

# LIFE AND DEATH IN ASIA MINOR

AN OFFPRINT FROM  
Studies in Funerary Archaeology Vol. 10

LIFE AND DEATH IN ASIA  
MINOR IN HELLENISTIC, ROMAN,  
AND BYZANTINE TIMES

STUDIES IN ARCHAEOLOGY AND BIOARCHAEOLOGY

*Edited by*

J. RASMUS BRANDT, ERIKA HAGELBERG,  
GRO BJØRNSTAD, AND SVEN AHRENS

Hardback Edition: ISBN 978-1-78570-359-1  
Digital Edition: ISBN 978-1-78570-360-7 (epub)

 **OXBOW** | books

© Oxbow Books 2017  
Oxford & Philadelphia  
[www.oxbowbooks.com](http://www.oxbowbooks.com)

Published in the United Kingdom in 2017 by  
OXBOW BOOKS  
The Old Music Hall, 106–108 Cowley Road, Oxford OX4 1JE

and in the United States by  
OXBOW BOOKS  
1950 Lawrence Road, Havertown, PA 19083

© Oxbow Books and the individual contributors 2017

Hardback Edition: ISBN 978-1-78570-359-1  
Digital Edition: ISBN 978-1-78570-360-7 (epub)

A CIP record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Brandt, J. Rasmus, editor of compilation. | Hagelberg, Erika, editor of compilation. | Bjørnstad, Gro, editor of compilation. | Ahrens, Sven, editor of compilation.

Title: Life and death in Asia Minor in Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine times : studies in archaeology and bioarchaeology / edited by J. Rasmus Brandt, Erika Hagelberg, Gro Bjørnstad, and Sven Ahrens.

Description: Oxford ; Philadelphia : Oxbow Books, 2016. | Series: Studies in funerary archaeology ; vol. 10 | Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2016036111 (print) | LCCN 2016054635 (ebook) | ISBN 9781785703591 (hardback) | ISBN 9781785703607 (digital) | ISBN 9781785703607 (epub) | ISBN 9781785703614 (mobi) | ISBN 9781785703621 (pdf)

Subjects: LCSH: Turkey--Antiquities. | Human remains (Archaeology)--Turkey. | Excavations (Archaeology)--Turkey. | Death--Social aspects--Turkey--History--To 1500. | Social archaeology--Turkey. | Turkey--History--To 1453

Classification: LCC DR431 .L55 2016 (print) | LCC DR431 (ebook) | DDC 939/.200909--dc23

LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2016036111>

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical including photocopying, recording or by any information storage and retrieval system, without permission from the publisher in writing.

Printed in Malta by Melita Press Ltd  
Typeset in India by Lapid Digital Services, Chennai

For a complete list of Oxbow titles, please contact:

UNITED KINGDOM  
Oxbow Books  
Telephone (01865) 241249, Fax (01865) 794449  
Email: [oxbow@oxbowbooks.com](mailto:oxbow@oxbowbooks.com)  
[www.oxbowbooks.com](http://www.oxbowbooks.com)

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA  
Oxbow Books  
Telephone (800) 791-9354, Fax (610) 853-9146  
Email: [queries@casemateacademic.com](mailto:queries@casemateacademic.com)  
[www.casemateacademic.com/oxbow](http://www.casemateacademic.com/oxbow)

Oxbow Books is part of the Casemate Group

*Front cover: Hierapolis, North Necropolis, Tomb A18, seen from the north-east. © Italian Archaeological Mission at Hierapolis in Phrygia; Oslo University excavations; photo: J. Rasmus Brandt.*  
*Back cover: Hierapolis, North-East Necropolis, Tomb C92 (Eutyches' tomb), inside burials, seen from the south-west. © Italian Archaeological Mission at Hierapolis in Phrygia; Oslo University excavations.*

# Contents

<i>Acknowledgements</i>	vii
<i>List of Contributors</i>	ix
<i>Introduction: Dead bodies – Live data: Some reflections from the sideline</i> (J. Rasmus Brandt)	xvi
PART I: FROM LIFE TO DEATH: DEATH AND THE SOCIAL AND FUNERARY SETTING	
1. The Sanctuary of St Philip in Hierapolis and the tombs of saints in Anatolian cities <i>Francesco D'Andria</i>	3
2. Necropoleis from the territory of Hierapolis in Phrygia: New data from archaeological surveys <i>Giuseppe Scardozzi</i>	19
3. The South-East Necropolis of Hierapolis in Phrygia: Planning, typologies, and construction techniques <i>Donatella Ronchetta</i>	39
4. Tomb 163d in the North Necropolis of Hierapolis in Phrygia: An insight into the funerary gestures and practices of the Jewish Diaspora in Asia Minor in late Antiquity and the proto-Byzantine period <i>Caroline Laforest, Dominique Castex, and Frédérique Blaizot</i>	69
5. Tomb ownership in Lycia: Site selection and burial rights with selected rock tombs and epigraphic material from Tlos <i>Gül Işın and Ertan Yıldız</i>	85
6. The sarcophagus of Alexandros, son of Philippos: An important discovery in the Lycian city of Tlos <i>Taner Korkut and Çilem Uygun</i>	109
7. 'Til death do them part': Reconstructing Graeco-Roman family life from funerary inscriptions of Aphrodisias <i>Esen Ögüş</i>	121
8. Social status and tomb monuments in Hierapolis and Roman Asia Minor <i>Sven Ahrens</i>	131
9. New evidence for non-elite burial patterns in central Turkey <i>Andrew L. Goldman</i>	149
10. Reflections on the mortuary landscape of Ephesus: The archaeology of death in a Roman metropolis <i>Martin Steskal</i>	176
11. Christian burials in a pagan context at Amorium <i>Christopher S. Lightfoot</i>	188
12. Romans, Christians, and pilgrims at Hierapolis in Phrygia: Changes in funerary practices and mental processes <i>Camilla Cecilie Wenn, Sven Ahrens, and J. Rasmus Brandt</i>	196

