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*Edited by Jonas Eiring and Jørgen Mejer*



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Cover illustration: Finds from the Hellenistic grave at Chalkis, Aetolia.  
Photograph by Henrik Frost.

# Rock-cut Tombs in the Halikarnassos Peninsula

Anne Marie  
Carstens

Cultural mixture is characteristic of the Halikarnassos peninsula.<sup>1</sup> Specific stylistic features, often attributed to certain geographical areas, occur in unexpected combinations. Although we should not translate style into people, it is tempting to interpret the archaeological evidence of such cultural interaction as the natural results of a mixed population. Today we would perhaps speak of a multicultural society, but in order to get firmer hold on the connections and relations, which formed the network of the interactions in Antiquity, it is necessary to conduct meticulous studies of the archaeological remains themselves.

One good example of the multiple interactions can be found in a study of the Classical and Hellenistic rock-cut tombs in the area. In this group of monuments one finds architectural features in surprising combinations, which are rooted in a local building

tradition and at the same time to a large degree depend on the architecture in neighbouring regions. The cultural history of the area can be read through these traces of relations and exchange.

## Tombs at Turgutreis

The village Turgutreis, situated on the west coast of the Halikarnassos peninsula, is rapidly turning into a fairly large town engaged in tourism. The increasing building activities on the western shore of the peninsula, from Turgutreis and southwards, have made it a base for branches of building companies with headquarters in Bodrum (Fig. 1).<sup>2</sup>

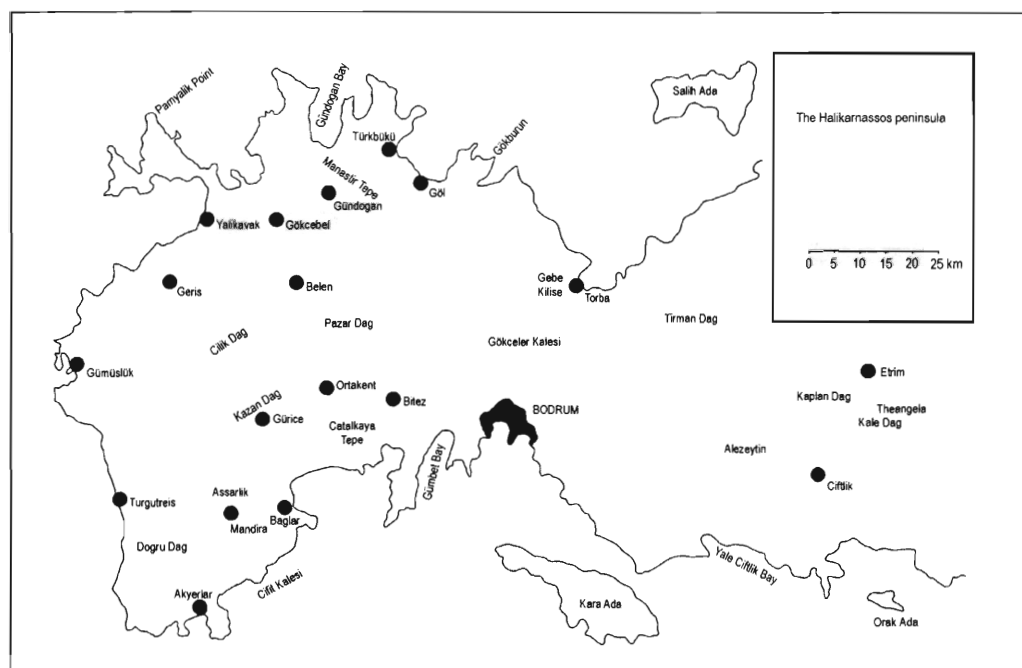
There are hardly any traces to be found of the ancient settlement here, but the upper part of modern Turgutreis, built up against a northern spur of the Dođru Dađ, may have held

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<sup>1</sup> The present article has sprung from my 1999 PhD-dissertation (Carstens, *Death Matters*). The dissertation is formed as a diachronic study of tombs from the Late Bronze Age to Late Roman times. Thus, the monuments included here form only a minor part of the material. The work has been financed by the Danish Research Council of the Humanities and the Fiedler Foundation and formed part of the Danish Halikarnassos Project's activities from 1996 to 1998, by kind permission from the Directorate of Antiquities in Turkey. I am most obliged to the Bodrum Museum of Underwater Archaeology and its Director Ođuz Alpösen, who made it possible for me to conduct the fieldwork required for my study. I owe my special gratitude to dr.phil. Poul Pedersen, Associate Professor at the University of Southern Denmark and Director of the Danish Halikarnassos Project, for his help and warm interest.

<sup>2</sup> Turgutreis recently changed its name from Karatoprak. It is still named Karatoprak on the map published as Beilage 11 in Radt 1970.

Fig. 1. Map of the Halikarnassos peninsula.



the ancient settlement, perhaps with a smaller coastal anchorage.<sup>3</sup> So far, only two rock-cut tombs have been identified in the area, but more tombs may well be hidden in the landscape. Both tombs lie in the northern outskirts of the modern town on the even coastal plain, approximately 1 km northwest of the upper part of Turgutreis.<sup>4</sup>

### *Tomb and farmstead?*

The first tomb lies between the road leading to Gümüşlük and the coast (Fig. 2), in a rocky hill of grey andesite. Access to the tomb was provided by a flight of four steps cut into

the rock. The façade is cut as a high-gabled “roofed” recess with a lower rectangular opening to the chamber. The *stomion*, which is only about 15 cm deep, has a ledge cut on the inner side, but no pivot holes were found. In the middle of the *stomion* floor a groove was cut for drainage. During the construction of the tomb, a serious cleft in the rock had been revealed: in the southeastern corner of the chamber, a deep crevice was closed by iron rivets. Later, a large part of this corner fell down, leaving an irregular opening at the back of the chamber (Fig. 3). Apparently, the intention had been to cut the rock, from which the tomb was constructed, free from the surrounding

<sup>3</sup> Such a position would correspond to the modern situation. Furthermore, the “typical” settlement of the Halikarnassos peninsula seems to have had a fortified hilltop as its base, e.g. Güriçe, Assarlık, Geriş, Gökçeler and Dirmil. See Bean and Cook, 120-21, 116-18, 118-20, 124, 130.

