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LYDIAN GRAVES AND BURIAL CUSTOMS

University of California, Berkeley PH.D. 1985

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Lydian Graves and Burial Customs

By

Barbara Kelley McLauchlin
A.B. (San Francisco State University) 1973
M.A. (University of California) 1978
C.Phil. (University of California) 1982

DISSERTATION

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LYDIAN GRAVES AND BURIAL CUSTOMS

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PREFACE

My first view of the burial mounds at Bin Tepe, as the shadows of late afternoon clouds drifted across the undulating landscape, planted the seeds of this dissertation. That first breathtaking glimpse and its ultimate result were made possible by the support and encouragement of the directors and staff of the Archaeological Exploration of Sardis. Thanks are given to many adventurous and patient colleagues of the Harvard/Cornell Expedition and of the Turkish archaeological community who shared my funerary interests during the 1979-1983 field seasons. In particular, I wish to express my appreciation to Andrew Ramage, assistant director of the Expedition, from whom I have learned so much about Lydian material culture. A special debt is owed to the staff of the Manisa Museum and especially to its director, Kubilay Nayir. Without his generosity in making available to me the material in Manisa and information gathered in his many investigations of Lydian tombs, much of this dissertation could not have been written. My research in Turkey was aided by a fellowship from the American Research Institute in Turkey and the John Wesley Britten Fellowship from the University of California at Berkeley.

The members of my committee at Berkeley, J. K. Anderson, David Stronach and Crawford Greenewalt, have given generously of their time and expertise. I am indebted to them for their enthusiasm and patient reading of this manuscript. To Crawford Greenewalt, director of the Sardis Expedition and of this dissertation, words of thanks are inadequate to express my gratitude for his inspiration and encouragement throughout my graduate studies and for first introducing me to the Lydians, as well as to the wonders of Asia Minor.

CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION AND HISTORY OF EXPLORATION

Bacchylides tells us that Croesus, the most renowned king of the horse-taming Lydians, was carried off to the land of the Hyperboreans by Apollo, whom he honored above all other gods.[1] Less exalted Lydians, having lived out their alloted spans of time, were disposed of by their survivors according to local custom. The funerary practices of any given people reflect a variety of decisions made by survivors, for example, the method of disposal of the corpse (cremation or inhumation), the type of grave, tomb or container for housing the remains, the location of the grave, the form of the grave marker, and the type and quantity of grave goods with which to accompany the deceased. Obviously, the results of these decisions often leave traces in the archaeological record. Archaeologically elusive, in contrast, are the factors that may influence these decisions, for example, social or economic status and religious beliefs. This study presents the archaeological evidence for Lydian burial practices and attempts to translate the physical evidence to the Hyperborean land of funerary customs.

The primary source of information for Lydian graves

and burial customs is the physical remains of the tombs and their contents. In almost every instance, however, the tomb has been disturbed as a result of re-use after the original burial or has been robbed of its grave offerings. Thus, the material record in no way can be considered complete. Literary sources that relate to Lydian funerary practices are few and provide only limited assistance in filling in the gaps left by the physical evidence. Inscriptions, especially those found on funerary stelai, contribute valuable information about ritual and beliefs, but the incomplete state of our knowledge of the Lydian language often makes secure interpretation impossible. In addition to these problems posed by the direct evidence for funerary practices, certain difficulties are inherent in the very nature of the topic. Reaction to death and the expression of this reaction are areas of human behavior that well illustrate man's unpredictability.

The designation "Lydian" in this study refers to both geographical and chronological limits, neither of which are fixed firmly. The majority of physical evidence comes from Sardis, the Lydian capital, but many tombs identified as Lydian or Lydio-Persian are distributed over a broad area of the Hermus (modern Gediz) River valley. The Lydian empire is known to have covered a vast portion of western Asia Minor, although the extent of Lydian physical

presence in conquered territory is not clear.[2] Burial practices and funerary architecture from many areas of western Anatolia must be compared with evidence from Sardis in an attempt to distinguish elements that are characteristically Lydian. Chronologically, the term "Lydian" most often refers to that period when the Mermnads ruled at Sardis, that is, from the accession of Gyges, ca. 680 B.C., to the fall of Croesus in 547 B.C. A local Lydian or Sardian style of pottery, however, can be identified early in the first millennium,[3] while the conquest of Sardis by the Persians seems to have caused no major cultural changes as reflected in the material record.[4] Also, the Lydian language continued in use into the 2nd century B.C.[5] Thus, no securely fixed points either in space or in time are available for limiting the use of the adjective "Lydian". The material record itself must contribute to the development of criteria by which the Lydians can be recognized.[6]

The history of exploration of Lydian tombs begins at some unknown point in antiquity. Graves were opened for a variety of reasons in ancient times, just as they are now: antiquarian interest, accidental discovery, political advantage or personal gain.[7] The literary record, beginning with Herodotus, contains a number of references to the early exploitation of tombs. It was not until Roman times, however, that the ransacking of graves for

profit was practiced on a large scale.[8] At Corinth, for example, people of the freedman class who colonized that city after its restoration by Caesar so admired the contents of Corinthian graves that they left none unmolested and thereby filled Rome with nekrocorinthia (Strabo 8.6.23). The settlers assigned by the Julian law to the colony at Capua, according to Suetonius (Iul. 51), demolished ancient tombs in the area in order to build country houses and went about their task with great vigor because they found many vases of ancient workmanship within the graves. Although none of the literary sources speaks of such wholesale destruction of graves at Sardis, there is no reason to suspect that Lydian tombs escaped the efforts of early plunderers. The archaeological evidence suggests that the burial mounds at Bin Tepe, north of Sardis, have been exploited almost continuously since Roman (possibly since Hellenistic) times. In excavating one of the largest tumuli, T 4, the 'Gyges' mound, a number of robbers' tunnels were discovered in one of which was found a plainware jug dated to the late 1st or early 2nd century A.D.[9]

The numerous tumuli at Bin Tepe, on the southern shore of the Gygean Lake (modern Marmara Gölü) are a prominent feature on the route through the Hermus River valley and have attracted the attention of travellers from the 6th century B.C. poet Hipponax (Degani F 7) and the

5th century B.C. historian Herodotus (1.93) to the modern tourist. In the second half of the seventeenth century of our era, travellers in Asia Minor began to take an active interest in the burial mounds. Thomas Smith is the earliest explorer to have left a record of his visit, made in 1670, to the Gygean Lake. Unfortunately, he provides few details of his journey, merely noting that the region was "so famous formerly for the sepulchre of Alyattes, father of Croesus".[10] In 1699, Edmond Chisull remarked on the mounds along the road between Urganli and Sardis. Chisull is the first to speculate on the method of construction and the purpose of the mounds:

> We continue our journey through a spacious and fertile plain, curiously beset on each side the road with a variety of round hillocks, which from their number, figure and situation, in so level a campain, appear plainly to be artificial. They are undoubtedly the work of one or more numerous armies; but whether they were at first designed to bury their heaps of slain (which was the original purpose of those barrows that occur in many plains of England) or whether they were erected as thrones before the pavillion of the general, which was usual in the Roman camp, is not easy to

determine.[11]

Chisull stopped at Sardis but does not record having made a journey to Bin Tepe.

It was not until the first half of the nineteenth century that explorers began to undertake more scientific investigation of Lydian tumuli, although emotion and false assumption still abound in some of these early accounts. In 1833, F. V. J. Arundell looked in vain for the ancient city of Sardis

> whose multitudes lie under the countless sepulchral hillocks on the other side of the Hermus. Where are the Christians of Sardis? The tumuli beyond the Hermus reply, "All dead!" suffering the infliction of the threatened judgement of God, for the abuse of their privileges.[12]

Fortunately, the "countless sepulchral hillocks" exited curiosity more objective than that of Arundell. Anton von Prokesch, in 1831, published the first measurements of the tumulus of Alyattes recorded since the time of Herodotus.[13] Von Prokesch was followed by J. R. Stuart[14] and W. Hamilton[15], both of whom published accounts of their explorations in 1842. The researches of the latter are the most complete. Hamilton estimated the circumference of the base of the Alyattes mound, described its composition and state of preservation and noted the

remains of a marker on its summit. He expressed regret that time and resources did not allow exploration of the interior of the mound, an undertaking which "would probably reward the speculator or the antiquary". Such rewards as there were awaited the archaeological endeavors of the second half of the nineteenth century.

The first scientific excavation of Lydian tombs was conducted at Bin Tepe in 1853 by H. Spiegelthal, the Prussian consul-general at Smyrna, in association with Baron v. Behr-Negendank. A preliminary report of their efforts was presented to the Akadmie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin by E. Curtius in November of 1853 and was subsequently published.[16] Spiegelthal himself published a brief report of his research in 1854.[17] At a meeting of the Akademie in that same year, J. F. M. von Olfers gave a more extensive report of the Bin Tepe excavation which he published, together with sections, plans and drawings in 1858.[18] Spiegelthal investigated a number of tumuli along the southern shore of the Gygean Lake but concentrated his efforts on the excavation of the Alyattes tumulus. He took detailed measurements of the mound, carefully observed its composition and stratigraphy, and tunnelled into the interior where he discovered a burial chamber. Unfortunately, the chamber had been much disturbed prior to Spiegelthal's arrival.

Another consul, George Dennis, the British

representative at Smryna, conducted excavations at Bin Tepe in the 1870's and early 1880's but, unlike his predecessor, he left no written record of the results. The only information concerning Dennis' expedition is contained in a letter by F. H. Bacon, portions of which were published by H. C. Butler.[19] Two reliefs and several small vases and sherds which came from Dennis' excavations at Bin Tepe were sent to the British Museum.[20] The specific find spots of this material are not known. In 1876, Auguste Choisy published drawings and measurements of several chamber tombs at Bin Tepe.[21] He collected this information on a visit late in 1875 at which time he found "plusieurs tombs ouvertes et deblayees". The person responsible for the state of the tombs was, in all likelihood, George Dennis.

In 1910, Howard Crosby Butler of Princeton University began a major program of excavation at Sardis on behalf of the American Society for the Excavation of Sardis. In addition to uncovering the temple of Artemis, Butler and his team investigated numerous Lydian rock-cut chamber tombs in the foothills bordering the Pactolus stream (modern Sart Cayı). Butler's decision to excavate these tombs was especially commendable in view of their obvious lack of architectural features. Excavation records indicate that 1,128 graves were opened in five campaigns from 1910 through 1914, with an additional 26 opened in 1922.[22] The majority of these graves were empty, having

been plundered both in ancient and in modern times, and those graves which still contained objects showed signs of disturbance. In 1914, G. H. Chase undertook a preliminary study of the material excavated in the rock-cut tombs. Inventory lists were prepared by him for approximately 215 tombs.[23] About one-half of the tombs with inventoried material contained five objects or less.

No day books or field records other than the inventory lists composed by Chase appear to exist, and the inventory lists are merely that. Tombs are described by number (with no indication of loction or plan), and their contents are briefly listed.[24]

No full publication of the tombs and graves explored by the Princeton Expedition ever appeared. Butler's preliminary reports in the American Journal of Archaeology, T. L. Shear, Sr.'s report in that same journal on the 1922 season and Butler's summary of his five seasons' work in Sardis I (1922) constitute the only published results of the Princeton Expedition's work in the Necropolis and at Bin Tepe. Out of the 1,128 tombs explored, less than 1% of the total ever received published mention. At best, the preliminary reports contain brief descriptions of the most profitable rock-cut chamber tombs and their contents, in a few cases accompanied by photographs or a drawing. Unfortunately, tombs are not referred to by number in these publications, making co-ordination between tomb contents as

listed by Chase and actual tombs or graves as described in preliminary reports difficult, or in most cases, impossible.[25] Inscriptions in Lydian (Littmann 1916; Buckler 1924) and in Greek and Latin (Buckler and Robinson 1932) as well as jewelry (Curtis 1925) and coins (Bell 1916) found in association with tombs and graves were included in individual volumes on these subjects. Tomb numbers are provided in these publications.

Although Butler had planned a long-term excavation, the outbreak of World War I interrupted work at Sardis. During this time, the expedition house was destroyed together with some of the excavated material stored there. In 1922, T. L. Shear, Sr. and Butler returned for a brief period in the midst of the Greco-Turkish War.[26]

More than thirty years passed before excavation was resumed at Sardis by the Harvard/Cornell Expedition. Since 1958, a number of Lydian graves have been excavated both at Bin Tepe and in the area of the ancient city. These excavations, for the most part, have been in response to illicit digging.[27] The almost universal disturbance of graves at Sardis has discouraged the current Expedition from including the full-scale excavation of tombs among its major goals.

CHAPTER II: TOMB TYPES AND THEIR DISTRIBUTION

This chapter is divided into two sections, both of which deal with the physical structure of the tomb. Section 1 discusses tomb types found at Sardis and their distribution in relation to the ancient city. Section 2 contains a survey of tomb types similar to those found at Sardis arranged according to geographical region, specifically Lydia and neighboring areas. The description of tomb types and details of construction and of decoration in Section 1 provides a basis for comparison with tombs described Section 2 and assists in isolating those features or characteristics that may be called distinctly Lydian.

SECTION 1: SARDIS

Over the past century, a large number of tombs and graves have been excavated or explored in the Sardis region. Appendix I, pp. 167-255, contains a description of tombs and related material investigated by the Harvard/Cornell Expedition together with selected material

from the Princeton Expedition and earlier explorations. A glance at this catalogue will show that the residents of Sardis buried their dead in a remarkable variety of tomb structures.[1]

The most elaborate type of tomb is a chamber built of ashlar masonry covered by an artificial mound, or tumulus. The most common type of funerary structure is the chamber tomb carved into living rock. Over 1100 tombs of this type were excavated by the Princeton Expedition in the early 1900's. In addition to placing their dead in built or carved chambers, the Lydians made use of cists, both lined and unlined, and sarcophagi of stone or terracotta. A few examples of direct inhumation, that is, burial without a receptacle or well-defined grave of any kind have also been discovered.

There are two major necropoleis associated with the ancient city (Fig. 1), each with its characteristic tomb type. One, located on the south shore of the Gygean Lake some 7-10 kilometers north of the city, has come to be known in modern times as Bin Tepe ("Thousand Mounds"), after its most prominent tomb type, the tumulus. This necropolis is sometimes called the "Royal Cemetery" because of its association (by ancient writers and modern archaeologists) with Lydian kings. The other major necropolis is mainly composed of rock-cut chamber tombs which are concentrated in the sandy conglomerate cliffs

west of the Pactolus stream. This was Howard Crosby Butler's "Great Necropolis". Many such chamber tombs are also found scattered in the hillsides east of the Pactolus, especially south of the Artemis Temple. Other tomb and grave types, such as cists, sarcophagi and direct inhumation, are attested at Bin Tepe and in the the Great Necropolis as well as within the area of the ancient city (Fig. 2). Table I, p. 318, illustrates the distribution and concentration by area of tombs, graves and related material.

BUILT CHAMBER TOMBS AND TUMULI

Appendix I, BC/T 1-19, pp. 171-200;
BRC/T 1-5, pp. 201-206; T 1-4, pp.
250-252; TU 1-7, pp. 253-255

The most prominent man-made features in the area around Sardis are tumuli, earth mounds of various sizes that cover built chamber tombs. The latter, ranging in complexity of plan from a single chamber without entrance to a triple-chambered structure with antechamber and dromos, are constructed entirely of masonry (BC/T) or are partly carved from living rock and completed with cut stone (BRC/T). Although tumuli (T, TU) are not

exclusively limited to built chamber tombs[3], they are a distinguishing feature of this tomb type and thus are included in the following discussion.

Built chamber tombs and tumuli are scattered throughout the Hermus River valley but have their greatest concentration at Bin Tepe. Approximately one hundred mounds are distributed along the 10 km. long limestone ridge south of the Gygean Lake, making the Bin Tepe necropolis the largest of its kind in Asia Minor (Fig. 3).[4] Built chambers with tumuli are also found in the area of the ancient city, west of the Pactolus stream and south of the Great Necropolis, as well as further up the Pactolus valley, in the foothills of the Tmolus Mountains.

By far the most ostentatious of Lydian burial mounds are the three so-called 'Royal Mounds' which dominate the Bin Tepe necropolis. While the inhabitants of most tombs remain anonymous, attempts have been made, beginning perhaps with the 6th century B.C. poet Hipponax (Degani F 7), to assign these prominent monuments to historical figures. Two of the three mounds have been partially excavated (BC/T 1, T 4), and all three present certain unique features that will be discussed below in connection with built chamber tombs and tumuli. Problems concerning their identification, however, will be treated in a separate section within this chapter.

Our knowledge of built chamber tombs and tumuli at

Sardis is fragmentary. Less than 25% of the estimated total of tumuli has been explored, and no mound has been excavated completely. With the exception of BC/T 10 and T 4, excavation by the Harvard/Cornell Expedition has been undertaken to salvage what plunderers have left behind.[5] As noted in Chapter I, the tunneling of mounds and the opening of tomb chambers has been an almost constant activity since antiquity. Not only do tomb contents provide an irresistible attraction to illicit explorers, but the tomb structure itself, with its well-cut masonry, provides a convenient source of worked stone. Thus, the structure is sometimes incomplete. In addition to the tomb complexes, their covering mounds have also suffered. Although the natural process of erosion accounts for some change in the size and shape of the tumuli, erosion is sometimes hurried along by agricultural activities. In some cases, mounds have been levelled in order to increase the size of planting areas. Road building, too, contributed to the destruction of several tumuli in the Bin Tepe necropolis. Thus, the evidence for built chamber tombs and their tumuli is incomplete, and conclusions about this tomb type rest on information provided by a relatively small number of examples.

Features of Built Chamber Tombs (Table II, p. 319)

Plan

The simplest type of built chamber tomb is a single rectangular chamber without an entrance. Two examples have been discovered to date (BC/T 4, BC/T 10; Fig. 4).[6] In four cases (BC/T 1, BC/T 5, BC/T 13, BC/T 18), access to a single chamber without dromos is provided by a door in one of the short sides (Fig. 5).[7] The burial complex within the Alyattes mound (BC/T 1) is unique in that it appears to have an unroofed forecourt, while BC/T 18 retains traces of a porch (or perhaps an unroofed forecourt) in front of the entrance to the chamber (Fig. 6).

The most common form of tomb complex consists of a single rectangular chamber with an entrance in one of the short sides and a dromos leading to the entrance. Nine examples are known (BC/T 2, BC/T 3, BC/T 6, BC/T 12, BC/T 17, BC/T 19, BRC/T 1, BRC/T 3, BRC/T 4; Fig. 7).[8] In most cases, the dromos abuts the exterior wall of the tomb chamber. The dromos in tombs BC/T 3 and BC/T 19, however, runs up against a shallow, covered porch (Fig. 8).

A more elaborate tomb complex was created by adding to the main chamber an antechamber with its long axis oriented in the same line as that of the main chamber and with an entrance in its short side (Fig. 9). Of the four known examples of this type, three have a dromos extending

from the antechamber entrance (BC/T 9, BC/T 11, BC/T 16). Evidence for a dromos in the chamber/antechamber complex of BRC/T 5 is not available.[9]

Three burial complexes consist of more than a single chamber and antechamber. Tombs BC/T 15 and BRC/T 2 have three chambers, while the exact number of chambers in BC/T 7 is not known. The arrangement of the chambers in BRC/T 2 is not specified. BC/T 7 has a dromos leading to a central chamber which in turn gives access to other chambers in an unspecified manner. The most elaborate built chamber complex known to date is BC/T 15. A dromos leads to an antechamber around which three chambers are grouped in a cloverleaf arrangement. Thus, the doorways in the two long walls of the antechamber give access to the side chambers with the third chamber in line with the dromos and antechamber and entered through a doorway in the back wall of the antechamber.

The basic unit of the built chamber complex is the simple rectangular chamber to which other features, such as an antechamber and dromos, were often added. With the exception of the tombs discussed by Choisy (BC/T 3, BC/T 4) and the Alyattes chamber (BC/T 1), all other tomb complexes show their component features to be arranged axially with their long walls oriented in the same direction.

Dromos

Dromoi are found in more than half of the tombs that appear in Appendix I, but few are preserved in their original condition. In some cases, too, dromoi have not been excavated completely. Dromoi for which complete dimensions have been obtained show a great variety in length, from 2.85 m. (BC/T 17) to 10.75 m. (BC/T 11), with an average length of about 4-5 m.[10] The widths of dromoi are fairly consistent, 1.00-1.130 m.

The quality of the masonry exhibited by most dromoi is crude by comparison with that of the chambers.[11] Walls are built mostly of roughly trimmed and uncoursed stone, usually limestone, with sandy conglomerate (BC/T 17) and schist (BC/T 19) used as well.[12] In two burial complexes at Bin Tepe (BC/T 12, BRC/T 4), the dromos was partly cut into native rock, and the walls were completed with uncoursed stone. Gaps in the walls were sometimes filled with stone chips and clay (BC/T 11, BRC/T 3).

The dromos floor is formed either from native rock that has been levelled (BC/T 12, BRC/T 3) or by limestone chips and pebbles in a matrix of tamped earth (BC/T 9, BC/T 17) with an admixture of lime and clay (BC/T 11). Since few dromoi survive to their original height, evidence for the existence and method of roofing is lacking in most cases. The dromos of BC/T 11 preserves a roof, consisting of seven limestone and two schist slabs,

for slightly more than half its length (for 6.10 m. over a total length of 10.75). Two roof slabs of the dromos of BRC/T 3 remain in place near the entrance to the chamber. The difference in construction techniques and sometimes, in materials as well, between the dromos and the chamber or antechamber suggest that the dromos was not a significant architectural or ritual element of the burial complex. The haste with which many dromoi appear to have been constructed, the abutting of the dromos walls against the chamber or antechamber, and the presence of limestone chips, probably from the trimming of chamber blocks, in the floor and under the walls of several dromoi indicate that the dromos was the last feature of the tomb complex to be erected.

The dromos would have had two possible functions: the first, to allow the heaping up of the tumulus to be completed prior to interment, and the second, to allow access to the tomb complex for burials after the original interment had been made. The absence of dromoi in some burial complexes (e.g., BC/T 10), however, indicates that this feature was not always necessary either for constructing the chamber and tumulus or for permitting entry at some later time.

There is no evidence that the dromos was used by the living to perform periodic rites at the tomb complex after burial had taken place. If no future burials were

anticipated, the dromos might intentionally have been filled with rubble stone as seems to have been the case in BC/T 19.

Antechamber/Porch

Nine of the tombs listed in Appendix I have an antechamber or porch, that is, an element structurally distinct from the dromos and providing access to the chamber or chambers (BC/T 1, BC/T 3, BC/T 9, BC/t 11, BC/T 15, BC/T 16, BC/T 18, BC/T 19, BRC/T 5). This feature exhibits the greatest variety in form and size of all tomb components.

In its simplest form, the porch is a projection, one block in length, from the face of the chamber framing the entrance (BC/T 3, BC/T 18, BC/T 19). This same basic unit is found in a much more ambitious arrangement in BC/T 1. Here a rectangular space in front of the burial chamber, greater in width than in length and wider than the burial chamber itself, is framed by two enormous, monolithic limestone blocks. The absence of a crosswall opposite the entrance to the chamber and the lack of evidence for a roof suggest that this unit may be an open forecourt.[13] A proper antechamber, rectangular or almost square in plan, is an enclosed and roofed space. The antechamber of BC/T 11, for example, is nothing more than a continuation of the dromos in a higher quality material and with more

careful construction techniques but is structurally separated from the dromos by a crosswall with a doorway (Fig. 10).

The quality of material and craftsmanship of the antechamber is, in most cases, comparable to that of the main chamber.[14] The walls are built of limestone masonry that has the same degree of finishing treatment or decoration as the main chamber, for example, blocks with finely picked faces and drafted margins in BC/T 9 or walls covered with white stucco in BC/T 11. The antechamber is usually paved with limestone slabs and is covered by rectangular blocks that span the width of the chamber. The antechamber ceiling of the multiple-chambered tomb BC/T 15 is pitched, as is the ceiling of the chamber on the same axis.

There is no evidence to suggest the exact function served by the antechamber. Spatially, this element is more clearly associated with the dromos than with the burial chamber. No effort seems to have been made to close off the antechamber from the dromos except, perhaps, in BC/T 11.[15] Although doorblocks have been found in the antechambers of BC/T 9 and BC/T 15, their position indicates that they fell outward from the door of the main chamber rather than inward from the antechamber door. Given the disturbed condition of all these tombs, speculation concerning function based on contents is

unrewarding. The fact that no evidence for funerary couches, either the remains themselves or cuttings for couches, has been found in any antechamber suggests that this chamber was not intended for interment. Unfortunately, the nature of the material left behind by plunderers is too meager to indicate a specific function for the antechamber, such as a place for housing offerings or for holding ceremonies in honor of the dead.

Chamber

The majority of burial chambers are rectangular in plan with an entrance, where present, in one of the short sides.[16] The Alyattes chamber (BC/T 1) is by far the largest of those listed in Appendix I and is not considered in the following discussion of dimensions. The lengths of chambers vary from 2.00 m. (BC/T 12) to 2.94 m. (BC/T 2). Most lengths fall between 2.55 m. and 2.87 m. Widths show a variation from 1.32 m. (BC/T 13) to 2.22 m. (BC/T 17) with a fairly even distribution between these two figures. Where measurable, the heights of the burial chambers range from 1.19 m. (BC/T 4) to 2.16 m. (BC/T 9). Most have a height greater than 1.50 m. Although most chambers are rectangular in plan, four (BC/T 11, BC/T 17, BRC/T 3, BRC/T 4) are square, or almost square. BC/T 17 is the largest of these in area, at 2.23 m. long and 2.22 m. wide. Of the chambers with a rectangular plan, BC/T 2

is the largest, at 2.94 m. long and 2.01 m. wide.

All burial chambers so far investigated at Bin Tepe and in the immediate vicinity of Sardis are built of local limestone or, in the case of the Alyattes chamber (BC/T 1), of marble. Marble is used in only one other tomb, the triple-chambered BC/T 15 which incorporates several neatly trimmed marble blocks in walls otherwise composed of somewhat roughly finished limestone.[17]

Most chambers are completely free-standing. Although Spiegelthal mentions a chamber carved into bedrock (BRC/T 1), no tombs of this type have been discovered in the recent past. There are, however, several chambers that either incorporate trimmed bedrock into their walls as a first course (BRC/T 2-BRC/T 4) or use it to form a complete wall (BRC/T 5).

Several chambers show a limited amount of decorative treatment on their facades. The Alyattes chamber (BC/T 1) has an articulated border framing the doorway at the left and presumabably at the right as well. A flat-chiselled band frames the chamber entrance of BRC/T 5.[18] From a site on the northeast side of the Gygean Lake (TU 7) comes a marble block (ca. 0.90 m. L; 0.32 m. W; 0.13 m. Th) incised with two connected spirals.[19] The block was found not far from a partially bulldozed tumulus and may have formed part of a chamber facade, perhaps the lintel. With these few exceptions, the facade of the burial chamber

seems to have received little in the way of ornamentation. Since the burial complex was destined to be covered by a tumulus, efforts expended on elaborate decoration would have been unnecessary.

The entrance passage into the chamber is either framed by coursed masonry, as in BC/T 1 and BC/T 9, for example, or by monolithic jambs (BC/T 12, BC/T 17-BC/T 19). The Alyattes chamber (BC/T1) has an unusually wide doorway (1.25 m.) The passages in other chambers range in width from 0.66 m. (BC/T 11) to 0.91 m. (BC/T 19). In every case except BC/T 1, the height of the doorway is some 0.50-0.80 m. lower than the height of the chamber. The height of the passage in BC/T 1 is equal to that of the chamber itself. A monolithic lintel spanned the doorway of most burial chambers.

The entrance to the chamber was usually blocked with a single large stone as in BC/T 9 (Fig. 11) or with two stones placed one on top the other as in BC/T 19 (Fig. 8). By far the most common feature of door blocks in the Sardis region is a projecting plug that fits into the entrance opening. The thickness of the projection varies considerably. A flange surrounds the plug on three or four sides and rests against the outside edges of the door frame. The bottom edge of the door block was sometimes chamfered (as in BC/T 2 and BC/T 9) or provided with pryholes (as in BC/T 3) to facilitate the moving of the

block into position. The exterior surface of the door block was left roughly finished while the inside seems to have received treatment comparable to that of the chamber walls. Again, the Alyattes chamber (BC/T 1) is exceptional. Here the entrance seems to have been blocked by four courses of marble masonry. The exterior surfaces of the blocks have roughened or point-stippled centers framed by flat-chiselled bands.

The floors of most chambers are paved with large, well-finished limestone slabs that continue under the walls of the chamber. In BC/T 9, BC/T 15 and BC/T 16, the slabs are joined by pi-shaped clamps of iron. Trimmed bedrock forms the floor surface of BC/T 13, BRC/T 3 and BRC/T 4. The ceilings of all but one of the burial chambers (BC/T 15) are flat and are formed by rectangular blocks of stone laid across the width of the chamber. The pitched roof of both the chamber and antechamber of BC/T 15 is so far unique in the Sardis region.

The walls of most burial chambers are built of well-cut and fitted ashlar masonry. The number and height of courses, as well as the size of blocks used in the walls, are not consistent. The walls of BC/T 17, for example, are made up of two courses with two blocks per course, while those of BC/T 19 have six courses with two to four blocks per course. In some chambers (BC/T 3, BC/T 11, BC/T 13, BC/T 18 ?, BC/T 19, BRC/T 3), the long walls show

a deliberate inward tilting so that the width of the chamber at ceiling level is somewhat less than at floor level (cf. Fig. 8). In those chambers for which measurements are available, the decrease in width varies from 0.21 m. (BC/T 19) to 0.42 m. (BC/T 3).[20]

The use of clamps within courses appears somewhat limited. Iron pi-shaped clamps set in dove-tail cuttings filled with lead were noted in the chamber walls of BC/T 1, BC/T 9, BC/T 15-BC/T 17, BRC/T 4.[21] Although no evidence for dowels between courses has yet been found, an attempt was made in BC/T 10, BC/T 11, BC/T18, and BC/T 19 to tie courses together by means of rabbet joins. A peculiar feature of wall construction occurs in BC/T 10 and BC/T 17. Some or all of the corners in these chambers are formed by L-shaped blocks. Thus, their corners are continuous. The burial chambers, then, exhibit a variety of construction techniques, but all are distinguished by the skill with which the masonry was cut and fitted.

Certain details of construction that appear decorative may have had their origin in functional application, for example, bevelled (or chamfered) edges and narrow, raised borders on the margins of individual blocks. Both these details would have minimized the possibility of damage to the edges of the blocks as they were being set in place. Bevelling is found on the horizontal and most of the vertical edges of wall blocks

in BC/T 10, on the door posts of BC/T 8 and BRC/T 5, and on the exterior edges of the ceiling blocks in BC/T 9.[22] Raised margins are a common feature of chamber construction. Frequently, a continuous border is found around the upper edges of the uppermost course of wall blocks just below the ceiling (BC/T 1-BC/T 3, BC/T 18, BC/T 19). In BC/T 1, this border runs only along the top edge of the north wall and about half the length of the east wall.[23] Projecting bands are also found on the interior joining edges of ceiling blocks (BC/T 2, BC/T 3, BC/T 6, BC/T 19) and on some vertical and horizontal edges of wall blocks (BC/T 4, BC/T 6, BC/T 19).

The walls of most chambers show a high degree of surface finishing. Even in walls that incorporate bedrock into their structure (e.g., BRC/T 5), much care has been paid to smoothly finishing the native rock. Some chambers make limited use of masonry with smoothly chiselled margins and rough-picked or point-stippled centers (BC/T 1, BC/T 11, BRC/T 3). The walls of only one tomb chamber (BC/T 10) show drafted masonry throughout. In the poorly preserved BC/T 12, lifting bosses remain on several wall blocks and on one of the door posts.[24] This neglect of surface finishing, however, is unusual.

The interior of most burial chambers appears to have been quite plain. No trace of applied decoration, such as revetment or paint, has yet been found in any tomb

chamber in the Sardis region, although the walls of a few chambers appear to have been plastered or stuccoed. BC/T 15 retains traces of mud plaster on all its exposed surfaces, including dromos and chambers. The exposed surfaces of the burial chamber in BC/T 9 and BC/T 11 are covered with a relatively thin layer of white stucco. Only the degree of surface finishing and the presence of structural details give any one chamber the appearance of being more elaborate than another.[25]

The poor state of preservation of both the tombs and their contents frustrates attempts to reconstruct the interior appearance and arrangement of furnishings within the burial chamber.[26] The most frequently encountered type of funerary equipment is the kline or bench. More than half the tombs listed in Appendix I provided evidence for at least one kline or bench and, among these, BC/T 15 and BC/T 17 still contained two couches. The kline was a piece of moveable equipment (in theory at least) made of stone (e.g., BC/T 19) or perhaps of wood (BC/T 14).[27] The bench, on the other hand, was a permanent installation either carved from bedrock together with the lowest course of the chamber wall (BRC/T 3) or built into the chamber walls (e.g., BC/T 11). The location of a single kline or bench within the chamber was usually along the back wall, opposite the door, and extending the full width of the chamber (BC/T 9, BC/T 11). In BC/T 19, however, the

carved kline was placed along one of the long walls of the chamber, at the right of someone entering the tomb. In chambers with two kline, the couches were placed either along the long walls with a narrow aisle between (BC/T 17) or side by side across the back wall (BC/T 15).

Placement and Orientation of Tomb Complex

According to Choisy, each of the chambers that he investigated was placed near the edge of the tumulus. His observations led him to conclude that the deliberate off-center placement of the chamber within the mound was the general rule at Bin Tepe.[28] The results of recent excavation have failed to support Choisy's conclusions. Most chambers are located at or near the center of the tumulus (Cf. Figs. 4, 9). In only one case, the Alyattes mound (BC/T 1), has a chamber been discovered at a distance from the center. The burial complex lies some 30 m. southwest of the tumulus midpoint.[29] The absence of a burial chamber in the center of Karnıyarık Tepe (T 4) indicates that if, in fact, a burial chamber does exist, it must lie off-center or considerably above the level of bedrock in the center of the mound. The latter occurence also would be somewhat unusual. Most burial complexes are built close to natural ground level. In some cases, as noted above, parts of the complex were carved into bedrock and thus were below ground level (BRC/T 1-BRC/T 5).

Again, the placement of the Alyattes chamber (BC/T 1) is exceptional. Spiegelthal distinguished at least six distinct strata below the level of the chamber and above bedrock.[30] Thus, with the exception of BC/T 1, tomb chambers were located near the center of the tumulus and close to or at ground level. The Lydians appear to have made no consistent effort to obscure the placement of built chambers by constructing them either at some distance from the center of the mound or above the natural ground level.

Although Choisy maintained that all tombs opened to the south, recent excavation has shown that built chamber tombs at Bin Tepe show no consistent orientation.[31] The majority of burial complexes are oriented with their long axis running approximately east-west. Of the seven known to be arranged in this way, three open to the east (BC/T 12, BRC/T 4, BRC/T 5) and three to the west (BC/T 11, BC/T 13, BC/T 17). BC/T 10 has no entrance. Five burial complexes have their long axis oriented approximately north-south. Three (BC/T 1, BC/T 9, BRC/T 3) have an entrance at the south, two (BC/T 18, BC/T 19) at the north. The same inconsistency apparent in the orientation of individual chambers is also seen within conspicuous groups or clusters of tombs. While four of the five burial complexes distributed over approximately 250 m. of Duman Tepe ridge are oriented east-west, two open to the

east and two to the west. The fifth tomb of this group is oriented north-south. There are no obvious cultural factors that appear to have dictated tomb orientation. Perhaps individual preference, availablility of space and the configuration of the terrain were the most influential determinants for the orientation of the burial complex.

Features of Tumuli

Size

The largest tumuli in the Sardis region are the three so-called "Royal Mounds" which loom above their more modest neighbors on the Bin Tepe ridge. BC/T 1 (Alyattes) is the largest of the three with a diameter of about 500 m. and a height of about 68 m. above the level of the plain (Fig. 12). The westernmost mound of the group, TU 5 (Kir Mutaf Tepe; Tos), preserves a diameter of some 300 m. T 4 (Karnıyarık Tepe; Gyges), the central mound, is the smallest, with a preserved diameter of about 200 m. and an estimated height of 50 m. above the plain. Most tumuli are considerably smaller, however, at least in their present state. Diameters of the mounds in Appendix I range from 10 m. to 40 m. and heights from 2 m. to 15 m.

Material and Methods of Construction

Only very general comments can be offered on the material and methods of tumulus construction. No tumulus

has been excavated completely, and stratigraphic soundings generally have not been undertaken in the course of salvage excavations. Observation of exposed surfaces, such as those revealed in pits dug by plunderers or in robbers' tunnels found in the larger mounds, together with the results of resistivity analysis, provide our only sources of information about tumulus construction.

There is no clear indication of how long the chamber complex might have stood exposed prior to the pouring of the mound. At some point, at any rate, after the chamber was built and work on the dromos was begun (if the tomb complex was designed to have this feature), a packing of rubble stone was heaped up around the outside of the chamber walls (e.g., BC/T 17). In most cases, the rubble packing is of the same material as that used for the chamber and may have come, in part at least, from the trimming of the masonry. Spiegelthal observed that the rubble surrounding the Alyattes chamber (BC/T 1) consisted of marble and limestone fragments mixed in a clay matrix, the former perhaps coming from the finishing of the chamber walls and the latter from the forecourt walls. After the tomb complex was surrounded by rubble, layers of earth, clay, sand, gravel and stones of various sizes were then piled and poured around and above it. In several cases, special care seems to have been taken to weatherproof or protect the burial chamber from above.

The interstices of the roof of BC/T 10, for example, were filled with limestone chips in a matrix of clay and lime, with a stratum of quarried limestone piled to a thickness of about 2 m. above the roof (Cf. Fig. 4). Strata of large and small stones, limestone chips and clay have been noted above the roofs of other chambers as well (e.g., BC/T 11, BC/T 12, BRC/T 3).

The two large mounds BC/T 1 and T 4, while apparently composed of the same basic material as the smaller tumuli, make extensive use of limestone bedrock in their construction. In addition, the fill of both tumuli is retained, at least in part, by a crepis, a feature that will be discussed more fully in the following section. Exploration of the interior of BC/T 1 by Spiegelthal showed that the mound was founded on uneven areas of bedrock on top of which artificial fill was arranged in somewhat regular layers. These strata consist of clay, a yellowish earth with a high clay content and large stones mixed with lime and sand. Investigation of T 4, begun in 1963 by the Harvard/Cornell Expedition, revealed that the tumulus is a 'double' mound consisting of a smaller, inner mound defined by a crepis over which was piled a larger, outer mound. The inner mound, about 90 m. in diameter, is located according to its geometric center some 6.50 m. north and slightly east of the center of the outer mound.[32] It rests on bedrock that rises steeply and

unevenly from south to north and from east to west. These remarkable features, as well as the method of their discovery, merits closer consideration.

Initial investigation of T 4 was carried out both by means of a drilling rig and by resistivity analysis in the hopes of locating either a crepis wall or burial complex. While these methods failed to indicate the presence of architectural remains, they were helpful in showing the composition of the mound. The twenty-six soundings made by the drilling rig, for example, all were stopped by large fragments of limestone that appeared to be scattered throughout the upper layers of the mound. The drill was unable to reach a depth greater than 14 m. Resistivity analysis undertaken on the west slope resulted in the discovery of a thick stratum of coarse sand about 2 m. below the surface and 10 m. from the top of the mound. Since no complete stratigraphic section was dug across the mound, information concerning its composition is limited to the stratigraphy noted while tunnelling into the interior.

In the course of four field seasons, several hundred meters of tunnels were driven into the center of the tumulus from its southern edge (Fig. 13). An attempt was made during excavation to keep the tunnels as close to the level of bedrock as possible. In the northeast quadrant, beginning close to the center and continuing to within 10-

12 m. of the crepis wall, a high concentration of rubble directly above bedrock was noted. The rubble includes large boulders and smaller pieces of limestone, one of which had been roughly trimmed into a half-cylinder. The strata generally seem to slope down to the northeast from the center. The thickness of the rubble layer was not determined but may be at least several meters if not more in the center of the mound. Several probes showed a solid stratum of rubble a meter above bedrock.[33] The limestone crepis wall thus seems to curb an uneven ridge of native rock that forms the core of the inner mound, at least at the center and in the northeast quadrant. Rubble was used to fill in pits in the bedrock and perhaps to maintain a relatively horizontal surface as the tumulus was rising. Levelling of the bedrock to accomodate the crepis wall as well as trimming of the crepis masonry would have provided a convenient source of rubble.

The extent to which the inner mound had risen prior to being covered over is not known, nor is the exact chronology of the two mounds clear. The unfinished state of the crepis suggests that the monument was incomplete at the time when the outer mound was poured (Fig. 14). The outer mound obliterated all traces of the crepis wall and extended to a diameter about two and one-half times greater than that of the inner mound. The outer mound does not appear to have been retained by a crepis. The

stratigraphy of the fill between the perimeter and the crepis mainly observed in the entrance tunnel sunk on the south side, shows a series of layers of hard, red clay and softer clay-like earth, green in color, mixed with pieces and chips of limestone. These strata, it should be noted, are above the level of the crepis wall. Close to the outer face of the crepis, however, some 0.70-1.10 m. above "Upper Ashlar 61", a distinct stratum of ashy debris was noted sloping down against the face of the wall from the south.[34] The first step in constructing the mound might have been the piling up of rubble and earth against the face of the crepis outward to the desired diameter. Upon this base, perhaps an earth and rubble rampart was constructed to a manageable height around the outer edge from which fill was then dumped towards the center. This would account for the direction of the ashy stratum noted above. Thus, the mound would have risen in stages marked by the piling up of a rampart and the pouring of fill down into the center until it reached the level of the earth retaining wall. The process would have been repeated until the desired height had been reached. A trench dug on the northeast slope of the mound showed strata clearly sloping down towards the center of the mound.[35]

A network of robbers' tunnels,[36] over 130 m. in all, were explored (and sometimes enlarged) in the southern half of the mound. According to the excavator, the

tunnels were "professionally" cut, with slightly curvilinear walls and ceiling, and followed the level of the bedrock surface. The tunnels have an average width of about 0.70 m. and a height of 1.75-1.80 m. In at least two cases (Fig. 13, "I", "M"), tunnels were deliberately blocked by dry stone walls, and all the tunnels were filled with loose earth to within a foot of the ceiling.[37] Evidence for the date of the tunnels is provided by a plainware jug (P 64.365; 6480) of Roman date, perhaps 1st or 2nd century A.D., discovered in a niche at the north end of tunnel L (Fig. 13, "pot").

BC/T 1 and T 4 are exceptional because of their size and method of construction. Both tumuli, however, are composed for the most part of dumped fills of various types. Only one chamber tomb complex has been discovered to date that was not covered in this manner. BC/T 18, located south of the Great Necropolis, was built below ground level into the end of a ridge that has, from a distance, a distinct mound-like appearance (Fig. 15). The living rock itself may have been trimmed to enhance the natural conical shape of the ridge, although this cannot be demonstrated.

Crepis/Retaining Wall

The crepis or retaining wall does not appear to be a typical feature of tumulus construction at Sardis. In

addition to the crepides noted above in BC/T 1 and T 4, only two other tumuli have yielded possible, although by no means definite, traces of retaining walls. Road building activity near the southern edge of Kir Mutaf Tepe (TU 5), the westernmost of the three "Royal Mounds", revealed in a scarp the ends of two limestone blocks arranged in two courses. Near the ancient city, Butler explored a tumulus that may have had a crepis (BC/T 8). He noted a wall of sandstone masonry, some 2.00 m. high, standing at a distance from a built chamber and curving towards it.

According to Herodotus (1.93) and Spiegelthal, the Alyattes tumulus (BC/T 1) was retained by an enormous crepis, no trace of which is visible today.[38] Spiegelthal discovered evidence for such a wall at the base of the mound on the south side only.[39] Thus, the crepis apparently was a semicircular retaining wall for the fill necessary to compensate for the steeply sloping bedrock that formed the base of the mound in its northern half (Fig. 16). On the basis of Spiegelthal's measurements and elevation drawing, the retaining wall appears to have been over 18 m. high at its highest point. To the north, about 100 paces from the edge of the mound, Spiegelthal found a quarry which may have provided limestone for the blocks of the wall.

In Karnıyarık Tepe (T 4), over 100 meters of the face

of a limestone wall were exposed deep within the interior of the mound (Fig. 13, "Lydian Wall"). Excavation was limited to the north and southeastern quadrants. Although the wall was not traced to its full extent around the perimeter of the inner mound, it is clear that the wall continues into unexcavated soil.

The wall (Fig. 14) is founded on virgin soil or bedrock that has been either trimmed back or filled in with rubble packing to accomodate the first course at a fairly consistent level. Two courses of ashlar masonry (the lower, 0.59-0.67 m. high; the upper, 0.565 m. high) are crowned by a "bolster" course of more than half-round blocks (0.52-0.56 m. high). The total height of the wall varies from 1.67 m. to 1.79 m. The lengths of the ashalr blocks vary from 0.875 m. to 1.90 m.

In the northernmost exposed segment of the wall, bedrock trimmed to look like dressed masonry has been used in the lowest course. Beyond this point, a crevice in the bedrock filled with limestone chips interrupts the course of the wall. That the crepis does continue further to the north is demonstrated by the appearance at some 10 m. distance of two ashlar courses crowned by a "bolster". Since the exposed ends of the courses overlap in this section, it is clear that the builders intended the wall to continue southward to join with the crepis. In the gap between the two sections, a curious ledge of bedrock, 7.25

m. in length intervenes (Fig. 13, "r"). Here the living rock has been trimmed in a smooth, vertical face, 1.20 m. high, at the bottom of which a low, projecting ledge extends to 0.25-0.35 m. In the westernmost exposed segment of the crepis, a bedrock slope once again interrupts its course (Fig.13, at point of intersection between "G" and line of crepis). Here, however, the break appears to be intentional since there is no overlap of the masonry courses. Just beyond the point of interruption, the crepis continues to the west (Fig. 13, just west of "I"). This break in the crepis might suggest that a dromos or similar feature was planned after the bedrock had been trimmed.

It is evident that the crepis was never completed prior to its being covered over. First of all, the "bolster" course is missing for an extent of 36 m., although the tops of some of the ashlar blocks have been prepared to receive the crowning course. Secondly, as noted above, the gap in the northernmost exposed section of crepis was intended to be filled. Thirdly, the masonry of the wall shows much variation in the amount of finishing received.[40] All blocks have a drafted margin, a smooth, flat-chiselled border, 0.03-0.16 m. wide, but the treatment of the surface within the border varies from being finely and evenly picked to roughly picked with a large point.

Surface Treatment/Exterior Structures

The surface of the tumulus does not appear to have been covered or protected in any special way. Only one tumulus (TU 1), seen by Butler, may have had a surface revetted with river stones. The high concentration of limestone rubble over the surface of Kir Mutaf Tepe (TU 5) may reflect a deliberate attempt to provide a covering layer.

Only one mound, the Alyattes tumulus (BC/T 1), has provided any evidence for a structure built on the summit. Hamilton observed the remains of a foundation nearly 18 ft. square at the north end of which was a huge circular stone.[41] Stuart noted the remains of a "brick pavement" together with a fragment of "one of the pillars which decorated the mound".[42] Spiegelthal, in limited excavation, uncovered part of a structure of quarried stone in the midst of which was a layer of well-fired brick. He postulated a large stone substructure with a brick core as a supporting platform for the five "ouroi" mentioned by Herodotus, one of which he identified as the limestone marker still atop the mound.[43] Excavation at various points on the summit of BC/T 1 in 1983 failed to reveal any securely identifiable traces of the platform observed by the early explorers.[44] A high concentration of bricks and tiles occurs in the disturbed upper layers

of the mound, especially around the limestone marker. It is impossible to be certain, however, that this material was once used in the construction of a platform and that the tiles antedate the Roman period, since no independent dating evidence was found with them.

With the exception of 'phallos' markers, discussed more fully in Chapter III, tumuli at Sardis appear to have had little in the way of exterior adornment. No markers or evidence for structures on the perimeters of tumuli have yet been found.[45] The tumulus itself was the visible, monumental marker, irrespective of the type or size of tomb or grave it covered.

The "Royal Mounds"

In recent times, the adjective "royal" has frequently been applied to the cemetary at Bin Tepe and to the three largest mounds found therein.[46] This adjectival attribution is, to a certain extent, based on ancient precedents, namely those provided by Herodotus (1.93) and Strabo (13.4.7). A mutilated fragment of Hipponax (Degani F 7) has also been summoned as a witness to the royal identity of some of Bin Tepe's long dead inhabitants. The evidence of these ancient writers, together with historical and topographcal probability, forms the basis upon which the royal status of Bin Tepe rests. Archaeology has done little to confirm or deny this

status.

The three "Royal Mounds" all are situated on the long limestone ridge that dominates the Hermus River plain south of the Gygean Lake. The easternmost tumulus (BC/T 1) is the largest and by far the most prominent. Some 3 1/2 kilometers to the west is T 4, the central mound. It is the smallest of the three but is still much larger than the average Bin Tepe tumulus. From a long distance, however, the impressive size of T 4 tends to be somewhat diminished visually, an illusion that results perhaps from its central position amid convoluted terrain and surrounding tumuli. The westernmost mound (TU 5), located about 2 kilometers west of T 4, although not dramatically larger than the central mound appears so from a distance, perhaps as a result of its relatively unencumbered position at the western end of the Bin Tepe ridge.

As mentioned in Chapter I, a number of post-antique travellers have remarked upon the mounds at Bin Tepe. Several have specifically commented on the largest tumulus, BC/T 1. None, however, appear to have been impressed by or to have noticed the other two large mounds to the west of BC/T 1. The early explorers of Bin Tepe, such as Spiegelthal and Choisy, have nothing to say about the three "Royal Mounds". Butler appears to have been the first (in a published work, at least) to record the presence of "another mound, almost as large as the first"

(i.e., as BC/T 1), located "near the opposite end" (sc. of the ridge on which BC/T 1 sits).[47] Butler presumably refers to the westernmost mound, TU 5, rather than to the central mound, T 4. It is useful to keep in mind the perceptions of modern observers when attempting to reconstruct what the ancients themselves saw as they made their way through the Hermus River valley.

Not surprisingly, the largest tumulus BC/T 1 has attracted the most attention. It has been identified in post-antique literature, with some justification, as the sēma of Alyattes described by Herodotus as rivaling the greatest works of Egypt and Babylon (1.93). Although Herodotus does not state explicitly that the monument is located near Sardis, he does mention that the tomb is near a large lake which the Lydians call "Gygean". Strabo (13.4.7) is more specific about the tomb's location, placing it directly opposite Sardis itself (πρὸς δὲ ταῖς Σάρδεσιν).[48] Early travellers familiar with the works of Herodotus and Strabo had no difficulty in identifying BC/T 1 as the tomb of Alyattes. The enormous retaining wall revealed in Spiegelthal's excavation corresponds well with Herodotus' κρηπὶς...λίθων μεγάλων and the large limestone marker atop the mound has been seen by some as the lone survivor of Herodotus' πέντε οὖροι. In addition, the dimensions of the mound as recorded by the historian are not inconsistent with its present size.[49] Even without

the testimony of Herodotus and Strabo, the temptation to assign this impressive monument to Lydian royalty would be irresistible. The date of the material found by Spiegelthal within the plundered burial chamber fits well within the period of Alyattes. Thus, BC/T 1 can be said to have earned its "royal" attribution.

A similarly well-founded claim to royalty cannot be made by T 4 and TU 5. This claim, in part, is based upon their size. Since they are so much larger than other mounds, these two tumuli must belong to Lydian royalty. Such an assertion obviously raises numerous questions. There is no indication, for example, that size restrictions were imposed upon the tumuli of non-royal Sardians. Thus, size alone suggests but by no means proves the royal status of T 4 and TU 5.[50]

A fragment of a poem by the 6th century B.C. Ionian poet Hipponax, preserved by the 12th century A.D. grammarian Tzetzes and poorly treated by copyists thereafter, has been used by scholars attempting to identify the tumuli with known historical figures.[51] Because this fragment plays a key role in the identification question, it is given here in its entirety according to the most recent Teubner edition (Degani F 7).:

†τέαρε[....]δεύειε† τὴν ἐπὶ Σμύρνης
ἴθι διὰ Λυδῶν παρὰ τὸν Ἀττάλεω τύμβον

και σῆμα Γύγεω και μεγάστρυ στήλην
και μνῆμα Τωτος Μυτάλιδι πάλμυδος,
προς ἥλιον δύνοντα γαστέρα τρέψας.

On the basis of the last line, the tone of the poem from which this fragment comes is presumed to be somewhat sarcastic (and certainly not atypical of Hipponax). Directions are being given apparently to a somewhat corpulent traveller who is making his way through Lydia to Smyrna. He is assumed to be making his way from east to west, again on the basis of the last line. The poet appears to be pointing out certain landmarks along the traveller's route. These landmarks have been equated with the "Royal Mounds", but the many uncertainties about their exact location, form and historical associations make such an equation untenable.

Since Hipponax does not give the exact location of his landmarks, it is assumed that they occur in the order in which they appear in the poem along the (or, a) road leading westward through Lydia. The western terminus of the journey is known, but the point from which the traveller sets out is not. Thus, the landmarks in question may be scattered over a rather broad area of western Asia Minor.

The form which these landmarks may have taken is also unclear. Hipponax names four: τύμβος, σῆμα, στήλη, μνῆμα . All four have funerary connotations, with τύμβος being the most specifically funerary among them. Whether Hipponax uses τύμβος to describe a tumulus (as Homer does, e.g. in Iliad 2.793, 7.336) or a non-specific grave structure (as Herodotus does, e.g. in 1.45, 4.172) cannot be determined. The other three terms have even broader applications.

Hipponax appears to assign the above mentioned monuments to certain individuals. These persons are generally assumed to be historical figures, only one of whom, Gyges, is immediately recognizable as having Lydian, and specifically Sardian, associations. An Attales is mentioned by Nicholas of Damascus (FGrHist 90 F 63) as an illegitimite son of Sadyattes, but many scholars prefer to imagine that a scribal error has been made in copying the name "Alyattes" (Ἀλυάττεω).[52] Tos, in line 4, is called "king" (πάλμυς) and possibly a descendant of Mutalis, if Μυτάλιδι is a patronymic. Both of these individuals are unknown. A variety of readings and textual emendations have been proposed for this line in an attempt to make the proper names correspond with known historical figures.[53] Μεγάστρου in line 3, from which a syllable has been lost, poses additional problems. It is unclear whether or not this is even a proper name.

Scholars have attempted to force the text not only

into known historical associations but also into known topographical situations as well. Thus, the τύμβος Ἀττάλεω is equated with BC/T 1, and the emendation of Ἀττάλεω to Ἀλυάττεω is given topographical support (obviously by circular reasoning). The central mound, T 4, is identified as the σῆμα of Gyges, and the westernmost tumulus, TU 5, as the μνῆμα (or the στήλη and μνῆμα) of Tos.[54] Given the number and nature of the problems that this fragment presents, however, such identifications, although possible, are incapable of being confirmed without additonal supporting evidence.

Only the central mound, T 4, has been the object of extensive excavation in recent times. As noted previously in this chapter, no burial chamber was found, but evidence was recovered for a small, inner mound defined by a stone crepis which was unfinished at the time of its being covered over by the large mound, outer mound. Pottery recovered from excavation of the crepis indicates that the outer mound was created in the 6th century B.C., probably early in that century,[55] and thus, the inner mound and crepis must predate this. If large scale tumuli were a prerogative of Lydian royalty, as seems plausible although far from demonstrable, T 4 could belong to any one of three kings, including Gyges, known to have preceeded Alyattes.

Certain signs, engraved on some of the crepis blocks

of T 4, have been interpreted as a royal monogram (Fig. 14).[56] Of the five types of signs that appear on the faces of thirty-two of the ashlar blocks, the most frequently occuring are or , which appear twenty five times on twenty four blocks. The frequency of occurence of this sign and its random distribution over the crepis blocks suggest that instead of being masons' marks, this sign might have an apotropaic significance or in some way relate to the person for whom the tumulus was being constructed. Hanfmann suggested that the sign was a composite of two Greek gammas and two upsilons. The character could thus be read as "Gugu", the name by which Gyges is known in Assyrian records.[57] It is difficult to understand, however, why presumably Lydian masons would be using Greek letters to spell the Assyrian version of Gyges' name.

Despite the inconclusive nature of the archaeological evidence and the confusion created by the Hipponax fragment, Gyges remains the most attractive candidate for association with T 4, at least with the building of the inner crepis. An impressive funerary monument located near the shore of the lake whose name he bore,[58] either as a personal name or a title, would not be inconsistent with the public image of a usurper who was also to lavish costly gifts upon the oracle who confirmed his right to rule.[59] The incomplete state of the crepis and its

subsequent inclusion within the larger mound are difficult to explain. Abandonment of a project on this scale suggests a number of possible situations: lack of the material or human resources necessary for completion, circumstances that made the monument as originally conceived unnecessary or inappropriate, and the like. If the Assyrian records are correct, Gyges was eventually overcome by Cimmerians, having resisted sucessfully their first attack.[60] The countering of these direct threats might have forced the abandonment of royal building projects, such as the tomb, and Gyges' death during the second invasion might have necessitated a more hasty burial and an architecturally less lavish monument than originally planned by the king himself. Gyges' son and successor, Ardys, in the aftermath of the Cimmerian invasion, understandably might have chosen to honor his father with an enormous mound of earth. Such an undertaking could have been completed relatively quickly and would not have demanded the materials and skilled labor necessary for completion of the crepis and whatever tomb structure Gyges had envisioned. Without the evidence of a burial within T 4 and without a more closely dateable sequence of construction for the mound, the above reconstruction is, of course, somewhat fanciful.[61]

Chronology

The almost universal disturbance, both ancient and modern, of built chamber tombs in the Sardis region makes the establishment of a secure chronology for this tomb type impossible. Many tombs appear to have been re-used in Hellenistic and Roman times or perhaps even within the Lydian period. In some cases, grave goods from the original burial have been removed or thoroughly destroyed with the result that contextual evidence for the construction date of the tomb complex is lacking. As noted earlier, time usually does not permit excavation of the tumulus during salvage operations. Thus, evidence which might be useful in at least establishing a terminus ante quem for chamber construction goes unrecorded.

In general, most built chamber complexes cannot be assigned a date more narrowly defined than a 50-100 year period. Such dates are mainly based on pottery remains within the chamber complex. In some cases, pottery fragments found outside the tomb structure have been helpful in suggesting a construction date. BC/T 17, for example, apparently contained no material from the original burial, but pottery fragments of typically Lydian vases appeared in a stratum of working chips just below the dromos and chamber floors.[62] Unfortunately, Lydian pottery itself is often not very closely dateable. Construction techniques, such as the use of clamps, and

surface treatment, such as drafted margins, can sometimes indicate relative chronology, but again, these features themselves are not closely dateable and, in the case of certain construction techniques, their presence or absence often is unable to be determined. Topography, or more specifically, the placement and grouping of tombs, provides little assistance in the problem of chronology. Few clearly identifiable groups have been explored completely. In only one instance to date can the position of a grave relative to that of another be used as a chronological indicator. The mound-covered, rubble-built cist (C/T 1), dated to ca. 575-550 B.C., is located less than 50 m. from the edge of the westernmost large mound, TU 5. Logic suggests that the small mound should have been built in the shadow of its more imposing neighbor rather than the reverse and thus, TU 5 should be earlier in date than C/T 1. In the case of the other two 'royal mounds' (BC/T 1, T 4), as discussed in the previous section, their association with historical figures in the literary tradition has been used as a criterion in dating the mounds and the structures within. Pottery, construction methods, topography and ancient literary sources have all been called upon in trying to establish a chronology for built chamber tombs and tumuli. These categories of evidence, however, are to some degree interdependent and incapable of providing absolute dates.

The lack of precise dates for built chamber tombs prevents certainty about any chronological development of features that may exist within the type. Tomb plan, for example, might be expected to evolve from simple to complex over time. The simple, cist-like plan of BC/T 10 might indicate a date earlier than that of a fully developed, chamber-antechamber-dromos plan, such as BC/T 9. Dove-tail and fish-shaped clamp cuttings in the latter, however, suggest a date contemporary with the Alyattes chamber (BC/T 1),[63] while no similar, more closely dateable evidence exists for BC/T 10. Thus, even a relative chronology within the type is difficult to establish. Most of the built chamber tombs in Appendix I are assigned a very general date in the 6th century B.C. on the basis of the evidence discussed above. The unfinished crepis in T 4, dating to before ca. 600 B.C., is the earliest tumulus monument, irrespective of its attribution to Gyges. No built chamber complex explored to date appears to have been built after the 4th century B.C., and only one (BRC/T 4) has been assigned to that century.

Although the popularity of the built chamber and tumulus appears to have waned during the Hellenistic period, later residents of Sardis continued to bury their dead in the monumental tombs of their predecessors. A number of the tombs listed in Appendix I contained

evidence for re-use during Roman and Byzantine times. By far the most dramatic illustration of tomb re-occupation is provided by BC/T 11. More than a millennium after its original construction, this well-built chamber complex sheltered the remains of approximately 150 individuals.[64]

CARVED CHAMBER TOMBS

Appendix I, CC 1-23;

pp. 213-239

Carved chamber tombs are by far the most numerous tomb type at Sardis. Although the Princeton Expedition explored more than 1,000 of these tombs, the interior plans and details of comparatively few are available for study. The carved chamber tombs listed in Appendix I probably provide an accurate indication of the variety of forms that this tomb type takes.

