

Identification by Shape? Sarcophagi of Locals and Foreigners in Roman Imperial Lycia

Oliver Hülден*

Lycia is characterized by a sepulchral culture, which has found its expression in numerous tomb types that are typical for this region. They were created in Archaic and Classical times, probably as a result of the Persian conquest around 540 BC and the integration of Lycia into the Achaemenid Empire. A ruling elite, the so-called dynasts, was obviously looking for new forms of representation and found them in tombs in which local and foreign elements were combined to create something new and unique. It is noteworthy that these tomb types occur almost exclusively within the Lycian language area and can therefore be understood as an expression of a specific Lycian culture which, not only in this respect, differs from other regions in Asia Minor and beyond. One of these tomb types is the free-standing stone sarcophagus with its characteristic ogival lid, which first occurred in the 5th century BC and was initially based on an imitation of indigenous wooden architecture in stone. However, a combination with Greek elements, also derived from timber construction, followed very quickly. In contrast to the other typical Lycian types of tombs, the sarcophagus survived the Hellenistic era and began a veritable triumphant advance in the Roman imperial period. While individual elements were constantly changing, the shape of the lid remained the same for centuries. In the necropoleis of several Lycian settlements, however, sarcophagi from the Roman imperial period with gabled roof-shaped lids can also be found. This lid shape has been identified as foreign based on an inscription from Patara, whereas the ogival lid shape is said to have been the local one. In principle, this seems to be correct, and the sarcophagus with its ogival lid was undoubtedly of particular importance for the Lycian identity. However, the deceased, who reveal themselves as locals or foreigners in grave inscriptions, nevertheless made use of sarcophagi with both kind of lids.

Keywords: Greek and Roman antiquity, Asia Minor, Lycia, burial culture, sarcophagi, Roman imperial period, harbor settlements

* **Correspondence details:** PD Mag. Dr. Oliver Hülден, Austrian Archaeological Institute/Austrian Academy of Sciences, Franz Klein-Gasse 1, 1190 Vienna, Austria, oliver.huelden@oeaw.ac.at.

This article is part of the themed section *Global Epigraphy. Perception and Representation of the Foreign*, guest editor: Andreas Rhoby. To read all related articles, please access: [dx.doi.org/10.1553/medievalworlds_no16_2022](https://doi.org/10.1553/medievalworlds_no16_2022).

A Lycian Sarcophagus in Pula

In the center of the Croatian town of Pula, visitors find an ancient sarcophagus with a gabled roof-shaped lid in the Park grada Graza (Park of the City of Graz). Since there are other parts of sarcophagi and workpieces in the park, it appears that these and the sarcophagus may be remains of the Roman Colonia Iulia Pola Polensis Herculanea and come from its necropolis.¹



Fig. 1: Sarcophagus from Andriake, set up in the Park grada Graza at Pula (photo: O. Hülден)

Amazingly, the sarcophagus has a completely different story of origin to tell, and in this respect is a foreign body among the grave types of the Roman period represented in Pula. At first glance, however, this is not noticeable, because comparatively simple sarcophagi made of limestone with a gabled roof-shaped lid appeared in many places in the Mediterranean region and in the inland provinces during that time. The *tabula ansata*, the simple lateral pilasters and rounded projected parts (used to lift the lid) on the narrow sides of the chest are too unspecific to reveal the true origin of the sarcophagus. However, some details of the lid are more revealing. While here the projecting elements can also be overlooked, the central and side acroters, which are of hemispherical and quarter-spherical shape and provided with a circumferential, pointed brim, point in a clear geographical direction. Lids with this type of acroter can be located on the south coast of Asia Minor and, more precisely, in Lycia and Pamphylia.² There they often appear in combination with chests decorated with *tabulae ansatae*, pilasters and projecting elements.

The sarcophagus in Pula thus shows features that point to an origin in southwestern Asia Minor. This is actually also evident from the 13-line Greek epitaph inscribed in the *tabula ansata*. It identifies an Aurelios Pardalas, son of Epaphrodeitus, citizen of Lycian Myra as the tomb owner, who erected the sarcophagus for himself and his family, probably in the 3rd century AD.³ But how could the sarcophagus get from Myra to distant Istrian Pula?

1 See, for example, Letzner, *Pula*, 76-77 fig. 109.

2 Koch and Sichtermann, *Römische Sarkophage*, 536-538 fig. 22, esp. 538 with note 16.

3 For the inscription, see Weisshäupl, *Lykischer Sarkophag*, 101-102. Cf. also Borchhardt, *Myra*, 75 pl. 47A. C.

In the years 1883 and 1884, the third and last Austrian expedition to Lycia took place under the direction of Gabriel Knaffl-Lenz Ritter von Fohnsdorf. In its course, the last reliefs of the Heroon of Trysa and the Dereimis and Aeschylus Sarcophagus were loaded on board the S. M. transport ship “Pola” and brought to Vienna.⁴ On 20 April 1884, the Pardalas sarcophagus from the mouth of the Andriakos River was also loaded in the Bay of Myra.⁵ Accordingly, it belonged to the necropolis of the port of Myra, Andriake, and it was to be brought not to Vienna, but to the k. u. k. Naval Park of the Austrian war port of Pola.

The journey to Pola was first interrupted in Constantinople, where on 30 April 1884 another, not yet mentioned sarcophagus from Trysa, the so-called Dolphin Sarcophagus, was brought ashore as a “gift” for Sultan Abdul Hamid II.⁶ Then, on 11 May, the “Pola” arrived in Trieste to unload the sarcophagus and the reliefs of the Heroon intended for Vienna, and finally, also the Pardalas sarcophagus reached the port of Pola to find its new place in the local Seersenal.⁷

The sarcophagus of Pardalas, which was brought from Lycia to Pula in this peculiar way that can only be understood with background knowledge, does not represent a burial of ancient people abroad. Nevertheless, examination thereof is a suitable introduction to a topic that deals with the representation and perception of the foreign in inscriptions. However, the following considerations will be less about the description of strangers in texts than the question of whether there is a connection between certain external forms or features of sarcophagi in Lycia and locals and foreigners who died there and who can be identified as such.

