

TÜRK TARİH KURUMU YAYINLARI  
DİZİ VII—Sa. 60<sup>a</sup>

# MANSEL'E ARMAĞAN

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TÜRK TARİH KURUMU BASIMEVİ—ANKARA  
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NISI ABSOLUTO IAM  
OBSERVATIONS ON THE BUILDINGS OF THE  
MAUSOLEUM AT HALICARNASSUS

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In paying my homage to the distinguished author of "Stockwerkbau der Griechen und Römer", I would like to emphasize that the following observations are published with some hesitation on the part of myself. If they do not hit the mark precisely, they may at least help us, I hope, to pave the way for a more convincing solution of the complicated problems briefly discussed in the present article.

Very few, if any, scholars have apparently ever felt tempted to question whether the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus was actually completed.

Its fame as one of the seven wonders of the ancient world appears, indeed, to imply that the project was carried out to the very last degree of perfection. Moreover, judging from the great quantity of ancient blocks and sculptures employed in the Castle of St. Peter at Bodrum, the monument, though once perfect, could reasonably well have been reduced to its present state of preservation by the dismembering force of an earthquake, followed by the activity of the Knights of St. John.

Until recently these arguments were, I believed, as convincing as one could possibly wish. Lately, however, my assurance has been shaken. It occurs to me now that arguments contrary to those already mentioned may be equally justified.

First, it can hardly be doubted that a large percentage of ancient tombs built on a monumental scale were never finished. To mention one outstanding example of particular interest: the Mausoleum at Belevi<sup>1</sup>. Instructive examples are to be found also among a multitude

<sup>1</sup> vgl. Josef Keil, Führer durch Ephesos (1964) p. 158, 159 ff.: "An Grösse und Pracht der Planung mit dem als Weltwunder gefeierten Mausoleum von Halikarnas vergleichbar, ist der Bau, lange vor seiner Vollendung, ganz plötzlich abgestoppt

of rock-cut tombs hollowed out in the mountain slopes of Asia Minor, for instance those around the city of Caunus in Caria<sup>2</sup>.

In many cases, we may presume, the generosity of surviving relatives would fade after a while, particularly if some of those nearest to the deceased died soon after the first bereavement had occurred.

Second, but not least: a number of pretentious enterprises undertaken on the initiative, or to the benefit, of powerful individuals have, it is known, miscarried for the obvious reason that political conditions prevailing at the time when work was begun had radically changed before it was finished. Witness, for instance, the so-called Polycrates temple at Samos and the archaic Olympieion of Peisistratus at Athens.

The above-mentioned arguments appear to apply also to the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus: This was erected in honour of a ruler whose absolute power was comparable to that of the local tyrants of Archaic Greece; and the work was organized by Artemisia, his wife, who was apparently no less despotic than Maussollos himself<sup>3</sup> and who died only two years after her husband. Add to this Pliny's narrative about the events after Artemisia's death, particularly the words quoted in the heading of this article, with which we shall deal below, and we are prepared, I think, to accept the hypothesis —if evidence can be adduced in its favour— that the Mausoleum was never finished.

und dann niemals weiterführt worden. In nicht bestimmbarer Zeit haben Bauleute, die nur nach für sie verwendbaren Quadern suchten, das noch aufrecht Stehende zum Einsturz gebracht." "Bertrachtet man den Streifen mit den singenden und spielenden Sirenen auf der Vorderseite des auch in seinem Deckel unfertigen Sarkophags, so erkennt man, dass ein Teil der Figuren fertig ausgeführt, der andere aber unvollendet geblieben ist, die Arbeit also ganz plötzlich eingestellt wurde; ganz dasselbe plötzliche Abbrechen der Arbeit ist der Fall bei dem ionicischen Kyma und den Stufen des dorischen Sockels, dasselbe liegt vor bei der Zella, die niemals das doch notwendigerweise vorgesehene Dach erhalten hat, dasselbe bei der nichtvollendeten Einebnung des um das Grabgebäude geplanten Festplatzes".