Chamber tombs carved into living rock dot the cliffs and steep hillsides along both banks of the Pactolus stream in the area of the ancient city. The greatest concentration of such tombs is west of the Pactolus in the sandy conglomerate masssif that extends northward from the Tmolus foothills. The tombs are clustered densely on a ridge that descends eastward from the massif and ends in a

broad slope above the west bank of the stream opposite the Artemis Temple. This area was called the "Great Necropolis" (or Necropolis A) by Howard Crosby Butler (Fig. 17). Another cluster of tombs, Butler's "Southwest Necropolis", is located south of the Great Necropolis in the ravines that open to the east below the Necropolis ridge. In addition to the two major clusters, smaller groups of carved tombs are scattered in the cliffs overlooking the west bank of the Pactolus to a distance of about 3 kilometers south of the Great Necropolis. East of the Pactolus, there are two areas of chamber tomb concentration. The first is a ravine that descends from the Acropolis foothills in a northwesterly direction (Fig. 2, the area marked by Nos. 14, 54, 69 and 72).[65] The second cluster, Butler's "South Necropolis", is located about 1/2 kilometer south of the Artemis Temple. Here a number of tombs have been carved in the face of a bluff above the Pactolus and high in the north side of a ravine opening towards the stream.

The advantages of these hillsides and cliffs for burials and especially for carved chamber tombs is obvious. First of all, the sandy conglomerate of the Necropolis massif was easily worked. Secondly, graves in the form of carved chambers utilized space that was of no practical value to the ancient city. The steep hillsides were unsuitable for agriculture and habitation. Early in

the sixth century, if not before, the Lydians began to bury their dead in chamber tombs within the reach of the ancient city but in areas in which the living would not be inconvenienced by their presence.[66]

Nature and man have brought about the ruinous condition of many carved tombs, the former to the exterior, the latter to the interior of the chamber and its contents. Sandy conglomerate, being easy to work, is also subject to severe and rapid erosion. Thus, many of the tombs carved high in the cliffs of the Great Necropolis have all but disappeared, those in the middle regions may preserve only a portion of the original tomb complex, while those on the lower slopes have become buried under a thick overburden of eroded material. The most dramatic illustration of the effects of erosion is seen on the low ridge overlooking the west bank of the Pactolus, opposite the Artemis Temple. Here numerous grooves and depressions indicate the remains of tomb chambers (Fig. 18). A survey of this area in 1977 investigated 159 grave and tomb depressions, only 30 of which preserved identifiable tomb features.[67] These ranged in complexity from the back wall of a carved chamber to a complete tomb complex, including dromos and two chambers. Tombs carved in a more stable medium, for example, the sandstone of the Southwest and South Necropoleis, are better preserved structurally than those

in the Great Necropolis but have suffered damage and disturbance of their furnishings and contents. Disturbance began at least by Hellenistic times, or perhaps even earlier, when chamber tombs presumably were re-used for later burials. This practice continued into the Roman period. When a new interment was made, the previous occupants of the tomb and their belongings were swept aside or thrown out. Grave goods, espcially jewelry and vessels in precious metals, would have attracted plunderers in antiquity, just as they do today. Of the 1,154 tombs opened in the early 1900's, only 215 contained objects which were inventoried, and very few of these were in an undisturbed context. The method used by the Butler expedition to locate tomb entrances, a long iron poker that would reveal passages filled with soft earth,[68] is still employed by local tomb robbers today. Neat and methodically placed gouges can be seen in the hillsides on both sides of the Pactolus in areas where tombs are known to exist.

Features of Carved Chamber Tombs

Plan

The most characteristic elements of the carved chamber tomb complex are a dromos or entrance corridor of some kind and one or two chambers aligned on axis with the dromos or entrance. In plan, the chambers range from

almost square (e.g., CC 6) to long and narrow (e.g., CC 19). Rock-cut benches sometimes line the walls of one or both chambers (Fig. 19). There are, of course, many variations in the arrangment and placement of these basic features.

The simplest type of tomb complex consists of a single chamber approached by a dromos (CC 3-CC 5, CC 12, CC 14, CC 15, CC 19, CC 21, CC 23). Some tombs had no dromos. The front of chamber complex CC 6, for example, opens directly onto the hillside and the gap is masked by a flight of limestone steps, an arrangement that is so far unique in the Lydian necropolis (Figs. 20, 21).[69] It is possible that some tomb chambers may have been entered through the roof. Excavators found no obvious entrance in the walls of CC 8. The dromos, then, appears to have been a structural rather than a ritual necessity. It permitted access to the interior of the hillside where chambers could be carved within the living rock.

Tomb complexes with double chambers seem to be almost as common as those with a single chamber (CC 6, CC 7, CC 16-CC 18, CC 22). The second chamber is joined to the first either by a short corridor (CC 6, CC 16; Fig. 22) or by rock-cut steps (CC 7; Fig. 23). In the latter tomb, entry to the second chamber was blocked by a stone door. In some cases, the two interior spaces are virtually continuous, with the rear chamber taking the form of a

large niche (CC 18; Fig. 24). Although most double-chambered tombs are aligned axially with the dromos, some are irregular in plan. The two chambers of CC 17, for example, are arranged in a modified "L" (Fig. 22).

Only one example of a triple-chambered tomb is recorded. In CC 20, two long, narrow chambers extend from the back of the first chamber, one in line with the first chamber and dromos, the other at an acute angle (Fig 25).

Interior Features

The most common feature of carved chamber tombs is the rock-cut bench, the width, height and number of which varies from tomb to tomb. Most often, in single chambers, benches are found at the right and left of the entrance, with a bench of double width along the rear wall (e.g., CC 3, CC 4). In double chambers, benches are sometimes found along the side walls of both chambers and at the rear of the second chamber (CC 7). Again, the bench along the back wall is often of double width. Since no tomb has been found undisturbed, the purpose of these benches is not competely clear. Also, later re-use of these chambers adds to the uncertainity about what objects or furnishings, sarcophagi for example, may have belonged to the original burial. Two terracotta sarcophagi were found on the rear bench of CC 11, and the bottom of a sarcophagus was found embedded in a bench of the first

chamber of CC 16. In the latter chamber, there is no bench along the opposite wall. In the second chamber of CC 16, a terracotta sarcophagus was found resting on the floor of the chamber, while fragments of sarcophagi were scattered on the bench that forms a horseshoe around the walls. Certainly the dead could have been laid directly on the bench or on a bier or stretcher placed atop the bench. That this was the case in some instances was suggested to Butler by the presence of bits of wood and bronze fittings such as rings found on some of the benches.[70]

Some benches are hollowed out to the depth of a sarcophagus, and thus were intended either to hold sarcophagi or to be receptacles for direct interment (cf. Fig. 22, section b-b). In the latter case, a lid of stone would have rested on the edge of the bench at one side and on a narrow ledge protruding from the chamber wall on the other. More regular rock-cut sarcophagi were found in several tombs (CC 20, CC 21). Along both sides of the chamber in CC 21, two sarcophagi, one above the other, are carved from the rock with a fifth rock-cut sarcophagus at the rear of the tomb.

Burial in the floor of the tomb is also attested. In CC 20, a long, narrow cist was dug into the floor of the second chamber. A limestone sarcophagus was sunk below the level of the floor in CC 6 and CC 21. The former tomb

complex contains no benches.[71] Thus, although rock-cut benches are a common feature of carved chamber tombs, they are by no means universal, nor are they an exclusive feature. Benches are found with cists and sarcophagi of various types, or, in some cases are absent altogether.

The interiors of rock-cut chamber tombs appear to have been undecorated, and wall surfaces show a variety of finishing treatment. Some tombs were undoubtedly more carefully or expertly carved than others. The variety in workmanship can best be observed perhaps in the treatment of ceilings. Some are evenly pitched, while others are quite irregular. Some look merely hollowed out, giving the impression of a cave rather than of a chamber. The most well-finished tombs seem to have had plastered or stuccoed wall surfaces. Butler noted the presence of plaster in a number of tombs (e.g., CC 18, CC 21), but apparently there were no traces of painted decoration.

Exterior Features

Entrances and facades of carved chamber tombs appear to have been quite plain for the most part, although erosion damage to the more exposed features of the tomb complex must be taken into consideration. The dromos entrance might have been marked by a stele, such as that found in CC 4. Those tombs with an open dromos sometimes show rudimentary decorative treatment around the door

leading to the tomb chamber. This usually takes the form of an irregular frame at either side of the door and a roughly triangular area above created by trimming back the rock (e.g. CC 16). Butler noted many examples of this type of facade in the South and Southwest Necropoleis, that is, in those areas in which a more erosion-resistant sandstone is the predominant material. In some cases, the trimming back of the rock face around the tomb entrance may have been functional rather than, or perhaps as well as, decorative. At several tomb entrances, Butler found well-made door blocks of limestone neatly fitted to the openings.[72]

Door blocks may sometimes have had very simple decoration. A limestone slab carved to resemble a door (IS 10) came to light in a rubble wall blocking the dromos of CC 3, but whether or not the stone was designed to function as a moveable door is uncertain. Only the upper portion of the slab is preserved. Two funerary inscriptions that are not contemporary are carved across the upper panels. The slab retains its original width of 0.715 m., thus making it suitable, if somewhat narrow, for blocking a tomb entrance.[73]

The entrance and facade of CC 6, with its flight of four limestone steps and flanking stelai <u>in situ</u>, is so far unique in the archaeological record (Fig. 21). As noted above, the steps, 2.95 m. wide, mask the opening

into the front chamber rather than provide access to it. Indeed, the level of the topmost preserved step is 1.20 m. above that of the chamber floor. A fieldstone packing supports the steps from behind.[74] Butler's restored elevation (Fig. 20) shows a rather elaborate architectural facade for which no evidence survives, but since the steps do not block the opening into the front chamber completely, additional architectural elements must have been used here in antiquity. What form such elements may have taken, however, is not known.[75]

Placement and Orientation

Carved chamber tombs show no regularity in their placement or orientation. Tombs were carved in the cliffs and hillsides wherever space and the terrain permitted. Access to tombs in the upper slopes must have been by means of narrow paths, but if formal terraces or streets existed within the necropoleis, erosion has obliterated all traces.

There is no evidence for the method by which space was allotted in the necropoleis, nor is it clear how individual tombs were identified. The number of funerary stelai known is quite small in comparison with the number of tombs excavated. The only inscribed stele (IS 13) found *in situ* at the entrance to the dromos of CC 4 seems to contain no mention of the owner or occupant of the

tomb.

Chronology

Few of the carved chamber tombs in Appendix I can be assigned absolute dates. Such dates must be based on the evidence provided by tomb contents, but as discussed in Chapter I, most of the tombs excavated by the Princeton Expedition apparently contained little or nothing worthy of being recorded. Unfortunately, most of the grave goods that were inventoried and that would have been invaluable in assigning dates to the tombs as well as to their successive periods of re-use, are no longer extant.[76] The re-opening of tombs, either for plunder or for re-use, compounds the questions of chronology and makes determination of the original construction date impossible in most cases.

Some of the tombs excavated by the Princeton Expedition appear to have been sealed in antiquity, usually by the collapse of a chamber above (CC 5). Erosion, often so great as to obscure completely the original form of the tomb (CC 9), at least served to protect grave goods that might otherwise have been removed. Those few tombs that contained material in undisturbed contexts provide the only evidence for the period during which chamber tombs began to be carved. The earliest tombs to date are assigned to the first half of

the 6th century B.C., usually on the evidence provided by imported pottery (CC 5, CC 8, CC9). Other tombs which contained dateable material range in date from the later 6th to the early 5th century B.C. (CC 6, CC 14). Based on the evidence of contents alone, however, most tombs must be dated to the Hellenistic period.

The question arises as to whether tomb contents as listed in the Princeton Expedition's inventory records accurately reflect tomb construction date and period of original use. Butler himself apparently did not believe this to be the case. The majority of tombs in Necropolis A, at least, he regarded as Lydian, noting that characteristic Lydian pottery was abundant on the slopes of the hill and that even in tombs which contained Hellenistic material, "small Lydian sherds and other remains were often found".[77] Unfortunately, most small Lydian sherds did not find their way into the inventory records.

Carved chamber tombs continued to be used (perhaps even to be constructed) into the Roman period. By the end of the 2nd century B.C., cremation had become relatively common. Cinerary vases dating to the late 2nd and 1st centuries B.C. were found in a number of carved chamber tombs, usually on one of the benches. Butler records having seen several cinerary vases placed on benches "strewn with remains of bodies that had not been

burned",[78] surely an indication of the re-use of a pre-existing tomb. The use of carved chamber tombs after the 1st century B.C./A.D. does not appear to have been widespread. Only two tombs are recorded as having contained material of later date, in both cases coins dating to the reign of Marcus Aurelius.[79]

Based on the somewhat meager evidence of tomb contents, there is little doubt that chamber tombs began to be carved in the Great Necropolis well within the Lydian period, probably by the end of the 7th century B.C. The popularity of this tomb type during the succeeding century cannot be conclusively demonstrated by the archaeological record. It seems reasonable to imagine, however, given the location of the Necropolis and the relative ease with which tombs and graves could be carved into the conglomerate, that the 6th century B.C. residents of Sardis were responsible for a large number of carved chamber tombs.

Cist Graves

Appendix I, C 1-C 6; C/T 1, pp. 207-212

The term "cist" generally refers to a rectangular pit cut into earth or rock, usually but not always lined with

stone.[80] For the purpose of this discussion, the definition has been extended to include any box-like structure (other than a sarcophagus) either sunk into the ground or built up above ground level.

Six cist graves of various types are known from the two major necropoleis at Sardis, Bin Tepe and the Great Necropolis.[81] These graves are not confined to particular areas within the necropoleis but appear to have been placed wherever a convenient site presented itself in the midst of tumulus burials or carved chamber tombs. Thus, the limestone outcrops at Bin Tepe, for example, provided a suitable location for rock-cut cists (C 1).[82] The small number of cist graves in relation to that of other types of tombs may reflect an archaeological rather than an actual frequency of occurence. Cist graves are usually constructed below ground level and lie hidden to view. C 4 and C 5, for example, were situated some 0.40-1.50 m. below the modern surface.

Cist graves at Sardis show a great variety in form and method of construction. Of those discovered to date, no two are alike. The simplest cists, cut into bedrock (C 1) or clay (C 4),[83] are unlined or lined with readily available materials, such as schist slabs (C 5; Fig. 26). These pit-type cists were covered by stone slabs. Two examples of cists built above ground level are known. C 3, excavated in 1922, was formed by terracotta tiles, both

plain and decorated (moulded and painted). C/T 1, the most elaborate of the cists graves discovered to date, was built of rubble and covered with schist slabs.[84]

Little can be said about the size of cist graves because of the incomplete state either of the graves themselves or of excavation records. The general impression is that cist graves are comparable in size to sarcophagi, for which they were, perhaps, a less expensive and more easily produced substitute. The contents of C 5, however, demonstrate that cists were by no means paupers' graves.

With the exception of C/T 1, no cist grave at Sardis retains traces of the way in which it might have been marked. A small mound of earth would have been the simplest method of indicating a grave. C/T 1, the rubble-built cist, was enclosed in rubble packing and covered by a tumulus, the diameter of which, ca. 26 m., is comparable to that of its neighbors in the Bin Tepe necropolis.

Because no cist grave has yet been found with its contents undisturbed, no evidence is available for the disposition of the deceased within the grave. In most cases, the corpse was probably laid directly in the cist. The presence of wood fragments and iron nails in C 5, however, suggests that a wooden container may have housed the remains.[85]

Although plundered or disturbed prior to excavation,

most of the cist graves investigated contained at least some evidence for dating. The majority belong to the 6th century B.C., and unlike other tomb types at Sardis, appear to belong earlier in that century rather than later.[86] The noticeable absence of cist graves after ca. 480 B.C. undoubtedly reflects the haphazard nature of archaeological discovery rather than an actual abandonment of this grave type. C 1, dated to ca. 200 B.C., although somewhat later than the Lydian period, strictly speaking, is included in Appendix I, since it is unclear whether the material found in the tomb represents a primary burial or a later re-use of an earlier grave. The cist, as a tomb type, persists well into the Roman period, with the brick-built cist becoming an ubiquitous feature of later Roman necropoleis.[87]

Direct Inhumation

Appendix I, DI 1-DI 5; pp. 240-242

Although direct inhumation is archaeologically the most elusive grave type in the Sardis region, several examples which appear to date to the Lydian period have been recovered in recent excavation. Burial in a rudimentary pit of some sort might be indicative of

unusual and pressing circumstances, as seems to have been the case in DI 4. The absence of well-defined grave structures, however, might also reflect individual necessity or atypical attitudes towards the dead.

Excavation at Ahlatlı Tepecik on the south shore of the Gygean Lake (Fig. 1) revealed the foundation walls of several structures, perhaps a farmhouse complex, dating to the Lydian period. Late 7th and 6th century B.C. pottery was abundant in the fill in this area.[88] Less than 15 m. west of the complex, two deposits of human skeletal material (DI 1, DI 2) were discovered in no obvious relationship to a formal grave or to one another. Since both skeletons were incomplete they might well be a secondary deposit, but direct inhumation at an earlier date is attested in the area. Some 70 m. west of the farmhouse complex is a cemetary area that contains Early Bronze age pithos and cist burials as well as Roman graves of the 1st and 2nd centuries A. D.[89] Within the cemetary area, a bundle or crouched inhumation (DI 3) was discovered. Pottery fragments associated with the burial indicate a date in the early Iron Age, the first quarter of the 1st millennium B.C.

Within the area of the ancient city in HOB sector (Fig. 2, no. 4), a shallow pit lined with rubble was found to contain a large quantity of disarticulated human skeletons and animal bones (DI 4). According to the

excavator's report, 90% of the skeletal material was human, representing at least ten individuals ranging in age from childhood to maturity (35 years).[90] The skeletal remains showed no directional orientation and no signs of disease or violent death, although most of the bones were burned and poorly preserved. Pottery from the fill above the pit as well as that in the layer below suggests a date in the late 8th or early 7th century B.C. for this mass inhumation. The excavator associated the burial with a conflagration level attested throughout this sector and suggested that these might be victims of the destruction caused by Cimmerian raiders.[91]

A somewhat smaller stone-lined pit containing human skeletal remains and a comparatively large quantity of pottery (DI 5) was found in PN sector (Fig. 2, no. 10). According to the excavators, much of the pottery appeared to have been broken intentionally.[92] The pit is associated with a pre-Persian occupation surface, but its relationship to surrounding architectural remains, that is, whether or not the pit is located within a structure, is unclear.

The role of chance in recovering direct inhumations is especially great, since this burial type is the least obvious. Thus, it is impossible to know whether these few direct inhumations reflect a real aberration in Lydian burial practices or merely an apparent one.

Sarcophagus Burials

Appendix I, SAR 1-SAR 8; pp. 246-249

Sarcophagus burials not associated with a tomb structure are known from all the major cemetary areas at Sardis: Bin Tepe (SAR 1-SAR 3), Şeytan Dere and the area around the Pyramid Tomb (SAR 4-SAR 6), and Necropolis A (SAR 7, SAR 8). In addition, a number of sarcophagus fragments have been noted in the western foothills of the Acropolis to the north and east of the Artemis Temple precinct.[93] To date, no cemetary area exclusively given over to sarcophagus burials has come to light at Sardis or within the Lydian sphere. Sarcophagi, like cists, were placed in the ground where personal choice dictated and space permitted. The exteriors of tumuli and other funerary structures appear to have been desirable locations for sarcophagus burials. SAR 2 and SAR 3, for example, were found close together between two tumuli. A third sarcophagus, buried on the perimeter of a tumulus, was observed in this same region of Bin Tepe.[94] At Keskinler, a shattered limestone sarcophagus was noted near BC/T 19.[94] Sarcophagus burials on the perimeters of or near tumuli may be more common than the archaeological

record might indicate, since these areas are generally not explored in the course of excavation or salvage operations.[95] In addition to tumuli, the stepped structure known as the Pyramid Tomb (Fig. 27)and the carved chamber tomb CC 6 (Fig. 21), both of which would have presented impressive facades in ancient times, also attracted sarcophagus burials (SAR 4, SAR 5 and SAR 8). Because sarcophagus burials are scattered in this way, they usually become known only through accidental discovery in the course of agricultural and construction activities. Doubtless many burials of this type go unrecorded.

Lydian sarcophagi buried directly in the ground are made either of limestone or terracotta.[97] Both types are found in close association with one another. SAR 2 and SAR 3, as noted above, were found within a few meters of one another. The most common type of limestone sarcophagus found at Sardis is hewn from a single piece of stone. Below a thick rectangular rim, the sides curve to a flat bottom, and the inside is deeply carved, usually in an oval, sometimes in a rectangular shape. The shape of these sarcophagi resembles that of a modern Western bathtub. Many are in use today in local villages as watering troughs and catch basins at public fountains. Lids for these sarcophagi are also hewn from a single piece of stone and are merely a solid slab with trimmed

edges (SAR 7) or are hollowed out on the underside (SAR 6). Terracotta sarcophagi survive direct burial in the earth less readily than their limestone counterparts. None, in fact, have been found intact, but their fragments show that they are similar to the terracotta sarcophagi found in carved chamber tombs. In general, these are rectangular and thick-walled, with little or no trace of painted decoration. No buried terracotta sarcophagus has yet been found with matching lid, although terracotta lids are known from sarcophagi found inside carved chamber tombs. In two graves (SAR 2 and SAR 5), the sarcophagus was covered by schist slabs.

The archaeological record contains no direct evidence for the ways in which sarcophagus graves may have been marked. Obviously, those burials made on or near pre-existing tomb structures had 'ready-made' monuments. More isolated burials may have gone unmarked or may have been designated by some simple device that has left no physical trace, for example, a small mound of earth that would have eroded away over the centuries.[98] Indirect evidence merely hints at a possible relationship between sarcophagus burials and 'phallos' markers which may have crowned small mounds of earth.[99] By far the greatest concentration of such markers found at Sardis occurs in torrent beds along the western foothills of the Acropolis, that is, in the same areas in which sarcophagus fragments

have been noted on the hills themselves.

The earliest sarcophagus burial known to date is SAR 1, dated to the 7th/6th century B.C. on the basis of the bronze bowl reported to have been found inside.[100] Both terracotta and stone sarcophagi continued to be used through the 5th and 4th centuries B.C. (SAR 5-SAR 8), and the characteristic bathtub shape seems to have persisted well into Hellenistic times. Two bathtub-type sarcophagi containing coins dating to the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C. were found in a vineyard less than 1 kilometer west of the Pactolus and 1/2 kilometer south of the modern highway.[101] The re-use of Lydian bathtub sarcophagi has a long history. Just north of Church E, for example, a mid-to-late Byzantine resident of Sardis was interred in a Lydian sarcophagus (Sardis Inv. No. G 62.1), and another sarcophagus was used as a water container in a Turkish-Islamic period industrial installation west of Church E.[102]

Miscellaneous Funerary Monuments

Two additional funerary monuments need to be mentioned in connetion with tomb and grave types at Sardis. Both are unique. One is the so-called Pyramid Tomb (Fig. 2, no. 14), first excavated by the Princeton

Expedition in 1914 and subsequently by the Harvard/Cornell Expedition in 1960 and 1961. Most recently the monument has been studied by S. Kaspar.[103] The second monument consists of two halves of a small pediment which is believed to have decorated a building such as a mausoleum.[104] While there is nothing definitively funerary about either monument, the location of the former and the iconography of the latter indicate their funerary associations.

The Pyramid Tomb (Fig. 27), in its present state at least, is not a tomb, per se, but a free-standing structure, preserved to a height of six courses. Various reconstructions have been proposed for the its superstructure, no trace of which survives. Butler offered two possible restorations, the first, a complete stepped pyramid rising to a height of twelve courses, and the second, a small, free-standing chamber on the seventh step, modelled after the Tomb of Cyrus at Pasargadae. Kaspar envisons the monument as a complete stepped pyramid in two stages, enclosing a chamber. The date of the monument, too, is uncertain. Based on the evidence of masonry techniques, a mid-to-late sixth century date has been proposed. Whatever the original form of this monument may have been, its location suggests a close connection with graves and tombs. The slopes of the ravine on which the Pyramid Tomb is situated contain a

number of tombs (e.g., BC/T 17, CC 1 and SAR 6; cf. Fig. 2, nos. 14, 54, 69, 72), certainly enough to suggest that this area was a minor necropolis in the Lydian period. Near the Pyramid Tomb itself, according to Butler, were several carved chamber tombs in the artificially cut terraces both at the level of and above the stepped structure.[105] The Pyramid Tomb may also have attracted burials in its vicinity, as suggested by SAR 4 and SAR 5. Thus, although the function of this monument, either as an actual tomb or as a memorial of some sort, remains obscure, its physical association with a necropolis is clear.

The two halves of a small marble pediment, found in the Pactolus stream bed in 1969 and 1977, depict a banquet. The principal figure is a bearded male who reclines on a kline and is accompanied by three seated females at the left and two standing servants at the right. Tables bearing vessels for food and drink complete the scene. The subject of the pediment, dated stylistically to ca. 450-430 B.C., has quite reasonably been interpreted as a funerary banquet, a popular motif on grave reliefs and monuments in Asia Minor.[106] There is no evidence, other than the pediment itself, for the form of the monument to which the relief belongs. The size of the pediment, however, suggests a small temple or naiskos as the most suitable structure for decoration of this type.

Neither of these two monuments, the Pyramid Tomb or the pediment and its associated structure, appears to have influenced funerary architecture at Sardis. Both are thought to reflect Persianizing tastes among the Lydians or perhaps a commission by a Persian official resident at Sardis.[107] Despite their enthusiastic adoption of Persian-style personal ornament, such as jewelry and seals, the majority of Lydians continued to bury and honor their dead in the traditional ways.

SECTION 2: LYDIA AND NEIGHBORING AREAS

The major tomb and grave types discussed in Section 1 of this chapter are found throughout what may be called central Lydia, specifically, the Hermus and Cayster River valleys, as well as in neighboring areas of western Asia Minor. Although these basic tomb types are widespread, regional peculiarities are evident. In an attempt to distinguish Lydian burial practices and funerary architecture from those of her neighbors, the evidence from Sardis (Appendix I) is compared with that from central Lydia (Appendix II) as well as in a more general way with material from other regions of Asia Minor (Fig. 28).[108]

In general, tombs included in the following discussion range in date from the 8th to the 4th centuries B.C. The problems encountered in determining chronology for tombs and graves at Sardis persist throughout western Asia Minor. With few exceptions, most tombs have been plundered thoroughly prior to being recorded by archaeologists and thus, absolute dates are seldom able to be determined.

Built Chamber Tombs and Tumuli [109]

Central Lydia

Built chamber tombs in the Hermus and Cayster river valleys show a greater variety in plan than those in the Sardis region. Four of the eleven complexes in Appendix II whose plans are known are of the basic chamber, antechamber/porch and dromos type (E 4a, E 4b, E 4c, G3). One tomb, E 1c, is cist-like in that it has no entrance (Fig. 29). F 2a consists of a chamber and dromos without an intervening porch or antechamber (Fig. 30). All these types have parallels at Sardis. The remaining tombs in Appendix II are so far unique in the archaeological record of the area. The interior plan of E 5 is cruciform. The three arms of the cross are essentially deep niches, each containing double width couches. Four complexes include multiple chambers or antechambers. E 1a consists of three chambers arranged side by side with no dromoi or antechambers (Fig. 31), while F 1 has two chambers side by side, each with its own porch but with a shared dromos. In G 4, an interior corridor gives access to six narrow chambers, three on each side. F 2b is made up of a single chamber with two antechambers and a dromos, thus producing an unusually elongated plan (Fig. 32).

Ceiling design and roofing techniques also vary widely throughout central Lydia. Pitched roofs are found

more frequently here than at Sardis[110], usually in the main chamber and in combination with a flat-roofed antechamber or dromos (E 4c, E 5, F 2a). A feature of roof construction in the upper Hermus valley is a pitched 'relieving space' above the flat roof of the chamber (F 1, F 2b). This space is formed by slabs of roughly trimmed stone, usually schist, set at the outside long edges of the roof and tilted inward, so that one slab is propped up by the other (cf. Fig. 32). In the Cayster valley, corbelled vaulting occurs in the chambers and corridor of G 4 and in the main chamber of G 3. In the latter tomb, a 'relieving' chamber of corbelled rubble was built above the main chamber. The antechamber of G 3 has a simple 'lantern' ceiling.[111]

Several chamber tombs in central Lydia display unusual interior features unparalleled at Sardis. In the triple-chambered complex E 1a, rectangular window-like openings pierce both internal dividing walls. The two chambers of F 1 each have a rectangular niche on their facades, one at the left, the other at the right of a person entering the burial chamber from the porch. Most tomb complexes were closed at the entrance to the chamber or antechamber, sometimes at both, by a monolithic block or by two blocks placed one top the other, as at Sardis. Several tombs, however, had carved leaf-type doors that rotated on pivots. E 4b reportedly had a door carved in

imitation of a single-leaf wooden door that swung inward into the chamber. The entrance from the porch was further secured by a door block. Both the second antechamber and main chamber of F 2b were closed by double-leaved doors, both of the four-panel type. The door of the main chamber was marble (like the chamber itself) and decorated with small bosses in relief.[112] The main chamber of G 3 apparently was closed by a potcullis-type door, as suggested by grooves in the door jambs.

Materials used in tomb construction in central Lydia include limestone, marble and sandstone for chambers and antechabmers and roughly trimmed limestone, local poros and schist for dromoi. The dromos of F 2a, however, is made of well-cut and finished limestone blocks. An unusual combination of limestone and marble occurs in the porch of E 4b. The walls closest to the chamber, as well as those of the chamber itself, are of limestone, with abutting blocks of blue-gray marble forming an outward extension of the porch walls. One tomb complex (G 3) made extensive use of trimmed bedrock in the lower portions of its walls.

Many of the construction and finishing techniques observed in the tombs at Sardis are found throughout central Lydia. Dove-tail clamps, for example, secure the paving slabs in E 4a, the walls blocks in F 2a and F 2b and the uppermost blocks of the corbelled vault in G 3.

Continuous corner blocks occur in the lower Hermus valley in tombs E la and E 4a. Similar to the structural concept of a continuous corner block is the enormous abbreviated V-shaped block forming the apex and one complete side of the pitched roof in E 5. The reduction of the space to be spanned by stone beams is accomplished in E la and E lc by a gradual inward tilting of the long walls. Another regional peculiarity exhibited by E la is a continuous raised band along the uppermost edge of the walls as well as along the joining edges of the ceiling beams. The latter feature also occurs in the porch of E 4b. The marble blocks that form the extension of the porch walls have drafted margins and finely point-stippled centers. This same technique, much less finely executed, is found in the first antechamber of F 2b. In general, the masonry of tomb complexes throughout central Lydia show the same high quality in cutting, joining and finishing as that exhibited in tombs at Sardis.

Tombs in central Lydia consistently appear to have been more well-furnished than those at Sardis, although this phenomenon may be the result of chance presevation.[113] E 4a contains two limestone klinai placed side by side across the back wall of the chamber. The carved legs and outside edge of the foremost kline retains traces of painted decoration. Two beautifully carved and painted marble klinai adorned the chamber of E 4b.

Undecorated but well-carved couches are found in E 4c (single kline) and E 5 (three pairs, each installed in one of the three niches). In the upper Hermus valley, F 1 contained a single poros kline in one chamber and two marble klinai in the second chamber. An alternative to the moveable kline occurs in F 2b. The main chamber is provided with an L-shaped bench built into the back and one side wall.

The tumuli which cover the tomb complexes discussed above range in size from small to medium (ca. 15 m. to 75 m. in diameter), with none approaching the scale of the 'Royal Mounds' at Bin Tepe. The placement of some of the tumuli (e.g., F 1, G 3) at the top of a ridge or spur, however, gives them a visual prominence similar to that of the 'Royal Mounds'. Certain similarities in construction materials and techniques among the mounds in central Lydia and those at Sardis include a layer of sterile clay above the roof of E 1, strata of pebbles and small stones above the roof of F 1, together with traces of burned wood and charcoal, and rubble packing enclosing the complex within the mound (E 1c, F 1, F 2a, F 2b). No crepis has yet been identified among the tumuli in the Hermus valley, apart from those at Bin Tepe. In the Cayster valley, however, both G 3 and G 4 are encircled by impressive masonry crepides. The crepis of G 3 (Belevi) is composed partly of bedrock trimmed to imitate bossed ashlar masonry.

Where the spur slopes steeply downward, the crepis is continued by cut stone blocks surviving in some places to a height of seven courses. Near the summit of the tumulus are scattered several large limestone blocks, perhaps the remains of some crowning monument similar to that postulated for the Alyattes tumulus (BC/T 1). Unfortunately, no cuttings or other indications as to the original arrangement of these blocks are visible. Another monument of uncertain form is found on the slope of the tumulus at Ikiztepe (F 1). Two bases *in situ*, together with a third displaced by plunderers, may originally have supported grave stelai. Two beautifully carved marble doors, reported to have been found in the area and now in the Uşak Museum, have been associated with these bases, but the overall form such a monument might have taken remains unclear.[114]

In connection with built chamber tombs and tumuli in Lydia, mention should be made of the remarkable tomb of Pythes (Plutarch, *Moralia* 263 B-C).[115] This wealthy and ostentatious ruler of Celaenae prepared a tomb for himself within a large mound. After diverting a stream to flow through the mound and around the tomb, Pythes retired from public life into his tomb. His wife, who administered the government in his stead, provided Pythes with food sent to the tomb each day by boat. Thus, according to Plutarch, Pythes spent the remainder of his life. Several large

mounds exist in the region of Celaenae, but nothing that might give rise to the monument of Pythes as described by Plutarch has been recognized.[116]

Caria

Built chamber tombs with tumuli are found on the Halicarnassus peninsula and in eastern Caria along the Meander river valley, especially in the area between the Marsyas and Harpasos rivers. Tombs and tumuli in these two areas differ markedly, with those in eastern Caria showing a greater similarity to built chamber tombs in Lydia. In western Caria, the typical post-Geometric 'Lelegian' tomb consists of a dromos and a single rectangular or square chamber coverd by a corbelled pyramidal roof.[117] Surrounding the chamber and forming the base of the tumulus is a stone drum crowned by a projecting course of flat stones. The upper portion of the tumulus is built up of stone rings, the circumference of which gradually decreases towards the top. The entire complex sits on a stone socle that projects beyond the line of the drum.[118]

In eastern Caria, the majority of tombs explored by Paton in the late 19th century consisted of a chamber and antechamber, with or without a dromos, and built of good ashlar masonry.[119] The chambers were spanned by stone beams. Several chambers had pitched 'relieving spaces' above the roof like those noted above in tombs F 1 and F

2b in the upper Hermus valley. An earthen mound, defined by a stone crepis in a few cases, covered the burial complex. One tumulus still retained at its summit a 'phallic' marker and base.[120] The tradition of built chamber tombs and tumuli continued in eastern Caria well into Hellenistic times. Among the more than 1,000 tombs of various types in the necropolis at Hierapolis are at least seven built chambers with tumuli.[121] Situated relatively close together in two distinct groups, the tombs consist of single chambers which are barrel vaulted and contain two stone benches. The small tumuli are defined by high stone crepis walls, formed by large slabs of stone or orthostates on which rest a simple crowning course. In the absence of any securely dateable contextual evidence, the tombs are considered to be the earliest in the predominantly Roman necropolis because of their form and the encroachment of later sarcophagus graves above the tumuli.[122]

Ionia

Outside the area of Old Smryna, built chamber tombs with tumuli are rare. In the necroplis at Smryna, some 50-60 tumuli dot the lower slopes of Yamanlar Dağ descending to the Bornova plain. Not all these tumuli have been investigated nor do all those that have been explored cover built chamber tombs.[123] Most tumuli, in fact, cover simple rock-cut or built cist graves and

sarcophagi. The most impressive funerary monument, located on a higher slope northwest of the main necroplis, is the so-called 'Tomb of Tantalus'. The extant remains together with the drawings made in 1835 by Texier, who dismantled most of the tumulus in the course of his investigations, show that the complex consisted of a single chamber without an entrance enclosed by a stone-built tumulus.[124] The large, rectangular chamber is built of coursed masonry. Its two long walls converge at the top to form a false vault. Surrounding the chamber is a rubble-built drum, ca. 30 m. in diameter, faced with polygonal masonry. Texier's drawing shows a conical superstructure above the drum separated from it by a simple projecting course. This unique monument seems to reflect two distinct architectural traditions, that of western Caria in the material and method of tumulus construction and that of Lydia in the material and masonry technique of its chamber. The date of the 'Tantalus' tomb is uncertain. Akurgal proposes a date in the second half of the 7th or second quarter of the 6th century B.C. on the basis of the polygonal masonry of the drum's facing.[125] Texier describes two other built chamber tombs with rubble tumuli, one without dromos or entrance, the other with a covered dromos. Brief mention is also made of a double-chambered tomb. All these monuments are founded on bedrock trimmed to form the floor of the

chambers. None of the chamber tombs are securely dated, but the necropolis in which they are found contains cist and sarcophagus burials ranging in date from the 6th to the 4th centuries B.C.

Aeolis/Mysia/Troad

Built chamber tombs with tumuli are scattered throughout Aeolis and Mysia, and concentrations of tumuli occur in northwestern Asia Minor, at Daskylion for example.[126] As in other areas, however, mounds here have seldom been explored systematically. Several built chambers have been reported in the region of Pergamon. Near Elaia (Seç Tepe), a large mound ca. 50 m. in diameter, defined by a crepis now almost completely missing, covers a tomb complex consisting of dromos, antechamber and chamber.[127] The chambers are roofed by a corbelled vault. Local stone (andesite), well-cut and finished, is used for all elements of the complex. Within the main chamber were found three undecorated stone sarcophagi, two with flat lids and one with a low gabled lid. Based on the pottery recovered from the fill above the tomb and the profile of the door frames, Kaspar believes the structure predates the Hellenistic period. The plan, overall proportions and roofing technique of the Elaia tumulus are similar to those of the so-called 'Tomb of Dardanos' in the Troad.[128] Here a large tumulus without crepis covers a dromos, antechamber and chamber of

good masonry. The chamber contained three stone benches. Grave goods left behind by plunderers range in date from the 4th through the 1st centuries B.C., although inscriptions on the chamber walls indicate an original construction date in the 6th century B.C. East of Pergamon in the area of Kirkağaç built chamber tombs are known but unpublished. One apparently contained traces of painting (Ionic cymation) and a pair of sphinxes, used perhaps as supports for a kline.[129] Another plundered chamber complex was roofed by a 'lantern' ceiling like those found in some Phrygian and Bithynian tombs[130] and in simpler form in G 3 (Belevi).

Dotting the Caicus river plain near Pergamon are a number of tumuli, several of impressive size.[131] Yiğma Tepe, ca. 500 m. in diameter, is encircled by a low masonry crepis. A shaft driven into the center of the mound from the side failed to locate a burial chamber. Excavators did note, however, that some 70 m. into the mound, the earth fill became extremely compact, a distinct change from the loose earth and rubble through which they had been tunneling. This phenomenon led Dorpfeld to postulate an original smaller mound later enlarged, a situation reminiscent of the that in the Gyges mound at Sardis (T 4). The mound is dated on the basis of the crepis masonry to the Hellenistic period. A second, and probably later mound, Mal Tepe, is almost 200 m. in

diameter and is also defined by a masonry crepis. The crepis is pierced by the dromos entrance. This long, vaulted corridor leads to a short transverse passage that gives access to three vaulted chambers arranged side by side. A number of worked marble blocks scattered on the top of the tumulus suggests that a monument of some sort once crowned its peak,[132] a feature noted elsewhere on the Alyattes mound at Sardis (BC/T 1) and at Belevi (G 3).

Phrygia

Tumuli covering built chambers of various types are prominent features throughout Phrygia. Concentrations of tumuli occur at Ankara and especially at the Phrygian capital, Gordion, while isolated groups and individual monuments have been noted or explored in the highlands and on the Phrygo-Lydian border.[133] The built chambers of Phrygia can be distinguished on the basis of their material: wood or stone.

Wooden chambers are by far the earliest and most prevalent type. The earliest wooden chamber known to date, Tumulus W at Gordion, may be as early as the end of the 9th century B.C.[134] In general, the typical Phrygian chamber tomb consists of a single, relatively large chamber with a low, flat roof and no door or entrance passage. The chamber within the 'Midas Mound' at Gordion, exceptional in many respects, has a pitched roof. Another exceptional tomb, located near Afyon in an area that

contains a number of unexplored tumuli on the western boundary of Phrygia, has a vaulted roof.[135] Also, unlike other wooden tombs known to date, the Afyon chamber retains traces of painted decoration which includes friezes of warriors, chariots, winged bulls and confronted sphinxes, dated stylistically to ca. 525-500 B.C. The chambers were usually set partly below ground level and enclosed with a packing of rubble. Again, the Midas and Afyon chambers are unusual in that both have an exterior casing of cut and roughly finished stone blocks. Above the rubble-packed chambers, earth and clay were heaped up to form the tumulus. The largest Phrygian tumulus (the Midas Mound) is comparable in diameter (250 m.) to the smaller 'Royal Mounds' at Sardis (T 4, TU 5). No crepis has yet been found in association with Phrygian tumuli nor do the tumuli appear to have been decorated in any way.[136]

Stone-built chambers are comparatively rare in Phrygia. In the highlands, only a few have been reported among the concentrations of rock-cut tombs and monuments.[137] Although badly damaged, two built chamber complexes near Şükranlı display features found in stone-built tombs on the Phrygo-Lydian border and in Lydia itself. One complex consists of dromos, antechamber and chamber. The passage between dromos and antechamber was closed by a double-leaved door, as indicated by pivot holes in the threshold block. The second tomb is composed

of dromos and chamber, also with a double-leaved door intervening. Wall blocks and paving slabs are secured with dove-tail clamps. Both tombs are built of local limestone. No evidence for the method of roofing was recovered for either complex nor was any dateable contextual material recovered. At Gordion, as well as at several other sites in Phrygia and Bithynia, there is found a type of stone built chamber primarily distinguished by its roofing system.[138] Referred to as a 'lantern' in the preceding discussion, the ceiling of the chamber (and antechamer) consists of up to six courses of stone slabs laid diagonally across the corners of the successive openings, thereby incrementally reducing the space to be covered with a single capstone. Tombs that show a roofing system of this type, the origin of which is thought by some to be Thrace, are generally dated to the 4th century B.C. or later.[139] As noted above, however, a simple form of this approach to roofing is found in the antechamber of G 3 (Belevi), a complex for which a construction date in the Archaic period has been proposed.

Lycia

Built chamber tombs and tumuli are infrequent in Lycia, where rock-cut tombs predominate. Those that have been reported are of two distinct types. In northern Lycia, at Kızılbel and Karaburun, single chambers without dromoi are known.[140] The rectangular chambers are of

local limestone, well finished on the inside and covered by pitched roofs. After interment had taken place, the chambers were not designed to be re-entered. One was closed with a portcullis slab, the other merely by a block of stone inserted into a gap left in one of the short sides of the chamber. The interior walls of both tombs retained extensive remains of polychrome paintings. Those at Kızılbel, dated to the last quarter of the 6th century B.C., are arranged in superimposed friezes and depict a variety of apparently unrelated scenes, including a hunt, a warrior's departure, several processions, a banquet and a sea voyage as well as mythological figures such as the Gorgons, Medusa, Chrysaor and Pegasus. The paintings at Karaburun, dated to ca. 470 B.C., show a sumptuously dressed male figure, presumably the tomb owner, reclining on a couch and attended by servants and perhaps his wife. Other scenes include a battle and a procession. Both tombs contained a single limestone kline and table. The chambers were enclosed with boulders and rubble packing prior to being covered over with mounds of earth, clay and small stones. The Karaburun tumulus has a preserved diameter of about 35 m. While no evidence for a crepis wall exists, a long rectangular base set on bedrock marks the outer edge of the mound on its east side.[141] Also found in the area were fragments of architectural elements identified as belonging to door panels and of sculpture

belonging to at least one life-sized lion. The excavator believes that these fragments, together with the base, formed a monumental symbolic doorway similar to that proposed for the Ikiztepe tumulus (F 1).

In central Lycia, built chambers and tumuli markedly differ from those in northern Lycia with respect to overall plan and construction techniques.[142] Tombs explored by Zahle in the area of Phellos have dromoi and crepis walls. All are built of roughly trimmed local limestone. Most consist of a single rectangular chamber which may be corbel vaulted or spanned by one or two stone slabs. The tumuli, ranging in diameter from 7 m to 19 m. mostly consist of rubble and, in some cases, may have been faced with flat, regularly cut stones found scattered in the area. Although no evidence is available to indicate a construction date for these monuments, their similarity to the 'Lelegian' tumuli of southwest Caria led Zahle to propose a date in the 8th to 6th centuries B.C.

Summary

The typical built chamber tomb found at Sardis and in central Lydia is distinguished by its fine limestone or marble masonry, a rectangular chamber sometimes preceded by an antechamber or porch and usually entered by means of a dromos, a flat roof and an overall simplicity of the interior. There are many variations in plan and details

of design among built chambers within Lydia itself. A few isolated examples of built chambers in eastern Caria, Aeolis/Mysia and northern Lycia share some of the basic features of Lydian tomb construction. Thus, in a general way, built chambers in this central zone of western Asia Minor form an architectural tradition that is distinct from that of central Phrygia and the Halicarnassus peninsula.

Tumuli are much more widely distributed in western Asia Minor than built chamber tombs and cover many types of burials. Tumuli, too, show certain regional characteristics defined by their primary material of composition (earth/clay or rubble/fieldstone), size and presence of a crepis wall. Lydian tumuli are earthen mounds with admixtures of clay and gravel, moderate to large in size, averaging between 25 m. and 50 m. in diameter, and are usually not defined by crepis walls (with the exception of BC/T 1, T 4, G 3 and G 4, all of which are atypical in other respects as well). Lydian mounds are most like those of Phrygia, in terms of average size and composition, although tumuli of this basic type are common throughout Anatolia. Few mounds, however, can compare in size to the 'Royal Mounds' of Bin Tepe. The Midas Mound at Gordion and the two large tumuli at Pergamon are the only monuments that approximate the scale of the 'Royal Mounds', and those at the latter site are

much later than the Sardis tumuli. Thus, the tradition of mound building on a monumental scale has a long history in Asia Minor, initiated perhaps by the Midas Mound at Gordion, continued at Sardis and passed on to the Hellenistic tomb builders of Pergamon and Hierapolis.

Carved Chamber Tombs

Central Lydia

Carved chamber tombs in central Lydia are of two basic types, primarily distinguished by their situation and exterior aspect. By far the most common type is a chamber (or chambers) carved into a vertical rock or cliff face. Varieties of this basic type will be discussed below. A second type of carved chamber tomb has only recently been discovered in central Lydia and awaits full publication.[143] In the upper Cayster valley, V. Sevin has found several tombs consisting of a single chamber with benches, pitched roof and long dromos, carved into the tops of limestone ridges and covered with tumuli. At Bin Tepe, several built chamber complexes incorporate bedrock into their walls (BRC/T 1-5), but these tombs in the Cayster valley are the only ones known in Lydia to be carved entirely from living rock and marked with tumuli.

Outside Sardis itself, chamber tombs of the first type have their greatest concentration in the Cayster valley.[144] On both sides of the Cayster, in the Tmolus and Messogis foothills, simple tombs of one or two chambers, equipped with benches and approached by dromoi of varying lengths, have been noted at Falaka, Buruncuk and Gökçen.[145] G 2 is a representative example of the type. The facades of these tombs are usually quite plain, the only architectural emphasis being a recessed band around the rectangular door in some cases. In general, then, these carved chamber tombs are much like the simplest type at Sardis. Like most of the tombs at Sardis, too, those of the Cayster valley have yielded no contextual evidence for their date.

Two unique monuments (E 2, E 3) in the lower Hermus valley must also be considered in this discussion. Both are entirely carved into living rock and are distinguished by their comparatively elaborate architectural facades. E 2, located high on a summit at Akkaya (near Kemalpasa), appears to be unfinished and may well have not been intended for a tomb or funerary monument. Its general appearance, however, suggests a comparison with rock-cut tombs in Phrygia and Paphlagonia. In its present state, the monument is a large, rectangular niche divided into two 'chambers' by an engaged column and is approached by a flight of rock-cut steps. Two crude pediments are

indicated by shallow grooves above the niches. No cuttings or other evidence within the niches give any indication of the monument's function. The second unique monument (E 3), located at the eastern foot of Mt. Sipylos, consists of two communicating chambers, one behind the other. The walls are plain and the ceilings slightly curved. Along the back wall of the innermost chamber is a very low, broad ledge. While the interior plan and elevation of E 3 are unremarkable, the facade of the monument is impressive. Separated from the surrounding rock by a deep trench, the structure has a sloping roof (i.e., single-pitch) that approximates the angle of slope of the hillside. At least three broad steps, extending across the width of the facade, lead to a two-stepped landing in front of the door. All the exposed exterior surfaces of the monument have been well trimmed. E 3 has long been known (and easily accessible). Nothing remains of its original furnishings. Thus, its date, and perhaps even its original function, are uncertain. The interior plan, however, is a common one among chamber tombs and, in the absence of benches, the low ledge in the inner chamber may have provided a platform for a sarcophagus. The grand stepped entrance has no parallel in Lydia, except, perhaps, for the 'Stele Tomb' (CC 6) at Sardis, the entrance to which was hidden behind a stepped facade. The rock-cut stairway of E 3 and the overall

impression created by the contrast between the surface of the monument and the surrounding terrain would be much more at home in the highlands of Phrygia.[146]

Caria

The most well known (and published) carved chamber tombs are found at Caunus.[147] The necropolis, located on a ridge opposite the acropolis, contains relatively simple rock-cut chambers with square doors as well as tombs with more elaborate architectural facades. These are carved in imitation of small Ionic temples, usually with two columns in antis, a dentil frieze and a pediment with acroteria. The facade is set off from the surrounding rock by a deeply carved frame. Irrespective of the treatment of the facade, the tomb itself is usually a relatively small chamber containing two or three benches. Many of the tombs are dated to the 4th century B.C. on the basis of their exterior decoration and the pottery found within, often in contexts disturbed by later re-use. Undoubtedly, many other necropoleis of simple carved chamber tombs are scattered throughout Caria but go unrecorded. Not surprisingly, only tombs with distinctive features find their way into publication. Such a monument is the rock-cut tomb near Milâs (ancient Mylasa), known locally as Berber İni.[148] Carved into the cliff face above the plain rectangular door to the tomb chamber itself is a facade consisting of two engaged Doric columns in antis flanking

a false door, with a simple architrave and pediment above. The burial complex consists of an antechamber with benches on either side and a smaller inner chamber, apparently carved to function as a cist, with a sunken floor and narrow ledges at either side that may have accomodated a lid.

Ionia

Carved chamber tombs are relatively rare among the Greek speaking settlements of Asia Minor and offshore islands. Obviously, a suitable terrain in an appropriate location is a prerequisite for rock-carved chambers. Even where suitable conditions existed, however, Greek inhabitants preferred other types of tombs and graves. The 'Lion Grave' at Miletos, for example, with its dromos and single chamber is so far unique among the settlements of the region.[149] In the west and north necropoleis at Samos, several rock-cut chambers were noted by Boehlau.[150] Although these tombs were much disturbed, they preserved their original form of a single rectangular chamber furnished with rock-cut benches along three walls. In some cases, the tomb was approached by a flight of rock-cut steps leading down to the chamber entrance which was closed by an undecorated stone slab. Tombs such as these, as well as other grave types (e.g., cists, pithoi), however, were far outnumbered by stone sarcophagi.[151]

Aeolis/Mysia

Among the Greek settlements in Aeolis, too, carved chamber tombs are uncommon. Only one site, Myrina, boasts an extensive necropolis containing simple rock-cut cists and chambers, none of which need be earlier than the late Hellenistic period.[152] At Eski Foça (ancient Phocaea), a rock-cut chamber tomb holds an isolated position in the hills southwest of the town. Known locally as Şeytan Hamamı, the complex consists of a long open dromos, an antechamber and inner chamber. The arched doorway is emphasized by a broad rectangular frame carved in relief. The interior of the tomb is neatly carved but plain and contains four cists (two in each chamber).[153] Beyond the Aeolian coast, rock-carved chambers are encountered more frequently. On the citadel of Pergamon, just outside the city wall at the west, several single-chambered rock-cut tombs are visible. Similar tombs, often containing two or three benches, are scattered northeast of the city.[154] East of Pergamon in the region around Soma, the early excavators of Pergamon observed simple rock-cut chamber tombs as well as more complex examples, including one that retained traces of an architectural facade (pillars, dentils and a pediment).[155]

An unusual group of carved chamber tombs covered by tumuli is found some 15 kilometers northwest of Soma.[156] Among the tomb complexes published by Kaspar are three

consisting of a dromos, antechamber and inner chamber, while four are of single chamber and dromos type, much like those found in the upper Cayster valley. The double chambers have benches along the side walls of the antechamber and along three walls of the main chamber. Single chambers have two benches arranged in an L. Five tombs have pitched ceilings, two of which have been carved to imitate woodwork, specifically, a double ridge pole with rafters, an elaboration frequently encountered in Phrygian carved chamber tombs. Measureable tumuli have a diameter ranging from 15 m. to 30 m. Traces of a crepis are preserved in several places. Unlike tomb chambers, crepis walls were built of quarried limestone blocks, roughly cut and unfinished. Unfortunately, all the tombs were plundered and contained no evidence for their date. Pottery fragments recovered from fill within the chambers and scattered around the necropolis indicate activity in the area from late Geometric to early Imperial times. The majority of pottery fragments appear to belong to the late Classical period.

Phrygia

Carved chamber tombs and other rock-cut monuments are ubiquitous in the highlands of Phrygia.[157] The tombs considered by Haspels to date to the Phrygian period usually have one chamber entered through a small door set high above ground level. Tombs having more than one

chamber contemporary with original construction are rare. Ceilings show a variety of treatments: flat, rounded or pitched, the latter being the most frequent. In many cases, ridge poles, ceiling beams and rafters are carved in relief, and in one double-chambered tomb a small pillar with an Aeolic-type capital is carved in relief in the pedimental space above the connecting door.[158] Most tombs have rock-carved benches along three sides of the chamber, although tombs with one or two benches are attested as are tombs without benches. The exterior treatment of these tombs also varies considerably. Most are quite plain, the only emphasis being a recessed band or a series of raised bands framing the doorway. Some have a simple architectural facade created by smoothing the rock face and carving in relatively low relief the outlines of a gabled structure. Others merely have a crude pediment incised above the doorway. A few examples, such as the well-known Aslan Taş monument, have elaborate sculptural decoration carved in relief on their exteriors.[159] Such tombs, however, are rare during the Phrygian period but become more common in Hellenistic times. The traditions established in the early period are continued in tombs assigned by Haspels to the Phrygian 'revival' under Lydian domination, that is, the second quarter of the 6th century B.C. Most of the tombs dated to this period, too, are single chambers but are generally somewhat larger than the

earlier examples. A distinguishing feature of the group is the substitution of rock-carved klinai for the simple benches. In several instances, klinai are carved complete with backrests and legs in relief. Again, treatment of the facade varies from simple to complex, but in neither period do Phrygian tombs exhibit the degree of architectural elaboration found in the rock-carved tombs of Lycia.[160]

Lycia

Certainly by the 4th century B.C. the inhabitants of Lycia demonstrate the richest vocabulary in funerary architecture than does any culturally distinct group in Asia Minor.[161] In addition to tombs of the simplest type, mere 'pigeon holes' gouged into hillsides, there are found freestanding tombs in the form of lofty rectangular pillars or enormous sarcophagi, the bases for which often contained a grave chamber, and carved chamber tombs with elaborate facades. Various combinations of these basic types also occur. Chamber tombs are classified according to treatment of their facades as either 'temple tombs' or 'house tombs'. A temple tomb has a facade carved in imitation of a temple (usually Ionic) with two, sometimes four, columns in antis, a dentil frieze and pediment, sometimes with acroteria. The typical facade of a house tomb is carved in imitation of regional wooden architecture, with projecting beam and log ends, framed

recessed panels and the like. Often the facade is in two, sometimes three, storeys. In contrast to the highly decorative and strongly emphasized facades, the interiors of these carved chamber tombs are usually quite simple. Most tombs consist of a single chamber which may or may not contain rock-cut benches.

Summary

Carved chamber tombs in the necropolis at Sardis and in central Lydia are distinguished by their comparatively simple plans and unemphasized exteriors. Unlike the majority of chamber tombs in Caria, Phrygia and Lycia, Lydian tombs usually include a dromos,[162] and double-chambered tombs are almost as common as those with a single chamber. In plan, Lydian tombs most resemble those near Soma in Mysia which include single and double chambers, all making use of dromoi.

To date, no Lydian tomb has been found with any trace of interior decoration, either painted or carved in relief. Indeed many tombs appear to be only roughly finished on the inside, a condition best reflected in the indifferent treatment of chamber ceilings. Some are evenly pitched, but many others, ranging from almost flat to rounded, are quite irregular. Such plain and irregular finishing is in contrast to that exhibited by some of the chambers near Soma and in Phrygia, in which ceilings are

neatly finished and often decorated with relief carving in imitation of woodwork.

Lydian tombs show a great variety in the type and quantity of their interior furnishings, a phenomenon that can be observed in all major chamber tomb traditions in Asia Minor. Some single chambers have no fixed furnishings of any kind, while others have rock-cut benches along three walls. A feature apparently peculiar to Sardis is the use of a bench of double width across the back wall, both in single-chambered tombs and in the innermost chamber of double-chambered tombs. Additional benches appear along the long walls of the antechamber in double-chambered tombs. In this respect, too, the tombs near Soma provide the closest parallel to those in Lydia. The benches are plain, with no trace of relief decoration. There is no indication that benches in Lydia evolved into or were replaced by rock-carved klinai as they were in Phrygia, although freestanding klinai are common in built chamber tombs at Sardis and elsewhere in Lydia.

The most obvious difference between carved chamber tombs in Lydia and those in other areas of Asia Minor is the lack of attention paid to the exterior of the tomb. Those few exceptions to this observation, the 'Stele Tomb' at Sardis (CC 6) or E 3 near Manisa with its monumental stairway, are enough to demonstrate that the inhabitants of the region were certainly not unaware of the

possibilities for enlivening the facades of their tombs. Simplicity was an option exercised by tomb builders in Lydia. Erosion or the stripping away of applied decoration cannot account for the almost universal plainness, indeed, in many cases, for the indifferent treatment of the majority of Lydian tomb facades.

Cists, Sarcophagi and Direct Inhumation

Central Lydia

Outside the area of Sardis, cists and sarcophagi generally go unnoticed or unreported. The occasional stone sarcophagus in the distinctive Lydain 'bathtub' shape can be seen at village fountains to the east and west of Sardis, and a few have been found around Tire in the Cayster valley. Certainly no concentrations of these grave types, however, have been reported within central Lydia. Even at Sardis itself, as noted in the first section of this chapter, cist and sarcophagus burials are isolated discoveries among built and carved chamber tombs.

Caria

Rock-cut and built cists are found at a number of Carian sites. One of the more extensive cist necropoleis belongs to Heracleia under Latmus. Located on what is now

a headland projecting into Bafa Gölü, the cemetary contains a large number of rock-cut cists often arranged in pairs. Monolithic lids are scattered throughout the area. Similar graves have been noted at Iasus and at the western end of the necropolis ridge at Caunus.[163] Stone-built cists, some quite large, are found in the area of Mylasa, at Euromos and Chalcetor, for example.[164] The built cists, apparently subterranean structures, preserve no traces of tumuli or other surface features.

Ionia

Sarcophagus burials are among the most frequently encountered grave types in Ionian settlements. In two of the three most extensive necropoleis explored to date, Clazomenae and Samos, sarcophagi represent by far the most popular type of burial receptacle.[165] Of the 161 graves explored by Boehlau in the west necropolis on Samos, 128 contained stone and 6 contained clay sarcophagi. Some of the sarcophagi were only shallowly buried, and Boehlau conjectured that many, originally standing above ground level, must have been covered with a mound of earth.[166] In the necropolis at Clazomenae, clay sarcophagi were found concentrated to such an extent that superimposition of successive burials was common. Both these necropoleis, as well as less extensive cemeteries in Ionia, contain other types of burials in addition to sarcophagi, for example, pithoi and amphorae, simple pits for direct

inhumation, some of which, at Clazomenae, were covered with tiles, and cists.

The necropolis at Old Smryna consists primarily of cist graves, either carved into living rock as a simple rectangular pit or built above ground level with stone slabs.[167] Both types of cists were, in many cases, covered by a tumulus of rubble, the diameter of which varies from ca. 10 m. to 20 m. Some of the tumuli were defined by crepis walls which showed a variety of construction techniques. A few consisted of carefully worked ashlar blocks, while others were made up of unworked or only roughly trimmed stone. Tumuli also covered clay sarcophagus burials. The necropolis at Old Smryna has yielded more examples of the Clazomenian type sarcophagus than any site outside Clazomenae itself.[168]

Aeolis/Mysia

The necropolis at Buruncuk/Larisa contains at least 100 graves, most of which are rock-cut or built cists.[169] The latter are constructed of fieldstones, sometimes set in clay mortar, or of cut stone slabs. A tile-built cist is also attested. The simplest graves are unlined pits in which the dead were deposited directly and covered over by thin limestone slabs. Like the necropolis at Old Smryna, the cemetary at Buruncuk retains traces of many tumuli, varying in diameter from 3.30 m. to 11.00 m. These are recognizeable chiefly by the remains of crepis walls, few

preserved above the level of the first course. The walls are built mostly of untrimmed or roughly trimmed andesite, and several show signs of having been enlarged or extended to incorporate additional burials. The necropolis near Soma also includes several rock-carved cists in addition to carved chamber tombs.[170] Unlike the chamber tombs, however, the cists do not appear to have been covered by tumuli.

