Making Meaning of Myth.
On the interpretation of mythological imagery in the Polyxena Sarcophagus and the Kızılbel Tomb and the History of Achaemenid Asia Minor.

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This paper concerns the interpretation of mythological images decorating two tombs dating to the later sixth and early fifth century BC in Asia Minor and their meaning for understanding the cultural and social history of the peninsula following its incorporation into the Achaemenid Persian Empire in the 540s BC.[1] It has two overlapping aims. One is methodological: to wrestle with how one might use images as valuable historical evidence while still appreciating the hermeneutic problems that affect interpretation – an issue which intersects with much broader debates about how one "makes meaning" of visual, and other, evidence. The other is historical: to show how important attention to the content of these two tombs is for grasping regional dynamics that emerged in one part of the Achaemenid Empire's vast territories in the wake of Asia Minor's incorporation into the empire – a "satellite view" approach that can allow one to transcend sticking points in the interpretation of individual subjects to still draw useful historical conclusions.

The two tombs concerned – the richly sculpted marble Polyxena Sarcophagus from the Granicus Plain in northwest Turkey and the painted tomb chamber at Kızılbel in southwest Turkey – are unusual for the time in their employment of extensive mythological narrative imagery. Asia Minor was the locus of many ancient myths known from Greek sources – not least the Trojan War – and although local literature is lacking, one imagines that such myths or versions of them were as widely shared here as they were among the predominantly Greek-speaking parts of the Mediterranean. Certainly we know that founder stories, epic myth histories and hero cults were embraced by various groups seeking to make their mark, and this only

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seems to have increased after the Achaemenid conquest.[2] Yet the display of mythological imagery is not abundant. Besides the Greek temples on the coasts (most notably in the frieze of the temple at Assos), it may also have been seen in architectural terracottas adorning buildings – a handful known so far bear mythological-looking themes. The clay painted Clazomenian sarcophagi used in Ionia on the west coast include some myths among the subjects shown, but otherwise there are mostly limited examples of mythological creatures (sphinxes, siren-like creatures and gorgon heads). Only the Tartarlı Tomb near Celaenae in southwest Phrygia (fig. 1), of the middle of the fifth century BC – later, then, than the two tombs considered here – also seems to have contained at least one mythological narrative (Heracles stealing the cattle of Geryon) alongside other non-mythological themes.[3] Myth may have been most frequently encountered on imported Attic painted pottery, which, as it happens, increased at some sites in the wake of the Persian conquest.
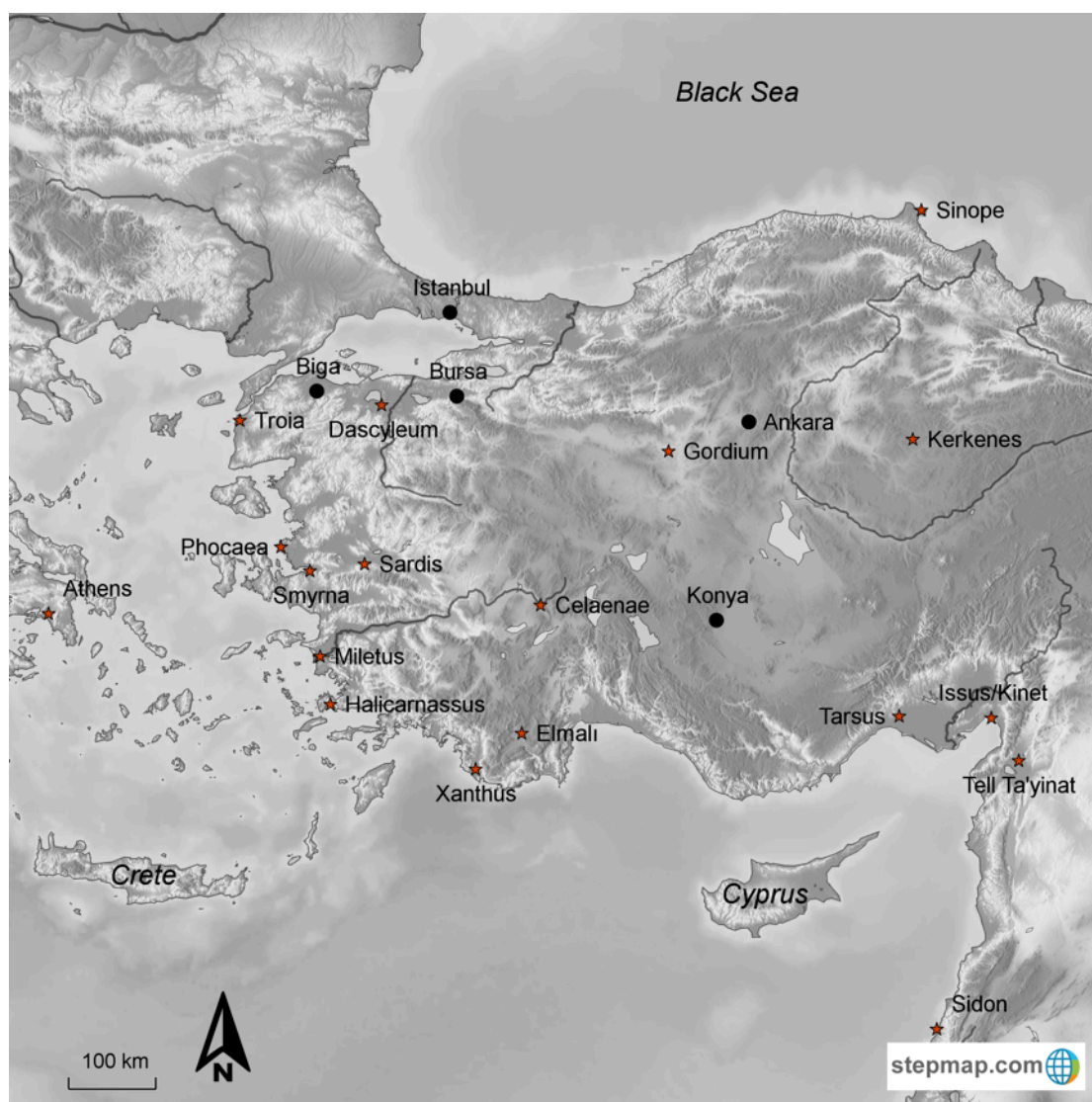