---

 PART II: FROM DEATH TO LIFE: DEMOGRAPHY, HEALTH, AND LIVING CONDITIONS

13. Analysis of DNA in human skeletal material from Hierapolis <i>Gro Bjørnstad and Erika Hagelberg</i>	219
14. Isotopic investigations of human diet and mobility at the site of Hierapolis, Turkey <i>Megan Wong, Elise Naumann, Klervia Jaouen, and Michael Richards</i>	228
15. Diet in Roman Pergamon: Preliminary results using stable isotope (C, N, S), osteoarchaeological and historical data <i>Johanna Propstmeier, Olaf Nehlich, Michael P. Richards, Gisela Grupe, Gundula H. Müldner, and Wolf-Rüdiger Teegen</i>	237
16. Pergamon – Kyme – Priene: Health and disease from the Roman to the late Byzantine period in different locations of Asia Minor <i>Wolf-Rüdiger Teegen</i>	250
17. Toothache, back pain, and fatal injuries: What skeletons reveal about life and death at Roman and Byzantine Hierapolis <i>Henrike Kieseewetter</i>	268
18. Health and disease of infants and children in Byzantine Anatolia between AD 600 and 1350 <i>Michael Schultz and Tyede H. Schmidt-Schultz</i>	286
19. Infant and child skeletons from the Lower City Church at Byzantine Amorium <i>F. Arzu Demirel</i>	306
20. The wrestler from Ephesus: Osteobiography of a man from the Roman period based on his anthropological and palaeopathological record <i>Jan Nováček, Kristina Scheelen, and Michael Schultz</i>	318
Index	339

# The sarcophagus of Alexandros, son of Philippos: An important discovery in the Lycian city of Tlos

*Taner Korkut and Çilem Uygun*

## Abstract

*This paper focuses on an illegally excavated and looted Lycian-type sarcophagus of the Classical period that was recently investigated by a team of archaeologists, physical anthropologists, and epigraphers. Data produced from the archaeological excavation inside and around the sarcophagus demonstrated that it had been in use from the Classical to the early Byzantine period. The first phase of use dates to the Classical period. The second phase, characterized by an inscription recording ‘Alexandros, son of Philippos’ added to the north long face of the sarcophagus, dates to the Hellenistic period and it seems that the sarcophagus with its Hellenistic inscription was used until the 4th century AD. The third phase of use covered the 4th to the 7th centuries AD, during the late Roman and early Byzantine periods. The last period of use is defined by a nearly 1 m deep fill, in four layers, containing 34 burials. This newly discovered sarcophagus of ‘Alexandros, son of Philippos’ casts a fresh light on Lycian burial customs and the social status of the deceased.*

**Keywords:** burial customs, Lycia, necropolis, sarcophagus, Tlos.

## Introduction

The ancient city of Tlos (Fig. 6.1), in the foothills of Mount Akdağlar (Kragos) in the Xanthus Valley, in the modern village of Yakaköy, approximately 41 km east of Fethiye, was one of the major cities of ancient Lycia (Korkut 2013; 2015). The large territory of the city apparently extended as far as the cities of Xanthus and Pinara to the south, Kadyanda and Telmessos to the west, and Araxa and Oinoanda to the north. The city was also located on the crossroads of a number of routes that connected the coast with the Lycian hinterland.

According to a Greek myth, the name of the city was derived from Tloos, who along with Pinaros, Xanthos, and Kragos was one of the four sons of Tremilus and Praksidike. However, this myth about the origin of the name of the city of Tlos is not very clear. It is likely that the name Tlos was originally an equivalent of the Lycian word Tlawa, a word that has often been linked to the ‘Land of Dalawa’ found in the late Bronze Age Hittite sources (Carubba 1993, 13). For instance, a Luwian hieroglyph mentioning the land of

Dlawa has been attested on a Hittite monument at Yalburt near Konya in central Anatolia (Poetto 1993, 70–4). Apart from references in written sources, there is no explicit archaeological evidence from the site to confirm that there was a settlement at Tlos in the late Bronze Age, although recent excavations in the stadium area near the acropolis of the city have begun to yield Iron Age finds and some remains possibly of late Bronze Age character. It should, however, be noted that settlements of pre-Bronze Age character are common within the territory of Tlos (Korkut 2014, 103–5). Archaeological soundings at the Tavabaşı Cave and the Girmeler Cave demonstrate human activity dating back to the early Neolithic period (Korkut 2014, 108–10; 2015, 22–5).

The ancient city of Tlos witnessed its golden age in the Classical period in the 5th and 4th centuries BC, when Tlos and other Lycian cities were a part of the Persian Achaemenid Empire (Bryce 1986). Following his arrival in 333 BC, Alexander the Great took control of Tlos and all of Lycia.



Fig. 6.1. Tlos. Map showing the location of the town.

After the death of Alexander, Lycia, from the beginning of the 3rd century BC, came under the control of the Ptolemaic dynasty, in 197 BC passing briefly to the Seleucids. In 168 BC all of the Lycian cities came together to form the Lycian League, in which Tlos was listed as one of the major cities with a right to three votes (Korkut and Grosche 2007, 79–81).

During the reign of Emperor Claudius, in AD 43 Lycia became part of the Roman Empire. Tlos managed to preserve its significance in the Lycian League under Roman dominion. According to the Roman milestone in the form of a monumental pillar (*Stadiasmus Provinciae Lyciae*), erected in the Lycian capital city of Patara as a dedication to the Roman Emperor Claudius, Tlos was accessible by a number of different routes during this period (Işık, Işkan-Işık, and Çevik 1998–1999). The city continued to maintain its importance in the early Byzantine period, at which time Tlos is listed among the important bishoprics of Lycia. The archaeological remains from the city confirm that Tlos maintained this importance until the 12th century (Korkut 2015, 42–7). The significance of Tlos within the borders of Lycia continued also during the Ottoman period (Hellenkemper and Hild 2004, 885–8).

Archaeological excavations, initiated in Tlos in 2005, placed special emphasis on the monumental structures located in the centre of the city and the areas close to it (Fig. 6.2). The excavations at present continue investigating structures such as the theatre, the stadium, the great baths, the temple of Kronos, the city basilica, and on the acropolis (Korkut 2015). In addition to these excavations, field surveys have

also been conducted in the city and its territory from 2005 (Korkut 2013; 2015). The focus of attention has been the pre-Classical and Classical past of the city and its territory.

The sarcophagus, the subject of this paper, was identified in an area to the east of the ancient city centre of Tlos (Fig. 6.3). The location in which it was found was evidently within the necropolis of the city, which had been used intensively from the Classical period into the Roman era. Although a series of sarcophagi, mausoleums, and a *chamosorion* grave had previously been documented in the necropolis, this sarcophagus had not been identified during our surveys due to a road employed by modern farmers passing over its top. In 2013, during the excavation season, an attempt was made to rob this sarcophagus by looters who succeeded in opening a hole in one of the narrow sides of the lid. This looting activity fortunately was noticed before any serious damage had been done to the sarcophagus. In consequence, its excavation was immediately included in the 2013 excavation program after the requested official permission had been obtained. The aim was to prevent any further destruction by grave robbers and obtain as much information as possible about the sarcophagus and its contents.