At Pergamon, two small tumuli in the plain south of the Mal Tepe each contained a large trachyte sarcophagus with a gabled lid dating to the 4th century B.C.[171] Both tumuli preserved traces of a crepis. Earlier clay sarcophagi with simple painted decoration were recovered in excavation at Çandarlı (ancient Pitane) in an extensive necropolis which also contained simple pit graves and cists as well as cremation deposits.[172]

Phrygia

The rock-carved chambers of the highlands and the wooden chambers and tumuli of central Phrygia far overshadow more mundane grave types. At Gordion, however, scattered among the tumuli on the ridge northeast of the city mound, are the remains of simple inhumation pits dating to the Phrygian and Lydian periods.[173] Some were probably covered by small mounds.[174] No sarcophagus burials have yet been noted, and built cists are also noticeably absent from the list of Phrygian tomb and grave

types. At Gordion, only one built cist has been reported, a small rectangular structure of carefully worked limestone blocks containing a wooden coffin.[175]

Lycia

Among the four major tomb types of Lycia are monumental sarcophagi usually supported on an elevated base which often serves as an additional tomb chamber. Thus, these tombs more appropriately belong to the free-standing, built chamber category. A sarcophagus burial of a type more common in Ionia was found near the painted chamber at Karaburun and is contemporary with it.[176] The sarcophagus, already plundered in antiquity, was made of limestone and covered with a gabled lid. A packing of large rubble enclosed the sarcophagus, over which was heaped up a tumulus of earth to a diameter of about 35 m.

Summary

The use of cists (built and rock-cut), sarcophagi (stone and terracotta) and simple direct inhumation is widespread throughout western Asia Minor, especially at East Greek sites. At Sardis, the most elaborate cists grave (C/T 1), built of rubble and covered by a tumulus, and the tile-built cist (C 3), have their closest parallels at Buruncuk/Larisa, although the tumuli at the latter site are defined by crepis walls unattested at Sardis. Rock-cut cists and simple pits lined with stone

slabs occur in many places and generally have no particularly regional characteristics. Terracotta sarcophagi, both painted and plain, as well as stone examples, are the primary grave type at several east Greek necropoleis, although stone sarcophagi are much less frequent in western Asia Minor. At Sardis, however, stone sarcophagi appear to be as common as terracotta examples.[177] Direct evidence for covering mounds, found in association with sarcophagus burials at Old Smryna, for example, has not been recovered at Sardis where burials unprotected by a tomb structure, either a carved or built chamber, remain elusive.

CHAPTER III: LYDIAN GRAVE MARKERS

That Lydians sometimes marked their tombs with a monument is demonstrated by both archaeological and written evidence. Archaeology furnishes two types of grave marker: the stele and the 'phallos' marker. Appendix III provides a catalogue of funerary markers from the Sardis region. The main Necropolis at Sardis has yielded many funerary stelai, some inscribed with epitaphs in Lydian,[1] a few decorated with relief sculpture, others uninscribed but crowned with floral finials. Stele-type grave markers seem to be particularly associated with carved chamber tombs. To date, no examples of this type have been found at Bin Tepe or in association with any built chamber tomb covered with a tumulus. Such tombs are more likely to have been marked with a 'phallos' marker, examples of which have been found at Bin Tepe and in areas of Sardis where tumuli may once have existed. The stele and the 'phallos' marker are the only two types of grave monument archaeologically attested at Sardis or within the Lydian sphere. Images of grave guardians, such as lions or sphinxes, and images of the deceased, appropriate for grave monuments in the Greek world, have not been found in

Lydian funerary contexts.

Literary and epigraphic records provide a variety of terms for Lydian grave monuments. Hipponax, in a poorly preserved and much disputed fragment, mentions without elaboration a sēma of Gyges and a stēlē and mnēma of someone whose name cannot be read with any certainty.[2] He also mentions the tomb (tumbos) of Attales but nothing about a grave marker in relation to that tomb. Herodotus is the first (and only) ancient writer to provide any detailed information about a Lydian grave marker. In his discussion of the tomb (sēma) of Alyattes (1.93), Herodotus records that merchants, craftsmen and prostitutes contributed to the construction of the tomb and that:

> οὖροι δὲ πέντε ἐόντες ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦσαν
> ἐπὶ τοῦ σήματος ἄνω καί σφι γράμματα
> ἐνεκεκόλαπτο τὰ ἕκαστοι ἐξεργάσαντο.

Thus, the primary purpose of the ouroi was not to distinguish the grave itself or to identify its owner but to commemorate the efforts of the participants in a public works project. The ouroi of Herodotus have often been identified with grave markers of the 'phallos' type since such monuments are assumed to have crowned the tops of tumuli. Also, a marker of this type (P 1) rests atop the

tumulus of Alyattes today. Recent excavation, however, has failed to reveal any trace of an inscription on the marker.[3]

A xesta petra, literally a "hewn stone", according to an inscription of the 3rd century B.C. found at Smyrna, once decorated the tomb of Hermias, buried beneath Tmolus' lowest slopes.[4] The language of the inscription implies that this marker stood on top (kathuperthē) of a tumulus (ogkōta) like a 'phallos' marker might have done. Lydian funerary texts contain a number of possible words for grave marker (mru-, antola-, sadmē-, maśtā-), and attempts have been made to associate each term with a particular type of grave monument, for example, antola- with a relief-decorated stele or maśtā- with a 'phallos' marker. There is, however, still much hesitation among scholars to accept such specific definitions and, like their Greek equivalents, these terms appear to be non-specific.[5]

The number of grave markers of both types found at Sardis, the stele and the 'phallos', is quite small in comparison with the number of known tombs. From the main Necropolis, for example, which includes over 1,000 carved chamber tombs, only twenty stelai have been recovered.[6] Undoubtedly, the average Lydian had to content himself with an unmarked grave or with a marker that has left no trace in the archaeological record.[7] A stroll through any Turkish village cemetary will reveal a variety of

impermanent grave markers that might have been just as appropriate in antiquity: a roughly trimmed schist slab, a wooden board, the ubiquitous cypress tree and , at Sart Mustapha, a small one-handled amphora placed at the head of the grave.

Funerary Stelai

The following discussion of funerary stelai mainly relies on the evidence provided by inscribed grave markers. The language of the inscriptions indicates the funerary, as opposed to the purely votive or secular, character of the stelai. In addition to the nature of the texts, the provenience of the majority of the inscribed stelai, namely, the main Necropolis at Sardis, also suggests their association with tombs. In the case of uninscribed stelai, only the find spot and the presence of decorative elements characteristic of Lydian grave markers point to the original purpose of the monument.

From the main Necropolis west of the Pactolus stream (cf. Fig. 17), the Butler expedition recovered eighteen stelai inscribed in Lydian, two stelai inscribed in Greek and two uninscribed examples. Twelve of the inscribed markers had been built into a dry rubble wall on the north slope of the Necropolis hill. The date and purpose of the wall are unknown.[8] Roughly built rubble walls, each

of which closed the dromos of four carved chamber tombs, included an inscribed stele as re-used material. It is likely that these markers commemorated the original burial within their respective tombs. One inscribed stele and two uninscribed examples still retained their original positions at the entrances to chamber tombs in the main Necropolis.[9]

The remainder of the funerary stelai have been found scattered over a broad area of Sardis and vicinity, some in relatively close association with carved chamber tombs east of the Pactolus (IS 1, S 1), others incorporated as re-used material in Roman building projects (IS 3, IS 4). The distribution and concentration of funerary stelai, not unexpectedly, conforms to the known distribution pattern of carved chamber tombs.

Few of the thirty Lydian grave stelai recovered at Sardis have been found in a complete state of preservation.[10] While many still retain their original width, most have suffered damage at either the top or the bottom. In general, the stelai tend to be somewhat plain, merely a rectangular shaft of marble or limestone, inscribed but not decorated.[11] Most stelai show a slight upward taper, and some have a simple molding at the top of the shaft (IS 2, IS 9, IS 16, IS 17, IS 18). Moldings may have been painted. IS 9 and IS 17 retain traces of a simple egg-and-dart design.[12]

Not all Lydian grave markers, however, were this simple. Some stelai terminated in a floral finial (Fig. 33) or were decorated with relief carving (Fig. 34). Anthemia of the palmette-volute type were sometimes used to crown the shafts of otherwise plain grave markers (IS 4, IS 7, IS 8, IS 14, IS 26 and S 4).[13] Characteristic of Lydian anthemia are the homogeneous oval shape that persists throughout their history and the strong vertical emphasis created by volute stems that curve inward from the corners of the finial.[14] Decorative details include a pendant lotus bud between the volutes and small half-palmettes at the corners. These features, which appear on the earliest group of anthemia dated to the second half of the 6th century B.C., continue in more elaborate and stylized forms to the early 4th century B.C. As Hanfmann has pointed out, the most likely source of inspiration for the palmette-volute anthemion is Samos where examples first appear ca. 570 B.C.[15]

In every case in which the shaft is preserved, it is clear that the anthemion and shaft were carved together from the same piece of stone. Also, none of the stelai whose upper surfaces are preserved show any means by which a finial could have been attached.[16] Although the finial and shaft were treated as distinct elements, the finial being set off from the shaft by a simple horizontal band or by a slight projection beyond the vertical plane

of the shaft, these two elements were not physically separate.[17] The anthemion found at Mersindere (IS 27) is unusual in that a brief but complete inscription appears on a narrow band directly below the ornament zone, and the bottom of the finial is a finished surface. There are no dowel holes on the underside. Thus, the anthemion might simply have rested on a shaft or been installed in a niche.[18]

The most elaborate Lydian funeray stelai are decorated with scenes carved in relief.[19] Four relatively complete examples are known from Sardis (IS 6, IS 9, IS 21, IS 28), with traces of a figure preserved on a fifth stele (IS 18).[20] Decoration is confined to a solitary figure or a banquet scene. Two examples of the former depict a man seated on a stool before a table (IS 28, fig. 34) and a standing woman whose bent right arm is raised in a gesture of prayer or adoration (IS 21). These reliefs have been dated on the basis of style to the late 6th and mid-to-late 5th centuries B.C. From the 4th century B.C. come two funerary banquet stelai (IS 6 and IS 9).[21] Both depict a man reclining on a kline in the company of his wife who sits at the end of the couch. On IS 6, the couple is attended by a female servant or family member who stands at the foot of the couch. These two later markers were carved at a time when a variety of non-Lydian attitudes and styles were becoming thoroughly mixed with

native elements. IS 6 best reflects the synthesizing of these various cultural influences which had been exerted upon the Lydians over the course of two centuries. The deceased, whose father bears the most common Lydian name, Manes, chose for the decoration of his grave stone a standard Near Eastern theme rendered in a local style which is tempered with Greek and Greco-Persian artistic traditions. The epitaph, however, although written in the Lydian language, has its closest parallels in the simple Greek epitaphs of the archaic and classical periods.[22]

It is possible that some of the stelai might originally have had painted decoration. Butler thought that the uninscribed palmette-volute stelai found _in situ_ (S 3 and S 4) probably had painted ornaments and that even the inscriptions themselves might have been applied in paint.[23] Faint traces of painted decoration were noted below the Greek text on the Leomandros stele, IS 25.[24] The first Sardis expedition also found within several tomb chambers marble stelai that were thought to have been painted at one time but which no longer preserved distinct designs.[25]

An unusual grave marker among the types found at Sardis is carved in the form of a door (IS 10) and was, in fact, found in a rubble wall blocking the dromos of a single-chamber rock-cut tomb. This rectangular limestone slab is divided into four panels by horizontal and

vertical strips and has an outer border consisting of a flat band and a narrow convex molding. Although the stone certainly was not found *in situ*, it is likely that the original purpose of the stone was to block entry into a tomb rather than to serve as a grave marker.[26] The width of the stone, 0.715 m., approaches the width of chamber tomb entrances both at the outer end of the dromos and at the secondary entrance into the chamber.

The appearance of a door stone in association with a Lydian rock-cut chamber tomb is noteworthy. A few examples have been found in association with tumuli in western Phrygia and Lycia,[27] and elaborately carved, free standing door stones are found in large numbers throughout Roman Phrygia.[28] Also, Phrygian and Lycian rock-cut tombs and monuments often had elaborate facades, some with doors carved in relief. In contrast, however, Lydian rock-cut tombs are exceptionally plain. Thus, the Sardis door stone either is an anomaly resulting from the accident of preservation or may, in fact, reflect a short-lived experiment in Lydian funerary architecture.

Like the tombs which they decorated, Lydian funeray stelai give an overall impression of simplicity. Graceful palmette-volute anthemia or relief carving sometimes enlivened the stele shaft, but both types of decoration seem to have had a somewhat limited appeal. Attention was directed to the epitaph without the intervening

distraction of ornamental detail or scenes from the life or death of the occupant of the tomb.

The first Sardis expedition recovered three stelai *in situ*, two without an inscribed text (S 3 and S 4) coming from the same tomb (CC 6) and one with an inscription in Lydian (IS 13) found at the entrance to CC 4. Both tombs are of the single-chamber type cut into the conglomerate of the main Necropolis. The two uninscribed stelai flanked a flight of steps which masks the entrance to CC 6 (Figs. 20, 21). Re-excavation of the tomb during the 1984 season revealed that the stelai were affixed to their bases by a somewhat complex arrangement. A large U-shaped block, carved in one piece and placed with the open end of the U against the side of the steps, forms the "socket" for the stele. After the stele was set into the socket, the gap between the back face of the stele and the inner wall of the socket was filled with lead. An L-shaped block, also carved in one piece and placed on top of the U-shaped base, provides additional support for the stele at the back and side furthest from the steps.

Tomb CC 4 and its inscribed stele (IS 13) present a much less elaborate arrangement. In this case, a single stele was positioned at the outer end of a dromos, ca. 4.50 m. long, at the left-hand side of a person entering the tomb. The conglomerate had been trimmed back to receive the stele, the front and one side of which would

have been exposed. The excavators do not mention a base, although the stele itself is described as having a square tongue, ca. 0.10 m. high, formed by cutting away the bottom of each side of the stele. In the absence of a base, this tenon may have given the stele additional stability if inserted into the conglomerate.

The arrangement of the finials on two inscribed stelai (IS 4 and IS 14) also provide some evidence for the placement of grave markers. The anthemia are carved so as to project beyond the vertical plane of the stele shaft on the right-hand side only. This curious asymmetry suggests that these stelai were set up in a manner similar to that of IS 13, with the finial projecting into the dromos at the left of a person entering the tomb.

The two types of stelai arrangement illustrated by tombs CC 4 and CC 6 probably represent the most common placement of grave markers in the main Necropolis. None of the stelai for which complete descriptions are available appear to have been fashioned as free standing monuments. No stele bears traces of fine finishing on all four sides. Inscriptions and decoration are limited to one broad side. Thus, this type of marker was well-suited to the carved chamber tomb, the facade or dromos of which would have supported the back or the back and one narrow side of the stele.

Chronological evidence for Lydian grave stelai is

sometimes provided by the names of rulers and references to regnal years contained as a formulaic element in the epitaphs. Stylistic analysis has provided dates for those stelai that have palmette-volute anthemia or relief decoration. Most stelai, however, can only be dated approximtely on the basis of letter forms.[29]

Six of the funerary inscriptions (IS 2, IS 3, IS 5, IS 7, IS 8, and IS 9) contain a reference to the king in whose reign the stele was erected.[30] Three of these inscriptions (IS 3, IS 7 and IS 8) use an opening formula that names the month as well as the year. IS 9 states the year only, and IS 2, which is not well preserved, mentions the year but may also have contained a month designation. The ruler's name has been lost. The poorly preserved IS 5 contains the name of a king unaccompanied by the usual date formula.[31]

Three of the above texts (IS 5, IS 7 and IS 8) are dated with reference to Artaxerxes. The inscriptions do not make clear which of three possible Artaxerxes is intended: I (464-424 B.C.), II (404-358 B.C.) or III (358-338 B.C.). Most scholars eliminate Artaxerxes I because the letter styles of the inscriptions are not consistent with a mid-fifth century date. Hanfmann and Ramage assign an early fourth century date to the anthemion crowning IS 7 and thus prefer Artaxerxes II in this inscription.[32] The name of Alexander also appears in date formulae. IS 9

is dated to the fifth year of his reign, 330/329 B.C.

The practice of marking rock-cut chamber tombs with inscribed and relief-decorated or anthemion-crowned stelai seems to have begun in the second half of the 6th century B.C. This tradition continued well into the 4th century, as attested by IS 6 and IS 9. By the middle of the 3rd century, Greek iconography and language had supplanted native elements on funerary stelai. The gravestone of Matis, a woman of Kelainai, carries an epitaph in Greek. The stele, crowned with a pediment, shows a common Attic funerary scene. The deceased sits on a stool and is attended by a small girl who extends an open box to her mistress.[33]

'Phallos' Markers

Markers of the so-called 'phallos' type are found both at Bin Tepe and in the area of the ancient city.[34] None have yet been discovered in the main Necropolis.[35] This type of free-standing monument is especially suitable for the marking of tumulus burials since, like the tumulus itself, it can be viewed from any point, in contrast to the essentially one-sided stele. Like stelai, however, 'phallos' markers tend to wander. Only the unusually large marker P 1 atop the tumulus of Alyattes remains near its original position. The others have been found

scattered throughout the ancient city. Two (P 3, P 4) were recovered at Şeytan Dere, a cemetary area that contains a variety of tomb types.[36] P 7, P 8 and P 9 were found within 300 m. south of the Artemis Temple precinct along the east bank of the Pactolus stream.[37] Although no tumuli are visible today on the western slopes of the Acropolis, such funerary monuments may have existed here in antiquity. These would have overlooked the sacred territory of Artemis in much the same way as did the carved chamber tombs on the west bank of the Pactolus. 'Phallos' markers, however, tumbled down the torrent beds from higher elevations, are the only indication that burial mounds may have been constructed in this area.

'Phallos' markers at Sardis can be assigned to two rather broad categories on the basis of their shapes. The largest group is made up of markers with a cylindrical shaft and a roughly spherical finial carved in one piece (e.g., P 3, fig. 35). The finial takes a variety of shapes, from an almost complete sphere to a truncated sphere, and is often more ovoid than spherical.[38] The transition from shaft to finial is usually abrupt, but in only one case, P 3, is the transition emphasized by a narrow fillet. Few of the shafts are well-preserved enough to allow comment on their overall form. Most are cylindrical at the point of transition to the finial. Two markers (P 6, P 7) have abbreviated hour-glass shafts.

They also preserve roughly carved (and now quite battered) cylindrical plinths whose maximum diameter is approximately the same as that of the finials. Both plinths are carved in one piece with the shafts and finials. The second category of 'phallos' marker is characterized by a sphere or truncated cone carved together with a roughly cylindrical plinth (e.g., P 8, fig. 36).[39] The absence of a shaft gives markers of this group a squat, plug-like appearance. Markers of both groups probably did not usually exceed 1.00 m. in height. The size of the marker (P 1, of the second type) on the tumulus of Alyattes is exceptional, as are the dimensions of the mound itself.

To date, no inscribed or decorated 'phallos' marker has been found in the Sardis region, and such monuments are rare elsewhere as well. A marker of early Roman Imperial date, reported to have come from Mt. Pagos in Smyrna and now in the Louvre, is inscribed with the name of the deceased, Chrestion Herakleidou.[40] A very similar marker was found at Pergamon, also bearing the name of the deceased, Aphphias Apolloniou, on the spherical finial.[41] These two examples at least suggest that the <u>xesta petra</u> of Hermias might well have identified the deceased in much the same way, just as the 3rd century epitaph found at Smyrna implies:[42]

τον νέκυν ἀφθέγγωι φθεγγομένω στόματι

A more elaborate example is a 'phallos' marker with relief decoration from Ergili (Daskylion) now in the Basmane Museum in Izmir.[43] This monument, dated to the 2nd century B.C., has a herm carved in a niche on the shaft and a seated woman with attendants flanked by psychai on the finial where the name of the deceased, Lysandra Alexandrou, also appears. These 'phallos' markers are unusual, as well as late, and there is as yet no evidence for such elaboration on markers from the Sardis region.[44]

Since few markers have remained in place over the centuries, little can be said about their original arrangement on the tomb. Logic suggests that a tumulus, great or small, would have had a marker at its highest point. Evidence for tumuli endowed with more than one 'phallos' marker is inconclusive. The identification of Herodotus' ouroi with 'phallos' markers on the tumulus of Alyattes is not demonstrable. Herodotus' use of the term ouros in 1.93 is somewhat puzzling. It is only in this passage that Herodotus uses the word to designate an inscribed marker. In every other passage in which the word appears, ouros is a broad, geographical designation, a "border" or "boundary" usually marked by a physical feature, such as a river or mountain range.[45] Spiegelthal saw a marker (P 2) about one-fourth the size of P 1 near the tumulus of Alyattes in the ruins of a demolished

structure.[46] He supposed that this marker came from the Alyattes mound and would have been placed, along with three others, at the corners of a rectangle with the large marker in the center. His reconstruction is based on the assumption that Herodotus' ouroi are markers of this type. Herodotus himself gives no indication as to how the ouroi were arranged. Only one marker, P 1, bearing no trace of an inscription, remains today resting on its side atop the mound in what is now the northwest quadrant.

At present there are no secure criteria by which markers of the 'phallos' type can be dated. If the Alyattes' marker is contemporary with the construction of the mound, as seems likely, then plug-shaped markers must have been in vogue by the middle of the the 6th century B.C. Markers of the shaft-and -finial type have been found in association with material dated to the later 6th and 5th centuries B.C. at Şeytan Dere.[47] Obviously, these contexts provide only a vague indication of date. The features of the markers do not lend themselves to stylistic or relative dating. There is, for example, no apparent progression from naturalistic to abstract representations. Thus, the chronology of 'phallos'markers at Sardis remains uncertain.

'Phallos' markers have a wide distribution in western Asia Minor. Like those from the Sardis region, most are now disassociated from their original contexts and are

found in museum courtyards or town gardens. Also, markers that remain on or near the tombs they once decorated are undateable. Thus, it will be difficult, if not impossible, to identify the source from which the concept of the 'phallos' marker spread through Asia Minor. A thorough treatment of these markers is beyond the scope of the present work. The following is a brief survey by geographical region intended to illustrate both the distribution of 'phallos' markers and the various types with which those found at Sardis might be compared.

Lydia: Lower Hermus Valley and Cayster Valley

Ahmetli-shaft and sphere; at least three examples. Now in the municipal park; provenience unknown.

Manisa-shaft and sphere; at least five examples. Two are more than 1.50 m. in height. Now in the archaeological museum; provenience unknown.

Kiliköyü-two limestone markers observed in the village. (Ramage and Ramage 1971: 157).

Tire-shaft and sphere; two examples, one with fillet at point of transition; both 0.50-0.70 m. in height. Now in the archaeological museum garden; provenience unknown.

Mysia

Daskylion(Ergili)-inscribed and decorated marker, discussed above, now in the Basmane Museum in

Izmir. Shaft and sphere, two limestone examples observed in village. Provenience unknown. (Ramage and Ramage 1971: 158 and pl. 36 b).

Pergamon-inscribed example discussed above. Numerous markers of shaft and sphere type, all quite small (less than 0.50 m. in height), carved from local trachyte. Now in the achaeolgocial museum garden. From cemetary areas at Pergamon and immediate vicinty. Three examples illustrated by Jacobsthal 1908: 426-427.

Aeolis

Smyrna (İzmir)-inscribed marker from Mt. Pagos discussed above. Numerous markers of various types observed by early explorers in the Necropolis above Bayraklı. Weber 1880: 21-23, pl. II illustrates three types, all 1.30-1.40 m. in height, including roughly hewn plinths or tenons: a truncated cone or "plug", a cigar-shaped marker and a shaft and sphere with fillet at the point of transition.

Menemen-marker of unknown type, "fast mannshöher". Found at Yıldız Tepe, near a built chamber tomb with tumulus (Arık 1939: 174).

Caria

Altın Taş-shaft and sphere, over 1.50 m. in height. Found at summit of a tumulus near a square base

with socket into which the marker was set by means of a tenon (Paton 1900: 66 and 68, fig. 4).

Alabanda-marble shaft with ovoid finial (1.90 m. H; circumference of finial, 4.00 m.). Found at base of tumulus (Paton 1900: 69 and 70, fig. 8).

Acharaca-marble shaft and sphere. Found together with its base near a small tumulus (Paton 1900: 69).

Cibyra-limestone shaft with ovoid finial and fillet at point of transition, 1.83 m. in height including roughly hewn plinth. Now in museum at Burdur. Also reported are two markers observed in village at Osmankafalar (Bean 1954: 483, no. 15, fig. 20).

Aphrodisias-shaft and sphere observed in a collection of miscellaneous architectural fragments near museum.

Hieraoplis (Pamukkale)-shaft and sphere illustrated at summit of restored tumulus in Necropolis (Bean 1966: pl. 17).

North Phrygia

Bozoyuk-limestone shaft and sphere with fillet at point of transition and roughly worked tenon at bottom of shaft, 1.65 m. in height. Found in an old Turkish cemetary near a tumulus. 13 other

examples, most between 0.68 and 0.90 m. high, noted between upper course of the Porsuk and middle Sakaria, e.g. at Aizanoi and Dorylaion (Koerte 1899: 7-8, pl. I, 1).

Galatia

Tavium (Büyük Nefezköy)-shaft with truncated sphere. Found with various architectural remains in a Turkish cemetary. Illustrated by Bittel 1942: pl. 15a.

Bithynia

Bolu-shaft with trancated sphere and fillet at point of transition, roughly hewn plinth (Arık 1939: 172 and 173, fig. 40).

Paphlagonia

Açıkisi-truncated sphere (H 0.65 m., Diam. 1.43 m.) on a square plinth (W 1.72 m., H 0.25 m.) with half round molding (H 0.13 m.) at point of transition. Recessed area with shallow socket, 0.20 M. in diameter, at top of finial (von Gall 1966: 114-115, pl. 16, 1-2).

Kasaba-two truncated spheres, one with a square plinth (H. 0.85 m., Diam. 0.71 m.), the other with a narrow cylindrical plinth (H 0.55 m., Diam. 0.64 m.). Found near tumuli (von Gall 1966: 115, pl. 16, 3-4).

Taşköprü-truncated sphere on square plinth, H 0.60

m., Diam. 0.87 m. (von Gall 1966: 115).

The evidence available to date shows concentrations of 'phallos' markers in central Lydia, eastern Caria and northern Phrygia, with scattered examples to the north and east of this central zone. The only Greek settlement site to produce 'phallos' markers is Old Smyrna.[48] The Necropolis in which these markers are located contains graves dating mainly to the 6th c. B.C., a period when the Lydian element in the population is especially evident.[49]

Many of the markers listed above were found in close association with tumuli. Not all the tumulus-building cultures of Asia Minor, however, decorated their tombs with 'phalloi'. Markers of this type have not been reported in Lycia or western Caria, for example,[50] nor do they appear in central Phrygia. The tumulus cemetary at Gordion has produced no examples of 'phallos' markers. In Aeolis, the excavators at Buruncuk-Larisa reconstruct tumuli surmounted by tall, roughly hewn stones or by 'phallos' markers, but they found no archaeological evidence upon which to base such a reconstruction.[51]

Most of the markers described above are composed of a cylindrical shaft with a spherical or ovoid finial, sometimes truncated. Often the bottom of the shaft preserves traces of a roughly worked plinth or tenon designed either to be placed directly in the ground or

inserted into a base. Although markers of the shaft and sphere type exhibit some variation in size and overall form, they are nevertheless remarkably consistent as a group. The second category of 'phallos' marker, the truncated cone or 'plug' with cylindrical plinth, is less well-attested archaeologically. Outside of Sardis, this type is found only in Paphlagonia and in the Necropolis at Old Smyrna. The Lydian markers of both types show no local or regional pecularities by which they might be distinguished.

Obviously, a precise chronology of 'phallos' markers is impossible. The earliest can be assigned to the 6th century B.C. based on their only approximately dateable contexts, the Alyattes (P 1) and Seytan Dere (P 3, P 4) markers at Sardis and the Old Smyrna markers. Those from Pergamon and Hierapolis should be much later, Hellenistic or Roman. It is tempting to suggest Lydia as the original home of the 'phallos' marker and to associate the spread of this peculiar tomb monument with the physical presence of Lydians in places such as Old Smyrna and Daskylion. From these enclaves, the practice might then have been adopted by other tumulus-building peoples among whom it survived as a distinctly Anatolian element in their Hellenized and Romanized cultures.

Although there has been a certain reluctance on the part of some scholars to accept these markers as

representations of phalloi, few have offered alternative interpretations. Paton, who insisted that the term "phallos" be used only as a convenient means of description, pointed out that the marker on the tumulus of Alyattes did not resemble a phallos so much as a stone ball, "like those formerly used for the decoration of park-gates in Great Britain".[52] More recently, Kurtz and Boardman have noted that 'phallos' markers lack any sort of anatomical realism. They find the closest parallels for the shapes of 'phallos' markers in mushrooms and toadstools, "no more nor less appropriate to tombs than phalloi".[53] Other possibilities include stylizied pomegranates and eggs, both common funerary offerings in the Greek world and suitable symbols for tomb decoration.[54]

The 'phallos' marker might also be an abbreviated translation into stone of some originally impermanent object of tumulus decoration or construction. Prior to the chariot race in Book 23 of the <u>Iliad</u>, Nestor points out details of the course to his son (lines 327-332):

> ἕστηκε ξύλον αὖον ὅσον τ' ὄργυι' ὑπὲρ αἴης,
> ἢ δρυὸς ἢ πεύκης. τὸ μὲν οὐ καταπύθεται ὄμβρῳ,
> λᾶε δὲ τοῦ ἑκάτερθεν ἐρηρέδαται δύο λευκὼ
> ἐν ξυνοχῇσιν ὁδοῦ, λεῖος δ' ἱππόδρομος ἀμφίς.

ἦ τευ σῆμα βροτοῖο πάλαι κατατεθνηῶτος
ἦ τό γε νύσσα τέτυκτο ἐπὶ προτέρων ἀνθρώπων.

There stands a dry tree trunk as much as a fathom above the plain,
Either oak or pine. It does not rot away with the rain.
Two white stones lean on each side of it
At the joining of the path, and there is a smooth course around it.
Either it is a tomb marker of a man who died long ago
Or was made a goal post by men of old.

This passage suggests that in Homer's time, at least, the withered trunk of a tree could indicate the presence of a tomb. A tree might have been planted over the grave or, in the case of a tumulus burial, used in the construction of the mound. At Gordion, archaeologists have discovered in three early tumuli that long wooden masts were used to mark the position of the grave chamber as the mound was being heaped up.[55] The Homeric passage might reflect a knowledge of this construction technique. Perhaps an essentially functional element, the mast, became decorative or functional in a symbolic sense as well. A tree trunk with a stone on either side conjures up a distinctly phallic image.[56] Whether or not this image was

the original intent of such a monument, however, cannot be decided on the evidence of the ancient literary sources.

The significance of the phallos as a tomb marker has been pondered since the time when von Prokesch, perhaps unwisely, described the marker on the tumulus of Alyattes as 'phallic'.[57] These markers have been seen as symbols of fertility, or of rebirth and immortality or as the expression of a desire for continued virility in the afterlife. While these interpretations are all plausible, there is no independent evidence that the Lydians maintained such beliefs. As discussed in Appendix IV, Lydian funerary inscriptions indicate a general concern for the protection of the tomb structure. Perhaps the 'phallos' marker, if indeed the Lydians themselves saw such markers as phalloi, was a protective device, a potent emblem to ward off those who might disturb the tomb.[58]

CHAPTER IV: TOMB FURNISHINGS AND GRAVE GOODS

A reconstruction of the furnishings and assemblages of grave goods likely to be found in Lydian tombs must be based on incomplete or disturbed archaeological evidence. Robbery of tomb contents and re-use of the tomb structure each presents a particular set of problems in determining the inventory of equipment with which the Lydians buried their dead. Indirect sources of information provide little assistance. The pictorial evidence presented by scenes on funerary stelai are important to a consideration of funerary ritual, but such scenes are generic rather than specific. Thus, the furnishings and equipment depicted in a banquet scene, for example, need not bear any direct relationship to tomb contents. The epigraphical evidence provided by Lydian grave markers, although important for indicating attitudes to the tomb and its contents, yields no specific information concerning furnishings.[1] Ultimately, the contents of the tombs must be relied upon to provide a composite picture of furnishings and grave gifts.

Section 1: Furnishings

The only category of tomb furniture so far directly attested at Sardis and in central Lydia is the receptacle into which or upon which the body of the deceased was deposited. Such receptacles include freestanding klinai, benches carved from living rock or otherwise built into the structure of the tomb chamber, and sarcophagi. To date, klinai have been found only in built chamber tombs. Benches, on the other hand, are found in both carved and built chamber tombs. The distinction made in the following discussion between these two types of furniture is based on their appearance alone. There is no internal evidence to suggest that the Lydians necessarily made any symbolic distinction between the two. Sarcophagi, with one possible exception (BC/T 10), are limited to carved chamber tombs where they were installed into the floor of the chamber, left resting on the surface of the tomb floor or placed on benches.[2] Not every tomb contained a receptacle for the dead. In those cases where such equipment is lacking, it is not possible to demonstrate whether its absence is a result of disturbance and decay or an indication that alternative methods for arranging the dead were practiced, for example, the placing of the corpse directly on the floor of the tomb chamber.

Klinai[3]

Klinai made from material other than stone have yet to be recovered in controlled excavations in Lydia. Unconfirmed reports of a wooden couch removed from BC/T 14, together with fragments of wood found in several built chamber tombs (including the Alyattes chamber BC/T 1; also, BC/T 3, BC/T 4) suggest that the Lydians may have provided their tombs with wooden furniture on occasion.[4] Indirect evidence for wooden couches, such as ivory or metal appliques or fittings, is also lacking. A bronze kline was reported to have been removed by robbers from the triple-chambered tomb E 1a, which is dated to ca. 575-540 B.C. Bronze fragments found in the disturbed debris may lend credence to the report. Although somewhat rare, particularly at this relatively early date, bronze couches are not unknown.[5]

Klinai found in tombs at Sardis and in Lydia are usually made of limestone, although marble was used as well (BC/T 15; E 4b; F 1).[6] Dimensions of klinai vary, but most are over 2.00 m. in length, with none yet exceeding 2.33 m. (BC/T 17). Widths range from ca. 0.55 m. (E 5) to 0.88 m. (BC/T 19). The majority of klinai found in Lydia are composed of a horizontal slab supported at head and foot by two narrow blocks of stone that extend the width of the couch. Both the bed slabs and vertical supports show various systems of decoration. The simplest

couches, of course, display no decorative treatment whatsoever. At most, the bed slab is hollowed out slightly, either as a rectangle (BC/T 17) or an oval (BC/T 9), and the vertical supports are undecorated blocks. Only one couch of more complex design has been found in recent years at Sardis (BC/T 19). Made of limestone, the bed slab is plain, with a slightly raised broad border along the long sides. The front faces of the vertical supports are deeply carved as double, lyre-shaped volutes[7] No trace of any incised or painted decoration is visible. In contrast to the simplicity of the preceding examples is the elaboration shown by the klinai found by Choisy at Sardis (FIG. 37),[8] and more recently, by archaeologists from the Manisa Museum in the lower Hermus valley. According to Choisy's drawings, the bed slabs from Sardis have, on their upper surface at head and foot, a raised area with a shallow depression as if designed to provide a headrest or at least to define the end of the couch.[9] Klinai found in three of the four tombs near Manisa exhibit what appears to be a regional peculiarity in the treatment of the bed slab (E 4a, E 4c, E 5). The upper surface has a shallow depression roughly conforming to the outline of a body, with the head marked off from the rest by a narrow band. The exposed faces of the bed slabs and vertical supports of Choisy's klinai and some of those from Manisa (E 4a, E 4b) are incised and painted. A

common motif is the upright volute on the bed slab above the legs. The upper edge of the bed slab in E 4a is further defined by a moulding painted with an upright egg and dart design, and a pendant lotus intervenes between the volutes of the bed slab and the legs. The legs of this kline have double volutes carved in shallow relief, once enlivened by details applied with red paint. By far the most elaborate kline legs come from E 4b. Made of fine white marble, as is the bed slab, the legs have an elegant, slightly hour-glass shape. Two opposed palmettes with double volutes are carved in shallow but very precise relief on the exposed faces of the legs. Traces of blue, green and red pigment indicate that the legs were once brightly painted.

Direct evidence for the use of bedding, such as mattresses and pillows, has not been recovered. The carving of some bed slabs to roughly human shape suggests that, in these cases, the body was laid directly on the couch. Also, if Choisy's drawings can be relied upon, bolsters or cushions were sometimes translated into stone at the ends of the bed slab. The cushions at the head of the couch on which a banqueter leans is a common feature on funerary stelai (e.g., IS 6, IS 9).[10] Only one relief from Sardis, IS 6, preserves a complete view of a couch. In addition to the folded cushion at the head, the kline appears to be draped with heavy cloth down to the level of

the feet, which are knob-like. While such drapery, together with mattresses and pillows, were undoubtedly standard amenities for couches in daily life, their use as funerary equipment in Lydia remains uncertain.[11]

The earliest occurence of a kline among Lydian tomb furnishings cannot be determined with any accuracy. Most of the tombs in which couches, both decorated and plain, have been found are dated to the later 6th and early 5th centuries B.C. If the report of a bronze kline in E 1a can be substantiated, then the use of couches in Lydian tombs may be said to have begun by the middle of the 6th century B.C., or slightly earlier. The date of E 1a, however, is not fixed firmly since it is based on pottery (skyphos, lydion) recovered in a disturbed context. Most of the klinai with carved and decorated legs (BC/T 19, E 4b, F 1) are assigned a date in the last quarter of the 6th century B.C.

Benches

As noted above, the distinction made between klinai and benches in this discussion is arbitrary and based more on appearance than on function. In some built chamber tombs, benches were built into the structure, usually across the back wall of the main chamber (BC/T 11) or carved from living rock together with the lowest course of the chamber walls (BRC/T 3). An L-shaped bench was built

into the main chamber of F 2b. Benches are a common but by no means universal feature of carved chamber tombs. Hewn from living rock, benches are most often found along all the walls of a single-chambered tomb, with a bench of double width along the back wall. In tombs with an antechamber, benches usually extend along the long walls, forming a narrow aisle into the main chamber. Many variations in these basic arrangements are encountered in the main necropolis at Sardis and elsewhere.

Benches in both built and carved chamber tombs are similar in their dimensions to klinai, although benches in built chambers tend to be somewhat wider (1.01 m.-1.12 m.). None of the benches in built chambers bear traces of any decoration on their exposed surfaces. At most, a rectangular depression is sometimes found in the tops of benches, not unlike that on the bed slabs of some of the klinai mentioned above.

The disturbed nature of the archaeological record has obscured any evidence for the original purpose of these benches. Undoubtedly, they were multi-functional. The corpse could be deposited directly on a bench as on a kline. Somewhat curious is the apparent disinterest of Lydian tomb carvers in giving the benches even a remotely kline-like appearance.[12] Benches might also have been used as convenient places to set out grave gifts. In some cases, benches in carved chamber tombs supported

terracotta sarcophagi (e.g., CC 11, CC 16, CC 17). Whether or not the benches were originally carved with this purpose in mind cannot be demonstrated, but it seems clear that benches used in this way were not being thought of as a substitute for a bed or dining couch.[13]

Because of their lack of distinguishing features, benches are impossible to date independently of the tombs in which they are found. The tombs themselves, however, often fail to yield evidence for their original date of construction. The earliest tomb for which benches are attested is CC 1, dated on the basis of a hoard of Croesid staters to around the middle of the 6th century B.C.[14] Other tombs dated to the first half of the sixth century, however, contained no benches or furnishings other than grave gifts (e.g., CC 5, CC 8).

Sarcophagi

Sarcophagi of clay and stone have been found in a number of carved chamber tombs at Sardis as well as buried directly in the ground with no accompanying tomb structure or monument. Of the twenty-three carved chamber tombs listed in Appendix I, ten contained sarcophagi or fragments of sarcophagi. In some cases, multiple sarcophagus burials are attested. CC 6 may have contained as many as four, according to early excavation reports.[15]

The presence of wood fragments scattered on the

floors and benches of some carved chamber tombs suggests that coffins (or biers) of wood may have provided a less costly alternative to stone or terracotta sarcophagi. Wood fragments, together with iron nails, have also been found in the lined cist grave C 5. Only one tomb to date (BC/10) has yielded convincing evidence for wooden furniture. The tomb itself is somewhat unusual in that it has a relatively low ceiling and no entrance. Cuttings in the paving blocks of the floor (cf. Fig. 4) indicate the placement of the legs of a rectangular piece of furniture, approximately 1.90 m. in length and 0.85 m. in width. Four large pieces of Mediterranean cypress[16] and numerous fragments of iron plates and nails may belong to a coffin (as opposed to a kline), reinforced and perhaps decorated with iron plaques, although this reconstruction is hypothetical.[17]

Limestone sarcophagi are found both in direct interments (e.g., SAR 6) and in carved chamber tombs (e.g., CC 6). The body of the typical Lydian sarcophagus is carved from a single block of stone in a shape approximating that of the modern western bathtub. From a flat bottom the sides curve upward to a thick, rectangular flange that frames the oval depression of the interior. The exterior of the sarcophagus was undecorated, or at most, slightly fluted horizontally on its long sides (e.g., CC 6A). Fragments of a few carved lids survive,

although many sarcophagi (both stone and terracotta) appear to have been covered with fieldstones or roughly trimmed stone slabs. Lids were flat, with a shallow oval depression, corresponding to that of the sarcophagus, carved on its underside (e.g., SAR 6). The gabled or double-pitched lid, found in Ionia at Samos, for example, is not attested in the archaeological record at Sardis until the 3rd century B.C.[18] Few rectangular sarcophagi, the most frequently encountered type in Greek necropoleis, have been reported at Sardis or elsewhere in Lydia. Of those listed in Appendix I, only SAR 7 is of this type. Stone sarcophagi of any type are comparatively rare in the necropoleis of Asia Minor, both native and Greek,[19] and only Sardis has produced examples of the 'bathtub' shape.

Terracotta sarcophagi, like their stone counterparts, are usually quite plain. Among the fragments recovered in recent excavtion, only a few show traces of sloppily applied paint on their horizontal upper surfaces, usually a series of Xs separated by lines. Based on one almost complete example, found in CC 16, the standard shape is 'tub-like', with a broad rim, the inner contours of which are rounded. None of the fragments from rim pieces show inner corner projections like the developed Clazomenian examples. Thus, the Sardis sarcophagi closely resemble Cook's Monastirakia class but are much simpler even than these.[20] Several fragments of clay lids have been found,

some with faint traces of red glaze on their exterior surfaces. The fragments belong to two distinct types, one slightly stepped, probably coming from a flat or only slightly gabled lid, the other rounded with a raised band running lengthwise along the top. In CC 10 and CC 13, the Princeton expedition discovered clay sarcophagi with simple relief decoration, apparently in imitation of the metal or leather bands that might have been applied to wooden examples. Only the lids, however, were decorated in this fashion.[21]

In only a few cases has the arrangement of the body and grave gifts within the sarcophagus been recovered or recorded. One of the two sarcophagi in CC 11, for example, contained the skeleton of a young girl, her jewelry and rows of stone alabastra flanking the body. The other sarcophagus held only the bones of an old man. Sarcophagi do not appear to have been designed to hold a secondary container, such as a wooden coffin. Evidence for furnishings such as pillows or bedding is lacking.[22]

The earliest attested use of a sarcophagus in a carved chamber tomb is provided by CC 9. Although the tomb itself was badly eroded, the lower portion of a sarcophagus, presumably terracotta, remained _in situ_. Vases found upright at either end of the sarcophagus indicate a date in the mid-sixth century for the interment.

Miscellaneous Furnishings

Evidence for tomb furnishings other than a receptacle for the dead consists of two marble slabs, reportedly found by G. Dennis in a tumulus at Bin Tepe.[23] The slabs, taken to the British Museum in 1889, are not completely preserved, and no mention is made in previous publications of cuttings, weathering marks of other indications as to their original purpose. One slab shows a frieze of three grazing deer, the other a frieze of three horsemen. Although of similar size, their differences in style and hence, their difference in date, precludes their use as decoration of a single object. The nature of those objects remains unclear. Pryce believed them to be from a couch or throne[24], but no independent evidence exists for the use of thrones or chairs in Lydian funerary ritual. Tables, too, are absent in the archaeological record but do appear in the more complex banquet reliefs.[25] Perhaps the Bin Tepe panels once decorated low tables for funerary offerings placed before the klinai on which the dead reposed.

The archaeological record at Sardis and in central Lydia indicates that tombs, when furnished at all, contained a minimum of equipment. The most important furniture was that which provided the dead with an elevated or enclosed resting place. Apparently, such

furniture was not a requirement for those interred in built or carved chamber tombs. The provision of some sort of receptacle for the corpse, either a kline, bench or sarcophagus, does not appear to have become common until the second half of the 6th century B.C.

Section 2: Grave Goods

The evidence for Lydian grave goods comes almost exclusively from Sardis and relies to a great extent on the material recovered by the Princeton expedition from the carved chamber tombs in the main necropolis. Tombs of all types excavated by the Harvard/Cornell expedition have sometimes yielded the remains of grave assemblages left behind by plunderers. The discussion of grave goods which follows is based on the contents of tombs listed in Appendix I.[26]

The disturbed condition of the majority of Lydian tombs presents insurmountable difficulties in any attempt to reconstruct grave assemblages.[27] Thus, only a general survey of the kinds of grave goods present and their relative quantities is possible. The original arrangement of grave goods within the tombs and their intended or imagined use, either by the dead in the afterlife or the living in connection with funerary ritual, cannot in most

cases be determined on the basis of the extant remains.

In general, major categories of grave gifts found in Lydian tombs are similar to those from East Greek contexts.[28] These include vessels associated with food and drink, containers for cosmetics or perfumes, items of personal adornment, and objects related to daily life. The type of tomb or grave in which such gifts are found seems to have little relationship to the quantity or quality of grave goods, although the throroughly plundered condition of built chamber tombs may obscure this relationship.[29] Nevertheless, the humblest of all grave types, the stone-lined cist C 5, yielded at least 12 items of pottery and ornaments of gold and silver. Over 50 items of pottery were found in the simple carved chamber tomb CC 8, the largest assemblage of grave gifts from the Lydian period.

Vessels associated with the serving and consuming of food and drink form the bulk of grave gifts (FIG. 38). Among these, vessels related to drink are the most common. Of the more than 250 pottery items listed in Appendix I, at least 100 are shapes normally used in the storage (amphorae, hydriae, jugs), mixing (kraters), pouring (oinochoe, pitchers) and consuming (skyphoi, cups) of liquids.[30] Shapes associated with the consumption of food (plates and bowls of various types) are less frequent, accounting for only about 40 of the pottery items in

Appendix I. Whether the preponderance of drink-related vessels in Lydian graves indicates a special fondness for liquid refreshment, either in this world or the next, or is merely fortuitous cannot be determined. It is tempting, however, to see the influence of Baki extending to activities in the afterlife.[31]

Containers for cosmetics and perfumed oils or unguents form the second largest category of pottery items among grave gifts, approximately 100 of the total in Appendix I. The most common shapes are the lydion and lekythos, accounting for more than half the vessels in this category. Alabastra of clay, but more often of stone, are also frequently encountered in tomb assemblages.

Items of personal adornment consist primarily of jewelry such as necklaces, bracelets, earrings, ring and stamp seals.[32] In addition, gold buttons, rosettes and plaques, such as those found in CC 12, suggest that some Lydians, at least, were buried in magnificently decorated garments or wrapped in elaborate shrouds.

Objects that may have been used in the daily life of the deceased or that were in some way special to him are comparatively rare. Weapons, for example, are attested in only two graves, BC/T 9 (iron spearbutt) and CC 14 (iron spearhead).[33] The latter was found in a sarcophagus which also contained a bronze mirror, an item that appears among

the inventories of several other tombs (CC 3, CC 10, MISC 4). CC 11 contained an iron strigil. No evidence for toys or games has been noted beyond the large quantity of knucklebones in C 5.[34]

Lamps and terracotta figurines, which become popular grave gifts in the Hellenistic period, occasionally appear in Lydian contexts as well. BC/T 8, CC 10 and CC 14, for example, yielded one or more lamps. Only two tombs in Appendix I, however, contained figurines. CC 6 produced a duck, a deer, a dove on a pomegranate and two small bust-like masks, all of terracotta. A small Archaic ivory head was found in the fill of CC 20.

Although Lydian tombs were well-supplied with the equipment necessary for eating and drinking, the archaeological record indicates no apparent concern for other activities in the afterlife. Of course, the presence of any item in a funerary context is subject to a variety of interpretations and need not be a reflection of a well-developed view of the life beyond the grave. In the absence of testimony other than archaeological, it is best, perhaps, to consider the material placed in graves and tombs as gifts bestowed by the living upon the dead rather than as equipment deemed necessary for a successful sojourn beyond the tomb.

CHAPTER V: CONCLUSIONS

Inhumation vs. Cremation

The preceeding chapters have dealt with tomb and grave types in Lydia, the ways in which graves were marked, and the tomb furnishing and grave gifts that accompanied the dead. In most cases, the original occupant of the tomb or grave is completely absent from the archaeological record or, at best, is represented by a few scattered bones or "a little white dust".[1] In the absence of direct evidence to the contrary, inhumation is assumed to be the standard practice of disposing of the dead. No vases or other containers filled with ashes or charred bones dating to the Lydian period have yet been discovered,[2] nor have cremation mounds like those at Gordion yet appeared in Lydian territory.[3] Although traces of carbonized wood or other material are occasionally noted in tomb or grave inventories, the source of such material remains uncertain. Only one burial deposit, the enigmatic mass grave at Sardis (DI 4), has yielded human skeletal material that appears to have been burned. The nature of this deposit, however, and its possible association with destruction caused by Cimmerian

raiders indicates that accidental incineration as a result of war rather than intentional cremation was responsible for the charring displayed by the poorly preserved skeletal remains.

The practice of cremation among Lydian royalty has been suggested on the basis of literary and archaeological evidence.[4] The literary testimony, however, provides no positive support for cremation as a royal funerary practice. Bacchylides (Epinicia 3.23-62), Herodotus (1.86-87) and Nicolas of Damascus (FGrHist 90 F68) all relate the story of Croesus on the pyre. The purpose of the pyre was not the cremation of dead Lydian royalty but was the means chosen either by Croesus to do away with himself and his family (Bacchylides) or by Cyrus to test Croesus' divine connections (Herodotus) or presumably to punish him (Nicolas). The folk-tale elements evident in Greek accounts of Croesus have been noted by scholars.[5] The pyre and Croesus' last minute rescue from it by the gods need not be indicative of funerary practices. The archaeological record provides evidence for the use of fire at the tomb site but not necessarily for cremation. A thick stratum of oak ash above the ceiling of the Alyattes chamber (BC/T 1) suggests a fire of rather major proportions, but no skeletal or other material has been recovered from this stratum. Thus, it is uncertain whether the purpose of the fire was the incineration of

the corpse of the Lydian king or was related to some funerary ritual conducted by the living at the tomb.

The possibility of a fire built above tomb chambers for purposes other than cremation is indicated by evidence recovered in BC/T 19 and F 1. A thin stratum of wood ash extended, in part, above the chamber roof of BC/T 19 but did not directly rest upon it (cf. Fig. 8). At Ikiztepe (F 1), a large quantity of charcoal and partly burned wood, identified by the excavator as oak, filled the 'relieving spaces' above the two chamber roofs. The interior faces of the andesite slabs forming the triangular spaces were blackened by fire.[6] No ceramic or other material was recovered from this deposit. Both these tomb complexes contained klinai, the presence of which should preclude cremation as the means by which the dead were disposed of. In addition, the three klinai of the double-chambered F 1 reflects multiple occupancy, while the remains of the fire above the chambers represents a single incident prior to the completion of the tumulus. In the absence of direct evidence for cremation, the purpose of fires such as these remains unexplained but are more likely to be associated with ceremonies conducted at the tomb site.

Development of Funerary Architecture

The absence from the archaeological record of graves

and tombs dating to before ca. 600 B.C. hinders any attempt at a chronological reconstruction of Lydian funerary architecture. Evidence from the 7th century B.C. is limited to the puzzling mass burial (DI 4)[7] and the equally curious crepis wall within the Gyges mound (T 4), neither of which can be considered representative of Lydian graves and tombs. The Gyges crepis, however, does mark the beginning of monumental funerary architecture in Lydia. It is reasonably assumed that the Gyges crepis was designed to curb a tumulus that may never have been completed. The inspiration for such a monument could have come to the Lydians from their neighbors to the east. Tumuli on a grand scale were already firmly established in the funerary practices of Phrygia by the end of the 8th century B.C.[8] But Phrygian influence cannot account for the Gyges crepis wall which appears as a uniquely Lydian architectural expression.

Graves and tombs securely dateable to the first half of the 6th century are few in number. Every major category of burial type discussed in Chapter II is represented, all of which, with one exception, are quite simple or appear in their simplest form. Cists are the most common type, stone-lined (C 5), tile-built (C 3), or constructed of rubble and covered by a tumulus (C/T 1). Carved chamber tombs from this period include a single chamber with no obvious entrance (i.e., cist-like; CC 8),

a single chamber with dromos (CC 5), a tomb with indistinguishable plan which contained a sarcophagus (CC 9), and another badly eroded tomb which may have contained benches (CC 1). Thus, the admittedly limited archaeological evidence seems to reflect an elementary stage in the development of carved chamber tombs with respect to plan and interior features. There is no apparent reason for looking beyond the borders of Lydia for prototypes that may have influenced or prompted the Lydians to develope this tomb type. If outside influence were responsible for the initial use of carved chamber tombs, Phrygia again would be a likely source. Inasmuch as early Phrygian and Lydian tombs have little in common beyond their overall simplicity of plan, such influence would appear to be confined to the concept of carving a chamber from living rock. This practice might easily be attributed to a natural development from subterranean cist graves. From the simplest graves and tombs of the early 6th century B.C., the Alyattes tumulus and chamber (BC/T 1) represent a major departure. The tumulus and crepis, of course, are a continuation of the monumental tradition begun with the Gyges mound (T 4), although the size of both elements has increased dramatically. The marble built chamber with its unroofed forecourt, however, is a new feature. None of the built chambers at Bin Tepe or elsewhere in Lydia can be shown to antedate Alyattes, nor

can any convincing parallels from other contemporary cultures in Asia Minor be produced to account for the sudden appearance of the stone built chamber at Sardis.[9] Despite the sophistication of its masonry and the impressive size of its covering mound, the Alyattes chamber is relatively simple in plan. Such simplicity is in keeping with that noted in carved chamber tombs of this period. Perhaps the chamber of BC/T 1 represents a translation of what was essentially an established Lydian grave type, the single rectangular chamber, into more costly materials and proportions suitable to royalty.[10]

The Tomb as Symbol

Lydian attitudes to death and the afterlife are difficult to extract from the archaeological record. In the absence of literary testimony, material evidence in the form of the tomb or grave structure, its furnishings and contents must be relied upon to provide insight into something as elusive as an 'attitude'. An assumption is made from the beginning that the tomb or grave had symbolic meaning, consciously or unconsciously defined by the Lydians. Such meaning as a tomb may have had might be seen as functioning on two distinct but not exclusive levels. On the one hand, the tomb or grave was the eternal container for the remains of the dead. The tomb structure and grave gifts were of immediate consequence to

the occupant (or occupants). On the other hand, the living were also directly involved with the tomb or grave. It was in their care to give the dead a proper burial and to perform the necessary cememonies, if such were required, at the grave site. After interment had taken place, however, the living were released from their immediate responsibility to the dead and his final resting place. Thus, evidence for additional ceremonies at the tomb or for the general treatment of the tomb and grave sites will be useful in trying to reconstruct the Lydian view of death.

The tomb as 'eternal house' has often been mentioned in the context of Anatolian funerary architecture.[11] This interpretation is, of course, most easily applied to tombs that have a house-like appearance, particularly on the inside. The analogy between domestic and funerary architecture made with repect to tombs in Phrygia, for example, seems less convincing in Lydia where the earliest tombs to date are without architectural elaboration and are essentially unfurnished.[12] During the course of the later 6th and early 5th centuries, Lydian built chamber tombs do begin to acquire certain house-like features, for example, the internal "windows" of the triple-chambered E 1a or doors that rotate on pivots in E 4b, F 2b. Features such as these, however, are rare and need not be indicative of a change in attitude towards the tomb

structure. In general, there seems to have been little effort expended by the Lydians on creating a domestic environment for their dead.

Of major importance to a discussion of the sybolism of the tomb is the role played by the kline or bench. Did the Lydians envision their dead as participants in an eternal banquet, reclining in comfort on their klinai in a manner so directly implied by the painted tomb at Karaburun in Lycia?[13] Or was the couch merely the place designated for eternal sleep? There is little independent evidence in Lydian tombs with which to resolve this question. Benches in carved chambers and couches in built chamber tombs appear during the second half of the 6th century B.C. Based on the testimony of Greek vase painting, the more elaborate klinai with their decorated legs are appropriate to banqueting, sleep and funerary ritual, specifically the prothesis.[14] Thus, the form of the kline itself provides no certain indication as to its possible sybolic function. As noted in the preceding chapter, the bed slabs of klinai found in several tombs near Manisa (E 4a, E 4c, E 5) show a shallow, vaguely anthropoid depression that has more in common with sarcophgi than with couches.[15] Also, sarcophagi have been found resting on benches in several carved chamber tombs at Sardis, a usage that suggests, in these cases at least, a practical rather than a symbolic function for the bench.

Indirect evidence for the appearance and function of the kline is scant. Funerary stelai from Sardis that show generic banquet scenes (IS 6, IS 9) do not antedate the 4th century B.C. The pediment from Sardis which depicts a family banquet complete with attendants is earlier than the stelai (ca. 450-430 B.C),[16] but is still more than half a century later than the earliest appearance of klinai in Lydian tombs. What symbolic association a Lydian of the 6th century might have made between the funerary couch or bench and death remains uncertain.

Ceremonies conducted at the grave site during the process of interment have left no obvious traces in the archaeological record beyond the burned wood and ash deposits mentioned above. Pottery that may have been used in a ritual meal, for example, is indistinguishable from the general assemblage of grave goods. Sacrifices that may have been made at the tomb on the day of interment are unattested beyond the appearance of a small animal skeleton in the dromos of BC/T 9, the presence of which is more likely to be the result of accident than of design.

After interment had taken place, the tomb and its occupants were, in some cases, placed under the protection of gods according to inscriptions of the 5th and 4th centuries B.C.[17] The majority of tombs and graves, however, were unmarked, and there is little indication that the living concerned themselves to any extent with

the dead. At Sardis, it is clear from the location of groups of graves and isolated burials on the east, or 'city' side of the Pactolus, that the Lydians were willing to share their immediate environment with the dead, provided that they did not intrude on space needed for other purposes. In one case (BC/T 17), a tomb seems to have been built in an area previously allotted to habitation by the living. Evidence for periodic ceremonies at the grave site has not been recovered at Sardis. At Belevi (G 3), a terracotta pipe extends from the surface of the tumulus to a point just in front of the antechamber door. If this device is contemporary with the chamber complex and tumulus, it suggests an arrangement for regular observances or ceremonies, but the date of the pipe and the nature of the ceremony are uncertain.[18] At Sardis, tombs do not appear to have been visited for purposes other than additional interments or plunder.

In comparison with many other ancient cultures of the Mediterranean, the Lydians do not appear to have had a well-defined sense of the hereafter, or perhaps more accurately, their beliefs have left no definitive impression on their material culture. There is no Lydian poet or historian to provide descriptions of burial rites or the imagined life beyond the grave; there are no tomb paintings to illuminate the journey to the netherworld; there are too few undisturbed burials even to suggest what

a 'typical' Lydian tomb assemblage consisted of. Nonetheless, the extant remains of tombs and their furnishings, gifts and markers do reflect what might be called a 'typical' Lydian approach to the paraphernalia and perhaps to the very idea of death. The approach is the same as that documented in various aspects of Lydian material culture, namely, an apparent synthesis of traditions, including native Lydian (carved and built chambers; 'phallos' markers), Anatolian (tumuli), Near Eastern (stelai with curse formulae) and East Greek (anthemion stelai; typical grave asssemblages).

APPENDIX I: CATALOGUE OF GRAVES, TOMBS AND RELATED MATERIAL IN THE SARDIS REGION

The catalogue contains graves, tombs and related material selected according to the following criteria:

1. Tombs assigned a number (H/C No.) by the Harvard/Cornell Expedition, including tombs excavated, tested by resistivity, or observed from 1958 to 1984.
2. Assemblages of material said to have come from tombs recorded but not assigned a tomb number by the Harvard/Cornell Expedition.
3. Tombs excavated by the Manisa Museum.
4. Tombs observed and explored by the Princeton Expedition under the direction of Howard Crosby Butler in 1910-1914 and by Theodore Leslie Shear, Sr. in 1922. Included are those tombs that received individual notice in the published reports and any tombs that merit individual treatment on the basis of unpublished information. Only about 1% of the total number of tombs explored by the Princeton Expedition is described in this catalogue. Inventory numbers

assigned by the Princeton Expedition (B No.) are provided whenever possible.