Fig. 1
Map of Asia Minor. By author using Stepmap.com.

[2] Rose (2008); Dusinberre (2013), 222-25; Mac Sweeney (2013); Draycott (2015). Association of tumuli in Troad with Greek (and other) fallen heroes: Cook (1973), 159-65 and 87, fig. 9; Rose (1998); (2013), 61-63; Rose and Körpe (2016).
[3] Summerer and von Kienlin (2010), 144-50.

Even if other tombs with mythological imagery come to light, this would not necessarily shift the impression that the Polyxena Sarcophagus and the Kızılbel Tomb were then something of a novelty in their environs, and novelties which have something to do with the kind of economic and social changes ushered in with the Achaemenid Empire, including the above-mentioned pottery importation. The Polyxena Sarcophagus has been the subject of a great deal of discussion concerning its sculptures and their meaning in political context, but questions concerning identification of its subjects and owners still affect its interpretation. The earlier Kızılbel Tomb, excavated in the 1970s, has not received as much attention, especially recently. Discussions have tended to focus on identification of subjects – particularly problematic here – and on the relevance of the images to death and/or the self-representation of the deceased, with little in the way of historical conclusions.

Here the primary concern is historical conclusions and the methods by which one can reach these with any success. In what follows, I first provide an overview of issues surrounding interpretation that are implicit in any attempt to use imagery, especially mythological imagery, as historical evidence, before moving on to discuss each of the tombs and their thematic packages. Within those sections some new ideas about the identification of certain subjects are included. The main *foci*, though, are how far one can reconstruct meanings that particular themes may have had in their sepulchral and local contexts, and how the phenomenon of these unusual displays allows insights into the history of Achaemenid Asia Minor that might otherwise be overlooked.

Myth, Meaning and Method

Myths do not mean anything by themselves. Of course, they do not exist, God-like, by themselves either, as if they preceded their rendering. They are entirely the product of human imagination. This is just as true for their making as for their understanding, both in the past and now, millennia after the first elements of what they would come to be were uttered. Both utterance and reception are necessary for myths to wander through time and space, and integral components for their transformation through cycles of making/telling, understanding, and respinning. The acts of making and receiving are thus paired; a maker receives information and expresses an understanding of it on some level in their work, whether consciously and coherently or not. A recipient of this expression makes sense of it, as best they can, referring to conventional ideas with which they are familiar, or digging and doing conscious research. They may themselves go on to make a new expression: an imitation; a retelling; a translation; an explanation.

Scholars of the ancient world are such receivers of myths, whether in textual or pictorial form, and makers of explanations. And our explanations are particular to the kinds of stories that we want to tell. In this sense, we make myth mean particular things according to our needs. This is not quite the same thing as "making sense" of myth, although to a certain extent this is semantic word play. "Making meaning", as opposed to "making sense", simply acknowledges our agency in the production of explanations, allowing for the imposition of our particular *foci*, how this might tailor

our understandings, and point us in certain directions.[4] This is totally different from saying that we willfully make things up. It is rare for someone engaged in scholarship to make things up; it is obvious that scholars, like others, take certain angles on things, look at things through particular lenses – whatever metaphor one wants to use.

