Mellaart 1962.
6 On préféra le terme de jarre à celui de *pithos*, qui est souvent utilisé dans la documentation mais qui recouvre suivant les sites un matériel fort disparate.
7 Hacılartepe, Ovabayındır, Babaköy, Yortan, Ahlatlı Tepecik, Ulucak, Eski Balıkhane, Baklatepe, Kabaçakırı, Samos, Sarıyar, Demircihöyük, Ahlatlıbel, Küçükhöyük, Kaklık Mevkii, Karaağaç, Gavurkuyusu, Kusura, Iasos, Turgut, Harmanören, Kusluca, Karahisar Höyüğü, Karataş.
8 Çilingiroğlu *et al.* 2004, 60.

pierres, obstruant véritablement la tombe. Ensuite, la fosse était remplie jusqu'au niveau du sol de circulation.

La procédure d'inhumation apparaît assez standardisée à l'échelle de l'Anatolie occidentale. On note juste quelques variations mineures d'un site à l'autre, dans le mode de fermeture, dans la morphologie des jarres ou dans la quantité de matériel accompagnant le défunt.

Il existe certaines variantes à cette pratique. À Kusura[9] et à Ilıpınar-Hacılartepe[10], des inhumations ont été découvertes sur un tesson de jarre. Ce type d'enterrement était réservé aux nourrissons et aux enfants. À Samos[11] et Asklupis[12] sur Kos, ont été découvertes des tombes en jarre placées dans des tombes en ciste. Cette pratique illustre la fusion de ces deux pratiques.

Les jarres contiennent généralement un unique individu. Cependant, la réutilisation d'une tombe n'est pas inhabituelle (à Karataş 26 % des tombes sont multiples). Ces tombes multiples contiennent le plus souvent deux ou trois individus. Dans le cas d'une inhumation multiple, le premier occupant peut être soit repoussé au fond de la jarre avec ses offrandes (Karataş), soit disposé à l'extérieur de la jarre, à proximité de cette dernière (Demircihöyük-Sarıket, Baklatepe[13] : tombe 107). Le nouveau corps est placé comme l'était le premier, à savoir sur le côté, avec les jambes fléchies.

L'enterrement en jarre n'est pas spécifique à l'Anatolie occidentale. Cette pratique est également attestée en Anatolie du Sud-Est (Hassek Höyük[14], Tilbeşar[15]), au Levant Nord jusqu'à Byblos[16] et dans l'ensemble de la Mésopotamie. En revanche, dans la région égéenne, cette pratique n'est pas très répandue au Bronze Ancien[17].

Tombes en ciste

Les caissons sont délimités par plusieurs dalles de pierre. La forme rectangulaire est la plus répandue. Mais il y a également des formes ovoïdes, trapézoïdales, semi circulaires, polygonales ou rondes. Les formats sont variés[18].

Ces tombes contiennent généralement un corps. Il est disposé comme dans les tombes en jarre, à savoir sur l'un des côtés, avec les jambes repliées. Il s'agit, pour une très large majorité des cas, de sépultures uniques. Il y a quelques attestations de réouverture, pour une inhumation différée, à Iasos notamment (19 % des cas).

Les tombes en ciste sont relativement rares en Anatolie occidentale[19], où elles sont surtout représentées sur les côtes de la mer Egée. En revanche, elles sont très largement diffusées à cette époque dans le monde égéen. Dans les Cyclades[20], les cimetières *extra-muros* de tombes en ciste sont la norme. Cette pratique est également recensée sur plusieurs sites d'Anatolie centrale (Resuloğlu-Araçlar[21], Balibağı[22] et Kalınkaya[23]) et d'Anatolie orientale (Lidar Höyük[24], Birecik[25]).

Les tombes en fosse

Il s'agit d'une fosse creusée dans la terre, généralement de forme ovale. Les contours de la fosse sont parfois délimités par des pierres (Demircihöyük-Sarıket[26], Baklatepe[27]).

Les tombes en pleine terre ne sont jamais, en Anatolie occidentale, l'unique mode d'inhumation. Elles ne représentent toujours qu'un petit échantillon des sépultures découvertes dans une nécropole[28]. Leur nombre restreint ne permet pas d'être sûr de leur signification. Toutefois, on peut proposer deux explications, soit on est en présence de tombes modestes, hypothèse qui semble soutenue par le fait qu'elles ne possèdent, sur certains sites, pas ou peu d'offrandes, soit il s'agit de tombes construites à la hâte, les autres pratiques étant beaucoup plus chronophages. Cependant, à

9 Lamb 1937.
10 Roodenberg/Roodenberg 2008.
11 Milojčič 1961, 6, 10-12.
12 Stech-Wheeler 1973, 97-98.
13 Massa/Şahoğlu 2011, 166.
14 Laneri 2004, fig. 3.
15 Kepinski *et al.* 2006.
16 Artin 2005. 2059 tombes en jarre de l'énéolithique (IVe millénaire) ont été fouillées à Byblos.
17 Cosmopoulos 1991, 32.
18 À titre d'exemple, à Kusura, 80 sur 63 cm, 140 sur 73 cm, 163 sur 85 cm et à Yazılıkaya-Midas, 1,70 sur 90 cm
19 Babaköy, Yortan, Ahlatlı Tepecik, Küçükhöyük, Yazılıkaya-Midas, Kaklık Mevkii, Koçumbeli, Ahlatlıbel, Polatlı, Kabaçakırı, Baklatepe, Samos, Iasos, Harmanören.
20 Cosmopoulos 1991, 30, fig. 3.1 ; Doumas 1977.
21 Yıldırım 2006, 3
22 Süel 1989.
23 Zimmerman 2006, 279
24 Laneri 2004, 166, fig. 7.
25 Sertok/Ergeç 1999.
26 Seeher 2000, 21.
27 Şahoğlu 2008, 486.
28 Hacılartepe, Sarıyar, Kusura, Demircihöyük-Sarıket, Küçükhöyük, Polatlı, Baklatepe, Knidos, Karahisar Höyüğü.

Baklatepe[29], une tombe en fosse semble bénéficier d'un statut particulier puisque les défunts ainsi enterrés sont accompagnés d'un matériel abondant et varié.

Dans la zone Pontique, en revanche, l'inhumation en pleine terre est la seule utilisée, comme en atteste les nécropoles d'İkiztepe[30], Dündartepe, Tekeköy[31] et Kavak (Kaledoruğu)[32].

Les tombes à chambre

Je n'évoquerai que brièvement ce dernier type car, à ce jour, un unique cas de tombe à chambre est attesté en Anatolie occidentale, sur le site de Boyalık-Çesme. Elle est creusée dans la roche. Cette pratique est utilisée parallèlement à des tombes en jarre et à quelques tombes simples en pleine terre.

Dans le monde égéen, des tombes à chambre sont attestées, notamment sur l'île de Melos et en Grèce continentale, en Béotie et en Eubée[33].

Géographie de l'espace funéraire

D'une manière générale, les sépultures peuvent être agencées selon quatre schémas d'organisation.

Il y a, d'une part, les inhumations *intra-muros* qui peuvent être soit dispersées à l'intérieur de l'établissement (1), soit regroupées en nécropole (2) et, d'autre part, les inhumations *extra-muros*, soit organisées en nécropole (3), soit dispersées (4). En Anatolie occidentale au Bronze Ancien, deux cas seulement sont répertoriés : la nécropole *extra-muros* et les inhumations *intra-muros* entre ou sous les habitations. Ces pratiques ne sont pas mutuellement exclusives et nous verrons qu'elles peuvent cohabiter sur un même site. On ne possède, dans l'état actuel des recherches, aucune attestation de nécropole *intra-muros*, c'est-à-dire un lieu réservé aux sépultures au sein du site fortifié ou d'inhumation *extra-muros* dispersée. Cependant, le caractère aléatoire de ce dernier cas de figure le rend extrêmement difficile à identifier par l'archéologie, de telle sorte que même s'il était utilisé, nous n'aurions que peu de chance d'en découvrir les vestiges.

29 Şahoğlu 2008, 486.
30 Bilgi 2005.
31 Özgüç 1948b, 408-409.
32 Özgüç 1948b, 413-414.
33 Cosmopoulos 1991, 30.

Retour sur les coutumes funéraires antérieures au Bronze Ancien

Pour le Néolithique et le Chalcolithique Ancien, les sites de Kuruçay, Hacılar et Bademağacı ont livré quelques tombes en pleine terre *intra-muros*[34]. Elles sont placées dans les interstices entres les habitations. Il s'agit principalement de sujets immatures. Le petit nombre de sépultures retrouvées indique que la majorité des habitants et notamment les adultes étaient enterrés *extra-muros*. Cependant, aucun cimetière n'a été retrouvé pour ces périodes.

On ne possède que très peu d'informations sur les pratiques funéraires du Chalcolithique Récent (4000-3000 aC). D'une manière générale, cette période reste encore très mal connue sur la péninsule anatolienne[35]. Les quelques sites fouillés en extension pour cette période n'ont livré soit aucune (Can Hasan), soit quelques tombes seulement (Kuruçay, Hacılar, Beycesultan, Baklatepe) qui ne représentent par leur nombre qu'une infime portion de la population de ces communautés. Le site de Kuruçay[36] au niveau 6 a livré quatre adultes disposés dans des fosses entre les habitations et cinquante jarres de périnataux et d'enfants sous les maisons. À Hacılar[37], vingt deux tombes en fosse ovoïdes, d'enfants et d'adultes, ont été découvertes *intra-muros*. Le site de Menteşe Höyük[38], dans la région de Marmara, a livré huit sépultures (trois enfants et cinq adultes) en pleine terre dans les niveaux du Chalcolithique Ancien (milieu du XI^e^ millénaire). Quatre tombes d'enfants ont été découvertes dans les niveaux chalcolithiques de Beycesultan[39]. Au niveau XXIX, le corps est placé dans une tombe en fosse et aux niveaux XXVIII, XXIII et XXII, dans des tombes en jarre. À Kumtepe A[40], plusieurs tombes en fosse d'adultes ont été découvertes pour le Chalcolithique Récent (Phase I, 'pre-Troy I'). À Baklatepe, ce sont surtout des tombes de sujets immatures mais également

34 Duru 2008, 51.
35 Düring 2011, 200.
36 Duru 2008, 133-134.
37 Mellaart 1970, 88-91.
38 Roodenberg *et al.* 2003.
39 Lloyd/Mellaart 1962, 23-26.
40 Korfmann 1996, 50.

quelques adultes qui ont été retrouvés *intra-muros*. Le nombre réduit de défunts trahit le fait qu'il ne peut s'agir de l'unique mode d'inhumation. Il faut donc envisager que la plupart des défunts étaient enterrés *extra-muros*, soit en nécropole, soit dans des sépultures dispersées.

En Anatolie occidentale, une seule nécropole a, pour l'instant, été découverte à Ilıpınar[41], dans la région de Marmara. Le site d'habitat contemporain n'a pas été localisé. Quarante tombes datant du chalcolithique Récent (Niveau IV) ont été fouillées dans ce petit cimetière occupé sur deux ou trois générations. Une nécropole de la fin du Chalcolithique a également été identifiée, en Anatolie centrale, à Kalınkaya[42].

Ainsi, bien que les données soient pour l'instant extrêmement tenues, on peut faire deux constatations : d'une part, l'inhumation *intra-muros* est un phénomène marginal dès le Néolithique et, d'autre part, le regroupement des morts à un emplacement particulier qui leur est exclusivement réservé est déjà pratiqué à la fin du Chalcolithique Récent (Ilıpınar, Kalınkaya).

Développement des nécropoles *extra-muros*

La pratique de l'inhumation en nécropoles *extra-muros* est plus tangible au Bronze Ancien. Elle est la manière habituelle de traiter la majorité des défunts même si persistent quelques inhumations *intra-muros*. Ces cimetières peuvent contenir jusqu'à plusieurs centaines d'individus.

Plus d'une vingtaine de nécropoles *extra-muros* ont été identifiées en Anatolie occidentale au Bronze Ancien – Hacılartepe, Sarıyar, Demircihöyük-Sarıket, Ovabayındır, Babaköy, Yortan, Ahlatlı Tepecik, Eski Balıkhane, Ulucak, Gavurkuyusu, Küçükhöyük, Yazılıkaya-Midas, Karaağaç, Kaklık Mevkii, Çesme, Baklatepe, Kabaçakırı, Kusura, Harmanören, Kusluca, Karahisar Höyüğü, Turgut-Lagina, Iasos, Knidos, Karataş. Cependant leur analyse est confrontée à une double difficulté.

D'une part, malgré le nombre important de nécropoles localisées, rares sont celles pour lesquelles plus d'une dizaine de tombes ont été fouillées. Seuls les sites de Karataş-Semayük (plus de 500 tombes), Demircihöyük-Sarıket (473 tombes), Baklatepe, Kücükhöyük (204 tombes), Harmanören (plus de 200 tombes), Babaköy (150 tombes), Yortan (110 tombes) et Iasos (96 tombes) (fig. 3) ont bénéficié de dégagements *in extenso.*

D'autre part, il y a peu de nécropoles pour lesquelles on possède le site d'habitat contemporain et vice versa. Sur l'ensemble des sites et des ensembles funéraires référencés pour l'Anatolie au Bronze Ancien, seuls les sites de Demircihöyük-Sarıket[43] et Karataş[44] ont bénéficié d'un dégagement extensif du site d'habitat et de leur nécropole. Le cimetière de Demircihöyük-Sarıket est contemporain des niveaux d'occupations du village du Bronze Ancien II (K/L-Q). À Karataş, le cimetière est occupé dès le Bronze Ancien I, parallèlement à l'occupation du site d'habitat (niveaux I-III). L'occupation la plus importante date du Bronze Ancien II (niveau V). Le cimetière est abandonné au début du Bronze Ancien III alors que le site est toujours en activité.

Il existe plusieurs nécropoles pour lesquelles le site d'habitat a été localisé mais non fouillé (Ovabayındır, Harmanören, Küçükhöyük) et d'autres où l'établissement n'a pas pu être retrouvé malgré des prospections dans les environs de la nécropole – à Kusura[45], Yortan[46], Babaköy[47], Ahlatlı Tepecik[48], Eski Balıkhane[49], Gavurkuyusu et Iasos[50].

Enfin, il subsiste de nombreux sites, même parmi les plus fameux – à Troie[51], Beycesultan, Tarse, Mersin, Kinet Höyük – dont la nécropole n'a pas été découverte. Cependant, on peut déduire sa présence de l'absence de tombes *intra-muros* ou de la présence d'un nombre extrêmement réduit de sépultures à l'intérieur de la zone d'habitat – Troie, Hanaytepe, Kumtepe, Thermi[52] (Helladique Ancien III), Heraion Samos et Beycesultan.

41 Roodenberg/Roodenberg 2008, 315-321.
42 Zimmerman 2006, 277-278.

43 Seeher 2000.
44 Stech-Wheeler 1974.
45 Le site de Kusura a été fouillé mais les niveaux d'occupation du site d'habitat ne sont pas, d'après les fouilleurs, contemporains du cimetière (Lamb 1937).
46 Kâmil 1982, 4-5.
47 Bittel/Stewart 1939-41.
48 Mitten 1968.
49 Mitten/Gülden 1971.
50 Pecorella/Levi 1984.
51 Blegen *et al.* 1950, 207, 315.
52 Lamb 1936.

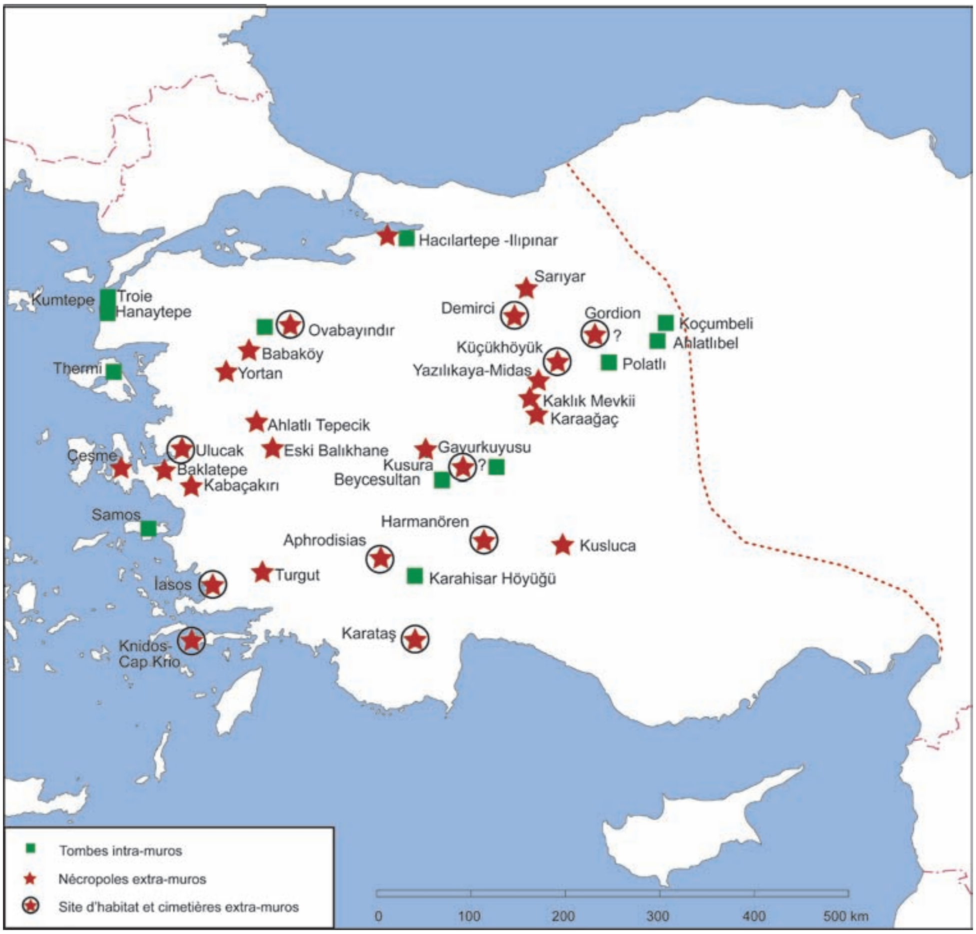

Fig. 3 :
Carte des nécropoles *extra-muros* et des sépultures *intra-muros.*

La relation cimetière - site d'habitat

Sur la relation entre les nécropoles et les sites d'habitat contemporains, deux interrogations principales structurent notre approche. D'une part, la localisation du cimetière par rapport au site d'habitat (topographie, distance, etc.) et, d'autre part, la place que tiennent les nécropoles dans le paysage naturel ou anthropique.

Comme évoqué précédemment, il y a peu d'exemples pour lesquels on possède l'habitat associé à la nécropole. L'approche de ces questions reste donc difficile et cette réflexion est fondée sur l'étude de quelques sites seulement – Ilıpınar-Hacılartepe, Demircihöyük-Sarıket, Kusura[53], Ulucak[54], Ovabayındır, Küçükhöyük, Harmanören, Iasos et Karataş.

Dans la plupart des cas, les ensembles funéraires sont localisés à proximité des sites d'habitat : la nécropole d'Ulucak est placée à 150 m du site d'habitat contemporain[55] ; Demircihöyük-Sarıket à 250 m au sud-ouest du site ; Ilıpınar à 300 m au sud du site contemporain d'Hacılartepe[56] ; Harmanören à 250-300m au nord-ouest du tell[57]. Le cimetière de Küçükhöyük est selon toute vraisemblance associé à un établissement placé à 400 m au sud-ouest[58]. Enfin, à Karataş, le cimetière avait été implanté à l'origine à 300 m environ des habitations. Au cours de son occupation, les limites de l'établissement fluctuent et le rapprochent ainsi plus ou moins de la nécropole. Finalement, au

53 Lamb 1937.
54 Çilinigiroğlu *et al.* 2004, 59-63.

55 Çilingiroğlu *et al.* 2004, 54.
56 Roodenberg/Roodenberg 2008, 335-339. Vingt huit tombes ont été découvertes. D'après J. Roodenberg, le cimetière a été occupé sur une courte période, environ entre 2850 et 2600 aC.
57 Özsait 2003.
58 Gürkan/Seeher 1991, pl.1.

Bronze Ancien II, la nécropole et l'établissement sont attenants. La ville des morts est placée à proximité de la ville des vivants, à cinq minutes à pied environ et est visible depuis l'établissement[59]. Ainsi, les défunts sont exclus de la sphère domestique, à l'exception de quelques tombes *intra-muros*, mais ils sont néanmoins présents dans le paysage.

Toutefois, il est possible que tous les cimetières n'aient pas été aussi proches de l'établissement car il y a de nombreux exemples pour lesquels le site d'habitat n'a pu être retrouvé malgré des prospections dans les alentours de la nécropole – à Troie et Beycesultan. De la même manière, il y a un certain nombre de nécropoles qui n'ont pu être associées à aucun site d'habitat – à Yortan et Babaköy.

Cette proximité entre la ville des vivants et la ville des morts n'est pas inhabituelle. En Anatolie centrale, les cimetières de Resuloğlu[60] et de Salur[61] sont également placés à proximité du site d'habitat contemporain. Au Minoen Ancien, en Crète, dans la Messara, les cimetières sont également placés à proximité des établissements. K. Branigan a montré qu'ils étaient souvent situés à moins de 200 m du site d'habitat[62]. Il note cependant que l'ouverture des tombes n'est jamais orientée vers l'établissement. Il considère cela comme l'expression d'une volonté ambivalente des populations de conserver les défunts à proximité mais sans pour autant souhaiter être 'observés' par eux.

En ce qui concerne l'implantation des nécropoles dans le paysage, les données sont extrêmement ténues dans la documentation de notre corpus. D'une manière générale, on remarque que les sites d'habitat optent pour une position élevée (höyük) alors que les cimetières sont plutôt installés dans la plaine. Cependant, il y a plusieurs exemples de nécropoles placées à la même altitude – Ovabayındır – ou surplombant légèrement le site. À Demircihöyük-Sarıket, la nécropole est située sur la pente d'une colline voisine surplombant le site[63]. À Karataş, les sols d'occupation du cimetière étaient approximativement 4,0 à 5,0 m plus hauts que ceux des habitations (6,6 à 6,7 m)[64].

Enfin, il faut souligner le fait qu'aucune trace de limite construite – rempart, clôture, fossé, levée de terre – n'a été découverte autour de ces ensembles funéraires. Les nécropoles sont des espaces réservés mais elles ne sont pas confinées à un espace précis qui aurait eu des limites physiques. Elles s'adaptent à l'espace disponible avec pour seul impératif de ne pas empiéter sur la zone d'habitat contemporaine. Parfois le cimetière est séparé du site d'habitat par la fortification de ce dernier mais tous les sites ne sont pas fortifiés. En l'absence de rempart autour du site, la nécropole devait représenter un aspect essentiel du paysage anthropique de ces communautés.

Un dernier point me paraît significatif. Un site pouvait changer l'emplacement de sa nécropole au cours de son occupation. À Baklatepe[65], deux ensembles funéraires distincts ont été localisés. Le premier, qui correspond à l'occupation du chalcolithique et du Bronze Ancien I, est attenant au site, tandis que le second, qui date du Bronze Ancien II-III, est placé légèrement plus au sud du site. Par ailleurs, on a plusieurs exemples de cimetières qui sont abandonnés alors que le site d'habitat est toujours en activité. À Kusura[66], le cimetière date du niveau A, au niveau B la nécropole est abandonnée. Le cimetière de Demircihöyük-Sarıket est contemporain des niveaux d'occupations du Bronze Ancien II (K/L-Q). La nécropole de Karataş[67] est abandonnée au début du Bronze Ancien III alors que le village est toujours occupé. L'abandon de ces nécropoles ne va pas de pair avec une réapparition des inhumations *intra-muros*. Ainsi, la seule explication satisfaisante est que les habitants ont choisi un nouvel emplacement pour leur cimetière. Les raisons de ces abandons restent à élucider.

59 Dans cette nécropole presque aucun élément n'indique l'existence de pratique funéraire précédant ou suivant la mise en terre (peu de vaisselles à l'extérieur des jarres, pas d'os d'animaux relatifs à des banquets, pas de fosses contenant des déchets particulier). On peut émettre l'hypothèse que les rituels funéraires avaient lieu *intra-muros* avant la mise en terre.
60 Yıldırım 2006.
61 Matthews 2004.
62 Branigan 1998.
63 Seeher 2000, 6, abb. 3.
64 Stech-Wheeler 1973, 15.
65 Şahoğlu 2008, 485, fig. 3 : n°2 et 4.
66 Lamb 1937.
67 Mellink 1984.

Persistance des inhumations *intra-muros* : les morts dans la ville

Parallèlement aux développements des nécropoles, les pratiques funéraires au Bronze Ancien sont caractérisées par la présence ponctuelle de sépultures *intra-muros*.

À l'heure actuelle, aucun site n'a livré suffisamment de sépultures *intra-muros* pour qu'il s'agisse du mode exclusif d'inhumation. Les quelques cas référencés représentent des exceptions et trahissent de fait l'existence d'inhumations majoritairement *extra-muros*. Ainsi, cette pratique cohabite toujours avec une nécropole (Hacılartepe, Ovabayındır, Kusura). L'inverse n'est pas vrai, plusieurs sites à nécropoles n'ont livré aucune sépulture *intra-muros* (Demircihöyük-Sarıket, Karataş[68]). Les sépultures *intra-muros* peuvent être placées sous ou entre les habitations. Il s'agit généralement de tombes en jarre (Troie[69], Karahisar Höyüğü, Thermi, Samos) même si l'on trouve également des tombes à cistes (Koçumbeli, Polatlı).

Cette pratique ne concerne la plupart du temps que des périnataux et des enfants (Troie, Kumtepe Hacılartepe, Ovabayındır[70], Kusura[71], Samos et Thermi). La sélection des individus repose donc principalement sur l'âge des défunts et non sur leur statut. D'ailleurs, d'une manière générale, les inhumations *intra-muros* ne sont pas accompagnées de plus, ou de moins, de mobilier funéraire que les tombes *extra-muros*. À Haneytepe et Ahlatlıbel, les tombes contiennent des adultes et des enfants. Cependant, sur ces deux sites, la relation entre l'architecture et les tombes n'est pas claire, en raison de la difficulté d'interprétation de la séquence stratigraphique. Il est possible que sur ces deux sites les sépultures n'aient été déposées qu'après l'abandon du site d'habitat. On ne serait donc pas en présence d'inhumations *intra-muros stricto sensu*.

Les inhumations *intra-muros* ne sont pas un phénomène spécifique à l'Anatolie occidentale. On en trouve également quelques exemples dans la région de la mer Noire – İkiztepe (Bronze Ancien I)[72], Horoztepe[73], Dündartepe – et surtout en Anatolie centrale où cette pratique est beaucoup plus significative qu'en Anatolie occidentale. Elle concerne aussi bien des enfants que des adultes – à Alaca, Alişar, Karahüyük-Konya, Eskiyapar et Kültepe. Dans le monde égéen, la coutume des inhumations *intra-muros* est très répandue et concerne essentiellement des enfants[74]. Elle est attestée à l'Helladique Ancien, en Grèce continentale – à Asinè, Lerne, Tirynthe, Askitario, Eutrésis, Kirrha, et Tsougiza-Némée.

Organisation des nécropoles

Dimensions

Il est difficile d'estimer les limites précises de ces espaces funéraires. Cependant, on peut estimer approximativement l'extension maximale de certains d'entre eux grâce à des sondages, des ramassages de surface ou plus récemment grâce à l'utilisation de prospections géomagnétiques.

Le cimetière de Karataş est, à l'heure actuelle, le plus imposant avec près de 2,2 hectares de superficie. Il couvre une zone d'approximativement 110 m du Nord au Sud et 200 m d'Est en Ouest. Cette extension maximale a été déduite de plusieurs tranchées tests, réalisées à la périphérie du cimetière. Si l'on considère la densité des secteurs fouillés et l'étendue de la nécropole on peut évaluer qu'il y a pu y avoir jusqu'à 2000 tombes pour une occupation de 300 ou 400 ans. Les autres cimetières référencés sont estimés à moins d'un demi hectare. Küçükhöyük couvre une zone de 75 m par 60 m (0,45 hectares)[75]. À Demircihöyük-Sarıket, le recours à des prospections géomagnétiques de surface a permis d'évaluer de manière assez précise l'étendue de la nécropole qui occupe une surface de 0,42 hectares (70 m sur 60 m)[76]. Les cimetières de Babaköy et d'Harmanören mesurent respectivement 0,28 hectares (80 m par 35 m) et 0,19 hectares.

68 Mellink/Lawrence 1968 : ills. 1-2. Le plan montre une superposition des zones d'habitat et d'inhumations, au sud-est du site. Un examen minutieux de la stratigraphie a révélé que les tombes n'étaient pas *intra-muros*, mais qu'elles représentent une extension du cimetière dans une zone d'habitat abandonnée (ex : tranchées 37 et 98), à la fin du Bronze Ancien II. À aucun moment, des tombes n'ont été placées dans des maisons occupées.
69 Özgüç 1948a, 13, 28. Six tombes d'enfants ont été découvertes sous le sol d'habitations du niveau Troie I, dont quatre tombes en jarre et deux tombes en pleine terre.
70 Akurgal 1958.
71 Lamb 1937.
72 Bilgi 2005, 17-18, Welton 2010.
73 Özgüç/Akok 1958.
74 McGeorge 2003.
75 Gürkan/Seeher 1991, pl.2.
76 Seeher 2000, 12-14.

Agencement et organisation des nécropoles

Les nécropoles *extra-muros* d'Anatolie occidentale, au Bronze Ancien, adoptent une organisation relativement régulière, malgré une densité parfois importante. Cette régularité est liée en grande partie au choix d'une orientation identique pour toutes les tombes.

L'orientation est-ouest avec la tête du défunt placée à l'est est la plus répandue et cela dans toute l'Anatolie occidentale, depuis Babaköy[77], Yortan[78], au nord, jusqu'à Ahlatlı Tepecik[79], Eski Balıkhane[80], Baklatepe[81], Kabaçakırı, Kaklık Mevkii[82], au centre, et Harmanören[83], Aphrodisias[84], Turgut-Lagina, Iasos[85] et Karataş[86], au sud.

Sur la plupart des sites, on recense quelques anomalies notables qui sont certainement liées à un manque d'attention car ces tombes ne présentaient aucun autre élément singulier ou point commun qui justifie cette différence. Il faut cependant noter que si l'orientation orientale est majoritaire, elle peut, sur certains sites, être utilisée en parallèle d'autres orientations. À Demircihöyük-Sarıket, l'orientation a pu être observée sur 340 cas. Dans 90 % des cas, les corps sont orientés avec la tête à l'est ou au sud-est[87]. Le défunt n'est jamais orienté vers l'établissement qui est situé au nord-est de la nécropole. À Ulucak Höyük, les jarres sont orientées sud-est/nord-ouest, avec l'ouverture de la jarre au sud-est[88]. À Harmanören[89], les tombes sont orientées à l'est mais également au nord-est et au sud-est. De la même manière, à Iasos[90], sur 85 tombes fouillées, 40 sont orientées selon un axe est-ouest avec la tête à l'est, pour les 45 autres toutes les directions sont représentées.

Enfin, sur certains sites, on constate une variation de l'orientation suivant le type de sépultures utilisé. À Kusura[91], les défunts sont enterrés avec la tête à l'est dans les tombes en ciste et avec la tête à l'ouest dans les tombes en pleine terre. À Küçükhöyük[92], les jarres sont orientées au nord-est, tandis que les tombes en ciste au sud-est/nord-ouest. Enfin, à Ahlatlı Tepecik[93], les tombes en jarre sont systématiquement orientées à l'est mais les tombes en ciste présentent des orientations variables.

Ce choix d'orientation systématique est caractéristique du Bronze Ancien. La nécropole d'Ulucak illustre parfaitement ce phénomène. Les tombes du Bronze Ancien adoptent toutes une orientation sud-est/nord-ouest alors que la nécropole du Bronze Moyen révèle des tombes installées de manière aléatoire[94].

Au-delà de l'orientation, ces nécropoles adoptent une organisation régulière suivant un schéma standardisé. Le dégagement extensif du cimetière de Karataş permet de se faire une idée un peu plus précise de l'organisation que pouvait adopter ces nécropoles[95]. Les tombes sont disposées à intervalles réguliers et entourées d'espace libre sur un mètre au moins. Ainsi, chaque tombe occupe une surface moyenne de 7 à 8 m^2. Ces intervalles étaient parfois utilisés pour disposer les petites jarres d'enfant. Ces jarres de petites dimensions étaient regroupées et placées de manière aléatoire, sans orientation privilégiée entre les tombes d'adultes. Le même type d'organisation a été découvert à Harmanören. Enfin, bien que l'agencement de la nécropole de Karataş soit assez dense, voire encombré, il n'y a aucun chevauchement : preuve d'un marquage en surface efficace et conservé sur plusieurs générations. D'ailleurs, dans certaines zones de la nécropole des cercles de pierres destinés à signaler l'emplacement des tombes ont été retrouvés[96]. Ces cercles s'échelonnent entre 1,0 m et 4,5 m de diamètre extérieur et le mur circulaire mesurent entre 40 et 50 cm de large. L'absence d'écroulement indique que le cercle en pierre ne s'élevait pas en hauteur. En revanche, on ne peut exclure l'existence d'une superstructure en terre. Il est probable que ces cercles de pierres étaient présents dans l'ensemble

77 Bittel/Stewart 1939-41.
78 Kâmil 1982, 8.
79 Mitten 1968.
80 Mitten/Gülden 1971.
81 Şahoğlu 2008, 485.
82 Topbaş *et al.* 1998, 33.
83 Özsait 2003.
84 Kadish 1971, 126.
85 Pecorella/Levi 1984.
86 Stech-Wheeler 1974, 3.
87 Seeher 2000, 6.
88 Çilingiroğlu *et al.* 2004, 60.
89 Özsait 2003, 171.
90 Pecorella/Levi 1984, Tav. V-XXVII, figura B.
91 Lamb 1937.
92 Gürkan/Seeher 1991.
93 Mitten 1968.
94 Çilingiroğlu *et al.* 2004, 62.
95 Stech-Wheeler 1974, 416.
96 Mellink/Lawrence 1968, 257-258, ill. 4.

de la nécropole mais leur affleurement à la surface les aura endommagés. À Yortan[97] et Harmanören[98], la disposition régulière de sépultures et l'absence de superposition trahit l'existence de marqueurs de surface bien qu'aucun vestige n'en ait été retrouvé. Les tombes en ciste de la nécropole d'Iasos adoptent également un agencement régulier[99]. Elles sont soigneusement alignées avec un espace quasiment constant entre chacune. La nécropole de Baklatepe est également organisée selon un ordre régulier[100]. Associées à des tombes à ciste, ont été découvertes des jarres installées verticalement et remplies de pierres. Cet aménagement singulier a pu, d'après le fouilleur, servir de marqueur pour ces sépultures. Quant aux tombes en jarre, elles étaient, semble-t-il, localisées grâce à la pierre de fermeture de la jarre qui affleurait en surface[101]. Pour conclure sur ces marqueurs, il faut rappeler que la présence récurrente de tombes multiples sur certains sites soutient l'hypothèse que la présence des sépultures était signalée en surface. Par ailleurs, si on retient la proposition selon laquelle les tombes multiples regroupent des gens suivant une qualité (statut, famille), et non de manière aléatoire, il faut alors considérer l'existence d'un second type de marquage, dont on ignore la nature et l'aspect, permettant d'identifier la personne ou les personnes déjà enterrées.

Si la plupart des nécropoles adoptent un agencement régulier, quelques unes font exception. À Demircihöyük-Sarıket[102], l'agencement des tombes est assez irrégulier, en particulier au centre du cimetière où la densité de tombes est plus importante. Il arrive que des tombes récentes endommagent certaines sépultures plus anciennes. Ce phénomène pourrait être révélateur de l'absence de marqueur en surface pour signaler la localisation des tombes. À Ilıpınar-Hacılartepe[103], les tombes sont également disposées de manières irrégulières, mais on ne dénombre aucun chevauchement. Ceci peut s'expliquer soit par la faible densité d'occupation, soit par l'éventuelle existence d'un marquage de surface, aujourd'hui disparu. Dans la zone pontique et le nord de l'Anatolie centrale, les tombes sont également placées de manière aléatoire sans ordre ni orientation privilégiée – à İkiztepe, Tekeköy, Balibağı[104], Kalınkaya-Toptaştepe. À İkiztepe[105], cette organisation désordonnée conduit à la superposition de tombes, révélant l'absence probable de marquage de surface.

Des nécropoles à modes d'inhumation mixte

L'un des traits distinctifs de l'organisation de ces nécropoles d'Anatolie occidentale est la coexistence de différents types de sépultures. Quelques cimetières échappent à la règle et n'ont recours qu'à un unique mode d'inhumation. C'est le cas de Ovabayındır, Eski Balıkhane[106], Gavurkuyusu, Kusluca, Turgut-Lagina et Karataş, où seules des tombes en jarre ont été découvertes. Iasos est le seul cimetière *extra-muros*, connu à l'heure actuelle en Anatolie, qui soit composé exclusivement de tombes en ciste. Aucune nécropole composée uniquement de tombes en pleine terre n'est attestée en Anatolie occidentale, contrairement à la région de la mer Noire où cette pratique est la norme – à İkiztepe, Tekeköy et Dündartepe.

La majorité des nécropoles d'Anatolie occidentale sont caractérisées par l'existence de coutumes d'inhumations mixtes (cf. Tableau). Il y a les ensembles funéraires pour lesquels un mode d'inhumation est largement majoritaire tandis qu'un autre type est présent de manière exceptionnelle. On trouve notamment un certain nombre de nécropoles où, à côté d'une importante majorité de tombes en jarres, une ou deux tombes en ciste ont été repérées. C'est le cas à Yortan, Harmanören, Babaköy et Ilıpınar-Hacılartepe. Il existe également des nécropoles dans lesquelles les tombes en jarres et en cistes sont représentées de manière quasiment égales, comme à Kabaçakırı et Ahlatlı Tepecik[107].

97 Kâmil 1982, 10.
98 Özsait 2004.
99 Pecorella/Levi 1984.
100 Şahoğlu 2008, 486.
101 Şahoğlu 2008, fig. 13-14.
102 Seeher 2000, abb. 2, abb. 8.
103 Roodenberg/roodenberg 2008.
104 Süel 1989.
105 Welton 2010, 142-143, map. 3.4.
106 Mitten/Gülden 1971.
107 Mitten 1968.

Nécropole	Total	Tombes en jarre	Tombes en ciste	Tombes en pleine terre
Ilıpınar-Hacılartepe	22	21	x	1
Yortan	111	110	1	x
Harmanören	164	163	1	x
Babaköy	?	plusieurs (?)	2	x
Demircihöyük-Sarıket	473	361	92	20
Küçükhöyük	204	127	74	3
Kusura	14	10	3	1

Enfin, il y a quelques ensembles funéraires dans lesquels cohabitent les trois modes d'inhumations – à Demircihöyük-Sarıket, Kusura, Küçükhöyük[108].

Dans la nécropole de Baklatepe, les trois types ont également été retrouvés pour la phase d'occupation la plus ancienne. Dans la phase récente, les habitants n'ont eu recours qu'à des sépultures collectives que le fouilleur désigne comme des "pithoi familiaux"[109].

La répartition spatiale des différents types de sépultures révèle que les différentes catégories se côtoient au sein de ces cimetières. Il n'existe pas de secteurs dédiés à chacun des modes d'inhumation.

D'ailleurs, d'une manière générale, aucun secteur différencié ou privilégié n'est détectable au sein de ces nécropoles. S'il existe des distinctions entre les tombes, elles ne sont pas ostentatoires. Les différents types de tombes et le mobilier funéraire – quantité, qualité du matériel – sont répartis de manière relativement uniforme de telle sorte que le domaine des morts n'apparait pas comme un espace de ségrégation.

Conclusion

En l'absence de texte, il est impossible d'avoir une idée précise de la façon dont étaient gérées ces nécropoles. La gestion pouvait être d'ordre familial, communautaire ou religieux et les différents types de tombes dans une même nécropole révéler des origines ethniques ou sociales variées. Les données archéologiques ne nous permettent pas, dans l'état actuel de la documentation, de justifier une thèse plutôt qu'une autre. Cependant, l'agencement régulier des tombes, les marquages de surface, la présence de tombes multiples – indiquant une réouverture de certaines sépultures suivant des modalités qui ne sont sans doute pas aléatoires –, trahissent l'existence d'un mode de fonctionnement soigneusement codifié. De plus, l'analyse de ces ensembles funéraires met en exergue de nombreuses constances dans : le mode d'inhumation en jarre, la position des défunts – systématiquement tournés sur l'un des côtés avec les jambes repliées –, l'orientation vers l'Est et la simplicité, voire l'austérité, du mobilier funéraire. L'uniformité prévaut sur la singularité qui ne transparait souvent que dans les détails. Cette homogénéité des pratiques funéraires reflète à mon sens l'existence d'un rituel funéraire inscrit dans la tradition culturelle de cette région. Cette région, il faut le rappeler, partage également un autre trait culturel commun : un même mode d'habitat, le plan oblong avec ou sans antes[110].

En outre, l'analyse diachronique a révélé que l'on n'était pas tant dans une révolution des pratiques funéraires que dans leur affirmation. En effet, l'inhumation en jarre et les nécropoles *extra-muros*, qui deviendront la norme au Bronze Ancien, sont attestées dès le Chalcolithique.

Les pratiques funéraires en usage au Bronze Ancien perdurent en partie au Bronze Moyen et au Bronze Récent. La pratique de la nécropole *extra-muros* et les trois grands types d'inhumations du III^e^ millénaire – en jarre, en ciste et en fosse – se perpétuent. Cette prégnance des coutumes funéraires du Bronze Ancien est clairement décelable dans les nécropoles du Bronze Moyen, de Gordion[111] et d'Ulucak[112], notamment. Toutefois, le II^e^ millénaire inaugure l'apparition de nouvelles pratiques, en particulier, celle de l'incinération.

108 Gürkan/Seeher 1991.
109 Massa/Şahoğlu 2011, 167, figs. 3-5.
110 Perello 2011, 117-132, 144-152.
111 Mellink 1956.
112 Çilingiroğlu *et al.* 2004, 56-58.

Abréviations

AJA	American Journal of Archaeology
AfO	Archiv für Orientforschung
BASOR	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research
IstMitt	Istanbuler Mitteilungen
KST	Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı
TAD	Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi
WVDOG	Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft

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DEFINING RESIDENTIAL GRAVES

The case of Titriş Höyük in southeastern Anatolia during the late IIIrd millennium BC

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Abstract

Since prehistoric times, the use of graves built within private houses has been a common burial custom of both Old and New World societies. Although efforts have been made by scholars to interpret the role these graves had in constructing the social, cultural and economic organization of ancient societies, there has been no attempt to clearly define the use of basic terminology, such as 'intramural', for this category of funerary depositions.

The paper here presented will thus aim at defining a more coherent typology of 'residential graves' (i.e., a built tomb embedded within a dwelling and contemporary with it) and distinguish it from other types of funerary depositions that were part of the settlement (i.e. cists, pits, *pithoi*), but that are difficult to connect with the collective memory of the community. Such an epistemological exercise will facilitate interpretations carried out by scholars interested in mortuary archaeology and will also define the socio-economic value of residential graves as part of the construction of the familial memory. Moreover, to further elucidate the definition of residential graves I will also present a specific case study (i.e., Titriş Höyük during the late IIIrd millennium BC) in which the use of such funerary depositions was pivotal for framing the emergence of a new social class.

Introduction

Historically speaking, the study of intramural funerary depositions has not been a popular subject of research in the field of archaeology. During the last five years, however, the topic has been the subject of some long-overdue attention in the form of conferences and other research that explores various aspects of intramural funerary depositions in ancient societies, as with, for example, the 2006 symposium *Sepolti tra i vivi* held in Rome, and the recently released volume on residential burials edited by Ron Adams and Stacey King[1]. However, as correctly pointed out by Edgar Peltenburg at the ICAANE conference in London[2], much confusion still remains regarding the definitions of the different types of intramural funerary depositions and especially the differentiation between residential graves and other types of intramural funerary depositions. For example, the term 'intramural' has sometimes been used to describe funerary depositions located both 'within the city walls' and 'within the walls of a building'[3]. This has created confusion in distinguishing between graves located within the city walls (as is the case of the mausolea) and those embedded within the architecture of a specific building (as is the case of sub-adult inhumations in pottery vessels underneath walls or floors; depositions in pits, jars, *pithoi* under the floor; tombs in abandoned houses; and residential graves). It now appears important to determine specific terminology in order to define the type of relationship that occurs between graves, architecture and the overall settlement topography when investigating tombs that are located in an urban context. For example, the establishment of clear parameters can be useful when dealing with tombs that have the purpose of becoming funerary crypts embedded within residential architecture.

In particular, we should consider residential graves as funerary depositions that were planned as part of the domestic architecture and, thus, could have functioned as a clear point of reference for the living family in the process of revising the memory of their ancestors. This phenomenon served the purpose of emphasizing the socio-economic role played by the ancestors in strengthening familial lineages and reinforcing a sense of belonging among the family's members during the performance of their daily activities as well as in the process of confrontation with groups that present a different social, religious or ethnic identity. Thus, the identification of residential graves appears as a fundamental step in understanding the rules governing the social organization of the investigated groups. More specifically, the different burial locations can also be indicative of a diverse way of conceiving social links among group members; for example, while extramural funerary depositions in large cemeteries can indicate a centralized control on how the living interact with the 'world of the dead', the use of residential graves built within the private dwellings can signify a desire by emerging groups to differentiate their position from central authorities.

Thus, it appears of fundamental importance to clearly distinguish residential graves when analyzing funerary customs of ancient societies; and, thus, in order to better identify this type of funerary deposition when confronting archaeological contexts, we should look at the following elements:

- tombs that are embedded in the architecture,
- tombs that have a high visibility within the house,
- tombs that have a direct and continuous relationship with residential architecture (e.g. through the use of altars or drains located in other rooms).

After outlining these preliminary elements on the identification of residential graves in the archaeological record, I would like now to turn my attention to the main aim of this paper: the investigation of the social value of the appearance of residential funerary chambers at the site of Titriş Höyük in southeastern Anatolia during the late IIIrd millennium BC.

The transformation of funerary practices at Titriş Höyük during the Late IIIrd Millennium BC

During the IIIrd millennium BC, Mesopotamia is marked by an impressive increase in archaeological data directly connected to the practice of ancient funerary rituals. The abundance of this type of material culture emphasizes the importance of funerary ritual enactments for these ancient societies, who used them as tools for strengthening societal structure at a moment in which social,

1 Adams/King 2010; Bartoloni/Benedettini 2007/2008.
2 Peltenburg personal communication.
3 According to the English dictionary, the adjective 'intramural' means 'situated or done within the walls of the buildings'. In Italian, the conundrum has been solved through the use of the term 'intra muros' for the tombs built within the walls of the building and 'intra moenia' for those built in a more generic position within the city walls.

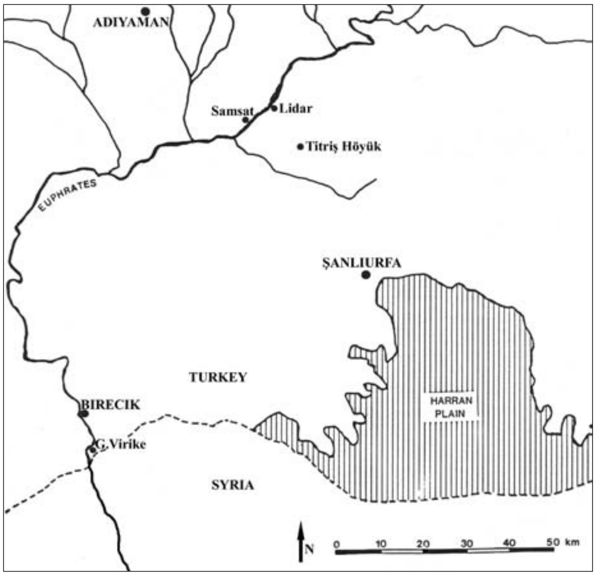

Fig. 1 : Map of southeastern Anatolia showing the location of Titriş Höyük.

cultural, and economic habits were experiencing a transformative shift.

As part of this socio-economic and political landscape, the ancient settlement of Titriş Höyük serves as an excellent case study for understanding the important role played by funerary practices in establishing forms of societal organization within a northern Mesopotamian medium-sized urban center in this specific historical period[4]. The site is located in the Urfa region (southeastern Turkey) near a tributary of the Euphrates River (fig. 1). Its geographical location was suited to both pastoral and agricultural activities, and from a strategic point of view also enabled control over long-distance commercial networks from the Urfa-Harran (South and East) and the Lidar-Samsat (North and West) areas. The connection between Lidar and Samsat was in fact one of the only available fords for crossing the Euphrates River in ancient times[5].

The earliest documented occupation at Titriş Höyük is during the Early Early Bronze Age (ca. 3100-2600 BC) when probably only the acropolis and part of the Lower Town were occupied[6]. In terms of evidence for burial practices during this specific period, archaeologists discovered three cist graves in the Lower Town that probably belonged to a larger extramural cemetery[7].

Even though the Early Early Bronze Age represents the first period of occupation at the site, it is during the Middle Early Bronze Age (ca. 2600/2500-2400 BC) and the Late Early Bronze Age (ca. 2400/2300-2100 BC)[8] that Titriş Höyük acquired an important status in the political landscape of northern Mesopotamia. It is during this phase that the settlement grew in extension both in the Lower and Outer sections of the town[9].

More specifically, during the Middle EBA the main settlement occupied an area of ca. 32 hectares and had nine extramural suburban settlements, adding another 11 hectares to the total occupation of the site at this time[10]. These extramural settlement areas were probably used for specialized craft production, as demonstrated by the discovery of a flint workshop situated in one of these areas located approximately 400 m east of the Outer Town limits[11]. At this time, the total area occupied by the main site and the nine suburban areas should have thus totaled about 43 hectares, as recognizable from both excavation and survey data[12]. In terms of the urban fabric, massive foundation walls associated with a ritual deposit (i.e., a decapitated dog) were partially uncovered in the Outer Town[13], leading the archaeologists to interpret these structures as possible public buildings. Instead the architecture uncovered in the Lower Town suggests the presence of elite private dwellings in this part of the Middle EBA town[14].

Extramural cemeteries were also in use outside of the town and on the fringes of both the Outer and Lower Towns. Among these, the largest one was located 400 m west of the ancient settlement[15]. At this locale, a total of 41 cist graves and 3 *pithoi* have been excavated by both the German and American expeditions[16]. Although the tombs of this large burial ground were poorly preserved due to

4 Algaze/Matney 2011.
5 Algaze/Pournelle 2003, 103-28.
6 Matney/Algaze 1995, 46.

7 Algaze *et al.* 2001, 46, fig.17.
8 A total of 750 sqm. of Middle EBA architecture and 3000 sqm. of Late EBA architecture have been uncovered, Algaze/Matney 2011, 995.
9 Algaze *et al.* 2001.
10 Algaze/Matney 2011, 997-99.
11 Ibid. 2001, 37-40.
12 Algaze/Pournelle 2003, 106.
13 Algaze/Matney 2011, 998.
14 Algaze *et al.* 1992, 37-38.
15 Hon̤ça/Algaze 1998, 104-106.
16 Hauptmann 1993, 10-15; Honça/Algaze 1998, 104-106, figs. 3-5.

modern plowing activities and looting, a comparison with the contemporaneous 205 graves found at the nearby site of Lidar Höyük can help in reconstructing the overall extension of the cemetery. The tombs of this period are mostly rectangular cists constructed from limestone with single and/or multiple depositions of articulated skeletons[17]. The presence of an entrance dromos additionally characterizes the largest tombs around which smaller cist graves were clustered. In terms of the funerary goods recovered inside the graves, these are composed of pottery vessels typical of a mid-III^rd^ millennium Syro-Anatolian repertoire as well as jewelry, bronze pins, and a few 'violin-shaped' stone figurines that recall those found in the Aegean, western Anatolia, and Cilicia, thus testifying to a cultural and probably commercial link between Titriş Höyük and the western regions[18].

At Titriş Höyük during the following archaeological phase (Late EBA) instead experiences a complete transformation of the settlement and the whole region surrounding it, where numerous villages and hamlets of the Middle EBA were abandoned[19]. The site also undergoes a contraction in settlement size, now totaling about 33 hectares after the abandonment of the suburban areas. It is also during this phase that a fortification system was built surrounding the Lower and Outer Towns. This consisted of thick, mud-brick fortification walls over a stone foundation and an external moat system 'built of sloping layers of densely packed clay, earth and crushed limestone'[20]. The construction of the wall was intended to better protect the city from external enemies, reflected in an increase in perimortem trauma during this phase as compared to the Middle EBA[21]. Moreover, the construction of fortification walls appears to be a typical marker of mid-to-late III^rd^ millennium city-states, likely linked to the extensive increase in warfare between regional powers also testified by written sources[22].

However, the major changes are visible in the urban fabric of the city, which is now characterized by the presence of private dwellings connected and separated by a complex road system in both the Outer and Lower Towns[23]. Due to the fact that the whole city shows a precise and impressive urban regularity, comprised of wide streets and alleyways to connect the different neighborhoods in the Outer and Lower Towns, it can be assumed that the Late EBA town was planned by a centralized authority who allotted land for the construction of large private dwellings in the neighborhoods of both sectors of the city[24]. These domestic structures were built following standardized measurements and an architectural style typical of a second half of the III^rd^ millennium BC Mesopotamian tradition, in which the main courtyard was linked to both the residential rooms and the cooking, storage, and craft production areas[25]. As mentioned before, during this Late EBA phase the suburbs dedicated to specialized production in the earlier period were abandoned[26], while other specialized activities were probably transferred from the outer area to the main site and, more specifically, within private dwellings[27]. It is in this specific household context that the archaeologists also found important working features and tools related to specialized production still *in situ*, such as plastered basins for processing grapes, looms and spindle whorls for making textiles, a stone 'trinket' mold for casting metal objects, stone tools for procuring and processing food, and large storage jars for storing food products[28]. Within this scenario (i.e., a transformation of both urban fabric and craft production between the Middle and Late EBA), it is also important to highlight the abandonment of the Middle EBA 'public' architecture in the Outer Town, marked by massive stone foundations, that, during the following Late EBA phase, was substituted by private dwellings built on top of it.

Of particular note within the urban fabric is the evidence related to burial customs, which highlight other major transformations in the Late EBA. This period is characterized by the presence of funerary depositions within private dwellings (in funerary chambers, *pithoi*, and cooking pots, fig. 2), an element that is directly related to an apparent lack of extramural cemeteries. Among these intramural

17 *Ibid.* 1998, 106.
18 Laneri 2004, 113-9.
19 Algaze/Matney 2011, 999.
20 *Ibid.* 2011, 1001.
21 Erdal 2012.
22 Archi/Biga 2003.

23 As pointed out by Algaze/Matney (2011, 999) the reorganization of the settlement during the Late EBA period "can be described as a massive and well-planned urban renewal program."
24 Matney 2002, 24-27.
25 Algaze *et al.* 2001; Lebeau 1996; Matney *et al.* 1999; Pfalzner 2001.
26 Algaze *et al.* 2001, 41-44.
27 Algaze/Pournelle 2003, 105-108.
28 Matney *et al.* 1997, 61-84.

Fig. 2 : Map of a section of the Outer Town of the Late Early Bronze Age settlement of Titriş Höyük highlighting three intramural tombs (A B95.60, B B94.55, and C B95.58).

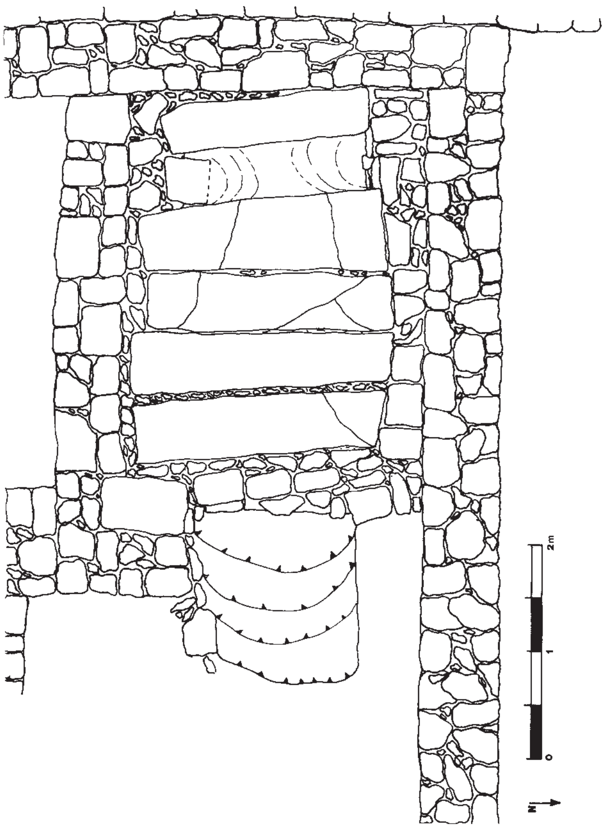

Fig. 3 : Plan of a residential grave (B94.56) of the Late Early Bronze Age showing the stone slabs used as roofing.

funerary depositions, the creation of funerary chambers embedded in the residential architecture appears as a distinguishing marker of the Late EBA societies at this site. These funerary chambers represent a clear example of what I considered at the beginning of this article to be a residential grave because they were directly connected to the dwellings. In fact, a stepped entrance-*dromos* served as a passageway from the dwelling into the underlying chamber, while several large stone slabs were used to cover each chamber[29]. In some cases these slabs were visible on the floors of the rooms to clearly mark the presence of a residential grave within the daily life of the community. In particular, a typical private dwelling of this period usually contained at least one funerary chamber constructed in a single room located in the back of the house or inside the main courtyard (fig. 3). The residential graves were built using medium-sized stones for the walls, while the floor consists of the natural virgin soil. In terms of size, the main chamber ranges from 1.0 x 1.5 m for the smallest examples, to 2.9 x 3.5 m for the largest one, and recall the architectural features of the Middle EBA extramural funerary chambers.

Regarding the burial of the dead, most of Titriş Höyük's residential graves show a multiple deposition custom. The skeletons were buried inside the funerary chamber, either in an articulated, primary deposition, and/or in the manner of a disarticulated, secondary deposition. Based on the archaeological data it appears that the practice of a secondary deposition is commonly used in the Outer Town tombs, where the remains of the buried are usually represented by skulls and a few other bones concentrated along the side or center of the chamber and/or in small pits dug into the main floor of the tomb[30]. The Lower Town tombs instead present the last buried skeleton in an articulated and flexed position[31]. In such cases, the number of bones associated with each skull does not form a complete skeleton. This information provides an opportunity to formulate a funerary custom in which during the act of burying the last corpse inside the tomb, members of the living community removed many bones belonging to earlier buried corpses in order to enlarge the space inside the

29 Laneri 1999, figs. 2-6.

30 Honça/Algaze 1998, 108; Laneri 2004, 137-142.

31 A difference between the Outer and Lower Town is also visible in the layout of the urban settlement (Matney/Algaze 1995, 48-49).

chamber, but always and purposely leaving the skulls inside of the grave[32]. The analysis of the skeletal remains has not generally furnished any relevant sex and/or age distinctions among the dead placed within the intramural tombs. Only in one case, tomb B96.65, was it possible to identify 8 individuals (1 old female, 1 young adult male, 3 young adult females, and 3 other young adults of unclear sex) who were buried inside the funerary chamber and two pot graves with sub-adults (B96.66 and B96.67) placed within the chamber in which the residential grave was built[33]. It is also interesting to notice that one residential funerary chamber (B99.91) discovered within a private dwelling in the Outer Town is distinguished by the presence of only the disarticulated bones of a child (3-4 years old) and an infant suggesting the possibility of an acquired hereditary system of lineal descent[34]. In terms of paleo-demography, the changes that occurred between the Middle EBA and the Late EBA probably affected the life expectancy of the population, as demonstrated by an increase in the mortality rate of young adults during the Late EBA as compared to the data available from the Middle EBA extramural cemeteries[35].

For the funerary goods discovered within the residential graves of the Late EBA, the highest number of objects is represented by pottery vessels with standardized forms, with a predominance of bowls and cups, belonging to a Syro-Anatolian mid-to-late IIIrd millennium BC cultural horizon[36]. It is also important to highlight the high number of metal objects found among the furnishing goods (i.e., bronze toggle-pins, earrings, rings, and weapons), some of which (e.g., rings) were made in silver, as well as beads in semiprecious stone necklaces[37]. Individual bronze weapons such as a dagger and a large spearhead, both placed underneath male skulls, were found only in the tombs of the Lower Town that also contained richer funerary goods as compared to those found in the Outer Town[38]. All these elements testify to the direct access to precious commodities (e.g. silver) by the inhabitants of the private dwellings and, therefore to a higher social status of the members of the families inhabiting these houses.

In addition, among the funerary goods it is important to emphasize the presence of two distinctive vessels of the late IIIrd millennium BC cultural horizon. These are the Syrian bottles, that are *alabastra* of different sizes with ring-burnished surfaces, restricted necks and everted double-rims, and the *depa amphikypella*, that are tall double-handled cups with a red burnished decoration on the outer surface[39]. Specimens of these groups of objects are distributed in a wide geographical area including the Aegean, western and central Anatolia as well as northern Mesopotamian contexts; their presence inside some of Titriş Höyük's residential graves should thus further reinforce the pivotal role of commercial exchange enacted by emerging private families at this northern Mesopotamian site with western and central Anatolian communities[40]. Both the 'Syrian bottles' and the *depa* have been correctly interpreted as vessels used for containing liquids that must have had important symbolic meanings when deposited inside the funerary chamber. In addition, the *depa* must have also had a double symbolic meaning related to both the liquid it contained (most probably wine)[41] and the presence of two large handles that were not necessarily functional in the traditional way of drinking from a handled vessel, but rather supports the possibility that it was used by two people in the performance of ritual convivial acts. The symbolic and ritual elements embodied by the *depa* are further emphasized by its wide distribution (from the western Anatolian regions to sites in the upper Euphrates) as well as by the presence of similar double-handled vessels depicted as war booty in the hands of Akkadian soldiers in an Old Akkadian victory stele[42].

32 It appears clear from the archaeological data that only selected dead were buried in the residential graves of the Late EBA. This assumption is based on the fact that the corpses and skulls found inside of the chambers, ranging from 1 to 8, do not correspond to the possible average population of the households during their use, a span of about 300 years (Honça/Algaze 1998, 108).

33 *Ibid*. 1998, 121, fig. 9.

34 Laneri 2007.

35 Honça/Algaze 1998, 116-117, tab.3.

36 Akkermans/Schwartz 2003, 246-253; Algaze/Matney 2011, 1004-6; Carter/Parker 1995.

37 Laneri 2004, tav. 36-42.

38 Laneri 1999, fig. 8.

39 Matthews 1997, 51-2; Rahmstorf 2006.

40 As seen before with some of the artifacts found in the tombs of the Middle EBA, the cultural and commercial exchange between this area and western/central Anatolian regions appears as a sign of continuity during the second half of the IIIrd millennium BC.

41 This particular vessel has generally been associated with the distribution and consumption of wine throughout contemporary Anatolia and northern Syria (Korfmann 2001, 361-368, abb. 398-399).

42 Postgate 1992, fig.13:6.

As mentioned in previous works[43], it is important to emphasize the symbolic relationship between the production of wine, the performance of funerary rituals and the emergence of newly founded families at Titriş Höyük during the late III[rd] millennium BC. It is in fact through the connection of these three elements (that also correspond to the economic, ritual and social dimensions) that we can envision the reasons behind the dramatic transformation that occurred between the Middle and Late EBA.

One element that can better support the intermingling of these three dimensions is the unique funerary deposition dated to the final phase of the Late EBA discovered inside a room of a private dwelling in Titriş Höyük's Outer Town. This deposition consists of human bones placed on top of a circular-shaped plaster basin with a diameter of ca. 1.40 cm[44]. The deposition is located in a room that was accessible directly from the street leading towards the fortification walls. The position of this building as well as the clear visibility of this feature from the street makes an important point of reference for framing the ritual practices of the communities inhabiting the site in this specific chronological period[45]. In relation to the above-mentioned issue of connecting the economic, ritual, and social dimensions of the communities inhabiting Titriş Höyük during the Late EBA, it is important to mention that other plaster basins were found within the private dwellings, and, in one case, the chemical analysis enacted on the residues recognizable on the basin's surface suggest the use of these features for the purpose of processing grapes for the production of wine.

Regarding the funerary deposition found in the Outer Town plaster basin, the bones disposed on top of the basin correspond to 19 disarticulated individuals (i.e. a secondary interment). Of these bones, 17 are skulls placed around the perimeter of the basin. The skulls and bones are mostly of young adult males. In fact, only one skull belongs to an adult female, one to a young female, and a few bones represent two infants. According to the analysis performed by the physical anthropologist Dr. Dilek Erdal, of the 19 individuals: 12 are male adult (all with cranial trauma), 3 are female adult (one with cranial trauma), 1 unspecified adult (with cranial trauma), 2 children (with no skull), and 1 infant (with no skull); 81.5 % of adult crania show clear signs of cranial trauma (a total of 26 unhealed perimortem trauma). Wounds were made by sharp-edged and projectile weapons (i.e. battle-axe and/or spear)[46]. All these elements suggest the possible massacre of a group of people from the community of Titriş Höyük (as demonstrated by a comparison of the DNA of the individuals buried on the plaster basin to those buried in the residential graves) by either local enemies or foreign groups that came with the purpose of destroying the settlement. The fact that the settlement was not destroyed and the remains of the dead 19 individuals were put on display on top of the plaster basin suggests the first possibility.

In any case, an increasing level of belligerency during the Late EBA period is recognizable in the construction of the thick fortification wall as well as in the transformation of the urban fabric between the Middle EBA and the Late EBA with the incorporation of the 9 suburban areas inside the city walls as well as the abandonment of the extramural cemetery and the use of residential graves as well as other forms of intramural funerary depositions.

Violent encounters between groups inhabiting the region might have been partially related to disputes over resources and commercial routes among new 'families' or social groups. The increasing power of families is clearly visible in the reorganization of the Late EBA urban fabric, the period in which the whole city was planned by a centralized authority but giving more importance to the construction of large multi-roomed private dwellings[47]. Within this transforming socio-economic strategy, the production of wine and oil (as part of the so-called Mediterranean polyculture) might have increased the investment risk taken by these private families, since this crop would have required between five and six years of cultivation before yielding a return. Such a risky investment was justified by a corresponding increase in the returning benefits related to the exchange of secondary products connected with grape processing, as is the case of the production of wine that during the second half of the III[rd] and the beginning of the II[nd] millennia BC became a precious commodity among Mesopotamian elites and that,

43 Laneri 2004, 145-155; Laneri 2007.

44 Algaze *et al.* 2001, 69-70, fig. 29; Matney *et al.* 1999, 189-190, fig. 5.

45 Laneri 2007.

46 Erdal 2012.

47 Algaze/Matney 2011; Matney/Algaze 1995.

according to the written sources, was produced exactly in this region[48].

Within this context, the use of residential graves and other forms of intramural funerary depositions (as is the case of the deposition in the plaster basin of the Outer Town) might have served as a point of reference for reinforcing both the collective memory of the family and its lineal descent[49].

Conclusions

To better understand the type of social transformation which occurred at Titriş Höyük during the mid-to-late IIIrd millennium BC, we need to consider this event as directly linked to a change in the patterns of economic subsistence of the local communities, an increase in the economic power gained by powerful private households, and, consequently, a higher level of belligerency among the groups inhabiting this region[50].

The effects of the changes in the social fabric of the communities inhabiting the site during the Late EBA can be clearly understood through a detailed analysis of the available archaeological data that shows a modification of the city planning with a division between an outer city, dedicated to the habitation of private households, and an inner city, where the public buildings were located, as well as the construction of fortification systems, the shifting from an extramural to an intramural funerary custom, and the reorganization of the subsistence methods[51]. In particular, this transformation is clearly evident in the change in production and consumption patterns from the Middle EBA to the Late EBA, with an increase in the role of the private households in producing and trading specialized goods through the use of innovative productive techniques (e.g. the intensive use of the Mediterranean polyculture for cultivating vineyards and olive trees in association with a traditional agricultural production of cereals and legumes) during the Late EBA as compared to the previous Middle EBA period, when specialized craft production was clustered outside of the main city and probably controlled by central authorities[52]. Furthermore, this type of transformation could have created tensions both within the settlement and between neighboring centers, due to the fact that the labor invested in innovative activities required protection from competing groups in the acquisition of these precious means of production[53].

With this perspective in mind, it is possible to interpret the shift of the burial practices from extramural in the Middle EBA to intramural deposition during the Late EBA at Titriş Höyük as a way of reinforcing the status of specific segments of the society. In particular, the use of residential graves during the Late EBA was directly linked to the consolidation of the economic and social power gained by each private household through the use of an ancestral figure who would have helped to reinforce the lineage of the whole household[54]. The important role played by the ancestors in framing the socio-economic organization of Mesopotamian societies during the IIIrd and IInd millennia BC is clearly demonstrated in both the archaeological data (as in the case of the use of residential graves) and written sources (as is evident from the Mesopotamian *kispu* ritual)[55]. More specifically, the fact that the human depositions found in the residential graves at Titriş Höyük do not show differences of age and sex, and in some circumstances are characterized by the presence of the skeletal remains of only infants and children, indicates the existence of an ascribed social status and, consequently, of a reinforcement of hereditary forms of leadership embedded in the familial lineage, probably founded by ancestral figures[56].

In conclusion, the importance of a clear definition of types of funerary depositions within a settlement appears pivotal for constructing stronger links between burial customs and systems of socio-economic organization among ancient societies. Such a distinction is fundamental in the process of analyzing the transformation that occurred at Titriş Höyük between the mid and late IIIrd millennium BC and interpreting the role played by residential funerary crypts in strengthening the social structure of emerging powerful families in a transforming landscape that was marked by innovative forms of economic subsistence as well as an increasing level of belligerency.

48 Laneri 2010.
49 Laneri 2007.
50 Algaze/Matney 2011; Erdal 2012; Laneri 2007.
51 Laneri 2007.
52 Hartenberger in Algaze *et al.* 2001, 41-45.
53 Gilman 1981, 1-23.
54 Davies 2002, 1-23; Hertz 1960, 27-86.
55 Jonker 1995; Laneri 2010; Peltenburg 2007/2008; Van Der Toorn 1996.
56 Gilman 1981, 1-2.

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QUELQUES RÉFLEXIONS SUR LES TOMBES *INTRA-MUROS* EN ANATOLIE CENTRALE AU II^{E} MILLÉNAIRE AC

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Résumé

Les pratiques funéraires en Anatolie centrale au II^{e} millénaire aC n'ont pratiquement jamais fait l'objet d'études jusqu'ici. J'ai donc entrepris de traiter cette question, dans le cadre de l'ANR "ViGMA. Vivre, grandir, mourir dans l'Antiquité : Rites de passage individuels au Proche-Orient ancien", dirigée par Alice Mouton (CNRS, Strasbourg), en m'attachant plus particulièrement aux offrandes alimentaires faites aux morts. Dans cette contribution, je m'intéresse plus spécifiquement aux tombes *intra-muros* découvertes en Anatolie centrale au II^{e} millénaire aC. Après avoir présenté leurs typologies, je tente de les replacer dans le contexte historique et géographique envisagé.

Fort rares sont les études portant sur les tombes *intra-muros* d'Anatolie centrale au II^{e} millénaire aC[1]. Il m'a donc semblé intéressant d'en proposer une vue d'ensemble dans le cadre de ces deuxièmes rencontres de l'IFEA consacré au *Mort dans la ville*. Le but n'est pas de présenter une étude exhaustive, les problématiques touchant aux pratiques funéraires liées à ces tombes *intra-muros* ne pouvant être abordées dans leur ensemble ici, mais plutôt de proposer un premier état des connaissances en brossant, en premier lieu, un panorama général (état de la question, présentation des sources) avant de s'intéresser plus particulièrement à la situation spécifique de la période des comptoirs assyriens de Cappadoce (environ 1945-1680 aC). Certains aspects ne seront abordés que sous forme de questions auxquelles il ne sera pas toujours

1 Pour une discussion sur la détermination des limites de l'Anatolie centrale, voir Patrier à paraître (a) ou Patrier 2011, vol. 1, 26-27. Le II^{e} millénaire comprend la période des comptoirs assyriens de Cappadoce (premier quart du II^{e} millénaire environ) et la période hittite (à partir de 1650 aC environ) jusqu'à la chute de l'empire hittite aux alentours de 1200 aC. La chronologie utilisée ici est la chronologie dite "moyenne" qui place la chute de Babylone en 1595 aC.

possible de répondre, faute le plus souvent de documentation. Par ailleurs, il me faut préciser que cet article rend compte de recherches en cours[2]. Les conclusions qui seront livrées ici se veulent donc préliminaires.

1. État de la question

Très peu de chercheurs se sont intéressés au domaine funéraire de l'Anatolie du IIe millénaire aC, à la différence d'autres périodes ou régions du Proche-Orient ancien[3]. Une part importante des études dont on dispose concerne la documentation écrite, notamment le rituel *šalliš waštaiš*, qui met en scène les funérailles des rois et reines hittites[4], mais aussi les quelques rares textes paléo-assyriens traitant des funérailles. Les vestiges archéologiques n'ont pas réellement fait l'objet de synthèses[5]. De plus, contrairement aux cimetières qui sont un peu mieux connus, les tombes *intra-muros* n'ont que très peu été étudiées ; on leur consacre au mieux un rapide chapitre dans la publication d'un site, sans nécessairement fournir de catalogue ou publier les sépultures dans leur intégralité. Lorsque c'est le cas, chaque catégorie de vestiges mis au jour à l'intérieur des sépultures fait le plus souvent l'objet d'un simple catalogage typologique utilisé pour dater la tombe ou essayer de déterminer le sexe du défunt[6]. Mais ces vestiges sont assez peu utilisés pour tenter de découvrir les rites qui se cachent derrière eux ou pour chercher à savoir si le matériel déposé répond à une certaine codification.

2. Les sources et les pratiques funéraires

Deux types de sources peuvent servir à cette étude : les vestiges archéologiques et les sources écrites. L'iconographie, en revanche, ne nous est d'aucun secours pour ces questions. Mais avant de présenter ces sources, il est un point qu'il me faut aborder. J'entends ici par tombes *intra-muros* l'ensemble des tombes découvertes à l'intérieur des murs d'un habitat quelle que soit sa nature (ville, village, etc.). En ce qui concerne ma documentation, il s'agit dans la plupart des cas de tombes se trouvant directement sous des habitations[7].

2.1. Présentation générale des vestiges archéologiques

Les vestiges archéologiques constituent la base de cette étude et comprennent notamment les sépultures et les offrandes découvertes à l'intérieur. D'un point de vue quantitatif, les sites d'habitat à tombes *intra-muros* sont au nombre de 14 pour l'ensemble de la période[8], contre 12 pour les cimetières *extra-muros* (fig. 1)[9], ce qui porte à seulement 26 le nombre total de sites à tombes en Anatolie centrale pour tout le IIe millénaire aC[10]. D'après mes estimations minimales, cela représenterait environ 750 tombes au total parmi lesquelles seules 163 tombes *intra-muros* ont pu être relevées. Ce faible nombre entraîne un premier constat : bien que présente sur 14 sites, cette

2 Je développe cette thématique dans le cadre d'un programme de recherches dirigé par Alice Mouton (hittitologue, CNRS, UMR 7044) et intitulé *ViGMA. Vivre, grandir et mourir dans l'Antiquité : Rites de passage individuels au Proche-Orient ancien*. Pour plus d'informations sur le programme ViGMA financé par l'ANR (Agence Nationale de la Recherche), voir http://vigma.misha.fr/accueil.htm. Pour ce programme, j'étudie plus particulièrement l'alimentation des morts en Anatolie centrale au IIe millénaire aC et les pratiques funéraires de manière générale. Pour le concept de rite de passage, voir l'ouvrage fondateur de A. Van Gennep (1981), publié pour la première fois en 1909.

3 Voir, par exemple, Alster 1980, Campbell/Green 1995, Katz 2003 ou Laneri 2008. Pour une synthèse générale sur les pratiques funéraires en Anatolie de l'Ouest au Bronze Ancien, voir Sagona/Zimansky 2009, 212-220 ou Stech Wheeler 1974. Cf. aussi Özgüç 1948.

4 Ce rituel a fait couler beaucoup d'encre, notamment parce qu'il présente d'importantes similitudes avec les funérailles de Patrocle relatées dans l'*Iliade* (chants XXIII et XXIV). Je ne renvoie ici qu'à quelques publications où il sera possible de retrouver l'ensemble de la bibliographie : Christmann-Franck 1971, Kapelus 2008, Kassian *et al.* 2002, Rutherford 2008, Testart 2005 ou encore Hout 1995.

5 À l'exception d'une synthèse en turc (Akyurt 1998), deux articles plus généraux (Orthman 1957-1971 et Deliyannis 1997) peuvent être cités.

6 On pourra renvoyer *a contrario* à la publication récente des tombes royales de Qatna comme un bel exemple de publication interdisciplinaire (cf. Pfälzner 2011).

7 La terminologie serait probablement à affiner par l'usage de termes plus appropriés selon la localisation exacte des tombes mais, en l'absence de catalogue complet, cela dépasse les limites de cet article.

8 Il s'agit de : Acemhöyük, Alaca Höyük, Alişar Höyük, Boğazköy, Demircihöyük, Doğantepe, Karahöyük, Karaoğlan, Külhöyük, Kültepe, Maşat Höyük, Mercimektepe, Polatlıhöyük et Topaklı.

9 Il s'agit de : Arıbaş, Bağlarbaşıkayası, Büget, Çavlum, Dede Mezarı, Demircihöyük–Sarıket, Ferzant, Gordion, Ilıca, Kazankaya, Osmankayası et Yanarlar.

10 Les sites ayant livré des squelettes hors contexte de tombe ne sont pas pris en compte ici puisqu'ils ne permettent pas d'étudier les pratiques funéraires. Il en va de même des établissements spécifiques qui diffèrent des tombes par leur architecture, notamment Gâvur Kalesi et Yazılıkaya, supposés être, entre autres, des sépultures monumentales ou des lieux de commémoration royale hittites mais où aucun squelette n'a été mis au jour.

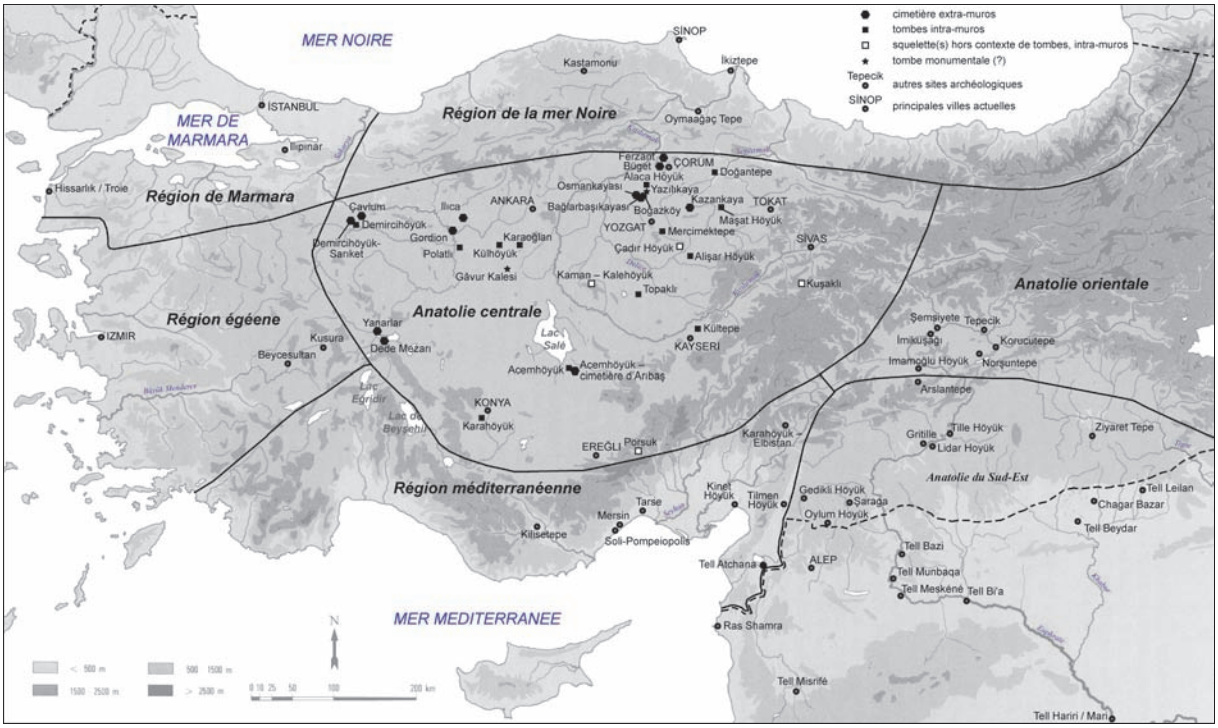

Fig. 1 : Carte d'Anatolie centrale avec les sites à tombes (carte réalisée à partir de Parzinger/Sanz 1992, 92).

pratique semble relativement limitée. De plus, une grande disparité est à noter parmi les sites, ce qui constitue une difficulté majeure. En effet, à côté de Kültepe (environ 80 tombes)[11] et d'Alişar Höyük (environ 47 tombes)[12] où un nombre relativement important de sépultures a été dégagé, les autres sites n'ont pas fourni suffisamment d'informations pour permettre une étude détaillée (on relèvera notamment des problèmes de publication, de pillages ou un nombre de tombes trop limité). Enfin, comme pour les cimetières, on assiste à une nette disproportion entre les vestiges funéraires de la période paléo-assyrienne, bien plus nombreux, et ceux de la période hittite.

Par ailleurs, seuls certains sites à tombes *intra-muros* sont également rattachés à des cimetières *extra-muros* – comme Acemhöyük, Boğazköy, Demircihöyük. En effet, bien souvent, le lien entre cimetière et habitat est inconnu, ce qui complique la mise en place d'une réflexion globale.

11 Une notice parue sur internet à la fin de l'année 2011 indique qu'un très important cimetière a été découvert dans la région de Kaneš en 2010 mais, à ma connaissance, aucune information supplémentaire n'a été publiée depuis (cf. http://www.aina.org/ata/20111028204303.htm).

12 Voir par exemple Schmidt 1932, 182-190.

2.2. La nature des tombes

Trois principaux types de tombes sont à mentionner pour l'ensemble de la période : tout d'abord, les tombes en jarre ou en ciste qui sont aisément identifiables. Les tombes en jarre peuvent prendre différentes formes : une seule jarre dans laquelle on place le squelette, deux jarres accolées par leur embouchure ou de grands fragments de céramique recouvrant le corps du défunt. Les tombes en pleine terre sont quant à elles principalement caractérisées par la présence d'un squelette dans une fosse. Ces trois types de tombes semblent être dans la continuité des pratiques du III[e] millénaire aC. Aucune uniformisation dans l'orientation des tombes n'a pu être relevée et il s'agit le plus souvent d'inhumations simples. Enfin, la position étendue fait son apparition dans les tombes du II[e] millénaire aC, à côté de la position contractée, position habituelle jusque-là. La crémation est également pratiquée et peut intervenir sur des sites spécifiques ou sur les mêmes sites que des inhumations, comme c'est le cas à Karahöyük par exemple[13]. En l'état

13 Pour Deliyannis 1997, 10, l'apparition de la crémation en Anatolie pourrait être le reflet "d'un changement radical dans les structures sociales des populations".

actuel des connaissances, aucune stèle funéraire n'a été identifiée pour l'Anatolie du IIe millénaire aC[14], contrairement au premier Ier millénaire aC.

On peut donc s'interroger sur le pourquoi des différents systèmes mis en place simultanément puisqu'on constate, de manière contemporaine, la présence de différents types de tombes sur un même site et/ou sur différents sites, l'utilisation de tombes *intra-muros* et de cimetières *extra-muros*, l'existence de crémations et d'inhumations. Ces pratiques traduisent-elles la présence de différentes populations ? de religions différentes ? Sont-elles liées à des statuts particuliers ? à l'âge et/ou au sexe des personnes enterrées ? La question ne peut être tranchée à l'heure actuelle, l'ensemble de ces hypothèses ayant été évoquées par différents chercheurs sans qu'aucune preuve tangible ne permette d'étayer l'une ou l'autre.

2.3. Lien entre tombe et défunt

Je ne suis pas en mesure, à l'heure actuelle, de déterminer si un type de tombe pourrait correspondre à une catégorie de personnes : on aurait par exemple pu envisager que les tombes en jarre étaient destinées aux enfants, les cistes ou tombes en pleine terre étant réservées aux adultes, ce qui est régulièrement attesté à d'autres époques ou dans d'autres régions. Mais rien ne permet d'aller dans ce sens, des adultes pouvant parfaitement avoir été enterrés en jarre comme à Alişar Höyük par exemple[15]. D'autre part, il arrive régulièrement que seuls les enfants soient enterrés sous les maisons mais là encore, cela ne se vérifie pas pour le IIe millénaire anatolien. Une étude quantitative serait à entreprendre pour mettre en évidence la répartition exacte des différentes catégories de personnes cependant l'absence de données anthropologiques rend malaisé ce type de recherches. On peut tout de même relever qu'à Demircihöyük, parmi les trois tombes fouillées pour le IIe millénaire aC, apparaît celle d'un chien, seule sépulture d'animal attestée pour cette période[16].

Ainsi, aucune standardisation dans les pratiques funéraires au IIe millénaire aC n'ayant pu être relevée jusqu'à présent[17], il est encore impossible de relier une pratique spécifique à une population particulière, assyrienne ou anatolienne, pour le début du IIe millénaire aC. De plus, la population anatolienne est en réalité composée d'une mosaïque de peuples qu'il n'est pas possible de différencier si ce n'est, pour le moment, par leur langue. De ce fait, les différences régionales et culturelles sont encore difficiles à discerner avec certitude, faute de documentation suffisante[18].

Par ailleurs, aux difficultés déjà mentionnées s'ajoutent le fait qu'aucune tombe royale ou princière n'a été découverte à ce jour pour le IIe millénaire aC en Anatolie, contrairement au IIIe millénaire (à Alaca Höyük par exemple[19]) ou au Ier millénaire aC (comme à Gordion[20]).

2.4. Les sources écrites

On constate une grande disproportion entre les informations contenues dans les textes et les vestiges archéologiques : les sources paléo-assyriennes retracent principalement la vie des marchands venant d'Aššur, alors que les sources hittites documentent presque uniquement la sphère royale, contrairement aux tombes de cette dernière période.

De plus, très peu de textes relatent des funérailles ou avec des données assez limitées, comme je l'ai déjà mentionné : il s'agit principalement du *šalliš waštaiš*, texte relatant les funérailles des rois hittites et de leurs familles proches (épouses et enfants), et de très rares textes paléo-assyriens[21]. Les autres textes où il est fait mention d'un décès abordent plutôt les questions relatives aux problèmes financiers qu'entraîne la mort des marchands assyriens[22], aux morts qui reviennent hanter les vivants ou aux institutions

14 La seule exception serait le cimetière d'Ilıca, mais il s'agit simplement de grandes dalles anépigraphes servant de marqueurs à plusieurs tombes à la fois.

15 Voir par exemple Schmidt 1932, 182-190.

16 Le dossier sera repris dans une prochaine étude menée dans le cadre de l'ANR ViGMA. Cf. Kull 1988, 218 (dans le résumé) et 18-21, figs. 21-24 et Kull 1998, 701. Cf. aussi Korfmann 1977-1978.

17 Contrairement à ce qui se passe au IIIe millénaire aC pour lequel des coutumes relativement homogènes semblent avoir été relevées. Cf. Stech Weehler 1974 et Sagona/Zimansky 2009, 213.

18 Pour le début du IIe millénaire anatolien, les différentes pratiques pourraient peut-être être décelées par des comparaisons avec les tombes découvertes à Aššur ; tombes publiées par Haller 1954 et Hockmann 2010.

19 Les tombes royales d'Alaca Höyük ont fait couler beaucoup d'encre. On renverra par exemple, parmi les publications les plus récentes, à Mansfeld 2001, Muscarella 2003 ou Tschora 2004.

20 Notamment avec la prétendue tombe du roi Midas (tumulus MM) : cf. par exemple Young 1981.

21 Pour ces derniers, voir notamment Veenhof 2008 et Michel 2008.

22 Pour cette dernière question, voir par exemple Michel 1994 et 1998.

chargées du culte funéraire du roi hittite et de sa famille.

Dans le deuxième cas évoqué ci-dessus, on constate en effet que des textes rapportent les persécutions que les 'âmes' ou les 'esprits' non satisfaits font subir aux vivants, insatisfaction souvent due au fait que les rites funéraires – incluant principalement des dons d'offrandes alimentaires mais aussi la nécessité de prononcer le nom du défunt – ne sont pas ou ne sont plus effectués[23]. Il ne s'agit donc pas ici des funérailles mais des rites commémoratifs exécutés par la suite. Il en va de même pour les différentes institutions hittites, citées dans les textes, comme "le bâtiment de pierre" (É.NA$_4$), qui ont entre autres fonctions d'effectuer des offrandes commémoratives régulières pour le roi défunt et sa famille proche[24].

3. La période des comptoirs assyriens de Cappadoce

La période des comptoirs assyriens de Cappadoce (ou période des *kārū*) étant la mieux représentée, j'ai choisi de me concentrer sur les vestiges de cette période. Les différents types de tombes identifiés ayant déjà été détaillés, je m'arrêterai sur deux aspects principaux : le matériel découvert à l'intérieur des sépultures et l'emplacement de ces tombes.

Mais avant cela, on peut préciser que, outre les vestiges archéologiques, la pratique des tombes *intra-muros* est également attestée dans les textes paléo-assyriens : "La maison de Kaniš, la maison de Hinnaya où Ilī-bāni est enterré (litt. *couché*)"[25] en est un exemple. Le terme *eṭemmu*, sorte de 'fantôme', 'âme' ou 'esprit' du défunt, apparaît également dans certaines expressions le reliant directement à la maison : "les esprits de nos ancêtres" ou "les esprits de la maison de notre père/de nos ancêtres"[26].

3.1. Les dépôts funéraires

Le matériel découvert dans les tombes anatoliennes est le plus souvent assez peu abondant, peu spectaculaire et assez uniforme, exception faite de certaines tombes à ciste de Kültepe qui ont livré un matériel plus varié et plus riche. La raison, pour certains, en serait la richesse de la ville à cette époque, richesse qui proviendrait du commerce. En l'absence de données plus nombreuses, il faut tout de même rester prudent et rappeler qu'il est souvent difficile de lier matériel et richesse[27].

Tous les dépôts funéraires ne pourront être énumérés ici car on y retrouve tous les types d'objets possibles : poteries, vaisselle métallique, armes, statuettes de dieux protecteurs, parures, etc. ; seules quelques grandes catégories ont donc été prises en compte.

3.1.1. Contenants

Le dépôt le plus courant consiste en un ou plusieurs contenants en céramique. Je ne détaillerai pas ici cette catégorie que j'ai déjà étudiée ailleurs[28]. On peut tout de même préciser qu'il s'agit le plus souvent de céramique commune, interprétée comme ayant servi à contenir des aliments solides ou liquides, quel que soit le contexte de déposition. Elles pouvaient également servir à contenir des objets. À Kültepe, les formes et la qualité de ces céramiques sont plus variées. De plus, sur ce site, apparaît aussi de la vaisselle métallique[29] : bol, poêle, marmite, gobelet, situle, vase, etc. Certains de ces contenants ont des poignées anthropomorphes. Ils sont principalement en cuivre ou en bronze mais quelques objets en plomb ont également été découverts[30].

23 M. Kapelus 2007, 222-223 mentionne "la colère de Šuppiluliuma défunt", privé de vin depuis 2 ans (*CTH* 572). Voir aussi Mouton 2007, 255, texte 93 (*CTH* 583), iv 36'-38', au sujet d'un rêve de la reine hittite : "[Au su]jet (du) rêve, on a donné quarante-quatre sicles (d')argent (et) quarante-quatre moutons pour la reine, cent quarante sicles (d')argent (et) cent quarante-quatre moutons pour les âmes des morts lésées". Cf. aussi, pour la documentation paléo-assyrienne, Michel 2008 et 2009. De manière plus générale, voir par exemple, pour la Mésopotamie, Da Silva 1998. On peut d'ailleurs effectuer un parallèle avec la colère montrée par les dieux lorsque ceux-ci ne sont plus honorés à leur juste valeur (Del Monte 1975). On ne citera ici qu'un seul exemple, à savoir le mythe du dieu Télépinu dans lequel le dieu décide de quitter sa ville pour punir les humains de leur négligence à son égard : voir entre autre Gonnet 2001.

24 Ces institutions bénéficient de personnel et d'une certaine puissance économique. De nombreux articles, auxquels je renvoie, ont été écrits sur la question. Cf. notamment Del Monte 1975, Haas 2000, Hawkins 1980 et 1989, Kapelus 2007 ou encore Hout 1994 et 2002.

25 Kt 92/k 223, l. 1-4, cf. Michel 2008, 187.

26 Michel 2008, 188. Voir aussi pour le lien entre une famille, y compris les ancêtres, et une maison spécifique, Veenhof 2011, 211-212.

27 Bachelot 2009, 476.

28 Pour une première présentation voir Patrier à paraître (b). Une synthèse plus globale est à venir.

29 Voir par exemple Emre 2008.

30 Özgüç 1986, 73.

3.1.2. Objets de parure

Les objets de parure sont aussi très répandus, notamment les épingles, les anneaux métalliques et les perles de nature variée formant colliers ou bracelets.

Là encore, le site de Kültepe a livré une plus grande variété d'objets, comme des bagues, des boucles d'oreilles ou des boucles de ceinture. Quelques sceaux ont également été mis au jour mais cela est beaucoup plus rare[31]. En effet, ces objets étaient le plus souvent récupérés. Un texte atteste d'ailleurs cette pratique ; ainsi le marchand Hamištanani, " 'à l'article de la mort… libéra le sceau de sa ceinture' pour le remettre à un collègue"[32].

Des diadèmes en or, en argent ou plus rarement en électrum, ont aussi été trouvés dans des tombes en ciste des niveaux II, Ib et Ia du *kārum* de Kültepe. Ils sont de différents types : simples ou agrémentés d'une décoration au repoussé[33]. Certains sont similaires à ceux exhumés dans une tombe d'un marchand à Aššur (tombe n° 20)[34]. D'autres parallèles existent dans les tombes plus anciennes d'Arslantepe ou d'Ur (IIIe millénaire aC) par exemple[35].

Enfin, certaines tombes de Kültepe ont livré des feuilles d'or déposées sur le crâne des squelettes, à l'emplacement de la bouche et des yeux. Elles sont de forme allongée ou circulaire et peuvent être perforées à leurs extrémités[36]. Les feuilles circulaires sont en bronze ou en électrum, très rarement en argent[37]. Cet ensemble pouvait être accompagné d'un diadème et d'une sorte de 'chapeau', à l'extrémité pointue, dont les quelques exemplaires connus sont en or[38]. Jusqu'ici les chercheurs se sont peu intéressés à cette pratique particulière et aucune explication n'a véritablement été avancée quant à la signification exacte de ces objets. Selon T. Özgüç et C. Michel, ces pratiques pourraient témoigner de croyances mésopotamiennes[39]. Cette hypothèse semble s'appuyer sur des bandeaux parallèles découverts dans les tombes royales d'Ur de la fin du IIIe millénaire aC[40]. Or il semble qu'aucun de ces bandeaux n'a été découvert dans la même position. Il semble plus probablement y avoir une confusion avec les diadèmes, confusion bien compréhensible puisqu'il est fort difficile de différencier ces objets si ce n'est parfois par leur longueur et que ceux-ci sont rarement découverts *in situ*. Par ailleurs, les plaques circulaires positionnées sur les yeux n'ont, à ma connaissance, aucun parallèle sur d'autres sites pour cette période. En revanche, il me semble important de noter que cette pratique apparaît dans le rituel des funérailles royales hittites, le *šalliš waštaiš*, où des feuilles d'or sont placées sur les yeux et la bouche du roi ou de la reine avant que leur corps ne soient brûlés[41].

L'interprétation de ces objets demeure donc délicate. Il ne s'agit pas de 'masques funéraires' au sens propre du terme puisqu'ils ne représentent pas le visage du défunt, masques bien connus par ailleurs dans d'autres civilisations (comme en Égypte ou à Mycènes par exemple). Avaient-ils pour but de dissimuler le visage ? de le soustraire à la vue ? ou au contraire de clore les orifices sur lesquels ils étaient posés ? Pouvaient-ils être conçus comme des offrandes à une ou des divinités ? Selon C. Michel, il pourrait peut-être s'agir, pour les yeux, de rites en lien avec la déploration et pour la bouche "d'éviter [*à la fois*] que l'esprit du mort ne sorte par cet orifice et que les démons y pénètrent"[42]. S'il est vrai que ces hypothèses sont vraisemblables et connues pour d'autres civilisations, il faut aussi évoquer la possibilité d'un rite de séparation[43].

Faute de parallèle ou de texte fournissant la clé de l'énigme, il semble que la plus grande prudence s'impose encore face à cette pratique isolée pour la période des *kārū* et une étude serait à entreprendre pour tenter d'en comprendre le sens exact.

3.1.3. Figurines et amulettes

Des figurines, notamment en forme d'animaux mais aussi de divinités, apparaissent également dans ces tombes[44]. Elles peuvent être en métal ou en terre.

31 On renverra notamment à Kültepe. Cf. par exemple Özgüç 1986, 34.
32 *CCT* 5 9b, l. 16 et 26-28, cf. Michel 2008, 182. Voir aussi Veenhof 2008, 101.
33 Pour plus de détails, cf. Özgüç 1986, 24-25.
34 Cf. Calmeyer 1977 et Harper *et al.* 1995, 44-64.
35 Pour plus d'informations, cf. Lazzarini 2011, 268 et 271-273.
36 Mais, il semble que bien peu ont été découvertes en place. Le fouilleur envisage d'ailleurs dans certains cas (notamment en fonction des diamètres) que les feuilles circulaires aient pu avoir été cousues sur des vêtements.
37 Cela pourrait peut-être venir d'un problème de conservation de ce matériau.
38 Cf. Kulakoğlu/Kangal 2010, 300-303, n° 319-328 et Özgüç 1986, 28.
39 Cf. Özgüç 1986, 25 et 2003, 255 et Michel 2008, 186 et 2010, 7.
40 Lazzarini 2011, 268.
41 Kassian *et al.* 2002, 23-24, le 2e jour.
42 Michel 2008, 186.
43 Pour l'époque byzantine, cf. Moulet 2006, 109.
44 Özgüç 2003, 233.

3.1.4. Armes

Un point intéressant à noter est l'absence d'armes dans un grand nombre de tombes *intra-muros*, notamment à Alişar Höyük, mais aussi dans de nombreux cimetières *extra-muros* comme Ilıca, Gordion, Osmankayası et Yanarlar[45]. En revanche, les tombes d'Acemhöyük et de Kültepe en ont livré un certain nombre[46]. Les haches sont les plus courantes mais on trouve aussi des pointes de flèches ou des dagues. Des fourches, qui ont été considérées comme des armes par T. Özgüç[47], apparaissent également. Une différenciation apparaît donc entre les sites à tombes avec ou sans armes. Selon K. Emre, l'absence d'armes dans un grand nombre de sites à tombes renverrait à une "attitude religieuse commune"[48], mais nous n'en avons aucune preuve pour le moment.