5. Tombs excavated and published by 19th century explorers.

The catalogue is arranged and numbers assigned according to tomb type. The following abbreviations indicate the nature of each catalogue entry:

BC/T	Built chamber tomb with tumulus.
BRC/T	Chamber tomb complex carved partly from bedrock, completed with masonry and covered by a tumulus.
C	Cist grave.
C/T	Cist grave with tumulus.
CC	Carved chamber tomb.
DI	Direct inhumation.
MISC	Pottery or miscellaneous finds from unexcavated graves.
SAR	Sarcophagus *in situ*.
T	Tumulus explored; chamber not located.
TU	Tumulus observed; interior unexplored.

The location of each tomb, grave or assemblage is indicated according to the following arbitrary geographical divisions. Whenever possible, the specific location of the tomb, grave or assemblage within these broad geographical divisions is also given. (Cf. Fig. 1 and Table I, P. 318).

Area A: Bin Tepe, including the shores of the Gygaean Lake.

Area B: Ancient city center bounded by the Pactolus stream at the west, the Gymnasium/Bath complex and late Roman city walls at the north, the foothills of the Acropolis at the east and the Artemis Temple at the south.

Area C: Main Necropolis, the massif west of the Pactolus stream, including Butler's Necropolis A or Necropolis Hill.

Area D: Suburbs on both sides of the Pactolus stream south to a point some 3 kilometers from the Artemis Temple, including Butler's South and Southwest Necropoleis.

The contents of the tombs excavated or recorded by the Harvard/Cornell Expedition have been assigned inventory numbers which are provided in the following catalogue. Pottery and other material recovered by the Princeton Expedition, mostly from rock-cut chamber tombs, are listed according to the inventory numbers contained in unpublished excavation records. Some of this pottery is now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art and, when known, the MMA accession number is also given. Jewelry catalogued by Curtis and coins catalogued by Bell are listed according to the numbers assigned in their publications (Curtis 1925, Bell 1916).

All dimensions are in meters and are maximum preserved dimensions unless otherwise stated. Dates are those assigned by excavators in published reports or those suggested by the date of the tomb's contents.

BUILT CHAMBER TOMB WITH TUMULUS (BC/T)

TOMB NO. BC/T 1 ('Alyattes Mound') Area A

PLAN: Single chamber with forecourt opening to south. Figs. 5, 12, 16.

HISTORY: Exterior of mound and tomb chamber explored by Spiegelthal (von Olfers 1858). Periodic visits by Harvard/Cornell Expedition (Hanfmann 1963: 52-57; 1972: 118-120; Greenewalt 1978: 71; Greenewalt, et. al. 1983: 26-27). Excavation and recording of marker on summit (Greenewalt forthcoming-1983 season report).

LOCATION: Largest mound at eastern end of Bin Tepe ridge.

TUMULUS: According to Spiegelthal, maximum diameter 514 m.; estimated circumference 1,115 m.; height above plain 69.12 m. Mound consists of various clay strata and large stones mixed with lime and sand. Marble and limestone fragments mixed with clay laid in layers against chamber walls. Stratum of charcoal, ca. 2 m. thick, above chamber roof noted by Spiegelthal and observed again in 1962. Krepis (ca. 18 m. high) found by Spiegelthal on south side only; no longer

visible. Mound rests on steeply sloping bedrock at north. Large 'phallic' marker of limestone on summit; platform of quarried stone partly excavated by Spiegelthal no longer visible.

Tomb chamber located about 30 m. southwest of mid-point.

DIMENSIONS:	Forecourt	L 2.00 (N-S); W 2.43 (E-W); H 2.50
	Door	H 2.33; W 1.25; Depth 0.90
	Chamber	L 3.325 (N-S); W 2.37 (E-W); H 2.33

CONSTRUCTION MATERIALS AND TECHNIQUES:

Forecourt West wall is a single, huge block of limestone (L 2.02; Th 0.83; H 2.50) with slightly projecting horizontal band at top. Cf. Spiegelthal's observations, supra p.00.

No evidence for roof.

Paved with unidentified white stone (marble according to Spiegelthal).

Space between walls of forecourt filled to within two-thirds of height of door with rubble and worked stone, capped with large pieces of marble (Spiegelthal). Large, roughly trimmed limestone blocks, smaller pieces of stone remain in area, perhaps part

of original packing.

Chamber Beautifully cut and fitted marble blocks arranged in four courses of approximately equal height; blocks sometimes joined by iron clamps set in dove-tail cuttings.

Surfaces of blocks smoothly polished except for blocks in northwest corner which show narrow, chiselled band.

Projecting band along top edge of north wall and about half the length of east wall.

Roofed by five blocks of limestone (largest: L 3.73; W 1.93; H 0.93); interior surface well-finished; joining edges have narrow, chiselled band.

Paved with marble slabs.

Doorway framed by four courses of marble blocks, spanned by monolithic lintel. On chamber facade at left of doorway, a vertical, slightly projecting band observed in 1980. Border consisting of point-stippled surface framed on three or four sides by chiselled band begins ca. 0.20 m. above forecourt floor, continues over four blocks of facade.

Doorway closed by marble blocks with roughened non-joining surfaces framed by smooth bands; arranged in four horizontal

courses (Spiegelthal). Lowest block, visible in 1980, shows on exterior a point-stippled center framed by smoothly chiselled band.

CONTENTS: Pottery (banded skyphoi, lekythoi, ridged lydia), alabaster alabastra, ash, charcoal, fragemnts of decayed wood, bones (human male) found by Spiegelthal in chamber.

Fragments of large, ribbed lydia noted at mouth of Spiegelthal's main tunnel and at doorway of chamber in 1962.

Banded skyphos fragment and lydion fragments observed in chamber in 1976.

DATE: First half of 6th century B.C.

TOMB NO. BC/T 2 Area A

PLAN: Single chamber with antechamber or dromos opening to south.

HISTORY: Exploration by Choisy of previously opened tomb. Choisy 1876: 74-75.

LOCATION: Bin Tepe, exact location not specified.

DIMENSIONS: Dromos L at least 2.00; W 1.51; H 1.98

Chamber L 2.94 (E-W); W 2.01 (N-S); H 2.02

CONSTRUCTION MATERIALS AND TECHNIQUES:

Dromos/antechamber and chamber built of

neatly fitted ashlar blocks, arranged in three courses of approximately equal height; uppermost course of chamber shows slightly projecting band around upper edge.

Roofed by large blocks placed across width of dromos/antechamber and chamber; interior joining edges of roof blocks have a projecting band.

Entrance in south wall of chamber closed by a door stone with an unusually thick "plug".

CONTENTS: Fragments of the upper part a of stone funerary couch with carved and painted decoration found at door of tomb chamber.

TOMB NO. BC/T 3 Area A

PLAN: Single chamber with shallow porch and dromos opening to south.

HISTORY: Exploration by Choisy of previously opened tomb. Choisy 1876: 75.

LOCATION: Bin Tepe, exact location not specified.

DIMENSIONS:		
	Dromos	Not known
	Porch	L not known: W 1.29; H 1.71
	Chamber	L 2.83 (E-W); W top 1.52; W bottom 1.94 (N-S); H 2.00

CONSTRUCTION MATERIALS AND TECHNIQUES:

Dromos Walls of uncoursed rubble.

Roofed by rectangular slabs.

Porch and

Chamber Ashlar blocks arranged in five courses of unequal height; top course has slightly projecting band just below ceiling.

Long walls of chamber tilt inward.

Roofed by blocks placed across width of chamber; interior joining edges of blocks have a projecting band.

Entrance in south wall of chamber closed by a door stone with a shallow flange around three sides and two pry holes at bottom edge.

CONTENTS: Wood fragments found near tomb chamber.

TOMB NO. BC/T 4 Area A

PLAN: Single chamber without antechamber, dromos or entrance of any kind.

HISTORY: Exploration by Choisy of previously opened tomb. Choisy 1876: 75-76.

LOCATION: Bin Tepe, exact location not specified.

DIMENSIONS: Chamber L 2.60; W 1.65; H 1.19

CONSTRUCTION MATERIALS AND TECHNIQUES:

Ashlar masonry arranged in two courses of equal height. Some blocks appear to retain a projecting border at the corners and along

bottom edge of lowest course. The latter border is interrupted at point where the two blocks of wall meet.

CONTENTS: Pottery fragments, alabaster alabastron, and wood mixed with iron nails all found within chamber.

TOMB NO. BC/T 5 Area A

PLAN: Chamber with doorway; no mention of antechamber or dromos.

HISTORY: Excavated by Dennis. Butler 1922: 7, 10.

LOCATION: Bin Tepe, exact location not specified.

DIMENSIONS: Not known.

CONSTRUCTION MATERIALS AND TECHNIQUES:

Fine limestone (?) carefully cut and fitted. Floor paved with closely fitted slabs. Roofed by stone beams.

CONTENTS: Couch, formed by heavy slab supported on two upright blocks, across rear wall of chamber.

RE-USE: Skeletal remains found on couch. A few pots and glass vessels on floor probably belong to period of re-use in Roman times or later.

TOMB NO. BC/T 6 Area A

PLAN: Single chamber with dromos.

HISTORY: Exploration of previously opened tomb by Princeton Expedition. Butler 1922: 10-11.

LOCATION: Bin Tepe, exact location not specified.

DIMENSIONS: Not known.

CONSTRUCTION MATERIALS AND TECHNIQUES:

Chamber and roofed dromos built of neatly finished and well jointed limestone blocks in regular courses. Projecting bands on joining edges of blocks spanning dromos and at horizontal joins of several blocks in side walls of dromos. Door stone of 'plug' type closed chamber entrance.

TOMB NO. BC/T 7 Area A

PLAN: Multiple chambers with single dromos. Exact arrangement not specified.

HISTORY: Exploration of previously opened tomb by Princeton Expedition. Butler 1922: 11.

LOCATION: Bin Tepe, exact location not specified.

DIMENSIONS: Not known.

TOMB NO. BC/T 8 Area D

PLAN: Single chamber; no mention of antechamber or dromos.

HISTORY: Observation by Princeton Expedition.

Butler 1922: 165-167.

LOCATION: Ca. 1 1/2 miles south of Artemis Temple on high ground at edge of steeply sloping ravine.

DIMENSIONS: Not known.

CONSTRUCTION MATERIALS AND TECHNIQUES:

Walls and roof of well finished limestone. Butler observed a wall, ca. 2.00 m. high, built of "quadrated sandstone blocks" placed at a distance from the chamber and forming a "concave curve towards it".

CONTENTS: Fragments of Lydian pottery, including a multinozzled lamp, recovered from fill above chamber floor.

TOMB NO. BC/T 9 (H/C NO. BT 62.4) Area A

PLAN: Single chamber with antechamber and dromos opening to southwest. Figs. 9, 11.

HISTORY: Resistivity and excavation. Hanfmann 1963: 57-59.

LOCATION: Bin Tepe, ca. 750 m. southwest of Alyattes Mound (BC/T 1).

TUMULUS: Diam. ca. 35 m.; original height much reduced, now some 2-3 m. above level of surrounding fields. Burial complex slightly west of center.

DIMENSIONS:	Dromos	L 4.48; W 1.10; H 1.67
	Doorway	H 1.675; W 1.40; Depth 0.50
	Antechamber	L 1.75 (N-S); W 1.68 (E-W)
		H 2.02
	Doorway	H 1.35; W 0.90; Depth 0.50
	Chamber	L 2.47 (N-S); W 2.10 (E-W);
		H 2.16

CONSTRUCTION MATERIALS AND TECHNIQUES:

Dromos Roughly trimmed limestone blocks, ashlar and polygonal; arranged in courses (four in west wall, six in east wall).

Unroofed.

Floor surface a thin layer of limestone chips that runs under walls.

Opening at southwest blocked by stacked river stones that extend some 0.85 m. beyond dromos walls.

Antechamber Well finished limestone blocks with finely picked faces and drafted margins; arranged in four courses, with two blocks per course, except in lowest course of west wall, formed by a single block.

Roofed by two blocks placed across width of antechamber.

Paved with large limestone slabs that continue under walls; joined with iron clamps

set in dove-tail and fish-shaped cuttings.

Chamber Well finished limestone blocks arranged in three courses of equal height; surfaces covered with thin coat of fine stucco.

Roofed by three blocks placed across width of chamber.

Paved with large limestone slabs joined by iron clamps set in dove-tail cuttings.

Threshold a single block set between jambs and raised ca. 0.05 m. above level of chamber floor.

Entrance blocked by door stone of 'plug' type (Fig. 11); bottom chamfered. H at front 1.44; H at back 1.35; W 0.89; Th 0.25-0.30.

At north end of chamber, east and west walls show slight discoloration and roughening of surface in an area some 0.50 m. high, 0.80 m. wide.

CONTENTS: Jug fragment, pendant hook decoration (P 62.423). Dromos.

Lydian skyphos, two rim fragments (P 62.422). Dromos.

Lydian bowl fragment, cream slip (P 62.350). Chamber.

White-banded Lydian ware fragments (P 62.378). Antechamber floor.

Waveline ware fragments (P 62.424). Fill at entrance to antechamber.

Iron spearbutt (M 62.73; Waldbaum 1983: 32, no. 16). Antechamber floor.

Worked ivory fragment (BI 62.9). Antechamber fill.

Bone pipe (BI 62.10). Chamber.

Flint blade (Flint 62.1). Antechamber fill.

Twenty-one fragments of limstone slab with shallow oval depression, probably a funerary couch. Not inventoried. Chamber.

Small animal skeleton in lime puddle with scattered bits of charcoal. Dromos.

DATE: 6th century B.C.

TOMB NO. BC/T 10 (H/C No. BT 63.2) Area A

PLAN: Single chamber without antechamber, dromos or entrance of any kind. Fig. 4.

HISTORY: Resistivity and excavation. Hanfmann 1964: 55; Greenewalt and Majewski 1980: 99-107.

LOCATION: Bin Tepe, ca. 300 m. southeast of Karniyarik Tepe (T 4).

TUMULUS: Diam. ca. 30 m.; large quantity of quarried limestone used in construction, with

stratum several meters thick above chamber roof. Burial complex northwest of center.

DIMENSIONS: Chamber L 2.87 (E-W); W 1.35 (N-S); H 1.35

CONSTRUCTION MATERIALS AND TECHNIQUES:

Limestone blocks arranged in three courses; all margins drafted except for upper margin of blocks in top course; all horizontal and most vertical edges slightly bevelled.

Shallow rabbet join between blocks in middle and upper course of north wall.

L-shaped continuous corner blocks in top course at northeast and southwest.

Roofed by four blocks placed across width of chamber; inner surfaces roughly picked; exterior joining edges trimmed back to accomodate packing of limestone chips in a matrix of clay and lime. Paved with five limestone slabs that continue under walls; four rectangular hollows cut into paving slabs perhaps to receive the legs of a piece of wooden furniture.

CONTENTS: Hydria, waveline decoration (P 63.402). Bones of small animals, including dogs, mice and possibly a hedgehog discovered in and around vessel. Left by tomb robbers at edge

of roof.

Skyphos, streaky glaze (P 63.445). Context as above.

Ridged lydion, gray monochrome (P 63.444). Context as above.

2 squat lekythoi (P 63.443; P 63.446). Chamber.

Four large pieces of wood; twenty fragments of iron fittings, some of which bore the imprint of textiles on their surfaces (M 63.44; Waldbaum 1983: 78, no. 422). Chamber floor.

DATE: Late 7th through 6th century B.C.

TOMB NO. BC/T 11 (H/C No. BT 66.1) Area A

PLAN: Single chamber with antechamber and dromos opening to west. Fig. 10.

HISTORY: Excavation. Hanfmann 1967: 47-50.

LOCATION: Bin Tepe, at eastern end of Duman Tepe ridge, about 1,300 m. north-northeast of Alyattes Mound (BC/T 1).

TUMULUS: Diam. ca. 40 m.; stratum of rubble, limestone chips and clay, ca. 0.50 m. thick directly above dromos roof.

DIMENSIONS: Dromos L 10.75; W 1.00; H ca. 1.80

Doorway H 1.11; W 0.65; Depth 0.34

Antechamber	L 4.35 (E-W); W 1.05 (N-S); H 1.55
Doorway	H 1.11; W 0.66; Depth 0.37
Chamber	L 2.04 (E-W); W 2.03 (N-S); H ca. 1.90

CONSTRUCTION MATERIALS AND TECHNIQUES:

Dromos — Roughly trimmed limestone blocks of various sizes; no regular coursing.

Roofed over 6.10 m. of its length by seven limestone and two schist slabs.

Floor surface of tamped earth mixed with pebbles and limestone chips in matrix of lime and red clay.

Antechamber — Three to four courses of carefully worked limestone blocks of various sizes; some L-shaped in section.

Roofed by five blocks, 0.68 m. to 1.20 m. in width, placed across width of antechamber.

Paved with small pieces of limestone.

A hard, white stucco begins on outer face of doorway from dromos and covers wall, ceiling and floor.

Entrance from dromos may have been closed by a door stone found broken up in dromos.

Chamber — Limestone blocks, some with drafted margins, arranged in four courses.

Long walls tilt inward slightly from bottom course to top.

Roofed by two large slabs, the easternmost of which is pierced by a semicircular hole, 0.49 m. in diameter.

Paved with rectangular slabs.

In eastern half of chamber, fragments of built-in bench protrude from north and south walls between lowest and second courses. Other fragments showing shallow depression found scattered throughout burial complex. Dimensions of bench: L 2.03 m. (i.e., the width of chamber); W 1.01 m.; Th 0.10 m.; H above floor 0.54 m. Outer edge has raised border, 0.05 m. high and 0.10 m. wide.

Layer of stucco, ca. 0.015 m. thick, covers walls, floor and ceiling.

CONTENTS: Ionian cup fragment (P 66.56). Undisturbed stratum above dromos.

Unguentarium fragment (P 66.92). Chamber.

Late Lydian sherd with graffito (P 66.38). Dromos.

Gold-plated bronze hoop earring (J 66.2; Waldbaum 1983: 123, no. 723). Chamber.

DATE: Late 6th/early 5th century B.C.

RE-USE: Tomb used in Late Roman period as final resting place for approximately 150 individuals. Bodies, as many as three layers deep in some places, distributed throughout burial complex. Grave robbers said to have removed as many as 300 lamps. Excavators found over 50 lamps still intact, most new or used only once. Lamps range in date from 4th to 7th centuries A.D., with majority belonging to 5th century A.D.

TOMB NO. BC/T 12 (H/C No. 66.3) Area A

PLAN: Single chamber with dromos opening to northeast.

HISTORY: Excavation. Hanfmann 1967: 51-52.

LOCATION: Bin Tepe, at western end of Duman Tepe ridge.

TUMULUS: Contains a high proportion of large stones and small limestone chips, especially surrounding chamber and dromos.

DIMENSIONS: Dromos L 4.00; W 1.05

Chamber L 2.00 (N-S); W 1.70 (E-W); H 1.02

CONSTRUCTION MATERIALS AND TECHNIQUES:

Dromos Floor cut into bedrock for most of its length, with at least one course of masonry

abutting outside wall of tomb chamber.

Chamber Only one course of wall blocks survives together with both door posts; tops of door posts cut to receive a lintel.

Four of six remaining wall blocks and one door post have lifting bosses.

Paved with large, roughly trimmed slabs, 0.30 m. thick, running under walls and projecting into dromos.

CONTENTS: Jar fragment (P 66.94). Chamber.

Bowl fragments (P 66.98; P 66.99). Chamber.

Ribbed lydion fragment (P 66.93). Chamber.

Alabastron fragment (P 66.73). Chamber.

Bones belonging to two individuals, one an adult in mid-20's, the other a child of about 11-12 years old, found scattered in chamber and dromos.

DATE: 5th or 4th century B.C.

RE-USE: Fragments of two Hellenistic unguentaria (P 66.72; P 66.75) found in dromos and chamber probably belong to secondary burial. Late Roman lamp fragments and sgraffito-glazed wares found in and around chamber may be associated with earliest use of tomb as

convenient source of worked stone.

TOMB NO. BC/T 13 (H/C No. BT 66.6) Area A

PLAN: Single chamber without dromos; entrance at west.

HISTORY: Excavation. Hanfmann 1967: 52.

LOCATION: Bin Tepe, at western end of Duman Tepe ridge.

TUMULUS: Only traces of covering mound still remain.

DIMENSIONS: Chamber L 2.55 (E-W); W 1.32 (N-S); H 1.55

Doorway H 1.00; W 0.72; Depth 0.30

CONSTRUCTION MATERIALS AND TECHNIQUES:

Limestone blocks arranged in five courses of varying height, 0.24-0.34 m.; surface treatment also varies.

Long walls of chamber incline slightly from bottom to top.

Roofed by four roughly trimmed rectangular slabs.

Floor formed by trimmed bedrock.

Bedrock in front of chamber unevenly trimmed to permit entry into chamber.

CONTENTS: Ionian cup fragments (P 66.106; P 66.153).

Skyphos fragment (P 66.148).

Bowl fragments (P 66.146; P 66.161).

Lekythos fragment (P 66.152).

Ribbed lydion fragment (P 66.163).

Marbled lydion fragments (P 66.147; P 66.160).

Banded lydion (P 66.95). Fill above roof of chamber.

Black glaze (P 66.144; P 66.145), burnished buff and red (P 66.105) and plain (P 66.149; P 66.162) fabrics.

Terracotta pan tile (TC 66.7).

Stone alabastron (S 66.19).

Bones of at least one individual about 20 years of age.

DATE: Not later than 6th century B.C.

RE-USE: Two Hellenistic relief-ware fragments (P 66.150; P 66.151) may belong to secondary burial.

TOMB NO. BC/T 14 Area A

PLAN: Single chamber with dromos (?).

HISTORY: Observation by Harvard/Cornell Expedition. Hanfmann 1967: 47.

LOCATION: Bin Tepe, north of Karnıyarık Tepe (T 4) on Cambaz Tepe ridge.

CONSTRUCTION MATERIALS AND TECHNIQUES:

Mound thoroughly plundered. Robber's trench revealed well cut limestone blocks of upper walls and roof of chamber. Robbers reportedly removed parts of a wooden couch. Fragments of wood and human bone recovered from rubble piled above chamber roof.

TOMB NO. BC/T 15 (H/C No. 1976-1) Area A

PLAN: Three chambers in a cloverleaf arrangement with a dromos and antechamber in front of chamber which is on axis with dromos.

HISTORY: Excavation by Manisa Museum; observation by Harvard/Cornell expedition. Greenewalt 1978: 70.

LOCATION: Western region of Bin Tepe, ca. 10 km. south of Gölmarmara and 3 km. north of Kestelli Köyü. Area known locally as Büyük Belen; one of a group of five mounds.

CONSTRUCTION MATERIALS AND TECHNIQUES:

Dromos Neatly trimmed blocks, some L-shaped in section. Surfaces covered with fine mud plaster.

Antechamber & Chambers Limestone blocks of various sizes, some with roughly trimmed surfaces; walls of

chamber at left of entrance include several neatly trimmed marble blocks, one with a possible mason's mark.

Ceilings of chambers to right and left of entrance are flat, those of antechamber and rear chamber are pitched.

Paved with limestone slabs; in rear chamber, paving slabs joined by pi-shaped iron clamps set in dove-tail cuttings.

Most wall surfaces covered with fine mud plaster.

In rear chamber, two marble slabs with low raised edge around three sides rest lengthwise side by side on floor along back wall.

Rear chamber closed by door stone of 'plug' type, now fallen backwards into antechamber; entrance to antechamber may have been closed by large, roughly trimmed stone now in dromos.

DATE: 5th century B.C. or later.

TOMB NO. BC/T 16 Area A

PLAN: Single chamber with antechamber and dromos.

HISTORY: Observation by Harvard/Cornell

Expedition. Unpublished.

LOCATION: See BC/T 15 supra.

CONSTRUCTION MATERIALS AND TECHNIQUES:

Well cut limestone and other (colored) stone used in chamber and antechamber walls. Flat roof. Paved with with limestone slabs joined by pi-shaped clamps set in dove-tail cuttings.

TOMB NO. BC/T 17 (H/C No. T 77.1) Area B

PLAN: Single chamber with dromos opening to west. Fig. 7.

HISTORY: Excavation. Greenewalt 1979: 9-19.

LOCATION: East of Pactolus stream, on hill overlooking Pyramid Tomb wadi on south and road to Artemis Temple on west (Fig. 2, no. 72).

TUMULUS: No trace of tumulus but stone packing around walls outside chamber suggests that covering mound was at least planned.

DIMENSIONS:		
	Dromos	L 2.85; W 1.25; PH 1.30
	Doorway	W 0.80
	Chamber	L 2.23 (E-W); W 2.22 (N-S); PH 1.60

CONSTRUCTION MATERIALS AND TECHNIQUES:

Dromos Roughly hewn sandstone and conglomerate

blocks and one limestone block with drafted margins arranged in irregular courses.

No evidence survives for roof.

Floor surface a layer of limestone working chips that continues below floor of chamber.

Chamber Well trimmed limestone blocks arranged in two courses with two blocks per course; height of courses, 0.80 m. each; length of northeast block, over 2.00 m., is unusual.

Extensive use of pi-shaped iron clamps in dove-tail cuttings; small cuttings much like pryholes in tops of several wall blocks; continuous corner block in lowest course at southeast.

No evidence survives for roof.

Floor paved with limestone slabs ca. 0.35 m. thick.

Doorway framed by two monolithic jambs that also form west wall of chamber; lintel is missing. Door stone of 'plug' type found tilted outward into dromos.

CONTENTS: Two limestone couches, placed against north and south walls, extend length of chamber (2.23 m.). Couches are simple in form: two rectangular slabs at each end

support thick slab, about 0.70 m. wide, hollowed out to a depth of 0.05-0.07 m. Beds of couches are 0.60-0.70 m. above floor. No decoration is apparent except for narrow, recessed band at bottom of exposed faces of bed slabs.

No material from original burial recovered.

From stratum of limestone working chips in dromos and below chamber floor, pottery fragments include skyphoi and other shapes with characteristic Lydian decoration such as waveline and streaky glaze (uninventoried).

DATE: Late 7th to early 5th century B.C.

RE-USE: The presence of human bones under both couches, a limestone cinerary chest resting on a thin stratum of debris above the north couch as well as various objects appropriate for funerary ritual (some 20 items including unguentaria, flasks and lamps) suggest that the tomb continued to serve a funerary purpose through Hellenistic and early Roman times.

TOMB NO. BC/T 18 (H/C No. T 82.1) Area D

PLAN: Single chamber with entrance at north through shallow porch Figs. 6, 15.

HISTORY: Excavation. Greenewalt, et. al. 1983: 180-182.

LOCATION: About 1/2 kilometer south of main Necropolis and 100 m. west of Pactolus stream.

TUMULUS: From a distance, terrain immediately around tomb suggests an eroded covering mound. Excavation showed that chamber had been built into ridge of sandstone which has a mound-like appearance.

DIMENSIONS:		
	Door	H 1.30; W 0.80 (bottom), W 0.67 (top); Depth 0.40
	Chamber	L 2.87 (N-S); W 1.95 (E-W); H 1.82

CONSTRUCTION MATERIALS AND TECHNIQUES:

Porch Only one limestone block remains in place, abutting exterior wall of chamber and resting on limestone paving slab. This slab has been prepared to receive a similar block, now missing, on the opposite side.

Chamber Well finished limestone blocks arranged in four courses of about equal height.

Monolithic door jambs form north wall; outside edges of jambs neatly bevelled. Monolithic lintel, now missing, would have spanned north wall and rested on tops of blocks in east and west walls.

Long walls tilt inward from bottom to top. Monolithic jambs, against which two courses of side walls rest, trimmed at slight diagonal rather than on a true vertical line.

Slightly projecting band, 0.03 m. in width, preserved along upper edges of blocks in fourth course.

No evidence for roof survives.

Paved with five limestone slabs running width of chamber and under walls.

CONTENTS: Two limestone blocks, similar in size and treatment, stand along south wall. Each block is probably one of a pair of supports for two slab-type klinai. No trace remains of other two supports or of beds themselves.

Pottery recovered from topsoil of stratigraphic sounding north of chamber was almost exclusively Lydian and included two lamp fragments, probably from large, multi-nozzled types and a streaky glaze fruit stand foot. Uninventoried.

DATE: Late 6th to early 5th century B.C.

TOMB NO. BC/T 19 (H/C No. BK 71.1) Area D

PLAN: Single chamber with porch and dromos

opening to north. Fig. 8.

HISTORY: Excavation. Ramage 1972: 11-15.

LOCATION: About 3 km. southwest of Sardis in foothills of Mt. Tmolus, near village of Keskinler.

TUMULUS: Diam. ca. 25 m.; present height about 3 m. Above chamber roof at south end and on east and west sides of chamber, a thin stratum (ca. 0.02 m.) of charcoal. Stratum did not appear to extend over ceiling blocks of chamber but, at the east, appeared at some distance from center of mound as if following its contours.

DIMENSIONS:		
	Dromos	L at least 5.20; W 1.30
	Porch	H 1.92; W 1.25; Depth 0.73
	Doorway	H 1.37; W 0.91
	Chamber	L 2.77; W 1.51 (top), 1.72 (bottom); H 1.86

CONSTRUCTION MATERIALS AND TECHNIQUES

Dromos Uncoursed schist slabs retain packing of large stones that filled dromos for most of its excavated length. At south end, walls abut roughly trimmed faces of porch blocks.

Porch Six courses of limestone masonry at west, seven at east. Single limestone slab spans entrance. Floor paved with slabs that project

unevenly beyond ends of walls.

Chamber Well trimmed limestone masonry arranged in six courses of varying heights. Isolated rabbet join between blocks of fifth and sixth courses in east wall.

Monolithic door jambs form north wall and are spanned by monolithic lintel.

Long walls tilt inward slightly from bottom to top; outer faces of jambs and lintel conform to this inward slant while inner framing faces remain plumb.

Upper edges of blocks in top course have a narrow projecting band as do vertical edges of some of the blocks at corners. A similar band at joining edges of jambs and lintel and along three joining edges of four ceiling blocks.

Paved with well fitted limestone blocks of various sizes. Surfaces of blocks roughly picked at center, smoothly finished at edges and where legs of funerary couch rest.

Door blocked by two large limestone slabs placed one on top the other and set against outer face of door frame. Surface of blocks left roughly trimmed on dromos side, neatly finished on chamber side. A slightly

projecting 'plug' was carved from the blocks to fit snugly into door opening.

CONTENTS: 2 alabaster alabastra (S 71.1, S 71.2). Fill in porch below displaced upper door stone.

Limestone couch *in situ* along west wall of chamber. Dimensions: L 2.10 m., W 0.88 m., H 0.52 m. Single slab with raised border supported at both ends by thicker slabs (L 0.88 m., W 0.25 m.) running width of bed. Fronts of supporting blocks carved in double volutes.

DATE: 6th century B.C.

CHAMBER TOMB COMPLEX PARTLY CARVED FROM BEDROCK, COMPLETED WITH MASONRY AND COVERED WITH TUMULUS (BRC/T)

TOMB NO. BRC/T 1 Area A

PLAN: Single chamber with dromos.

HISTORY: Excavated by Spiegelthal. von Olfers 1858: 542.

LOCATION: Bin Tepe, at southeastern end of Gygaean Lake.

TOMB NO. BRC/T 2 Area A

PLAN: Three chambers roughly carved. No mention of dromos or covering mound.

HISTORY: Excavated by Spiegelthal. von Olfers 1858: 542-543.

LOCATION: Bin Tepe, southwest of Gygaean Lake near village of Diubekdere.

TOMB NO. BRC/T 3 (H/C No. BT 66.2) Area A

PLAN: Single chamber with dromos opening to south.

HISTORY: Excavation. Hanfmann 1967: 50-51.

LOCATION: Bin Tepe, east end of Duman Tepe ridge, ca. 40 m. west of BC/T 11.

TUMULUS: Diam. ca. 20 m.; height ca. 3 m. above field to east. Stratum of limestone chips

noted above burial chamber.

DIMENSIONS:	Dromos	L at least 7.50; W 1.00 at S expanding to 1.33 at chamber; H not known
	Doorway	H 1.01; W 0.77; Depth not known
	Chamber	L 2.00 (N-S); W 2.00 (E-W); H not known

CONSTRUCTION MATERIALS AND TECHNIQUES:

Dromos Roughly trimmed limestone blocks; gaps between blocks filled with limetsone chips in clay.

Floor is roughly trimmed bedrock.

Roofed (at least along part of its length) by limestone slabs; two slabs in place near chamber entrance.

Chamber Lowest course formed by bedrock trimmed to a height of ca. 0.60 m.; upper courses of well-cut limestone blocks, some with drafted margins; gaps between blocks and some joints filled with white stucco.

Roofed by three limestone slabs, one somewhat triangular in section.

Floor is roughly picked bedrock.

Entrance blocked by door stone of 'plug' type, still <u>in situ</u>; threshold 0.33 m. above

dromos floor.

CONTENTS: Lydian double-handled amphora (P 66.100). Chamber.

Squat jug with graffito (P 66.47). Dromos floor.

Ionian cup (P 66.48). Dromos floor.

Streaked bowl rim (P 66.46). Limestone chip stratum above chamber roof.

Black glaze Attic lekythos, neck fragment (P 66.49). Dromos floor.

Glass alabastron fragment, vertically fluted (G 66.8; von Saldern 1980: 6, no. 1). Chamber.

Stone alabastron, rim fragment (S 66.12). Chamber.

Bench trimmed from bedrock, 1.12 m. wide, across north wall of chamber; south edge of bench has rim 0.13 m. high.

Bones of individual of about 25 years of age found scattered outside chamber.

DATE: Ca. 500-450 B.C.

RE-USE: Near surface of tumulus, inhumation of male, about 35 years of age, in association with Byzantine or Islamic sgraffito ware.

TOMB NO. BRC/T 4 (H/C No. BT 66.4) Area A

PLAN: Single chamber with dromos opening to east.

HISTORY: Excavation. Hanfmann 1967: 52.

LOCATION: Bin Tepe, at western end of Duman Tepe ridge.

DIMENSIONS:

Dromos	L at least 4.00
Doorway	H 1.09; W 0.53
Chamber	L 1.80 (E-W); W 1.78 (N-S)

CONSTRUCTION MATERIALS AND TECHNIQUES:

Dromos Partly cut into bedrock, partly built of uncoursed, irregularly shaped stones.

Chamber Poorly preserved; only two courses survive, the lowest trimmed from bedrock to a height of 0.54 m. Second course, 0.56-0.59 m. high, made up of limestone blocks clamped together with iron clamps set in shallow dove-tail cuttings.

Roof collapsed; at least two rectangular and one triangular block in chamber debris perhaps from roof.

Floor is trimmed bedrock.

Chamber entrance blocked by door stone of 'plug' type, <u>in situ</u>.

Cutting in west wall, 0.58 m. wide and 0.18 m. high, at top of first (bedrock) course, may have been intended to receive end

of a funerary bench.

CONTENTS: Ionian amphoriskos (P 66.104). Chamber.

Skyphos (P 66.102). Chamber.

Bowl (P 66.97). Chamber,

Lekythos fragment (P 66.101). Dromos fill.

Lekythos (P 66.116). Chamber.

Unguentarium (P 66.103). Chamber.

Large pot (P 66.96). Chamber.

Lamp fragment (L 66.49). Chamber.

Egyptian blue glass bowl fragment (G 66.9; von Saldern 1980: 6, no. 5). Chamber.

DATE: Not earlier than 4th century B.C. Pottery exclusively late Lydian and Hellenistic.

TOMB NO. BRC/T 5 (H/C No. 1976-2) Area A

PLAN: Single chamber opening to east with antechamber; dromos not visible.

HISTORY: Observation. Greenewalt 1978: 70.

LOCATION: Western region of Bin Tepe, 1.5-2.0 km. east-southeast of Büyük Belen. See BC/T 15.

DIMENSIONS: Antechamber Not measured

Doorway W 0.76; Depth 0.60

Chamber L 2.75; W 2.10

CONSTRUCTION MATERIALS AND TECHNIQUES:

Antechamber Almost completely filled with earth and stone; visible are a few limestone blocks not as neatly cut as those of chamber.

Chamber North wall and small section of west wall hewn from neatly trimmed bedrock; other walls composed of large, well-trimmed limestone blocks.

Doorway framed by flat-chiselled border on antechamber side and bevelled edge on chamber side.

CIST GRAVE (C)

TOMB NO. C 1 (H/C NO. BT 66.5) Area A

TYPE: Rock cut cist oriented north-south; trimmed with pointed chisel. Bedrock around grave cut back to receive two large cover slabs.

HISTORY: Recorded by Harvard/Cornell Expedition. Hanfmann 1967: 52.

LOCATION: Bin Tepe, on Duman Tepe ridge near BC/T 13.

DIMENSIONS: L 1.91; W 1.08; Depth 0.51-0.54

CONTENTS: Hellenistic relief ware fragments (P 66.118).

2 lekythoi, neck fragments (P 66.117).

DATE: Ca. 200 B.C.

TOMB NO. C 2 Area A

TYPE: Unknown type, apparently for burial of a child; covered by limestone sarchophagus lid.

HISTORY: Reported to Harvard/Cornell Expedition; contents purchased. Mitten and Yüğrüm 1974: 28.

LOCATION: Bin Tepe, between Ahlatlı Tepecik and Eski Balıkhane.

DIMENSIONS: Not Known.

CONTENTS: Small, streaky glaze skyphos (P 68.88).

One-handled 'feeder' vase (P 68.92).

Limestone 'offering table' with lions' paw feet (S 68.11).

DATE: Ca. 500 B.C.

TOMB NO. C 3 Area C

TYPE: Founded on hard pan and formed by terracotta tiles.

HISTORY: Excavated by T. L. Shear. Shear 1922: 395.

LOCATION: Necropolis A in assocation with walls and concentration of Lydian architectural terracotta tiles. Cist located about 1.35 m. below modern surface.

DIMENSIONS: Not known.

CONTENTS: Fragments of Lydian pottery, including two large amphorae.

Undecorated tiles and two moulded and painted tiles with "star and scroll" decoration.

Skeletal remains.

DATE: 600-550 B.C.

TOMB NO. C 4 (H/C No. T 61.1) Area C

TYPE: Unlined (or robbed of its construction

materials); two large cover slabs.

HISTORY: Excavation. Hanfmann 1962: 24-27; Greenewalt 1972: 116-118.

LOCATION: Ca. 1,180 m. west of Artemis Temple on hillock at foot of Necropolis massif. 3-4 m. north of C 5.

DIMENSIONS: Not known.

CONTENTS: 2 lydia (P 61.8, P 61.9).

Upper part of lekythos-jug (not inventoried).

DATE: 575-480 B.C.

TOMB NO. C 5 (H/C No. T 61.2) Area C

TYPE: Cist lined with four schist slabs and covered with three slabs; oriented roughly north-south. Tamped earth floor containing bits of apparently carbonized material. Fig. 26.

HISTORY: Excavation. Hanfmann 1962: 24-27; Greenewalt 1972: 118-127.

LOCATION: Ca. 1,180 m. west of Artemis on hillock at foot of Necropolis massif; 3-4 m. south of C 4.

DIMENSIONS: L 2.08; W 0.70; Depth 0.80

CONTENTS: 2 skyphoi; Orientalizing decoration. P 61.1, P 61.1 B.

2 skyphoi; streaky glaze decoration. P 61.3, P 61.4.

Skyphos; streaky glaze decoration. Not inventoried.

Band Cup. P 61.2.

Rosette Bowl. P 61.6.

Bowl with spool-shaped attachments. P 61.5.

Lekythos jug. Not inventoried.

Lydion. Not inventoried.

2 closed vessels. Not inventoried.

Iron nails and small L-shaped bar. M 61.2.

Gold bead; melon-shaped with granulation. J 61.1.

Onyx bead with gold wire attachment. J 61.2.

Silver pendant; hawk. J 61.3.

Alabaster alabastron. S 61.1.

Hunks of carbonized wood. Not inventoried.

Shell, *Macta corallina* L. Not inventoried.

Shell fragments, clam type. Not inventoried.

Sheep knucklebones (100 intact; 56

fragmentary). Not inventoried.

DATE: 575-540 B.C.

TOMB NO. C 6 (B No. Bekir 2)

TYPE: Pit (presumably rock-cut) with no obvious entrance.

HISTORY: Princeton Expedition; excavation. Unpublished.

LOCATION: Unknown. Inventory records exist for two other tombs with this designation (Bekir 1 and Bekir 6) but provide no clues to their location.

DIMENSIONS: Not known.

CONTENTS: Hydria, wavy-line decoration. Bekir 2 No. 4. MMA 16.75.2.

One-handled jug. Bekir 2 No. 2. MMA 16.75.3.

2 skyphoi. Bekir 2 No. 1, MMA 16.75.11; Bekir 2 No. 5, MMA 16.75.13.

Kylix with high rim. No inv. number. MMA 16.75.9.

Miscellaneous fragments with streaky and marbling decoration; some with geometric designs described as "sub-Mycenaean" in inventory records.

CIST GRAVE WITH TUMULUS (C/T)

TOMB NO. C/T 1 (H/C No. BT 63.3) Area A

TYPE: Rubble-built cist covered with schist slabs; oriented east-west.

HISTORY: Resistivity tests (1963) and salvage excavation (1966). Hanfmann 1964: 56-58; 1967: 42-43.

LOCATION: Bin Tepe, ca. 50 m. west of Kirmutaf Tepe (TU 5).

TUMULUS: Diam. ca. 26 m.; present height above surrounding fields 4 m. Cist located 2.50 m. SW of center of mound. Rubble packing encloses cist. Double layer of pebbles laid across entire mound at height of top of cist.

DIMENSIONS: L 1.40 (east end of grave destroyed); W 0.90; H 1.05.

CONTENTS: Jar with everted rim. P 66.112

Ionian cup. P 66.109.

Lydian squat aryballos. P66.111

Back of female protome. P 66.110

White marble alabastron. S 66.15.

DATE: 575-550 B.C.

CARVED CHAMBER TOMB (CC)

TOMB NO. CC 1 Area B

PLAN: Not recoverable because of severe erosion.

HISTORY: Princeton Expedition "Pot of Gold" tomb; excavation. Shear 1922: 396-400; 1922a.

LOCATION: North side of wide ravine in northwest foothills of Acropolis. Fig. 2, no. 69.

FURNISHINGS: Traces of rock cut benches.

CONTENTS: Vase of coarse gray clay containing thirty gold staters dating to the reign of Croesus. Shear noted an abundance of Lydian pottery on surface in this area.

TOMB NO. CC 2 Area B

PLAN: Single chamber.

HISTORY: Princeton Expedition; excavation. Buckler 1924: 33-35.

LOCATION: Acropolis foothills east of Pactolus stream.

CONTENTS: Rhyming inscription (IS 1) found re-used in rubble wall blocking tomb entrance.

TOMB NO. CC 3 (B No. C) Area C

PLAN: Single chamber with dromos.

HISTORY: Princeton Expedition; excavation. Thumb 1911: 151-153; Littmann 1916: 41-44; Butler 1922: 56-57; Buckler 1924: 8-11.

LOCATION: Northeast face of Necropolis A.

FURNISHINGS: Single bench at right and left of entrance; bench of double width along rear wall.

CONTENTS: 2 hemphorae. P 1138, P 1139.

Saucer. P 1140.

14 saphanides. P 1141-P 1154.

14 terracotta lamps. P 1155-P 1168.

Terracotta figurine, Myrina type. Ter 64

Bronze box mirror. Br 120.

Inscribed limestone slab (IS 10) carved in imitation of panelled door re-used in wall blocking dromos.

TOMB NO. CC 4 (B No. 411) Area C

PLAN: Single chamber with dromos.

HISTORY: Princeton Expedition; excavation. Littmann 1916: 44-46; Butler 1922: 160, 162; Buckler 1924: 13-14.

LOCATION: Main Necropolis, about half-kilometer from Pactolus, opposite south part of "south village".

FURNISHINGS: Single bench at right and left of

entrance; bench of double width along rear wall.

CONTENTS: Inscribed limestone stele (IS 13) *in situ* at left of dromos entrance.

DATE: 5th century B.C. (based on letter style of inscription).

TOMB NO. CC 5 (B No. 43) Area C

PLAN: Single chamber with dromos.

HISTORY: Princeton Expedition; excavation. Butler 1922: 79, 159.

LOCATION: East face of Necropolis A directly opposite Artemis Temple.

FURNISHINGS: No mention of sarcophagi or benches.

CONTENTS: Pottery, about 50 objects in all, some of which are illustrated in Butler 1922: ill. 75A, 75B.

2 amphorae. P 450, P 451.

Myrina amphora. P 449.

Column krater. P 453. MMA 14.30.24.

Skyphos krater, plain. P 454.

Jug-Type A. P 466.

2 trefoil oinochoe. P 455, MMA 14.30.25; P 456, MMA 14.30.4.

Round-mouth squat oinochoe. P 464. MMA 26.164.18.

2 oinochoe. P 457, P 458.

2 small skyphoi. P 461, P 462.

2 large skyphoi. P 459, MMA 14.30.5; P 460.

Large, shallow bowl. P 463.

Strainer bowl. P 465. MMA 14.30.10.

Large fruit dish. P 452. MMA 14.30.1.

3 lekythoi. P 466, P 467, P 468.

2 ampullae. P 467, P 468.

Lydion. P 469.

Pottery fragments include the following: 2 large oinochoe (O, P), large pitcher (R), small pitcher (L), 6 skyphoi (A, C-G), 3 kylixes (M, N, Q), 2 dishes (S, U), mesomphalos phiale (B), 2 large vases (H, T), 1 small vase (J)

2 lamps. P 470, P 471.

DATE: ca. 600-550 B.C.

TOMB NO. CC 6 (B No. 813, "Stele Tomb") Area C

PLAN: Single chamber with short passage approached by flight of four steps made of well-cut limestone blocks. Entrance flanked by two uninscribed stelai (S 3, S 4). Fig. 20.

HISTORY: Princeton Expedition; excavation.

Littmann 1916: 25; Butler 1922: 116-117, 159-160; Hanfmann and Ramage 1978: 75, no. 47. Re-excavation by Harvard/Cornell Expedition. See Tomb No. CC 6 A, infra.

LOCATION: North face of Necropolis A.

DIMENSIONS: Chamber L 4.00; W 3.75

FURNISHINGS: Within chamber, three large limestone sarcophagi of 'bathtub' type, one sunk below floor level and covered with stone slabs. A fourth sarcophagus, believed to have come from tomb chamber, and lids of two others found outside.

CONTENTS: Sunken sarcophagus (undisturbed):

3 jugs. P 1377-1379.

Alabastron. P 1380.

Achaemenid type onyx cylinder seal on gold pendant (Curtis 104).

Bones of male; skull pierced by large, pointed instrument.

Disturbed fill of passage and chamber contained the following, some of which are illustrated in Butler 1922: ill. 124.

Black-figure oinochoe. P 1373. Beazeley, ABV 533, no. 10.

3 skyphoi. P 1374, P 1375, P 1376.

Terracotta duck. Ter 73. MMA 26.164.9.

Terracotta deer, couchant. Ter 74. MMA 26.164.5.

Terracotta dove on pomegranate. Ter 72. MMA 26.164.20.

Small mask of terracotta. Ter 71. MMA 26.164.8.

Bust-like mask of terracotta. Ter 70. MMA 26.164.21.

Porcelain eye. Gl 19.

Ornaments cut from gold foil (Curtis 12).

End of pole. Br 195.

Small stone alabastron. SV 58.

DATE: ca. 500-480 B.C.

TOMB NO. CC 6 A (Cf. Tomb No. CC 6, supra) Area C

PLAN: Two chambers linked by passageway. Opening of front chamber masked by flight of four limestone steps, flanked by remains of two uninscribed stelai. Fig. 21.

HISTORY: Original excavation by Princeton Expedition. Re-excavation for purposes of study and architectural recording by Harvard/Cornell Expedition in 1984.

LOCATION: North face of Necropolis A.

DIMENSIONS: Chamber 1 L 3.4; W 2.8

Passageway L 2.8; W 1.5

Chamber 2 L 3.5; W 3.6

DESCRIPTION AND FURNISHINGS:

Chamber 1 opens directly onto hillside without dromos or doorway. Opening masked by flight of well-finished limestone steps (each 0.275-0.330 m. high), of which four courses are extant. Lowest course founded at level of Chamber 1 floor; steps rise to 1.20 m. above this level and are supported by fieldstone packing.

Within Chamber 1, large oval pit (presumably for sarcophagus) sunk into floor at right angles to long axis of tomb complex and extending acrosee entrance to passageway.

Within Chamber 2, towards rear and at right angles to long axis of tomb complex, a limestone sarcophagus of 'bathtub' type, without lid, sunk into floor.

Walls and ceilings roughly finished; passageway ceiling carved as relatively regular peak rising to 1.80 m. above floor level.

Floors of Chamber 1 and passageway carefully trimmed; irregularities in surface of Chamber 2 filled in with tamped earth.

CONTENTS: Outside tomb near westernmost stele, fragments of a small terracotta sarcophagus *in situ* (SAR 8) and a complete human skeleton of a young male, at least 1.70 m. tall, found with his feet in the sarcophagus (apparently not the original occupant of the sarcophagus).

Fragments of a limestone 'bathtub' type sarcophagus, perhaps belonging to pit in Chamber 1, found near easternmost stele.

TOMB NO. CC 7 Area C

PLAN: Double chamber; access to second chamber, at a somewhat lower level, by means of rock-cut steps. Entrance to second chamber blocked by door stone. Fig. 23.

HISTORY: Princeton Expedition; excavation. Butler 1922: 162.

LOCATION: Necropolis A.

FURNISHINGS: First chamber contains benches at left and right of entrance. On the basis of the published section, second chamber appears to contain at least one bench along side wall and a bench of double width with two shallow, rectangular depressions along back wall.

TOMB NO. CC 8 (B No. 23 A) Area C

PLAN: Single chamber. At time of discovery, no entrance visible. In the excavation records, the tomb is described as a deep, well-squared pit that preserved the remains of a ceiling. It was conjectured that access to the tomb was through the roof, perhaps from a chamber above CC 8 that had eroded away.

HISTORY: Princeton Expedition; excavation. Unpublished.

LOCATION: Necropolis A, east slope.

FURNISHINGS: Large krater (P 1579) in one corner of chamber. Small vases (designated "K" in list of contents) found in krater. Several large vessels in diagonally opposite corners of chamber.

CONTENTS: 2 small amphorae (K). P 1580, P 1581.

3 squat oinochoe (K). P 1586, P 1587, P 1588.

2 small oinochoe. P 1589 (K), P 1593.

Round-mouth oinochoe (K). P 1582.

Small pitcher (K). P 1584.

Ovoid pitcher (K). P 1585.

Squat pitcher (K). P 1590.

3 skyphoi (K). P 1604, P 1605, P 1607.

Skyphos. P 1599. MMA 16.75.14.

Ionian cup (K). P 1598. MMA 14.30.7.

Low skyphos (early Ionian cup). P 1603.

Two-handled cup with low foot. P 1600.

Squat cup. P 1594.

2 kantharoi (K). P 1597, P 1606.

Small bowl (K). P 1596.

Two-handled bowl (K). P 1601. MMA 14.30.8A.

Lid for two-handled bowl P 1601 (K). P 1602. MMA 14.30.8B.

Shallow dish with "Phrygianizing" lugs and spools; two loop handles (K). P 1620. MMA 14.30.20A.

Lid with high loop handle for shallow dish P 1620 (K). 1621. MMA 14.30.20B.

Shallow plate. P 1626. MMA 14.30.18.

3 fruit dishes. P 1609-P 1611.

5 fruit dishes (K). P 1615-P1618, P 1624.

Small fruit dish. P 1613. MMA 14.30.17.

Fruit dish with graffito on inside. P 1608. MMA 16.75.10.

Upper part of large fruit dish. P 1612.

Upper part of fruit dish (K). P 1619.

2 stemmed dishes. P 1623, MMA 14.30.3; P 1614.

2 small stands. P 1625, MMA 14.30.15 (K); P 1630, MMA 14.30.16.

2 lydia (K). P 1627, P 1628.

Corinthian warrior aryballos (K). P 1591.

Flask in shape of pomegranate (K). P 1592. MMA 26.164.3.

Canteen flask (K). P 1595.

Boat-shaped feeder vase. P 1622. Princeton 29.195.

Vase with perforated bottom, ram's head top (K). P 1583. MMA 14.30.21.

Small pot (K). P 1629.

Stone alabastron. SV 68.

DATE: 625-550 B.C.

TOMB NO. CC 9 (B No. 720) Area C

PLAN: Not recoverable because of severe erosion.

HISTORY: Princeton Expedition; excavation. Butler 1922: 119-121.

LOCATION: Main Necropolis, at top of knoll high in a ravine at foot of Necropolis massif.

FURNISHINGS: Only bottom of chamber and lower part of

sarcophagus preserved; at either end of sarcophagus, vases found upright in place.

CONTENTS: Some of the following items illustrated in Fig. 38.

2 amphorae. P 1279, P 1280.

Attic black-figure olpe. P 1293. MMA 12.164.28.

Small crater. P 1282.

Small jug. P 1295.

Jug with marbling. P 1289. MMA 14.30.11

2 trefoil-mouth oinochoe. P 1281, P 1294.

Large oinochoe. P 1302b.

Squat pitcher. P 1296.

Small pitcher or cup. Frag. a.

2 skyphoi. P 1287; P 1288, MMA 14.30.6a & b.

Attic black-figure skyphos (Kleitomenes). P 1302. Princeton 29.180.

Large skyphos with knobs by handles. P 1286.

Mug with strainer and spout. P 1284. MMA 14.30.9.

One-handled cup. P 1298.

Cup with handle. Frag. B.

Laconian black-figure cup. P 1283. MMA

14.30.11.

2 stemmed dishes. P 1291, MMA 14.30.14.; P 1302a.

Stemmed dish with lugs on rim. P 1292. MMA 14.30.13.

Dish with cut-out rim. P 1290. MMA 14.30.19.

2 lydia. P 1300, P 1301.

Aryballos. P 1297.

Feeder vase with side handle and slip lid. P 1285. MMA 14.30.22.

Small two-handled flask. P 1299.

DATE: Ca. 550 B.C.

TOMB NO. CC 10 (B No. A 1) Area C

PLAN: Not recoverable because of severe erosion.

HISTORY: Princeton Expedition; excavation. Butler 1922; 84-85.

LOCATION: Necropolis A, east slope.

FURNISHINGS: Terracotta sarcophagus and lid; dark gray clay. Rounded lid decorated with raised bands and small circles in imitation of nail heads.

CONTENTS: Found within the sarcophagus:

Simple gold bracelet with chalcedony set

in swivel mounting. Decorated with intaglio of Athena and Hermes (Curtis 101).

Circular gold earrings (Curtis 79 and 80).

Three silver saucers. Sil 13-Sil 15. Cf. Waldbaum 1983: 147, no. 968.

Silver fluted jar. Sil 12. Istanbul Arch. Museum Inv. No. 4541. Waldbaum 1983: 147, no. 967.

Exact findspot not specified:

Jug. P 1132.

Small bowl. P 1135.

Lydion. P 1131.

Vase. P 1133.

Small vase with cover. P 1134.

2 lamps. P 1136, P 1137.

Bronze pitcher. Br 113.

2 bronze bowls. Br 114, Br 115.

Bronze spoon. Br 116.

Bronze box-mirror. Br 117.

2 bronze perfume stirrers. P 118, P 119.

DATE: Hellenistic.

TOMB NO. CC 11 (B No. 381) Area C

PLAN: Not recoverable because of severe erosion.

HISTORY: Princeton Expedition "Tomb of the Bride"; excavation. Butler 1922: 143-144.

LOCATION: Necropolis A, on crest of hill directly below main summit.

FURNISHINGS: Two terracotta sarcophagi on bench along rear wall of chamber.

CONTENTS: Sarcophagus A contained skeleton of female not older than seventeen years. Rows of stone alabastra (SV 40-SV 45) flanked body; various articles of jewelry found on and around skeleton:

Gold fillets above head.

Earrings (Curtis 70).

Necklace (Curtis 25).

Bead and pendants (Curtis 26 and 27).

Gold ring with lion cut in oval bezel (Curtis 92).

Sarcophagus B contained "only the bones of an old man".

Exact findspot not specified:

Silver perfume stirrer. Sil 11.

Iron strigil. M 16.

6 ivory cylinders. Bo 9.

Ivory fragments. Bo 10.

TOMB NO. CC 12 (B No. 836) Area C

PLAN: Single chamber with dromos.

HISTORY: Princeton Expedition; excavation. Butler 1922: 143.

LOCATION: Necropolis A ridge, north slope.

FURNISHINGS: One bench along rear wall; no mention of additional benches along side walls.

CONTENTS: Found on bench and in dromos fill:

Gold plaques stamped with confronted sphinxes (Curtis 1) and walking sphinxes (Curtis 2).

Gold rosettes (Curtis 3 and 4).

Gold buttons (Curtis 6).

Gold necklace (Curtis 51).

Coins: Bell 1916: Nos. 61, 94, 195, 416-417.

TOMB NO. CC 13 Area C

PLAN: Not recoverable because of severe erosion.

HISTORY: Princeton Expedition; excavation. Butler 1922: 81.

LOCATION: Necropolis A, east slope.

FURNISHINGS: Terracotta sarcophagus and lid. Lid has curved sides and ends and is decorated with raised bands along its length and width. When opened, sarcophagus found to contain

only "a little white dust".

CONTENTS: Amphora. P 1487.

Pitcher. P 1486.

Type A jug. Not numbered.

Lekythos (dromos). P 1488.

4 alabastra. P 1489-P 1492.

Gongyles. Not numbered.

TOMB NO. CC 14 (B No. 722) Area C

PLAN: Single chamber with dromos (inferred on the basis of findspots noted for inventoried objects).

HISTORY: Princeton Expedition; excavation. Unpublished.

LOCATION: Necropolis A, north slope.

DIMENSIONS: Unknown.

FURNISHINGS: At least one sarcophagus. Inventory records do not mention benches.

CONTENTS: The following are noted as having been found inside a sarcophagus:

Bronze box-mirror. Br. 131.

Iron spear head. M 22.

Gold ring with scarab. Curtis 98.

2 stone alabastra. SV 53, S 54.

The following are noted as having been found at the end of and outside a

sarcophagus:

Oinochoe. P 1319.

3 lekythoi (concave-sided). P 1314, P 1315, P 1318.

2 lekythoi (Attic black-figure style; local imitation). P 1316, P 1317.

2 lydia. P 1309, P 1313.

Alabastron with Lydian inscription. P 1320. (Gusmani 1964: 263, no. 33).

Findspots for the following not specified:

4 jars (pyxides?). P 1303-P 1306.

4 lydia. P 1307, P 1308, P 1311, P 1312.

3 lamps. P 1321-P 1323.

Glass bead, melon shaped. Gl 18.

Bronze mirror. Br 130.

Stone weight. St 6.

Flacon, porphory (?). SV 52.

DATE: Ca. 500-475 B.C.

TOMB NO. CC 15 (H/C No. T 59.1) Area C

PLAN: Single chamber with short passageway and open dromos. Fig. 22.

HISTORY: Harvard/Cornell Expedition; excavation. Hanfmann 1960: 10-12.

LOCATION: South side of valley that begins at foot

of Necropolis massif, ca. 1 km. west of Artemis Temple.

DIMENSIONS: Passageway L 1.70

Chamber L 2.20; W 3.30; H 2.00

DESCRIPTION AND FURNISHINGS:

Ceilings of passageway and chamber curvilinear.

An irregular area at rear of chamber may indicate that a second chamber was planned but not completed. Two holes ca. 1.00 m. above floor open into Tomb No. CC 16.

At left and right of entrance, rectangular cists (0.65-0.75 m. wide and 0.35-0.40 m. deep) hewn from living rock extend length of chamber.

CONTENTS: A few fragments of painted terracotta sarcophagus lid found in dromos.

TOMB NO. CC 16 (H/C No. T 59.2) Area C

PLAN: Double chamber with passageway and open dromos. Fig. 22.

HISTORY: Harvard/Cornell Expedition; excavation. Hanfmann 1960: 10-12.

LOCATION: South side of valley that begins at foot of Necropolis massif, ca. 1 km. west of Artemis Temple.

DIMENSIONS: Passageway L 2.20

Chamber A L 1.90; W 2.80; H 2.20

Chamber B L 2.20; W 2.50; H 2.80

DESCRIPTION AND FURNISHINGS:

Rock trimmed back on both sides of entrance in a roughly triangular shape above arcuate doorway. Recessed border around doorway may have been designed to receive a slab for blocking entrance to chamber.

Chamber A has a flat roof, Chamber B a pitched roof.

Chamber A has slightly raised bench at right of entrance which once held a terracotta sarcophagus. Bottom of sarcophagus found _in situ_ (L 1.85 m.; W 0.65 m.).

Chamber B has continuous horseshoe-shaped bench around three walls. In space between benches, an almost complete terracotta sarcophagus found set 0.10 m. into floor. Sarcophagus is "tub"-shaped, with a broad rim (L 1.95 m.; W 0.67 m.; H 0.37 m.).