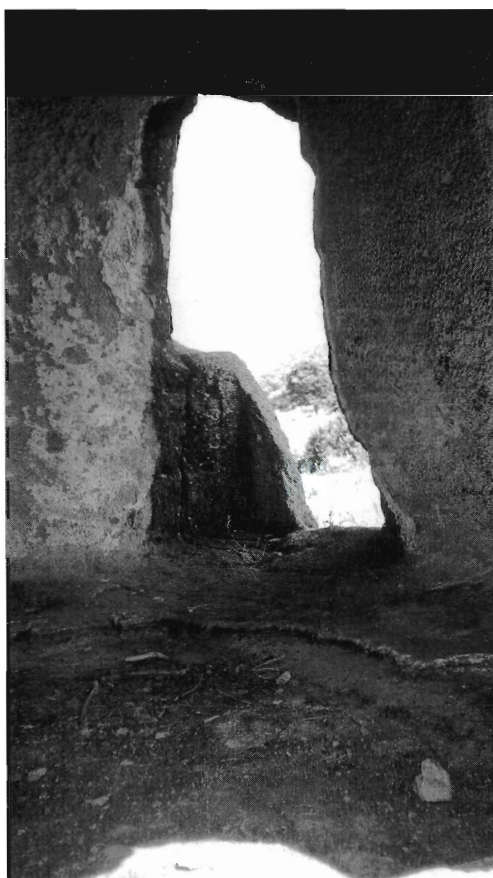
<sup>4</sup> The tombs can be reached by following the right hand turn towards Gümüşlük just after the bus station.



Fig. 2. View of the rock knoll at Turgutreis.



Fig. 3. The secondary opening in the tomb.



hill. A groove on the eastern side was never finished, perhaps because the fragility of the rock was discovered. The quadrangular chamber, 2.78 by 2.79 m, was furnished with an only slightly raised platform, 3-4 cm above the central floor level, like in an andron. This platform was found along all sides of the chamber and has an average width of 50-60 cm.

Traces of two olive presses were found on top of the same hill. They consist of circular hollow “rings” leading to a bigger basin nearby. Steps were cut at several places in the rock to facilitate access to the working areas, and traces of stone quarry activities could also be seen. The agricultural production near the tomb may indicate that the tomb belonged to a larger farmstead in the vicinity.<sup>5</sup> Neither the tomb nor these other activities can be dated.

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<sup>5</sup> Parallels to such an internal relation between farmstead and tomb are found at numerous places in the Mediterranean. See for instance Radt 1970, 218, 195; H. Lohmann, *Atene. Forschungen zu Siedlungs- und Wirtschaftsstruktur des klassischen Attika* (Köln 1993), 184-85; K. Geppert, ‘Gehöfte und Gräber des Avsar Tepesi’, *Lykische Studien 3 = Asia Minor Studien* 24 (1996), 39.

The tomb resembles a rock-cut tomb at Assarlık, already described by Bean and Cook in the 1950s.<sup>6</sup> That tomb lies just outside the well-preserved gate on a little terrace with a small rocky hill. Its chamber has, however, no platform along the sides.

### *The Lion tomb*

On the eastern side of the road leading to Gümüşlük lies a unique chamber tomb.<sup>7</sup> In spite of its rich decoration and monumentality it has not been described before. The tomb is cut out of a rocky hill, as the previously mentioned tomb, but in this case the tomb has been cut free on three sides, whereas the back was never detached from the rock (Fig. 4). The tomb is cut

out of the native greyish-pink andesite. Although the rock is weathered and eroded, many delicate details can still be seen. The stone cutting is masterly done with high precision in spite of the rough and irregular nature of the andesite. In general the south-eastern part of the façade is better preserved than the rest.

The front of the tomb consists of a porch with two columns *in antis* (Fig. 5). Each anta basis is formed from a square block, with a lower vertical profile succeeded by a concave profile. The block supports a lion's paw, which is part of the anta itself. The paw is only shown from the toes outwards, with five toes on each paw (Fig. 6). The middle toe is the



Fig. 4. The Lion tomb at Turgutreis.

<sup>6</sup> Bean and Cook, 117-18, fig. 5.

<sup>7</sup> The tomb lies on the right side of the road c. 400 m after turning right at the bus station in Turgutreis, next to a large farm and an *Efes* beer deposit.



Fig. 5. The Lion tomb at Turgutreis, plan and section.

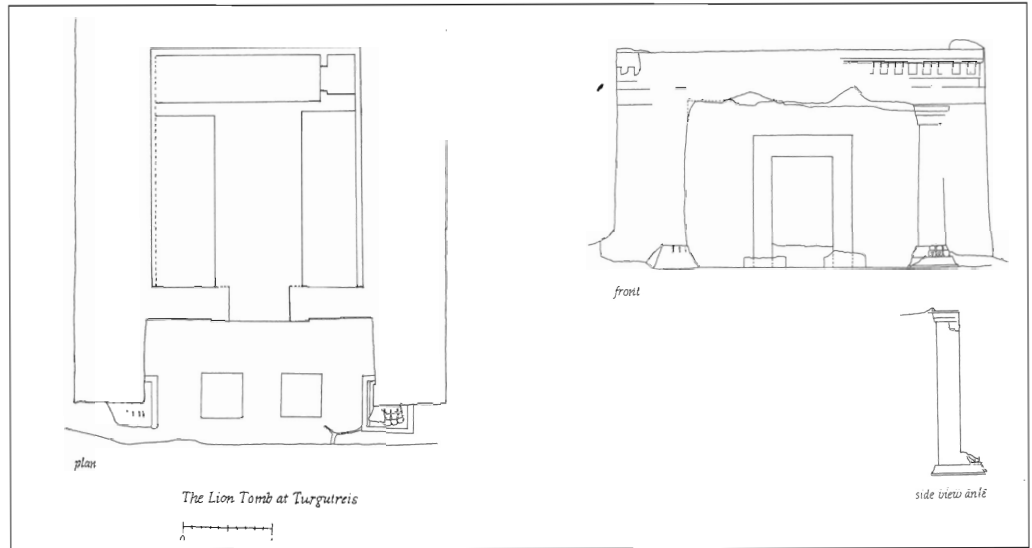


Fig. 6. The Lion's paw.



longest, with the others arranged symmetrically on either side. The claws are marked at the front of each toe by incised triangles. The right anta basis is the best preserved, while most details have vanished from the left one. Seen from the front the anta tapers towards the top. The capital is *c.* 2 cm wider than the anta itself at the free side (towards

the columns), but at the front only a small convex profile sets off from the otherwise vertical line. At least four different elements make up the capital, the first one (from below) is convex, then follow two flat fasciae, the first an only slightly flaring profile, the second a slightly wider one. A vertical element ends the capital.