The World of Tombs and the Sarcophagi of Lycia

The parts of the Teke Peninsula in the southwest of Asia Minor known as Lycia are characterized by a burial culture that found expression in numerous characteristic grave types that were unique even for the whole ancient Mediterranean world. This uniqueness manifests itself in the fact that the tombs have such a high recognition value that they can be recognized immediately as Lycian despite the inclusion of foreign elements.

The same applies to other evidence of material culture, and the aforementioned parts of the peninsula also formed the almost exclusive distribution area of Lycian written documents, i.e. inscriptions. Research is therefore based on a more or less independent, relatively clearly demarcated “cultural area”, the bearers of which referred to themselves as *Trmmili* and were designated as Lycians in their foreign appellation. This “cultural area” Lycia is located between the Gulf of Fethiye in the west and Cape Gelidonia in the east. In the south lies the Mediterranean Sea, and in the north the southern foothills of the Bey Dağları form the border with the plain of Elmalı.⁸

4 For the discovery of the Heroon of Trysa and the transport of its reliefs to Vienna, see in general Szemethy, *Erwerbungsgeschichte*. For the third expedition to Lycia, see there, pp. 215-264.

5 Szemethy, *Erwerbungsgeschichte*, 260-261; 696 (Dok. Nr. TB-2, 6 April 1884). 700 (Dok. Nr. TB-2, 20 April 1884).

6 Szemethy, *Erwerbungsgeschichte*, 262-263.

7 Szemethy, *Erwerbungsgeschichte*, 263. For the placing of the sarcophagus in the “k. u. k. Seersenal”, see Weisshäupl, *Lykischer Sarkophag*, 101.

8 Cf., for example, Kjeldsen and Zahle, *Lykische Gräber*, 314-319 figs. 2-3; Hüllden, *Überlegungen*, 120-133; Kolb, *Entstehung der Landschaft*, 131-141; Kolb, *Lykien*, 19-25 esp. 23-24. The inference of ethnicity from material culture is a controversial area in contemporary archaeology. For historical and geographical reasons, the research assumes that written evidence, material culture and cultural space in Lycia are largely congruent, without this being discussed again in detail here. For the general problem of ethnicity in connection with material culture, cultural space and territoriality, see, e. g., Jones, *Archaeology of Ethnicity*; Krause and Nakoinz, *Kulturraum und Territorialität*.

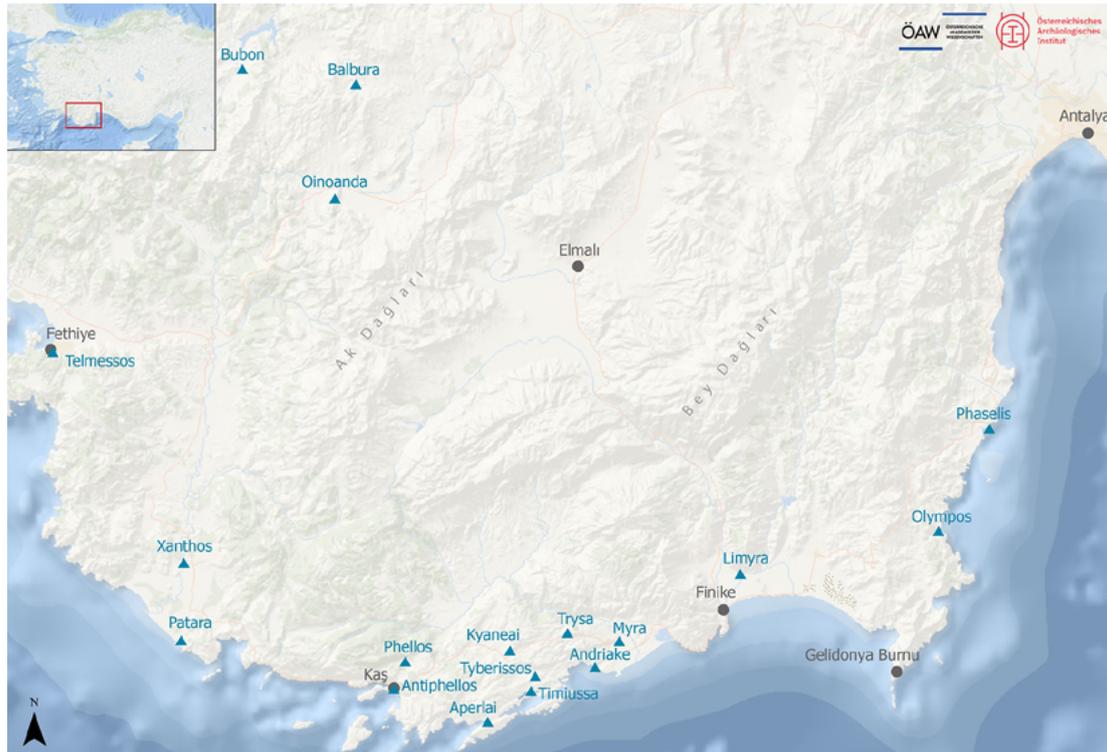


Fig. 2: Map of Lycia (© ÖAW-ÖAI/N. Math)

The specifically Lycian tomb types, which distinguish Lycia from other areas not only in Asia Minor but throughout the Mediterranean and the Near East, arose at the end of the Archaic period. The impetus for this creative act was presumably the Persian conquest of Lycia and the subsequent incorporation into the Achaemenid Empire.⁹ An elite, the so-called dynasts,¹⁰ who usually ruled over small regions within Lycia and were linked by family ties, obviously looked for new forms of representation and found them in tombs in which local and foreign elements were skillfully combined to create something new and unique. Previously, other types of graves, i.e. tumuli, terrace, podium and chamber tombs, were apparently in use. They were replaced by pillar and house tombs as well as rock-cut façade tombs and sarcophagi in the late Archaic and especially Classical periods. Apart from the sarcophagi, which will be the focus of the following, the genesis of these tomb types, which are related to local wooden architecture, is not of further interest here.¹¹