CONTENTS: Sarcophagus fragments found scattered on lateral benches in Chamber B, on floor of Chamber A and in dromos fill; most fragments bore traces of painted linear decoration.

Alabaster alabastron fragment (P 59.241). Chamber A.

TOMB NO. CC 17 (H/C No. T 59.3) Area C

PLAN: Two chambers arranged in an irregular L-shaped plan, approached by a corridor that gives access to Chamber A. An L-shaped corridor leads from back wall of Chamber A into Chamber B. Fig. 22.

HISTORY: Harvard/Cornell Expedition; excavation. Hanfmann 1960: 10-12.

LOCATION: South side of valley that begins at foot of Necropolis massif, ca. 1 km. west of Artemis Temple. South/southeast of Tomb No. CC 14 to which it is now connected by holes cut through their dividing walls.

DIMENSIONS: Passageway L 2.00

Chamber A L 2.00; W 2.50; H 1.90

Chamber B L 1.80; W 3.10; H 1.90

FURNISHINGS: Chamber A contains no benches or sarcophagi.

Chamber B has two raised benches along side walls.

CONTENTS: Fragments of terracotta sarcophagus (T 59.13)

Lydian lekythos fragments (P 59.188, P

59.189, P 59.238, P 59.239).

TOMB NO. CC 18 Area D

PLAN: Double chamber with dromos. Fig. 24.

HISTORY: Princeton Expedition; excavation. Butler 1922: 163-164.

LOCATION: Southwest Necropolis.

DESCRIPTION AND FURNISHINGS:

Entrance to dromos through a slightly recessed doorway blocked by a stone slab. Dromos partially filled by a rubble wall; slopes down for ca. 4.00 m. to door beyond which rock-cut steps descend to low, narrow chamber. At right is a bench, top about 2.00 m. above floor level. Narrow ledge at same level on left.

Second chamber more like a large niche containing two benches with rectangular depressions. Benches extend length of chamber.

Ceilings of both chambers irregularly pitched.

Traces of fine plaster, pink in color, noted on all walls.

TOMB NO. CC 19 Area D

PLAN: Single chamber with short dromos. Fig. 25.

HISTORY: Princeton Expedition; excavation. Butler 1922: 140-141, 162-164.

LOCATION: South Necropolis in cliff overlooking Pactolus stream.

DESCRIPTION AND FURNISHINGS:

Entrance has "pointed hood" (probably rock has been trimmed to resemble a gable). Dromos has curvilinear ceiling.

Chamber has bench at right and bench of double width at rear. A hole has been broken through the north wall into Tomb No. CC 20.

TOMB NO. CC 20 Area D

PLAN: Triple chamber with long dromos. Fig. 25.

HISTORY: Princeton Expedition; excavation. Butler 1922: 140-141, 162-164.

LOCATION: Southwest Necropolis.

DESCRIPTION AND FURNISHINGS:

Dromos with pitched roof leads to rectangular chamber.

At right is a bench raised on one step and at left, a rock-hewn sarcophagus.

Roof obtusely pitched.

Beyond first chamber is a long, narrow second chamber into floor of which a large cist has been dug on axis with dromos.

Extending at sharp angle from space between these two chambers is a third chamber which contained no trace of bench, cist or sarcophagus.

Walls of all chambers are well-finished.

CONTENTS: Small ivory head found in fill within burial complex. (Curtis 87; Istanbul Archaeological Museum Inv. No. 4657).

TOMB NO. CC 21 (B No. S 16) Area D

PLAN: Single chamber, cruciform plan, with open dromos.

HISTORY: Princeton Expedition; excavation. Butler 1922: 141, 164-165.

LOCATION: South Necropolis, high on north side of ravine opening westward toward Pactolus stream.

DIMENSIONS: Dromos L 11.60

Passageway L 3.00

Chamber L 2.20; W 4.75

DESCRIPTION AND FURNISHINGS:

Open dromos leads to tomb entrance.

Above door, curved pediment carved roughly in low relief.

Passage gives access to chamber. Slightly less than halfway along passage, slots carved in side walls to accomodate door stone.

Central space of chamber contains, on either side, two sarcophagi carved into rock. Sarcophagi arranged in two tiers, like steps, with outer faces of upper sarcophagi slanting inwards toward center of chamber. At rear of chamber is a step up to a platform into which was set a limestone sarcophagus covered with stone slabs. Above platform is deep niche with curved ceiling that contains another rock-cut sarcophagus.

All interior surfaces of tomb chamber covered with fine plaster, most of which had fallen off at time of discovery.

CONTENTS: Within limestone sarcophagus, hidden below platform floor, a bronze pitcher, two seal rings (Curtis 91 and Curtis 92), and other jewelry.

3 stone alabastra. SV 71-73.

TOMB NO. CC 22 Area D

PLAN: Two chambers with dromos opening to east.

HISTORY: Unpublished.

LOCATION: Ca. 3 km. south of Artemis Temple; one of a group of five carved chamber tombs overlooking west bank of Pactolus stream.

DIMENSIONS: Dromos L ca. 2.00; W ca. 1.00; H ca. 2.10

Chamber A L 4.80; W 2.60; H 2.30

Chamber B L 2.40; (W and H not measured)

DESCRIPTION AND FURNISHINGS:

Entrance to dromos now recessed some 1.80 m. from plane of cliff face. Doorway is irregular in shape. Rock around doorway has been smoothed, and there are deep holes (0.12-0.16 m.) on either side (as well as on interior walls of dromos near entrance).

Dromos has pitched ceiling and door into chamber A.

Chamber A divided into two sections by a slightly projecting ridge of untrimmed rock separating two benches on either side of aisle (1.00 m. wide). Thus, Chamber A has four benches in all (front benches: L 1.90 m.; W 0.80 m.; H 0.72 m.; back benches: L 1.50 m.; W 0.60 m.; H 0.90 m.).

Irregularly shaped passageway (W 0.75 m.;

Depth 0.75 m.; H not measured) leads into Chamber B which is very eroded and has a bench extending the length of the chamber on either side of narrow aisle.

TOMB NO. CC 23 Area D

PLAN: Single chamber with dromos opening to east.

HISTORY: Unpublished.

LOCATION: Ca. 3 km. south of Artemis Temple; one of a group of five carved chamber tombs overlooking west bank of Pactolus stream.

DIMENSIONS:

Door	W 1.20; H 1.75
Dromos	L 3.50; W 1.15; H 1.70
Passageway	W 1.00; H not measured; Depth 1.03
Chamber	L 3.10; W 3.02; H not measured

DESCRIPTION AND FURNISHINGS;

Doorway to dromos irregularly pitched as is ceiling of dromos. Rock around door trimmed back slightly and smoothed in a rectangular framing band.

Chamber has an L-shaped bench (W 0.85 m.; H 0.75 m.) at left of entrance. Rear wall of chamber has deep cleft. Ceiling very irregular.

DIRECT INHUMATION (DI)

TOMB NO. DI 1 (H/C No. AT 68.1) Area A

TYPE: Single burial, cranium and jaw of child less than ten years of age.

HISTORY: Excavation. Hanfmann and Waldbaum 1970: 16.

LOCATION: Bin Tepe, at Ahlatlı Tepecik, less than 15 m. west of structures, perhaps a farmhouse complex, dating to the Lydian period.

TOMB NO. DI 2 (H/C No. AT 68.2) Area A

TYPE: Single burial, skull and upper long bones of young adult.

HISTORY: Excavation. Hanfmann and Waldbaum 1970: 16.

LOCATION: Bin Tepe, at Ahlatlı Tepecik, less than 15 m. west of structures, perhaps a farmhouse complex, dating to the Lydian period.

TOMB NO. DI 3 (H/C No. AT 67.38) Area A

TYPE: Bundle (or crouched) inhumation in unlined pit.

HISTORY: Excavation. Mitten and Yüğrüm 1974: 27.

LOCATION: Bin Tepe, at Ahlatlı Tepecik, South Cemetery.

CONTENTS: Fragments of at least three wheel-made gray ware vessels, including one-handled mug with high rim (P 67.121, P 67.133).

DATE: First quarter of first millenium B.C.

TOMB NO. DI 4 Area B

TYPE: Multiple burial in shallow pit lined with rubble. According to excavator's report, pit contained at least ten individuals.

HISTORY: Harvard/Cornell Expedition; excavation. Hanfmann 1967: 33, n. 5.

LOCATION: Sector HOB, at E 4/S 104.

DESCRIPTION: 10% of skeletal material identified as sheep or goat, cow and horse. Most of bones burned and poorly preserved. Cranial fragments indicate presence of both males and females, ranging in age from childhood to maturity (35 years). No directional orientation of skeletal remains or any signs of disease or violent death.

DATE: Pottery from fill above and below pit suggests a date in 7th century B.C.

TOMB NO. DI 5 Area B

TYPE: Small, stone-lined pit, inner diameter 0.25 m., containing human skeletal and ceramic material.

HISTORY: Harvard/Cornell Expedition; excavation. Hanfmann 1966: 18.

LOCATION: Sector PN, in corner of Unit XV, A.

CONTENTS: 3 skyphoi, 1 small bowl, 1 lekythos; 9 skyphos fragments, 1 water jug fragment, 12 coarse ware fragments; 18 additional plain and decorated fragments. 24 bones, including 1 tooth, 1 mandibular fragment, 1 rib, 13 long bones, 8 additional unidentified bones.

DATE: Before 547 B.C. Pit is associated with pre-Persian occupation surface.

POTTERY OR MISCELLANEOUS FINDS FROM UNEXCAVATED GRAVES (MISC)

TOMB NO. MISC 1 (H/C No. BT 63.6) Area A

MATERIAL: Pottery from mound levelled by bulldozer.

HISTORY: Observed by Harvard/Cornell Expedition. Hanfmann 1964: 56.

LOCATION: Bin Tepe, ca. 150 m. southwest of Kir Mutaf Tepe (TU 5).

DESCRIPTION: Assemblage of ridged lydia, hydriae, cooking pots, pilgrim flasks with characteristic Lydian decoration (white bands, black on red).

DATE: 6th century B.C.

TOMB NO. MISC 2 Area A

MATERIAL: Pottery from grave of unknown type.

HISTORY: Purchased by Harvard/Cornell Expedition. Hanfmann 1967: 47.

LOCATION: Bin Tepe, near Eski Balıkhane.

DESCRIPTION: 2 lydia (P 66.89 A, B).

TOMB NO. MISC 3 Area A

MATERIAL: Pottery from grave of unknown type.

HISTORY: Purchased by Harvard/Cornell Expedition. Unpublished.

LOCATION: Bin Tepe, field at Eski Balıkhane.

DESCRIPTION: Late Lydian one-handled pot (P 66.108).

TOMB NO. MISC 4 Area A

MATERIAL: Pottery and bronze mirror from grave of unknown type.

HISTORY: Purchased by Harvard/Cornell Expedition. Unpublished.

LOCATION: Bin Tepe, at Üç Tepeler, on south edge of Bin Tepe ridge between Kocayasli and Kendirlik.

DESCRIPTION: Red ware lekythos fragments (NoEx 69.30 a & b); alabaster alabastra fragments (NoEx 69.41); bronze mirror (NoEx 69.42; Waldbaum 1983: 109, no. 653).

DATE: 5th century B.C.

TOMB NO. MISC 5 Area A

MATERIAL: Pottery from grave of unknown type.

HISTORY: Purchased by Harvard/Cornell Expedition. Unpublished.

LOCATION: Bin Tepe, at Üç Tepeler, on south edge of Bin Tepe ridge between Kocayasli and Kendirlik.

DESCRIPTION: 12 very similar vases including two large lydia (NoEx 69.29 a & b); red and gray

ribbed jars with flat bottoms and flaring rims (NoEx 69.29 c-j; NoEx 69.31; NoEx 69.33 a-c).

DATE: 5th century B.C.

TOMB NO. MISC 6 Area A

MATERIAL: Pottery from grave of unknown type.

HISTORY: Purchased by Harvard/Cornell Expedition. Unpublished.

LOCATION: Bin Tepe, field just west of Ahlatlı Tepecik.

DESCRIPTION: 2 lydions (NoEx 69.3-69.4)

Trefoil oinochoe (NoEx 69.5)

Miniature fruit plate (NoEx 69.6)

3 ring footed plates (NoEx 69.7-69.9)

Flat bottomed plate (NoEx 69.10)

Marbled lekythos (NoEx 69.12)

'Achaemenian' cup (NoEx 69.11)

SARCOPHAGUS IN SITU (SAR)

TOMB NO. SAR 1 Area A

TYPE: Terracotta.

HISTORY: Reported to Harvard/Cornell Expedition; contents purchased. Hanfmann 1967: 47.

LOCATION: Bin Tepe, at Kuş Tepe, north of Alyattes Mound (BC/T 1).

CONTENTS: Bronze bowl (M 66.12) dated to 7th/6th century B.C. Waldbaum 1983: 88, no. 487.

TOMB NO. SAR 2 Area A

TYPE: Terracotta; very fragmentary. Perhaps originally covered by large schist slab now at bottom of grave depression.

HISTORY: Observed by Harvard/Cornell Expedition. Unpublished.

LOCATION: Western Region of Bin Tepe, ca. 10 km. south of Gölmarmara and 3 km. north of Kestelli Köyü. Area known locally as Büyük Belen. Found ca. 1.00 m. east of SAR 3; situated in field between two tumuli. Cf. BC/T 15 supra.

TOMB NO.SAR 3 Area A

TYPE: Limestone with oval depression.

HISTORY: Observed by Harvard/Cornell Expedition. Unpublished.

LOCATION: See SAR 2 supra.

TOMB NO. SAR 4 (H/C No. Sarc. 60) Area B

TYPE: Terracotta; almost complete. Fig. 27.

HISTORY: Excavation. Hanfmann 1962: 31.

LOCATION: Ca. 0.50 m. west of Pyramid Tomb (Fig. 2, no. 14) in a niche cut into conglomerate.

DIMENSIONS: L 1.53; W 0.44: H 0.21

CONTENTS: Empty.

TOMB NO. SAR 5 (H/C No. G 61.50) Area B

TYPE: Terracotta; fragmentary. Covered by schist slabs. Fig. 27.

HISTORY: Excavation. Hanfmann 1962: 28-30.

LOCATION: Less than 1.00 m. west of SAR 4, supra, and at a slightly higher elevation.

DIMENSIONS: L 0.58; W 0.512

CONTENTS: Scattered in fill around grave:

Bone fragments

3 plainware lekythoi (P 61.571; P 61.572; P 61.573)

DATE: Postdates construction of Pyramid Tomb, 5th/4th century B.C.

TOMB NO. SAR 6 (H/C No. G 66.2) Area B

TYPE: Limestone with oval depression and similarly shaped limestone lid, mostly missing.

HISTORY: Excavation. Hanfmann 1967: 37-38.

LOCATION: Seytan Dere (Fig. 2, no. 54). See also Appendix III infra, Nos. S 1, P 3 and P 4.

DIMENSIONS: L 2.73; H 1.13

CONTENTS: Disintegrated arm and skull fragments

Cup fragments (P 66.193; P 66.194)

Lekythos (P 66.191)

Oinochoe (P 66.195)

Rim fragments from unidentified vessel (P 66.196)

RE-USE: Excavator noted fragments of Hellenistic unguentaria in disturbed fill within sarcophagus.

TOMB NO. SAR 7 (B No. 100) Area C

TYPE: Limestone with rectangular depression and flat limestone lid with bevelled edges.

HISTORY: Princeton Expedition; excavation. Butler 1922: 83, ill. 181.

LOCATION: South edge of Necropolis A. Butler does not mention a chamber in connection with this burial.

CONTENTS: Silver spouted dish. Istanbul Arch. Museum Inv. No. 4537. (Waldbaum 1983: 147, no. 966).

Ladle; handle terminates in calf's head finial. Istanbul Arch. Museum Inv. No. 4533. (Waldbaum 1983: 146, no. 965).

DATE: 5th century B.C.

TOMB NO. SAR 8 Area C

TYPE: Terracotta, fragmentary.

HISTORY: Harvard/Cornell Expedition; excavation. Discovered during re-excavation of Tomb No. CC 6, supra. Unpublished.

LOCATION: Necropolis A, just to west of westernmost stele (S 4) marking facade of Tomb No. CC 6. (Cf. Fig. 21)

DATE: Postdates construction of Tomb No. CC 6.

TUMULUS EXPLORED, CHAMBER NOT LOCATED (T)

TOMB NO. T 1 Area A

LOCATION: Bin Tepe, "200 paces" south of Alyattes Mound (BC/T 1).

HISTORY: Spiegelthal explored mound by means of boring and tunneling. von Olfers 1858: 543.

TOMB NO. T 2 Area A

LOCATION: Bin Tepe, near multi-chambered tomb complex (BC/T 7). Exact location not specified.

HISTORY: Excavated by Princeton Expedition. Butler 1922: 155-156.

TOMB NO. T 3 Area A

LOCATION: Bin Tepe, near multi-chambered tomb complex (BC/T 7) and T 2, supra. Exact location not specified.

HISTORY: Excavated by Princeton Expedition. Butler 1922: 155-156.

TOMB NO. T 4 (H/C No. BT 63.1) Area A

LOCATION: Ca. 3 1/2 km. west of Alyattes Mound (BC/T 1) on southern edge of limestone ridge. Figs. 13, 14.

HISTORY: Karnıyarık Tepe; 'Gyges' Tumulus; resistivity, drilling, excavation. Hanfmann 1964: 52-55; 1965: 25-35; 1966: 27-30; 1967: 43-47; 1972: 131-132, 146-159 (passim), 164-165, 171, 193.

DIMENSIONS: Height above level of quarried bedrock at north 38 m.; estimated height above level of plain 50 m.; estimated diameter 210 m.

DESCRIPTION: Small inner mound, ca. 90 m. in diameter, defined by crepis of limestone masonry (unfinished; not completely excavated). Crepis consists of two courses of ashlar blocks (lower, 0.59-0.67 m. high; upper, 0.565 m. high) crowned by a "bolster" course of more than half-round blocks (0.52-0.56 m. high). Total height of wall varies from 1.67 m. to 1.79 m. Lengths of ashlar blocks vary from 0.85 m. to 1.77 m., of "bolster" blocks from 0.875 m. to 1.90 m.

Outer mound completely covers inner mound and crepis.

Robbers' tunnels, over 130 m. in all, explored in southern half of mound.

DATE: Construction of krepis and inner mound dated on the basis of Gyges reign to mid-7th century B.C. Outer mound dated on the basis

of pottery in tumulus fill to late 7th or early 6th century B.C.

TUMULUS OBSERVED, INTERIOR UNEXPLORED (TU)

TOMB NO. TU 1 Area C

LOCATION: Top of ridge directly across from Artemis Temple above Pactolus stream.

HISTORY: Observed by Princeton Expedition. Butler 1922: 165.

DESCRIPTION: Mound revetted with river stone; only a small segment visible at time of Butler Expedition. Estimated diameter 20 m.

TOMB NO. TU 2 (H/C No. BT 62.1) Area A

LOCATION: Bin Tepe, ca. 500 m. south/southwest of Alyattes Mound (BC/T 1).

HISTORY: Resistivity, test pits. Hanfmann 1963: 59-60, fig. 33.

DESCRIPTION: No large resistivity anomalies. Excavation in areas of moderate anomalies showed layer of white clay-like soil.

TOMB NO. TU 3 (H/C No. BT 62.2) Area A

LOCATION: Bin Tepe, ca. 600 m. south of Alyattes Mound (BC/T 1).

HISTORY: Resistivity, test pits. Hanfmann 1963: 59-60, fig. 33.

DESCRIPTION: See TU 2, supra.

TOMB NO. TU 4 (H/C No. BT 62.3) Area A

LOCATION: Bin Tepe, ca. 650 m. south/southwest of Alyattes Mound (BC/T 1).

HISTORY: Observed but not tested.

TOMB NO. TU 5 (H/C No. BT 63.4, 4A) Area A

LOCATION: Bin Tepe, westernmost of the three largest mounds; ca. 1.2 km. south of Gygaean Lake and 2 km. west of Karnıyarık Tepe (T 4).

HISTORY: Kir Mutaf Tepe; "Tos"; observation. Hanfmann 1964: 55-56, fig. 34.

DESCRIPTION: Diam. ca. 300 m. Mound appears to contain large quantity of limestone rubble, visible on surface. A bulldozer cut into southern edge revealed a portion of two limestone blocks arranged in two courses.

TOMB NO. TU 6 (H/C No. BT 63.5) Area A

LOCATION: Bin Tepe, ca. 1 km. west of Karnıyarık Tepe (T 4).

HISTORY: Observation. Hanfmann 1964: 56, fig. 34.

DESCRIPTION: Mound cut in half by highway construction. No interior features revealed. Worked limestone blocks nearby

may have come from tomb complex.

TOMB NO. TU 7

LOCATION: Northeast of Gygaean Lake, ca. 2 km. southeast of Kilcanlar.

HISTORY: Observation by Harvard/Cornell Expedition. Hanfmann 1965: 35.

DESCRIPTION: Mound partially bulldozed; nearby a phallic marker and lintel (?) with incised spirals (NoEx 64.5; Hanfmann and Ramage 1978: 76-77, no. 50).

APPENDIX II: TOMBS IN CENTRAL LYDIA

Appendix II contains a brief description of published tombs in central Lydia arranged according to the following geographical regions: the lower Hermus River valley, westward from Sardis to the Mt. Sipylos area (and modern Manisa); the upper Hermus River valley, eastward from Sardis to the region of modern Uşak; and the Cayster River valley. The absolute limits of these three regions are not fixed firmly, nor is their designation as "central Lydia" based on any factor other than geography.

Only those tombs which have received published notice are included here. Central Lydia contains a vast number of tombs of various types, but few have been explored systematically. Fortunately, ongoing regional surveys, such as that undertaken in 1984 by R. Meriç of the Cogamus River valley, or studies of tomb groups in limited areas, such as that of V. Sevin in the upper Cayster River valley, will make substantial contributions to our knowledge of tomb architecture and burial practices when the results of these investigations are published.

AREA E: LOWER HERMUS RIVER VALLEY

E 1 a-c ALAHIDIR Tumuli/Built Chambers

LOCATION: 15 km. W of Sardis, 5 km. SW of Ahmetli.

HISTORY: Salvage excavation by Manisa Museum. Nayır 1979.

DESCRIPTION:

E 1 a Three chambers built of sandstone, arranged side by side; no dromos. (Fig. 31).

Each chamber 2.47 L, 1.27 W, 1.49 H

Each chamber entered separately through door at west; closed by 'plug' type doorblock formed by two large blocks placed one on top the other. Window-like openings pierce both interior dividing walls between chambers.

Floors paved; flat roof, formed by three groups of five blocks spanning widths of chambers. Thin layer of sterile clay above roof.

Walls made up of five neatly finished, well jointed courses; long walls lean inward slightly (ca. 0.10 m. from bottom to top). Projecting band around upper edge of top course and along

joining edges of ceiling blocks. T-shaped and L-shaped blocks (in plan) in uppermost course on west side create continuous interior corners.

On facade, masonry left roughly hewn with narrow, smoothly trimmed margin around each block, thus greatly emphasizing joints between blocks. Two types of masons' marks ( ) on 17 of facade blocks.

Objects recovered from fill within and in front of chamber: skyphos, lekythos, ridged lydion; marble alabastron; fragments of wood and bronze to which pieces of finely woven cloth still adhered. Plunderers reportedly removed a bronze kline.

DATE: 575-540 B.C.

E 1 b Central mound, largest of three.

No tomb chamber found; broken blocks of sandstone encountered in robbers' tunnels may come from destroyed tomb walls.

E 1 c Single rectangular chamber of sandstone

with no dromos or entrance of any kind. Fig. 29.

Preserved in places to full height but lacks roof.

2.85 L, 1.40 W, 1.89 H

Surrounded by stone packing; some stones have worked surfaces.

Floor paved with smoothly finished stones of various sizes.

Walls made up of five courses of equal height; long walls lean inward beginning at third course from bottom (maximum 0.24 m.).

No grave goods or tomb furnishings recovered.

E 2 <u>AKKAYA</u> Rock-cut monument

LOCATION: Ca. 10 km. SE of Kemalpaşa, near summit.

HISTORY: Observed by modern topographers. von Gall 1966: 113; Bean 1979: 41, pl. 6.

DESCRIPTION:

Large, rectangular niche (3.29 W, 1.90 H, 2.00 Depth) separated into two chambers by wall and engaged pillar carved from living rock. Approached by five rock-cut steps.

Column has simple Ionic capital; on facade, shallow grooves above chambers suggest crude pediments.

Apparently unfinished; function and date uncertain.

E 3 <u>MANISA</u> Rock-cut monument

LOCATION: Ca. 8 km. E of Manisa, at foot of Mt. Sipylos.

HISTORY: Observed by early and modern topographers; known in 19th century as 'Tomb of St. Charalambos'. Weber 1885: 136-138; Perrot and Chipiez 1892: 62-65; Bean 1979: 38-39.

DESCRIPTION:

Two rectangular rock-cut chambers, separated by short corridor; approached by flight of at least three steps extending across width of facade and leading to platform upon which a two-stepped landing precedes rectangular doorway and short corridor.

Interior plain; rock moderately well-trimmed. Chamber ceilings rounded. Very low, wide ledge along back wall of innermost chamber, opposite doorway.

Entire monument, including steps, carved from living rock, with upper surface of roof following line of slope at 45 degree angle. Separated from surrounding rock by deep trench. Exterior surfaces well-trimmed.

Function and date uncertain.

E 4 a-c <u>ALIBEYLI</u> Tumuli/Built Chambers

LOCATION: 16 km. SE of Saruhanlı, in Manisa province.

HISTORY: Salvage excavation by Manisa Museum and recording of previously plundered tombs. Nayır 1982.

DESCRIPTION:

E 4 a Mangaltepe (ca. 250 m. E of Alibeyli).

Single chamber with antechamber and dromos.

Dromos (4.30 L, 1.55 W) walls of untrimmed and roughly trimmed stone set in clay mortar. Presently unroofed except for two large limestone slabs in front of antechamber. Earth floor.

Entrance to antechamer closed by monolithic block.

Antechamber (2.32 L, 1.50 W, 1.81 H)

walls, floor and flat ceiling of well-finished limestone. Floor slabs tied by iron clamps in dove-tail cuttings. L-shaped, continuous corner block in lowest course.

Entrance to main chamber closed by two blocks, placed one on top the other.

Chamber (2.50 L, 2.18 W, 1.93 H) walls, floor and flat ceiling of well-finished limestone. Dove-tail clamp cuttings in floor.

Klinai-two limestone klinai placed side by side across back wall of chamber opposite entrance. Bed slabs hollowed out to correspond to head and body outline. Outside edge of bed slab has painted decoration. Legs carved with volutes in relief.

Contents: 3 one-handled amphorae; clay button; glass beads.

Date: Hellenistic (or earlier).

E 4 b Bekçitepe (ca. 300 m. SE of E 4 a).

Single chamber with porch and short dromos.

Dromos of untrimmed chunks of limestone

set in clay mortar. Unroofed; earth floor.

Porch (2.40 L, 1.48 W, 2.10 H) floor paved to a point 1.60 m. from chamber entrance. Flat ceiling formed by four blocks with projecting band along joining edges. Walls closest to chamber composed of well-finished limestone. Outward extension of walls made up of blue/gray marble (or very fine limestone) blocks abutting limestone section and arranged in narrower courses. Faces have smooth margins and point-stippled centers. Walls terminate in uneven vertical line (i.e., courses overlap).

Entrance to chamber closed from the porch by a door block. A second door, reportedly carved in imitation of a single-leaf wooden door, opened into chamber. Pivot sockets visible in door frame, also perhaps a bolt hole for a locking device.

Chamber (2.38 L, 2.28 W, 2.08 H) floor, flat ceiling and walls of well-finished limestone.

Klinai-parts of two carved and painted marble klinai (now in Manisa Museum), one arranged along back wall opposite entrance, the other at left of entrance.

Date: 525-500 B.C.

E 4 c Mitralyöztepe (ca. 700 m. S of Alibeyli)

Single chamber with antechamber and dromos.

Dromos built of and filled with rubble stone. Unroofed; earth floor

Antechamber (1.90 L, 1.88 W, 1.85 H) floor, flat ceiling and walls of well-finished gray marble.

Entrance to chamber closed by monolithic block.

Chamber (2.18 L, 1.90 W, 1.97 H) floor, pitched ceiling and walls of well-finished gray marble.

Kline-along back wall opposite entrance. Bed slab hollowed out to correspond with head and body outline.

Contents: Pottery; carved bone and ivory fragments; glass.

Date: Earliest pottery dated to second

half of 6th century B.C. Tomb continued to be used through Hellenistic and early Roman periods.

E 5 <u>SARICAM</u> Tumulus/Built Chamber

LOCATION: Ca. 5 km. NW of Saruhanlı, in Manisa province.

HISTORY: Clearing and recording by Manisa Museum of plundered chamber. Unpublished.

DESCRIPTION:

Single chamber with antechamber. No dromos visible.

Walls of smoothly finished, well jointed limestone masonry.

Antechamber (1.83 L, 1.58 W)

Entrance to chamber closed by monolithic door block.

Chamber (3.37 L, 4.64 W) has cruciform interior plan created by rectangular niches at sides and in back wall. Each niche contains double kline (placed side by side, with bed slabs hollowed out to correspond to head and body outline). Floor paved. Ceiling pitched; apex formed by single slab, carved and positioned as an inverted V,

with one "leg" longer than the other.

AREA F: UPPER HERMUS RIVER VALLEY

F 1 İKİZTEPE Tumulus/Built Chamber

LOCATION: Near Güre, 20 km. W of Uşak

HISTORY: Salvage excavation by Turkish Department of Antiquities; objects recovered from plunderers now in Archaeological Museum at Ankara and at Uşak. Tezcan 1979, Mellink 1967: 172.

DESCRIPTION:

Two chambers, side by side, each with its own porch/entrance, but with a shared dromos.

Low unroofed dromos of untrimmed field stones, extending from antae of porch walls.

Porches/chambers similar in plan, dimensions; built of well-finished local poros (tüf) stone. Floors paved, slabs bound by clamps. Flat ceilings. Above roof of each chamber, andesite slabs in inverted V. Within triangular spaces, large quantity of ash, charcoal

(from buring of oak).

Porch (L 1.65; W 1.95; H 1.95). Entrance to chamber closed by door block, secured with lead.

Chamber (L 2.67; W 2.16; H 2.02). Each chamber has rectangular niche, one at the right, the other at the left of a person entering.

Klinai-Chamber A contained one (of local poros stone); Chamber B, two (of marble).

Contents: 56 objects recovered from plundered material including a number of silver vessels of Achaemenid type; objects of bronze, iron, marble; pottery, including lekythoi and 16 lydions; alabastra. Additional material recovered in salvage operations includes coin dating to Darius I; bone figurines of lions.

At foot of mound, 3 marble bases (2 <u>in situ</u>). Tezcan notes two stelai moved by villagers for re-use in local mosque. (Bases would not have accomodated the elaborately carved marble doors now in museum at Uşak).

F 2 a-c <u>SELÇİKLER</u> Tumuli/Built Chambers

LOCATION: 2 km. SW of Sivaslı, in Uşak province.

HISTORY: Salvage excavation by Turkish Department of Antiquities. İzmirligil 1975.

DESCRIPTION:

F 2 a Single chamber with dromos. Tumulus not preserved but rubble packing survives around chamber. Fig. 30.

Dromos (L 5.10; W 1.65; H 2.20) walls of large blocks of limestone, well cut and finished; clamps used in walls. Packed earth floor. Flat roof.

Entrance to chamber with raised threshold, recessed band to accomodate doorblock (not extant).

Chamber (L 2.47; W 2.20; H 2.40) walls of same material and quality as dromos. No clamps. Floor paved. Roof pitched, formed by two monolithic blocks.

Contents: nothing recovered except for sherd of Lydian fabric/decoration below dromos floor.

F 2 b Single chamber with two antechambers and dromos. Figs. 32.

Tumulus (Diam., ca. 55 m.; H ca. 10 m.); rubble packing around chamber.

Dromos (L 4.07; W 1.04; H 2.00) coursed rubble extending from dromos walls and forming crosswall in front of entrance. Walls of roughly picked local stone. Packed earth floor. Pitched roof.

Antechamber A (L 1.95; W 1.04; H 1.75) walls of local stone, with roughly picked centers and trimmed margins. Packed earth floor. Ceiling flat, with pitched "relieving" roof above.

Entrance to Antechamber B closed (from Antechamber B side) by double-leaved door of local stone. 4-panel type; no decoration preserved.

Antechamber B (L 1.90; W 1.50; H 1.85) walls, floor, ceiling of marble; surfaces well-finished. Above flat ceiling, pitched "relieving" roof.

Entrance to Chamber closed by marble, double-leaved door set within door frame. 4-panel type; small bosses or studs in relief.

Chamber (L 2.75; W 2.20; H 2.10) walls of well-finished marble; blocks clamped

(now pried out so that clamp form not recoverable). Paved. Flat ceiling with pitched "relieving" roof above.

L-shaped bench/kline (not extant) set into back and one side wall of chamber.

F 2 c Single chamber with dromos.

Tumulus (Diam. ca. 75 m.; H ca. 12 m.).

Dromos (L 2.08 ?; W 1.45; H 1.90 ?).

Chamber (L 2.60; W 2.20; H 1.90).

Local stone; flat ceiling in chamber and dromos.

Not excavated; explored via robbers' tunnels.

AREA G: CAYSTER RIVER VALLEY

G 1 GÖKÇEN Rock-cut monument (cist ?)

LOCATION: Foothills of Messogis, halfway between Tire and Balabanlı.

HISTORY: Explored, recorded by Meriç 1982: 51-53.

DESCRIPTION;

At least four steps of varying widths and heights lead to level platform (ca. 4.00 X 4.00 m.) at back of which is

cist/sarcophagus (L 3.06; W 1.37; H 0.70); all carved from living rock.

Many carved chamber tombs noted nearby.

G 2 FALAKA Carved chamber tomb

LOCATION: Foothills of Tmolus, west of Datbey (Hypaipa).

HISTORY: Explored, recorded by Meric 1982: 73.

DESCRIPTION:

Two chambers separated by short corridor and approached by dromos. First chamber has benches at right and left, second chamber has U-shaped bench. Ceilings pitched. Rectangular door has recessed frame on facade. Several carved chamber tombs noted nearby.

G 3 BELEVI Tumulus/Built Chamber

LOCATION: About 12 km. NE of Selçuk, on summit of hill above road leading to Tire.

HISTORY: Observed by early topographers. Studied most recently by Kaspar 1975; Alzinger 1979.

DESCRIPTION:

Chamber, antechamber and dromos partly carved from living rock, completed with

well finished, neatly jointed limestone masonry.

Long dromos roofed with stone slabs; widens before antechamber entrance, with "libation hole", consisting of clay pipe, piercing ceiling; upper terminus of pipe on tumulus surface.

Antechamber, almost square and larger than chamber, covered with "lantern" ceiling (large blocks placed diagonally across corners creating smaller central space, easily spanned by horizontal slabs); upper edge of blocks just below ceiling has continuous half-round moulding.

Chamber, wider than long, roofed by corbelled vault, with uppermost blocks once joined by clamps in large dove-tail cuttings. Closed by block let into grooves in door-jambs from above (i.e., a portcullis).

"Relieving" chambers of rubble in corbelled, beehive technique above chambers.

Tumulus (Diam. 65.4 m.) formed partly by spur of living rock, encircled by masonry crepis. At S, crepis formed by

bedrock trimmed/carved to imitate two courses of ashlar masonry; line of crepis carried across dromos entrance, thus obscuring it. Spur slopes down steeply to N where crepis consists of at least seven masonry courses. Near peak of tumulus, several large ashlar blocks belonging perhaps to a base for some crowning element.

Complex thoroughly plundered; marble slab with shallow depressions may belong to kline. Large quantity of pottery fragments, animal bones scattered on slopes of tumulus.

Date uncertain. Kaspar suggests two phases, based on crepis masonry, an original construction date in Archaic period with additions to crepis in late Classical or early Hellenistic period.

G 4 <u>SELÇUK</u> Tumulus/Built Chamber

LOCATION: In mountains east of Selçuk.

HISTORY: Discovered by H. Gültekin; noted by Demus-Quatember 1958: 71-72; explored, recorded by Meriç 1982: 22.

DESCRIPTION:

Crepis (Diam. 13.90 m.) of carefully worked ashlar masonry.

Interior corridor (L ca. 5.5; W 1.02) gives access to six chambers, three on each side (each chamber ca. L 2.50; W 0.70). Corridor and chambers corbel vaulted.

Date: Hellenistic, based on masonry techniques.

APPENDIX III: CATALOGUE OF FUNERARY MARKERS

Appendix III is a catalogue of funerary markers found at Sardis and in the immediate vicinity of the ancient city. The monuments are arranged according to type which is indicated by the following abbreviations:

IS inscribed stele (in Lydian unless otherwise noted)

S uninscribed stele or anthemion

P 'phallos' marker

The region of the site in which each marker was found is noted according to the geographical divisions established in Appendix I, supra p. 168. (Cf. Fig. 1 and Table I, infra p. 318). Specific proveniences are given when known. Although many of the funerary markers are not dateable, dates that have been suggested either on the basis of internal evidence (e.g., regnal years) or as a result of stylistic analysis are given. All dimensions are in meters and are maximum preserved dimensions unless otherwise stated. For stelai, the length, width and thickness are given in that order. The bibliography for each entry is not intended to be complete but contains, in most cases, the original publication and the most recent study where additional references may be found.

INSCRIBED STELAI

IS 1 — Izmir 1107 — Area B

Rhyming text

Acropolis foothills; wall blocking tomb entrance

Marble; not decorated

0.38 X 0.42 X 0.08

Gusmani 1964: 257, no. 15

Buckler 1924: 33-35, no. 15, pl. VII

IS 2 — (Present location unknown) — Area B

West side of Acropolis; surface find

Marble; moulding at top

0.27 X 0.29 X 0.087

Gusmani 1964: 258, no. 16

Buckler 1924: 35, no. 16, pl. VII

IS 3 — H/C No. IN 62.107 — Area B

Late 5th/early 4th c. B.C.

Re-used as rubble in Synagogue

Marble; small, poorly preserved fragment

0.05 X 0.16 X 0.075

Gusmani 1975: 1-2, no. A I 1, figs. 1-2

Gusmani 1964: 269, no. 59

Hanfmann 1963: 48

IS 4 H/C No. IN 67.1 Area B

Late 5th/early 4th c. B.C.

Re-used in N wall of BE-H (Marble Court)

Marble; anthemion

0.26 X 0.38 X 0.125

Hanfmann and Ramage 1978: 76, no. 49, fig. 157

Gusmani 1975: 3-6, no. A I 2, fig. 3

Hanfmann 1968: 14-15, fig. 15

IS 5 H/C No. IN 67.31 Area B

404-338 B.C.

Southwest Gate; surface find

Marble; not decorated

0.315 X 0.175 X 0.08

Gusmani 1975: 6-11, no. A I 3, figs. 4-5

Hanfmann 1968: 15-17

IS 6 H/C No. NoEx 77.15, IN 77.8 Area B

East bank of Pactolus, W 150-250/S 650

Marble; relief, funerary banquet

Gusmani 1979: 76-79, no. 101

Ramage 1979: 91-95

IS 7 Izmir 691 Area C

Bilingual text: Lydian and Aramaic

394 B.C.

Re-used in Roman (?) wall on north slope of Necropolis A

Marble; anthemion (Fig. 33)

1.63 X 0.46 X 0.15

Hanfmann and Ramage 1978: 162, no. 241, fig. 420

Gusmani 1964: 250, no. 1

Buckler 1924: 1-4, no. 1, pl. I

IS 8 Izmir 688 Area C

389 or 344 B.C.

Provenience as in IS 7

Marble; traces of anthemion

0.72 X 0.54 X 0.12

Gusmani 1964: 251, no. 2

Buckler 1924: 4-7, no. 2, pl. I

IS 9 Istanbul 4030 Area C

330/329 B.C.

Re-used in wall blocking tomb entrance on N slope of Necropolis A

Marble; moulding at top; relief, funerary banquet

0.61 X 0.57 X 0.13

Hanfmann and Ramage 1978: 157-158, no. 234,

fig. 404

Gusmani 1964: 251, no. 3

Buckler 1924: 7-8, no. 3, pl. II

IS 10 — Area C

A & B — Izmir 687

Re-used in wall blocking tomb entrance (CC 3) on NE face of Necropolis A

Limestone; carved in imitation of a door

0.59 X 0.71 X 0.19

Gusmani 1964: 252, no. 4

Buckler 1924: 8-11, no. 4, pl. II

IS 11 — Izmir 689 — Area C

Provenience as in IS 7

Marble; not decorated

1.01 X 0.365 X 0.095

Gusmani 1964: 252, no. 5

Buckler 1924: 11-12, no. 5, pl. III

IS 12 — Izmir 692 — Area C

Provenience as in IS 7

Marble; not decorated

0.725 X 0.36 X 0.095

Gusmani 1964: 252, no. 6

Buckler 1924: 12-13, no. 6, pl. III

IS 13 Izmir 899 Area C

5th c. B.C.

In situ at entrance to CC 4

Limestone; not decorated

0.965 X 0.335 X 0.27

Gusmani 1964: 253, no. 7

Buckler 1924: 13-14, no. 7, pl. III

IS 14 Izmir 684 and 695 Area C

Ca. 420-400 B.C.

Provenience as in IS 7

Marble; anthemion

1.79 X 0.32 X 0.175

Hanfmann and Ramage 1978: 161-162, no. 240, *fig.* 419

Gusmani 1964: 253, no. 8

Buckler 1924: 15-16, no. 8, pl. IV

IS 15 Izmir 1104 Area C

Provenience as in IS 7

Marble; not decorated

0.415 X 0.325 X 0.04

Gusmani 1964: 253, no. 9

Buckler 1924: 16-17, no. 9, pl. IV

IS 16 Area C

A, B, C Izmir 685

B rhyming text

Provenience as in IS 7

Marble; moulding at top

0.865 X 0.40 X 0.090

Gusmani 1964: 254, no. 10

Buckler 1924: 17-23, no. 10, pl. IV

IS 17 Istanbul 4046 Area C

Rhyming text

Provenience as in IS 7

Marble; moulding at top

1.095 X 0.385 X 0.14

Gusmani 1964: 255, no. 11

Buckler 1924: 23-25, no. 11, pl. V

IS 18 Izmir 898 Area C

Rhyming text

Re-used in wall blocking tomb entrance on N slope of Necropolis A

Marble; moulding at top; traces of relief decoration

0.42 X 0.56 X 0.14

Gusmani 1964: 255, no. 12

Buckler 1924: 25-27, no. 12, pl. V

IS 19 Izmir 897 Area C

Rhyming text

Provenience as in IS 7

Marble; not decorated

0.31 X 0.51 X 0.06

Gusmani 1964: 256, no. 13

Buckler 1924: 27-29, no. 13, pl. VI

IS 20 Izmir 1105 and 1106 Area C

Rhyming text

Re-used in wall blocking tomb entrance in NE face of Necropolis A

Marble; not decorated

0.43 X 0.52 X 0.12

Gusmani 1964: 256-257, no. 14

Buckler 1924: 29-33, no. 14, pl. VI

IS 21 Izmir 690 Area C

450-425 B.C.

Marble; relief, woman facing left

0.91 X 0. 41 X 0.09

Hanfmann and Ramage 1978: 157, no. 233, fig. 403

Gusmani 1964: 258, no. 17

Buckler 1924: 36, no. 17, pl. VII

IS 22	Izmir 989 Provience as in IS 7 Marble; not decorated 0.75 X 0.355 X 0.15 Gusmani 1964: 258, no. 18 Buckler 1924: 36-37, no. 18, pl. VIII	Area C
IS 23	(Present location unknown) Provenience as in IS 7 Marble; not decorated Small, poorly preserved fragment: 0.085 X 0.016 X 0.055 Gusmani 1964: 258, no. 19 Buckler 1924: 37, no. 19, pl. VIII	Area C
IS 24	(Present location unknown) Surface find, E face of Necropolis A Material not known Small fragment; dimensions not known Gusmani 1964: 262, no. 29 Buckler 1924: 52, no. 29	Area C
IS 25	Butler No. A 46 Greek text; 5th c. B.C. Near entrance to Butler Tomb No. 212	Area C

Marble; faint traces of painted decoration

0.59 X 0.39 X 0.14

Buckler and Robinson 1932: 100-104, no. 102, fig. 92

IS 26 (Known by sktech only) Area C

Greek text; 5th c. B.C.

Surface find, S slope of Necropolis A

Marble; not decorated

0.21 X 0.165 X 0.07

Buckler and Robinson 1932: 104, no. 103, fig. 93

IS 27 Izmir 694 Area D

Early 4th c. B.C.

Surface find, Mersindere, ca. 3 km. W of Sardis

Marble, anthemion without shaft

0.54 X 0.55 X 0.135

Hanfmann and Ramage 1978: 162-163, no. 242, fig. 421

Gusmani 1964: 261-262, no. 26

Elderkin 1933

Buckler 1924: 49-51, no. 26, pl. XI

IS 28 Manisa 1 (Fig. 34)

Ca. 520-500 B.C.

Sardis; exact provenience unknown

Marble; relief, man seated at table

0.97 X 0.32 X 0.16

Hanfmann and Ramage 1978: 55-56, no. 17, figs. 70-71

Gusmani 1964: 268, no. 54

UNINSCRIBED STELAI AND ANTHEMIA

S 1 H/C No. NoEx 66.14 Area B

Ca. 530-520 B.C.

Şeytan Dere; ploughed up by bulldozer; see also Appendix I supra, Tomb No. SAR 6 and P 4, P 5, infra

Marble, anthemion fragment

0.41 X 0.36

Hanfmann and Ramage 1978: 74-75, no. 46, figs. 150-151

S 2 H/C No. S 82.7 Area B

Sector MMS, debris in Roman context

Marble; anthemion fragment

Greenewalt 1982 Sardis excavation report, forthcoming

S 3 Not inventoried Area C

Early 5th c. B.C.

One of a pair of stelai found *in situ*

flanking entrance to Tomb CC 6

See S 4 infra (Figs. 20, 21)

Limestone; anthemion not preserved

For dimensions, see S 4

Butler 1922: 116, 160-161, ill. 178

S 4 Not inventoried Area C

Early 5th c. B.C.

Provenience as in S 3

Limestone; part of anthemion preserved

2.20 X 0.65 (scaled from Butler 1922: ill. 178)

Hanfmann and Ramage 1978: 75, no. 47,

figs. 153-154

Butler 1922: 116, 160-161, ills. 122, 178

(Re-excavation of Tomb CC 6 in 1984 showed that about one-fourth of S 3 is still preserved on its base with another one-fourth broken off but lying nearby. S 4 is still almot completely preserved except for its anthemion. Two large fragments of the anthemion showing possible traces of paint were recovered: Sardis Inv. No. S 84.2; 8991.)

S 5 H/C No. NoEx 73.1 Area D

Ca. 540-530 B.C.

Surface find, ca. 3 km. SW of Artemis Temple

Marble; anthemion fragment

0.69 X 0.642

Hanfmann and Ramage 1978: 73-74, no. 45, figs. 148-149

'PHALLOS' MARKERS

P 1 Not inventoried Area A

Summit of Alyattes tumulus (BC/T 1)

Truncated sphere with cylindrical plinth

PH ca. 2.15; PH plinth 0.45; Diam. plinth 2.80

Greenewalt, 1983 Sardis excavation report, forthcoming

von Olfers 1858: 546, pl. III.1

P 2 Not inventoried Area A

Reported by Spiegelthal near Alyattes tumulus

Sphere with cylindrical plinth

Ca. 1/4 the size of P 1

von Olfers 1858: pl. III.2

P 3 H/C No. NoEx 66.1 (Fig. 35) Area B

Şeytan Dere; see also Apprendix I supra, Tomb No. SAR 6, S 1 supra, P 4 infra

Sphere with cylindrical shaft

PH 0.627; H finial 0.346; Diam. shaft 0.198; Diam. finial 0.399

Hanfmann 1967: 37-38

P 4 H/C No. NoEx 66.2 Area B

Şeytan Dere; see P 3 supra

Sphere with cylindrical shaft

PH 0.440; H finial 0.280; Diam. shaft 0.173; Diam. finial 0.366

Hanfmann 1967: 37-38

P 5 H/C No. NoEx 73.20 Area B

Pactolus stream bed, W of expedition compound

Sphere with cylindrical shaft

PH 0.746; H finial 0.373; Diam. shaft 0.366; Diam. finial 0.520

Unpublished

P 6 H/C No. NoEx 62.19 Area B

N of expedition compound, in foundation of old Turkish house

Sphere with shaft and irregualr plinth

PH 0.473; H finial 0.213; Diam. shaft 0.120;

Diam. finial 0.280

Unpublished

P 7 H/C No. NoEx 81.38 Area D

S of Artemis Temple precinct

Ovoid finial with shaft and irregular plinth

PH 0.850; H finial 0.395; Diam. shaft 0.534;

Diam. finial 0.735

Unpublished

P 8 H/C No. NoEx 81.39 (Fig. 36) Area D

S of Artemis Temple precinct

Truncated cone with irregualr plinth

PH 0.626; H finial 0.460; Diam. finial 0.579

Unpublished

P 9 H/C No. NoEx 81.36 Area D

S of Artemis Temple precinct

Irregular sphere with cylindrical plinth

PH 0.820; H finial 0.534; Diam. plinth 0.566;

Diam. finial 0.760

Unpublished

APPENDIX IV: FUNERARY INSCRIPTIONS

Although the Lydians at Sardis began carving chamber tombs out of the Necropolis conglomerate around 600 B.C., or perhaps earlier, the first tomb markers attested date from somewhat later in the sixth century. IS 28 (Fig. 34), the earliest known inscribed Lydian stele, is dated to ca. 520-500 B.C. on the basis of the style of the relief decoration.[1] Appendix III contains twenty-eight examples of inscribed stelai (twenty-six in Lydian, two in Greek) which range in date from the late 6th to the late 4th centuries B.C. IS 9 is the latest in the series and is dated securely to 330/329 B.C. on the basis of a reference to the fifth year of Alexander's reign.

Most of the inscriptions that appear in Appendix III were found in the main Necropolis (Area C) and are likely to have been associated with specific tombs or with the cemetery area in general. In addition to their provenience, many of the inscriptions have some internal evidence, to be discussed below, for their funerary character.[2] Those inscriptions not found in the main Necropolis or in close association with a tomb are included in the Appendix because they contain words or

phrases that occur in inscriptions from funerary contexts.

Funerary texts form the largest single category of Lydian inscriptions (excluding short graffiti, ligatures, masons' marks and the like).[3] Although significant advances in the decipherment of the language have been made within the past twenty years, most notably by Roberto Gusmani,[4] scholars are unable to assign a definite meaning to a high proportion of words found in the funerary inscriptions. The Lydian-Aramaic text, IS 7, has been a major aid in decipherment, but many difficulties remain.[5] Thus, the conclusions and generalizations offered in the following discussion rest on somewhat tenuous foundations.

Lydian was not the only language in use at Sardis. As noted above, IS 7 contains both a Lydian and an Aramaic text.[6] Greek, too, may have been fairly common at an early date. Two stelai found in the main Necropolis are inscribed in Greek, one, IS 25, a simple statement of ownership, the other, IS 26, a heavily restored epitaph in iambic verse. Both are dated to the 5th century B.C. on the basis of their letter styles.

The importance of the Lydian funerary inscriptions to a study of graves and burial customs mainly lies in the potential of the epitaphs for reflecting the attitude of Lydian speaking people to the tomb as a physical entity. Although archaeology and observation are the essential tools for understanding the physical form of the grave,

the inscriptions identify those features of the tomb which the Lydians considered to be the most important and the most deserving of divine protection as well as the deities into whose special care the Lydians entrusted their tombs. Evidence for occupancy and ownership of the tomb can also be found in the funerary texts unaided by the disturbed archaeological record. Thus, the Lydian epitaphs are especially worthy of careful scrutiny in the absence of abundant archaeological and literary evidence for burial customs. Most importantly, however, the Lydian epitaphs, as comparanda for Anatolian and Greek epitaphs, help to show what elements of the inscriptions are peculiar to Lydia and what debts the Lydians may owe to their non-Lydian speaking neighbors.

The majority of Lydian funerary or tomb-related inscriptions can be assigned to the same broad category, the "Curse Formula" type. These texts contain three basic elements: the identification of the tomb owner, a list of features associated with the tomb, and a curse directed at those who might damage or desecrate the tomb. Ten of the twenty-six Lydian inscriptions listed in Appendix II contain the three basic elements: IS 7-IS 12, IS 14-IS 15, IS 26, IS 28. Five more preserve two of the three elements and seem likely to have belonged to the "Curse Formula" type: IS 2, IS 4, IS 13, IS 21-IS 22. A second category of funerary inscriptions is made up of rhyming

texts. Five of the stelai recovered in the main Necropolis have texts that repeat a given vowel in the last syllable of each line: IS 1, IS 17-IS 20. A sixth inscription, IS 16, contains both poetry and prose.[7] These inscriptions differ in form and language both from the "Curse Formula" type and from one another, while each of them contains a large number of unique words that makes analysis of the texts difficult. A third type of funerary inscription, the simplest of the three, merely records the name of the person responsible for setting up the stele. Only one example is known to date, IS 6. The remaining inscriptions are too fragmentary to assign to any particular category: IS 3, IS 5, IS 23-IS 24.[8]

Curse Formula Type

This type of funerary text frequently begins with a statement of ownership.[9] In its simplest form, the thing possessed is usually the tomb itself, *vāna-*, and is followed by the name(s) of the deceased:

IS 10 B	es vānas manelis/alulus
	This tomb (is) of Manes/
	(the son of) Alus

Often the epitaph declares ownership of what are assumed to be features or furnishings associated with the tomb. The final part of the standard epitaph contains the warning or curse against violation of the tomb. In most

cases, the things in danger of violation, that is, the objects listed in the declaration of ownership, are repeated. The gods or some other discplinary agent are then called upon to deal with the violator:

IS 10 B	akmλt/qis fēnsλibid/fakmλt qλdānś/ artymuk vcbaqēnt
	...and thus/whoever does damage/ now Qldans/and Artemis destroy

Within this basic framework, a great variety in vocabulary and syntax is evident. Fifteen of the twenty-six inscriptions listed in Appendix III follow the general outline described above, but no two texts are alike. There are, however, enough similarities in the choice of terms and the types of phrases in which they appear to indicate a distinct pattern in the composition of Lydian epitaphs, a practice which spanned almost two centuries.

1. The tomb and its associated features.

The meanings of most of the terms are not certain, but their frequency and order of occurrence together with the type of stele on which the epitaph is inscribed and even the provenience of the stele can contribute to interpretations of the Lydian texts. In Table III, infra pp. 320-321, tomb features as listed in the funerary inscriptions, (I) contains the terms that appear at the beginning of the text and (II) the terms at the beginning

of the curse. A demonstrative adjective (es-) usually precedes each noun which is in the nominative case in (I) and in the dative-locative case in (II). A conjunction, either enclitic -k in (I) or buk in (II), joins the nouns. In a few inscriptions, an adjective in addition to the demonstrative (e.g., bavafunidν in IS 13) or a relative clause (e.g., qid kataνil in IS 8) sometimes modifies a noun, but generally the nouns that refer to the tomb and its features appear as a list unaccompanied by descriptive phrases. In the following discussion, the Lydian words appear in the order of their frequency of occurrence in the texts. English equivalents are offered as suggestions, not as absolute translations.

vana- tomb, grave chamber

Vana- appears regularly as the first element of many funerary inscriptions. Thus, the term might reasonably be expected to refer to the grave itself or to a major feature or aspect of it. In the bilingual inscription IS 7, vana-, which is restored as the second noun in I based on its position II, is equivalent to the Aramaic m'rt'. Scholars seem to be in agreement on the meaning of this word as "cave".[10] Whether or not vana- specified a cave-like, rock-cut chamber tomb for the Lydians cannot be demonstrated, but the close relationship between the findspots of the inscribed stelai and the carved chamber tombs makes the association attractive. It is better,

perhaps, to equate vāna-, which appears only in the singular, with a more general, collective term for the tomb, one which might include a number of features not always specified in the text. This collective aspect of vāna- is suggested by IS 7 and IS 14. Here the epitaphs ensure that everything worthy of protection is mentioned by placing at the end of the list of tomb features the phrase: "kudkit esλ vānaλ bλtarvod", "and whatever in/to this tomb belongs".

Whatever the precise meaning of the term, vāna- seems to be the single most important element in many of the epitaphs. The absence of the word from some inscriptions, however, especially those found in the Necropolis at Sardis, should not necessarily eliminate such inscriptions from consideration as possible funerary monuments. The Lydian language, like many others, probably contained more than one word for "tomb" or "tomb monument".

mru- stele

In the bilingual inscription, IS 7, mru- stands as the first element in the list of tomb features and is translated into the Aramaic by the word stun', borrowed from Persian and meaning "column" or "stele". "Stele", then, seems to be a reasonable translation for the Lydian word. The term is not limited to funerary inscriptions but appears, for example, in Gusmani 1964: 259, no. 22, a dedicatory text inscribed on a stele found near the

Artemis Temple at Sardis. Thus, like its Greek counterpart, mru- is a general term that carries no specific connotations as to its form, decoration or function.

laqrisa- couch, bench, dromos

Laqrisa- presents many problems mainly because of the uncertainty about the reading of the equivalent term in the Aramaic portion of IS 7 and the doubt among scholars as to whether laqrisa is a singular or plural form. Laqrisa- neither appears as the first element in the list of tomb features nor stands on its own unaccompanied by other terms. If the frequency of the occurrence of the word and its relative position in the list of tomb elements is any indication of its importance to or position in the tomb, then laqrisa- seems to be the most significant feature after vāna- and mru-. In IS 7, the third noun of the Aramaic portion corresponding to the third noun of the Lydian portion, that is, laqrisa-, has two possible readings: drht', which means "tree" or "pillar", or rdht', for which "door" or "wall" has been suggested.[11] The former reading now seems to be the most widely accepted.[12] Gusmani and other scholars reject a correspondence between the Aramaic and Lydian terms, preferring, instead, to arrive at a meaning for laqrisa- based on the physical evidence of the tomb structure. Littmann, in the initial publication of the bilingual

inscription, suggested "funerary couches" as a possible meaning since couches or platforms hewn out of the living rock are a common feature in many of the chamber tombs.[13] Gusmani believes laqrisa to be a singular noun and suggests "dromos" as a meaning.[14] After the exterior of the tomb and the stele that marked it, the dromos would be the next significant feature that someone entering the tomb would see and thus might qualify for special mention in the epitaph.

Although the Aramaic portion of IS 7 is not a literal translation of the Lydian text, some correspondence between the two should be expected, particularly in a list that seems to contain the same number of nouns. While drht' as "pillar" or "tree" seems a somewhat nonsensical equivalent for laqrisa-, perhaps a moveable or perishable item of tomb equipment which has left no trace in the archaeological record was best rendered by the Aramaic word.[15]

antola-, anlola- funerary (?) stele

This word occurs in five inscriptions, in one of which, IS 28, it appears as the only noun at the beginning of the text.[16] Like laqrisa, antola- may be a plural form, although Gusmani and others have rejected this idea. As Gusmani observed,[17] antola- never appears in the same inscription with mru-, and Bossert suggests that antola- is a synonym for mru- but with the additional connotation

of "funerary" stele as opposed to a non-specific "stele".[18] This suggestion would be appropriate even if antola- is a plural form, since a tomb may well have had more than one stele (e.g., Tomb CC 6).

sadmē- inscription, tomb, tomb monument

Scholars have offered a variety of possible meanings for this term. Brandenstein suggested "relief", since IS 27 is decorated with an anthemion carved in relief.[19] IS 4, discovered in 1967, also has an anthemion carved in relief. The assocation of sadmē- with mru- in IS 27 prevents the assignment to the former of a meaning that might imply a specific type of stele but does not preclude the possibility that sadmē- refers to the decorative element itself. Sadmē-, however, also appears in IS 16. This stele does not have an anthemion or any other kind of decoration except for a simple moulding at the top.[20]

The fact that sadmē- appears before mru- in IS 27, holding the position that vāna- usually occupies, led Vetter to suggest that sadmē- means "grave" or some other word slightly more specific than vāna-.[21] Elderkin, too, believed that sadmē- was related to "tomb" but suggested "barrow" as a possible meaning in contrast to vāna- or "cave-tomb".[22] Gusmani believes that sadmē- should be closely associated with mru-, designating the inscription that appears on the stele.[23]

In addition to the three stelai noted above, an

inscribed conoid seal in the British Museum also shows the word sadmē- in the phrase "mitratalis es sadmēs".[24] Thus, sadmē- cannot designate a tomb or a type of stele ornament exclusively and probably does not refer specifically to an inscription. Barnett offers the reasonable suggestion that sadmē- functions like the Greek word sēma, a versatile term that could refer to a "sign" or "token", as it so often does in Homer, as well as to a "tomb" or "tomb monument", a meaning that is evident in many Greek authors and epitaphs.[25]

qela- plot of ground, territory

This term appears in only two lists, IS 7 I and IS 13, in both of which it follows laqrisa-. In the bilingual IS 7, it is equivalent either to 'trt' (if this word is intended to stand alone rather than to modify the preceeding drht'/rdht') or to prbr. 'Trt' has been taken by Kahle and Sommer to be related to tr', "place".[26] Prbr may be equivalent to parbar, a precinct or specific plot of ground, similar in meaning to peribolos in Greek.[27] Thus, in either case, qela- is concerned with the actual location or physical boundaries of the tomb. In IS 13 I, qela- is modified by bavafunidṇ which only appears in this text and whose meaning is unknown.

karoli- couch, bench ?