A main kind of narrative that scholars of the ancient classical world tend to want to produce nowadays concerns social and cultural history, reconstructing not so much past events, but attitudes, understandings and mindsets. Social significance had been considered in earlier studies of classical art, particularly in studies of symbolic meanings of tomb and religious images, but the kind of socio-cultural history of which I speak - *histoire des mentalités* - is really indebted to the French structuralist approaches that spread from the "semiotic turn" in linguistics through the anthropology associated with Claude Lévi-Strauss and into multiple other fields, including ancient history (the *Annales* school), classics and classical archaeology in the second half of the twentieth century.[5] Influenced by this, studies of myth focused not on determining origins – the etymology – of the stories, but on semiotic meanings and importantly their function within and for society (*social functionalism*).[6] Studies of classical (and other) art took similar approaches, the term "visual culture" coming to be preferred to "art history", which some see as loaded with concepts of connoisseurship and excluding the full range of visual materials, some of which might not usually be considered "art".[7] Further work nuancing structuralist approaches especially associated with Michel Foucault, sometimes classed as post-structuralist, directed special attention to variations and changes in contextual meaning (*relativism*), and above all to the construction of power and identity (*social constructionism*). The plethora of works appearing in the later twentieth century, far beyond merely the study of classical art, incorporating phrases such as "Art and Society", "Power and Image" or "Identity and Art" in their titles is testament to the influence of these approaches.[8] The tenets of the approach are to look for evidence outside the monument or image itself in order to narrow down not only aspects of physical and temporal context, but for the thought worlds of which the monuments were once a part, often employing ancient literature as a major tool for this.

Although not usually referred to as such, a school of work along these lines has arisen, led by German scholars such as Paul Zanker and Klaus Fittschen, and in Anglophone scholarship by R.R.R. Smith, with a primary focus on analysing constructions of visual identities in ancient art, especially in portraiture and

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[4] For use of similar phrasing, see Elsner (2016). On methods in interpretation of mythological images see Junker (2012), esp. 14-15 for thoughts related to making of meaning (although importantly he does not use that term); Lorenz (2016), which I have unfortunately not been able to take full advantage of as it appeared after the production of this paper.

[5] For some earlier interpretative approaches of Roman funerary art, esp. the work of Franz Cumont and Arthur Nock's criticisms of it, see e.g. Elsner (2010); Zanker and Ewald (2012), 1-55, esp. 18-21; Elsner (2016). Also Junker (2012), 161-63.

[6] For Greek myth see especially Vernant, et al. (1990).

[7] On conventional meanings of art in historical contexts fundamental is Panofsky (1955). Structuralism in Classical art, especially Greek vases, inter alia: Bérard (1989); Lissarrague (2001), with comments by Robin Osborne (1991). Summarising structuralist approaches, especially to images on Greek vases: Stansbury-O'Donnell (2011). Again, for overviews: Stewart (2008); Junker (2012); and now Lorenz (2016), the last of which usefully compares Panofsky's iconological approach with the semiotic (structural) approach.

[8] For a good accessible discussion which brings in "self-representation" as discussed below, see Stewart (2008), 39-76.

memorials.[9] Within these two areas this can be referred to as "self-representation" (*Selbstdarstellung* in German) – a term which does not mean "self-portraiture", *per se*, and indeed may not even comprise human figures. Rather, the term conveys the idea that images functioned to meet the needs of consumers rather than how they conveyed ideas attributable solely to their makers.[10] Further, in ancient "self-representation", images selected for display are usually not taken to represent *individual* personality traits as much as *social personae* – types of persons that one could be or aspire to be within one's society, within an often constrained and conservative range.[11] Concerning the use of mythological imagery, with which this paper is concerned, one can cite above all studies of its use in the rich reliefs adorning Roman sarcophagi, where tales of heroism or virtue, for instance, might allude to qualities intended to be attributed to the deceased, and sometimes do this directly through the inclusion of portrait heads on protagonists.[12] Such studies also, though, admit meanings less directly linked to constructions of social identity and "self-representation"; tales of unfortunate death and loss, for example, although relevant to the memory of the deceased may be more meaningful in terms of the grief felt by survivors than in terms of the persona of the deceased.[13]