The sarcophagi of Lycia were usually set up in the open air and made of local limestone. Sometimes the chests were cut into the bedrock. The peculiarity of the Lycian sarcophagi is that they initially imitated indigenous wooden architecture in stone as a scaled-down form of house tombs equipped with an ogival roof.¹²

9 Cf. Marksteiner, *Trysa*, 219-291, esp. 232-233. 289-291; Hüllden, *Gräber und Grabtypen*, vol. 1, 28-31; Hüllden, *Überlegungen*, 121-122; Hüllden, *Tumuli in Lykien*, 485-486.

10 For the term, see Kolb, *Lykien*, 89-90.

11 For an overview, see esp. Hüllden, *Gräber und Grabtypen*.

12 For the genesis and development of the Lycian sarcophagi and their connection with wooden architecture, see Kjeldsen and Zahle, *Lykische Gräber*, 312-350 esp. 332-340; Hüllden, *Gräber und Grabtypen*, vol. 1, 51-98; Hüllden, *Nekropolen von Kyaneai*, 29-152; Kolb, *Lykien*, 629-657.



Fig. 3: Sarcophagus at Xanthos imitating wooden architecture (photo: O. Hüllden)

Subsequently, these Lycian building elements merged with Greek ones, which were also borrowed from wood construction. These Greek elements, which are mainly found on the chests, are not rooted in house architecture, but in construction principles of wooden chests. This development probably started in the 2nd half of the 5th, to reach its peak in the 4th century BC. Sarcophagi of both types seem to have existed parallel to each other, whereby the elements that go back to one or the other wooden construction often degenerated into rudiments or were even left out.



Fig. 4: Sarcophagus of Ahqqadi at Xanthos with the chest imitating a wooden box (photo: O. Hülden)

The most striking feature, the ogival shape of the lid, was always retained, even if the decoration of the gable fields was often reduced to a single projecting element for lifting the lid.¹³ Unlike the other pre-Hellenistic grave types, the sarcophagus can also be traced through the entire Hellenistic period.

¹³ The ogival lid is so distinctive and unique that the only example from the royal necropolis of Sidon that was found outside Lycia is known in archaeological research under the name “Lycian sarcophagus”, see Schmidt-Dounas, *Sarkophag aus Sidon*; Langer-Karrenbrock, *Lykischer Sarkophag*.

The sarcophagi continued to gain popularity during the Roman imperial period and reached their heyday in the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD. Even after the arrival of Christianity, the ogival shape of the lid was retained, as an example from the 4th or 5th century AD in the vicinity of Kyaneai in Central Lycia shows.¹⁴ Crosses are placed in the pediments of its fragmented ogival lid, and these are also to be found on its chest. In addition, depictions of peacocks complete the decor and, together with the epitaph, which cites verses 23, 42-42 from the Gospel of Luke, refer to paradise. Until the Late Antique/early Byzantine period and thus over a period of approx. 800 to 900 years with far-reaching social and political upheavals, the ogival lid was the defining element of Lycian sarcophagi. The execution may be clumsy at times and the details may have shriveled into rudiments, but the characteristic appearance was always retained.

Tombs of Locals and Strangers

Against the background of the development described, it makes sense to understand the majority of the tombs found in Lycia, at least in pre-Hellenistic times, as specific grave types created by Lycians for themselves. In fact, attempts to identify foreign grave forms or graves in general for strangers have only been made to a limited extent and with no clear result. In Limyra, for example, three rock-cut façade tombs have been linked to burials of Persians.¹⁵ In the first case, this interpretation is based, on the one hand, on the fact that the grave owner has an Aramaic name. On the other hand, the epitaph was written in both Greek and Aramaic and contains the term “Astodan” which means an ossuary, in accordance with Zoroastrian burial practices. In fact, the buried person may have been a Persian, but whether he adhered to Zoroastrian beliefs remains unclear.

In the other two cases, reliefs attached to the façades showing men in Persian costumes are the argument for the interpretation as foreign burials. This is also quite conceivable. But much more significant is that the rock-cut tombs without the inscription or the reliefs do not differ from the others in the necropoleis of Limyra. So, if the buried people were Persians, they used a local grave type for their burial.

Cases like this are unlikely to have happened too often, since the overall Persian presence in Lycia is estimated to have been low.¹⁶ This probably also applies to representatives of other ethnic groups, which means primarily Greeks. Greek names appear more frequently in grave inscriptions.¹⁷ But it is likely that many of these people were Lycians who were given Greek names, as in the case of the dynast Perikle of Limyra. Another example is an Apollonios, son of Hellaphilos, who lived east of Limyra in the 4th century BC. A rock-cut façade tomb with reliefs and a Greek epigram was built for him at a place called Asartaş.¹⁸ Was he an educated member of the Lycian elite or a Rhodian Greek, as F. Kolb recently argued?¹⁹

14 Hüllden, *Gräber und Grabtypen*, vol. 1, 75-76; vol. 2, 38-39 pls. 14, 4; 26, 1-4; 28, 4.

15 For the following discussion, see Kuban, Astodan, 133-143; Hüllden, *Gräber und Grabtypen*, vol. 1, 347-348; Kuban, *Nekropolen von Limyra*, 83-87; Kolb, *Lykien*, 474-475.

16 See, for example, Kolb, *Lykien*, 119-120. For Persian names in Lycia and their distribution, see Schweyer, *Lyciens et la mort*, 135-141.