The word occurs in IS 8 IIb and IS 10 A II.[28] In the former, the word is contained in a phrase for which

Carruba offers the following translation: "appropriating for himself (i.e., the violator of the tomb) the karolaś (as) property".[29] Since the general term for tomb, vana-, also occurs in this portion of the text, karoli- is likely to be a specific part of the grave complex. In IS 10 A II, the term follows anlola- (grave stele) and should refer either to the tomb itself or to a specific feature of the tomb, such as the funerary bench.

The following terms occur only once and are listed in alphabetical order.

aśina- door stone IS 10 A I

The term appears only in the statement of ownership inscribed on an unique tomb marker carved in the form of a door. This has led Gusmani to suggest that aśina- might, in fact, mean "door stone".[30]

auλa- (collective word ?) IS 8 IIa

Together with its modifier aλa-, "other", this plural noun appears as the last element in the list of tomb features found in the protasis of the curse formula. It is not included in the statement of ownership and might represent an attempt to include all possible tomb-related features in the curse, for example, "other parts (of the tomb)", "other furnishings".

bλaso- (tomb feature?) IS 8 I, IIa

The term occurs in the same position in both the

statement of ownership and in the first protasis of the curse, namely, following mru- and preceding laqrisa-. In I, bλaso- is modified by a relative clause of uncertain meaning, while in II the word stands alone. If laqrisa- can be taken to mean "couch" or "bench", perhaps bλaso- might refer to the dromos. The author of IS 8 seems anxious to include as many tomb features as possible in his text.

eśa-, kana-, mλola- IS 11

(tomb features or terms of relationship ?)

This text, while adhering to the basic outline of Lydian epitaphs, contains several variations and a number of unique words. In I, after the tomb owner is identified, two more personal names in the possessive case are introduced in association with mλola-:

....teśaśtid sivāmlid/mλola śrfaśtid mēλalid mλola...

Gusmani and others have suggested that mλola- is equivalent to "part" or "portion" and that teśaśtid and śrfaśtid are terms of location, that is, "right" and "left".[31] Thus, this text might be making an assignment of property, presumably to the heirs of the deceased. The property being assigned is, perhaps, a specific portion of the tomb chamber:

....the right-hand part (is) of Sivams, the left hand part (is) of Melas...

The second half of the text is also unusual. Rather

than a repetition of terms (vāna-, mλola-) used in the statement of ownership, new words are introduced as the objects of potential violation, the nouns kāna- and eśa-, both in the dative-locative case and each preceded by a form of ēmi-, "my":

....nāqis/ēmλ kānaλ kileλ buk ēminaν eśaν citalad/ fadint...

Kāna- and eśa- could, of course, be parts of the tomb or tomb furnishings. That terms sometimes appear in II but not in I is demonstrated by IS 10 A and IS 12. Vetter, however, has suggested that these words are terms of relationship and offers "son-in-law" as one of the many possible translations for kāna-.[32] Kile-, in apposition to kāna-, may be an adjective or a personal name:

....now whoever/to my son-in-law kile- or to my eśa- harm/brings about...

maśtā- (tomb or stele feature ?) IS 27 II

Again, a term appears in II that is not present in I. Here, maśtā- follows sadmē- and mru-. If we accept sadmē- as "tomb" or "tomb monument" and mru- as "stele", then maśtā- should refer either to a feature of the stele, as Gusmani suggests,[33] or to a feature of the tomb itself on an analogy with the arrangement of of terms in IS 8 and IS 14. Elderkin, who translates sadmē- as "barrow", wishes to equate maśtā with Herodotus' ouroi and offers a further refinement of the definition of maśtā- as "phallic

marker".[34] We have no evidence, however, that this stele was associated with a tumulus. To date, no phallic markers have been found in clear association with carved chamber tombs nor have stelai been found near tumuli.

Although the reading is uncertain, the text of IS 27 seems to indicate dual ownership of the tomb. Maśtā could be either a singular or plural form. If the latter, perhaps maśtā- might refer to a tomb feature belonging to each individual buried therin, e.g., couch, bench, sarcophagus or the like.

mλuenda- (tomb feature/collective word ?) IS 8 IIa

Mλuenda- may be related to mλola-, "part", "portion". The word, appearing only in the first protasis of the curse formula, could be plural and is modified by iṣkon, "all", "entire". This phrase might be a way of referring to the tomb complex and all its features collectively prior to listing features individually.

On the basis of the somewhat limited evidence of the texts, the Lydians were most concerned to protect the grave chamber and the stele which served to identify the tomb owner by threatening the potential violator with divine retribution. The dromos giving access to the grave chamber might also reasonably qualify for divine protection as would the rock-cut benches or sarcophagi within. Many of the terms in the preceding list have yet

to be deciphered with any certainty, but their position in the overall formulaic structure of the epitaphs suggests that they, too, are somehow related to the physical aspect of the grave.

2. Ownership and occupancy.

In most cases, the texts declare the ownership of a tomb by a single individual whose name and patronymic appear in the possessive case, e.g. IS 9:

....eśś vānaś esk mrud/atraśtalid timlelid...

....this tomb and this stele/(are) of Atrastas (son of) Timles...[35]

In a few inscriptions, the patronymic is followed by what appears to be another proper name, also in the possessive case, e.g. IS 8:

....eśś vānaś, etc./karolid sabλalid iśtubeλmlid...

....this tomb, etc./(is) of Karos (son) of Sablas of Istublms...

There is some question as to whether the last proper noun in these formulae is a personal name, that of the grandfather of the deceased, perhaps, or a place of origin.[36]

Although most carved chamber tombs contained accomodations for more than one person, additional owners or occupants are seldom mentioned in the texts. The epitaphs are, in fact, declarations of property, and it

seems reasonable to suppose that what belonged to Atrastas son of Timles also belonged to his immediate family.

Three inscriptions (IS 11, IS 14 and IS 27) contain more than two (or three) proper names, and these suggest that the tomb could be the declared property of several individuals. The persons named most likely were related in some way, but the texts do not make this clear. IS 14 is the most straightforward of the joint-ownership texts:

> ....eśś vānaś, etc...(line missing)/artabānalid katoval-/ik atraśalid...
>
> ....this tomb, etc...(is of ----)/(son) of Artabanas and of Katovas/(son) of Atrasas...

IS 11 is the only text that seems to make specific provision for occupancy of the tomb by heirs of the deceased. As noted above in the discussion of unique terms contained in this text (<u>eśa</u>-, <u>kāna</u>-, <u>mλola</u>-), the owner of the tomb (Atas son of Tivdas) assigns a <u>mλola</u> to Sivams and another to Melas.

A declaration of ownership apparently was not always necessary in order to protect the tomb. IS 13, the only inscribed stele found <u>in situ</u>, contains a standard list of tomb features and a curse against their violation but does not name the tomb owner.

3. Curses and disciplinary agents.

The curse against those who might violate the tomb or

its contents is usually expressed in the form of a condition, and a disciplinary agent, most often a god or goddess, is invoked to deliver punishment. Actions which might incur the wrath of the gods, just as the actions which the gods might take against transgressors, generally are not described in detail (e.g., IS 12):

> ....akit qis (tomb and features) fēnsλibid/fakaν viśśis niviśścν/ varbtokid
>
> ....now whoever damages (tomb and features)/then the good (or pious ones?) and the bad (or impious ones?)/ will punish

The formula given above is followed exactly in four other funerary texts (IS 13-IS 16 C), while the protasis, with some variation in the introductory particle, occurs almost universally.[37] In a few cases, IS 8, IS 9 and IS 28, additional conditions are given in the protasis, but these phrases are unique and cannot be translated with any certainty (e.g., IS 8):

> ....aktin/ nāqis fēnsλibid (tomb and features)/qisk dctdid ist esλ vānaλ...
>
> ....now/ whoever damages (tomb and features)/and dctdid in (or to) this tomb...

The object of the protasis is to encompass within its formula as broad a definition of potential transgressions as possible. The more specific the terms, the greater would be the opportunities for evasion or circumvention.

This might explain the popularity and persistence of an all-purpose formula for desecration, "akit qis fēnsλibid".

The apodosis of the curse shows a greater variety in vocabulary than does the protasis, but the syntax is remarkably similar throughout the texts. The malediction itself, as noted above, is also issued in a somewhat vague form, that is , destructive action of some sort directed by the gods against the person of the tomb violator. In some texts, the personal property of the violator is included in the curse (e.g., IS 7):

....fakmλ/(disciplinary agents) aaraλ biraλk/kλidaλ kofuλk qiraλ qelλk bilλ vcbaqēnt

....now to him/(disciplinary agents) to (his) court and house/to (his) earth and water, to (his) property and whatever else is his they will bring desctruction

The above is the most elaborate enumeration of personal belongings. In two other texts, IS 8 and IS 11, a general term for property stands alone as the object of the malediction (and of the verb <u>vcbaqēnt</u>). In only one text, IS 28, is there any specification of punishment beyond mere "destruction":

....kabrdokid nākmλ qiq dēt/nākmλ (...)clλ akad/ artimuλ ibsimlλ fēncāν

....he shall atone (or restore?) and whatever property/(belongs) to him...thus to Artemis of Ephesos I dedicate

Neither the means of atonement (or restoration) nor the process by which the violator's property will be turned over to Artemis are made clear in this text. As noted above, IS 28 is the earliest funerary text of any length yet recovered. Although the terms of punishment look more specific than those in later texts, yet the mechanism for carrying out the threat of the curse is not specified. It is questionable whether or not such a mechanism existed at all. The Lydians appear to have relied on the gods exclusively to mete out appropriate punishment to tomb violators. The ravaged condition of their tombs shows how sadly misplaced was their trust.

The deities upon whom the Lydians called for the protection of their tombs were many. In some cases, the Greek equivalents of these gods are known, but in others the deities named are shadowy figures in the Lydian pantheon. Not suprisingly, Artemis is most frequently invoked, both as Ephesian Artemis (IS 7.6-7; IS 8.10; IS 28.6) and Artemis of Koloe (IS 7.7; IS 8.10). She appears as Sardian Artemis in the rhyming text IS 17.9 and without a specific title in IS 11.5, IS 10 B.5, where she is called upon together with qλdāns, perhaps Apollo,[39] and IS 27.4, where lamētruś is also invoked. The latter deity may be the Lydian equivalent of Demeter.[40] Zeus, Lydian levś, appears only once, in IS 9.4-5, as does a triad of deities, śānτas, kufada (Kubaba?) and marivda, in IS

10.A.3-4. In addition to named deities, the anonymous viśśis, the "good" or "pious", is the disciplinary agent in IS 12-IS 16 C called upon to punish the niviśścν, the "bad" or "impious", that is, the tomb violator. Only one text, IS 8.10, suggests that the Lydians ever invoked a more tangible disciplinary agent than their deities. Here, in addition to Artemis of Ephesos and Koloe, the deceased also calls upon sivraλmis for protection. Gusmani offers "priestly college" as a possible meaning for this term.[41] How the priestly college was to function as the guardian of the tomb is not made clear.

'Rhyming' Texts

The 'rhyming' texts (IS 1, IS 16 B, IS 17-IS 20) contain few of the terms or standard formulae found in inscriptions of the "Curse-Formula" type. In two texts, IS 1.9 and IS 18.5, the word for tomb, vāna-, appears, indicating that these stelai are funerary or at least relevant to the tomb in some way. The other texts contain words such as mru- and sadmē- which are found in but not limited to funerary inscriptions. There are no similarities among these texts other than their attempts at rhyme.[42] Thus, there is very little comparanda upon which to base an interpretation of their contents.

Since all the poetic texts were found re-used either in the wall in the main Necropolis that produced so many

inscriptions of the "curse-Formula" type or in rubble walls closing the entrances to tombs, it is more likely than not that these stelai stood in some relationship to the tombs. The nature of this relationship is not clear. Their purpose does not seem to have been to protect the tomb from desecration since the formulaic language necessary for such protection is absent. Two inscriptions, IS 16 A and IS 18, begin by naming the person in whose honor or memory the stele has been erected. These texts, together with a third, IS 19, contain a number of words interpreted to be terms of relationship and items of personal property. Such stelai might have been set up at the tomb as testamentary documents. Unfortunately, without further evidence or additional examples, the nature and purpose of the rhyming texts must remain obscure.

Mention should be made of an inscription in Greek, IS 26, found in the main Necropolis. This text, dated to the 5th century B.C., records in iambic verse the dedication of a monument on behalf of Oxylos by (Strat)egos.[43]

Other Texts

The simplest Lydian epitaph recovered to date, IS 6, merely records the name of the person responsible for causing the stele to be erected, presumably the deceased:

....(...m)anelis/(.....)ṣ inal

....(x son) of Manes/(grandson of Y) has made[44]

The inscription is carved in the field above a standard funerary banquet scene. On the basis of the letter forms and style of the relief, the stele has been dated to the first half of the 4th century B.C.[45] This unique epitaph stands in obvious contrast to contemporary texts of the "Curse-Formula" and rhyming types. Indeed, IS 6 seems more in keeping with the intent of the simplest Greek epitaphs, an example of which was discovered at the entrance to a tomb in the main Necropolis. IS 25, dated to the mid-fifth century B.C., states simply "Leomandro eimi".[46]

The rhyming texts and IS 6 cannot at this point be considered typical Lydian epitaphs. That they are contemporary with the "Curse-Formula" type is indicated by their letter styles. Their purpose, however, appears to be quite different from that of the most common type. The typical Lydian grave stele functioned as an apotropaic device, warding off potential tomb violators with threats of divine retribution. The repetition of tomb features, in most cases, together with a formulaic curse suggests ritualistic magic. The potential power of such magic must have been considered an adequate deterrent since, as noted above, no specific penalities, such as fines, are mentioned in the funerary texts.[47] Grave stelai also

served to identify the owner of the tomb, but this seems to be a function subordinate to that of protection. The identity of the owner obviously was not essential in IS 13. In a few texts, IS 11 for example, there is a vague indication that grave stelai could have a testamentary function in that specific portions of the tomb were reserved for named heirs, but these are unusual examples, and the interpretation of the Lydian terms is not beyond question. The emphasis of Lydian epitaphs, then, is on the protection of the tomb structure, its features and its furnishings rather than on the deceased and his heirs.

The two distinctive characteristics of the Lydian epitaph, that is, the emphasis on the tomb as a physical entity and the curse against its violation, have much in common with contemporary and earlier Near Eastern and Anatolian funerary texts. Aramaic documents of the 5th and 4th centuries B.C. from Daskylion and Kesecek Köyü in Cilicia furnish the closest parallels.[48] The Daskyleion stele, which is decorated with scenes carved in relief,[49] declares the name and patronymic of the person responsible for the stele and a curse against violation:

> These are the images (ṣlmh) which Elnāp, son of Ashyāhū, has made for his tomb (npšh). I adjure thee by Bel and Nabu! May the man, who along this way will be going, do no harm.[50]

The Kesecek Köyü text, inscribed on a rock in the Cydnus

River valley, contains the same elements as the Daskyleion stele except for the patronymic of the deceased:

> Nanašta has erected this figure (ptkr) in front of an oak ('dr). Respect the precinct (nwh) of my tomb (npšy), which belongs to the same. And whoever injury does to this figure, may Śēhr and Šamš search for him!

A third Aramaic inscription,[51] carved on the facade of a rock-cut tomb at Limyra and now badly eroded, contains the name and patronymic of the deceased who made the "ossuary" ('stwdnh). This is followed presumably by a curse against disturbing the tomb or "cave".[52] Thus, the basic elements of Lydian epitaphs, namely, the identity of the tomb owner, mention of tomb features and an invocation of the gods for protection or a threat of divine retribution are present in the Aramaic texts, just as personal information and eulogy are lacking in them. The major difference between the two groups of texts is the absence in the Aramaic of the ritualistic repetition of tomb features to be protected. Such repetition, of course, does not always occur in Lydian epitaphs. The earliest preserved text, IS 28, merely identifies the object to be protected (<u>anlola</u>), names the owner and then proceeds to the curse. By the end of the 5th century B.C., however, the repetition of features had become a standard element in Lydian funerary texts. It is this element that appears to be unique to

Lydian epitaphs.[53]

Curse formulae, on the other hand, have a long history in the documents of the Near East. Imprecations against defacing or altering inscriptions, for example, begin in cuneiform texts as early as the 3rd millennium.[54] Curses in these early texts range from general to specific forms of divine punishment. A variety of documents from the Hittite empire, including oaths, rituals and treaties, also contain curse formulae.[55] Thus, the impulse to protect a monument or an agreement by willing misfortune upon another person is a persistent feature of Near Eastern and Anatolian cultures. The use of an imprecation to protect the tomb and its contents is a logical development from this maledictory tradition.

The earliest appearance of curse formulae in recognizably funerary contexts occurs in West-Semitic[56] and Neo-Hittite[57] documents of the early Iron Age from North Syria. The text inscribed on the sarcophagus of Ahiram warns against the uncovering of the sarcophagus.[58] Two stelae from Nerab, dating to the 7th century B.C., threaten those who might remove from the tomb either the deceased[59] or his image and couch.[60] These Aramaic texts, then, are the spiritual ancestors of the Anatolian examples discussed above. Curses also occur on two of the three Neo-Hittite stelai recently published by J. D. Hawkins 1980, one directed at those who might harm the

descendants of the deceased, the other at anyone who might remove the deceased from his tomb. Thus, the concept of protecting the tomb and its occupants with a curse is attested in two distinct linguistic and cultural traditions, both of which may have contributed to the development of the maledictory epitaph in Asia Minor.[61]

At Sardis, the inspiration to leave a lasting memorial in the form of an inscribed stele at the grave site may well have come from the same source which supplied the model for the earliest decorated grave markers, that is East Greece.[62] Although Greek influence can be detected in the anthemia and relief carving on Lydian funerary stelai, it is noticeably absent in Lydian epitaphs. Samian stelai, which are the most likely source of inspiration for Lydian floral finials, record the name of the deceased in the genetive case and his patronymic.[63] Other epitaphs from East Greece in the late 6th and early 5th centuries B.C. show the same simplicity. Their emphasis is on the identity and personal attributes of the deceased, e.g.: Aristokleos gunaikos to Tēlephaneos Ekataiēs tēs Deonudos.[64] A similar emphasis on the life and character of the deceased is found in the verse epitaphs of the Archaic and Classical periods.[65] The epigrams cover a wide range of subjects, for example, the virtues of the deceased in his family and other social relationships, his excellence in performing civic and

military duties, the circumstances of his death, the grief caused for those surviving and the like. In some cases, the stele or tomb speaks directly to the passerby and commands that he mourn the deceased. No concern whatsoever is expressed in the epigrams for the structure of the tomb or its contents. Thus, it is not surprising that the malediction is lacking in the Greek epitaphic tradition until the Roman period.[66]

Although the corpus of Lydian funerary texts spans a period of some 200 years, the epitaphs show relatively little diversity or experimentation. When the Lydians adopted the notion of erecting decorated and inscribed stelai, they must already have had a well-developed concept regarding the protection of the tomb. This attitude, reflected in the emphasis on the tomb structure and its features and in the curse that put the protection of the tomb in the hands of the gods, was firmly established in the traditions of the Near East.

TABLE I: DISTRIBUTION OF GRAVES, TOMBS AND RELATED MATERIAL AT SARDIS

Cf. Fig. 1, Appendix I, III

AREA A BIN TEPE	AREA B ANCIENT CITY	AREA C NECROPOLIS	AREA D SUBURBS
BC/T 1 - BC/T 7 BC/T 9 - BC/T 16	BC/T 17		BC/T 8 BC/T 18 - BC/T 19
BRC/T 1 - BRC/T 5			
C 1 - C 2		C 3 - C 5	
C/T 1			
	CC 1 - CC 2	CC 3 - CC 17	CC 18 - CC 23
DI 1 - DI 3	DI 4 - DI 5		
MISC 1 - MISC 6			
SAR 1 - SAR 3	SAR 4 - SAR 6	SAR 7 - SAR 8	
T 1 - T 4			
TU 2 - TU 6		TU 1	
	IS 1 - IS 6	IS 7 - IS 26	IS 27
	S 1 - S 2	S 3 - S 4	S 5
P 1 - P 2	P 3 - P 6		P 7 - P 9

TABLE II: BUILT CHAMBER TOMBS - FEATURES AND COMPARATIVE DIMENSIONS

TOMB NO.	DROMOS			DOOR		ANTECHAMBER/PORCH			DOOR		CHAMBER		
	L	W	H	W	H	L	W	H	W	H	L	W	H
BC/T 1	-	-	-	-	-	2.00	2.43	2.50	1.25	2.33	3.32	2.37	2.33
BC/T 2	(2.00)	1.51	1.98	-	-	-	-	-	NM	NM	2.94	2.01	2.02
BC/T 3	NM	NM	NM	NM	NM	NM	1.29	1.71	NM	NM	2.83	1.52/ 1.94	2.00
BC/T 4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2.60	1.65	1.19
BC/T 9	4.48	1.10	1.67	1.40	1.67	1.75	1.68	2.02	0.90	1.35	2.47	2.10	2.16
BC/T 10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2.87	1.35	1.35
BC/T 11	10.75	1.00	1.80	0.65	1.11	4.35	1.05	1.55	0.66	1.11	2.04	2.03	1.90
BC/T 12	4.00	1.05	NM	-	-	-	-	-	NM	NM	2.00	1.70	(1.02)
BC/T 13	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.72	1.00	2.55	1.32	1.55
BC/T 17	2.85	1.25	1.30	-	-	-	-	-	0.80	NM	2.23	2.22	1.60
BC/T 18	-	-	-	-	-	NP	NP	NP	0.67/ 0.80	1.30	2.87	1.95	1.82
BC/T 19	(5.20)	1.30	NM	-	-	0.73	1.25	1.92	0.91	1.37	2.77	1.51/ 1.72	1.86
BRC/T 3	(7.50)	1.33	NM	-	-	-	-	-	0.77	1.01	2.00	2.00	NM
BRC/T 4	(4.00)	NM	NP	-	-	-	-	-	1.09	0.53	1.80	1.78	NP
BRC/T 5	?	?	?	?	?	NM	NM	NM	0.76	NM	2.75	2.10	NM

NM=measurement not recorded
NP=not preserved
- =feature not present
? =feature not observed

Only those tombs for which most dimensions are known are included here. Dimensions are in meters and are maximum preserved.

TABLE III: TOMB FEATURES AS LISTED IN FUNERARY INSCRIPTIONS

(I) terms appearing at beginning of text

(II) terms appearing at beginning of curse

IS 2	(I)	(v)ạnaś
	(II)	Lower part of stele damaged
IS 4	(I)	ṣạdmēś anlolạ
	(II)	ṣạ(dmēλ)
IS 7	(I)	mrud (vānaś) laqrisa qela kudkit ist esλ vāṇ(aλ) bλtarvod
	(II)	mruλ vanaλ laqirisa✓ bukit kud ist esλ vānaλ bλtarvọ(d)
IS 8	(I)	vānaś mru bλasokiт qid kata✓il laqrisakin qiḍ ētośrś
	(IIa)	mλuēndạ✓ iṣkon qida tam✓ vānaλ mruλ bλasoλ laqrisa✓ alē✓ auλā✓
	(IIb)	vānaλ karolaś śfēnda✓ arvol
IS 9	(I)	vānaś mrud
	(II)	vānaλ mruλ
IS 10 A	(I)	aśinaś
	(II)	anlola✓ karolλ
IS 10 B	(I)	vānaś
	(II)	-
IS 11	(I)	vānaś mλola
	(II)	kanaλ kilel eśa✓
IS 12	(I)	vāṇaś
	(II)	vānaλ antola✓ laqrisa✓

IS 13	(I)	vānaś	laqrisa	qelad	bavafṇid✓			
	(II)	vānaλ	laqrisa✓	qelaλ				
IS 14	(I)	vānaś	mrud	laqrisk	kudkit esλ	(vā)ṇaλ	bλtarvod	
	(II)	vānaλ	mruλ	laqrisa✓	kudkit esλ	vānaλ	bλtarvod	
IS 15	(I)	vānaś	laqrisa					
	(II)	vānaλ	laqrisa(✓)					
IS 16 C	(I)	mrud						
	(II)	ṃr						
IS 21	(I)	Beginning of line damaged						
	(II)	antola✓						
IS 22	(I)	Upper part of stele missing						
	(II)	( )vāna✓						
IS 27	(I)	sadmēś	mrud					
	(II)	(s)admēλ	mruλ	maśtā✓				
IS 28	(I)	anlola						
	(II)	-						

FOOTNOTES

Chapter I: Introduction and History of Exploration

[1] Epinicia 3.57-62.

[2] Literary sources that reflect Mermnad campaigns against the Greeks of western Asia Minor and in the Troad are provided by Pedley 1972: 19-21, nos. 43-48 (Gyges), 23-25, nos. 59, 62-65 (Alyattes), 26-27, nos. 69-72 (Croesus). A list of modern works cited in these footnotes is provided in the Bibliography infra pp. 386-399.

[3] The conservatism of the Lydians in their pottery decoration is noted by A. Ramage in Hanfmann 1983: 26-33 where a stratigraphic and ceramic summary of excavation results in Lydian sectors at Sardis is presented.

[4] Undoubtedly the luxury-loving Lydians were much enamoured with things Persian. Achaemenid-type pyramidal stamp seals, for example, were produced in quantity at Sardis (Boardman 1970: 20-21, 37-39). Although decorated with undeniably Persian devices, these seals often carry a legend in Lydian. Achaemenid style jewelry and ornament, too, were found buried with the dead in the main Necropolis (e.g., Curtis 1925: 1-11, pl. I). In spite of the obvious attractions in the lifestyle of the Persian

satrapal court, the native residents at Sardis appear to have maintained a distinct cultural identity. Evidence for Persian presence and influence at Sardis is discussed by W. E. Mierse in Hanfmann 1983: 100-108.

[5] The latest known funerary text, IS 9 (Appendix III infra), is dated to 330/329 B.C. by the regnal year of Alexander. A dedication of a column of the Artemis Temple (Gusmani 1964: 259, no. 21) in the early 3rd century B.C. and grafitti on Hellenistic relief ware dated to the late 3rd century B.C. (Gusmani 1975: 30, A II 7) and the 2nd century B.C. (Gusmani 1975: 34, A II 15) indicate the tenacity of the language. For a discussion of the linguistic situation in the Hellenistic period see Hanfmann 1983: 112.

[6] The evidence for identifying distinctly Lydian cultural characteristics is discussed by Greenewalt 1978.

[7] E.g., antiquarian interest: Sertorius and the tomb of Antaeus (Plut. Vit. Sert. 9.3-4); accidental discovery: bones of Orestes at Tegea (Hdt. 1.68), Ariadne's coffin at Argos (Paus. 2.23.7), the giant Orontes' corpse and coffin (Paus. 8.29.3), grave of Ajax at Troy (Paus. 1.35.3); political advantage: purification of Delos by Peisistratos (Thuc. 1.8), Cimon's search for the bones of Theseus (Plut. Vit. Cim. 8.5-6; Paus. 3.3.7); return of Tisamenos's bones to Sparta (Paus. 7.1.3); personal gain: plunder of Cyrus' tomb (Arr. Anab. 6.9.4-24, Strabo

15.3.7), robbery of tomb of Protophanes the Magnesian (Paus. 1.35.4).

[8] For plundering of graves in ancient Egypt, see T. Eric Peet 1930.

[9] Hanfmann 1965: 30, figs. 27-29.

[10] Smith 1678: 233.

[11] Chishull 1747: 14-15.

[12] Arundell 1834: 26-28.

[13] von Prokesch 1831: 162-164.

[14] Stuart 1842: 4.

[15] Hamilton 1842: 144-146.

[16] Curtius 1853.

[17] Spiegelthal 1854.

[18] von Olfers 1858. For biographical references to von Olfers, see Greenewalt 1983: 39, n. 20.

[19] Butler 1922: 8-11.

[20] Hanfmann and Ramage 1978: 156, nos. 230, 231, figs. 400, 401. The reliefs are discussed infra p. 151.

[21] Choisy 1876.

[22] The total number of rock-cut chamber tombs opened by the Butler expedition was calculated by Greenewalt 1978: 115, n.5. on the basis of tomb numbers assigned by Butler.

[23] Chase's inventory records are now housed at Princeton University. My use of this material is due to the generosity of Crawford H. Greenewalt, Jr. who made

available to me his copy of these records together with his notes on the documents in the Princeton archives.

[24] According to Butler, "each tomb was given a number, and every object found was catalogued not only with this number but also with its serial number, as pottery, bronze, jewelry, etc." (Butler 1922:78).

[25] A good illustration both of the problems involved in record co-ordination and of the degree of reliability of previously published information is provided by the 'Stele Tomb' (in this study, Tomb CC 6 and 6A; see Appendix I). This tomb, discovered in 1912, is described in some detail and is well-illustrated because of its unique architectural features in Sardis I (Butler 1922: 116-117, 159-160; ills. 122, 124, 177, 178). Pottery, terracotta figurines and masks, described as having come from the 'Stele Tomb', are illustrated in Butler 1922: 118, ill. 124. The terracottas, now in Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, bear the designation "T 813" together with their individual inventory numbers. Thus, it would appear that 'Stele Tomb' and T 813 are the same structure. During the 1984 excavation season, this tomb was re-excavated in order to record properly its plan and associated features. Excavation revealed that the plan of the tomb is distinctly different from the plan and description as given in Sardis I (Butler 1922: 116, 161, ill. 178). A comparison of Figs. 20 and 21 shows the

differences. According to Butler, the burial chamber contained either three large limestone sarcophagi, one of which was sunk into the floor (Butler 1922: 116) or four stone sarcophagi, one sunk into the floor, one removed previously and two sitting on the chamber floor (Butler 1922: 159-160; ill. 177 which shows three sarcophagi, one sunken, aligned side by side across a tomb chamber). The chamber excavated in 1984 does not appear large enough to have contained four sarcophagi in the manner indicated by Butler's plan. In addition, the presence of a second sunken sarcophagus, suggested by the large pit discovered in the forechamber in 1984, is nowhere mentioned by Butler either in description or illustration. There are a number of possible explanations for these discrepancies, the most drastic being that the internal plan and description of the 'Stele Tomb' (together with its contents) as given by Butler belong to a different tomb, that is, to T 813. I would prefer to imagine that Butler, upon sitting down to write up the results of the excavation for Sardis I, had to rely on sketchy field notes and memory. Butler himself had a far greater interest in the Temple of Artemis than in the tombs, the excavation of which was under the direction of William H. Buckler, the epigrapher.

[26] A summary of the history of the Butler Expedition is given in Hanfmann and Waldbaum 1975: 2-3.

[27] Annual reports of the Harvard/Cornell Expedition

appear in BASOR and TürkArkDerg, and summaries are given in AJA ("Archaeology in Asia Minor"), Fasti Archeologici and Anatolian Studies. The evidence for Lydian graves and cemetaries gathered by the Harvard/Cornell Expedition through 1975 is discussed by R. Russin and G. M. A. Hanfmann in Hanfmann 1983: 53-66.

Chapter II: Tomb Types and Their Distribution

[1] Inhumation appears to have been the standard method of disposing of the dead in the Lydian and Lydio-Persian periods. Evidence for cremation is inconclusive and limited to Lydian royalty. See Chapter V, infra pp.156-158, for a discussion of this evidence.

[2] The physical relationship between grave sites and areas of occupation is discussed in Chapter V, infra pp. 164-165.

[3] A tumulus covered the rubble-built cist (C/T 1), and the interiors of several mounds have been explored without success in locating a chamber or, indeed, traces of a burial of any kind (T 1-T 4).

[4] It is impossible to estimate how many tumuli the Bin Tepe necropolis may have contained in antiquity. The present estimated total is based on aerial photographs (Hanfmann 1983: 54).

[5] Resistivity analysis of several mounds (e.g., C/T 1, TU 2, TU 3) was carried out by David Greenewalt in 1962 and 1963 (Hanfmann 1963: 59-60; Hanfmann 1964: 56-58). Although the method was unsuccessful in locating structures buried within the mounds, the tests provided information concerning tumulus composition.

[6] BC/T 8 may belong to this category. Butler (1922: 165) does not mention an entrance or dromos in connection with this tomb.

[7] BC/T 5 may have had a dromos, but this feature is not mentioned in Bacon's description of the tomb (Butler 1922: 10).

[8] BC/T 2 may have an unusually long antechamber rather than, or perhaps in addition to, a dromos. Choisy's drawing and description are not clear. Also, unlike other tombs of this type, BC/T 2 and BC/T 3 appear to have a door in one of the long sides of the tomb chamber.

[9] Neither a dromos nor an entrance to the antechamber could be observed in BRC/T 5 because of the debris filling the antechamber. Since the burial complex has an antechamber, it is likely but not certain that a dromos does exist.

[10] Various factors may affect the overall length of the dromos, including the size of the tumulus, the location of the burial complex within the tumulus and the

presence or absence of an antechamber.

[11] An exception is the dromos of BC/T 15, built of neatly trimmed blocks, some L-shaped in section, and covered with a thin layer of mud plaster. The dromos of BC/T 2, shown by Choisy to be built of ashlar masonry, may, in fact, be a long antechamber similar to that of BC/T 11. Cf. note 8 supra.

[12] BC/T 17 may also employ re-used material. A limestone block with drafted margins was incorporated into one of the dromos walls.

[13] Although Spiegelthal's exaggerated drawing of the forecourt shows a vault of rubble springing from the tops of the side walls (von Olfers 1858: pl. 4, fig. 3), no mention of such a feature is made in von Olfer's report. The drawing perhaps presents an idealized view of the forecourt after the removal of rubble fill from the area, with the 'vault' being unexcavated material above the forecourt. The space between the side walls of the forecourt was filled with rubble and some worked stone and capped with large pieces of marble according to Spiegelthal. A number of large, roughly trimmed limestone blocks together with smaller pieces of stone fill this area at the present time and may be part of the original packing. BC/T 2 may have had a roofed forecourt. The high quality of the masonry suggests an antechamber/porch rather than a dromos, and Choisy's failure to locate a

crosswall supports this possibility.

[14] A major exception to this observation is BC/T 1. The monolithic blocks forming the side walls of the forecourt are of limestone while the chamber itself is built of marble.

[15] A door block was found broken up in the dromos, but, considering the history of later disturbance to this complex, the evidence in inconclusive.

[16] According to Choisy (1876: 74), entrance to the burial chamber was through a door in the long side at the south. Tombs showing this arrangement have not been found in recent excavation.

[17] A deposit of marble chips in one of the tunnels of T 4 suggests that marble was trimmed here for some as yet undetermined purpose.

[18] This band may be functional rather than decorative, perhaps being designed to accomodate the projecting flanges of a door block.

[19] Hanfmann 1965: 35; Hanfmann and Ramage 1978: 76-77, no. 50; figs. 158-160.

[20] Pressure on the chamber walls from the surrounding fill and displacement caused by earthquakes may have increased the amount of inward tilting in some cases. The blocks in the long walls of BC/T 18, for example, show such displacement that it is difficult to determine if intentional tilting is present.

[21] In BC/T 9, the paving slabs of the antechamber have both dove-tail and fish-shaped clamp cuttings.

[22] Bevelling was also used extensively in the crepis wall of Kaynıyarık Tepe (T 4). For bevelling in Greek architecture, see Hodge 1975.

[23] Spiegelthal supposed that this band had once been stuccoed and decorated with gold-leaf which robbers had stripped from the chamber (von Olfers 1858: 550). There is no evidence for this imaginative reconstruction.

[24] Traces of a lifting boss were noted on a block near BC/T 18, but it is unclear whether or not this block was ever used in the construction of the tomb.

[25] The Alyattes chamber (BC/T 1) is , of course, also distinguished by its material and size.

[26] Furnishings are discussed more fully in Chapter IV, infra pp. 140-151.

[27] No securely identifiable kline of wood has yet been found at Sardis.

[28] Choisy 1876: 76.

[29] Hanfmann 1963: 56, fig. 39. Spiegelthal gives the distance between chamber and tumulus mid-point as 50 m. (von Olfers 1858: 547). We cannot be certain that additional chambers do not exist within the mound to the north. Exploration in 1962 revealed several large marble blocks northwest of the chamber and at a higher level, arranged in what appeared to be a kind of corbelled vault.

The precarious state of the tunnel in this area prevented close observation. According to Spiegelthal, since bedrock begins immediately north of the burial complex, no additional chambers could have existed towards the center of the mound, but this observation assumes that any additional chambers would be located at the same level as that of the explored chamber. Spiegelthal's published plan indicates that he followed an extensive system of tunnels which traversed the central portion of the mound. There is no discussion in the text, however, concerning these tunnels, nor is there any indication as to their relative elevations.

[30] von Olfers 1858: 549.

[31] Choisy 1876: 74. He also believed that the long sides of the tomb were always oriented east-west.

[32] These are maximum figures. It should be noted that neither the crepis nor the outer mound is a perfect circle. Thus, there is an infinite number of geometric centers.

[33] Pottery from the rubble layer was scarce. Two joining fragments of a large, red-banded closed vessel (P 66.91; 7121) and a rim fragment of a black-on-red dish (P 66.88; 7118), both of Lydian fabric and design, were recovered.

[34] This stratum contained a large quantity of bone and pottery fragments which included:

Lamp fragment L 65.4; 6656

Lydion or krateriskos rim P 65.48; 6649

Flat-bottomed dish P 65.59; 6651

Oinochoe (?) fragment P 65.53; 6654

Plain ware body sherd P 65.78 A, B; 6692

"Bread pan" fragments T 65.6; 6657

Other pottery fragments recovered from fill both above and in front of the face of the crepis include:

Lamp L 65.11; 6794

Oinochoe P 65.17; 6696

Black-glaze olpe P 65.18; 6607

Juglet handle P 65.19; 6608

Skyphos P 65.49; 6650

Large, closed vessel P 65.79; 6693, P 65.80; 6694, P 65.81; 6695

[35] A streaky glaze skyphos rim was recovered from this fill (P 66.71; 7093). Cf. Spiegelthal's drawing of the stratigraphy at the top of the Alyattes mound (von Olfers 1858: Pl. II.2).

[36] I use the term "robbers' tunnels" as a convenient description. Crawford H. Greenewalt has suggested (in conversation) that tunnels such as these might well have been dug by ancient antiquarians.

[37] There is some debate as to whether this fill represents a deliberate attempt to make the tunnels impassable or a natural accumulation over the centuries.

[38] None of the early explorers discussed in Chapter I supra mentions a crepis. Hamilton, who rode around the perimeter, noted that at the north the natural rock had been cut away so as to appear to be part of the structure of the mound (Hamilton 1842: 145). Some 30 years after Spiegelthal's excavtion, Francis H. Bacon visited Bin Tepe. In an unpublished letter to Professor Charles Eliot Norton, Bacon records that the "thick, well-built retaining wall capped with a cut stone cornice" (according to Spiegelthal) was no longer visible, "being covered by the dirt washed down the sides".

[39] von Olfers 1858: 544-545. He gives no dimensions of the blocks and does not discuss masonry techniques. His drawing shows a neat, ashlar wall composed of eight courses at its greatest height.

[40] Other masonry features and construction techniques found in the crepis wall include the following. Bevelling occurs on the lower edge of some of the blocks in the upper ashlar course and on the upper and right edges of some of the blocks in the lower ashlar course. The chisel strokes at the corners of the drafted margins meet at right angles. Anathyrosis is said to be found fairly regularly, although the use of this term here is challenged by Nylander (1970: 61, n. 148). Evidence for techniques used in lifting the blocks into place include lifting bosses and rope holes (Hanfmann 1965: 33). No

evidence for the use of clamps or dowels was found. Five types of masons' marks occur on the faces of thirty-two of the ashlar blocks. These signs are described more fully in the discussion of the identification of the "Royal Mounds", infra pp. 42-50.

[41] Hamilton 1842: 145. He does not mention the material of which the platform was constructed.

[42] Stuart 1842: 4.

[43] von Olfers 1859: 546.

[44] The information that follows is taken from the unpublished field report of the excavator, Nicholas Cahill.

[45] A marble block incised with spirals was found near a partly bulldozed tumulus (TU 7) northeast of the Gygean Lake (Hanfmann and Ramage 1978: 76-77, no. 50). The block may be a lintel. If so, it may have come from the chamber or from a structure on or near the tumulus. There is as yet no evidence at Sardis for 'symbolic doors' such as those found in association with tumuli on the Lydian/Phrygian border and in Lycia. Cf. Mellink 1979.

[46] Cf., for example, Hanfmann 1963: 51-52; Hanfmann 1983: 56-58.

[47] Butler 1922: 9. Butler claims that some travellers have assigned this second large mound to Gyges but provides no references. I have been unable to substantiate this claim in my investigation of numerous

travellers accounts.

[48] Strabo (13.4.7) also should be credited with being the first to call the cemetary at Bin Tepe "royal": περίκειται δὲ τῇ Κολόῃ τὰ μνήματα τῶν βασιλέων. By Strabo's time, the Gygean Lake had come to be known as Lake Coloe.

[49] See von Olfers 1859: 545-546 for a discussion of the correspondence between the preserved dimensions of the tumulus and Herodotus' calculations.

[50] It might be argued that only the royal family would command the resources necessary for the construction of such enormous monuments. Cf. the mound of Alyattes which, according to Herodotus (1.93), was funded by merchants, craftsmen and prostitutes. We have no knowledge of the actual costs involved, however, or of the relative wealth of Sardis' private citizens.

[51] E.g., Hanfmann 1963: 52, n. 56. A discussion of the manuscript tradition of Hipponax is not attempted here. It is sufficient to note that scholars consider this fragment to be one of the most poorly preserved. The problems it poses are legion, not least of which are the proper names it contains. See Masson 1962: 129-134 for a thorough treatment of the difficulties and the many (and often fantastic) solutions that have been offered.

[52] Masson 1962: 131.

[53] For example, μνῆμα Τωτος has been read as

μνημα τ' 'Ατυος or μνηματ' 'Ατυος (Masson 1962: 133; Degani 1983: 31). Thus, a previously unattested name is transformed into a proper name with Lydian associations. Atys was the father of Lydus, eponymous ancestor of the Lydians (Hdt. 1.7), and another Atys was the son of Croesus (Hdt. 1.34).

[54] The difficulty presented by μεγάστρυ in this topographical scheme tends to be ignored. If this word is, in fact, a proper name, then there are four individuals and mouments (but only three large tumuli at Bin Tepe).

[55] Supra note 34. Hanfmann 1966: 27.

[56] The theory was first proposed by Hanfmann 1965: 34-35. For a discussion of the marks on the crepis wall and their relation to the Lydian alphabet, see Gusmani 1975: 67-71.

[57] For example, the Rassam cylinder. Pedley 1972: 82, no. 292.

[58] Homer (Iliad 2.864-866; 20.389-392) mentions the Gygean Lake as the mother of Maeonian heroes.

[59] Herodotus 1.13-14.

[60] The Rassam cylinder (Pedley 1972: 82, no. 292) is the primary source. The proposed dates of the Cimmerian attacks are discussed in Hanfmann 1983: 68.

[61] An equally fanciful identification of T 4 or the enigmatic TU 5 for that matter might be made on the basis

of an anecdote related by Clearchus of Soli as quoted by Athenaeus (13.573 a, b). Gyges was so devoted to (and domineered by) his mistress that when she died, he caused the Lydians to raise up in her honor a great monument which was visible from afar. According to Clearchus, the monument was called the "Companion" (τῆς Ἑταίρας μνῆμα). One thinks of the wife of Candaules who engineered the overthrow of her husband by Gyges (Hdt. 1.8-12). Clearchus, however, may well have in mind the tomb of Alyattes to which prostitutes contributed the largest share (Hdt. 1.93). According to Strabo (13.4.7.), the tomb of Alyattes was called a monument of prostitution: πορνῆς μνῆμα .

[62] Greenewalt 1979: 11.

[63] Nylander 1970: 66.

[64] Lamps associated with the burial range in date from the 4th to the 7th centuries A.D., with most belonging to the 5th century (Hanfmann 1967: 49).

[65] This area contains a variety of tomb types in addition to carved chamber tombs: a built chamber tomb (BC/T 17), the Pyramid Tomb, sarcophagus burials (SAR 4, SAR 5) near the Pyramid Tomb and (SAR 6) at Şeytan Dere.

[66] Another factor in the popularity of Necropolis A may have been the proximity of the Artemis Temple on the opposite bank of the Pactolus. Artemis as guardian of tombs is discussed in Appendix IV, infra pp. 309-310.

[67] Urban Survey Project Fieldbook 1977: 3. Eric Freedman in Greenewalt 1979: 3-4.

[68] Butler 1922: 141.

[69] The attraction of well-cut and finished limestone blocks may have proved irresistable to later builders, but it is curious that no trace whatsoever of steps in front of other tombs has yet been discovered. A landslide fairly early in the history of CC 6 appears to have aided in the preservation of its remarkable facade.

[70] Butler 1922: 158.

[71] According to Butler's reconstruction, CC 6 is a single chamber containing one sunken limestone sarcophagus and three sarcophagi at floor level. See Chapter I, note 25 supra for a discussion of the problems raised by this reconstruction in light of the 1984 excavation.

[72] Butler 1922: 140. No description is given of the door stones themselves.

[73] The entrance to the tomb in which IS 10 was found was too wide to have accomodated the slab.

[74] Information concerning the 1984 excavation of CC 6 is taken from the unpublished field report of the excavators, Robert Mooney and Katherine Welch.

[75] The reason for the unusual facade, or more accurately, for the unusually large opening which had to be blocked in some way, is equally obscure. Given the unstable nature of the conglomerate in this area, perhaps

a minor landslide destroyed the original dromos and the front wall of the front chamber, thus creating the gap that had to be filled. Or it may be that additional space was needed in what had originally been a single chamber with dromos. The outer end of the dromos could have been widened to form the front chamber, with the passageway between the two chambers being all that remains of the original dromos.

[76] With the exception of the ceramic material noted in Appendix I as being in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, the jewelry published by Curtis and the coins published by Bell, tomb contents are known only from inventory cards. In most cases, the cards provide a list of contents sometimes with a very brief description, almost never accompanied by illustrations. The lists of contents, too, may not be complete. There is only an occasional mention of pottery fragments, for example.

[77] Butler 1922: 159. On the basis of the numismatic evidence alone, the 4th and early 3rd centuries B.C. would appear to be the period of greatest re-use and/or construction. Of the twenty-five tombs which contained coins published by Bell, fifteen contained coins dating to this period.

[78] Butler 1922: 81. The cinerary vases are described in the inventory records as hemphorae, pelikes and kalpides. Several carried painted inscriptions, for which

see Buckler and Robinson 1932: nos. 110, 116, 125-128.

[79] Bell 1916: nos. 293-297; Butler's tomb inventory numbers 423 and S 6. The inventory record for Tomb 423 states that the contents were found at a level considerably above that of the benches.

[80] Cf., for example, the following description of Bronze Age cists (Kurtz and Boardman 1971: 24): "earth-cut graves, lined and covered with slabs of stone, are often called cists becuase of their box-like shape."

[81] The exact location of the seventh cist, C 6, designated "Bekir 2" in Chases's inventory, is unknown.

[82] Several rock-cut cists were noted near the southeast shore of the lake in 1982.

[83] Perhaps CC 8 should also be added to this disucssion. It is described in Chases's inventory records as a deep, well-squared pit with no obvious entrance at the time of excavation.

[84] The absence of an entrance to BC/T 4 and BC/T 10 gives them the appeareance of cists, but their size and construction material cause them to be placed in the category of built chamber tombs.

[85] Cf. the wooden container found in BC/T 10. Greenewalt 1972: 139-140 points out that the large size of some of the nails suggests a container somewhat larger than a chest, perhaps a sarcophagus or kline.

[86] BC/T 10, the cist-like built chamber tomb, also

dates most probably to the 6th century B.C.

[87] Cf., for example, the HOB cemetery (Hanfmann 1960: 28) or Kağırlık Tepe (Hanfmann and Waldbaum 1975: 125-128).

[88] Hanfmann 1967: 40-42; Hanfmann and Waldbaum 1970: 12-16; Mitten and Yüğrüm 1974: 27-28.

[89] Mitten and Yüğrüm 1974: 25-29.

[90] The published notice of this burial mentions only five skeletons, two male, two female and one child (Hanfmann 1967: 33, n. 5).

[91] The literary evidence indicates several major attacks on Sardis by the Cimmerians (dated to 668 and 652 B.C.). The ceramic material from the destruction layer in HOB appears to predate the mid-7th century B.C. Andrew Ramage (in Hanfmann 1983: 26-33) discusses the evidence for his proposed redating of the Lydian levels in HOB.

[92] Hanfmann 1966: 18.

[93] A broken limestone sarcophagus (L 2.20 m.; W 0.90 m.) rests on the surface at the south side of the Artemis Temple precinct (Hanfmann and Waldbaum 1975: 67, fig. 101) and a lydion (Sardis Inv. No. NoEx 71.2) was recovered from a stone sarcophagus noted by expedition staff members between the site of the Princeton Expedition's compound and the Northeast Wadi. In the area of the ancient city, an infant's sarcophagus (Sardis Inv. No. NoEx 71.4; L 0.70 m.; W 0.345 m.; H 0.22 m.) hewn from reddish limestone was

found in a vineyard to the east of the Synagogue (Hanfmann 1983: 61).

[94] The attention of archaeologists from the Manisa Museum was drawn to the sarcophagus by gold foil ornaments scattered on the surface of the mound. The finds are unpublished.

[95] Ramage 1972: 15.

[96] The author noted large fragments of heavily tempered terracotta, as well as several rectangular pits, scattered around the top of a tumulus in the vicinity of Alibeyli, near Manisa. See Appendix II, No. E 4b infra.

[97] The form and decoration of Lydian sarcophagi are discussed more fully in Chapter IV, infra pp. 147-150.

[98] Cf., for example, the popularity of earth mounds as monuments for sarcophagus burials in Ionia during the 6th/5th centuries B.C. at Clazomenai (Cook 1980: 154), Old Smryna (Cook 1974: 55) and Pitane (Cook 1980: 154, n.8).

[99] For a discussion of 'phallos' markers, see Chapter III infra pp. 126-139.

[100] Hanfmann 1967: 47; Waldbaum 1983: 88, no. 487.

[101] Hanfmann 1962: 30 and fig. 25. Haci Oglan Graves 61.3 and 61.4.

[102] Hanfmann 1963: 15-17, fig. 13.

[103] Butler 1922: 155, 167-170; Hanfmann 1961: 31; Hanfmann 1962: 28-30; Hanfmann and Waldbaum 1970: 36-38; Hanfmann 1983: 42.

[104]Hanfmann 1974; Hanfmann and Ramage 1978: 56-57, no. 18; Hanfmann and Erhart 1981.

[105]Butler 922: 167 and ill. 185. Unfortunately, Butler provides no information concerning their form or date, and no trace of such carved tombs is visible in the scarps around the Pyramid Tomb today.

[106]Cf. Appendix III, IS 6, IS 9. Dentzer 1969, 1971, 1982.

[107]Hanfmann 1983: 102-103.

[108]The regional divisions used in the following discussion are the commonly accepted geographical units as shown in Fig. 28. For a general survey of major tomb and grave types in Asia Minor, see Waelkens 1980a; in Ionia, see Philipp 1981.

[109]Tumuli are not limited to built chamber tombs but cover a variety of grave types in East Greece and central Asia Minor. Thus, they will be noted in connection with relevant tomb types. Although scattered over a broad area of Asia Minor, tumuli have their greatest concentration in Lydia and Phrygia. Not all these tumuli, however, have been explored. For a survey of tumuli in Lydia and possible implications of their location and concentration, see Ramage and Ramage 1971.

[110]At Sardis, only one tomb known to date has a pitched roof (in both chamber and antechamber), BC/T 15.

[111]The corbelled vault and 'lantern' ceiling of G 3

might indicate a date somewhat later than the Archaic period to which Kaspar assigns the tomb complex. As Kaspar notes, however, the simple form of the 'lantern' ceiling, in comparison with the more complex types found in Phrygian and Bithynian tombs, might suggest an early stage in its development.

[112]Cf. the elaborately carved double-leaved stone doors from Kula, now in the Archaeological Museum at Istanbul, Inv. Nos. E 1208, E 1209.

[113]Although Choisy 1876: 78-81 reported finding carved and painted klinai at Bin Tepe, none have been recovered here in recent excavations. Only one carved kline is known to date, this from BC/T 19, south of the ancient city.

[114]The bases at Ikiztepe are similar in form to those found on the perimeter of a tumulus at Karaburun (Mellink 1975: 349-352; 1979) where a 'false door' monument has been suggested as a possible reconstruction. See p. 62 infra for a discussion of doorstones found in association with carved chamber tombs in the main necropolis at Sardis.

[115]Pythes was known to Herodotus (7.27) as Pythius, a Lydian and son of Atys, who entertained Xerxes on his march to Sardis.

[116]Mellink 1968: 44 notes three tumuli southeast of Civril.

[117]Radt 1970; 1973.

[118]Radt 1973: 340-341 sees in this particular tomb type a possible fusion between the regional late Mycenaean funerary traditions and Lydian influence in monumental tomb architecture.

[119]Paton 1900: 65-73.

[120]See discussion of 'phallos' markers pp. 126-139 infra.

[121]Humann, et. al. 1898: fig. 23; Demus-Quatember 1958: 74-75, Figs. 47-49 (prior to restoration); Bean 1960: 211, pl. 83 (after restoration). During the course of restoration and consolidation of these monuments in the 1960's, earthen mounds were heaped up over the chambers and 'phallis' markers, presumably found nearby, re-erected on the summits of several tumuli.

[122]Perhaps this tomb type, with its single chamber and barrel vaulted roof, was brought from the region of Pergamon by the earliest Hellenistic settlers.

[123]The results of Texier's explorations in 1835 are conveniently summarized in Perrot and Chipiez 1892: 45-50. For subsequent exploration, see Miltner 1932; Akurgal 1950: 79-82; Nicholls 1958-9: 126, n.81. The latter publication contains the most recent map of the area which includes the location of tumuli.

[124]Demus-Quatember 1958: 67-68 refers to a dromos and an entrance neither of which appears in any plan or

description.

[125]Akurgal 1950: 80-81. The Miltners (1932: 153) noted two dove-tail clamp cuttings on a corner fragment of a block they believed to have come from one of the slabs originally closing the gap aove the meeting of the two chamber walls. The fragment was found in the debris filling the chamber. The presence of clamp cuttings might suggest a date in the 6th rather than in the 7th century. Mansel 1943: 47, n. 43 dates the tomb to the 5th/4th century B.C. on the basis of building techniques.

[126]Ramage and Ramage 1971: 157-160.

[127]Kaspar 1966.

[128]Duyuran 1960; Taşlıklıoğlu 1963.

[129]Kaspar 1970: 81, n. 15.

[130]Mellink 1963: 189.

[131]Conze 1912: 239-245.

[132]Pausanias (8.4.9.) mentions a tomb of Auge at Pergamon, a mound of earth encircled by a crepis and crowned by a bronze figure of a nude woman.

[133]Koerte 1899; 1904; Özgüç and Akok 1947; Uçankuş 1976; Young 1981.

[134]Young 1981: 198-199.

[135]Uçankuş 1976. At some point after its original construction in the late 6th century B.C., the south wall of the chamber, one of its short sides, was pierced by a door and a vaulted dromos added. Stone blocks from the

exterior casing of the chamber were re-used in the dromos walls. The date of this addition cannot be determined, but the tomb complex apparently had a long history of re-use, continuing into the Roman period.

[136]Waelkens 1980: 12 believes that the common door-shaped tombstones dating to the Roman period found throughout Phrygia represent the continuation of a long-standing funerary tradition that included the setting up of false doors on the perimeter of tumuli.

[137]Tokgoz 1977: 170-172.

[138]Young 1956: 250-252. See also Tokgoz 1976.

[139]For a discussion of this tomb type in Thrace, see Mansel 1943.

[140]Also at Muğren, north of Semayuk, where a badly damaged built chamber retains faint traces of painted decoration (Mellink 1971: 249). Mellink 1970-1976; 1979.

[141]Mellink 1979.

[142]Zahle 1975.

[143]I am grateful to Veli Sevin for his communication about this discovery.

[144]Few carved chamber tombs in the upper Hermus valley have been noted and none published. This area, however, and especially the Cogamus valley, is only now beginning to be more thoroughly explored.

[145]Meriç 1982: 49, 51-53, 73.

[146]The so-called 'Tomb of Solon' at Kumbet, assigned

to the first half of the 6th century B.C. (Haspels 1971: 128-129), exhibits a similar technique in carving a structure from living rock. The tomb builder created a short, wide (ca. 4.70 m.) but unstepped approach to the door of the tomb by carving away the rock face vertically. The approach is thus framed on either side by the rock of the sloping hillside.

[147]Roos 1972; 1978.

[148]Bean 1960: 24, pl. 4.

[149]Kleiner 1968: 127.

[150]Boehlau 1898: 19-20.

[151]Out of the 161 graves investigated by Boehlau, 128 were stone sarcophagi. Only five carved chamber tombs were explored. Simple rock-cut chamber tombs are found in all the major necropoleis at Kameiros on Rhodes (Gates 1983: 24-28).

[152]Pottier and Reinach 1887.

[153]Some 8 kilometers east of Eski Foca is a freestanding rock-cut monument, undoubtedly a tomb. This structure occupies a unique place in the history of funerary architecture in western Asia Minor and lies outside the scope of this discussion. A recent investigation of this monument was undertaken by Nicholas Cahill, and the results of his study are presented in his Master's thesis (Cahill 1984).

[154]Conze 1912: 234-239.

[155]Conze 1912: 138-139.

[156]Kaspar 1970.

[157]The following discussion is based on the tombs published by Haspels 1971: passim.

[158]Yapıldak Kale (Haspels 1971: 115-116). This tomb is also exceptional for its exterior decoration, a well-defined facade with pitched roof, in the pediment of which two confronted animals are carved in relief.

[159]Haspels 1971: 118-119.

[160]The overall simplicity of most Phrygian tomb facades is, of course, in direct contrast to contemporary 'religious' rock-carved monuments such as the Midas Monument.

[161]The bibliography for Lycian tombs is extensive. The most recent general studies include Kjeldsen and Zahle 1976; 1976a; Zahle 1979; 1980.

[162]To a certain extent, the need for a dromos depends on the type of terrain and the composition of the rock in which the tomb is being carved. The rapidly eroding conglomerate of the main necropolis at Sardis might have encouraged tomb builders to locate chambers deep within the hillsides. Even in more stable terrain, however, the dromos is a common element in the plans ofcarved chamber tombs.

[163]Bean 1960: 60, 147.

[164]Bean 1960: 27, 29.

[165]For Samos, see Boehlau 1898: 11-32; for Clazomenae and other sites that have yielded Clazomenian type sarcophagi, see Cook 1981 and Philipp 1981: 154-155. The results of the most recent excavations in the Clazomenian necropolis at Yıldıztepe are presented by Bakır 1983. The third large necropolis, at Pitane in Aeolis, contained an estimated 5000-6000 burials, mostly simple pit inhumation covered by large mounds (Greenewalt 1966: 184-185). See also note 172 infra.

[166]Sarcophagi covered with tumuli are attested at Old Smryna, for example. Here the much eroded tumuli range in diameter from 5.50 m. to 9.50 m. Some are enclosed within a crude ring of stones. Cook 1974: 55

[167]Miltner 1932.

[168]Cook 1974; 1981: 144.

[169]Boehlau and Schefold 1940: 109-112.

[170]Kaspar 1970: 76.

[171]Conze 1912: 240.

[172]Cook 1966. Excavations in the necropolis at Pitane are discussed by Greenewalt 1966: 184-185.

[173]Mellink 1956.

[174]For example, Tumulus S (Young 1957: 325).

[175]Young 1955: 16-17. Material left behind by plunderers dates to the 4th century B.C.

[176]Mellink 1971: 250. Fragments of another sarcophagus were recovered in front of the platform at the

base of the tumulus covering the painted chamber (Mellink 1975: 352).

[177]The distinguishing features of both types of sarcophagi and their relationship to those from neighboring areas are discussed in Chapter IV.

Chapter III: Lydian Grave Markers

[1] For a discussion of the texts, see Appendix IV. Two epitaphs in Greek are also known (IS 25, IS 26). A third funerary inscription (Sardis Inv. No. IN 84.2/NoEx 84.3), carved on a small pedimental stele, was brought as an unexcavated find to Expedition headquarters during the 1984 season. Below the Greek text there appears a Lydian funerary inscription, later than and apparently unrelated to the Greek. The stele will be published by Roberto Gusmani in Kadmos (1985).

[2] Hipponax F 42 (Pedley 1972: 77, no. 280). The problems inherent in this passage and its importance for Sardian topography are treated supra pp. 42-50. For a discussion of these terms in Homer, see Friis-Johansen 1951: 65-70, and in Greek epitaphs in general, see Eichler 1914.

[3] 'Phallos' markers were not often inscribed. For a brief discussion of the rare examples, see infra pp. 128-

129.

[4] Peek 1955: 524, no. 1745.