Whether close analysis of the narrative nuances and the semiotics of visual language in individual works, or observations of broader chronological and spatial patterns, this kind of historical, contextual approach to imagery has made profound contributions to our understanding of the past, illuminating much that is not available from textual sources. Indeed, much more than supplying "extra" information, this work shows how fundamental attention to art and archaeology is for any endeavour to comprehend the past, for visual and material culture was very pervasive, spread through the whole of society, bound up in the practices and experiences of a huge proportion of ancient populaces. The historical approach to ancient art has not escaped some criticism, however. Despite the fact that it moves away from the intentions of the maker, it tends to incorporate, or does not distance itself from, notions of intentional meanings. French post-structuralist thinking, this time associated most with the *deconstructionism* of Jacques Derrida, has stressed the vagaries of communication and the problems of locating meaning, which may not be clearly formulated by the utterer and may at the other end be received and interpreted variously.[14] Context, which one tends to think of as exerting control over understanding, is, to some extent anyway, individually constructed – a part of the whole field of constructing meaning rather than an external, reliable constant. In that

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[9] E.g. inter alia Fittschen and Zanker (1983-2014); Smith (1988); Zanker (1988); (1995); Smith (2002); Smith, et al. (2006). Barbara Borg's work is also very significant here (see e.g. her article in this volume), as well as Tonio Hölscher, several of whose works are referred to further below (e.g. n. 11).

[10] See Smith (2002). Again, see Stewart (2008). As noted in n. 8, above.

[11] This idea of "social personae" has similarities to the concept of social "roles" as outlined by Hölscher (2008), esp. 52-54, where, however, he pits this against "identity", which he sees as too loaded with modern values. Cf. also on mythological themes specifically Hölscher (2011), where the problem with "identity" seems mostly with uncritical assumptions about expressions of group (ethnic, cultural, national) identity, and where he is more ambivalent about the utility of the term. This ambivalence can be further compared to his concern about the extent of meaning attributable to mythological themes in architectural sculpture in Hölscher (2009), as cited further, below. (n. 20).

[12] Most obviously, see Zanker and Ewald (2012).

[13] Cf. the expansive discussion of how myth on Roman sarcophagi could function as various kinds of *exempla*, including exemplary deaths and grieving, by Barbara Borg in this volume.

[14] E.g. Derrida (1988).

sense, at its farthest extreme one might argue that fixing an originally intended meaning or normal understanding of an utterance, a story, an image, *in context* is a futile endeavour.

The impact of these concerns, which have been more pronounced in other areas of archaeology and art history, are seen in another school of approach to classical art which privileges the viewer over consumer as a locus of meaning.[15] This work is not fully deconstructionist, abandoning the idea of finding meaning, but draws attention to the slippery and ambiguous nature of images, and greater varieties of what one might think of as "portable" contexts dependent on differing viewer backgrounds (class, gender, ethnic affiliations, religious beliefs), which may have generated different categories of meaning.[16] Although *historicism* tends to be viewed negatively, one might say, however, that it is the *quality* of historicism which is at issue. It would not be fair to say that all work that might be classed as "historicist" insists that the meanings derived (or better, reconstructed) were *intended*, exactly, or that the viewer's share in creating meaning is rejected. Within the above-mentioned studies of Roman sarcophagi, for example, one often finds admission that the power of the depictions of mythological stories lies in part in their capacity to stimulate the imaginations and discussion of viewers, necessarily therefore admitting some level of subjectivity.[17] While questioning intentionality, and accepting levels of ambiguity and subjectivity, however, a "post-reception" reaction from some scholars points out that meanings and understandings were (and are) not unlimited.[18] The real bugbear is not necessarily the idea of intended or conventionally understood meanings, *per se*, or the notion that one might be able to control at least some *probabilities* of these, but the idea of *specific* meanings, in particular that images can be read as kinds of symbolic, encoded *messages*, often political or religious messages. This is an issue long discussed in the interpretation of mythological images in architectural sculpture, where there are cases that remain notoriously difficult to understand (one thinks of the friezes of the Siphnian Treasury or the centauromachy on the temple of Zeus at Olympia).[19] Two main poles that might be called "strong"/"maximal" and "soft"/"weak" meanings tend to be perceptible, the one extreme being very speculative, the other including proposals that at least some of the figured sculptural programmes from the ancient world may have been more decorative than didactic.[20]

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[15] E.g. most prominently Elsner (1995); (2007). Other work on viewing and response in Classical archaeology, inter alia: Osborne (2000); Stewart (2003); Barringer (2008). Overview: Stewart (2008), 123-42. More generally on the meaning of art in terms of its affective nature rather than content: Freedberg (1989); Gell (1998). Cf. also Jordanova (2012), 154-87 on what she terms "audiences" and responses. For influence of deconstructionism in post-processual archaeology, inter alia: Shanks and Tilley (1987a); (1987b); Bapty and Yates (1990); Tilley (1991), Whitley 1998. See now also Davis (2015). Summaries of the archaeological theory: Johnson (1999), esp. 98-115; Wylie (2002), 171-78.