17 Cf. Schweyer, *Lyciens et la mort*, 141-170.

18 For the tomb and the discussion on it, see Hüllden, *Lykiens Dynasten*, 83-85 (with the older literature). Furthermore, cf. Haake, patchwork-Repräsentation, 277-296.

19 Kolb, *Lykien*, 496.

It is also difficult to measure how many Greek craftsmen and artists worked on the Lycian grave monuments with reliefs of the 5th and 4th centuries BC and whether their presence in Lycia was permanent. The situation is similar to the Greek pedagogues attested in Xanthos, who apparently stayed there at court in Classical times (5th/4th century BC) to impart Greek upbringing.²⁰ The length of their stay is beyond our knowledge, as is the question of whether the presence of such educators in other places in Lycia can be expected. In the Hellenistic period (late 4th to 1st century BC), on the other hand, we occasionally encounter Ptolemaic mercenaries in inscriptions in Lycia, but we also learn next to nothing about their way of life in this place far away from their homes.²¹

Finally, a somewhat different case can be found in the necropolis of Limyra.²² There, human bone fragments were recovered from a sarcophagus of the late Classical period, which was embedded in a strange kind of tumulus, and analyzed anthropologically. From the use of the tumulus as an allegedly non-Lycian grave form, its placement between older graves and certain features of the skeletal remains, it was subsequently concluded that the deceased was supposed to be a stranger who could most likely be identified as Karian. However, none of the arguments for this are convincing, and in particular, the tumulus, which was a widespread tomb type in Lycia already before the Persian conquest, can meanwhile hardly be described as foreign in this region.²³

Conversely, however, the few Lycian tombs that have been found outside Lycia cannot be regarded only as foreign grave forms. Rather, the people buried in them are likely to have actually been Lycians who died abroad and who ostentatiously wanted to display their origins through the architectural shape of their tombs. The rock-cut façade tombs found in the regions of Kabalis/Kibyrtis and Milyas, which border on Lycia to the north, have been interpreted in this way. Their erection can likely be connected with the conquest of these areas by Perikle of Limyra in the early 4th century BC and with Lycians who subsequently died there.²⁴ Here, too, of course, the opposite view exists, that it could only have been an adoption of a Lycian grave type by locals.²⁵

If we summarize the above-mentioned attempts to identify foreigners in Lycia, which essentially relate to the pre-Hellenistic period, then they indicate a rather low presence of non-Lycians and an ethnically largely homogeneous Lycian population. This undoubtedly changed with Hellenism and its political, social and economic changes and was continued in Roman times. With regard to the graves, this also led to changes in Lycia, which mainly consisted in the fact that some of the grave types from the pre-Hellenistic period were still used for secondary burials, but were no longer built. Only the sarcophagus survived and, as in other areas of the Mediterranean world, experienced a real boom. And in this case, the Lycians actually seem to have made a distinction between a native and a foreign tomb type based on architectural form.

20 See, at last, Hülден, *Lykiens Dynasten*, 84.

21 For these mercenaries, see, for example, Kolb, *Lykien*, 106.

22 For the following discussion, cf. Hülден, *Gräber und Grabtypen*, 113 (with the older literature); Seyer, *Intraurbane Grabmäler*, 218 note 61.

23 Cf. Hülден, *Tumuli in Lykien*, 475-490. Recently, F. Durmuş for West Lycia (Karapınar, Fethiye) published further, partially well-preserved tumuli, see Durmuş, *Karapınar*, 95-107.

24 For these tombs, see, so far, Gay and Corsten, *Lycian Tombs*, 47-60. They will be re-examined shortly by O. Hülден as part of the online publications of the Kibyrtis project. For the reign of Perikle of Limyra, including a critical view on his conquests, see Wörrle, *Geschichte Lykiens*, 212-217 esp. 214-215. Cf. also Kolb, *Lykien*, 140. 497-504.

25 Kolb, *Lykien*, 503.

Towards the end of the 19th century, R. Heberdey and E. Kalinka published a block of inscriptions from the harbor of Patara, which was part of a tomb. Lines 3 to 5 read:²⁶

(...)
 . . ἐπ[ικει ?]μένοις ἀνγείοις δυσίν, ἐ[τέρω μὲν
 τοπ]ικῶ, ἐτέρω δὲ Ἀσιανῶ, κατεσκευάσεν [καὶ
 5 ἀν]έθηκεν Ζώσιμος οἰκονόμος Τιβερί[ου].
 (...)

The text, of which only these three lines are relevant here, obviously speaks of a monument that consisted of two individual graves. The first is referred to as ἀνγεῖον τοπικόν (a local coffin or sarcophagus) and the other as ἀνγεῖον Ἀσιανόν (a coffin or sarcophagus from [wider] Asia [Minor])²⁷. From this, Heberdey and Kalinka concluded that the local grave must have been a sarcophagus with a Lycian, i.e. ogival lid and the Asiatic one with a non-local, i.e. gabled roof-shaped lid. O. Benndorf followed this idea, and so it was established in research.²⁸ Further analysis, for example with regard to quantitative relationships, the geographical distribution of these two types of sarcophagus and a possible connection between the origin of the deceased and the choice of the lid shape, has only been carried out rudimentarily.²⁹

Sarcophagus Lids as a Sign of Ethnic Origin?

The necropoleis of Lycian settlements have rarely been fully investigated. For knowledge of the sarcophagi, the necropoleis of Kyaneai in Central Lycia are of great importance, as around 380 specimens have been preserved there, which should largely correspond with the actual former number.³⁰ About 270 of these tombs have an ogival lid, compared to only 33 examples with a lid in the form of a gabled roof.³¹ In the necropoleis of other inland settlements in Central Lycia such as Phellos or Tyberissos, however, only sarcophagi with ogival lids can be found,³² and this also applies to Limyra in Eastern Lycia.³³ Likewise, in the necropoleis of the dependent larger villages within the territory of Kyaneai as well as among the 57 registered rural sarcophagi connected to farmsteads, there is only one with a gabled roof.³⁴ On the other hand, sarcophagi with gabled roof-shaped lids appear to be more common in Lycian harbor settlements, although the ogival lids always predominate there as well.