[5] Appendix IV contains a discussion of the terms found in the funerary texts.

[6] Whether this small ratio reflects accurately the situation in the Lydian period or is the result either of excavation practices or pre-excavation vandalism cannot be determined. Even allowing for post-antique destruction or re-use, however, it seems unlikely that permanent grave markers were a common feature in the Lydian Necropolis.

[7] An unworked or roughly trimmed stone is an obvious choice for a simple and archaeologically elusive grave marker. Such markers have been recovered only rarely in the course of controlled excavations, for example, in the Kerameikos at Athens (Kubler 1936: 186-187) and in the cremation cemetary at Hama in North Syria (Riis 1948: 28 and fig. 18).

[8] Buckler 1924: 1 gives a plan and brief description of the wall.

[9] A marble stele inscribed in Greek (IS 25) may have been close to its original position at the entrance to a tomb in the main Necropolis. Although the excavators do not state explicitly that the stele was <u>in situ</u>, the good state of preservation of the stone and the general indication given as to its findspot suggest that the stele was at or close to its original position (Buckler and

Robinson 1932: 103-104, no. 102).

[10] Appendix III includes fragments as well as relatively complete examples. "Stele" is used somewhat loosely in this discussion and can refer both to the shaft of the stele and to its ornament, the anthemion.

[11] The stelai tend to be slender. The minimum height to width ratio is about 2.75:1 (IS 11, IS 13, both without a finial) and the maximum is 4.5:1 (S 4, IS 14, both with an anthemion).

[12] IS 17 has a form which is so far unique among the stelai recovered at Sardis. Above the molding and in line with it, a cap extends for ca. 0.07 m. According to Buckler 1924: 23, the upper surface is "flat and smoothly finished".

[13] In addition to these examples, three anthemia which may have decorated funerary stelai are known: S 1, S 2 and S 5.

[14] Style and evidence for dating Lydian anthemia are discussed by Hanfmann 1976 and Hanfmann and Ramage 1978: 23-26.

[15] Buschor 1933: 42. The patronage of Samian artists and craftsmen by Lydian royalty is indicated by Herodotus (1.50), who mentions a silver crater fashioned for Croesus by a Samian artist, Theodoros.

[16] A stele inscribed in Lydian from Emre (Maeonia), Gusmani 1964: 264, no. 42, now in the Istanbul

Archaeological Museum, Inv. No. 2096, has a shallow rectangular cutting for the attachment of a finial. Such an arrangement, however, does not appear on any of the stelai from Sardis.

[17] IS 8 shows traces of an anthemion, small sections of volutes on either side of the point of a central ornament, probably a pendant lotus bud. The inscription begins directly below the anthemion. There is no evidence for an incised line or molding that might have separated the anthemion from the shaft.

[18] The back of the finial is smooth and has a clamp hole which, if original, suggests that the finial might have been attached to a wall. An uninscribed finial without shaft (S 1) has a rectangular cutting on the back that may have been used to attach the finial to a vertical surface.

[19] None of the relief-decorated stelai discovered to date appear to have had a finial. Palmette-volute anthemia similar to late 6th/early 5th century examples from Sardis crown figured stelai found at Daskylion. The latter are usually dated to the first half of the 5th century B.C. Hanfmann 1975: 18, n. 71 provides a bibliography for the Daskylion stelai.

[20] For references to discussions of style and evidence for dating, see the bibliography provided in Appendix III, especially Hanfmann and Ramage 1978. The

dates given in the following discussion are those assigned by the latter authors.

[21] The banquet is, of course, a common theme in funerary art. For the most recent discussion of its iconographic history, see Dentzer 1982. This theme occurs earlier at Sardis in a more complex form on the pediment that decorated a temple-like structure, perhaps a mausoleum. See supra p. 77.

[22] For a discussion of the epitaph inscribed on IS 6, see Appendix IV, infra pp. 311-312. All relief-decorated stelai discussed above are inscribed in Lydian. The epitaphs are sometimes carved in the same field as the relief (IS 6, IS 9, IS 18) or in a separate zone at the bottom of the stele (IS 21, IS 28).

[23] Butler 1922: 160. Fragments of the anthemion of Stele S 4 (Sardis Inv. No. S 84.2) recovered during re-excavation of Tomb CC 6 in 1984 may retain faint traces of paint.

[24] Buckler and Robinson 1932: 103-104, no. 102.

[25] Butler 1911: 458. The reports of the early excavators at Sardis do not make clear whether the painted designs were geometric, floral or figural. The appearance of figural compositions on the stelai noted above would be unusual in western Asia Minor. Only a few painted stelai with figural decoration have been recovered from the East Greek sphere, and the earliest of these is dated to the

4th century B.C. (von Prott and Kolbe 1902: 133-135).

[26] The two inscriptions carved on the face of the stone appear to be an afterthought. The first is crowded into the upper left-hand panel with the last line inscribed on the horizontal dividing strip below. The second, somewhat later inscription is written across the entire horizontal dividing strip at the top and in the upper right-hand panel, extending across the vertical strip to intrude into the space of the first inscription. An uninscribed door stone (Sardis Inv. No. NoEx 84.10), said to have been found in the main Necropolis, was brought to the Expedition camp during the 1984 season. Its dimensions (H 0.56; W 0.68; PTh 0.32), material (limestone) and overall form (a rectangular slab carved on one face only with four rectangular panels separated by horizontal and vertical strips) are remarkably similar to those of IS 10. The lack of an inscription on NoEx 84.10 helps to support the idea that IS 10 was not originally intended to be a grave marker.

[27] See discussion supra pp. 85, 94-95. The symbolism of the doorway with respect to death and the afterlife is treated by Tritsch 1943 and Haarlov 1977.

[28] For a brief survey of Phrygian door stones and references to more complete accounts, see Waelkens 1980.

[29] Gusmani 1964: 17-19 and 1975: 51-55 discusses the internal evidence for dating Lydian inscriptions.

[30] The use of a date formula is not confined to funerary inscriptions. See, for example, Gusmani 1964: 264, no. 41 and 267, no. 50.

[31] There is little doubt that the reference is to the king (Artaxerxes) rather than to a private individual. See Hanfmann 1968: 15-16 and Gusmani 1975: 8-9.

[32] Hanfmann and Ramage 1978: 162. The Lydian portion of the bilingual inscription IS 7 is damaged at the beginning and only the month designation remains. The Aramaic portion, however, refers to Artaxerxes.

[33] Hanfmann and Ramage 1978: 114-115, no. 134.

[34] In addition the those listed in Appendix III, fragments of two more markers were found in Area B, but their dimensions, form and present whereabouts are not known: NoEx 76.15, found north of Sector PN and S 64.37, found in Sector HOB, Middle Trench West. The paucity of 'phallos' markers at Bin Tepe is probably a reflection of our lack of familiarity with the terrain rather than of historical reality. Many markers, like other annoying obstacles found in fields around tumuli, have undoubtedly been deposited in stone piles or incorporated into field walls or farm structures.

[35] During the 1984 season, a 'phallos' marker was brought to Expedition headquarters as an unexcavated find (Sardis Inv. No. NoEx 84.5). Its place of discovery is said to be a wadi at the foot of a northern spur of the

Necropolis hills west of the ancient city, beyond the Roman tomb shown as No. 32.1 on Fig. 2.

[36] Anthemion fragment S 1 was also found in this area.

[37] To these should be added a fragment of a fourth marker observed in this same area in 1982.

[38] To the markers listed in Appendix III should be added two uninventoried spherical finials that preserve traces of cylindrical shafts: a) PH 0.366 m.; H of finial 0.319 m.; Diam. of shaft 0.233 m.; Diam. of finial 0.373 m. b) PH 0.532 m.; H of finial 0.413 m.; Diam. of shaft 0.346 m.; Diam. of finial 0.466 m.

[39] To this second category of markers should be added the unexcavated example found in 1984 (supra n. 34a): PH 0.68; H of finial 0.38; D of finial 0.58. The somewhat battered limestone marker has two unusual features which may or may not be original: a roughly carved shallow groove encircles the finial about halfway along its height, and carved into the top of the finial is an irregular circular cutting 0.25 m. in diameter and 0.11 m. deep (cf. infra n. 42).

[40] de Villefosse and Michon 1900: 156, no. 25. See also Pfuhl 1905: 90, n. 192.

[41] Jacobsthal 1908: 414, no. 53.

[42] Peek 1955: 524, no. 1745 and supra p. .

[43] Inv. No. 334. Curtius 1932; Pfuhl and Mobius

1977: 231-232, no. 893, pl. 133.

[44] Recent exploration of the Alyattes' marker has revealed a roughly circular hole, 0.23 m. wide and 0.155 m. deep, on its upper surface near the center. Conceivably, a decorated or inscribed element provided with a tenon could have crowned the marker. The excavator, Nicholas Cahill, observed that the upper surface is point-stippled, as are all the surfaces of the marker, and seems to be more weathered. Thus, he believes that the marker had no separate element, and indeed, there are no parallels for such an arrangement.

[45] In only one passage, 7.30, does Herodotus describe a boundary as marked off by an inscribed monument, this set up by Croesus at the town of Cydrara. But here it is not the <u>ouroi</u> that are inscribed but the stele that marks the <u>ouroi</u>:

> ἔνθα στήλη καταπεπηγυῖα σταθεῖσα δὲ ὑπὸ Κροίσου καταμηνύει διὰ γραμμάτων τοὺς οὔρους.

[46] von Olfers 1858: 546. For a discussion of the platform noted by early travellers on the summit of the Alyattes mound, see supra pp. 43-44.

[47] P 3 and P 4 were found together with an anthemion fragment (S 1), dated to ca. 530-520 B.C., and a sarcophagus burial (SAR), the contents of which suggest

a date in the 5th century B.C. with a possible re-use or intrusion in the Hellenistic period.

[48] 'Phallos' markers in the Greek sphere are rare. In mainland Greece, only Corinth has produced monuments somewhat akin to the markers of western Asia Minor. Most of these are small, truncated cones on square plinths. One is a cylindrical shaft that terminates in a mushroom-shaped finial (PH 0.268 m.; P Diam. of finial 0.198 m.). These monuments, apparently destroyed or abandoned early in the 3rd century B.C., were found in manholes of the water supply system on the western boundary of the city, and their original function cannot be determined with any certainty (Robinson 1969: 20-22). A unique grave marker from an archaic cemetary on Thera consists of a low, cylindrical plinth from which rises a shaft that terminates in a cone-shaped finial (Zapheiropoulos 1964: 409, pl. 479a). Although the individual elements of this marker are similar to those found on monuments in Asia Minor, the overall form has no parallels. Pausanias may have seen a tumulus decorated with a 'phallos' marker on the road between Megalopolis and Messene (8.34.2):

> οὐ πόρρω δὲ τοῦ ἱεροῦ γῆς χῶμά ἐστιν οὐ μέγα, ἐπίθημα ἔχον λίθον πεποιημένον δάκτυλον, καὶ δὴ καὶ ὄνομα τῷ χώματί ἐστι Δακτύλον μνῆμα.

The monument was attributed to Orestes who, as a result of his madness, bit off a finger of his left hand.

[49] Evidence for Lydian presence in Smyrna during the 6th century B.C. consists of pottery, some with Lydian graffiti (Cook 1958-9: 31, n. 87) and a tumulus burial in the Necropolis which contained Lydian pottery and weapons (Akurgal 1962: 374). Masons' marks identified as Lydian also appear during this period (Akurgal 1983: 98-99).

[50] Tumulus burials in Lycia are comparatively rare. Those that antedate the painted chamber tombs at Elmali show some similarities to tumuli in western Caria (Zahle 1975: 93-94). The absence of 'phallos' markers in these areas is another point of comparison between the Lycian and western Carian traditions.

[51] Boehlau and Schefold 1940: 109-112. Pl. 31a shows the tumulus cemetary reconstructed in the manner just described.

[52] Paton 1900: 68.

[53] Kurtz and Boardman 1971: 242-244.

[54] At Paestum, 'phallic' markers have been found in ritual, as opposed to funerary, contexts. Markers of the shaft-and-finial type stand at the center or ritual basins located near the Temple of Hera II and in the recently excavated sanctuary at Santa Venera (Pedley and Torelli 1984: 373).

[55] Tumuli P, W and III. Young 1981: 2 and n. 3, 196.

[56] Elderkin 1933: 392-393, in an attempt to identify the Lydian word maśtā- with ouroi, which he believes are 'phallos' markers, misinterprets the preceding passage from the Iliad. He offers the following translation from Lang, Leaf and Myers with his own qualifications: "...and two white stones on either side thereof (i.e., five in all) are fixed at the the joining of the track..." Thus, the ouroi on the tumulus of Alyattes are erroneously given an Homeric precedent. Elderkin finds a semantic parallel for maśtā- in the Old Slavic mešto ("that which marks off a place", i.e. "a post"), the evidence for which he does not make clear. Apparently, mešto and the Latin meta are related semantically, and Elderkin believes that the meta of the circus has its origin in the "boundary post of the tumulus". There is no obvious reason for including maśtā- in this group of words other than its superficial similarity to the German word mast, "acorn", "pole" (Elderkin 1933: 396). Maśtā-, however, also bears a superficial similarity to the Greek mastos, "breast" or "any round, breast-shaped object", such as a "round hill, knoll" (Liddell and Scott 1948: 1083, "mastos"). This description could apply either to a tumulus or to a 'phallos' marker with a spherical finial. Without additional semantical or archaeological evidence, such suggestions are merely fanciful.

[57] von Prokesch 1831: 162. For early discussions on

the significance of these monuments, see Koerte 1899: 8-10; Pfuhl 1905: 90-91; Curtius 1932: 19-20; and, more recently, Herter 1938: 1728-1733.

[58] The concept of the herm as an apotropaic device in the Greek world is generally accepted. For a recent discussion of the function of herms together with an interesting parallel drawn from the behavior of a certain species of monkeys, see Burkert 1979: 39-41.

Chapter IV: Tomb Furnishings and Grave Goods

[1] See Appendix IV, infra pp. 294-304. The word for "bench" or "couch" may appear in the list of tomb elements protected by the forumlaic curse in Lydian epitaphs. The meanings of most of these terms, however, are uncertain.

[2] The distribution and placement of furnishings in built and carved chambers is discussed above in Chapter II, supra pp. 28-29, 59-61.

[3] Kyrieleis 1969; Richter 1926: 54-71; Ransom 1905. A discussion of klinai and benches in relation to Lydian funerary ritual follows in Chapter V, infra pp. 163-164.

[4] The availability of wood at Sardis might be presumed to have encouraged the Lydians to have used this material, not only for tomb furnishings but for the tombs themselves. As noted in Chapter II, however, stone was

the preferred material and building techniques were those of the stone mason and not the carpenter. Although wood is, of course, subject to rapid decay, its almost total absense from the archaeological record of tombs at Sardis is probably not accidental. In contrast, the wood-built chambers at Gordion in Phrygia contained a variety of wooden furnishings, including beds, tables and screens, some of which may have been used in the daily life of the deceased (Young 1981: passim).

[5] A bronze couch (Richter 1926: fig. 267) was found in the Regolini Galassi tomb in Italy dated to the 7th century B.C. A similar but probably slightly later example is the unpublished bronze kline in the Getty Museum in Malibu. The use of bronze fittings with wooden structural elements on couches and other types of furniture is widely attested in the Near East during the first half of the first millenium B.C., in Palestine (Baker 1966: 224), Assyria (Baker 1966: 182-193) and Urartu (Baker 1966: 199-201). At Altintepe, Urartian royal burials contained a considerable quantity of wooden furniture, among which was a couch of wood with bronze fittings (Özgüç 1969).

[6] Freestanding stone klinai from other regions of Asia Minor are rare. The writer knows of only two others found in a funerary context, both in northern Lycia. The Kızılbel tomb had a couch consisting of a slab of

limestone (L 1.85 m.; W 0.74 m.; Th 0.10 m.) supported in the center by a solid rectangular block. The upper surface of the bed slab is slightly concave with a flat border and has traces of painted stripes on its exposed edges (Mellink 1976: 379). The Karaburun kline was a solid block of limestone, painted on its exposed long side in imitation of a wooden kline with palmettes decorating the rectangular legs (Mellink 1974: 358). The style of this kline is quite different from that on which the presumed owner of the tomb reclines in the wall painting. Here the couch is shown with elaborately turned legs in imitation of wood or perhaps bronze. A few stone kline fragments are known from non-funerary contexts. From Ephesos, exact findspot unknown, comes a fragment from the upper half of a kline leg carved on both broad faces with a palmette and volute (Bammer 1982: 72, fig. 14, pl. 17 e).

[7] Hanfmann 1983: fig. 117.

[8] Only one kline of the four illustrated by Choisy 1876: fig. 13 and pl. XIII was found by him in a tomb (BC/T 2). The three others, of unknown provenience, are assumed to have been found in tombs at Bin Tepe.

[9] The accuracy of detail in Choisy's drawings may be questionable. A portion of a kline from E 4b, now in the Manisa Museum, shows a somewhat similar treatment of the bed slab, that is, a curved end piece but one without a

depression and too narrow to have functioned as a 'pillow'.

[10] The banqueter on the pedimental relief from Sardis leans on cushions, apparently unsupported, that extend at a precarious angle beyond the end of the kline (Hanfmann and Ramage 1978: 56-57, no. 18; Hanfmann and Erhart 1981).

[11] Bedding as tomb furnishings is attested directly in Phrygia and indirectly in Lycia. At Gordion, the body in Tumulus W was laid on top several layers of heavy cloth, placed on the floor of the tomb (Young 1981: 197). Layers of "blanket-like cloth" were used as a mattress on the wooden bed in Tumulus MM (Young 1981: 189-190). In the tomb at Kızılbel, a 0.16 m. gap between the top of the plain limestone kline and the bottom of the painted frieze was probably intended to allow for a mattress (Mellink 1977: 138).

[12] The carved chambers of the Phrygian highlands, in contrast to those of Lydia, contain benches with legs carved in relief on their front faces, e.g., the 'Pyramid Tomb' at Midas City (Haspels 1971: 127-128, fig. 542,2) and sometimes have bolsters or head rests as well, e.g., the 'Triclinium Tomb' at Midas City (Haspels 1971: 127, fig. 542, 5, 6).

[13] Sarcophagi have not yet been found in association with klinai in Lydia, but at Pasargadae in Persia, according to Arrian (Anab. 6.29), the golden sarcophagus

containing Cyrus' remains sat on the kline in his tomb (ἐν μέσῳ δὲ τῆς κλίνης).

[14] The presence of benches in this tomb is not beyond question. The ruinous condition of the chamber made the distinguishing of interior features extremely difficult.

[15] Evidence obtained in recent re-excavation contradicts this number and their arrangement. See the discussion in Appendix I, CC 6A.

[16] Cypress, according to Thucydides (2.34), was the material used for the coffins (larnakes kuparissinai) which held the bones of the dead honored at state funerals in Athens.

[17] Majewski in Greenewalt and Majewski 1980: 138-140. An apparently similar coffin, although without iron plaques, was found at Gordion in an atypical tomb structure, a cist built of limestone masonry. The coffin, painted red, was constructed of planks that were pegged into slots in the upright corner posts. Material (jewelry and glass fragments) left behind by plunderers indicates that the latest occupation of the tomb should be somewhat later than BC/T 10, perhaps the 4th century B.C. (Young 1955: 16-17, fig. 37). An earlier coffin of wood was discovered in one of the tumuli excavated in 1950 (Young 1951: 15). A large log was split lengthwise and hollowed out to accomodate a body. Strips of lead were inset as decoration or reinforcements. The tomb was dated to the

late 8th or early 7th century B.C. For a discussion of wooden sarcophagi dating to the Hellenistic period from Egypt and South Russia, see Watzinger 1905.

[18] Hanfmann 1962: 38 and fig. 25.

[19] Except for the necropolis on Samos, few Ionian sites have produced stone sarcophagi in any quantity. They are absent from the archaeological record at Old Smryna. For a survey of find spots of stone and undecorated terracotta sarcophagi, see Cook 1981: 162-166. The peculiar stone sarcophagi of Lycia are excluded from this account. A standard rectangular sarcophagus with gabled lid, covered by a tumulus, was found in northern Lycia, at Karaburun, near the painted chamber tomb (Mellink 1971: 250). Fragments of another rectangular sarcophagus and lid with gabled profile on the interior were recovered in front of the platform at the edge of the tumulus covering the painted chamber tomb (Mellink 1975: 352)

[20] Cook 1981: 2-8.

[21] A cylindrical sarcophagus of clay, decorated with bands, studs and medallions in relief, is on display in the Tire Museum. Its provenience is unknown. The medallion designs suggest a somewhat late date for the piece. A much more simply decorated example, also cylindrical, with raised bands and studs, is in the Manisa Museum. This example, too, is of unknown provenience and

date.

[22] That stone sarcophagi were sometimes furnished with bedding is demostrated by a 4th century B.C. burial at Pergamon. The rectangular, gable-lidded sarcophagus contained a corpse that had been placed on a wooden bed strewn with branches and leaves, the head resting on a sand filled pillow (Conze 1912: 240).

[23] Hanfmann and Ramage 1978: 156, nos. 230, 231; Pryce 1928: 99-101. The grazing deer frieze (H. 0.17 m., L 0.40 m.) is dated to ca. 600-550 B.C., the horsemen frieze (H 0.19, L 0.43) to ca. 550-450 B.C.

[24] The horsemen frieze appears as a panel framed on three sides, set into a larger object. One short side, although finished, is without a framing band, thus suggesting that the frieze continued on another slab. The band above the heads of the figures separates the frieze zone from the undecorated continuation of the slab. As kline decoration, such a panel would be unusual but not without a parallel of sorts. The Karabarun kline, made of a single block of limestone, is decorated on its exposed long side with a continuous panel of painted decoration (Mellink 1974: 358). In this case, however, the decoration represents creatures often found lurking below couches in banqueting scenes. The Bin Tepe slab, if joined to another of approximately the same length, would approach a reasonable width for a couch and thus, may have

decorated one of the short sides of a kline or a kline support.

[25] For example, a long table supporting various vessels appears in the banquet scene on the pedimental relief from Sardis, supra n. 10. Stone tables are known from the painted tombs in Lycia. At Karaburun, a low rectangular block of limestone (L 0.59 m., H 0.20 m.) stood in front of the kline (Mellink 1974: 358). At Kızılbel, a limestone table stood in the northeast corner of the tomb chamber (Mellink 1976: 380).

[26] Two grave groups dateable to the Lydian period that were recovered by the Princeton expedition from tombs of unknown type in the main necropolis are not included in Appendix I: (B No.) 348, containing 16 items and (B. No.) 723, containing 18 items. Also not included in the discussion is material from direct ihumations, all of which peculiar.

[27] In addition to the grave groups from tombs 348 and 723, six others from the Lydian period listed in Appendix I appear to be uncontaminated by later (i.e., Hellenistic) activity: CC 5, CC 6, CC 8, CC 9, CC 10 and CC 14.

[28] For a survey of grave gifts from East Greek contexts, see Philipp 1981: 159-161 and from the Greek world in general, see Kurtz and Boardman 1971: 200-217.

[29] Cf. the remarkable quantity of silver and bronze vessels reportedly stolen from the Ikiztepe tomb (F 1).

Salvage excavations alone recovered some 56 objects left behind by plunderers.

[30] The numerical quantities used in this discussion are approximate, and the categories of shapes are general. No attempt is made at statistical accuracy.

[31] Baki, the Lydian Bacchus, is the god of wine, apparently an important element in Lydian culture (Hanfmann 1983: 93). Vessels for the consumption of liquids others than wine, especially a boat-shaped strainer vessel found in CC 8, are discussed by Greenewalt forthcoming (1985).

[32] Of the approximately 215 tombs inventoried by the Princeton expedition, 53 contained items of jewelry or other gold work which are published by Curtis 1925.

[33] Unspecified "Lydian weapons", together with Lydian pottery, were found in a tumulus burial in the necropolis at Old Smryna (Akurgal 1962: 374).

[34] See Greenewalt 1972: 138-139 for a discussion of the use of knucklebones in funerary contexts outside Lydia.

Chapter V: Conclusions

[1] Butler 1922: 81 in reference to the contents of a terracotta sarcophagus unearthed in the main necropolis at

Sardis.

[2] Cinerary vases of the 2nd and 1st centuries B.C. were recovered by the Princeton expedition in several carved chamber tombs at Sardis (Butler 1922: 81). Vases with inscriptions in Greek are published in Buckler and Robinson 1932: nos. 110, 116, 125-128.

[3] Hanfmann 1963: 55, n. 55. Hittite ritual is also used as a possible parallel for Lydian practices. Hittite kings were cremated (Otten 1940: 3), but how this knowledge may have reached and possibly influenced the Lydians is unclear. Cremation was not limited to Hittite royalty.

[4] The practice of cremation is attested during the 7th and 6th centuries B.C. at Gordion (Kohler 1980) as well as at several East Greek sites (Philipp 1981: 153).

[5] See, for example, Kirk 1974: 172-174.

[6] Tezcan 1979: 392.

[7] Another direct inhumation (DI 3), dated to the first quarter of the first millenium B.C., may represent a type of burial widely practiced but, by its very nature, elusive in the archaeological record.

[8] The ultimate origin of this burial custom among the Phrygians is still uncertain (Young 1981: 263-264).

[9] The construction of monumental built chamber tombs is attested in eastern Asia Minor in the 8th and 7th centuries B.C. in Phrygia (Young 1981) and Urartu (Özgüç

1969). The practice may even be as early as the Hittite period when the remains of kings were associated with 'stone houses' (Otten 1940: 3). The Etruscans, too, were building or carving chamber tombs covered by tumuli perhaps as early as the first half of the 7th century B.C. (Åkerström 1934; Demus-Quatember 1958). The question of Anatolian and specifically Lydian influence on the funerary architecture of the Etruscans cannot be addressed here. So few Lydian tombs are adequately known from this early period with which to compare the varied and well-developed Etruscan tombs.

[10] The similarity between the Alyattes chamber and the tomb of Cyrus at Pasargadae with respect to size, treatment of masonry and details such as the projecting band below the ceiling is discussed by Stronach 1978: 40-41. Although Cyrus' tomb chamber sits on a stepped podium and has a pitched roof, the possiblity of Lydian influence and actual workmanship is persuasively argued by Stronach.

[11] For the most recent evaluation see Waelkens 1980; 1982.

[12] Lydian houses are composed of a fieldstone socle with mudbrick superstructure, roofed in most cases with thatch (Ramage 1978: 1-10). In material and method of construction Lydian built chamber tombs bear no resemblence to domestic architecture recovered at Sardis.

[13] Mellink 1971-1975. For the origin and symbolism

of the funerary banquet see Dentzer 1982.

[14] Stele carved in a provincial East Greek style and found in association with a Carian settlement at Saqqara in Egypt show, in some cases, an apparent conflation of prothesis and funerary banquet. Alongside the kline upon which the corpse lies in state is a low table, empty on several stelai, but clearly supplied with a ritual meal in at least one instance. The stelai date to the second half of the 6th century B.C. (Masson, Martin and Nicholls 1979: 70-79).

[15] Cf. the stone sarcophagi from Samos (Boehlau 1898: 14-15).

[16] Hanfmann and Ramage 1978: 56-57, no. 18.

[17] See Appendix IV, infra pp. 306-310, for a discussion of curse formulae and disclipinary agents in Lydian funerary inscriptions.

[18] A semicircular hole (0.49 m. in diameter) pierced one of the ceiling blocks above the chamber in BC/T 11, but there is no indication that this aperture served any ritual purpose. The tomb chamber was accessible through the dromos and antechamber. For liquid offerings carried by pipes in the Roman period see Kurtz and Boardman 1971: 205-206.

Appendix IV: Funerary Inscriptions

[1] Hanfmann and Ramage 1978: 55-56, no. 17. Bossert 1936 dates this stele to the 4th century B.C., incorrectly according to Hanfmann and Ramage. See supra pp. 64-66, 124-126 for a discussion of dates assigned to carved chamber tombs and pp. 124-126 for dates assigned to inscribed and uninscribed stelai.

[2] Some of the inscribed stelai may not have been grave markers, per se, but may have been documents relating to the deceased and his heirs set up at the tomb. Gusmani 1964: 21-22 does not include IS 1, IS 17, IS 19-IS 21 among the "Grabinschriften", although IS 17, IS 19-IS 21 were found in the main Necropolis, two in the rubble wall that produced so many of the funerary texts and two built into later walls closing the doorways of chamber tombs. IS 1 also was found in a wall blocking the entrance to a tomb east of the Pactolus.

[3] 106 Lydian texts have now been published. See Gusmani 1982: 113. To the texts listed in Appendix IV should be added an unexcavated stele brought to Expedition headquarters in 1984 (Sardis Inv. No. IN 84.2). The small pedimental stele carries a brief epitaph in Greek, giving the name of the deceased, his patronymic and ethnic. At some later time, a funerary inscription in Lydian (No. 108 in the corpus of Lydian texts) was carved below the Greek, to which it appears to be unrelated. The stele will be

published by R. Gusmani

[4] For a complete bibliography on the study of the Lydian language to 1964, see Gusmani 1964: 9-13. Additions to this bibliography are made by Gusmani 1975: xi-xii; 1980: 10-13; 1982: 111.

[5] The most complete discussion of the Aramaic portion of the bilingual inscription is provided by Kahle and Sommer 1927. See Lipinski 1975: 153-161 for recent commentary.

[6] The inscription from Falaka, infra n. 8, bears traces of an Aramaic text preceding the Lydian.

[7] IS 16 was probably reused. Gusmani detects three different hands in the carving of the inscription. Also, a portion of the text (lines 22-24) has been squeezed vertically along the right-hand margin and appears to be unrelated to the main text. Gusmani 1964: 254-255.

[8] Lydian inscriptions are known from several other sites in the Hermus and Cayster river valleys, but none can be identified with certainty as funerary on the basis of the contents of the texts (Gusmani 1964: 264-267, nos. 41-47, 50). One of these inscriptions, Gusmani 1964: 264, no. 41, comes from Falaka where a number of rock-cut tombs have been located (Meriç 1982: 73).

[9] Three texts begin with a date formula (IS 7-IS 9). See supra pp. 000-000 for a discussion of the elements of these formulae.

[10] M'rt' has been restored in a new reading of an Aramaic text carved on the facade of a rock-cut tomb at Limyra (Lipinski 1975: 162-170).

[11] Kahle and Sommer 1926: 31-33.

[12] By Hanson and others (Hanson 1968: 8, n. 13).

[13] Littmann 1916: 25-26.

[14] Gusmani 1964: 159.

[15] Torrey 1917-1918: 193 associated drht with 'trt, the word immediately following drht and not separated from it by a conjunction. He suggested that 'trt was the Aramaic form of the Old Persian word for "fire" (ātar). Thus, the combination of terms would give "fire-pillar". This suggestion has not been widely accepted (Kahle and Sommer 1926: 33). Lipinski 1975: 155 believes that the Lydian and Persian texts do not correspond at this point and that there is no Lydian term equivalent to drht which he translates as "tree". The modifying phrase, qid ētośrś, in IS 8.3 is of little help in arriving at a meaning for laqrisa-. For trees in association with tumuli, see supra p. 000.

[16] There has been some doubt as to whether or not IS 28 is, in fact, a funerary stele. Although the presence of the term anlola- is certainly not conclusive for assigning IS 28 to the category of Lydian epitaphs, the association of antola- with vāna- in IS 10 and IS 12 and the type of language used in IS 28, especially the form of

the curse, make reasonable the suggestion that IS 28 is funerary rather than votive.

[17] Gusmani 1964: 59.

[18] Bossert 1944: 113.

[19] Brandenstein 1929: 272.

[20] Buckler 1924: 17 describes the stele as "perfectly preserved" and does not mention any cuttings in the top of the stele which might have indicated that a finial had been attached.

[21] Vetter 1959: 51.

[22] Elderkin 1933: 389.

[23] Gusmani 1964: 189-190.

[24] Barnett 1969: 21-24, pl. I. The seal is undecorated except for a hook-shaped symbol, perhaps a ligature. Barnett dates the seal to the 5th century B.C.

[25] For a discussion of the use of sēma in Greek epitaphs, see Eichler 1914.

[26] Kahle and Sommer 1927: 33-34.

[27] Kahle and Sommer 1927: 34-36; Hanson 1968: 8, n. 13.

[28] In IS 8 IIb, there is some question as to whether or not karolaś is a form of karoli- (Gusmani 1964: 144-145).

[29] Carruba 1960: 54.

[30] Gusmani 1964: 67.

[31] mλola-, Gusmani 1964: 166; teśtaśti-, Gusmani

1964: 212 where the similarity between teśtaśti- and the Latin dexter is noted; śrfaśtid, Gusmani 1964: 206.

[32] Vetter 1959: 19-20. Kāna- also occurs in two inscriptions, possibly funerary, not found at Sardis (Gusmani 1964: 264, nos. 41-42).

[33] Gusmani 1964: 164.

[34] Elderkin 1933: 392-396. For a further discussion of phallic markers and Elderkin's interpretation, see supra pp. 137-139.

[35] The frequency with which certain personal names recur in Lydian texts is surprising; for example, mane- occurs at least six times, karo- at least five times, atraśta- four times, etc. See Gusmani 1964: entries for personal names.

[36] See Gusmani 1979: 78-79 for a discussion of the problem.

[37] Only two inscriptions show any variation in this formula. IS 28 substitutes the verb fisqānt (in the phrase "akad qis fisqant") for fēnsλibid and IS 11 substitutes citalad fadint.

[38] The translation of the Lydian is based on equivalent meanings in the Aramaic portion of the text. That offered here is adapted from Gusmani 1964: 250.

[39] The association of qλdans with Artemis also occurs in a non-funerary inscription found near the Artemis Temple (Gusmani 1964: 188-189 and 259-260, no. 23).

[40] One of the tomb owners may have been a priest of Demeter (Gusmani 1964: 158).

[41] His suggestion is based on the occurence of this word in close association with Artemis and in parallel constructions with a phrase meaning "priest of Bakkhos" (Gusmani 1964: 197-198 and 259, no. 22).

[42] M. L. West 1972, in his discussion of the rhyming texts, distinguishes another similarity, the twelve-syllable line.

[43] Buckler and Robinson 1932: 104, no. 103, fig. 93.

[44] Translation in Greenewalt 1979: 28.

[45] Ramage 1979: 95.

[46] Buckler and Robinson 1932: 103-104, no. 102, fig. 92.

[47] Cf. epitaphs of the 3rd century A.D. from the Sardis region. These no longer contain curses but monetary penalities payable to the sacred treasury (Buckler and Robinson 1932: no. 153) or the imperial treasury (Buckler and Robinson 1932: no. 165). That the curse formula survived (or reappeared?) during this period is indicated by Buckler and Robinson 1932: no. 164, in which the potential tomb violator is held accountable to God for his misdeeds. Lydian texts, unlike contemporary Lycian and later Greek examples from Lycia, show no chronological development from simple threats of retribution to specific penalities. See Bryce 1981: 90-93

for a discussion of penalties in Lycian epitaphs.

[48] For the most recent reading and discussion of these texts, as well as prior bibliography, see Lipinski 1975: 146-153. The translations that appear here are Lipinski's.

[49] For a discussion of the decoration and references to prior studies see Borchhardt 1968: 192-194.

[50] Lipinski 1975: 152-153, n. 4 identifies the patronymic as Jewish and suggests that Elnap was a wealthy Jew who held a position of some importance in the Persian administrative center at Daskyleion.

[51] Lipinski 1975: 162-170. The text is dated on palaeographic grounds to the mid-4th century B.C. Three generations later, the great-grandson of the deceased inscribed a Greek text on the tomb facade declaring his right to the space for himself and his descendants. The Greek text contains no curse.

[52] The text breaks off with m', restored as m'rt on the basis of the Sardis bilingual inscription, IS 7, lines 2 and 5. The Aramaic portion of the latter contains few words that appear in contemporary documents from Anatolia. Lipinski 1975: 154 attributes this to "some foreign words and locutions in the Aramaic text".

[53] Lycian epitaphs, both in the epichoric and Greek languages, dating from the mid-5th to the late 4th cenutries B.C., are similar to the Lydian in that they

identify the owner of the tomb and invoke a curse against violation (e.g., TAM I, no. 6 and no. 56, both Lycian/Greek bilingual texts). The emphasis, however, is not so much on the protection of the tomb, per se, but on establishing the right of an individual and his heirs, usually named, to be buried in the tomb. This is clearly the intent of later Greek epitaphs from Lycia in which the curse is replaced by specific penalties and fines. Little can be said concerning contemporary Phrygian and Carian epitpahs. There are no undisputed examples of the former, but if the sentiments found in the large corpus of epitaphs dating to the Roman period reflect an earlier Phrygian tradition, then the protection of the tomb by means of a curse was the most important function of the epitaph. In this respect, the later Phrygian material is close to the Lydian. Contemporary Carian texts from Asia Minor are few and undeciphered (Deroy 1955: 314, no. 6; 319, no. 13; 319-320, no. 14; 320-321, no. 15). About fifty funerary stelai inscribed in Carian, dating to the 6th and 5th centuries B.C., were found at Saqqara (Masson 1978), but these shed little light on the nature of the Carian epitaphs. The texts are brief, and it is unlikely that curse formulae, or formulae of any kind, are a part of these texts. Of the approximately 200 words listed in Masson's index, only four words appear more than twice, and of these only one appears in more than ten

inscriptions.

[54] Mercer 1914: 286-289. The Hammurabi Code contains a good example of an early malediction directed at anyone who might interfere with the stele.

[55] See, for example, Pritchard 1955: 203-205 (treaty between Mursilis and Duppi-Tessub of Amurru); 353-354 (soldiers' oath); 357-358 (ritual for the erection of a new palace). The treaty also contains a benediction if the terms of the treaty are observed.

[56] Gevritz 1961.

[57] Hawkins 1980.

[58] Text, Donner and Rollig 1962: no. 1; translation, Pritchard 1955: 504.

[59] Text, Donner and Rollig 1962: no. 226; translation, Pritchard 1955: 504-505.

[60] Text, Donner and Rollig 1962: no. 225; translation, Cook 1903: 187-188, no. 64. This inscription is also similar to Lydian examples in that it contains a repetition of features to be protected in the protasis of the curse.

[61] For a discussion of maledictory traditions in Asia Minor based, for the most part, on later Greek inscriptions, see Parrot 1939: 103-139.

[62] Cf. supra p. 119 for the role that Samos may have played as a source of artistic inspiration for the palmette-volute finial.

[63] E.g., Buschor 1933: 24, nos. 1-2. Sometimes emi or stēlē emi are added (Buschor 1933: 24-25, no. 3-5).

[64] Grave stele from Erythrai, early 5th century B.C. (Jeffery 1961: 344, no. 51).

[65] Clairmont 1970 discusses the relationship between the Greek verse epitaphs and the scenes depicted on relief-decorated stelai of the Archaic and Classical periods. The majority of the 92 examples presented come from Attica.

[66] Lattimore 1962: 106-118 reviews the history of curses in Greek epitaphs. His examples are mostly late and come from Asia Minor. Funerary interdictions in Attic epitaphs of Roman date are attributed to Phrygian or western Anatolian influence by L. Robert 1978: 241-253.

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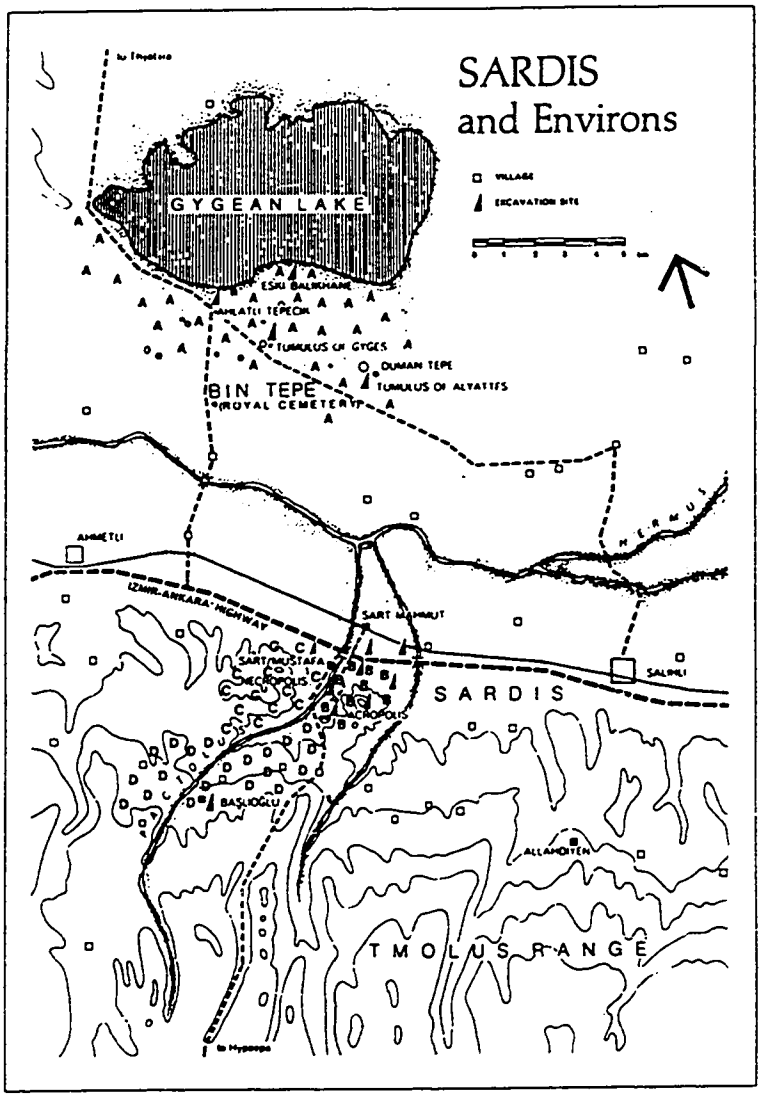

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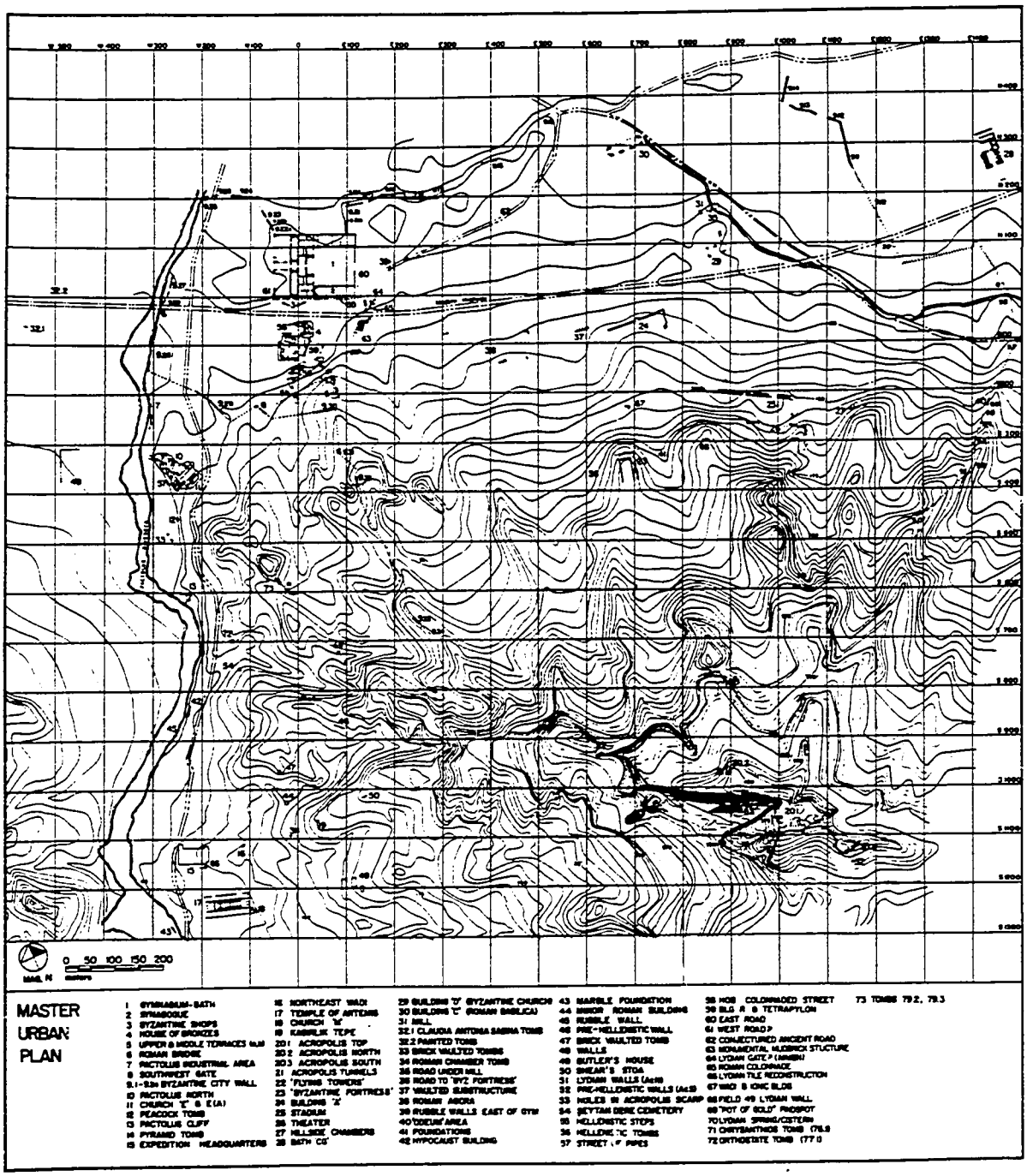

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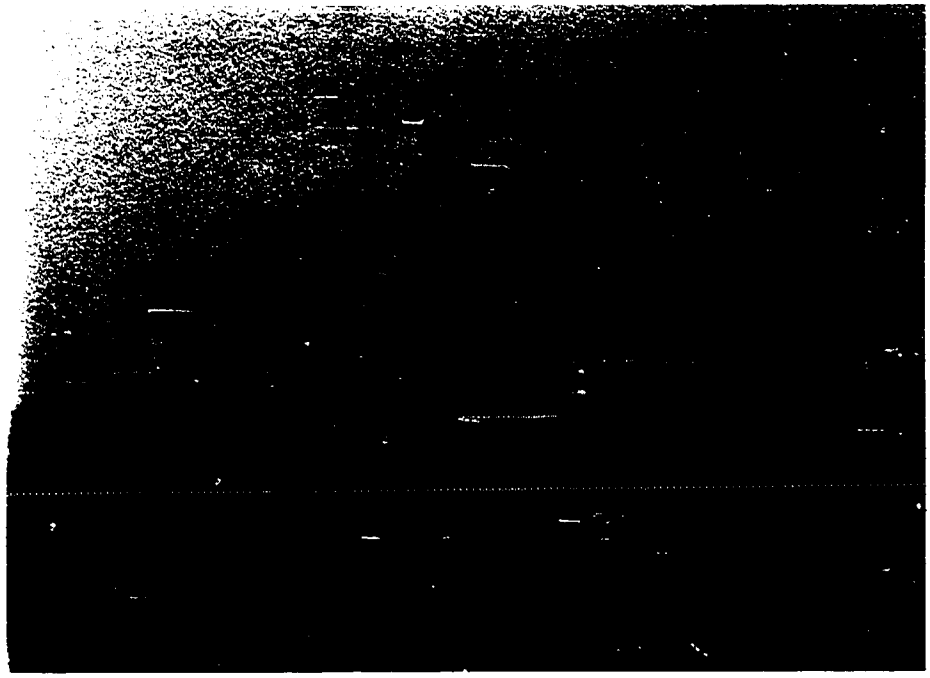

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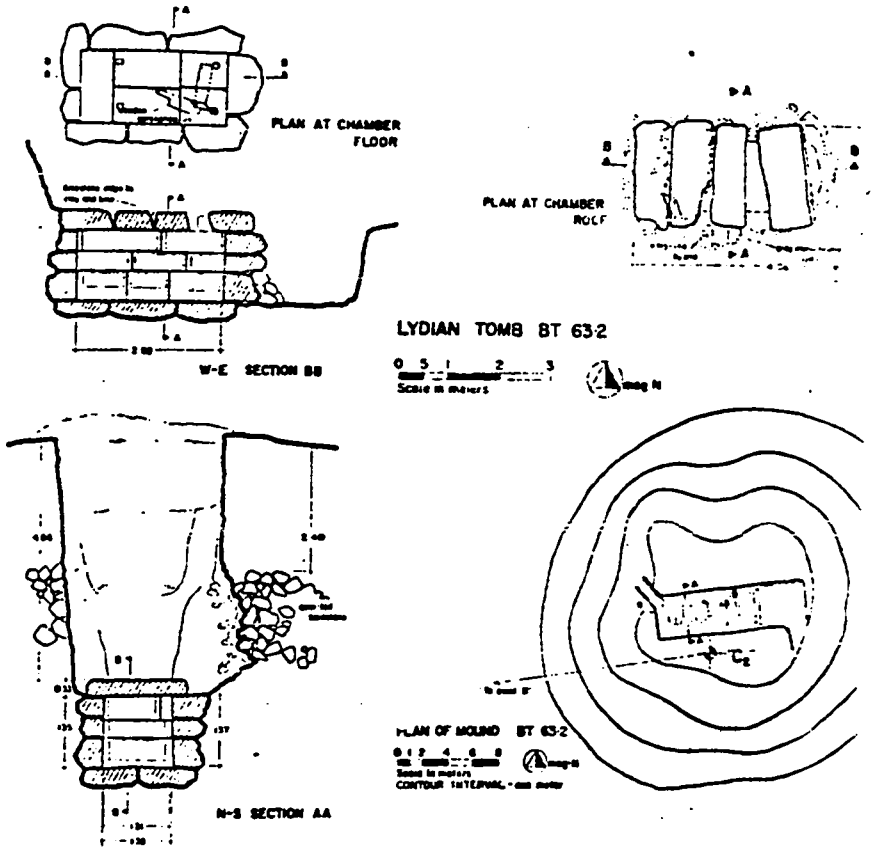

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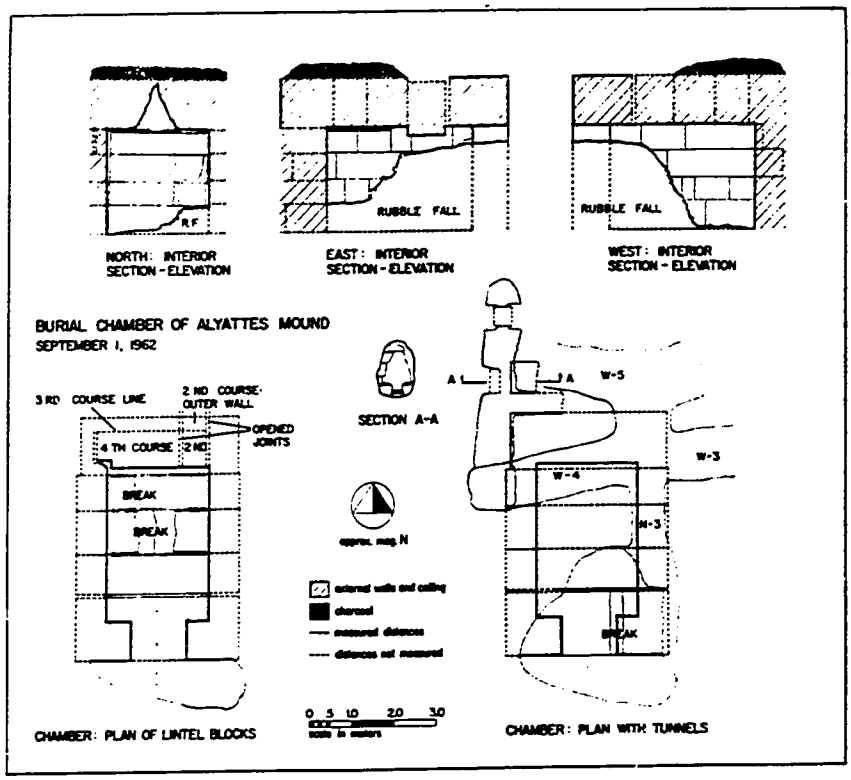

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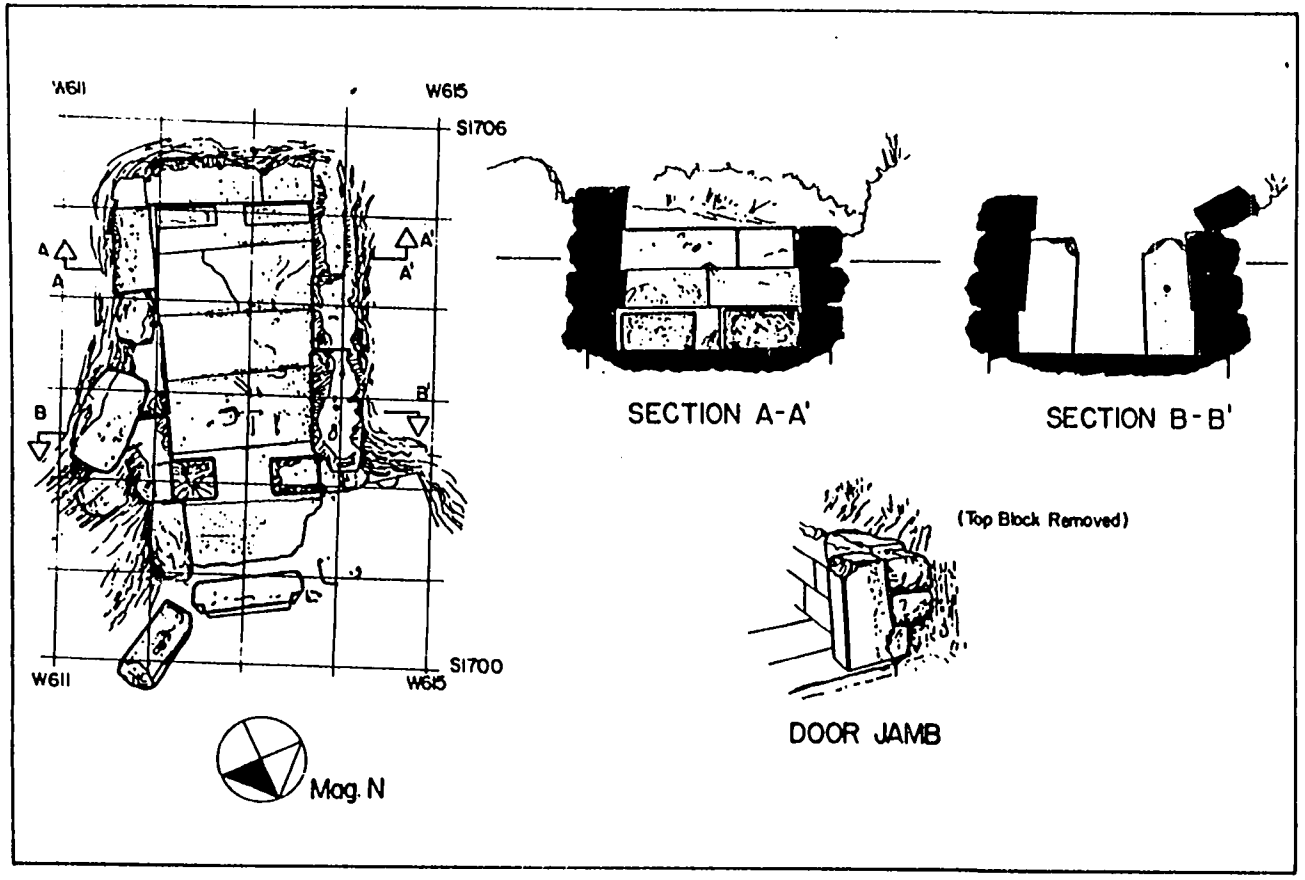

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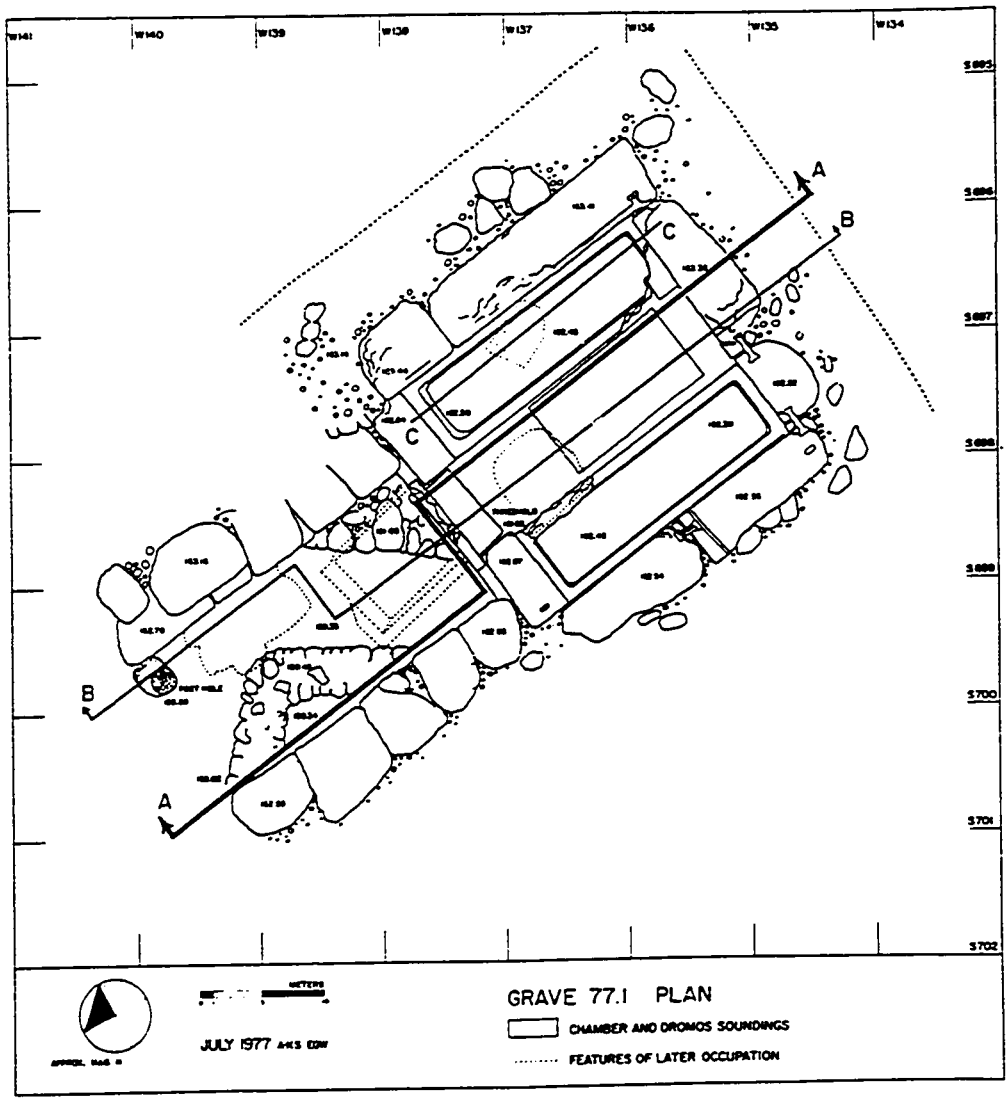
Fig. 6 BC/T 18, plan and sections.