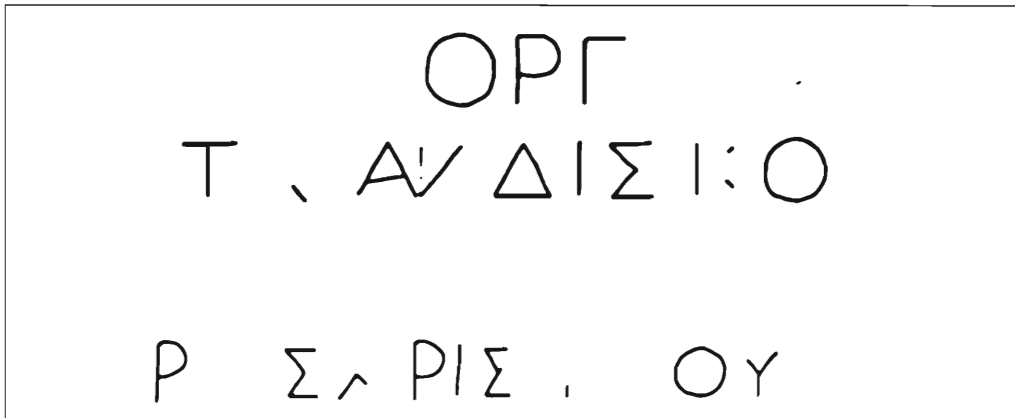


Fig. 7. Inscription on lintel.

The entablature consists of a double blank architrave, the lower part *c.* 18 cm high, the upper *c.* 10 cm high. The latter part starts *c.* 8 cm from the eastern corner, but continues, apparently, all the way to the corner at the western end. It was perhaps meant to form an Ionic architrave with two fasciae, and the cutting in the east end may have been a mistake: the beginning of a cutting of the dentils. Above the architrave a convex profile and a frieze with dentils follow, and above those, another convex profile. The entablature ends in a blank top. The rock is uneven at the upper surface. In the ceiling of the antechamber a wide board, only marked by a simple cutting, indicates the width of the architrave, as if it were a structural member.

The two columns *in antis* have been cut away, and only the almost square plinths forming the lower parts of the bases still exist. On the right plinth it is still possible to see the rounding of either the column, or a round basis element. Rough cuttings have removed any details of the capitals where the columns met the architrave and the ceiling of the antechamber.

The porch is *c.* 2.60 m wide and 92-96 cm deep (from back wall to corner of

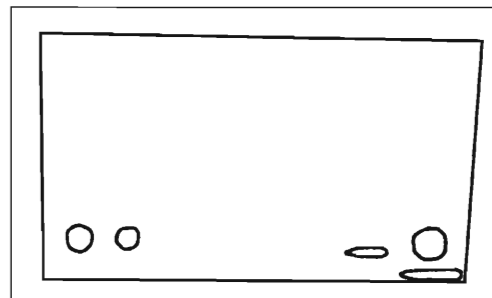


Fig. 8. Sketch of underside of lintel.

anta). The entrance of the tomb is placed in the middle of the back wall and a doorframe is cut out protruding from the wall itself. The lintel carries an inscription of at least three lines (Fig. 7). In the first line the letters are *c.* 3.5 cm high while in the following lines *c.* 2.5 cm. The space between the second and the third line is double, which may indicate another line, invisible to the naked eye. A rather uneven and worn threshold frames the entrance at floor level.

The *stomion* is *c.* 68-69 cm wide, *c.* 28 cm deep, and 96-98 cm high. The underside of the "lintel" shows many differently shaped hollows (Fig. 8). In the southeastern corner is a 5-6 cm wide circular hole, about 5 cm deep, which may have served as a pivot hole. Near this are two oblong hollows, which resemble pry-cuttings. It is rather unexpected to find pry-cuttings in such a position, but they may

Fig. 9. The vault of the tomb chamber.



have been used to push a closing block in position. If this were the case, a pivot for a turning door would not have been necessary.<sup>8</sup> At the south-western corner two smaller circular holes, only about 3-4 cm deep, likewise seem peculiar. I did not find any holes in the threshold, but it is extremely worn. I would expect a pivot hole, which may have been at least 2-3 cm deep, to be traceable in the surface. One explanation could be that the original intention was to close the tomb by a turning door, and hence the pivot hole in the lintel, but this idea was dismissed in favour of a closing block, placed in position by the pry-cuttings.

The rectangular chamber is more irregularly cut and marks, in this respect, a striking contrast to the façade (Fig. 9).<sup>9</sup> Along the three walls three narrow cists were cut into the floor of the chamber. There is no cutting in the floor marking a platform or the like. The cists were filled up with rubble and dirt, and it was impossible to measure the depth. In the northern corner a little tray-like hollowing was cut only *c.* 2 cm below the surrounding floor level. Curiously enough, a connection between this “tray” and cist B was marked with an also rather narrow cutting. It may have served as a table for the placing of grave goods. Along the three side-walls a *c.* 5 cm

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<sup>8</sup> See for instance K. Jeppesen, *The Quadrangle. The Foundations of the Maussolleion and its Sepulchral Compartments, The Maussolleion at Halikarnassos* 4 (2000), fig. 1.27.