26 Heberdey and Kalinka, *Bericht*, 27 no. 26. The block is 1.21 m long, 0.87 m high and 0.51 m deep.

27 The term ἀνγεῖον originally stands for a vessel for holding liquid or dry substances. In grave inscriptions it refers to a coffin or sarcophagus, cf. Kubińska, *Monuments funéraires*, 40-45.

28 Benndorf, *Grabinschrift*, 401-402 note 1. Cf., for example, Koch and Sichtermann, *Römische Sarkophage*, 536; Hüllden, *Gräber und Grabtypen*, vol. 1, 80.

29 Hüllden, *Gräber und Grabtypen*, vol. 1, 88-90; Hüllden, *Überlegungen*, 123-125; Hüllden, *Nekropolen von Kyaneai*, 130-134.

30 Hüllden, *Nekropolen von Kyaneai*, 29-152.

31 Hüllden, *Nekropolen von Kyaneai*, 100, 130.

32 For the necropolis of Phellos, see its upcoming publication: Hüllden, *Gräber von Phellos*. The publication of the tombs of Tyberissos is in preparation by the same author.

33 Kuban, *Nekropolen von Limyra*, 57.

34 Hüllden, *Gräber und Grabtypen*, vol. 1, 51-98; vol. 2, 57 pls. 29, 2; 31, 3 (S 47). For the necropoleis of the larger villages in the territory of Kyaneai, see Hüllden, *Nekropolen von Kyaneai*, 29 note 141 (Trysa, Korba, Hoyran, Kapaklı Sarnıcı).

So far, the most precise information can be given for Andriake, the port of Myra and the place of origin of the sarcophagus of Pardalas in Pula discussed at the beginning of this article.³⁵ While only ogival lids can be observed in the so-called upper necropolis, the ratio of ogival to gabled roof-shaped lids in the southern necropolis is 2 to 9. For the northern necropolis, which comprises a total of 58 sarcophagi, only the number for the ogival lids is available with 16 examples. But the number of preserved gabled roof-shaped lids must be significantly higher and is probably between 20 and 30 specimens. Interestingly, there also seems to have been a spatial distribution: the ogival sarcophagus lids are mainly found in the western part of the northern necropolis, while the gabled roof-shaped lids dominate in its eastern part.

For other Lycian harbor settlements, information in this regard is so far considerably less accurate due to missing or not yet published studies. The Vienna manuscript of the *Corpus of the Tituli Asiae Minoris* from Central Lycia for the harbor of Antiphellos, which is connected to inland Phellos, contains 20 sarcophagus inscriptions.³⁶ Of these sarcophagi, a lid in the form of a gabled roof is noted for only two examples, whereas the rest had ogival lids. The reports of the European travelers of the 18th and 19th centuries, however, suggest a total of 150 to 200 sarcophagi in Antiphellos, of which very few have survived to this day.³⁷ At least one sarcophagus with a gabled roof-shaped lid is also recorded in a drawing by the traveler T. Hope,³⁸ which is why it can be assumed that other examples of this kind of lid existed in the necropolis of Antiphellos. Such vague statements are, however, of little further use, and the same can be said with regard to knowledge of the sarcophagi of other Lycian harbor settlements.³⁹

In the port town of Timiussa, where M. Zimmermann carried out field research in the early 2000s, the situation is somewhat better. This is also because Timiussa was investigated in connection with Tyberissos and the focus was on determining the relationship between a harbor and an inland settlement against the background of acculturation phenomena.⁴⁰ Of the numerous results of this research, it is primarily relevant in our context that the port expanded from the early Hellenistic period. This expansion was still based on the intensive agricultural use of the hinterland, which is why the existing local settlement patterns were initially retained. Only in the Roman imperial period did a fundamental change take place with the emergence of the production of salt fish, which brought about a shift in the focus to the sea as well as to trade and commerce.

35 Uğurlu, *Sarcophagi Andriake*, 355-366.

36 On the current status of work on the publication of these inscriptions, see Samitz, *Neue Grabinschriften*, 135-150.

37 For an overview of the necropoleis and tombs of Antiphellos and the following information, see Hülde, *Gräber von Phellos*.

38 T. Hope's drawings are in the possession of the Benaki Museum in Athens.

39 Cf. Idil, *Lahitleri*, 49-50 pls. 38, 1; 39, 1-40, 1 (no. 2. 4; Olympos); 52 pl. 44, 1-3 (nos. 3-4; Patara); 54-55 pl. 47, 1-2 (no. 1; Phaselis).

40 Zimmermann, *Teimiussa*, 333-342; Zimmermann, *Hafen und Hinterland*, 265-312.

Something similar can be observed at the mountain settlement Phellos and its port Antiphellos, both of which were also examined by Zimmermann.⁴¹ Here, too, from the Hellenistic period, the focus shifted towards the seaside, but Phellos behaved a little differently from Tyberissos and retained the time-honored appearance of a former dynastic settlement, presenting itself as a museum of its own glorious past. The latter aspect in particular is important, because it bears witness to a profound conservatism among large parts of the Lycian population continuing into the Roman imperial period, and in some cases, beyond that time.⁴²

Tombs seem to have played a major role in displaying this conservatism. This suggests that both Phellos and Tyberissos only contain sarcophagi with ogival, i.e. local, lids, while in the “gates to the world”, the port towns such as Timiussa, Antiphellos, Olympos and Andriake, sarcophagi with gabled roof-shaped, i.e. foreign, lids make up a certain proportion of the total number of these tombs.