<sup>2</sup> cp. Ekrem Akurgal, *Ancient Civilisations and Ruins of Turkey* (2. ed. 1970) 254; G. Bean, *Turkey beyond the Maeander* (1971) 174 ff., fig. 38. A study of the rock tombs of Caunus is under preparation by Paavo Roos, University of Lund, and is likely to be published in 1972.

<sup>3</sup> cp. Vitruvius II 8, 14-16.

During the first campaign of the Danish expedition to Bodrum in 1966, excavations started along the East side of the Peribolus<sup>4</sup>. Sound-



Fig. 93

<sup>4</sup> Acta Arch. 38 1967 36 ff., quoted in the following as PR (preliminary report).

ings brought to light also the foundations of a building about 15 meters wide, projecting eastwards from the line of the Peribolus, and situated approximately on the longitudinal axis of the precinct (fig. 93 C). Obviously the lower terrace wall with its ashlar of bluish limestone had been demolished and plundered by stone-robbers. In one ashlar, found abandoned where it had fallen, holes had been cut to make transport easier (PR fig. 7). It was somewhat perplexing to notice, though, that great quantities of Classical and later Greek pottery, fragments of Hellenistic wine amphoras and terracottas etc. had accumulated in the earth layers situated above the Peribolus, particularly above the foundations of building C, as if all this rubbish had gradually slipped down beyond the line of the Peribolus. It was hard to believe that heaps of potsherds had been allowed to disfigure the terrace around the Mausoleum, while tourists were still visiting Halicarnassus with the principal purpose of admiring one of the seven wonders of the world. But it is not very likely either that the material in question had been shifted in the Middle Ages or later from another place to the site where it was eventually found. What were we to believe?

Eastwards, blocking the front of building C, steps were discovered belonging to another building D, which appears to have been built in late Antiquity, when the Mausoleum was still as famous as ever. I concluded therefore that although building C is situated exactly where a propylon leading up to the Mausoleum terrace was most likely to be found, we would have to look for the principal gateway of the precinct somewhere else along the line of the Peribolus<sup>5</sup>. However, after having searched in vain for a propylon elsewhere, I am inclined to favour the hypothesis that building C was in actual fact planned to function as a gateway for the Mausoleum, but was never finished and never put to use. Around building C have been found a number of architectural marbles such as column drums and triglyphs, but none that could possibly have belonged to the superstructure of a midfourth century propylon<sup>6</sup>. Judging from our soundings it may even be doubted if the easternmost foundations of the building were ever laid. Supplementary excavations in 1970 have

<sup>5</sup> PR 41 ff., 56.

<sup>6</sup> PR 42

shown, however, that the lateral foundations of building C were prolonged behind the line of the Peribolus, apparently to form a porch equivalent to an entrance hall projecting in front of the terrace. Access from outside was presumably planned to take the form of a monumental flight of stairs.

During the first campaign we had the luck to discover also the SE angle of the Peribolus<sup>7</sup>. From this angle the foundations of the South side could be followed up to a point about 20 metres westwards beyond which nothing remained except a shallow bed cut in the living rock. Soundings made in section Lh on the line of the South Peribolus wall failed to provide conclusive evidence of any kind. If a wall had ever existed in this place, not a trace of it remained. This proved true also of one of the supplementary trenches laid out in 1970 along the same line, in section Gh, where surface water prevented us from reaching the level of the living rock.

In section Eh, however, foundations presumably laid out for the SW angle of the Peribolus were found in the bottom of a trench exactly where they were expected to turn up.

The North wall of the Peribolus was traced westwards to its full extent during the campaign of 1967<sup>8</sup>, and foundations for the NW angle were found in situ (PR figs. 22-23, section Ec). Obviously the Peribolus was designed, at this point, to turn southwards at right angles, but it may be doubted whether the west side of the Peribolus was ever built. In section Ed we discovered what appears to have been a shallow bed for the foundations cut in the living rock, but in section Ef (three trenches) research was absolutely fruitless.