3.1.5. Instruments de musique

Plusieurs instruments de musique ont été découverts dans les tombes de Kültepe, notamment des cymbales[49]. On peut également évoquer les pièces de mobilier en os découvertes dans deux tombes en ciste du niveau II de Kültepe, placées à hauteur des hanches du défunt. Il s'agirait de sorte de cadre. On ne connaît ni le but ni la fonction de ces objets ; T. Özgüç envisageait qu'ils aient pu appartenir à des instruments de musique mais aussi à un meuble[50].

3.2. L'emplacement des tombes

Si la mort d'un marchand est fréquemment évoquée dans les textes paléo-assyriens, ceux-ci n'ont livré que peu d'informations au sujet des funérailles. Il y est plutôt question de problèmes de succession privée ou liés aux affaires des marchands, voire du coût des funérailles mais leur déroulement n'est pas nécessairement décrit de manière explicite (cf. ci-dessus). En revanche, ils fournissent des informations indirectes mentionnant le creusement de la tombe, le prix des pierres pour les cistes ou la cérémonie d'inhumation, avec "des dépenses pour la 'déploration', *bikītum*, du défunt et pour l'achat de nourriture consommée dans le cadre de la cérémonie mortuaire"[51]. On apprend également que des objets ont pu être confectionnés à cette occasion. D'après C. Michel, "les prix élevés parfois versés pour la 'tombe' indiquent que ce mot peut recouvrir plus largement tout ce qui a trait à l'enterrement d'une personne, creusement de la tombe et cérémonie d'inhumation"[52]. Il semble que les informations fournies par la documentation paléo-assyrienne soient assez proches de celles de la période paléo-babylonienne.

Les tombes *intra-muros* apparaissent le plus souvent directement sous les habitations mais il ne m'est pas encore possible de déterminer si les enterrements ont été effectués sous une pièce particulière de la maison ou non (à l'exception de Kültepe et peut-être d'Alişar Höyük, cf. ci-dessous).

3.2.1. Deux cas problématiques

Deux interprétations de tombes *intra-muros* relevées dans des publications au cours de mes recherches m'ont paru sujettes à caution. Je les livre donc ici pour les discuter rapidement.

Le premier cas concerne le quartier de Büyükkale à Boğazköy. Les tombes de deux enfants furent découvertes sous le foyer de la cour d'une maison d'un Anatolien (?), dans les fondations du premier état (niveau Va, daté du début du IIe millénaire aC)[53]. Selon P. Neve, ces inhumations pourraient être considérées comme des sacrifices dédicatoires[54]. Précisons que la maison était également dotée d'importantes zones de stockage, souvent qualifiées de 'cellier' par P. Neve[55]. D'un autre côté, le sous-sol se trouvant sous la pièce principale était rempli de céramiques, dont des rhytons et des vases en forme de tour, à fonction religieuse selon les fouilleurs. Au vu de ces informations, P. Neve pense pouvoir en déduire, pour les deux phases de ce bâtiment, qu'il ne s'agissait pas de demeures ordinaires mais de

45 Emre 1991, 6.
46 Özgüç 2003, 246-250.
47 Özgüç 1986, 74-75.
48 Emre 1978, 134.
49 Özgüç 1986, 74.
50 Özgüç 1986, 71.

51 Michel 2008, 183.
52 Michel 2008, 183.
53 Bâtiment parfois dit bâtiment 1/IVd, situé en y-aa/16-18.
54 Neve 1996, 105 : "Most noteworthy, are the burials of two children found under the hearth in the courtyard, that is within the foundation of the earlier building (BK Va), and which might be consequently interpreted as dedicatory sacrifices". Cf. aussi Neve 1982, 19 (où il n'évoque qu'une seule tombe).
55 Neve 1996, 104 : "(…) built partially over the cellar (1, 2, 6 and 7)".

temples[56], interprétation à prendre, me semble-t-il, avec précaution. En effet, comme on le constate dans cette étude, la pratique d'enterrer les défunts y compris des enfants sous les maisons est très courante à cette époque (cf. ci-dessus)[57]. De plus, des rhytons peuvent également être découverts en contexte domestique comme c'est le cas dans de nombreuses maisons du *kārum* Kaneš par exemple.

Le deuxième cas concerne le bâtiment B du 'complexe I de 1929, niveau 1' d'Alişar Höyük (EE-HH 9-11)[58]. En effet, une des 'maisons' (le bâtiment B) de ce complexe, a été interprétée diversement, 16 tombes en jarre ayant été découvertes sous le sol de la pièce 9. Cette pièce aurait donc eu, pour R. Gorny, une fonction cultuelle. Pour J. Yakar, il s'agirait même d'un sanctuaire, un 'autel' et de possibles objets cultuels ayant été dégagés dans la pièce 7[59]. L''autel' est ailleurs interprété comme un simple foyer, sur lequel ont été trouvés un disque portant un 'signe royal', une tête d'oiseau en argile et une coupe zoomorphe (b1466). Le reste de ce bâtiment a livré des vestiges habituels pour une habitation : jarres de stockage, meules, fosses, etc. Dans la pièce 9 plus particulièrement, il semble que les fouilleurs aient donc dégagé non seulement un 'foyer' (9e) mais aussi un four circulaire (11c) et de la céramique. Ils l'ont de ce fait aussi interprété comme une 'cuisine'. La pièce 11, quant à elle, serait une annexe de la salle mortuaire. Selon moi, l'identification de ce bâtiment comme un sanctuaire est à revoir et la première interprétation d'E. Schmidt me semble plus vraisemblable. En effet, selon ce dernier, on serait en présence des squelettes des anciens propriétaires, dans ce qui était sûrement une maison[60]. Mais, le fouilleur semble avoir changé d'avis en 1932 et envisage alors qu'il puisse s'agir d'un bâtiment cultuel[61]. Dans ces conditions, il imagine que les bâtiments A et B ne devaient former qu'une seule unité avec les zones de la vie domestique en A. Mais il me semble tout de même difficile de douter que ces bâtiments aient pu constituer autre chose qu'un quartier d'habitations tout ce qu'il y a de plus courant. En effet, comme nous le voyons ici, il était fréquent à l'époque paléo-assyrienne, comme au III^{e} millénaire aC, d'enterrer les morts sous le sol des maisons, y compris à Alişar Höyük même qui en a livré d'autres attestations. De plus, ce secteur présente de nombreuses similitudes avec les quartiers d'habitation de Kültepe (il serait contemporain du niveau Ib[62]). Tout semble donc indiquer qu'il avait la même fonction.

3.2.2. Lien privilégié entre tombes et 'cuisine' ?

Dans le *kārum* de Kültepe, les inhumations se font souvent, semble-t-il, sous la 'cuisine'[63]. Cette pratique est également attestée à Alişar Höyük, notamment pour le bâtiment B du 'complexe I de 1929, niveau 1' vu ci-dessus[64]. Il est alors tentant de mettre en relation cette pratique avec l'alimentation des défunts, qu'on sait extrêmement importante[65], bien que cela soit difficilement vérifiable.

3.2.3. Lien entre demeure et famille: gestion du patrimoine immobilier

Après la mise en terre d'un défunt, "les survivants n'étaient pas quittes" pour autant comme le disait J. Bottéro[66]. Il fallait continuer à s'occuper de lui, principalement en le nourrissant mais aussi en prononçant son nom, sous peine de représailles de sa part. Le culte funéraire était en général assuré par le fils aîné qui recevait le plus souvent la plus grosse part de l'héritage chez les Assyriens, même si cela n'était pas toujours la règle[67]. En revanche, il semblerait que le partage ait été plus équitable chez les Anatoliens. Se pose alors la question de l'impact que la présence de tombes pouvait avoir sur la gestion du patrimoine immobilier des vivants.

Selon K. Emre la documentation écrite de la période paléo-assyrienne montre qu'une partie ou l'ensemble de la maison pouvait être abandonné(e) après le décès du maître de maison sans que l'on en connaisse la raison et les fouilles permettraient de vérifier cette pratique[68]. Cette remarque semble en contradiction, en partie au moins, avec la nécessité de commémorer le mort mais aussi avec

56 Neve 1996, 105.
57 Voir également la contribution de T. McGeorge dans ce volume.
58 Pour la présentation de l'ensemble du complexe, cf. Patrier 2011, vol. 2, 78-82.
59 Ces deux hypothèses sont citées dans Gorny 1990, 195.
60 Schmidt 1931, 74.
61 Schmidt 1932, 91.
62 Schmidt 1932, 82 et Gorny 1990, 196.
63 Emre 1991 et Öztan 1998, 167.
64 Cf. ci-dessus, § 'Deux cas problématiques'.
65 Pour cette question, cf. Patrier 2009 et à paraître (b).
66 Bottéro 1980, 37.
67 Michel 2008, 186.
68 Emre 1991, 1-2 ; elle ne renvoie à aucune référence précise.

la documentation assyrienne et les interprétations de différents chercheurs. En effet, comme on l'a vu, on relève une association fréquente entre maison et ancêtre. Ainsi, pour C. Michel, les tombes *intra-muros* facilitaient la pratique du culte des morts mais "cette coutume était également source d'astreinte, dans la mesure où il devenait difficile de se séparer de la maison familiale, sous le sol de laquelle reposaient les ancêtres"[69]. On peut évoquer le cas d'Emar où un dernier rituel devait être pratiqué en l'honneur des ancêtres défunts lors de la vente d'une habitation, avec la nécessité de "rompre le pain-*hukku*" mais cela reste sujet à discussion[70]. On répugnait surtout à se séparer de la demeure paternelle et, si l'on reprend également J. Bottéro : "si l'on s'expatriait, pour garder avec soi ses ancêtres, on emportait leurs restes"[71]. Dans les faits, il s'avère que l'on n'allait probablement pas jusque-là pour les simples particuliers à la période paléo-assyrienne qui nous intéresse ici[72], ce que montrent différents textes comme celui où un marchand ayant tout perdu à cause de dettes accuse ses frères "de ne pas avoir envoyé d'argent pour payer leur part de la maison paternelle et ainsi l'aider à 'sauver les esprits de leurs ancêtres'"[73]. C. Michel souligne que "cette situation est suffisamment fréquente [*à Aššur*] pour qu'une loi ou un décret permette au débiteur de racheter le bien familial pour la moitié de son prix de vente et ainsi récupérer, outre la maison paternelle, le tombeau des ancêtres"[74]. On pourrait alors supposer des statuts différents entre les 'maisons du père' ou 'des ancêtres' sous lesquelles étaient enterrés des défunts de la famille et celles sous lesquelles aucune tombe n'avait été installée, maisons qui n'étaient peut-être alors pas considérées comme 'maisons du père'[75]. Il serait intéressant de pouvoir approfondir la question.

69 Michel 2008, 189.
70 Cf. sur cette question Durand 1989, Scurlock 1993 et, pour une synthèse récente faisant le point sur les difficultés liées à la compréhension de ces textes, Schmidt 1996, 129-130.
71 Bottéro 1980, 28. Il faut tout de même préciser que le texte auquel renvoie J. Bottéro (« OIP 2 : p. 85 ») appartient aux Annales de Sennachérib (704-681 av. J.-C.).
72 On ignore ce qui advenait réellement de la dépouille des marchands. Cf. ci-dessous § Questions ouvertes.
73 C. Michel (2008, 189) fait ici référence au texte *TPAK* 1, 46, l. 18-19.
74 Michel 2008, 189. Voir aussi Veenhof 1999, 599-609, § 1.
75 Pour une étude sur la vente ou l'achat de demeures à Aššur, cf. dernièrement Veenhof 2011. Il ne s'attarde en revanche pas sur la question des défunts enterrés sous certaines maisons.

4. Questions ouvertes

Outre les interrogations déjà émises, certains aspects en lien plus ou moins direct avec l'analyse des tombes *intra-muros* doivent être gardés à l'esprit. Quelques-uns sont regroupés ici sous forme de questions, n'ayant pour le moment pas de réponses précises à apporter pour le IIe millénaire aC anatolien, faute souvent de documentation suffisante[76]. La plupart de ces interrogations vise à expliciter les raisons des inhumations *intra-muros* mais aussi celles pour lesquelles si peu de personnes, par rapport à la population globale, ont été ensevelies *intra-muros*.

Qui était réellement enterré sous les maisons ? Au vu du nombre de tombes, tous les membres de la famille n'avaient pas cette chance. Y avait-il une préférence, liée à une question de statut ? Pouvait-il s'agir d'un ancêtre illustre ou plus simplement du maître de maison ? On a vu en effet que les enfants n'étaient pas les seuls à être enterrés sous les maisons à cette période. Où étaient enterrés les autres ?

De plus, l'espace était relativement limité sous les maisons et toutes les maisons ne possèdent pas de tombes. Est-ce une explication au faible nombre d'ensevelissements *intra-muros* ? Les tombes étaient-elles construites en même temps que les habitations ? Comment y accédait-on ? Une deuxième porte d'entrée à la demeure a pu être considérée, à Ougarit, comme donnant accès à une zone de tombe (ce qui serait très pratique si l'on a vendu la maison ou si un caveau servait à une famille étendue). Cela implique une possibilité d'accès répété, privé ou peut-être plus élargi, comme c'est le cas à Ougarit[77], mais cela ne semble pas être envisageable pour le domaine qui nous occupe ici au vu du type de tombes mis au jour (aucune véritable chambre funéraire n'a, à ma connaissance, été dégagée jusqu'ici). Se pose aussi la question de la fonction de la ou des pièces de la maison en lien avec ces tombes. Celles-ci étaient-elles toujours creusées dans la même zone de la maison ? Valait-il mieux les regrouper pour faciliter l'exécution du culte funéraire ? Une pièce pouvait-elle toujours être consacrée uniquement à cet usage ?

Le lieu du repos final mais aussi les types de dépôts funéraires posent la question de la vision de

76 Je rappelle également qu'il s'agit ici d'une étude en cours.
77 Salles 1995.

l'Au-delà. Est-il le reflet, la transposition du monde des vivants ? On sait en tout cas que les morts continuent à faire partie de la famille et cela pourrait expliquer qu'au moins certains d'entre eux aient été enterrés sous les maisons[78].

Dans le cas particulier de la période paléo-assyrienne, se pose aussi le problème de savoir si les Assyriens étaient bien enterrés en Anatolie ou si leurs corps pouvaient être rapatriés à Aššur. On ignore par exemple où ceux-ci désiraient être enterrés. On sait seulement que "après plusieurs années d'intenses activités commerciales en Asie Mineure, plusieurs marchands décident de rentrer à Aššur. Ces retours sont parfois motivés par la disparition de la génération précédente et la nécessité de prendre la succession à Aššur"[79]. Il est plus vraisemblable que la 'maison du père' s'y soit également trouvée tout comme les documents légaux concernant les maisons d'Aššur[80]. Ainsi pourrait-on envisager que les Assyriens étaient enterrés en Anatolie uniquement en cas de mort accidentelle ou violente et/ou lorsque le rapatriement n'était pas possible ? Faut-il alors penser que seuls des Anatoliens étaient enterrés sous les demeures de Kültepe ? Une étude conjointe associant archéologie et épigraphie permettrait peut-être de répondre à cette question.

Conclusion

Un rapide panorama des problématiques touchant aux tombes *intra-muros* en Anatolie au II^e^ millénaire aC a pu être dressé. Ces tombes présentent globalement les mêmes caractéristiques que celles des cimetières *extra-muros*, à l'exception de Kültepe qui a livré un matériel funéraire plus varié et en plus grande quantité. La pratique des tombes *intra-muros* semble relativement limitée comparativement à la population globale mais les études sont encore rares sur ce sujet. D'autre part, en l'absence d'analyse anthropologique systématique, il est malaisé d'envisager une organisation spécifique dans les pratiques funéraires, qu'il s'agisse du lien potentiel entre type de tombe et âge, sexe ou statut du défunt ou encore entre type de matériel et défunt.

De nombreux problèmes subsistent donc. On est pour le moment dans l'incapacité de reconstituer l'ensemble des rites et croyances de l'époque, faute d'uniformité dans les pratiques, et encore moins de les attribuer à l'une ou l'autre des populations présentes. La plus grande prudence s'impose donc quant aux conclusions que l'on pourrait tirer mais il est à espérer que la poursuite de ces recherches permettra d'éclairer certains points des pratiques funéraires en vigueur au II^e^ millénaire aC en Anatolie centrale.

Abréviations

AION	Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology
AMI	Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
BMECCJ	Bulletin of the Middle Eastern Culture Center in Japan
CHANE	Culture and History of the Ancient Near East
FM	Florilegium marianum
IstMitt	Istanbuler Mitteilungen
N.A.B.U.	Nouvelles assyriologiques brèves et utilitaires
OAAS	Old Assyrian Archives, Studies
OIC	Oriental Institute Communications
OIP	Oriental Institute Publications
OIS	Oriental Institute Seminars
PIHANS	Publications de l'Institut historique-archéologique néerlandais de Stamboul
RANT	Res Antiquae
RHA	Revue hittite et asianique
RlA	Reallexikon der Assyriologie und vorderasiatischen Archäologie
SMEA	Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici
TMO	Travaux de la Maison de l'Orient
TTKY	Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları(ndan)
WVDOG	Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft

78 On connaît relativement mal la vision que les Anatoliens avaient de l'Au-delà (cf. Lebrun 1983). Pour une réflexion sur la Mésopotamie, cf. Bottéro 1980 ou Joannès 2005 par exemple.
79 Michel 2009, 29.
80 Veenhof 2011, 212 : "The number of legal documents dealing with houses and family matters is however restricted because marriage contracts, testaments, and title deeds of real property in Assur were normally kept in the family archives there".

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BURYING A SAGE: THE HEROON OF THALES IN THE AGORA OF MILETOS

With remarks on some other excavated *Heroa* and on cults and graves of the mythical founders of the city*

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for Josefine Schmitz (19.3.1919 - 9.4.2003)

Abstract

This article adresses the *heroon* of Thales in the agora of Miletos, so far only literarily attested (§§ IV, VII). The sage was worshiped as secondary founder, having the status of a 'cultural hero', an age-old Indo-European concept. Graves of founders are typically placed on the agora (§ V), but not those of the mythical founders of Miletos, Asterios, Miletos and Kelados or Ionian Neileos (§ VI). Of the intramural *heroa* excavated in Miletos none can claim to be that of Thales: Neither 'Heroon I (the grave of the Macedonian general Dokimos?), II and III' (§ I), nor the 'Ehrengrab' in the courtyard of the Hellenistic *bouleuterion*, which is most likely an altar (§ II). Instead, a *thesauros* in the assembly hall may have served as a *heroon* (§ III), and the philosopher Anaximander may also have recieved cult in the bouleuterion (§ VIII). Finally, a chamber tomb slightly west of the *bouleuterion* is discussed (§ IX). At the end some general remarks on Greek hero cults are added, stressing the common concept of the immortal divine soul, again an Indo-European heritage, manifest for example in the *apotheosis* of the Hittite kings as well as that of the Roman emperors (§ X).

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This piece is devoted to the memory of my grandaunt Josefine Schmitz, teacher and friend, who always encouraged me to study archaeology and history and ask what's behind human beliefs and knowledge. It was written in the inspiring atmosphere of the library of the German Archaeological Institute at Athens to whose always helpful staff, Soi Agelidis, Christina Zoiga and Katharina Brandt, are adressed my warmest thanks. The English was corrected by Robert Hahn, of whose keen insight into early Ionian philosophy I profit a lot. The figures were improved with the ingenious skills of Stefan Gräbener.

Summary

The ancient Greek city of Miletos on the western coast of Asia Minor was famous for her philosophers. The first and most famous of them was Thales, who – according to the common tradition starting in the 6th century BC – even won the Panhellenic contest of the Seven Sages. His grave is only known from literary sources, describing its location, appearance and inscriptions (§§ IV, VII). Nevertheless, recent research has revealed new data on the geoarchaeology and townplanning of Miletos that provokes a first attempt to locate and reconstruct the grave. The myth goes that Thales, who died in the mid 6th century BC, himself choose the place. Later on, it happened that his grave became located in the agora (Plutarch, *Solon* 12). In ancient times, this prominent place was reserved for the *heros ktistes*, the heroic founder of a city, as Pindar (*Pythian* 5.93) has pointed it out for Battos in Kyrene. It is argued that Thales was indeed venerated as a kind of secondary founder in the sense that he achieved the status of a 'cultural hero', a concept long-established in the Indo-European tradition. His *heroon* is expected to be found somewhere in the area of the so-called North Market, the political agora of Miletos, which was included in the 6th century BC public building programme. The whole northern city-half around the Lion Harbour and the sanctuary of Apollo Delphinios was re-organized in an orthogonal street-*insula*-grid. It is tempting to suppose that Thales himself took part in its planning. After all is he the archetype for the geometer Meton in Aristophanes *Birds* of 414 BC, who creates 'Cloudcuckouville', the phantastic new town of the birds in the sky, round in shape with an inscribed square and an agora in the centre, reachable via radiating streets; Aristophanes lampoons Meton as taking the set square and squaring the circle! The response is that this man is a veritable Thales! Later in the 4th century BC an honorary statue may have been added to the *heroon* of Thales, of which a copy of the head may have survived on the famous double herm with Bias in the Vatican. The inscription, cited by Diogenes Laertius (1.34), stresses Miletos' claim for being the "ornament of Ionia" (Herodotus 5.28), offering its 'crown jewel', Thales, to the goddess of wisdom, *Sophia*.

An extra chapter is devoted to the graves of founders (*heroes ktistai*) on Greek *agorai* (§ V). The examples of Battos in Kyrene, Pammilos and Euthydamos in Selinous, and Aratus in Sikyon show that the grave of a city founder, as well as that of other kinds of heroes, was exempted from the idea of ritual pollution (*mysos*, *miasma*). Instead it counted for being *katharos*, "pure", or an *asebema*, an "impious", "profane" location and equally the festivities for founders are designated as *hosia*, "profane", meaning that they where not forbidden by divine, and in consequence, by human law. Also evident from these examples is the connection of ancestor cult to hero cult: in Kyrene as well as in Selinous and perhaps also in Athens, the cult of the founders is tied to the cult of the anonymous, collective ancestors of the polis, the *Tritopatores*.

Looking aside, the intra-mural *heroa* excavated so far in Miletos, 'Heroon I, II and III', are briefly analysed (§ I). A special focus lies also on the Hellenistic *bouleuterion*. It included the 'Ehrengrab' in its courtyard (§ II), an underground chamber in its assembly hall (§ III), and an Archaic votive statue of one Anaximander, presumably the pupil of Thales (§ VIII). Finally, a subterranean chamber tomb slightly west of the *bouleuterion* is discussed (§ IX). None of these can claim to be the *heroon* of Thales, which has yet to be found. 'Heroon I' is a Macedonian chamber tomb in its earliest phase and likely the grave of the Antigonid general Dokimos and his family, who had reinstated Miletos' autonomy and democracy in 312 BC, and after whom the close by Lion Harbour got the name 'Harbour of Dokimos'. The Hellenistic-Roman 'Heroon II' is situated close to the largest gymnasium of Miletos, where a famous Milesian athlete may be the owner. We know for example of a certain Antenor, Olympic champion of 308 BC in *pankration*, who got a *heroon* in the middle of the gymnasium of the *neoi*. 2nd/3rd century AD 'Heroon III' also lacks clear epigraphical evidence of an owner. Its Classical-Hellenistic forerunner seems to have been the club-house of a religious association for Apollo Didymeus.

A critical amendment of the Augustan so-called Ehrengrab in the courtyard of the *bouleuterion* reveals the first interpretation by excavator Th. Wiegand as an altar of Artemis Boulaia the most likely. Artemis will have been joined by Apollo Didymeus and Zeus Boulaios. The typological proximity to the *Ara Pacis Augusti* in Rome as well as the presence of two Imperial priests in the honorary inscriptions on the *bouleuterion* walls

indicate that the altar also served the Imperial cult. According to the situation in Athens, Augustus will have been paired with Zeus Boulaios, while Livia equated Artemis Boulaia. The priests, Gaius Iulius Apollonios and his son, Gaius Iulius Epikrates, stemming from one of the first families of Miletos with close contacts to the *Iulii* since Caesar's times, are honored as heroes in the wall inscriptions. It is proposed that an underground chamber in the eastern corridor of the assembly hall, originally a *thesauros*, served as their *heroon*. The situation is compared with the former city *thesauros* in the agora of Messene, which was transformed in a *heroon* of Philopoimen, after he had been locked and died within it.

Another find in the *bouleuterion* is an Archaic female statue, dedicated by one Anaximander. Having in mind the importance of *bouleuteria* for the self-conception of Greek cities and the fact that they often serve as location of hero cults, as well as the role Anaximander played as Thale's closest pupil and figurehead of the Milesian school of philosophers, we may assume a hero cult of Anaximander in the Hellenistic *bouleuterion*. Comparable to this situation is the location of the *heroon* of the sage Bias in the *prytaneion* of Priene.

The subterranean chamber, recently suggested to be the Archaic grave of some Milesian founder and located in the assumed agora of that time, is neither Archaic, nor located in the agora (§ IX). Instead, the chamber is dated Hellenistic and overbuilt by a house complex, presumably the local of a burial- and cult-association. Such associations are attested in several Hellenistic inscriptions from the *necropoleis* of Miletos as well as from the city itself. They are called *temenitai* or *temenizontes* and were, at least partly, non-citizens, *metoikoi*.

The graves of the mythical founders of Miletos are also discussed (§ VI). Only that of Minoan Miletos was located within the city, though its exact place is unknown. In contrast is the grave of indigenous giant Asterios to be found on an island called 'Asteria' north of Miletos, while Kelados, the son of Miletos, is most likely an immortal river god without a grave, having his sanctuary at the processional road to Didyma. The grave of Ionian Neileos was shown outside the city walls, close to the 'Sacred Gate'. Its position in the *necropolis* can best be explained by assuming an old family grave of the *Neleidai*, the descendants of Neileos. A late Hellenistic monumental marble cuirass may be ascribed to this *heroon*, while a statue of Neileos stood in the agora in front of the *bouleuterion*.

At the end of this paper, some general remarks on Greek hero cults are added (§ X). To my mind essential is the origin in the Indo-European believe of the immortal, divine soul, connecting the humans with their gods. By means of the separating and purifying ritual of cremation, the soul of the heroes could get in direct contact with the gods after *apotheosis*, and join them on Olympus like Herakles did, or being visited in the *Elysion* resp. 'island of the Blessed' like Achilles or the Pythagorean or Bacchic-Orphic *Mystai*. The re-unification with the gods, reconstructing the very beginning of the *cosmic order*, when gods and humankind lived together in the 'Golden Age', can be seen as main aim of this eschatological believe. We therefore find impressive correlations with the *apotheosis* of Imperial Hittite and Roman funeral rituals. In both latter cases the aspect of the divine souls as 'minor gods', interacting with the living people by protecting them and garanty their reproduction, becomes clearer. Therefore the cult of the dead ancestors cannot be separated from the cult of the heroes, both are apects of the same phænomenon. This becomes most evident, when something new is created: the cult of the founder, the *heros ktistes* of a Greek polis state, is commonly combined with the cult of the *Tritopatores*, the anonymous, collective ancestors of the polis.

Of course the belief in the immortal divine soul was always doubted by clever people. Aristophanes in his comedy *Birds* was one of them, Seneca in his satire *Apocolocyntosis* another.

I. The *heroa* in the city, other than that of Thales

The extramural *necropoleis* of Miletos have been the subject of different recent studies, including the, so far, unpublished PhD-thesis of Elke Forbeck, the edition of the grave inscriptions within the corpus of the Milesian inscriptions by Peter Herrmann, Wolfgang Günther and Norbert Ehrhardt, and an upcoming article of Kaja Harter-Uibopuu and Karin Wiedergut on the measures to protect the graves in Roman Imperial times[1]. However, it was never

1 Forbeck 2001/2002; Forbeck 2002 and forthcoming; Forbeck/Heres 1997; grave inscriptions: Herrmann 1980; Herrmann 1995; Herrmann 1998, 159 no. 29, 145 f., 217 nos. 398 f.; Herrmann 1998, 1-88

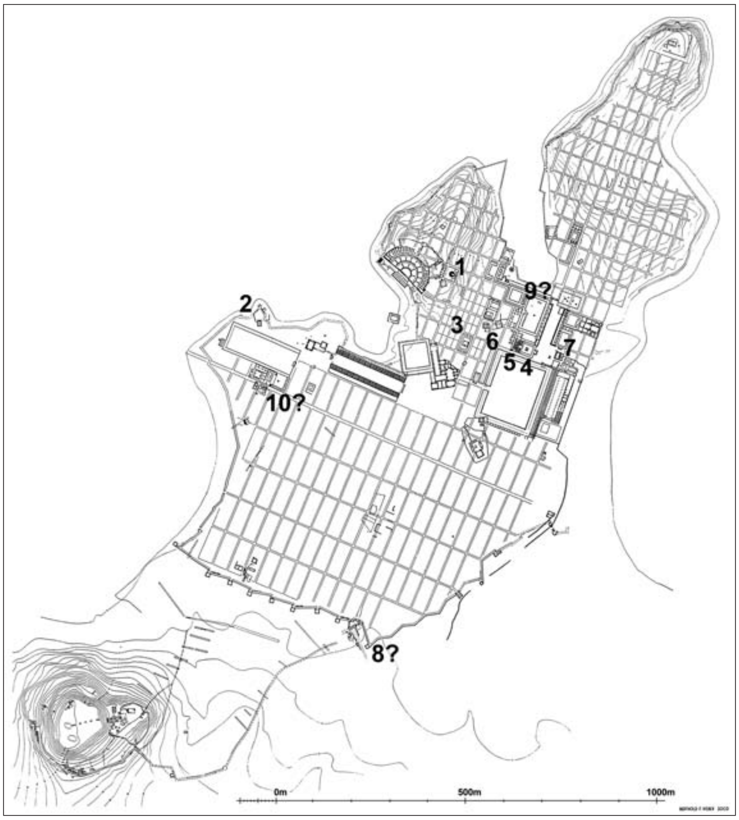

Fig. 1 :
City map with location of Milesian *heroa:* Heroon I (1), Heroon II (2), Heroon III (3), 'Ehrengrab' (4), chamber in assembly hall of the *bouleuterion* (5), subterranean chamber west of the bouleuterion (6), statue basis of Neileos in front of *nymphaeum* (7), grave of Neileos at Sacred Gate (8, exact location unknown), *heroon* of Thales (9, exact location unknown), *heroon* of Miletos (10, exact location unknown) (drawing author after Weber 2007, Beilage 3).

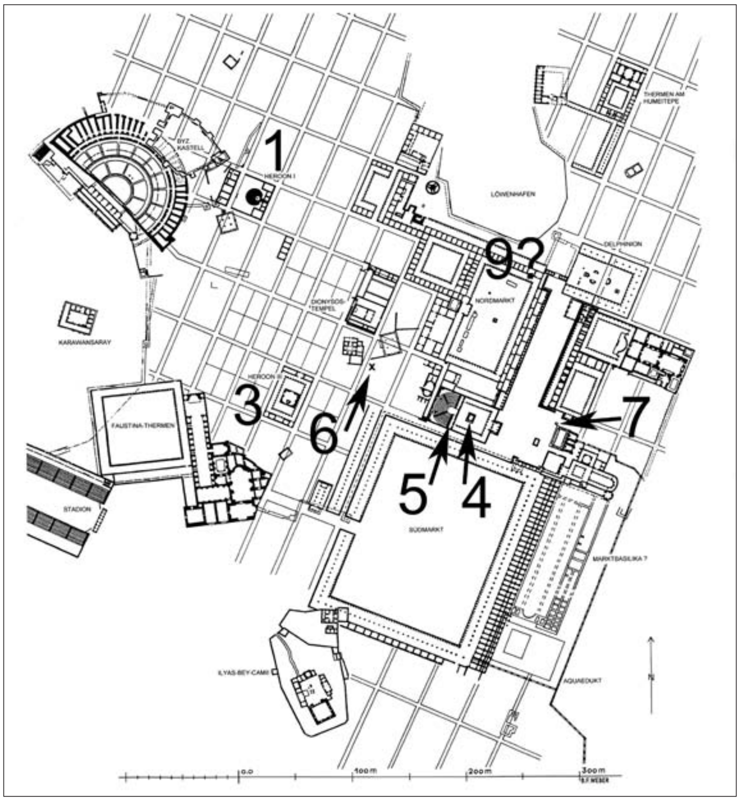

Fig. 2 :
City center of Miletos with location of Heroon I (1), Heroon III (3), 'Ehrengrab' (4), chamber in assembly hall of the *bouleuterion* (5), subterraneran chamber west of the bouleuterion (6), statue basis of Neileos in front of *nymphaeum* (7), *heroon* of Thales (9, exact location unknown) (drawing author after Weber 2007, 352 fig. 17).

attempted to give a complete overview over the many intramural *heroa*[2], the excavations and studies in Miletos have revealed in the last 113 years of research[3].

Before I deal with the intramural grave of Thales in Miletos, let me therefore start with some other graves within this city which are much better known and which have the great advantage that we know at least how they looked like. I refer to the so-called Heroa I, II and III, as well as to the so-called 'Ehrengrab' in the Hellenistic *bouleuterion* (see § II), and the underground chamber in the assembly hall of the *bouleuterion* (see § III). They are all located around the city center (figs. 1-2).

Heroon I (figs. 3-5, 11)

Heroon I is located on the slope east of the theatre and covers a whole insula of the street-*insula*-grid[4]. This *insula* is not as long as the other *insulae*: in the North and South it measures 33.90 m instead of c. 52 m, while the West-East width of 28.20 m is regular (fig. 2, 1)[5]. Perhaps the stripe of shorter *insulae* was originally left free from buildings, connecting the northern agora and the Delphinion with the area of the prominent Theatre Hill top, where we have to assume a fortress (*phrourion*) since at least Classical times (see below). This open space also helped to mediate between the street-*insula*-grid systems west of the agora, possibly determined by the position of the sanctuary of

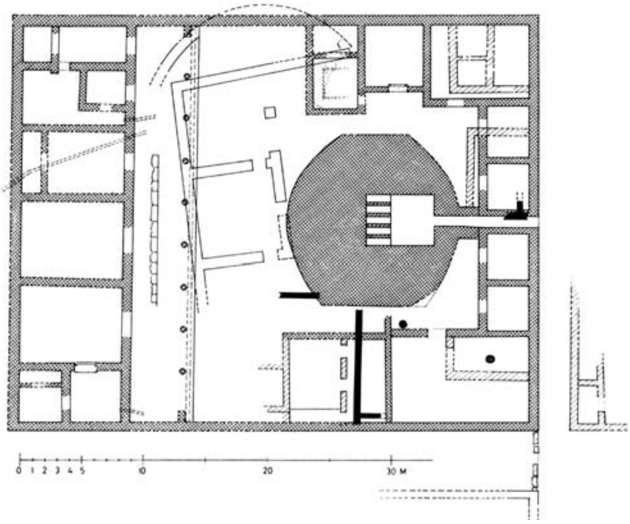

Fig. 3 : Heroon I, ground plan; black: phase I (Early Hellenistic), cross-hatched: phase II (Hellenistic), hatched: phase III (Roman Imperial), empty: phase IV (Early Byzantine). Note that the street, separating the western row of rooms and the Heroon-*insula,* is not designated (from W. Müller-Wiener, *MDAI(I)* 35, 1985, 19 fig. 1).

Fig. 4 : Heroon I. View from SE. Current state of preservation (photo author 10/2011).

Fig. 5 : Heroon I. Chamber with central cavern (now sealed) in paving and *loculi* in western wall. Current state of preservation (photo author 10/2011).

nos. 407-786; Herrmann *et al.* 2006, 247-250 nos. 1404-1418; Ehrhardt/Günther 2010; Harter-Uibopuu/Wiedergut forthcoming. On the *basileion/archeion/grammatophylakion* as archive of Miletos, where the common and individual grave regulations as well as the grave register were kept (the archive was not located in the Delphinion): Herda 2006a, 233 f., 434 and 2011, 67.

2 The most recent and complete is Schörner 2007 on Heroa I, II and III (see § I) and the Ehrengrab in the court of the Hellenistic *bouleuterion* (see § II). But missing are the *heroa* of Thales (see §§ IV, VII), the underground chamber in the assembly hall of the Hellenistic *bouleuterion* (see § III), Anaximander in the *bouleuterion* (see § VIII), and the subterranean chamber tomb west of the *bouleuterion* (see § IX).

3 German excavations in Miletos started in 1899. Let us hope that they can be continued in an intelligent collaboration with our Turkish hosts and international colleagues!

4 Kleiner 1968, 129-131 figs. 96-98; Schörner 2007, 237 f. A16 figs. 86-94. The reconstructions of Kleiner 1968, 130 fig. 97; Müller-Wiener, MDAI(I) 35, 1985, 19 fig. 1 (= here fig. 3); Kader 1995, 227 figs. 3, 6 and Schörner 2007, figs. 87-88 are incorrect as the row of chambers in the west is not part of the Heroon I-*insula* but part of the next *insula* to the West and devided from it by a 4 m broad North-South-street: see Weber 2007, 352 f. fig. 17.

5 Weber 2007, 352 f. fig. 17.

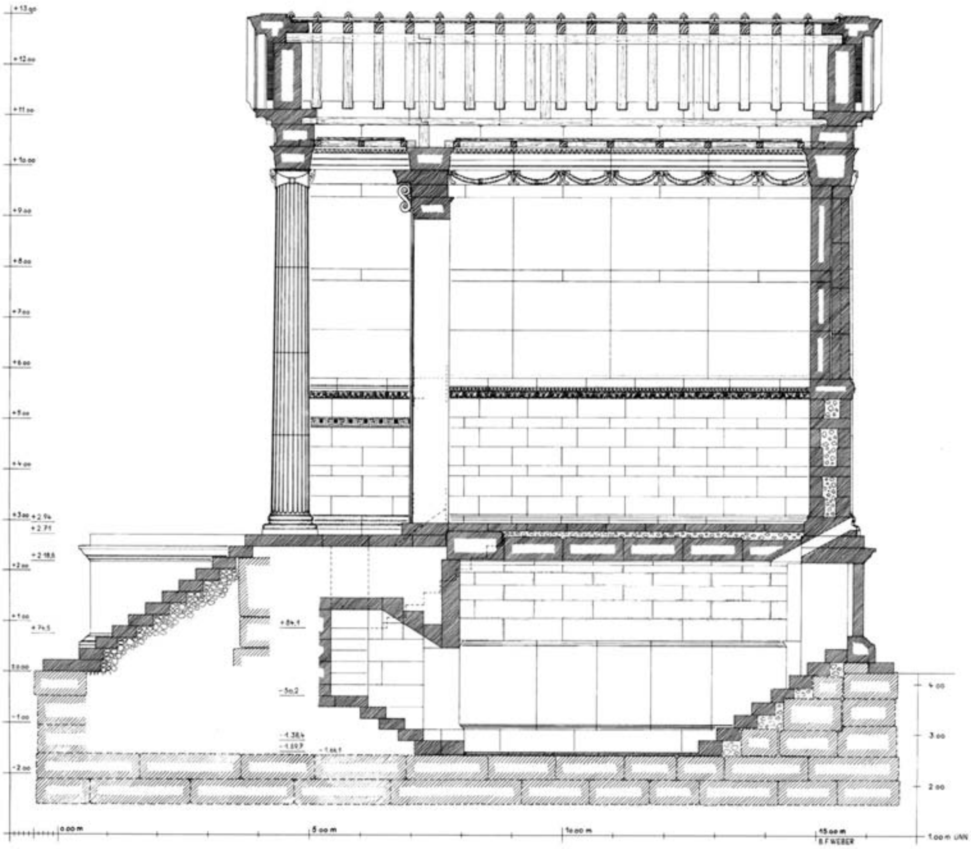

Fig. 6 :
Heroon II. Roman phase with podium temple on top of the Hellenistic chamber tomb. Reconstruction of longitudinal section, view to E (from Weber 2004, 69 fig. 59).

Dionysos[6], and that of the city districts north of Dionysos, on the Kale Tepe (Theatre Hill) and the Humei Tepe, defined by the Delphinion-*insula*[7].

Heroon I consists of a *tumulus* of pebble stones, c. 15 m in diameter, covering a vaulted *dromos* and chamber, made of marble ashlar blocks. The chamber has a central sunken cavern of square form, covered by a slab. Five additional *loculi* are integrated into its back wall, signalling a multiple burial. The *tumulus* is surrounded by an open-court with a row of chambers to the lower eastern street, where the entrance was also located. The masonry as well as few finds speak for a Hellenistic date of the grave, which still awaits a proper investigation[8].

Heroon II (figs. 6-8)

Heroon II was situated in the extrem Northwest of the city, north of the so-called West Market, on a small hill above the sea. It lies close to the city-wall, which surrounds it on three sides. The vaulted grave chamber was originally approachable from the south and may date to the Hellenistic period. In the time of Trajan or Hadrian, this entrance was closed and a *templum in antis* in Ionic order was built on top, this time oriented to the north. This podium temple, decorated with a frieze of Erotes, had a staircase in the northeast corner of the *cella*, leading down into the grave chamber[9].

6 Weber 2007, 353. The strip of shorter *insulae* continues also east of the agora, directly south of the Delphinion. There the baths and the *palaestra* of Capito cover the smaller insula plus the street in the South, extending 40 m from North to South: Kleiner 1968, 91-97 figs. 63, 65-68; Weber 2004a, 148.

7 Weber 2004a, 145-150 fig. 87; Herda 2005, 272-285 figs. 25, 29-30.

8 B.F. Weber announced the final publication of his researches on Heroon I, conducted from the 1980's until his death in 2005, as volume I.11 of the Milet-series in his posthumously published article on the city map (Weber 2007, 353, n. 107). It remains open, if and when this publication will appear. The *loculi* were already robbed when excavated, but in the central cavern in the floor were found several bones, a well preserved skull, a silver ring, a golden sheet, glas paste and a bone plaque with an Ionic capital scratched in (part of a furniture, e.g. a kline ?): Schörner 2007, 237 f. These finds may belong to the original burial of Heroon I and were put here when the chamber was additionally furnished with the *loculi*.

9 Kleiner 1968, 131 f. fig. 91; Cormack 2004, 39, 243 f. figs. 117-119; Köster 2004, 85-98 figs 13 f., pls. 49-58, 59.1-4, 143, 144.1; Weber 2004a, 3-100, 153-156 figs. 56-73, pls. 1-25; Schörner 2007, 253 f. A26

Fig. 7 : Heroon II. View from NE with marble foot profile of Roman podium front overbuilt by a medieval tower. Current state of preservation (photo author 10/2011).

Fig. 8 : Heroon II. View from S with entrance to Hellenistic chamber tomb. Current state of preservation (photo author 10/2011).

Heroon III (figs. 9-10)

Heroon III is, like Heroon I, integrated in the street-*insula*-grid. The peristyl-building fills exactly one insula of 28.60 by 50.27 m[10]. In the court stands a square-shaped central building with an entrance to the North and West, including a girland-sarcophagus on a high altar-like podium. The style of the architectural ornamentation as well as the stratigraphy date the building complex to the beginning 3rd century AD. Fragments of a second sarcophagus speak for a secondary burial in the central *cella*[11].

There are commonalities with all three Heroa: We do not know for whom they were built as there are missing significant inscriptions found in them, except from the grave stele of Antigona in Heroon I (fig. 11, see below). The grave epigram of a certain Aristeas, son of Aristeas, who was honoured by the Milesian *demos* in the late 1st century BC with the manufacture of golden *kolossoi* (cult statuettes/ 'Voodoo Dolls'/magic images)[12] and a grave within his hometown, was found reused in the Late Roman city-wall and cannot be attributed to any of the known intramural graves in Miletos[13].

At least the dating and type give some clue for Heroon I, which is, according to Hans von Mangoldt, a typical Macedonian chamber tomb of the late 4th or early 3rd century BC[14]. Gerhard Kleiner was right when he supposed in 1968, that the grave was related to the Macedonian occupation after the conquest of Miletus by Alexander the Great in 334/33 BC: Convincingly, he located the fortress (φρούριον), the Persian satrap Tissaphernes had

figs. 149-154. For the Erotes-frieze see now Bol/Weber 2011; von Mangoldt 2012, 360-363 ("B 192. Milet III") pls. 139 f.

10 Weber 2004a, 145-150 fig. 87; Weber 2004b, 231-234, fig. 2; Herda/ Sauter 2009, 84 f., fig. 9.

11 Kleiner 1968, 132-134, figs. 100-102; Weber 2004a, 101-150, 153-156 figs. 79-81, pls. 26-48; Schörner 2007, 258 f. A29 figs. 168-173.

12 Herrmann 1998, 68 f. no. 735.3 f. ὁ χρυσείοισι κολοσσοῖς | τιμαθείς, πάτρας δ᾽ ἐντὸς ἔχων κτέρεα. The term *kolossoi* does not mean 'colossi', 'large statues' here (so Herrmann 1998, 68 f., who translates: "der durch goldene Kolosse geehrt wurde"), but small figurines, used as cult statues or 'Voodoo Dolls', where the soul of the dead hero (or an evil *daemon*) could settle during the rituals, e.g. a *theoxenia* or a purificatory magic. Cf. the famous sacred law from Kyrene: Burkert 1984, 69 with n. 69; Faraone 1992, 82-84; Rhodes/ Osborne 2003, 494-505, no. 97 ll. B 111-121: two small figurines, a male and a female, made of wood or clay and named *kolosos*, first recieve "hospitality and a portion from everthing" (ὑποδεξάμενον παρτι̣θ[έ]μεν τὸ μέρος παντῶν) and are afterwards deposited in an "unworked wood", together with the offerings (φέροντα ἐς ἕλαν ἀεργόν ἐρε[ῖ]σαι τὰς κολοςὸς καὶ τὰ μέρη). This magic serves to heal a house from a "hostile visitant" (ἱκέσιος ἐπακτός), the bad spirit of a dead person; cf. Ogden 2002, 163 f. no. 124; Rhodes/Osborne 2003, 505 on § 18. Also, in the oath of the founders of Kyrene, a figurine, labeled *kolosos* and made of wax, is burnt: Meiggs/Lewis 1969, 59, no. 5 ll. 44 f.; Burkert 1984, 68 with n. 29. On *kolossoi* as Voodoo Dolls/magic images see: Ogden 2002, 245-260.

13 Cf. Herrmann 1998, 68 f. in his commentary: "aber die Zuweisung einer der drei aufgedeckten derartigen Anlagen (...) an ihn wird kaum möglich sein"; see also Herrmann 1995, 194.

14 von Mangoldt 2012, 357-359 ("B 190. Milet I"), pls. 138.6-8. The original location of the 3rd/2nd century BC amphiglyphic grave stele of Antigona, daughter of Pamphilos (fig. 11), which was found in the area of Heroon I (Herrmann 1998, 5 no. 421), is uncertain: Graeve 1986, 8 f.; Schörner 2007, 237 figs. 93 f.; but to me its affiliation to Heroon I seems highly reasonable. I will refer to this matter in a separate publication; see also below.

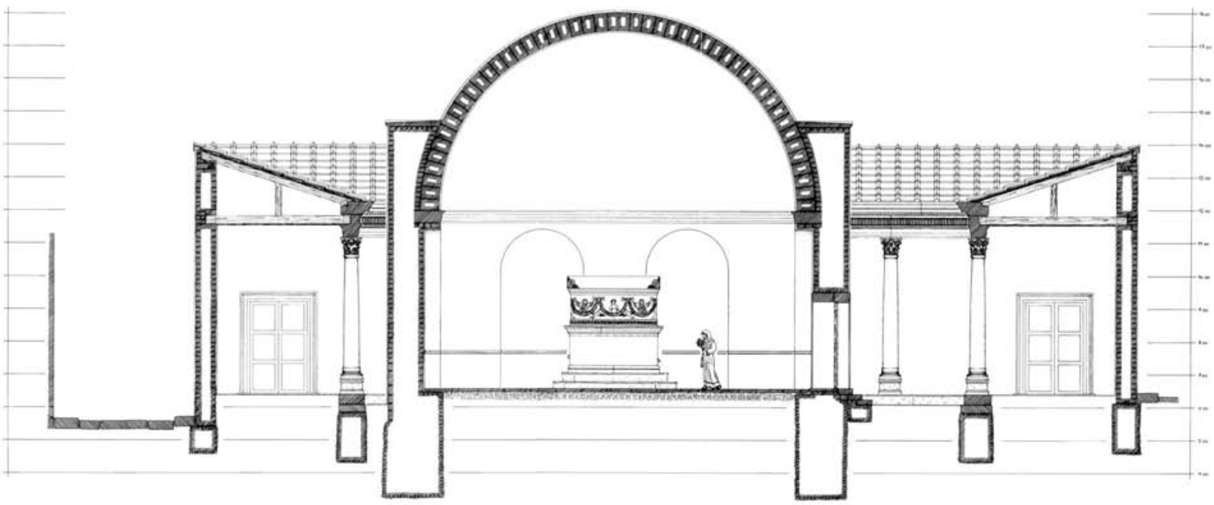

Fig. 9 : Heroon III. Reconstruction of E-W cross-section with sarcophagus in the central vaulted chamber (from Weber 2004, fig. 80).

Fig. 10 : Heroon III. View from NE. Current state of preservation (photo author 10/2011).

built in Miletos in 412, on the Theatre Hill, protecting the Lion and Theatre Harbours, seat of the Persian fleet. In consequence, Kleiner equated this fortress with the "fortified hill" (φρουρουμένη ἄκρα), Asandros, installed by Alexander as satrap of Karia c. 324/23 BC, held when he was eponymous *aisymnetes* of the city in 313/12 BC. The strategical importance of the site is still manifest in todays Byzantine-Turkish castle, which also supplied the name *Palatia*-Balat for medieval and modern Miletos. Taking into consideration the alledged proximity between fortress and Heroon I, Kleiner finally attributed the grave to one of the Macedonian *phrourarchs*[15].

Looking for a candidate[16], Asandros is hardly a hot one: He had ruled Karia autocratically and when in 312 he was disposed by Antigonos Monophthalmos, Miletos celebrated the Antigonid as 'liberator', who re-installed democracy[17]. Actually it was not Antigonos, but his two generals, Medios and Dokimos, who freed the city. While Medios attacked Asandros and his forces by sea, Dokimos did so by land. He invaded the city, "summoned the citizens to freedom and after taking by storm the fortified hill (φρουρουμένη ἄκρα), restored the constitution to autonomy"[18]. In the eyes of the Milesians this deed was definitely worth an intramural hero cult, and more exactly: a founder cult. One only has to think of Spartan general

15 Thucydides 8.84–85 (Tissaphernes' φρούριον); Diodorus 18.3.1 (Asandros as satrap); cf. Marcellesi 2004, 76-81. Asandros as eponymous: cf. A. Rehm in Kawerau/Rehm 1914, 258, no. 122.II 101 Ἄσανδρος Ἀγάθ[ω]νος; for the corrected dating in 313/2 BC see Herrmann 1997, 166 on nos. 122 and 123; for Asandros see also Badian 1997; Descat 2010, 139 f., 141 f. Diodorus 19.75 (φρουρουμένη ἄκρα of Asandros); cf. Kleiner 1968, 17 f., 27, 129.

16 Another (less probable) candidate could be Philoxenos, who was the first Macedonian satrap of Karia after the death of the last Hecatomnid, Ada, daughter of Maussollos. Philoxenos immediately preceeded Asandros, but the existing sources do not mention his presence in Miletos: Aristotle, *Oikonomia* 2.31; for Philoxenos see now Descat 2010, 139 f., 143. The strategically important harbour town changed its owner more often: In 302 BC it came under the control of Lysimachos, in 295/94 Demetrios Poliorketes was eponymous. Antigonids, Seleukids and Ptolemies, all struggled for Karia in the first quarter of the 3rd century BC, a lot of opportunities for a Macedonian to die in Miletos; cf. Kleiner 1968, 17-19; Marcellesi 2004, 72-88.

17 See the prescript of the second preserved eponymic list of Miletos, starting with the year of liberation by Antigonos, A. Rehm in: Kawerau/Rehm 1914, 241 f., 259 f., no. 123.1-4 ἐπὶ τούτου ἡ πόλις ἐλευθέρα καὶ αὐτόνομος ἐγένετο ὑπὸ Ἀντιγόνου καὶ ἡ δημοκρατία ἀπεδόθη.

18 Diodorus 19.75.3-4: τούς τε πολίτας ἐκάλουν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν καὶ φρουρουμένην ἄκραν ἐκπολιορκήσαντες εἰς αὐτονομίαν ἀποκατέστησαν τὸ πολίτευμα.

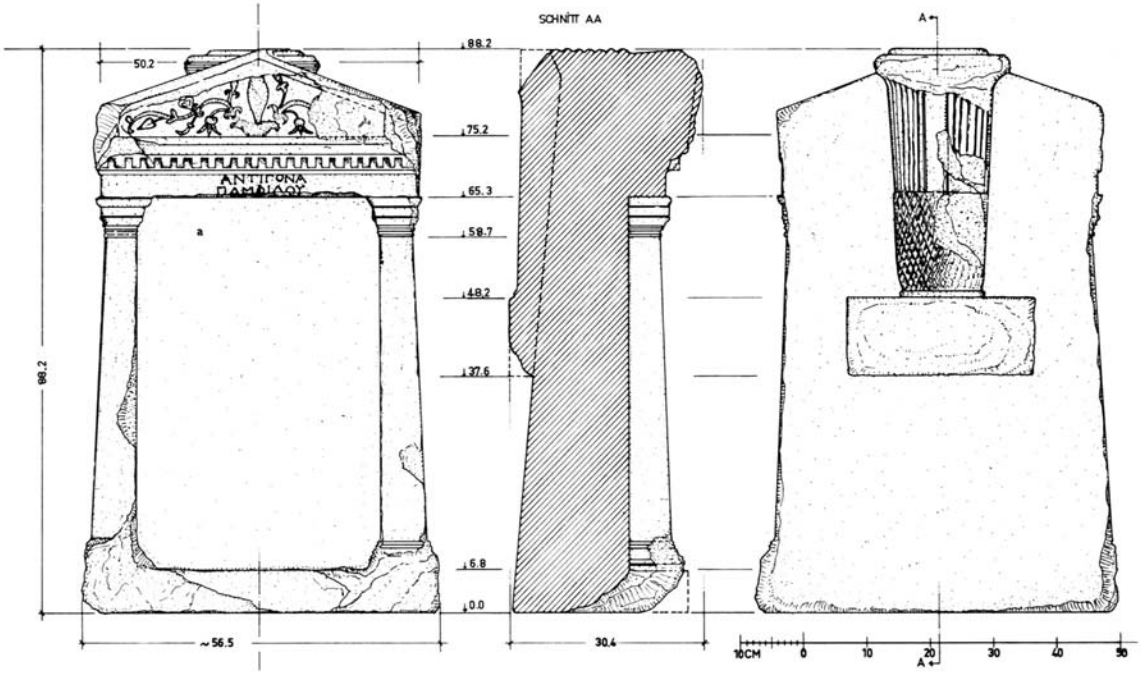

Fig. 11 : Amphiglyphic grave stele of Antigona, daughter of Pamphilos, from Heroon I (*heroon* of Dokimos?), 3rd/2nd century BC (sketch W. Müller-Wiener, in Graeve 1986, 9 fig. 1).

Brasidas, who had conquered Athenian Amphipolis. When he in 422 BC died in a battle where he successfully repelled the counter attack, he got a founder cult in the agora[19]. The alledged founder cult of Dokimos in Heroon I, close to the castle he had conquered, finds another strong argument in the fact that the ancient name of the Lion Harbour, which is commanded by castle and grave, is 'Harbour of Dokimos'. Mid-1st century AD love novelist Chariton of Aphrodisias has his heroine Kallirhoë in late 5th century BC (anachronistically) landing in ὁ λιμὴν ὁ Δοκίμου λεγόμενος, "the harbour called that of Dokimos". The whole Milesian people is at present, cheering. No other harbour than the Lion Harbour comes into consideration for such a representative event. The circle of arguments is closed by the observation that Kallirhoë's father, the famous Syracusan general Hermokrates, who had repelled Athens' attack on his hometown in 413 BC, in 411 conquered the very castle of Tissaphernes above the Lion Harbour, Dokimos one hundred years later should also take[20].

Another detail supports our reconstruction: if we assume Heroon I to be erected for the Macedonian general Dokimos, why do we find not only a central burial in the floor of the chamber, but also five *loculi* in its back wall (fig. 5)? This clearly hints at a multiple burial, typical for a family grave[21]. Either Heroon I was from the beginning planned as family grave, or there was a single grave in the tumulus chamber, later transformed into a multiple burial by adding the *loculi* in the chamber and the rooms around the tumulus. In regard to the archaeological and prosopographical evidence, the latter solution seems the most likely to me. The existence of descendants of Dokimos, using Heroon I as their family grave, can be backed by the observation that several persons of this name held the office of eponymous *aisymnetes* in 69/68, 55/54 and 54/53 BC, suggesting the high social rank of his family still in Late Hellenistic Miletos, when the grave saw substantial rebuilding. Another, 3rd/2nd century BC family member will have been Antigona, whose exceptional amphiglyphic grave stele was found in Heroon I (fig. 11). Her name, new in Miletos, is clearly a Macedonian dynastic name and refers to Antigonos, the lord of her assumed

19 Thucydides 5.11; see below § V.

20 Thucydides 8.84.5; Chariton, *Chaireas and Kallirhoë* 3.2.10–17; cf. Jones 1992, 101 (Lion Harbour is Harbour of Dokimos); on the Lion Harbour and Heroon I as *heroon* of Dokimos see A. Herda in: Brückner *et al.* forthcoming, § 3.1.

21 Kader 1995, 209-211; Berns 2003, 16 f.

ancestor Dokimos. Similarly does the special type of her grave stele hint at Macedonia[22].

Heroon II may have been another intramural 'Macedonian' chamber tomb in its first phase[23]. The Roman temple on top can signal a transformation into a sanctuary, but again we have no clear clue for its function. It may also have been still an intramural *heroon* in its second usage[24]. At least its location on top of a small hill only 10 m north of the Hellenistic 'West Market' may give a hint at its designation: the West Market is actually not a market but a double *xystos* (roofed race course of one stadium length) and as such part of the largest gymnasium complex in Miletos, most probably the gymnasium of the *neoi*, the 'new' citizens. Located west of the late Classical stadium, it was enlarged by Eumenes II of Pergamon before 167 BC, presumably by donating the *xystos*[25]. Because of this spatial closeness, the owner of Heroon II is likely to be somehow connected to the gymnasium of the *neoi*. So, Antenor, son of Xenares, a Milesian *pankration* victor at the 108th Olympic Games of 308 BC, who died ca. 250 BC, was honoured by the polis with an intramural grave for him and his progenies "in the middle of the gymnasium of the *neoi*". The position of his *heroon* is mentioned in an inscription of one of his descendants of the early 1st century AD, a certain Eudemos, son of Leon. He proudly lists his ancestors, leading back to Antenor[26]. May Heroon II be the grave of Antenor and his family, or of another famous Milesian sportsman?

Heroon III is clearly a Roman intramural *heroon*. But the name of its owner is unknown. The only inscription found is the dedication of an altar to the "Goddesses of Good Hope" (Ἐλπίδες Ἀγαθαί), dating to around 200 AD[27]. They also had a cult in Didyma at the same time. Perhaps their Milesian cult was practised in one of the rooms in the northern or southern part of the *insula*-size building[28]. The preserved structures of Hellenistic and Classical times under Heroon III, including marble architecture and wall paintings with griffons and a tripod, as well as high amounts of tableware, suggests a cultic function, perhaps as a club-house of a religious association for Apollo as well as some other gods. This club-house had then been tranformed into a *heroon* in the second century AD[29].

22 On the stele see above n. 14. R. Posamentir points me to the fact that the floral decoration of the pediment resembles that of Macedonian grave reliefs, e.g. in the large tumulus of Vergina. He prefers to date the stele rather to the 3rd than to the 2nd century BC (personal communication, 30.12.2012). For Antigona's family see Kawerau/Rehm 1914, 267-269 no. 125.28 (Δόκιμος Ἀντιφῶντος, 69/68 BC), 46 (Ἀντιφῶν Δοκίμου τοῦ Ἀντιφῶντος, 55/54 BC), 47 (Μολπαγόρας Δοκίμου τοῦ Ἀντιφῶντος, 54/53 BC); cf. Jones 1992, 95 f. The rooms grouped around the tumulus, one of them a dining room with a floor mosaique, date to the late 2nd or early 1st century BC: Kader 1999, 210. They could have been part of a re-arrangement of the older burial place in the time of Dokimos or his father Antiphon. For Antigona's stele see above n. 14. For the diffusion of the names Antigonos, Antigona, Antigone especially in Macedonia compare the occurances in the different volumes of LGPN: they are most frequent in vol. IV (Macedonia, Thrace, Northern Regions of the Black Sea).

23 See now on the construction and dating of the vaulted grave chamber: von Mangoldt 2012, 360-363 ("B 192. Milet III") pls. 139 f.

24 Weber 2004a, 154 misses an altar as well as a cult statue wherefore he favours a function as grave. But graves often have altars, too, where heroic honours could be payed to the deceased, besides the regular libations into the ground (*choai*). They included dining at the grave: Burkert 2011a, 296 f. For that one only has to think of the countless round altars and *trapezai* in the Hellenistic necropoleis of Kos, Rhodes, the Rhodian *peraia* and the Knidia, sometimes combined with *exedrai* with benches for seating: Berges 1986 and 1996; for Miletos see for example the round altar and exedra in the necropolis south of the Sacred Gate: Forbeck 2002, 99-103 figs. 6-13 (she assumes the *exedra* to be originally a honorary monument and only secondarily used as grave monument by adding a round altar, reworked into an urn).

25 On the Eumenes II-gymnasium: Kleiner 1968, 89-91; Schaaf 1992, 62-72; Bringmann/von Steuben 1995, 346-349 no. 284 figs. 140-145. It is mentioned in the honorary decree for the Milesian citizen Eirenias of c. 167/6-164 BC: W. Günther in: Herrmann *et al.* 2006, 2022 no. 1039.6-8, where Eumenes II donated 160.000 *medimnoi* of grain (c. 6.000-7.000 t) as well as "timber in a sufficient amount" for the construction work. The timber was especially important when we understand the double *xystos* of the 'West Market' as part of the building program of Eumenes II: the two stadium-long halls required a large amount of timber for the roof construction. Additionally, its architectural details, especially the Doric columns which are facetted in their lower part were already recognized as being close to Pergamenian architecture; Gerkan 1925, 103 fig. 52, p. 105; see Brückner *et al.* forthcoming, § 4.4 with n. 219.
At least in the 1st century BC, Miletos had three Gymnasia, one for the *paides*, one for the *epheboi* and the *neoi*, and one for the citizens: Herrmann 1994, 218; Herda 2006a, 92 f. As the status/age-class of the *neoi* was introduced in the Archaic period (cf. Herda 2006a, 92-96 and 2011, 63 n. 37), we have to assume a gymnasium of the *neoi* from at least late Archaic times on. Therefore Eumenes II did not built the gymnasium from the start, but expanded its building facilities. The Eumenes-gymnasium is to be located west of the stadium, because the Milesian honorary decree for Eumenes (Herrmann 1997, 98 f., 210 no. 307, pl. 22.2) was written on the *anta* of the so-called Stadiontor, which stood west of the stadium: Günther *ibid*. 22. On the gymnasium of the *Neoi* as being the "Great Gymnasium": see below n. 60.

26 Inscription from Didyma: Rehm/Harder 1958, 183-185 no. 259.25-30 ἐντε[θαμ-] | μένων δὲ τῶν προγόνων μου ἐμ μέ[σωι τῷ] | [πρ]-ότερον τῶν νέων γυμνασίωι Ἀ[ντήνορος] | [τοῦ] Ξενάρου καὶ Ξενάρου τοῦ [Ἀντήνορος καὶ] | [Ἀλ]κιμάχου τοῦ Ἀντήνορος κα[ὶ Ἀντήνορος] | [το]ῦ Εὐανδρίδου; cf. Herrmann 1995, 195 with n. 32; Habicht 1995, 91 with n. 19; Schörner 2007, 75, 114, 271 f. B 15. Antenor won the *pankration* in Ol. 118: Eusebios, *Chronical* I 205-207; cf. Sextus Iulius Africanus, Ὀλυμπιαδῶν ἀναγράφη, *ol*. 118.

27 Weber 2004a, 120 f. fig. 78.

28 Herda/Sauter 2009, 92. On their cult in Didyma see Weber 2008 (foundation-oracle on an altar of ca. 200 AD, wrongly attributed to the *Horai*, see Herda/Sauter 2009, 92 n. 236).

29 Herda/Sauter 2009, 86 with n. 199, pp. 93-94; see below § IX.

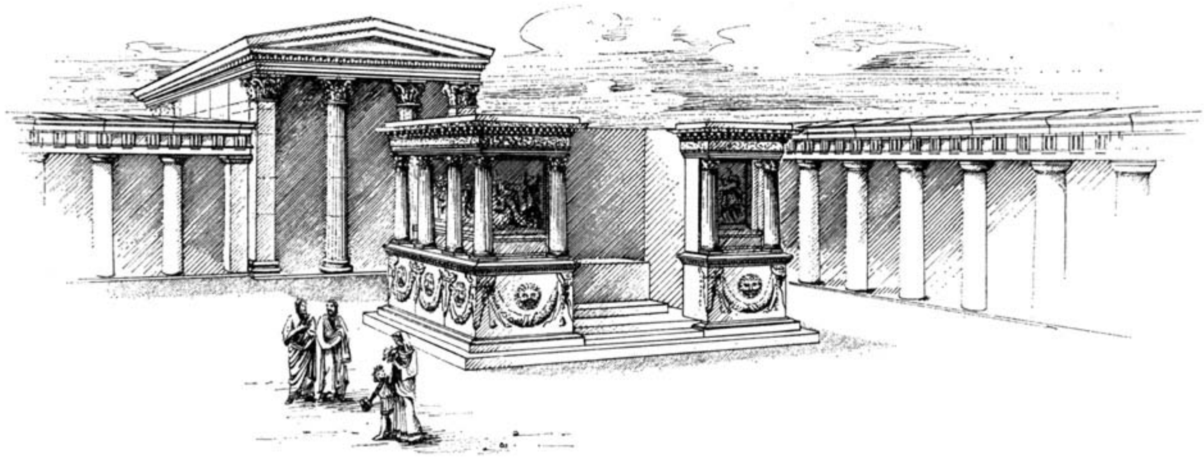

Fig. 12 : Reconstruction of the early Imperial altar for Artemis Boulaia, Apollo Didymeus, Zeus Boulaios, and Augustus and Livia(?) (so-called Ehrengrab) in the courtyard of the Hellenistic *bouleuterion*. View from W (sketch W. Kunz in Tuchelt 1975, 138 fig. 15).

II. The 'Ehrengrab' in the courtyard of the Hellenistic *bouleuterion*: an altar for Apollo Didymeus, Artemis Boulaia and Zeus Boulaios, as well as for Livia and Augustus?

Before I finally move to Thales, I should also mention a structure in the inner court (peristyle) of the Hellenistic *bouleuterion*. It is a square shaped structure of 7 to 9 m decorated with a girland-frieze with bull skulls and lion heads as well as a second frieze with mythological scenes, most probably of Apollo, Leto and Artemis as well as some other local gods (figs. 12-14). The style of the sculptures as well as the architectural ornaments suggest a dating in the early 1st century AD[30]. Because of fragments of *sarcophagi* found close by, the monument was interpreted as 'Ehrengrab', *heroon*[31]. Louis Robert and Peter Herrmann additionally took into account decrees of Augustean times on the walls of the *bouleuterion* peristyle, mentioning the Milesian citizens Gaius Iulius Apollonios and his son Gaius Iulius Epikrates. Both were honoured by the people of Miletos as "heroes"[32]. Following this line, the 'Ehrengrab' has in recent years been interpreted as grave of a Milesian citizen who had been venerated as a kind of νέος κτίστης, "new founder"[33].

But already in 1975, Klaus Tuchelt stressed that the fragments of *sarcophagi*, found in the peristyle,

Fig. 13 : Altar in the courtyard of the Hellenistic *bouleuterion*. Relief with Leto (left, seated on throne), two nymphs (of the Mykale Mountain?), and Artemis and Apollo standing to right. Early 1st century AD. Istanbul, Archaeological Museum Inv. 2019 (photo Knackfuß 1908 pl. 17, 1).

30 On the dating of the reliefs see most recently Schollmeyer 2011, 19 f. On the dating of the architectural ornaments in Augustan times see Köster 2004, 15 n. 108; p. 29 (first third of 1st century BC).

31 Knackfuß 1908, 49-55, 63-66 figs. 79-88, pls. 13-14, 16-18; Cormack 2004, 150 f., 245 f.; Köster 2004, 15-31 figs. 2-5, pls. 8-13, 14.1-4, 138.6-8; Schörner 2007, 177-181 figs. 198-199; Schollmeyer 2011.

32 L. Robert, *Hellenica* 7, 1949, 96 (= OMS IV 103); Günther 1989, 174 f.; Herrmann 1994, 229-234 and 1995, 197 with n. 39; Herrmann 1997, 156 nos. 6-7 (no. 7 dated to 6/5 BC), 159 no. 15; Herda 2006a, 296 n. 2111. See also the honorary decrees for C. Iulius Epikrates, Herrmann *et al.* 2006, 82-85 nos. 1130-1131.

33 Cormack 2004, 150 f.; Schörner 2007, 181; Schollmeyer 2011, 10; R. Bol in: Bol 2011, 10 with n. 120.

should not be attributed to the 'Ehrengrab'. It is even uncertain if they formed an original part of the bouleuterion's inventory. Instead it is reasonable that they were brought there from outside at a later date, probably in the early Byzantine period[34]. Tuchelt has also convincingly argued for a roofless, hypæthral construction of the 'Ehrengrab'. According to him, this strongly speaks for the interpretation as a monumental altar of a type, common in Ionia since the late Archaic period[35]. Taking into account inscriptions from the *bouleuterion*, honouring a priest of the Milesian cult of emperor Augustus, the very Gaius Iulius Epikrates, he proposed to identify the 'Ehrengrab' as an *Ara Augusti*, an altar for the living Augustus, comparing it to the famous predecessor, the *Ara Pacis Augusti*, in Rome, dedicated not to the living Augustus but to the peace he brought, on 1st of September 9 BC[36].

While Tuchelt's hypæthral reconstruction of the building and its interpretation as an altar is absolutely convincing[37], his attribution to the cult of Augustus is not so compelling: There are no inscriptions from the *bouleuterion*, which directly testify to the cult of Augustus within the *bouleuterion*[38]. This lack of evidence led Tuchelt to modify his attribution. In 1981 he proposed the altar to be not for Augustus alone, but also for the other gods venerated in the *bouleuterion*, first of all Apollo Didymeus and Hestia Boulaia, who are mentioned in addition to the Milesian Demos in the dedicatory inscriptions on the *propylon* and the assembly hall[39]. This assumption makes perfect sense at least in the case of Apollo Didymeus and leads us back to a proposal Theodor Wiegand had already made in 1901, when the 'Ehrengrab' had just been discovered. Before the *heroon*-theory succeeded and was promoted by the influential publication of Hubert Knackfuß in 1908[40], he came up with the idea of an altar for Artemis Boulaia as a typical "Rathsgöttin"[41]. Wiegand backed up this idea with the observation that Artemis was, besides Apollo, also depicted three times in the relief frieze of the altar[42]. Strangely, he ommitted the strongest argument of all: the attestation of a "lifelong" (διὰ βίου) priestess of Artemis Boulaia in a contemporary early Imperial inscription from Miletos[43]. According

34 Cf. Tuchelt 1975, 97, 129 hints at 3rd century AD grave inscriptions found in the courtyard, which were brought there "erst in nachantiker Zeit": C. Fredrich in: Knackfuß 1908, 122 nos. 28-30.
35 Tuchelt 1975, 128-140 figs. 12-13, 15 Beilage 1-2, pls. 21-30; cf. Köster 2004, 15 n. 108. Against a hypæthral reconstruction: Schörner 2007, 179 f. The two fragments, Schörner 2007, 180 n. 1562 is claiming for being part of the roof, are too small and were therefore more convincingly attributed to a sarcophagus lid by Knackfuß 1908, 78 f. fig. 88. Schollmeyer 2011, 20 seems to follow Tuchelt but reprints the wrong reconstruction of Knackfuß (*ibid*. 21 fig. 4), showing the 'Ehrengrab' with a flat roof.
36 So Tuchelt 1975, 97 f., 136. who deduces from the installation of Herrmann 1997, 156 nos. 4, 6-7 (list of donations *inter alia* of Gaius Iulius Epikrates for the temple of Augusts) on the inner side of the northern wall of the *bouleuterion* peristyle (no. 6) that the altar in the peristyle was for Augustus. He argued against C. Fredrich in: Knackfuß 1908, 111 f., who instead located the two inscriptions on the outer northern side of the wall. Fredrich suspected the *Sebasteion*, mentioned in no. 7.B 18-20, in the area north of the *bouleuterion*. On the whole argumentation and its critics see Herrmann 1994, 229-234 who at least seems to follow Tuchelt in his conclusion that the Ehrengrab is an *Ara Augusti*. See also Hermann 1998, 156 on no. 4. The Milesian *Sebasteion* for Augustus was most probably located in the temple of Apollo in Didyma, where Augustus was *synnaos theos,* "a god sharing the temple" (with Apollo): Tuchelt 1975, 97 with n. 33; Günther 1989, 175 f.; sceptical: Herrmann 1989, 195 n. 24; indifferent: Herrmann 1998, 156.
37 See already Wiegand 1902, 151 fig. 9, and the reconstruction of H. Knackfuß *ibid*. 154 fig. 10!
38 The "Ehreninschrift für Kaiser Augustus", said to have come from the *bouleuterion* (C. Fredrich in: Knackfuß 1908, 107 no. 5 fig. 101) instead originates from the *scenae frons* of the Milesian theatre and is a dedicatory inscription for emperor Nero: Herrmann 1998, 156 no. 5. C. Fredrich in: Knackfuß 1908, 103-106 no. 4 ("Liste von Schenkungen und Vermächtnissen"), written on the outer *antae* of the *propylon,* was attributed by Fredrich to the Imperial cult, too. Again, this is only a hypothesis: Herrmann 1994, 230 n. 126; Herrmann 1998, 156 on no. 5. A small round altar of Augustus was found in the peristyle of the Baths of Capito: A. Rehm in: Herrmann 1997, 110, no. 335 (wrongly identified as basis of an Augustus-statue); cf. Herrmann 1997, 212 no. 335, pl. 23.3. It may have been originating from there, or more probably from the adjacent Delphinion.
39 Tuchelt 1981, 180 Anm. 75; cf. Herrmann 1994, 229 n. 120; Schollmeyer 2011, 20 n. 189. The dedicatory inscription of c. 175-163 BC is placed on the *bouleuterion* twice (on the epistyle of the assembly hall and the architrave of the *propylon*): Th. Wiegand in: Knackfuß 1908, 95-99; C. Fredrich in: Knackfuß 1908, 100 nos. 1-2; Herrmann 1997, 155 nos. 1-2; Schollmeyer 2011, 18 f.
40 Besides the finds of sarcophagus-fragments, Knackfuß 1908, 78 aduced for his refusal of the altar theory that the 'Ehrengrab' is only of early Roman times, wherefore the altar of the Hellenistic *bouleuterion* would lack. See also Schörner 2007, 178. But the original altar of the *bouleuterion*, the Hestia Boulaia, is to be expected within the assembly hall, see already Tuchelt 1975, 129 with n. 163. The altar in the courtyard of the *peristyle* is therefore a secondary altar.
41 Kekule 1900, 109 f. fig. 2; Wiegand 1901a, 906; Wiegand 1901b, 195; Wiegand 1902, 151 fig. 9, 154 fig. 10 (both reconstructions as hypæthral altar are made by Knackfuß!); mentioned by Schörner 2007, 177 with n. 1537, 178 with n. 1544.
42 Th. Wiegand in: Knackfuß 1908, 87-90, pls. 16.1, 17.1-2, 18.2; Schollmeyer 2011, 21, 23 f. II.1, 3-4, pls. 2a, 3a-b.
43 Honorary inscription for Iulia Artemo, daughter of Antipatros, erected by the *boule* and the *demos* of Miletos in the early Roman period: Rehm/Harder 1958, 214 no. 330 (found in Miletos "prope theatrum ad marmoream basim" and copied by Cyriacus of Ancona during his visit in Miletos in 1412, now lost). Rehm commented *ibid*.: "Vom Kulte der Βουλαία Ἄρτεμις wissen wir nichts (die Βουληφόρος Σκιρίς SIG² 660, braucht mit ihr nichts zu tun zu

Fig. 14 : Altar in the courtyard of the Hellenistic *bouleuterion*. View from NE. Current state of preservation (photo author 10/2011).

to the priestess' name, Iulia Artemo, she was a member of the *Gaii Iulii*, the very family, which had close ties to the Roman *gens Iulii* from the time Epikrates, son of Apollonios, had freed young Cesar in 75 BC from the Cilician pirates[44]. This Epikrates was the father resp. grandfather of Gaius Iulius Apollonios and Gaius Iulius Epikrates, who were honored and designated as "heroes" in the *bouleuterion* inscriptions mentioned above[45]. Iulia (Artemo) is known from another inscription, the dedication of a small round altar, perhaps erected by her and her husband Sextus (Caelius?) for Artemis Boulaia in the *bouleuterion*. In this dedication Sextus boasts to stem from Timarchos, one of the builders of the *bouleuterion* more than 250 years ago[46].

As a third deity honoured at the monumental altar we have to expect Zeus Boulaios, while the hearth-altar of Hestia Boulaia has to be located within the assembly hall, not outside[47]. Zeus Boulaios is mentioned in two inscriptions of the later 3rd century BC, predating the construction date of the *bouleuterion* of Timarchos and Herakleides. They therefore refer to an older Classical or early Hellenistic *bouleuterion*, otherwise unknown[48]. The honorary statue for a certain Lichas was according to its secondary inscription re-erected "at the *propylon* of Boulaios" of the new *bouleuterion*[49].

haben), er muß aber doch lange vor der Kaiserzeit bestanden haben". The inscription was first published in *BCH* 1, 1877, 287 f. no. 64 and is also cited by Wernicke 1896, 1381. Wiegand may have refered to it in the preliminary report, though he gave no citation. In the final publication (Knackfuß 1908) it is not mentioned at all.

44 Polyaenus 8.23.1; Plutarchus, Caesar 1-2; cf. Günther 1989, 174.

45 On the family see Günther 1989; Herrmann 1994 and 1998, 156; W. Günther in: Herrmann *et al.* 2006, 82-85. For Iulia Artemo's *stemma* see: Hommel 1976, 327.

46 Hommel 1976; N. Ehrhardt, in: Herrmann *et al.* 2006, 154 no. 1242, pl. 25 (dated to the early 2nd century AD, found reused in a Turkish house in Balat-Miletos).

47 See above n. 40 for Hestia Boulaia. The lower part of a clothed female statue, found in the assembly hall by the excavators, was interpreted as cult statue of Hestia: Kleiner 1968, 79; Nawotka 1999, 156. Unfortunately, the torso is not preserved, at least is it not mentioned in Bol 2011. Cult statues of Hestia are rather rare. In the *prytaneion* at the old agora of Athens (for the location NE of the Acropolis see Herda 2005, 274 f. fig. 26), an agalma of Hestia was shown: Pausanias 1.18.2-4; cf. Miller 1978, 15, 17, 173 f. no. 221. Other statues are mentioned for Paros and Delos: Miller 1978, 15 with n. 25.

48 Nawotka 1999, 152 f. In the mid-6th century BC, Thales advised the Ionians to build a common *bouleuterion* in Teos: Herodotus 1.170; cf. § VII. If this can serve as an indication for a *bouleuterion* in Miletos already in the mid-6th century BC is an open question.

49 C. Fredrich in: Knackfuß 1908, 115-117 no. 12a, l. 12: ἔκτισε Βουλαίου τῶιδε παρὰ προπύλωι; cf. Herrmann 1998, 158 n. 12. Line 1-4 are the original inscription of before c. 220 BC, completed in the first half of the 2nd century BC by the epigramm ll. 5-16 below. A. Rehm in: Kawerau/Rehm 1914, 246 n. 1 dated the epigram shortly after 200 BC, before the construction of the *bouleuterion*. But this makes no sense, as the *propylon* mentioned in l. 12 is supposedly that of the new, not the old *bouleuterion*. The area directly east of the former *propylon* is at least the place, where the basis was found during excavations. The building inscriptions of c. 175-163 BC therefore deliver a *terminus post quem* for the Lichas-epigram. For the the paleography: Herrmann 1997, pl. 2.1-2. In the late 1st century BC the basis was re-dedicated for L. Domitius Cn. f. Ahenobarbus, consul in 16 BC, this time the inscription was written

This Boulaios is not to be identified with Apollo[50], but with Zeus[51] as becomes clear from another inscription, a *psephisma* regulating the integration of new citizens from Crete, inscribed in the walls of the sanctuary of Apollo Delphinios in 229/8 BC. It orders sacrifices of the priest, the prytanes and the ones in charge of the protection of the city, to Hestia Boulaia and Zeus Boulaios[52].

In summary, then: the altar in the *bouleuterion* court is likely a joined altar of Apollo Didymeus, Artemis Boulaia and Zeus Boulaios. This would fit with the theme of the altar-frieze (fig. 13) and, independently, the situation in Athens where, from the mid-3rd century BC on, the *prytaneis* had to sacrifice to Apollo Prostaterios, Artemis Boulaia and the other ancestral gods "for the health and safety of the *boule*, the Demos, and the children and women". The altar stood in the agora, close to the Tholos and the *bouleuterion*[53]. In this area was also found the basis of an honorary statue for Augustus' wife Livia, put up by the Athenian Demos and the *boule*. In the inscription, which dates to the time of Tiberius (14-19 AD), Livia *Augusta*/*Sebaste* is assimilated with a goddess whose name is not preserved but who is bearing the epithet Boulaia. It makes most sense, then, to suppose Artemis Boulaia, since her altar stood close by[54]. Taking into account that Augustus was venerated in Eleusis as Zeus Boulaios also, we detect the assimilation of the first Iulio-Claudians to the political deities of Athens[55]. We may therefore assume a similar situation in Miletos: Augustus could have been equated with Zeus Boulaios, and Livia *Augusta*/*Sebaste* with Artemis Boulaia[56]. The Milesian altar was then dedicated to the divine tripple (Artemis Boulaia, Zeus Boulaios, Apollo Didymeus) as well as to the Imperial couple.

It has become quite clear now that the 'Ehrengrab' cannot be the *heroon* of Gaius Iulius Apollonios and/or Gaius Iulius Epikrates. Where do we have to look for it instead? Peter Herrmann proposed the area directly north of the *bouleuterion*, which had previously – but without any clear evidence – been identified as *Sebasteion* for the cult of the Roman Emperors[57]. Also possible is one of the Milesian *gymnasia*. At least was a honorary statue of the *heros* C. Iulius Epikrates mentioning his merits as "*gymnasiarch* of all gymnasia", "restored in the gymnasium" in the mid-1st century AD[58]. Which of the three Milesian *gymnasia* it was, remains open[59]. Maybe we can identify it with the one of the *Neoi*, which was definitely the most important, and where the *heroon* of Olympic victor Antenor and his family was already situated, as mentioned above[60]. The placing of *heroa* in *gymnasia* is significantly frequent[61].

But, we should not leave aside the *bouleuterion* as a potential place of hero cults too hastely. I want to point out an important finding that has escaped the attention of scholars so far:

on the opposite side: C. Fredrich in: Knackfuß 1908, 115-117 no. 12b; Tuchelt 1979, 190 (L 79), pl. 4.2-3.

50 Th. Wiegand in: Knackfuß 1908, 96.

51 Herrmann 1998, 158 in his translation: "(Zeus) Boulaios", refering to A. Rehm in: Kawerau/Rehm 1914, 246 n. 1; cf. also Wiegand 1901b, 196; Knackfuß 1908, 124, index III: "Βουλαῖος (Zeus)".

52 A. Rehm in: Kawerau/Rehm 1914, 183 no. 37c, ll. 42-44: τὸν δ[ὲ] ἱερέα καὶ τοὺς | πρυτάνεις καὶ τοὺς ἡιρημένους ἐπὶ τ[ῆι φυλ]-ακῆι τῆι τε Ἑστίαι τῆι | Βουλαίαι καὶ τῶι Διὶ τῶι Βουλαίωι ἐπευχο[μένου]ς; cf. Herrmann 1997, 162 f. no. 37.

53 Altar: Wycherley 1957, 55 no. 118 (c. 220 BC); sacrifices: Wycherley 1957, 56 f. nos. 119-121; Meritt/Traill 1974, 97-99 no. 89.7-11 (254/3 BC), 108 no. 111.2-7 (c. 240 BC), 109-111 no. 115.9-17 (235/4 BC); and more often; cf. Mikalson 1998, 112 f., 115 f., 181, 194 f., 255, 268, 295. For the Tholos being the *prytanikon*, where the council of the 50 prytanes hold their office after the reforms of Ephialtes in 462 BC: Herda 2011, 71 f. n. 92.

54 SEG 22, 1967, 152: Ἰουλίαν Σεβαστὴν [---] | Βουλα[ί]αν Τιβερίου [Καίσαρος] | Σεβαστοῦ μητέρα [ὁ δῆμος καὶ] | ἡ βουλὴ ἡ ἐξ Ἀρείο[υ π]ά[γου] (dated to 14-29 AD); cf. Hahn 1994, 49, 327 no. 56; Kantiréa 2007, 113 f.; Camia 2011, 198 f.; Geagan 2011, 144, 148 no. H254, p. 294.

55 SEG 47, 1997, 218: [Σεβαστὸν Καίσ]αρα Δία Βουλαῖ[ον, --- | ---] (...); cf. Kantiréa 2007, 114.

56 Compare also Thera, where Germanicus was equaled with Zeus Boulaios and Agrippina with Hestia Boulaia: Hahn 1994, 15, 49, 138, 340 no. 134.

57 Herrmann 1994, 233 f.; *idem* in: Herrmann *et al.* 2006, 85. A small architrave with an inscription, naming Iulius Apollonios in the genetive, may have been part of the *heroon* architecture. Unfortunately its findspot is unknown: Herrmann 1994, 234 f. fig. 3.

58 The statue basis was found SW of the theatre, re-used in the foundation of a Turkish caravansary: Herrmann 1996; P. Herrmann in: Herrmann *et al.* 2006, 82-85 no. 1131. In ll. 17-20 it says: Γάϊος Ἰούλιος Διαδούμενος τὸν ἀνδριάντα ἐμπρησμῷ διαφορηθέντα ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ ἐπισκευάσας ἀποκατέστησε ("Gaius Iulius Diadumenos restored the statue which had been destroyed by fire in the gymnasium"). C. Iulius Diadumenos is most probably a descendent of C. Iulius Epikrates.

59 Cf. Herrmann 1994, 28.

60 The μέγα γυμνάσιον, mentioned in an inscription from Didyma (A. Rehm in: Rehm/Harder 1958, 114 f. no. 84), besides the *Faustineion* and the *Capitoneion* (see Herrmann 1994, 218) is most probably the gymnasium of the *Neoi*. As the latter two are identifyable (Kleiner 1968, 89-109), the "Great Gymnasion" or gymnasion of the *Neoi* respectively is the one including the 'West Market' (= *xystos*?) and the stadium; see above with n. 25.

61 Schörner 2007, 134 f. with other examples in n. 1128, see also *ibid*. 200.

III. The chamber in the eastern corridor of the assembly hall of the *bouleuterion*: a *thesauros* or/and a *heroon* of the builders Timarchos and Herakleides or/ and the *heroes* Gaius Iulius Apollonios and Gaius Iulius Epikrates?

At the southern end of the eastern corridor in the assembly hall of the *bouleuterion* of Miletos is a subterranean chamber (figs. 15-16). Its dimensions are 1.80 m in length, 1.68 m in width and 1.59 m in depth and it is accurately made of large marble slabs. It was closed with 2.00 m long and 0,35 m thick slabs, the northern one of which has a hole for lifting it up[62]. The slabs were originally fixed with melted lead and integrated into the pavement of the corridor. Within the chamber were found 10 to 13 skeletons, piled along the northern wall by medieval looters who had approached it from the south end. Some of the skulls were well preserved and showed 'Mongolian' features. The excavators believe the skeletons to be secondarily stored in the chamber by the medieval Turkish looters[63]. In the final publication Hubert Knackfuß interpreted the chamber as *thesauros*, a built 'treasure-chamber' with a locking system to store large amounts of money and other worthy things, comparing it with such an istallation in Temple B of the Asklepieion of Kos[64]. One may also compare the so-called *thesauros* in the agora of Messene, found in 2006 only[65]. Inside this room, the Achaean general Philopoimen may have been locked and poisened 183 BC, as

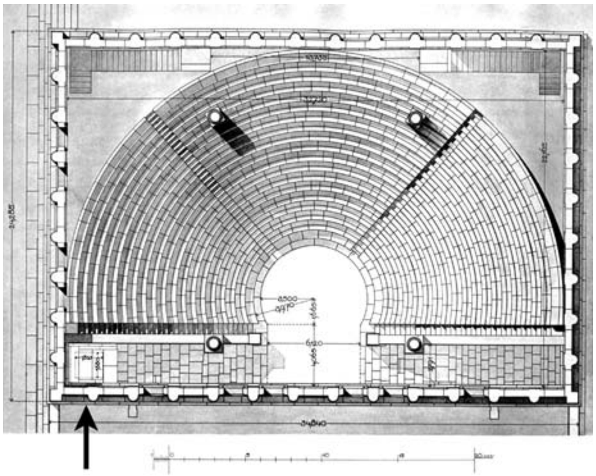

Fig. 15 : Underground chamber (*thesauros*, later on *heroon*?) in the eastern corridor of the assembly hall of the Hellenistic *bouleuterion.* Ground plan of the hall (N is to the right) with marked location of chamber in the SE-corner (from Knackfuß 1908, pl. 4).

we known from Plutarch[66]. It seems as if this subterranean chamber had later served as a *heroon* of Philopoimen in Messene, since two curse tablets were found in the filling[67]; they are typical indicators of magic at graves, especially at graves of persons who died a violent death[68].

62 Knackfuß 1908, 34, pls. 1 (stone plan) and 4 (reconstruction of assembly hall with position of chamber and its measures).
63 Knackfuß 1908, 34; Kleiner 1968, 78 f.; Wiegand 1902, 154 added: "Es [the chamber, A.H.] hat im Mittelalter als Bestattungsort für 13 Leichen gedient, deren Schädel mongolischen Typus zeigen".
64 Knackfuß 1908, 34 fig. 7 (Kos); cf. Kleiner 1968, 78 f. For Kos and comparable installations, which are no 'pour-boxes', as otherwise meant with the term *thesauros*, see: Kamiski 1991, 133-145; Riethmüller 2005, I 217.
For the spatial closeness of a public *thesauros* with a *bouleuterion* see Vitruve, *de architectura* 5.2.12: Aerarium, carcer, curia foro sunt coniugenda ("Threasure, prison, council hall shall be located together in the agora"); cf. Themelis 2006, 51 and 2010, 122.
65 Themelis 2006, 49-52, pls. 40-42a and 2010, 122 f., pls. 53.4 and 54.2.
66 Plutarch, *Philopoimen* 19-20 explicitly speaks of a "so-called *Thesauros*" (καλούμενον Θησαυρόν) and describes it as "a subterranean chamber which admitted neither air nor light from outside and had no door, but was closed by dragging a huge stone in front of it. Here they placed him, and after planting the stone against it, set a guard of armed men round about" (οἴκημα κατάγειον οὔτε πνεῦμα λαμβάνον οὔτε φῶς ἔξωθεν οὔτε θύρας ἔχον, ἀλλὰ μεγάλῳ λίθῳ προσαγομένῳ κατακλειόμενον, ἐνταῦθα κατέθεντο, καὶ τὸν λίθον ἐπιρράξαντες ἄνδρας ἐνόπλους κύκλῳ περιέστησαν).
67 Cf. Themelis 2006, 51 f. and 2010, 122 f. Themelis assumes that the *thesauros* was left in ruin immediately after the death of Philopoimen, kept as a 'place of superstition and magic' by the Messenians. As the place is located in the middle of the agora, it seems more likely to me that the Messenians installed a kind of hero shrine at the historical spot. It would have been abandoned only when the cult had been of no interest any more or had fallen victim to Christianity. A hint at the point in time of abandonment will give the disturbed filling of the structure, whose finds and dating is not published so far. From Diodorus 29.18, Livy 39.50.9 and Plutarch, *Philopoimen* 21.3-9 we know that Philopoimen was cremated in Messene (we may assume that this took place close to his place of death, in the agora) and that the urn with the burnt remains was immediately translated by the Achaean League in a procession from Messene to his hometown Megalopolis. There, a *mnema* and an altar were erected in the agora where he received a hero cult with games: cf. also IG V 2, 432; cf. Schörner 2007, 76, 274 f. fig. 175 ("B 17").
68 Kurtz/Boardman 1985, 259 f. In the case, where a hero's grave does not include his bones or ashes, Rohde 1925, I 163 with n. 2 thought of a magic calling and binding (ἀνάκλησις) of the hero's

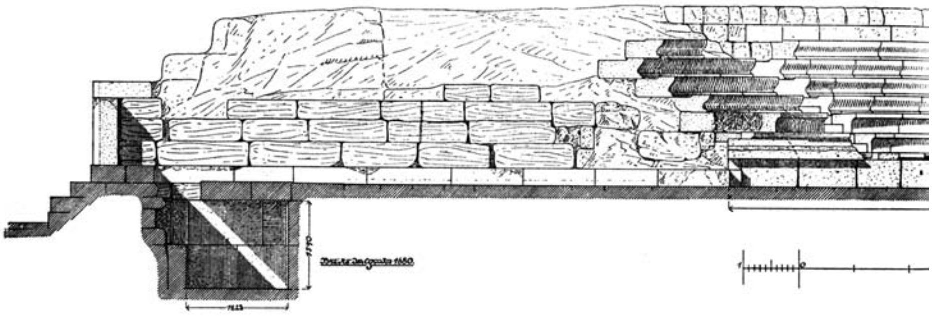

Fig. 16 : Underground chamber (*thesauros*, later on *heroon*?) in the southern corridor of the assembly hall of the Hellenistic *bouleuterion.* Section through the south end of the eastern corridor with chamber at left, view from E (from Knackfuß 1908, pl. 3, 6, detail).

Having Messene in mind, we may assume a similar re-dedication of the *thesauros* chamber in the Milesian bouleuterion, if it was not a grave from the very beginning; this had been assumed by Theodor Wiegand in the excavation report of 1902[69].

Who may have been buried there we do not know. At least is the chamber of the same date as the whole building that is between 175 and 163 BC. Was it therefore intended to hold the remains of the dedicators of the *bouleuterion* after their death, the brothers Timarchos and Herakleides[70]?

It is even possible that Gaius Iulius Apollonios and Gaius Iulius Epikrates came to rest here later on. This is suggested by two monumental votive inscriptions, ingeniously restored by Peter Herrmann in 1994 (figs. 17a-b). The dedications, delivered by the Milesian *demos*, adress the *heroes* Gaius Iulius Apollonios and his son Gaius Iulius Epikrates[71]. As both dedications were inscribed in the walls of the assembly hall, the assumption is compelling that the hero cult of Apollonios as well as the future(?) cult of Epikrates[72] were incorporated within exactly this building, at their possible grave in the '*thesauros*'.

a

b

Fig. 17a-b : Reconstructed monumental votive inscriptions from the inner wall of the assembly hall of the Hellenistic *bouleuterion.* Height of letters 9-12 cm.
a. for *heros* Gaius Iulius Apollonios (Herrmann 1997 no. 15), b. for Gaius Iulius Epikrates, son of *heros* Iulius Apollonios (Herrmann 1997 no. 6), length c. 1.8 m (from Herrmann 1994, 231 f. figs. 1-2).

Burials in *bouleuteria* and other public buildings are a rare honour, comparable to a grave in the agora, often reserved only for a *heros ktistes*, a heroic founder (see below § V, VIII). One of the best-known examples come from Megara, where we have plenty of information thanks to Pausanias. In Megara, the public buildings were erected in a former burial ground, incorporating the graves of local heroes: in the *bouleuterion* was buried Timalkos, the son of the eponymous hero Megareus, in the *prytaneion* lay his brother Euhippos, together with Ischepolis, son of Alkathoos. The *heroon* of

soul and compared this with how the Messenians asked their heroes to return, when founding the city in 370/69 BC: Pausanias 4.27.6; see below.

69 Cf. Wiegand 1902, 151, 154. The large 'lewis hole' in the northern covering slab, mentioned by Knackfuß 1908, 34 ("die nördliche der beiden großen Deckplatten zeigt auf ihrer Oberfläche ein großes Wolfsloch, ein Beweis, dass diese Platte als Verschlußplatte von oben eingesenkt worden ist") may be used for libations, depending on whether the hole goes through the slab or not. The whole matter deserves further investigation.

70 On both see Hommel 1976; Herrmann 1987; Schaaf 1992, 53 f., 59 f.; Herrmann 1997, 155; Nawotka 1999, 153 f.; N. Ehrhardt in: Herrmann *et al.* 2006, 154; Schollmeyer 2011, 19; Bol 2011, 7.

71 C. Fredrich in: Knackfuß 1908, 107 f. no. 6, 118 no. 15; corrected reading: Herrmann 1994, 229-234 figs. 1-2 and 1997, 156 no. 6 (C. Iulius Epikrates, son of heros Iulius Apollonios), 159 no. 15 (heros C. Iulius Apollonios, father of Epikrates). See especially Herrmann 1994, 233 with n. 130 on the formulaton καθιέρωσεν with dative, used in both inscriptions.

72 In no. 6 Epikrates is not adressed as *heros* but as son of a *heros*. This results in two assumptions: 1. Epikrates is not a *heros* yet, 2. he is still alive. Nevertheless, it is remarkable that he receives a dedicatory inscription by his fellow citizens. The heroization of living persons is a phaenomenon appearing since the 5th century BC, see below § X with n. 267.

Alkathoos itself was used as *archeion*[73]. The reason for the Megarians to integrate the hero-graves into their buildings was not a mere matter of lacking space in the course of progressing urbanisation or out of pure respect for the dead. Instead Pausanias was told that the hero *Aisymnios*, the "judge", obviously the eponym of the political office of *aisymnetia* and later to be buried in his office building, the *Aisymnion*, received an oracle in Delphi "that they would fare well if they took counsel with the majority. This utterance they took to refer to the dead, and built a council chamber (*bouleuterion*) in this place in order that the grave of their heroes might be within it"[74]. In this regard they were also able to protect the political assemblies of the Megarians – or that of the Milesians[75].

An essential aspect of Greek hero cult consequently becomes clearer: heroes are presumed to be actively involved in the matters of the living, acting as supernatural powers 'out of their graves'[76]. Another important aspect is the linking of the hero's power to his grave and his dead body. Bones or ashes of heroes, taken to another place (*translatio*), can evoke the hero's supernatural powers in the interest of its new owners, while the former owners are weakened. A famous case in point is delivered by the Spartans in the time of Lydian king Kroisos (first half of 6th century BC).

73 Pausanias 1.42.4, 1.43.2 f., 1.43.4; cf. Curti/van Bremen 1999, 25; Burkert 2011: 293 with n. 8. Schörner ommits Megara, "da die Gräber für mythische Heroen in dieser Untersuchung keine Rolle spielen" (Schörner 2007, 109 n. 904).