<sup>9</sup> It was not possible to produce an accurate plan of the interior, since rather aggressive bees inhabited the tomb. A quick sketch was made of the interior after the bees had been smoked out. Unfortunately they decided to re-settle the chamber and I retired.

wide edge was cut out, at the eastern and northern side at floor level, while at the west side this cutting is placed *c.* 40 cm above the floor level. The ceiling is cut out in an imitation of a barrel vault. The curve of the vault starts *c.* 65 cm above floor level on the eastern side, while at *c.* 1.20 m on the western side.

The front of the tomb resembles a low building (4.16 m wide and 2.38 m high). While the façade is lavishly decorated, the outer sidewalls are merely even vertical rock walls, at right angles, without any decoration, mouldings or the like. The dressing of the rock walls continues on both sides for *c.* 4.80 m. At approximately the same place a deep cutting from above, at the back of the tomb, may have been made in order to separate the tomb cubicle from the surrounding rock. A very rough and uneven boss was left on top of the tomb at each corner above the façade. Some kind of decoration, e.g. antefixes, may have been intended, but it is impossible to say from the present state of preservation.

Another vertical rock wall stands approximately seven metres east of the Lion tomb, preserved to a height of *c.* 2 m, with smaller arched niches, suitable for a lamp or the like. A cleaning of the rock floor between the eastern

wall of the Lion Tomb and this wall revealed traces of another rock wall *c.* 4.5 m east of the Lion Tomb. Unfortunately these features are badly preserved, but it is possible that another tomb may have been intended (if not cut) here.<sup>10</sup>

Some architectural elements of the porch find parallels in Karian architecture of the fourth century BC. The use of the square plinth as the lowest element of the column basis is well known from the Sanctuary of Zeus at Labraunda and the Temple of Athena Polias at Priene.<sup>11</sup> The architrave with only two fasciae is used in Labraunda, where both the peripteral Zeus temple and the South Propylon carry such an architrave, whereas the architrave with three fasciae remains the general solution well into the Hellenistic period.<sup>12</sup> The two-fasciae architrave can also be seen in some of the tombs at Kaunos, but there the anta capitals generally overlap the architrave and quite confuse the course of the entablature.<sup>13</sup> Smaller buildings, like the altar at the Temple of Athena Polias at Priene, may have had a two-fasciae architrave. One may say that the tombs belong to a group of smaller buildings, but since parallels in monumental architecture of Southwestern Karia can be found, this may not be the only explanation.

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<sup>10</sup> People using the tomb area as stone quarry may later have removed it. Or, perhaps more likely, the rock may have had serious faults here and the idea of cutting another tomb may have been abandoned.

<sup>11</sup> Hellström 1994, 37, 48.

<sup>12</sup> The Philippeion at Olympia also has a two fasciae architrave, which otherwise is untypical: A. Mallwitz, *Olympia und seine Bauten* (München 1972), 132.

<sup>13</sup> Roos 1972, 72. The same can be seen in the Berber Ini tomb at Milas: A. Akarca, *Belleten* 35 (1971), 3-37, tables XXIII, XXXIII.

Both the lion's paw basis and the capital of the antae find their nearest parallels on Chios, the only parallel in the case of the lion's paws. The anta capitals of the fifth-century temple, found below the Basilica at Emporio, consist of two flat fasciae above a single ovolo moulding with cavetto sides, and differ from the normal East Greek anta capital, which normally has a triple roll moulding.<sup>14</sup> Similar anta capitals have been found at Larisa by the Hermos, deposited in a well, dated before 350 BC.<sup>15</sup> Although the Turgutreis capital does not have a clear ovolo moulding, but rather a simple concave profile, the parallel seems fairly close.

Beneath one of the anta capitals at the Emporio temple a lion's paw was found, which presumably came from the temple.<sup>16</sup> Boardman suggested a reconstruction with the lion's paw as the basis of the anta, placed directly on the platform, without any other basis element beneath it. Similar use of lion's paws in Chian architecture could be found built into modern houses in the Chios town in the 1950s and, together with examples exhibited in the local museum, a small group of architectural lion's paws, all but one deriving from Chios, could be estab-

lished.<sup>17</sup> Boardman dated the Emporio paw with the temple, in the second quarter of the fifth century, and built a relative chronology reaching from the early fifth century BC until well into the fourth.<sup>18</sup> The only example of a lion's paw outside Chios came from Erythrai on the mainland just opposite Chios. By all probability this paw was also an anta basis, and was dated in the fourth century or Early Hellenistic period.<sup>19</sup>

Although weathered, some details in the modelling of the Turgutreis paws may be related to the example from the Emporio temple. The cutting of the claws is much more detailed in the latter case, but the roughly triangular outline can be seen in both examples. The toes on the Turgutreis paw are squat, and the joints, which on Chios are angular, are more rounded at Turgutreis. That may, on the other hand, merely be the result of wear and tear.

While the anta capitals resemble the antae at Emporio and Larissa quite closely, the entablature finds a better parallel in the architrave with two fasciae at Labraunda. The broadness of the building is also found there: the wide spacing, in a 3:7 relation between column diameter and interaxial, resulted in a low

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<sup>14</sup> Boardman 1967, 74.

<sup>15</sup> J. Boehlau, *Larisa am Hermos* (Berlin 1940), pl. 24a.

<sup>16</sup> Boardman 1967, 74-76.

<sup>17</sup> J. Boardman, 'Chian and Early Ionic architecture', *AntJ* 39 (1959), 193-97. A rock-cut monument, the so-called Daskalopetra, c. 6 km north of Chios town, shows a similar use of lion's paws as an architectural member. On the basis of a stylistic analysis, Boardman dated the monument, a little naiskos, in the early fifth century BC or earlier. However, the monument is extremely worn, and the date is uncertain.

<sup>18</sup> *Id.*, 194-95.

<sup>19</sup> J. Keil, *Forschungen in der Erythraia* II, *ÖJh* Beibl. 15 (1912), 66-68.