[16] Cf. esp.: Elsner (2015), 56-57, 59 and 63-70.

[17] E.g. Junker (2012), 117-18 and esp. cf. 187-96, where he discusses seeing images of myth as having a "reflective" capacity, although at 188 he explicitly *rejects* the notion that they are "polysemic"; Zanker and Ewald (2012), 26-27, 31, 37 and 49, where they speak of "openness" of the images, but at the same time advocate main intended meanings; and Borg, this volume. Cf. also on themes on public architecture, Ridgway (1999), 9-10, acknowledging Freedberg (1989) and Schneider (2016), passim.

[18] See e.g. Stewart (2008), 125; Junker (2012), as noted in n. 17, above, and 122-23; Audley-Miller (2016), 554, citing Stewart (2007), 166-75; Tanner (2007), 82-83 and 91. Also, Borg this volume. One can add here Elsner (2015), where he discusses the necessity, but also the problems associated with using images as empirical evidence toward histories, with further references to Robin Osborne's work.

[19] Buitron-Oliver (1997); Ridgway (1999); Schultz and von den Hoff (2009).

[20] Hölscher (2009), noted in John Ma's review: Ma (2011).

This is different from saying that such imagery is not *historically* meaningful, however. In the first place, things need to be judged on a case-by-case basis. It is clear that some images were carefully contrived to convey particular ideas, even if not everyone (or anyone) really understood them. Other images were not so carefully chosen. But even imagery that was not intended to be strictly meaningful in terms of didactic, symbolic messages can be placed into broader patterns in order to gain a sense of qualities of behaviour. The same in fact needs to be done even where one feels able to narrow down probabilities of intended or conventionally understood meanings; arguably it is only by placing this into broader patterns of behaviour that one can draw historical conclusions. And so it is toward this end that this paper now proceeds: it considers probabilities of intended meanings/common understandings (not quite the same thing) of the themes shown on the Polyxena Sarcophagus and the Kızılbel Tomb, but also emphasises how the use of myth in these tombs can be made meaningful by appreciating it more generally as a particular strategy of distinction – a strategy that, seen within broader geo-economic contexts, reveals regional dynamics that are important additions to the history of Achaemenid Asia Minor, and which, it should be stressed, would go unnoticed *without* attention to the art.

The Polyxena Sarcophagus and the Granicus Plain

The Polyxena Sarcophagus was an astonishing find made after reports of tomb robbing in the Granicus (modern Biga) River Plain in 1994.[21] This area of northwest Anatolia (fig. 2) was high traffic and complicated in its political geography. Strabo, writing in the early Roman Empire, names multiple groups living in the area in his day, among them Mysians, Phrygians, Bithynians and various Thracian groups (Str. 12.1.3, 12.4-6, 12.8.2-7, 13.1.1, 13.1.8). He places the Biga Plain in the Troad, separated from Mysia to its east by the Aisepus River (Str. 12.4-6), but the area may have been part of "Mysia" in earlier periods.[22] It is also often associated with Hellespontine Phrygia – a term usually applied to the whole of an Achaemenid Persian satrapy with a seat at Dascyleum, but which may have referred to an earlier northwest Phrygian-speaking polity.[23] The use of Dascyleum as a Persian administrative centre may have started not long after their conquest of Anatolia, but there seems to have been a new period of activity and building at that site in the period after the Persian War battles of 480 and 479, when a dynasty of satraps is attested.[24] Along the coastline were Milesian Greek colonies including nearby cities such as Cyzicus and Parion, and Greek nobles are known to have held estates in the area.[25] There may, in fact, have been a generally Greek-identifying settlement group in the Biga River delta area between Cyzicus and Parion: the remains of a pair of small (c. 2 m high) Ionic columns thought to date to the late sixth or early fifth

[21] Sevinç and Rose (1996); Rose (2013), 72-103. Neer (2012) is crucial for references to flourishing literature on the sarcophagus.
[22] Xenophon notes recalcitrant Mysians in the mountains of the Troad during the later fifth century BC (*Hell*. 10-15): Ma (2008).
[23] On "Mysia" and "Hellespontine Phrygia", inter alia: Osborne (1975); Carrington (1977); Schwertheim (1988); Bakır (2001); Trachsel (2002); Fiedler (2003), 29-31; Maffre (2007). Also comments in Draycott (forthcoming).
[24] In Xenophon's *Cyropaedia* (8.6.7) Cyrus gives the satrapy already to Pharnuchos. On the possibility that the satrapal seat was not fully established until c. 480 BC see Kaptan (2002), esp. 5-8 and 211.
[25] Greeks holding estates: Austin (1990); Briant (2002), esp. 561-63.