74 Pausanias 1.43.3 (transl. W.H.S. Jones). On the difficulties with differenciating the *prytaneion* from the *Aisymnion* and *bouleuterion* see Highbarger 1927, 17 f.; Hanell 1934, 146 f. with n. 6. To me it seems likely to equate the *Aisymnion* with the *prytaneion* of Megara, as the office of the *aisymnetes* is equal with that of the *archprytanis*, e.g. in Miletos, which delivers the closest resemblance to the political structure of Megara; see Herda forthcoming c. On the urbanization of Megara see now Mertens 2010, 56-60 with fig. 1.

75 Bohringer 1980; Hölscher 1998, 34 f., 44, 120 fig. 11. See the striking characterization by Curti/van Bremen 1999, 25: "Both the city's boundaries and the area inside the walls are physically – and ideologically – marked in an almost obsessive way by a series of funerary monuments, *heroa*; even political buildings like the bouleuterion and the civic archive are built over tombs known to Pausanias as those of mythical heroes. Literally underlying the archaic city is an early geometric necropolis, whose tombs obviously acquired their specific heroic identity over time. The result was a city where the funerary world was enlisted to define the world of the living, and in particular that of politics. The various mythical and mythistorical heroes mark the civic space, providing a guarantee for the function and the validity of the main infrastructure of the polis".

76 Cf. queen Atossa in the *Persians* (ll. 598 ff.) of Aischylos, where she asks the soul of her dead husband Dareios to help the Persians against the Greeks: cf. Herda 1998, 43 f. During the *Anthesteria* the dead souls climb up to the surface and move around in the city: Burkert 2011a, 296, 360. See below §§ VI and X.

They stole the bones of Orestes from Tegea and brought them to Sparta, in preparation of their war against Tegea[77]. Another striking case, this time to the disadvantage of the Spartans, is the foundation of the city of Messene in 370/69 BC. One of the rituals performed by the Messenians was to "summon the heroes to return and dwell with them" in the new city[78], building up a special class of 'patriotic heroes'[79]. The contemporaneous increase of the bringing of offerings to Mycenaean graves in the region of Messenia again exemplifies the socio-political function of hero cults as "focuses of Messenian nationalism"[80].

A very special instance of bone-translation can be seen in the treatment of Solon's remains: the Athenians scattered his ashes all around Salamis. With this symbolic act they made the heroized sage and statesman, who had gained the island for Athens and could not be removed from this land again, an eternal guarantor of the new possession[81].

77 Herodotus 1.67-68; cf. Pfister 1909, 76 f., 196 f.; McCauley 1999; Parker 2011, 117 f., 121.

78 Pausanias 4.27.6: ἐπεκαλοῦντο δὲ ἐν κοινῷ καὶ ἥρωάς σφισιν ἐπανήκειν συνοίκους; cf. Burkert 2011a, 314 f.

79 For this term see Kron 1999.

80 Antonaccio 1995, 70-102; Boehringer 2001, 243-371; Parker 2011, 119. A critical revision of the evidence is now presented in Mangoldt forthcoming. *Secure hero-cults*: Mangoldt forthcoming, catalogue nos. A5 (Antheia, Mycenaean *tholos* grave, cult: early 3rd century BC), A27 (Voidokolia, 'grave of Thrasymedes', Middel Helladic tumulus, cult: 4th/3rd century BC); *supposable*: B11 (Kopanaki, Mycenaean *tholos*, cult: Classical-Hellenistic?), B19 (Kremmidia, *tholos* grave 3, Mycenaean, cult: Late Classical-Early Hellenistic), B22 (Nichoria, LH III A/B *tholos*, cult: 5th/4th century BC), B24 (Peristeria, *tholos* grave 1, LH III A/B, cult: 4th/3rd century BC), B27 (Volimidia, grave Angelopoulos 6, Mycenaean, cult: Geometric and Hellenistic-Roman); *insecure*: C 19 (Soulinari, Mycenaean *tholos*, cult: Archaic and Hellenistic?), C29 (Tragana, *tholos* gave 2, LH I, cult: Hellenistic and Late Roman?), C 30 (Vathirema, rock-cut chamber tomb, Mycenaean?, cult: Classical?).

81 Aristotle fr. 392 R; Diogenes Laertius 1.62; Plutarch, *Solon* 32.4; Farnell 1921, 361; Malkin 1987, 83, 218; see below § VII with nn. 174 f. Against this stands the 2nd/3rd century AD tradition, preserved in Aelian, *Varia historia* 8.16 that Solon had a public grave encircled by a wall, close by the city gates of Athens, on the right side when one enters the city (ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔθαψαν αὐτὸν δημοσίᾳ παρὰ τὰς πύλας πρὸς τῷ τείχει ἐν δεξιᾷ ἐσιόντων, καὶ περιῳκοδόμητο αὐτῷ ὁ τάφος). But how did the Athenians later collect the ashes of Solon in Salamis? Ignoring the Aristotelian tradition, Kübler 1973, 190 tracked the Aelian-story down to 4th/3rd century BC Phanias, a pupil of Aristotle, and subsequently wanted to identify a mid-6th century BC grave stele, depicting a young warrior and found near 'Tumulus G' in the Kerameikos, with the grave of Solon. This was declined by Knigge 2006, 128-135, who instead proposed an early Classical tumulus north of the Dipylon Gate and close to the *Demosion Sema* (*ibid*. 129, fig. 1 "Tumulus am Dromos"; cf. Knigge 1988, 159, no. 59 figs. 154, 165) as Solon's grave. But as Knigge 2006, 134 n. 20 herself stresses, this tumulus was hidden under an earth filling of some meters height already in the early 3rd century BC, 500 years before Aelian wrote. Also a bronze urn including ashes was found in the tumulus (Knigge 1988, 160 fig. 154). Knigge 2006, 132 with n. 14 believes the ashes to be that of Solon, collected by Themistocles in

A final argument for searching the *heroon* of Gaius Iulius Apollonios and Gaius Iulius Epikrates within the *bouleuterion* of Miletos is given by the fact that the cult of heroic ancestors is closely associated with the sacred hearth of public buildings as well as private houses[82]. As already mentioned was the hearth of Hestia Boulaia located in the assembly hall of the Milesian *bouleuterion*[83]. The same spatial closeness has to be assumed for the graves of mythical heroes such as Timalkos in the *bouleuterion* of Megara or Euhippos, Ischepolis and Aisymnos in the Megarian *prytaneion*. Antinoe, the daughter of Kepheus, who had helped the Mantineans to found their city, delivers one of the rare cases of a *heroine*, being venerated as *heroine ktiste*. Her grave was located in the agora, had a round shape and was significantly called Κοινὴ Ἑστία[84].

IV. The *heroon* of Thales, act 1: Geoarchaeology meets Greek myth

My approach to the grave of Thales is the result of geoarchaeological research, conducted in Miletos together with Helmut Brückner and Marc Müllenhoff since the last decade[85]. In the course of our investigations regarding the early history of the central sanctuary of Miletos, the Delphinion, we got more and more involved in the palaeogeography of the city centre and, finally, of the whole city. It turned out that large parts of the late Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic city ground were originally marine and made dry by filling in a mixture of stone, earth and artefacts. It can be detected for part of the Delphinion, of the southern Lion Harbour and of the North Market. The finds in our corings hint at a date of the fillings in the 6th to early 5th century BC (fig. 18).

These results were really exciting and called into my mind a passage in Plutarch's life of Solon, where he was talking about one of the other Seven Sages, the famous Milesian Philosopher Thales (Plutarch, *Solon* 12.11.1-12.1):

> ὅμοιον δέ τι καὶ Θαλῆν εἰκάσαι λέγουσι· κελεῦσαι γὰρ αὑτὸν ἔν τινι τόπῳ τῆς Μιλησίας φαύλῳ καὶ παρορωμένῳ τελευτήσαντα θεῖναι, προειπὼν ὡς ἀγορά ποτε τοῦτο Μιλησίων ἔσται τὸ χωρίον.
>
> "A similar insight into futurity is ascribed to Thales. They say that he gave directions for his burial in a cheap and disregarded place of the Milesian territory, predicting that it would one day be the agora of Miletos."
> [slightly changed trans. by B. Perrin]

Certainly, this is a late anecdote about a sage, of whose sayings we have nearly no direct testimonium preserved, except *inter alia* perhaps πάντα πλήρη θεῶν, "All is full of gods", repeated by Aristotle[86]. But as in most anecdotes there is a hidden historical core. And this core is two- if not three-fold in the case of Thales' grave: During Thales' livetime – he died in the mid-6th century BC –[87] the city of Miletos was totally replanned in

Salamis and re-buried at the Dipylon. This is highly speculative, to put it mildly. When we at least accept the reliability of Aelian, we have to assume in the 2nd century AD a grave precinct, enclosed within a wall, perhaps including also a cenotaph, while the ashes of Solon stay in Salamis.

82 Pfister 1909, 460 (he compares it with the cult of the Roman *Lares*); Farnell 1921, 356. Dionysius of Halicarnassus 4.2 in accordance equates the ὁ κατ᾽ οἰκίαν ἥρως with the *lar familiaris*, and in 4.14 he speaks of ἥρωσι προνωπίοις when meaning the *lares compitales*. See also the cult of the Roman *Penates* at the hearth, or that of the Etruscan *dii animales*: below n. 263. For the purifying function of the fire in hero cults see n. 229.

83 See above § II with nn. 40 and 47. The most sacred hearth of the *polis*, that of Hestia Prytaneia, was to be found in the *Molpon*, the house of the cult association of Apollo Delphinios in the Delphinion, see below with n. 91; § VII with n. 172.

84 Pausanias 8.9.5; cf. Fougères 1898, 316; Pfister 1909, 460; Farnell 1921, 356a, 358, 414 n. 127a. The grave is identified with a free-standing circular stepped stone monument, 6,10 m in diameter, with a "mill-stone" (Fougères 1898, 194 "meule") in the center. It is located west of the theater and directly in front of the northern stoa of the agora: Fougères 1898, 180 fig. 44 ("Foyer commun?"), pp. 193 f. (because of the small diameter he reconstructs a round altar, surrounded by a balustrade, not a *tholos* with columns and a roof).

85 Herda 2005, 250-258 figs. 5-10; Brückner *et al.* 2006; Müllenhoff *et al.* 2009a and 2009b; Brückner *et al.* forthcoming.

86 Aristotle, *de anima* 1.5.411a 8 (= 11 A 22 Diels/Kranz); cf. Betegh 2002, 237; Burkert 2011, 462. Despite modern 'wishful thinking' the Ionian 'Presocratics' (as also Socrates, the alleged *asebes*!) never doubted the existence of the gods resp. a divine principle.

87 According to the Hellenistic chronographer Apollodorus (Apollodor *FGrHist* 244 F 28 = Diogenes Laertius 1.37 = Diels/Kranz 11 A 1) was Thales born in the 35th Olympiad (640-637 BC) and died at the age of 78, resulting in a date between 562 and 559 BC. This date is too high, as we known from Herodotus (1.75 = Diels/Kranz 11 A 6) that Thales took part in the campaign of the Lydian king Kroisos against the Persian king Kyros in 546 BC. Diels/Kranz 1974, 72 in a note on 11 A 2.27 on Suidas s.v. Θαλῆς, where the same high birth date in the 35th Olympiad is given, therefore remarked: "Ol. 35 stammt aus der korrupten Quelle des Diog[enes, A.H.] (...), wie Euseb. A 7 (I 75, 17)". They correct the birth date to Ol. 39 (624-621 BC) assuming that Thales had his *akme* with 40 years in May 28 of 584 BC, when he predicted a solar eclipse to the Ionians during the war of Lydian king Alyattes against Median king Kyaxares (Herodotus 1.74 = Diels/Kranz 11 A 5; see: Hahn 2001, 253 f. n. 45;

Fig. 18 : Palaeogeographic map of Miletos with building phases in relation to the shorelines (Marc Müllenhoff, author, and Helmut Brückner).

a street-*insula*-grid system. This system was first realized in newly developed districts, for example the areas south of the Lion Harbour and northeast of Kalabak Tepe[88], while the old districts kept their traditional appearance of an irregular, 'grown' street-net, until the Persians destroyed the city in 494 BC. The only important exception was made with the late Archaic temple of Athena, whose construction necessitated the demolishing of a whole district in the oldest settlement core[89].

Graham/Hintz 2007, 331). Sosikrates instead (fr. 10 *FGH* IV 501 = Diogenes Laertius 1.38 = Diels/Kranz 11 A 1) kept the 35th Olympiad but prolonged the lifetime auf Thales from 78 to 90 years, because he knew of Thales dying in Ol. 58 (548-545 BC). This seems less convincing as we know that Thales had his *akme* (in the age of c. 40) in the year of the Athenian *archon* Damasias (582/1 BC): Diogenes Laertius I.22 (= Diels/Kranz 11 A 1); cf. Kirk *et al.* 2001, 84 n. 1.

88 Herda 2005, 281-285 fig. 30; Herda in preparation. For the Archaic districts NO of Kalabak Tepe with a grid system see Graeve 2006, 258-262, 257 fig. 8; Grave 2009, 26 fig. 1. It is detected via geophysics (Stümpel/Erkul 2008, 28 f. fig. 4), but one of the 4.30 m broad North-South-streets of the grid was already excavated by Armin von Gerkan in 1908/9: Gerkan 1925, 39-44 figs. 29-30 Beilage 1 (see in trenches IV–VI, but the position of the trenches is not exactly rendered, the street has the deviation of 24° clockwise from geographical North as also the Late Archaic temple of Athena).

89 Weber 2004a, 145 and 2004b, 235-237; Herda 2005, 282-284, 291 f.; Weber 2007, 355-359.

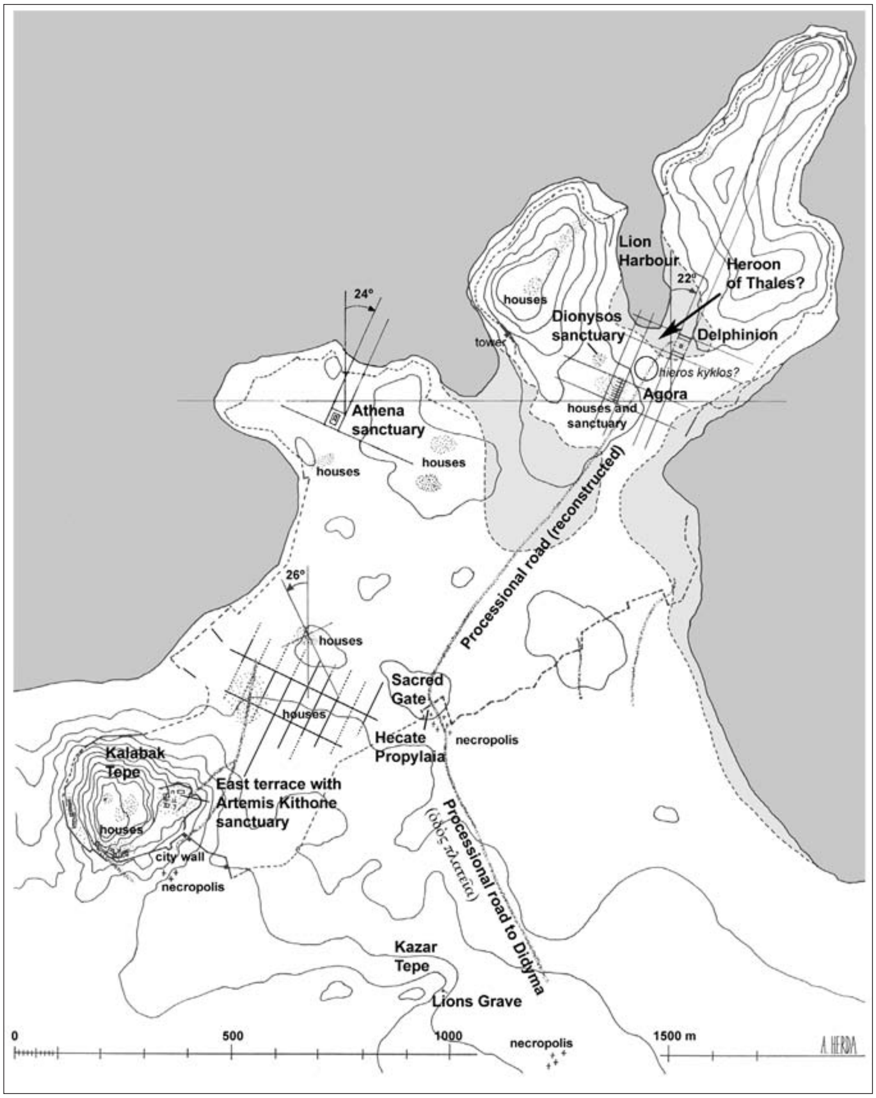

Fig. 19 :
City map of Archaic Miletos with detected Archaic street-*insula*-grid, maximum extension of sea in Early Archaic times (light grey), and assumed position of Thales' grave in area of artificial drainage (drawing author).

The agora of this new Miletos can be located between the Archaic sanctuaries of Dionysos and Apollo Delphinios, serving as space for religious as well as political assemblies, with the *hieros kyklos*, the "sacred circle" in its center[90]. The Delphinion incorporated not only the main city cult, controlling citizenship, but also the *prytaneion*, the governmental seat of the polis state, usually to be expected close to the agora (fig. 19)[91].

The deep drillings detected an extension of the agora to the north, made possible by draining the marshy southern extension of the Lion harbour. Is this also the area, where we have to search for the grave of Thales, the τόπος τῆς Μιλησίας, which is described as being originally φαῦλος καὶ παρορωμένος, "cheap and disregarded"[92], by Plutarch? This assumption has a high probability to me[93].

90 Herda 2005, 272-279 figs. 25, 29 and 2011, 70-74, 64 fig. 2.
91 Herda 2005, 247-250 and 2011, 62-70. I hold the southern hall of the Delphinion for the *Molpon-prytaneion*.

92 For φαῦλος see LSc s.v.: "cheap, easy, slight, paltry", I. of things, 1."easy, slight", 2. "simple, ordinary", 3. "mean, bad". For παρορωμένος in the sense of "disregarded, neglected" see LSc s.v. παροράω II.1. "look past, i.e. overlook a thing", 2. "disregard", 3. "neglect".
93 Cf. Herda 2005, 278-280; Müllenhoff *et al.* 2009, 108.

V. The cult of the founder in Greek *agorai*

Locating a grave in an agora is very exceptional. Actually the agora is the most prominent place for a grave, restricted only to very few persons, to whom it is the highest honour, a *polis* can give.

Very typical recipients of this honour are the founders, the *heroes ktistai*, who "were buried in the middle of the cities by habbit"[94]. Probably the best-known example is that of Aristoteles in Kyrene, a 7th century BC colony of Thera. Aristoteles, son of Polymnestos from Thera, who had the nickname Battos, "the stammerer", got a grave as well as a hero-cult in the agora, while his royal successors were buried "far away in front of their houses". This is described by Pindar in the fifth *Pythian Ode* (ll. 93-98) for Arkesilas of Kyrene. The *heroon* of Battos was found by the Italian excavators on the eastern end of the agora, consisting of a tumulus grave and less probably also a separate sanctuary[95]. A sacred law from Kyrene, relating to taking part in sacrifices "for Battos the first leader" (Βάττω τῶ ἀρχαγέτα)[96], as well as for "Onymastos the Delphian" and the *Tritopateres*, makes clear that the grave of a city founder or hero was exempted from the idea of ritual pollution (*mysos, miasma*) and could therefore be placed within the city[97].

A striking other example is the grave of the Sikyonian general Aratos, who died in 213 BC. The Sikyonians, who wanted to bury him in their city, most probably in the agora, could not do so because of an "ancient law", forbidding to bury "within the city walls" of Sikyon. This law obviously protected the ritual purity of the city, as similar laws did in other cities[98], with the striking exception of Sparta, where Lykurgos allowed the Spartans to "bury their dead in the city, and to have memorials of them near the sacred places"[99]. The Sikyonians solved the problem by asking the oracle in Delphi for permission. Apollo, the divine authority of cleaning and purity, "the purest of gods"[100], who was also prominent as protector from plagues in the

94 Scholium Pindar, *Olympic Ode* 1.149b: Οἱ γὰρ οἰκισταὶ ἐν μέσαις ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐθάπτοντο ἐξ ἔθους; Leschhorn 1984, 67, 98-105; Malkin 1987, 200-216, 237-240; Schörner 2007, 118 f.,196 f., 206 f.; Cordano 2009.

95 Stucchi 1965, 33-65 figs. 11 f., 100 f. figs. 50 f., 111-115 figs. 58-61, 122 f. fig. 64, 128 f. fig. 66, 139-142 figs. 74 f., 143 fig. 76, pls. 13.2, 20.5-6, 21.1-3, 24.2-4; Büsing 1978; Malkin 1987, 204-216; Schörner 2007, 21 f., 42 f., 85 f., 150, 213-216 A3 figs. 15-23. The connection between the tumulus grave and the adjacent sanctuary to the south (so e.g. Schörner 2007, 22, 43, speaks of "Kultstätte (*Oikos*)", but see *ibidem* 150, where she treats it as separate sanctuary of a trias!), seems not very convincing to me. First of all, the sanctuary has a different orientation (at least from the second half of the 5th century BC toward the South). The *temenos* wall, which excludes the tumulus grave (Schörner 2007, fig. 18), includes three altars (Schörner 2007, fig. 21 f.), hinting at the cult of three deities being practised within it. This corresponds with the three-partite structure of the *oikos* in the first phase (Schörner 2007, figs. 18, 20). Stucchi 1965, 34-58 thinks of a *heroon* for the *daimon* Ephialtes Opheles (because of a graffito: Stucchi 1965, 46-48, pl. 10, 10.a-b --]λπιό Ὀφέλει), Schörner 2007, 86 favours a sanctuary of Apollo. I wonder if the sanctuary was dedicated to the *Tritopateres*, "the fathers in the third generation", who recieved cult together with Battos according to the famous 4th century BC sacred law from Kyrene, referring to the foundation oracle of Delphian Apollo for Kyrene: Rhodes/Osborne 2003, 494-505 no. 97.22 f.; see Leschhorn 1984, 68, 102, who adresses the *Tritopateres* as "alte Stammväter der Kyrener"; see also Rhodes/Osborne 2003, 502 f.; see below n. 246.

96 The title *archagetas*, the "first leader", instead of *oikistes*, *oikister*, *ktistes*, "founder", here given to Battos, was usually attributed to the oracle god Apollo Pythios, sanctioning the Greek colonial enterprises: Malkin 1987, 241-250; Schörner 2007, 135 f. The title is also an *epitheton* of Apollo Didymeus, the oracle god sanctioning the Milesian colonisation, e.g. of Kyzikos: Aelius Aristeides, *Orationes* 16.237; cf. Herda 2008, 28-30, 55 with n. 325, p. 57, 59, 61, 62. Only attributed to gods seems to be the alternative title *hegemon*, "leader": Herda 2008, 28 with n. 117.

97 *SEG* IX 72; Parker 1983, 336-339; Malkin 1987, 206-212; Rhodes/Osborne 2003, 494-505 no. 97, esp. pp. 502 f. on § 5 of the law (ll. 21-25), which is very difficult to understand. Besides Battos are mentioned the Akamant(i)es, "Onymastos the Delphian" and the *Tritopateres*. Jameson *et al.* 1993, 110 remark, to my mind convincingly, that "they alone among the dead carry no danger of pollution (literally, 'there is ὁσία for everyone')"; cf. Parker 1983, 42 n. 39, p. 338; Rhodes/Osborne 2003, 503. Compare also the "pure" *Tritopateres* in the *lex sacra* from Selinous, where they are supposed to get sacrifices in the agora, too, see below n. 110.

98 Plutarch, *Aratus* 53; cf. Leschhorn 1984, 326-331; Malkin 1987, 233-237; Schörner 2007, 14 f., 121 f. 272-274 (B 16); Parker 2011, 104 n. 4. Death causes ritual impurity, a pollution (*mysos*, *miasma*), which calls for ritual cleaning. Therefore death-related things are regularly excluded from sanctuaries and the city: Parker 1983, 32-73, 338; Burkert 2011a, 125 f., 138, 293. See on related funeral laws: Frisone 2011, 184, 186, 190, 194.

99 Plutarch, *Lykurgos* 27.1 (transl. B. Perrin); cf. Schörner 2007, 6 n. 38, 12 f., 202; Frisone 2011, 190 f. According to Plutarch, Lykurgos did so "thus making the youth familiar with such sights and accustomed to them, so that they were not confounded by them, and had no horror of death as polluting those who touched a corpse or walked among graves" (συντρόφους ποιῶν ταῖς τοιαύταις ὄψεσι καὶ συνήθεις τοὺς νέους, ὥστε μὴ ταράττεσθαι μηδ᾽ ὀρρωδεῖν τὸν θάνατον ὡς μαίνοντα τοὺς ἁψαμένους νεκροῦ σώματος ἢ διὰ τάφων διελθόντας. ἔπειτα συνθάπτειν οὐδὲν εἴασεν, ἀλλὰ ἐν φοινικίδι καὶ φύλλοις ἐλαίας θέντες τὸ σῶμα περιέστελλον.). For graves within the city of Sparta: Schörner 2007, 289-297 (A1-7, B 1-8). McCauley 1999, 86 n. remarks, that "there is no indication that they [the Spartans, A.H.] allowed burial of ordinary persons within the precincts of the agora itself".

100 Parker 1983, 67. See *ibid*. 393 where Parker hints especially at Apollo's role in the cathartic law of Kyrene. He explains Apollo's and his sister Artemis' role as cathartic gods with their "(...) role as senders and healers of plague. (...) The connection of thought becomes almost explicit when the Athenians purify Delos in response to plague."

agora of Sikyon itself[101], sanctioned their project by declaring[102]:

βουλεύῃ, Σικυὼν, ζωάγριον αἰὲν Ἀράτου
ἀμφ' ὁσίῃ θαλίῃ τε κατοιχομένοιο ἄνακτος;
ὡς τὸ βαρυνόμενον τῷδ' ἀνέρι καὶ τὸ βαρῦνον
γαίης ἔστ' ἀσέβημα καὶ οὐρανοῦ ἠδὲ θαλάσσης.

"Would'st thou, O Sikyon, pay Aratos lasting honour for the lives he saved,
And join in pious funeral rites for thy departed lord?
Know that the place which vexes or is vexed by him
Is sacrilegious, be it in earth or sky or sea".
[transl. B. Perrin]

Decisive here is Apollo declaring the place of burial as ἀσέβημα, "impious", "profane"[103], exempting it from matters of ritual impurity. Also, he calls the festivities for Aratus ὁσίῃ θαλίῃ, "profane festivities", stressing that they are 'allowed' and not forbidden by divine law[104].

The Sikyonians immediately reacted by "choosing out a commanding place, they buried him there, calling him founder and saviour of the city"[105]. Yearly sacrifices (θυσία) took place at the *heroon*, called *Arateion*, for Zeus Soter and Aratus at the date he had saved the city from tyranny. Another yearly sacrifice was offered to Aratos at his birthday by his own priest[106].

Graves as well as cenotaphs, empty 'symbolic' graves, of other founders were discovered, as in the agora of Poseidonia-Paestum, a colony of Sybaris in southern Italy[107].

Most recently a cist grave of the 7th century BC within a small precinct, found in 2003 in the middle of the agora of Selinous-Selinunte in Sicily, a joint colony of Megara and its colony Megara Hyblea, has been identified as *heroon* of the Megarian *oikistes* Pammilos[108]. To me, a connection with the hero Euthydamos, mentioned in the famous 5th century BC *lex sacra* from Selinous as being venerated by the Selinuntians together with Zeus Meilichios and the "pure" *Tritopateres*, the "fathers in the third generation", or 'collective ancestors' of the polis[109],

101 Pausanias 2.7.8: procession to remember the return of Apollo and Artemis to Sikyon for healing the city from plague, starting from the temple of Peitho (the gods had to be "convinced" to come back) in the agora of Sikyon to the Sythas river and back; cf. Lolos 2011, 379 f. The two gods had left Sikyon in mythical times, when it was still an indigenous settlement called Aigialeia: Pausanias 2.5.6; cf. Lolos 2011, 379 f., 384. The cult of Apollo as well as the procession seem to be at least of Archaic age. The Aristotelian Corpus mentiones an old temple of Apollo, which was in ruins in the time of Pausanias: [Aristoteles], *Mir. ausc*. 834b24; Pausanias 2.7.8; cf. Lolos 2011, 380 f. fig. 6.1 identifying a temple in the agora, having an Archaic and a Hellenistic phase, as the old temple of Apollo.

102 Plutarch, *Aratus* 53.3.

103 Cf. LSc s.v. ἀσέβημα: "impious or profane act, sacrilege, opp. ἀδίκημα".

104 On *hosios* as exact complement to *hieros*: Burkert 2011, 403 f.

105 Plutarch, *Aratus* 53.3: καὶ τόπον ἐξελόμενοι περίοπτον ὥσπερ οἰκιστὴν καὶ σωτῆρα τῆς πόλεως ἐκήδευσαν. The place of the *heroon* is described as τόπον περίοπτον, "to be seen all round", what implies a location on a large, empty space, presumably the agora of Sikyon. This is confirmed by Pausanias who describes the *heroon* as being placed in front of the house of the tyrannt Kleon at the agora: Pausanias 2.8.1; cf. Leschhorn 1984, 328. Malkin 1987, 234 f. thought of a newly established and therefore so far 'graveless' agora of Sikyon as the place of the *heroon*, which then had caused the Sikyonians to consult Delphi. But there is no hint at an old and a new agora in Sicyon. In 303 BC Demetrios Poliorketes had only relocated the settlement to the acropolis out of security reasons (Diodorus 20.102.3; see Malkin 1987, 233). This does not imply that he also relocated the old, Archaic agora, where the graves of the heroes Adrastos and Melanippos were located: Herodotus 5.67; cf. Malkin 1987, 235, 237.

106 Cult of Aratos: Plutarch, *Aratus* 53; see Leschhorn 1984, 326-331 who attributes the birthday festival to the cult of the founder Aratos, though he thinks that birthday festivals are not typical for a founder cult (*ibid*. 329; see also Malkin 1987, 236). The *heroon* of Aratos has not been found so far: Lolos 2011, 382.

107 Kron 1971 (interpreted as a sanctuary of a female chthonic deity); Greco/Theodorescu 1983, 28-33, 74-79, 139-145, 176 f. figs. 9-20; Pedley 1990, 36-39 figs. 11-13; Rausch 2000 (interpreted as *Tritopatreion*); Mertens 2006, 166 f. figs. 288 f.; Schörner 2007, 152-167 figs. 194-197 (cenothaph); see below § IX.

108 Mertens 2006, 177 fig. 308, 178 fig. 310; Mertens 2010, 80-84 fig. 12, esp. 83 f. on Pammilos of Megara (Thucydides 6.4.2). A second, much more destroyed burial directly south of the grave is connected by Mertens to a second *heros ktistes* originating from Megara's colony Megara Hyblaia. He is supposed to have joined Pammilos but was, according to Mertens, later on forgotten, his grave was left devastated: Mertens 2010, 80 f. fig. 12, p. 82-84.

109 The most instructive ancient text on the *Tritopatores* is Harpokration, *Lexikon* s.v. Tritopatores (Keaney, p. 253) = Phanodemos *FGrHist* 325 F6 / Demon *FGrHist* 327 F2 / Philochoros *FGrHist* 328 F182; cf. Jameson *et al.* 1993, 107-116; Georgoudi 2001, 155 f.; Gagné 2007 (critical on all sources, incl. Orpheus, Physika F 803 Bernabé = 318 Kern); Higgins 2008, 17 f. On the *Tritopatores* as collective ancestors of smaller kinship groups (gene, phratries, demes) as well as of the whole *polis* see Clinton 1996; Iles-Johnston 1999, 51 f.; Rausch 2000, 111-116; Georgoudi 2001; Gagné 2007, 2 with n. 5, p. 16; Higgins 2008, 18. On the etymology (composite of τρίτος, "three", and πατήρ,"father"): Farnell 1921, 355; Schweitzer 1922, 75 f.; Wüst 1939, 324 f.; Georgoudi 2001, 156; see next note and n. 238.
The *Tritopatores* are probably depicted in one of the pediments of the so-called Ur-Parthenon on the Akropolis: A. Furtwängler, B. Schweitzer and others have identified them with the so-called Typhon or Bluebeard, a figure with three upper parts of humans and a snake-like lower part, three times interwineded. The figures, dated c. 570/60 BC, hold a bird, and wavy things (water and fire or winds?): Furtwängler 1905, 452-458 figs. pp. 446-447; Schweitzer 1922, 72-83; cf. Weinreich 1973, 77 f.; Jameson *et al.* 1993, 112 n. 37; Martini 1990, 235 f. fig. 71 (stresses that the middle body is hit by arrows, he leaves

seems also possible[110]. The ritual delivers an exact analogy to the sacrifices for Battos, Onymastos and the *Tritopateres* at Battos' *heroon* in the agora of Kyrene, mentioned above[111].

In the agora(?) of Amphipolis a Classical cist grave with an urn made of silver was found. Most probably it kept the ashes of the Spartan general Brasidas, who first conquered the Athenian foundation in Thrace and then successfully defended it against the Athenians in 422 BC, but died during the battle. For that he was honoured by the citizens with a hero-cult in the agora, according to Thucydides (5.11), as if to say as a second founder, replacing the Athenian Hagnon[112].

Neither a grave, nor a cenotaph, but a *mnema*, a monument of remembrance, was posthumously erected for Glaukos, the co-founder of the Parian colony Thasos, in the northeastern corner of the cities agora in the late 7^{th} century BC at the earliest. It consisted of a two-stepped basis of an

the identification open); Karanastassis 2002, 220 fig. 304b (Typhon?); Stroszeck 2010, 58 n. 24 (refers to the observation of Martini and remarks: "Diese Interpretation des Dreigestaltigen muss als überholt gelten."); Icard-Gianolio 1994, 561 no. 3 (identified with Proteus). Another early depiction of the *Tritopatores*, this time as wind-gods, may be found on a Laconian bowl of the so-called Naukratis Painter (c. 560 BC) from Naukratis, now in the British Museum, depicting the nymph Kyrene holding a Silphion plant and a branch of the tree of the Hesperids, surrounded bei winged female (on the left) and male (on the right) *genii*: Studniczka 1890, 15-27; Harrison 1908, 180 fig. 22 (three figures with beards, wings and winged shoes in right lower corner, interpreted by Studniczka and Harrison as the Boreads). However, this identification is questioned by some scholars: Pipili 1987, 40-44 fig. 54 no. 101 (Artemis Ortheia and winds or less probable: Aphrodite with Erotes, but in the latter case she cannot explain the different sex of the winged figures!). See now also Thomsen 2011, 118-122 figs. 51a-b (goddess of fertility with her entourage), 137-142 (winged male figures are no Boreads).

110 Mertens 2010, 80 f. mentions the *lex sacra* (Jameson *et al.* 1993 = SEG XLIII 630 = Lupu 2005, 359-387 no. 27) but does not go into details. To me, the differing preservation of the two graves seems a matter of later accidental stone extraction. It does not imply that the southern one was devastated earlier. *A contrario*: The southern *temenos*-wall around the northern grave clearly respects the southern grave. The southern *temenos*-wall comes closer to the northern grave than to the southern. The first lies remarkably excentrical within the *temenos*: Mertens 2008, 475-481 figs. 3-7; Mertens 2010, 81 fig. 12. Maybe the southern grave is the one of Pammilos, while the northern one in the *temenos* is that of Euthydamos. Euthydamos, "the one beneficial to the *demos*", and Myskos, "the ritually polluted" (cf. ingeniously Curti/van Bremen 1999, 30 refering to Hesychius s.v. μύσκος· μίασμα, κῆδος), had their own *heroa* and received public sacrifices together with Zeus Meilichios and the impure (Myskos) and pure (Euthydamos) *Tritopatores*: Jameson *et al.* 1993, 14 f. line A 9 ἐν Μύσϙο A 17 ἐν Εὐθυδάμο; cf. *ibid*. pp. 28 f., 52, 121; Clinton 1996, 163, 165, 172; Curti/van Bremen 1999, 27-30; Lupu 2005, 367 f. The sacrifice of wine for the "impure *Tritopatores* as to the heroes" (A 9 f. τοῖς Τριτοπατρεῦσι τοῖς μιαροῖς hόσπερ τοῖς hερόεσι; cf. Jameson *et al.* 1993, 29 f., 63-67) had to be "poured through the roof" (ll. A 10 f. ϝοῖνον hυπολhεί- | ψαν δὶ ὀρόφο). The location was the grave of Myskos, which was probably situated in the Zeus Meilichios sanctuary on the Gaggera Hill outside the city according to Jameson *et al.* 1993, 30 f., 64, 70-73, 112, 134 and Curti/van Bremen 1999, 30-32 figs. 4-7 (grave of Myskos with installation for libation?; but see Vonderstein 2006, 212: simple wells); cf. Lupu 2005, 368 n. 30. Instead, the libation of a honey mixture (A 13 f.) to the "pure" *Tritopatores* (A 13 τοῖς κ<α>θαροῖς), performed "as to the gods" (A 17 hόσπερ τοῖς θεοῖς), will have been poored in the grave of Euthydamos in the agora of Selinous, where Curti/van Bremen 1999, 28 rightly assume also another sanctuary for Zeus Meilichios. Mertens 2010, 81 f. mentions a structure SE of the two graves, 4 x 6 m in dimension, with a kind of rampart in the North. He interpretes it as the altar of Zeus Agoraios, where the tyrant Euryleon was killed (Herodotus 5.46; Polyaenus 1.28.2). Could it instead be a Sanctuary of Zeus Meilichios or/and the "pure" *Tritopatores*, which are to be expected close to the *heroon* of Euthydamos, or does the sacrifice to Zeus Meilichios in the sanctuary of Euthydamos (ll. A 17-21) imply that the sanctuary of Zeus was incorporated in that of the hero?
In Athens, it seems to have also existed a Zeus Meilichios sanctuary in the 'new' agora in the Kerameikos: several dedications were found between the Hill of the Nymphs and the new agora: Jameson *et al.* 1993, 82. That the Archaic-Classical *Tritopatreion* in the Kerameikos necropolis of Athens was a state sanctuary of the *Tritopatores* of the Athenian people, as supposed by some scholars (cf. Jameson *et al.* 1993, 107 f.; Lupu 2005, 371; Vonderstein 2006, 210 n. 1601; Stroszeck 2010, 56, 67, 71 f.), rests only on the inscriptions of the boundary markers: They do not specify any group-relation. But what speaks against this assumption is that the sanctuary was destroyed in the later 4^{th} century BC and never again restored: Stroszeck 2010, 68 f. This rather hints at a *Tritopatreion* of a smaller kinship group (*genos* or phratry), which got out of function with the termination of this group. J. Stroszeck now assumes the ending of the state cult of the Tritopatores in the Kerameikos in the course of wider historical changes in Athens under Macedonian rule (I thank her very much for discussing these issues with me in Dec 2012). Another argument for the latter interpretation is the presence of a large multi-burial tumulus of ca. 560 BC close by to the West, where the entrance to the *Tritopatreion* was placed (so-called Tumulus/Hügel G; cf. Knigge 1988, 103-105 with figs. 97-99 no. 14 = Tritopatreion and 15 = Tumulus, compare figs. 17 and 165 for a site plan; entrance of *Tritopatreion*: Stroszeck 2010, 62, pl. 29, 1-3), as well as a small tumulus to the east: Stroszeck 2010, 65 f., pls. 25.1, 32.1-2. This had led Kübler 1973, 189 f., 192 (cf. Stroszeck 2010, 66 f.) to assume a *Tritopatreion* built by Solon, and Knigge 1988, 104 f. to assume a sanctuary of a kinship group, an interpretation Knigge 2006 further developed, where she identified the *Tritopatreion* as that of the *Alkmaeonidai*; cf. Stroszeck 2010, 55 f. To my mind, the state *Tritopatreion* of democratic Athens should be expected in the new agora, close to the collective sanctuary of the ten Eponymous Heroes and not to far away from the Zeus Meilichios sanctuary. The extant monument of the Eponymous Heroes in the SW corner of the agora is of the late 4^{th} century BC (cf. Camp 1986, 97-100 figs. 72-74), but a forerunner of the time of Kleisthenes is to be expected close by: Mattusch 1994, 76 with fig. 4. Antonaccio 1995, 125 has proposed the so-called triangular sanctuary in the SW-corner of the agora to be a *Tritopatreion*: Camp 1986, 78 fig. 54, 142 fig. 120, 155 fig. 129. But the preserved boundary marker misses a specification of the cult and the triangular form of the precinct is no forcible argument: Georgoudi 2001, 154 with n. 11; Stroszeck 2010, 65 with n. 70.

111 Before the graves in the agora of Selinous were found, Vonderstein 2006, 212 (see also *ibid*. 213) already assumed: "Gut möglich ist, dass sich sämtliche Kultstellen, diejenigen für die Tritopatoren und die für Myskos und Euthydamos, auf der Agora der Stadt befanden, vergleichbar mit dem Befund in Kyrene." For the consequences of this situation on the ritual purity of the agora see below n. 243.

112 Lazarides 1993, 97 fig. 49; Koukouli-Chrysantaki 2002, 66-72, pls. 10A-B, 11B; Schörner 2007, 72 f., 264 f. B8; cf. B. Mangoldt forthcoming, catalogue-no. A1.

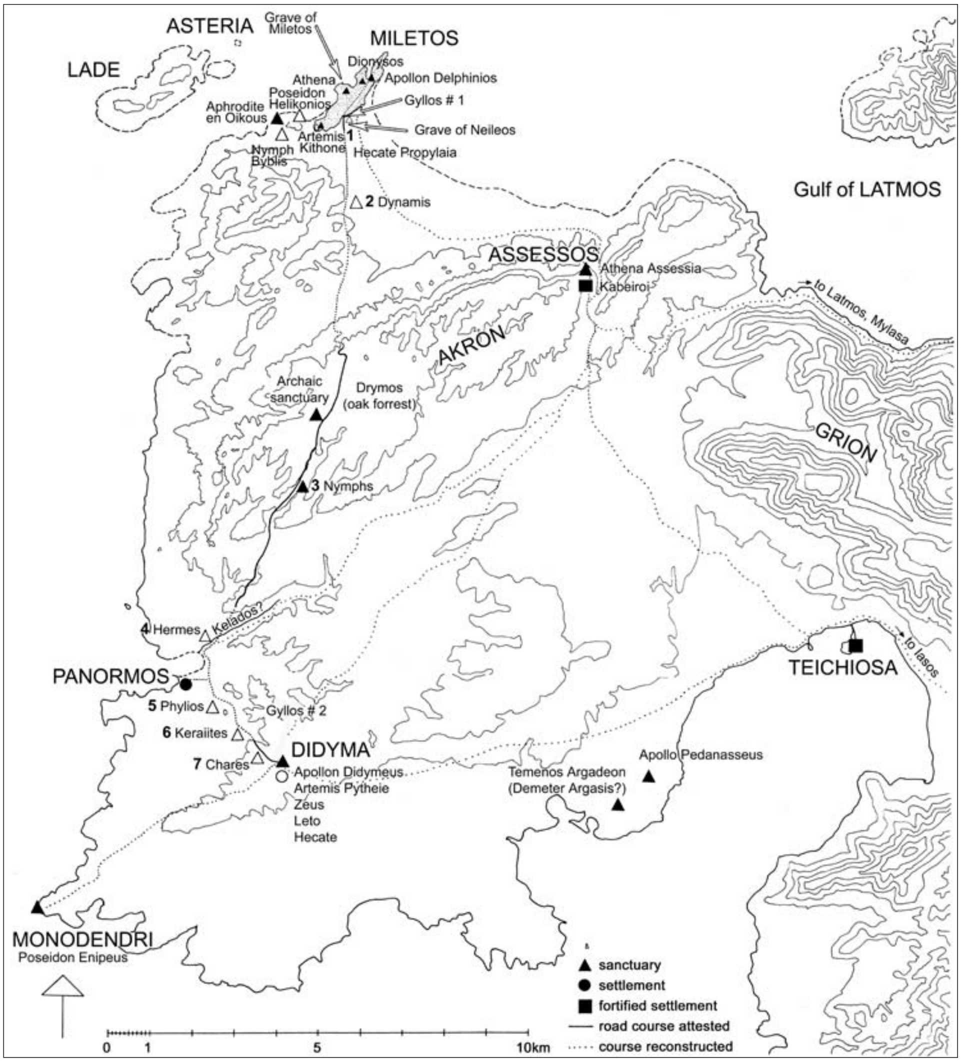

Fig. 20 : Map of Milesia with important cult places and processional road to Didyma (drawing author).

altar(?) made of mica-shist and poros blocks, in whose lower step an inscribed marble slab was integrated[113].

VI. Miletos' many mythical founders, their graves, and the *heroon* of Neileos

In Miletos, the situation is more complicated as for example in the much younger colony Selinous. Because of its high age, the city had a whole sequence of founders, beginning with Anax and Asterios in prehistory, Miletos, Sarpedon and Keladon in Minoan times, Herakles and Achilles in Mycenaean times, Nomion, Nastes and Amphimachos in Karian times, and finally Neileos

113 Meiggs/Lewis 1969, 3 f. no. 3; Schörner 2007, 21, 42, 84 f., 149 f., 212 f. A2 figs. 9-14. The upper part of the monument is not preserved as it was demolished when it was overbuilt by a *stoa* in the 1st century AD. Polignac 1995, 148 n. 55 speaks of a "cenotaph", Jeffery 1990, 300 thought of an altar, Schörner 2007, 212 assumes a third step as plinthe for a statue, stele or some votives. Remarkable is that the marble slab with the inscription does not fit well to the basis made of mica shist and poros. The monument in its present state seems to be a re-arrangement. Also, the inscription was not erected by the polis, but by the sons of a certain Brentes: Γλαύϙο εἰμὶ μνῆ- | μα το Λεπτίνεō ἔ- | θεσαν δέ με οἱ Βρέντ- | εω παῖδες. This implies an originally 'private' monument, which was later transformed into a public one, maybe by translocating the stone with the inscription from another place (an extramural cemetery: Schörner 2007, 21 n. 131?) to the agora, where it was integrated into the altar(?). A translocation would lower the date for the erection of the inscription on the agora of Thasos. Its dating is therefore only a *terminus post quem*.

in Ionic-Greek times. This history was remembered through myths and related rituals located at many places within the territory of the city-state (fig. 20)[114]. In only three cases we have information regarding these founders' graves:

Asterios

According to Pausanias, the grave of 'autochthonous', earth-borne giant Asterios, son of Anax, was shown on an islet called 'Asteria', situated in the Maeander Bay. It lay close by the famous island of Lade, wherefore Asterios' *heroon* was located extra-urban. Pausanias, who seems to have visited the site personally, ironically notes the remarkable curiosity that Asterios' corpse was "not less than ten cubits (c. 5 m) tall", still too small for a giant in his opinion[115]. The background for this story may have been a special attraction, shown to tourist like Pausanias by the locals. One may think of gigantic Miocene marine or animal fossils, the area around Miletos was rich of and which may already have led Anaximander to his theory that humankind was originally stemming from sea creatures. Pausanias knew this theory of Anaximander and alluded to it when discussing giant mammal bones found in the Orontes River[116]. This is not surprising since Anaximander's writings were available in every good library all over the Mediterranean, one has only to think of the sensational find of the catalogue fragment of the 2nd century BC *gymnasion*-library of Tauromenion-Taormina on Sicily, listing his text[117].

The island of Asteria can probably be identified with a small 22 m high rocky hill, only c. 2.5 km NE of Miletos, and now embedded in the accumulated sediments of the Maeander. It served as burial ground in Late Osmanic times, from which it got the name 'Mezar Tepe': "Hill of the Graves"[118].

Miletos

Eponymous *heros* Miletos, who came to Miletos from Minoan Crete together with Sarpedon, was burried on an island by his son Kelados, who also named the island after his father and settled there[119]. We may assume that the *heroon* of Miletos was shown somewhere within the old center of the city, around the temple of Athena, where a Minoan and subsequent Mycenaean settlement have been excavated (fig. 1, 10). This area may be identical with 'Old-Miletos' (Παλαιμίλητος), which according to Strabo, citing Ephoros, was founded by Sarpedon 'above the sea' (ὑπὲρ τῆς θαλάττης)[120]. The name of this settlement is mentioned in Hittite texts as *Mil(l)awanda* or *Mil(l)awata*, originating perhaps from the Minoan place name *Mil(l)atos*[121].

The cult of *heros ktistes* Miletos, securely attested since the 5th century BC, but likely much older[122], is surprisingly resilient: it is still alive in early Byzantine times (5th century AD)[123].

114 Herda 1998 (grave of Neileos, Poseidon Enipeus at Posideion-Monodendri, Artemis Kithone on Kalabak Tepe); Herda 2006a, 259-385, 436-442, 447-449 fig. 17 (stations of the state procession to Didyma); Herda, 2011, 74 f. fig. 6; Herda forthcoming a (founders of Miletos).

115 Pausanias 1.35.67: ἔστι δὲ Μιλησίοις πρὸ τῆς πόλεως Λάδη νῆσος, ἀπερρώγασι δὲ ἀπ᾽ αὐτῆς νησῖδες· Ἀστερίου τὴν ἑτε´ραν ὀνομάζουσι καὶ τὸν Ἀστέριον ἐν αὐτῇ ταφῆναι λέγουσιν, εἶναι δὲ Ἀστέριον μὲν Ἄνακτος, Ἄνακτα δὲ Γῆς παῖδα· ἔχει δ᾽ οὖν ὁ νεκρὸς οὐδέν τι μεῖον πηχῶν δέκα. ("Before the city of the Milesians is an island called Lade, and from it certain islets are detached. One of these they call the islet of Asterios, and say that Asterios was buried in it, and that Asterios was the son of Anax, and Anax the son of Earth. Now the corpse is not less than ten cubits.") Pausanias makes a similar joke about the ash altar of Apollo in Didyma, which, though built by Herakles and since then constantly growing from the blood (and ashes) of the sacrifices, would be quite small for its age: Pausanias 5.13.11; cf. Herda 2006a, 354 f. and 2011, 61 f. n. 22.

116 Mayor 2000, 73 f., 214 f. On the fossils found by Roman emperor Tiberius(?) at the banks of the Orontes west of Antioch in Syria, most probably fossiled mammoth bones, see Pausanias 8.29.2-4; Mayor 2000, 73, 293 n. 18. Xenophanes of Colophon, Anaximander's pupil, is directly refering to his theory: Diels/Kranz 21A 33.5-6; cf. Naddaf 2003, 38.

117 Blanck 1997a; Blanck 1997b, visible is the heading and few letters beneath: ᾽Αναξίμανδρος Π̣ρ̣αξι̣ - |ά̣δου Μιλήσιος | ἐ̣γέν̣ε̣τ̣ομὲν Θ[αλ] έ̣ω; cf. Couprie 2003, 253 n. 220. Photo techniques like infra-red and ultra-violett would help to make more text readable. This effort is definitely worth it.

118 For Mezar Tepe see: Wilski 1906, map C 3 ("Mesartepe"); Philippson 1936, map ("Mesartepe", 2.5 km W of the Theatre Hill and less then 1 km north of the small village of "Patniotiko" which is located on the eastern side of ancient Lade); on Asterios see Wernicke 1896; Herda forthcoming a, § 2.1.1 with fig. 2.

119 *Scholium* on Dionysius Periegeta 825.

120 Ephorus *FGrHist* 70 F 127 (= Strabo 14.1.6); cf. Herda forthcoming a, § 2.2.3.

121 Herda/Sauter 2009, 57 with n. 41; Herda forthcoming a, § 2.2.4.

122 Cf. Herda forthcoming a, § 2.2.1-2.2.2.

123 Cf. the statue of his mother Areia: P. Herrmann in: Herrmann *et al.* 2006, 244 f. no. 1402, pl. 39; S. Frede in: Bol 2011, 170 XI.9, pl. 94e (inscription 5th century AD, sculpture possibly older): Μήτηρ Μιλήτοιο Τύχη τε πό[ληος Ἄρεια], "mother of Miletos [the founder, A.H.], Tyche of the ci[ty, Areia]". In the honorary inscription for Vitianus, the *Consularis Cariae*, the Demos of the city labels itself as "Demos of Miletos' [the founder, A.H.]": Herda 2006a, 308 n. 2192; W. Günther in: Herrmann *et al.* 2006, 81 f. no. 1129, pl. 14.

Kelados

About Kelados' grave we know nothing. According to the Milesian tradition, his mother was the nymph Doie, a daughter of the rivergod Maiandros. Kelados, or Keladon, the "clamorous", was probably himself an immortal rivergod. This explains also the absence of a grave: there never existed one. Instead, his sanctuary was located close to Panormos, the harbour of Didyma, and formed one of the stops during the Milesian newyears procession to Apollo's oracle since Archaic times at the latest. At Panormos a small river flows into the sea which the Ancients may have identified with Kelados, venerating him as one of the personifications of their successful occupation of and subsequent rooting in the new lands in Asia Minor (fig. 20)[124].

Neileos

Most important of all founders, because the most recent, was the Ionian prince Neileos, son of king Kodros of Athens. Surprisingly his grave was not in the agora, but instead, as Pausanias described it, right outside the city gates of Miletos, on the left hand of the processional road to Didyma (figs. 1, 8)[125]. The 'Sacred Gate' with the beginning of the extra-urban processional road is located[126], but the grave is not. Its position outside the city can be explained by assuming that it was originally part of the family grave of the *Neleidai*, an old Milesian *genos* tracing itself back to the mythical Ionian founder[127]. The *Neleidai* still existed in late Hellenistic times, as we know from a Didymæan inscription[128]. They may have acted as *basileis*, "kings", representing the city in the league of the twelve Ionian cities of Asia Minor, assembling in

Fig. 21 : Late Hellenistic over life size marble cuirass, found in 1903 near the Sacred Gate. Berlin, Antikensammlung Inv. SK 1983 (photo Johannes Laurentius, Staatliche Museen Berlin).

the *Panionion* at the northern foot of the Mykale Mountains from Geometric times on[129].

The public founder cult at the grave of Neileos is to be expected already in late Geometric times. But the earliest attestation for the cult comes from the Heraion of Samos, where a "priest of Neileos", supposedly the one from Miletos, dedicated a miniature bronze vessel to Hera c. 575-550 BC[130].

The position of the Neileos-*heroon* close to Miletos' main city gate signals an important function the *heros* fullfilled: that of a protector of the city. One may compare the *heroon* close to the western city gate of Eretria[131]. Pausanias describes a similar

124 *Scholium* on Dionysius Periegeta 825; for Kelados, his sanctuary and the procession see Herda 2006a, 302-310, 448; Herda forthcoming a, § 2.2.2.
125 Pausanias 7.2.6; cf. Herda 1998, 3-10 fig. p. 5.
126 Gerkan 1935, 12-37 figs. 3-14, pls. 1-13 ("das Heilige Tor"). Before the procession started from the Delphinion in Miletos, one *Gyllos*, a sacred boundary marker, was placed at the Sacred Gate. A second *Gyllos* was erected "at the doors" of the Apollo-temple in Didyma: Herda 2006a, 249-256 figs. 9, 12, 17, 22; Herda 2011, 74 fig. 6. Close by the Sacred Gate was also located a sanctuary of Hekate (Propylaia, Epiteicheia). It served as first stop during the procession to Didyma: Herda 2006a, 282-289 figs. 9, 12, 17 and 2011, 69 n. 70 figs. 2, 6.
127 Herda 1998, 16-19, 42-47 and 2006a, 131 n. 911, p. 348.
128 Rehm/Harder 1958, 170 no. 229 II.3: πατριᾶς Νειλεϊδῶ[ν], dated to 66 BC; cf. Herda 1998, 19 with n. 137 and 2006a, 348, 350 n. 2506.

129 Herodotus 1.147; Pausanias 7.2; Strabo 14.1.3; cf. Herda 2006b, 51, 61 and 2009, 40 n. 83, 59 n. 168; Herda forthcoming a, § 2.5.4.
130 *SEG* 28, 716; Herda 1998, 19-22 fig. 1-2; Herda forthcoming a, § 2.5.6.
131 The family graveyard around a Late Geometric warrior grave became an intramural *heroon*, when the city was fortified c. 680 BC: Bérard 1970; Polignac 1995, 130-137; Herda 1998, 42-47; Schörner 2007, 206 f., 209-212 (A1) figs. 1-8. However, according to the new city wall reconstruction by Frederiksen 2011, 74 f. 138-142 figs. 33-36, the area of the graveyard remained outside the city wall until the mid 6th century BC, excluding the lower plain between the harbour and the acropolis area (in: Ecole Suisse 2004, 26 f., 178 f. the existence of a city wall before c. 550 BC is even doubted at all). This is not convincing, as in plot 740 (for the location see Frederiksen 2011, 140 fig. 33) was found a fortification wall of the early seventh century BC, running NW-SE towards the central city area around the Apollo temple: Mazerakis Ainian 1987, 8 f. 12 f. figs. 6, 8 pl. 1, 6; Ecole Suisse 2004, 220 f. It suggests that Eretria had a fortification wall including the acropolis and the harbour already in the early

Fig. 22 : Basis for Neileos-statue in front of *nymphaeum*, restored in mid-3rd century AD (photo author 10/2011).

position for the *heroa* of the founders of two other East Ionian cities, Kolophon and Ephesos. Andraimon and Androklos were, like Neileos, killed in combat with the indigenous Karians. In Ephesos, where the *heroon* of Androklos was likewise located at the processional road to the Artemision, close to the main city gate, the so-called Magnesian Gate, a "man in arms" (ἀνὴρ ὡπλισμένος) stood on the grave[132]. In this manner, the protective role of the *heroon* was manifest.

Perhaps, the *heroon* of Neileos in Miletos looked the same. An indication can be bronze coins issued by the city in the Imperial period, depicting her Minoan eponymous *heros ktistes* Miletos, wearing hoplite armour[133]. A late Hellenistic, over life size marble cuirass, enwinded by a snake and found in 1903 close to the Sacred Gate[134], may therefore originate from the Neileos *heroon* (fig. 21)[135].

Nevertheless, the city of Miletos was also not willing to abstain from Neileos in the city center, where the cult of a Greek *heros ktistes* was traditionally located: but instead of a *heroon*, a statue was erected for the founder in the agora, in front of the Roman *nymphaeum* and opposite the Hellenistic *bouleuterion*. This place was quite prominent in the Roman period[136]. The lower basis of the monument survived with a mid-3rd century AD inscription on a column drum, mentioning that the statue on top, now lost together with its basis, had been "restored" (ἀποκατέστησεν) by the Milesian *demos* (figs. 2, 7; 22). The term implies the repairing of an older monument, perhaps also a statue[137]. It reminds us of the restored statue of the *heros* C. Iulius Epikrates in one of the *gymnasia* of Miletos, which had been affected by fire (see § II).

The honorary statue of Neileos in the agora obviously did not form part of a large-scale *heroon*, but it could definitely have served his cult: sacrifices

7th century BC. The graveyard at the West Gate was built over by housing in the late 5th century BC, after Athens had subdued Eretria in 424 BC. The reason may have been that the hero cult had ceased to exist after the conquest by the Persians in 490 BC or only in 424.

132 Andraimon: Pausanias 7.3.5; cf. Herda 1998, 44. Androklos: Pausanias 7.2.9; cf. Herda 1998, 6 f.; for the assumed location cf. Herda 1998, 6 with n. 31; Sokolicek 2009, 328.

133 Herda 2006a, 308 n. 2192; Herda forthcoming a, § 2.2.1.

134 Rabe 2008, 186 no. 61 pl. 62.

135 Cf. Herda forthcoming a, § 2.5.6.

136 For this part of the agora: Cain/Pfanner 2009.

137 Herrmann 1997, 72, 207 no. 269: ὁ δῆμος Νειλέα τὸν κτίστην ἀποκατέστησεν; cf. Herda 1998, 22 with n. 156; Bol 2011, 67 f. no. III.4.1 fig. 31, pl. 27h; Herda forthcoming a, § 2.5.6; for the exact position compare: Cain/Pfanner 2009, 91-92 fig. 11. Because of the deviation of the basis from the orthogonal street-*insula*-grid as well as the closeness to the NW-corner of the *Nymphaeum* they assume the monument to be older than the *Nymphaeum* (late 1st century AD).

in front of the statue may have taken place during certain public festivals, converting it into a temporal cult statue[138].

VII. The *heroon* of Thales, act 2: On Thales as first of the Seven Sages and 'cultural hero', where his *heroon* was located, and how it looked

But back to Thales now: The story given by Plutarch delivers the additional information that Thales had predicted (προειπών) where the agora of Miletos would be one day. I think, this story does not serve simply to demonstrate the philosopher's ability to predict what happens in the future[139]. Instead, Thales did not foresee this by accident: As it was exactly in his lifetime, that the street-*insula*-grid system was introduced in his hometown (fig. 19), it seems only logical to assume his participation in the plannings.

Thales as founder of Ionian natural philosophy, or better to say, natural sciences as a whole, had many skills: He himself brought geometry and astronomy from Egypt, measuring the height of the pyramid with the help of its shadow[140]. It is also possible that he saw there samples of regular town planning, as the Egyptians practiced since the early IInd millenium BC[141].

Furthermore, Thales had the practical skills of a hydraulic engineer: Herodotos describes how he mastered the river Halys, which hindered the Lydian king Kroisos and his army from advancing against the Persians c. 547 BC: He channeled it in two streams, which were smaller, and by means of this facilitated Kroisos' army to cross over[142]. Water also played an essential part in Thales' cosmological ideas, which were likely influenced by Egypt – or at least in concert with them since life in Egypt was indeed the gift of the Nile[143]. The importance of water is already present in Homer's and Hesiod's cosmological picture. They declared the "river Okeanos" as the origin of all things and even of the gods and men[144]. In the famous description of the shield of Achilles, Homer also delivers the first abstract model of the *kosmos*, the existing world in its given order[145]. Hephaestus, the divine smith, artfully incises the picture onto the round shield, producing the first 'world map': The earth (*Gaia*) is slightly vaulted, disc-shaped, consisting of several 'rings', picturing human life on the occupied land (*oikumene*) in several scenes. The earth is surrounded by the sky (*Ouranos*), the stars, the moon and the sun (in this order). Okeanos forms the outermost 'ring'[146]. From this model Thales deduced his prime theory that water is "the principle of all" (*arche*) and that "the earth lies on water"[147]. Via Thales' teaching, Hephaestus' map also got the archetype of Anaximander's and Hekataios' maps of the world[148].

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138 Compare statues of gods and emperors in Roman *agorai*. The best indicator for a cult statue is the presence of an altar: Witschel 1995, 361-367, esp. 365 n. 40. The altar where the Milesians sacrificed to Neileos *intra muros* may have been a portable one, placed in front of the statue. Otherwise the large foundation in the middle of the square between *Nymphaeum*, *Bouleuterion* and Market Gate may have served as altar: Cain/Pfanner 2009, 87-92 figs. 6, 8-11. Another opportunity is given, when we take the 'Ehrengrab' in the court of the *bouleuterion* as an altar (of Artemis Boulaia, Apollo Didymeus, Zeus Boulaios) (see above § II): One figure on the frieze has been interpreted as depiction of Tyro, the mother of Pylian Neleus, the very forefather of the Neileos and the Neleids: Th. Wiegand in: Knackfuß 1908, 88 pl. 16, 2; Schollmeyer 2011, 21 f. with n. 194; p. 23 II.3 pl. 2b. On Tyro see Herda 1998, 14. The *Neleidai* (= Milesians) are also mentioned in the honorary inscription for Lichas, which was erected in the *propylon* of the Bouleuterion right opposite the statue of Neileos: C. Fredrich in: Knackfuß 1908, 115-117 no. 12, l. 7: ξυνὰ δὲ Νηλεΐδαισιν ὁμαίχμια πρῶτος Ἰώνων, "First of the Ionians, you elected the tribes of the Cretans as allies for the Neleidai"; cf. Herrmann 1998, 158 n. 12; cf. Herda 1998, 22 f. n. 155; see above n. 49.

139 So *e.g.* Classen 1965, 931.

140 Diogenes Laertius 1.27; Aetius 1.3.1; Proclus in Euclidem 1.26 p. 352 Friedländer; cf. Herodotus 2.109; Kirk *et al.* 2001, 93 f. on nos. 79-80; Hahn 2001, 57-61; Hahn 2003, 73 f.

141 C.f. Castagnoli 1971, 57-59 figs. 22 (Kahun, village for workers of the pyramid of Sesostris II, c. 1897-1879 BC), 23 (Tell-el-Amarna, city of Akhenaten, 1396-1354 BC), but without any reference to Thales.

142 Herodotus 1.75; cf. Hahn 2001, 56, 254 nn. 50 f.

143 Cf. Haider 2004, 468-470.

144 Homer, *Iliad* 14.246 (all things, implicating also of all gods and men: Nagy 2011b, 267), 14.201, 302 (all gods) and Hesiod, *Theogony* 337-388 (river gods and nymphs).

145 Philipp 1984, 3 f.; Herda 2012.

146 Homer, *Iliad* 18.478-609; cf. Hardie 1985; Nagy 2011b, 268-276, 594-599. It is difficult if not impossible to translate Homer's description into a two-, or even three-dimensional picture, but he must have had Phoenician metal bowls with concentric friezes in mind, when creating his shield of "unattainable complexity", see Snodgrass 1998, 40-44 fig. 17. One of the best and most convincing attempts in arranging the concentric circles is given by Philipp 1984 (however without figure and very concise). Recent bibliography and further commentaries in: *Aion* 31, 2009. The reconstruction *ibid.* (Cerchiai 2009, 24 fig. 1) is misleading.

147 Aristotle, *Metaphysica* 1. 983b, 6-24 (= Diels/Kranz 11 A12).

148 Strabo 1.1.11 (= Kirk *et al.* 2001, 113 f. no. 99): νυνὶ δὲ ὅτι μὲν Ὅμηρος τῆς γεωγραφίας ἦρξεν, ἀρκείτω τὰ λεχθέντα. φανεροὶ

Maybe Thales' insights were at least partly provoked by his observation of the dynamic palæogeographic development of Miletos which, as a harbour town, had always been exposed to the impact of water. The constant change of landscape, resulting from tectonics of the Maeander graben as well as the sedimentation activity of the Maeander river, caused the rise or decline of the sea level, transforming land into sea and *vice versa*[149]. Thales' special achievement is that he first identified the causes of these natural processes and successively developed methods to influence them to the advantage of humans, e.g. by involving hydraulic engineering[150]. This is the message in the Kroisos-story as well as in that of Thales choosing the location of his own grave, later to be his *heroon*.

Thales' ideas are further developed in the theories of his contemporaries and successors: Anaximander, his most important pupil, exchanged water as the principle of all being by the *apeiron*, the "Boundless/Infinite", and postulated an alternate drying out of the sea by the sun, followed by a flooding, arguing with the existence of marine fossils in inland sites[151]. Anaximenes, pupil of Anaximander, explained water, earth and stones as differently compacted forms of the principle cosmic material, air, which constantly changes its condition of aggregation[152]. Xenophanes of Kolophon thought of a periodical mixing of earth and water, being the reason for the growing and decline of living species, finally resulting in a total dissolution of earth in water. Like Anaximander, he argued with the appearance of fossils[153]. Herakleitos of Ephesos instead believed the cosmic fire to be the true reason for the transformation of earth into water[154].

Thales' competence in political matters is to be mentioned, too. He advised the Ionians to build a common assembly hall, a *bouleuterion*, in the city of Teos in the middle of Ionia for that they could better concentrate their political and military power against the Lydians and Persians[155]. Therefore, he may very well have participated not only in the implementation of the orthogonal grid-system in the beginning 6th century, but also in the enlargement and reorganisation of the Milesian agora around the mid-6th century, creating a space suitable to the demands of the growing body of citizens taking part in the political decision-making. With the help of arbitrators from Paros, Miletos had at that time managed to suppress a severe civil strive and had installed a moderate oligarchy which was in good terms with the new dominant power in Asia Minor, the Persians. The growing body of proud and wealthy polis citizens engaged in politics could be responsible for the development of the agora

δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐπακολουθήσαντες αὐτῷ ἄνδρες ἀξιόλογοι καὶ οἰκεῖοι φιλοσοφίας, ὧν τοὺς πρώτους μεθ᾽ Ὅμηρον δύο φησὶν Ἐρατοσθένης, Ἀναξίμανδρόν τε Θαλοῦ γεγονότα γνώριμον καὶ πολίτην καὶ Ἑκαταῖον τὸν Μιλήσιον. τὸν μὲν οὖν ἐκδοῦναι πρῶτον γεωγραφικὸν πίνακα, τὸν δὲ Ἑκαταῖον καταλιπεῖν γράμμα, πιστούμενον ἐκείνου εἶναι ἐκ τῆς ἄλλης αὐτοῦ γραφῆς. "What we have already advanced is sufficient to prove Homer the father of geography. Those who followed in his track are also well-known as great men and true philosophers. The two immediately succeeding Homer, according to Eratosthenes, were Anaximander, the disciple and fellow-citizen of Thales, and Hecatæus the Milesian. Anaximander was the first to publish a geographical chart. Hecatæus left a work [on the same subject], which we can identify as his by means of his other writings." (transl. H.C. Hamilton).
As Eratosthenes (c. 276-194 BCE) was the head of the library of Alexandria, he likely had access to the maps of Anaximander and Hekataios. So will have had Herodotus c. 200 years earlier in Athens, when he ridiculed the maps showing a flat discoid world, still the dominant imagination in his time: Herodotus 4.36; Kirk *et al.* 2001, 113 f. no. 100; Naddaf 2003, 34, 63 n. 87, 54 fig. 1.1; Couprie 2003, 196 fig. 3.16; Hahn 2010, 153.

149 Müllenhoff *et al*. 2009a, 106. On the harbours of Miletos see Brückner *et al*. forthcoming.

150 One may compare the contemporaneous efforts of Greek engineers to ensure the water supply of cities, for example the tunnel of Eupalinos of Megara in Samos (Kienast 1995; Hahn 2001, 114-116; most lately Olson 2012), the water system of Athens (Tölle-Kastenbein 1994) or the '*krene* of Theagenes' in Megara (Hellner 2004). At that time, Miletos seemed to have run her water supply only by ground water wells and small water pipelines: Tuttahs 2007, 5, 67 f., 74 f.

151 Aristotle, *Meteorologica* B1, 353b6; cf. Kirk *et al.* 2001, 151-156 on nos. 132-137: see above § VI.1 with n. 116 on the (fossilized?) bones of the giant Asterios near Miletos.

152 Kirk *et al.* 2001, 158-162 on nos. 140 f.

153 Hippolytus, *Ref*. 1.14.5-6 (=Kirk *et al.* 2001, 193 no. 184); cf. Kirk *et al.* 2001, 192-195 on nos. 181-185 and p. 153 on Anaximander; Naddaf 2003, 38.

154 Herakleitos, fr. 31 (= Clemens, *Strom*. 5.104.3+5 = Diels/Kranz 22 B 31); cf. Kirk *et al.* 2001, 216-218 on no. 218.

155 Herodotus 1.170 (= Diels/Kranz 11 A 4); cf. Naddaf 2003, 31 (he mixes up the Ionian city of Teos with the island of Telos; but on p. 35 he correctly has Teos!). Gorman 2001, 125 f. unnecessarily doubts the historicity of Thales' proposal. The statement of Socrates in Plato's *Hippias maior* 281C3-D8 that most of the earlier philosophers, e.g. Pittakos, Bias, Thales, did not take part in politics is pure irony to ridicule the sophist Hippias, being politically very active. Compare Diogenes Laertius 1.23 where it is said that Thales was first involved in politics, before he started with studying nature (Μετὰ δὲ τὰ πολιτικὰ τῆς φυσικῆς ἐγένετο θεωρίας). When Cicero, *De oratore* 3.137 declares that all of the Seven Sages were leading politicians in their polis states, with the exception of Thales (*hi omnes praeter Milesium Thalen civitatibus suis praefuerunt*), this does not exclude that Thales was politically active. Cicero only says that Thales was not the leading magistrate of the Milesian state, who was called *aisymnetes-stephanephoros* since the later 7th century BC, cf. Herda 2005, 289 f. and 2011, 60-62 on the eponymous office.

and lots of other construction projects, such as the Delphinion[156].

For this reconstruction I can refer to a very reliable source: the Athenian comedian Aristophanes. In the year 414 BC he parodied in his comedy *Birds* the Athenian geometrician and astronomer Meton of Kolonos alias Hippodamos, who wanted to "measure out the air" to build 'Cloudcuckooville', the new city of the birds, round in shape with an inscribed square and an agora in the centre, to which straight streets from every direction lead. For this achievement Aristophanes quips "the man is a Thales" (ἄνθρωπος Θαλῆς)[157]. This saying is no exaggeration: The map scetched by Meton is a perfect copy of Anaximander's cosmological map of the world with the inhabited zone (*oikumene*) of squared shape in the center[158], adjusted to the scale of a single polis state. Anaximander himself, who is said to have introduced the *gnomon* as important instrument for defining geographical North and producing a seasonal sundial[159], lastly grounded on Thales' theories, who combined Homer's map of the world placed on the shield of Achilles, with Egyptian and Babylonian knowledge[160]. Additionally Robert Hahn has shown how closely Thales and Anaximander were connected to the theories as well as practices of contemporaneous architects whose creative work not only included the outline of buildings, but also the layout of whole cities according to social and meteorological preconditions, as it was the case with later 'architects' like Hippodamos or Pytheos[161].

The recognition Thales had gained as a kind of 'cultural founder', respectively hero of Miletos, is reflected in the anachronistic myth that he came to the town from "Phoenicia", joining Ionian *heros ktistes* Neileos[162]. The story, given in Diogenes Laertius' *Lifes of Eminent Philosophers*, is a complete construct, mixing up the facts[163]. Thales was no 'Phoenician' in the literal sense. Instead he was a *meixobarbaros*, of half Karian, half Greek offspring: His father *Examyes* bears a clear Karian name, while his mother Kleobouline descended from one of the oldest Milesian aristocratic families, the *Thelidai*. This clan traced themselves back in the time before the Ionian colonization and claimed Kadmos and Agenor, 'Phoenician' princess in Boeotian Thebes, for their ancestors[164]. Their descendants, not Thales, came to Miletos joining Neileos' colonization adventure some four hundred years before Thales was born[165]. Also, they did not come from Phoenicia, but from 'Phoenician' *Kadmeia*-Thebes. By making Thales a companion of Neileos, the most important of all founders of Miletos, the tradition obviously stressed his role as a *heros ktistes*[166].

His recognition culminates in his alledged victory in the Panhellenic competition of the Seven Sages[167]. This story must have spread already shortly after his death, because Hipponax of Ephesos

156 Herodotus 5.28 f.; cf. Gorman 2001, 52, 110-113, 118, 120 (early 7th century BC); Naddaf 2003, 29 f. (after 546 BC); Herda 2005, 292 (before 560 BC); Herda in preparation.

157 Aristophanes, *Birds* 1009; for Aristophanes' comparison Meton/Hippodamos/Thales see ingeniously Haselberger 1999. Another comparison of a person with Thales is found in Aristophanes, *Clouds* 180 (geometry). For Meton of Kolonos cf. Philochoros *FGrHist* 328 F 122 with commentary; Hübner 2000.

158 For Anaximander's map cf. Couprie 2003, 194.

159 Diogenes Laertios 2.1 (= Diels/Kranz 12 A 1); cf. Hahn 2001, 61, 206 f. fig. 4.12, 255 n. 70; Naddaf 2003, 52 (taken over from the Babylonians via the Egyptians); Hahn 2010, 145-176.

160 Couprie 2003, 195-201 figs. 3.16-19; see above with nn. 145-148. Philipp 1984, 2 f. assumed convincingly that it was already Homer and his Ionian contemporaries who adopted Babylonian models like the famous map of the world from 7th/6th century BC Sippar, today in the British Museum (BM 92687): Gehrke 2007, 22 f. figs. 4-5.

161 Hahn 2001; Hahn 2003, Hahn 2010; on Hippodamos as townplanner, meteorologist and social utopist see Hellmann 2001; Herda in preparation; on Pytheos as omnipotent sculptor, architect and townplanner see Herda forthcoming b, § 6.3.

162 On Neileos and the Ionian migration see Herda 1998 and 2009, 28, 33-41, 91; Herda forthcoming a, § 2.5.

163 Diogenes Laertius 1.22 (= Diels/Kranz 11A1).

164 Cf. Herodotus 1.170 (Thales is a "Phoenician"), 5.57 f. (the *Kadmeioi* of Thebes are "Phoenicians"); cf. Herda 2009, 77 with n. 284 f., 79 with nn. 300 f.; Herda/Sauter 2009, 77 f., 105; Herda forthcoming b, §§ 5, 6.5.

165 According to the Hellenistic *Marmor Parium* (*IG* XII 5, 444 = *FGrHist* 239, 38; 264/3 BC), the Ionian Migration started 1086/85 or 1076/75 BC; cf. Herda 2009, 28; Herda, forthcoming b, § 2 with nn. 11 f.

166 The anachronistic combination of Thales with Neileos in Diogenes Laertius 1.22 may be stimulated by the wording of Thales dedication of his winner price in the Seven Sages-contest to the Apollo Didymeus in Didyma or Apollo Delphinios in Miletos, also cited by Diogenes Laertius 1.29, refering to Callimachus, Iambus 1 (fr. 191 Pfeiffer): Θαλῆς με τῷ μεδεῦντι Νείλεω δήμου | δίδωσι, τοῦτο δὶς λαβὼν ἀριστεῖον ("Thales brings me, the price he won twice, to the lord of Neileus folk"). Instead, Kirk *et al.* 2001, 84 f. on no. 62 let the couple of Neileos and Agenor arrive in Miletos, as the name of Neileos companion is not mentioned in Diogenes Laertius 1.22 (cf. Classen 1965, 930 who thinks not of Agenor alone, but of the *Thelidai* as family). That Agenor was rewarded with Milesian citizenship by publishing his name on a citizens list inscribed in stone (ἐπολιθογραφήθη δὲ ἐν Μιλήτῳ) is another anachronism, which would better suit to Thales' time or even later (the preserved citizen lists, written on the stone walls of the Delphinion, are Hellenistic). That Neileos was expelled from Phoenicia/Thebes together with Agenor or Thales (ὅτε ἦλθε σὺν Νείλεῳ ἐκπεσόντι Φοινίκης) is attested nowhere else in the Ionian migration myths. Instead he came either directly from Pylos, or via Athens: Herda 2009, 33 f.; Herda forthcoming a, § 2.5.2.

167 Diogenes Laertius 1.27-33.

(*akme* c. 540 BC) refers to it[168] and the concept of the Seven Sages, itself an Indo-European legacy[169], was propagated by the oracle in Delphi in the late 6th century BC. At that time the different home cities started to build up hero cults, to occupy their own sages and profit from their fame[170]. The myth of the competion therefore delivers the 'mythicoritualistic' background for the late Archaic cult of the Sages in their hometowns. We know of a *heroon* of Bias in Priene, called *Bianteion*. It also functioned as *prytaneion* and because of this should have been located close to the agora or in the agora of Archaic Priene, later to be relocated together with the whole city[171]. As the cult of heroes also included large-scale sacrifices with following dining (*thysiai*), a *prytaneion*, designed to house such ritual feastings, formed an ideal location[172].

The *heroon* of a third member of the Seven Sages, Chilon, is known in Sparta[173]. And already mentioned was the cremation of Solon, following the tradition of the Homeric heroes. His ashes were scattered around Salamis, the island he had won for Athens[174]. This tradition implies a hero cult, but not so much as one of the Seven Sages than as *heros ktistes* of now Athenian Salamis, protecting the cities claim on the island for all times[175].

Where do we have to look for the *heroon* of Thales? As stated above, its location is likely to be placed within the limits of the agora extensions of the 6th century BC. Recent geoarchaeological research has shown that these extensions were made not only in the southern fringes of the Lion Harbour, but also in the area of the Hellenistic South Market, including parts of the former Theatre Harbour in the West and of the Eastern Harbour (fig. 18). Theoretically speaking, the available space was therefore quite large. Nevertheless the analysis of the urban development in Late Archaic and Early Classical times does point to the region between the Delphinion in the East, the sanctuary of Dionysos in the Northwest and the Archaic *insulae* west of the Hellenistic *bouleuterion*. In this triangle was also found the only *in situ* inscription of the 5th century BC so far, a banishment decree of the polis, characterizing this part of the town as the political agora of post-Persian Miletos, a suitable place for a *heroon*[176]. The Late Archaic-Classical Delphinion, including the *Molpon-prytaneion*, is only 60 m away. It was in this very sanctuary that Thales dedicated the price he had won in the competition of the Seven Sages, at least according to one version of the story. On the golden bowl of the Arcadian Bathycles he is said to have placed the following prose inscription, which quite matches the standard form of Archaic dedications, though it scarcely has survived the Persian conquest and following plundering of Miletos[177]:

168 Hipponax frr. 4, 63, 123 (West), see below with n. 178. Alcaeus fr 448 Lobel/Page (= Himerios, *Orationes* 28.7 Colonna) may already refer to the story of the Seven Sages. Xenophanes (Diels/Kranz 21 B 19) stresses Thales' astronomic achievements as Heraclit did (Diels/Kranz 22 B 38): Classen 1965, 931. According to Diogenes Laertius 1.22, quoting Demetrios of Phaleron (c. 350-280 BC) in his *List of Archons*, Thales was the first to be called 'Sage' in the year of the Athenian Archon Damasias (Olympiade 49.3 = 582 BC), exactly the year of the introduction of the Panhellenic ἀγὼν στεφανίτης in Delphi: *Marmor Parium,* IG XII 5, 444 ep. 38 (= *FGrHist* 239, 38); Eusebius *Chronicle* p. 125. Kirk *et al.* 2001, 84 n. 1 assume that Damasias was the first who 'canonized' the Seven Sages.

169 Martin 1993, 121-123; Janda 2005, 300 f. But Martin 1993, 121 alludes besides the Seven Ṛṣis of the Sanskrit Veda (c. 1000 BC) also to the seven wise men building the walls of Uruk in the IInd millenium BC epic of Gilgamesh.

170 Martin 1993; Christes 2001; Tell 2007, 258-260, 271

171 Diogenes Laertius 1.85, 88; on the relocation of Priene: Herda 2009, 61 n. 175; p. 66 with n. 210: Herda forthcoming b, § 6.3. The transfer of a hero cult in case of a city's relocation is attested for Themistocles c. 400/399 BC, who had a *heroon* in the agora of old and new Magnesia on the Maeander. Before the transfer of his *heroon*, perhaps already shortly after his death in 459 BC, his bones had been brought to Athens, where he got a *heroon* in the Piraeus: Thucydides 1.138.5; Diodorus 21.58a; Plutarch, *Themistocles* 32.3; Pausanias 1.1.2; Nepos, *Themistocles* 10.5; cf. Malkin 1987, 223-228; Krumeich 1997, 72 with n. 176.

172 Miller 1978, 4-13, 130 (dining, *xenia*), 17 (heroes in *prytaneia*), Ekroth 2002, 183. On dining in the Milesian *prytaneion*, otherwise called *Molpon*, which was located in the Delphinion: Herda 2005, 249 f., 263-268; Herda 2011, 68 f.

173 Pausanias 3.16.4 mentions the grave on his way from the building named 'Chiton', where the sacred *chiton* for Apollo Amyklaios was woven, to the city gate, leading to Amyklaia.

174 Aristotle fr. 392 R; Diogenes Laertius 1.62; Plutarch, *Solon* 32.4.

175 Farnell 1921, 361; Malkin 1987, 83, 218; see above § III with n. 81.

176 Cf. von Gerkan 1922, 41 f. figs. 53 f.; A. Rehm in: von Gerkan 1922, 100-104 no. 187 fig. 98 pl. 12 f.; Herrmann 1998, 197 n. 187 pl. 15, 1; Gorman 2001, 230-234; Herda 2005, 272 f. fig. 25. The decree is now redated to shortly before the Persian conquest of 494 BC by Slawisch 2011; I will refer to her unconvincing arguments in: Herda in preparation.

177 Diogenes Laertius 1.29. According to other versions, Thales dedicated the price, a tripod, or golden cup or bowl, to Apollo Didymeus in Didyma: Maeandrius *FGrHist* 492 F 18 (= Diogenes Laertius 1.28-29, 32); Callimachus, *Jamb.* 1 fr. 191 (Pfeiffer); Diegesis 6.10-19; cf. Herda 1998, 22 f. on both versions and the wording of the dedications. The text, Kerkhecker 1999, 42 n. 196 gives for the prose inscription, is wrong: the addressee is Apollo Delphinios, not Didymeus, see Diogenes Laertius 1.29. The metric inscription, Diogenes Laertius also gives in 1.29, does not specify Apollo (see above n. 166). But Diogenes adds that Thales "send it to Apollo at Didyma" (τῷ Διδυμεῖ Ἀπόλλωνι ἀπέστειλεν), obviously combining two contradictory versions.

Θαλῆς Ἐξαμύου Μιλήσιος Ἀπόλλωνι Δελφινίῳ Ἑλλήνων ἀριστεῖον δὶς λαβών.

"Thales the Milesian, son of Examyes [has dedicated this] to Apollo Delphinios, after twice winning the price from all the Greeks."
[transl. R.D. Hicks]

Perhaps this wording is only a later forgery, but the Bathycles story itself is parodied already by Thales' 6th century BC 'neighbour', the poet Hipponax of Ephesos, who was himself parodied by Callimachus (c. 310–240 BC) in his first Iambus, letting him narrate the story a second time[178]. Callimachus' Hipponax gives another striking detail of the story: When Bathycles' son Amphalces brings Thales the golden bowl for the first time, he finds him in the Apollo sanctuary in Didyma, deep in geometrical studies, more concrete, developing his theorem that any angle, inscribed in a semicircle, is always a right angle[179]. But the discovery is here attributed to the "Phrygian Euphorbus", who anybody in the audience knew as being the earlier incarnation of Pythagoras. Callimachus thus (ritually) ridicules two sages alike, Thales and his pupil Pythagoras, but in the same time he hints at a quite serious aspect, that of the origin of all human wisdom. As E.A. Schmidt and A. Kerkhecker have ingeniously pointed out, Euphorbos is finally to be identified with Apollo. Therefore does Thales' (or Pythagoras') theorem as well as his wisdom go back to Apollo himself, the god of σοφία[180]. The sage is an instrument of the god. As such he can, as any other sage, be venerated as a hero, even though, only after his death and for an achievement which is not his alone, at least in the eyes of Delphi[181].

Regarding the *heroon* of Thales in the agora of Miletos we have some further informations.

Diogenes Laertius resp. his source witnesses an honorary statue, erected for Thales and bearing the following inscription[182]:

τόνδε Θαλῆν Μίλητος Ἰὰς θρέψασ᾽ ἀνέδειξεν ἀστρολόγων πάντων πρεσβύτατον Σοφίαι.

"Ionian Miletos brought up Thales, and dedicated him,
oldest of all astronomers, to Sophia."

The statue was obviously a portrait statue. Perhaps the unnamed bearded head in the Vatican, Galleria Geografica, Inv. 2892, arranged with that of Bias of Priene in a double herm, belongs to the Milesian statue (figs. 23a-b)[183]. The style of the head would date it to the 4th century BC, long after Thales had died. In consequence it could only be a posthumous product of phantasy, no correct physiognomic rendering of the sage, as during his lifetime portrait sculpture was never realistic in the sense of physiognomic reliability[184]. The late Classical statue, presumably in a seated pose, typical for portraits of philosophers[185], may well have been added to the older *heroon* as an honorary statue, erected by the city of Miletos. According to the inscription the statue was dedicated not to Apollo, but to the goddess of "Wisdom", *Sophia*[186].

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178 Hipponax fr. 4 (West), cf. frr. 63 and 123, where he refers to the ἑπτὰ σοφοί; parodied in Callimachus, *Iambus* 1 fr. 191 (Pfeiffer); cf. Kerkhecker 1999, 29-44, esp. 30: "This line is not original Hipponax, but Hipponactean pastiche. The concentration of mannerism is too good to be true. Callimachus parodies the father of parody, Ἱππωνακτίζων κρεισσόνως Ἱππώνακτος." Diogenes Laertius 1.28 instead cites the local historian Maeandrius/Laeandrius of Miletos (FGrHist 492 F 18) as model for Callimachus' Bathycles story.

179 Callimachus, *Iambus* 1 fr. 191.58-61 (Pfeiffer). The geometrical diagrams illustrating the four theorems of Thales can be found in: Hahn 2001, 58 fig. 2.2.

180 Schmidt 1990, 126 f.; Kerkhecker 1999, 42-44; Herda 2012.

181 In one of the versions (Diogenes Laertius 1.28), the oracle of Apollo in Delphi itself is initiating the competition of the most wise man.

182 Diogenes Laertius 1.34 (= Diels/Kranz 11 A 1.34).

183 Richter 1965, I 81-83 esp. 83 fig. 321-322; Heintze 1977, pls. 44, 2; 45, 3; Richter/Smith 1984, 209 f. fig. 172. H. Heintze (Heintze 1977, pls. 44.1, 45.1-2) wants to count an over life-size bearded head in a private collection for a portrait of Thales, but this is only hypothetical.

184 Richter 1965, I 81; see Fittschen 1988, 2-5 on 'idealized' and 'individualized portraits'. Compare the statue of Chares and other seated statues of Milesian aristocrates along the sacred road between Miletos and Didyma: they are idealized portraits, representing certain types (men as aristocrats, participating in seated ritual dining; women depicted as sitting in the aristocratic *oikos* and 'ruling' over it), without clear signs of individuality of the depicted persons. This is only given by the name inscriptions, e.g. that of Chares: Herda 2006a, 332-342.

185 All the portraits of the Seven Sages, especially those in a group composition, repeated in Roman mosaics and wall paintings, show them seated. A seated (and unbearded!) Thales is depicted in the wall painting from the 'Palazzo dei Cesari' in Ostia from Hadrianic times: Richter 1965, I 81, 83 fig. 325; Richter/Smith 1984, 209 fig. 171. The portrait is named in Greek: Θαλῆς Μειλήσιος. Another named portrait is a bearded bust on a mosaic from Baalbek, of the 3rd century AD: Richter 1965, I 81 no. 4 fig. 314; Richter/Smith 1984, 197 f. no. 4 fig. 158.

186 The goddess Sophia is first personified in Classical poetry (e.g. Euripides, *Medea* 843), depictions are attested from Hellenistic times on: Xagorari 1994.

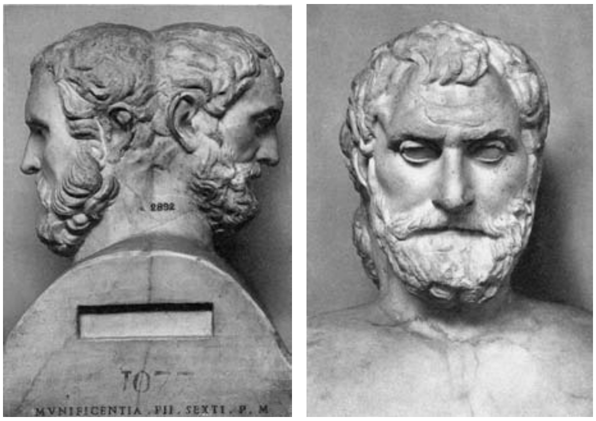

Fig. 23a-b : Unnamed bearded head of Thales(?), arranged with that of Bias of Priene in a double herm. Roman copy of a 4th century BC Greek original. Vatican, Galleria Geografica Inv. 2892 (photo G. Lippold, *Die Skulpturen des Vaticanischen Museums* III 2, Berlin, 1956, pl. 198, 18 [right]).

The formulation ἀνέδειξεν … Σοφίαι resembles that of sacrifical regulations: The mothercity sacrificed her *sophos* metaphorically to *Sophia* like a bull[187]. Additionally, Miletos shows off with her cultural leadership in Ionia by stressing Thales' achievements as 'first' astronomer: The rare feminine adjective Ἰὰς for "Ionian" is first to be found in Herodotus[188], and the very same Herodotus also coined the phrase of Miletos being the "ornament of Ionia" (τῆς Ἰωνίης πρόσχημα)[189]. Thales was certainly one of Ionia's crown jewels.

Diogenes Laertius has also passed down the alleged grave inscription of Thales, most probably that of the post-Persian era[190]:

> ἦ ὀλίγον τόδε σᾶμα τὸ δὲ κλέος οὐρανόμακες
> τῶ πολυφροντίστω τοῦτο Θάλητος ὅρη.
>
> "Here in a narrow tomb great Thales lies,
> yet his renown for wisdom reached the skies."
> [English transl. R.D. Hicks]

Is the smallness, skillfully contrasted with Thales' boundless mind, owing to the original grave built by the sage himself? And did this grave survive the destruction of Miletos by the Persians in 494 BC? We do not know as long as we have not found it, an adventure, which seems quite difficult to me, but netherthеless absolutely worth the effort!

VIII. *Heros* Anaximander in the *bouleuterion*?

That monuments of the Archaic past of Miletos survived into the Byzantine period, being reused in different functions, is documented by countless sculptures, found reused in Late Roman and Early/ Middle Byzantine contexts[191].

One of the most remarkable is the lower part of a statue of a long-robed female, broken in two pieces and dated to around 570/60 BC (fig. 24). It was found in the Hellenistic *bouleuterion*[192]. The dedicatory inscription on the plinthe below the feet identifies it as a dedication of Anaximander[193]. From its first discovery onwards, the statue has been connected to the famous philosopher, pupil of Thales. Anaximander died in the same 58th Olympiad as Thales (c. 547/6 BC), but was c. 14 years younger[194]. At first, the statue was believed to be the depiction of a male and therefore mistaken as a life-size portrait statue of Anaximander. But this cannot be true as it is definitely a female, wearing a foot-long robe (*chiton*), most probably belted, and covered by a typical East Ionian 'veil-mantle'[195].

187 For ἀνέδειξεν plus dative in the sense of "dedicate" see LSc s.v. ἀναδείκνῦμι, refering to SIG 589.6, 21 τῷ Διὶ ταῦρον (regulation for the festival of Zeus Sosipolis, Magnesia on the Maeandrus, 185/4 BC); cf. Sokolowski 1955, 88-92 no. 32, esp. 91 with commentary on l. 21 ἀναδείκνυσθαι.

188 Cf. LSc s.v. Ἰάς: Herodotus 5.33 στρατιή, 5.87 ἐσθής, 1.92 [γυνή].

189 Herodotus 5.28; compare Pliny, *naturalis historia* 5.112: *caput Ioniae*; cf. Herda forthcoming a, § 2.6.

190 Diogenes Laertius1.39 (= Anthologia Palatina 7.84; Diels/Kranz 11 A 1.39).

191 For example: Archaic female seated statues in Miletus: Dally/ Scholl 2009; Bumke 2009; lion in Baths of Faustina: Dally/Scholl 2009, 151 f. figs. 8-9; S.F. Meynersen, in: Bol 2011, 110-113 fig. 45 pl. 52 (VI.23); *kouros* in the theatre: R. Bol in: Bol 2011, 131-134 fig. 52 (supposedly cult statue of Apollo Termintheus from Myous, which is not convincing to me); seated statues of 'Branchids' and Chares along the sacred road in Didyma: Herda 2006a, 327-350 fig. 18, 20; Dally/ Scholl 2009, 152 f. fig. 10; Archaic *kore* (Berlin Inv. 1740) dedicated to the nymphs: see below n. 198.

192 The exact find context is lost, see Darsow 1954, 102 with n. 5 (found in the peristyle or the assembly building).

193 C. Fredrich in: Knackfuß 1908, 112 no. 8 fig. 103 (height 0.79 m); Darsow 1954 fig. 1-5; Jeffery 1990, 334, 342, no. 26 pl. 64; Herrmann 1997, 156 f. no. 8; Agelidis 2009, 190 f. with figs.; Dally/Scholl 2009, 146 f. fig. 3.

194 Apollodorus *FGrHist* 244 F 29 II 1028 (= Diogenes Laertius 2.12 = Diels/Kranz 12 A 1); cf. Kirk *et al.* 2001, 109 f. with n. 1 f.

195 C. Fredrich in: Knackfuß 1908, 112; followed by Diels 1914, 5; contra: Darsow 1954; Herrmann 1997, 156 f.; Karakasi 2001, 44, 48, 167 pl. 36 ("M 1"). On the clothing see Darsow 1954, 106-110; Kriegenherdt 1995. Kriegenherdt 1995 remarks that the left hand was originally raised in front of the trunk, holding a small votive, perhaps a bird. On the motive of the fringe-tip of the veil-mantle

Fig. 24 :
Archaic female votive statue of one Anaximander, found in the Hellenistic *bouleuterion*, c. 570/60 BC.
Berlin, Antikensammlung Staatliche Museen Berlin Inv. SK 1599 (photo Agelidis 2009, 190)

Fig. 25 :
Relief with seated Anaximander from Rome, Via delle Sette Sale, 2nd century BC. Rome, Terme Museum Inv. 506 (photo Richter/Smith 1984, 97 fig. 50)

No Archaic portrait of Anaximander is known. The famous portrait on a relief, found in Rome, showing him seated and contemplating, is a Hellenistic phantasy and part of a series of portraits of Greek astronomers, geometricians, geographers etc. (fig. 25)[196].

As the *kore* with Anaximander's votive inscription was indeed re-erected in the *bouleuterion* in Hellenistic times, and not brought here in Late Antiquity or early Byzantine times, like for example the sarcophagus-fragments and the grave inscriptions[197], an identification of the dedicator Anaximander, with the famous Milesian philosopher, was likely intended[198]. We may then speculate about some kind of cultic veneration of Anaximander in the Hellenistic *bouleuterion*, which is not attested otherwise. Being the leading philosopher of the Milesian School, he could claim an importance as 'cultural' hero, similar to that of his teacher Thales. Like him he will also have been involved in the re-organisation of the urban planning of his hometown (see § IV, VII). From the preserved *testimonia*, Anaximander can be imagined as an utopist and visionary who tried to translate his idea of the cosmic structure into the spatial and political structure of his hometown. Like the earth forming the center of Anaximander's *kosmos*, surrounded by three fire rings (stars, moon, sun), defined by simple mathematical ratios and definite geometrical proportions, the space of the agora formed the spatial and political center of the *polis*, whose society was divided in three classes of citizens (aristocrats, middle class, poor), interacting according to the rule of oligarchic *isonomia*[199]. This may have qualified him sufficiently

stuck under the belt in the front of female Ionian statues of Archaic times see Herda-Sauter 2009, 72-77 figs. 4-7 (interpreted as 'Karian' costume).

196 On the relief, found reused in a wall in the Via delle Sette Sale: Richter/Smith 1984, 86 f. fig. 50. On the dating in the 2nd century BC with the help of the name inscription and the series of reliefs with portraits of Greek scientists-philosophers from Rome: Blanck 1999, pl. 8.

197 See above § II for the sarcophagus fragments and grave inscriptions. The statue of Anaximander was deliberately broken in two pieces to use it as building material. Additionally, the vertical fringe of the veil along the left back side as well as the lower fringe of the robe covered by the veil in the back and on both sides were cut off. This led Darsow 1954, 102 to assume a re-use in the Hellenistic building or in the post-antique settlement covering the *bouleuterion* area, while Kriegenherdt 1995, 109 thought of a re-use already in the Hellenistic building. Alas, the Hellenistic building was constructed, at least in its upper parts, with large ashlar blocks, not rubblestone.

198 Dally/Scholl 2009, 147, who stress the uniqueness of the piece. But compare also the lower part of another lifesize female statue of this type from Miletos of the same period with the votive inscription of a certain Mandrios to the Nymphs. The statue, now in Berlin (Inv. 1740) was until recently wrongly attributed to Samos: Karakasi 2001, 14 with n. 23, p. 48, 167 pl. 36 ("M 1A"). Instead, it was found in a modern wall within the ancient city of Miletos: Ehrhardt 1993, 3 f.