Fig. 10. The rock-cut tombs at the Pamyalik Point.

appearance of the buildings, notably the Temple of Zeus and the South Propylon.<sup>20</sup>

The Chian parallel can be explained in the light of the political dependence of Karia in the fourth century BC, which may also have included a close contact between the two regions, explainable within the framework of a supposed aristocratic “network”.<sup>21</sup>

## The Tombs at Yalikhavak

Tombs with a decorated façade are rarely found on the Halikarnassos peninsula itself. The only other examples are situated at the Payamlık point on the promontory north of Yalikhavak (Fig. 1).<sup>22</sup> Here, in the northwestern

corner of the Halikarnassos peninsula, lies a rocky hill of brownish-grey andesite, 20 m high, 50 m from north to south, and about 20 m from east to west. The eastern edge of the rock is steep, almost vertical, and a large part of the rock wall has fallen down since Antiquity and lies as another minor hill to the east (Fig. 10).

The hill can be mounted from the southern side and at the summit traces of rock-cut installations can be found. At present they give a mixed picture of stairs, platforms and minor beddings, and their internal connections are far from clear. The entire rock massive was once furnished with many burial complexes.<sup>23</sup> The rock faced a small bay with shallow water to the east, and

<sup>20</sup> Hellström 1994, 37.

<sup>21</sup> Hornblower, *Mausolus*, 130-32.

<sup>22</sup> In earlier literature known as the Sandama or Sandima peninsula. Paton and Myres, 261; Bean and Cook, 130.

<sup>23</sup> In order to understand the layout a total three-dimensional measuring of the rock would be required, since “rooms” on different levels apparently were interrelated by steps and corridors.



Fig. 11. The Pamyalik Point, sketch plan indicating the position of the five tombs.

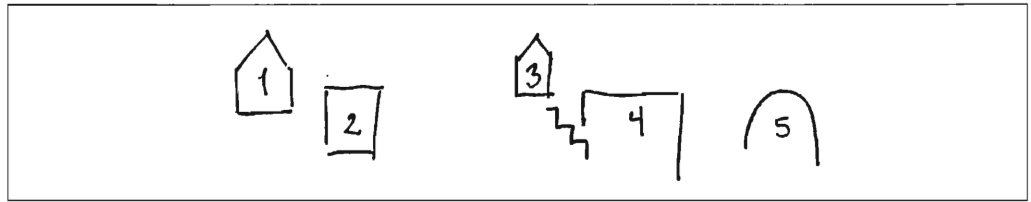


Fig. 12. The façades of tomb 1 and 2.



from the summit there is a good view of the “mainland” and the next promontory to the southeast. The settlement to which the cemetery belonged has not been found, but it may have been situated somewhere on the promontory, perhaps facing the Yalikavak bay, which offers good protection and an excellent harbour.

I have examined the five clearly distinguishable tombs (Fig. 11). Two of these tombs, 1 and 2, have an architectural decorated façade in the shape of an anta temple, tomb 3 has a gabled roof, while of tombs 4 and 5 only the inner part is preserved.

Paton and Myres investigated tomb 1 and 2 already in the early 1890s. Their description was published in 1896 and provides valuable information, especially on the stucco decoration, which at the time was much better preserved than now.<sup>24</sup>

Tomb 1 lies in the southern part of the eastern face of the rock, about 3.5 m above ground (Fig. 12). The façade is cut as a porch with two columns *in antis*, an entablature, and a gabled roof. The anteroom is *c.* 90 cm deep and 2.60 m wide; the, roughly square, column bases are placed symmetrically *c.* 50 cm from the lateral walls. In

<sup>24</sup> Paton and Myres, 261-62.

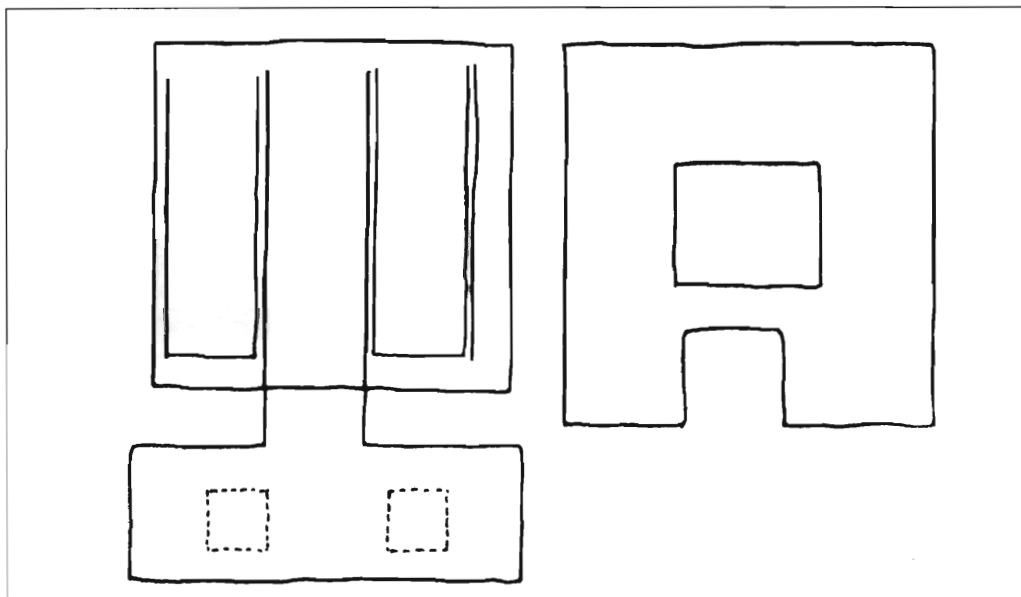


Fig. 13. Sketch plan of tomb 1.