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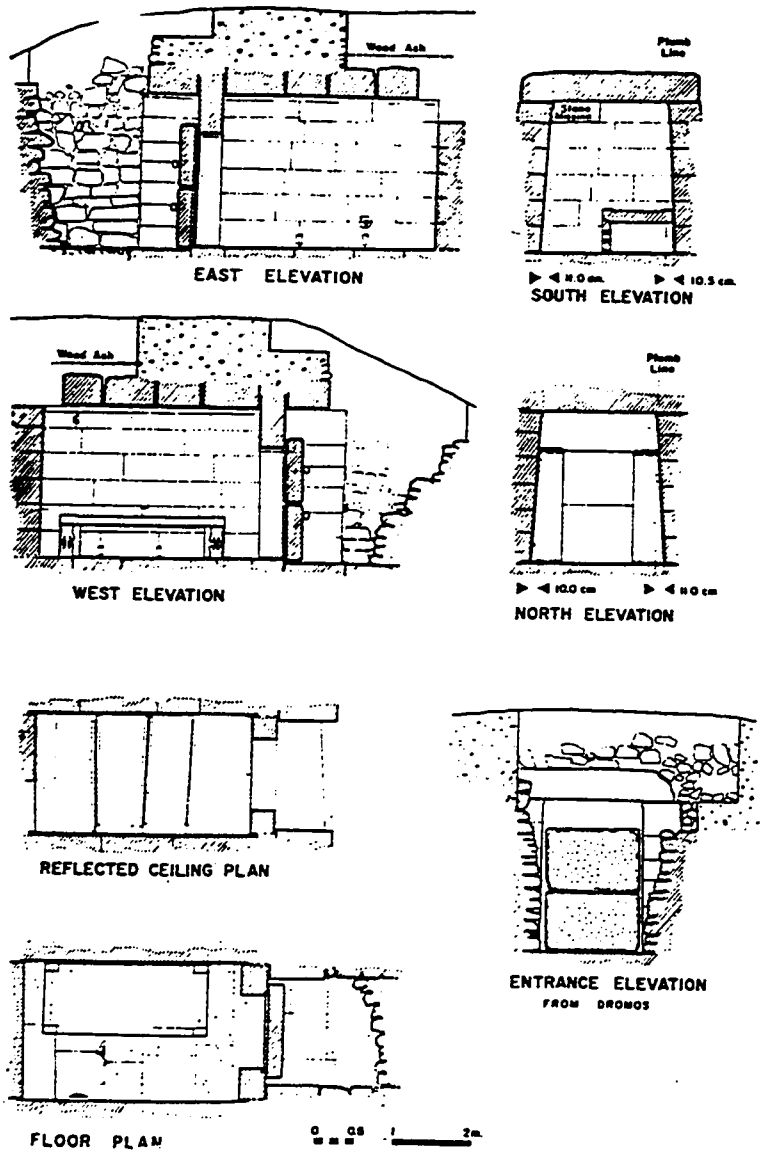

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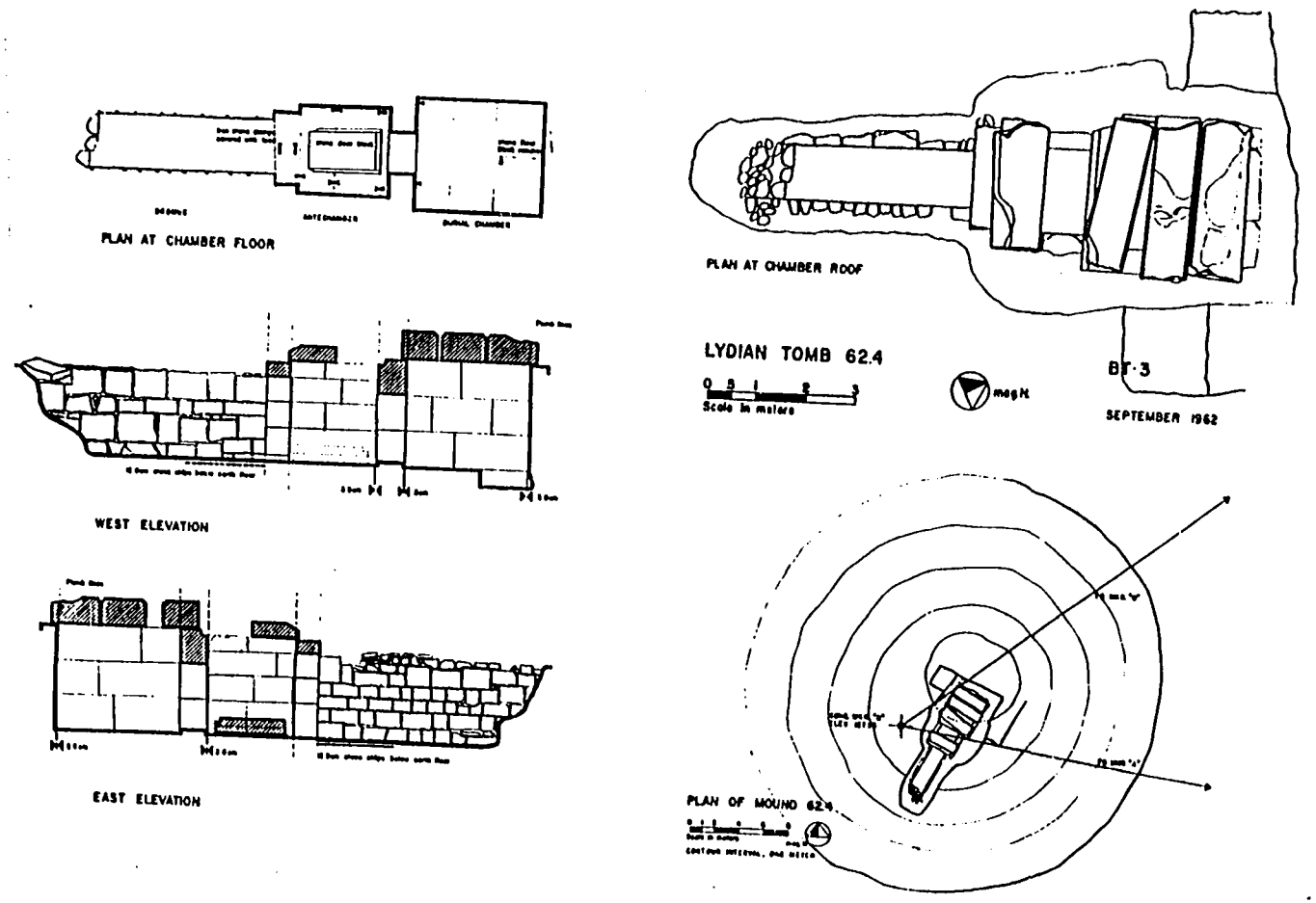

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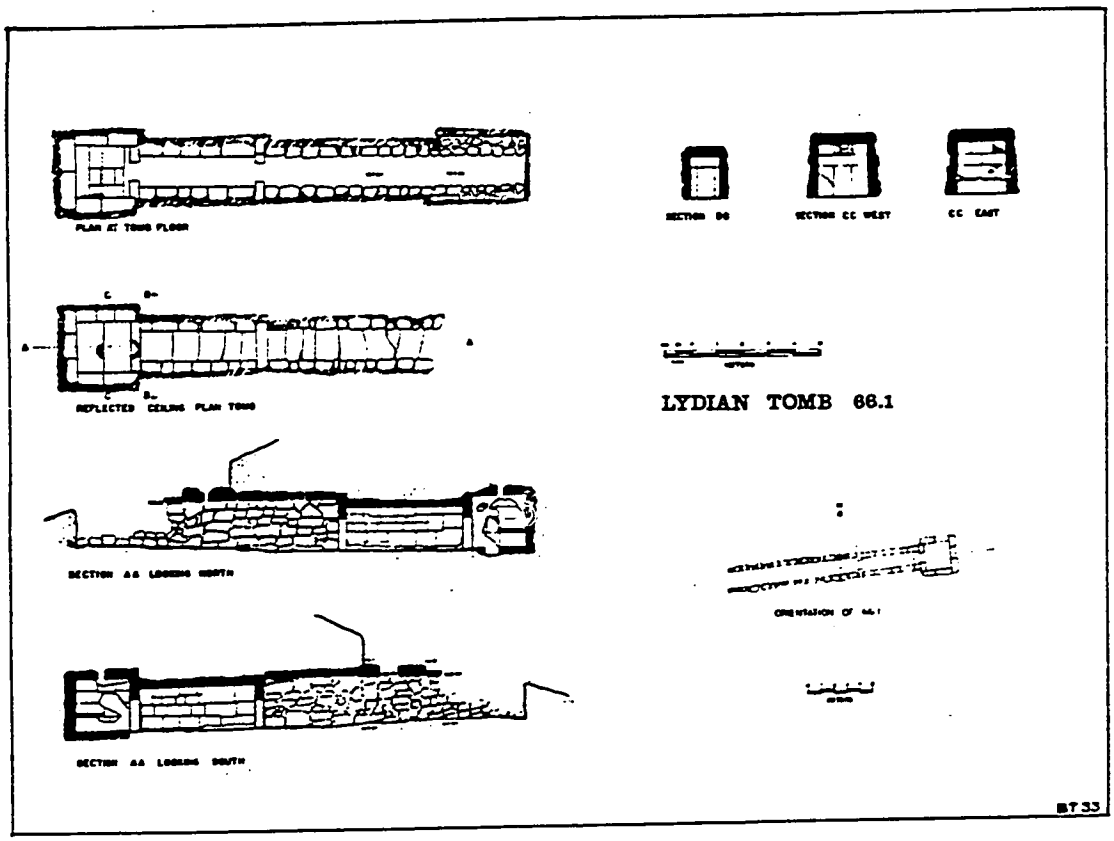

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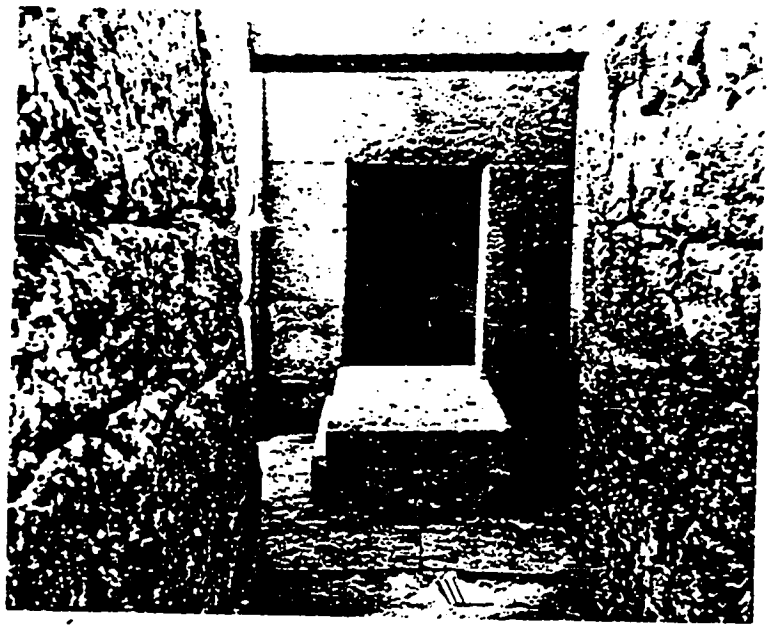

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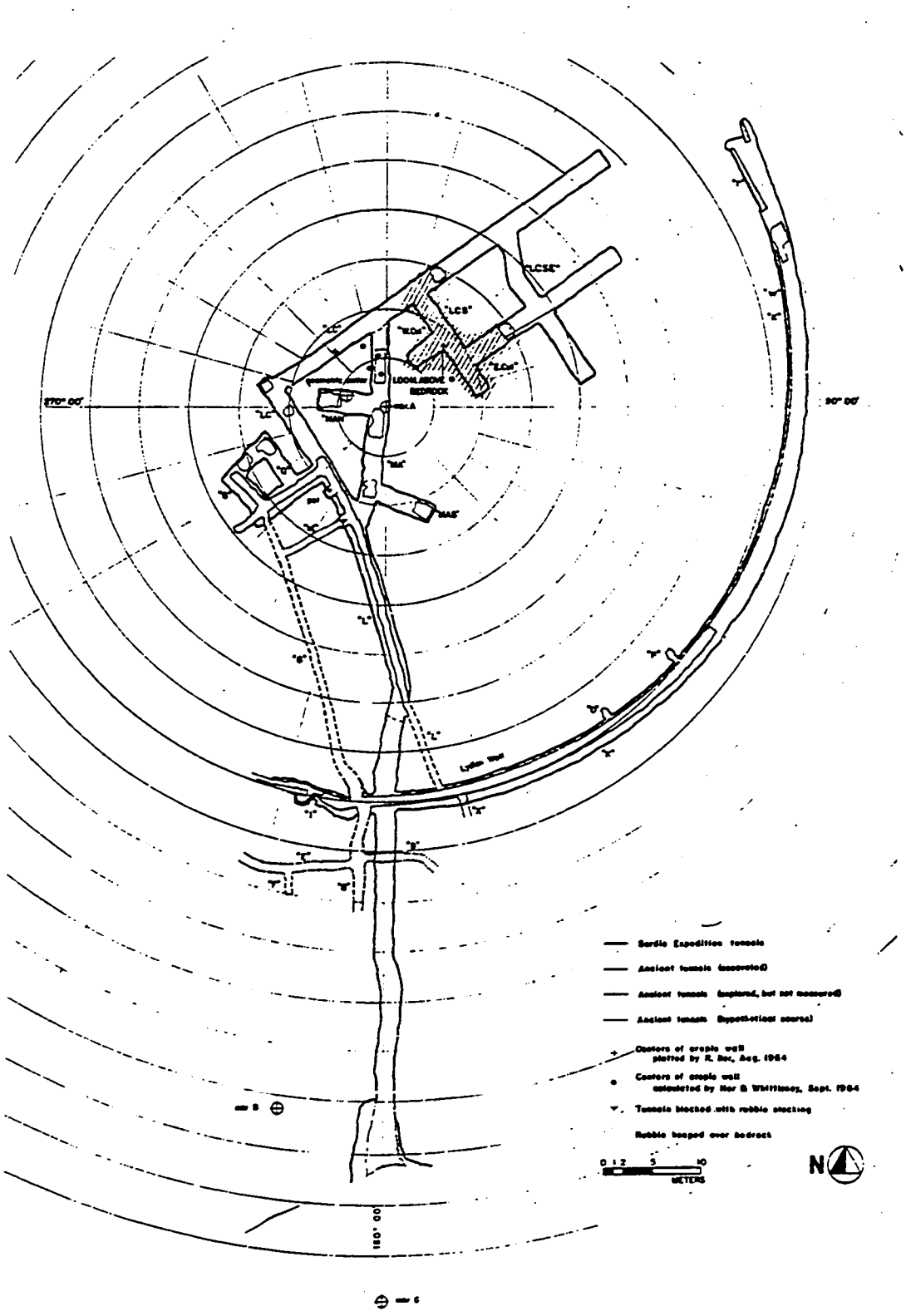

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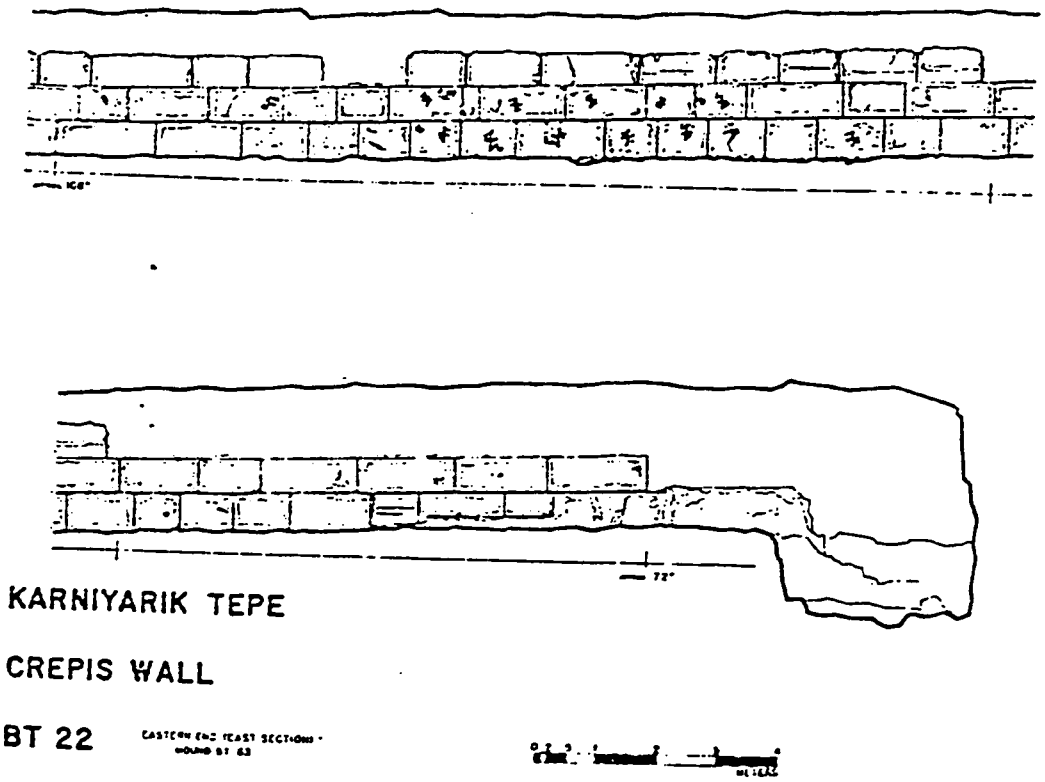

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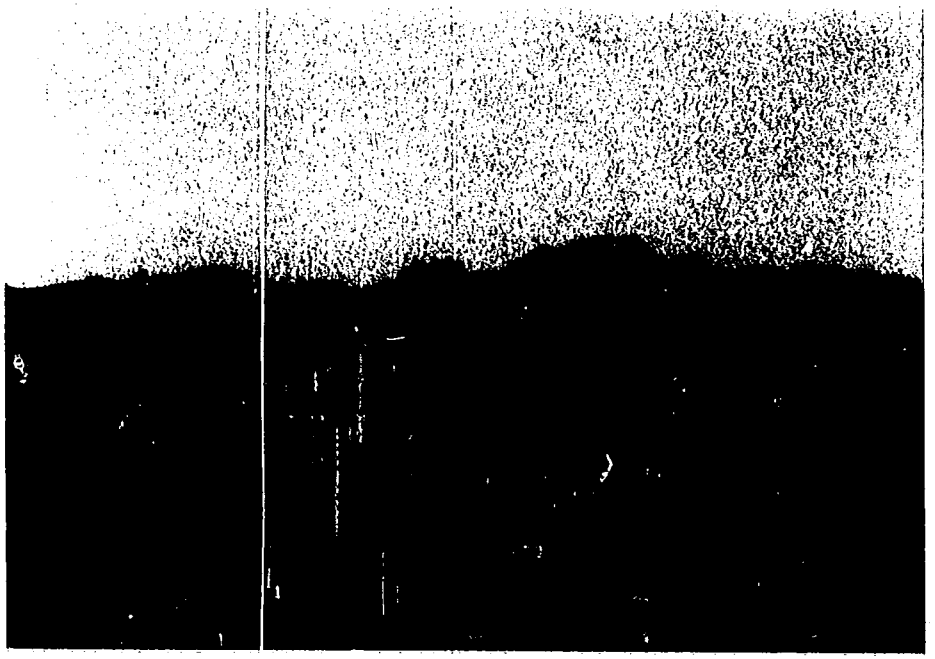


Fig. 15 View of Necropolis ridge, looking west to BC/T 18.

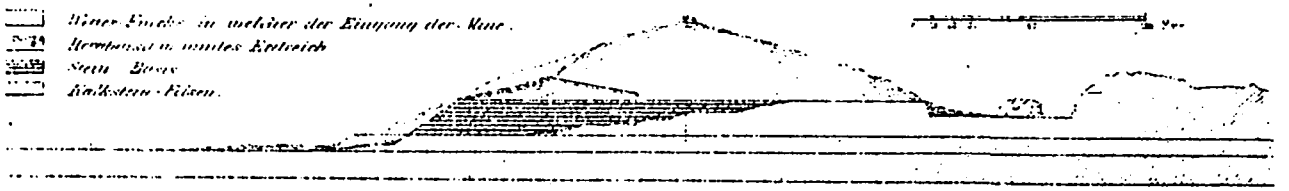


Fig. 16 Spiegelthal's drawing of BC/T 1 (Alyattes) showing crepis on south side.

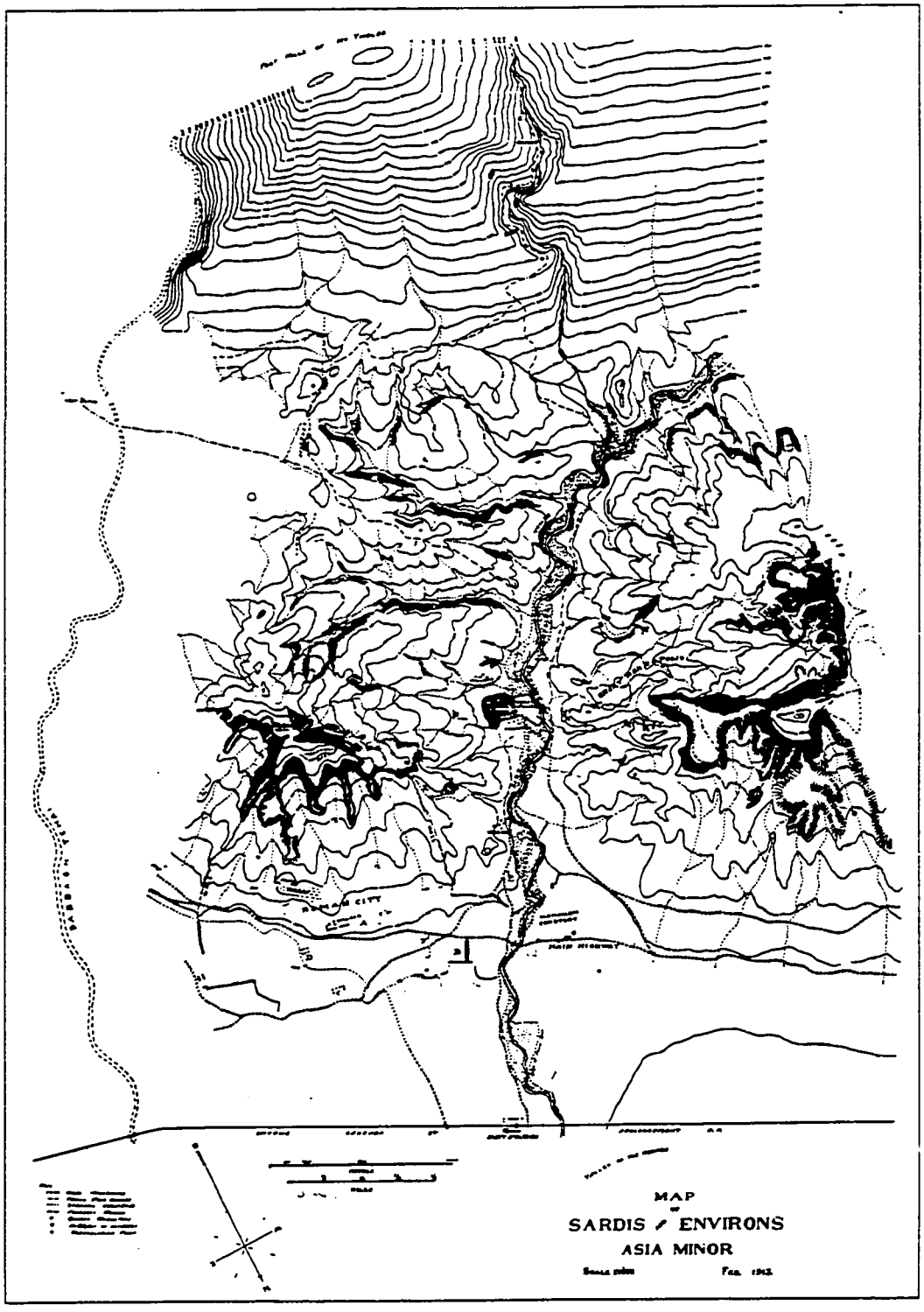


Fig. 17 Sardis and environs showing Butler's Necropolis. North at bottom.

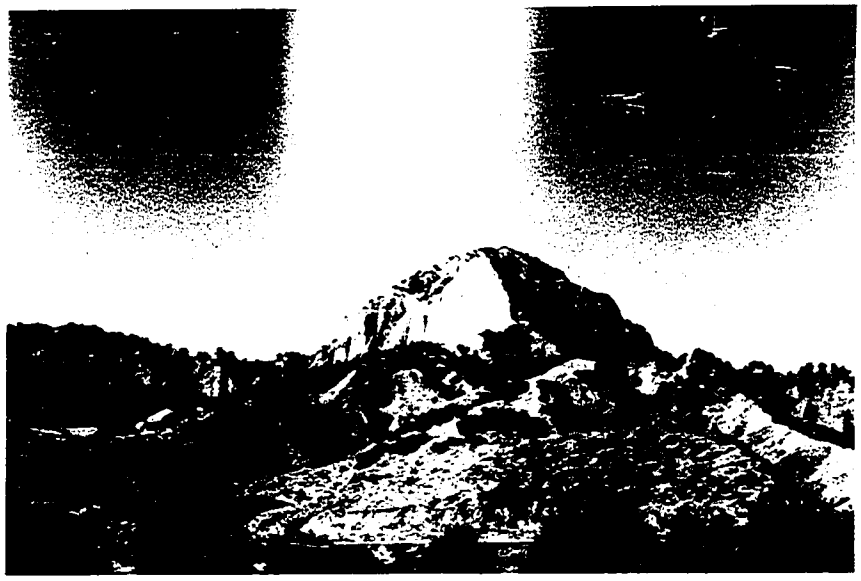


Fig. 18 East face of Necropolis A. Ridges and hollows are remains of collapsed and eroded carved chamber tombs.

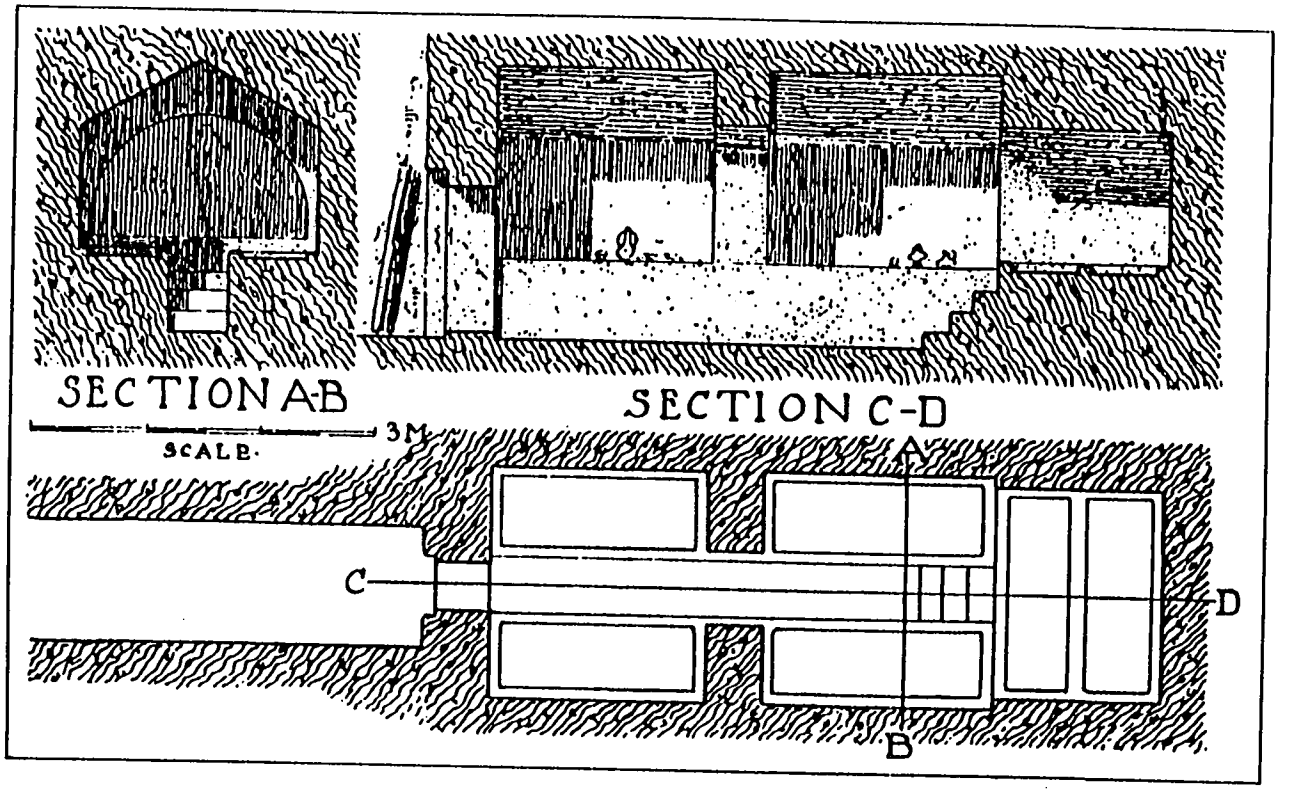


Fig. 19 Plan and section of typical carved chamber tomb with dromos, two chambers and raised benches.

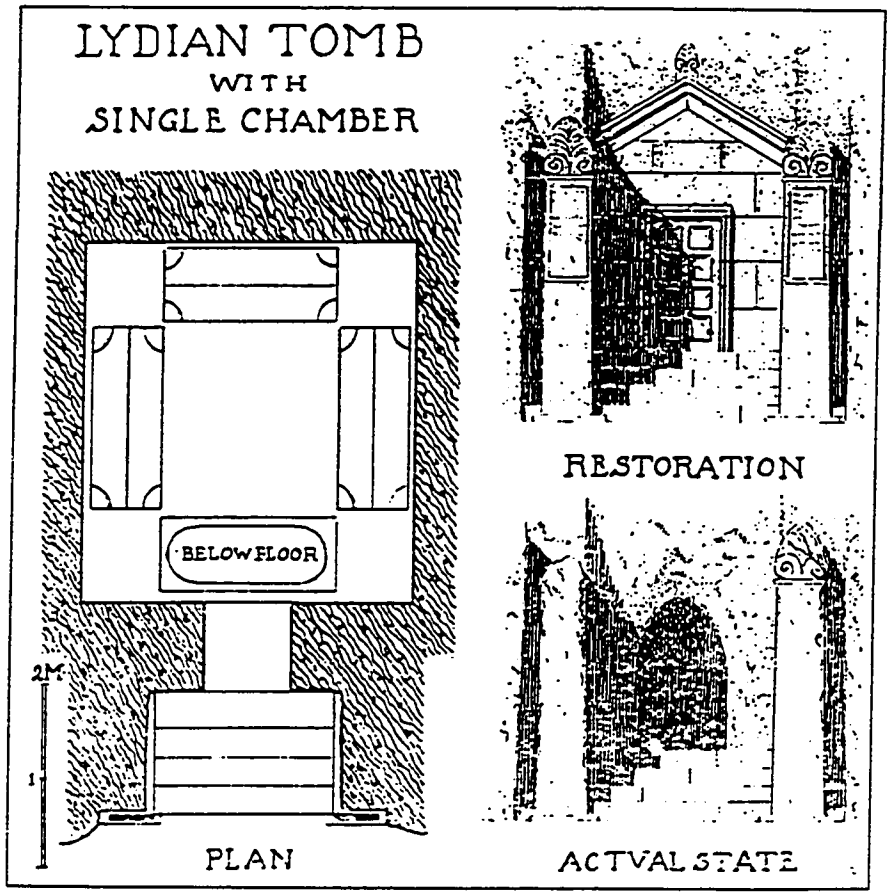


Fig. 20 CC 6, plan and restored facade elevation according to Butler.

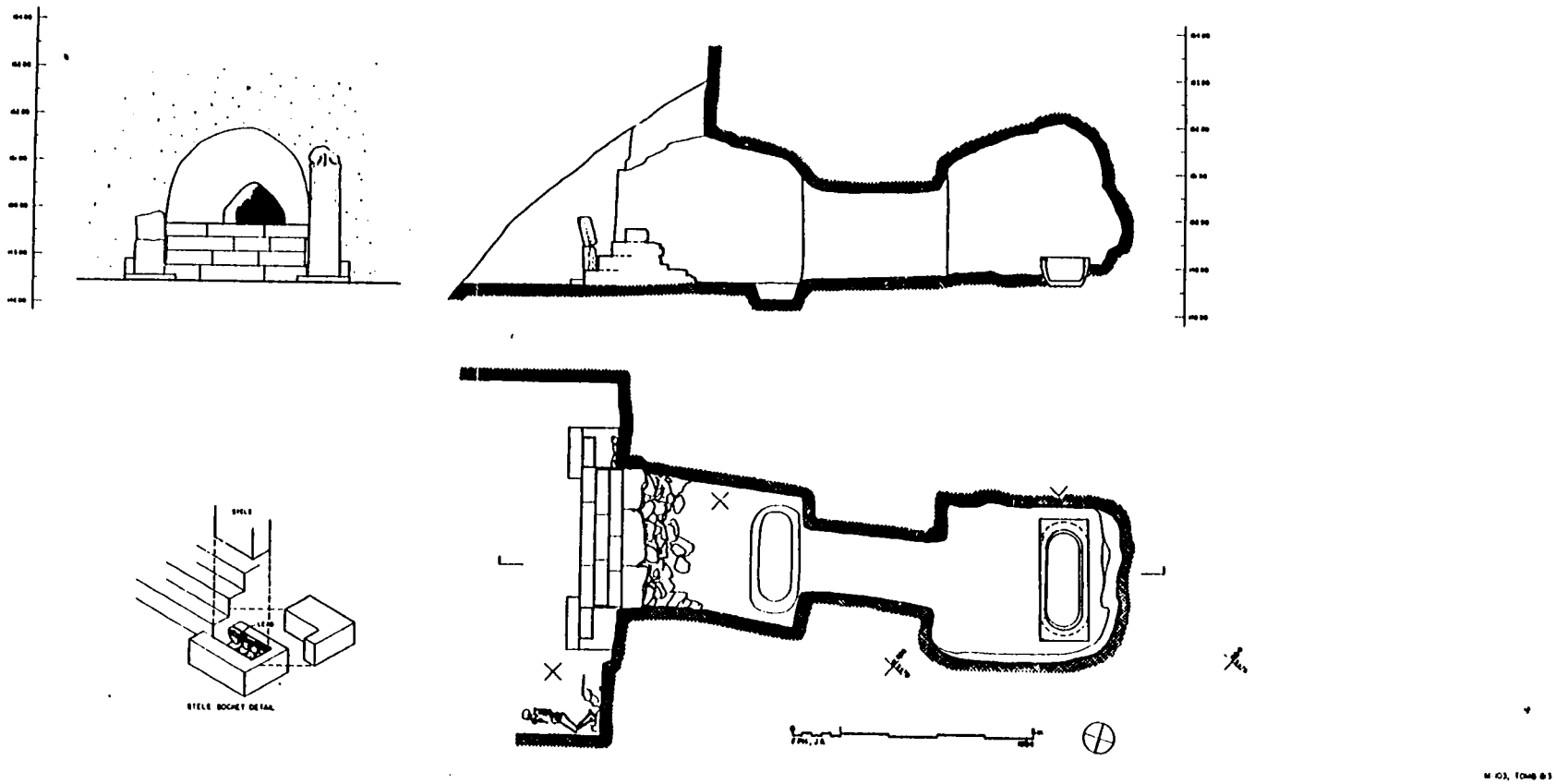


Fig. 21 CC 6A, plan and elevations according to Harvard/Cornell re-excavation in 1984.

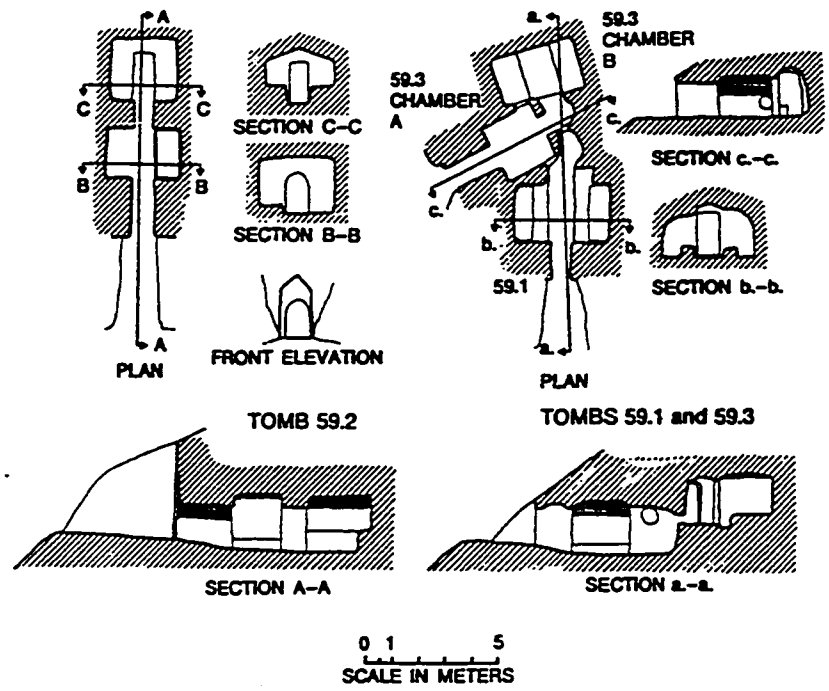


Fig. 22 CC 15-CC 17, plans and sections.

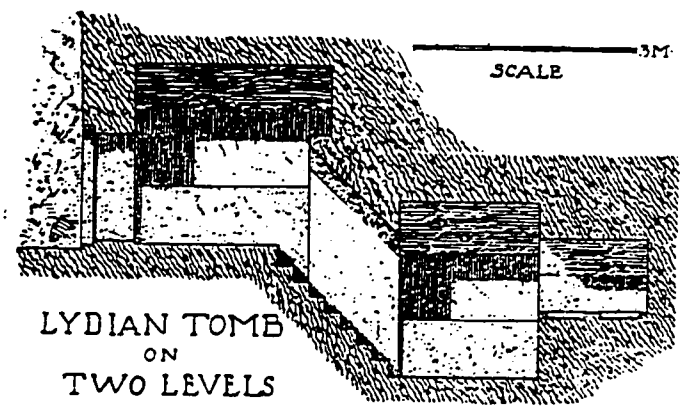


Fig. 23 CC 7, section.

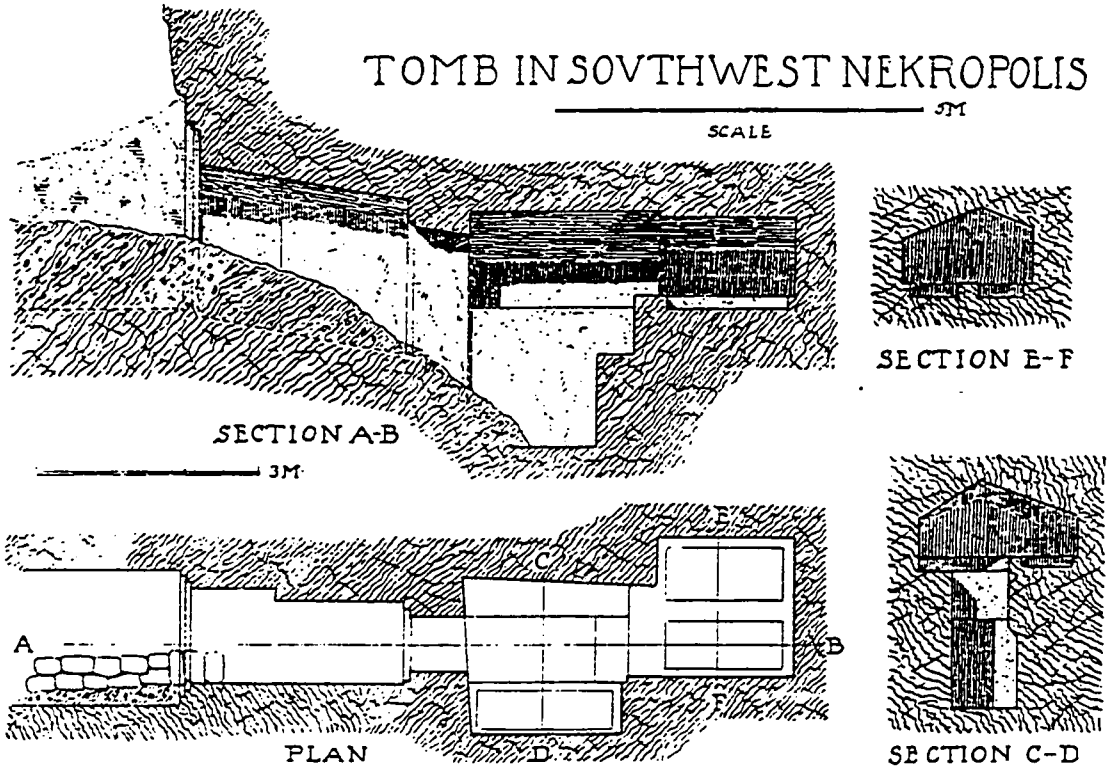


Fig. 24 CC 18, plan and sections.

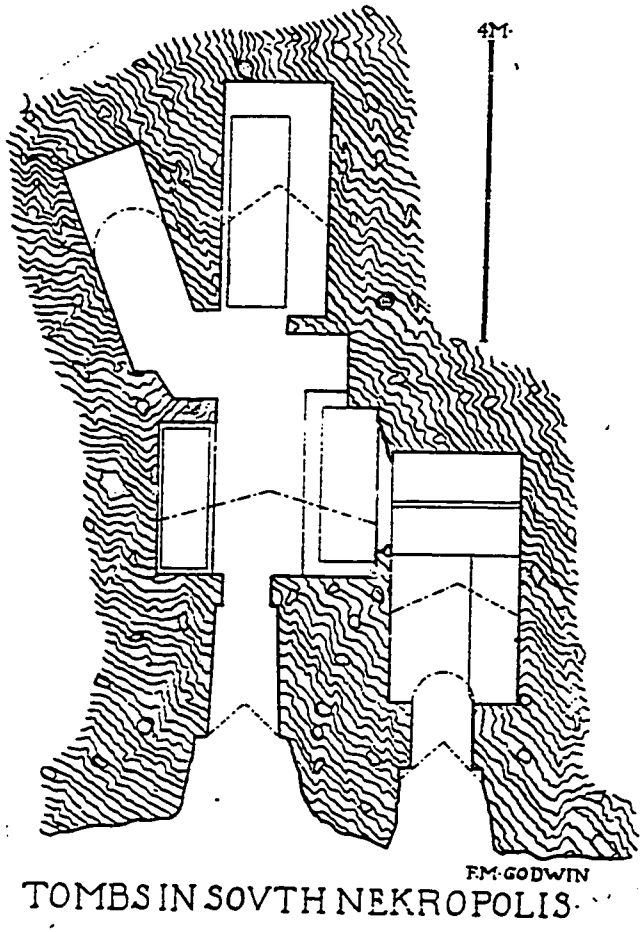


Fig. 25 CC 19 and CC 20, plan.

Fig. 26 C 5, cist grave during excavation.

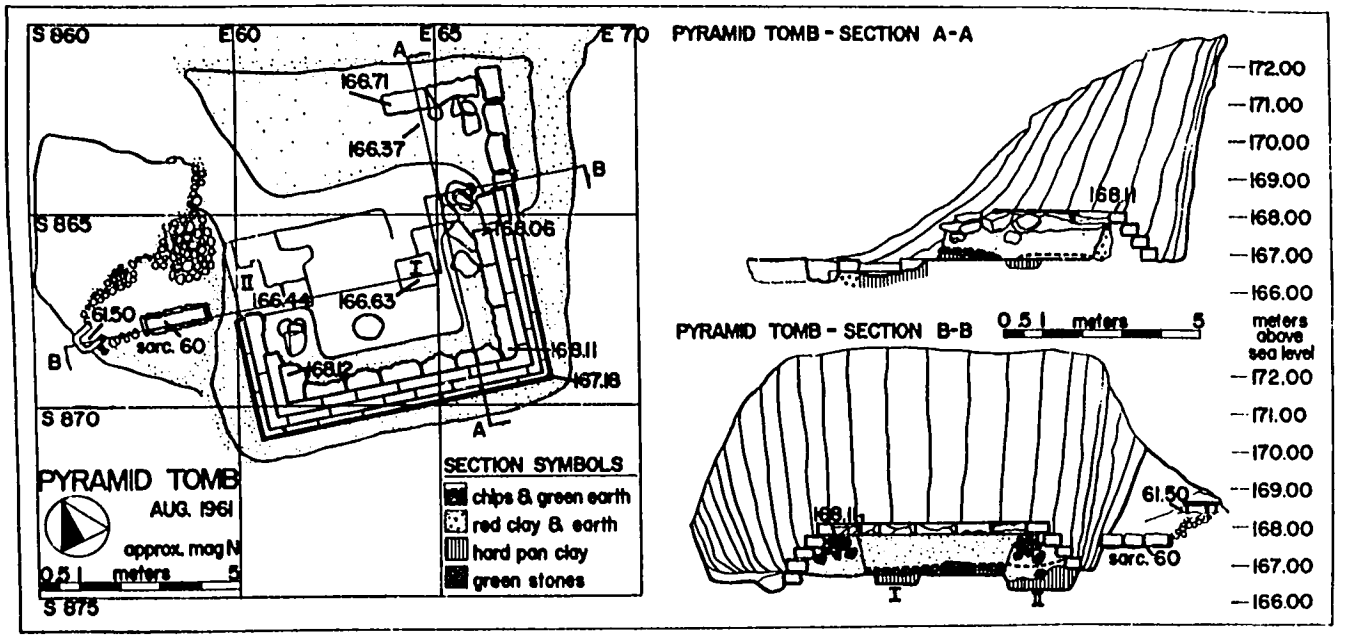


Fig. 27
Pyramid Tomb, plan and sections showing location of SAR 4 and SAR 5.

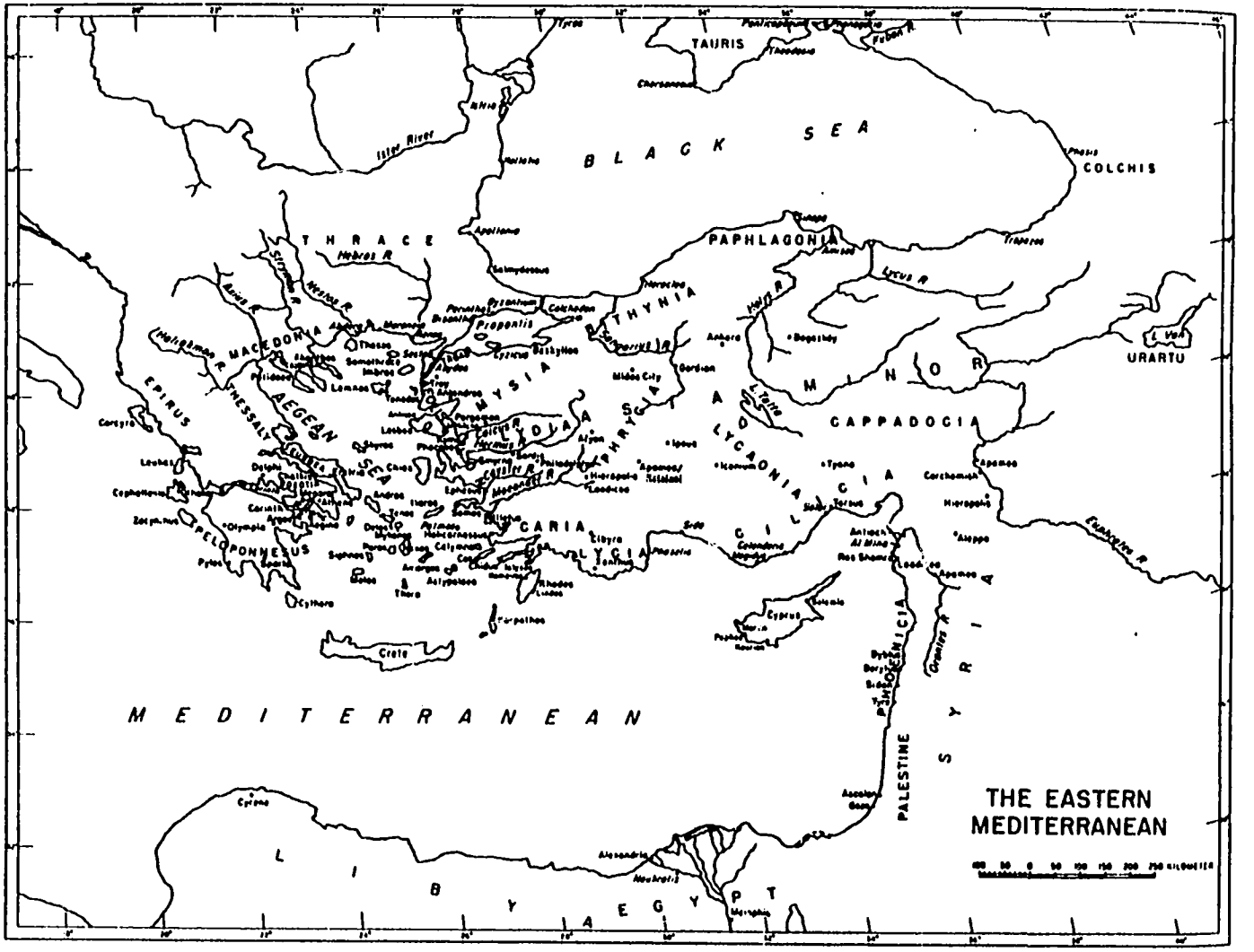


Fig. 28 The eastern Mediterranean, including major geographical divisions within Asia Minor.

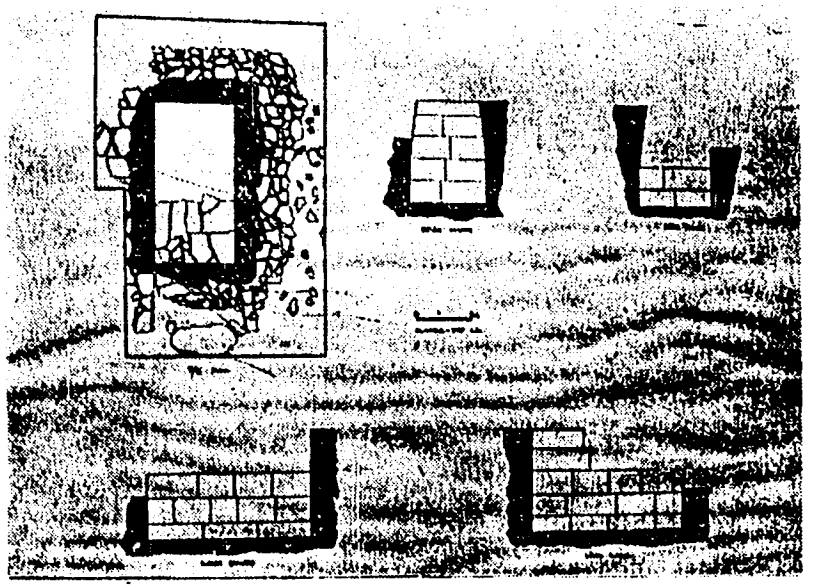


Fig. 29 Alahıdır, E 1c; plan and elevations.

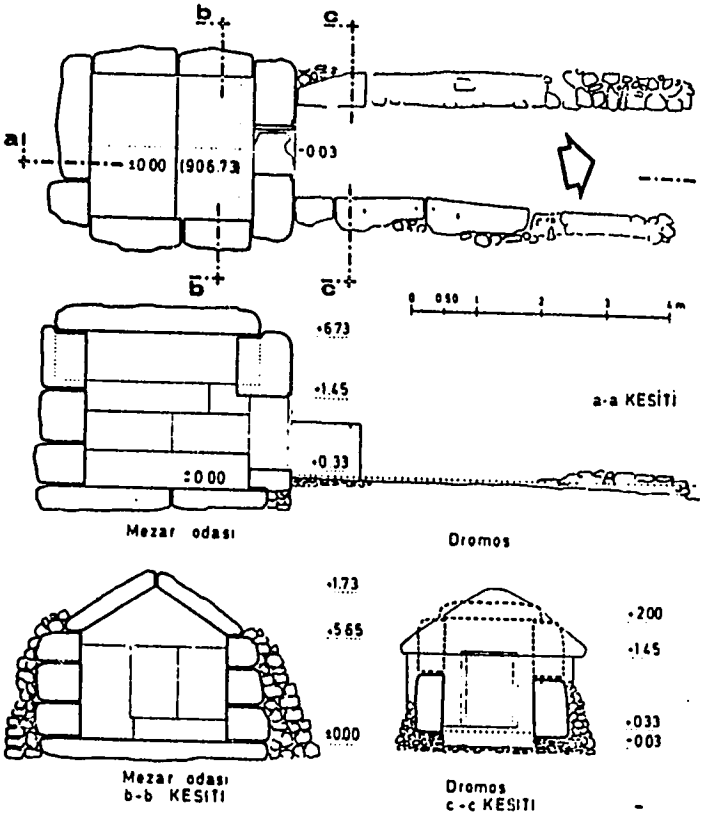


Fig. 30 Selcikler, F 2a; plan and elevations.

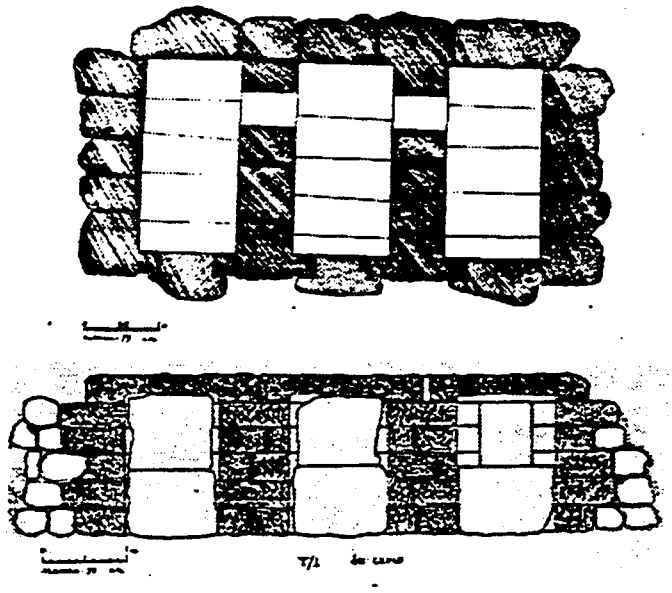
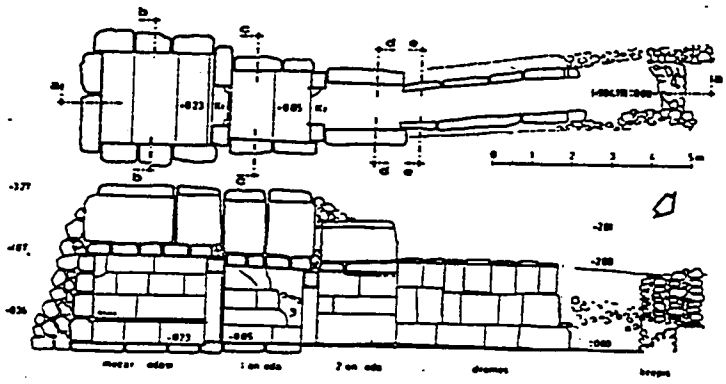


Fig. 31 Alahıdır, E 1a; plan and facade elevation.



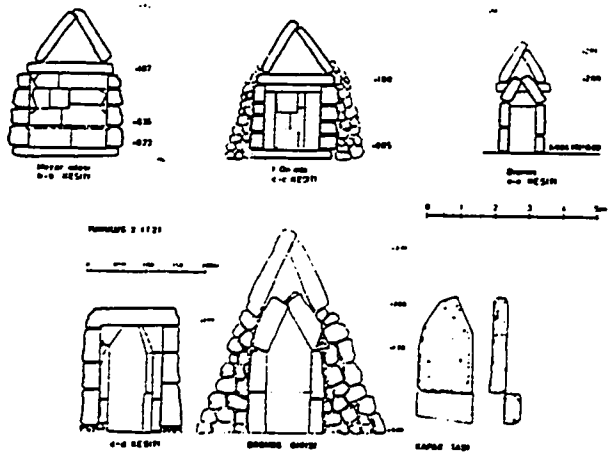


Fig. 32 Selcikler, F 2b; plan, elevation and sections.

Fig. 33 Anthemion and upper section of IS 7.

Fig. 34 Upper section of IS 28.

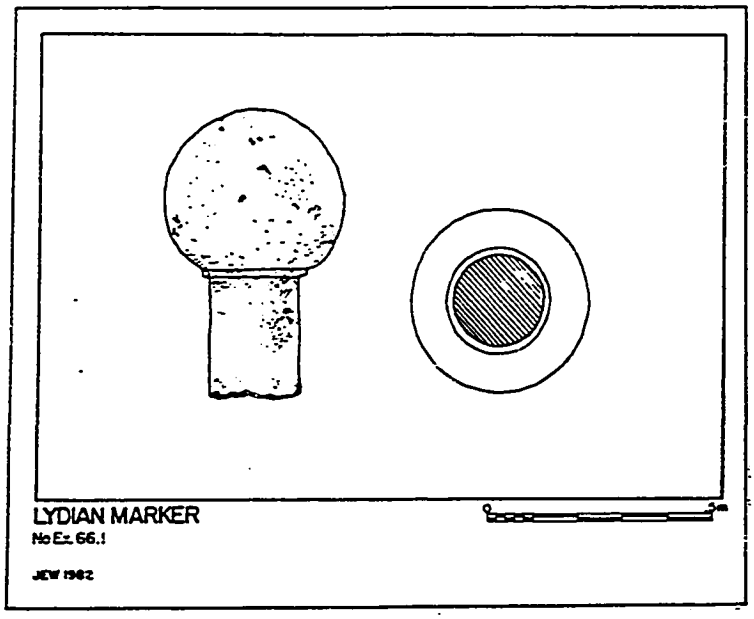


Fig. 35 'Phallos' marker P 3.

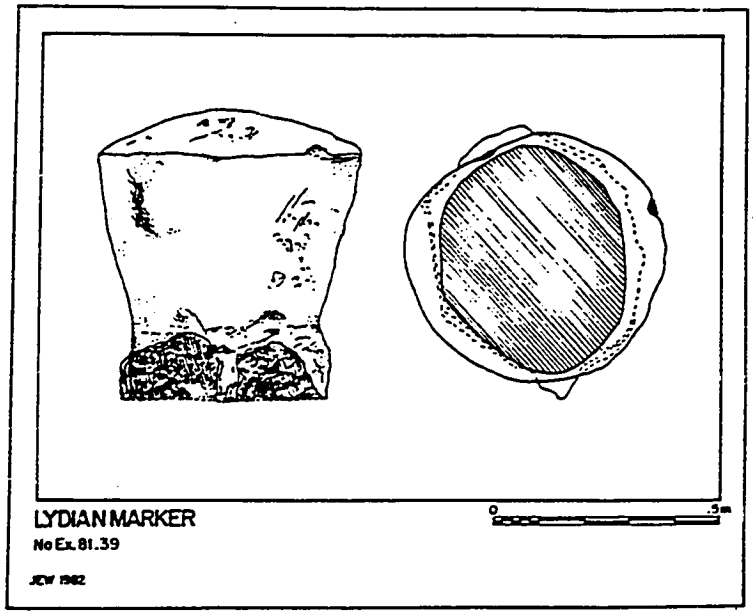


Fig. 36 'Phallos' marker P 8.

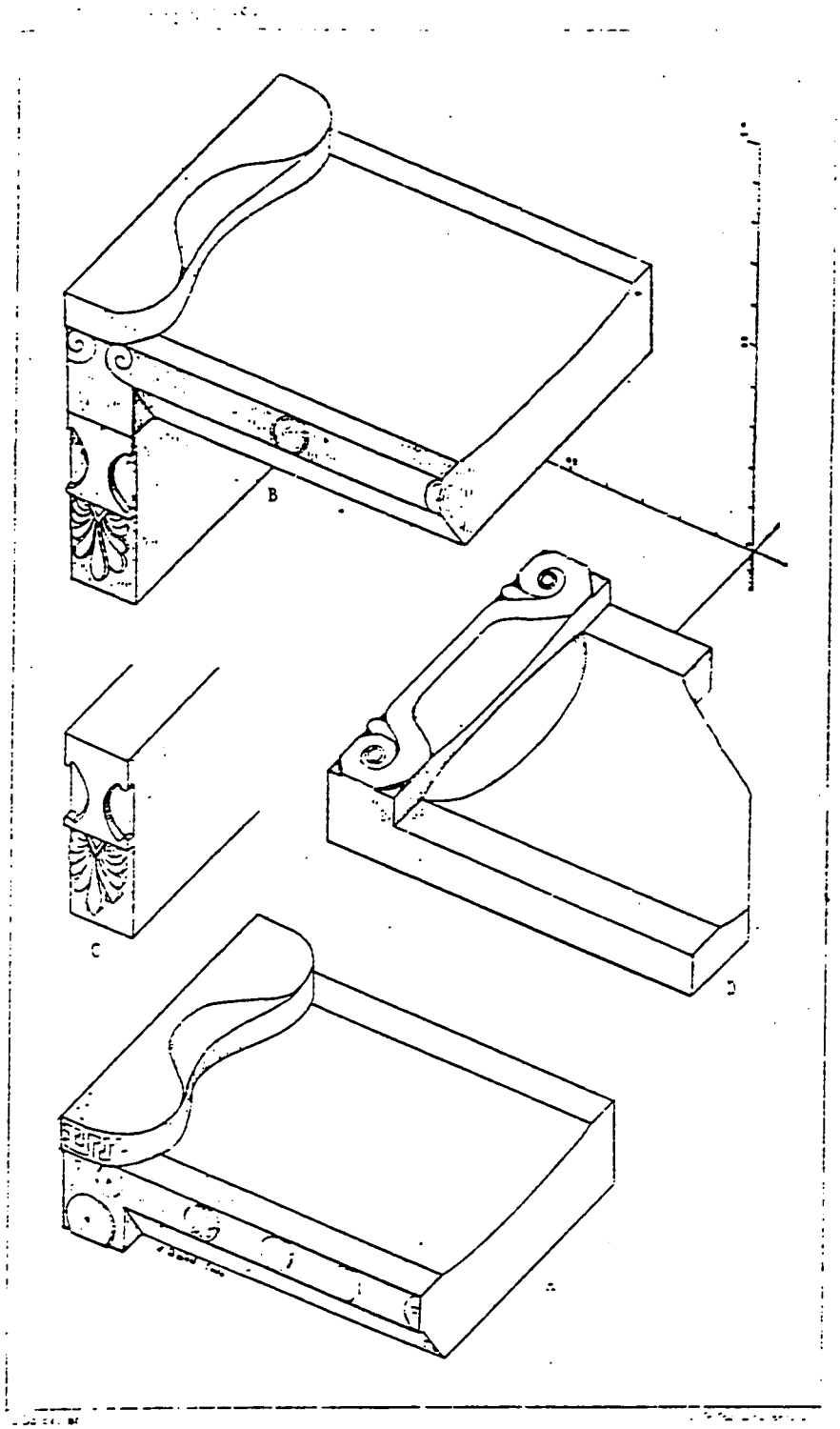


Fig. 37 Klinai fragments found at Bin Tepe by Choisy.

Fig. 38 Pottery from CC 9 excavated by the Princeton Expedition and now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art.