Carved from local limestone and oriented east/west this is a typical Lycian sarcophagus consisting of a rectangular coffer body (1.97×0.80×1.37 m) crowned by a gabled lid (2.40×1.22×1.40 m) (Fig. 6.4). The lid is preserved almost complete except for a small fracture in the ridge beam,





*Fig. 6.2. Tlos. Aerial view.*

while the rectangular coffer has several fractures on its north, west, and south sides. Both the interior and exterior of the rectangular body of the sarcophagus exhibit quite rough craftsmanship, excluding the smoothed northern side which carries a Greek inscription: ΑΛΕΞΑ[ΝΔΡ]ΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ carved over three lines (Fig. 6.5). On the lid there are in all six bosses for lifting, two on each of the long sides, one on each of the short ones. The long sides of the lid were also left smooth while the short sides have a 10 cm high border at the bottom end. On the short sides of the lid, a stylized pillar, in imitation of a wooden beam, rises above the bosses.

### **The excavation of the sarcophagus**

In order to obtain as much information as possible about this sarcophagus, both the interior and its external surroundings were excavated. Four burial layers were identified (–60/–80, –80/–85, –85/–95, and –95/–110 cm) within the rectangular coffer of the sarcophagus, which contained an approximately 1 m thick fill (Fig. 6.6). The top, or first and latest surviving layer produced the skeletons of three individuals, the second layer contained only one skeleton, the third layer produced the skeletons of 11 individuals, and the bottom fourth layer contained the skeletons of further 19 individuals, in total 34 individuals. The skull (KF-3) found and drawn in the first layer originally belongs to the second layer. According to the bone fractures from the first layer the third individual (F-1) is

a foetus; the skull of it is shattered. The skulls of the foetus (F-2) found in the third layer and the two infants found in the fourth layer (I-1-2) are also shattered. The two adult individuals identified in the first layer had rubble stones placed under their heads to serve as pillows (Fig. 6.7). The two parallel lying skeletons, facing in opposite directions, have their arms bent at the elbows and placed on the abdominal cavity. Furthermore, skeleton 2 (KF-2) was intentionally placed in the space formed by the opening of the legs of skeleton 1 (KF-1), which could imply that these individuals, defined as middle adults, were buried simultaneously. The heads of the deceased in the first and the second layers were all placed in the west. In the next layer down one head appears in the east, the others in the west end, while in the bottom layer the heads were divided between both ends of the sarcophagus, though most of them in the west. The heads in the two lowest layers appear not to be in their original position but may have been repositioned in clusters as the result of some cleaning up of older burials to make space for new ones.

The osteological standards set by Buikstra and Ubelaker (1994) are adopted here in order to determine the age and the gender of the individuals buried in the sarcophagus. The age of the individual is divided into seven different age groups: foetal (prenatal), infant (0–3 years), child (3–12 years), adolescent (12–20 years), young adult (20–35 years), middle adult (35–50 years), and old adult (50+ years). In the first table below cases of uncertain allocation are signalled by a question mark (?).



## TLOS ANTİK KENTİ-ANCIENT CITY OF TLOS

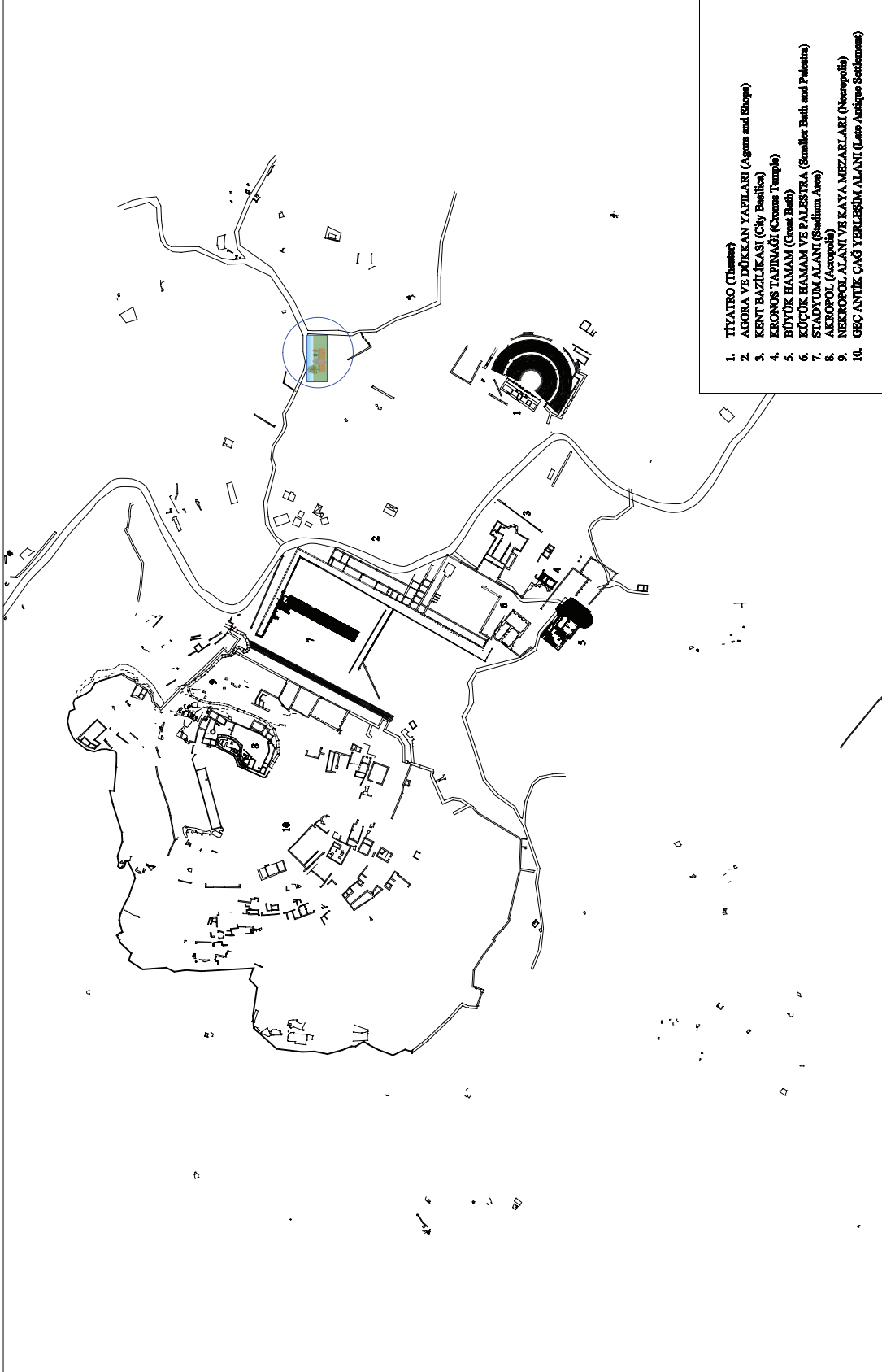


Fig. 6.3. Tlos. City plan of the ancient town and the location of the Alexandros sarcophagus.