In this context, it is noteworthy that grave inscriptions in these harbor settlements also tell us something about the very different origins of some of the deceased. The ethnic diversity is probably greatest in Timiussa because of its proximity to Myra and its large port, Andriake.⁴³ We not only find citizens of other Lycian poleis there, including other ports such as Aperlai, Patara and Telmessos, but the inscriptions point to a colorful mixture of traders and seamen for the High Imperial Period (2nd/3rd century AD).⁴⁴ These people came from Pisidian Selge, from Byzantion, Askalon and Caesarea Maritima in the Levant and from Puteoli in Campania. A ship owner or captain (ναύκληρος) from Nicomedia in Bithynia is also among them, and the same profession and origin apply to one of the buried in the southern necropolis of Andriake.⁴⁵

This very shipowner or captain from Nicomedia, who died in Andriake, chose a sarcophagus with a gabled roof-shaped lid for his burial. That means that a non-Lycian, according to the inscription from Patara, chose a non-Lycian tomb type. It therefore might appear reasonable that the sarcophagi with gabled roof-shaped lids were increasingly chosen by strangers for their burial. In fact, this is also the case with at least one other sarcophagus in Timiussa, which is connected with a citizen from Askalon.

41 Zimmermann, *Stadt und kulturelles Erbe*, 215-250; Zimmermann, Phellos in *Zentrallykien*, 907-916; Hülden and Zimmermann, *Phellos*.

42 Cf. des Courtils, *Xanthos et la conservation*, 231-237; Hülden, *Überlegungen*, 125-129.

43 For an overview of the origin of the deceased in other Lycian harbor settlements and the reasons for the diversity, see Zimmermann, *Landeskunde Zentrallykiens*, 231-246, esp. 240-241 with note 250.

44 Cf. Zimmermann, *Teimiusa*, 338-339; Brandt and Kolb, *Lycia et Pamphylia*, 101-104. Furthermore: Zimmermann, *Landeskunde Zentrallykiens*, 239-244. The publication of the inscriptions is, in connection with the sarcophagi, in preparation by C. Schuler and the author. Until then, see Petersen and von Luschan, *Reisen*, 55-59.

45 Uğurlu, *Sarcophagi Andriake*, 356-357, fig. 2.



Fig. 5: Sarcophagus with gabled roof-shaped lid in the necropolis of Teimiussa (photo: Project “Hafen und Hinterland”, LMU Munich)

Furthermore, at Olympos, the ναύκληρος Eudemos chose a sarcophagus with a non-ogival but flat lid with a triangular pediment for his sarcophagus, in which he was buried in the tomb of his nephew M. Aurelius Zosimas.⁴⁶ His epitaph provides an insight into the world of these people. Eudemos was engaged in the regular exchange of goods with the Black Sea region, and he himself crossed the Bosphorus several times. Which goods he transported there and from there back to Lycia can at best be discovered indirectly, but it will primarily have been agricultural products.⁴⁷ In any case, Eudemos was extremely successful in his trade, which, in addition to high local offices, earned him citizenship of Bithynian Chalcedon, and which he proudly states as the primary source of his wealth.

46 Atvur and Adak, Grabhaus des Zosimas, 11-31; cf. Brandt and Kolb, *Lycia et Pamphylia*, 103-104.

47 For Lycian long-distance trade relations in general, especially with Egypt, see Zimmermann, Häfen und Handelswege, 201-217.



Fig. 6: Sarcophagus of the shipowner Eudemos at Olympos (photo: O. Hüllden)

In spite of these individual examples, other foreigners who died in Lycia or local people associated with long-distance trade seem to have chosen sarcophagi with the local ogival lid for their burial. At least, that is shown by the sarcophagi of the foreigners from Selge, Byzantion, Caesarea Maritima and Puteoli in Timiusa with corresponding lids. A reverse example, however, is the sarcophagus of a Konon from Myra.⁴⁸ It is located in the necropolis of Andriake and has a lid in the form of a gabled roof. The same applies to the sarcophagus of Pardalas, which comes from the same necropolis, and the story of whose transfer to Pula was recounted at the beginning of this article.

Conclusion

The differentiation between a local and a foreign type of tomb, which Heberdey and Kalinka transferred from the inscription from Patara to the sarcophagi with ogival and gabled roof-shaped lids in the necropoleis of Lycia, certainly reflects ancient reality. There is also little doubt that the widespread adherence to the ogival lid shape conceals a strong conservatism and that this shape has a certain symbolic character in the sense of belonging to a Lycian identity. To what extent the sarcophagi with gabled roof-shaped lids that are characterized

48 Öztürk, Grabinschrift aus Andriake, 385-391.

as foreign in the Patara inscription were perceived as a kind of foreign object within the Lycian necropoleis is beyond our knowledge. In any case, it can be said that this lid shape is not found at all in the necropoleis of many settlements in the mountainous hinterland, whereas it occurs with increasing frequency in highly prosperous settlements such as Kyaneai or in the previously mentioned harbor settlements, without ever forming the majority there.

While it seems to be appropriate to assume conservatism behind the more frequent choice of an ogival lid for sarcophagus burials in Lycia, the motivation for choosing a gabled roof-shaped lid remains less clear. One reason may have been a greater open-mindedness towards foreigners or trends brought from abroad in Lycian harbor settlements. In any case, it is not easy to establish a connection between the origin of tomb owners and the shape of lid for their sarcophagi. However, further investigation of this phenomenon seems worthwhile. In addition to other Lycian locations not mentioned here, the spatial distribution of the sarcophagi within the necropoleis or their combination with other structural elements, such as altar-shaped door stones for the openings of the *hyposoria*, must also be considered.⁴⁹ This will surely result in new and more reliable insights into the relationship between Lycians and foreigners within Lycia.

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my deep gratitude to A. Rhoby, V. Scheibelreiter-Gail and A. Zajic for organizing the workshop “Global Epigraphy. Wahrnehmung und Darstellung von Fremdem in Inschriften” and the possibility to share the following considerations on Lycian tombs and sarcophagi. This article is dedicated to the memory of my mother Ute Hülден.