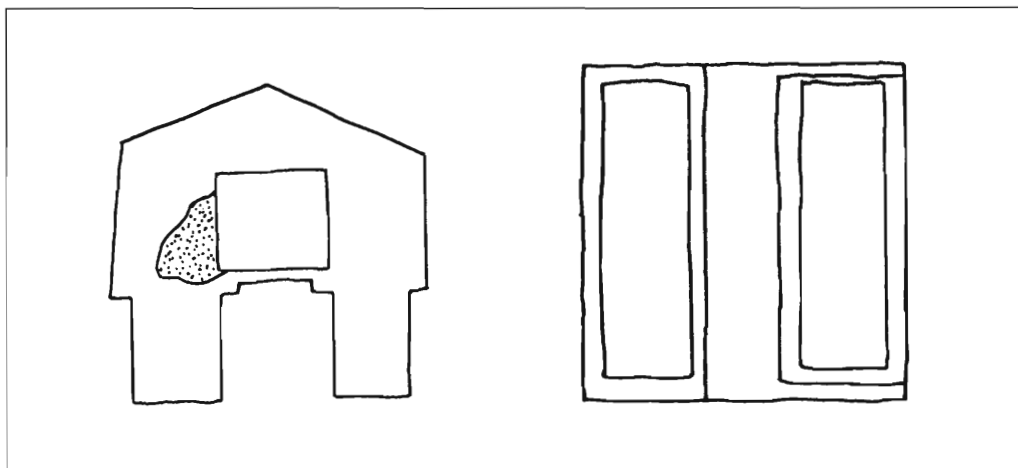
the rear wall of the anteroom is a rectangular niche, *c.* 1 m by 80 cm, also symmetrically arranged. The niche is only *c.* 10 cm deep, and may once have held a separate slab with a sepulchral inscription. Beneath it, a narrow entrance leads to the burial chamber (Fig. 13). The rectangular burial chamber, 2.40 by 2.10 m, is furnished with two cists, cut into the floor on either side of a central “platform”. The cists are of roughly the same size, about 60 cm wide and almost 2 m long. A *c.* 5 cm wide “cutting” framed the cists, and probably served as fastening device for the closing blocks. The ceiling imitates a gabled roof.

The façade is rather eroded and badly preserved, and only the lower part of the column bases is preserved. Of the anta bases nothing can be seen, and the capitals seem only to consist of a single convex moulding, not overlapping the architrave, as is often seen in “tem-

ple tombs”, e.g. at Kaunos.<sup>25</sup> The architrave is only preserved as a single blank fascia with a horizontal cornice element above. The very low gable is indicated as a recess, cut into the rock and framed by the cornice. Acroteria, in the shape of volutes at the corners and a semicircular disc at the centre, crown the façade. The upper part of the anteroom still carries a layer of plaster, especially in the northern upper corner, while nothing is visible on the outer façade. It was probably better preserved by the time Paton and Myres visited the tomb, since they were able to find figured decoration in the plaster: “The back wall of the façade bore at the top under shelter of the portico the remains of two layers of polychrome fresco painting. The outer coat was quite defaced by damp and mould, but on flanking this away we seemed to make out that the inner layer represented a farewell scene like those of the Attic grave-reliefs, out-

<sup>25</sup> Roos 1972, 72.

Fig. 14. Sketch plan of tomb 2.



lined in brown, and executed in several colours.”<sup>26</sup> Nothing like it was visible in 1998, and only very careful and meticulous cleaning of the surface may give results.<sup>27</sup> As remarked by Paton and Myres, more architectural details were probably executed in plaster.<sup>28</sup>

Tomb 2, to the north, is situated only c. 1.5 m above ground. The lower part of the façade has fallen down at the northern end, and the upper southern corner is also badly preserved. The northern anta capital is the only one preserved, and it is doubtful whether the southern anta was ever cut. The capital is more elaborate than in tomb 1 and consists of three mouldings; the lowest may be an ovolo, while the two upper ones may be blank fasciae. The entablature consists of a blank architrave and a frieze with dentils,

preserved only at the northern end. Above the dentils another blank element finishes the entablature. The chamber is entered by a roughly square entrance, centrally placed in the façade (Fig. 14). The roughly rectangular chamber, 2.13 by 2.26 m, is covered in whitewash and furnished, like in tomb 1, with two cists along the sidewalls. Cist A is framed by a 10-12 cm broad band, 10 cm below the central floor level. Cist B is surrounded by a similar frame, but the central floor level is kept within a c. 10 cm wide edge along the front and rear walls. As in tomb 1, these frames probably served to put the closing blocks in place. Both cists were empty and between 71 and 74 cm deep. The ceiling imitates a gabled roof; the height from the central floor level to the apex of the gable is 1.32 m. Plaster is preserved in the upper

<sup>26</sup> Paton and Myres, 261-62.

<sup>27</sup> Roos pointed to the fact that Paton and Myres might have confused the two tombs, and that the figural scene most likely was found in tomb 2, since he found two layers of stucco there, and only one in tomb 1: Roos 1972, 64. When I visited the tomb, the stucco was extremely dirty and discoloured by fire, and it was impossible to estimate the number of layers.

<sup>28</sup> Paton and Myres, 261.

part of the anteroom, albeit in rather bad condition with traces of burning. Some plaster can be seen in the upper northern corner near the dentils.<sup>29</sup>

The next two tombs, 3 and 4, were connected by a spiral staircase (Fig. 15). Both are however badly preserved, and the precise layout is hardly recognisable. The preserved part of tomb 4 consists of a wall with right-angle corners and a flat roof. It is c. 5 m wide, and into the back wall a small niche, c. 25 by 25 cm, is cut only 10 cm deep. The northern rock wall was shared with another complex towards the north; the same may have been the case to the south, although the uneven rock surface makes it difficult to ascertain a structure on the other side. A staircase was cut into the southern wall, leading up to tomb 3. A rather steep gabled roof marks the entrance of the staircase. The stairs turn eastwards and lead up to a small landing in front of a 1.84 m high doorway. This opening probably led to another chamber. A gabled ceiling, only 1.29 m wide, maximum height 2.17 m, covers the preserved part.

Tomb 5 is only preserved in its inner part (Fig.16). The chamber was furnished with a c. 30 cm high bench along at least three walls, and a barrel vault, cut out of the rock, covered the chamber. The eastern end of the tomb is not preserved.