Fig. 6.4. Tlos. The Alexandros sarcophagus (north side), carved from local limestone, at the end of excavations.

The data recording the gender, age group and level of the 34 individuals found in this sarcophagus are shown in Table 6.1, while the numbers in the age groups and gender of the individuals are shown in Table 6.2.

During the excavations conducted on the north side of the sarcophagus several bone fragments representing a skull, chin, and finger, together with several fragments of

pottery were identified at the –50 cm level and below. These bone fragments fall into the category of infant, child, and middle adults, although they do not show any anatomical articulation. The find levels and the characteristics of the bones found outside the sarcophagus itself are listed below:

–50/–75: mandibles, some cranial bones, and some phalanges belonging to one child and a middle adult?

–60/–75: bones from a body belonging to one middle adult and one infant.

–65/–75: some cranial bones, phalanges and vertebral bones, as well as some animal bones.

–75/–115: some bone parts belonging to the infant found at a depth of –60/–75 cm, various bones and bone parts, in addition to animal bones.

–115/–140: body bones.

–140/–145: body bones and a tooth.

### Evaluation of the archaeological finds

Most of the archaeological finds recovered from the inside of the sarcophagus consisted mainly of body shards of pots. The first of three diagnostic pottery fragments came to light

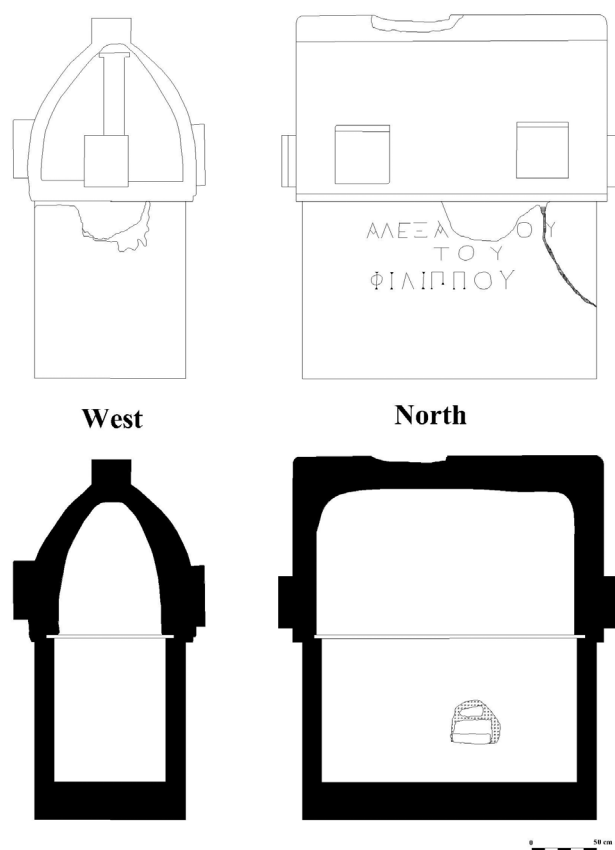


Fig. 6.5. Tlos. The Alexandros sarcophagus. Drawing of the sarcophagus with inscription (north and west sides).

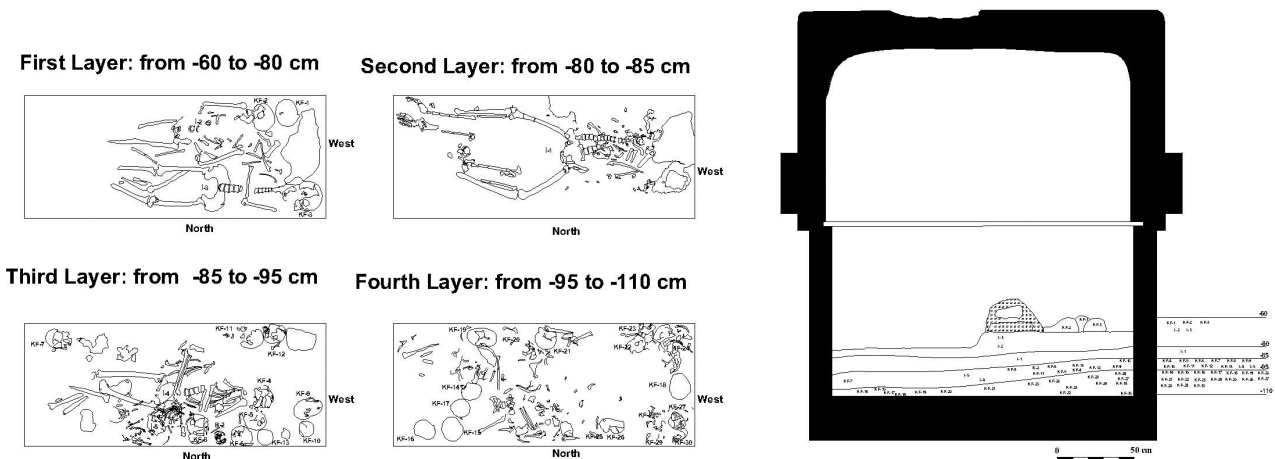


Fig. 6.6. Tlos. The Alexandros sarcophagus. Burial layers.

in the first layer, a black glazed *kylix* base datable to the Classical period (Fig. 6.8, no. 1). The second diagnostic fragment (Fig. 6.8, no. 2) came from the fourth, lowest layer, the body of a Hellenistic pot employed as a pillow for the child (KF-19). The third diagnostic example was a base of a jug (Fig. 6.8, no. 3), likewise from the first layer. In addition to the pottery, objects including glass, bronze, and iron were also found (Fig. 6.9). It is not possible to determine the original form of the glass fragments (Fig. 6.9, no. 1). Glass beads are of a wide variety of forms and colours; the round beads, embellished with glass frit in light or dark contrasting coloured layers, date from the 1st to the 3rd century AD (Fig. 6.9, no. 2). The same chronology is valid for the cylindrical and oval beads. Bracelets of iron and bronze with round sections were identified, as well as a spiral-shaped bronze ring (Fig. 6.9, no. 3). These metal finds also date to the period between the 1st and 3rd centuries AD.