Of the north side of the Peribolus, north of the "Quadrangle", Newton found a well-preserved section consisting of three courses of ashlar<sup>9</sup>. Soundings in 1970 have shown that unfortunately every bit of these precious remains of white marble have disappeared since the time of Newton and Biliotti. Our trenches along the westernmost part of the wall, however, brought to light fragments of well-tooled ashlar exactly like those discovered by Newton.

<sup>7</sup> PR 44

<sup>8</sup> PR 46 ff.

<sup>9</sup> A History of Discoveries etc. pl. VI.

It can hardly be doubted, therefore, that the whole of the North Peribolus wall was finished from head to foot - otherwise it would not have received its final surface treatment. It is not possible to calculate the exact original height of the North Peribolus wall, but apparently it was high enough to function as a backing for the large building called A, the purpose of which is still unknown.

In the preliminary report, p. 56, I observed that it had not been possible "to trace a regular surface level of the terrace in any of the trenches recently excavated". In that respect excavations in 1970 were equally futile.

I shall not venture, at the present, to draw definite conclusions from the observations mentioned above, but it may be justified to deduce from them what can be considered a plausible hypothesis. According to this, the original plan was to construct a large terrace for the Mausoleum. Preliminary foundations were laid for the angles, and cuttings were made in the living rock in different places to allow for the walls supporting the terrace. Only two of them, however, those nearest to the tomb building proper, were finished (the North side, which for the most part was based on the living rock) or half-finished. Along the East side, the lower terrace wall of bluish stone was finished, while the upper wall (presumably of white marble like the North wall) and building C were left in an incomplete state. The South and West sides were never built. For practical reasons the South side had to be left open as long as possible to allow for transport of stone from the harbour, to which marbles must have been shipped from various places in the Aegaeon before they were unloaded along the shore below the Mausoleum.

Other features of the monument may also have been left imperfect, but there is no evidence to suggest as yet that any important part of the tomb building proper was missing, when works were definitely suspended. This is corroborated, above all, by the fact that substantial remains have been found both of the stepped pyramid of the roof and of the quadriga on its top<sup>10</sup>. There is every reason to believe, therefore, that the fame of the Mausoleum was based, almost exclusively, on the tomb building proper and its sculptural splendour.

<sup>10</sup> PR 50 ff.

If it holds true that the Mausoleum was never finished, or finished only to a limited extent, how does this fact fit in with the information handed down to us by Greek and Roman poets and writers?

Vitruvius (VII pr. 13) maintains that in an attempt to surpass one another (*sumpserunt certatim*) the artists Leochares, Scopas, Bryaxis and Praxiteles (and possibly Timotheus as well) undertook to decorate for approval (*ad ornandum et probandum*) each of the four sides of the monument.

The same kind of competition, stimulated apparently by hopes of winning professional fame rather than riches of mammon, is mentioned by Pliny the Elder, though in somewhat vaguer terms. He says that after the death of Artemisia the artists went on with their work and finished it "because they deemed that the monument was a glory for themselves and for their art" and that "the hands compete even today"<sup>11</sup>.

Both authors emphasize the sculptors' ambitions, but according to Pliny, their attitude was particularly noteworthy after the death of Artemisia. He seems to suggest, that although they might have stopped working (because they were no longer bound by contracts?), they were so deeply committed to the common cause — the Mausoleum — that they preferred to carry through their individual projects (no matter how small the salaries they were offered in return?). Obviously, however, Pliny does not intend to convey to the reader's mind so many possible implications. At the beginning of his description of the Mausoleum he has already drawn attention to the fact (as his information goes) that the tomb was built "by" Artemisia: "*Sepulchrum hoc est ab uxore Artemisia factum* etc." An extraordinary argument is needed, therefore, to motivate his statement, a few lines below, that the Mausoleum was not finished till some time after the death of Artemisia. But this assertion is interesting because it seems to add substantially to the trustworthiness of the widespread tradition that it was Artemisia who built the Mausoleum. This is maintained