49 For this kind of door stone, see Hülден, *Nekropolen von Kyaneai*, 41-45.

References

- Atvur, Orhan and Mustafa Adak, Das Grabhaus des Zosimas und der Schiffseigner Eudemos aus Olympos in Lykien, *Epigraphica Anatolica* 28 (1997) 11-31.
- Benndorf, Otto, Grabinschrift von Telmessos, in: *Festschrift Theodor Gomperz dargebracht zum siebzigsten Geburtstage am 29. März 1902* (Vienna, 1902) 401-411.
- Borchhardt, Jürgen (ed.), *Myra. Eine lykische Metropole antiker und byzantinischer Zeit*, Istanbuler Forschungen 30 (Berlin, 1975).
- Brandt, Hartwin and Frank Kolb, *Lycia et Pamphylia. Eine römische Provinz im Südwesten Kleinasiens*, Orbis Provinciarum, Zaberns Bildbände zur Archäologie (Mainz, 2005).
- des Courtils, Jacques, Xanthos et la conservation du patrimoine culturel dans l'antiquité, in: Taner Korkut (ed.), *60. Yaşında Fahri Işık'a Armağan. Anadolu'da Doğdu. Festschrift für Fahri Işık zum 60. Geburtstag* (Istanbul, 2004) 231-237.
- Durmuş, Fuat, Karapınar (Telebehi) nekropolisi. The Karapınar (Telebehi) necropolis, *Cedrus* 9 (2021) 95-107.
- Gay, Kirsten A. and Thomas Corsten, Lycian Tombs in the Kibyrtis and the extent of Lycian culture, *Anatolian Studies* 56 (2006) 47-60.
- Haake, Matthias, Die patchwork-Repräsentation eines lykischen Dynasten. Apollonios, Sohn des Hellaphilos, und das Grab vom Asartaş Tepesi, in: Engelbert Winter (ed.), *Vom Euphrat bis zum Bosporus. Festschrift für Elmar Schwertheim zum 65. Geburtstag*, Asia Minor Studien 65, vol. 1 (Bonn) 277-296.
- Heberdey, Rudolf and Ernst Kalinka, *1. Bericht über zwei Reisen im südwestlichen Kleinasien*, Denkschriften der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse 45 (Vienna 1896).
- Hülden, Oliver, *Gräber und Grabtypen im Bergland von Yavu (Zentrallykien). Studien zur antiken Grabkultur in Lykien*, 2 vols, Antiquitas 3/45 (Bonn, 2006).
- Hülden, Oliver, Überlegungen zur identitätsstiftenden Wirkung lykischer Gräber, in: Reiner Sörries (ed.), *Creating Identities. Die Funktion von Grabmalen und öffentlichen Denkmälern in Gruppenbildungsprozessen*. Internationale Fachtagung vom 30. Oktober bis 2. November 2003 veranstaltet von der Arbeitsgemeinschaft Friedhof und Denkmal e. V. Zentralinstitut und Museum für Sepulkralkultur, Kasseler Studien zur Sepulkralkultur 11 (Kassel, 2007) 120-133.
- Hülden, Oliver, *Die Nekropolen von Kyaneai. Studien zur antiken Grabkultur in Lykien II*, Lykische Studien 9/2, Tübinger Althistorische Studien 5/2 (Bonn 2010).
- Hülden, Oliver, Tumuli in Lykien. Ein Überblick über den Forschungsstand, in: Olivier Henry and Ute Kelp (eds.), *Tumulus as Sema. Space, Politics, Culture and Religion in the First Millennium BC*, Topoi. Berlin Studies of the Ancient World 27 (Berlin, 2016) 475-490.
- Hülden, Oliver, Lykiens Dynasten: Feinsinnige Aristokraten oder banausische Burgherren?, in: Matthias Grawehr, Christina Leypold, Martin Mohr and Ellen Thiermann (eds.), *Klassik. Kunst der Könige. Kings and Greek Art in the 4th Century B.C.* Tagung an der Universität Zürich vom 18.-20. Januar 2018, Zürcher Archäologische Forschungen 7 (Rahden, 2020) 79-92.
- Hülden, Oliver, Die Gräber von Phellos. Mit einem Exkurs zur Nekropole von Antiphellos (Studien zur antiken Grabkultur in Lykien III), in: Oliver Hülden and Martin Zimmermann, *Phellos. Geschichte und Archäologie einer zentrallykischen Stadtanlage und ihrer Nekropolen* (in press).