199 Aristotle, *de caelo* B 13.295b 10 = Diels/Kranz 12 A 26.1-5; cf. Hahn 2001, 182 f. (refering to Th. Gomperz, J.-P. Vernant and G. Naddaf); Naddaf 2003, 31. For the tripartite structure of the Archaic Milesian society see Phocylides of Miletos, a contemporary of Anaximander, fr. 12 (Bergk): "Many things are good for men who are in the just middle. In the city, I want to be a man of the center."; cf. Naddaf 2003, 30 f. The "ursprüngliche Endzahl der primitiven Menscheit" for being a suitable hero in a *bouleuterion*. For this we can compare the *heroon* of Bias, located in the *prytaneion* of Classical(?) Priene (see § VII).

The date of origin of Anaximander's postulated hero cult is mere speculation: It can already have existed in the later 6th century BC, as is the case for the cult of Thales, or that of the Chares, commander of Teichiussa, a Milesian *phrourion*, whose portrait statue formed the seventh station of the New Year procession to Didyma[200]. One may take these Milesian examples as an indicator for the growing body of official hero cults of recently deceased persons in the second half of the 6th century BC, adding new professions (athletes, philosophers, military, poets) to the most spread and earliest attested Greek hero cult of historical persons, that of the founders of colonies.

If we neglect a hero cult of Anaximander in the Hellenistic *bouleuterion*, the assumed presentation of an Archaic statue with dedicatory inscription of Anaximander at least hints at the possible function of the *bouleuterion* as a quasi archive for interesting *memorabilia* of Miletos' great past, a function sometimes also assigned to *prytaneia*[201]. One may finally hint at the practice of erecting honorary statues in public buildings[202].

IX. A recent hypothesis on an intramural, subterranean chamber grave: *heros ktistes* versus *temenitai*

In a new book on Ionia, Wolfram Hoepfner has proposed to identify a subterranean chamber west of the Hellenistic Bouleuterion with the grave of a founder of Miletos (figs. 26, 27a-b). He dated it in the Archaic period and located it in the agora[203]. The chamber is only 3.05 by 1.53 m and 2.09 m high, it was closed by a plug door. The chamber as well as a tiny antechamber on a slightly higher level had

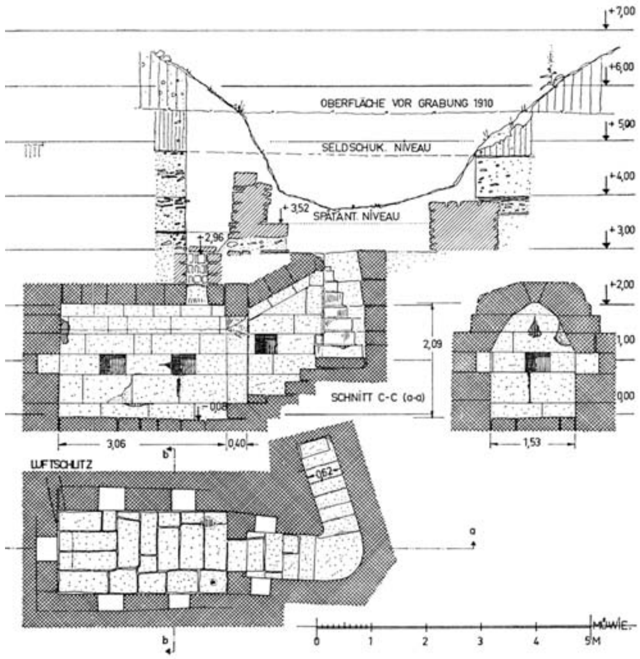

Fig. 26 : Subterranean chamber west of the *bouleuterion*, Hellenistic(?), groundplan, longitudinal and cross section (sketch W. Müller-Wiener in: Müller-Wiener 1972, Beilage 6).

seven niches in the walls. A staircase of ten steps led to the antechamber[204]. Hoepfner leaves open to which of the Milesian founders the grave may have belonged. He compared the structure with the Late Archaic subterranean grave in the agora of Poseidonia-Paestum in Italy. The latter grave consisted of a built-chamber without any entrance, having a gabled roof, on which an additional roof made of terracotta tiles was later placed, covered by a tumulus. The grave included several *hydriai* and *amphorae* made of bronze and terracotta, standing along the walls and filled with a brown sticky substance, the remains of a bed, as well as five iron spits lying on a central stone basis. It has been interpreted not as a grave, but as a cenotaph for the founder of Poseidonia, because bones or ashes of a cremation are missing[205].

(H. Usener), the number "3" (see below n. 238), may also stand behind Anaximander's concept of the *apeiron*, "the Boundless, Infinite", which is the *arche*, the 'principle' of all being. The "3" is also extant in the number of the three continents Europa, Asia and Lybia, as counted by the Ionian philosophers: Herodotus 2.16; cf. Naddaf 2003, 35 f.

200 Herda 2006a, 327-350, 440 f. figs. 9, 17-18, 20, 22.

201 Miller 1978, 16 f. (Athens, Solonian law code; Cyzicus, anchor of Argonauts).

202 Miller 178, 17 again for *prytaneia*.

203 Hoepfner 2011, 74 f. with fig. 35; cf. 72 fig. 34 "Heroon?".

204 G. Kleiner in: Kleiner/Müller-Wiener 1972, 54; W. Müller-Wiener in: Kleiner/Müller-Wiener, 1972, 69-71 Beilage 1, 4, 6, pls. 18, 1-3. Regarding the function as grave O. Henry kindly remarks in a letter of Marcch 20, 2012: "As for the structure in Miletos, I would also think that it is a tomb. Mainly because of the door system: a plug door which is really hard to open and close again, especially since it is located on the staircase". Another argument are the niches where urns could be placed. This implies a multiple use of the grave.

205 See above n. 107; an alternative interpretation as *Tritopatreion*: Rausch 2000; critical on Rausch: Stroszeck 2010, 73 n. 113.

Fig. 27a-b : Subterranean chamber west of the *bouleuterion*, Hellenistic(?), a. entrance from outside, b. door from inside (photos Müller-Wiener 1972, pl. 18, 2-3).

Hoepfner's proposal seems very attractive at first sight. However, neither is the chamber located in the agora, nor is a dating likely to the Archaic period. To begin with the dating: The pottery finds behind the walls flanking the staircase were predominantly Archaic, but included some later material[206]. Wolfgang Müller-Wiener therefore dated the whole structure to the Hellenistic period, also taking into account the vaulted roof of the antechamber and the 'mixed' construction of a corbel-vaulted roof with a closing keystone in the main chamber[207]. The pavement surrounding the mouth of the staircase seems to have been installed not before the Roman Imperial period, judging by the pottery found under it[208]. In the last period of use, in Late Roman or early Byzantine times, an opening was cut into the roof of the main chamber, which was now used as a cistern[209].

Regarding the location of the grave: From the early 6th century BC on, the area where the grave is located forms part of the street-*insula*-grid system (figs. 2, 6; 19)[210]. This place was not an open space, but covered with the building structures of an *insula*[211]. Nevertheless, the agora was close by, only one *insula*-block to the East, and the next *insula* to the Northwest housed the sanctuary of Dionysos, which is at least of Archaic age, marking the importance of this city district[212].

All in all, Hoepfner's hypothesis of the chamber tomb being the Archaic grave of a Milesian founder hero (*heros ktistes*) has to be abandoned. Its position close to the city center is remarkable, being under one of the houses of an *insula*. What is also remarkable is the permanent accessibility of the complex via the staircase, as well as the seven niches, resembling the five additional *loculi* in 'Heroon I', the supposed grave of Dokimos (see § I)[213]. This is a clear hint of a multiple burial place used over a longer period, otherwise typical for family graves. But within the city wall, where – in contrast to *heroa* which were exempted from that rule (see § V) – regular family burials of citizens were unusual due to ritual impurity[214], another possibility seems more suitable to me: The burial ground of a burial-association, not organized according to family structures. This calls into mind a whole series of so-called *temenitai*-inscriptions from Hellenistic

206 W. Müller-Wiener in: Kleiner/Müller-Wiener 1972, 70: "(...) in der darunter folgenden Auffüllung hinter den die Treppenwand bildenden Quadern dagegen dominierte archaisches Scherbenmaterial (...)".

207 W. Müller-Wiener in: Kleiner/Müller-Wiener 1972, 70: "Nach der in Milet üblichen Material-Chronologie sowie nach den Mauerwerksformen zögert man freilich mit einer derart frühen [Archaic, A.H.] Ansetzung; die Grottenanlage wäre danach am ehesten in hellenistische Zeit zu setzen". He also hinted at Bronze Age graves with a comparable roof construction in Ras Shamra-Ugarit, stressing that this has no implication for the dating of the Milesian grave. O. Henry kindly remarks in a letter of March, 20, 2012: "As for the date I would also think of the Hellenistic date for both the vault and the niches".

208 G. Kleiner in: Kleiner/Müller-Wiener 1972, 54 mentions only Archaic to Hellenistic finds under the pavement, but W. Müller-Wiener in: Kleiner/Müller-Wiener 1972, 70 n. 27 explicitly refers to the rim fragment of a Roman Imperial Period *sigillata* bowl.

209 Müller-Wiener in Kleiner/Müller-Wiener 1972, 70 Beilage 6; Tuttahs 2007, 53 f. figs. 38–39. Tuttahs' positioning in 44 fig. 28 "8", compare p. 53 "an der Südostecke des Bouleuterions" is incorrect.

210 Herda 2005, 279 fig. 29 (Archaic), 273 fig. 25 (Classical). Most recent map of the grid, though diachronic: Graeve 2006, 258-262, 257 fig. 8; only Archaic: Graeve 2009, 26 fig. 1. The map in: Hoepfner 2011, 72 fig. 34 for the early Classical city is misleading as it does not take into account the Archaic-Classical *insulae* west and southwest of the later Hellenistic *bouleuterion* (for an Archaic *insula* underneath Roman Heroon III see now: Herda/Sauter 2009, 86 f. n. 199 fig. 9). Additionally, the shore line in the city center shows remarkable deviations from the older reconstructions Hoepfner is relying on, see now provisionally: Müllenhoff *et al.* 2009, 20 Abb. 1.

211 W. Müller-Wiener in: Kleiner/Müller-Wiener 1972, 71, Beilage 1 ("unterirdischer Gewölberaum"), Beilage 4 ("unterird. Kammer").

212 Müller-Wiener 1977-78 and 1979 and 1988; Hirsch 2001, 218-228 figs. 1-3; Herda 2005, 272-278 and 2011, 73, 64 fig. 2.

213 The niches are large enough (0.38-0.47 m broad, 0.36-0.38 m high, 0.25-0.43 m deep) to house ash-urns.
Beneath Heroon III there is also a small Hellenistic underground chamber (2 x 2 m), accessible via a staircase of eleven steps. But this chamber, which has a large niche (1.00 m broad, 0.75 m high, 0.50 m deep) in the west and a small lamp-niche at its right side, seems to have been a storage room for wine amphoras as there was found a large amount of Hellenistic amphora sherds inside. Against its function as a grave also speaks the absence of a door: Weber 2004, 140 figs. 79, 86 pl. 43, 1 Beilage 1 ("Kellerraum").

214 Death causes ritual impurity, a pollution (*mysos*, *miasma*), which calls for ritual cleaning. Therefore death-related things are regularly excluded from sanctuaries and the city: Parker 1983, 32-73, 338; Burkert 2011a, 125 f., 138, 293. See on related funeral laws: Frisone 2011, 184, 186, 190, 194.

Miletos[215]. These attest several associations of *temenitai* or *temenizontes*, part of them *metoikoi*, non-citizens from abroad, venerating specific gods in their own sanctuaries (*temene*), where they, at least partly, also placed their collective burials[216]. Most of the inscriptions were found close to the Değirmen Tepe in the south-western outskirts of the city, where part of the Hellenistic necropolis was located. But two were found within the city, one of them northwest of the Hellenistic *bouleuterion*, exactly in the area where our chamber tomb is located. It lists at least twelve persons, called *temenizontes*, and is dedicated to Apollo, Zeus and Aphrodite. The list whose present whereabout is not known, was dated to the 1st century BC out of prosopographical reasons[217].

Alltogether we may suspect the subterranean chamber tomb to be part of a Hellenistic intramural grave-*temenos,* with a representative building on top, comparable to the peristyle structure of Heroon III[218] or the well known (extramural) Heroon of Leon in Kalydon, both including rooms for ritual feasting[219]. Maybe this is also true for Heroon I, as it also contained multiple burials and a dining room, at least in its last phase, dated to the Roman Imperial time (see above § I).

X. Some final remarks on Greek hero cults

Considering the evidence of countless mythical or mythistorical hero-cults in the growing city-states of mainland Greece, it seems illogical to assume that the "heroization of founders [in the Archaic colonies, A.H.] provides the earliest and clearest instances of hero cult in the Greek world"[220]. Instead, the cult of specific, personalized heroes of exceptional moral qualities[221] as distinct part of the cult of the dead was always present in Greek culture as an Indo-European heritage from at least Bronze Age on[222], forming a difference to e.g. the Ancient Egyptian culture, which does not know half divine, half human heroes, but clearly separates gods from men without any intermingling – except the pharaoh –, so that gods "do not run into" humans[223].

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215 These Milesian *temenitai*-inscription attesting grave-associations beside the common family-structures are overseen in the otherwise excellent article of Harter-Uibopuu/Wiedergut forthcoming.

216 Herrmann 1998, 93-97 nos. 795-804; cf. Herda 2006a, 197 n. 1382, p. 313, 348 f. with nn. 2496-2498, 2501. For a *temenos* seperate from the burial ground see next note on nos. 797 and 798.

217 Herrrmann 1998, 94 no. 797. According to Herrmann, the *grammateus* Andronikos, son of Myonides, mentioned in line 4, may be identical with a person of that name and patronymicon in Herrmann 1998, 95 no. 798, line 12. This *temenitai*-inscription, dated to the 40-ies of the 1st century BC, was instead found within a grave complex on Değirmen Tepe. If no. 797 also originates from there and was later brought to the area west of the *bouleuterion*, remains open. If this is not the case we have to assume that the association's *temenos* for Apollo, Zeus and Aphrodite was located within the city, while their burial ground was in the Değirmen Tepe necropolis. The other *temenitai*-inscription from the city is Herrmann 1998, 96 no. 801, found 1905 "in den römischen Thermen im Bereich des Eumenes-Gymnasiums westlich vom Stadion". Not clearly belonging to the corpus is a list with female names which was attributed to a Dionysian *thiasos*: Herrmann 1998, 98 f. no. 809. It was found in the large Hellenistic magazine west of the South Market, which is not far from no. 797. A fourth name list was found west of the *bouleuterion*: C. Fredrich in: Knackfuß 1908, 117 f. no. 13; Herrmann 1997, 158 f. no. 13 (early 2nd century BC).

218 I have suspected Heroon III to be the *temenos* of a cult association, probably of Apollo Didymeus and the goddesses of Good Hope: Herda/Sauter 2009, 94 n. 252.

219 On Kalydon see: Dyggve *et al.*1934; Kader 1995, 205-209, 221, 227 fig. 3.4-5.

220 Antonaccio 1995, 268; see also Antonaccio 1999 and 2011, 351. Bremmer 2006, 19 f. lowers the beginning of hero cults in Greece even more, to the late 6th century BC! Before, there had only been "tomb cults, cults of ancestors, and cults of founders of cities". It remains open why he does not count founders for heroes.

221 The assumption of Habicht 1970, 269 that the divinized rulers received their honours only because of their political power, not because of their moral perfection ("sittliche Vollkommenheit"), is only functional and dismisses the immanent metaphysical and moral function of ancient (as well as modern) religion. The same is true for the comment of Himmelmann 2009, 21 that the "Heros ist ursprünglich ein Wesen jenseits von Gut und Böse. Er wird nicht verehrt, weil er im Leben ein Tugendheld war, sondern weil er ein mächtiger Totengeist, ein gegenwärtiges Numen ist". See now Anderson 2009 on heroes as moral agents and examples.

222 Farnell 1921, 358: "One has then the right to regard some form of ancestor-cult as of indefinite antiquity in Greece. We may believe on the analogy of other societies that it developed with the development of settled agricultural institutions, with the rights of property in land, the ancestral grave belonging to the family plot". Mycenaean elite graves and funeral iconography show all elements typical for later 'hero-cult': animal sacrifices, libations, feasting, athletic contests, postfuneral rituals: Gallou 2005. That the Romans took over certain heroes from the Greeks while not distinguishing them from the gods (*dei*), as Graf 1998, 478 supposes, demands further research, but does not seem convincing to me. The myth that Roman culture lacked myths is a warning example. Also is ancestor cult, closely related to the hero cult, typical for the ancient Indian as well as Roman culture, suggesting Indo-European heritage: Hemberg 1954, 180. For ancestor cults in the Hittite and Near Eastern dynasties see Haas 1994, 239-248. For the Etruscan and Roman ancestor cults see Steingräber 2002 and below note 263.

223 Herodotus 2.50.3: νομίζουσι δ᾽ ὦν Αἰγύπτιοι οὐδ᾽ ἥρωσι οὐδέν ("The Egyptians, however, are not accustomed to pay any honours to heroes.", transl. A.D. Godley); cf. Parker 2011, 117; Assmann 2009, 12 misses any sign of herioc myths in Egypt: "In Egypt the gods do not run into you, and girls and boys can be as beautiful as they are, without being disturbed ever" ("In Ägypten laufen einem die Götter nicht über den Weg und man kann als Mädchen oder Jüngling noch so schön sein, ohne je belästigt zu werden"). However does Robert Hahn remind me of the fact that the pharaoh

The distinction between Greek hero cult and the cult of the dead ancestors seems likewise artificially overemphazised to me[224]. Both are the outcome of the same inherited religious phænomenon in Indo-European cultures, "an Indo-European eschatology"[225]: the believe of an afterlife of the soul (ψυχή) that can still intervene in favour of the living, when called in via sacrificial ritual[226]. This is also why burning the dead corpse of Achilles and other heroes, or of 'regular' dead like Philipp II of Macedon, could not affect the potential power of their soul[227]. Otherwise, the *apotheosis* of the Roman emperors would have made no sense: the *divus*, whose corpse had been burned on the *rogus* or *pyra,* the funerary pyre, was thought of as being a superhuman, indestructible, divine power, who had been liftet "up to the gods" in Olymp. Being a heroized ancestor, he could subsequently protect the imperial family as well as the Roman state – at least as long as he was asked for via executing his cult[228]. One is strikingly remembered of the central separation ritual of Hittite imperial funerals: the immortal soul of the deceased emperor or empress, gift of the Sun-god, is liberated and cleaned by burning the mortal body on the pyre, because "to the gods belongs the soul"[229]. The 'dying' of the king or queen is therefore called simply "become a god" (DINGIR^{LIM}-*iš kišari*), and during the ritual the dead king is addressed "o god" and asked for protecting his children and grandchildren, while in texts of the New Kingdom (1400-1200 BC), written in Anatolian hieroglyphs, the dead? king is always designated with the logogram for the title HEROS, still in 'archaizing' use in the Luwian, 'Neo-Hittite' kingdoms of the 8th century BC[230].

As the groups practicing a cult can differ widely, so also can be the rituals of a hero cult[231]. In this regard, the interpretation of archaeological finds

had to be 'fathered' by Amun Re to be legitimated. The title 'son of Re' is common since the fourth dynasty: Bickel 2009.

224 So for example Antonaccio 1995; Böhringer 2001, 37-46; Ekroth 2002, 335-341; Antonaccio 2006, 389-394; Söldner 2009; critical: Deoudi 1999, 40: "Wichtig ist dabei, daß einem mythischen Heros die gleichen Ehrungen zuteil wurden, wie einem unbekannten Heros an einem bronzezeitlichen oder geometrischen Grab, so daß zwischen Heroen- und Grabkult nicht unterschieden werden kann". See already Farnell 1921, 343, who warned: "The cult of heroes and the cult of ancestors frequently overlap, and the forms of ritual are mainly the same. But it is right to distinguish them, for there is a difference in the root-idea that affects their geographical distribution and the sentiment attaching to them".

225 Watkins 1995, 290.

226 On heroes as 'small-scale gods', local gods, helpful powers: Parker 2011, 103-123. During the Hittite funerary ritual for the dead king or queen is their soul entertained and asked for protecting the dynasty: Otten 1958, 16, 136. When relocating his capital, king Muwatalli II took with him not only the gods, but also the souls of his dead ancestors: see below n. 263.

227 Burkert 2011, 292 f. against Rohde's argumentation (Rohde 1925, I 27-32), the burning of the corpse, a funeral ritual introduced only in late Mycenaean times in Greece, would serve the destruction of the corpse to break the power of the dead over the living and ban their souls. It is rightly argued by Burkert and others (Burkert 2011, 292 with n. 7) that only a certain part of burials included the burning of the corpse. On the function of the burning as separation ritual of the mortal body from the immortal, divine soul in the Hittite and Roman imperial funerals see below.

228 Hiller von Gaertringen 1896; Gradel 2002, 261-371; Zanker 2004.

229 KUB 43.60, 31-32; cf. KBo 22.178 + KUB 43.109; Watkins 1995, 277-291. The soul (Hittite ZI-*anza*) is given to men by the Sun-god, see the 8th century BC funerary inscription of 'Late Hittite' king Ruwa of Tabala in Hieroglyphic Luwian: Hawkins 2000, 445 f. no. X.10 Kululu 4 §§ 1-9, esp. 446 with commentary on § 4; cf. Hutter 2003, 261. On parallels between the Hittite "Great voyage of the soul" and the Orphic voyage of the soul: Bernabé/Jiménez San Cristóbal 2008, 209-217, cf. esp. 211, 214 on the necessary destruction of the mortal body of the "Desired One" (the first borne man). Already Rhode 1925, I 30 f. stressed the cremation as means of dissolving the immortal soul from the dead body (see n. 227). Another aspect of the cremation will have been the purification of the soul by 'going through a cleaning fire' (*contra* Rohde 1925, I 31, who believed that the cathartic power of fire had no importance in Homeric Greece but only later. But see instead Rhode 1925, I 320-322, where he deals with the "Vernichtung und Läuterung im heiligen Blitzfeuer" of godfather Zeus, he holds for a very old heritage in Greek religion). One may compare the *apotheosis* of Herakles, whose cremation pyre is hit by Zeus lightning (Diodorus 4.38), or Asklepios, who is killed by Zeus' 'cleaning' lightning, and the ancient saying that somebody who was struck by lightning is going to join the gods and heroes. Additionally, the term for the paradise, where the greatest heroes live, the *Elysion*, etymologically derives from ἐνηλύσιος, which means "struck by lightning": Burkert 1961; Graf/Iles-Johnston 2007, 125 f., 206 n. 54. On "purifying fire" (Euripides, *Helena* 869 etc.) see Rhode 1925, I 320; Parker 1987, 227; Burkert 2011, 122 f. with n. 6. This is, by the way, why Empedocles jumped into the fire of Mount Etna, to become an immortal hero: Diogenes Laertius 8.75; cf. Kingsley 1995, 252-256. Also related is the phænomenon of ancestor and hero cults at the flame of the sacred hearth in the *prytaneion* as well as in the private houses; see above § III with n. 82.

230 Watkins 1995, 288 n. 18; cf. Otten 1958, 12 f., 17; Haas 1994, 216-229. The 'average' Hittite could be cremated or inhumated, the cemeteries show both customs at least from Middle Bronze Age on (early IInd millenium BC): Seeher 1993; Haas 1994, 233-237. The logogram for "heros" (Laroche 1960, no. 21) is used to designate the emperor in the Südburg - (Boğazköy 21), Yalburt-, Kızıldağ- and Burunkaya-inscriptions: Hawkins 1995, 128. It is still in use as archaizing title of late rulers, e.g. in Karkemish (Hawkins 2000, 160 no. II.32 Karkamiš A21 § 1, c. 738-717 BC) and Bulgarmaden (Hawkins 2000, 523 no. X.45 § 1, c. 738-710 BC). However, Rostislav Oreshko remarks (letter of July 25, 2012) that according to his understanding the title HEROS can also designate the living emperor. The phonetic value of the logogram and its etymology is still discussed, see the forthcoming PhD of R. Oreshko ("Studies in Hieroglyphic Luwian: Towards a Philological and Historical Reinterpretation of the SÜDBURG inscription", chapter. 3).

231 It makes sense to distinguish in the quality (olympic versus heroic/chthonic sacrifice; specific animals, cakes, plants, etc.; dining activities; dedication of figurines, weapons etc.) and quantity (small, large, single/temporal, periodically/long-term) of the rituals as well as the character of the location (reused older grave, grave, cenotaph, etc.) and the practicing groups (family, *genos*, phratry, polis etc.).

turns out to be very complicated: The phænomenon of Mycenaean tombs being reused for cult purposes in the 8th century BC does not mark the beginning of Greek hero cult as often believed, but instead signals a huge increase in its popularity out of different reasons, the most important being self-identification of social groups, their cohesion, the legitimation of their claim to power and territory[232]. On the other hand, a clear distinction between tomb- and hero cult at a certain burial site is sometimes impossible[233].

It is the common Indo-European tradition that led Homer borrowing in *Iliad* 16.456 and 674 the verb ταρχύσουσι from Luwic *tarh-*, "overcome", "vanquish", "revivify", the word-stem also behind the Luwian weathergod's name *Tarhunt*, to designate the ritual of preparing the dead body of Lycian hero Sarpedon for a mystical "revivification" after death[234]. It is also important to stress the high age and important role of heroic figures like Herakles, the prototypic hero *per se*, whose two-folded, heroic *and* Olympic cult is Pan-Greek[235]. He is closely connected to the goddess Hera, as his name means "he who has the glory (κλέος) of Hera". The goddesses (as well as Herakles') name itself is etymologically related to the word ἥρως, "hero"[236].

The heroes, whether Panhellenic or local, form a welcome addition to the pantheon of the divinities and are 'interwoven' with them, maybe from the beginning of Indo-European thought and believe, refering to the idea of an initial 'Golden Age', when gods and men had lived together in unity.

The concept of the collective, anonymous family ancestors, the *Tritopatores*, may also be a Bronze Age tradition, and again an Indo-European heritage[237]. One argument is the appearance of a *ti-ri-se-ro-e*, *Trisheros*, "Tripple Heros", in two Linear B-texts from Pylos, where he receives one time rose-scented oil and another time a gold vessel[238].

232 Coldstream 1976; Snodgrass 1980, 37-40; Polignac 1995, 138-143; Parker 2011, 287 f. 290.

233 See Parker's critical note (2011, 290): "Hero cult existed before the eighth century (...), but at this point assumed a new and for the first time archaeologically visible form, attaching itself to tombs. The difficulty here is obviously that of explaining the new form. But the uneven archaeological visibility of hero cult, typically conducted on a fairly small scale, is a complication that must always be taken very seriously."
The long discussion, if the warrior of the famous Middle Protogeometric (c. 950 BC) burial in Lefkandi-Toumba is a hero or not (no hero but a 'normal' dead: e.g. Antonaccio 1995, 241; Sourvinou-Inwood 1995, 94, 116; Seiffert 2005 [not mentioned at all]; Antonaccio 2006; hero: e.g. Deoudi 1999, 62; undecided: Mazarakis Ainian 2004, 136-138 no. 12; Bravo 2009, 18 f.), is fruitless: every dead is a potential hero. Therefore is the question, whether the house on top of the burial was formerly the dwelling place of the deceased or was only built later as a *heroon* in the context of the funeral rituals, of relatively minor relevance. Nevertheless this matter is hotly discussed: Mazarakis-Ainian/Leventi 2009, 217.
For a critical approach to the archaeological evidence of hero cults in Classical and Hellenistic Greece see now Mangoldt forthcoming.

234 Nagy 2010, 337.

235 On the double character of Herakles, being hero and god: Herodotus 2.44; Pindar, *Nemean* 3.22; Kron 1971, 145; Parker 2005, 37 f.; Burkert 2011, 319-324; on the problematic distinction between 'Chthonic' and 'Olympic', which should be replaced by the distinction 'Olympic' / 'Heroic' see: Schlesier 1997, 1189; Ekroth 2002, 310-325 and 2009, 136 f.; Parker 2005; Henrichs 2005 (with reservations); Burkert 2011, 305-310.

236 Chantraine 1968-1980, 416 s.v. Ἥρα, 417 s.v. ἥρως; Nordheider 1982, 938 s.v. ἥρως; Nagy 2010, 335. There is no Greek etymology so far for ἥρως. Peters 2002 deduces Ἥρα as well as ἥρως from urgriechisch **sēr-*, 'gewaltsames Nehmen, Raub' ("taking by force, rape"). For an alternative etymology of Herakles name, stemming from the Semitic god *Nergal*/ Akkadian *Erragal*, wherefore Herakles is qualified as non-Greek in character and origin: Kingsley 1995, 275, 394.

237 Indo-European heritage: Hemberg 1954, 180 f., comparing the tripartite sacrifice to father, grand father and grand-grand father in Indian funeral rites as well as the Roman arch-ancestor *Tritauos* in Plautus, *Persa* 57. Kretschmer 1920, 43-45 thought that Latin *Tritauos* resp. *Tritavus* was copied from Greek *Tritopator*, long before Plautus: "ziemlich alte, d.h. vor-plautinische Wortschöpfung". Why not imagine a commun heritage, instead?

238 Pylos Fr 1204, 172 and Tn 316. Identified with the *Tritopatores*: Hemberg 1954; Ventris/Chadwick 1973, 289, 586; Chantraine 1968-1980, 417 s.v. ἥρως; cf. also Burkert 2011a, 311 n. 2; *Tritopatores* developed out of *Trisheros*: Antonaccio 1995, 245 with n. 1; Antonaccio 2006, 384 f., 387 n. 9, 393; Antonaccio 2011, 351. On the contrary does Peters 2002, 358-361 neglect the connection of *Trisheros* in Py Tn 316 with the *Tritopatores*. He understands *Trisheros* as 'Dreifachkrieger' ("Tripple-warrior") and identifies him with Triptolemos who is according to him a 'hypostasis' of Poseidon. Already fifty years before the encipherment of Linear B, Furtwängler 1905, 455 considered the *Tritopatores* as Mycenaean in origin: "Man möchte indes die Frage aufwerfen, ob nicht in dem ersten Teile des Namens statt τρίτος vielmehr dasselbe verklungene Wort alter 'mykenischer' Epoche stecken könnte wie in dem Namen Τριτογένεια, den Athena führt und der den Späteren unverständlich war" (actually do *Trito-patores* and *Trito-geneia* have the same first component Τριτο-, "three": Wüst 1939, 324 f.; Chantraine 1968-1980, 1138 s.v. Τριτογένεια: Bronze Age origin?). An age-old hexametric prayer for the sake of a legitimate, 'true' son (παῖς γνήσιος) is preserved in Scholium T on Homer, *Iliad* 9.39 and *Suda* s.v. τριτογένεια: Παῖς μοι τριτογενὴς εἴη, μὴ τριτογένεια, cf. Gagné 2007, 3 with n. 11. If it is indeed addressed to the *Tritopatores*, the 'legitimate ancestors', the contrary connection between them and the term *tritogenes/eia* in the sense of 'legitimately born', becomes evident: *cf.* Lippold 1911; Kretschmer 1920; Chantraine *op. cit.* Usener 1903, 357-360 and Hahn 2003, 88 f. both suggest, in analogy to ethnological comparisons, that in Greek culture the number "3" was "absoluter Ausdruck der Vielheit" and could symbolize "the highest number and was the equivalent to 'a lot' ", stemming from a time, when no one could count above three (the three joints of a finger). H. Diels first called the "3" in 1897 "die ursprüngliche Endzahl der primitiven Menscheit" (cf. Usener 1903, 362). Compare e.g. the still valid German saying: "Der kann nicht mal bis 'Drei' zählen". In this sense the *Tritopatores* or *Tripatores* would have been the 'very first ancestors' with the highest thinkable number of generations leading back. See also Farnell 1921, 355: "early expression of an indefinite remoteness of ancestral affinity".

The other indication is the wide distribution of the *Tritopatores*, who are not restricted to Attika, but appear also in Boeotia, in Phokis(?), as well as they spread over the central and western Aegean, implicating their early genesis[239]. If we count the age-old *Apatouria*, the festival of *a-patro-horia*, "ensuring the common father"[240], for one of the festivals where the *Tritopatores* received cult[241], we may also include the Greek East as their home, implicating a cult-transfer with the migrating Greeks in Protogeometric times or even earlier[242]. Important to note is also that the *Tritopateres* as collective ancestors of the polis-states of Selinous and Kyrene have, like Panhellenic Herakles, a heroic, 'impure' as well as a divine, 'pure' aspect, stressed by the two kinds of sacrifices, 'heroic' and 'olympic', the latter at least offered to them in the city's political heart, the agora[243]. It may well be that Solon, in the context of his new funerary laws aiming at reducing the excessive public display of the aristocratic families during burials-ceremonies, transformed the traditional festival of the *genesia*, dedicated to the cult of the ancestors at the tombs of each Athenian family on a distinct date, into a yearly public festival[244]. It makes good sense that these Solonian public *genesia* also adressed the public *Tritopatores* as newly created communal ancestors of all Athenians at the state *Tritopatreion*[245]. Comparable to the individual ancestors of each family, these public *Tritopatores* not only served for strengthening the identity and cohesion of the Athenian people and proofed their autochthonous offspring, but also acted as their protectors and guarantors of future procreation[246].

In the time of Homer, the cult of individual heroes has already a long tradition and is fully developed, best to be seen in the outcomes of the genre of epic poetry[247], and the fact that in Homeric epic the word *heros* has a religious meaning[248]. *Iliad* and *Odyssey* picture the heroes, male or – less often – female[249], as stemming from the gods, being "semi-divine" (ἡμίθεος)[250], or "like gods"

239 Jameson *et al.* 1993, 111. *Tritopat(r)ees* of Arneion (= the *genos* of the Arneiadai?) in Thebes c. 400 BC: Kalliontzis/Papazarkadas 2013; *Tritopatores* of the Boiotoi in Archaic Delphi(?): SEG LVII 488; cf. Kalliontzis/Papazarkadas 2013, 170 with n. 33.

240 Lippold 1911, 105 f.; Burkert 2011, 384 n. 108.

241 See Harrison 1912, 498-500, though she doubted the high age of the patrilinear *Apatouria* because of her theory of a former matrilinear society (cf. Harrison 1908, 261, 273; Harrison 1912, 386). Referring to the etymology of *Tritopatores* and *Apatouria*, as well as to the fact that the concept of the *Tritopatores* also encounters in the Vedic *Sapinda*-fathers (see Rohde 1925, I 247 f. n. 4), speaking for their Indo-European root, we have to assume the patrilinear concept as Indo-European.

242 On the *Apatouria* in Ionia: Herodotus 1.147; cf. Burkert 2011, 346; Herda forthcoming a, § 2.5.4, 2.5.6. Miletos is one of the few places in Asia Minor where Greeks were settling since the Late Bronze Age (settlement phases Miletos V-VII). This implicates the transfer of Greek cults into the region, where they could merge with indigenous believes: see e.g. Herda 2009; Herda/Sauter 2009; Herda forthcoming b. That the *Tritopatores* do not appear in Asia Minor so far seems a pure matter of accident to me. On Delos, an altar was dedicated to the *Tritopator* of the Attic *genos* of the Pyrrhakidai before 403 BC: *IDélos* I 66; cf. Gagné 2007, 2 with nn. 5, 7; Papazarkadas 2011, 294 f.

243 See above § V with n. 111. It remains possible still, that both cults of the impure and pure Tritopatores took place not at different places (so Curti/van Bremen 1999, whose argument I am following here), but at the same spot: Jameson *et al.* 1993; Vonderstein 2006, 212; Rausch 2000, 111 f. If this was in the agora of Selinous, it would imply the (at least temporal) presence of the impure *Tritopatores* in the city center. This is only imaginable when the sanctuary was a clearly marked *abaton* or *adyton*, an area "not to be entered", like the one in the Athenian Kerameikos: Stroszeck 2010, 58-60, or the 'crossroads shrine' (= Leokoreion?) in the agora, which is surrounded by a parapet lacking an entrance: Kron 1999, 80 fig. 10. By this it could be avoided to spread the *miasma*, hold back within the limits of the *heroon* (or in the opposite case: to avoid violating the purity within a sanctuary by bringing in something impure: Parker 1983, 167).

244 For the public *genesia*, conducted on the fifth day of month Boedromion, see Jacoby 1944; Parker 1996, 48 f.; Iles-Johnston 1999, 43-46; Frisone 2011, 191 f. n. 67.

245 Compare the sacrifices on the birthday of *heros ktistes* Aratos in the agora of Sikyon: Plutarch, *Aratus* 53; see above n. 106.

246 Harding 2008, 17 f. Parker 2011, 291 tends to deny ancestor cult in Greek culture at all, though he remarks: "the closest Greek equivalents to ancestors, the *Tritopatores*, were not normally worshipped at tombs though they might be worshipped near them". In the case of the family *Tritopatreion* in the Athenian Kerameikos, the tight connection to a burial site is evident, the same is true for the state *Tritopatreion* close by the grave of Battos in the agora of Kyrene; cf. Hemberg 1954, 176; see § V.

247 Nagy 1999; Watkins 1995, 483-487 esp. 486: "(…) but the underlying system which formulaically conveys the definition of HERO is a linguistic and socio-cultural inheritance from common Indo-European times"; etc. See also Meier-Brügger 2006, 424: "It cannot be denied that long before 700 BC singers already sang about heroes. It is also indisputable that individual elements of the epic dialect are old and may certainly be of Mycenaean or pre-Mycenaean origin".

248 Parker 2011, 288 n. 3 contra Bremmer 2006, 17 f. and others (see below n. 254). See also Nagy 2011a.

249 On heroines see Larson 1995; Lyons 1997; Parker 2011, 106. Bremmer 2006, 17 remarks: "(…) but these [the heroines, A.H.] are, I regret to say, clearly less important". On the remarkable Leokorai, heroines of the Athenian *phyle* Leontis, serving as "role-models of patriotic behaviour for the men of the tribe": Kron 1999, 81. On the daughters of king Kekrops, Aglauros, Pandrosos and Herse, occupying a prominent place in Athenian religion: *ibid.* 81 f. Farnell 1921, 358 explained the lower number of heroines ("scarcely a higher ratio than one to six") with the connection of hero cult to ancestor cult and land ownership, claimed by the patrilinear Greek households.

250 Cf. Homer, *Iliad* 12.23. I cannot follow the argument of West 1978, 191 and Bremmer 2006, 24 f. that ἡμίθεος means not "semi-divine" but "almost divine" without designating the half-divine offspring of the heroes. See also Bravo 2009, 14 f. with nn. 27, 30; Parker 2011, 288 f.; Nagy 2011a, 349 f.; and Currie 2005, 64 n. 38:

(ἰσόθεος)[251]. Still alive, they already receive "godlike honours", as for example Aeneas, son of Aphrodite, from the Trojan people[252]. Famous is Hesiod's saying about the fourth generation of mortal humans, the heroes, created by godfather Zeus and direct ancestors of the fifth, "Iron" generation, the poets own, he "wished he were not counted for but died before": ἀνδρῶν ἡρώων θεῖον γένος, οἳ καλέονται ἡμίθεοι, "they were the divine race of heroes, who are called demigods"[253]. These heroes figure as a moral *exemplum* for the elite of the Iron race, being their semi-divine forefathers and as such adressees of cultic veneration[254]. The best of them stay on the Isles of the Blest[255], or in the Eleusian Fields[256], living on forever, sometimes visited by the gods and dining with them. Erechtheus the Athenian even shares his cult place with the local goddess Athena on the Acropolis[257].

The heroes form a bridge between humankind and the divine, being always able to intervene for the fortune or misfortune of men and a permanent promise for a happy afterlife[258]. Robert Parker rightly stresses the "mixed character of the heroes, mortals by biography, small gods in power"[259].

It is nearly impossible for a human to become a god. Exceptions are rare and first restricted to mythical heroes like Herakles, Achilles and Asklepios[260]. But in 414 BC, a certain Peithetairos manages, with the help of philanthropist Prometheus, to take over power from Zeus after building "Cloudcuckooville", the new 'Olymp' of the birds, which is cutting off the gods from their sacrifices resp. 'feeding' by the humans on earth. This is decribed with much humour by Aristophanes in his comedy *Birds* by refering to an ancient Indo-European myth, also present in the Hittite Kumarbi myth[261]. The triumphal advent of Peithetairos in Cloudcuckooville forms a model for the later deification of the Roman emperors via the process

"According to West 1978, 191 ἡμίθεος 'refers to parentage ... not to semi-divine status', (...). But just as θεῖον γένος means both 'godlike race' and 'progeny of the gods', so too ἡμίθεος surely means both 'demigod' as well as 'having a divine parent'. Not only is a ἡμίονος, 'mule' (West's example), born of an ass, it is also a hybrid: half horse and half ass. Heroes likewise are hybrids, composites of man and god (...)."

251 Cf. Homer, *Iliad* 2.565; *Odyssey* 1.324.

252 Homer, *Iliad* 11.58 Αἰνείαν θ', ὃς Τρωσὶ θεὸς ὣς τίετο δήμῳ.

253 Hesiod, *Erga* 159 f. I doubt, that the fourth generation of the heroes is an invention of Hesiod, he himself added to the four metal generations (gold, silver, bronze, iron), and that this four-generation sequence can be traced back only to a 9th/8th century BC Aramaic oracular, 'Sibylline' text: so Burkert 2011b, 213-220. This assumption rests mainly on the hypothesis (see also next note) that the cult of heroes was invented in Greece only in the 8th century BC under the influence of the epics: Burkert 2011a, 312 f. and 2011b, 167; see the critics on this and other theories about the origin of hero cults: Parker 1996, 33-39 and 2011, 287-292. Regarding the metal ages-sequence does Burkert 2011b, 75, 215 n. 38 himself hint at a Bronze Age Hittite ritual text (*ANET* 356), listing silver, gold, iron, bronze (in this sequence) and some precious stones. This leaves open the opportunity of an IE tradition in the Hesiodic text. At least the Vedic tradition knows of a cycle of four ages corresponding the four seasons, called *Yuga*, and named by declining qualities, depicted as the colors of Vishnu (*Krita/Satya Yuga* = white = first, perfect age; red; yellow; black), in Iranian Zoroastrism do four up to seven metal branches of the cosmic tree stand for subsequent declining ages (gold, silver, bronze, copper, tin, steel, "mixed" iron): Sauzeau/Sauzeau 2002, 288-293. To me it seems most logical to assume that the new in Hesiod is not the invention of the age of the heroes, but its arrangement, as fourth age, within the four metal ages. The clear distinction between the age of heroes and that of the "mortals as they are now" (οἷοι νῦν βροτοί εἰσιν), is always present in the Homeric epics (cf. Homer, *Iliad* 5.304; 12.383, 449; 20.287), as they narrate the end of the Heroic Age: Haubold 2005, 26, 27 f.

254 The assumption e.g. of West 1978, 190 on l. 159 ἀνδρῶν ἡρώων that in Hesiod "as in Homer the term ἥρως is devoid of religious significance" (see also *ibid*. 191 on 160 ἡμίθεοι: "the word refers to their parentage (...), not their semi-divine status"; and pp. 366-375 Excursus I. Some Names and Epithets of Gods), was influential (see e.g. Boehringer 2001, 25; Peters 2002, 357 f.; Currie 2005, 60; Bremmer 2006, 17 f.; Seiffert 2009, 352) but misleading, as West does not neglect the existence of hero cults *per se* before Homer and Hesiod: West 1978, 370-373; cf. Bravo 2009, 16, 18. Sourvinou-Inwood 1995, 52 likewise found it "extremely unlikely that the dualism common dead/Hades v. select few/paradise had existed in Mycenaean times" and assumed "the emergence and development of hero cults from the eighth century onwards". Cf. Mazarakis Ainian 2004, 131-133 who also dates the emergence of hero cults to the 8th century BC, "based on the archaeological record" and the historical model of "constant strife for power between social classes". On the ethical aspect of (Indo-European) hero cults see above n. 221.

255 Hesiod, *Erga* 170-173. The 'Islands of the Blest' where located in the extreme Northeast and Northwest of the Greek *oikumene*: Leuke in the Pontus was dedicated to heros Achilles, Palagruža in the Adria to Diomedes: Parker 2011, 244-246. Both cults may have been invented in the course of the Greek colonization from the 8th/7th century BC on: Farnell 1921, 286 (Achilles), 290 (Diomedes).

256 Homer, *Odyssey* 4.561-569. On the etymology of *Elysion* as 'struck by lighting' see above n. 229.

257 Homer, *Iliad* 2.546-551; *Odyssey* 7.80-81; cf. Coldstream 1976, 16; Kron 1976, 33 (no later emendation of the Iliad-text); cf. Parker 1996, 19 f.

258 Opposite understanding by Morris 1987, 201: "The hero was a liminal figure, characterised by the epithet 'god-like' and yet at every turn helping to create the boundary between men and the gods."

259 Parker 2011, 292.

260 See for the *apotheosis* of Herakles: Hesiod, Fr. 25, 20-33 (Merkelbach/West); cf. Calame 2005; Burkert 2011, 321. For Achilles see Burgess 2009; Herda forthcoming a, § 2.3.2. On the double character of Asklepios see Riethmüller 2005, 51-54; on the *apotheosis* of Asklepios: Riethmüller 2005, 48 f. On the divine side is only Dionysos called a *heros* by the women of Elis: Plutarch, *Questiones graecae* 299AB; cf. Brelich 1958, 362-372; Burkert 2011, 314 with n. 24.

261 The cutting off of the gods from their sacrifices on earth is an old motive, appearing also in the myth of the Hittite gods Kumarbi, Ea and Lama, suggesting a common Indo-European heritage: Lesky 1954, 15 f.

of posthumous *apotheosis*[262]. But again does the tradition lead back at least to the *apotheosis* of the Hittite emperors, with whom the Etruscan and Roman elites shared a common Indo-European origin from Asia Minor[263]. From the beginning, this 'theological speculation' kept a certain weakness. The very Augustus, who had introduced the Roman ritual and the 'believe' in its validity, warns as *divus inter deos* in Seneca's *Apocolocyntosis*, "the Pumkinification", a satirical commentary on the *apotheosis* of emperor Claudius, who had killed part of his own family to gain power: "Who will worship this god, who will believe in him? Which you make gods of such as he, no one will believe you to be gods"[264].

The border between heroes and men is on the other hand much more floating, permeable in both directions. This is why, from Late Archaic times on, the number of public hero cults of recently deceased persons, first restricted mainly to founders, starts to grow significantly, now including athletes[265], Seven Sages (*sophoi*) like Thales, statesmen like Chares in Miletos, or the poet Archilochos of Paros[266]. In the 5th century, the heroization of living persons is first occuring[267], reaching its zenith with the cult of Hellenistic rulers[268]. Empedocles (c. 490-430 BC) was not ironical, when even calling himself an "immortal god, not longer mortal, held in honor among all"[269]. Instead he can be understood as "unquestionable a man with a religious message"[270], who tried to

262 Aristophanes, *Birds* 1709-1717; cf. Kavoulaki 2004, 313-315, who interprets Peithetairos' triumphal advent in Cloudcuckooville as first example of an *apotheosis* in Greek literature. On the Roman Imperial *apotheosis*: Hiller von Gaertringen 1896; Gradel 2002, 261-371; Zanker 2004. The term *apotheosis* is first attested only in Strabo 6.3.9 (for Diomedes) and Cicero, *Att*. 1.16.13, cf. LSc s.v.

263 The *apotheosis* of the Hittite and Roman emperors delivers an additional argument for the great impact, western Asia Minor had on the development of the Etruscan and subsequently Roman culture, especially that of the elites. The story of Trojan Aeneas founding Rome is a clear hint at people moving from Asia Minor to Italy in the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age. This can be backed up by the ancient literary tradition (e.g. Herodotus 1.94: *Tyrsenoi* coming from *Maionia*/Lydia), linguistics (Yakubovitch 2010, 128 f. n. 68, p. 159: connection between Etruscan and the language of an inscription found on the island of Lemnos in 1884), as well as recent DNA-analysis of cattle as well as humans: Pellecchia *et al*. 2007 (*Bos taurus*); Achilli *et al*. 2007 (humans from Tuscany); Stoddart 2009, 273-276. It is striking that in Etruscans art the 'Greek' heroes Ajax (*Aivas*), Achilles (*Achile*/*Achle*), Agamemnon (*Achmemrun*), Heracles (*Herkle*), Theseus (*These*) etc. are so popular (see e.g. Steingräber 2002; Bonfante/Bonfante 2002, 192-213 and under the entries in LIMC). This strongly speaks for the existence of the concept of heroes also in the Etruscan culture resp. religion. This is indirectly attested by the Roman authors Servius, *Ad Aen.* 3.168 (quoting Cornelius Labeo) and Arnobius, *Adv. nat.* 2.62 who refer to the Etruscan *Libri Acheruntici*, where the deified souls of the dead (*dii animales*) recieve animal sacrifices. The Roman authors compared these deified souls with the *Penates*, the ancestral gods of the Roman househould, they traced back to Troy; cf. Krauskopf 2007, 66. Another association with Asia Minor is to be found in the *Manes paterni*, *di Manes*, the anonymous divine souls of the ancestors. The word is etymologically connected to Phrygian Μῆν, who originally meant the divine soul of a living person (*genius*): Latte 1960, 99 f. with n. 3. When the Hittite great king Muwatalli II (c. 1310-1282 BC) relocated his capital from Hattuša to Tarhuntašša, he took with him the gods as well as the *akkant*-, the souls of his dead ancestors: CTH 81 I (§ 6) 75-76, II 1-2; CTH 81II (§ 8) 52-63 (written with the ideogram GIDIM); cf. Doğan-Alparslan/Alparslan 2011, 91 f. with n. 29 (compared with the Roman *Manes*). For the presumably commun origin of Greek *Tritopatores*/*Tritopator* and Roman *Tritauos* see n. 237.

264 Seneca, *Apocolocyntosis* 10-11: *hunc deum quis colet? quis credet? dum tales deos facitis, nome vos deos esse credet*. (transl. W.H.D. Rouse); cf. Gradel 2002, 325-336.

265 On the "idolization" of successfull athletes see Parker 2011, 122 f.

266 Archilochos: Clay 2004.

267 Graf 1998, 477; Currie 2005, esp. 85-200; Jones 2010, 26 (Hagnon in Amphipolis, 5th century BC), 39 f. (Euthymos in Locri, 5th century BC), 93-96 (Dion in Syracuse, Bourichis, Adeimantos and Oxythemis, three of the "flatterers" of Demetrios Poliorketes in Athens, 4th/3rd centuries BC; Diodoros Pasparos in Pergamon, Nikias in Kos, 1st century BC, etc.).

268 Habicht 1970. Habicht (1970, 198) stresses that though the living rulers got the title θεός, they never equaled the gods. Instead, it was believed that in a distinct situation a power similar to the divine power had minifested itself in the ruler. On the close connections between the cult of heroes and ancestors and that of living humans: Habicht 1970, 200-205. Nevertheless, he totally dismisses the idea of the immortal, divine soul as the main reason, why heroes, dead ancestors and living humans (including later the Roman emperors!) could be heroized/divinized. Instead, he stresses "einmalige Leistungen" ("solitary achievements") in favour of Greek cities as main reason (Habicht 1970, 205 n. 51). In an addition to the second edition (Habicht 1970, 268) he adds also "daß die Schranken zwischen dem Göttlichen und dem Menschlichen nach griechischer Auffassung niedriger waren als nach unserem Empfinden und eben im besonderen Fall überschreitbar" ("that according to Greek experience the barriers between the divine and the human were lower than according to our experience, and therefore crossable in certain cases"). This I would certainly doubt. The reason is not that my thinking "entspringt, sicher unbewußt, modernem religiösem Empfinden, das von der monotheistischen Gottesvorstellung, dazu noch vom christlichen Erlösergedanken geprägt ist" ("stems, without doubt unconciously, from a modern religious experience, coined by the monotheistic imagination of god, moreover by the Christian believe in the Saviour", with these words Habicht 1970, 269 critizises Ch. Edson). My doubt instead rests on my confidence in the clear Greek concept of the human soul as immanent divine in every human being.

269 Diogenes Laertius 8.62.3-4 ἐγὼ δ᾽ ὑμῖν θεὸς ἄμβροτος, οὐκέτι θνητὸς πωλεῦμαι μετὰ πᾶσι τετιμένος (= Diels/Kranz 31 B 112; Kirk *et al.* 2001, 344 f. no. 399); on the seriousness of Empedokles' claim to be immortal see Kingsley 1995, 220; Tell, 2007, 256.

270 Parker 2011, 256 n. 85. But he values Empedocles and his teacher Pythagoras as "unimportant" for mainland Greece, as "freaks", whose "great interest for the religious history of classical Greece lies perhaps in a negative" (ibid. 255 on Pythagoras). Burkert 2011, 286, in dealing with Empedocles, diagnoses a certain reunify gods and men, as they were in the beginning of time, the "Golden Age" of Hesiod[271], delivering four hundred years later a perfect model for the new Roman emperor *Augustus*, who – in the Greek East – received godlike honours already during his lifetime, for example in Miletos at the altar of Artemis Boulaia, potentially an *Ara Augusti*.

In Bacchic-Orphic mystery cults, whose earliest testimonies stem from the main state sanctuary of the Milesian Black Sea colony Olbie Polis/Olbia, the Apollo Delphinios sanctuary[272], but which are usually downplayed by scholars as 'subculture'[273], the divinization of the dead is only testified from the 4th century BC on and seems to remain an exception. But this is merely a matter of our preserved evidence[274]. So does the Derveni-papyrus, completly published only in 1993 and dated around 420/400 BC, include a commentary of the 'theogony of Orpheus', which is therefore at least of the 5th, if not of the 6th century BC[275]. The high age of this kind of eschatology is not least indicated by the amazing resemblance between the voyage of the Bacchic-Orphic soul and 'the great voyage' of the Hittite soul[276]. Again, we may assume a common Indo-European tradition, speaking against the theory of the 'un-Greekness' of Orphism[277].

Finally, since Hellenistic times, the heroization (ἀφηρωΐζειν) of the average dead becomes a widespread custom[278], including the transfer of heroic iconography, e.g. that of the 'Totenmahlreliefs'[279], so also in Miletos[280]. But this development is not to be mixed up with an invalidation of the titel *heros*, as it still keeps its religious connotation[281].

In the same sense we can interprete the iconographic assimilation of Roman emperors as well as grave portraits of average dead to that of gods like Iuppiter, Venus, Mars, or heroes like Hercules not as ridiculing, or, in the opposite, as identifying them with these gods resp. heroes[282]. This is only what Christian polemics want to make us believe[283]. Instead they can be understood as

Menekrates, who appeared as Zeus in the 4th century BC as "fast schon ein klinischer Fall" ("already a clinical case").

271 Empedokles: Diels/Kranz 21 B 115-147; cf. Burkert 2011, 445. Maybe this is the reason, why a deified dead is calling himself in a gold lamella from Thurioi "son of Heaven and Earth", or in other words: "a Titan", see S. Iles-Johnston in: Graf/Iles-Johnston 2007, 115; Bernabé/Jiménez San Cristóbal 2008, 187. Burkert 2011, 444 however sees no compelling reason to combine this with the myth of the Titans. But see his remarks in Burkert 2003, 38-40, where he hints at the role of the seven Titans of the Orphic tradition, sons of Heaven and Earth, banished in the underworld, comparable to the 'old Gods' in the Hurritic-Hittite Kumarbi myth, or to the followers of Tiamat, the bad 'Seven', in the Babylonian *Enuma elish*.

272 In the Delphinion of Olbie Polis/Olbia were found bone tablets with short Bacchic-Orphic texts of the early 5th century BC: Burkert 2003, 84, 90 f.; Graf/Iles-Johnston 2007, 64 f., 163 f., 185-188 nos. 1-2; Coscia 2011. The Delphinion of Olbie Polis included, like the Delphinion in Miletos, the *prytaneion* of the polis and was the main sanctuary: Herda 2005, 275 f. fig. 27; Herda 2008, 32 with n. 141, p. 35; Herda 2011, 78. It is therefore problematic to view the Orphics of Olbie Polis as marginal 'subculture', as Burkert does (see next note).

273 Cf. e.g. Burkert 2003, 87.

274 Burkert 2011, 438 f. on the gold *lamellae* from Thuriou; see also Graf/Iles-Johnston 2007, 8-15, 114-116, 119, 123 f, 128 on nos. 3-7; Bernabé/Jiménez San Cristóbal 2008, 95-132. Empedocles' doctrine suggests that this believe goes back to at least the 5th century BC.

275 Burkert 2003, 96 f. On the *Physika* of Orpheus for being a 5th century BC theogonic and anthropogonic text see Gagné 2007.

276 Bernabé/Jiménez San Cristóbal 2008, 209-217; cf. above n. 229.

277 Compare the structural and formal parallels between the dialogues of the souls and the guardians and gods of the underworld in the Bacchic-Orphic gold leaves, and the 'dialogues of immortality' of the Homeric heroes immediately before their duels. The parallels "suggest that the leaves are following the same poetic patterns that inspired the Homeric dialogues. The new ideas and experiences they contain, frequently thought to be un-Greek, will be shown to be shaped in the most traditional Greek formulations and categories." (Herrero de Jáuregui 2011, 271 f.).

278 Burkert 2011b, 167; Parker 2011, 123 with n. 49. The relation between hero-cult and cult of the dead is widely ommitted in *ThesCRA* II (2004) 125-185 s.v. 3.d. 'Heroisierung und Apotheose'.

279 Thönges-Stringaris 1965; Parker 2011, 115 f. with n. 29. Nethertheless is the feasting of the average dead and their relatives a standard part of funeral and grave rites from at least Geometric times on: Burkert 2011, 293, 295 f. This is again a decisive argument for the close relationship between hero and ancestor cults.

280 On *heroon* as term for family graves in Imperial Milesian grave inscriptions: Harter-Uibopuu/Wiedergut forthcoming.

281 As regards the heroization of the dead in Hellenistic times Graf 1998, 477 stresses that this does not attest a "total invalidation of the term [*heros*]"; see already Rohde 1925, 361 f. and more recently Hughes 1999, 170 f. Instead, Fabricius 1999, 71, assumes an "Entwertung" of the term. Kurtz/Boardman 1985, 356 even speak of a "courtesy phrase" ("Höflichkeitsfloskel") regarding the usage of the term *heros* in Hellenistic grave inscriptions.

282 So e.g. Wrede 1981, 158-175, who incorrectly speaks of "Privatdeifikationen" in case of theomorphic depictions of average dead, mainly *libertini*.

283 Cf. Tertullian, *Ad nationes* 1, 10, 26–27 (c. 200 AD) on the Roman grave cult: *Quid enim omnino ad honorandos eos facitis, quod non etiam mortuis vestris ex aequo praebeatis? Extruitis dei templa: aeque mortuis templa; extruitis aras deis: aeque mortuis aras; easdem titulis supersribitis litteras, easdem statuis inducitis formas, ut cuique ars aut negotium aut eatasfuit : senex de Saturno, imberbis de Apolline, virgo de Diana figuratur, et miles in Marte et in Vulcano faber ferri consecratur*. ("Do you offer anything in their honor that you do not already confer upon your deceased in equal measure? You erect temples to your gods. You erect temples to your dead in equal measure. You build altars to your gods. The same for your dead. You confer the same titles on the gods as on dead. You raise statutes to them in the likeness of their talent, their occupation, or their age. Saturn appears as an old man; Apollo is clean-shaven; Diana is a virgin; Mars is a soldier and Vulcan is an iron smith. It is no wonder that you offer the same sacrifices to the divine and the dead and burn the same incense." [transl. Q. Howe]).

allegorical depictions of the emperors and the dead, stressing their godlike qualities[284], they owe to the fact that they participate in the divine via their immortal, divine souls.

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UN TUMULUS EN VILLE

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Résumé

La tombe mise au jour au centre de la ville d'Hyllarima n'est pas la seule structure *intra-muros* connue en Carie[1]. Elle reste cependant atypique à de nombreux égards. Que ce soit par son architecture innovante, par son implantation inhabituelle – à l'écart du centre administratif de la cité – ou par les liens qui semblent l'unir à d'autres structures parfois fort éloignées, cette tombe semble s'imposer comme le centre tant géographique qu'idéologique d'un vaste domaine taillé aux confins de la Carie.
Mots clés : tumulus, Carie, Hyllarima, Altıntaş, Herôon, architecture funéraire

Introduction

Implantée dans une zone montagneuse située entre les vallées du Marsyas et de l'Harpasos, à la frontière des anciennes satrapies de Carie et de Lydie, la ville d'Hyllarima se trouve dans un secteur hautement stratégique au début de la période hellénistique (fig. 1).
L'équipe de recherches archéologiques en Carie, menée par P. Debord et E. Varinlioğlu[2], y a récemment mis au jour une grande tombe implantée au centre de la ville. Outre qu'elle est localisée *intra-muros*, cette tombe présente de très nombreuses particularités qui ne sont pas sans rappeler des structures voisines, à Mutat Tepesi et Altıntaş.

1 Outre le Mausolée d'Halicarnasse, on relèvera des tombes à Alabanda (Edhem Bey 1906) et Syangela (voir la contribution de Descat dans ce volume), deux sépultures à Iasos (Donati 1999) et une autre à Milas-Uzunyuva (voir *infra*), etc.
2 Une publication de la ville antique et de son territoire, éditée par P. Debord et E. Varinlioğlu, est en cours de préparation.

Situé aux confins des anciennes satrapies carienne et lydienne, dans un secteur qui échappait apparemment au contrôle de chacune de ces deux puissances, ce groupe de sépultures atypiques décrit un territoire cohérent qui soulève de nombreuses questions, relatives notamment aux conditions de sa formation et à son étendue.

L'*herôon* d'Hyllarima

La tombe intra-muros de Hyllarima se présente sous la forme d'un grand tumulus à mur annulaire. Elle est située à environ 120 m au sud-est du théâtre, au centre géographique de la moitié Est de la ville (fig. 2).

Le principe même de nos recherches ne nous a pas permis de réaliser une fouille de cette structure qui semble très endommagée. Une analyse fine des vestiges nous permet cependant d'en restituer l'essentiel.

Le tumulus était cerclé par un mur annulaire de blocs de marbre blanc scellés les uns aux autres à l'aide d'agrafes métalliques recouvertes de plomb (fig. 3). Ce mur, composé d'un parement pseudo-isodome à carreaux et boutisses, offre en outre une large doucine semi-circulaire ceinturant l'ensemble de la construction. Toutefois, cette protubérance n'était pas placée au sommet du mur puisque les blocs taillés ainsi portent des traces de lit d'attente signalant la présence d'un moins une assise supplémentaire. La destruction avancée de ce mur ainsi que le ravinement du tertre de terre ne nous permettent pas d'en déterminer très précisément le diamètre, qu'on peut estimer autour de 20-25 m.

Deux larges blocs en marbre, trouvés sur la pente du tertre, n'appartiennent pas à ce mur annulaire. Le premier de ces éléments s'apparente à un *terminus* de très grande taille offrant une partie haute sphérique de 1 m à 1,10 m de diamètre sur une base tronconique brisée de moins de 90 cm de diamètre à la cassure et de plus de 20 cm de haut (fig. 4). Le second bloc, partiellement fiché dans la terre, présente encore, malgré une dégradation avancée, un lit d'attente proprement apprêté

Fig. 1 :
Carte de la région d'Hyllarima.

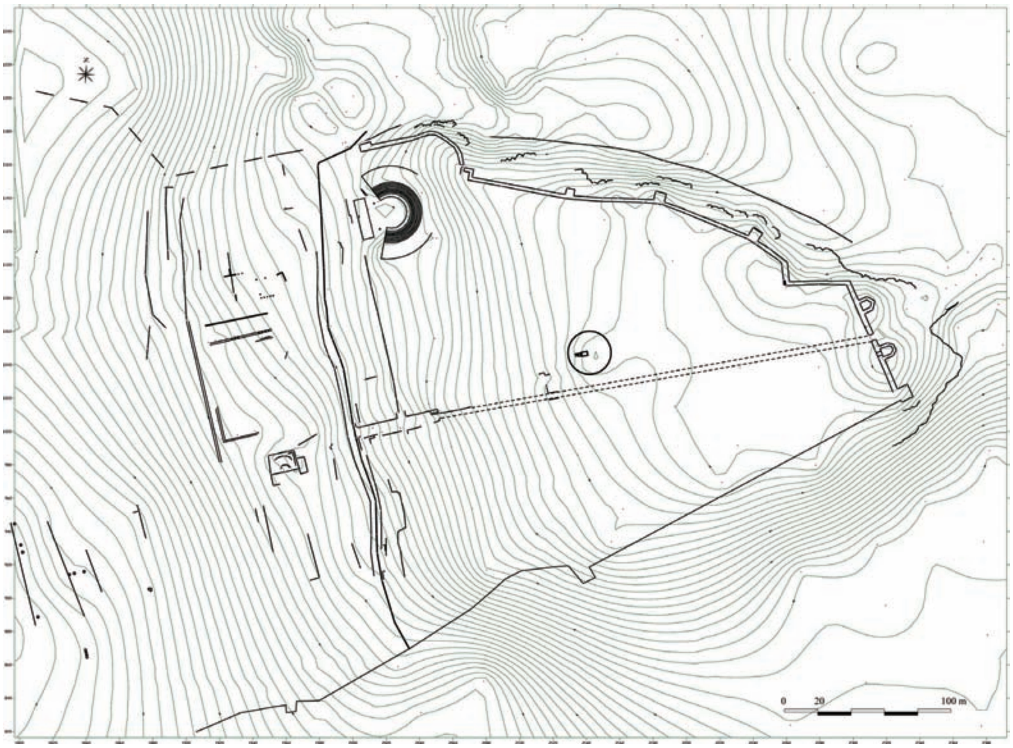

Fig. 2 :
Plan de la ville d'Hyllarima (d'après P. Lebouteiller).

et percé d'une très large cavité apparemment circulaire. Selon toute apparence, il s'agit du socle (fig. 5) dans lequel venait s'insérer le *terminus* du tumulus et qui trônait au sommet du tertre.

Ce tertre protège une structure relativement complexe, construite dans un beau marbre blanc. Le bâtiment est assez bien conservé, même si les espaces observés sont partiellement remblayés.

La structure s'organise sur deux niveaux (fig. 6) :

– le niveau supérieur se compose d'un court *dromos* ouvrant sur un long *stomion* et une chambre rectangulaire, tous deux couverts de grandes dalles horizontales (fig. 7). Le décrochement des murs et du sol entre le *dromos* et le *stomion* semble indiquer que l'accès à ce dernier était fermé à l'aide d'une grande dalle verticale. Il est important de noter enfin que les murs latéraux du *stomion* et de la chambre sont légèrement inclinés vers l'intérieur, donnant une section trapézoïdale à l'ensemble du niveau supérieur.
– Au niveau inférieur, le plan est légèrement plus complexe (fig. 8). On trouve un *dromos* de plus de 2 m de long qui ouvre sur un vestibule carré. Ce dernier donne ensuite accès à une grande chambre funéraire d'environ 8 m^2 (3,35 m sur 2,30 m). L'ensemble montre un parement isodome régulier de blocs de marbre blanc. Les plafonds de la chambre et du vestibule sont composés de poutres monolithes transversales supportant d'épaisses dalles de couverture. Il semble qu'un double système de fermeture ait été conçu afin de protéger cet espace funéraire. D'abord à l'entrée du vestibule, par une fine dalle verticale insérée dans le mur sud à la jonction du *dromos* ; puis à l'entrée de la chambre funéraire, qui montre un encadrement mouluré complexe qui porte encore les traces d'une double porte pivotante (fig. 9).

La chambre supérieure aménagée au-dessus de la chambre funéraire de la tombe d'Hyllarima confère à celle-ci un style architectural unique. Une telle superposition n'est certes pas inconnue dans l'architecture funéraire de Carie[3] : le Mausolée d'Halicarnasse et, plus généralement, les tombes à chambre souterraine et superstructure présentent ce type d'aménagement[4]. Mais celui de Hyllarima est

3 Voir par exemple une tombe à Alinda (Özkaya/San 2003, fig . 11).
4 Henry 2009, 111-120.

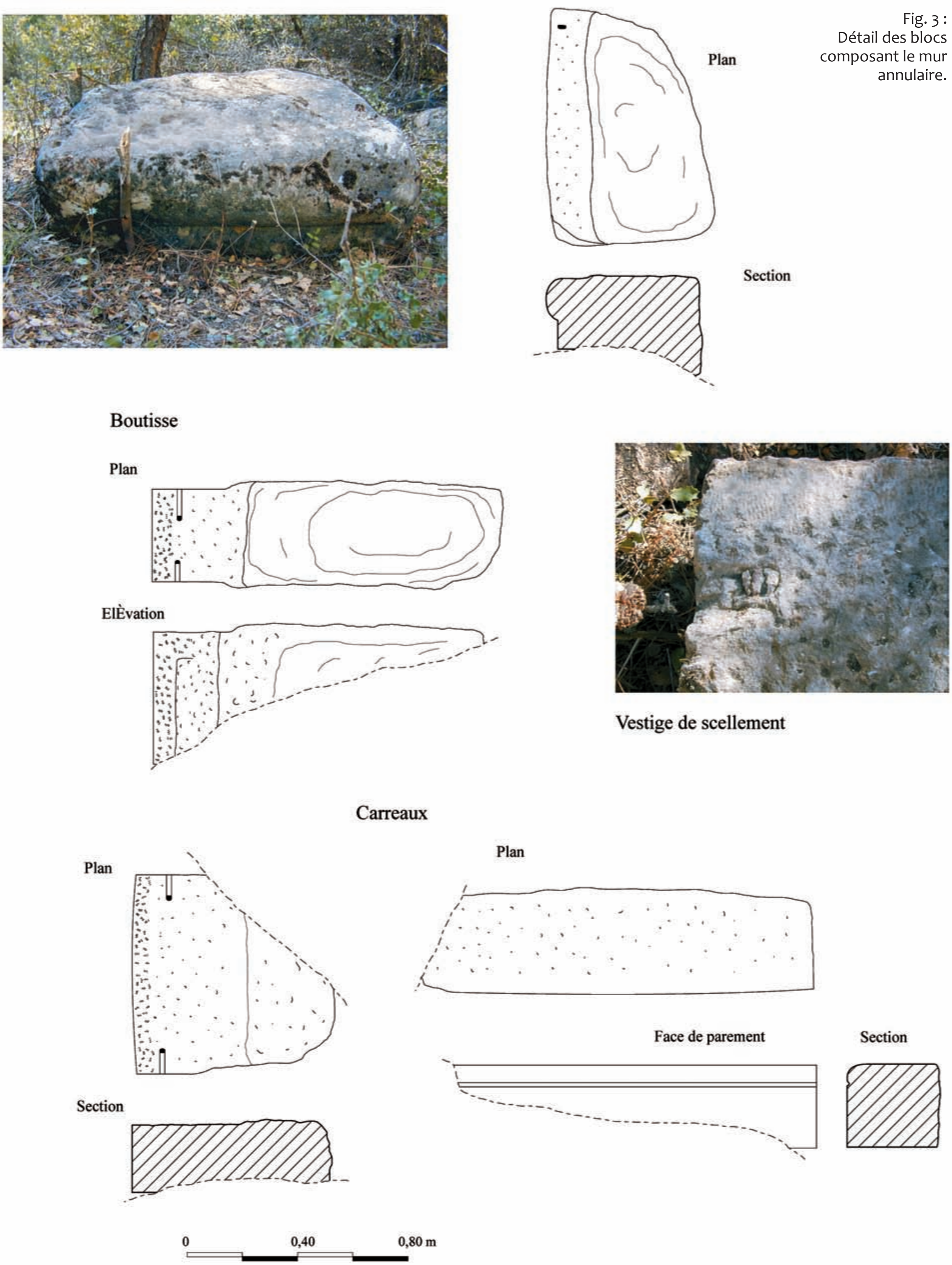

Fig. 3 : Détail des blocs composant le mur annulaire.

Fig. 4 : Le *terminus* du tumulus d'Hyllarima.

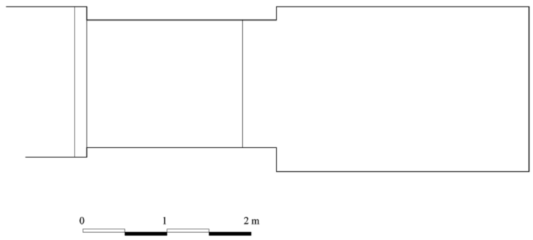

Fig. 7 : Relevé en plan du niveau supérieur du tumulus d'Hyllarima.

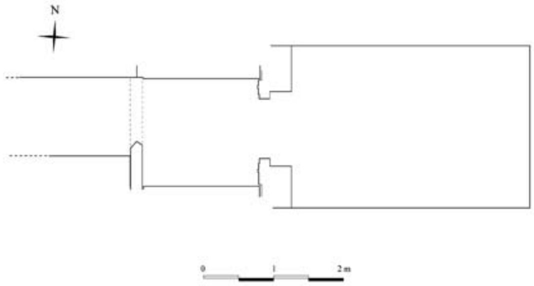

Fig. 8 : Relevé en plan du niveau inférieur du tumulus d'Hyllarima.

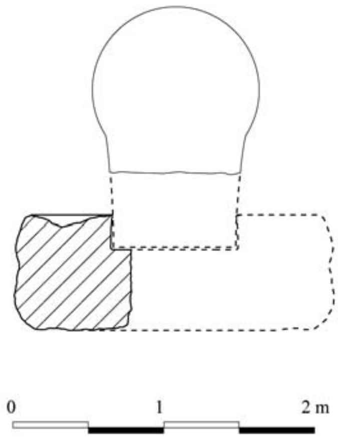

Fig. 5 : Restitution du *terminus* du tumulus d'Hyllarima.

Fig. 9 : L'encadrement de l'accès à la chambre funéraire du tumulus d'Hyllarima.

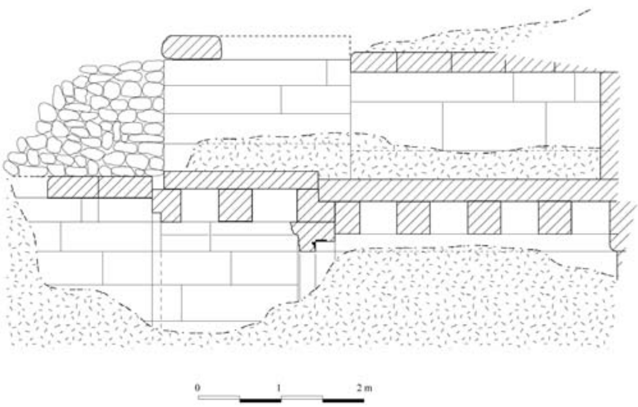

Fig. 6 : Section longitudinale du tumulus d'Hyllarima.

tout à fait original, car la chambre supérieure semble à la fois fonctionnelle et enfouie sous le tertre au même titre que la chambre funéraire (fig. 10), tandis que, dans les autres cas, la superstructure n'est jamais enfouie et rarement fonctionnelle.

En effet, la plupart des niveaux supérieurs des tombes à superstructure sont des éléments purement décoratifs, par ailleurs souvent inaccessibles. Dans la région, seuls deux exemples de superstructures fonctionnelles nous sont connus.

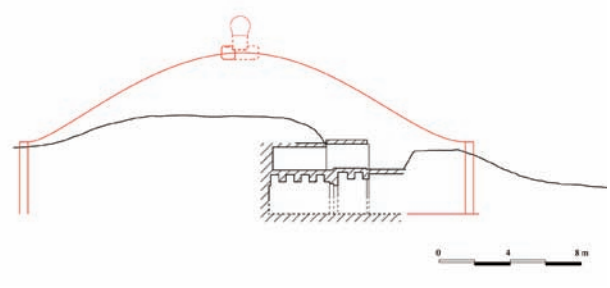

Fig. 10 : Restitution en coupe du tertre du tumulus d'Hyllarima.

La première est la chambre supérieure de la tombe monumentale de Labraunda, qui était probablement destinée à accueillir des activités cultuelles tout en remplissant une contrainte structurelle[5] ; la seconde est le *pteron* du mausolée de Belevi qui, contrairement à celui du Mausolée d'Halicarnasse, contenait une pièce accessible mais dont on ignore la fonction exacte[6].

Ces deux exemples pourraient nous inciter à identifier la chambre supérieure de la tombe d'Hyllarima à un espace cultuel, mais elle est loin d'en avoir les caractéristiques. En effet, son plan particulier – *stomion* et chambre – l'apparente davantage à un espace funéraire classique, dont elle n'a toutefois pas le lustre. Cet aménagement s'inscrirait donc dans un contexte lié au défunt plutôt qu'aux honneurs qui lui étaient rendus. Par ailleurs, la condamnation de son accès, par une dalle puis par le tertre de terre, tend à prouver que cette pièce ne fut utilisée que temporairement, au moment des funérailles. Cet espace réunit donc toutes les caractéristiques d'une résidence temporaire destinée à accueillir le défunt avant qu'il ne rejoigne sa demeure définitive[7].

Or, cette définition est exactement celle d'une chambre de *prothesis*, la première des trois phases des funérailles grecques, avec l'*ekphora* et la mise au tombeau[8]. La *prothesis* désigne à la fois la préparation du corps du défunt ainsi qu'un lieu et un moment de recueillement pour les proches[9]. Certes, le lieu paraît trop étroit pour permettre la préparation du corps, mais il semble parfaitement adapté aux honneurs qui sont rendus au défunt avant sa mise au tombeau. Ainsi cette pièce pourrait être l'indice de pratiques rituelles particulières consistant à offrir au défunt, après *l'ekphora* – le convoi funèbre –, une seconde *prothesis* au cours de laquelle un groupe d'individus extérieur au cercle familial restreint aurait été invité à honorer le mort avant son inhumation.

Il paraît évident que seul un personnage particulièrement important peut avoir été à l'origine d'un tel développement du rituel funéraire.

L'importance de ce personnage est aisément soulignée par la localisation tout à fait unique de la tombe. En effet, à la différence des autres tombes construites *intra-muros* en Carie (Theangela, Halicarnasse, Alabanda, Iasos, etc.), elle n'a pas été édifiée au cœur de l'ensemble civique ou à proximité de l'agora, mais à l'écart de ces institutions.

La ville comprend deux zones principales divisées par une importante voie axée nord-sud (fig. 2). À l'ouest, la partie basse se compose de terrasses qui se succèdent sur plusieurs centaines de mètres et portent les principaux édifices de la ville : théâtre, agora, bouleutérion, etc. À l'est, sur la partie haute du site, se trouve un large plateau légèrement incliné vers l'ouest qui aboutit à la porte monumentale située à l'extrémité orientale de la ville. Cette zone abrite très peu de vestiges, tout au plus quelques traces de préparation du sol calcaire. Le *tumulus* est placé exactement au centre de cette partie haute, en bordure de la voie principale qui mène depuis la porte monumentale, à l'est, jusqu'à l'agora et au bouleutérion à l'ouest, de sorte que toute personne traversant la ville longeait cette tombe impressionnante. Topographiquement, le tumulus domine très nettement non seulement la partie haute de la ville, mais aussi la partie basse où l'on trouve l'essentiel des bâtiments publics (fig. 11).

Une coupe longitudinale du tertre révèle en effet un léger accident de terrain compensé par le mur annulaire, lequel dépassait, de ce fait, la hauteur de la chambre inférieure et atteignait probablement celle de la chambre supérieure, soit près de 4,00 m d'élévation. Avec un diamètre de 20 à 25 m, ce mur apparaissait donc à coup sûr comme l'édifice le plus imposant du secteur.

L'aspect et l'emplacement de cette structure évoquent la tombe d'un héros, voire du fondateur/

5 Voir Henry 2006 et 2012, esp. 253-257.
6 Fedak 1990, 80, la qualifie de *cella*, ce qui laisse supposer une activité cultuelle. Voir également la restitution de Hoepfner 1993, qui en fait une pièce inaccessible.
7 L'hypothèse d'un lieu de dépôts votifs, envisagée un moment, ne tient pas en raison de la présence, en avant de la chambre, d'un large vestibule.
8 *Prothesis*, *ekphora* (convoi funèbre) et mise au tombeau.
9 Pour une présentation détaillée de la *prothesis*, voir l'étude de Garland 2011, 23-31, et la bibliographie qui l'accompagne.

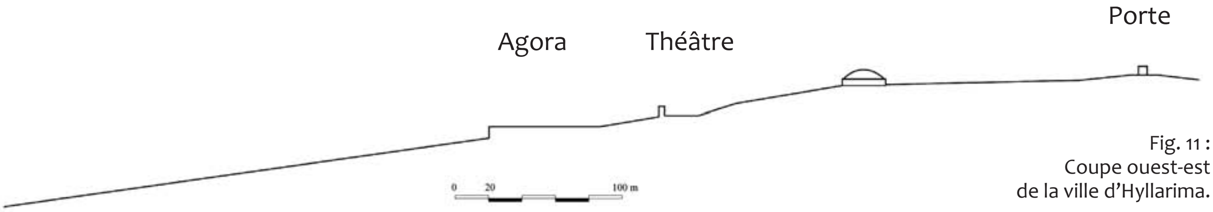

Fig. 11 :
Coupe ouest-est
de la ville d'Hyllarima.

protecteur de la ville[10]. Son caractère novateur paraît en effet caractéristique d'une démarche de dynaste analogue à celle que nous connaissons à propos de l'architecture funéraire hékatomnide[11].

L'emplacement atypique de la tombe semble pouvoir s'expliquer par deux facteurs. Premièrement, sa monumentalité s'accordait mal avec l'aménagement en longues terrasses étroites de la partie basse de la ville, où se trouvaient la plupart des bâtiments civiques. Deuxièmement, la tombe était très probablement visible depuis tous les secteurs de la ville qu'elle dominait largement. La tombe se pose donc comme un élément indissociable de la trame urbaine, protectrice de sa population et de ses institutions.

Si les caractéristiques architecturales de la tombe d'Hyllarima sont particulièrement rares, elles n'en sont pas pour autant uniques. Deux autres tombes, découvertes dans la même région, à Altıntaş et Mutat Tepesi, présentent un certain nombre d'analogies avec la structure d'Hyllarima.

Le tumulus d'Altıntaş

Cette tombe est relativement bien connue. Elle fut publiée pour la première par W.R. Paton, qui en donna une courte description[12]. Le lieu-dit d'Altıntaş est situé sur le premier col, le long de la seule route qui permet encore aujourd'hui de traverser les reliefs séparant la vallée de l'Harpasos de celle du Marsyas, route qui traverse notamment le site de Hyllarima. Outre le tumulus dont il est question, on trouve à Altıntaş un bastion (à l'ouest de la tombe) dont il ne reste aujourd'hui que les traces de fondation dans le rocher. On note, aux alentours, d'autres sépultures, plus modestes, traces de

Fig. 12 : Vue générale du tumulus d'Altıntaş (Paton 1900, fig. 3).

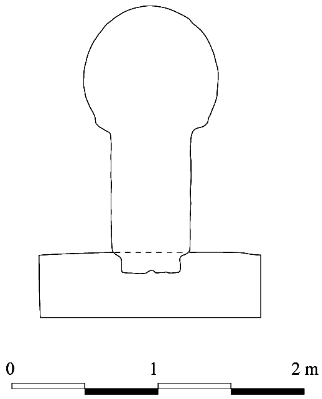

Fig. 13 :
Restitution du *terminus* du tumulus d'Altıntaş (Paton 1900, fig. 4).

l'existence probable d'un habitat, dont on n'a pas encore relevé la réalité physique sur le terrain.

Le tumulus est relativement imposant. Son tertre est entouré d'un mur circulaire dont le diamètre semble supérieur à une vingtaine de mètres et dont on peut estimer la hauteur à plus de 2 m par endroits (fig. 12). Ce mur est composé de longs blocs de schistes alternés de courtes boutisses et son parement montre un bossage très régulier. Pour ajouter à l'impression de monumentalité de la structure, celle-ci était couronnée, tout comme à Hyllarima, d'un large marqueur inséré dans une épaisse dalle horizontale (fig. 13). L'ensemble *terminus*/base est aujourd'hui perdu mais, d'après la description de Paton, il semble qu'il ait été formé

10 Sur ce thème, voir la synthèse de Jeppesen 1994, 73-84, et Couilloud-Le Dinahet, 2003, 83-84. Voir également l'étude de Kader 1995. Une étude des remparts de la ville, menée par I. Pimouguet-Pedarros semble indiquer que remparts et tumulus sont contemporains.

11 Henry 2009, 149-151.

12 Paton, 1900, 66-67, figs. 2-4

Fig. 14 :
Relevé en plan et section de l'espace funéraire du tumulus d'Altıntaş (mis à jour par l'auteur à partir de Paton 1900, fig. 3).

de blocs de marbre blanc. La forme du *terminus* rappelle très clairement celui d'Hyllarima : un tronc cylindrique surmonté d'un relief sphérique. La hauteur totale du *terminus* était supérieure à 1,80 m tandis que le diamètre de la sphère avoisinait 90 cm.

La construction protégée par le tertre offre un espace relativement complexe (fig. 14). Axée nord-sud, la structure se compose d'un *dromos*, d'un *stomion*, d'un vestibule et d'une chambre. Au sud, le *dromos* mesure 3,00 m de long et 1,00 m de large. Il est conservé sur plus de 2 m de hauteur et les deux assises supérieures des murs latéraux semblent offrir un léger encorbellement indiquant une couverture probablement voûtée. Ce *dromos* conduit à un *stomion*, long de 3,65 m sur 1,88 m de large et 3,05 m de haut. Il est couvert par des dalles horizontales chevauchantes formant un plafond à quatre degrés dans sa partie méridionale. Le vestibule (1,95 m de long, 2,94 m de large et 2,94 m de haut), dont le plafond est formé de dalles horizontales, précède la chambre funéraire aux dimensions impressionnantes. Son plan est pratiquement carré (3,23 m de long sur 3,35 m de large) et sa hauteur identique à celle du vestibule. Sa couverture, par contre, diffère radicalement de la pièce précédente puisqu'elle est formée de deux poutres lithiques transversales insérées au-dessus de l'*epicranitis* des murs latéraux. Cette *epicranitis* est composée d'un simple bandeau projeté de 5 cm qui couronne l'avant-dernière assise des quatre parois de la chambre. Les poutres sont de section rectangulaire (50 cm de large sur 40 cm de haut) et supportent les dalles horizontales du plafond. Un système de chevron inversé (1,50 m de haut et environ 1,35 m de large) a été construit au-dessus de ces dalles, probablement afin de supporter le poids important du tertre recouvrant la structure (fig. 15).

La chambre funéraire contient quatre sépultures. Deux d'entre elles, qui semblent être les sépultures principales, sont aménagées (contre les murs nord et ouest) en hauteur et reposent sur des dalles horizontales insérées dans les murs à près de 1,00 m du sol. Elles sont fermées vers l'intérieur de la chambre par une fine dalle posée de chant et s'inscrivant dans des rainures verticales pratiquées soit dans les murs de la chambre, soit dans la dalle verticale du sarcophage voisin. On trouve deux autres sépultures au sol : l'une contre le mur nord, l'autre contre le mur est. Les dalles formant ces dernières ne semblent pas insérées dans les murs

Fig. 15 : L'aménagement en chevron au-dessus de la chambre funéraire du tumulus d'Altıntaş.

de la chambre, ce qui pourrait indiquer qu'il s'agit d'un aménagement secondaire.

Les techniques de construction rencontrées dans l'ensemble de l'espace funéraire sont très différentes du *dromos* à la chambre. En effet, le *dromos* montre des murs aux assises isodomes grossièrement travaillées, bien que très régulières, alors que les pièces suivantes (*stomion,* vestibule et chambre) montrent une finition bien plus prononcée dans le traitement des parements. Ces derniers sont composés d'assises pseudo-isodomes (incluant par endroits des blocs trapézoïdaux) et le polissage est tellement fin qu'il est difficile de remarquer les joints entre les blocs.

Les décrochements successifs des accès *dromos*/*stomion* et *stomion*/vestibule semblent indiquer qu'une dalle dressée venait fermer chacune de ces ouvertures. En revanche, le linteau de la porte menant du vestibule à la chambre montre deux crapaudines creusées de part et d'autre de l'ouverture (un léger remblai empêche d'observer le seuil). Ceci, associé aux décrochements intérieurs du chambranle, indique l'existence d'une fermeture à doubles vantaux pivotants vers l'intérieur.

Il est difficile de dater cette tombe avec précision, car aucune fouille n'a permis de révéler le moindre matériel associé. Cependant, la présence de poutres lithiques horizontales dans la chambre ainsi que le mur annulaire en carreaux et boutisses composé de fines assises semblent plaider pour une datation vers le début de la période hellénistique, probablement dans la toute fin du 4e s. aC ou le début du 3e s. aC.

La taille, la complexité et la localisation de ce tumulus en font l'un des plus importants de la région. L'espace funéraire est plus large même que celui d'Hyllarima et le fait que le tertre borde l'unique voie permettant de passer d'une vallée à l'autre, n'est sans doute pas sans rapport avec l'importance de son (ses) propriétaire(s).

Le tumulus de Mutat Tepesi

On connaît mal la localisation exacte de Mutat tepesi, située dans une zone boisée du Madran, au nord-nord-ouest des deux sites précédents. Publiée il y a quelques années par A. Diler[13], la description du site est sommaire et ne mentionne que le tumulus et des vestiges de murs de terrasse, probablement liés à un habitat modeste. Néanmoins, il y est

Fig. 16 : Vue générale du tumulus de Mutat Tepesi (Diler 1997, Res. 11).

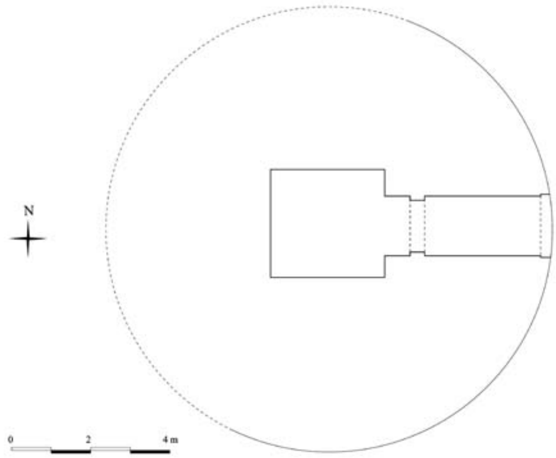

Fig. 17 : Relevé en plan du tumulus de Mutat Tepesi (Diler 1997, Res. 10).

fait mention d'un important tumulus dont les caractéristiques et la datation sont proches de celles des tumuli d'Hyllarima et d'Altıntaş.

Le tertre est entouré d'un mur annulaire d'environ 11 m de diamètre dont on ne distingue que trois à quatre assises (fig. 16). Il est composé de longs blocs de schistes alternés de courtes boutisses formant des assises très fines. La base de ce mur semble remblayée puisque le linteau de l'entrée de la tombe apparaît aujourd'hui au niveau du sol. L'espace funéraire est constitué d'une ouverture principale donnant sur un *dromos* de 1,49 m de large sur 2,92 m de long. Ce dernier ouvre sur la chambre funéraire qui mesure 2,72 m de large sur 2,82 m de long (fig. 17). L'ensemble de la structure est remblayé et il est difficile d'apprécier la hauteur des pièces. La couverture de la chambre est assurée

13 Diler 1997.

par des poutres en pierre qui soutiennent de grandes dalles horizontales. L'auteur parle même d'un travail ressemblant à celui du bois. Ces poutres sont couvertes de grandes dalles qui supportent un aménagement supérieur en chevron inversé (au centre de la photo donnée fig. 16).

L'auteur ne mentionne aucun type particulier de fermeture. Cependant, par analogie avec d'autres tombes du même type et compte tenu de la présence de piédroits de butée et de la profondeur de l'ouverture, il est possible de restituer une double porte pivotante entre le *dromos* et la chambre. Quant à l'entrée du *dromos*, il est probable qu'elle ait été fermée par une dalle dressée (témoin, la feuillure taillée dans le chambranle externe).

La datation du tumulus, dans le courant du 4^e^ s. aC, proposée par Diler, est basée sur la qualité du travail de taille des pierres et le détail des moulures de la chambre funéraire. L'absence de bossage pour le mur annulaire semble en effet plaider pour une datation haute, mais qui ne devrait pas dépasser, à mon avis, le dernier quart du 4^e^ siècle aC. La datation basse de la structure doit être relativement proche du début du 3^e^ s. aC, du fait de la présence des poutres qui maintiennent le plafond de la chambre[14].

L'imprécision de la localisation de cette tombe, dans l'est du Madran, rend malaisée la contextualisation du monument dont les dimensions et l'architecture étonnent cependant en comparaison des autres vestiges, modestes, du site. Il semble en revanche logique de mettre ce tumulus en relation avec ceux d'Hyllarima et d'Altıntaş dont il n'est pas très éloigné et avec lesquels il partage de nombreuses caractéristiques architecturales.

Synthèse

Les analogies entre les trois tombes de Hyllarima, Altıntaş et Mutat Tepesi sont nombreuses :

– tout d'abord, il s'agit de tumuli, un type de tombe très rare dans le centre de la Carie[15];
– les chambres de chacune de ces tombes comportent un plafond soutenu par des poutres horizontales transversales à section quadrangulaire taillées très simplement, sans relief ni autre décor ;
– leurs tertres sont ceints par un important mur annulaire dont les techniques de construction sont comparables puisqu'ils sont formés d'assises peu élevées composées de blocs disposés en carreaux et boutisses ;
– enfin, deux de ces trois tertres étaient coiffés d'un *terminus*, élément particulièrement rare dans la région, aux dimensions, formes et matériau identiques : une sphère de marbre disposée sur une colonnette dont la base en forme de tenon s'insère parfaitement dans une mortaise creusée dans une dalle.

Pour présenter plusieurs caractéristiques communes, ces tombes n'en sont pas moins différentes. Elles se distinguent notamment par le diamètre de leur tertre : 20-25 m à Hyllarima ; env. 20 m à Altıntaş ; 11 m à Mutat Tepesi.

Les plans des espaces funéraires sont également différents. Celui de Mutat Tepesi est simple et se compose d'un *dromos* menant du mur annulaire à la chambre funéraire alors que celui d'Altıntaş, le plus complexe, comprend quatre éléments distincts, et celui d'Hyllarima trois.

Le nombre de sépultures varie aussi grandement d'une tombe à l'autre : la surface de la chambre du tumulus d'Hyllarima semble ne pouvoir accueillir qu'une seule sépulture, ce qui paraît en conformité avec la dalle de fermeture situé entre le *dromos* et le vestibule et qui permettait d'en sceller définitivement l'accès. Il semble que, par cet aménagement, on ait voulu interdire toute inhumation secondaire. La tombe d'Hyllarima n'était donc certainement pas une tombe familiale, ce qui corrobore le caractère héroïque de son propriétaire. Les fermetures (réversibles) ainsi que les dégagements latéraux de la chambre du tumulus de Mutat tepepsi semblent, au contraire, indiquer que ces aménagements prévoyaient l'insertion d'inhumations secondaires, à l'image des nombreuses sépultures mises au jour dans le tumulus d'Altıntaş. Ces deux tumuli semblent donc avoir été conçus, au contraire de celui d'Hyllarima, comme des tombes multiples (familiales ?).

Enfin, au plan structurel, le tumulus d'Hyllarima se distingue essentiellement de la tombe de Mutat Tepesi ou de celle d'Altıntaş par l'aménagement de ses parties hautes, situées à l'aplomb des chambres funéraires. En effet, si la charge du tertre est répartie grâce à un chevron à Mutat Tepesi et à Altıntaş, à Hyllarima cet arc de décharge est remplacé par une structure complexe comprenant *stomion* et chambre dont les murs latéraux conservent les propriétés structurelles du chevron grâce à un léger contre-fruit (fig. 18).

14 Henry 2010.
15 Henry 2009, 86 fig. 27.

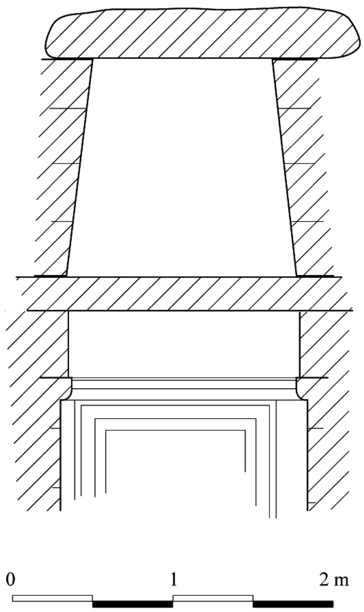

Fig. 18 : Section transversale du tumulus d'Hyllarima.

Construites sur le même modèle que celle d'Hyllarima bien que beaucoup plus modestes, les structures de Mutat Tepesi et d'Altıntaş apparaissent donc comme des avatars de cette tombe exceptionnelle dont la monumentalité, la dimension idéologique et l'implantation particulière laissent supposer qu'elle fut celle d'un prince, fondateur et héros militaire.

Le caractère militaire n'est d'ailleurs pas absent des tombes de Mutat Tepesi ou d'Altıntaş. En effet, dans chacun des ces deux cas, les structures funéraires ne sont pas associées à un habitat dense et monumental, comme à Hyllarima, mais à une place forte isolée, localisée à des points stratégiques de voies de communication.

Il peut paraître étonnant de constater une telle association entre un bâti modeste et des structures funéraires monumentales. Cependant, cette caractéristique ne fait que renforcer l'impression donnée par l'Herôon d'Hyllarima, tombe du protecteur de la cité, dont des avatars pourraient avoir été délibérément placés aux confins du territoire, associés aux fortins et autres bastions chargés de sa protection.

Conclusion

Pour conclure, même si les recherches de terrain mériteraient d'être approfondies, il ne semble pas complètement illogique de supposer que nous sommes en présence d'un réseau géographique visant à définir les limites d'un territoire dont les points clé seraient dotés de tombes monumentales analogues à celle du fondateur originel, protecteur de la cité.

Cette matérialisation/définition du territoire n'est pas sans rappeler le très ancien phénomène de la formation de la cité grecque dont l'espace était circonscrit par une série de sanctuaires extra-urbains. Est-ce à dire que dans l'Anatolie hellénistique, les personnages locaux héroïsés auraient remplacés les dieux, et les tombes des premiers les lieux de culte des seconds ?

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TOMBES DE FONDATEURS DANS LES VILLES DE CARIE

Les exemples de Telmessos et de Syangela

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Résumé

L'exposé ne porte pas sur une découverte archéologique nouvelle mais sur quelque chose qui y ressemble fortement. En effet, une nouvelle identification est proposée dans R. Descat et K. Konuk, *À l'Est d'Halicarnasse : la Carie du Golfe Céramique à la plaine de Mylasa*, pour un des plus importants sites d'époque archaïque et classique en Carie, Alazeytin, très bien étudié par W. Radt en 1970. Ce site doit donc être identifié maintenant à la cité de Telmessos très célèbre pour être un centre divinatoire depuis l'époque lydienne bien connu par les sources littéraires grecques et qui était jusque-là placé de manière très incertaine dans divers endroits à l'Ouest d'Halicarnasse. Alazeytin présente en effet dans son centre des bâtiments très originaux qui semblent associer la fonction d'autels et de temples et dont nous pouvons avoir une idée plus claire grâce à ce que les sources nous disent sur Telmessos. Il y a en particulier au cœur de la ville un bâtiment (numéroté 30 par W. Radt) qui associe une structure souterraine et ce qui semble être un autel au-dessus. Les textes nous confirment en effet l'existence à Telmessos d'un tombeau du fondateur, Telmessos, *sur lequel* était installé un autel d'Apollon. Or l'installation de la tombe du héros fondateur au cœur de la cité semble se retrouver à Syangela, la cité voisine de Telmessos qui l'a souvent dominée politiquement, dans le tombeau dit de "Pikrès" du nom du chef de la cité à l'époque de l'empire athénien. Les sources nous disent que Syangela (et son nom même en est le signe pour les commentateurs grecs qui le comprennent comme le 'tombeau du roi') avait le tombeau de Kar, l'éponyme et le premier roi des Cariens. On peut faire l'hypothèse que le tombeau était celui supposé de

Kar, dans une position semblable à celle du héros Telmessos à Telmessos. À travers ces deux exemples il faut ouvrir maintenant une réflexion sur une habitude qui semble être une spécificité carienne (par exemple à Mylasa avec la structure d'Uzun Yuva), l'association souvent à l'intérieur de la cité d'un tombeau et d'une structure cultuelle (avec autel éventuellement) juste au-dessus.