The excavations conducted outside the sarcophagus provided more material than from its inside. The area in front of the inscribed northern flank of the sarcophagus, in particular, yielded diagnostic examples for dating. The pottery fragments recovered together with human bones near the sarcophagus range over a long period, from the 4th century BC to the 7th century AD. The earliest examples are black glazed body shards, followed by fragments of Hellenistic *unguentaria* (Fig. 6.8, no. 4), *lagynoi* (Fig. 6.8, no. 5), pots (Fig. 6.8, no. 6), cups (Fig. 6.10, no. 1), and *skyphoi* (Fig. 6.10, no. 2) datable from the 3rd to the 2nd century BC. A ring-stone depicting Heracles (Fig. 6.11), together with the Alexandros inscription, are both related directly to the use of the sarcophagus. On this ring, which features a black-and-white-veined onyx

stone, is a bust of Heracles wearing a wreath with his head slightly turned to his right. Both the position and physiognomy of the face are similar to the depiction



Fig. 6.7. Tlos. The Alexandros sarcophagus. The first, top layer with three skeletons.

Table 6.1. The gender, age, and excavation level of the skeletons found in the sarcophagus.

<i>Individual</i>	<i>Sex</i>	<i>Age Group</i>	<i>Ground Level (cm)</i>
1 (KF-1)	Male	Middle adult	–60/–80
2 (KF-2)	Female	Old adult	–60/–80
3 (F-1)	Unidentified	Foetal	–70/–80
4 (KF-3; İ-1)	Male	Middle adult	–80/–85
5 (KF-4)	Female	Old adult	–85/–95
6 (KF-5)	Female	Child	–85/–95
7 (KF-6)	Male	Young adult	–85/–95
8 (KF-7)	Male	Middle adult	–85/–95
9 (KF-8)	Female?	Adolescent	–85/–95
10 (KF-9)	Male	Middle adult	–85/–95
11 (KF-10)	Unidentified	Young adult	–85/–95
12 (KF-11)	Female	Middle adult	–85/–95
13 (KF-12)	Male?	Middle adult	–85/–95
14 (KF-13)	Unidentified	Child	–85/–95
15 (F-2)	Unidentified	Foetal	–85/–95
16 (KF-14)	Female?	Young adult	–95/–105
17 (KF-15)	Male	Middle adult	–95/–105
18 (KF-16)	Unidentified	Child	–95/–105
19 (KF-17)	Male	Young adult	–95/–105
20 (KF-18)	Male	Middle adult	–95/–105
21 (I-1)	Unidentified	Infant	–95/–105
22 (I-2)	Unidentified	Infant	–105/–110
23 (KF-19)	Unidentified	Child	–105/–110
24 (KF-20)	Male	Young adult	–105/–110
25 (KF-21)	Male	Adolescent	–105/–110
26 (KF-22)	Male	Young adult	–105/–110
27 (KF-23)	Male	Middle adult?	–105/–110
28 (KF-24)	Male	Middle adult?	–105/–110
29 (KF-25)	Male	Middle adult	–105/–110
30 (KF-26)	Unidentified	Child	–105/–110
31 (KF-27)	Unidentified	Child	–105/–110
32 (KF-28)	Female	Young adult	–105/–110
33 (KF-29)	Female	Old adult	–105/–110
34 (KF-30)	Female	Unidentified	–105/–110

Table 6.2. The age and gender distribution of skeletons found inside the sarcophagus.

<i>Sex</i>	<i>Age Group (years)</i>							<i>Unidentified</i>
	<i>Foetal (&lt;birth)</i>	<i>Infant (–3)</i>	<i>Child (3–12)</i>	<i>Adolescent (12–20)</i>	<i>Young adult (20–35)</i>	<i>Middle adult (35–50)</i>	<i>Old adult (50+)</i>	
Male/Male?				1	4	10		
Female/Female?			1	1	2	1	3	1
Unidentified	2	2	5		1			
<b>Total</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>1</b>

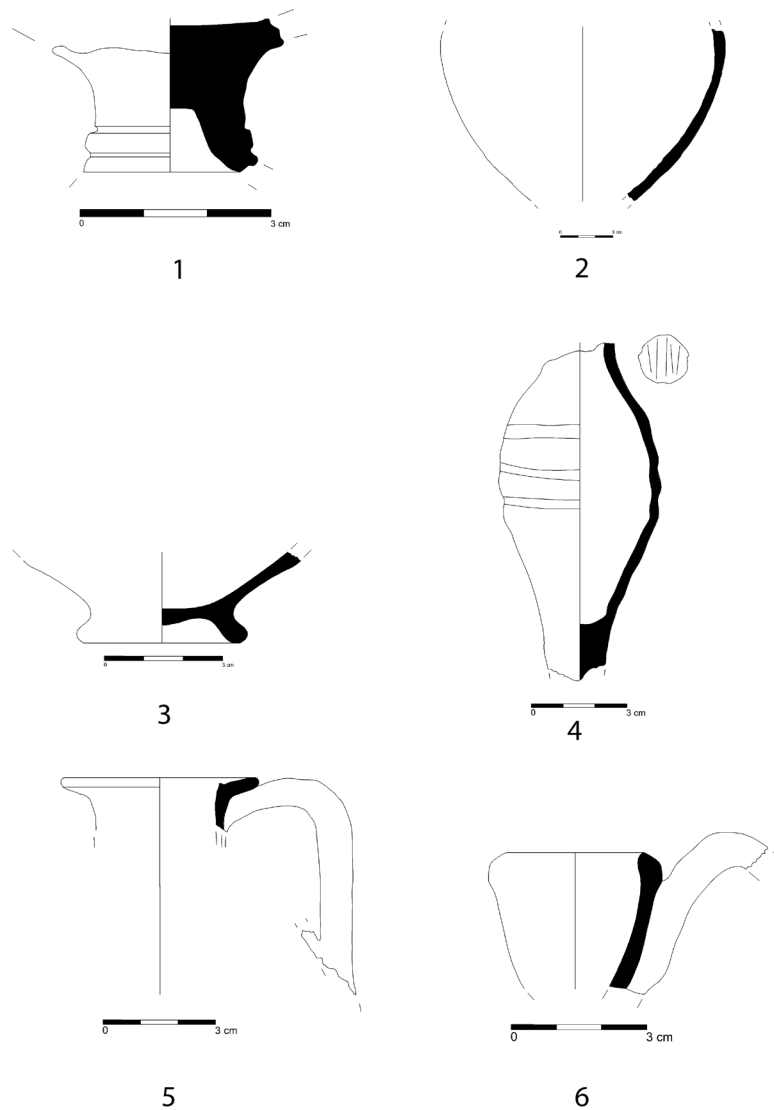


Fig. 6.8. Tlos. The Alexandros sarcophagus. Pottery from inside and outside the sarcophagus.

of Heracles by Lysippos. The deeply shaped eyes, the plasticity, the highlighted hair and beard, and other art/craft refinements, all suggest a date of the ring-stone to the beginning of the Hellenistic period.