- Hüllden, Oliver and Martin Zimmermann (eds.), *Phellos. Geschichte und Archäologie einer zentrallykischen Stadtanlage und ihrer Nekropolen* (in press).
- Idil, Vedat, *Likya lahitleri* (Ankara, 1985).
- Jones, Siân, *The Archaeology of Ethnicity. Constructing Identities in the Past and Present* (London, 1997).
- Kjeldsen, Kjeld and Jan Zahle, Lykische Gräber. Ein vorläufiger Bericht, *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (1975) 312-350.
- Koch, Guntram and Hellmut Sichtermann, *Römische Sarkophage mit einem Beitrag von Friederike Sinn-Henninger*, Handbuch der Archäologie (Munich, 1982).
- Kolb, Frank, Die Entstehung der Landschaft Lykien: historische Geographie und archäologischer Befund, in: Dirk Krause and Oliver Nakoinz, *Kulturraum und Territorialität. Archäologische Theorien, Methoden und Fallbeispiele*. Kolloquium des DFG-Schwerpunktprogramms 1171, Esslingen 17.-18. Januar 2007 (Rahden, 2009) 131-141.
- Kolb, Frank, *Lykien. Geschichte einer antiken Landschaft* (Darmstadt, 2018).
- Krause, Dirk and Oliver Nakoinz (eds.), *Kulturraum und Territorialität. Archäologische Theorien, Methoden und Fallbeispiele*. Kolloquium des DFG-Schwerpunktprogramms 1171, Esslingen 17.-18. Januar 2007 (Rahden, 2009).
- Kuban, Zeynep, Ein Astodan in Limyra?, in: Fritz Blakolmer, Karl R Krierer, Fritz Krinzing, Alice Landskron-Dinstl, Hubert D Szemethy and Karoline Zhuber-Okrog (eds.), *Fremde Zeiten. Festschrift für Jürgen Borchhardt*, vol. 1 (Vienna, 1996) 133-143.
- Kuban, Zeynep, *Die Nekropolen von Limyra. Bauhistorische Studien zur Klassischen Epoche*, Forschungen in Limyra 4 (Wien, 2012).
- Kubińska, Jadwiga, *Les monuments funéraires dans les inscriptions grecques de l'Asie Mineure*, Travaux du Centre d'Archéologie Méditerranéenne de l'Académie Polonaise des Sciences 5 (Warsaw, 1968).
- Langer-Karrenbrock, Marie-Theres, *Lykischer Sarkophag aus der Königsnekropole von Sidon*, Charybdis 3 (Münster, 2000).
- Letzner, Wolfram, *Das römische Pula. Bilder einer Stadt in Istrien* (Mainz, 2005).
- Marksteiner, Thomas, *Trysa. Eine zentrallykische Niederlassung im Wandel der Zeit*, Wiener Forschungen zur Archäologie 5 (Vienna, 2002).
- Öztürk, Hüseyin Sami, Eine neue Grabinschrift aus Andriake. Die Sarkophag von Konon und seiner Frauen, *Libri. Journal of Epigraphy, Reviews and Translations* 6 (2020) 385-391, DOI: 10.5281/zenodo.4400278.
- Petersen, Eugen A. H. and Felix von Luschan, *Reisen in Lykien, Milyas und Kibyrtien*, Reisen im südwestlichen Kleinasien 2 (Vienna, 1889).
- Samitz, Christoph, Aus der Arbeit an den Tituli Asiae Minoris I: Neue Grabinschriften aus Antiphellos (Lykien), *Philia* 6 (2020) 135-150.
- Seyer, Martin, Die intraurbanen Grabmäler der klassischen Periode in Limyra, in: Olivier Henry (ed.), *Le mort dans la ville. Pratiques, contextes et impacts des inhumations intramuros en Anatolie, du début de l'Âge du Bronze à l'époque romaine*. Istanbul 14-15 Novembre, 2011. 2èmes Rencontres d'Archéologie de l'IFEA (Istanbul, 2013) 207-221.
- Schmidt-Dounas, Barbara, *Der Lykische Sarkophag aus Sidon*, 30. Beiheft Istanbuler Mitteilungen (Tübingen, 1985).
- Schweyer, Anne-Valérie, *Les Lyciens et la mort. Une étude d'histoire sociale*, Varia Anatolica 14 (Istanbul, 2002).

- Szemethy, Hubert D., *Die Erwerbungs-geschichte des Heroons von Trysa. Ein Kapitel österreichisch-türkischer Kulturpolitik mit einem Beitrag von Şule Pfeiffer-Taş*, Wiener Forschungen zur Archäologie 9 (Vienna, 2005).
- Uğurlu, Elif, *Sarcophagi in the Necropoleis of Andriake, near Myra (Lycia)*, Journal of Roman Archaeology 16 (2003) 355-366.
- Weisshäupl, Rudolf, Lykischer Sarkophag in Pola, *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts* 2, Beiblatt (1899) 101-102.
- Wörle, Michael, Epigraphische Forschungen zur Geschichte Lykiens IV. Drei griechische Inschriften aus Limyra, *Chiron* 21 (1991) 203-239.
- Zimmermann, Martin, Die lykischen Häfen und die Handelswege im östlichen Mittelmeer. Bemerkungen zu PMich I 10, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 92 (1992) 201-217.
- Zimmermann, Martin, *Untersuchungen zur historischen Landeskunde Zentrallykiens*, Antiquitas 1/42 (Bonn, 1992).
- Zimmermann, Martin, Teimiussa – ein zentrallykischer Hafenplatz als Mittler kulturellen Wandels, *Antike Welt* 31 (2000) 333-342.
- Zimmermann, Martin, Hafen und Hinterland. Wege der Akkulturation an der lykischen Küste. Vorbericht über die Feldforschungen in den zentrallykischen Orten Tyberissos und Timiussa in den Jahren 1999–2001, *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 53 (2003) 265-312.
- Zimmermann, Martin, Eine Stadt und ihr kulturelles Erbe, Vorbericht über Feldforschungen im zentrallykischen Phellos 2002-2004, *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 55 (2005) 215-250.
- Zimmermann, Martin, Phellos in Zentrallykien und die Grundmuster lykischer Siedlungsgeschichte, in: Kayhan Dörtlük et al. (eds.), *The IIIrd International Symposium on Lycia, 07-10 November 2005, Antalya*. Symposium Proceedings, vol. 2 (Antalya, 2006) 907-916.

List of Figures

- Figure 1: Sarcophagus from Andriake, set up in the Park grada Graza at Pula (photo: O. Hüllden)
- Figure 2: Map of Lycia (© ÖAW-ÖAI/N. Math)
- Figure 3: Sarcophagus at Xanthos imitating wooden architecture (photo: O. Hüllden)
- Figure 4: Sarcophagus of Ahqqadi at Xanthos with chest imitating a wooden box (photo: O. Hüllden)
- Figure 5: Sarcophagus with gabled roof-shaped lid in the necropolis of Teimiussa (photo: Project “Hafen und Hinterland”, LMU Munich)
- Figure 6: Sarcophagus of the shipowner Eudemos at Olympos (photo: O. Hüllden)