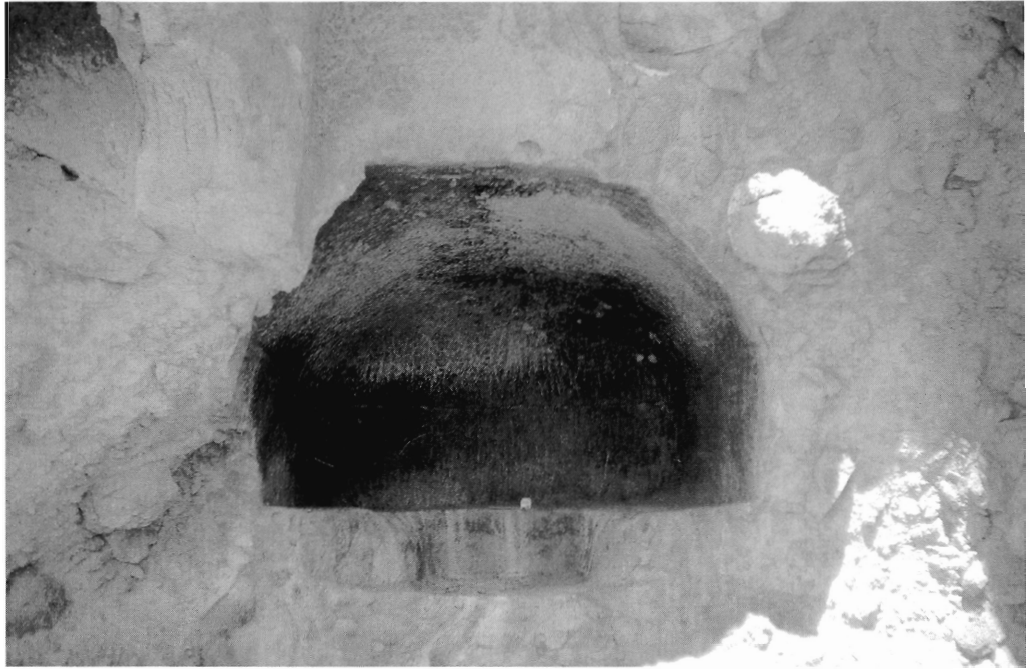
Fig. 15. The staircase between tomb 3 and 4.

While these preserved elements of tombs only form a minor part of the original structures, they may still give an impression of a rather complicated system of corridors and stairways, buildings in many levels, and of several different types, some in the outer part of the rock massive, others almost in the core. In this respect the Yalikavak complexes may correspond to some of the more elaborate complexes in the Rhodini necropolis, which clearly made use of the nature of the rock formations in the architecture.<sup>30</sup> Also the good view of the

<sup>29</sup> A closer investigation was impossible. It is not easy to reach this corner without a steady ladder, scaffolding or the like.

<sup>30</sup> H. Lauter argued for this landscape architecture as the most striking feature of the Rhodian Hellenism and its impact on for example the Roman interpretation of the landscape: 'Kunst und Landschaft - ein Beitrag zum Rhodischen Hellenismus', *AntK* 15 (1972), 49-59, esp. 52; P.M. Fraser presented a short introduction to these Rhodian gardens: *Rhodian Funerary Monuments* (Oxford 1977), 3; see also H. Lauter, 'Hellenistische Sepulkralarchitektur auf

Fig. 16. Tomb 5.



Tilkiçik bay offered from the Payamlık rock hill may be interpreted as a part of Nature staged, like it was in the Rhodini necropolis garden.

The Kaunian tombs are the best parallels for Yalikavak tombs 1 and 2. In spite of the difficulties in assigning dates to the individual tombs of Kaunos,<sup>31</sup> Roos concluded that the “most important tombs” were built in the fourth century BC, but at the same time he stressed that some “are certain-

ly from the third or second century BC”.<sup>32</sup> The nature of the complex may be related to the Rhodian “landscaping” style, thus confirming a date in the Hellenistic period. The vaulted ceiling, here in use in tomb 5, may also point to a date in the Early Hellenistic period, perhaps inspired by the built architecture of for example the Labraunda chamber tomb.<sup>33</sup>

The tombs at Payamlık do not have any chronologically sensitive features, and

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Rhodos’, in: S. Dietz and I. Papachristodoulou (eds.), *Archaeology in the Dodecanese* (Copenhagen 1988), 155-63.

<sup>31</sup> Roos ended his monograph on the Kaunian tombs with the rather disillusioned statement: “The lack of an absolute or even relative date for the singular tombs of the necropolis means also that the tombs of Caunus can hardly be used for giving a date to other rock-tombs in Caria. Study of these in the future may reveal similarities in appearance or details with more or less datable tombs at Caunus, but these similarities will probably seldom be sufficient for giving them a date without support of datable finds.” Ross 1972, 97.

<sup>32</sup> The tombs in Roos’s group B were probably in use in the fourth century BC, while the arguments for a relative chronology inside the necropolis seem more dim. Roos 1972, 94-97.

<sup>33</sup> A. Westholm, *The architecture of the Hieron, Labraunda I.2* (Stockholm 1963), 101-5; A.M. Carstens, ‘Sepulchral Architecture on the Halikarnassos Peninsula’, in R.F. Doctor and E.M. Moormann (eds.), *Proceedings of the XVth International Congress of Classical Archaeology, Amsterdam*, July 12-17, 1998 (Amsterdam 1999), 109-11. Vaulted built tombs are also found at Geriç and at Yokuşbaşı, Carstens, *Tomb Cult*.





Fig. 17. The rock-cut tomb at Gürice.

their date can only be estimated. However, tombs 1 and 2 may belong in the fourth century BC or are possibly later. As already argued, the “temple tombs” are almost unparalleled on the peninsula. But the interior arrangements of the two parallel cists, cut into the floor, are found also in rock-cut tombs at Türkbükü on the north coast of the Halikarnassos peninsula.<sup>34</sup> They may thus be considered part of a local tomb type. The  $\Pi$ -shaped arrangement, found in the Lion tomb at Turgutreis, is however the most typical solution, and such a disposition of the tomb chamber seems to have a long history in the Halikarnassian region.

## Gürice

A less elaborate rock-cut tomb at Gürice, an ancient settlement southwest of Müsgebi on the road to Turgutreis (Fig. 1), shares the  $\Pi$ -shaped cist arrangement.<sup>35</sup> It is situated to the northwest of the upper fortification, which crowns the rather steep conical hill of Gürice, part of the Kazan Dağ. A tower in ashlar masonry, c. 12 m square, stands on the summit. It has drafted corners and is preserved up to a height of c. 3 m.<sup>36</sup>

The tomb was cut out of an uncovered part of a rocky hill of dark grey

<sup>34</sup> G. Guidi, *ASAtene* 4-5 (1921-22), 364; Carstens, *Death Matters*, 135-38.