century found at Biga, one with a boustrophedon dedicatory inscription in Ionic Greek mentioning a temple committee and *temenos* income, imply an organised Ionian community.[26] The Polyxena Sarcophagus itself was found near a site thought to have been ancient Didymateiche (or Didymon Teichos – Double Wall). The name is found in the later fifth century Athenian Tribute Lists, indicating the town joined the Delian League, a point raised in support of a majority Greek-speaking populace.[27] Since the name "Dascyleum" also appears in those lists and the Lycians certainly joined the League, however, one might be cautious about leaping to conclusions about an exclusively Greek political and linguistic zone. Greek-speakers were clearly living in the Biga area, but there may have been other languages spoken, and the idea that these different groups should be distinguishable through material and visual culture, or practices, may be particularly confounded in this diverse area.
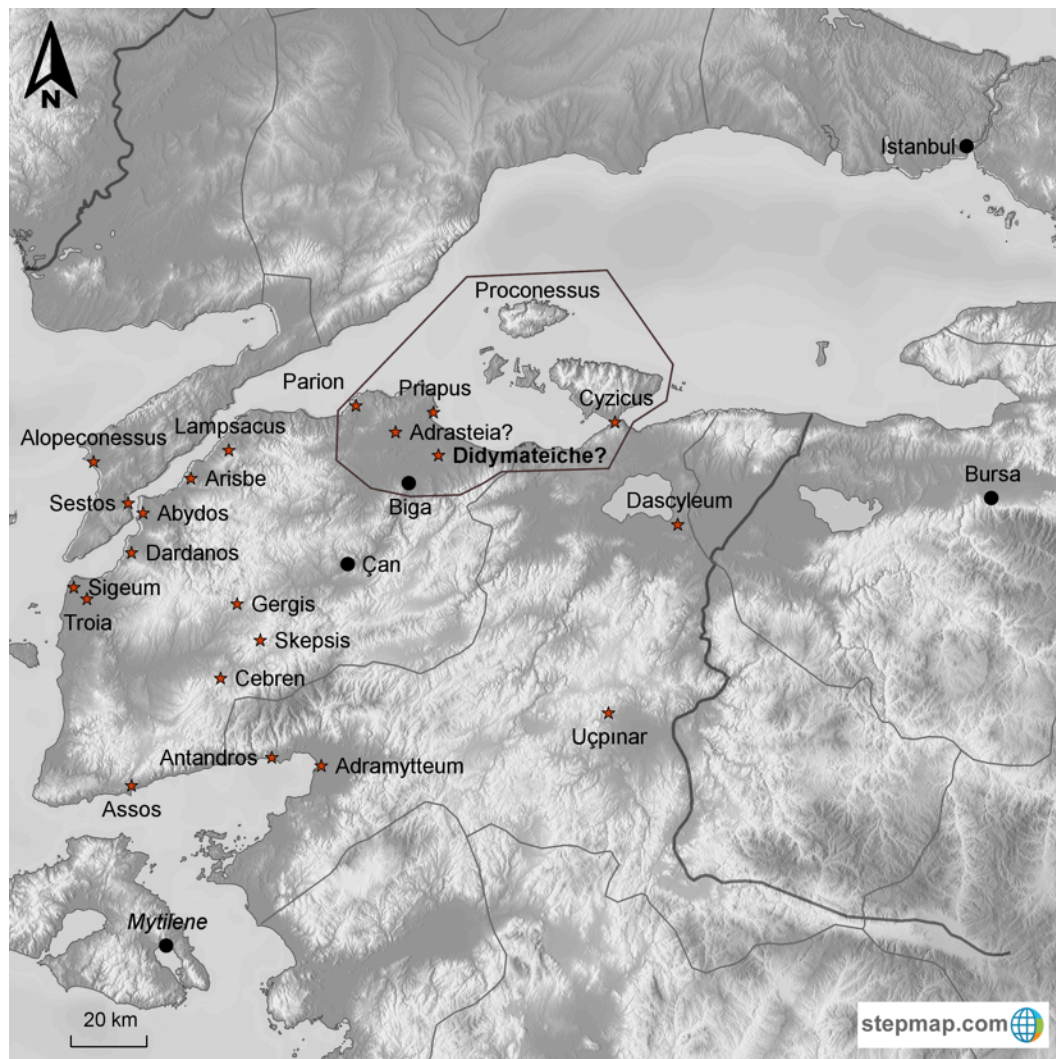

Fig. 2
Map of Northwest Asia Minor showing sites in the Troad and Hellespontine Phrygia. Modern Turkish province boundaries shown. Potential networked area exploiting the Proconessian marble quarries between Cyzicus, Proconessus, Parion and the Biga Plain outlined. By author using Stepmap.com.