Cette communication ne s'appuie pas sur une découverte archéologique inédite mais s'y apparente un peu puisque la nouvelle identification proposée pour le site de Telmessos transforme l'état des connaissances sur cette cité carienne. Cette proposition touche particulièrement la question des tombes *intra-muros* des fondateurs légendaires de la cité.

Partons des sources. Dans son *Protreptique* (III.45) Clément d'Alexandrie critique la superstition païenne et constate que la plupart des temples associent des dieux et des tombeaux d'individus honorés à l'égal d'un dieu. Il donne donc une liste de lieux célèbres où les tombeaux coexistent avec les temples les plus fameux : "Sur l'acropole d'Athènes il y a (le tombeau) de Cécrops. Et Erichtonios n'a-t-il pas reçu les honneurs funèbres dans le temple d'Athéna Polias ? Pourquoi vous énumérer les femmes venues de chez les Hyperboréens ? Elles s'appellent Hyperochè et Laodicée et ont reçu les honneurs funèbres de Délos, dans l'Artémision qui fait partie lui-même du temple d'Apollon Délien. Nous ne pouvons passer sous silence le tombeau de Leucophrynè qui, d'après Zenon le Myndien, a reçu les honneurs funèbres dans le temple d'Artémis à Magnésie, ni non plus l'autel d'Apollon à Telmessos, cet autel qui est, à ce qu'on raconte, le tombeau du devin Telmessos…".

Il est frappant de constater que la petite ville carienne de Telmessos est associée aux sites religieux les plus célèbres du monde grec en ayant la tombe de son fondateur, le devin Telmessos, installée là où est l'autel d'Apollon. Mais en réalité la réputation des devins de Telmessos était considérable dans l'Antiquité. Un autre célèbre pourfendeur du paganisme, Tatien le Syrien commence ainsi son *Discours aux Grecs* : "Ne soyez pas si hostiles aux Barbares, Grecs, et ne jalousez pas leurs doctrines. Y a-t-il en effet une de vos institutions qui ne doive à des Barbares son origine ? Ce sont les plus illustres des Telmessiens qui ont inventé la divination par les songes…". Le premier exemple de divination cité par Tatien pour appuyer sa démonstration est donc précisément celui des Telmessiens. Leur ancienneté est en effet reconnue. Ils sont cités par Hérodote deux fois en lien étroit avec la monarchie lydienne, avec un ancêtre de Crésus, le roi Mélès et avec Crésus lui-même[1], et par Arrien avec Gordios le Phrygien[2]. Une pièce d'Aristophane, de datation incertaine, est intitulée Οἱ Τελεμησσῆς et fait référence à leurs activités divinatoires[3]. Le devin de Telmessos le plus célèbre est Aristandros qui a exercé à la cour de Philippe II de Macédoine et a accompagné Alexandre dans son expédition asiatique[4].

Telmessos

Il y a eu pendant longtemps une incertitude sur la localisation, carienne ou lycienne, de la Telmessos divinatoire, mais maintenant il est établi que toutes les références à des devins de Telmessos concernent bien une Telmessos de Carie[5]. La ville elle-même est mentionnée parmi les cités voisines d'Halicarnasse rassemblées en sympolitie par Alexandre[6]. Une précieuse indication nous est donnée par un fragment de Polemon d'Ilion (début 1er s. aC) : elle est située à environ 11 km d'Halicarnasse, "les *Telmisséens* vivent en Carie, éloignés de 60 stades d'Halicarnasse"[7]. Ciceron précise qu'ils habitent des terres fertiles[8]. Enfin un sanctuaire d'Apollon existe bien sur place[9].

Je n'évoque pas ici toute l'argumentation nécessaire pour reprendre l'état de la question. Je renvoie seulement à ce qui est écrit et développé dans l'ouvrage de R. Descat et K. Konuk, *À l'Est d'Halicarnasse : la Carie du Sud du Golfe céramique à la plaine de Mylasa* (à paraître Ausonius Editions). La

1 Hdt I.78 et 84.
2 Arrien, *Anab.* II.3.2.4.
3 Kassel/Austin 1984, 279-285.
4 Gattinoni 1993, 123-138.
5 Harvey 1991.
6 Pline, *NH* V 107: *sex oppida contribua ei sunt a Magno Alexandro, Theangela, Side, Medmassa, Uranium, Pedasum, Telmisum.*
7 Photios, la *Souda*, l'*Etym.Magn.* *s.v.* Τελμισσεῖς.
8 *De div.*I 42,94 : *quod agros uberrumos maximeque fertiles incolunt, in quibus multa propter fecunditatem fingi gignique possunt.*
9 Stéph.Byz. *s.v.* Γαλεῶται : Τελμησσὸς ἐν Καρίᾳ ἦλθεν, ἔνθα ᾿Απόλλωνος Τελμησσίου ἱερὸν.

Fig. 1 :
Alazeytin, plan
(Radt 1970,
Beilage 1).

question peut être ainsi résumée : à l'heure actuelle, aucune des localisations proposées (à l'Ouest d'Halicarnasse) ne convient à ce que l'on s'attend à trouver à Telmessos en respectant les sources. Le cahier des charges qu'un site doit remplir pour pouvoir être identifié à Telmessos est cependant très précis. Il faut donc une situation à environ 11 km d'Halicarnasse, un cadre fertile, ce qui veut dire au moins une région de plaine et une ville occupée de l'époque archaïque à la période hellénistique, où l'on puisse reconnaître un sanctuaire d'Apollon et une tombe de héros fondateur.

Il ne fait pas de doute que le seul lieu possible est celui du site carien de la péninsule d'Halicarnasse probablement le plus caractéristique et qui a fait l'objet de l'analyse la plus complète de tout l'ouvrage que W. Radt avait consacré à la région, celui d'Alazeytin (Kale Tepe) à 310 m d'altitude sur la rive droite du *déré* de la vallée de Çiftlik[10]. Alazeytin était devenu le site carien archaïque et classique le mieux connu archéologiquement malgré l'absence de fouilles. Il restait une seule

10 Radt 1970, 17-73.

question, fondamentale, non résolue, celle de son identification. Or Alazeytin correspond parfaitement aux conditions posées : distance, lieu dans une plaine fertile qui a été à l'époque ottomane l'emplacement d'un *çiftlik*, propriété noble concédée par le sultan, et existence d'un centre monumental reconnu comme exceptionnel parmi les sites cariens.

Le cœur de la ville se présente de manière claire autour d'une place centrale qui peut être considérée comme une agora (fig. 1). On remarque aisément deux bâtiments importants, qui portent les numéros 30 et 31 dans le plan de W. Radt. Le bâtiment 30 est tout particulièrement intéressant pour notre propos. Il se présente sur deux niveaux. Le premier est un rez-de-chaussée, en légère surélévation par rapport au niveau de l'agora, de plan rectangulaire

Fig. 2 : Alazeytin, restitution 3D du bâtiment 30 (Cavalier/Mora 2011, fig. 8, p. 381).

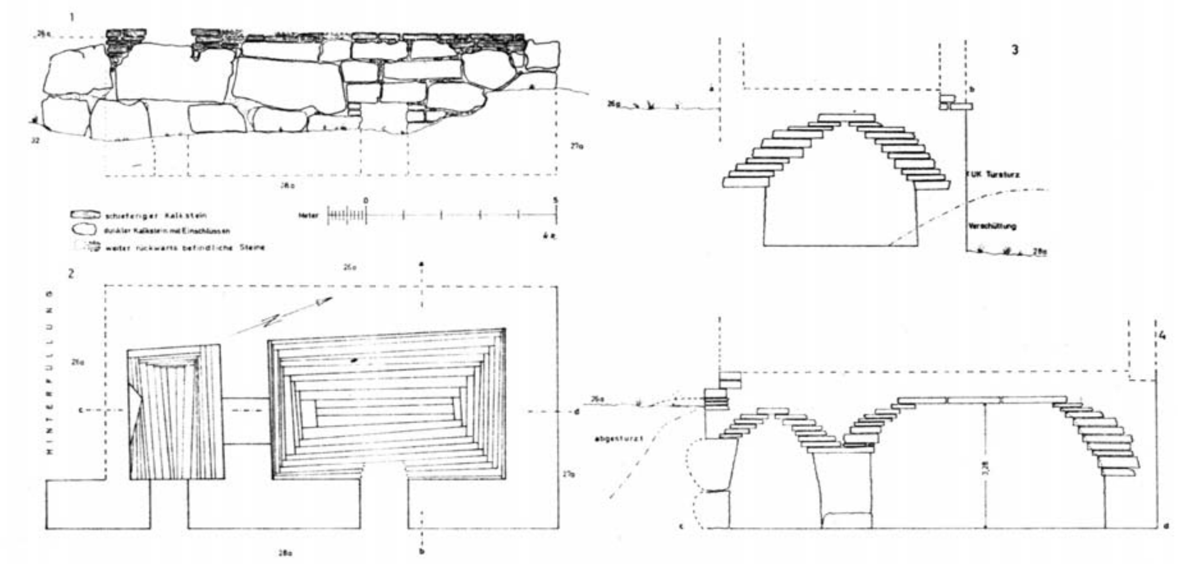

Fig. 3 : Alazeytin, plan du niveau inférieur du bâtiment 30 (Radt 1970, Abb.1, p. 40).

de 12 m environ sur 6,4 m avec une façade principale orientée au Sud avec des niveaux d'accès en partie conservés, qui disposait de deux chapiteaux d'ordre éolique qui remontent au 6e s. aC et qui sont une exception en Carie, montrant l'importance du site dans les échanges artistiques de la Méditerranée orientale (fig. 2)[11]. Le second est un soubassement exceptionnel ouvert avec deux portes vers l'Est et comprenant deux pièces voûtées en encorbellement reliées ensemble et qui sont plus anciennes que les structures supérieures[12]. Il est frappant de constater que W. Radt emploie pour décrire le bâtiment, sans s'intéresser, et pour cause, aux textes sur Telmessos, des termes qui correspondent à ce que l'on s'attend précisément à trouver à Telmessos. Le bâtiment 30 est identifié comme "das Heiligtum" et le soubassement vu comme un "Heroon" et

11 Un autre chapiteau de même style vient d'être découvert par l'équipe d'A. Diler au sanctuaire d'Athéna de Pédasa, ce qui renforce l'existence d'un sanctuaire à Alazeytin. En dernier lieu une restitution dans Cavalier/Mora 2011.

12 Datant du 7e s. pour Radt 1970, 45.

Fig. 4 : Alazeytin, photographie de la pièce voutée septentrionale (K. Konuk).

Fig. 5 : Alazeytin, restitution des bâtiments 31 et 30 depuis l'agora (Cavalier/Mora 2011, fig. 11, p. 383).

une "crypte" (figs. 3-4)[13]. Il ajoute même en note (n. 59) : "Zu den Möglichkeiten der Ausprägung eines Heroenkultes gehörte auch der Kenotaph. Man könnte wegen der Offenheit der Anlage hier an einen solchen denken". On ne peut trouver correspondance plus exacte avec le texte de Clément d'Alexandrie (cf. *supra*) pour un lieu qui est certainement en rapport avec l'activité divinatoire[14]. Il ne fait donc pas de doute que nous sommes bien devant le monument rapporté par les sources et que la disposition qui est ainsi révélée, avec une superposition de niveau, le temple d'Apollon au premier niveau et la tombe au niveau inférieur dans le soubassement est la seule façon logique de comprendre la précision de Clément d'Alexandrie signalant que *le tombeau était là où était l'autel d'Apollon*. Le texte parle d'un autel et non d'un temple, mais il s'agit du seul exemple dans tout le passage où il est question d'un autel, les autres cas étant clairement des temples souvent très connus et cela s'explique par le fait que le temple a été construit à une époque assez tardive dans l'histoire du site (les chapiteaux éoliques datent le bâtiment probablement de la fin du 6e siècle). Auparavant, on peut simplement supposer qu'il n'y avait pas de temple mais seulement l'existence d'un lieu consacré à Apollon. Quant au bâtiment 31 voisin, qui semble de caractère unique (fig. 5), il s'agit peut-être d'une *stoa* publique placée devant l'agora autour de laquelle W. Radt, en analogie avec le sanctuaire de Didymes, évoque des cérémonies religieuses pour "den Dynasten von Alazeytin als Priesterfürsten"[15], ce qui est encore une suggestion très juste pour une communauté dirigée par des devins liés étroitement au culte d'Apollon. La disposition du tombeau du fondateur est à Telmessos clairement au centre du dispositif public de la communauté.

Syangela

À quatre kilomètres d'Alazeytin, un autre site important a été localisé sur le Kale Dağı depuis la fin du 19e siècle, découvert en 1887 et identifié par une inscription dès 1889 comme Syangela-Theangela. C'est un sommet très allongé, d'environ 1 200 m de longueur sur 200 m de largeur à son maximum, escarpé au Nord et au Sud-Est et un peu plus accessible (pentes plus douces) vers l'Est et vers le Sud-Ouest et qui occupe une position

13 Radt 1970, 39-55.

14 On notera que dans le sanctuaire d'Apollon Karneios à Emecik, récemment étudié (Berges 2006), le fait oraculaire attesté par des inscriptions peut être rattaché à un bâtiment en soubassement interprété auparavant comme une tombe (Berges 2006, 28-29).

15 Radt 1970,64.

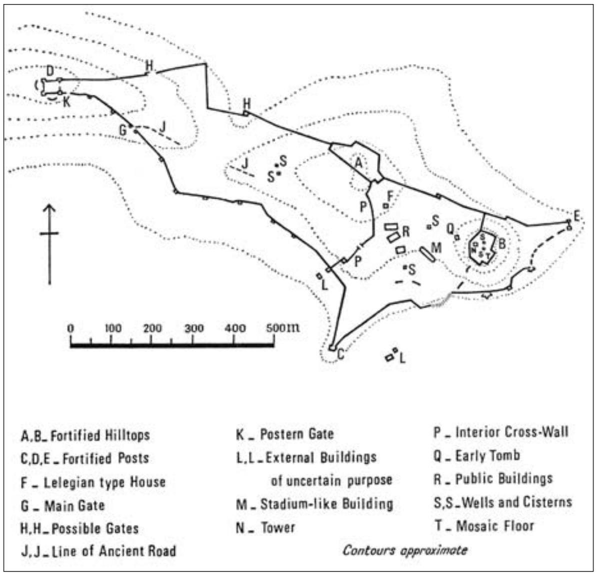

Fig. 6 : Syangela, plan (Bean 1971, fig. 22 , p. 108).

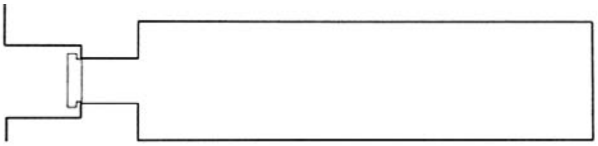

Fig. 7 : Syangela, plan de la tombe (Bean/Cook 1957, fig. 8, p. 93).

Fig. 8 : Syangela, photographie de la tombe (K. Konuk).

particulièrement élevée pour la région, à 540 m d'altitude. Peu visité, il n'a été étudié un peu longuement qu'une seule fois en 1955 par G. Bean et A. Akarca[16]. G. Bean et J.M. Cook, frappés par la proximité du site de Kale Dağı, avaient imaginé qu'Alazeytin avait été le site de Syangela, déplacé par Mausole sur le Kale Dağı en prenant le nom hellenisé de Theangela[17]. C'est cette hypothèse que présente encore G. Bean mais que ne suit plus W. Radt qui ne donne cependant pas d'autre identification[18]. Elle n'est pas non plus acceptable pour tous ceux qui ont étudié le site de Theangela où l'importance des trouvailles d'époque archaïque et classiques fait penser sans l'ombre d'un doute que Syangela était déjà sur le Kale dağı et que la métonomasie a eu lieu sans changement de lieu[19].

Dans le cadre de leur étude de 1955 sur le site, G. Bean et A. Akarca ont bien noté et reporté sur leur esquisse de plan (fig. 6), sous l'acropole, en plein cœur de la ville, un tombeau de forme très particulière[20], très allongé (fig. 7), qui porte encore à l'intérieur des traces de peinture (fig. 8). Dans ce tombeau ont été trouvés des tessons du 5e s. aC[21]. G. Bean et J.M. Cook ont proposé d'y voir la tombe d'un dynaste de Syangela[22], *Pikrès*, connu par deux et peut-être trois listes de tributs attiques entre 454 et 449[23]. Pikrès n'apparaît plus ensuite et a probablement disparu peu de temps après le milieu du siècle. Rien ne permet de donner une importance exceptionnelle à ce personnage qui a certainement joué un rôle dans les bonnes relations entre Syangela et la domination athénienne mais dont on ne sait rien de plus et dont on ne peut dire avec certitude s'il a réellement marqué ou non la vie de la cité. Du fait de l'obscurité de nos sources, l'identification proposée par les auteurs est fragile car le rôle du personnage est peut-être totalement surestimé. Mais la raison de ce choix incertain s'explique par le fait que Bean et Cook refusaient d'identifier Syangela dans le site du Kale Dağı, d'où leur difficulté à intégrer tout ce qu'on sait de l'histoire de la cité et de n'en retenir qu'une petite partie au risque de se contredire eux-mêmes, puisqu'ils admettent ainsi que Pikrès ait été enterré avec les plus grands honneurs ailleurs que dans la ville dont il a été le dynaste, puisque Syangela était à Alazeytin…

16 Bean/Cook 1957, 89-92.
17 Bean/Cook 1955, 147.
18 Bean 1971, 128 ; W. Radt 1970, 17.
19 Işık 1990, 17-36.
20 Henry 2009, 110.
21 Bean/Cook 1955, 113.
22 Bean/Cook 1955, 114.
23 En 454-3 aC : *IG* I3 259,V,16 ; en 450-449 aC : *IG* I3 263 I,15 et peut-être *Igrès* en 453-2 aC : *IG* I3 260 VII,7.

En considérant plus logiquement que Syangela a toujours été au Kale Dağı, il existe une autre hypothèse beaucoup plus vraisemblable pour identifier ce tombeau en plein cœur de la ville. Stéphane de Byzance (*s.v.*) nous dit en effet que Syangela est une "cité de Carie, où était située la tombe de Kar, comme son nom le montre. En effet les Cariens appellent *soua* la tombe et gela le roi". On notera que comme dans la Telmessos voisine, le personnage du tombeau a un lien avec l'art divinatoire puisque Pline écrit que "les augures des oiseaux ont été inventés par Kar, de qui la Carie tire son nom"[24]. Il faudrait maintenant une étude du terrain pour mieux comprendre et identifier l'environnement urbain du tombeau mais il est probable que comme à Telmessos, il est proche de l'agora de la cité et du temple principal, celui d'Athena.

Tombeaux de fondateurs dans les cités cariennes

Les deux exemples de Telmessos et de Syangela apportent des témoignages très significatifs sur la place des héros fondateurs dans les cités cariennes. La similitude que l'on perçoit peut s'expliquer par la longue histoire commune et partagée des deux communautés et le rôle un peu exceptionnel qu'elles ont tenu dans l'histoire des pratiques divinatoires. Mais d'une manière plus générale, la question de la présence régulière de tombeaux de fondateurs de cités ou de dynasties qui les incarnent à l'intérieur des cités cariennes mérite d'être posée. On le constate bien par l'existence des tombeaux *intra-muros* des Hécatomnides à Halicarnasse et maintenant attestée à Mylasa même[25]. À la lumière de particularités d'emplacement ou de dispositions qu'on arrivera à mieux identifier au fur et à mesure que l'on connaîtra mieux l'histoire des villes cariennes, on doit se demander s'il n'y a pas des particularités du culte funéraire en Carie autour de ces points. On sait notamment que les formes originales de cultes aux *Agathoi Daimones* des défunts, connues dans toute l'histoire religieuse de la Carie, sont attestées dans un contexte public dès le 4e s. aC. Le lien avec la présence de tombes placées dans le cœur urbanistique des cités doit donc être fait.

24 Pline NH VII 203.
25 Descat 2011.

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LE MORT DANS LA VILLE

À propos de l'épitaphe et de la mémoire à Mylasa, petite cité dans le monde grec*

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Résumé

Depuis 2005, plusieurs colloques internationaux consacrés à la Carie – et récemment publiés – ont pu mettre en évidence divers aspects du monde funéraire, relatifs à différentes tombes rupestres situées dans la *chôra* de plusieurs cités grecques ou de type grec. À l'occasion de ces *Secondes Rencontres d'archéologie de l'IFEA*, nous souhaiterions aborder, dans notre communication, le monde des morts dans la cité de Mylasa, en nous concentrant sur l'épigraphie funéraire qui n'a cessé de s'enrichir depuis la publication, par W. Blümel, de deux volumes d'inscriptions, dans la célèbre collection des *Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien*. Notre thèse de Doctorat, consacrée à *Mylasa et à ses sanctuaires extra-urbains à l'époque hellénistique*, nous a permis de nous intéresser à plusieurs aspects de cette épigraphie funéraire *intra-muros*, dont Louis Robert, Mylasien de la première heure, a souvent souligné l'importance pour la connaissance intime d'une cité. Cette communication qui s'appuiera également sur les travaux de plusieurs élèves du grand épigraphiste français, dont ceux de Madame Aşkıdil Akarca, disparue voilà quelques mois, peu avant la tenue des *Premières Rencontres d'archéologie de l'IFEA*, nous donnera l'occasion de présenter quelques traits particuliers de l'épigraphie funéraire mylasienne. Notre souhait le plus cher est de contribuer, au travers de cet exposé, à honorer la mémoire d'A. Akarca, tout à la fois élève de Louis Robert et Mylasienne.

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* Nous tenons tout d'abord à remercier l'ensemble des organisateurs de ces *Secondes Rencontres d'archéologie de l'IFEA*, au premier rang desquels Madame Nora Şeni, sa Directrice, et Olivier Henry, Pensionnaire scientifique, pour avoir retenu notre proposition de communication.

Le mort dans la ville ! Le thème retenu par les organisateurs de ce colloque s'avère, pour un Mylasien, d'un intérêt exceptionnel et conduit nécessairement à se remémorer les recherches pionnières de Madame Aşkıdil Akarca, originaire de Milas, et de son frère Turhan[1].

Jusqu'à peu, en effet, en Carie, celui qui s'intéressait au mort dans la ville se tournait nécessairement vers Halicarnasse, cité au centre de laquelle se dressait un extraordinaire monument dû aux architectes de Mausole et achevé, après sa mort, par sa sœur-épouse, Artémise, qui lui succéda de 353 à 351 aC[2]. Ce monument jouit d'une position centrale dans la composition urbaine : il est érigé sur une esplanade artificielle – 250 m de long sur 100 m de large –, qui a été aménagée lorsque fut redessiné le plan urbain d'Halicarnasse.

Ce colloque qui nous réunit à Istanbul nous conduit, désormais, naturellement à Milas, la première capitale hécatomnide, depuis la découverte, durant l'été 2010, suite à des fouilles clandestines, d'une tombe magnifique qui pourrait être celle d'Hécatomnôs[3].

Outre les rois ou les dynastes, l'étape décisive de l'ensevelissement *intra muros* est franchie, à l'occasion, pour certains personnages. Ils obtiennent cet honneur qui, depuis la fondation de la *polis*, n'était accordé qu'aux fondateurs, tel Battos de Cyrène, ou à ceux qui, tel Mausole, pouvaient être considérés comme de nouveaux fondateurs et, dès lors, recevoir une sépulture sur l'agora. Les cas d'introduction des défunts dans les murs restent exceptionnels et les sources nous manquent pour savoir si la fondation d'un culte accompagnait ce phénomène[4].

Mais nous laisserons de côté, dans cet article, les tombes des princes pour nous intéresser aux classes plus modestes de la société. Il sera question de différents aspects de l'archéologie funéraire dans une *petite cité* de Carie récemment hellénisée, Mylasa[5]. La fouille des ensembles funéraires apporte, en effet, des informations relatives à plusieurs domaines étroitement complémentaires :

- le premier est, bien entendu, celui du monde des morts : les rites funéraires de l'inhumation ou de la crémation, l'organisation des nécropoles,
- le second est celui du monde des vivants : des analyses effectuées sur les squelettes, les spécialistes peuvent tirer des informations intéressantes sur les coutumes de vie, les pratiques médicales voire les pathologies. L'étude du mobilier funéraire est, certes, un marqueur social du défunt, mais elle permet aussi de comprendre les stratégies mises en place par les vivants pour assimiler le chaos qu'engendre la mort[6]. L'étude de la céramique fournit, par ailleurs, des renseignements précieux sur les techniques artistiques, voire les pratiques spécifiques accomplies à l'occasion des funérailles.

Par rituels funéraires, nous entendons les cérémonies qui se déroulent lors de l'ensevelissement du disparu, les *sèmata* – monuments, reliefs et sculptures érigés sur la tombe –, les épitaphes, ainsi que les rituels commémoratifs du disparu. Nous commencerons notre exposé par la localisation de ses différentes nécropoles et la présentation de différents types d'édifices funéraires, à partir d'une étude de vocabulaire[7]. Nous envisagerons ensuite l'étude

1 Madame Aşkıdil Akarca, décédée à l'automme 2010, a été mise à l'honneur, à Milas, lors du colloque *4. KARİA, KARİALILAR VE MYLASA SEMPOZYUMU (Prof. Dr. Aşkıdil Akarca'nın anısına), Karia'nın Kutsal Kentleri ve Labranda*, organisé, en septembre 2011, par Olcay Akdeniz.

2 C'est l'archéologue danois K. Jeppesen qui est le meilleur connaisseur du Mausolée d'Halicarnasse, un des monuments les plus complexes de l'architecture grecque et qui nécessite un va-et-vient permanent des sources littéraires à l'archéologie de terrain.

3 Mylasa, la première capitale de la dynastie des Hécatomnides, est sise sous la ville moderne de Milas. Sur cette découverte archéologique majeure, se reporter en premier lieu à Konuk 2011 et, pour en comprendre les enjeux, lire Rumscheid 2010, 69-102 et Descat 2011, 195-202.

4 En Carie, outre le Mausolée d'Halicarnasse, il existe un cas à Alabanda, un autre à Alinda, un autre à Théangela ainsi que deux sépultures à Iasos. Récemment l'équipe de P. Debord et d'E. Varinlioğlu a, de plus, mis au jour, à Hyllarima, une grande tombe avec *dromos* et chambre, localisée *intra muros*, à l'Est, sur la partie haute et datée de la fin du 4e s. ou du début du 3e s. aC (voir la contribution de Henry dans ce volume). Consulter *IGRR*, IV, 292 et Gauthier 1985, 63 : le cas de Diodoros Pasparos, citoyen pour lequel est créé un culte, de son vivant, est particulièrement intéressant. En intervenant en faveur de sa cité auprès des Romains, il a sauvé Pergame dans les moments très difficiles qui ont suivi la première guerre mithridatique. C'est de son vivant qu'un culte est institué et qui se poursuivra après sa mort. Sur ce personnage, consulter Jones 2000, 1-14. Jusqu'à présent, nous ne connaissons qu'un seul autre personnage qui a été l'objet d'un culte de son vivant : il s'agit de C. Iulius Artémidoros, de Cnide, qui a été l'ami d'Auguste (Blümel 1992, N° 59). Consulter Couilloud-Le Dinahet, 2003.

5 Aubriet 2009.

6 Blaizot/Bonnet 2007, 207-228.

7 Sur l'architecture funéraire, consulter Fedak 1990 et Hellmann 2006 ; pour la Carie, se reporter dorénavant à Henry 2009.

de différentes figures du souvenir avant de porter notre attention à la protection des tombes et à ses différentes clauses[8]. Nous souhaitons souligner, sans plus tarder, que les remarques qui vont suivre s'intègrent dans une étude en cours et ne se veulent, en aucun cas, définitives.

L'organisation des espaces funéraires fournit toujours de nombreux éléments pour comprendre une société donnée. L'étude des nécropoles peut assurément permettre une meilleure connaissance des pratiques et des traditions locales de l'archéologie funéraire. Ainsi, Thucydide souligne la particularité des tombes cariennes :

> *"Lors de la purification de Délos par les Athéniens, au cours de la guerre qui nous occupe, quand on fit disparaître toutes les tombes qui se trouvaient dans l'île, on s'aperçut que plus de la moitié étaient des tombes cariennes ; cela se reconnut à l'attirail guerrier accompagnant le mort, comme au mode de sépulture que pratiquent encore aujourd'hui les Cariens."*[9]

Mais Marie-Thérèse Le Dinahet souligne que ces tombes cariennes de Délos n'ont pas encore été découvertes[10]. À de très rares exceptions près, comme à Sparte, où, selon Plutarque, on trouvait des tombes près de zones habitées, les nécropoles, 'villes des morts', sont, le plus souvent, situées à l'extérieur du périmètre urbain ou à ses limites, hors de la zone habitée : le monde des morts et celui des vivants sont dès lors rigoureusement distingués.

Grâce aux travaux publics, aux nouvelles constructions rendues nécessaires par l'accroissement régulier de la population et aux prospections archéologiques entreprises à Milas par A. Akarca puis, plus récemment, par W. Blümel, F. Rumscheid et par A. Kızıl, ont été découvertes plusieurs nécropoles d'époque hellénistique qui ceinturent probablement la cité, encore dépourvue d'enceinte fortifiée au 4e siècle avant notre ère[11]. Au Nord de la ville, de l'autre côté de la Baltalı Kapı, la Voie sacrée, qui conduit de Mylasa au sanctuaire de Zeus Labraundos, traverse une nécropole[12]. Dans les faubourgs Ouest de la ville, sur le versant Sud de Hıdırlık Tepe, près du mausolée de Gümüşkesen, se trouve une imposante nécropole qui a été étudiée, fin mars 1938, par une équipe suédoise dirigée par A.W. Persson et T. Säve-Söderbergh : sur un total d'environ soixante tombes découvertes, douze seulement furent fouillées[13]. D'époque hellénistique et romaine, elles sont de simples chambres funéraires taillées dans le rocher dotées, pour la plupart, d'un *dromos* et elles ont délivré des épitaphes[14]. Le mobilier funéraire qui y fut découvert – essentiellement dans les tombes 6 et 8 – avait été entreposé dans les réserves du Musée archéologique d'Izmir, mais il n'a pu être retrouvé[15]. Ces *kterismata*, ces objets qu'on offrait aux morts, comportaient des verres, des vases divers – vases à parfums : *unguentaria* et alabastres ; *amphoriskoi* ; aryballes – et des monnaies de bronze, avec une double-hache sur le droit et un trident sur le revers. La présence de ces monnaies est très intéressante car elles peuvent s'interpréter comme l'obole que le défunt devait à Charon comme prix de sa traversée infernale[16]. En 1947, une tombe, en usage de la fin du 4e siècle jusqu'à environ la seconde moitié du 2e siècle et construite en marbre local blanc et bleu, est découverte dans la ville moderne de Milas. Elle a été étudiée par A. Akarca en 1949[17]. Cette tombe, plus élaborée quant à son architecture, consiste en deux chambres. Sur l'un ou l'autre côté de chacune et sur toute la longueur se trouve un lit, formé par une plaque horizontale insérée dans le mur et bordée par une plaque verticale restant sur son rebord extérieur. La tombe a été utilisée sur une longue période et sa datation a été facilitée par la découverte de céramique et de monnaies en argent : le matériel s'échelonne entre la fin du 4e siècle aC et le 2e siècle pC. Environ vingt squelettes y ont été dénombrés et une hydrie contient des ossements carbonisés. La crémation et l'inhumation étaient deux modes d'ensevelissement

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8 Keil 1908, 522-577.

9 Thucydide, I, 8 : Δήλου γὰρ καθαιρομένης ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων ἐν τῷδε τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ τῶν θηκῶν ἀναιρεθεισῶν, ὅσαι ἦσαν τῶν τεθνεώτων ἐν τῇ νήσῳ, ὑπὲρ ἥμισυ Κᾶρες ἐφάνησαν, γνωσθέντες τῇ τε σκευῇ τῶν ὅπλων ξυντεθαμμένῃ καὶ τῷ τρόπῳ ᾧ νῦν ἔτι θάπτουσιν.

10 Couilloud-Le Dinahet 1998, 71.

11 Aristote, *Économique*, II, 2, 13 et Rumscheid 1999 ; Akarca 1954, 1 ; Blümel 1988, 226 ; Åkerstedt 2000-2001, 10 et 12.

12 Rumscheid 1996, 82 et 1998, 386.

13 Åkerstedt 2000-2001, 10 ; Säve-Söderbergh/Hellström 1997, 75-107.

14 Blümel 1987, lemmes N° 433, N° 443, N° 461, N° 477 *e.g.*

15 Åkerstedt 2000-2001, 9.

16 Aristophane, *Grenouilles*, v. 137-142. Plus tardivement, Lucien, *De luctu*, 10, précise que la famille déposait dans la bouche du défunt l'obole réclamée par Charon.

17 Akarca 1952, 399-405.

conjointement pratiqués[18]. Une autre tombe, dotée du même plan et d'une chambre unique, a été retrouvée environ vingt années auparavant aux abords du Sodra Dağ[19]. Elle date de l'époque hécatomnide.

Vers le Sud de la ville, en direction de Beçin, on a découvert une autre nécropole, en bordure de plaine : de part et d'autre de la route antique se laissent reconnaître huit tombes voûtées et des restes d'autres monuments funéraires allant de l'époque géométrique à l'époque hellénistique[20]. C'est dans cette nécropole qu'une tombe, construite au 4^e^ s. aC et utilisée jusqu'au 1^er^ s. aC, a été découverte par A. Kızıl, le 6 septembre 1994, à la suite de travaux de drainage : elle est située au-dessus de la route Milas-Ören, dans le district de Beçin, dans la localité de Kepezaltı[21]. À environ un mètre sous la surface du sol, la tombe consiste en deux pièces, un *dromos* et la salle funéraire, présentant des blocs rectangulaires de marbre qui proviennent des carrières du Sodra Dağ. Une inscription – fait rare dans les tombes cariennes – de deux lignes en surmonte la porte d'entrée :

> Ἀδας Μενίππου ἑαυ-
> τῇ καὶ ἐκγόνοις[22]

Même s'il semble difficile de dater l'inscription selon des critères exclusivement paléographiques – *sigma* à barres légèrement divergentes et *alpha* à barre brisée –, H. Malay propose à A. Kızıl la haute époque hellénistique. Il est question ici d'une femme au nom carien, fille d'un certain Ménippos[23]. Il faut souligner la banalité de ce nom féminin que l'on retrouve à plusieurs reprises, tant à Mylasa qu'à Olymos[24]. Cette tombe, utilisée à la fois pour l'inhumation et la crémation, abrite des restes calcinés dans des ostothèques[25], qui sont des urnes funéraires, et dans des urnes abandonnées sur le sol ; elle contient, en outre, différents types de vases, des lampes en terre cuite et deux drachmes d'Alexandre en argent qui corroborent la date précédemment proposée.

D'autres tombes d'époque hellénistique ont été découvertes à Milas : la tombe de l'Orta Okul[26], au Sud-Est de la ville, très semblable à celle de Beçin, et dotée d'un *dromos* et la tombe dénommée Damlacık[27], dans la rue Sarıbenli à Gümüşlük, qui est de dimension plus petite et dépourvue de *dromos*, ou encore la chambre funéraire au plafond voûté, située à Sanayi Sitesi. Plus récemment, une chambre funéraire, d'époque hellénistique, a été trouvée dans la rue Kültür : elle est dotée d'une pièce unique et surmontée d'un toit plat. Une autre tombe, magnifique, et elle aussi d'époque hellénistique, a été repérée en 2005 ; elle comporte deux pièces : la première renferme deux sarcophages, tandis que la seconde en compte trois. Sous les sarcophages, du côté droit de la seconde pièce a été trouvée une ostothèque, comme dans la tombe de Beçin.

Signalons enfin que les archéologues ont retrouvé, à Mylasa, un nombre relativement élevé de stèles funéraires pour des gladiateurs, dont certaines en excellent état, au point que F. Rumscheid a émis l'hypothèse de l'existence d'une nécropole réservée aux seuls gladiateurs[28].

Le vocabulaire de la tombe

L'épigraphie funéraire, à Mylasa, est suffisamment riche pour faire ressortir les différents termes utilisés pour désigner la tombe et ses divers composants[29]. Nous parvenons, en effet, sauf omission, à un total, assurément provisoire, de cent-dix inscriptions funéraires, toutes époques confondues, trouvées dans la ville de Mylasa et sur son territoire[30]. Certains substantifs, très généraux, voisinent avec d'autres, beaucoup plus rares, qui

18 Tranoy 2007, 138 : "La crémation [...] est le moyen d'épargner le défunt de la corruption en faisant subir au cadavre une métamorphose accélérée dont les vivants organisent et contrôlent le déroulement. Ce n'est plus le corps sans vie que la terre reçoit mais les restes symboliques issus de la réduction par le feu."

19 Akarca 1952, 405.

20 Akarca 1971, 1-37 ; Rumscheid 1996, 82 ; Arslan/Kızıl 2007, 83-93.

21 Kızıl 1996, 255-271.

22 Blümel 2004, 33, N° 60 : "Adas fille de Ménippos, pour elle-même et ses descendants", (Trad. personnelle). Sur cette inscription, consulter Brixhe, *Bull. Épigr.* 1997, 535 et *SEG* 45, 1510.

23 Selon Robert 1973, 441, n. 33, il s'agit d'un nom carien.

24 Adas apparaît au N° 897 (Blümel 1989) ; elle est fille d'un certain Méniskos dans les baux d'Olymos (*I. K.* 35, N° 811-814) et d'un certain Pamménès, dans une inscription récemment publiée (Blümel 2004, N° 7).

25 Sur l'ostothèque, se reporter à Kubinska 1968, 64 ; 1997, 42 et 1999, 15.

26 Akarca 1952, 368-371.

27 Akarca 1952, 371-372.

28 Rumscheid/Rumscheid 2001, 131 ; Blümel 1987, N° 537-538 et 2004, 19-20, N° 27-29 ; Aubriet 2011, 19-29.

29 Se reporter à Le Dinahet 1995 et Le Dinahet/Mouret 1993.

30 Blümel 1987, N° 426-493 = 68 ; Blümel 2004 ; Rumscheid 2004a. À titre de comparaison, Zanker 1993, 212-230, propose une étude des inscriptions funéraires de Smyrne, à l'époque hellénistique, fondée sur quelques cent quarante stèles.

dévoilent un aspect caractéristique de l'au-delà. Il est naturellement très difficile, voire impossible dans bien des cas, de dater précisément ces inscriptions et de ne s'intéresser qu'à l'époque hellénistique. Nous tenterons néanmoins de mettre en évidence quelques grandes lignes.

Commençons par souligner quelques termes généraux qui se répètent à Mylasa. Le vocabulaire du tombeau et de ses parties constitutives y est en effet particulièrement varié. *Ho taphos* désigne différentes formes de *sépulture*[31] :

Ὁ τάφος Μοσχίωνος τοῦ Ἀριστείδου Πα[ρεμ]-
βωρδέως· ἐγένετο ἡ διεγγύησις τῆς κατ̣[α]-
σκευῆς αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ Φαίδρου τοῦ Ἀριστέου
Πανήμου ἑβδόμῃ ἀπιόντος·
Τὸ δὲ ἀνάλημμα καὶ τὴν ἔξεδραν ἐπὶ Ποσειδων[ίου]
τοῦ Ἀδράστου Δαισίου τετρά̣[τῃ, τὴ]ν̣ λεοντ[ίδα]
ἐπὶ Χαιρέου Περιτίου ὀ[…..-δεκ]άτῃ

To mnèma ou *to hypomnèma*[32], autres termes généraux, correspondent à "différents monuments funéraires, tantôt un tombeau creusé dans le roc, tantôt un sarcophage, tantôt un soubassement"[33]. *To mnèmeion*[34], plus représenté à Mylasa et parfois écrit sous la forme *mnèmion*, renvoie à "un grand tombeau, un sarcophage, un monument funéraire quelconque"[35]. Intéressante est l'inscription funéraire pour Dionysios[36] :

Δαιμόνων Ἀγαθῶν·
Τὸ μνημεῖον
κατὰ δύο
μέρη Δι-
ονυσί-
ου

ou pour Iatroklès[37] :

[Δαιμόνων Ἀγ]αθῶν
τὸ μνημεῖον
Ἰατροκλέους
τοῦ Ἰατροκλέους
τοῦ Ἀπολλωνί-
ου καὶ τέκνων
αὐτοῦ

Remarquons d'abord la formule d'appel *daimonôn agathôn*, particulièrement caractéristique de l'épigraphie funéraire du Sud-Ouest de l'Asie Mineure et tout particulièrement de Mylasa[38], comme le suggère, par exemple, l'épitaphe pour Seuthès et sa famille[39] :

Δαιμόνων Ἀγαθῶν
Σεύθου τοῦ Ἑκάτωνος
καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ
Ἑκαταίας τῆς Νικολάου
καὶ τῶν τέκνων αὐτῶν
Ἑκάτωνος
Ἀρτεμεισίου
Ἀγαθημερίδος
Λαβραυνδίδος

31 Hellmann 1988, 258 ; Blümel 1987, N° 223, lign. 18 ; N° 493, lign. 3 et, récemment, Blümel/Kızıl 2005, 7-8 : "La sépulture de Moschiôn fils d'Aristeidès, Parembordeus. La prise de garants pour son érection eut lieu sous Phaidros fils d'Aristeas, le septième jour avant la fin du mois de Panémos ; quant à l'*analemma* et à l'exèdre, ce fut sous Poseidônios fils d'Adrastos, le 4 du mois Daisios, et l'ornementation semblable à un lion sous Chaireas, le ….. du mois Péritios." (Trad. personnelle). Sur *taphos*, se reporter aussi à Henry 2007, 100.
32 Blümel 1987, N° 476, lign. 5 ; pour *to hypomnèma*, Blümel 1987, N° 652, lign. 8 ; N° 657, lign. 6.
33 Kubinska 1968, 15 et 23 ; Hellmann 1988, 259, traduit *to hypomnèma* par 'monument funéraire'.
34 Blümel 1987, N° 436, lign. 2 ; N° 439, lign. 2 ; N° 444, lign. 3 ; N° 449, lign. 3 ; N° 473, lign. 1 ; N° 478, lign. 2 ; N° 453 (*EA* 7, 1986, N° 6) ; N° 498 (*EA* 19, 1992) ; N° 499 (*EA* 19, 1992) ; *EA* 37, 2004, N° 45 et N° 51 ; pour la forme *mnèmion* : N° 427, lign. 2 ; N° 448, lign. 1 ; N° 466, lign. 1 ; N° 467, lign. 1 ; N° 924, lign. 1 et lign. 6 ; N° 459, lign. 1 ; *EA* 37, 2004, N° 42.
35 Kubinska 1968, 18.
36 Blümel 1987, N° 439.
37 Varinlioğlu 1986, 78, N° 6.
38 Cette formule se rencontre d'ailleurs, à Mylasa, sous différentes orthographes : Δαιμόνων Ἀγαθῶν : Blümel 2004, 26, N° 41 ou Δεμόνων Ἀγαθῶν : Blümel 1987, N° 486 ; Blümel 2004, 27, N° 43 ; Carbon 2005. Il serait intéressant d'envisager une étude plus approfondie de cette formule, à commencer par son étendue chronologique : à partir de quand la trouve-t-on et jusques à quand ? Descat 2011 mentionne l'existence de plus de cinquante occurrences de cette expression. À propos de l'une d'entre elles, Blümel 1988, N° 350, il faut désormais se reporter à l'étude récente, très suggestive, de Descat 2011, 195-202, qui la date de l'époque hécatomnide. Il la met en rapport avec la découverte archéologique récente majeure, dans la partie de la ville ancienne, Hisarbaşı, au lieu-dit Uzun Yuva. Des fouilles clandestines, qui ont été démasquées durant l'été 2010, ont mis au jour, à une profondeur d'une dizaine de mètres, un sarcophage sculpté et peint, d'une qualité d'exécution exceptionnelle. Rumscheid 2010, 69-102, fournit une étude archéologique complète de ce secteur de la ville antique et Konuk a présenté, le 13 janvier 2011, cette découverte lors d'une conférence au centre de recherches Ausonius de l'Université Bordeaux 3 (Konuk 2011).
39 Blümel 1987, N° 474 ; sur les liens entre la mort et la famille, se reporter à Pomeroy 1997, 100-140.

Ce terme renvoie à une conception du *daimôn* qui est invoqué sur de nombreux autres textes dans la région, comme à Iasos ou à Rhodes, mais dont la signification reste incertaine[40]. Il faut vraisemblablement y voir une entité divine qui anime les humains mais qui survit après la mort de l'individu[41]. Il est d'ailleurs significatif que cette formule soit, parfois, remplacée par une autre : Μνήμης ἀγαθῆς[42]. Dès la haute époque hellénistique, il est fait mention, à Mylasa, d'un culte des *Daimones Agathoi* et, à Olymos, on peut mentionner, à l'époque hellénistique, un prêtre des *Daimones Agathoi*[43]. Cette expression perdure, à Mylasa, à l'époque impériale[44].

Le terme de *ho bômos*, souvent utilisé dans les inscriptions funéraires de Mylasa, mérite également notre attention. Les nombreux autels funéraires cylindriques en marbre, décorés de guirlandes et de bucrânes, voire de serpents, présents dans différents endroits du monde grec, dans la nécropole de Rhénée, en face de Délos, comme dans le Sud-Ouest de l'Asie Mineure – Rhodes, Cnide, Cos –[45], témoignent de cette évolution religieuse : les libations pour les défunts ne sont plus versées dans des fosses creusées dans le sol, mais sur des autels qui rappellent ceux qui s'élèvent dans les sanctuaires. Il peut s'agir d'un autel funéraire[46], tantôt rectangulaire, tantôt rond, ou bien d'un piédestal carré, un socle, une sorte de soubassement, fait de marbre ou de calcaire[47]. La vision de la mort semble être modifiée. On rend un culte nouveau à ceux qui, une fois décédés, ne séjournent plus dans les ténèbres, mais rejoignent le monde des héros, puisqu'on leur érige des autels semblables à ceux des dieux.

Pour revenir à l'épitaphe de Dionysios, *to mnèmeion kata duo mérè* signifie que les deux-tiers de ce tombeau sont à Dionysios et que nous avons affaire ici, très probablement, à un tombeau à chambres. Un dernier terme très général est *to sèma* dont nous ne possédons qu'une seule occurrence à Mylasa et qui correspond à des monuments, ou sculptures, érigés sur la tombe[48].

Le monument funéraire est donc couramment appelé *to mnèmeion* ou *to hèrôon*, à Mylasa comme en Asie Mineure[49]. *To hèrôon* peut, certes, renvoyer à un édifice funéraire somptueux[50], correspondant à la position sociale de leurs propriétaires, mais il peut également n'être qu'"'un simple édicule, une tombe creusée dans le roc ou construite en grands blocs de pierre dans laquelle on mettait des sarcophages"[51] :

> [Τ]ὸ ἡρῷον
> Γηρασίμου
> καὶ Ἀντέρωτος
> ἱερῶν· ζῶσιν[52].

Plus rarement, il porte le nom de *to kénotaphion* ou de *to thèkaion*[53].

D'autres termes dévoilent les parties constitutives des monuments funéraires. Le lit funéraire – *hè stibas* – est caractéristique, selon J. Kubinska, de l'Ouest de la Carie[54]. Un *mnèmeion* peut abriter trois *stibades* :

> Τὸ μνημῖον Θεοφίλου τοῦ Εἰρηναίου καὶ
> Εὔπλοος τοῦ Θεοφίλου κατὰ τὸ τρίτον μέρος
> εἰσερχομένων ἡ ἄντικρυς στιβάς· κατὰ δὲ
> τὰ δοίο μέρη τοῦ μνημίου ἐν δεξιοῖς καὶ
> εὐωνύμοις αἱ δοίο στιβάδες Μενάνδρου τοῦ

40 Persson 1922, 411, N° 15 ; Fraser 1977, 73. Robert 1938, 44, note 3 considère que δαίμων équivaut à ἥρως ou mânes, qui symbolisent les esprits des morts ; lire aussi Robert 1987, 6, note 22.

41 Sfameni Gasparo 1997, 89-91.

42 Blümel 2004, 29, N° 49.

43 Blümel 1988, N° 350, N° 806, N° 810, N° 869, N° 870, etc.

44 Blümel 2004, N° 41-45.

45 Robert 1938, 222 ; Berges 1986, pl. 2 dresse une carte de localisation de ces autels dans le Sud-Ouest de l'Asie Mineure, mais Mylasa n'y figure pas ; Berges 1996 ; Höghammer 2004, 69-81.

46 Blümel 1987, N° 429 ; 1988, N° 495. Se reporter à Kubinska 1968, 73.

47 Robert 1987, 100 : "Par *bômos*, j'entends non point un autel indépendant et anonyme, mais la base de la statue avec le sens de 'base, soubassement' que le mot a si souvent dans les inscriptions funéraires" ; se reporter également à Coulton 2005, 127-157.

48 Blümel 1987, N° 492, lign. 1.

49 Robert 1937, 64.

50 Blümel 1987, N° 447, lign. 1 ; N° 456, lign 2 ; N° 468, lign. 1 ; N° 434, lign. 2 ; N° 455, lign. 2 ; 1988, N° 925, lign. 1 ; Blümel 2004, N° 44, lign. 1-2.

51 Kubinska 1968, 26 ; Blümel 1987, N° 447 ; voir aussi N° 434, N° 456, N° 468 ; Blümel 2004, 27, N° 44 ; 31, N° 54.

52 Robert 1937, 225 : "On sait comme, sur les épitaphes de l'époque impériale, se trouvent fréquemment les mots ζῇ ou ζῶσιν ou ζῶ ou ζῶμεν, pour rappeler que le personnage nommé sur l'inscription était encore vivant et écarter par là, je pense, le mauvais présage qu'eût été l'inscription de son nom sur le tombeau" et Fıratlı/Robert 1964, 150.

53 *To kénotaphion* : Blümel 1987, N° 435 et N° 469. Voir Robert/Robert, *Bull. Épigr.* 1950, 204 et Kubinska 1968, 89. Pour *to thèkaion*, consulter Blümel 1987, N° 470, lign. 2.

54 Blümel 1987, N° 441, lign. 1 ; N° 442, lign. 9 et lign. 13 ; N° 445, lign. 1 ; N° 468, lign. 11 ; 1988, N° 918, lign. 1 ; Blümel 2004, 29, N° 50, lign. 1. Consulter Paton/Myres 1896, 230 ; Robert 1938, 220, note 10 et Kubinska 1968, 111. On le rencontre aussi dans l'épigraphie d'Eurômos : Cousin 1898, 373, N° 13, lign. 1 ; de Chalkètôr : Blümel 1988, N° 925, lign. 3 ; et dans celle de Iasos : Blümel 1985, N° 393, lign. 1.

Παιδέρωτος καὶ Προνοίας τῆς Ἀπολλωνίδου καὶ κληρονόμων αὐτῶν καὶ διαδόχων· Ζῶμεν[55].

La partie centrale abrite le lit funéraire de Théophilos et de son fils Euplous, la partie droite et la partie gauche ceux de Ménandros, de Pronoia, de leurs héritiers et successeurs ; c'est encore le même cas dans l'inscription suivante :

Δαιμόνων
Ἀγαθῶν
Γαίου Μαρίου
Διονυσίου καὶ
Ἀπολλωνίδου
τοῦ Ἑρμίου
ἐνγενοῦς ἡ ἐν-
δέξια ε̣ἰσπορευο-
μένων στιβὰς καὶ ἡ
μέση· καὶ Ἑρμολοχίδος
τῆς Ἑλενίου ἡ ἰσπορευ-
ομένων ἐν εὐωνύμοις
στιβάς· ζῶσι[56]

Il est ici question de trois personnages, deux hommes et une femme, qui ne semblent pas avoir de lien de parenté entre eux. Un seul mort par lit : on distingue encore le lit funéraire placé à droite, le lit central et le lit placé à gauche. Notable est le terme *eggenès* que l'on rencontre très souvent dans l'épigraphie funéraire de Rhodes[57].

Plusieurs termes désignant le sarcophage se rencontrent à Mylasa. Le plus commun, qui se retrouve dans toute l'Asie Mineure[58], est ἡ σορός :

Ἡ σορὸς Τιβ.
Κλαυδίου Μαρ-
κ̣ιανοῦ Κόδρου[59]

tandis que le second est ἡ ποιαλίς[60] : ici, le sarcophage se distingue du lit funéraire, *hè stibas*. J. Kubinska souligne que "les sarcophages pouvaient être construits directement sur le sol ou sur un soubassement : *bômos*, *mnèmeion*, *platas*"[61].

Il est à rappeler, enfin, que l'incinération tient sa place dans les pratiques funéraires, à Mylasa, au travers de la mention d'ostothèque, qui fait partie du tombeau[62].

La famille face à la mort

Les inscriptions funéraires privées vont dévoiler, à la période hellénistique tout comme à l'époque impériale, l'expression de l'affection et de l'attachement familial. Les scènes de *dexiôsis*, symbole de la séparation entre vivants et défunts, très nombreuses, par exemple, en Attique, semblent absentes de la sculpture funéraire mylasienne. Les tombeaux de couples[63], ou les tombeaux familiaux[64], se multiplient et, devant la mort, le chagrin des survivants s'épanche dans l'épitaphe. Nous disposons ainsi de plusieurs monuments érigés pour des familles, comme celle d'Antérôs[65].

Voici une épitaphe pour une autre tombe familiale[66] :

Ποσιδώνι Φιλέρωτος
χρηστὲ χαῖρε· Ἑρμέα̣ χρη-
στὲ χαῖρε· Ἀρετὴ ὑδροφόρε̣
χρηστὴ χαῖρε· Χαρι̣τ̣ὼ Ὀνη-
σικράτου χρηστὴ χαῖρε·
Ποσιδώνιος Ποσιδω-
νίου χρηστὲ χαῖρε·
Ἀφροδίσι χρηστὲ χαῖρε

Ailleurs, c'est une épitaphe pour un père et ses enfants[67] :

Δαιμόνων Ἀγαθῶν· τὸ ἡ-
ρῷον Μάρ. Αὐ. Παμφίλου
τοῦ Εὐχαρίστου καὶ τέ-
κνων αὐτοῦ· ζῶσιν

55 Blümel 1988, N° 924.
56 Blümel 1987, N° 442 ; selon Drew-Bear 1994, 33, note 39, il faut accentuer ἐνδεξία, nominatif féminin d'un adjectif de la première classe.
57 Robert 1938, 222 et note 4.
58 Ainsi à Hiérapolis de Phrygie : Judeich 1898, où il se rencontre très fréquemment.
59 Hellmann 1988, p. 256 ; Blümel 1987, N° 461. Voir aussi Blümel 2004, 29, N° 49 et 1988, N° 495.
60 Blümel 1987, N° 468, lign. 8 ; se reporter à Robert 1937, 130 : "Comme bien des termes semblables, πύελος, πυελίς, πυαλίς est passé du sens de baignoire à celui de cuve funéraire."
61 Kubinska 1968, 32.
62 Kubinska 1999, 44.
63 Blümel 1987, N° 434, N° 451, N° 452, N° 462, N° 464, N° 470, N° 480.
64 Blümel 1988, N° 429, N° 430, N° 444, N° 455, N° 474 ; Blümel 2004, 27, N° 45.
65 Blümel 1987, N° 429.
66 Varinlioğlu 1986, 76, N° 2. Robert 1937, 369, souligne : "L'épithète de χρηστός, si souvent attribuée au défunt, ne lui vient pas ordinairement de son état de défunt, mais c'est une qualité qu'il avait pendant sa vie (…)."
67 Blümel 2004, 27, N° 44.

C'est encore un père et ses enfants[68] :

[Δαιμόνων Ἀγ]αθῶν·
τὸ μνημεῖον
Ἰατροκλέους
τοῦ Ἰατροκλέους
τοῦ Ἀπολλωνί-
ου καὶ τέκνων
αὐτοῦ

Philoumenô témoigne son attachement à son mari et se souvient de lui[69] :

Φιλουμ[ε]νὼ
εἰδίῳ ἀνδρὶγ
μείας χάρριγ.

Elpis éprouve les mêmes sentiments[70] :

Ἔλπις
Μυρσίνῳ ἀνδρὶ
μνεία[ς χάριν].

Parallèlement, nous disposons de très nombreuses épitaphes rédigées en l'honneur de jeunes filles ou d'épouses décédées : Cléopatra, Artémisia, Athènodotè, Alektryonè, Hiérokléa[71]. Elles ne comportent, simplement, que le nom de la défunte, parfois suivi de la mention du souvenir, de la mémoire : μνήμης χάριν. Sur une stèle funéraire, l'épitaphe de trois lignes est surmontée d'un fronton pourvu, en son centre, d'une rosette à quatre feuilles. C'est le mari qui se souvient de son épouse[72] :

Ἀριστέας Πορφυ-
ρίῳ τῇ ἰδίᾳ γυναι-
κὶ μνίας χάριν

Sur un autel orné de torches et d'épis de blé, on peut lire une inscription funéraire pour une prêtresse de Déméter[73] :

Ἄβα Ἰατροκλείους
ἱέρεια Δήμητρος εὐσεβὴς
χαῖρε

Si les épis sont naturellement attendus pour une prêtresse de cette divinité, déesse du blé dont elle a enseigné aux hommes la culture, il faut noter la présence de torches, rappel discret, peut-être, de la course éperdue de la déesse à travers les Enfers à la recherche de sa fille enlevée par Hadès. La qualité attendue d'une prêtresse qualifie Aba, déclarée *eusébès*[74].

Le droit à la sépulture

L'esclave, déjà dans les sources littéraires, apparaît comme un objet qui, tout comme du bétail, fait partie du patrimoine de son propriétaire et ne dispose d'aucun droit : c'est, comme le souligne Aristote, "un outil animé, et l'outil est une sorte d'esclave inanimé"[75]. L'esclave, qui n'a pas d'identité propre, reçoit son nom de son maître et n'a jamais de patronyme[76]. Les inscriptions funéraires des esclaves, très peu nombreuses, fournissent, à l'occasion, de précieuses indications. Mylasa nous en livre une particulièrement intéressante, datée, selon J. et L. Robert[77], de l'époque impériale, et qui mentionne un barbier et un ânier, tous deux esclaves[78] :

Δαιμόνων
Ἀγαθῶν·
τὸ μνημεῖον
Ἑρμοῦ κουρέος
καὶ Ἱερατικοῦ ὀνη-
λάτου, δούλων

L'intérêt de ce texte est triple : il nous rappelle inévitablement l'homme politique Hybréas, qui avait hérité de son père un mulet et un conducteur de bêtes ; par ailleurs, il met en évidence un formulaire que nous avons déjà commenté[79]. Enfin, ce texte nous invite à réfléchir au droit à la sépulture, puisque seuls les citoyens ont le droit de propriété[80]. La nécessité de se regrouper pour obtenir le droit à l'achat d'un terrain est également une motivation importante pour créer une association

68 Blümel 1987, N° 453 ; *SEG* 36, 1003.
69 Blümel 1987, N° 481.
70 Blümel 1987, N° 537.
71 Blümel 1987, N° 428 ; N° 450 ; Blümel 2004, 24, N° 38 ; 25, N° 39 et N° 40.
72 Rumscheid 2004a, 47, N° 2.
73 Blümel 1987, N° 426.

74 Robert 1946, 81 ; Fıratlı/Robert 1964, 137.
75 Aristote, *Éthique à Eudème*, 1241b 22-24 : Τό τε γὰρ σῶμμά ἐστιν ὄργανον σύμφυτον, καὶ τοῦ δεσπότου ὁ δοῦλος ὥσπερ μόριον καὶ ὄργανον ἀφαιρετόν, τὸ δ'ὄργανον ὥσπερ δοῦλος ἄψυχος. (Coll. Loeb)
76 Briant 1973, 112 : "Or, en règle générale, à notre connaissance, le nom des esclaves est donné sans patronyme." Sur l'onomastique servile, voir Robert 1935, 161 ; Masson 1973, 21 ; Bresson 1997, 117-126.
77 Robert/Robert 1976, 185, note 121.
78 Blümel 1987, N° 449 ; J. et L. Robert, *Bull. Épigr.* 1958, 301.
79 Delrieux/Ferriès, 2004a et 2004b.
80 Strabon, XIV.2.24.

et nous savons que ces associations ont joué un rôle important à Rhodes, comme à Iasos, dans la préparation des funérailles[81]. Des esclaves peuvent faire partie de ces associations : un autel funéraire rapporte ainsi que les *Artémeisiastai* octroient l'éloge et une couronne à Chrysippos, esclave de Mérops, qui est parvenu à recouvrer 150 drachmes que devait l'un des membres de l'association et s'est occupé d'un enterrement dans des conditions jugées difficiles[82]. Or, plusieurs textes mentionnent l'existence d'associations à Mylasa ; elles ont peut-être permis à des étrangers, voire à des esclaves, d'obtenir des honneurs auxquels ils ne pouvaient prétendre dans le cadre civique.

Il faut également mentionner une épitaphe pour des *hiéroi*[83], déjà citée, qu'A. Laumonier a pu comprendre comme des esclaves sacrés[84] :

> [Τ]ὸ ἡρῷον
> Γηρασίμου
> καὶ Ἀντέρωτος
> ἱερῶν·ζῶσιν

La protection des tombes

L'examen des sources épigraphiques suggère que, dès l'Antiquité, la cité a mis en place un arsenal légal de protection pour garantir les dernières volontés du défunt, mais également pour faire en sorte que sa tombe perdure et ne subisse ni déprédation, ni violation, ni réutilisation[85] :

> Οὐδενὶ δὲ ἑτέρῳ ἐ-
> ξέσται ταφῆναι ἢ μόνοις τούτοις
> καὶ οἷς ἂν τὰ τέκνα αὐτῶν καὶ ἔκγο-
> ν[οι ...]ΟΥΛ̣ [ ]

La question du pillage des sépultures a été cruciale dès l'Antiquité. On met ainsi en garde contre des punitions divines ou pécuniaires qu'encourt le contrevenant, comme c'est le cas pour la tombe de Julia et de ses enfants, pour laquelle le contrevenant risque une amende de 500 drachmes attiques[86]. Ce système d'amendes très fortes est connu en Lycie dès l'époque hellénistique[87]. Des formules d'imprécation promettent la malédiction du profanateur, voire de sa famille[88] :

> τοῦ-
> το τὸ μνῆμα ὃς ἂν ἀνορύξ-
> η ἢ ἀφανίσῃ οἷς οὐ προ-
> σῆκε, γένοισαν ἐξώλεοι
> καὶ πανώλεοι καὶ ὑτοὶ καὶ γ-
> ένος αὐτῶν καὶ ζῶντες κ-
> αὶ θανόντες.

Les quelques éléments de conclusion que nous souhaitons apporter ne se veulent, rappelons-le, en aucun cas définitifs, puisque l'enquête est en cours et que, du fait d'un nombre d'habitants toujours plus élevé, la ville moderne de Milas, sur laquelle est construite l'ancienne Mylasa, est en plein développement. Ainsi sont prévisibles de nombreuses autres découvertes épigraphiques qui viendront enrichir le corpus mylasien. Il nous faut, semble-t-il, souligner plusieurs aspects de notre recherche sur l'histoire des cultes funéraires dans la cité de Mylasa.

Remarquons d'abord, en comparaison avec le cas privilégié et bien connu d'Athènes, en raison de l'abondance des trouvailles et de leur répartition dans le temps, que l'intérêt premier de cette étude réside dans le fait qu'il s'agit ici d'une cité – *petite*, certes, à l'échelle du monde grec, mais *moyenne* à l'échelon régional – dont l'épigraphie et l'architecture mettent en évidence, depuis la période hécatomnide jusqu'à la période romaine, une image très intéressante du paysage funéraire et différentes formes de mémoire du défunt.

Notables sont la diversité des monuments funéraires mylasiens ainsi que leur richesse, voire leur luxe. Les stèles et les autels, qui, pour la plupart, à Mylasa, sont dépourvus de relief[89], dévoilent une épigraphie funéraire très succincte jusqu'à l'époque hellénistique et plus prolixe à l'époque romaine. Même s'il était également bien développé dans la Lycie voisine, le vocabulaire funéraire, particulièrement riche, semble une caractéristique majeure de cette partie de la Carie.

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81 Gabrielsen 2001, 217-222 ; pour Iasos, consulter Blümel 1985, N° 408 : au 2e siècle aC, la sépulture commune des *daimones agathoi* de quinze étrangers est probablement due à une association.
82 Peek 1969, 2.
83 Blümel 1987, N° 447.
84 Laumonier 1958, 117.
85 Blümel 2004, 27, N° 45, lign. 5-8. Sur ce sujet, se reporter, par exemple, à Robert 1937, 226 ; 1987, 1-12 et à Couilloud-Le Dinahet, 2003.

86 Blümel 1987, N° 455 ; N° 454.
87 Henry 2003, 3 et 5. Sur le cas de la Lycie, consulter Schweyer 2002, 78-79.
88 Blümel 1987, N° 476 ; N° 490 ; Blümel 2004, 30, N° 53. L'on pense, de même, aux très nombreux exemples recensés par Judeich 1898, N° 50-N° 348, dans la riche épigraphie funéraire de Hiérapolis.
89 Pfuhl 1905, 47-96 et 123-155 ; Pfuhl/Möbius, 1979.

Les prospections et les fouilles entreprises ont également souligné l'existence conjointe de différents modes de sépulture – inhumation, crémation. Par ailleurs, il faut insister sur le fait que, suite à la découverte de quelques nécropoles majeures à Mylasa, il serait intéressant d'envisager, comme la Mission archéologique suédoise a commencé à le faire aux alentours de Labraunda, leur étude complète et de lier l'étude architecturale et la publication du matériel aux analyses anthropologiques – études ostéologiques –[90], encore trop rares dans le monde grec, ce qui favoriserait un dialogue fécond entre archéologues, anthropologues et historiens.

Abréviations

AA	Archäologischer Anzeiger
AArch	Acta Archaeologica
AnatAnt	Anatolia Antiqua
AS	Anatolian Studies
AST	Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı
BCH	Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique
EA	Epigraphica Anatolica
JDAI	Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts
JHS	The Journal of Hellenic Studies
JS	Journal des Savants
MKKS	Müze Kurtarma Kazıları Semineri
OA	Opuscula Atheniensia
RA	Revue archéologique
REA	Revue des Études Anciennes
SEG	Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum
ZPE	Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik

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90 Voir Crubézy et *al.* 2007 ; Henry/Ingvarsson-Sundstrom 2011.

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MAUSSOLLOS'S *MNEMA*

An iconographical approach to the architecture of the Maussolleion at Halikarnassos

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Abstract

Undoubtedly the most renowned example of intramural burial in antiquity was the Maussolleion at Halicarnassus. Since its rediscovery within the writing of Vitruvius, Pliny and other ancient authors by Renaissance architects its form has been a frequent subject of speculation. The results of the archaeological campaigns of the 19th and 20th centuries have allowed the discussion to encompass an aesthetic evaluation of the temple-tomb's actual remains. The Maussolleion's seemingly disparate assortment of architectural forms, which samples motifs from prominent Mediterranean cultures (Lykian podium, Greek temple, and Egyptian pyramid) has been characterized as the ultimate statement in bad taste by a self-aggrandizing satrap. In order, however, to understand the architect's and patron's intentions it is necessary to reach beyond the superficial reading of the Maussolleion as an *omnium-gatherum* of architectural and sculptural ornament. An analysis of the iconography of the architectural and sculptural elements which (according to Roman sources and corroborated by archaeological evidence) were combined in the Mausolleion's design reveals that the motifs were chosen to bring to mind, and to improve on previous, well-known building programs. Not only does the temple architecture central to the design justify the building visually as a place of worship, but specific architectural forms and sculptural subjects appear to draw on the religious buildings of the most important city of the Mediterranean in the 5th century BC, Athens. In the case of the Mausolleion it is a question not of Maussollos's (or his architect's) lack of understanding

of the conventions that govern architectural forms and styles, but rather of a highly informed, positive solution to the unusual problem of how to incorporate a massive burial monument within the walls of the redesigned city of Halikarnassos, promote Maussollos on a divine scale, and signal Halikarnassos as a major urban center of the Mediterranean in the 4th century BC.

The Maussolleion at Halikarnassos was arguably the most famous intramural burial of classical antiquity. By the 2nd century BC the "*mnema* of Maussollos" was listed as one of the Seven Wonders of the ancient world[1]. It may well have stood until the 12th century of the Common Era. The irony of its final dismantling by the Knights of St. John in the 16th century in order that they might rebuild the castle of St. Peter is heightened by the fact that at the moment the blocks of the Maussolleion were being destroyed in Halikarnassos, the tomb was being visualized by European artists and architects. One such early reconstruction is Cesare Cesariano's woodcut of the Maussolleion that served as an illustration in an early edition (1521) of Vitruvius's *de Architectura* (fig. 1)[2]. Once Renaissance artists rediscovered it in the works of the Roman writers Pliny and Vitruvius, and began their reconstructions on paper, the Maussolleion's fame was assured for posterity in the western canon[3].

Fig. 1 : Cesare Cesariano, The Mausoleum of Halicarnassus, woodcut (from Di Lucio Vitruvio Pollione, *De Architecture libri deci* [Como: Gotardus 1521] Book 2, Ch. 8.1, 13-15. Photo courtesy of the Warburg Institute Library, London).

The Maussolleion was designed as a pastiche of architectural forms that were well known in the Mediterranean by the middle of the 4th century BC: a podium that historians have assumed to be Lykian in style, a superstructure in the form of an Ionic Greek temple, and a roof that was stepped but ultimately pyramidal in shape, and which, perhaps, was meant to recall the pyramids of Egypt. The building also supported a superabundance of sculptural ornament, including ornate Ionic mouldings, action packed figural friezes and free-standing sculptures on three scales, from under life size to colossal (fig. 2)[4]. An analysis of the iconography of the architectural motifs which, according to Roman sources and corroborated by archaeological evidence, were brought together in the Maussolleion's design, suggests that the combination of eastern and central Mediterranean motifs do not reveal a lack of understanding of, or a disregard for, the conventions that govern

1 The monument is called the *mnema* of Maussollos by Antipater of Sidon, *Anth. Pal.* ix.58.5 and in the *Laterculi Alexandrini papyrus*. Diels 1904, columns 8-9. See Hornblower 1982, 232-233 for discussion. I would like to thank Olivier Henry for inviting me to participate in the conference *Le Mort Dans La Ville, 2èmes rencontres d'archéologie de l'IFEA*. Thanks are due as well to my colleagues Ann-Marie Carstens, Alex Herda and Oliver Hülden for valuable comments and discussion at the time of the conference, and to Guy Hedreen and Gregory Leftwich for many constructive suggestions about the present paper. I would like to dedicate this article to the memory of my extraordinary mentor, Professor Frederick A. Cooper, who first introduced me to the works of Richard Krautheimer, and the concept of an iconography of architecture.

2 Cesare Cesariano's woodcut of the Maussolleion is found in an early translation of Vitruvius into vulgate Italian by Bono Mauro and Benedetto Jovio, edited by Antonio Gallo and A. de Pirovano and published by Gotard in Como in 1521, Book 2, chapter 8.11, 13-15.

3 Colvin 1991, 31-34. Colvin discusses artists' interpretations of descriptions by Pliny, NH 36.30-31 and by Vitruvius, de arch., 2.11 and 7. praef. 12-13. For the destruction of the Maussolleion, see Jeppesen 2000, 155-158.

4 See Jeppesen 2002 for the definitive publication of the Maussolleion's superstructure.

Fig. 2 : Model of the Maussolleion of Halikarnassos as reconstructed by K. Jeppesen (Photo after Jeppesen 2002, frontispiece).

architectural forms and styles, but instead present a unique, positive solution to the unusual problem of how to incorporate a massive burial monument within the walls of the redesigned city of Halikarnassos. When we consider the architectural features of Maussollos's tomb and *heroon* in concert with the sculptural program, we find a carefully constructed series of references to well-known religious buildings from the major cultural center of the Mediterranean in the Classical Period, Athens. A study of the iconography of the architecture and ornament of the Maussolleion helps us understand the placement of the tomb within the city center. It also helps situate Maussollos vis à vis Halikarnassos and Halikarnassos in the Mediterranean, and further reveals the refounder's ambition for the new Karian capital.

In his well-known article, "Introduction to an Iconography of Medieval Architecture", published first in 1941, Richard Krautheimer encouraged students of architectural history to look for intended content in the transference or imitation of architectural motifs, some overt, others very subtle, from one context to another[5]. According to Krautheimer a small church in Germany, France, Italy or England could call to mind the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem through the use of the same *number* of piers or columns even if the later church was built in a completely different style and on a much smaller scale than the original church that inspired its construction, and even if the form of the support – a pier or column – varied from that of the original[6]. More overt patterns of imitation and emulation in architectural style and sculptural subject matter can be seen among buildings in different parts of the Mediterranean as early as the 5th century BC. One case is found at Olympia where the sculptor of the metopes of the 5th century temple of Zeus (constructed between 471-457 BC) intentionally made reference to architectural or topographical features of different poleis in Greece and Magna Graecia in certain metopal compositions. On the metope where Atlas brings Herakles the Apples of the Hesperides, the hero holds the heavens apart from Earth with his bent arms, tense body and locked knees (fig. 3). Athletes from Akragas who competed at Olympia would recognize

Fig. 3 : Athena, Herakles and Atlas. Metope from the Temple of Zeus at Olympia. 471-457 BC (Photo: Craig and Marie Mauzy).

5 Krautheimer 1941, *passim*.
6 Krautheimer 1941, especially 117-126.

Fig. 4 :
Atlas support from the Temple of Zeus Olympios, Akragas (Photo courtesy of B. Dutfield).

in the hero's pose the posture of the colossal Atlas figures from the exterior of their own city's temple of Zeus Olympios (fig. 4). An Athenian visitor to Olympia might imagine Athena resting her bare feet on the rocky surface of the Akropolis on the metope where Herakles brings the goddess the Stymphalian birds (fig. 5)[7]. An athlete from Nemea would acknowledge a story from his region when saw the metope that showed Herakles' first labor, the defeat of the Nemean Lion, and so on. By referring to temples, tales and topography from other regions the building's master sculptor underscored the panhellenic quality of the sanctuary and the games in honor of Zeus at Olympia.

In the 4th century BC architects and sculptors on the western coast of Asia Minor apparently looked to Athenian buildings of the 5th century BC when designing temples and tombs, while preserving aspects of local architectural styles. They also turn east, to Persia, for inspiration[8]. The *Heroon* of Perikles at Limyra echoes the Erechtheion in Athens with its karyatid porch, and like the *heroon* at Xanthos, the "Nereid Monument" (fig. 6), may recall the temple of Athena Nike in the architectural form of the Ionic temple on top of a high podium (fig. 7)[9]. While the design of the Maussolleion of Halikarnassos has many stunningly novel features, others seem recognizably and intentionally derivative. The known elements of Maussollos's

Fig. 5 : Athena, Herakles and the Stymphalian Birds. Metope from the Temple of Zeus at Olympia. 471-457 BC (Photo: Craig and Marie Mauzy).

7 For Atlas and Herakles, Ashmole 1972, fig. 97. For the Athena and the Stymphalian birds, *Ibid*., fig. 77 and for the Nemean Lion, fig. 72. On the association of Athena and the Acropolis rock on this metope, see Ashmole 1972, 69-72 and 198 n. 44.

8 For the Heroon of Perikles at Limyra see Borchhardt 1970, *passim* and 362 for the karyatids. Borchhardt provides an in depth study of the Heroon's karyatids in Borchhardt 1976, 27-48. For the Persian source of the Heroon at Limyra's friezes' iconography, Borchhardt 1970, 373-376 and 1976, 66-80. For the Persian iconography of the Nereid Monument see Brosius 2011, 143-144.

9 Andrew Stewart remarks on the formula of the Ionic temple on a podium and also notes that the flamboyant sculptural style of the Nereid figures recalls that of the Nike temple parapet. See Stewart 1990, 171.

Fig. 6 : Nereid Monument from Xanthos. Reconstruction in London, British Museum (Photo British Museum Image Service AN258120).

Fig. 7 : Athens, Akropolis, Temple of Athena Nike and Nike Bastion from southwest (Photo © 2012 S. Peirce/canyonlights).

monument show inspiration from more than one source, in more than one geographical and political area. Ann-Marie Carstens' paper in this volume traces the political iconography in the architectural and sculptural themes of Maussollos's tomb to well-known buildings of the Persian empire. In this paper I attempt to trace the religious iconography of the Maussolleion to Athens' best known buildings, the 5th century temples and shrines of the Periklean building program on the Athenian Akropolis. The Maussolleion stood in between the two very different centers of Mediterranean culture. In his use of motifs from both Persia and Athens Maussollos constructed a monument that not only reflected his own cosmopolitan background but broadcast his political and religious ambitions.

The definitive study of the Maussolleion and its site by the Danish Archaeological Expedition to Bodrum has been published by Kristian Jeppesen and colleagues[10]. Ongoing investigations in Karia help us place the Maussolleion within the larger context of ancestor, hero and tomb cult in Karia[11]. The recent discoveries concerning the Uzun Yuva in Milas (ancient Mylasa) help us envision the Maussolleion in a continuum of important tombs for members of the Hekatomnid family[12]. The possible taboo of a burial within the city walls at Halikarnassos is mitigated in part by the Karian tradition of cultic activity at tombs of the ruling family[13]. In addition, a tradition of burial within the city for exceptional individuals such as heroes or founders of cities or colonies both in Anatolia and on the Greek Mainland is attested in many of our ancient sources for the Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic periods[14]. Pindar tells us that Battus was buried within the walls of Cyrene, the city he founded (with some difficulty) in North Africa[15]. Thucydides mentions a *mnemeion* of Themistocles in the Agora of Magnesia on the Maeander[16]. Intramural burial in the form of a *heroon* in the market place, or at least within the city, is allowed for Brasidas, as far west as Amphipolis and for Kineas as far east as Ai Khanoum[17].

When Maussollos brought about the synoikism of the villages of the peninsula and refounded the city of Halikarnassos he located his massive temple tomb at the center of town, above the harbor, on top of a series of chambers that may have once had

10 Jeppesen *et al.* 1987-2004.

11 For example Henry 2010; Carstens 2002 and 2010.

12 Rumscheid 2010; Brunwasser 2011.

13 Carstens 2002, 402-406.

14 See Herda's contribution in this volume.

15 Pindar, Pythian V.93. For the tradition concerning burial of founders and heroes in the agora or within the walls of Greek cities and colonies in ancient sources, see Hornblower 1982, 255-256 and Herda in this volume.

16 Thuc 1.138.5; Hornblower 1982, 256.

17 For Brasidas, Thuc. V. 11; Hornblower 1982, 255 and for Kineas, 256.

Fig. 8 :
Slab from the Amazonomachy frieze from the Maussolleion. London, British Museum (Photo British Museum Image Service AN259822).

a religious, sympotic or even funerary function[18]. Maussollos's choice of a highly visible site on a hillside had an immediate precedent in nearby Lykia with the so-called Nereid Monument of Kheriga or his successor, Arbinas, which dates to about 370 BC. That monument is sited just outside the city gates. The *heroon* of Perikles at Limyra also occupied a prominent position on the slope of an acropolis, in this case looking down on the city and plain below[19]. The Maussolleion likewise dominates the city of Halikarnassos, but from within the city limits. Its sheer size suggests that its architects may have wished on one level to emulate a "far-shining monument" such as the *sema* of Achilles, described in Homer's *Odyssey*, Book 24, which Agamemnon says was built on a tall headland in order to be *telephanes*, 'far-shining': "to be seen today by men far out on the sea, and those of future generations"[20]. The Maussolleion had heroic connotations through scale and siting. It also faced west, as was the case for many ancient *heroa*[21]. The architectural and sculptural programs of the Maussolleion, however, carry an iconographical implication beyond that of a Homeric-style or heroic monument.

Archaeologists and architectural historians have reconstructed the Maussolleion by combining archaeological remains discovered at the site and in the crusader castle with interpretations of the frustratingly short and oblique descriptions of the Maussolleion in Pliny and Vitruvius. We know it was a building in three sections: a tall podium in three stages that provided a surface and backdrop for sculptural groups and friezes on all four sides, a colonnade of 36 columns and a steep, pyramidal roof of 24 steps. The ancient sources name the architect, Pytheos, the master sculptor, Satyros and record that a further four or five sculptors worked on the building. Their names number among the most famous in antiquity: Skopas, Leochares, Bryaxis, Timotheos and, according to Vitruvius, Praxiteles[22]. Fragments of friezes showing combats between Amazons and Greeks (fig. 8) and Centaurs and Lapiths have long been known. According to the most recent reconstruction, the Amazonomachy frieze is placed at the top of podium, just below the stylobate of the colonnade, while the Centauromachy encircled the pedestal of the *quadriga* at the pinnacle of the roof[23]. Life-size figures in a battle of Persians and Greeks circumscribed the lower podium's top section (fig. 9). Colossal figures in a scene of hunting (on the West), and in procession with sacrificial animals (North, South and East), have been theorized and reconstructed from the fragments of freestanding sculpture. The latter are presumed to have been placed against the blue limestone backdrop of

18 Jeppesen 2000, 141 summarizes earlier ideas about the site and tentatively agrees that the area may have encompassed a cemetery while Zahle/Kjeldsen 2004, 169-179, see the pre-Maussollan chambers on the site as possibly related to a cult of Demeter and Kore, or functioning as ritual dining rooms. Carstens 2005 reiterates the possibility that at least one of the chambers of the Quadrangle area may have been a tomb, citing similarities to Cypriot tomb architecture. The most recent discussion on these pre-Maussollan chambers can be found in Pedersen 2013.
19 The reconstruction drawing by Borchhardt (Borchhardt 1970, fig. 2) illustrates beautifully the vertiginous position of the *heroon*.
20 Od. 24. 80-84.
21 Hornblower 1982, 259.

22 Jeppesen (most recently, Jeppesen 2002, 39) argues that the name Praxiteles should be discounted, whereas Waywell disagrees, and keeps Praxiteles in the mix. Waywell 1997, 60.
23 For the following reconstruction of the Maussolleion's superstructure, see Jeppesen 2002, *passim*.

Fig. 9 :
Head of a Persian wearing the Kyrbasia headdress. From the Maussolleion. Life size. London, British Museum (Photo British Museum Image Service AN39982).

Fig. 10 :
Colossal seated male, possibly Maussollos. London, British Museum (Photo British Museum Image Service AN490111).

the lower podium's lowest section. The figures moved towards the East where a colossal seated figure, most likely Maussollos, waited to receive their offerings before a doorway at the center of the East side (fig. 10). Over-life-size sculptures of gods, founding heroes, Lygdamid predecessors and Hekatomnid ancestors have been reconstructed in two tiers on blue limestone bases between the columns of the temple portion of the monument. A frieze of racing chariots runs along the top of the wall deep within the colonnade, behind the sculptures of individual figures. Coffers sculptured with heroic scenes decorated the ceiling of the porch. Acroterial sculpture and statues of lions decorated the steps of the pyramidal roof, which was topped by the aforementioned chariot, presumably that of Maussollos.

In order to understand the iconography of the architectural and sculptural motifs we must analyze the Maussolleion of Halikarnassos with an eye to its reputation as something visually novel and vivid, and yet composed with the language of the architecture of coastal Anatolia, specifically Lykia, and also Greece, specifically Attica. The pyramidal roof, of course, speaks to the knowledge of Egyptian funerary pyramids which were recognized for their ability to transmit fame and endure for centuries[24].

Simon Hornblower, among others has commented that the peristyle derives from the Nereid Monument, and perhaps even Limyra, and suggests that motifs were "transmitted from Greece to Halikarnassos via Lykia"[25]. He does not, however, rule out the possibility that the idea of the peristyle "arrived from Greece direct"[26]. Hornblower comments that Pytheos' work on the Athena temple at Priene is "respectable" but sees the combination of architectural features at Halikarnassos as an exercise in "bad taste" for which he holds Maussollos and his relatives solely responsible[27]. I suggest instead that the combination of architectural elements was actually a conscious sampling of motifs from a variety of buildings *not* in Lykia, but in Athens. The architect and patron of the *Heroon* at Limyra obviously found direct inspiration in the monuments of the Akropolis in Athens, its Karyatids an approximation of those on the Erechtheion[28]. It has been noted that its tall

24 Hornblower 1982, 245-248.
25 *Ibid.*, 251
26 *Ibid*.
27 *Ibid*. Also *Ibid*, 310, n. 126. Hornblower supports Tomlinson's suggestion that the combination of Doric and Ionic features in Hekatomnid buildings of the 4th century BC is a sign of "barbarism". See Tomlinson 1963, 139 and 145.
28 Borchhardt 1970, 373-376. For an in depth analysis of the karyatids at Limyra see Borchhardt 1976, 27-48.

podium need not derive exclusively from the pillar or podium monuments in Lykia, but could have been inspired by the bastion of the Temple of Athena Nike in Athens[29]. Likewise the Nike bastion could be the source for the podium of the Nereid Monument at Xanthos[30]. The superstructure in the form of an Ionic temple at Xanthos also looks Greek, as do the Nereids between the columns[31]. As noted above the friezes of battles, hunts, embassies and the feasting hero-king in the pediment derive, however from a more eastern, or Persian source[32]. The Lykian heroa may have inspired Maussollos and his architect, but a number of architectural and sculptural aspects of the Maussolleion seem to point to a *direct* knowledge of Athenian architecture of the second half of the 5th century BC. I enumerate a few of the similarities:

- As in Lykia, the high podium at Halikarnassos may make reference to the bastion of the temple of Athena Nike, finished by 410 BC.
- The column capitals of the Maussolleion (fig. 11) seem close in shape and style to the Ionic capitals of the temple of Athena Nike (fig. 12) as well. The space above the egg and dart echinus on both may refer to the 2-part echinus which developed in Athenian Ionic capitals over the course of the late 6th and the early 5th century BC[33].
- The added sculptural embellishment of the lesbian *kymation* on the abacus of the Maussolleion's Ionic capitals and the carved lotus and palmette frieze[34] on the *sima* may derive from similar ornaments seen on the Erechtheion, the building which housed the hero cult for the kings of Athens (fig. 13).
- The white marble figures against a dark stone used as background on the processional scenes on the North, South and East sides of the Maussolleion's lower podium may refer to the Erechtheion's frieze where white marble figures were attached to a dark blue limestone background[35].

Fig. 11 : Ionic capital from the Maussolleion. London, British Museum (Photo: Livius.org).

Fig. 12 : Ionic capital from the Temple of Athena Nike on the Akropolis, Athens. London, British Museum (Photo British Museum Image Service AN116150).

The borrowing of motifs from the Perikleian building program in Athens may have significance beyond superficial imitation. References to the architecture of the temple of Athena Nike would underscore or represent the military successes of Maussollos, while any suggestion of the Erechtheion's architecture and ornament might refer to the heroic status of the local ruler and his family at Halikarnassos. After all, the Erechtheion housed the cults for members of Athens' original ruling families.

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29 Borchhardt notes that the heroon at Limyra is tetrastyle amphiprostyle like the temple of Athena Nike and the temple on the Ilissos. Borchhardt 1970, 361-362. Mary Sturgeon emphasizes the podium of the Limrya monument's resemblance to the bastion of the Nike Temple when summarizing Borchhardt's findings. Sturgeon 2000, 64.

30 Stewart hints at this possibility in Stewart 1991, 170.

31 *Ibid.*

32 Borchhardt 1976, 66-80. Tuplin 2010, 165.

33 On the development of the Athenian Ionic capital with the 2-part echinus, see McGowan 1997.

34 For the sima decoration see Jeppesen 2002, 131-132 with figs. 13.5-13.7.

35 Ridgway 1999, 120 "albeit on a much larger scale"; Shoe 1949 on the use of dark stone in Athenian architecture. Also see Stewart 1990, 168. Stewart notes that inscriptions suggest that the half life size figures of Pentelic marble were shown in a procession. On the Erechtheion's frieze in general see Boulter 1970, *passim*. Ridgway comments on the idea that attached light-colored figures on a dark stone background might ultimately derive from the design of statue bases with attached figures, such as that of the Athena Parthenos. See Ridgway 1999, 128. She first suggests this idea in Ridgway 1981, 164.

Fig. 13 : North West corner of the north porch of the Erechtheion, with Ionic column, decorated entablature and dark stone frieze backing above. Akropolis Athens (Photo: Michael Dant).

Fig. 14 : Colossal standing draped female with archaizing hairstyle, often identified as Artemisia and colossal standing draped male, often identified as Maussollos. London, British Museum (Photo British Museum Image Service AN103752).

A carrying over of content and meaning from Athens to Halikarnassos might also apply to the largest of the freestanding sculptures – each 3 meters in height – that have been restored between the columns of the Maussolleion's peristyle. Waywell and Jeppesen have proposed that the largest sculptures represent Hekatomnids past and present. Jeppesen has further argued that statues of two Hekatomnid generations may have stood between the columns of the *pteron* on the North. He also hypothesizes that sculptures of members of the Lygdamnid dynasty – former rulers of the city – occupied the intercolumniations of the South side. Jeppesen further proposes the attractive theory that the divine and heroic founders of Halikarnassos who are named in the Salmakis Inscription, might have stood between the columns of the *pteron* on the East and West sides of the Maussolleion[36]. Many have wished to see Maullossos's portrait in the one well-preserved male figure in kingly robes (fig. 14). The archaizing hairstyle of the beautifully draped female figure, often called 'Artemisia', suggests that she represents a family member, lady in waiting or heroine from an earlier time period, a predecessor of the rulers of the middle of the 4th century BC. Another sculptural fragment preserves only the head of a beautiful, idealized female (fig. 15). Like the 'Artemisia', she wears an archaizing hairstyle where three rows of curls frame the face and forehead while a *sakkos* conceals the rest of the hair[37]. The white stone statues of sumptuously

36 See Jeppesen 2002, 178-182 for the reconstruction of the colonnade and sculptures of the intercolumniations. For a recent description and interpretation of the Salmakis Inscription see Gagné 2006. I thank A. Herda for bringing this article to my attention.

37 For 'Maussollos' (BM 1000) see Waywell 1978, 97-103 and 103-106 for 'Artemisia' (BM 1001). For the well-preserved head of a woman (BM 1051), see Waywell 1978, no. 30, 106-107. For comments on the archaizing hairstyle of the 'Artemisia' and Waywell no. 30, see Waywell 1978, 41, 72, and 107. On archaizing coiffures in general see Harrison 1988, and for the hairstyle with three rows of curls framing the forehead p. 241, with note 40. The hairstyle of the bride figure on the east pediment of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia might be considered an early 5th century version of the same coiffure. Her front locks are cut in three rows of curls to foreshadow her

Fig. 15 : Female head with an archaizing hairstyle, from a colossal statue of a woman from the Maussolleion (Waywell 30). London, British Museum (Photo British Museum Image Service AN136312).

draped royals between the columns of the peristyle, which stood before a blue stone wall, must have had an immediate visual impact. They have been suggested as the inspiration for the disposition of female figures between columns on the Mourning Women Sarcophagus at Side, and the figures between columns on the Altar of Athena at Priene[38]. Again, they may have drawn inspiration from the white figures against the dark blue-gray Eleusinian stone of the Erechtheion frieze[39].

The decoration of Athenian buildings as a source for aspects of the Maussolleion's sculpltural embellishment may have a further iconographical meaning. One reason Jeppesen's suggestion that the heroic founders listed in the Salmakis Inscription may have stood between the *pteron*'s columns on the East and West is so tantalizing is that it would provide another link between Halikarnassos's temple tomb and the Erechtheion. Among the many shrines that building incorporated was the tomb or shrine of Kekrops. It also housed the tomb of Erichthonios[40]. The tombs of the legendary founding kings within the *temenos* of the Akropolis, in the center of Athens, would be one precedent for Maussollos to follow when designing his own tomb within the walls of Halikarnassos. The connection is enriched by the story that the sons of Kekrops numbered among the early founding heroes of Halikarnassos. According to the Salmakis Inscription (vv. 27-28) "…the mighty strength of Cranaus settled noble sons of Cecrops in the land of holy Salmacis"[41]. That the second king of Athens was credited with sending the sons of his predecessor, Kekrops, to colonize Halikarnassos reveals a significant bond between the city of Maussollos and the city of Athena. That bond might have strengthened yet another tie, as there was a long held assertion that Karians were among the early inhabitants of Attika[42].

The placement of statues of one's forebears between and behind a temple's colonnade may be directly inspired by the most important building in the Perikleian building program, the Parthenon. The earliest example on a Greek temple of sculptures of ancestors and founding heroes viewed between columns would be the Athenians who process from west to east on the frieze that decorated the exterior of the *cella* there (fig. 16)[43]. Eve Harrison has shown that whereas the ten groups of six riders on the South frieze suggest that *that* procession shows the citizens of democratic, 5th century Athens – the Athens of the ten tribes – the lack of obvious organization as well as the occasional archaizing dress and hairstyle suggests that the figures on the *North* frieze represent the ancestors of the Athenians, from the time of the kings or the four tribes, pre-democratic Athens[44]. At Athens gods

impending marriage to Pelops. She raises the veil that will cover the back of her hair, as the sakkos will once she is married. See Säflund 1970, 106, fig. 69. Jeppesen would like to see the colossal female head (Waywell 30) as part of an acroterial group. See Jeppesen 2002, 112.

38 Carter 1983, 198-199 with reference to Waywell 1978.

39 Ridgway notes that the original background color above the balustrade for the figures on the Mourning Women Sarcophagus was cobalt blue. Ridgway 1999, 119.

40 IG 1 (3rd ed.) 474, an inscription which summarizes the unfinished portions of the Erectheion in 409/8 BC mentions wall blocks yet to be placed at the "corner near the Kekropion". Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 3.14.8, notes that Erecthonios was buried in the precinct of Athena.

41 Gagné 2006, 14. Translation by Gagné. Athenians were called "children of Kranaos" by several ancient authors: Aristophanes, *Birds*, line 123; Herodotos, *Histories*, 8.44; Aeschylos, *Eumenides*, line 993.

42 Burkert 1983, 226-228. Burkert's examination of the textual evidence for Karians as aboriginal inhabitants of Attika remains the clearest analysis to date of the legend that Karians preceded even the Ionians in the area around Athens.

43 How much of the Parthenon's frieze was actually visible to the viewer on the temple terrace has been discussed recently by Clemente Marconi. See Marconi 2009.

44 Harrison 1989, 49-53. The archaizing dress is seen especially in the case of the women on the north side of the East frieze. They wear a peplos without the chiton underneath. The bearded officials on North frieze wear their hair short in front, but long in the back, North Frieze X, Figures 38-43. The archaizing long braid is seen most clearly on figure 41, in an older photograph reproduced in Brommer

Fig. 16 :
West façade of the Parthenon, Athens, with a view of the figures on the west frieze between the columns of the peristyle (Photo: author).

involved in the foundation of the city and deities worshipped in the city, founding heroes and early kings, ancestors of the Athenians and present day (i.e. mid-5th century BC) Athenians are all present on the Parthenon's two dimensional frieze. The figures are viewed from below, and are seen between the columns of the outer peristyle. At Halikarnassos the figures are fully three-dimensional and on a colossal scale, yet the message seems similar. On both the Parthenon and the Maussolleion the combination of divinities, founders, forebears, ancestors and present day citizens are seen between the columns of each building's peristyle[45].

A hierarchy of scale exists on the Parthenon frieze: gods are larger than heroes and kings, and heroes and kings are larger than mortals. The scale of the figures between the columns of the Maussolleion, however, appears to be uniform. To render figures in three dimensions on a divine scale on the Maussolleion would transform the characters from revered and anonymous founders and ancestors to those who are the object of divine cult. The fact that the large scale sculptures of the Hekatomnids and their predecessors at Halikarnassos on the Maussolleion are made from Pentelic marble, the same marble used for the Acropolis buildings and sculptures – including the sculptures of ancestors and divinities on the pediments – would carry iconographic significance as well.

Further sculptural decoration of the Maussolleion may make more than a nod in the direction of Athens. Amazonomachies and centauromachies such as seen on the Maussolleion were a staple of temple decoration throughout Greece. They were also represented on the west and south metope friezes of the Parthenon, a thinly veiled allusion to the triumph of the Athenians over the Persians in the first quarter of the 5th century. The conflict between actual Greeks and Persians – depicted by the life-size three dimensional sculpture of the Maussolleion – however, was unusual for temple decoration. That conflict is represented first on the south frieze of the temple of Athena Nike on the Athenian Acropolis in the last quarter of the 5th century BC (fig. 17). The Persian and Greek combat on the Maussolleion certainly has precedent on the Nike Temple in Athens and is likely to have been inspired by it.

Another Athenian connection may be found in the sculptured coffers of the Maussolleion. Each shows a 2-figure scene of the heroic deeds of Herakles and Theseus. Herakles was a major Greek

1977, pl. 64. The long hair is braided and wrapped around the head in a manner similar to the hairstyle of the Zeus of Artemision. Athens NM inv. no. X15161: Kaltsas 2003, 93, Cat. no. 159. On the archaizing hairstyle of Zeus in the early Classical period, see Harrison 1988, 250.

45 In the case of the Maussolleion, the present day Halikarnassians are royalty, in contrast to the members of the *demos* of Athens seen on the Parthenon.

Fig. 17 : Slab from the south frieze of the Temple of Athena Nike on the Akropolis, Athens. Battle between Persians and Greeks. London, British Museum (Photo British Museum Image Service AN11441401).

culture hero revered in many cities throughout the Greek world. Theseus, however, was the mythological ancestor of the Athenians credited with the synoikism of Attica and the foundation of the democracy. As such he is credited with having founded the New Athens of the late 6th century, which flowered during the 5th century BC. It has been suggested that the reference to Theseus would highlight Maussollos's role as synoikist of the Halikarnassos peninsula, and his role as the new founding hero of the city of Halikarnassos[46]. The two figure scenes on the coffers are not unlike those of the deeds of Herakles and Theseus found on the metopes of the so-called Hephaisteion, the later 5th century Doric temple in the Agora of Athens (fig. 18). The struggle between Theseus and Skiron is one such composition that finds a parallel on the Maussolleion (Fig 19). Among the roster of the early founders of Halikarnassos enumerated in the Salmakis inscription is Anthes, a son of Poseidon, who settled in Karia with colonists from Troezen, the birthplace of Theseus (also a son of Poseidon)[47]. The Anthes-Troezen association would tighten further the connection between Maussollos and Theseus, the Athenian synoikist[48].

The sculptural connection with Athens may have been recognized in antiquity. Between the two of them Pliny and Vitruvius name five sculptors

Fig. 18 : Theseus wrestles Skiron. Metope from the North frieze of the Doric temple often called the Hephaisteion. Agora, Athens (Photo: The American School of Classical Studies, Agora Excavations).

who worked on the figural ornament of the Mausolleion. Whether or not Skopas, Leochares, Bryaxis, Timotheos or Praxiteles ever set foot in Halikarnassos may not be as important as the fact that four of the five sculptors are reported to have not only worked in Athens but three of the five are reputed to have themselves been Athenians[49].