<sup>11</sup> Pliny, N. H. XXXVI 31:

Ab oriente caelavit Scopas, a septentrione Bryaxis, a meridie Timotheus, ab occasu Leochares, priusque quam peragerent regina obiit. non tamen recesserunt, nisi absoluto iam, id gloriae ipsorum artisque monimentum iudicantes, hodieque certant manus.



not merely by Pliny, but also by Cicero (*fecit*; Tusc. disp. III 31), Strabo (τῷ ἀνδρὶ κατεσκεύασε; XIV 656), Pomponius Mela (*opus Artemisiae*; chorogr. L 16) and Aulus Gellius (*molita est (Artemisia)*; Noctes atticae X 18). Evidently the Mausoleum could by no means have been finished in the course of those two years left of Artemisia's life after the death of her husband. Thus, if tradition holds true, it can only be understood as meaning that Artemisia took the initiative in planning the magnificent tomb for her husband and devoted all her energies in organizing and promoting the work as much as possible until she died.

In fact, according to Gellius, enormous efforts were made by order of Artemisia (*molita est ingenti impetu operis*), and it is probable enough that rapid progress was made before her death. But unless the erection of the monument had been started as early as several years before Maussollus' death, it must have been left to Artemisia's successors, her brother and sister Idrieus and Ada, to accomplish what Artemisia had planned in the visions of her widowhood.

Judged by normal standards, even at a princely level, the Mausoleum must no doubt have seemed excessive in the extreme both in size and luxury. Literary sources suggest that Artemisia must have been half out of her wits. At the funeral she is said to have exposed her sorrow in an ecstatic way that was found exceptional (Gellius: *multaque alia violenti amoris indicia fecisse dicitur*). Presumably it surpassed the limits of conventional funeral rites in Greece and Italy. From this point of view it does not seem incredible that she prepared and swallowed a drink mixed up with remains of the funeral pyre, bones, ashes and incense, as reported by Valerius Maximus and Aulus Gellius. If it is true that the funeral was performed as an act of cremation — in which case the pyre is likely to have been as truly magnificent as for instance that of Pausanias' (II, book XXXIII) or that of Hephaestion, the favorite companion of Alexander (Arrian VII 14, Diodorus XVII, 115) — the remains of the body were probably deposited in an urn and this was safeguarded somewhere until the tomb was ready to receive it.

Cicero testifies that Artemisia was mournful to the extreme. Her sorrow seems to have become proverbial among poets. Tradition is unanimous in crediting her with pompous festivities, musical

competitions etc. at the funeral and with the subsequent erection of the Mausoleum. This evidence cannot be discarded, unless it is proved unreliable. And just as it seems certain that it was Artemisia who dedicated the tomb, there can be no doubt that it was built primarily in honour of Maussollus and called therefore aptly the "Maussolleion"; though, of course, it may well have been designed to function, at the same time, as a family memorial (syngenikon), and to house a genealogical gallery of portraits of Maussollus' ancestors.

Hans Riemann finds it hard to believe that the Mausoleum was built exclusively at the initiative of Artemisia:

"Doch das kann nicht zutreffen, da der Grabbau mitten in der Stadt an beherrschender Stelle liegt, also von Anfang an in der Gesamtplanung der neuen Grosstadt einbegriffen gewesen sein muss" (PW s. v. Pytheos sp. 373).