The use of the sarcophagus during the Roman period is attested by the presence in the excavations of fragments of pottery and blown glass datable from the 1st to the 4th century AD. Open-mouthed bowls and plates with ring bases of a utilitarian character (Fig. 6.10, no. 3), a bowl imitating terra sigillata wares (Fig. 6.10, no. 4), *unguentaria* (Fig. 6.10, no. 5) and straight-rimmed glass cups (Fig. 6.10, no. 6; Fig. 6.12, no. 1) can all be dated to the 1st and the 3rd century AD, while the plates with roulette decoration, late Roman terra sigillata C and D groups (Fig. 6.12, nos. 2–3), are all from the 4th century AD.

The latest use of the sarcophagus is documented by late Roman and early Byzantine glass and pottery ranging in date from the 5th to the 7th century AD. The pottery includes *pithoi* with rims with relief decorations such as bead and incised and grooved wavy lines (Fig. 6.12, no. 4) and by cooking pots with flaring rims and bulbous bodies (Fig. 6.12, nos. 5–6). A coin from the reign of the Emperor Heraclius (622–623 AD) seems to confirm that the sarcophagus was still in use in the 7th century AD (Fig. 6.13).

### The inscription

The inscription carved on the northern face of the sarcophagus reads: Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Φιλίππου [(The tomb) of Alexandros, son of Philippos].





1



2



3

Fig. 6.9. Tlos. The Alexandros sarcophagus. Glass, bronze and iron objects from inside the sarcophagus.

The names Philippos and Alexandros are very common in the historical records. At first glance, the names recall Alexander the Great and his father. Alexander the Great is rarely called by his personal name in inscriptions or in the Greek sources, where he most often is recorded as 'Alexandros Basileus' or 'Alexander Magnus/Alexandros Makros'. For this reason, the inscription must be related to a family employing the names 'Alexander' and 'Philip'. For the interpretation and the dating of this inscription, some specific factors, such as palaeographic features and syntactic structure, have to be considered. Starting with the palaeographic features, the height of the letters in the inscription is 12 cm. This is quite unusual for an inscription, especially for an inscription on a sarcophagus. Such large letters often appear on architecture during the Roman period. However, writing in large letters on a stone monument is not peculiar to any period. The height of the letter may change according to the form and size of the monument and at the commissioner's request. Hence, there are some inscriptions containing large letters on the monuments of the Hellenistic period, especially in the

2nd century BC and later. Furthermore, some special letters used in the inscription are peculiar to the Hellenistic period, i.e. Α, Ξ and Π. The letter 'Π', for example, that is 'pi', was written in two ways. The first 'pi' is the typical Classical and Hellenistic letter form in which the second leg of the letter is left short in mid-air. The other 'pi' has a shape which became standardized in the Roman Imperial period, when both legs of the letter were of equal length. The present type of 'pi' are transition letters found in 1st-century BC inscriptions.

In addition to these palaeographic features, the syntactic structure of the inscription forms a dating criterion. Indicating the patronymic, the father's name, with the masculine genitive article (TOY), is a characteristic of Classical period standard inscriptions. For most of the Hellenistic period, the father's name was written with this article. During the Roman Imperial period, this article was used not for the father's name, but for the grandfather's. It is not possible to say that this inscription belongs to the Roman Imperial period due to this. However, there remains the possibility that this might be a clerical error and there should have been a KAI conjunctive after the TOY genitive article showing the father's name. However, there is no trace of writing in the second line of the inscription. If this conjunctive had been used, the translation would have been: 'Alexandros', also known as Philippos' (tomb)'. However, there is no evidence to show that it should be read in this way. All of the second line was left blank as would have been suitable for the writing of the TOY article. The inscription might have been added to the sarcophagus in the 3rd century BC based on this grammatical characteristic. There is the opportunity of evaluating the social status and personal name recorded in the inscription. Firstly, the names Alexandros and Philippos were very popular as Alexander the Great and his father Philip were historically important figures. During the Roman period there was a restriction on the use of 'tribu' and 'gentilicia' names. However, the use of 'gentilicia' names was allowed by the emperor and everyone had the right to use them, such as the name Aurelius. However, there was a restriction placed on the use of the name of Alexander. In contrast, he gave his own name to many cities. He was pleased that his name was given to monuments and buildings and the name Alexandros has been used from Alexander the Great until today by everyone.

The name Alexandros is not common in the Lycian region, so far only 23 individuals with this name have been registered, all from the Roman period. Until the discovery of this inscription at Tlos, no earlier use of the name Alexandros had been documented. Lycians spoke the Lycian language and gave themselves local names. Very few people gave Greek names to their sons, probably because the Greeks had little influence on their culture, but in the Hellenistic and later periods mixed families occur giving a much more varied picture in the use of personal names, especially in the Roman period when important changes happened to the Lycian culture. At that time, in addition to the local names, people