<sup>35</sup> Bean and Cook, 120-21.

<sup>36</sup> Paton and Myres, 203 mention the tower and a tomb at the road to this tower.

andesite. An anteroom in the shape of a rectangular cutting in the vertical rock-wall with very accurate corners forms the façade of the tomb. A cubic *stomion* facing south was originally closed by a block. The chamber, 3.10 m wide and *c.* 2.60 m deep, was furnished by 55-60 cm wide benches along the three walls, raised *c.* 20 cm above the floor (Fig. 17). Three cists were cut into the benches, one along each wall. Inside the tomb, and near the cists, lie rather large stones, lighter than the bedrock. They seem to be broken and may have formed closing blocks of the cists, which were partly filled with rubble. The ceiling was cut out in the shape of a barrel vault with no marked transition between the walls and the vault. The inner corners of the chamber were rounded, while the outer were cut to right angles.

The tomb at Gürice is completely deprived of any datable features, and the interior arrangement with benches and cists cut into them can be seen as early as in Paton's tomb D at Assarlık on the southern part of the peninsula, dated in the Geometric period.<sup>37</sup> The settlement at Gürice may have been inhabited for a long time, both before and after the fortification was strengthened in the fourth century BC.<sup>38</sup> However, neither the tomb's features nor the surrounding struc-

tures are of much help in dating the monument.<sup>39</sup> The fact that the cists of the Gürice tomb were cut into the benches, and not into the floor may point at an early date in the development of the tomb type, which ended in sarcophagi, likewise arranged in a Π-shape, as for example in the chamber tomb above the Sanctuary at Labraunda, or in rock-cut tombs at Bitez and in the western Necropolis of Bodrum on the Halikarnassos Peninsula.<sup>40</sup>

## Interactions and relations

The sepulchral architecture of the Lion tomb at Turgutreis brilliantly illustrates the cultural mixture that characterises the Halikarnassos peninsula. The tomb is unique and only details, or specific elements, can find parallels elsewhere. The anta bases and capital have been compared with Chian architecture of the late fifth century BC, while the entablature may be related to the broad proportions and architrave of two fasciae at Labraunda. Generally, it may be problematic to draw parallels between monumental built architecture and minor rock-cut structures. But concerning the proportions (broad/squat) and architectural details (the two fasciae), the structural differences between built and cut architecture are

<sup>37</sup> W.R. Paton, *JHS* 8 (1887), 64-82, fig. 16.

<sup>38</sup> The technical features, described by Bean and Cook, indeed correspond with the traditional Hekatomnid building technique. See e.g. P. Pedersen, *The Maussoleion at Halikarnassos. Reports of the Danish Archaeological Expedition to Bodrum*, 3:1-2, *The Maussoleion Terrace and Accessory Structures* (Århus 1991); Carstens, *Tomb Cult*, 394-95.

<sup>39</sup> Bean and Cook suggested that the tomb belonged in the Archaic or Classical periods, that is before the peninsula, according to their interpretation, was Hellenised: Bean and Cook, 167.

<sup>40</sup> Carstens, *Death Matters*, 114-17, 144-47; Ead., 'Survey of Ancient Tombs on the Halikarnassos peninsula', in *Arastirma Sonuclari Toplantisi XVI*, 1998 (Ankara 1999), 330-33.

beside the point. The interior arrangement of the tomb chamber finds parallels in other rock-cut tombs of the Halikarnassos peninsula. Three cists cut into the floor in a Π-shaped arrangement are, to my knowledge, only seen in this region, where the system was current from Geometric to Hellenistic times.

While political relations may explain the Chian connection in the fourth century BC, when Chios formed part of Hekatomnid Karia,<sup>41</sup> other external influences may be the result of more widespread cultural ties of fifth-century Karia. The exquisite architecture of the so-called Türkuyusu Temple reveals that Karian architecture was closely related to the Samian School in the Classical period,<sup>42</sup> while, it has been argued, the “Lelegian” stone tumulus tombs are examples of connections with Lykia.<sup>43</sup> Cypriot influ-

ence in the late sixth century BC is evidenced both by the Proto-Aeolian capitals of Alazeitin and terracotta finds from the area east of Bodrum.<sup>44</sup> Karian pottery production was inspired by other Greek regions already in the Geometric period, but later found its own style.<sup>45</sup>

Thus, the combination of locally well-known features and foreign elements characterises the culture of Southwestern Karia, and not least its sepulchral architecture, as a mixed, or even eclectic, style. This is the result of a widespread net of relations with other regions in the Eastern Mediterranean. While imitation to some degree may have been the stylistic outcome, it seems that interpretation and invention on the basis of cultural relations formed new expressions, which became characteristic of the Southeastern Karia.

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<sup>41</sup> Hornblower, *Mausolus*, 131-32.

<sup>42</sup> P. Pedersen, ‘The Ionian Renaissance and some aspects of its origin within the field of architecture and planning’, in *Hekatomnid Caria*, 27.

<sup>43</sup> J. Zahle, *Acta Archaeologica* 46 (1975), 77-94; Carstens, *Death Matters*, 54-56. Carstens, *forthcoming*, on the relations between Cyprus, the Levant and Karia.

<sup>44</sup> Radt 1970, 237-59, 265-73; F. Isik, *Die Koroplastik von Theangela in Karien und ihre Beziehungen zu Ostionien zwischen 560 und 270 v.Chr.* (Tübingen 1980); *Id.*, ‘Frühe Funde aus Theangela und die Gründung der Stadt’, *IstMitt* 40 (1990), 17-36. I have suggested that the pre-Mausoleian tomb complex was inspired by Cypriot sepulchral architecture: Carstens, *Death Matters*, 107-13; Carstens, *forthcoming*.

<sup>45</sup> C. Özgünel, *Karian Geometric Pottery* (Ankara 1979); A.M. Carstens, ‘Karian Archaic Pottery – investigating culture?’, in *ActaHyp* 9 (2002), 127-43.



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