46 On the evidence for the synokisms of Maussollos see Hornblower 1982, 78-105. For the coffers of the Maussolleion see Jeppesen 2002, 87-95, with figs. 9.13 and 9.14.

47 Gagné 2006, 14 on lines 27-32.

48 On the connection between Troizen and Halikarnassos see Jameson 2004. On Theseus as the synoikist of Attika, see Thucydides 2.15. A sanctuary of Theseus was constructed in Athens in the second quarter of the 5th century when Kimon brought the hero's remains from Skyros, Plutarch, *Kimon* 8. 5-7; *Theseus* 36, 1-4 and Pausanias, 1.17.2-3. Its exact location has not yet been determined.

49 Most of the evidence for whether or not the sculptors were Athenian is circumstantial or conjectural. Praxiteles' family has been documented in Athens: Davies 1971, no. 8334. See Stewart 1990, 277. Stewart calls Leochares an Athenian as well. *Ibid*., 282-284. Bryaxis may also be Athenian, *Ibid*., 282 and T149, p. 300. Clement of Alexandria, *Protrepticus* 4.43 mentions a Bryaxis who is an Athenian. Some, however, believe that the name Bryaxis might be Karian. For example, Borchhardt 1976, 22 or even an Athenian of Karian descent. As for Timotheos, Ridgway notes "We do not know his proper ethnic... Suggestions that he is an Athenian or an islander trained in Attika are based on his style, supposedly related to the

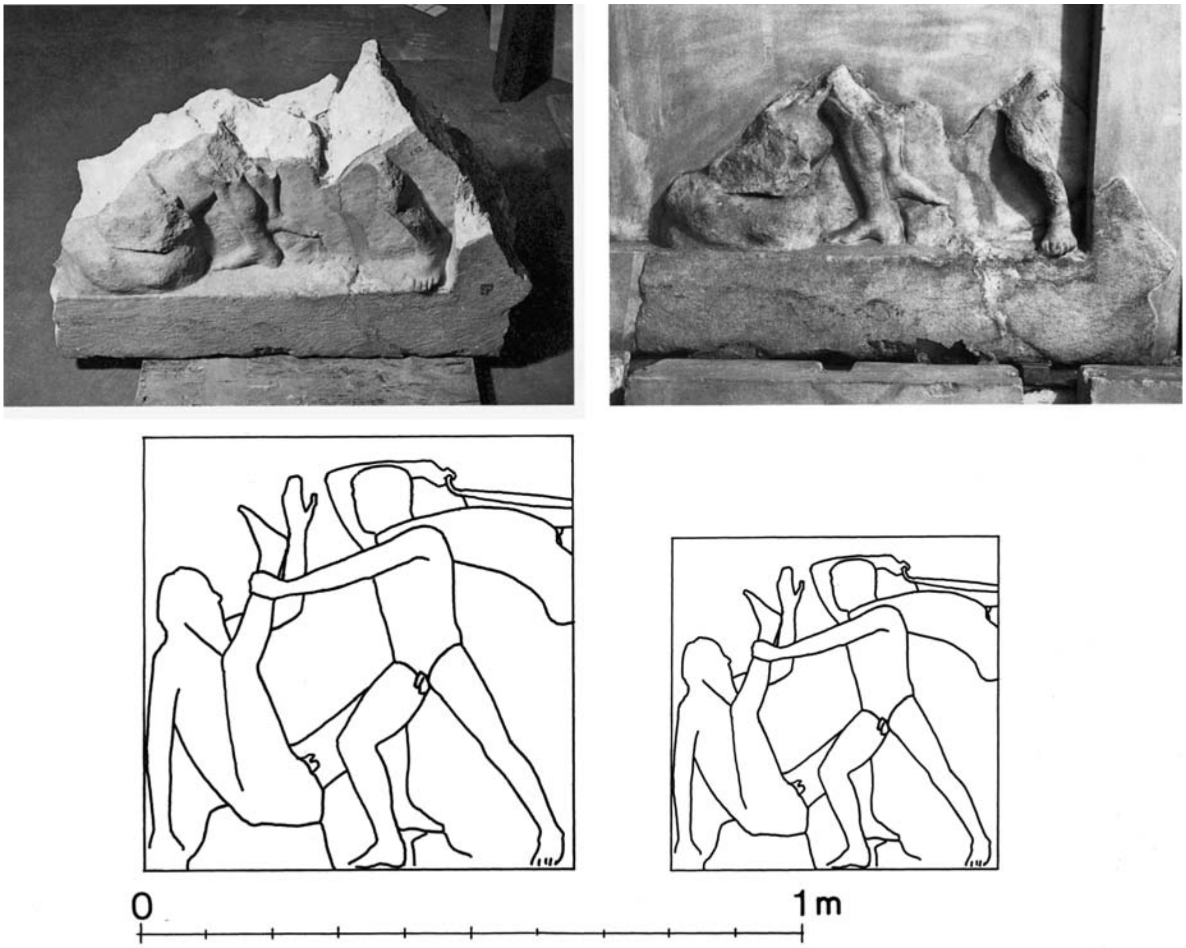

Fig. 19 : Theseus wrestles Skiron. Two coffers with reconstruction drawings from the porch ceiling of the Maussolleion of Halikarnassos (Jeppesen 2002, fig. 9.14).

The remaining sculptor, Skopas of Paros, although not an Athenian, worked in Attika. Statue bases in Athens preserve the signatures of Praxiteles, Bryaxis, and Leochares[50]. Praxiteles, Leochares and Timotheos were credited with sculptures there by ancient sources, and Skopas was said to have worked at Rhamnous[51].

Maussollos is credited with forwarding the Hellenizing of Karia, and his heavy use of Greek architectural motifs has been viewed as visual testimony to the Hellenizing process[52]. In the case of the Maussolleion the use of Greek ornament and sculpture goes beyond mere imitation. In sum, many aspects of the architectural and sculptural ornament of the Maussolleion of Halikarnassos call to mind those of the architectural and sculptural ornament of major temples of 5th century Athens, specifically those at the heart of the city, the Akropolis. The architectural motifs in addition to the sculptural imagery from temple of Athena Nike and the metope friezes of the Parthenon would carry with them a certain luster in highlighting

Nike Balustrade; He is more likely to be a Peloponnesian, a local man who did not need to be identified in the building accounts of his own town." See Ridgway 1997, 247-248.

50 Six Athenian bases are known for Leochares, See Löwy 1885, nos. 77-82 and Ridgway 1997, 248. A tripod base with sculptured relief, signed by Bryaxis was found in the Agora, Athens, National Museum 1733; Kaltsas cat. no. 530, 254. At least 5 inscribed bases are known for Praxiteles, of which two are in Athens, and one of those is in the Theater of Dionysos in Athens. See Ridgway 1997, 262 and 282, n. 69.

51 Stewart 1990, 277-286.

52 Hornblower 1982, 78

Maussollos's own military victories. Anthemion ornament that recalled the luxurious decoration of the Erechtheion and the use of white marble figures against a dark stone background, might refer to the cults of Erechthonios and Kekrops, founding kings of Athens, housed there and, likewise, reflect on the ruler cult of Halikarnassos. Pentelic marble sculptures of ancestors, and city founders on the Maussolleion, and Maussollos himself, seated before the east door or carried by the chariot on the rooftop might be inspired by the Parthenon frieze's anonymous ancestors of pre-democratic Athens, viewed between the columns of the peristyle, as well as by the seated gods on that building's east frieze, and further influenced by the gods and heroes of the pedimental sculpture. The deeds of Theseus on the coffers of the colonnade's porch refer to his role as founder and synoikist of Athens and support Maussollos's role as founder – in the tradition of Anthes of Troizen – and synoikist of Halikarnassos, in the manner of Theseus at Athens.

The Maussolleion of Halikarnassos is indeed a spectacular intramural burial. Any qualms about burial within the city walls might be calmed by the fact that Maussollos' tomb is a temple, and temples and sanctuaries had always been welcome within city walls in Greece and Anatolia. But with his temple tomb Maussollos goes beyond the iconography of a founding hero and synoikist. He, instead, extends it to that of a god in a temple[53]. The real founder of Athens was Athena. Her name is synonymous with that of the city. There is no question of which came first. Athens and Athena are inseparable. In finding sources for the ornament of the Maussolleion in the buildings most sacred to Athena in Athens, and by transferring and translating them into the sculptural and architectural ornament of his temple tomb, Mausollos also transfers the iconography of a deity to Halikarnassos. Like Athena in Athens, Maussollos's name becomes synonymous with that of Halikarnassos. Through the carefully chosen iconography of architecture and sculptural ornament of his temple tomb, Maussollos becomes not only founding hero, but founding god.

The siting of the Maussolleion, the elaborate combination of architectural motifs, the lavishness of the sculptural decoration all combine in Maussollos's temple-tomb to create what must have been a startlingly spectacular *novum* – a monument that was at once new, yet one that, in many ways, stood outside the stream of time[54]. The idea of the monument which in its novelty is at once "of its time", yet timeless is found in Plutarch's description of the buildings of the Perikleian program on the Athenian Akropolis:

> For which reason Pericles's works are especially admired, as having been made quickly, to last long. For every particular piece of his work was immediately, even at that time, for its beauty and elegance, antique; and yet in its vigour and freshness looks to this day as if it were just executed. There is a sort of bloom of newness upon those works of his, preserving them from the touch of time, as if they had some perennial spirit and undying vitality mingled in the composition of them[55].

A century earlier Vitruvius had made similar comments about the Maussolleion and its architects, albeit in a more concise fashion. Like Plutarch, he comments on how the sculptors worked quickly. He also notes that they competed with one another, whereas Plutarch notes how the sculptors of the Parthenon vied with the materials:

> … concerning the Mausoleum [the architects] Satyros and Pythios [wrote a treatise]. Upon these men good fortune conferred the highest tribute. For their art is judged to have distinctive qualities that are praiseworthy in all ages and to posses an eternal freshness; after planning them with deep thought, they produced outstanding works. Individual artists undertook separate sections of the façade competing with one another in decorating the building and assuring its quality[56].

53 Carstens points out the clear references to sacral architecture found in the siting and basic format of the Maussolleion: the *temenos* entered through a *propylon*, the scale, the peripteral podium temple form, and concludes "even if it was not a temple it presented like one and Maussollos was the god to worship." Carstens 2002, 403.

54 For this definition of "novum" I follow Kurt W. Forster in his commentary on Alois Riegl's 1902 essay on "The Modern Cult of Monuments": Forster 1982, 8.

55 Plutarch, *Life of Perikles*, 13.3 trans. John Dryden

56 Vitruvius 7, praef. 12, trans. Pollitt 1990, 198.

It is possible that when Plutarch describes the "bloom of newness… preserved from the touch of time" in the temples of the Perikleian building program, he has in mind Vitruvius's description of the Maussolleion, with its "eternal freshness". In fact, we have seen that the relationship between the two projects is more than superficial, or the result of a first impression. Maussollos and his architects and sculptors appear to have quoted very consciously certain aspects of the temples and shrines at the very heart of Classical Athens. But the quotations are not direct. Instead, the syntax of the Athenian buildings is reworked into a new language, or statement, in the Maussolleion at Halikarnassos.

In 1963 R.A. Tomlinson suggested that the combination of Doric and Ionic features in Hekatomnid buildings of the 4th century BC was a sign of "barbarism"[57]. Tomlinson made his point almost 50 years ago. Today we might hope that when we view a combination of architectural forms of different styles we might understand it as a creative eclecticism on the part of the patron or the architect, in order that he might make a conscious point about the relationship of the new building to its predecessors in the larger Mediterranean world. The abundance of sculptural and architectural ornament, the surprising number of friezes and free-standing figures, the combination of podium with temple and pyramid does not signal the thought processes of a "barbarian", and by this I mean "uncultured person"[58]. It is instead the sign of a very cultured person who knows the monuments of Athens so well as to refer to them throughout his building, and to adapt them for his own purposes, that he might create his *mnema*, the building that projects his memory for eternity, and incorporates the mythology and history of Halikarnassos into the memorial process. The iconography of architecture in the Maussolleion reveals that Maussollos claimed the heart of Athens as his own then reworked it in his own terms. In a way, he takes back what he might have considered rightfully his own. Athenians were among Halikarnassos's founders, and Karians, after all, were Athens' earliest inhabitants.

57 See Tomlinson 1963, 139 and 145. Tomlinson does not seem bothered by the fact that Doric and Ionic motifs are combined on the Parthenon, however.

58 And hope that Tomlinson meant the same!

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DIVINE KINGSHIP AT THE CITY CENTRE

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Abstract

When the Persian dynast and Karian King Maussollos died in 352/351 BC he was interred in the most incredible dynastic monument the world had ever seen, the eponymous ruler's tomb to be, the Maussolleion at Halikarnassos. The Maussolleion was placed in the city centre of the newly planned residential city and capital of Hekatomnid Karia, and it was staged as the biggest of the sanctuaries of Halikarnassos. Surely, neither discretion nor modesty was involved in this endeavour. It was soon counted as one of the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World, and already in the 18th century it was included as one of the canonical yet quite mysterious monuments of Classical Antiquity.

This contribution focuses on the Maussolleion as both a dynastic tomb and as a sanctuary celebrating the Hekatomnid dynasty in an Ancient Near Eastern tradition of Divine Kingship. It explores local, regional and supra-regional contexts of similar phenomena in Antiquity. Furthermore, it also focuses on the Maussolleion as a building type, forming a vital part of aristocratic culture by offering a phenomenological view of rulers' tombs and their role in urban planning.

Ancestors, aristocracy, and the importance of dying well

It was important to die well. For the sovereign a good death, a proper funeral and an everlasting monument form the fundamental ingredients in keeping the position of the house, their territorial rights to the land, and the security of the people[1].

The handling of the death of a sovereign is a vital part of the social memory of a society. Social memory may be described as a means by which information of who we were and are is transmitted among individuals and groups and from one generation to another. Not necessarily aware that they are doing so, individuals pass on their behaviors and attitudes to others especially through emotional and practical ties and in relationships among generations[2]. These ties are especially vibrant and fundamental, and they structure the self-representation and self-sense of aristocratic culture.

There is a special link between aristocracy and ancestors. Aristocrats bridge the gap between past and present, and between this world and the divine. This mediating capability is what forms the core or the backbone of what enables us to define a diachronic, universal notion of aristocratic culture.

Origins and age are denoting legitimacy to power and prevalence. And ancient origin is vital for maintaining the indisputable status of the aristocracy. A successful (and well attested) method of establishing a dynasty was to build monumental royal tombs, which worked both by asserting territorial rights – the royal tomb overlooking the plain – and through claims of ancestry: We were always here[3].

When the Persian dynast and Karian King Maussollos died in 352/351 BC he was interred in the most incredible dynastic monument the world had ever seen, the eponymous ruler's tomb, the Maussolleion at Halikarnassos.

The Maussolleion was placed directly at the city centre of the newly planned residential city and capital of Hekatomnid Karia, and it was staged as the biggest of the sanctuaries of Halikarnassos. Surely, neither discretion nor modesty was involved in this endeavour. This was the result of a fascinating political programme, an iconography of ideology, to copy the words of Margaret Cool Root in describing the Achaemenid programmatic state art[4].

1 Carstens 2009, 37-38.

2 Crumley 2002, 39 *et passim.*

3 On aristocratic culture and the importance of ancestry, Helms 1998.

4 Root 1979.

Thus, the Maussolleion, the foundation of Halikarnassos as the dynastic capital, and the Hekatomnid endeavours in Karia – and perhaps even beyond –, were in my view results of political propaganda: a carefully planned and well-performed act of creating a dynasty (fig 1)[5]. Following an Ancient Near Eastern tradition of Divine Kingship, yet in new garments, now also making sense to a Hellenic – or even an *internationally inclined* –, proto-Hellenistic audience. Written in a new language, so to speak[6].

The Maussolleion and the city plan of Halikarnassos

When Maussollos sometime in the 370s BC decided to move the residential centre of Karia from inland Mylasa to coastal Halikarnassos, the number of inhabitants was increased by means of *synoikism*, where several minor towns in the hinterlands of Halikarnassos were abandoned and the people moved to the new capital[7]. Here, there was an overwhelming need for a labour force to build the modern city, an impressive masterpiece of planning

Fig. 1 : The so-called Ada from Priene, perhaps a part of large scaled Hekatomnid patronage in the Karian/Ionian borderland. © Trustees of the British Museum.

5 On Hekatomnid patronage in Karia and abroad, Carstens 2009, 111-119.

6 I have elsewhere argued that this new language may be successfully read as a conscious creolization process, Carstens 2009, 121-126; Carstens forthcoming a.

7 Flensted-Jensen/Carstens 2004, with further references.

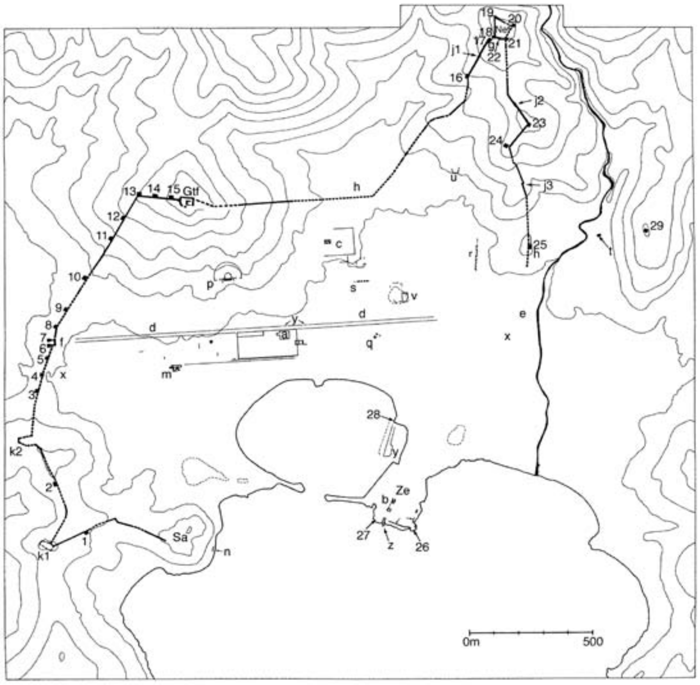

Fig. 2 : City plan of Halikarnassos (Pedersen 2010, fig. 1). a) Maussolleion. b). Palace of Maussollos. c) Sanctuary of Ares. d). Main street of Halikarnassos. e) Mylasa Gate. f) Myndos Gate. g) Pedasa Gate. m) Charidemos' house, a late Roman domus. n) Salmakis Fountain. p) Theatre. q) Sanctuary of Demeter. r) Stadion.

Fig. 3 : Model of the Maussolleion, the propylon and the terrace (model by Aksel Sønderborg, The Museum of Ancient Art, Aarhus University).

and engineering. Although there are only few and scattered remains of the Late Classical Halikarnassos left, city archaeology and intensive studies of the ancient remains in modern Bodrum houses and gardens have enabled us to reconstruct what the re-foundation of Halikarnassos implied[8]. A city plan was laid out according to a grid; a magnificent city wall, a so-called Geländemauer, was added[9], and large temples, a satrapal palace and the dynast's tomb were built[10]. Everything was reorganised according to a master plan that must have included or been based on political/centralized planning.

The Maussolleion was built at the city centre, next to the agora (fig. 2). A 15 m wide procession street (the modern Turgutreis Caddesi follows its main route) crossed the city from the eastern Mylasa Gate, to the western Myndos Gate, and flanked the Maussolleion terrace to the north. A propylon building probably led from the agora to the Maussolleion precinct and the large terrace. Visitors to the monument entered the area from the south-east and approached the tomb as they would approach a temple.

The Maussolleion was, at its core, a peristyle podium tomb, i.e. even in its unadorned architectonic language there was a strong reference to sacred architecture and the settings of sanctuaries: the tomb was built inside a *temenos*, approached via a gate-building. It alluded to a temple, and the King on High by its dimensions. Maussollos was buried in a sanctuary, inside a temple building.

It is tempting to say that the world had never ever seen anything like this before (fig. 3). But it is of course not quite right, while all the same quite close to the case. As stated before, neither modesty nor discretion were among the cardinal virtues of the Hekatomnids.

But I think that the entire complex of the Maussolleion, its position, layout and the sculptural program, was the result of deliberate choices made to encapsulate what a new Karianness was supposed to be. Placing the Hekatomnid dynasty in its rightful position. It is a monument stuffed with

8 Pedersen 2001/2002, 102-110.
9 Pedersen 2010.
10 Pedersen 2009.

relations to political networks, alliances in this world and the divine. It rested on the past and pointed to the future.

Divine Kingship

The Maussolleion was not just a dynastic tomb, it was also staged as and became a sanctuary celebrating the Hekatomnid dynasty in an Ancient Near Eastern tradition of Divine Kingship.

In the Ancient Near Eastern perception of royalty, the notion of Divine Kingship is explicitly expressed in iconography representing the king as the tutelary deity protecting and securing a land and a people, because of the mandate entrusted to him by both the God on High and by his subalterns[11].

In the Hittite enthronement ritual the king rests on the lap of the throne goddess. He is blessed by the gods, receives a new name as king, a new identity and he is transferred from the profane to the sacred world (fig. 4).

The Hittite kingdom is divine, and the king holds the office of high priest. He performs sacrifices, he is the chief mediator between men and gods; and exactly this capacity holds his power. The king is both a political and a sacred/divine figure; the one is inseparable from the other[12]. And therefore, when the king dies, cosmos is threatened. In order to secure a satisfying transition and avoid chaos among the survivors, a complicated royal funerary ritual, lasting 14 days, is carried out. Because this is what rituals do. They structure chaos.

The blessing of the Great King is the central motif in the depictions of the king before the deity Ahuramazda and the fire altar, as it occurs on the relief of Darius' tomb. That the Great King operates through the favour of Ahuramazda is clearly stated in the beginning of the inscription accompanying the reliefs (fig. 5). Safekeeping the empire, its territory, its people, stability and prosperity[13].

It is through the blessing and favour of Ahuramazda that Darius became king, and just as Darius is king because of this blessing, the omnipotent presence of Ahuramazda is evident by Darius being king. There is a reciprocal relationship between the two, a mutual dependency, as they owe their positions to each other. To worship Ahuramazda seems to have been, by extension, to acknowledge the power and virtue of the king.

Fig. 4 : The god Sharrumma, wearing a horned crown, escorts the Great King Tuthaliya IV. From the open-air sanctuary at Yazılıkaya (Seeher 1999, fig. 138).

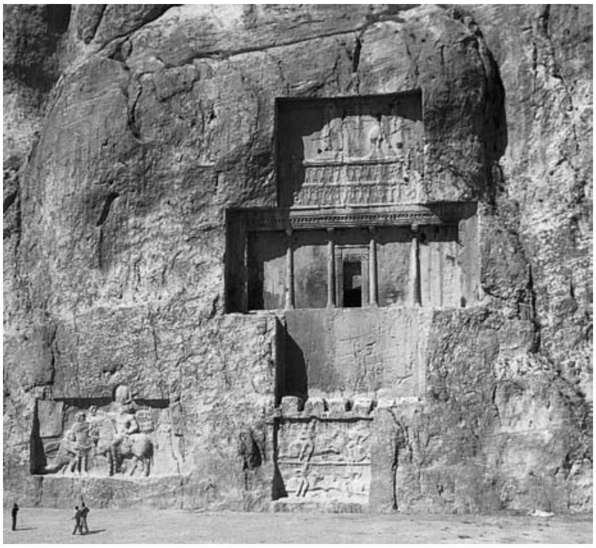

Fig. 5 : Tomb of Darius (Curtis/Tallis 2005, 15).

This relationship, however, does not make the Great King a god, — but nor is he a man, like other men. He stands between the gods and men; he is the appointed intercessor, the chief mediator between this world and the divine.

This, exactly, is the principal grammar of the language of the relationship between god, sovereign and subalterns in the Near Eastern tradition of Divine Kingship.

11 Haas 1984, 181-182; van den Hout 1995, 546; Tinney 1998; 26-28.
12 Van den Hout 1994, 37-38; Haas 1994, 181-219; Beckman 2002.
13 Schmidt 1970, 81-83; Boyce 1982, 112, 116 for a detailed discussion of the religious meaning of the relief; Root 1979, 153-161.

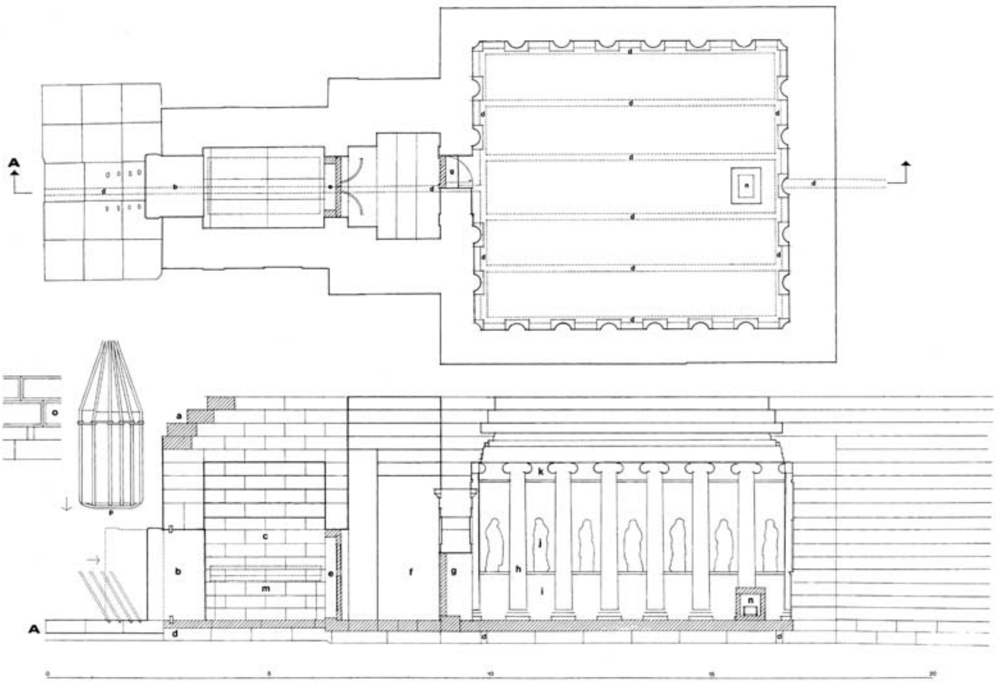

Fig. 6 :
Plan and section of the Maussolleion tomb chamber (Jeppesen 2000, fig. 17.1).

The death of the divine king

We have no records telling how and why Maussollos died. We do not know whether he was considered divine before his death, or if it was only at his funeral that "he became god," as outlined in the old Hittite texts of the royal funerary rituals.

But there is no reason to assume that he was not believed to be blessed by the gods as King of Karians, as high priest in the Zeus sanctuary in Milas and Labraunda, and that he acted as chief mediator between god and man[14].

In the planning of the new capital Halikarnassos, in the layout of this new magnificent Hekatomnid city, the position of the dynastic tomb – the staging of the Maussolleion as the greatest temple in the city, in the most prominent position, just on the line of the procession street – is the most magnificent testimony of a conscious and outspoken programmatic state art.

When Maussollos died

We do not know what actually happened when Maussollos died; but the funeral must have been impressive.

When Maussollos died he was, from what we know, however from a dubious source, cremated[15]. It is unknown where this cremation took place, maybe on the Maussolleion terrace next to the monument itself as the first of the sequence of events of the funeral.

His remains were placed in the tomb chamber, presumably along with precious equipment, as we know it from other Anatolian dynastic tombs of Archaic and early Classical Lydia as well as Early Iron Age Phrygia or Cyprus. The tomb chamber was closed, perhaps by a small closing block between the main chamber and the anteroom and by closing the double marble doors (fig. 6). Then – perhaps – a person guarding the tomb of Maussollos was buried in a sarcophagus in the corridor and finally the plug-block was lowered down and placed in position. But in fact, we do not know whether the remains of a marble sarcophagus found during the Danish excavations of the Maussolleion 1966-1977 once stood in that corridor or somewhere else in the Maussolleion tomb complex.

This series of events must have included some sort of procession placing the equipment in the

14 See Carstens 2011, 121-123 with further references.

15 The only source describing the actual funeral of Maussollos is found in the work of Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticae*, 10.18, written in the 2nd century AD.

tomb chamber, as well as the urn or the box with the remains of Maussollos.

And surely placing the enormous plug-block must have created some commotion (fig. 6).

What happened next was the performance of a huge raw meat sacrifice. The chosen animals, at least 5 oxen, 25 sheep/goats, 8 lambs/kids, 3 cocks, 10 hens, 1 chicken and 8 pigeons, may have been kept on the terrace in a fence or tied together, and the slaughtering and butchering of the animals could have been performed as part of the theatrical performance of the funeral[16]. Preparing and arranging the meat must have formed part of the funeral feast, a tumultuous event including considerable labour, and probably watched by an audience. I think this was done as a ritual act of feeding the god, the divine ruler Maussollos in order to please him and to ensure his continuant protection.

Thus, Maussollos was buried in a manner proper for a divine king. This was to be understood and respected by a diverse audience: the gods, his allies participating in the funeral feasting, the dynastic network of peers (friends and opponents alike), and his subalterns. A dynastic funeral was always a political event.

The everlasting monument

The construction of a past, of a history, of dynastic traditions, is crucial in the efforts to establish a new dynastic house. It is by referring to this past that the dynasty obtains influence and indisputable political weight. History or historical references to a mythological past serve a legitimizing function. The living uses the dead as resource, vision, and representation.

The dynastic tomb is always a monument of power; it is a central focus for the conservation of the aristocracy, and is a political monument. Thus, the building of the Maussolleion was an important element in the inauguration of a new world order, a new Karian rule. It was an unusual building, grandiose, lavishly decorated, planned and executed by the finest craftsmen in the best materials. It was staged on a large terrace as a sanctuary of the dynasty and it followed, or paid respect to, well-established concepts of the dynast's tomb.

16 Højlund/Aaris Sørensen 1981; Carstens forthcoming b.

In the Maussolleion, many facets of the new dynasty were incorporated: the local ancestry, the Persian dresses of the ancestral portraits, the Hellenic motifs, and inspiration from Lykian podium tombs[17].

If the Maussolleion is only perceived as a piece of Greek architecture and sculpture it seems unredeemed. However, placed in a broader Anatolian perspective, it unfolds itself into numerous facets: it was not (only) placed in the city centre because Maussollos was the founding father of the new capital[18], but because it was the foremost sanctuary of the new Karian dynasty. The cult of Maussollos was intended to unite the Karians, and to confirm the Hekatomnids as dynasts.

The death of the sovereign – the Maussolleion as idea

The Maussolleion was soon counted as one of the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World, and it was already in the 18th century included as one of the canonical yet quite mysterious monuments of Classical Antiquity. But the mausoleum as a building type and the ruler's tomb as a political phenomenon was adopted already by Augustus in impressive scale with the Mausoleum of Augustus, already planned early in his reign, as part of an ideological program, as a definite political monument[19]. Perhaps resting on a mixture of both Egyptian, Etruscan, and, I think, also Karian foundations. Since Maussollos created his own tomb and cult place, so ostentatiously, it has formed the model of dynastic self-representation, remembering that a dynasty is a house, its peer, its people and its land.

The construction of the memorial tomb, the Anıtkabir, the mausoleum of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, took nine years, from October 1944 to September 1953. It was built on the Rasattepe in central Ankara, clearly visible from all parts of the city. And it was a project inaugurated because the Turkish republic needed a place to celebrate the state[20]. The complex consists of four parts: the 'Hittite' road of Lions, the ceremonial plaza, with its *kilim* floors, the hall of honour in Seljuk and

17 This is detailed in Carstens 2009, 65-74; Carstens forthcoming a.
18 See Jeppesen 1994.
19 Davies 2004, 49-51.
20 Wilson 2007.

Ottoman style, and the peace park, the *paradeisos*, representing Turkey in the world.

This mausoleum, as well as the tomb of Lenin, Mao and Che Guavara, are all responses to the soundboard of divine kinship, the keeping of the house or the constitution of the modern state, the territorial rights and the security of the people.

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DEAD PEOPLE AMONG THE LIVING?

Zum verhältnis von siedlung und nekropolen im vorhellenistischen Lykien

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Sit tibi terra levis
Zum Gedenken an Thomas Marksteiner (1958–2011),
einen der besten Kenner Lykiens[1]

Abstract

Although in Lycia the most tombs are situated outside the city walls – as well as in other parts of the ancient world – the existence of intramural burials is discussed since the days of the first travellers of the 19th century. Especially a comment of O. Benndorf and G. Niemann describing that Lycian tombs are often combined with intramural individual houses – a combination which seems to blur the boundaries between the settlement and the necropolis – had a large impact on later scholars. In this paper I will give a general and diachronic but also a critical overview of this phenomenon especially based on observations made in the necropoleis of Xanthos and the settlement on the Avşar Tepesi (*Zagaba*?).

Im Bericht über ihre Reisen durch Karien und Lykien beschreiben O. Benndorf und G. Niemann im Jahr 1884 das Phänomen, dass lykische Sarkophage einerseits "häufig bei den Wohnungen innerhalb der Stadtmauern, so daß die Stadt selbst zur Nekropole wird" gelegen sind oder aber "über das Land zerstreut, zuweilen viele Stunden weit von dem Ort entfernt, dem sie zugehören, wo eben die Erbauer zufällig Grund und Boden besaßen"[2]. Damit ist in aller Kürze eine Verhaltensweise bei der Platzierung von Gräbern im

1 Es schmerzt, dass sich keine Gelegenheit mehr ergab, die hier angestellten Überlegungen mit Thomas Marksteiner zu erörtern. Es wäre zweifellos eine ebenso lebhafte wie fruchtbare Diskussion geworden.
2 Benndorf/Niemann 1884, 101.

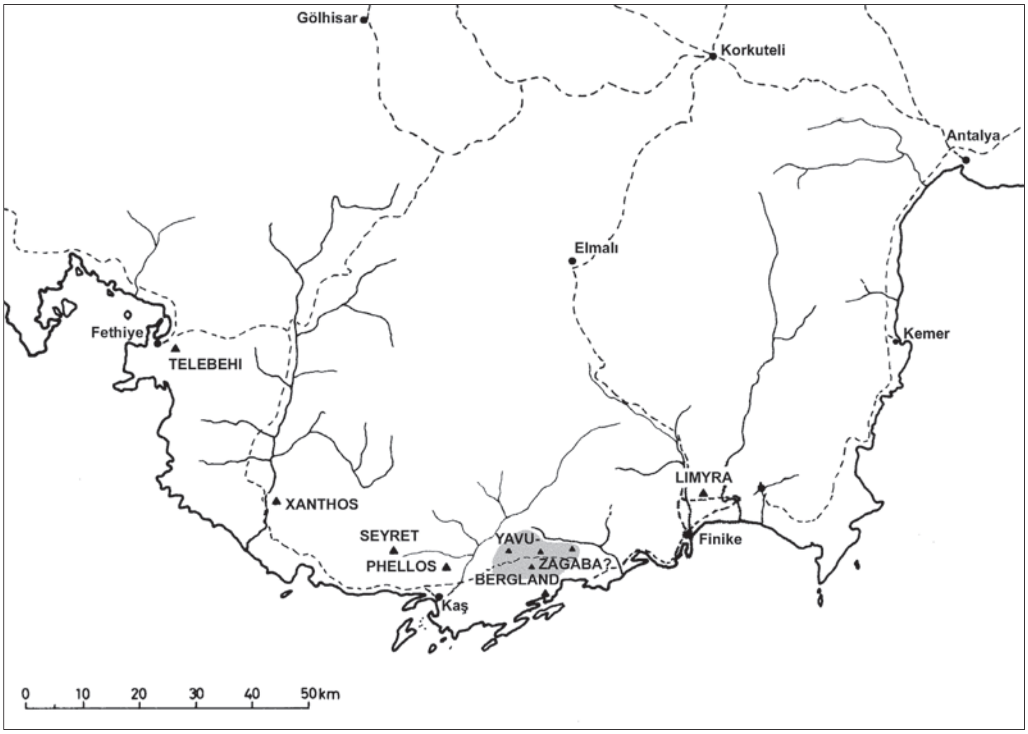

Fig. 1 : Karte von Lykien (nach Borchhardt 1993, Karte 2).

antiken Lykien beschrieben, die nur als ambivalent bezeichnet werden kann.
In der Folge ist insbesondere der erste Teil dieser Feststellung, also die intramurale Lage der Sarkophage, von der Forschung wiederholt betont und auf weitere, wenn nicht alle Grabtypen Lykiens ausgedehnt worden. Der zweite Teil, also die Distanz der Gräber zum jeweils zugehörigen Siedlungsbefund, trat dagegen fast schon in den Hintergrund oder wurde zumindest als Charakteristikum der Kaiserzeit und damit geänderter sepulkraler 'Spielregeln' gesehen. Dieser Sachverhalt lässt sich mit drei wahllos herausgegriffenen Zitaten belegen, die repräsentativ für eine wesentlich größere Zahl vergleichbarer Meinungen stehen[3]:

Mit Blick auf die Siedlung auf dem Avşar Tepesi schreibt etwa F. Kolb: "Urteilt man von der monumentalen Hinterlassenschaft her, so muß man ohnehin zu dem Urteil gelangen, daß für die Lykier das Grab und der Grabkult eine erheblich wichtigere Rolle spielten als der Tempel und der Götterkult. Lykien ist das Land der Gräber. (...) Und die Gräber beschränken sich nicht auf die Nekropolenareale; vielmehr sind sie z. T. in den Siedlungsbereich integriert. Die im griechisch-römischen Mittelmeerraum sonst übliche deutlich Trennung von Wohnareal und Nekropolenbereich existiert in Lykien nicht"[4].

Bei J. des Courtils und L. Cavalier liest man bezüglich Xanthos: "We should also emphasize the fact that the presence of tombs intra muros is a typically Lycian feature that can be paralleled in other Lycian towns. In a Greek context, tombs are normally located outside the town, but the Lycians seem to have taken the opposite approach"[5].

F. Işık spricht schließlich sogar davon, dass "der griechische Begriff 'Nekropole', im Sinne einer abgesonderten 'Totenstadt', auf die lykischen Verhältnisse eigentlich nicht anwendbar" sei, "denn die Städte erwecken den Eindruck, dass die Toten mitten unter den Lebenden wohnten und weiterhin über sie herrschten"[6].

Eine unvoreingenommene Annäherung an das Phänomen hat erstmalig H. Işkan angemahnt, ohne damit jedoch bislang Gehör gefunden

3 Hinweise auf weitere ähnlich gelagerte Aussagen finden sich bei Işkan 2002, 274-275 Anm. 3 und Hülden 2006, Bd. 1, 258 Anm. 270.

4 Kolb 1999, 157.
5 Des Courtils/Cavalier 2001, 154.
6 Işık 1999, 483.

zu haben[7]. Vielmehr hält sich die Auffassung hartnäckig, die Lykier hätten sich bei der Wahl der Bestattungsplätze für ihre Toten in geradezu atypischer Weise und insbesondere entgegen den Gepflogenheiten des griechischen Kulturraumes verhalten[8]. Es gibt demnach Anlass genug, dieser angeblichen Abnormalität der Lykier genauer auf den Grund zu gehen. Die Ausgangslage dafür ist besonders günstig, weil die Mehrzahl der lykischen Siedlungen einen vergleichsweise guten Erhaltungszustand aufweist und viele von ihnen dank der Intensivierung der Forschung in den letzten Jahren und Jahrzehnten als hinreichend gut untersucht gelten dürfen. Sämtliche lykischen Siedlungen einer vergleichenden Studie zu unterziehen, wäre zweifellos ein lohnenswertes Unterfangen, ist im Rahmen dieses Beitrags aber nicht zu leisten. Insofern erfolgt die Konzentration auf zwei Fallbeispiele, denen allerdings eine repräsentative Aussagekraft für ganz Lykien beigemessen wird[9]. Es handelt sich um die Siedlung auf dem Avşar Tepesi im zentrallykischen Bergland und um das westlykische Xanthos (fig. 1).

Fallbeispiel 1: die Siedlung auf dem Avşar Tepesi (*Zagaba*?)

Südwestlich der in hellenistischer Zeit eingerichteten Polis Kyaneai ist der Avşar Tepesi gelegen, ein 671 m hoher Berg im zentrallykischen Hochland, auf dem im Zuge der von F. Kolb in diesem Gebiet geleiteten Tübinger Feldforschungen 1992 eine ausgedehnte Siedlung entdeckt worden ist. Ein detaillierter Plan sowie eine akribische und in ihrem Wert gar nicht hoch genug einzuschätzende Dokumentation und Analyse der oberirdisch noch sichtbaren Baureste wird A. Thomsen verdankt, der die Siedlung im Rahmen einer Dissertation untersucht hat[10]. Dennoch sollen im Folgenden einige seiner Interpretationen, die für das Verhältnis von Siedlung und Gräbern von erheblicher Bedeutung sind, einer kritischen Überprüfung unterzogen werden, zumal auch Thomsen auf die angeblich "in ganz Lykien" verbreitete Sitte abhebt, dass dort "nicht nur einzelne Gräber, sondern ganze Nekropolen in den Verband einer Siedlung" integriert worden sind[11].

In vorhellenistischer Zeit soll die Siedlung auf dem Avşar Tepesi die Zentralortfunktion innerhalb des zentrallykischen Berglandes um das moderne Dorf Yavu ausgeübt haben. Der antike Ort, für den eine Identifizierung mit dem lykischen Toponym *Zagaba* vorgeschlagen worden ist, zeichnet sich vor allem dadurch aus, dass er offenbar um die Mitte des 4. Jhs. v. Chr. oder kurz danach im Zuge von Ereignissen, die wohl mit innerlykischen Machtkämpfen im Zusammenhang stehen, vollständig verlassen wurde[12]. Damit fehlt jene nachklassische Überbauung, die bei den meisten lykischen Siedlungen – und das trifft auch auf das zweite hier behandelte Fallbeispiel, Xanthos, zu – die Beurteilung ihrer 'altlykischen' Strukturen erheblich erschwert. Insofern ist zu erwarten, dass sich auf dem Avşar Tepesi ein besonders klarer Einblick in das Verhältnis von Gräbern und Nekropolen auf der einen und Wohnbereichen bzw. öffentlichen Gebäuden auf der anderen Seite ergibt. Ziehen wir dazu nun den publizierten Siedlungsplan heran, wobei hier zunächst jene verkleinerte Version als Abbildung verwendet findet, die den Versuch Thomsens widerspiegelt, die diversen Bauten von ihrer Nutzung her zu unterscheiden, wohingegen für die folgende Besprechung von Details Ausschnitte aus der größeren Gesamtversion abgebildet werden. Auf besagtem Nutzungsplan markieren die rot eingefärbten Bereiche einzelne Gräber und Nekropolenareale, lila sind Verteidigungsanlagen wiedergegeben, schwarz Wohnbauten, gelb die als öffentlich und grün die als sakral gedeuteten Areale und Bauten (fig. 2).

Tatsächlich lässt der erste Eindruck kaum Zweifel aufkommen: Auf dem Avşar Tepesi scheinen große Bereiche, die als Nekropolen genutzt wurden, innerhalb des ummauerten Siedlungsgebiets gelegen zu sein und sich geradezu wie ein Riegel

7 Işkan 2002, 274-275 Anm. 3. Im Rahmen meiner Dissertation zu den Gräbern und Grabtypen des zentrallykischen Berglandes von Yavu und meiner Monographie zu den Nekropolen von Kyaneai habe ich mich des Phänomens ebenfalls schon kurz des Phänomens angenommen, s. Hülden 2006, Bd. 1, 254-259; Hülden 2010, 190-195.

8 s. etwa Kolb 2008, 41, der an dieser Stelle allerdings nicht den Gegensatz zur griechischen Welt herausstreicht.

9 Zur Untersuchung weiterer lykischer Nekropolen s. die Beiträge von M. Seyer und I. Kızgut in diesem Band.

10 Thomsen 2002.

11 Thomsen 2002, 379-380.

12 s. etwa Kolb/Tietz 2001, 347-412; Thomsen 2002, 5-18; Kolb 2008, 33-65. Im Zuge der Auflassung der Siedlung auf dem Avşar Tepesi soll dann die zuvor unbedeutendere Burgsiedlung Kyaneai im Sinne einer Polis die Zentralortfunktion übernommen haben.

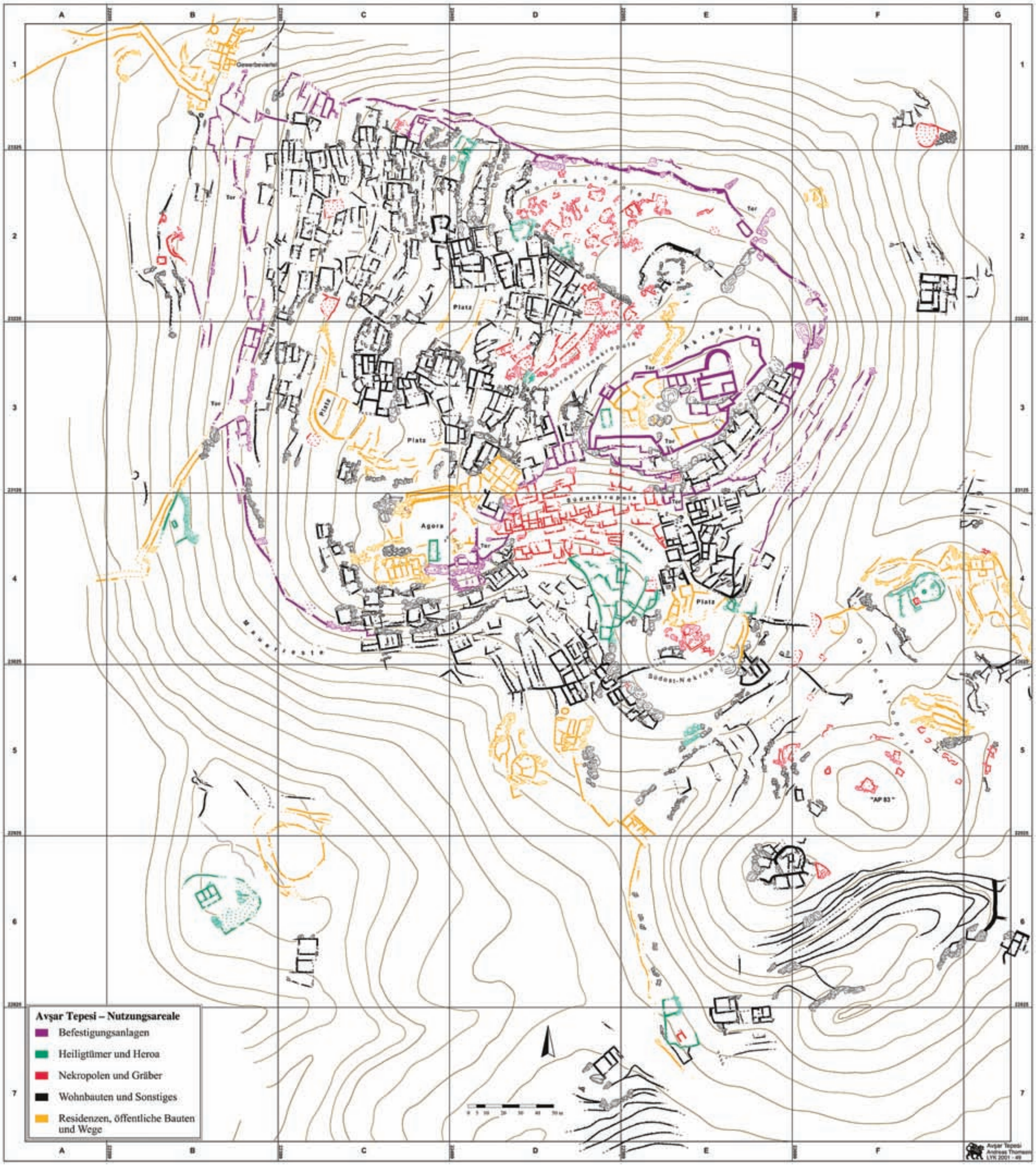

Fig. 2 : Plan der Siedlung auf dem Avşar Tepesi (Lykien-Projekt Tübingen; nach Thomsen 2002, Beilage 2).

zwischen die Burg und die am Hang gelegene Wohnbebauung zu schieben, ohne sich freilich mit dieser zu vermischen[13].

Was auf den ersten Blick so aussieht, erweist sich bei genauer Betrachtung jedoch als Ergebnis einer wohl allzu optimistischen Interpretation einzelner Befunde. Hier können nicht alle Argumente angeführt werden, die das vorgeblich

13 Vgl. Thomsen 2002, 303-304.

so klare Bild trüben, sondern es erfolgt eine Beschränkung auf einige beispielhafte Einwände.

Zunächst einmal muss man sich schon trotz der insgesamt recht guten Erhaltungsbedingungen der Bauten auf dem Avşar Tepesi grundsätzlich klar machen, dass weite Teile des Plans auf der Interpretation mehr oder weniger deutlich im mitunter dichtesten Bewuchs erkennbarer Baureste oder auch vermeintlicher Baureste beruhen[14]. So entpuppt sich mancher der im Plan eingezeichneten Mauerzüge bei der Autopsie im Gelände[15] – etwa provokant formuliert – tatsächlich als das Vorhandensein einer mehr oder weniger losen Abfolge von einzelnen Steinen in Reihe. Die eingetragenen Strukturen lassen gewöhnlich also nicht auf ihren Erhaltungszustand schließen, und so ist ohne ein Hinzuziehen des beschreibenden Textes weder der Zustand noch die erhaltene Höhe der einzelnen Mauerzüge einschätzbar. Die Betonung dieses Sachverhalts ist deshalb wichtig, weil solche Pläne ebenso wie Rekonstruktionen aufgrund ihrer Suggestivkraft bekanntermaßen eine erhebliche Eigendynamik entwickeln können, während die Grundlagen, auf denen sie entstanden sind, oftmals nur noch am Rande Beachtung finden.

Betrachtet man vor diesem Hintergrund den besagten Nutzungsplan nun etwas genauer (fig. 2), so scheinen teils durchgehende, teils unzusammenhängende lila eingefärbte Mauerreste vor allem im Norden und Westen, etwas zergliederter aber auch im Süden und Osten, einen nahezu geschlossenen Ring um die Siedlung auf dem Avşar Tepesi zu bilden. Diese Mauern werden von Thomsen in seiner Beschreibung denn auch als Siedlungsmauer bezeichnet, wobei er sie aufgrund des geschilderten Erscheinungsbildes nicht im Sinne einer 'Ringmauer' verstanden wissen will, sondern als ein Art 'Befestigungslinie'[16]. Sie soll auf dem additiven Aneinanderfügen unterschiedlicher fortifikatorischer Komponenten wie Kurtinen, Bastionen, 'Turmhäusern' und der für lykische Siedlungen ungewöhnlich hohen Zahl von sechs Toren basieren, wobei die Einzelteile mitunter baulich nicht miteinander im Verbund standen und eine völlig verschiedenartige Bauweise zeigen können. Auf der Südseite des Siedlungshügels sollen Häuser die Kurtinen sogar über weite Strecken vollständig ersetzt haben[17].

Was hier als Befestigungsanlagen deklariert wird, ist sicherlich als eher unorthodox zu beschreiben und wirft einige Fragen auf, auch wenn man in Rechnung stellt, dass bei der Verteidigung lykischer Siedlungen durchaus ungewöhnliche Lösungen anzutreffen sind[18]. Auffällig ist beispielsweise der Bereich nahe Kurtine Y, wo im steilen Gelände den als Stütze für Wohngebäude dienenden Mauern hangabwärts weitere Terrassierungsmauern folgen (fig. 3)[19]. Deutlich hervor sticht dabei das Wohnhaus 23, das Thomsen seinem Typus des 'Verandahauses' zuordnet[20]. Darüber hinaus soll in seinen nordöstlichen Teil eine Bastion (23 f/g) eingebettet worden sein, womit er den neuen Typus einer in ein Wohnhaus integrierten Verteidigungsanlage kreiert, wobei die Bastion zudem selbst noch die Vermischung mit einem Turm eingegangen sein soll. Eine solche Verkomplizierung ist indes nicht nur aus terminologischer Sicht problematisch. Vielmehr dürfte die beiden Räume f und g schlichtweg zum Wohnhaus 23 gehören, und ihre erhebliche Mauerstärke im Norden dürfte der steilen Hanglage geschuldet und somit geländebedingt sein. Sicherlich: Die im Osten bis zu 3,65 m hohe Stützmauer von Wohnhaus 23 erschwerte dessen Zugänglichkeit auf dieser Seite ebenso wie ihre im Norden hakenartig umbiegende Fortsetzung und gewährte im Falle eines Angriffs auf die Siedlung auch einen gewissen Schutz. Damit ist aber allenfalls eine sekundäre Funktion greifbar, und der Versuch, die Mauern allgemeinen fortifikatorischen Maßstäben zu unterwerfen und über die Deutung der Räume f und g als Bastion hinaus die hinter der Ostmauer gelegene Struktur h ohne tatsächlich greifbare Anhaltspunkte als aus

14 Vgl. hierzu auch die knappen Erläuterungen bei Thomsen 2002, 2-3. Wegen der immer mehr zurückgehenden Beweidung des Yavu-Berglandes mit Ziegen ist das Dickicht heute noch wesentlich dichter als vor einigen Jahren. Zudem resultiert aus dem starken Bewuchs eine verhältnismäßig starke Bedeckung des Bodens mit Laub. Rodungen waren im Rahmen der Untersuchungen von Thomsen nur partiell, etwa im Bereich der so genannten Agora, möglich.

15 Ich habe in den letzten Jahren mehrfach allein oder in der Gruppe Autopsien an diversen Befunden der Siedlung auf dem Avşar Tepesi vorgenommen, zuletzt im September 2008.

16 Hierzu und zum Folgenden vgl. Thomsen 2002, 71-101; zur Definition der 'Siedlungsmauer' s. dort v. a. S. 71-72, 97-101.

17 Thomsen 2002, 99.

18 s. etwa Marksteiner 1997, 142-143. Vgl. ferner Marksteiner 2006, 243, der sich angesichts solcher Lösungsansätze in Lykien wenig verwundert zeigt, ohne den Befund vom Avşar Tepesi freilich im Detail nochmals überprüft zu haben.

19 Hierzu und zum Folgenden vgl. Thomsen 2002, 88-90.

20 Zu diesem Typus s. Thomsen 2002, 197-277. Speziell zu Haus 23 s. dort ferner S. 223-225. 452 Kat.-Nr. 19 Taf. 19, 1. 3; 51, 3.

Fig. 3 : Ausschnitt aus dem Plan der Siedlung auf dem Avşar Tepesi: der Bereich um die Akropolis (Lykien-Projekt Tübingen; nach Thomsen 2002, Beilage 1).

Lehmziegeln und Holz aufgesetzter Wehrgang zu interpretieren[21], dürfte wohl deutlich zu weit gehen[22]. Das gilt gleichermaßen für die schon erwähnten hangabwärts anschließenden Terrassenmauern, die Thomsen als Wehrterrassen deuten möchte, ohne jedoch ihre dafür recht merkwürdige Anordnung erklären zu können[23]. Tatsächlich dürfte es sich bei ihnen denn auch um Terrassen handeln, die eine wirtschaftliche Funktion innehatten oder den steilen Hang einfach nur stabilisieren sollten.

Westlich des soeben beschriebenen Areals bereiten weitere Befunde, die als Teil des Befestigungssystems der Siedlung gedeutet werden, ähnliche Schwierigkeiten. Das betrifft vor allem das so genannte Tor 11, das Thomsen als ein das Burgtor gewissermaßen vorwegnehmendes ‘Propylon’ interpretiert (fig. 3)[24]. Schon von ihrem Grundriss her mag die erhaltene Struktur 140 aber kaum als Tor taugen, und erhebliche Zweifel lassen sich ebenso an der Deutung des unmittelbar westlich anschließenden, merkwürdig gewinkelten Baus 141 als flankierender Turm anmelden[25]. Überraschenderweise gelangt Thomsen dann auch selbst zu dem Schluss, dass die gesamte Anlage bar jeglicher fortifikatorischen Funktion gewesen sein müsse und einen reinen Repräsentativbau dargestellt habe. Bemerkenswert ist in diesem Zusammenhang zudem die Existenz von Felsgrab 1, auf das später zurückzukommen sein wird und das nach der Lesart Thomsens hinter dem Tor gelegen wäre und nicht wie sonst üblich davor[26]. Das sicherlich stärkste Argument gegen eine Toranlage der beschriebenen Art an dieser Stelle dürfte aber sein, dass zur Sicherung dieses sensiblen Bereichs, der wegen des weiter oberhalb gelegenen Tors zur Akropolis tatsächlich einen neuralgischen Punkt in der Befestigungslinie dargestellt hätte, nur ein vergleichsweise geringer Aufwand betrieben worden wäre, während man für das nahezu unzugängliche Gebiet um Wohnhaus 23 wesentlich umfangreichere Schutzmaßnahmen ergriffen hätte[27]. Außerdem lässt sich die Situation unterhalb des Akropolistores durchaus auch anders beschreiben: Zweifellos war hier ein Aufweg gelegen, der sich durch künstliche Eingriffe in das umliegende Gelände auszeichnet. Nicht zu bestreiten ist gleichsam, dass die flankierenden Strukturen dieses Aufwegs zu einer regelrechten Kanalisierung in den Bereichen 152 und 151 führten. Das sorgte für einen gewissen Schutz, ist aber wie die oberhalb gelegenen Terrassierungen 136–138 eher als Erschwerung des Zugangs zur Akropolis selbst und somit als Teil ihrer Befestigung zu betrachten als im Zusammenhang mit einem in fortifikatorischer Hinsicht wertlosen Abschnitt einer imaginären ‘Siedlungsmauer’.

Die Zahl der Widersprüche nimmt zu, wenn man weitere Abschnitte dieser Mauer einer kritischen Prüfung unterzieht. Anstelle einer solche Überprüfung *en detail* sollen jedoch lieber einige Anmerkungen zu ihr als Gesamtanlage gemacht werden. Thomsen geht nämlich davon aus, dass die ‘Siedlungsmauer’ samt eingegliederter Bauten und Akropolisbefestigung “auf ein einheitliches, aus der 1. Hälfte des 5. Jhs. v. Chr. stammendes

21 Nicht nur die Brüstungen, sondern auch aufgehende Teile der angeblichen Wehrmauern sollen auf dem Avşar Tepesi aus einer “kombinierten Holz-Lehm-Konstruktion” bestanden haben, wohingegen die erhaltenen Mauern lediglich als Sockel zu betrachten wären, s. Thomsen 2002, 98; vgl. aber Marksteiner 1997, 147 mit Anm. 73, der – zuvor ablehnend – solche Lehm-Holz-Aufbauten schließlich zumindest für den Avşar Tepesi akzeptiert hat, s. Marksteiner 2006, 243.

22 Thomsen hat bei seinem Deutungsversuch der Räume f/g offenbar jene oberhalb von Geländestufen hakenartig nach innen umknickenden Mauerzüge vor Augen, die mitunter bei lykischen Befestigungen zu beobachten sind und gelegentlich auch bastionsartige Baukörper ausbilden können, vgl. dazu Marksteiner 1997, 142. In diesen Fällen sind aber weder Raumstrukturen anzutreffen noch liegt überhaupt die Kombination mit einem Gebäude vor. Darüber hinaus sind die Mauerzüge sicher als zusammenhängende Verteidigungsanlagen zu identifizieren.

23 Thomsen 2002, 90-91.

24 Hierzu und zum Folgenden vgl. Thomsen 2002, 93-95.

25 Die von Thomsen 2002, 94 erwogene Datierung von Bau 141 in die 1. Hälfte des 4. Jhs. v. Chr. sei hier unkommentiert beiseite gelassen, um die Diskussion nicht noch weiter zu verkomplizieren.

26 Ein schönes Beispiel für zwei Felsgräber in Verbindung mit einer tatsächlich nachgewiesenen Toranlage findet sich in Phellos. Zudem sind die beiden Gräber, welche im Zuge der dortigen Arbeiten unter der Bezeichnung FF 18 und FF 19 dokumentiert wurden, in die Befestigungsmauer regelrecht eingebaut, s. Hülden 2013 (im Druck).

27 Thomsen möchte den “neuralgischen Punkt in der Befestigungslinie” unverständlicherweise gerade im Bereich von Wohnhaus 23 sehen, vgl. Thomsen 2002, 224 mit Anm. 78. Ein vergleichbarer Widerspruch lässt sich auch an anderen Abschnitten der ‘Siedlungsmauer’ beobachten. So liegt etwa die Mauerstärke der ‘Kurtine’ N bei gerade einmal 1,25 m, was nicht unbedingt zu einer zumindest partiell mit Aufbauten aus Lehmziegeln und Holz versehenen Befestigungsmauer passen möchte. Eine solche wäre aber gerade hier zu erwarten, weil hinter der ‘Kurtine’ N ein Teil der Wohnbebauung gelegen ist. Statt dessen herrschen aber bei den südöstlich anschließenden Abschnitten M, L, K und J offenbar Mauerstärken zwischen 1,70 und 1,90 m vor, wobei diese lediglich freies und zudem recht unzugängliches Gelände samt der noch genauer unter die Lupe zu nehmenden ‘Nordnekropole’ einschließen. Zum Erscheinungsbild der besagten Mauerabschnitte und den Maßen s. Thomsen 2002, 72-74.

Baukonzept" zurückgeführt werden kann[28]. Einer Konzeption von solcher Einheitlichkeit steht freilich schon das lose und in Teilen als extrem additiv oder agglutinierend zu bezeichnende Bauprinzip der oftmals verbindungslosen Komponenten auf dem Avşar Tepesi entgegen (fig. 2)[29]. Hinzu kommt, dass sich anhand der durchgeführten Oberflächenuntersuchungen die einzelnen vorgeblichen Bestandteile der 'Siedlungsmauer' allenfalls vage absolutchronologisch einordnen und zueinander in ein zeitliches Verhältnis setzen lassen – und das gilt gleichermaßen für das Verhältnis dieser 'Befestigungsanlagen' zu den übrigen Bauten der Siedlung. Thomsen zeigt sich in diesem Punkt allerdings wesentlich optimistischer und formuliert auf der Basis bestimmter Mauertechniken und Mauerstile einzelne, teils sogar recht präzise Datierungsansätze. Ein für die Datierung der gesamten 'Siedlungsmauer' nicht unerhebliches Beispiel stellt etwa die zeitliche Parallelisierung der Bauweise der beiden Häuser 107 und 302 dar[30]. Beide Gebäude sollen in frühklassischer Zeit, mithin spätestens bis zur Mitte des 5. Jhs. v. Chr., entstanden sein, und dieser Ansatz wird dann auch gleich für die Gesamtheit der 'Befestigungsanlagen' samt Hausterrassierungen im südlichen und südöstlichen Bereich des Avşar Tepesi übernommen. Das ist umso bemerkenswerter, als Thomsen zuvor sein Kapitel zur Baugeschichte und Datierung der 'Siedlungsmauer' mit der Feststellung beginnt, "daß oft weder der Wechsel von Mauerstilen noch das Vorkommen von Baufugen als Indizien für eine relative Abfolge der Bauten zu werten sind"[31]. Wenn aber Wechsel in der Bauweise möglich sind, ohne chronologisch aussagekräftig zu sein, drängt sich die Frage auf, wieso vermeintliche oder tatsächliche Gemeinsamkeiten so klar auf verhältnismäßig enge zeitliche Räume wie die frühklassische Epoche eingegrenzt werden können[32]. Um nicht missverstanden zu werden: Es geht hier nicht darum, den Wert der Beurteilung von Mauertechniken oder -stilen für Datierungsfragen grundsätzlich zu bestreiten. Das wäre schon insofern widersinnig, weil man sich dadurch eines der wenigen Instrumentarien entledigen würde, die für die chronologische Einordnung oberflächlich anstehender Architekturreste überhaupt zur Verfügung stehen. Nahezu jedem Bauwerk auf dem Avşar Tepesi ein konkretes Errichtungsdatum zuweisen zu wollen, stellt aber für meine Begriffe eine unzulässige Verengung der Spielräume von Mauertypologien dar und wird außerdem der Dynamik einer antiken Siedlung nicht gerecht[33].

Bezieht man darüber hinaus den unterschiedlichen Erhaltungszustand der einzelnen Komponenten der 'Siedlungsmauer' und die Erklärung, die dafür geboten wird, in die Überlegungen mit ein, wird die Beweislage für ihre Deutung als Befestigungsanlage noch brüchiger. So geht Thomsen nämlich davon aus,

28 Thomsen 2002, 95-97. Der Zentralbau auf dem Gipfel wird allerdings aufgrund baulicher Charakteristika erst an das Ende des 5. oder an den Anfang des 4. Jhs. v. Chr. datiert, s. Thomsen 2002, 58.

29 Die einen einheitlichen Konzept widersprechende und überdies den Verteidigungswert deutlich mindernde Lückenhaftigkeit der 'Siedlungsmauer' zeigt sich beispielsweise eindrücklich an der fehlenden Verbindung zwischen der 'Befestigungslinie' westlich der Akropolis und der Ummauerung der 'Agora'. Vgl. dazu Thomsen 2002, 87, der diesen Sachverhalt herunterzuspielen versucht. Überdies ist grundsätzlich anzumerken, dass der "additive Grundcharakter", wie ihn beispielsweise Marksteiner 1997, 115-116. 137 mit Anm. 15 herausstreicht, in der Regel darauf beruht, das er an ansonsten geschlossenen Baukörpern anzutreffen ist.

30 Hierzu und zum Folgenden vgl. Thomsen 2002, 95-96 (Kat.-Nr. 3 und 30) Abb. 42-44 Taf. 5, 2; 6, 1; 17, 1. Während man der Synchronisierung des sorgfältigen Polygonalmauerwerks von Haus 107 mit dem durch Grabungsfunde in das 2. Viertel des 5. Jhs. v. Chr. datierten 'Dynastengrab' des Avşar Tepesi durchaus noch beipflichten kann, gestaltet sich das meines Erachtens bei dem deutlich rustikaleren Mauerwerk von Haus 302 als deutlich schwieriger, zumal mögliche längere Laufzeiten keine Berücksichtigung finden.

31 Thomsen 2002, 95.

32 Die Diskussion um den chronologischen Aussagewert regional noch so eingegrenzter Mauertypologien kann hier lediglich angerissen werden. Der Aussagewert soll auch gar nicht grundsätzlich bestritten werden, aber dass von deutlich größeren Spielräumen auszugehen ist, als sie bei der Auswertung der Befunde des Avşar Tepesi zur Anwendung kamen, dürfte klar geworden sein.

33 Vgl. die jeweils für einzelne Wohnhäuser gemachten, teilweise sehr konkreten Datierungsangaben bei Thomsen 2002, 445-487, die nur mit einem erheblichen Aufwand nachvollziehbar sind. Die zugrunde gelegte, gegenüber dem unkritisch übernommenen Modell von Marksteiner 1997, 119-133 aber erheblich verfeinerte Mauerwerkstypologie kommt nämlich lediglich im Kontext mit den einzelnen Bauten zur Anwendung, ohne aber in ihren Grundlagen und *en bloc* in einem eigenen methodischen Kapitel erläutert und abgesichert zu werden. Zur Methode s. lediglich Thomsen 2002, 1-3. An dieser Stelle lässt sich als unmittelbarer Vergleich hinsichtlich der methodischen Vorgehensweise auf die Untersuchung von U. Hailer zu den Gehöften des Yavu-Berglandes hinweisen, s. Hailer 2008, 1-15 bes. 14-15. Der entscheidende Unterschied zu Thomsen besteht darin, dass Hailer im weiteren Verlauf seiner Analyse auf allzu explizite Datierungsangaben zu seinen Gehöften verzichtet, sondern mit Epochenbegriffen operiert, die auch übergreifend sein können (z. B. archaisch-klassisch). Damit lässt er Spielräume und vermeidet es, eine Präzision hinsichtlich der getroffenen zeitlichen Einordnung zu suggerieren, die so nicht zu leisten ist. In ähnlicher Weise ist im Übrigen von mir mit den Gräbern des Yavu-Berglandes verfahren worden, s. Hülden 2006.

dass die postulierte Verteidigungsmauer im Zuge der wohl auf eine militärische Auseinandersetzung zurückzuführenden Auflassung des Avşar Tepesi geschleift worden ist, da es einer Erklärung für ihren im Vergleich zu weiten (aber eben nicht zu allen!) Teilen der übrigen Bebauung schlechten Erhaltungszustand bedarf[34]. Das will allerdings überhaupt nicht dazu passen, dass die Mauern der alles beherrschenden, tatsächlich für einen Angreifer schwer einnehmbaren Akropolis beinahe zur Gänze aufrecht stehen und sich die verstürzten Steine noch allesamt am Ort befinden[35]. Eine Erklärung lässt sich dafür sicherlich finden, aber sie setzt einem ohnehin schon spekulativen und überaus komplexen Hypothesengebäude lediglich ein weiteres Geschoss auf[36]. Um dem Dilemma beizukommen und das Schleifen der 'Siedlungsmauer' sinnvoll zu begründen, greift Thomsen denn auch zu einem Kunstgriff, indem er diese Befestigung gegenüber derjenigen der Akropolis aufwertet und ihr gar die vorrangige Rolle bei der aktiven Verteidigung beimisst[37] – eine Auffassung, der man schon allein wegen des tatsächlich geringen fortifikatorischen Wertes der wie zusammengestückelt wirkenden Einzelkomponenten dieser 'Anlage' nicht folgen möchte[38].

Wie kann man sich die Situation auf dem Avşar Tepesi aber nun alternativ vorstellen? Jeder einzelne Befund lässt sich dabei natürlich nicht berücksichtigen, der Kompliziertheit von Thomsens 'Model' kann jedoch in knappen Zügen eine wesentlich einfachere Sichtweise gegenübergestellt werden, die zumindest den Vorteil hat, den Befunden nicht Aussagen abringen zu wollen, die meines Erachtens auf der Basis von Oberflächenuntersuchung so nicht zu treffen sind. Lässt man sich auf einen solchen, durchaus simplifizierenden Blickwinkel ein, so ist sicherlich davon auszugehen, dass zu Beginn der Besiedlung des Avşar Tepesi einem gewissen Sicherheitsbedürfnis Rechnung getragen worden ist und der Nukleus im Bereich der Burg bzw. der Akropolis lag, obschon deren heutiges Erscheinungsbild im Wesentlichen durch Bauten des 5. Jhs. v. Chr. geprägt ist[39]. Vom Gipfel aus dehnte sich eine offene und wohl zunächst weitgehend aus gehöftartigen Einzelhäusern[40] bestehende Hangsiedlung nach und nach aus, um sich am Ende dieses Prozesses mehr und mehr zu verdichten und schließlich ihren letzten und damit heutigen Zustand zu erreichen. Immer wieder vergegenwärtigen muss man sich dabei, dass dem Avşar Tepesi zwar eine nachklassische Bebauung erspart geblieben, sein Ruinenbestand aber dennoch das Ergebnis einer mehrere Jahrhunderte währenden, wohl in der ersten Hälfte des 7. Jhs. v. Chr. beginnenden Entwicklung ist[41]. Wie diese im

34 s. Thomsen 2002, z. B. 66, 97 und in der Folge Kolb 2008, 44.

35 s. Thomsen 2002, 19-71 bes. 66, Taf. 3, 1-5, 1 Abb.15-17 .

36 Vgl. etwa Thomsen 2002, 66 mit Anm. 200, der in Anlehnung an ein angeblich im Zusammenhang mit dem karischen Synoikismos des 4. Jhs. v. Chr. zu beobachtendes Phänomen zu dem Schluss gelangt, die Akropolis hätte über die Auflassung der Siedlung hinaus als Garnison gedient, um eine Rückkehr vertriebener Bewohner zu verhindern. Das kann durchaus sein, unterschlägt aber beispielsweise, dass die angeführte karische 'Analogie' (s. dazu Bean/Cook 1955, 127-128. 168; Radt 1970, 71-72) ihrerseits lediglich auf der recht vagen Deutung einiger archäologischer Befunde beruht. So ist z. B. die exakte Datierung des so genannten Wachturms von Alâzeytin Kalesi ebenso unklar wie seine Verbindung mit Maussollos und konkrete Funktion, vgl. schon Hornblower 1982, 98 Anm. 155; S. 102. 308 Anm. 105. Wahrscheinlich wird es sich bei dem Turm um eines der in Karien geläufigen Turmgehöfte handeln, wofür im Übrigen ein in der Nähe gefundener Mühlstein spricht. Zu diesem Mühlstein – indes ohne ihn auf die Funktion des Turmes zu beziehen – s. Radt 1970, 72, 264-265, Taf. 43, 4. Zu Turmgehöften in Karien s. beispielsweise Lohmann 2005, 42-47.

37 Zu dieser Rolle der 'Siedlungsmauer' s. Thomsen 2002, 72.

38 Hier ließe sich eine Diskussion anschließen, die auch die Art und Weise der Kriegsführung in Lykien im Verlauf der klassischen Epoche mit einbezieht und dabei beispielsweise die Darstellungen der so genannten Stadtreliefs berücksichtigt. Sie wird jedoch an anderer Stelle zu führen sein, und zwar konkret im Rahmen einer größeren Untersuchung zu den Befestigungsanlagen des griechischen Raums, die den Gegenstand meines Habilitationsprojekts an der LMU München darstellt.

39 Vgl. Thomsen 2002,19-71 bes. 64-66.

40 Die zunächst einmal agrarischen Grundlagen der lykischen Gesellschaft des vorhellenistischen Lykien stehen außer Frage. Kolb 2008, 49-52 geht allerdings davon aus, der Avşar Tepesi sei "sicherlich kein Bauerndorf" gewesen. Angesichts der von Kolb aufgezählten Tätigkeiten, die dort im Zusammenhang mit Viehhaltung vorgenommen worden sein sollen, kann jedoch eigentlich nur von bäuerlichen Strukturen gesprochen werden, auch wenn in der Siedlung verstärkt mit einer Weiterverarbeitung der landwirtschaftlichen Erzeugnisse zu rechnen ist. Der Grad der Spezialisierung in einzelnen Tätigkeitsbereichen lässt sich jedenfalls für Lykien bislang kaum bestimmen. Kolb freilich behauptet, die Häuser auf dem Avşar Tepesi seien lediglich an Wohnbedürfnissen ausgerichtet gewesen und insofern nicht als Gehöfte zu betrachten – eine Auffassung, die ich anhand der Befunde nicht nachzuvollziehen vermag.

41 Eine Besiedlung im 7. Jh. v. Chr. bezeugen lediglich einige Scherben, wobei die spärlichen archaischen Baubefunde offenbar frühestens in die zweite Hälfte des 6. Jhs. v. Chr. zurückreichen, vgl. Thomsen 2002, 6-7. Eine ähnlich dünne Befundsituation lässt sich – zumindest bislang – auch für andere lykische Siedlungen feststellen, wobei lediglich in Xanthos ein Gebäude angetroffen wurde, das die Ausgräber als herrschaftliche Residenz interpretiert und in die erste Hälfte des 7. Jhs. v. Chr. datiert haben, s. Metzger 1963, 16-19; vgl. Marksteiner 2002, 89-90, der zudem andeutet, dass

Einzelnen ablief, lässt sich nur vage bestimmen, wesentlich ist aber das offenkundige weitgehende Fehlen eines übergeordneten Ordnungsprinzips und die nahezu ausschließliche Orientierung an den topographischen Gegebenheiten[42]. Insofern ist auch die 'Siedlungsmauer' nicht das Resultat eines zu einem bestimmten Zeitpunkt entwickelten und dann umgesetzten fortifikatorischen Gesamtkonzepts, sondern die ihr zugewiesenen Komponenten sind wahrscheinlich als das gewachsene Endergebnis desselben Prozesses aufzufassen, dem die übrigen Bauten der Siedlung unterworfen waren[43]. Ein ausgeklügeltes Defensivsystem der Wohnsiedlung dürfte jedenfalls in der von Thomsen angedachten Form nicht existiert haben, was nicht bedeuten soll, dass man sich um die Frage der Verteidigung überhaupt keine Gedanken gemacht hätte. So haben die von Thomsen als Befestigungslinie gedeuteten Strukturen sicherlich die Grenzen der Siedlung markiert und zu einer Unterscheidung zwischen innen und außen beigetragen. Ferner sorgten sie für eine gewisse Regulierung der Zugangsmöglichkeiten, was selbstverständlich auch im Falle eines Angriffs von Nutzen war. Darüber hinaus dürften aber andere und zudem verschiedenartige Funktionen bei der Errichtung der einzelnen Bauten und Strukturen im Vordergrund gestanden haben, die in ihrer Gesamtheit lediglich einen reichlich flexiblen Rahmen für die Siedlung bildeten. Jene Mauerzüge südöstlich der Akropolis dürften beispielsweise zur Stabilisierung und Strukturierung des mitunter steilen Geländes oder als Terrassierungen zu wirtschaftlichen Zwecken angelegt worden sein. Andere Mauern, die eher den Eindruck von Einfriedungen erwecken, können im Zusammenhang damit stehen, dass nicht nur bei Gefahr, sondern auch in Friedenszeiten in einzelnen Bereichen der Siedlung eine erhebliche Anzahl von Vieh Aufnahme finden musste. Während das Nutzvieh einzupferchen war, sollten wilde Tiere außerhalb der Siedlung gehalten werden – ebenfalls eine Aufgabe, der viele der Mauern in der Peripherie eher gerecht werden als der Verteidigung gegen angreifende fremde Truppen. Soweit sie nicht Schutz und gute defensive Möglichkeiten auf der Akropolis finden konnte[44], dürfte sich die Bevölkerung insofern auf die Verteidigung ihrer eigenen Wohnhäuser beschränkt haben, die teilweise tatsächlich einen wehrhaften Charakter besitzen, ohne dass ihr militärischer Wert aber überschätzt werden sollte[45]. Auf eine

die Wurzeln eines nahegelegenen dreizelligen Kultbau am selben Ort ebenfalls in das 7. Jh. v. Chr. hinaufreichen könnten. Abgesehen davon stellen die frühesten Zeugnisse steinerner Architektur in Lykien einige anhand entsprechender Keramikfunde in das 7./6. Jh. v. Chr. datierte Tumuli, Terrassen- bzw. Podiumgräber sowie Kammergräber dar, s. zuletzt Hülden 2011, 495-514. Die lykische Steinarchitektur erscheint demnach bislang schlagartig und – nimmt man einige der Tumuli als Maßstab – zudem in teils beachtlicher Monumentalität.

42 Vgl. Marksteiner 2002, 108-110 (jedoch anhand der Entwicklung der ebenfalls zentrallykischen Siedlung Trysa). Vgl. ferner die etwas abweichende Auffassung von Thomsen 2002, 397-399. Um in dieser Frage nicht missverstanden zu werden: Wenn hier von einem weitgehenden Fehlen klarer Ordnungsprinzipien gesprochen wird, ist damit nicht gemeint, dass in der Siedlung jeder Bewohner Gebäude errichten konnte, wo er es gerade wollte, vgl. dazu auch u. Anm. 60 zu möglichen Ordnungseingriffen in die Nekropolen. Statt dessen geht es darum, dass der Siedlung offensichtlich kein planerischer Gesamtentwurf zugrunde lag. Das mag im Übrigen ein Grund gewesen sein, warum man mit der Übernahme griechischer Polisstrukturen nach der Mitte des 4. Jhs. v. Chr. mit Kyaneai einen Ort als Siedlungszentrum des Yavu-Berglandes aussuchte, der genug Raum für die Umsetzung einer tatsächlich eher geplanten Stadt in Anlehnung an griechische Verhältnisse bot.

43 Die Siedlung auf dem Avşar Tepesi dürfte damit dann auch eher zu jenen Siedlungen ohne klare Ummauerung gehören, die Th. Marksteiner als "typologische Zwischenform" bezeichnet hat, s. Marksteiner 1997, 137 mit Anm. 16, 141 (wobei für das dort genannte Beispiel Korba mittlerweile ebenfalls eine Siedlungsmauer postuliert worden ist, s. zuletzt Kolb 2008, 106-107 Abb. 159). Vgl. gegen Marksteiner aber Thomsen 2002, 101, der dessen Zwischenform für "möglicherweise hinfällig" hält. In diesem Zusammenhang lässt sich ein kurzer Verweis auf die so genannten Stadtreliefs anfügen, auf denen teilweise neben einer Akropolisbefestigung eine Siedlungsmauer zu erkennen ist. Der Wert dieser ausschnitthaften Darstellungen, die erst aus der ersten Hälfte des 4. Jhs. v. Chr. stammen, für die Rekonstruktion tatsächlicher Verhältnisse kann hier nicht diskutiert werden. Daher muss der Hinweis genügen, dass die Bilder, selbst wenn sie eine bestimmte Realität wiedergegeben, noch lange nicht als allgemeingültig für sämtliche lykischen Städte zu betrachten sind.

44 Üblicherweise wird man ohnehin versucht haben, den Feind bereits vor Erreichen der Siedlung aufzuhalten. Das lässt sich sehr schön anhand der Überlieferung des Herodot (Hdt. 1, 176) zur persischen Eroberung von Xanthos kurz nach der Mitte des 6. Jhs. v. Chr. illustrieren: Die Xanthier bieten den Persern in der Ebene eine Feldschlacht und ziehen sich nach deren für sie ungünstigen Ausgang samt Frauen, Kindern und Sklaven auf die Akropolis zurück, wo es dann zu dem bekannten Massenselbstmord kommt.

45 Auch wenn die Dächer der vielleicht turmartigen Wohnhäuser vermutlich flach und begehbar waren, ist die Annahme, sie wären zu regelrechten Kampfplattformen ausgebaut gewesen, gewiss übertrieben, s. aber Thomsen 2002, 76-78, der in diesem Kontext sogar eine entsprechende Aussage des hellenistischen Militärtheoretikers Philon von Byzanz bemüht! Wie problematisch Rückschlüsse auf die konkrete Funktion von Gebäuden sein können, die lediglich anhand oberflächlich erhaltener Reste gezogen wurden, lässt sich recht anschaulich am Beispiel eines etwas abseitig am Rande einer Senke südlich des Avşar Tepesi gelegenen Baus zeigen. Er wird bei Thomsen 2002, 156-164 im Sinne eines suburbanen Heiligtums interpretiert, wohingegen U. Hailer unter Verweis auf dafür fehlende Belege und eigene bautypologische Erwägungen eine weitaus plausiblere Deutung als Gehöft vorschlägt, s. Hailer 2008, 283-284, Abb. 25, Taf. 50, 4-51, 2. Kolb 2008, 53 folgt der begrenzte Zugänglichkeit der Häuser ist jedenfalls offensichtlich geachtet worden, und überdies dienten manche der hohen Außenwände von Wohngebäuden und -türmen zur Abschirmung gegenüber ihrer Umgebung oder besonderer Bereiche wie etwa der Südnekropole, auf die weiter unten zurückzukommen ist. Sollte die Auflassung der Siedlung auf dem Avşar Tepesi also tatsächlich auf einer Eroberung beruhen, so dürfte diese eher auf die vergleichsweise offene Struktur bzw. den insgesamt geringen fortifikatorischen Wert der Siedlungsbegrenzung zurückzuführen sein, als darauf, dass die Bewohner trotz einem in seiner Gesamtheit angeblich so ausgeklügelten Verteidigungssystem partiell eine “mangelnde Rücksicht auf fortifikatorische Erfordernisse” an den Tag gelegt hätten und es beispielsweise zuließen, das südwestliche Vorfeld der Akropolis mit den Gräbern der Südnekropole zu verbauen[46]. An dieser Stelle lässt sich anfügen, dass das Szenario einer angeblichen Schleifung der ‘Siedlungsmauer’, das den primären Beleg für eine Eroberung des Avşar Tepesi bildet, ebenso in Zweifel gezogen werden kann. Das Fehlen von Steinen gerade im Randbereich der Siedlung kann nämlich auf eine wesentlich einfachere Weise erklärt werden. So reichen die dortigen antiken Bauten teilweise an bis in jüngere Zeit noch genutzte Fruchtflächen heran, die mit einigen neuzeitlichen Wüstungen zu verbinden sind und deren Häuser und Wirtschaftsanlagen mit Steinmaterial vom Avşar Tepesi gebaut worden sein dürften.

Am Ende dieser notwendigerweise etwas längeren Ausführungen zu bestimmten Aspekten der Strukturierung der Siedlung auf dem Avşar Tepesi lässt sich also festhalten, dass von einer Ummauerung der Wohnbereiche im Sinne einer organisierten Befestigungslinie kaum die Rede sein kann. Nichtsdestotrotz bleiben die mehr oder weniger klar anhand von Mauerzügen nachvollziehbaren Grenzen der Siedlungsfläche bestehen, womit der für eine intra- bzw. extramurale Lage von Gräbern entscheidende Bezugsrahmen nach wie vor besteht. Um hier zu belastbaren Aussagen zu kommen, sollen die als Gräber und Nekropolenbereiche gedeuteten Befunde des Avşar Tepesi jetzt ebenfalls einer kritischen Überprüfung unterzogen werde. Dabei ist sogleich vorauszuschicken, dass von den ca. 114 Befunden, die Thomsen als Gräber gedeutet hat, gerade einmal ein Drittel als gesichert betrachtet werden können[47] und dass hier nicht auf jedes einzelne Grab im Detail eingegangen werden kann.

Nördlich der Burg hat Thomsen zwei größere Areale als ‘Nord-’ bzw. ‘Akropolisnekropole’ ausgewiesen (fig. 3)[48]. Dem Plan und dem Befundverzeichnis nach handelt es sich um rund zwei Dutzend teils rundlicher, teils annähernd rechteckiger, mitunter aber auch formloser Bruchsteinansammlungen, deren Grundfläche bis zu ca. 10 x 10 m erreichen kann, gewöhnlich aber darunter liegt. Vereinzelt, aber nie im Sinne einer zusammenhängenden Gesamtstruktur, finden sich zudem Ansätze von Einfassungsmauern, die lediglich eine geringe Höhe erreichen[49]. Das haben sie mit den Bruchstein- bzw. Geröllansammlungen insgesamt gemeinsam, die sich nur wenig über ihre Umgebung erheben und somit die Frage aufwerfen, warum sie abgetragen worden sind und weshalb bei keiner von ihnen Überreste einer Grabkammer zu beobachten sind[50]. Angesichts einer solch desolaten Ausgangslage drängt sich freilich die Frage auf, mit welcher Berechtigung hier überhaupt von Gräbern und zwei regelrechten Nekropolenbereichen gesprochen werden kann[51]. Thomsen beruft sich auf die angebliche

Argumentation von Thomsen zwar, lässt in seinen Ausführungen aber durchaus Zweifel durchblicken.

46 So jedenfalls die Darstellung von Thomsen 2002, 306-307; vgl. dagegen schon Hülden 2006, Bd. 1, 199, wo zudem für eine Deutung der von Thomsen als potentielle Relikte von Kampfhandlungen betrachteten vereinzelten Waffenfunde in diesem Bereich als Grabbeigaben plädiert wird.

47 Das geht aus dem Index in Thomsen 2002, 426-442 hervor, wo eine entsprechende Anzahl von ‘Gräbern’ mit einem Fragezeichen versehen ist, s. schon Hülden 2006, Bd. 1, 229 Anm. 76.

48 Hierzu und zum Folgenden s. Thomsen 2002, 312-314; vgl. aber auch Hülden 2006, Bd. 1, 228.

49 Thomsen 2002, 313 spricht denn auch von “Grundmauerresten”.

50 In Lykien besteht die Aufschüttung von Tumuli aufgrund der allgegenwärtigen Verfügbarkeit in weiten Teilen aus Steinen, und lediglich die letzte ‘Außenhaut’ dürfte aus Erde bestanden haben. Die Grabkammern sind wie bei den terrassen- oder podiumartigen Gräbern in die Aufschüttung eingebettet und müssten demnach bei einer so weitgehenden Abtragung wie auf dem Avşar Tepesi zumindest als Struktur im einen oder anderen Fall erkennbar sein. Zu diesen aus Steinen errichteten Gräbern s. Hülden 2006, Bd. 1, 109-135 (Tumuli), 158-205 (Terrassen- und Podiumgräber); Hülden 2006a, 263-279 und 2011, 495-514.

51 Es ist anzumerken, dass von keiner der mutmaßlichen Grabanlagen der ‘Akropolis-’ wie der ‘Nordnekropole’ ein Foto publiziert ist, was einerseits mit dem Bewuchs der entsprechenden Areale zu tun hat, aber andererseits damit, dass auf solchen Fotos außer Steinen nichts zu erkennen wäre, was als Entscheidungshilfe dienen könnte. Wer sich selbst einen Eindruck verschaffen möchte, kommt demnach um eine Autopsie nicht herum.

Alternativlosigkeit seiner Interpretationen sowie ein in der Nähe gelegenes Felsgrab (3) und einen als Kammergrab gedeuteten vermauerten Felsspalt[52]. Das erste Argument stellt freilich eine unzulässige Umkehr der Beweislast dar, und den beiden Gräbern kommt in dieser Angelegenheit ebenfalls keinerlei Beweiskraft zu. Während man nämlich die Richtigkeit der Deutung des Spalts als Grab schon grundsätzlich bezweifeln kann, mag das in einer eindeutigen Randlage platzierte Felsgrab 3, das im Übrigen nicht mit Thomsen in das 4., sondern problemlos auch in das 5. Jh. v. Chr. datiert werden kann[53], mit einem der umliegenden Wohnbauten, vielleicht dem klassisch datierten 'Verandahaus' 129. assoziiert gewesen sein[54]. Berücksichtigt man, was weiter oben im Hinblick auf die Nachvollziehbarkeit der Siedlungsentwicklung auf dem Avşar Tepesi festgestellt worden ist, mag der Wohnbau bei seiner Errichtung zunächst einigermaßen isoliert gestanden haben[55], weshalb die Kombination mit einem Einzelgrab nicht ungewöhnlich erscheinen braucht. Es handelt sich also weder um eine tatsächlich intramurale Grabanlage noch stellt das Felsgrab 3 einen Beleg für die Deutung der beiden östlich von ihm gelegenen Areale als Nekropolen dar.

Dessen ungeachtet geht Thomsen in seiner Interpretation sogar noch einen Schritt weiter: Vereinzelt in beiden Arealen aufgelesene Scherbenfunde, bei denen es sich durchwegs um bedeutungslose Streufunde handelt[56], dienen neben der wohl vornehmlich vorklassisch einzuordnenden Grabform des Tumulus[57] als Hinweise auf ein vermutlich hohes Alter der 'Gräber' insgesamt, wobei diesem durchaus problematischen zeitlichen Einordnungsversuch ein gesellschaftspolitischer folgt. So sollen in der 'Nordnekropole' angesichts der Bescheidenheit ihrer 'Grabbauten' die Angehörigen ärmerer Bevölkerungsschichten bestattet gewesen sein, während es sich aufgrund der exponierteren Lage bei den Bestatteten der 'Akropolisnekropole' um höher gestellte Personen gehandelt haben soll. Die Problematik einer solch spekulativen Sichtweise braucht hier nicht weiter betont zu werden, und insgesamt ist hinsichtlich der beiden 'Nekropolenbereiche' wohl am besten die Konsequenz zu ziehen, sie in der hier zur Diskussion stehenden Frage der Intra- bzw. Extramuralität von Gräbern schlichtweg auszuklammern. Lediglich ein Alternativvorschlag zur Deutung der Areale sei hier zuletzt noch angefügt: Warum soll es sich bei den beiden Bereichen nicht einfach um unbebautes Gelände handeln, wobei die Bruchstein- bzw. Geröllansammlungen auf die ortsnahe Gewinnung von Steinmaterial für die Errichtung der zahlreichen Bauten auf dem Avşar Tepesi hindeuten könnten[58]?

Wenden wir uns nach diesem eher unbefriedigenden Zwischenergebnis nun zwei Bereichen des Avşar Tepesi zu, in denen tatsächlich und unzweifelhaft Gräber zu finden sind. Das eine Areal ist die so genannte Südnekropole, die von etwas mehr als zwei Dutzend terrassenartiger Gräber geprägt ist, welche vorrangig dem 5. Jh. v. Chr. zugewiesen werden können[59]. Details zu den Gräbern brauchen hier keine Rolle zu spielen, sondern relevant ist einzig und allein die Positionierung und Charakterisierung dieser Nekropole in ihrer Gesamtheit. Die einzelnen Gräber wurden teilweise

52 s. schon Hülden 2006, Bd. 1, 151 Anm. 689, 227-228 (zum Kammergrab), 202, 228, 256 Anm. 259 (zum Felsgrab) mit den entsprechenden Hinweisen auf die Argumentation von Thomsen.

53 Zum Einsetzen der Felsfassadengräber s. Hülden 2006, Bd. 1, 48-50 und 2012 (im Druck; Kapitel 2. Felsfassadengräber). Vgl. aber Thomsen 2002, 358-360, der die Felsgräber des Avşar Tepesi – abgesehen von einigen Zweifeln hinsichtlich der Datierung des auf der 'Agora' gelegenen Felsgrabs 2 – seiner Sichtweise unter- und in das 4. Jh. v. Chr. einordnet. Dieser Auffassung folgt Kolb 2008, 39.

54 Zu 'Verandahaus' 129 und seiner durch eine Sondage abgesicherten Datierung s. Thomsen 2002, 202-210, 446 (Kat.-Nr. 2) Taf. 45, 3-46, 1; 47, 1-4; 51, 1 Abb. 96-98.

55 Dieser Sicht der Dinge steht auch nicht entgegen, wenn etwa der nordwestlich gelegene Wohnbau 121 – wenn es denn ein Wohnhaus ist – tatsächlich aus dem 6. Jh. v. Chr. stammt, da es bei der Errichtung von Haus 129 offenbar nicht mehr in Benutzung war, s. Thomsen 2002, 291-292, 487 (Kat.-Nr. 121).

56 Keines der Keramikfragmente scheint publiziert worden zu sein. Der von Thomsen 2002, 313 Anm. 33 gegebene Verweis auf Rückert 2003, 135-161 führt leider ebenso ins Leere wie der Blick in die abschließende Publikation der Keramikfunde des Kyaneai-Surveys (Rückert 2008, 1-104).

57 Zur chronologischen und weiteren Einordnung der Tumuli in Lykien s. zuletzt Hülden 2011, 495-514.

58 Die Einbeziehung von unbebautem Gelände ist selbst bei tatsächlich nachgewiesenen Siedlungsmauern in Lykien keine Seltenheit, vgl. etwa Marksteiner 1997, 142. Eine dem Avşar Tepesi vielleicht vergleichbare Situation, bei der offenbar ein Steinbruchareal durch wohl noch im 5. Jh. v. Chr. angelegte Ummauerung in die Siedlungsfläche integriert worden ist, ist beispielsweise in der westlichen Peripherie der ebenfalls im Yavu-Bergland gelegenen Siedlung auf dem Düzkale Tepesi (Tüse) anzutreffen, s. Hülden 2006, Bd. 1, 231 mit Anm. 95 Taf. 137.

59 Zur Südnekropole und ihren Gräbern s. Thomsen 2002, 304-310, 316-365. Zur fragwürdigen Rekonstruktion der Gräber vgl. aber Hülden 2006, Bd. 1, 158-205 und 2010, 25-26 (zu einem speziellen, für die Diskussion jedoch bedeutsamen Grab in Kyaneai mit der Bezeichnung FW 11).

Fig. 4 : Ausschnitt aus dem Plan der Siedlung auf dem Avşar Tepesi: die 'lykische Agora' und die Südnekropole (Lykien-Projekt Tübingen; nach Thomsen 2002, Beilage 1).

unmittelbar nebeneinander errichtet, und durch ihre Verteilung auf verschiedene Geländestufen ist eine Tiefenstaffelung entstanden (fig. 4). So ist primär im Verlauf der klassischen Zeit ein geschlossenes Nekropolenareal entstanden, das in den halbkreisförmigen Hangeinschnitt zwischen 'Agora' und Akropolis und damit in die Vorgaben des Geländes perfekt eingepasst war[60]. Im Westen bestand eine klare Abgrenzung durch die Einfassungsmauern der 'Agora', die mit der Südnekropole durch ein Tor verbunden war[61]. Im Nordosten sind die letzten Gräber unterhalb der Akropolissüdmauer gelegen, und im Nordwesten bilden die hohen und dazu auf eine felsige Geländekante gesetzten Außenmauern insbesondere von Wohnhaus 107 eine ebenso deutliche Abgrenzung[62]. Auch wenn hierin nicht mit Thomsen der Verlauf einer regelrechten Verteidigungsmauer der Siedlung gesehen werden soll, so entsteht im Bezug auf die Südnekropole dennoch der Eindruck einer gewissen Extramuralität. Dieser wird dadurch verstärkt, dass sich das Areal zwischen zwei Toranlagen erstreckt: dem eben erwähnten Zugang zur 'Agora' und Tor 1 der Akropolis mit seinem verwinkelten Aufgang, der von Thomsen als Tor 11 bzw. als 'Propylon' bezeichnet wird (s. o.). Es bestand also eine gute Zugänglichkeit der Nekropole von zwei Seiten her bzw. bestand sogar eine unmittelbare Verbindung mit der 'Agora' und der Akropolis und damit mit zwei der wichtigsten Bereiche der Siedlung. Vom geschlossenen und deutlich von den Wohnbauten abgeschirmten südlichen Nekropolenbereich

60 Bei der Anlage der Gräber mögen gewisse Ordnungsmechanismen gegriffen haben, die sich womöglich mit einer Institution verbinden lässt, die unter der Bezeichnung *miñti* bzw. μινδισ in diversen Inschriften erscheint, deren primäre Funktion aber wohl im Grabschutz lag. Zur Rolle dieser Institution s. zuletzt Schürr 2008, 147-170; vgl. ferner Hülden 2006, Bd. 1, 339-340.

61 Zu diesem Tor s. Thomsen 2002, 30. 92-93. 104 Taf. 6, 2; 7, 1.

62 s. Thomsen 2002, Taf. 40.

mit seinen Terrassengräbern ist das einzelne Felsgrab 1 unterhalb des Akropolistores nicht nur in typologischer Hinsicht, sondern auch in räumlicher Hinsicht abgesetzt. Seine exponierte Lage ist gewiss dem besonderen Status seines Inhabers zu verdanken, und das Grab hatte sicherlich die auch außerhalb Lykiens bekannte Funktion inne, den Aufweg und damit das Tor zur Akropolis zu schützen[63]. Insgesamt lässt sich demnach festhalten, dass weder die Lage von Felsgrab 1 noch diejenige der Südnekropole als ungewöhnlich zu bezeichnen ist. Vielmehr haben wir hier die Konzentration von Gräbern auf einen bestimmten Bereich vor uns, der außerhalb der Siedlung gelegen und von dieser abgeschirmt ist[64]. Da es sich nach dem weiter oben vorgenommenen Ausschluss der 'Akropolis-' und 'Nordnekropole' um die einzige größere Ansammlung von Gräbern auf dem Avşar Tepesi handelt, dürfte eine Ansprache als Hauptbestattungsplatz der Siedlungsbewohner berechtigt sein.