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[26] Robert and Robert (1950), 78-80; (1951), 186 no. 87; Koenigs (1989).
[27] Didymateiche, identified with Dimetoka in the area of the Granicus tumuli: Leaf (1923), 71 and map (uncertain about identification); Robert (1937), 195; Meritt, et al. (1939), 481; Neer (2012).

This is to say that the ethno-linguistic identity of the owners of the Polyxena Sarcophagus is unclear – a point to which I shall return. The sarcophagus itself was found under one of a number of tumuli scattered through the landscape of the Biga Plain, which seem to have proliferated in the wake of the Persian conquest of Asia Minor in the 540s BC.[28] Unlike some of the other tumuli, which contained stone built tomb chambers similar to those found in other areas of Asia Minor, especially Lydia, the aptly named Kizöldün (Dead Girl) Tumulus did not contain such a chamber, but only two sarcophagi: a smaller and plainer one found in an upper layer which was used for a child, and the Polyxena Sarcophagus, which sat at ground level in the centre of the mound, clearly the original deposition on this spot.[29] The Polyxena Sarcophagus is anything but plain. About the height of an average human, it is lavishly decorated with an imitation gabled, tiled roof, Ionic egg and dart mouldings, and dentils. All four sides of the main chest are finely carved with large archaic-Greek-style figurative relief sculptures including the death of the eponymous Trojan princess, Polyxena (fig. 3). The sculptural style has suggested to some a date in the late sixth century BC, although there are similarities to the archaic-style reliefs on the chest at the top of a large pillar-type tomb from Lycia: the Harpy Monument, which (although with some debate) is often dated to around 480 BC.[30] There is even some possibility that it could be later: despite the clear frontal eyes and silhouette of the figures, which recall Greek sculptures of the second half of the sixth century BC, the dress style, in particular the *sakkos* headdress shown on many of the women in the reliefs, is most prevalent in Attic vase paintings of the first half of the fifth century BC. Some have argued, too, that the dentils included in the architectural decoration are canonical in the fifth century, not before.[31] Precision on dating therefore is difficult, but generally the monument can be placed in a half century, c. 510-460 BC. This seems to have been a period when settlements and smaller groups in the area increasingly exploited the marble quarries on Proconnessus for monumental building, and one might posit that this was first dominated by a network between the Milesian colonies of Cyzicus and Parion before the marble was brought in for fifth century building projects at Dascyleum (fig. 2).[32]

The relief sculptures on the sarcophagus have been the topic of much discussion not only because of their extent and quality, but for the rarity of the themes and especially for the preponderance of women in them. Running along two sides of the sarcophagus, usually prioritised through their labelling as Sides A and B, is a continuous scene of the sacrifice of the Trojan princess Polyxena over the grave of Achilles – an episode of the Trojan cycle known from the *Ilioupersis* attributed to

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[28] Survey of the valley and tumuli: Rose, et al. (2007); Rose and Körpe (2009); Rose (2013); Rose and Körpe (2016). Burials in Lydia: Roosevelt (2009).

[29] One chambered tomb: the Dedetepe Tumulus, near Çeşmealtı: Sevinç and Rose (1998); Rose (2013), 117-28. Similar tumulus burials with chamber tombs have been found around Dascyleum and further east: Bakır (1991); Bakır and Gusmani (1993); Kütük (1995); Kökten Ersoy (1998); Kökten (1998); Bakır, et al. (2002). An unusual "tholos" type chamber near Çan, further inland along the Biga River, contained the Hunt sarcophagus: Sevinç, et al. (2002); Ma (2008); Rose (2013), 129-42. The Child's Sarcophagus above the Polyxena Sarcophagus: Sevinç and Rose (1999); Rose (2013), 104-15.

[30] Harpy Monument, London, British Museum B 287: Rudolph (2003); Draycott (2007).

[31] Ateşlier and Öncü (2004).

[32] Biga columns and tombs already mentioned, but also fifth century buildings and tombs at Dascyleum associated with the satrapal dynasty there (see n. 24, above): Ateşlier (1999); (2001); Aytekin (2007); Karagöz (2007); Karagöz (2013).