This argument is hardly as cogent as Riemann would like to maintain. I am inclined to believe that the city wall built by Maussollus to protect his new residence was following in the main the same line as the ancient circuit still to be traced around modern Bodrum, though this may have been repaired and rebuilt in Hellenistic and Roman times. (PR Fig. 1) As is well known, a thorough archaeological study of the impressive ruins has not yet been carried out. It can hardly be doubted, however, that the site of the Mausoleum was situated inside the area laid out by Maussollus for the new city, which he is known to have organized. But since the city wall was built along a line advantageous for purposes of defense, following promontories, mountain ridges and steep precipices in the periphery of the city, it enclosed a territory that must have been rather more extensive than the space necessary for the city plan proper, including public buildings and residential quarters. Thus parts of the suburban necropolis originally surrounding Archaic and Classical Halicarnassus were absorbed by the expansion of the new mid-fourth century city and were presumably left for a time fallow and uninhabited, while new burials were placed outside the new city wall. Areas may have been reserved for tombs for Maussollus and his relatives, but not necessarily inside the framework of the city plan proper.

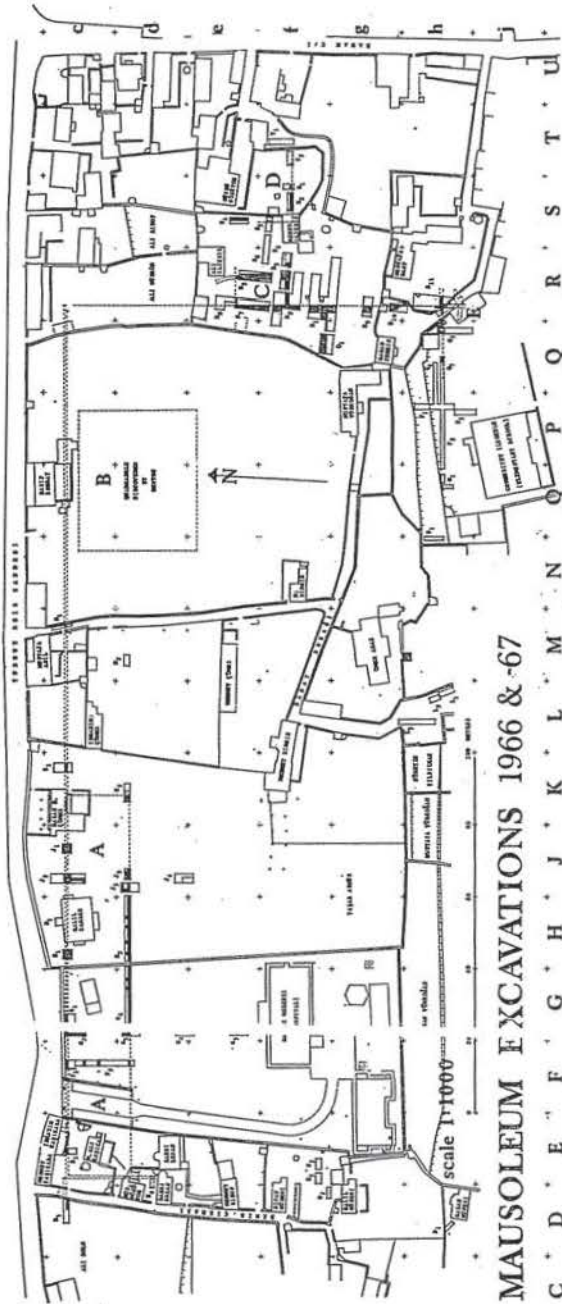


Fig. 94

Newton discovered that the Mausoleum had been erected upon a rocky terrace penetrated by ancient tomb chambers and water conduits (galleries); and at the bottom of a monumental flight of stairs, which he believed must have served as an entrance to the basement of the Mausoleum, he made a small find of particular interest: an alabaster vase of Oriental (Egyptian?) design carrying cuneiform and hieroglyphic inscriptions running as follows: "Xerxes the Great King". (Fig. 94) The vase that was discovered among other alabaster jars of different shapes (a grave deposit?) must be dated in the reign of Xerxes, king of Persia, who ruled in the period 485-465 B. C.<sup>12</sup>

Our excavations in 1970 have already shown that both the stairs and a number of other conspicuous remains of architecture found inside the "Quadrangle" belonged to a sepulchral complex of impressive dimensions, which, judging from the alabaster vase just mentioned, must have been built and used by prominent people living in Halicarnassus at the time of Xerxes or a little later—presumably the dynasty of the Lygdamids, which held power in Halicarnassus at the time of the Persian wars until Lygdamis II was exiled and the city was listed among the tribute-paying members of the Athenian Naval Confederacy.