Den zweiten Bestattungsbereich neben der Südnekropole, der im Gegensatz zu ihr wohl einem besonderen Personenkreis vorbehalten war, bildet die schon genannte 'lykische Agora' (fig. 4). Sie präsentiert sich als allseitig klar durch anstehende Felsen oder Mauern eingefasste Freifläche, die einerseits durch Gräber, andererseits aber durch andere Bauten charakterisiert zu sein scheint und der offensichtlich eine besondere Bedeutung innerhalb des Siedlungsgefüges zukam. Auf die teils strittigen Details der Ausstattung dieser Platzanlage und die Gründe für ihre Bezeichnung als 'Agora' braucht hier nicht weiter eingegangen werden[65]. Von Bedeutung ist lediglich, dass mit den Pfeilergräbern GP 1 und 2 nicht nur zwei Gräber, sondern auch ein besonderer Grabtyp für die Aufstellung an diesem prominenten Ort ausgewählt wurden[66]. Die Pfeilergräber sind nämlich der allgemeinen Lesart nach mit einer bestimmten sozialen Gruppe, den lokalen 'Dynasten', zu verbinden, wobei es sich zumindest teilweise trotz der geringen Größe ihrer oben am Schaft angebrachten Kammern auch um Familiengräber handelte[67]. Damit erfährt die Positionierung der beiden Gräber an zentraler Stelle der Siedlung eine plausible Erklärung und mehr noch: Anhand jener Inschriften aus Xanthos und Kyaneai (TL 44 und 72), die für die Platzanlagen, auf denen die Gräber aufgestellt waren, eine zumindest begriffliche Verbindung mit der griechischen Agora nahelegen, lässt sich vermutlich auf die kultische Verehrung ihrer Inhaber, mindestens aber auf ihre identitätsstiftende Funktion innerhalb der Gemeinschaft schließen. Folgt man der Auffassung von der 'lykischen Agora' als einem Ort, an dem ein sepulkraler Hintergrund durch einen sakralen und darüber hinaus einen identitätsstiftenden, vielleicht sogar politischen erweitert wurde, so haben wir es nicht nur mit einem extraordinären Bestattungsareal zu tun, sondern hier scheinen in einem sehr kleinen, abgeschirmten, aber dennoch zentralen Bereich die Grenzen zwischen der Welt der Lebenden und einer speziellen Gruppe von Toten tatsächlich zu verschwimmen[68]. Alle übrigen

63 Vgl. bereits o. Anm. 26.

64 An dieser Stelle ist freilich nicht zu unterschlagen, dass sich südlich von Felsgrab 1 die Überreste diverser Bauten im dichten Gebüsch abzeichnen. Sie sind indes allesamt sehr schlecht erhalten und werden von Thomsen zu Wohnhäusern ergänzt. Auf dem Plan (hier Abb. 3) sind sie mit den Nrn. 31-43 versehen, und ihre weitere Besprechung ist Thomsen 2002, 427 zu entnehmen. An dieser Stelle auf jedes Gebäude im Detail einzugehen, ist nicht möglich, weshalb nur wenige grundlegende, aber symptomatische Bemerkungen gemacht seien: Thomsen ordnet jeden der Bauten typologisch und absolutchronologisch ein, wobei der zeitliche Rahmen vom späten 6. bis ins 4. Jh. v. Chr. reichen soll. Bemerkenswerterweise werden aber die etwa bei Bau 40 zu beobachtenden massiven Umbaumaßnahmen sowie der Fund hellenistischer Keramik zwar thematisiert (S. 233-234), Schlussfolgerungen werden daraus jedoch ebenso wenig gezogen wie aus den offenbar gleichsam auf eine jüngere Datierung hindeutenden baulichen Charakteristika von Bau 35 (S. 250-251 Taf. 54, 1) sowie aus der Existenz des Ofens 39. Überhaupt bleibt die Bebauung des Areals im Vorfeld des von Thomsen zu einem Torbau ('Tor 11') aufgewerteten Aufwegs zum Akropolistor in ihrer Gesamtbeurteilung reichlich vage (s. etwa S. 91), was angesichts von dessen fortifikatorischer Bedeutung durchaus verwundert. Überraschend erscheint in diesem Zusammenhang dann auch die Erklärung S. 130 Anm. 116, "dem Erbauer" des mutmaßlich in der Mitte des 5. Jhs. v. Chr. erbauten Hauses 31 sei "die Nähe zur Akropolis offenbar wichtiger gewesen (…) als der Schutz durch die Siedlungsmauer", wobei hinzuzufügen ist, dass er deren fortifikatorischen Wert durch die Errichtung seines Hauses geradezu *ad absurdum* geführt hätte.

65 Vgl. dazu Thomsen 2002, 103-147; Hülden 2006, Bd. 1, 329-335 und 2007, 125-129; Kolb 2008, 54-60; Hülden 2010, 7-8, 124, 191-192 und 2012 (im Druck; Kapitel III. Überlegungen zur Lage der Gräber).

66 Etwas unklar ist in diesem Zusammenhang die Rolle des in der Nordwestecke der 'Agora' in einen natürlichen Felsstock eingetieften einfachen Felsgrabs 2. Zu ihm s. Thomsen 2002, 122-123 Abb. 98a Taf. 25, 1; vgl. zudem Hülden 2006, Bd. 1, 225-226.

67 Zu den Pfeilergräbern und ihrem Hintergrund s. zuletzt Hülden 2010, 5-11 und dann auch Hülden 2012 (im Druck; Kapitel II.1. Pfeilergräber), jeweils mit Angaben zur älteren Literatur.

68 Das trifft ferner auf ein drittes Pfeilergrab (GP 3) zu, das an ebenso exponierter wie isolierter Stelle auf einer Geländeterrasse vor Tor 2 der Akropolis angetroffen wurde, s. Thomsen 2002, 357-358 Taf. 33, 2 (die Deutung des dort Anm. 221 erwähnten potentiellen vierten Pfeilerfragment ist reichlich unsicher). Außerdem wäre ein vergleichbarer Hintergrund für den auf der Akropolis gelegenen Bau 18 anzunehmen, wenn es sich denn um den Sockel eines 'Heroons'

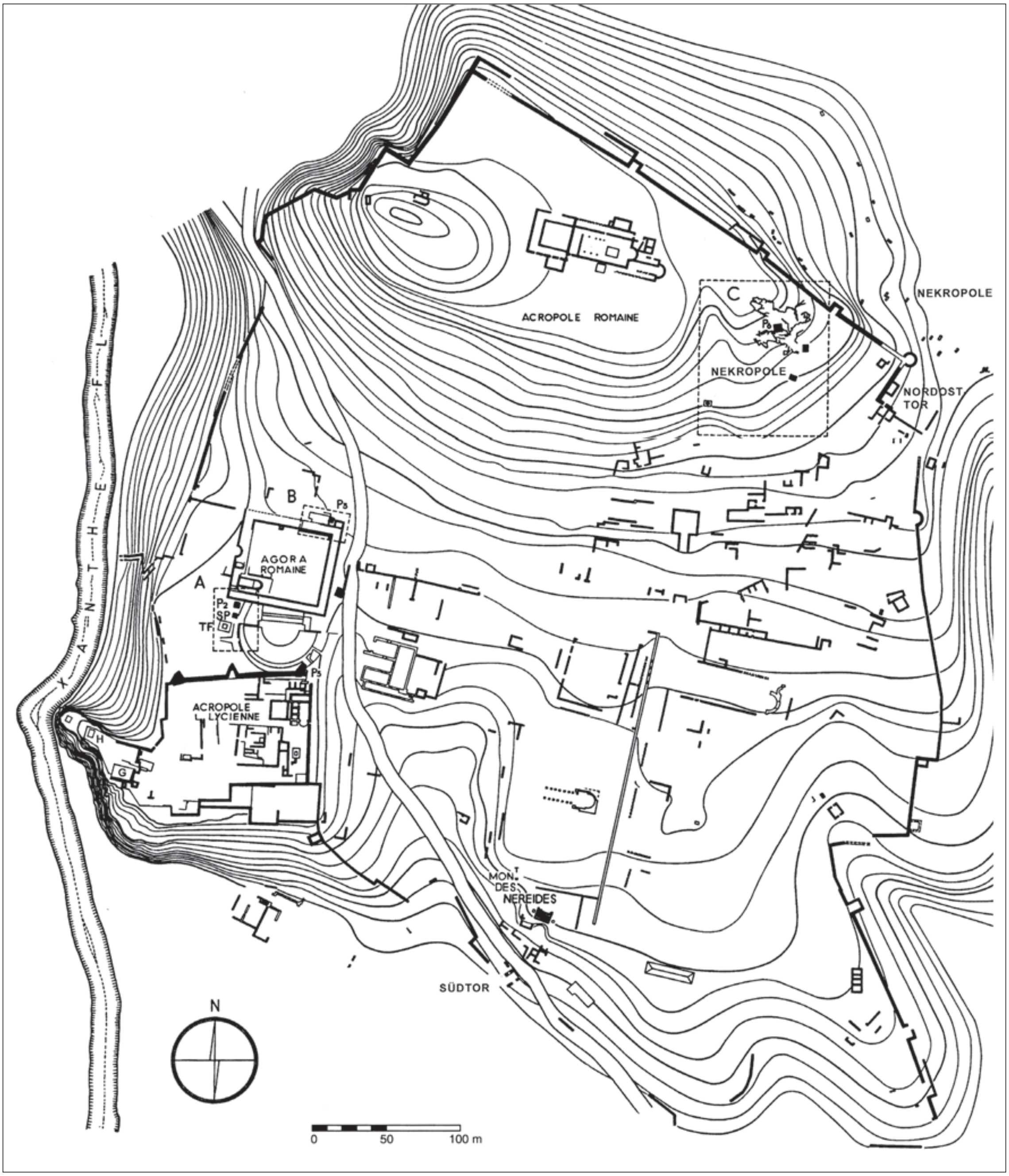

Fig. 5 : Gesamtplan von Xanthos (nach Demargne 1958, fig. 1).

Gräber bzw. von Thomsen als solche interpretierten Befunde des Avşar Tepesi sind demgegenüber – ohne jetzt einzeln auf sie einzugehen – außerhalb des Siedlungsbereichs gelegen[69], oder wurden erst später in diesen einbezogen (fig. 2)[70].

und nicht eines Tempels handelt. Zu diesem Bau s. Thomsen 2002, 63-64.

69 Das betrifft etwa die als Südost- bzw. Ostnekropole deklarierten Bereiche, s. Thomsen 2002, 310-312.

70 Vgl. Thomsen 2002, 315 in Bezug auf den "Kordon" einiger Gräber in der südlichen Peripherie der Siedlung.

Was lässt sich also im Sinne einer Bilanz über das Verhältnis der Gräber zur Siedlung auf dem Avşar Tepesi festhalten? Innerhalb der nicht wirklich geschlossenen und durch eine klare Ummauerung nach außen abgegrenzten Siedlung sind lediglich eine Handvoll Gräber zu finden. Ihre Lage lässt sich einerseits mit einer Ausdehnung der Siedlung im Laufe der Zeit, andererseits mit der besonderen Stellung der Grabinhaber erklären. Von regelrechten Nekropolenarealen, die in die Siedlung integriert gewesen wären, kann jedoch nicht die Rede sein. Vielmehr ist die überwiegende Mehrzahl der gesicherten Gräber an der Peripherie bzw. außerhalb der Siedlungsfläche gelegen, oder sie ist, wie die Südnekropole, strikt von dieser abgeschirmt. Als ungewöhnlich – auch oder gerade gegenüber der griechischen Welt[71] – kann diese Situation demnach nicht bezeichnet werden. Ist eine ähnliche Situation nun aber auch in Xanthos zu beobachten?

Fallbeispiel 2: Xanthos

Xanthos ist gegenüber dem Avşar Tepesi die unzweifelhaft bedeutendere Siedlung, ihr ist allerdings nicht der für Archäologen und Historiker glückliche Umstand zuteil geworden, von einer späteren Überbauung verschont geblieben zu sein. Infolgedessen war der Ort von der archaischen bis in die byzantinische Zeit kontinuierlich besiedelt, und viele der älteren Reste dürften zerstört sein, wobei die Mehrzahl der erhaltenen Bauten wegen der Lage von Xanthos in weniger felsigem Gelände ohnehin unter dicken Erdschichten begraben ist. Umso bemerkenswerter ist es, dass sich eine beachtliche Anzahl prominenter vorhellenistischer Grabanlagen – genannt seien etwa das Harpyienmonument, der Inschriftenpfeiler oder das Nereidenmonument – innerhalb des Ruinengeländes noch lokalisieren lässt oder dieses an manchen Stellen sogar dominiert (fig. 5). Dem steht gegenüber, dass unser Bild vom jeweils zu diesen Gräbern zeitgleichen Entwicklungsstand der Siedlung weitgehend unklar ist.

Der bekannteste und vor allem im Hinblick auf die Frühzeit des Ortes bislang bedeutendste Bereich ist die so genannte lykische Akropolis, von deren Bauten einzelne bis in das 7. Jh. v. Chr. zurückreichen[72]. Die jetzige Form scheint die Burganlage erst in klassischer Zeit, genauer im 2. Viertel des 5. Jhs. v. Chr., durch Errichtung der heute in weiten Teilen noch stehenden Umfassungsmauern erhalten zu haben[73]. Ihre einzelnen Abschnitte zeigen jedoch mitunter erhebliche Abweichungen in der Bauweise, die auf spätere Umbauten sowie die weiter oben bereits erwähnte additive Bauweise in Lykien zurückzuführen sind. Das macht es schwierig, die Entwicklung dieser Befestigung anhand formaler Kriterien nachzuvollziehen[74]. Im Inneren der ‘lykischen Akropolis’ waren neben anderen frühen Bauten, die hier nicht zu interessieren brauchen, drei zur Gänze aus Stein aufgeführte Gebäude (G, F und H) zu finden, die eine lokale Holzarchitektur geradezu perfektionistisch nachahmen und von denen zumindest eines anhand entsprechender Reliefs sicher in die frühklassische Zeit datiert werden kann[75]. Solche steinernen Imitationen von Holzbauten sind spätestens seit der Mitte des 5. Jhs. v. Chr. für einen Teil der lykischen Grabbauten charakteristisch, wobei sie sowohl in freistehender Form als auch – und vermutlich etwas später – in der Reduzierung auf ihre Fassade vorkommen können[76]. Es ist bislang nicht geklärt, ob es sich bei den drei Bauten in Xanthos um Gräber im Sinne von Heroa oder um reine Kultbauten handelt. Sollte die erste Deutung zutreffen, so wäre die Lage dieser Bauten auf der Akropolis und damit innerhalb der Mauern erneut im Status und der Verehrungswürdigkeit der bestatteten Personen begründet.

Die zweifelsfrei identifizierten Gräber der archaischen und klassischen Zeit setzen dann

71 Zum Phänomen intramuraler Gräber in der griechischen Welt s. Schörner 2007; vgl. Berns 2009, 544-549.

72 s. – auch zum Folgenden – insbesondere Metzger 1963 und 1972; Marksteiner 1997, 101-103.

73 Ob sie davor schon befestigt war, ist unklar. Nachgewiesen ist eine ältere Verteidigungsmauer jedenfalls nicht; vgl. Kolb 2008, 36, der auch die Möglichkeit in Erwägung zieht, die archaische Burg könne sich auf dem deutlich höheren Hügel befunden haben, der als ‘römische Akropolis’ bezeichnet wird.

74 Strittig in ihrer Interpretation ist etwa eine Zerstörungsschicht aus der Mitte des 5. Jhs. v. Chr., die mit einer Belagerung durch Kimon in Verbindung gebracht wird, vgl. Bryce 1986, 103 mit Anm. 10; des Courtils *et al.* 2010, 289, 293. Ferner wird beispielsweise das turmartige Südosteck der Akropolis, bzw. zumindest der südliche Teil davon, mittlerweile nicht mehr in die klassische Zeit datiert (so noch Marksteiner 1997, 102 mit Abb. 162-163, Fig. 83), sondern als hellenistischer Umbau am Ende des 3. Jhs. v. Chr. betrachtet, s. des Courtils *et al.* 2010, 289-293.

75 s. Metzger 1963, 49-75.

76 Vgl. etwa Hülden 2006, Bd. 1, 48-50, 176-178 und 2012 (im Druck; Kapitel II.2. Felsfassadengräber; Kapitel II.6. Grabhäuser und Grabhaus-Sarkophage).

auch schon in unmittelbarer Nähe der Akropolis ein, wobei eine erste Konzentration, die vor allem aus Pfeilergräbern besteht, in der Nähe des in hellenistischer Zeit errichteten Theaters zu verzeichnen ist[77]. Etwas abseitiger liegt das Nereidenmonument im Südosten der Burganlage[78], und eine geringe Anzahl von Gräbern wie der Tänzerinnen- und der *Merehi*-Sarkophag verteilt sich über die weite Fläche am südlichen Fuß des Hügels mit der 'römischen Akropolis', um zu einer letzten, wieder deutlich größeren Gruppe aus Pfeiler- und Felsfassadengräbern sowie Sarkophagen überzuleiten, die im südöstlichen Hangbereich derselben Erhebung gelegen ist (fig. 6)[79]. 1999 ist außerdem ein vereinzeltes Felsgrab im westlichen Hangbereich des Akropolishügels (wieder)entdeckt worden, das mit einer eingestellten Fassade ausgestattet war und somit möglicherweise in klassischer Zeit errichtet, wegen der Inschrift für einen Aurelios (TAM II 316) in der Kaiserzeit aber zumindest wiederbenutzt worden ist[80]. Anlässlich der Auffindung dieses Grabes hat L. Cavalier einen Überblick über den damaligen und bis heute gültigen Kenntnisstand zu den Nekropolen von Xanthos erstellt, der die Entwicklung von der archaischen bis in die römische Zeit klar zusammenfasst[81]. Dabei hat sie auch auf einige hellenistische Erdbestattungen sowie eine Nachbestattung im Pfeilersarkophag nahe dem Theater hingewiesen und ebenso auf die ansonsten klar außerhalb des Siedlungsbereichs und teils weit entfernt davon gelegenen kaiserzeitlichen Gräber[82]. Die entscheidende Frage ist freilich weniger die generelle Lage der Gräber und ihr zeitlicher Bezug zueinander, sondern ihr lagebezogenes Verhältnis zur jeweils zeitgleichen Ausdehnung der Siedlungsfläche. Insofern hat sich der Blick – ähnlich wie zuvor beim Avşar Tepesi – zunächst weniger auf die Entwicklung der Nekropolen als auf die Entwicklung der Siedlung zu richten.

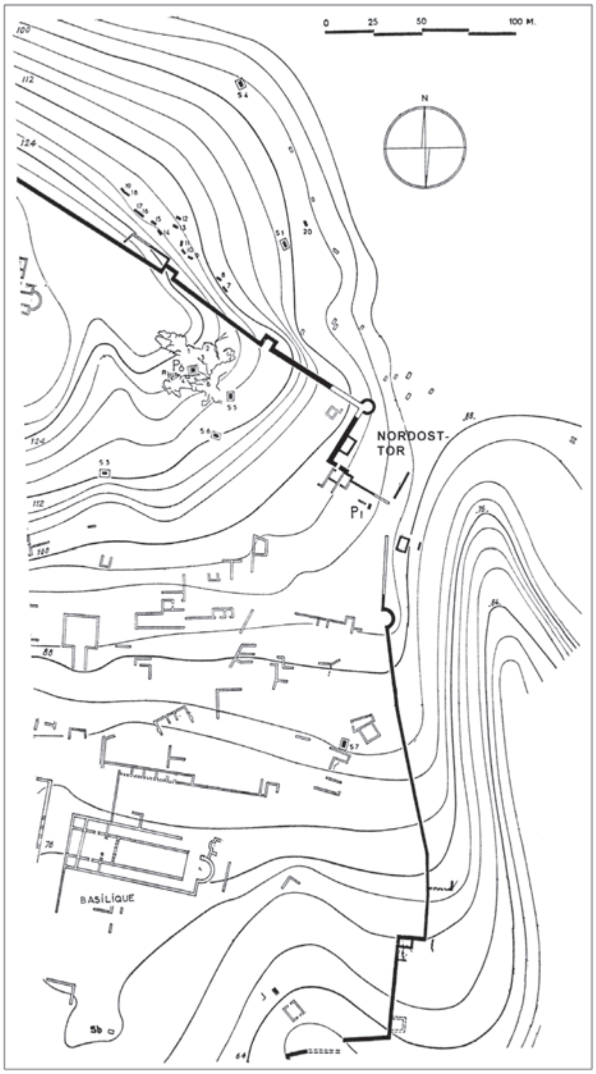

Fig. 6 : Ausschnitt aus dem Gesamtplan von Xanthos: Gräber und Siedlungsmauer im Nordosten der Stadt (nach Demargne 1974, Taf. I).

Im Jahr 2001 haben J. des Courtils und L. Cavalier den Forschungsstand zu den einzelnen Siedlungsphasen von Xanthos zusammengefasst und ihn auch kartografisch für die einzelnen Epochen dargestellt[83]. Obgleich seither rund zehn Jahre vergangen sind, hat sich an der im Folgenden dargestellten Situation zumindest im Hinblick auf die

77 Zu diesen Gräbern s. Demargne 1958, 37-112, 127-132 und 1974, 21-24, 110-111, 112-116.
78 Coupel/Demargne 1969.
79 Zu diesen Gräbern s. Demargne 1974, 25-109, 117-122.
80 s. Cavalier 2003, 202-204 (R21), Abb. 2-3, 13; Manoukian-Cavalier 2005, 49-54, Abb. 1-8. Zu drei Gräbern ähnlicher Machart beim Letôon, die anhand von Funden in das 1. Jh. n. Chr. datiert werden, s. Le Roy 2005, 250-252, Abb. 9-22. Vgl. dazu und zum Phänomen eingestellter Grabfassaden an Beispielen aus Phellos auch Hülden 2013 (im Druck; Kapitel II.2. Felsfassadengräber).
81 Cavalier 2003, 210-214, Abb. 13.
82 Eine einzige weitere Ausnahme scheint neben dem erwähnten Grab des Aurelios ein Grabbau nahe dem Pfeilersarkophag zu sein, der wohl in die frühe Kaiserzeit zu datieren ist und dessen Platzierung im 'Schatten' älterer und bedeutsamerer lykischer Grabmonumente möglicherweise mit der Einrichtung der römischen Provinz Lycia im Jahr 43 n. Chr. im Zusammenhang steht, s. Demargne 1958, 70-73 Taf. 22.
83 Des Courtils/Cavalier 2001, 148-171.

hier diskutierte Fragestellung nur wenig verändert: Unsere Kenntnis der vorhellenistischen Stadtanlage ist nach wie vor auf die Bauten der 'lykischen Akropolis' sowie die zuvor erwähnten Gräber beschränkt, während Teile einer Wohnbebauung sowie anderweitige Bautätigkeiten lediglich punktuell nachgewiesen werden konnten und sich kaum deuten lassen (fig. 7)[84]. Jeglicher Versuch, konkrete Aussagen hinsichtlich des Aufbaus der Wohnsiedlung, ihrer Entwicklung, Ausdehnung und Dichte zu treffen, entbehrt daher der Grundlage. Der große Mauerring von Xanthos ist dagegen fast durchwegs in mehr oder weniger gutem Zustand erhalten, und er schließt nahezu sämtliche der genannten Gräber ein und macht sie damit zu intramuralen Anlagen. Seine Datierung ist daher für unsere Fragestellung von immenser Bedeutung.

Lange Zeit galt die vor allem in frühbyzantinischer Zeit erneuerte und ausgebesserte Stadtmauer als ein Bauwerk des Hellenismus, wobei hauptsächlich an die Epoche der ptolemäischen Herrschaft gedacht worden ist[85]. Th. Marksteiner und J. des Courtils haben seit den 1990er Jahren allerdings eine ganze Reihe von teils auf punktuelle Ausgrabungen gestützten Argumenten für die Erbauung des Mauerrings bereits in klassischer Zeit, mithin im frühen 5. Jh. v. Chr., beigebracht und sind damit auf ungeteilte Zustimmung gestoßen[86]. Den Ausgangspunkt der

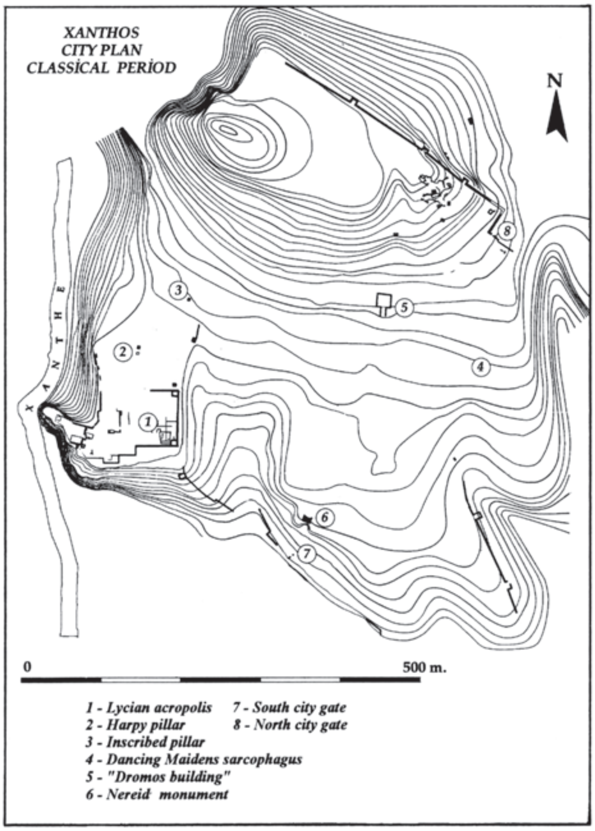

Fig. 7 : Plan des vorhellenistischen Xanthos (nach des Courtils/Cavalier 2001, 148, fig. 6.1).

Beweisführung bildete dabei das unter Vespasian zu einem Triumphtor umgebaute Südtor unterhalb des Nereidenmonuments (fig. 8)[87]. Vom ursprünglichen Bau ist vor allem der westliche Teil erhalten geblieben, der an seiner Frontseite ein überaus qualitätvolles Polygonalmauerwerk zeigt und bei dem es sich um eine von zwei Bastionen einer tangentialen Toranlage handeln soll. Begründet wird die Umdatierung von der hellenistischen in die frühklassische Zeit vor allem mit dem Verweis auf einen entsprechend gestalteten und datierten Mauerabschnitt an der Südostecke der 'lykischen Akropolis' (fig. 9)[88], dem sich des Weiteren die Frontmauer des 'Dynastengrabs' auf dem Avşar Tepesi als unmittelbare Analogie an die Seite stellen lässt, die ebenfalls in die erste Hälfte des

84 Vgl. des Courtils/Cavalier 2001, 151-153 mit Anm. 7 Abb. 6-8. Bei den dort erwähnten "substructures of houses dating to the Classical period" handelt es sich allerdings um jene schwer zu deutenden Mauerreste, die im Bereich der weiter unten noch zu besprechenden Sondage 3 entdeckt worden sind. Ferner weisen des Courtils und Cavalier auf einen Bau am südlichen Hangfuß des Hügels mit der 'römischen Akropolis' hin, der als 'dromos building' bezeichnet und wegen der parallelen Verwendung von polygonalem und trapezoidalem Mauerwerk in das 4. Jh. v. Chr. datiert wird. Die Funktion dieses nicht ergrabenen Baus ist freilich vollkommen unklar, und ähnlich verhält es sich mit jenen Baustrukturen, die nahe dem Nereidenmonument ausgegraben wurden und in irgendeiner Weise mit in einer anatolischen Tradition stehenden, aber wohl archaischen Reliefs verbunden sind, s. des Courtils 2006, 145-152 und 2011, 359-368. Kolb 2008, 38 mit Anm. 143, 439 Anm. 120 greift den von des Courtils nur vorsichtig formulierten Deutungsversuch als Grabanlage(n) auf und denkt an eine oder mehrere ähnliche Terrassengräber wie in der Südnekropole des Avşar Tepesi. Wirkliche Anhaltspunkte dafür gibt es jedoch bisher nicht, zumal der als Frontmauer zu bewertende Teil der Baustrukturen senkrecht zum nach Süden abfallenden Hang verläuft.

85 s. Demargne 1958, 24; Marksteiner 1997, 103 mit Anm. 20 (mit weiteren Angaben zur älteren Literatur).

86 Marksteiner 1993, 35-40; des Courtils 1994, 285-298; Marksteiner 1997, 103-107 und 2002a, 197-216. Der Auffassung vorbehaltlos angeschlossen haben sich etwa Thomsen 2002, 43, 95-97; Kolb 2008, 35 mit Anm. 132.

87 Benndorf 1903, 75-86; Marksteiner 1993, 38 und 1997, 103, Fig. 85 Abb. 164.

88 Zu einer Abbildung dieses Abschnitts s. etwa Marksteiner 1997, Abb. 163.

Fig. 8 : Xanthos: kaiserzeitliches Triumphtor und Reste des mutmaßlich klassischen Südtores von Süden (Foto: O. Hülden).

Fig. 9 : Xanthos: Südostecke der 'lykischen Akropolis', polygonales Mauerwerk der Ostseite (Foto: O. Hülden).

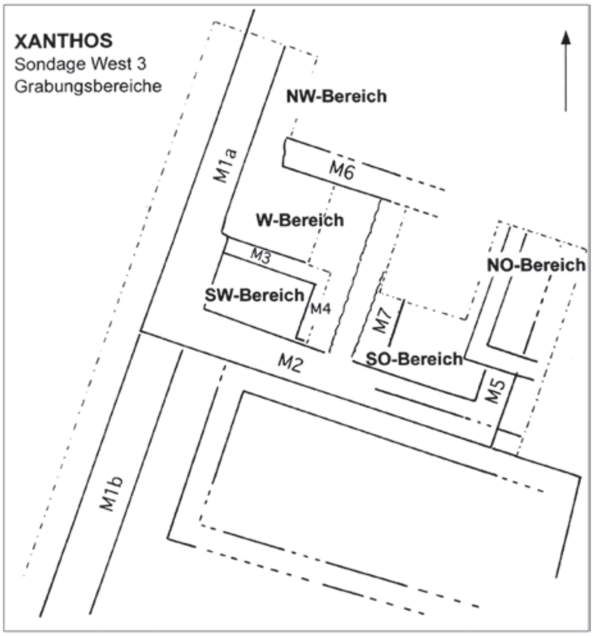

Fig. 10 : Xanthos: schematischer Plan der Sondage 3 am westlichen Rand der Stadt (nach Marksteiner 2002a, 203 Abb. 5).

5. Jhs. v. Chr. datiert wird[89]. Damit scheint für einen ersten und zudem wichtigen Abschnitt des Befestigungsrings von Xanthos ein handfester Beleg für ein klassisches Baudatum vorzuliegen.

Die schon erwähnten Ausgrabungen an Mauerabschnitten im Westen und Osten der Stadt sollten das gewonnene Bild weiter bestätigen. So wurden auf der Westseite an der dort noch anstehenden, stark durch wohl frühbyzantinische Umbauten beeinträchtigten Mauer vier Sondagen angelegt, die sich in einem Fall (Sondage 3) zu einer kleinen Flächengrabung ausgeweitet haben (fig. 10)[90]. Aus dem Befund gelangt Marksteiner zu dem Ergebnis, der betreffende Abschnitt sei irgendwann im 5. Jh. v. Chr., wahrscheinlich im Zuge desselben Bauprogramms wie die frühklassische Befestigung der 'lykischen Akropolis' errichtet worden. Daraufhin sei es an dieser Stelle im fortgeschrittenen 5. oder frühen 4. Jh. v. Chr. zum Einbau eines durch einen großen Turm bzw. eine Bastion flankierten Tors sowie in hellenistischer Zeit zu weiteren Umbauten gekommen.

Es ist zweifellos nicht unproblematisch, ohne eine Autopsie des Originalbefundes Bedenken gegen eine solche Interpretation zu äußern. Der in Teilen nur schwer nachzuvollziehende Grabungsbericht weist jedoch Widersprüche auf, die manche der vorgeschlagenen Deutungen und Datierungsansätze zwar nicht völlig ausschließen, aber dennoch ausreichend Raum für andere Erklärungsmöglichkeiten bieten. Da im Rahmen dieses Beitrags keine detaillierte Diskussion des Befundes möglich ist, muss eine Beschränkung auf einige grundsätzliche Einwände erfolgen. So stellt es schon ein gravierendes Problem dar, dass die zur Datierung herangezogenen, nicht gerade zahlreichen archaisch-klassischen Keramikscherben nicht wirklich stratifiziert sind, sondern aus Erdeinschüttungen bzw. -hinterfüllungen unbekannter Herkunft stammen, weshalb sie lediglich einen *terminus post quem* liefern[91]. Darüber

89 Zum so genannten Dynastengrab s. Thomsen 2002, 347 mit Anm. 163 Abb. 76 Taf. 36, 3; 37, 1-2.

90 Zum Folgenden s. Marksteiner 2002a, 197-216; Yener-Marksteiner 2002, 217-226. Die Sondagen 1 und 2 erbrachten keinerlei für eine Datierung verwertbare Ergebnisse.

91 Zum *terminus post quem* vgl. Yener-Marksteiner 2002, 217. Sie verwendet den Begriff stratifiziert, dessen Verwendung für Einschüttungen, die keine relative Beurteilung verschiedener Fundschichten erlauben, freilich kaum angebracht ist. Beispielhaft kann die eingeschränkte Aussagekraft der gefundenen Keramikfragmente auch daran verdeutlicht werden, dass ein für

hinaus ist die Kombination aus Mauereck und Tor (M1a/M2) zwar gewiss richtig gedeutet worden, ihr Bezug zu den umliegenden Mauern und ihre Datierung ins 5./4. Jh. v. Chr. wirft allerdings Fragen auf. So soll das Mauereck zu einem verhältnismäßig großen Turm bzw. einer Bastion gehört haben, der/die aus den zwei als zeitgleich betrachteten, aber eher wie spätes Spolienmauerwerk aussehenden Mauerabschnitten (M2/M5 sowie M6) sowie dem Abschnitt einer angeblich bereits vorhandenen Befestigungsmauer (M1a Nord) zusammengesetzt worden wäre[92]. Zugleich hätte der Turm/die Bastion weitere ältere Strukturen (M3 und M4) überlagert bzw. in seine/ihre Fundamente einbezogen[93]. Ein Einbau dieser Art wäre zweifellos als ungewöhnlich zu betrachten, zumal der Turm/die Bastion über eine Mindesthöhe von 8-9 m verfügt und zum Schutz eines Tors gedient haben soll. Dafür scheint die angeblich ältere, nicht wirklich gut gesetzte Mauer M1a aber ebenso wenig geeignet wie die nicht fundamentierte, sondern lediglich auf einen Lehmstrichboden aufgesetzte Mauer M6. Außerdem ist es schwer verständlich, warum das Mauereck M1a/M2 so massiv gebaut worden ist, wohingegen man darauf verzichtet hat, den Turm feindseitig aus der Mauerflucht vorspringen zu lassen und damit für Flankenschutz zu sorgen[94].

All das sind sicherlich Einwände, die nicht zu einer völligen Abkehr von den bisherigen Deutungen zwingen, aber zumindest deutlich machen, dass vom endgültigen Nachweis eines klassischen und insbesondere frühklassischen Mauerrings in Xanthos an dieser Stelle wohl kaum die Rede sein kann[95]. Vor allem aber beweist der ergrabene Abschnitt unabhängig von der Interpretation und Datierung seiner Befunde nicht, dass es eine zwingende Deckungsgleichheit des postulierten klassischen Mauerrings mit der hellenistischen und frühbyzantinischen Trasse gibt. Dieser Aspekt soll jetzt noch kurz an einem Abschnitt der Mauer im Nordosten der Stadt beleuchtet werden (fig. 6), wo eine ähnliche Beweisführung angetreten worden ist.

An diversen Stellen ist innerhalb der nördlichen bzw. östlichen Befestigungslinie polygonales Mauerwerk anzutreffen, das von Marksteiner als Beleg für eine klassische Datierung dieser Abschnitte herangezogen wird (fig. 11)[96]. Außerdem möchte er das Nordosttor wegen der monolithen Laibungen und der Riegeltechnik ebenso als klassisch betrachten wie das beidseitig angrenzende sehr qualitätvolle pseudo-isodome Quadermauerwerk (fig. 12). In beiden Fällen handelt es sich allerdings um sehr schwache Kriterien für die vorgeschlagene zeitliche Einordnung, zumal die Blöcke der Quadermauer in einer für die vorhellenistische Wehrarchitektur einzigartigen Weise miteinander verklammert sind[97]. Hinzu

die Argumentation der Zusammengehörigkeit der angeblich frühen Mauern M1a und M3 herangezogener Lehmstrichboden selbst gar nicht genau datiert werden kann, vgl. Marksteiner 2002a, 208.

92 Vgl. Marksteiner 2002a, 202-215, Abb. 5-14, Taf. 2-8. Ich würde kein ultimatives Urteil treffen wollen, ob das Mauereck M2/M5 aus Spolien errichtet ist oder nicht. Ob der dort ohne weiteren charakteristischen Verband verbaute Block mit Bossierung und schräg geführtem Randschlag unbedingt als “Beispiel der westlykischen Variante des lykischen Trapezoidalmauerwerks” aufgefasst werden muss, sei ebenfalls dahingestellt, vgl. aber Marksteiner 2002a, 213-215 mit Anm. 11, Abb. 9, Taf. 7. Nicht unwahrscheinlich erscheint vielmehr die Möglichkeit, dass es sich um den wiederverwendeten Block einer hellenistischen Mauer handelt, von der ein Abschnitt unter anderem in der 90 m weiter südlich gelegenen Sondage 4 angetroffen wurde. Zu Sondage 4 s. Marksteiner 2002a, 215; zum Auftreten von Bossierungen mit schrägen Randschlag in hellenistischer Zeit s. Marksteiner 1997, 167. Solche Blöcke finden sich – und dies eben nicht nur in polygonaler Form, sondern auch mit schrägem Fugenschnitt – beispielsweise an den Außenkanten von Türmen der nahe Xanthos gelegenen hellenistischen Festung Pydna, s. etwa Marksteiner 1997, Abb. 180.

93 Um was es sich konkret handelt, ist unklar, wobei die Strukturen laut Marksteiner 2002a, 213 nicht gerade den Eindruck militärisch genutzter Architektur erwecken. Im Übrigen handelt es sich genau um jene Strukturen, die als Nachweis klassischer Wohnbauten in Xanthos angeführt worden sind, vgl. o. Anm. 84.

94 Eine solche Lösung wäre nicht nur für Lykien als ungewöhnlich zu bezeichnen, vgl. die Zusammenstellung lykischer Tore klassischer Zeit von Marksteiner 1997, 152-156; vgl. ferner des Courtils *et al.* 1997, 320.

95 Der Verzicht auf einen alternativen Deutungsvorschlag erfolgt hier nicht nur aus Platzgründen, sondern dient vor allem dazu, die ohnehin schon komplexe Situation nicht weiter zu verkomplizieren. Wie schwierig die Sachlage ist und mit welchen Überraschungen gerechnet werden muss, lässt sich an einer kürzlich unternommenen Nachgrabung an dem o. Anm. 74 bereits erwähnten südöstlichen Turm der ‘lykischen Akropolis’ ablesen. War dieser von Marksteiner 1997, 101-103 noch zur Gänze als klassisch betrachtet worden, so gilt er nunmehr als Einbau der hellenistischen Zeit.

96 Hierzu und zum Folgenden vgl. Marksteiner 1997, 103-105, Fig. 86-90, Abb. 165-166, 168. Das im Nordosten angetroffene Polygonalmauerwerk ist freilich deutlich weniger qualitätvoll als beispielsweise an der Südostecke der ‘lykischen Akropolis’, was sicherlich kein Argument gegen eine klassische Datierung sein muss. Wenn man allerdings hinzuzieht, dass Marksteiner 1997, 150, Fig. 78, Abb. 150 selbst etwa das für meine Begriffe nicht unähnliche polygonale Mauerwerk der Türme in der Befestigung von Bayındır Lımanı für hellenistisch hält und als spätere Zutaten zur dortigen klassischen Ummauerung wertet, scheint schlagartig auf, wie mitunter das subjektive Empfinden des jeweiligen Betrachters das Urteil mitprägen kann.

97 s. selbst auch Marksteiner 1997, 104. Wesentlich zurückhaltender äußert dich demgegenüber des Courtils 2003, 106-107. Eine solche Quadermauer würde ich ebenso wie die Art der Verklammerung tendenziell sogar eher in die Kaiserzeit einordnen wollen, wo wir

Fig. 11 : Xanthos: polygonales Mauerwerk an einem Turm nördlich des Nordosttores (Foto: O. Hülden).

Fig. 12 : Xanthos: Quadermauer nordöstlich des Nordosttores (Foto: O. Hülden).

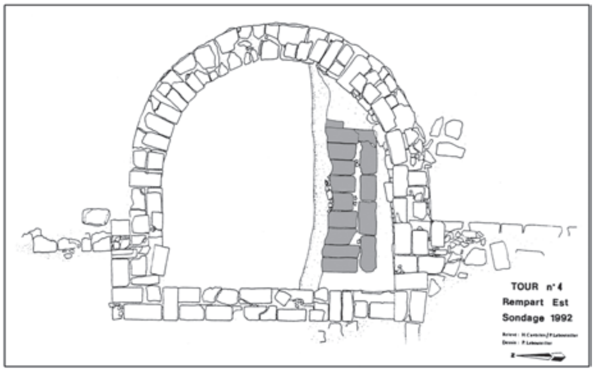

Fig. 13 : Xanthos, nordöstliche Stadtmauer: Plan des U-förmigen Turms aus hellenistischer Zeit mit älterer Substruktion (nach des Courtils/Cavalier 2001, 158, fig. 6-15).

kommt, dass sowohl nördlich als auch südlich des Tors je ein Turm gelegen ist, der im einen Fall einen halbrunden und im anderen Fall einen U-förmigen Grundriss aufweist. Der südliche von beiden ist Anfang der 1990er Jahre teilweise ausgegraben worden und lässt sich sowohl anhand seiner Bauweise als auch der gefundenen Keramik sicher in die hellenistische Zeit datieren[98] – und diese Datierung lässt sich aus baulichen Gründen ebenso auf sein nördliches Pendant übertragen[99]. Die einzig wirklich datierbaren Abschnitte der nordöstlichen Befestigungslinie stammen demnach aus dem Hellenismus, und die Zweifel an einer in diesem Areal bereits in klassischer bestehenden Verteidigungsmauer lassen sich weiter mehren: So liegt eine größere Anzahl von vorhellenistischen Gräbern dort sowohl innerhalb als auch außerhalb der Mauer, wodurch der Eindruck entsteht, als zerschnitte diese eine ältere Nekropole, wäre selbst also jünger (fig. 6)[100]. Eine Bestätigung könnte diese Annahme darin finden, dass bei der Ausgrabung im Inneren des südlichen der beiden hellenistischen Türme eine rechteckige Substruktion aufgedeckt wurde, die dieser offenkundig überbaut hat (fig. 13)[101]. Während des Courtils in ihr das Fundament eines vorangegangenen, sprich: klassischen Turms sehen möchte, führt Marksteiner plausible Argumente gegen eine solche Deutung an und interpretiert den durchgeschichteten Baukörper als Unterbau eines älteren Grabbaus[102]. Schließt man sich dieser Auffassung an, so muss der klassische Mauerverlauf zwangsläufig an einer anderen Stelle und damit wahrscheinlich weiter westlich des hellenistischen zu suchen sein. Damit wären dann wohl alle der im Nordosten gelegenen klassischen Gräber ursprünglich als extramural zu betrachten.

Bei genauer Betrachtung erweisen sich demnach sämtliche der vorgebrachten Belege

in Torbereichen häufiger Um- und Einbauten vorfinden. Ein Beispiel stellt etwa ein dreitoriger Ehrenbogen dar, der in den nordöstlichen Verlauf der Stadtmauer von Kyaneai integriert worden ist. Zu ihm s. Gerner Hansen 1996, 21-30; Kolb 2008, 280 mit Abb. 323.

98 des Courtils 1994, 285-298.

99 Vgl. Marksteiner 1997, 104-105. Die dort in Anm. 24 vorgebrachten Zweifel hinsichtlich der hellenistischen Einordnung des nördlichen Turms halte ich wegen der baulichen Übereinstimmungen mit dem südlichen Turm für unbegründet.

100 Zu den Gräber in diesem Bereich s. Demargne 1958, 113-126 und 1974, 31-45, ohne freilich auf ihre Lage und ihr Verhältnis zur – damals nicht älter als hellenistisch erachteten – Befestigungsmauer einzugehen.

101 des Courtils 1994, 290-294 und des Courtils/Cavalier 2001, 157-158, fig. 6-15.

102 Marksteiner 1997, 105 mit Anm. 27.

für einen bereits in klassischer Zeit existierenden geschlossenen Mauerring von Xanthos als anfechtbar. Aber selbst wenn man am Vorhandensein einer solchen Siedlungsmauer festhalten möchte, ist die Tatsache kaum zu ignorieren, dass die vorhellenistischen Gräber nicht ausschließlich innerhalb, sondern in größerer Zahl außerhalb der Mauern anzutreffen sind[103]. Darüber hinaus lassen die intramuralen Grabanlagen – und dies entspricht dem auf dem Avşar Tepesi gewonnenen Eindruck – fast durchwegs auf einen gesellschaftlich exponierten Grabherrn schließen, dem aus den oben genannten Gründen Sonderrechte bei der Auswahl seines Bestattungsortes zugebilligt worden sein dürften[104].

Zusammenfassung

Die in der bisherigen Forschung vorherrschende Auffassung, im vorhellenistischen Lykien wären intramurale Gräber geradezu eine Selbstverständlichkeit gewesen, ist an zwei Fallbeispielen untersucht worden, der zentrallykischen Siedlung auf dem Avşar Tepesi und dem westlykischen Xanthos. In diesem Zuge war es notwendig, auch die gängigen Vorstellungen zur Entwicklung und insbesondere zur Ummauerung beider Siedlungen einer kritischen Durchsicht zu unterziehen. Dabei traten in beiden Fällen Probleme und Widersprüche deutlich zu Tage, die berechtigte Zweifel an der Deutung und Datierung, wenn nicht sogar an der generellen Existenz der jeweiligen Ringmauern hervorrufen. Hier wäre eine Überprüfung weiterer lykischer Siedlungen in dieser Hinsicht sicherlich erstrebenswert, und ebenso sollten weitere der bisweilen als allzu sicher betrachteten Grundlagen archäologischer Argumentation – zu nennen wäre etwa die chronologische Aussagekraft von polygonalem Mauerwerk – einer kritischen Überprüfung unterzogen werden.

Dessen ungeachtet lässt sich auf die Frage der Intra- oder Extramuralität lykischer Gräber eine eindeutige Festlegung treffen, wozu noch einmal das Eingangszitat von Benndorf und Niemann in Erinnerung gerufen sei. Die ambivalente Lage lykischer Gräber im Verhältnis zu den Bauten der Siedlung hätte kaum treffender beschrieben werden können. Auf der Basis des derzeitigen Forschungsstandes ist dem ersten Teil des Zitats, die Siedlungen selbst – oder zumindest Teile von ihnen – wären zu regelrechten Nekropolen geraten, jedoch in dieser zugespitzten Form nicht zuzustimmen.

103 In diesem Zusammenhang ist im Übrigen darauf hinzuweisen, dass ohnehin zu klären wäre, wo und in welcher Form in Xanthos die Gräber der Angehörigen einfacherer Bevölkerungsschichten zu suchen sind.

104 Obgleich von einem klassischen Mauerring ausgehend, wird dies auch von Marksteiner 1993, 40 Anm. 25 zugestanden. Zum möglichen Hintergrund des intramural bestatteten Personenkreises in Lykien s. vor allem Hülden 2007, 125-129 und 2012 (im Druck; Kapitel III. Überlegungen zur Lage der Gräber). Die Positionierung der vereinzelten, weiter oben (Anm. 80-82) erwähnten hellenistischen und kaiserzeitlichen Bestattungen innerhalb der Stadt verdient eine gesonderte Betrachtung und kann deshalb hier nicht weiter diskutiert werden.

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DIE INTRAURBANEN GRABMÄLER DER KLASSISCHEN PERIODE IN LIMYRA*

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Abstract

Four tomb buildings of the Classical period are located within the city walls of Limyra: The Heroon of king Perikle and the remains of a tumulus, both at the acropolis; the hyposorion-sarcophagus of Xñtabura to the east of the Roman theatre, and an unfinished hyposorion sarcophagus directly above the excavated houses in the northwestern part of the living quarter. In general they are all regarded as intramural burials but as neither the city wall nor the tombs can be dated precisely the question arises, whether the term really is correct.

Due to the fact that the Heroon of Perikle and the sarcophagus of Xñtabura have been published extensively and therefore are well known, this paper will mainly focus on the presentation of the two less spectacular tombs. The more interesting one from the historico-cultural point of view certainly is the tumulus at the acropolis. The finding of a stele with the depiction of four double axes close to the tomb gives a hint that its owner was of Carian origin and hence it has to be dated after the reign of Perikle.

Im frühen 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr. wurde in Zẽmuri/Limyra in Ostlykien ein umfangreiches Bauprogramm verwirklicht, das wohl auf den Ausbau des Ortes zu einer Residenzstadt durch den Dynasten Perikle – wahrscheinlich nach der zumindest zeitweiligen Unterwerfung ganz Lykiens – zurückgeht[1]. Im Zuge dieser städtebaulichen Veränderungen wurden eine Zitadelle sowie die Unterburg auf dem Burgberg errichtet und die Befestigungsmauern bis

* Für die Einladung zu diesem Symposion sowie für Hilfe bei verschiedensten Anliegen gilt mein Dank O. Henry.

1 Borchhardt 1990, 110 und 1996/1997, 16 f.

an den Rand der Ebene herabgeführt, wo die Stadt im Süden ebenfalls durch eine mächtige Mauer begrenzt wurde (fig. 1)[2]. Die spätestens seit dem 6., wahrscheinlich jedoch bereits seit dem 7. Jahrhundert v. Chr. bestehende Siedlung[3] wurde nach Norden bis an den unteren Hang des Burgberges erweitert, wo zahlreiche Terrassen teilweise in den gewachsenen Fels geschlagen wurden[4]. Dadurch kann vorausgesetzt werden, dass seit der ersten Hälfte des 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. der gesamte Bereich zwischen der Südmauer und dem Hang bewohnt war. Aufgrund dieser urbanistischen Entwicklung kann es nicht verwundern, dass auch die Anzahl der Gräber zu dieser Zeit stark zunahm, so dass Limyra mit insgesamt etwa 400 Felsgräbern und Sarkophagen die mit Abstand meisten Grabbauten lykischer Städte aus der Epoche der Klassik aufweist. Unmittelbar westlich bzw. südöstlich der Stadtmauern entstanden zwei Felsnekropolen, in denen einige der prominentesten Gräber Limyras angelegt sind[5].

Innerhalb der Befestigungsmauern Limyras der klassischen Epoche befinden sich mit dem Heroon des Dynasten Perikle und den Resten eines Tumulus auf dem Burgberg, dem Hyposorion-Sarkophag des Xñtabura inmitten der Wohnbebauung östlich des römischen Theaters und einem aus dem anstehenden Fels geschlagenen Grab oberhalb der Wohnterrassen in der NW-Stadt insgesamt vier Grabbauten (fig. 1). Unsicher ist allerdings, ob alle vier Monumente tatsächlich als intraurbane Grabmäler im klassischen Sinn bezeichnet werden können, da sowohl die Befestigungsmauern als auch zumindest zwei der betreffenden Gräber – das Heroon und der Sarkophag des Xñtabura – mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit unter der Herrschaft des Perikle und damit ungefähr zur selben Zeit entstanden sind, wobei die relative Chronologie der Mauern und der Sepulkralbauten nicht zu klären ist.

Das Heroon auf der Akropolis nimmt zweifellos eine Sonderstellung ein, da die Errichtung eines Grabmals an dieser hervorgehobenen Stelle direkt über dem Steilhang sicherlich der Dynastenfamilie vorbehalten war[6]. Dieser Bau ist fraglos als Machtdemonstration seines Erbauers und damit auch als bewusstes Gegenstück zu den großen dynastischen Grabanlagen in Xanthos, allen voran dem Nereidenmonument[7], zu verstehen. Die exponierte, auf Fernsicht konzipierte Lage des als Amphiprostylos gestalteten Heroons sollte dem Auge des Betrachters in der Ebene ohne Zweifel suggerieren, dass dieses den Burgberg überragte. Anders verhält sich die Situation beim Grabmal des Xñtabura, dessen Errichtung ebenfalls in die Regierungszeit des Perikle fällt[8]. Dieses erhebt sich nur unweit der westlichsten Gräbergruppe von Nekropole III, so dass eine ursprüngliche Zugehörigkeit zu dieser ebenso möglich ist[9]. Es ist durchaus denkbar, dass das Grabmal erst durch den Bau der südlichen Stadtmauer von der Nekropole abgetrennt wurde, auf diese Weise innerhalb der Mauern zu liegen kam und in das etwa zur selben Zeit entstehende Wohnviertel integriert wurde.

Diese beiden Gräber zählen nicht nur zu den bedeutendsten Bauten Limyras, sondern haben darüber hinaus für sämtliche Belange des lykischen Sepulkralwesens eine eminente Bedeutung. Das in Gestalt eines Amphiprostylos mit je vier Karyatiden anstelle von Säulen errichtete

2 Marksteiner 1989, bes. 41-54 und 1997, *passim*; Konecny/Marksteiner 2007; Marksteiner/Yener-Marksteiner 2009, 221. Vgl. hingegen J. Borchhardt, der den im Bereich der byzantinischen Weststadt gelegenen Mauerabschnitt mit dem Südtor als Mauer einer Palastanlage interpretiert: Borchhardt 1990, 119 und 1993, 38-43.

3 Konecny/Marksteiner 2007, 25.

4 Seyer 1993 und 1997. Zur Rekonstruktion der Siedlung nach einem regelmäßigen Insula-System: Borchhardt 1990, bes. 120-122 und 1993, bes. 33-36.

5 So, um nur einige Beispiele zu nennen, die reliefgeschmückten Gräber des *.Juwata* oder des *Tebursseli* in Nekropole II bzw. das sog. Kaineus-Grab in Nekropole III. *.Juwata*: Zahle 1979, 343 Kat. 59 und 1983, 148, F59; Borchhardt *et al.* 1985; Bruns-Özgan 1987, 265 Kat. F 9; Borchhardt 1993, 57-61; Kuban 2012, 160 f., Kat. II/19; Borchhardt/Pekridou-Gorecki 2012, 384, Kat. 10. *Tebursseli:* Zahle 1979, 342 Kat. 58 und 1983 148, F58; Bruns-Özgan 1987, 266 Kat. F 12; Borchhardt *et al.* 1988; Borchhardt 1993, 55-57; Borchhardt *et al.* 1997-1999, 69-85; Kuban 2012, 233-236, Kat. II/140; Borchhardt/Pekridou-Gorecki 2012, 381-383, Kat. 9. Kaineus-Grab: Zahle 1979, 343 Kat. 63; İdil 1985, 44 f.; Bruns-Özgan 1987, 279 f. Kat. S 12; Borchhardt 1993, 64 f.; Mühlbauer 2007, 86 f.; Kuban 2012, 271 f. Kat. III/6; Borchhardt/Pekridou-Gorecki 2012, 379, Kat. 3.

6 Borchhardt 1976, 99 und 1993, 46.

7 Grundlegend: Coupel/Demargne 1969; Demargne/Childs 1989.

8 Die Datierung ergibt sich aus stilistischen Kriterien der Reliefs sowie dem Umstand, dass der Name des *Xñtabura* auch am Felsgrab des *Tebursseli* in Limyra aufscheint, dessen Erbauung durch die Datierungsformel in der lykischen Inschrift TL 103 (*"ēnē periklehe χñtawata* – unter der Herrschaft des *Perikle*") gesichert ist: Borchhardt 1969/70, 220-222; Zahle 1979, 315, 318 f., 320.

9 Bezeichnenderweise wird der Sarkophag in der Forschung des öfteren ohne Diskussion dieser Nekropole zugerechnet, was sich zweifellos aus der unmittelbaren Nähe ergibt: z. B. Kalinka 1901, 84 TL 125, wo Nekropole III als 'locus 4' bezeichnet ist; Borchhardt 1993, 61-63; Mühlbauer 2007, 87 (P III/45); Kuban 2012, 293, Kat. III/45; Borchhardt/Pekridou-Gorecki 2012, 377 Kat. 2. T. Marksteiner hingegen zählte den Sarkophag, ebenfalls ohne auf die Problematik einzugehen, als einziges Grabmal Limyras zu den Gräbern *intra muros*: Marksteiner 2010, 175 f.

Fig. 1 : Stadtplan von Limyra mit 1. Tumulus auf dem Burgberg, 2. Heroon des Perikle, 3. Grab oberhalb der Wohnterrassen und 4. Sarkophag des Xñtabura (ÖAI-Archiv, Plan: Ch. Kurtze).

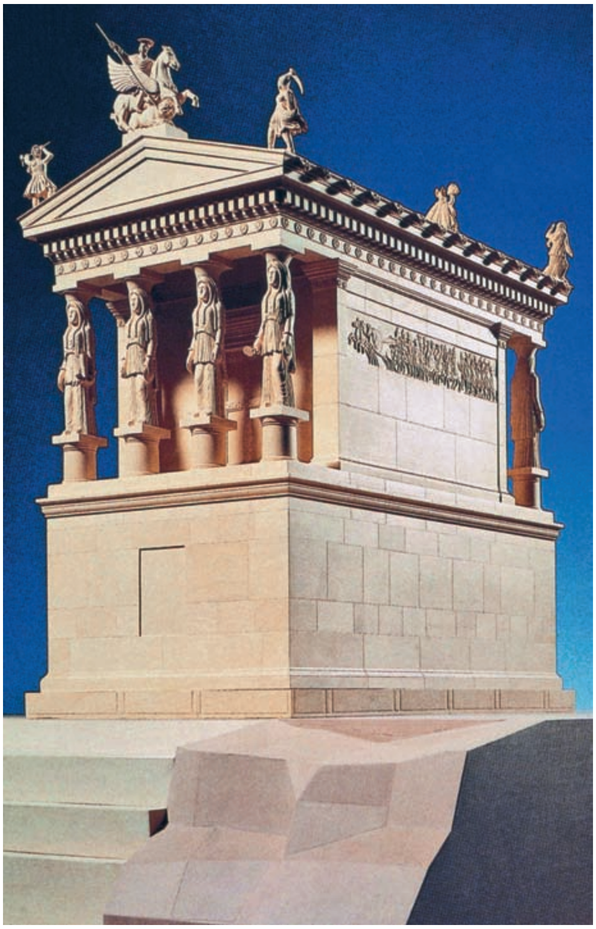

Fig. 2 : Heroon des Perikle – Modell (ÖAI-Archiv, Foto: F. Krinzinger).

Fig. 3 : Sarkophag des Xñtabura (ÖAI-Archiv, Foto: N. Sautner).

Heroon (fig. 2), das von J. Borchhardt im Oktober 1966 entdeckt wurde, bildete den eigentlichen Ausgangspunkt für die Limyra-Grabung im Jahr 1969. Es stellt eines der beiden monumentalen, freistehenden Herrschergräber in Tempelform neben dem Nereidenmonument in Xanthos dar, die wahrscheinlich nicht nur als Prototypen für zahlreiche Felsgräber mit Elementen der griechischen Sakralarchitektur in Lykien fungierten[10], sondern außerdem auch Vorbildwirkung für weitere monumentale Grabmäler in Kleinasien hatten. Der Hyposorion-Sarkophag des Xñtabura (fig. 3) wurde ebenfalls in den ersten Jahren der Limyra-Grabung freigelegt. Aufgrund seiner beherrschenden Lage am Hang, seiner monumentalen Ausmaße und des umfangreichen Reliefschmucks gilt er nicht nur als ‘Wahrzeichen’ für die Ruinen Limyras, sondern wird neuerdings auch verstärkt zur Identitätsfindung für das nahegelegene Städtchen Finike eingesetzt[11].

Beide Gräber sind mustergültig publiziert und finden aufgrund ihrer Bedeutung in der Forschungsliteratur nach wie vor große Beachtung. Eine neuerliche Besprechung dieser Bauten an dieser Stelle erscheint aufgrund des in diesem Symposion vorgegebenen engen Rahmens nicht sinnvoll, da eine solche unmöglich allen Facetten gerecht werden könnte. Aus diesem Grund sei hier lediglich auf die umfangreiche Literatur zu den beiden Monumenten verwiesen[12].

10 Diese Hypothese wurde vom Autor erstmals im Rahmen der Tagung “Greek Monumental Tombs. Regional Patterns and their Reception in the Aegean World during the Classical and Hellenistic Periods” vom 10.–11. 2. 2012 in Berlin vertreten.

11 Der Sarkophag nimmt nicht nur in sämtlichen vor allem auf Werbung ausgerichteten Druckwerken der Stadt eine wesentliche Stellung ein, der Umstand äußert sich auch in einer – etwas eigenwilligen – Nachbildung des Sarkophags auf einem Grünstreifen an prominenter Stelle in der Stadt zwischen dem Kaymakamlık und dem modernen Jachthafen.

12 Heroon des *Perikle*: Borchhardt 1970 und 1976; Zahle 1979, 342 Kat. 56; Bruns-Özgan 1987, 255 f. Kat M 1; Borchhardt 1990a, 75-78; Dinstl 1990, 127 f., 140, 169-171; Fedak 1990, 68-71; Borchhardt 1993, 45-52; Mühlbauer 2007, 74 f.; Borchhardt/Pekridou-Gorecki 2012, 377, Kat. 1. Sarkophag des *Xñtabura*: Borchhardt 1969/70 mit der älteren Lit. in den Anm.; Zahle 1979, 342 Kat. 57; İdil 1985, 45 f.; Specht 1985; Bruns-Özgan 1987, 279 Kat. S11; Dinstl 1990, 203 f.; Zhuber-Okrog 1990, passim; Borchhardt 1993, 61-63; Seyer 1996; Mühlbauer 2007, 87-89; Kuban 2012, 293-296, Kat. III/45; Borchhardt/Pekridou-Gorecki 2012, 377-379, Kat. 2.

Die beiden anderen innerhalb der Klassischen Stadtmauer Limyras gelegenen Grabmäler können sich in Monumentalität und Bedeutung mit den soeben erwähnten nicht messen. Während dasjenige über den Hangterrassen bislang in der Forschung nur sporadisch Erwähnung fand[13], wurde der Tumulus auf dem Burgberg von J. Borchhardt publiziert[14]. Da sich die Forschungslage zu lykischen Tumuli seit dieser Zeit allerdings grundsätzlich geändert hat und das Grab in der Kampagne 2011 der Limyra-Grabung außerdem erstmals detailliert aufgenommen wurde, erscheint eine neuerliche Besprechung an dieser Stelle allerdings durchaus sinnvoll.

Grab über den Hangterrassen

Oberhalb der Hangterrassen in der NW-Stadt sind die Reste eines Grabmals in Form einer aus dem anstehenden Fels geschlagenen Truhe mit einer Länge von 3,00 m, einer Breite von 2,14 m und einer Höhe von 1,63 m (figs. 4-5) erhalten[15]. Die Truhe erhebt sich auf einem einfachen Sockel, von dem Teile an der Süd- und der Ostseite zu erkennen sind, dessen größter Teil allerdings von modernem Bewuchs und Erde bedeckt ist. An der östlichen Schmalseite befindet sich eine einfache Öffnung von 68 x 43 cm (figs. 4, 6), die Oberflächen der drei übrigen Seiten sind unbearbeitet. Der Stein ist sehr porös und weist zahlreiche natürliche Löcher und Risse auf, wie das in Limyra an zahlreichen Stellen zu beobachten ist[16].

Mehrere Indizien legen nahe, dass das Grabmal nicht vollendet wurde. So lässt beispielsweise die östliche Fassade der Truhe Spuren von Bearbeitung erkennen, die darauf schließen lassen, dass diese als Fassade eines Hausgrabes ausgestaltet werden sollte: Über der Öffnung befindet sich eine waagrechte Linie, die zweifellos als untere Begrenzung eines Querbalkens gedacht war, und auch das für lykische Hausgräber charakteristische

Fig. 4 : Grab oberhalb der Wohnterrassen – Ostseite (ÖAI-Archiv, Foto: R. Hügli).

Fig. 5 : Grab oberhalb der Wohnterrassen – Südseite (ÖAI-Archiv, Foto: R. Hügli).

LIMYRA NW-STADT
GRAB OBERHALB DER HANGHÄUSER
OSTANSICHT

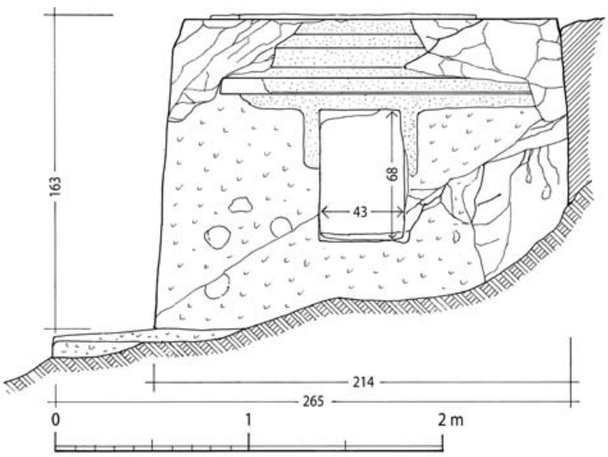

Fig. 6 : Grab oberhalb der Wohnterrassen – Ansicht der Ostseite (ÖAI-Archiv, Aufnahme: R. Hügli, M. Seyer).

13 Seyer 1993, 176 f. Taf. 41.12; Mühlbauer 2007, 46; Kuban 2012, 300, Kat. III/51, die dieses Grab ebenfalls zu Nekropole III zählt.

14 Borchhardt 1978.

15 Zur Lage des Grabes unmittelbar über den Terrassen s. den Faltplan in Seyer 1993.

16 So finden sich an den Fassaden und in den Kammern zahlreicher Felsgräber massive Schäden, die z. T. aufwendige Schutzmaßnahmen gegen das Eindringen von Regenwasser erforderlich machten, wie z. B. an den Anlagen des *Tebursseli* und des *Pizzi* in Nekropole II: Borchhardt *et al.* 1988, 89, 150, Abb. 8-9, 11-13.

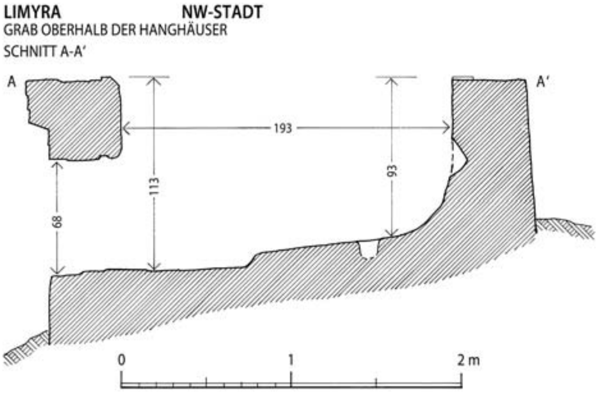

Fig. 7 : Grab oberhalb der Wohnterrassen – Längsschnitt (ÖAI-Archiv, Aufnahme: R. Hügli, M. Seyer).

Fig. 8 : Grab oberhalb der Wohnterrassen – Aufsicht (ÖAI-Archiv, Foto: R. Hügli).

vorkragende Flachdach, das in fertigem Zustand aus einer Reihe von Rundhölzern und zwei bzw. drei Faszien darüber besteht, ist andeutungsweise zu erkennen[17]. Das Innere der Truhe ist ebenfalls nur grob bearbeitet; es ist lediglich der Bereich um die Öffnung halbwegs fertiggestellt, wohingegen der Boden zum westlichen Ende hin nur sehr kursorisch bearbeitet ist, wie aus dem Längsschnitt des Grabes ersehen werden kann (fig. 7). Auch sind keine Anzeichen für eine Verschlussmöglichkeit der Öffnung zu erkennen. Obwohl vorauszusetzen ist, dass die Truhe analog zu zahlreichen Vergleichsbeispielen mit einer Schiebetür verschlossen werden sollte, sind keinerlei Reste der für dieses System typischen Führungsschienen vorhanden.

Um den Rand der Ausnehmung der Truhe verläuft ein Falz von etwa 10 cm Breite, der nahelegt, dass hier entweder ein Deckel oder aber eine zweite Grabkammer aufgesetzt werden sollte (fig. 8). Die Dimensionen und zahlreiche vergleichbare Beispiele schließen eine obere Grabkammer jedenfalls nicht aus, womit die erhaltene Truhe lediglich das Hyposorion einer doppelgeschossigen Anlage bilden würde. Als obere Grabkammer wäre in diesem Fall in erster Linie an einen Sarkophag oder ein weiteres Hausgrab mit einem gebogenen Deckel zu denken, da diese Kombinationen die gängigsten Verbindungen freistehender zweigeschossiger Grabanlagen

Fig. 9 : Tumulus auf dem Burgberg – Aufsicht (ÖAI-Archiv, Foto: R. Hügli).

darstellen[18]. Es wurden allerdings keine Reste eines Deckels oder einer auf die Truhe gestellten, weiteren Grabkammer gefunden, was ebenfalls als Hinweis zu werten sein könnte, dass die Anlage nicht vollendet ist.

Auch für dieses Grabmal ist die im Zusammenhang mit dem Heroon auf dem Burgberg und dem Sarkophag des Xñtabura bereits erwähnte Frage zu stellen, ob es tatsächlich als intraurbanes

17 Als “Ansatz für einen lykischen Dachrand” wurde diese Begrenzung auch von Mühlbauer 2007, 46 interpretiert, und auch Kuban vermutet, dass diese vorspringende Stelle für ein Gebälk vorgesehen war: Kuban 2012, 300, Kat. III/51.

18 Unter den zahlreichen freistehenden Monumenten seien hier nur die Anlagen des *Pajawa* und des *Merehi* in Xanthos, jene des *Xñtabura* und des *Xudara* in Limyra sowie der sog. Löwensarkophag in der Südostnekropole von Kyaneai erwähnt. – *Pajawa* und *Merehi*: Demargne 1974, 61-87, 88-96. *Xñtabura*: Borchhardt 1969/70. *Xudara*: Borchhardt/Neumann 1997; Mühlbauer 2007, 83-86; Kuban 2012, 386 f., Kat. IX/4, Borchhardt/Pekridou-Gorecki 2012, 386, Kat. 27. Löwensarkophag zuletzt: Hülden 2010, 417-420. Die Verbindung von Hausgrab und Sarkophag ist jedoch auch unter den Felsgräbern verbreitet: Seyer/Kogler 2007.

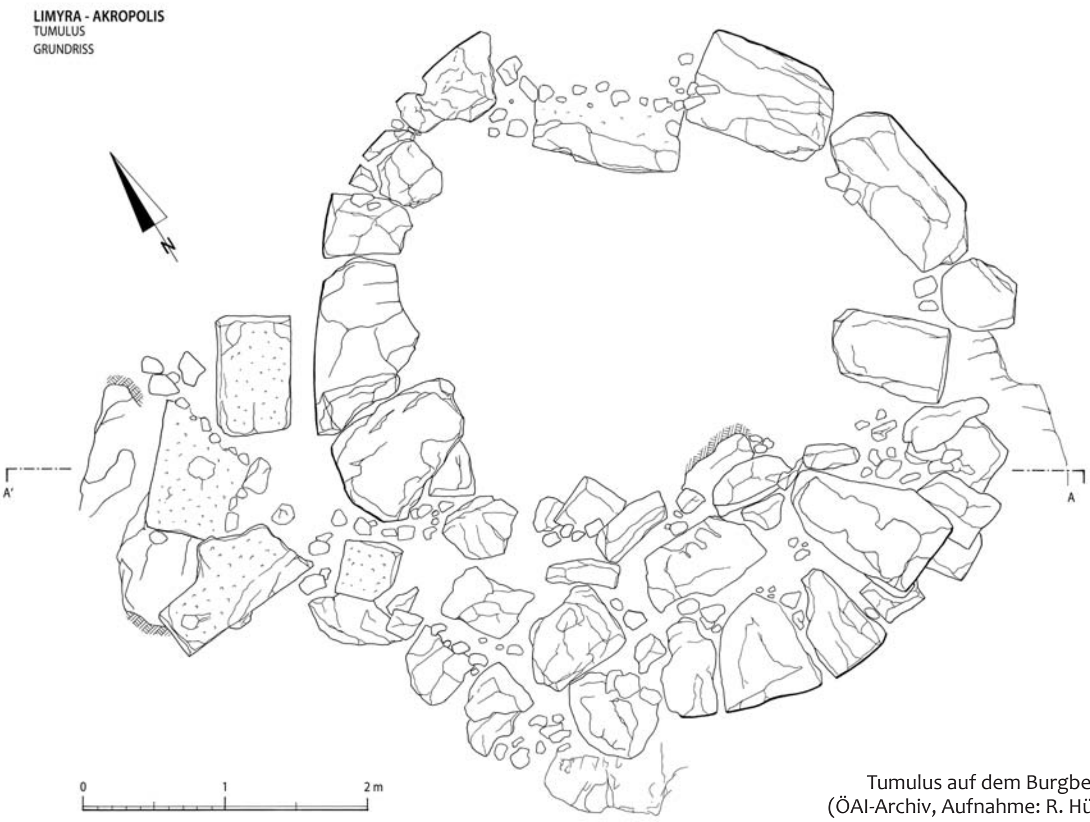

Fig. 10 :
Tumulus auf dem Burgberg – Grundriss
(ÖAI-Archiv, Aufnahme: R. Hügli, M. Seyer).

Monument zu bezeichnen ist. Da keine Kriterien für eine auch nur annähernd präzise Datierung zur Verfügung stehen, kann eine Entstehung des Grabes bereits im 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr. nicht ausgeschlossen werden, womit es sich zum Zeitpunkt seiner Erbauung wohl außerhalb der Siedlung befunden hätte. Zwar lassen sich über deren Ausdehnung in dieser frühen Periode der Stadtgeschichte keine Aussagen treffen, doch deutet nichts darauf hin, dass das Areal am unteren Hang des Burgberges bereits vor der Errichtung der Befestigungsmauern besiedelt war[19]. Auch über die Person des Grabinhabers können – nicht zuletzt aus Gründen fehlender Datierungsmöglichkeiten – keine näheren Aussagen getroffen werden. Sollte es sich bei der Anlage tatsächlich um ein zweigeschossiges Monument gehandelt haben, können bestenfalls Rückschlüsse auf seinen hohen gesellschaftlichen Rang in Limyra gezogen werden[20].

19 Seyer 1993, 174.

20 Vgl. dazu die Ansicht J. Borchhardts, nach der Personen mit der Errichtung zweigeschossiger Grabanlagen dem Verlangen nach Heroisierung Ausdruck verliehen: Borchhardt 1993a, 21.

Tumulus auf der Akropolis

Obwohl von dem Monument nur sehr spärliche Reste erhalten sind, ist das vierte Grabmal innerhalb der Befestigungsmauern Limyras von großem kulturhistorischem Interesse. Eine im Jahr 1974 auf dem nach Süden abfallenden Hang unterhalb der Südbastion der Oberburg entdeckte runde Steinsetzung mit einem Durchmesser von etwa 5 m (figs. 9-10) wurde von J. Borchhardt als Rest eines Tumulus interpretiert, dessen nur sehr grob behauene und lose aneinandergereihte Blöcke aus dem örtlichen Kalkstein gewonnen sind[21].

Die Krepis weist in der südlichen, talseitigen Hälfte maximal drei Scharen (fig. 11), in der nördlichen sogar nur eine einzige auf, und auch diese ist teilweise zerstört. Reste einer Grabkammer lassen sich nicht mit Sicherheit nachweisen. Eine

21 Borchhardt 1978. Trotz der während des Istanbuler Symposions aufgrund des schlechten Erhaltungszustandes entstandenen Diskussion über die ursprüngliche Funktion der Steinsetzung ist die Interpretation als Tumulus doch am naheliegendsten und wurde demzufolge in der Forschung bisher auch nicht in Frage gestellt, vgl. z. B. Marksteiner 1994, 81; Blakolmer 2005, 18; Hülden 2006, 112 f.

Fig. 11 : Tumulus auf dem Burgberg – Südseite (ÖAI-Archiv, Foto: R. Hügli).

Fig. 12 : Bekrönung des Tumulus auf dem Burgberg (ÖAI-Archiv, Foto: M. Seyer).

annähernd ovale Vertiefung im Zentrum der Krepis, die an der Ostseite von einigen mittelgroßen Steinen begrenzt wird, könnte u. U. einen Hinweis auf eine Bestattung an dieser Stelle geben. Der Befund ist allerdings zu vage, um hier eine auch nur ansatzweise sichere Aussage treffen zu können. Die Blöcke der Krepis selbst zeigen nur marginale Spuren von Bearbeitung; sie sind zusammenhanglos nebeneinander- bzw. aufeinandergelegt, die Leerstellen wurden mit kleineren Steinen geschlossen. Wie vor allem an der südöstlichen Seite des Tumulus erkannt werden kann, wurde der gewachsene Fels an mehreren Stellen abgearbeitet und diente als Auflager für Blöcke der untersten Schar.

Westlich des Grabes ist eine relativ ebene Fläche von etwa 10 x 10 m im Hang zu erkennen, auf der einige sorgfältig bearbeitete Werkblöcke ohne baulichen Zusammenhang liegen. Obwohl keine definitiven Spuren vorhanden sind, entsteht der Eindruck, dass dieses Areal als Terrasse gestaltet war, doch ließe sich Gewissheit darüber allenfalls durch eine Grabung erhalten. Unmittelbar westlich der Krepis des Tumulus ist der gewachsene Fels auf eine Fläche von ca. 1,8 x 1,0 m waagrecht abgearbeitet, auf der ein unregelmäßig bearbeiteter Werkblock liegt[22]. Dieser bildet gemeinsam mit zwei weiteren Blöcken – einer wenige Meter weiter südlich, der andere nördlich – eine Linie, so dass der Anschein entsteht, dass diese eine architektonische Struktur, möglicherweise eine Einfassungsmauer für diese angenommene Terrasse, bildeten.

Etwa 15 m südlich des Grabmals fand sich eine Säule oder Rundbasis aus Kalkstein am Hang, die nicht zuletzt aufgrund ihrer Fundlage direkt unterhalb des Monumentes mit diesem in Verbindung zu bringen ist (fig. 12). Die bruchstückhafte Erhaltung lässt zwar keine eindeutige Bestimmung zu, doch vermutete bereits Borchhardt, dass es sich bei diesem Artefakt um die Bekrönung des Tumulus handelte[23]. Sollte diese Zuschreibung zutreffen, wäre diese die erste bislang in Lykien gefundene Bekrönung eines Tumulus[24], wohingegen aus anderen Landschaften Kleinasiens zahlreiche Exemplare bekannt sind[25]. Diese haben im Normalfall eine Phallos- oder Pilzform[26], doch sind auch andere Ausprägungen bekannt, wie ein Beispiel aus Sardes nahelegt, dessen erhaltene Kurvatur auf ein knospenförmiges ("budlike") Aussehen schließen lässt[27]. Dass auch Säulen in Kleinasien als Cippi auftreten können, wird durch mehrere Beispiele aus Elaiussa Sebaste[28] und ein Exemplar aus Zeleia in der Umgebung von Kyzikos[29] belegt, die allerdings aus der römischen Kaiserzeit

22 Vgl. dazu auch Borchhardt 1978, 184 f.

23 Borchhardt 1978, 188 f.

24 s. zur Situation in Lykien: Hülden 2006, 115 f. mit Anm. 509.

25 Die publizierten Grabmarker aus den verschiedenen Regionen Kleinasiens wurden zuletzt von E. Christof gesammelt: Christof 2008 mit weiterführender Literatur. Die Situation in Karien ist uneinheitlich: Während derartige Bekrönungen bei den Tumuli auf der lelegischen Halbinsel gänzlich fehlen (Radt 1970, 221 f., 236), sind aus Orten im Landesinneren wie z. B. Alabanda und Hyllarima Beispiele bekannt: Henry 2009, 84 f., figs. 25-26.

26 Für eine kurze Aufzählung der in der Forschung verwendeten Termini: Christof 2008, 147.

27 Russin 1983, 56.

28 Equini-Schneider 2003, 519-523.

29 Schwertheim 1980, 145 f., Nr. 352 Taf. 27.

Fig. 13 : Altar mit Doppelaxt (ÖAI-Archiv, Foto: W. Schiele).

stammen und dadurch für einen unmittelbaren Vergleich nicht geeignet sind.

Etwa auf derselben Höhe wie die Rundbasis, allerdings ca. 10 m westlich von ihr, wurde eine rechteckige Stele bzw. Altarbasis mit den Maßen von 77,3 x 48,5 x 118 cm entdeckt, deren vier Seitenflächen jeweils die Darstellung einer Doppelaxt ziert (fig. 13) und die wohl in unmittelbarer Nähe des Grabmals aufgestellt war[30]. Für die Bedeutung des Tumulus ist sie von größerer Bedeutung als dessen spärliche architektonische Reste selbst, da sie untrennbar mit der Frage nach dem Grabherrn und dem Grund für die Errichtung des Grabmals auf dem Burgberg verbunden ist.

J. Borchhardt brachte das Grab und die Basis mit der Doppelaxt in Verbindung mit Karien und schloss auf eine karische Herkunft des Grabherrn, in dem er den Festungskommandanten von Limyra nach den politischen Veränderungen um 360 v. Chr. und der verstärkten Präsenz der Hekatomniden in Lykien erkannte[31]. Dem Forschungsstand der 70er Jahre des 20. Jahrhunderts entsprechend betrachtete Borchhardt Tumulusgräber als einen nichtlykischen Grabtypus[32] und verwies auf die benachbarten Landschaften Karien und die Milyas, wo dieser Typus eine weite Verbreitung hat[33]. Dieses Argument ist heute überholt, da der Grabtyp in der Zwischenzeit aus allen Regionen Lykiens bekannt ist: Im Zuge der intensiven Surveys der Jahre von 1989 bis 2001 konnten in Zentrallykien durch die Universität Tübingen unter der Leitung von F. Kolb zahlreiche Tumuli identifiziert werden, die zum Großteil aus der archaischen Periode stammen, deren älteste Beispiele jedoch bis ins 7. Jahrhundert v. Chr. zurückreichen[34]. In der Nekropole der Siedlung bei Hızırlık, einem Ort in der Nähe von Fethiye, den K. Buschmann mit Telebehi, der altlykischen Vorgängersiedlung von Telmessos identifizierte, entdeckte dieser im Jahr 1991 14 Tumuli[35], wodurch die Grabform auch für Westlykien bezeugt ist. Dennoch ist die Präsenz von Tumuli in Lykien bisher noch nicht flächendeckend nachgewiesen. Es ist auffallend, dass z. B. aus dem Xanthostal nicht ein einziges Grabmal dieses Typs bekannt ist, und auch die Evidenz in Ostlykien ist äußerst dürftig[36], da bis auf den hier behandelten Tumulus lediglich ein einziges weiteres Beispiel – nämlich in Nekropole V von Limyra[37] – existiert.

Dem heutigen Stand der Forschung zufolge trat der Tumulus jedenfalls bereits im 7. Jahrhundert in Lykien auf und ist damit die älteste einigermaßen datierbare Grabform in dieser Landschaft; seit dieser Zeit zählte er zu den gebräuchlichen Grabtypen[38]. Trotz dieses Umstandes kann ein

30 Zu den Fundumständen: Borchhardt 1978, 184 mit Anm. 7a. Die Basis galt lange Zeit als verschollen, konnte jedoch während der Grabungskampagne 2011 durch den Autor wieder lokalisiert werden. Sie befindet sich etwa 10 m unterhalb der sogenannten Terrasse westlich des Tumulus, ihr Erhaltungszustand hat sich allerdings seit der Auffindung im Jahr 1974 weiter verschlechtert.

31 Borchhardt 1978.

32 Zu diesem Zeitpunkt waren aus dem lykischen Kernland, abgesehen von dem Tumulus auf dem Burgberg von Limyra, lediglich die von J. Borchhardt und W. Wurster bzw. K. Kjeldsen und J. Zahle entdeckten Anlagen aus Seyret und Phellos bekannt: Borchhardt/Wurster 1974, 514-538; Zahle 1975.

33 Borchhardt 1978, 189.

34 Hülden 2004, 29-32, 53-59; Hülden 2005, 92-95; Hülden 2006, 109-135; Hülden 2006a, 263-266; Hülden 2011.

35 Buschmann 1993, 431 f. Vgl. zu Hızırlık auch Tietz 2003, 12-16, 81-85; Hülden 2006, 114.

36 Zur Forschungssituation: Hülden 2011, 497.

37 Eine mögliche Parallele zum Tumulus auf dem Burgberg von Limyra ist im Umstand zu sehen, dass der Besitzer dieses Grabmals ebenfalls nicht lykischer Herkunft war: Blakolmer 2012 mit weiterführender Lit. zu diesem Monument.

38 Hülden 2011, 497.

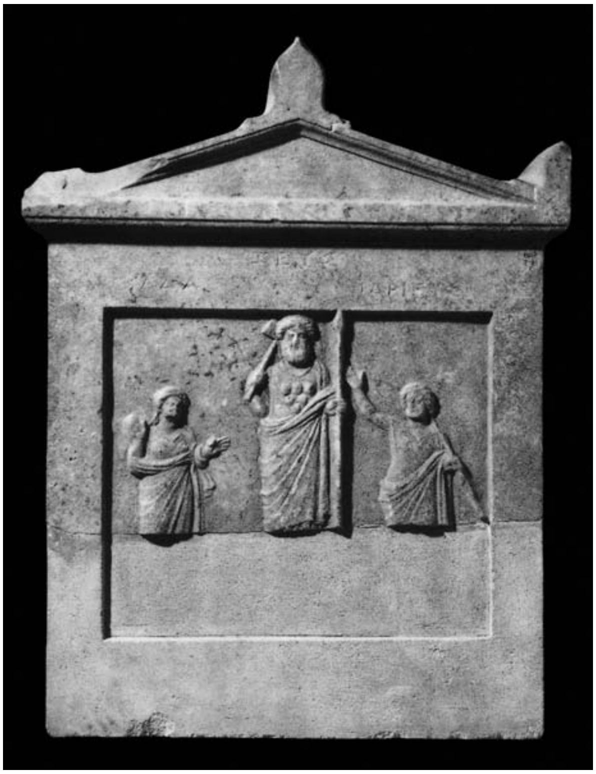

Fig. 14 : Weihrelief an Zeus Labraundos aus Tegea (Vorlage aus Peschlow-Bindokat 1996, Abb. 11).

genereller Zusammenhang zwischen den lykischen Tumuli und ihren karischen Pendants auf der Halbinsel von Halikarnassos nicht ausgeschlossen werden, da beide Typen in architektonischer Hinsicht in derselben ostägäischen Tradition stehen, die sich von der inneranatolischen Tradition, der beispielsweise die Tumuli aus Phrygien und Lydien verhaftet sind, erheblich unterscheidet[39].

Für die Klassifizierung des Tumulus stellt die Basis mit der Abbildung der Labrys zweifellos ein stärkeres Indiz dar, da diese in Karien ein Attribut des Zeus Labraundos war. Nach der Überlieferung von Plutarch hielt bereits dessen Kultstatue im Heiligtum in Labraunda eine Doppelaxt in der Hand[40], und auch auf zahlreichen Reliefs und Münzen mit einer Abbildung dieser Gottheit wird sie gezeigt (fig. 14)[41]. Als Attribute des Zeus Labraundos sind zweifellos auch die Doppeläxte auf Fragmenten eines Marmorfrieses mit doppeltem Mäander-Muster zu verstehen, der in der Nähe des von Idrieus gestifteten sog. Oikoi-Gebäudes westlich des Zeustempels gefunden wurde und möglicherweise ebenfalls aus dem 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr. stammt[42].

Die Labrys erscheint außerdem auf mehreren Altären, die neben der bildlichen Darstellung zumeist auch eine Weihinschrift mit der Nennung des Namens der Gottheit aufweisen, wie auf mehreren Beispielen aus Milet[43] oder Herakleia am Latmos[44]. Der Großteil dieser Weihungen stammt wohl aus Heiligtümern und hat demzufolge keinen direkten Bezug zu Kulthandlungen an einem Grab, doch beweist ein kürzlich gemachter Fund in Hyllarima, dass derartige Stelen oder kleine Altäre mit der Darstellung von Doppeläxten durchaus auch in sepulkralem Kontext Verwendung finden konnten[45].

Es stellt allerdings auch der Altar mit der Darstellung der Labrys in Limyra keinen unwiderlegbaren Beweis für die Zuschreibung des Grabmals dar, da die Doppelaxt nicht auf Karien einzugrenzen ist, sondern ein Symbol für mehrere Gottheiten in Kleinasien war. So ist sie beispielsweise ein Attribut der Kabiren, die neben zahlreichen anderen Orten in Westkleinasien auch im westlykischen Tlos einen Kult hatten[46]. In derselben Weise ist sie als Symbol für den Reitergott Sozon belegt, der an zahlreichen Orten Kleinasiens verehrt wurde[47] und in den bildlichen Darstellungen zumeist zu Pferd in Chiton und Mantel entweder mit einem Speer oder einer Opferschale, des öfteren aber auch mit einer geschulterten Doppelaxt abgebildet ist (fig. 15). In Lykien ist ein Kult für Sozon zumindest an zwei Orten belegt[48]: In Sura gab es einen Kultverein, während bei der modernen Ortschaft Sarayçık im oberen Limyrostal ein durch eine Inschrift und ein Weihrelief bezeugtes Heiligtum des Sozon existierte[49]. Problematisch an diesen Zeugnissen ist allerdings deren Datierung,

39 Hülden 2011, bes. 508-512. Vgl. auch Carstens 2008, bes. 92 f.

40 Plutarch, *Quaestiones Graecae* 45.

41 Für eine Zusammenstellung der archäologischen und numismatischen Evidenz sowie eine Diskussion über die Kleidung und die Attribute des Gottes: Fleischer 1973, 310-324 mit weiterführender Literatur; Laumonier 1958, 62-101; Romano 1980, 465-470.

42 Gunter 1989, 91-98.

43 Herrmann *et al.* 2006, 164-167, n. 1265-1267, 1269-1270.

44 Peschlow-Bindokat 1996, 16 f. Abb. 12.

45 Für diesen Hinweis bin ich O. Henry (Istanbul) zu großem Dank verpflichtet.

46 Frei 1990, 1792.

47 Zur Verbreitung des Sozon: Weinreich 1927, 1248-1251.

48 Cremer 1997, 1148 f. Metzger 1952, 28-34 nennt noch mehr Belege, von denen einige jedoch nicht völlig gesichert sind, vgl. dazu Frei 1990, 1826 f.

49 Frei 1990, 1826 f. mit Lit.

Fig. 15 : Weihrelief an Sozon aus Karamanlı (Vorlage aus: Collignon, 1880, Taf. 10, 3).

da diese ausnahmslos aus der römischen Kaiserzeit stammen und sich demzufolge nicht in den Zeithorizont um das Grabmal und den Altar in Limyra einfügen lassen. Nicht zuletzt aus diesem Grund erscheint es plausibler, den Altar tatsächlich in Verbindung mit dem karischen Zeus Labraundos zu sehen.

Karien spielte in der politischen Geschichte Lykiens der spätklassischen Periode eine prominente Rolle. Der auf der Satrapenliste Herodots[50] basierenden traditionellen Forschungsmeinung zufolge wurde Lykien als Konsequenz der Teilnahme des Perikle von Limyra am gescheiterten sog. "Satrapenaufstand" der späten 60er Jahre des 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. gegen Artaxerxes II. von der Satrapie Lydien abgetrennt und unter die Hegemonie des karischen Herrschers Maussolos gestellt[51]. Dieser Theorie steht die Ansicht von B. Jacobs entgegen, Lykien sei bereits vor dem Aufstand Karien unterstellt gewesen, das ja seinerseits eine Unterprovinz von Lydien war[52]. Die Interpretation der historischen Entwicklung zum politischen Verhältnis Kariens und Lykiens ist für den Versuch einer Einordnung des Tumulus auf dem Burgberg von Limyra allerdings von sekundärer Bedeutung: Mit dem Ende des Perikle, dessen Spuren sich im Verlauf der Unruhen verlieren, fand das System der Dynastenherrschaft in Lykien jedenfalls ein Ende, Maussolos übernahm die Macht in Lykien vom 'Rebellen' Perikle[53].

Die im Jahr 1973 im Letoon bei Xanthos gefundene Trilingue[54] vermittelt wertvolle Einblicke in das Wesen der karischen Herrschaft in Lykien um die Mitte des 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr., da sie ein bemerkenswertes Bild von der Arbeitsweise der lokalen Institutionen unter der persischen Herrschaft zeichnet. Der Text nennt nicht nur die Einrichtung eines Kultes für den Basileus Kaunios und den ansonsten unbekannten Arkesimas, als dessen Schirmherr Pixodaros, der neu eingesetzte Satrap von Lykien[55], auftritt, sondern erwähnt auch die Bestellung eines Epimeleten von Xanthos (Artemelis) sowie zweier Archonten für Lykien (Hieron und Apollodotos) durch Pixodaros[56]. Wie deren Funktionen im Detail ausgesehen haben[57] und wie weit deren Kompetenzen reichten, entzieht sich unserer Kenntnis, die letzte Zeile des griechischen Textes lässt jedenfalls keinen Zweifel offen, dass es der Satrap selbst war, der sich die letzten Entscheidungen vorbehielt.

Kehren wir nach diesem kurzen Exkurs noch einmal zum Tumulus auf dem Burgberg von Limyra zurück. Es kann wohl vorausgesetzt werden, dass der Epimelet Artemelis in Xanthos residierte, während es zumindest wahrscheinlich ist, dass einer der beiden Archonten seinen Sitz in Xanthos in

50 Hdt. III 90.
51 Vgl. z. B. Treuber 1887, 104-106; Childs 1981, 75 f., 78; Weiskopf 1989, 68; Frei 1990a, 12 f.; Behrwald 2000, 41; Tietz 2003, 104-106.
52 Jacobs 1993 und 1994, 136-138.

53 Zur politischen Entwicklung in Lykien zur Zeit der Hekatomniden vgl. auch Domingo Gygax 2001, 92-122.
54 Metzger *et al.* 1974, 82-93, 115-125, 132-149; Metzger *et al.* 1979. Einen Überblick über die Forschung seither gibt Domingo Gygax 2001, bes. 19-21
55 Während der griechische und der lykische Text Pixodaros jeweils lediglich als Satrap von Lykien bezeichnen, nennt ihn der aramäische Passus als Satrap von Karien und Lykien: Metzger *et al.* 1979, 32 f. (H. Metzger), 53, 58, 60, 76 (E. Laroche), 136 f., 141 (A. Dupont-Sommer).
56 W.A.P. Childs vermutete bereits in *Artumpara* und *Mithrapata* persische Statthalter für den Westen bzw. den Osten Lykiens: Childs 1981, 76. Sollte diese Theorie zutreffen, wäre, wie er ebenda in Anm. 130 ausführt, die Einsetzung der Archonten durch Pixodaros eine Rückkehr zu Verhältnissen, die bereits vor dem Satrapenaufstand existierten. – s. dazu auch den Vergleich von Domingo Gygax der beiden Archonten mit dem unter Maussolos von einem gewissen Kondalos bekleideten Amt eines Hyparchos: Domingo Gygax 2001, 104 f. mit Anm. 83.
57 W. Tietz vermutete, dass die Aufgabenteilung zwischen den Archonten und dem Epimeleten in der Trennung von zentral-administrativen und regionalen Angelegenheiten bestand: Tietz 2009, 168.

Westlykien, der andere in Limyra in Ostlykien hatte[58]. Selbstverständlich ist es nicht möglich, aus all den bruchstückhaften Informationen klare Aussagen über den Besitzer des Tumulus zu gewinnen. Und da auch der Grabtyp selbst, den jüngeren archäologischen Forschungen zufolge, nicht länger als Indiz gewertet werden kann, gibt lediglich der Altar mit der Darstellung der Labrys einen Hinweis auf die karische Herkunft des Grabinhabers. Es ist jedoch zumindest verlockend, die wahrscheinliche Beziehung des Grabes zu Karien mit der historischen Entwicklung Lykiens und der Machtausübung durch die Dynastie der Hekatomniden zu verbinden und das Grab einem Karer zuzuschreiben, der in Limyra eine verantwortungsvolle Position bekleidete[59]. In diesem Zusammenhang kommt auch der außergewöhnlichen Lage des Tumulus eine erhöhte Bedeutung zu, da das Grabmal nicht in einer der nahe gelegenen Nekropolen der Stadt sondern innerhalb der Burgmauern[60] auf deren Akropolis errichtet wurde und sich damit in großer Nähe des Heroons der Dynastie befand, deren letzter Vertreter Perikle war. Demnach ist es zumindest vorstellbar, dass ein Archon Ostlykiens durch diese hervorgehobene Lage[61] seinem Rang als rechtmäßiger Nachfolger des letzten bekannten Dynasten von Lykien Nachdruck verleihen wollte.

58 Auf diesen Umstand wies bereits J. Borchhardt hin: Borchhardt 1978, 184, und auch Domingo Gygax äußerte diese Vermutung: Domingo Gygax 2001, 102.
59 Vgl. dazu Borchhardt 1978, 191, der als Grabherrn einen karischen Archonten bzw. Festungskommandanten vorschlug.
60 Sollte die Theorie der Realität entsprechen, nach welcher der Tumulus nach den politischen Änderungen um den sog. Satrapenaufstand entstanden ist, wäre er das einzige Grabmal in Limyra, das eindeutig nach dem Bau der Befestigungsmauern entstanden ist.
61 Vgl. dazu das Tumulusgrab in Nekropole V in Limyra, das zwar inmitten der Nekropole, allerdings allem Anschein nach bewusst auf einer Terrasse zwischen zwei bereits bestehenden Felsgräbern errichtet wurde. Diese Platzwahl bezeichnete F. Blakolmer zugleich mit der Entscheidung des Grabinhabers für die Grabform des Tumulus als ›*demonstrativen Akt*‹ eines 'Fremden', der "›*dazugehören*‹ (wollte)*, aber deutlich sichtbar als* ›*Fremder*‹": Blakolmer 2012, 577.

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THE INTRA-URBAN BURIAL INSIDE GREEK *POLEIS* IN ASIA MINOR

The example of Termessos*

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Abstract

The phenomenon 'intra-urban burial' in Greek influenced Asia Minor can at first be grasped with the extraordinary Maussolleion at Halikarnassos. With this exception Maussollos formed his image in choosing by himself the site of his grave, a big part of the cult rites and the architecture, in which he joined Greek and oriental elements. The development of grave sites, cult rites and architecture forms for instance of the late-classical graves of Termessos or Ephesos will be analysed in succession of Maussollos. During Hellenistic times euergetism played a big role inside micro-Asiatic cities, and the intra-urban grave was part of the honours from the polis to the benefactor. The special meaning of this cult place honoured a couple of centuries in the middle of a city can be recognized by detailed and copiousness inscriptions, for example of the burials of the euergetai at Kyme. During the time after establishing the Roman province Asia and during the Roman Empire in the East the intra-urban burial was anew a special honouring given by the polis, but the importance in relation to the creation of identity for the city changed. On the basis of a selection of intra-urban graves from the 1st and 2nd century AD the way how to deal with these burials within the poleis, their creation of identity of the city and the way of self-imaging of the deceased will be examined.

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Introduction to the topic of Greek intra-urban graves

At the end of the 8th century BC one can observe an interesting new phenomenon within the Greek colonized region[1]: a clear distinction between the city of the living (πόλις) and the city of the dead (νεκρόπολις) was customary for most of the following millennium. From that point in time, it is possible to recognize the beginning of the Greek polis, or city-state, as a uniform political, social and religious system.