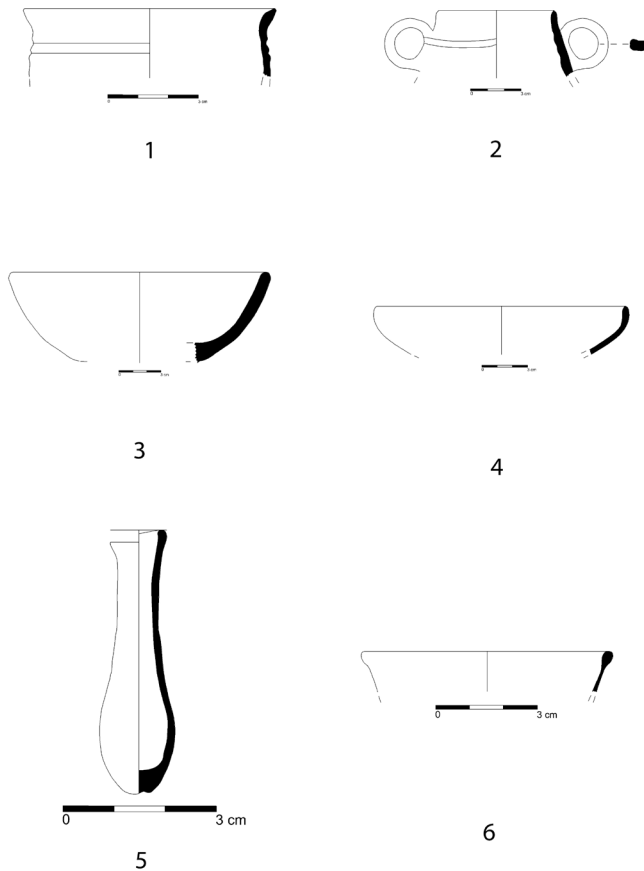


Fig. 6.10. Tlos. The Alexandros sarcophagus. Pottery and glass from outside the sarcophagus.

gave names such as Claudius, Aurelius, Marcius, Valerius, etc., which is why the name Alexandros is found frequently in the Roman period.

‘Alexandros, son of Philippos’ would fall within the normal range of names under normal conditions. However, this name

is an exception, not only in the inscriptions from Lycia and Anatolia, but for other Greek inscriptions elsewhere. This name serial is only present on the oracle inscriptions at Delphi. At CID (*Corpus des inscriptions de Delphes*) IV 117, there is a record of ‘Alexandros, son of Philippos’ in an inscription dated to 117 BC. Except for this example, no other matching name serials exist. The question remains, what was the reason for this exception. Did it result from admiration and special respect for Alexander the Great and his family? It is reasonable to expect that the grave owner’s family may have expressed such admiration. A person with the name of Philippos might well have given the name of Alexandros to his son due to admiration for Alexander the Great. Such a family tree might not have been acceptable to the local population, but it was perhaps possible for a family which moved to Tlos from the West. As a result, it is reasonable to argue that the use of this name by the owner of the grave might not have been a casual incident. The use of the name seems to indicate that he was not only a person of importance in Tlos, but possibly in all Lycia in terms of social status.

### Multiple uses of the sarcophagus

From the evaluation of the finds recovered from inside and outside the sarcophagus it can be concluded there were three phases of use of this sarcophagus. The first can be dated to the late Classical period with reference to the typology of the sarcophagus itself, with its gable-roofed lid typical for this period; the black glazed potshard found inside supports this date. The second phase of use dates to the Hellenistic period, when the inscription was added to its northern side: ‘Alexandros, son of Philippos’. Both the ceramic finds and the ring-stone depicting Heracles date from the 3rd/2nd century BC. The grave probably continued to be used by the same family until the 4th century AD, when, as our excavations could testify, the sarcophagus was robbed and emptied.

According to the finds the third and final phase of use dates from the 4th to the 7th century AD, but it has not been possible to establish for how long the sarcophagus was abandoned between the second and third phases. The burials of this late phase were all unfurnished. While the skeletons of the lower layers in this last phase of the sarcophagus were much disturbed, the anatomical articulation of the skeletons in the latest, top burial layer was not destroyed; a Hellenistic pot and bricks from the hypocaust system of the Roman baths (abandoned in the 3rd century AD) were reused as supports for the heads of the deceased. This reuse of the bricks is another confirmation of the late date of the burials.

As a result, the excavation undertaken in and around this sarcophagus shows that the original Classical sarcophagus was reused first sometime in the Hellenistic period and then again in the early Byzantine period as a family burial (Fig. 6.14).

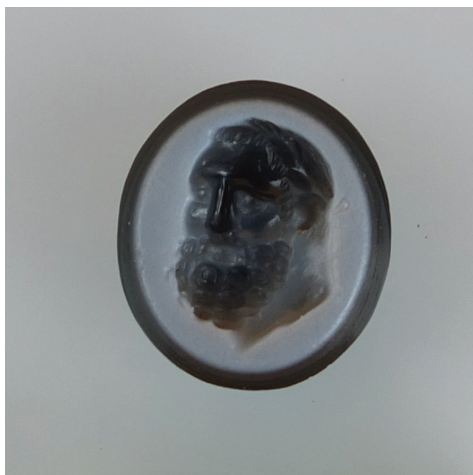


Fig. 6.11. Tlos. The Alexandros sarcophagus. Ring-stone depicting Heracles.

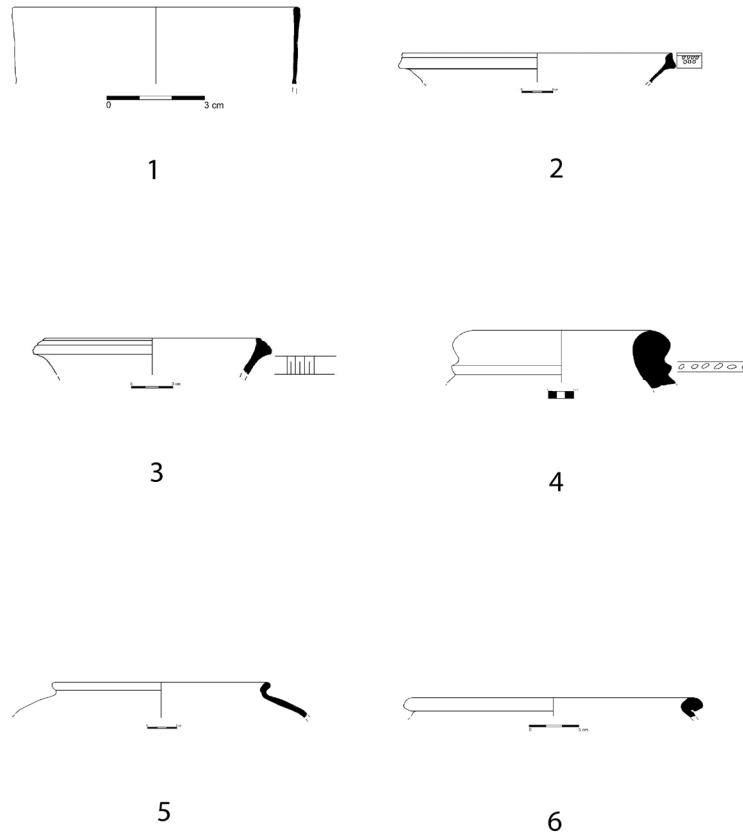


Fig. 6.12. Tlos. The Alexandros sarcophagus. Glass and pottery from outside the sarcophagus.