During the subsequent period that lasted as long as Athenian supremacy in the Aegean Sea, the graves of the Lygdamids are likely to have sunk into oblivion. Possibly they were also plundered because nobody cared to protect them. By the time of Maussollus they were probably in a poor state of preservation and perhaps hardly worth repairing. This assumption, at any rate, may explain why old tombs were levelled to allow for the erection of the Mausoleum and may account also for Artemisia's choice of the site for her husband's tomb.

<sup>12</sup> C. T. Newton, *A History of Discoveries etc.* 91 ff., pl. VII and Appendix II p. 557-570 (by G. B. H. N.), 17 alabaster jars or fragments of jars are listed in the BM register (numbered) 57.12-20. 1-17) as having been found at the foot of the staircase on the W. side of the Mausoleum. The Xerxes vase, 57.12-20. 1 was transferred to the W. Asiatic Dept. in 1956. These finds have never been duly published and discussed from an archaeological point of view. There is no evidence in the BM register for other objects (terracottas etc.) apart from the alabaster vases coming from the western staircase. The inscriptions of the Xerxes vase are briefly mentioned by philologists: F. H. Weissbach, *Die Keilinschriften der Achaemeniden* (1911) pp. XXVI, 118-9; Giron, *Revue d'Assyriologie XVIII* (1921) 143-5; R. G. Kent, *Old Persian, Grammar, Texts, Lexicon* (New Haven 1950) 115, 157.

Like her brothers and sisters she must have been familiar with the Greek dialect (Ionic), in which public documents were drawn up in Classical Caria, and she had probably also some knowledge of Greek literature. She may well have read the historical work of Herodotus, and may have felt tempted to do so particularly if it holds true that the famous writer was born in Halicarnassus. In that case she must have read the glorious description of the deeds during the naval battle at Salamis of her namesake - then a widow like herself, yet brave and clever in devising stratagems, the only one among the officers of the Persian King behaving truly like a man (Herodotus 7, 99; 8, 68 ff., 87 ff.) The analogy this amazon bore to Maussollus' sister-queen must have been striking, if Vitruvius' narrative about her success in overcoming the Rhodians, when they tried to conquer Halicarnassus, can be trusted (Vitr. II 8, 14-16). Justly or not, the Lygdamids are likely to have been reckoned among the ancestors of Maussollus and his family. It was logical, therefore, that the Mausoleum was designed to replace the tombs of those who had formerly ruled Halicarnassus and inscribed their names in history among the bravest enemies of Athens, the city which had also been among the fiercest rivals of Maussollus.

No doubt Artemisia did her utmost to accelerate the erection of the Mausoleum. She seems to have appointed the best Greek artists available and to have devised, in concert with her architect-in-chief, a clever plan for the organization of their work. In order to ensure efficiency and smooth progress, the monument was subdivided into sections, each of which was entrusted to a team of artisans headed by a prominent master-sculptor. Thus, during a long period, several teams must have worked side by side, looking askance to each other. It is easily understood that each team endeavoured to surpass the neighbouring teams: inevitably the general sentiment would tend towards competition rather than cooperation.

As many sections of the project as possible, architectural and sculptural, were probably set going at the same time as soon as plans were ready for them, and as many artisans were appointed as could by any means be employed without causing Babylonian confusion. Under such circumstances it does not seem beyond the bounds of possibility that the Peribolus wall of the Mausoleum terrace might

have been finished by the time of the death of Artemisia, at least to the extent that has been hypothetically deduced in our previous observations, from soundings in the field.