After that date, necropoleis at Greek cities are located close to but isolated from the settlement, first as a naturally evolving, unarranged group of graves, later in rows along the streets leading out of the city. The usual form of a burial there was the family grave, which could be visited by the family members of the deceased; it was the place for the cult of the beloved dead, securing the veneration and the remembrance of the deceased for a long time. But in early Archaic times, it is also noticeable that single interments or small groups of burials are placed intentionally within the city, first of all on the mainland Greece and afterwards all over the Greek influenced Mediterranean basin, for example very near of the West gate at Eretria on the island of Euboia, on the agora of Cyrene in North Africa or at the agora and close to the theatre of Mantineia on the Peloponnese[2]. 'Intra-urban' implies the area within a settlement built on with public, religious or private structures. In the period after Alexander the Great, the Greek influenced region was greatly extended, so – amongst others – two tombs near the city centre of Aï Khanoum in the ancient region of Bactria[3], today located close to the border between Afghanistan and Uzbekistan, can also be included.

In this contribution I want to examine the grave building at the agora of Termessos in Pisidia as a case study for burials within the city in late Classical and early Hellenistic time in ancient Anatolia.

Termessos, grave building at the agora[4]

In Pisidia, within the city of Termessos, a quite unusual monument is located on the South side of the agora and in the West of the upper Gymnasium (fig. 1)[5]. It was mainly cut out of the same local limestone as the buildings of the whole city (figs. 2-3)[6]. The traces of the moil chisel can be seen all over the monument and also inside the three niches on the West side (fig. 5). A flight of steps leads from the North to a platform, which is covered with flat limestone slabs and limited on the South with a semi-circled bench (fig. 4). Behind it the cut rock towers up, and in the middle of it lies the area for the funeral, East-West oriented, a cassa perfectly hollowed in the rock (figs. 2-3). The round shaped lid – the outer side convex, the inner concave – has fallen down to the South of the monument, broken into two pieces. If there had ever existed an architectural ornamentation it is not preserved[7].

No grave or votive offerings are preserved, although it is clear, that the three niches in the West wall were made for the deposition of objects of veneration (fig. 5). Also platform and bench had certainly served for congregations, cultic activities and remembrance of the deceased person (fig. 4). On the left side of the niches, a small canal can be seen. It begins within a little basin, is deflected downwards towards the ground, but the end is hard to see because of the vegetation (figs. 5-6).

1 For the following basis information compare Schörner 2007a, 1-19 and 2007b, 134-144.

2 For the examples: Eretria (Euboia), burials under the triangulum east of the West gate: Schörner 2007a, 209-212 Cat. A 1 figs. 1-8; Blandin 2010, 263-265. Kyrene (North Africa), burial of king Battos at the agora: Schörner 2007a, 213-216 Cat. A 3 figs. 15-23; Kenzler 1999, 171-172. 191-192. Mantineia (Arcadia), burial of Podares at the agora: Schörner 2007a, 216-218 Cat. A 4 figs. 14-27; Fougères 1890, 255-256 pl. I. XVII.

3 Aï Khanoum, so called Heroon of Kineas: Schörner 2007a, 227-228 Cat. A 10 figs. 51-60; Robert 1973, 211-237. I 2 pl. 108 (inscription). Aï Khanoum, Mausolée: Schörner 2007a, 229-230 Cat. A 11 figs. 51. 61-64; Bernard 1975, 180-189 figs. 9-15.

4 Schörner 2007a, 220-222 Cat. A 6 figs. 34-36 for the earlier references and the detailed measurements. A sufficient description and adequate publication of that grave building unfortunately doesn't exist so far. But compare for the older researches Çelgin 1994, 160. For the history of researches see İplikçioğlu 1993, 255-256.

5 For site and localisation: Lanckoronski 1892, plan after p. 20. The earliest known building on the agora is the Stoa of Attalos II, demonstrated by an inscription: Lanckoronski 1892, plan after p. 20, here fig. 1 (L 1). 38-39.

6 Heberdey 1934, 735-736 fig. 1 (map of the city, M: grave at the agora); Lanckoronski 1892, 36-37. - Date of the visit of the author at Termessos: 08-23-2002, at that time the photographs were produced.

7 Lanckoronski (1892, 37) mentioned pieces of Ionian ornamentation around the three niches on the West side, but nothing of it can be seen today.

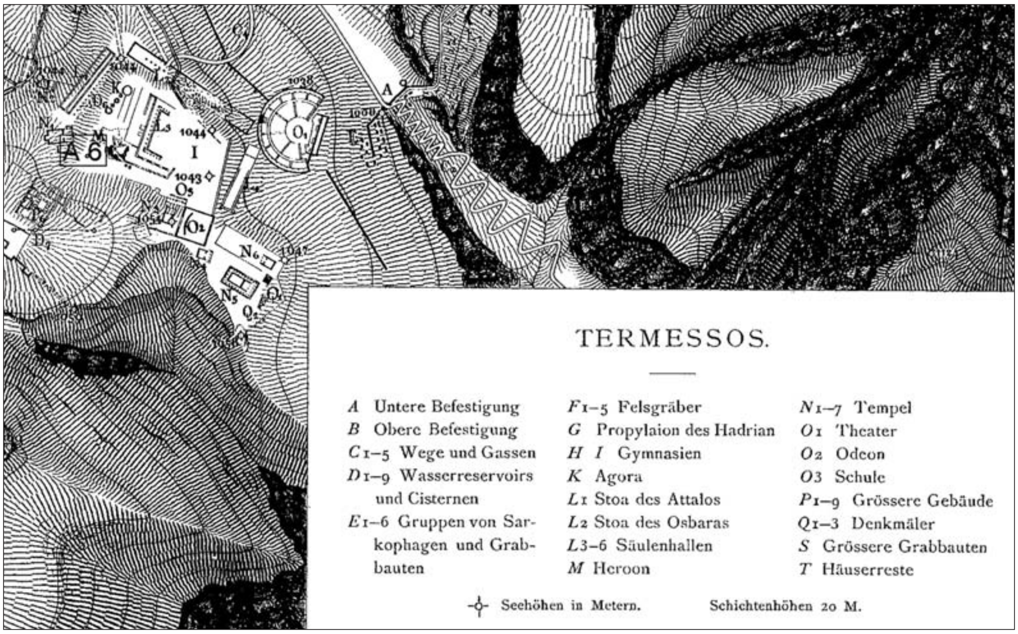

Fig. 1 : Termessos, city map with localisation of the heroon (A 6) (by Lanckoronski 1892, plan after p. 20).

Fig. 2 : Termessos, grave, view from West (photo author, 23.08.2002).

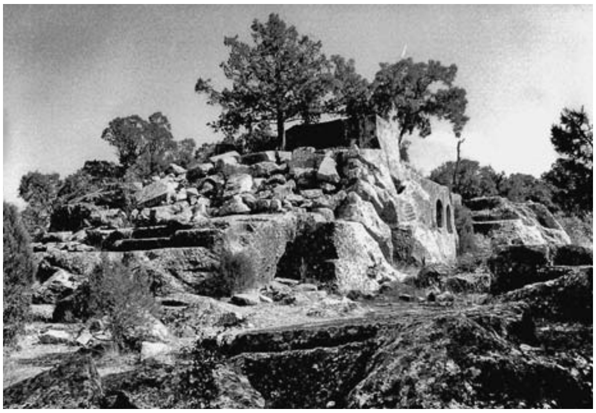

Fig. 3 : Termessos, grave, view from South-West (photo author, 23.08.2002).

Fig. 4 : Termessos, grave, view of platform with bench and *cassa* (photo author, 23.08.2002).

Fig. 5 : Termessos, grave, West side, view to niches, basin and canal left of the niches (photo author, 23.08.2002).

Fig. 6 : Termessos, grave, basin and canal for libation, view from above (photo author, 23.08.2002).

Fig. 7 : Termessos, inscription, drawing (by Heberdey 1941, Nr. 874).

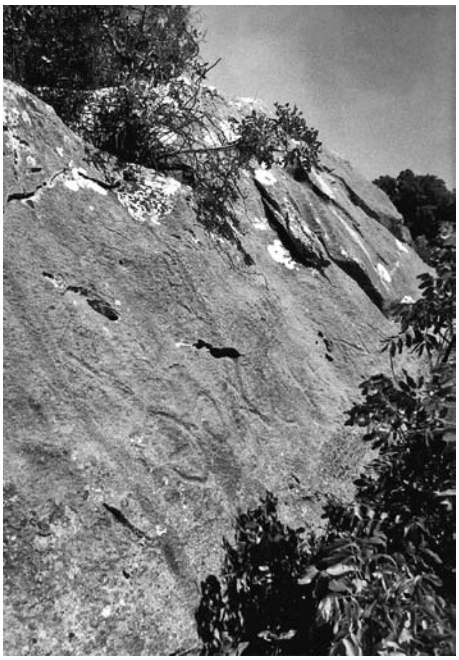

Fig. 8 : Termessos, inscription, view to »ΘΟΑΣ« (photo author, 23.08.2002).

Fig. 9 : Termessos, inscription, view to »OBPI[« (photo author, 23.08.2002).

This was certainly a construction for liquid offerings (libations).

On the south west side of the monument, an inscription is cut into the rock (figs. 7-9)[8]:

ΘΟΑΣ ΚΕΝΔΕΟ[Υ] ΟΒΡΙ[ΜΟΤΟΥ]

Thoas, son of Kendeas, grandson of Obrimotes.

The style of writing is unequal, not upon one line. Theta is the biggest letter with a height of 30 cm, the other letters are about 18 cm high, which makes an emphasizing of Thoas most likely. Unfortunately, one Thoas, son of Kendeas and grandson of Obrimotes remains unknown until today[9]. Rudolf Heberdey and George E. Bean read 'Thoas and Obrimotes, sons of Kendeas'[10], but it is implausible because of the writing direction from left to right and because there is sole one cassa only for one deceased person at the peak of the monument.

The dating of the inscription is problematic. The letters with the round shapes are not very helpful[11], nor the fact that Greek inscriptions prior to the 2nd century BC are unknown to us at Termessos[12]. We know from Arrianus[13], that Termessos did exist in 333 BC, because Alexander wanted to seize it,

8 Heberdey 1941, Nr. 874 (drawing of the inscription). He begins with ΚΑ[ΤΕΧΕΙ] with KA above the A of ΘΟΑΣ.

9 Zgusta 1964, § 432 (Thoas). § 576-1 (Kendeas). § 1069-7 (Obrimotes).

10 Heberdey 1941, Nr. 874. Bean 1991, 117 believed that the inscription belongs to two »Gräbern unten im Felsen«, but on location nothing is visible. Lanckoronski 1892, 36-37 is uncertain whether the inscription belongs to the burial originally laid down in the cassa.

11 For this problem: Gorissen 1978, 149-163.

12 Waelkens 2004, 435-471.

13 Arr. *an.* I 27, 5-28, 2.

but was unable to do so. The levelling of the agora plateau must belong to the early works of the building project after founding of the settlement because it is not conceivable that such a great block of rock was standing crude for decades or for centuries at one side of the agora. Taking all this into consideration, the unfortunately inadequate published grave at Termessos must belong to the late Classical or early Hellenistic era.

Comparisons in site, architecture and veneration

The location of that tomb within the agora follows most likely Greek, and not Anatolian prototypes for an honoured grave of a very important person of a city[14]. The oldest example for that site is the grave of Heropythos at the agora of Ephesos about 340 BC[15].

Rock-cut tombs possess a very long, several millennia long lasting tradition in Anatolia. On first sight the tomb on the agora of Termessos in Pisidia looks very unusual, because it doesn't belong to the most common group of the rock-cut façade graves. The architecture, the elements mostly cut out of the rock but some also build up with slabs, seemed to be an Anatolian tradition. Most narrow comparisons one can find in the necropoleis of South-Western Anatolia, with steps leading to a platform, like at the Kaineus grave at Limyra[16]. A platform which forms the place for the veneration before the *cassa* or sarcophagus is very seldom, one example occurs at Demetrias in Thessalia[17].

The place of the sepulture at Termessos, the *cassa*, looks like a 'chamosorion' on the top of the edifice. *Chamosoria* are not uncommon in South-West Asia Minor, for instance they occur in several necropoleis in Caria[18] or Pisidia[19]. For a *cassa* deepened in the highest point there are far fewer examples: A rock-cut sarcophagus in the North necropolis at Melli in Pisidia[20], but secluded from the main cemetery was founded on the highest point of a rock, surrounded by a bench, perhaps for congregations. From the position of the tomb there is an excellent view over the city of Melli. At Beşkardeş in Cappadocia a rock-cut tomb possesses shape and ornament of a garland sarcophagus[21]. On a free standing block of stone one can see that it is executed on one broadside as a garland sarcophagus, with two pilasters on the edges, one *bucranium* in the middle and two bows of garlands; beneath there are three niches like at Termessos, although the niches at Beşkardeş are smaller as in Termessos. On the other side, steps are leading up to the top. On that place the *cassa* for the burial was hollowed out; the lid is not preserved, but the traces of folds on the edge can be seen. Both rock-cut sarcophagi are younger than the example on the agora of Termessos and date into Roman Imperial Times, the 2nd or 3rd cent. AD.

At Termessos the rock-cut canal or drain (figs. 5-6), which begins within a little basin under the niches is surely a construction for liquid offerings, for libations. Robert Fleischer discovered a comparable cavity at a rock sanctuary, North-West of the city; he named it 'sanctuary of the peak'[22]. It consists of one niche with the picture of an unidentified god and of a basin in front of it. A canal does not exist. The reason may be that the offering for an Olympic god ought to flow down into a basin, where it remains. The liquid offering for the hero at the agora, however, should be conducted into the ground to 'feed' the hero[23]. This group of sanctuaries also belong to the Roman Imperial Times because of the inscriptions there, but the origin might be older. An analogy for libation at a Hellenistic intra-urban grave presents the sarcophagus no. 3 within the Heroon of Kineas at Aï Khanoum, where a hole in the lid and a canal from the floor of the chamber to that lid confirms that kind of cultic veneration[24].

Greek influence is visible chiefly on the inscription in Greek letters. The person Thoas, son of Kendeas and grandson of Obrimotes, had

14 Compare the late-Classical grave for Podares on the agora at Mantineia, Arcadia (Peloponnesos): Schörner 2007a, 216-218 Cat. A 4 figs. 14-27. For the phenomenon: Schörner 2007a, 20-37 esp. 24.

15 Arr. *an.* I 17, 11. Compare for that only literally received burial Schörner 2007a, 266-267 Cat. B 11.

16 Kuban 2012, 271-272 necropolis III, grave no. 6 (partly cut out of the rock, partly built up); it dates also in late Classical or early Hellenistic times.

17 Marzolff 1986, 83-84 drawing 3; fig. 5; 3rd-2nd cent. BC, now destroyed.

18 Henry 2009, 35 figs. 3-4 pl. II A: 'sarcophage rupestre' at Labraunda, and many more within the same volume.

19 To *chamosoria* in Pisidia in Hellenistic times: Köse 2005, 101, for *chamosoria* in Pisidia in Roman times: Yılmaz 2007, 176-177. To *chamosoria* in general compare Schörner 2007a, 89-90 note 737.

20 Yılmaz 2007, 155-204 esp. 176-177 fig. 15.

21 Prayon 2008, 1035-1044 figs. 1-16.

22 Fleischer 2008, 197-242 ("Gipfelheiligtum").

23 Common to the topic of libation: Schörner 2007a, 163-164.

24 For the Heroon of Kineas compare Schörner 2007a, 131. 227-228 Cat. A 10 figs. 52. 55. 58 (sarcophagus no. 3).

achieved during his lifetime something brilliant we do not know. Maybe he was a κτίστης, the founder, or a νέος κτίστης, a liberator or re-founder[25] of his home town Termessos, possibly at the siege of the army of Alexander in 333 BC. Whatever the case his achievement provided him this great tomb on the agora of Termessos with the permission of the inhabitants. Unfortunately many questions in reference to the date of that monumental grave remain open, because of the lack of ornamentation, the unclear evidence of the shapes of the letters, or the fact that inhumation into a sarcophagus was practised through the centuries in Hellenistic and Roman Times[26]. Both a Pisidian (Obrimotes)[27] and a Greek (Thoas) personal name are mentioned in the inscription. At first time the name ΟΒΡΙΜΟΤΕΣ is mentioned in an inscription found in the area of the town, which can be dated in the year 278 BC, when the city was under the rule of the Ptolemaioi[28]. Unfortunately this inscription is totally different from the one hewn into the Heroon and the letters are very small, so it cannot give us a chronological comparison.

The Phenomenon of intra-urban graves within the Greek World: a short review

With regard to the burial place within the city, there does not exist a great difference between the examples from mainland Greece and those from the late classical Asia Minor and later[29]. In both cases the agora[30] or another great square[31] were the appreciate places for the intra-urban tomb, respectively along an important street[32] and also at vulnerable points of the polis, such as gates[33]. The architectural form both in Asia Minor and in Mainland Greece is more extensive in comparison to extra-urban graves: tumulus (with an architectural frame) with the grave chamber within[34] or under it[35], or a common grave house[36]. In late Classical times the grave building can possess an architectural connection with a building of another function, mostly a Gymnasium[37], in Roman Imperial times also a library[38]. Rarely, and only in Asia Minor, two storeyed grave buildings appear, after the Maussolleion the two octagons at Ephesos[39] and Aphrodisias[40] from Augustan times. One can observe a strong dependence of the conspicuous graves on local style.

The reason for allowing the tomb within the polis is very broad and changed during the centuries: First of all the burial place on the agora was reserved for the κτίστης, the founder of the polis, as maybe the case of the unknown deceased in the agora in Termessos. A Greek colony normally performed periodically their rituals both in the sanctuary of the urban Olympic god and at the tomb of the founder as a deep expression of their common identity. The best example of that is Kyrene in North Africa, where the grave of the founder and king Battos[41] lies not far away from the temple of Apollon. Besides that other personalities could be honoured for their lifetime achievement, such as winners of Olympic Games[42], authors[43],

25 According to Cicero, the liberation is equivalent to the founding of a city: Cic. rep. I 7.
26 And for a long time inhumation and cremation at the same time: Köse 2005, 81-83. 107-109.
27 The name "Obrimotes" was common in Hellenistic times: compare Çelgin 1997, 116 (inscription from the Gymnasium at the Agora of Termessos), or Mitchell 1994, 95-96 (inscription from the Pisidian chora, 1st cent. BC).
28 İplikçioğlu 1999, 309 note 2 with the older evidences; Waelkens 2004, 441.
29 For the following compare the interpretation for the aspects of the chosen localisation, architecture and equipment of the intraurban grave, and also for the deceased and honoured person in Schörner 2007a, passim.
30 Like the Archaic burial of Glaukos at the agora of Thasos: Schörner 2007a, 212-213 Cat. A 2 figs. 9-14.
31 Like the late-Classical burial of Dion upon an eminent place of Syrakus, Sicily: Schörner 2007a, 266 Cat. B 10.
32 Like the Hellenistic burial(s) under the Mosaic house at Eretria, Euboia: Schörner 2007a, 238-240 Cat. A 17 figs. 95-101.
33 Like the Archaic burials under the *triangulum* near of the West gate at Eretria, Euboia: Schörner 2007a, 209-212 Cat. A 1 figs. 1-8.
34 Like the Hellenistic Heroon I at Miletus: Schörner 2007a, 237-238 Cat. A 16 figs. 86-94.
35 Like the late-Classical tomb in Kassope, Epirus: Schörner 2007a, 222-223 Cat. A 7 figs. 37-41.
36 Like the late-Classical grave for Podares on the agora at Mantineia, Arcadia: Schörner 2007a, 216-218 Cat. A 4 figs. 14-27.
37 Like the late-Hellenistic burials at the Gymnasium at Messene: Schörner 2007a, 245-247 Cat. A 21 figs. 121-125.
38 Like the Celsus library at Ephesos with the burial of C. Iulius Celsus within a chamber in the basement: Schörner 2007a, 250-252 Cat. A 24 figs. 140-143, or the burials of wife and son of Dion of Prusa in a court belonging to a library at Prusa, Bithynia: Schörner 2007a, 286-287 Cat. B 27; Plin. ep. X 81, 1-8.
39 Schörner 2007a, 240-242 Cat. A 18 figs. 102-110.
40 Schörner 2007a, 242-243 Cat. A 19 figs. 111-115.
41 Schörner 2007a, 213-216 Cat. A 3 figs. 15-23.
42 Antenor, son of Xenares, won the pancratium at Olympia in 308 BC (118. Olympiad): Schörner 2007a, 271-272 Cat. B 15.
43 Aristias, son of Pratinas, author of satyr's plays, won the 2nd price at a dramatic contest in 467 BC: Schörner 2007a, 263 Cat. B 5.

statesmen[44] or generals[45]. At Hellenistic times, the role of benefactors, εὐεργέται, grew in an intense way[46] until about 200 AD[47].

There does not exist any Greek written source prohibiting burials within the cities. Only for early Archaic Sparta the legislator Lykurgos had allowed it, as Plutarch reports[48]. The reason, he tells us, was that the youth should get accustomed to the sight of burials, because death is not a "Miasma" for these who had touched a dead body or had walked over graves. Miasma in this connection means pollution in a figurative sense[49].

Summary

The Greek intra-urban grave as phenomenon existed on mainland Greece from 720 BC onwards with the formation of the Greek polis. In Asia Minor the oldest grave within the city – except the Maussolleion at Halicarnassus – is indicated with the Pisidian tomb on the agora at Termessos. The Pisidians – non-Greek people of Anatolian origin – had practiced since the 4th cent. BC a kind of Self-Hellenization[50]. Already under the reign of Antigonos Monophthalmos, in the years after 319 BC, the Termessians minted their own coins[51]. It is conceivable without problems that they assumed also this Greek phenomenon of honouring a prominent citizen with the great privilege of the burial at the city centre. It is quite possible that this citizen was the founder of Termessos and his grave belongs to the second half of the 4th cent. or the beginning of the 3rd cent. BC[52]. But last certainty can give us only new researches, or excavations within the city of Termessos, or finds of new inscriptions.

44 The Peloponnesian politician Philopoimen, son of Kraugis, was honoured with an intraurban burial at Megalopolis, Arcadia: Schörner 2007a, 274 Cat. B 17 fig. 175.

45 The commander Brasidas, son of Tellis, from Sparta, died at the battle of Amphipolis in 422 BC: Schörner 2007a, 264-265 Cat. B 8.

46 One of the earliest examples, dating in the 3rd quarter of the 2nd cent. BC, is Archippe, daughter of Dikaiogenes. For that benefactress, who has spent a lot of money for her hometown Kyme, see above and Schörner 2007a, 276-277 Cat. B 19 fig. 177.

47 The author chose this point in time, because the latest example for non-christian intraurban burials is illustrated by the Heroon III at Miletus: Schörner 2007a, 258-259 Cat. A 29 figs. 86. 168-173.

48 Plut. Lyk. 27, 1.

49 For that topic compare Schörner 2007a, 203-205.

50 Waelkens 2004, 467; Doni 2009, 216-219.

51 With Greek legends: Waelkens 2004, 453.

52 Most interesting is the contrast of the agora-grave and the so called grave of Alketas, who wasn't citizen of Termessos, but died there and was also honoured with a prominent grave in one of the necropoleis of Termessos: Pekridou 1986.

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THE TOMB AS A NODE OF PUBLIC REPRESENTATION

Intramural burials in Roman imperial Asia Minor

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Abstract

This contribution focuses on the practice of intramural burial in Anatolia during the Roman Imperial period. The prominent tombs of this time may at first sight simply reflect a traditional habit of honouring benefactors, being in line with the retrospective cultural atmosphere that is often attributed to the Greek cities under Roman rule. However, a contextual analysis of the respective structures of the 1st and 2nd centuries AD, considering their design, inscriptions, and urban setting, reveals a new and significant pattern. This is the linking of the tomb with important public donations of the deceased. As a result, the monuments were turned into hybrid spaces that answered the specific demands of elite representation in their time.

In the ancient Greek city, a burial in the centre of a town was the customary way of singling out a person whose life and deeds were perceived as being especially important for the formation of local society. Its meaning was in fact intimately connected to the process of urbanization itself, when together with a spatial reorganization the average tombs were restricted to cemeteries outside the settlement areas[1]. Therefore, it comes as no surprise that together with the transformation of society, the circumstances of laying out intra-urban burials also changed over the course of time. This holds true for both the group of persons that would receive such a privilege and the exact location and design of the tomb. To get an idea of this development, we may think of the rather simple graves of the early *oikistai*, situated on the agora, the royal *mausolea* in the Greek periphery, or the lavishly decorated memorial buildings of the late

1 Morris 1987, 62-71; Polignac 1996, 151-176.

Hellenistic *euergetai*, that were placed in various, but always especially visible positions[2].

In the following I would like to focus on tombs *intra-muros* of the Greek cities of Asia Minor during the middle imperial period, or roughly the time between the last quarter of the 1st and the end of the 2nd century AD. In this period, a number of hybrid constructions left their mark on the development of intra-urban burials, combining a variety of in part complementary, in part also contradictory features, of which the tomb proper was only one aspect. Although most of the single monuments I shall deal with have long been known, and are also included in two recent publications on intra-urban tombs[3], they have for different reasons not been seen as a discrete group, sharing characteristics that defined their similar relation to the public.

Thus, in the general survey of such burials in the Greek world by Hadwiga Schörner, findings from the geometric to the late imperial period are interpreted as a more or less coherent body of material. Thereby, the relation between the tombs' remarkable design variations and their changing messages seems to be underestimated[4]. In contrast to this, Sarah Cormack's study on *The Space of Death in Roman Asia Minor* convincingly put to the foreground the particular cultural density of the respective monuments from the imperial period[5]. But her *a priori* idea of the tombs as spheres separated from the surrounding space as well as from the continuous flow of time, adopted from Michel Foucault's concept of *hétérotopies*[6], partly obscured their rather open structure, which might have become even more obvious when chronologically structuring the still ample span of time covered in her work. Focussing on the examples from the middle imperial period, one could in fact stress their explicit blurring of traditional boundaries. These monuments often seem to merge different modes of representation and thereby, rather than reflecting past lives and their values, appear active in a current debate; forming a kind of node in the network of overlapping means of public representation that seems typical for members of the local elites of that time. In the following, I shall try to demonstrate this with some examples.

At Rhodiapolis in Lycia, such an intra-urban tomb was commissioned around the middle of the 2nd century AD by a famous local benefactor named Opramoas, son of Apollonios[7]. The building was designed as a small temple *in antis* on a low podium. We do not know what the *cella* of this monument looked like, but it is probably safe to imagine it being equipped with a sarcophagus and maybe also statues of Opramoas and members of his family. Both the architecture and its dimensions (ca. 7 x 8 m) follow a standard pattern of imperial period tombs in Asia Minor[8]. As for the location, Gerhard Huber's plan of Rhodiapolis shows the monument in the centre of the small town with a number of public buildings clustered in the form of a half-circle (fig. 1)[9]. According to his section of the terrain (fig. 2), it stood in the middle of a terrace in front of the theatre. In recent years, an *anastilosis* of the building has been made using the numerous stone blocks that were scattered over the place. A tentative reconstruction, however, had already been published by Eugen Petersen and Felix von Luschan in the late nineteenth century (figs. 3-4)[10]. Although their drawings can of course not replace a thorough architectural study, they highlight a most striking feature; that is the long inscriptions that almost completely covered the walls of the building[11].

These texts were also referred to by Cormack[12]. Her statement that they "constituted an ambitious biographical programme" is however misleading, as none of these inscriptions gives any explicit and coherent biographical information, which can only be extracted from the texts by reading them against the grain. Moreover, they do not even allude to the fact that the building was the tomb of Opramoas. Although he is mentioned in every single one of the texts, he is never called *hero*, nor is there any other indication of his death, which in fact will have occurred some years after the tomb

2 Cp. the catalogue of intra-urban tombs from the Greek world by Schörner 2007.

3 Cormack 2004; Schörner 2007.

4 Schörner 2007.

5 Cormack 2004; Ewald 2008.

6 Foucault 2005. Cp. also Ewald 2008.

7 Petersen/von Luschan 1889, 76-133; Kokkinia 2000; Cormack 2004, 36-40, 274-276.

8 Cp. Berns 2003, 144-145, 160-161.

9 Huber 2006.

10 Petersen/von Luschan 1889, 76-133, esp. 76-81 with fig. 54-63.

11 Petersen/von Luschan 1889, 76-133; Heberdey 1897; Kalinka 1944, 327-350 no. 905. The inscriptions were republished together with additions, a German translation and an extensive commentary by Kokkinia 2000.

12 Cormack 2004, 36.

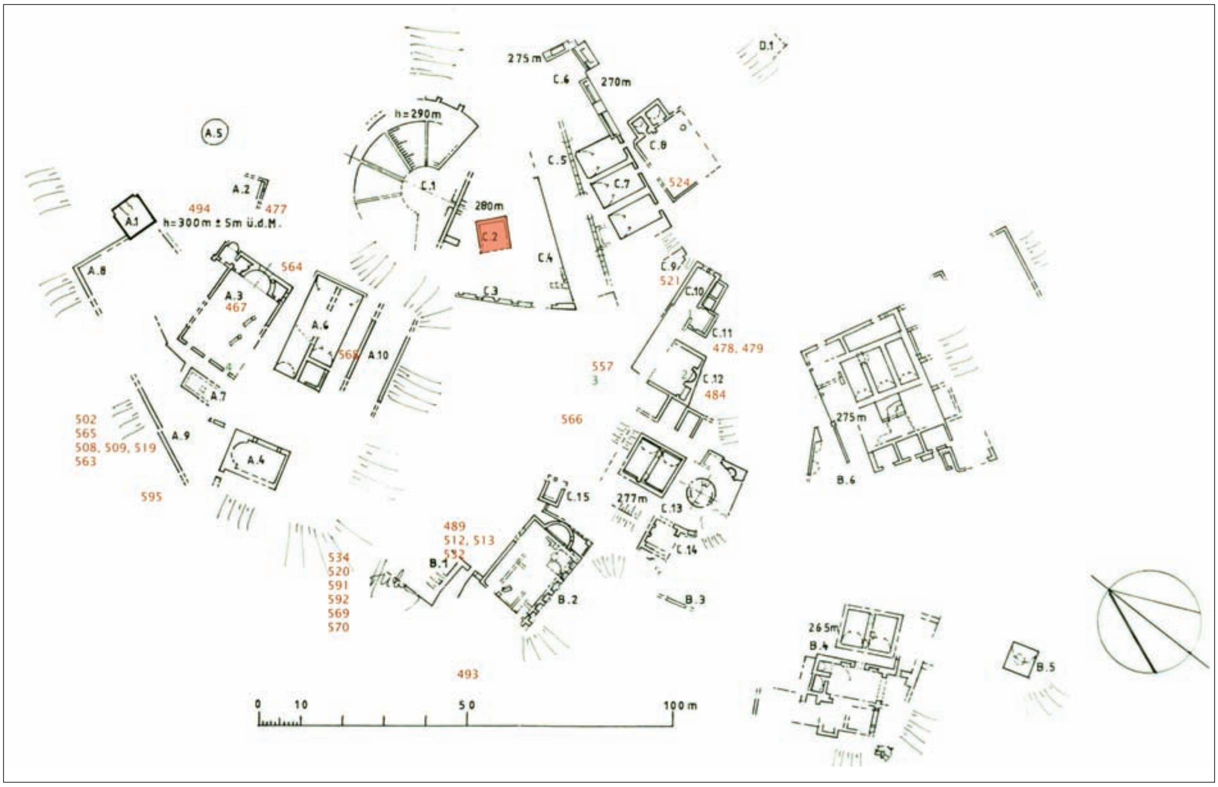

Fig. 1 : Rhodiapolis, plan of the urban centre with tomb of Opramoas in front of the theatre (Huber 2006, after p. 16).

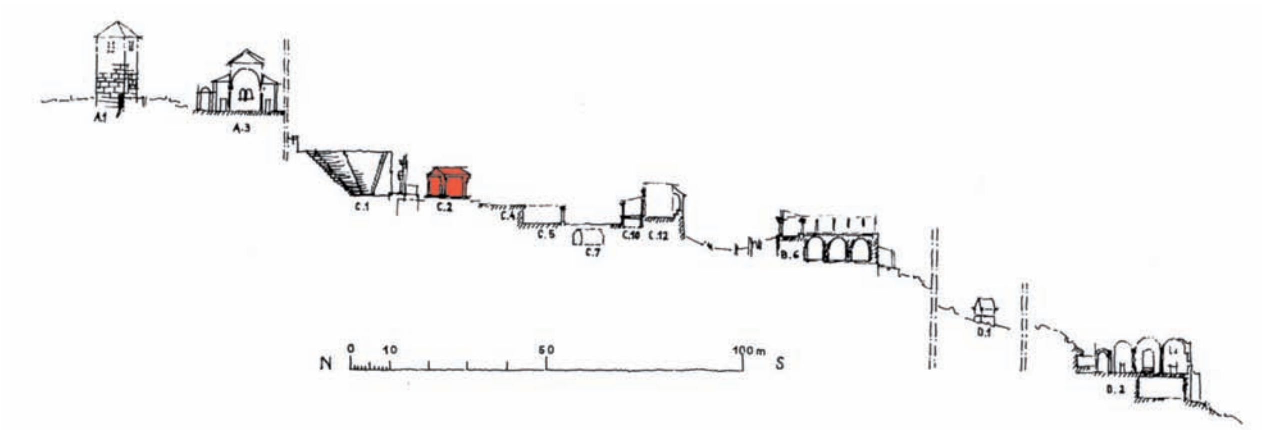

Fig. 2 : Rhodiapolis, section of the urban centre with tomb of Opramoas marked in front of the theatre (Huber 2006, fig. 3).

had been erected and the inscriptions engraved[13]. Instead, the message is mainly constricted to Opramoas' benefactions and his good relations to Roman authorities. In part, we are dealing with copies of honorific decrees adopted by the Lycian Council and meticulously listing donations, before stipulating the honours the *euergetes* was granted. They refer, for example, to the enormous donation made by Opramoas to various Lycian cities after an earthquake that seems to have damaged

13 Cormack 2004, 276 is certainly wrong in assuming that the date of the last inscription (152 AD) marks the dead of Opramoas and the building of his tomb, as some of his later donations are attested in two inscriptions from the Letoon of Xanthos: Balland 1981, 173-224; Kokkinia 2000, 233-235.

Fig. 3 : Rhodiapolis, tomb of Opramoas, south façade (Petersen/von Luschan 1889, fig. 54).

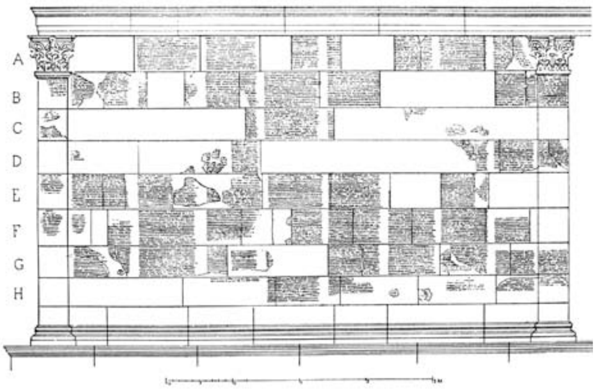

Fig. 4 : Rhodiapolis, tomb of Opramoas, west façade (Petersen/von Luschan 1889, fig. 53).

many buildings, listing the amount of money, the receiving city, and the purpose it was meant for[14]. Other documents are copies of letters addressed to various cities of Lycia or the Lycian Council in general, written by Roman officials, such as the provincial governor[15], or the emperor Antoninus Pius himself[16]. These texts, being shorter and as a rule not mentioning single donations, represent letters of recommendation, recalling in a general way Opramoas' offices and benefactions.

14 Kokkinia 2000, no. 64 (XVIII F-XIX D).
15 Kokkinia 2000, no. 1-12 (I B-III D).
16 Kokkinia 2000, no. 39-52 (X H-XII G).

Publishing these documents on the walls of the tomb was obviously aimed at showing Opramoas as an important member of the local society. However, this was not done through vague formulas of exuberant praise, but by precisely recalling all the places where he had acted as a benefactor. The collection of names produces an impressive list of cities, which more or less cover the whole of Lycia[17]. Such a list tells us that instead of focusing his efforts on his hometown or a few important places, Opramoas spread his wealth all over the country with donations ranging from 5.000 to 100.000 *denarii*. Because all of these benefactions must have been publicly documented by inscriptions on the buildings he had sponsored, Opramoas created in fact a wide and visually conceivable network of public activities, that continued to exist beyond the actual event of spending money. The fact that he had inscribed the official documents related to his benefactions on the walls of his tomb turned this monument into part of this network and in fact into its central node.

This also becomes clear within the local context at Rhodiapolis. Here the tomb did not only occupy the midpoint of the town, but the centre of Opramoas' local benefactions, a number of small structures that had been placed at the edges of the central square (fig. 1)[18]. For Cormack this was an indication that the same square had been transformed into a "*cult temenos* for Rhodiapolis' most famous citizen and his family"[19]. While she is certainly right in underlining the perfect position of Opramoas' tomb within the inclining terrain, where it dominates the city's lower areas and at the same time had a close connection to the theatre (fig. 2), her interpretation seems to oversimplify the monument's complex relationship with the square in question. This is situated on a lower level compared to the tomb and clearly separated from it by a substantial terrace wall. At the same time, the various buildings assembled here indicate that it maintained the character of an open plaza serving a

17 Akalissos, Antiphellos, Aperlai, Arneai, Arykanda, Balbura, Bubon, Choma, Gagai, Kadyanda, Kalynda, Korydalla, Krya, Kyaneai, Limyra, Myra, Nisa, Oinoanda, Olympos, Patara, Phaselis, Phellos, Pinara, Podalia, Rhodiapolis, Sidyma, Symbra, Telmessos, Tlos, and Xanthos.
18 Cp. Kalinka 1944 no. 907. 908; Huber 2006.
19 Cormack 2004, 36-37. Cormack's assumption that the tombs of Opramoas' father and mother are located in one of the porticoes remains speculative judging from the honorific inscriptions referred to as well as from the architectural evidence: Kalinka 1944, no. 915 and 916; Huber 2006, 12-14.

variety of public functions, rather than having been transformed into an exclusive space for the veneration of a prominent citizen. The visual connection between the tomb and Opramoas' donations would instead stress his important contributions to the embellishment of Rhodiapolis and indeed, if we take the documents published on the walls of the building itself into account, of the entire Lycia. This direct link between the intramural tomb and the benefactions its owner made is a new and, I believe, significant feature of the Roman imperial cities in the Greek east.

This impression may be further supported by a comparison with the situation during the 1st century BC, that is the late Hellenistic and the first years of the Early imperial period. Then, a famous pattern in designing intramural tombs was the hermetic monument combining diverse and often contradictory elements to create an image of sumptuousness[20]. An example from Sagalassos, the so-called North-west Heroon, comprises a stepped roof podium supporting a temple-like building, seated above a frieze with reliefs of dancers (fig. 5). Elevated high above the ground, the superstructure could not be accessed and it was therefore impossible to use this building as a space for rituals memorizing the deceased[21]. A similar phenomenon can be observed at the so-called Octagon in Ephesos, which Hilke Thür believes to be the tomb of the Ptolemaic princess Arsinoë IV, though the evidence for this assumption seems rather weak[22]. While the function of these monuments must have been purely symbolic, they do not refer to specific deeds of their owners that might have granted them the privilege of a burial within an urban centre. Neither at Sagalassos nor at Ephesos do we know of any inscription that might have informed us about the owner of the respective memorial structures or his benefactions. The message of these and similar monuments was obviously restricted to the spectacular architecture itself. This architecture was at the same time costly, because of the amount of material and working power that was needed to build it, and useless in the practical sense of the word, as one could only look at, but not enter it. Therefore these monuments appeared as a kind of conspicuous consumption, and thereby as evidence of the owner's high social status[23].

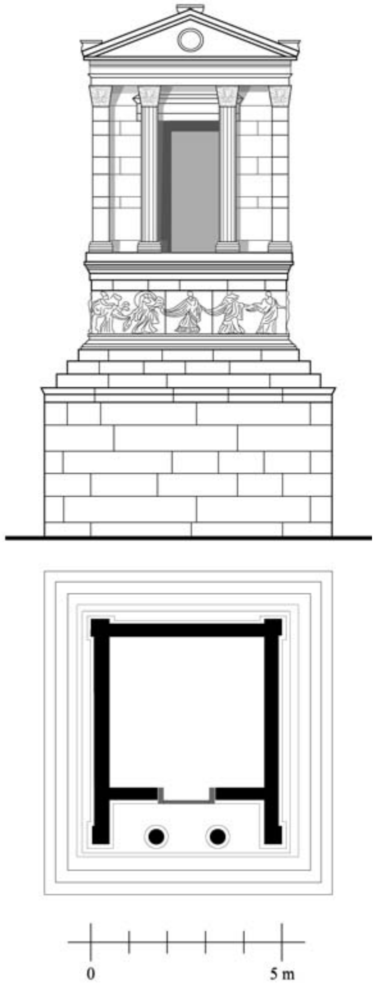

Fig. 5 : Sagalassos, northwest-Heroon (Berns 2003, fig. 47).

In contrast to this, the effect of the intramural tombs of the Roman imperial period was rather indirectly mediated, as the architecture proper remained conventional. In many cases we are dealing with more or less standard temple-forms, such as examples from Miletos[24], Knidos[25], Aizanoi[26], and perhaps also at Sidyma[27] can prove. This basic pattern was probably intended to create a sacral overtone that was suited to the occasional perception of the benefactors as heroes or receiving *timai isotheoi*[28]. However,

20 Berns 2003, 29-35.

21 Waelkens *et al.* 2000.

22 Thür 1990; Berns 2003, 45-46 with n. 247. 197 cat. 11A5; Cormack 2004, 41-42. 222; Schörner 2007, 240-242 cat. A 18.

23 Berns 2003, 50-52.

24 'Heroon II': Weber 2004, 3-100. Further: Cormack 2004, 39. 243-245; Schörner 2007, 253-254 cat. A 26. – Cormack's assumption that the tomb was transformed into a temple during the later imperial period contradicts the evidence, meticulously documented by Weber *loc. cit*.

25 Mert 2002. The conventional designation of this monument as a 'Corinthian temple', applied also by Mert, is misleading. The relief depicting four honorific wreaths, prominently placed over the entrance, as well as the shield in the *tympanon,* clearly speak for the connection with a benefactor whose tomb the monument must have been.

26 Naumann 1973/74; Cormack 2004, 35. 166-168; Schörner 2007, 256-257 cat. A 28.

27 Berns 2003, 254-255 cat. 37A1; Cormack 2004, 39-40. 302-303 The position of the tomb may have been intra-urban, but evidence is difficult as structure and extension of the urban nucleus are unclear: Benndorf/Niemann 1884, 78 fig. 40 (III) pl. 22.

28 Cormack 2004, 110-112.

the architectural type was in no way exclusive for outstanding personalities, and was also widely used in Roman imperial Asia Minor for monumental tombs in the context of necropoleis[29].

The sacral shape of the buildings must also not be misunderstood as indicating a primary connection with ritual. Significantly, the various monuments do not seem to have been complemented with an altar[30]. Moreover, they miss all elements of proper *heroa*, especially a number of different rooms providing banqueting space for collective veneration. Such structures are known from the Hellenistic period, where they constituted a second pattern for sumptuous tombs, in addition to the hermetic monuments cited before[31]. An example is the so-called Heroon I at Miletus, where a kind of *tumulus* was placed in a courtyard limited on one or two sides by a *stoa* with a set of chambers[32]. In a somewhat simplified form this type of monument also appeared in the necropoleis of the Roman imperial period[33]. The typical intramural tomb of the middle imperial period would instead not even have a walled *peribolos* demarcating it as a sphere different from the urban surroundings[34]. Only in the late imperial period, that is again after a significant shift in the structure of public space, does the first tomb with a *peribolos* appear within an urban centre after the Hellenistic predecessors[35].

The lack of any delimitation meant that the tombs became part of the continuous space of the urban landscape, which is further underlined by their design being derived from public architecture. Also the long inscriptions of official letters and other documents on walls as at the tomb of Opramoas at Rhodiapolis is a pattern an observer would be confronted with in many places of a town centre[36]. Therefore, the respective monuments appear not as separated, but as hybrid spaces integrating a number of otherwise differentiated functions with the aim of coherently representing their owner.

This becomes especially obvious in a number of at first sight bizarre tombs that are immediately enclosed in public buildings. One such tomb has emerged during the excavations of the public library in the centre of Nysa, a structure that mainly consisted of a rectangular hall where the papyrus-scrolls would have been kept in bookcases[37]. Under the floor of the colonnade that decorated the monument's facade, Volker Michael Strocka found a marble sarcophagus with the skeletons of a middle aged woman and a young man. As Strocka has proven in his recent study of the sarcophagus, it had been worked in the same time as the building itself, that is in the Hadrianic period, and therefore will have been buried at this unusual place in connection with a donation, probably of the whole monument, even if no inscriptions survive to tell us anything about the identity of the corpses or the origin of the building[38].

This is not the only example from Roman imperial Asia Minor combining a public library with a tomb. Apart from the famous *bibliotheke* of Celsus at Ephesos that will be studied below, a similar case is known from one of the letters that Pliny the younger wrote to emperor Trajan when he was governor of the Roman province of Pontus Bithynia probably around 110 AD. Here, in the city of Prusa ad Olympum, the writer Dio Chrysostom controlled and most probably also commissioned the building of a library, which at the same time seems to have served as a tomb monument for his wife and son, leading to criticism from his competitors in local politics[39].

The laying out of the graves in the library may well have referred to the traditional habit of burying great minds within the *gymnasium*, where they served as a constant example for the youth exercising their intellectual as well as their physical skills[40]. At the same time, however, the combination of a substantial donation to the public with a tomb

29 Berns 2003, 144-145, 160-161. A prominent example at Hierapolis, the so-called *tomba bella*, had in fact been built extra muros, before it happened to become intra-urban in the course of an extension of the urban perimeter: Romeo 2011.

30 The altar conventionally attributed to the Agora tomb at Aizanoi (Naumann 1973/74; Cormack 2004, 35, 166-168) cannot have belonged to the building, as Schörner 2007, 257 has proven.

31 Kader 1995.

32 Müller Wiener 1985; Kader 1995, 209-211; Schörner 2007, 237-238.

33 Cormack 2004, 29-35.

34 The opposite impression in Cormack 2004, 29-49 and, following her, Ewald 2008, 625-626, is based on an intermingling of examples from different periods as well as extra- and intra-urban tombs. In some cases also the relevant features are misinterpreted. The "peribolos wall" of 'Heroon II' at Miletus (Cormack 2004, 243) belongs to a Turkish cemetery (Weber 2004, 2, 4). A tomb at Priene, cited by Cormack 2004, 43, was not "built into the upper gymnasium", but directly situated on one of the main streets: Rumscheid 1998, 177-180; Schörner 2005.

35 'Heroon III' at Miletus, see below.

36 Cp. for example Oberleitner *et al.* 1978, 118-119 no. 172 fig. 1000; Hesberg 2009.

37 Hoepfner 2002, 73-78; Hiesel/Strocka 2006.

38 Strocka 2011.

39 Plin. *epist*. 10, 81; cp. Sherwin-White 1966, 675-679.

40 Neudecker 2004, 303-304. Cp. Delorme 1960, 337-361.

will have guaranteed the perpetual effect of the benefaction, because the building could not easily be knocked down without risking the sacrilege of destroying the graves. The lavish architecture in combination with the library it housed was thus a constant reminder of the reasons for the privilege that a public burial always meant.

Consequently, there are also examples of tombs in other types of buildings, like a bath in the city of Argos in Greece, where three undecorated sarcophagi have been found in a subterranean chamber under the apse of a hall opposite the bathing wing. Again, we can only assume that the burial was allowed in connection with a donation, perhaps for the rebuilding of the complex[41]. At Aphrodisias a member of a prominent local family named Adrastus seems to have been buried in his *ergasteria*, probably a kind of *stoa* with workshops, in the third quarter of the 1st century AD[42]. The source for this event is a decree from Aphrodisias that is difficult to understand exactly due to its fragmentation. However, the public *ergasteria*, which according to the inscription were originally offered for the burial, must be identical with the substantial *stoa* behind the *bouleuterion* in the centre of the town, where Peter Rockwell was able to identify a sculptor's workshop[43]. Therefore the structure of Adrastus will probably have been a similar building, rather than the temporary stalls that Jocelyn Reynolds imagined to have been removed for the creation of a separate tomb monument[44]. The stone block on which the inscription was engraved may have easily belonged to such a *stoa*, where after his death the local benefactor would have been buried.

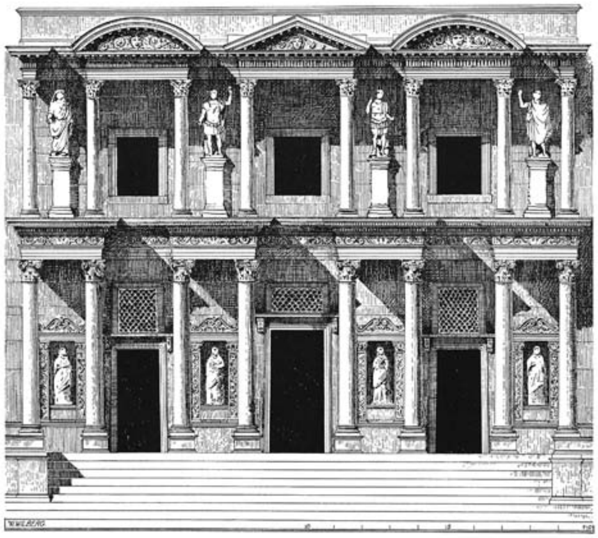

Fig. 6 : Ephesos, Library of Celsus, façade (Wilberg *et al.* 1953, pl. 1).

Fig. 7 : Ephesos, Library of Celsus, section (Wilberg *et al.* 1953, fig. 78).

The diversity of overlapping roles a prominent citizen might fulfill, as well as their integration in one central monument, is best demonstrated by the well-known library at Ephesus from around 115 AD, which I shall look at in some detail in the following (figs. 6-7). The library was founded by the former *consul*, Tib. Iulius Aquila Polemeanus, honouring his father, the *proconsul Asiae*, Tib. Iulius Celsus Polemeanus. The construction was completed by another citizen of Ephesus, Tib. Claudius Aristion. The whole monument is a good example of the

41 The situation is roughly described in Aupert 1986, where the sarcophagi are thought to be an addition made in late antiquity. In contrast, the assumption by Strocka 2009, 254-255 with n. 66, that they are contemporary with the rebuilding of the complex, seems more plausible. Strocka *loc. cit.* gives also a comprehensive bibliography of the numerous reports that up to now are the only documentation of the respective excavations.

42 Reynolds 1996.

43 Rockwell 1991, fig. 1. Comparison with the actual state of the excavation shows that the row of simple shops Rockwell published belonged to a more complex structure which is convincingly reconstructed as a π-shaped stoa on the recent plan of Aphrodisias' city centre: Ratté 2008, fig. 8-9 no. 3.

44 Reynolds 1996, 125. At Knidos, a monument honouring members of a family of benefactors was set up in one of the shops of the *stoa* they had restored during the Hadrianic period, on what seems at that time to have served as a market place near the harbour: Bruns-Özgan 2009, 121-126 fig. 4.

self-representation of a member of the provincial elite during the late 1st to 2nd century AD, as Volker Michael Strocka and Bert Smith have demonstrated, on whose observations most of the following remarks are based[45].

Again the honoured person, Celsus Polemeanus, was buried inside the building his son had so generously donated to the public. However, this fact influenced the layout and decoration of the monument to only a very limited extent. For instance, Celsus' sarcophagus is hidden in a subterranean chamber and was not immediately visible from the outside (fig. 7)[46]. Also, among the many inscriptions engraved on different parts of the building, none refers to Celsus' death[47]. At the most, one may point to certain sepulchral symbols almost hidden within the rich architectural decoration, like the eagle depicted on the scrolled frieze of the upper storey. The animal may have been perceived as a symbol of *apotheosis*, but also as a hint to the name of the library's founder, Aquila[48].

The building had been erected in a most prominent position, bordering the long side of a small square in front of the southern entrance of the lower agora. At this place, an observer could compare it to a number of nearby memorial structures from the late Hellenistic period, lining the lower section of the *Embolos,* or main street, of Ephesos[49]. As this street makes a sharp turn in front of the square, the library was (and after its modern *anastylosis* is again) the focal point of the road between the upper and the lower part of the city. The building's outer appearance was striking by its lavish facade, a two storied composition of richly ornamented *aediculae* made from white marble that framed a number of marble statues (fig. 6)[50]. This facade with its ample display of costly material was a perfect image of Aquila's generosity and corresponded well to the standard of luxurious public architecture adorning the civic centre of Ephesus during the middle imperial period, when a number of similar facades were built along the principle axis in combination with buildings of very different functions[51].

Only when approaching the building and studying it in detail would the observer have realized a third subject of the monument's complex message, that is the image of Celsus as an educated man. This was expressed by four female statues on display in niches on the facade's ground floor, portraying personifications of Hellenic cultural virtues including knowledge or wisdom (*episteme* and *sophia*), which are identified and attributed to Celsus by their inscriptions[52]. At the same time, the statues' subject may be seen as a prelude for the theme of the inner hall that was accessible through three wide doors framed by the same niches. Here, papyrus scrolls must have been kept in bookcases that were integrated into the niches of the ground floor, while on the upper floor further statues and perhaps also paintings may have been on display, as Richard Neudecker has suggested *contra* the reconstruction of this room by its excavators[53]. However, the possession of knowledge demonstrated by the library itself and its iconographic programme did not describe some specific personal preferences of Celsus, nor were they simply a reflection of the current intellectual fashion. As Thomas Schmitz has proved in his detailed study on "Bildung und Macht", education was one of the means of distinction by which members of the local elites, especially during the 2nd century AD, justified their oligarchic position to the extent that obtaining *paideia* and belonging to the political elite appeared as congruent[54].

Finally, a fourth aspect of the library's decoration was connected to a genuine Roman pattern of personal representation. These are the twelve *fasces* that were integrated into the scrolled pilasters of the façade's ground floor. Symbolizing the administrative and military power of Celsus during his consulship at Rome and later as a *proconsul* of the province of Asia, they referred to his brilliant career as a Roman official[55]. Celsus' *cursus honorum* is further documented in detail on the sides of two bases for equestrian statues that

45 Wilberg *et al.* 1953; Meriç *et al.* 1981, no. 5101-5115; Smith 1998, 73-75; Strocka 2009 (with references to his earlier articles on the subject). –The monument was also referred to in Cormack 2004, 40-49, 222-223, and Schörner 2007, 250-252 cat. A 24.

46 Wilberg *et al.* 1953, 40-41. 43-46; Strocka 2009, 247-249.

47 Wilberg *et al.* 1953, 61-80; Meriç *et al.* 1981, no. 5101-5115.

48 Strocka 2009, 249-250 fig. 2.

49 Berns 2003, 39-50.

50 Wilberg *et al.* 1953, 4-35.

51 Berns 2002, 159 fig. 2.

52 Wilberg *et al.* 1953, 47-57. 71-72; Meriç *et al.* 1981, no. 5108-5111; Smith 1998, 74; Strocka 2009, 247-248.

53 Wilberg *et al.* 1953, 35-41; Neudecker 2004, 302-304.

54 Schmitz 1997, 44-50.

55 Wilberg *et al.* 1953, 17 fig. 18, 29, 32; Schäfer 1989, 209-215, 374 B 2 pl. 84,7; Smith 1998, 75 pl. 8,2; Strocka 2009, 248.

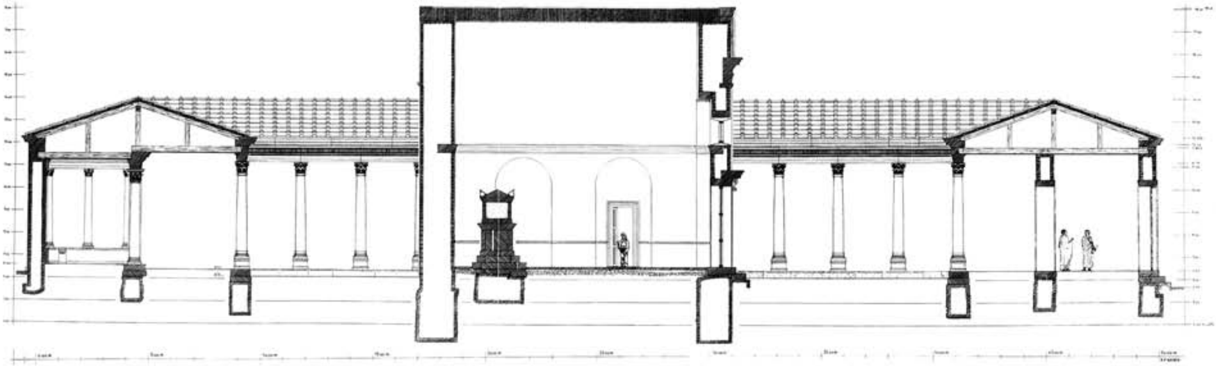

Fig. 8 : Miletos, Heroon III, section (Weber 2004, fig. 79).

framed the stairs in front of the library[56]. This part of Celsus' public life was completed by a statue of him wearing a Roman cuirass. It was originally on display in the façade's upper storey, where further statues, attested by their inscribed pedestals, would have shown him most probably wearing the Greek *himation* and the Roman *toga*, while the two equestrian statues must have been similar counterparts[57].

Taken as a whole, the library of Celsus was a highly differentiated monument, showing the prominent man in a variety of roles each of which referred to a specific field of public representation. While the lavishness of the building proper was a rather unspecific way of demonstrating one's power by financial generosity, the allusions to Celsus' Greek education represented the values of a small group of elite citizens. The burial of a prominent benefactor in the urban centre had a long tradition in the Greek East and was well conceivable by local people as evidence of his (or her) special prestige, whereas images of the specific symbols of Roman power are extremely rare in the same realm and might not even have been understood by every observer[58]. On the other hand, the wide range of topics addressed by the library's decoration illustrates well the diverse expectations a member of the political elite in a Greek city of the Roman imperial period had to meet in conceiving his public image. In this respect the person of Celsus, with his imperial career, certainly counts as an extreme example. However, judging from the other intra-urban tombs discussed here, similar attempts to balance the various roles, and to call the personal contribution of the owner to public life to mind with a central monument, are also attested among primarily local political elites.

It is probably no coincidence that this specific kind of monumental tomb in an urban context is so far known only from the first two centuries AD. During this period, innumerable inscriptions on pedestals of honorific statues, public documents written on stone or dedications of buildings donated by members of the local elites, illustrate well the prevailing paradigm of representation transgressing the temporal limits of the single act of donating for a public project. Only during the 3rd century can we observe a decline of this pattern, when performative ways of public self-display have gained more importance[59].

This general impression is confirmed by the significant architectural structure of an intra-urban tomb from Miletus that, according to the comprehensive study by Berthold Weber, was built in the beginning of the 3rd century AD[60]. Like its predecessors, this so-called Heroon III was placed near the political centre of the city, just three *insulae* southwest of the *bouleuterion* and the presumed *agora*, and almost next to the 'baths of Faustina'. Most probably, we are dealing with the tomb of an important local family[61]. However, its design followed a pattern completely different from the monuments presented so far (fig. 8). In

56 Wilberg *et al.* 1953, 62-66; Meriç *et al.* 1981, no. 5102-5103.

57 Wilberg *et al.* 1953, 57-59, 66-71 fig. 101; Meriç *et al.* 1981, no. 5104-5107; Smith 1998, 73-74 pl. 5,2; Strocka 2009, 248.

58 Cp. catalogue and appendices in Schäfer 1989.

59 Borg/Witschel 2001.

60 Weber 2004, 101-150. Cp. also Cormack 2004, 30, 244-245, and Schörner 2007, 258-259 cat. A 29.

61 According to Weber 2004, 131, fragments of at least two sarcophagi had been found during the excavation of the complex.

spite of its prominent location, the tomb itself was hidden behind the wall of the peristyle enclosing it. This wall is partly preserved and does not show any kind of architectural decoration[62]. The whole structure's outer appearance was therefore rather frugal and could in no way compete with the lavish architecture of the earlier examples, as neither would do the simple chapel within the complex.

On the other hand, the layout provided ample space for performances memorializing the dead, as it covered a complete *insula* within Miletos' regular grid of streets. Gatherings of a greater number of people might have taken place in the halls of the *peristyle*, where there was also a special *exedra* in the middle axis. The dead bodies had effectively been set on stage as the midpoint of a three level structure. First, the whole complex would have been entered through a door in the south wall that allowed control of access. From there, the visitor would have proceeded and crossed the peristyle to enter the chapel at its centre, whose door opened to the north. Finally, inside the chapel, a substantial podium is preserved, obviously meant to elevate the main sarcophagus, while additional sarcophagi might have stood in a number of wall niches[63]. The spatial structure of 'Heroon III' produced a characteristic ambiguity between attraction and withdrawal that made the dead appear as totally different from the visitors of their tomb. This *habitus* is further underlined by the absence of any testimony of the venerated persons' achievements that would have granted them the privilege of an intra-urban burial. Despite the monument's relatively good preservation, we have no indications that any inscriptions listing specific benefactions or symbols of offices held or honours obtained had once decorated the walls of the tomb. All this will have contributed to making the *heroon* a sphere separated from the urban space, where the dead were perceived through categories different from the ones applied during their lifetime.

This approach was obviously specific to the developments in the late imperial period, as it had in a certain way already been applied during the late Hellenistic period. During the first two centuries AD, intra-urban tombs expressed a different paradigm for singling out extremely prominent people by generating hybrid spaces that permanently represented the variety of roles an *euergetes* of that time had to play when he wanted to distinguish himself from his fellow citizens.

62 Weber 2004, 110-112.
63 Weber 2004, 128-131.

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WANDERING CEMETERIES

Roman and Late Roman burials in the capital of the province of Asia*

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Abstract

Like most other ancient cities, Ephesus was surrounded by large-scale necropoleis. Except for a few examples, the typical burial sites were located in extramural burial areas outside the Hellenistic city-walls. Sanitary precautions and fear of defilement readily explain this law. So, no matter from what direction an ancient traveler arrived in Ephesus, he had to pass a cemetery. Although no longer visible today the relationship between tombs and city appeared to be heterogeneous: On the one hand they were packed tightly around inhabited areas, on the other hand they were located on uninhabited slopes. The common denominator is their location in heavily frequented areas or next to major traffic routes; this made them noticeable and permanently present to the citizens of the ancient city. The structure, the architectural design and the furnishings of the tombs so prominently sited served as vehicles for any kind of status display and a definition of social hierarchies. Intramural burials were very rare, and they were granted by cities only as a mark of high distinction and were typically restricted to exceptional cases. In this paper several remarkable funerary and honorific monuments located along the Curetes Street are presented. The important rank of the owners of these monuments in Ephesian society was reflected by the centrality of their monuments within the civic landscape.

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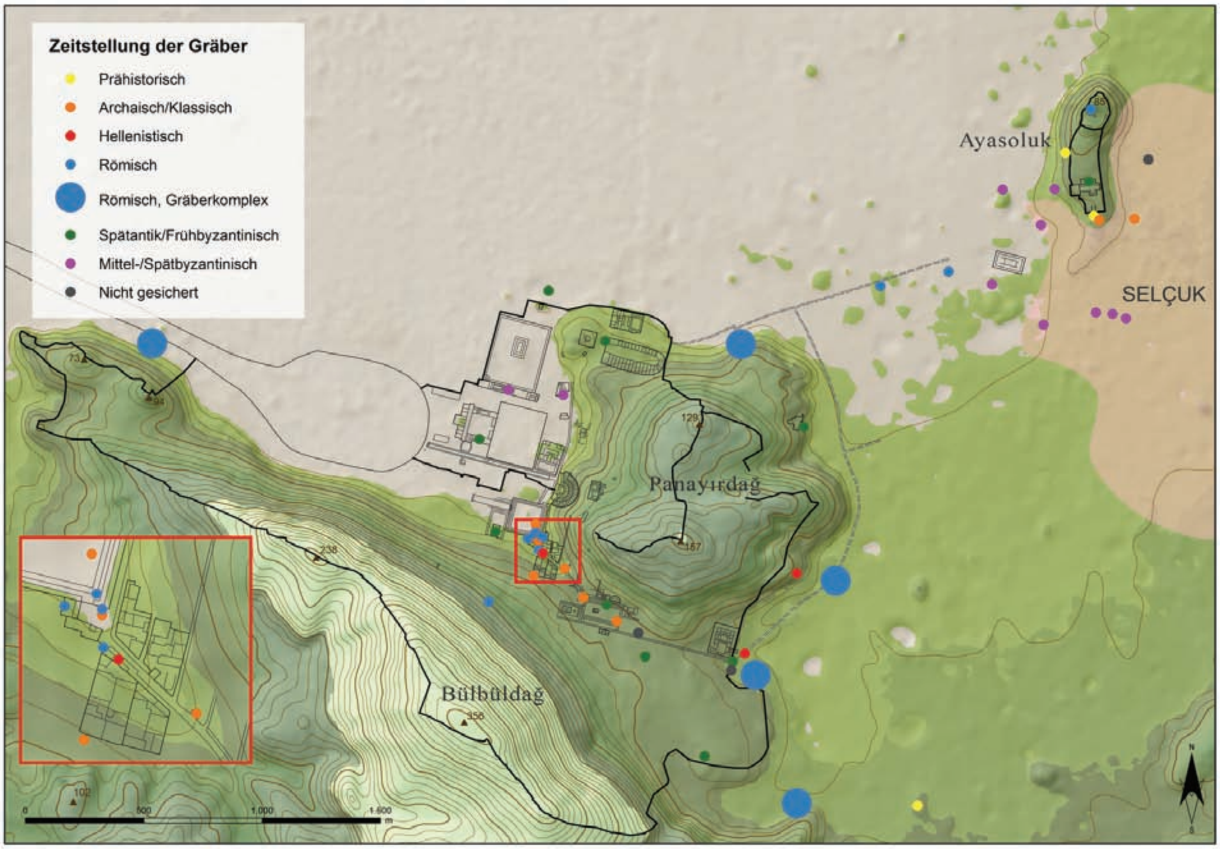


Fig. 1 : Diachronic map of the Ephesian burial spaces (© Ch. Kurtze, ÖAI).

The law of extramural burials changed to a certain extent in late antiquity, when Christians were allowed to bury the deceased adjacent to or even in churches. It was of no importance whether the churches were located inside or outside the cities. Together with the abandonment of vast mortuary areas starting at the end of the 5th century AD a 'wandering' of the Ephesian burial sites can be discerned. This change of the mortuary landscape from early Imperial to late antiquity within the capital of the Roman province of Asia will be the focus of this paper.

Like most other ancient cities, Ephesus was surrounded by large necropoleis (fig. 1). With a few exceptions they all lie outside the Hellenistic city-walls[1]. The major necropoleis are located to the west of the city on the northwestern slopes of the Bülbüldağ and the subjacent plains next to the harbor channel, in front of the Coressian Gate and the Magnesian Gate, as well as between these two gates on the northern and eastern slopes of the Panayırdağ, and on the northeastern slopes of the Bülbüldağ. But we also know of pre-Hellenistic cemeteries that mainly lie in the area of the old Processional Way which was outside of the settlement at this period. These burial sites date to the Archaic and Classical period.

In antiquity, no matter from what direction a traveler arrived in Ephesus he had to pass a necropolis. Although no longer visible today, the relationship between tombs and city appears to have been heterogeneous: On the one hand they were packed tightly around the inhabited areas, on

1 A general overview to the Ephesian necropoleis is provided by Pietsch 1999, 455-460; Trinkl 1997; Groh *et al.* 2006, 109-112.

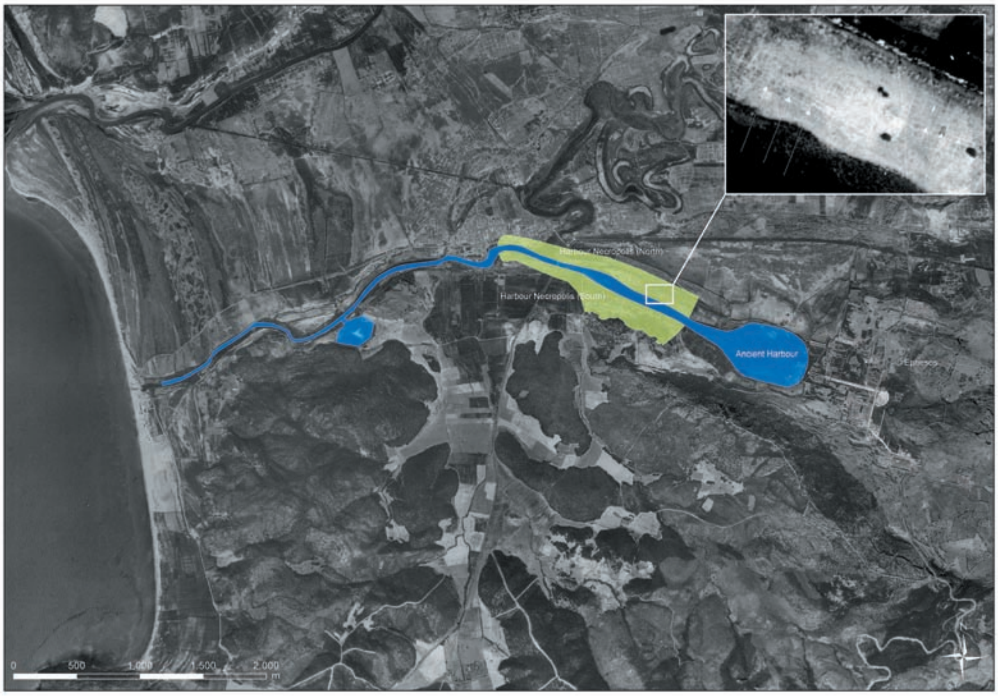


Fig. 2 :
Ephesus. Harbor Necropolis
(© Ch. Kurtze, ÖAI).

Fig. 3 :
Ephesus. Harbor Necropolis from the North
(© L. Fliesser, ÖAI).

the other hand they were located on uninhabited slopes of hills. The common denominator is their placement in heavily frequented areas or next to major traffic routes; this made them noticeable and permanently visible to the citizens of the ancient city. The structure, the architectural design and the furnishings of the tombs so prominently placed served as vehicles for all forms of status display and expression of social hierarchies.

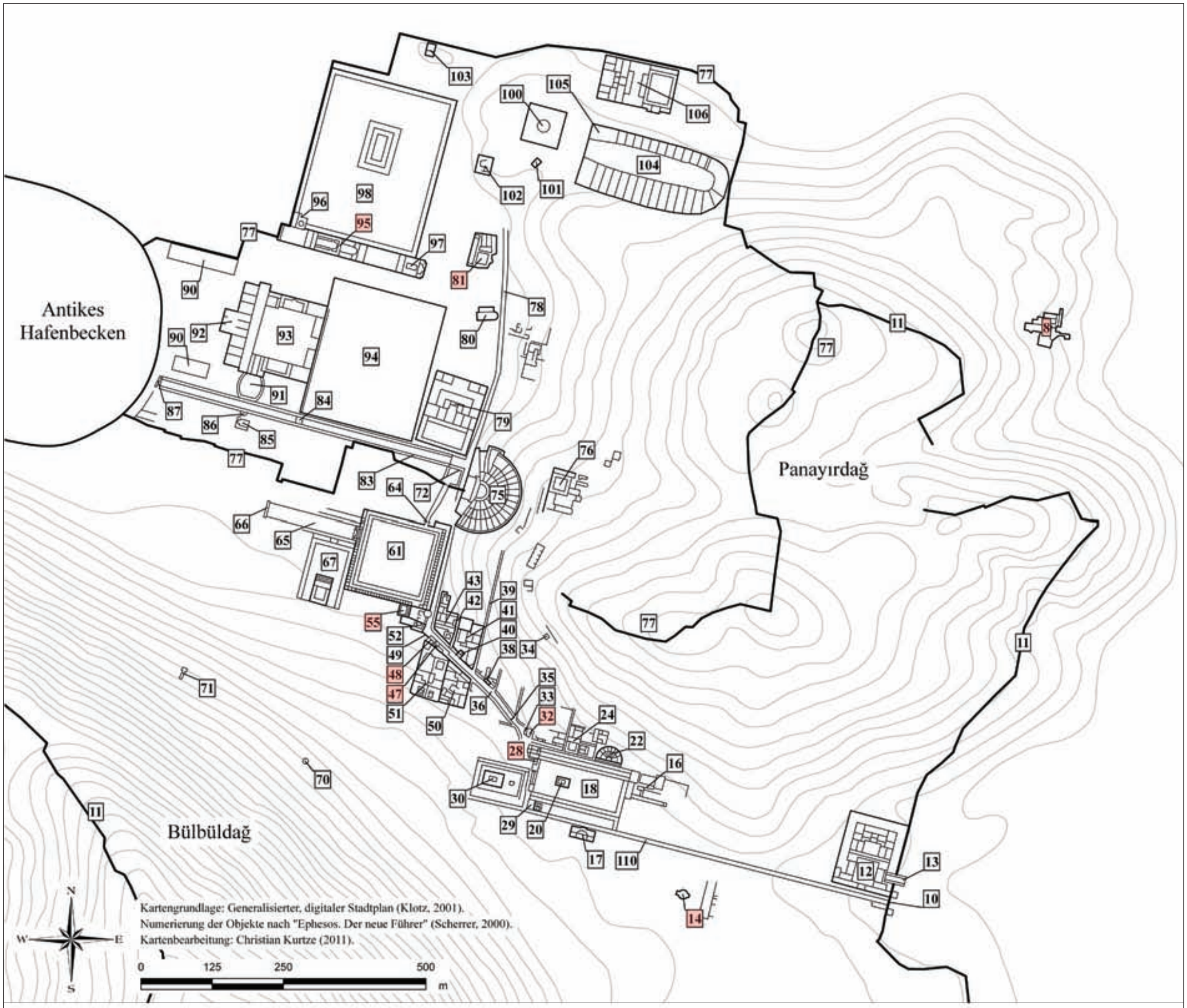
The following paper includes results from my current project on the largest necropolis of Ephesus, the so-called harbor necropolis (figs. 2-3). This necropolis, located on either side of the artificial harbor channel to the west of the Roman harbor basin, is at least 450.000 m^2 large and was used from the 2nd century until the 6th century AD.

If we ignore the extramural burials for a moment, Ephesus appears to have had a long history of intra-urban burials. After their frequent occurrence in the late Hellenistic and Augustan period, only a few examples of intra-urban burials are known from the Imperial period. Intra-urban burials again become common practice in the middle-Byzantine period when burials surround churches[2]. The earliest examples are honorific tombs and monuments and thus only represent an elite minority. But the later examples can be demonstrated to reflect changes in burial customs[3]. Although the majority of the burials from the Byzantine period would have still been placed outside the urban context, the incorporation of cemeteries into the urban fabric and their connection with Christian churches was a clear break with ancient traditions and simultaneously marks a central element in the definition of a Middle Age city[4].

The jurisdictional framework for the denial or also permission to construct an intra-urban burial is frequently attested in the literary sources: the ban of burials within the settlement is one of the oldest laws[5]. It is already noted in the *Twelve Tables*[6]. The burial was viewed in this context as a measure necessary due to hygienic reasons[7]. The corpse was removed from the area of the living and burned or buried outside of the settlement. The law forbidding cremation within the city was also a precautionary measure against the spread of fire. The ban was repeated in Late Antiquity, which suggests that the law was not always followed. Even in the *Corpus Juris Civilis* of emperor Justinian – published between 529 and 534 AD – intra-urban burials were forbidden[8]. The ban was finally lifted under Emperor Leo VI (886-912) in the 9th century[9], and a tradition acknowledged that appears to have already been common for some time[10]. The archaeological and literary records show that the intra-urban burial around churches started soon after the edict of Milan in 313 AD[11]. The phenomenon is described by E. Ivison as follows: "The extramural basilicas erected over the graves of the martyrs were attractive burial places …, for the holy relics sanctified their locale, and so blessed the deceased. The greater the proximity of the dead to these relics, the more potent the saint's intercessions on their behalf. When relics moved within the walls, to sanctify churches and to protect cities, it was logical that burials should follow"[12]. As a result, the Christian population sought out actual burial spots in close proximity to such saints: "We see here how mortuary practices can often serve as a prime means by which ancient communities expressed their group values, with tombs serving as the material representation of these identities and marking a physical presence in a territory"[13]. Consequently the responsibility for the burial slowly shifted from the city administration to the church authorities[14]. This development will be further explained in the following paper.

Already in the late Hellenistic period the privilege to bury outstanding citizens within the city is attested in Ephesus (fig. 4)[15]. Burial monuments

2 The periodization of the late antique and Byzantine period varies. The following division is used in this paper: Late Antiquity 284 to 7th century AD; early-Byzantine period 395 to 6th century AD; middle-Byzantine period 7th century to 1204 AD; late-Byzantine period 1204-1453 AD.
3 Cf. Stone/Stirling 2007, 17.
4 Cf. Ivison 1996, 99; Dagron 1977, 1-25; Ariès 1981, 29-92.
5 Cf. Schrumpf 2006, 63-64; Berns 2003, 27; Burkert 1977, 295; Young 1951, 67-134; Schörner 2007, 11-19.
6 Cf. Cic. *leg*. 2.23.58.
7 Cf. Kolb/Fugmann 2008, 14; Cormack 2004, 38.
8 Ivison 1996, 102; cf. *Cod. Theod*. 9.17.6; Dig. 47.12.3; *Cod. Iust*. 3.44.12; *Epitome Legum* 11.39.43.
9 Leo VI, *Novellae* 53. On the sources cf. Schrumpf 2006, 64 fn. 168.
10 Ivison 1996, 102: "By the ninth century burial occurred nowhere else but in and around churches …, whether within or without city".
11 Ivison 1996, 103 demonstrates this on the example of Corinth where burials took place around the churches after the 5th century. Cf. also Leone 2007, 168, 189: intra-urban burials in North Africa were already common by the 4th and 5th century.
12 Ivison 1996, 102; cf. also Dagron 1977, 11-19; Ariès 1981, 29-42 as well as Stone/Stirling 2007, 25: "Despite earlier prohibitions against the burial of individuals within a built-up urban environment, it now served the religious needs of the early Christian community to bury individuals in sacred areas of the urban landscape. This provided easy contact between the dead and the living. She demonstrates that, rather than being random, the distribution of such burials can be linked to the presence of Christian cult centres".
13 Stone/Stirling 2007, 21.
14 Cf. Ivison 1996, 105: "From the fourth century the decline of town councils and the growth of the powers of bishops led to this responsibility being passed to the Church. This increasingly made sense, since the desire to be interred *ad sanctos*, next to and inside churches and *martyria*, meant burial on church lands". On the transfer of relics of saints and martyrs into the churches in the 5th century, cf. Samellas 2002, 221-224.
15 On this privilege cf. Varro l.l.6, 49; Kolb/Fugmann 2008, 15; Cormack 2004, 38: "A contrast can be drawn between this strict separation in the west and the usual practice in the east; such individuals were generally seen to have benefitted their society in



8 Siebenschläfer-Coemeterium
10 Magnesisches Tor
11 Hellenistische Stadtmauer
12 Ostgymnasium
13 Basilika im Ostgymnasium
14 Lukasgrab
16 Thermen am Staatsmarkt
17 Fontäne
18 Staatsmarkt
20 Tempel auf dem Staatsmarkt
22 Bouleuterion / Odeion
24 Prytaneion
28 Polliobau
29 Hydrekdocheion d. Laekanius Bassus
30 Domitianstempel
32 Memmiusbau
33 Hydreion
34 Rundbau auf dem Panayırdağ
35 Heraklestor
36 Kuretenstraße (Embolos)
38 Nymphaeum Traiani
39 Badgasse
41 Variusbad / Scholasticiathermen
42 Akademiegasse
43 Latrine und Insula M1
47 Oktogon
48 Androklosheroon
49 Hadrianstor
50 Hanghaus 1
51 Hanghaus 2
52 Altarbau
55 Celsusbibliothek
61 Tetragonos Agora
64 Agora-Nordtor
65 Weststraße
66 Medusentor
67 Tempelbezirk (Serapeion)
70 Rundgrab am Bülbüldağ
71 Paulusgrotte
72 Theaterplatz mit Brunnen
75 Theater
76 Byzantinisches Banketthaus (Panayırdağ)
77 Spätantike Stadtmauer
78 Plateia in Koressos
79 Theatergymnasium
80 Apsidenbau
81 Byzantinischer Palast (Sarhoş Hamamı)
83 Osttor der Arkadiane mit Begleithallen
84 Viersäulenbau
85 Kirche südlich der Arkadiane
86 Exedra
87 Mittleres Hafentor
90 Marktbauten am Hafen
91 Atrium Thermarum
92 Hafenthermen
93 Hafengymnasium
94 Xystoi / Verulanushallen
95 Marienkirche
96 Baptisterium der Marienkirche
97 Episkopium der Marienkirche
98 Olympieion
100 Macellum
101 Byzantinisches Brunnenhaus
102 Spätantikes Peristylhaus / hellenistische Befestigung
103 Felsspalttempel
104 Stadion
105 Kirche im Stadion
106 Vediusgymnasium
110 Südstraße

Fig. 4 : City plan of Ephesus (buildings mentioned in the text are marked) (© Ch. Kurtze, ÖAI).

Fig. 5 : Ephesus. Octagon along the Curetes Street (© N. Gail, ÖAI).

Fig. 7 : Ephesus. Memmius Monument (© ÖAI).

Fig. 6 : Ephesus. So-called Heroon of Androclus along the Curetes Street (© ÖAI).

were understood in the same way as personal honorific monuments[16]. Their location within the city was supposed to arouse the maximum amount of attention: the position within the city secured a large amount of public attention and signified an exceptional honor. The functional differentiation between a burial monument and an honorific monument is not possible in this context[17]. This outward focused form of self-representation was encouraged by the considerable competition among the city-elite. Time and again there were attempts to surpass existing monuments with new patterns, the unusual articulation of details and a special location within the city.

One example of an intra-urban burial is the Octagon situated along the Curetes Street, the ancient Embolos, at the center of the city (fig. 5)[18]. The Octagon lies at the lower end of the Curetes Street, an important urban section of the old processional way, and is a true burial site (fig. 4, no 47). According to the newest studies it was built at the end of the 1st century BC[19]. It is still debated if the Octagon actually functioned as the tomb of Arsinoe IV, sister of Cleopatra VII, who was murdered in Ephesus in 41 BC. But this discussion is not relevant to this paper. A sarcophagus with human remains was discovered in the pedestal of the monopteros that has been associated with her. Despite the uncertainties concerning the person buried in this richly furnished structure in prominent location, the tomb served a high-ranking person who received the privilege of an intra-urban burial.

To the west lies the neighboring so-called Heroon of Androclus (fig. 4, no 48)[20]. This monument was combined with a fountain and did not contain a burial chamber (fig. 6). It was erected in the first half of the 1st century BC. Many scholars claim that it is an honorific building dedicated

some important fashion, for example through leadership, through the holding of public office, through financial donations to their communities, or through the attainment of intellectual distinction".

16 Cf. Hesberg/Zanker 1987, 9-20; Berns 2003, 20, 24, 27-30, 52.

17 Berns 2003, 24-25. *Contra*: Thür 2009, 13-14.

18 Further examples: the Hexagon, a small hexagonal monument east of the Octagon, cf. Thür 1996, 13-17; Berns 2003, 194; the *tholos* on the Panayırdağ, cf. Alzinger 1974, 37-40; Cormack 2004, 225-226; Berns 2003, 199; the tumulus on the Bülbüldağ, cf. Alzinger 1974, 57-58; Berns 2003, 199-202. Berns 2003, 68-79, 202-214 enumerates further hypothetical examples based on the analysis of *spolia*; cf. the critique of Plattner 2005, 384-387.

19 Thür 1990, 43-56; Thür 1995a, 178-183; Thür 2009, 9-28; Plattner 2009, 101-110; Thuswaldner 2009, 261-281; Waldner 2009, 283-315; Alzinger 1974, 40-43, 84-85; Cormack 2004, 41-42, 222; Berns 2003, 45-46, 197; Kader 1995, 199-229.

20 Thür 1995a, 176-177; Thür 1995b, 63-103; Thür 2009, 9-28; Waldner 2009, 283-315; Cormack 2004, 223-225 cf. also the term 'Heroon' 147-160; Berns 2003, 43-44. 192-194.

to the mythical founder of the city, Androclus[21]. Burial places and cenotaphs of the mythical founders of ancient cities were instrumental in the self-definition of the *poleis*. In this context the honorific monument for the city founder is supposed to remind of the old age of the city and the heroic genealogy of its citizens. Through such mythological-genealogical argumentations the cities tried to define status and rank amongst themselves[22]. But the interpretation of the Ephesian building as a *heroon* for Androclus is problematic. The heroon described by Pausanias and the actual burial of the founder must be differentiated[23]. If Androclus can even be considered a historic figure, he could have been buried both inside as well as outside the city since burial laws for the end of the 11th century BC are not preserved. Furthermore, if we accept the Ayasoluk as the location of the early Ionian settlement[24] then the placement of the burial at the lower Embolos without a direct sightline to the settlement does not make sense. As a result Pausanias is not describing the actual burial of the founder but instead the cenotaph or *heroon*. It is difficult to discern to what extent the 13 m high structure – a fusion of a fountain and representative back wall – on the Embolos can be interpreted as a *heroon* of the founder. Furthermore the connection drawn by H. Thür to the spring Hypelaia – an important element of the foundation myth – cannot be upheld[25]. The fountain is fed by a canal and not a spring and thus invalidates the comparison. The reliefs of warriors associated with the monument, in particular the relief fragment H 376 with a rider, have been associated with the foundation legend by H. Thür[26], but this cannot be securely proven[27]. Due to the absence of a funerary context or a connection to an actual person for the time being this monument is not treated as an intra-urban burial monument.

21 Contra: Jones 1993, 149-152; Engelmann 1996, 131-133.
22 Cf. Steskal 2008, 14-15 with additional literature.
23 Paus. 7.2.6-7.
24 Cf. Kerschner 2008, 109-118.
25 Thür 1995b, 102.
26 Thür 1995b, 89, 98 refers to the rider as the type 'Meleager' or 'Calydonian boar hunt'. He would later be cited on block A of the reliefs of the so-called temple of Hadrian.
27 The question of the warrior remains unresolved who according to Pausanias stood atop the tomb. In the reconstruction of H. Thür he is not included; but she does mention a surface for a pedimental figure or acroter that is situated on the ridge of the middle pediment; cf. Thür 1995b, 86.

Fig. 8 : Ephesus. Pollio Monument (© ÖAI).

The Memmius Monument (fig. 7) and Pollio Monument (fig. 8) are further examples that clearly demonstrate the ambiguous character of honorific monument and burial. The buildings were constructed in the Augustan period and are also located along the Curetes Street (fig. 4, resp. nos 32 and 28).

The construction funded for C. Memmius on the upper Embolos is problematic in several respects and appears bizarre to the modern viewer[28]. We do not know the name of the patron nor are the achievements of Memmius known that would have permitted the construction of the honorific monument in such a prominent location. The monument does not represent a funerary monument in the traditional sense. But the wealth of architectural forms does make it a good example for the private representation and self-portrayal of Romans at the end of the 1st century BC.

The honorific monument of C. Sextilius Pollio must be viewed in a similar context and is in immediate proximity[29]. C. Sextilius Pollio gained great acclaim for his work on the water supply of Ephesus: He was in charge of the construction of the second Ephesian water conduit, the Aqua Throessitica (IvE 402). At the same time he was responsible for the construction of the Basilica Stoa on the upper agora (IvE 404). The unusual combination of honorific monument and fountain is an example for the intra-urban private representation of a worthy citizen of the city

28 Alzinger/Bammer 1971; Alzinger 1974, 16-20; Bammer 1972-75, 220-222; Outschar 1990, 57-85; Thür 1995a, 177-178 and 1997, 73; Berns 2003, 46-49. 194-196; Cormack 2004, 225.
29 Bammer 1976-77, 77-92; Berns 2003, 197-198; Alzinger 1974, 24-26; Thür 1997, 70-72.

Fig. 9 : Ephesus. Celsus Library (© N. Gail, ÖAI).

Fig. 10 : Ephesus. Area to the West of the so-called Heroon of Androclus (© ÖAI).

although no funerary context could be established. The question remains if the building had an inaccessible burial chamber, a sarcophagus in the upper story or an urn for ashes.

Further examples of intramural honorific burials of the early Imperial period could be enumerated here[30].

The process of competing self-representation appears to have changed after the rule of Augustus[31]. Over time the elaborate and outward orientated self-representation was abandoned for various reasons. The competition among the elites lost most of its political motivation owing to the power of the Imperial court. The rest of the population became more conscious of its membership to its own class and social unit as well as its upward boundaries. Luxurious self-representation went out of fashion in the early Imperial period influencing the norms for burial place and monuments. A general development in the social behavior towards death and funeral practices can be seen: an exalting representation oriented towards the exterior is later transformed into a more pensive, family-oriented memorial[32]. This process appears to have been more strongly articulated in Rome and the West and did not take place in the East with the same consequences. The interest of the former dominant figures of society for a visual memorialization of their status within the urban cityscape became less pronounced but some examples in Ephesus of the 2nd century AD clearly reveal that the phenomenon of honorific burial within the city still existed although it was no longer common[33].

One of the most eye-catching funerary monuments of Imperial date in Asia Minor, lying inside the city walls, was the Library of Tib. Julius Celsus Polemeanus (fig. 9)[34]. He was buried at the west end of the Embolos in the first quarter of the 2nd century AD (fig. 4, no 55). The building was excavated at the beginning of the last century and reexamined in the 1970's. About 80% of the façade was still extant and allowed for a reconstruction. Celsus who actually came from Sardes and had had an exceptional career in the Imperial government, lived in Ephesus as proconsul of the province Asia. After his death a tomb was incorporated into a building that was unique in its impressive scale and lavish decoration. The importance and rank of Celsus within Ephesian society was highlighted through the centrality of his building within a major urban center. His exceptional importance is emphasized by the circumstance that this is an

30 The localization and interpretation of monuments as inner-urban burials is sometimes in need of further discussion: As for example the case of the Imperial freedmen Mazaeus and Mithridates who are named as patrons of the south gate of the Tetragonas Agora. According to P. Scherrer they were supposed to be buried in the East and West wing of the gate: Scherrer 2006, 34-36. See Thür 1997, 70-72 and 2009, 17-18; Cormack 2004, 225.

31 Cf. Hesberg 1992, 37-42; Berns 2003, 25-26. 79-81.

32 Schrumpf 2006, 74; Berns 2003, 140-141. 147.

33 In addition to the examples listed cf. also the sarcophagus east of the south gate of the Tetragonos Agora of the sophist T. Claudius Flavianus Dionysius Rhetor: Thür 1997, 75; Engelmann 1995, 86-87; Cormack 2004, 42, 223.

34 Keil *et al.* 1944; Hueber 1997, 77-81; Strocka 1978, 893-900 and 2009, 247-259; Cormack 2004, 41. 46, 222-223. Cf. the similar findings in Nysa: Strocka 2011, 269-278.

Fig. 11 : Ephesus. Seven Sleepers Cemetery (© N. Gail, ÖAI).

inner-urban burial and therefore a very prestigious recognition[35].

A sarcophagus found on the west side of the Heroon of Androclus may be the burial of another important Ephesian individual, a patron who was reported to have made several dedications at the end of the 1st and beginning of the 2nd century AD (fig. 10)[36]. The sarcophagus contained a skeleton of a 60-70 year old man as well as a marble portrait of an Imperial priest. The sarcophagus and portrait might have been buried in this place in Late Antiquity. Possibly they belonged to the intra-urban tomb of Tib. Claudius Aristion, thought to be located east of the Nymphaeum Traiani, which he founded[37].

Most of the intra-urban honorific burials have in common that they maintain a certain distance to the viewer and that they are inaccessible, as for example located above a high podium[38]. Thus they reflect the distance of simple citizens to the social elite. The Library of Celsus is an exception since it is open to visitors.

With the drastic decline of private patronage in Ephesus inner-urban honorific burials disappear in the course of the 3rd century[39]. The phenomenon of inner-urban burials again becomes popular in Late Antiquity when Christians started to bury the deceased adjacent to or even in churches[40]. At this point it did not make a difference whether the churches were located inside or outside the cities.

One of the earliest examples of a church with burials inside was the so-called Seven Sleepers Cemetery, lying outside the city walls (fig. 11). The Cemetery of the Seven Sleepers is originally an Imperial burial complex of the 3rd century AD that, according to inscriptions, was already used at this point by Christians[41]. In the mid-5th century the

35 See also the contribution by Berns in this volume.
36 Thür 1997; Cormack 2004, 42. 223.
37 On the individual and his endowments with further literature: Quatember 2011, 49-52.
38 Cf. Berns 2003, 29-30. 52.
39 Cf. Foss 1979, 24; Drecoll 1997; Roueché 1997, 353-368.
40 Summary of the Ephesian churches: Ladstätter/Pülz 2007, 408-417. In addition to the mentioned burial spaces surrounding inner-urban churches further – imprecisely dated – burials were discovered around the small church in the Stadium, cf. Karwiese 1994, 21-24 and 1995, 22-23; around the church (?) in the north-east corner of the marble hall of the Harbor Gymnasium, cf. Benndorf 1898, 65; Scherrer 1995, 17; around the chapel on the Clivus Sacer, cf. Miltner 1959b, 362.
41 Zimmermann/Ladstätter 2010, 149-158. 203-207; Zimmermann 2011, 160-166; Miltner 1937; Pillinger 2001, 26-34 and 2005, 235-241; Jobst 1972-75, 171-180.

Fig. 12 : Ephesus. Church of Mary (© ÖAI).

Fig. 13 : Ephesus. Cemetery around the chapel of the so-called Byzantine Palace (© A. Pülz, ÖAW).

Fig. 14 : Ephesus. So-called Tomb of St. Luke (© F. Krinzinger, ÖAI).

emperor Theodosius II built a secondary church here.

In the early 5th century the oldest bishop church of the city was constructed, the Church of Mary (fig. 12)[42]. Around this church a cemetery developed but it is difficult to date since the Christian burials in this cemetery usually do not contain any burial goods. Only in the 10th/11th century, the middle-Byzantine period, can the cemetery be securely dated. At this time period intra-urban burials were again allowed.

The intra-urban cemetery around the chapel of the so-called Byzantine Palace has a similarly late date (fig. 13)[43]. Although the representative building was constructed in the first quarter of the 5th century and functioned as the seat of a high-level governmental official with its impressively vaulted tetraconch, the cemetery dates to the 10th/11th century.

Another intra-urban church, as for example the so-called Tomb of St. Luke (fig. 14)[44], an Imperial fountain house (3rd quarter 2nd century AD) in the form of a hypaethral monopteros, was adapted into a church in the mid- to late-5th century but the associated cemetery cannot be dated. The first excavator of the monument, J.T. Wood, localized multiple burials in its vicinity in 1865[45]. His documentation though has not been preserved. The building was definitely not the tomb of the evangelist Luke, who never was in Ephesus, but it was probably dedicated to him. As a result it could indirectly be a cemetery *ad sanctos*.

In the course of our research on the harbor necropolis (figs. 2-3) we dealt with the question whether the intra-urban spaces were used systematically as cemeteries after this largest cemetery was abandoned in the 6th century. Our question essentially focused on the issue whether the inhabitants of the post-classical city still recognized the abandoned and partially deconstructed city-walls as a sacred boundary or border – similar to the *pomerium* of Rome[46]. In the course of the survey we were not able to detect any systematic burials within the city-walls of the surveyed areas. This is surprising since the reduction in size of the fortified city, at the beginning of the middle-Byzantine period[47], meant that the former intramural city spaces were now extramural. And still this old boundary appears to have played a decisive role.

But where were the cemeteries of the 7th, 8th and 9th century situated? Even within a clearly smaller Byzantine city there will have been enough spaces for burial. Regrettably we must admit that at the moment our knowledge about the location of the cemeteries at the beginning of the middle-Byzantine period is still very unclear. On the one hand we know of the extramural cemetery surrounding the cemetery of the Seven Sleepers. On the other hand we need to take into consideration that the cemeteries around the intra-urban churches already existed much earlier but they cannot be accurately dated due to the lack of burial goods and assemblages. Furthermore, most of the churches including their possible cemeteries are lacking sufficient archaeological study. Since the phenomenon of intra-urban burials around churches began in other places already in the early-Byzantine period, this may also be suggested as a working hypothesis for Ephesus.

The title of this paper mentions 'wandering cemeteries'. We know the end point of the wandering but not all the stops along the way have been discovered. Still, the necropoleis of Ephesus offer a great potential for further research and study, which we will continue to focus on in the next couple of years.

42 Reisch *et al.* 1932; Karwiese 1989 with older literature and 1999, 81-85; Zimmermann 2011, 141-142; Zimmermann/Ladstätter 2010, 186-187 as well as a summary of the dating: Pülz 2010, 134-135 fn. 881.

43 The monument is currently being scientifically studied by A. Pülz. In the meantime: Pülz 2011, 64-66; Vetters 1966, 278-280; Miltner 1958, 115-117; Miltner 1956-58, 3-17 and 1959a, 243-249; Foss 1979, 50-51; Berger 1982, 50; Lavan 1999, 148-149.

44 Pülz 2010.

45 Wood 1877, 56-59. – In addition to the cemetery around the church two undated burial spaces with 23 individuals were discovered in the lower church in the base of the Imperial monument.

46 Leone 2007, 168-170: For her examples in the North African provinces she assumes that this border was no longer of relevance.

47 The Byzantine city walls were recently dated – although not exhaustively studied – to the end of the 6th or beginning of the 7th century; cf. Pülz 2011, 68-70.

Abréviations

AbhMünchen	Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse. Abhandlungen
AForsch	Archäologische Forschungen
AMS	Asia Minor Studien
AntTard	Antiquité tardive. Revue internationale d'histoire et d'archéologie
BJ	Bonner Jahrbücher des Rheinischen Landesmuseums in Bonn
DenkschrWien	Denkschriften der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Klasse
DOP	Dumbarton Oaks Papers
ErghÖJh	Ergänzungshefte zu den Jahresheften des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien
FiE	Forschungen in Ephesos
IvE	Inschriften von Ephesos
JHS	The Journal of Hellenic Studies
JÖAI	Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien
JRA	Journal of Roman Archaeology
MiChA	Mitteilungen zur Christlichen Archäologie
SoSchrÖAI	Sonderschriften des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts
WForsch	Wiener Forschungen zur Archäologie
ZPE	Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik

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Le développement de rites mortuaires complexes dans l'histoire de l'Homme a résulté dans un rôle croissant joué par les pratiques funéraires utilisées comme moyen de resserrer les liens à l'intérieur d'une même communauté. À cet égard, le singulier usage d'inhumer un individu au cœur de la communauté révèle avec acuité la force de cette relation que pouvaient entretenir les vivants et les morts. Les découvertes archéologiques récentes ont souligné l'importance de telles pratiques liées aux inhumations *intra-muros* en Anatolie. Bien qu'il semble possible de tisser un lien continu entre ces coutumes, les contextes dans lesquels s'inscrivent la pratique d'inhumer une personne au cœur même de la communauté, depuis l'enfant du Néolithique à Çatalhöyük à la libraire de Celsius à Ephèse, en passant par le Mausolée d'Halicarnasse, ont néanmoins radicalement changés en fonction des époques et des lieux. L'objectif de ce volume, en rassemblant des spécialistes de périodes et d'horizons différents, est d'offrir non seulement un point général de nos connaissances sur ces questions, mais aussi un éclairage concernant le mécanisme de ces pratiques, leur contexte et leur impact en Anatolie, du début de l'Âge du Bronze à l'époque romaine.

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