Fig. 6.13. Tlos. The Alexandros sarcophagus. Coin from the reign of Emperor Heraclius.

During the early Christian period the old city centre of Tlos was abandoned and a new city centre was established on the southern side of the acropolis. This new area was surrounded by a 'city wall' starting from the foot of the acropolis (see Fig. 6.3). However, the residential area extended beyond the city walls during the mid-Byzantine period. For the early Byzantine period in the city planning of Tlos therefore, the use of this area as a necropolis is unusual. It is clear that the sarcophagus found at the edge of the city was used

as a necropolis throughout the Classical, Hellenistic, and Roman periods. Nevertheless, no archaeological remains representing the Byzantine period have so far been identified in this area. This is because the settlement was moved to the southern slope of the acropolis of Tlos in the early Byzantine period. As is understood from the name of the owner of the burial, the members of this family were ordinary people, even if once of some possible importance. Although it is not certain, the possibility that there was

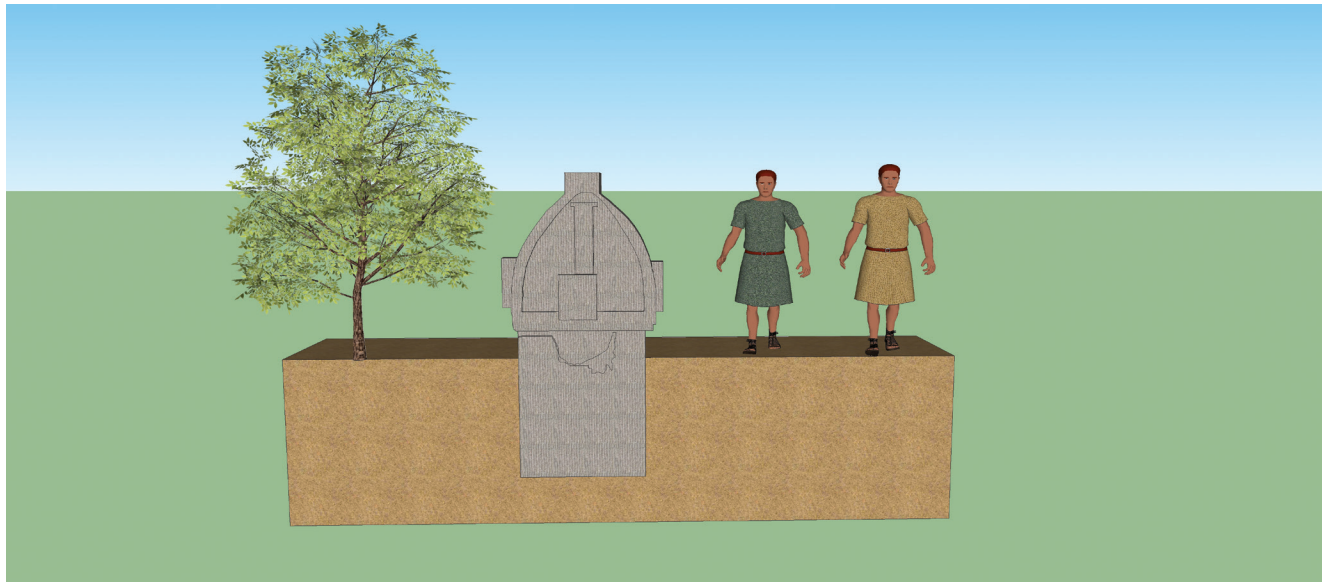


Fig. 6.14. Tlos. The Alexandros sarcophagus. Recreated view of the position of the sarcophagus in the early Byzantine period.

another settlement area on the eastern side of the city centre in the early Byzantine period, should not be excluded. It is hoped that future research will illuminate this issue.

### Acknowledgements

We thank the Turkish Academy of Sciences (TÜBİTAK) for supporting this work through the Project No. 111K227. We are grateful to Cenk Güner and Recai Tekoğlu who undertook the preliminary analysis of the bones and of the inscription. Our thanks are also due to Bilsen Özdemir, Tijen Yücel, Bayram Akdağ, and Kudret Sezgin for their contributions in the field and in the preparation of the illustrations.

### Bibliography

- Bryce, T. R. (1986) *The Lycians I. The Lycians in literary and epigraphic sources*. Copenhagen, Museum Tusculanum Press.
- Buikstra, J. E. and Ubelaker, D. H. (1994) *Standards for data collection from human skeletal remains. Proceedings of a seminar at The Field Museum of Natural History* (Arkansas Archaeological Survey Research Series 44). Fayetteville, Arkansas Archaeological Survey.
- Carubba, O. (1993) Dynasten und Städte. Sprachliche und sonstige Bemerkungen zu den Namen auf den lykischen Münzen. In Borchhardt and Dobesch (eds.) *Akten des II. Internationalen Lykien-Symposium, Wien 6.–12. Mai 1990*, 11–25. Vienna, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Hellenkemper, H. and Hild, F. (2004) *Tabula Imperii Byzantini 8: Lykien und Pamphylien*. Vienna, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Işık, F., Işkan-Işık, H., and Çevik, N. (1998–1999) *Miliarium Lyciae. Das Wegweisermonument von Patara* (Lykia, 4 [2001]). Antalya, Akdeniz Üniversitesi.
- Korkut, T. (2013) Die Ausgrabungen in Tlos. In P. Brun, L. Cavalier, K. Konuk, and F. Prost (eds.) *Euploia. La Lycie et la Carie antiques: Dynamiques des territoires, échanges et identités* (Actes du Colloque de Bordeaux, 5, 6 et 7 Novembre 2009 Bordeaux), 333–44. Bordeaux, Ausonius.
- Korkut, T. (2014) Tlos 2012 Kazı Etkinlikleri. *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* 35.3, 103–18.
- Korkut, T. (2015) *Tlos. Akdağlar'ın Yamacında Bir Likya Kenti*, Istanbul, Ege Yayınları.
- Korkut, T. and Grosche, G. (2007) *Das Bouleuterion von Patara. Versammlungsgebäude des lykischen Bundes, Patara II 1*. Istanbul, Ege Yayınları.
- Poetto, M. (1993) *L'iscrizione luvio-geroglifica di Yalburt* (Studia Mediterranea 8). Pavia, G. Iuculano Editore.