It goes without saying, however, that at this time work on the tomb building proper could only have reached a preliminary stage. Presumably the erection of the lower basement was underway, whereas the superstructure, including most of the sculptural ornament, was merely in preparation. On an analogy with other monuments comparable in magnitude and splendour to the Mausoleum, as for instance the Parthenon, which it took 16 years to complete (448-432 B. C.), about 10 years would just barely have sufficed in order to finish the tomb building proper of the Mausoleum precinct — depending, of course, on the rate at which operations were allowed to proceed. But what exactly happened after the death of Artemisia?

I do not share Ernst Buschor's sophisticated views that work was completely suspended after the death of Artemisia and not resumed till Ada had been restored as ruler of Caria by Alexander the Great in 334 B. C. However, Buschor makes a point of stressing what may in actual fact have been the immediate consequence of Artemisia's death:

“Nachfolger der Artemisia waren ihre unter sich vermählten Geschwister Idrieus und Ada; es ist die Frage, ob sie sich des kostspieligen Unternehmens mit dem gleichen Eifer annahmen wie die Witwe des Maussollos, ja ob die Fortführung und Beendigung des Baues überhaupt in ihren Kräften stand” (Maussollos und Alexander (1950) p. 54).

If our assumption holds good that Artemisia had acted in a fit of obsession due to the loss of her husband, the attitude of Idrieus and Ada is likely to have been rather more sober and cool-headed than Artemisia's. They may have found, with perfect justice, that the original Mausoleum project was far beyond measure, and that already a monstrous sum of money had been wasted in a vain attempt to glorify the ashes of their elder brother. Presumably, therefore, they decided to curtail the budget of the memorial and to reserve provisionally the means they could afford for the completion of the tomb building proper.

Possibly it was still not quite finished when Idrieus died in 344 B. C., and it may have been left to a royal widow, once again, to enter

upon the burdensome inheritance of the late Maussollus. Four years later, however, Ada was expelled from Halicarnassus by her younger brother Pixodarus. Domestic quarrels were raging, and it is hard to believe that anybody would bother any longer about the insatiably cost-consuming family memorial. But in all probability the tomb building proper had already been completed under the rule of Ada, and the outskirts of the Mausoleum precinct were left unfinished forever.

It is, of course, conceivable that the Peribolus and its propylon represent the latest phase of building rather than the earliest. In that case it may be concluded, either that Idrieus and Ada took responsibility, after all, for the original project in its full extent, but did not manage to complete the building, or that the tomb had been largely finished, apart from accessory constructions, by the death of Artemisia.

Eventually one must decide for himself whether he prefers to assume that the period of Artemisia's widowhood, which may have lasted not exactly but considerably less than two or barely less than three years, had lasted long enough to get work sufficiently under way to ensure that the tomb would have to be finished by Idrieus and Ada, or whether he finds it more probable that the building had been commenced while Maussollus was still alive, and that it was finished in all essentials by the furious activity of Artemisia after his death.

In support of the latter hypothesis it can be argued that Artemisia may have been in a hurry, because she felt her own death approaching and was longing to see the monument finished. But there is not one bit of evidence proving, at present, that work was begun before the death of Maussollus, or suggesting that Artemisia merely supervised the final phase of the operations.

Literary tradition connects the Mausoleum project with Artemisia's conjugal feelings *after* the death of her husband, and Pliny's NISI ABSOLUTO IAM seems to prove that work was continued under Idrieus and Ada, possibly right up to the banishment of Ada in 340 B. C.

Fig. 93 Mausoleum excavations 1966-1967, general plan (copied from Acta Arch. 38 1967 pl. II).

Fig. 94 Alabaster vase found at the bottom of the western staircase of the Mausoleum site by Newton (photograph reproduced by permission of the Trustees of the British Museum).