Arctinus of Miletus, and fifth century BC works such as Euripides' *Trojan Women* and *Hecuba*, and a lost play on Polyxena herself by Sophocles.[33] The composition is tripartite over the two sides: on the left end of the long Side A is a file of mourning Trojan women (fig. 4). On the right end the princess is shown being held horizontally by several males distinguished by their short *chitons* and short or bound hair. One, by tradition Neoptolemus, the son of Achilles, grabs her hair and drives a sword into her throat while she struggles, legs kicking and torso twisting. On the far right is a large tumulus with a tripod before it: the tomb of Achilles.[34] The edge of the tumulus overlaps onto the left corner of the short Side B, where an old woman who would be Polyxena's mother Hecuba is shown seated on the ground under a leafless tree, two further Trojan women behind her.[35]
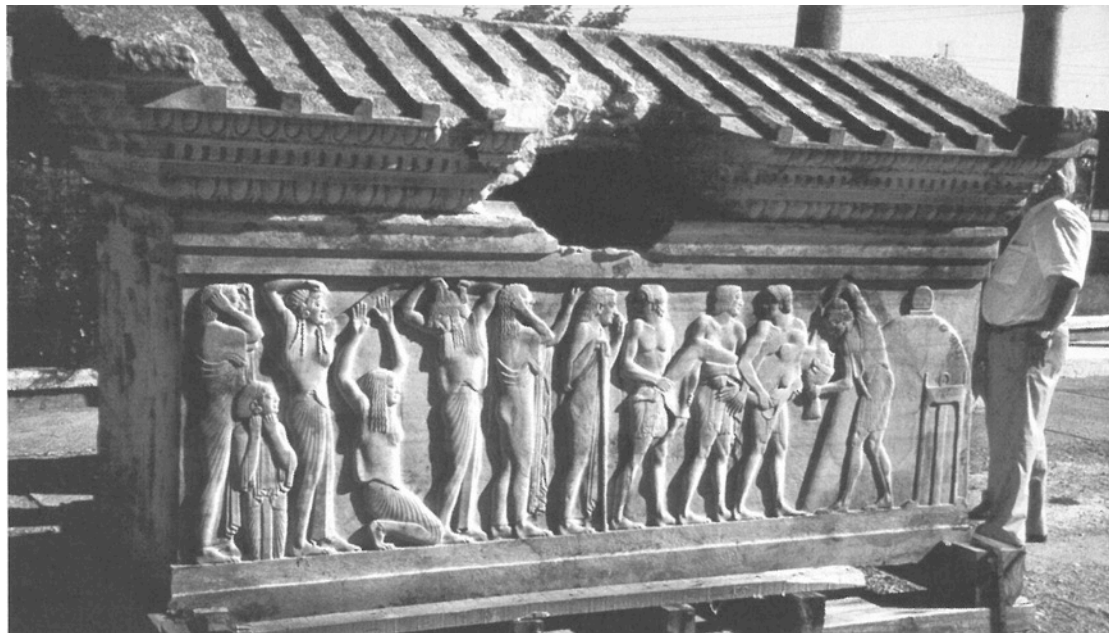

Fig. 3
The Polyxena Sarcophagus. From Rose (2014), 80, fig. 3.7 (Troia slide 19937). Reproduced with the kind permission of C. Brian Rose.

This episode is rare in art. It could be mistaken for the sacrifice of Iphegenia, the daughter of Agamemnon, whose death was demanded to bring the winds enabling the Greeks to sail to Troy in the first place.[36] Polyxena's death brackets this at the end of the war; it was demanded by the ghost of Achilles in order to bring winds to sail back home. The compositions usually differ for both princesses, the girls being led to the altar/tomb, or being shown kneeling before it; only one sixth-century Tyrrhenian amphora shows a similar composition with the girl held horizontally, there with labels clearly identifying it as the sacrifice of Polyxena.[37]

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[33] *LIMC* 7, s.v. "Polyxene" (Touchefeu-Meynier); Calder (1966); Neer (2012), esp. 99, n. 7 for references to poetic fragments.

[34] Hedreen (2001), 132-36, suggests that the tripod could refer to the burial of Achilles in a place sacred to Apollo, like his son, who according to tradition was buried at Delphi .

[35] On the leafless tree as a pathetic fallacy: Neer (2012), 100.

[36] *LIMC* 5, s.v. "Iphigenia" (Kahil and Icard).

[37] Tyrrhenian amphora, London, British Museum 1897.7-27.2, attributed to the Timades Painter, c. 570-60 BC: *LIMC* 7, s.v. "Polyxene" (Touchefeu-Meynier), 26*; *ABV* 97.27; *BAdd*[2], 26; Beazley Archive Pottery Database number 310027; Neer (2012), 100, who notes that interestingly some of the

Although the two other sides of the sarcophagus, labelled C and D (fig. 4), tend to be seen as of secondary importance in the programme, they are central to interpretive questions concerning this tomb. Also organised in a tripartite division, the long side (Side C) shows on the left a seated woman surrounded by a large entourage of ladies in waiting. On the right is shown a group of four armed dancers flanked by a female playing a *kithara*, another female playing an *aulos*, a dancer with castanets and on the far right a group of female onlookers. The short side (D) shows two females seated on a *kline* (couch) flanked by attendants holding drinking implements.
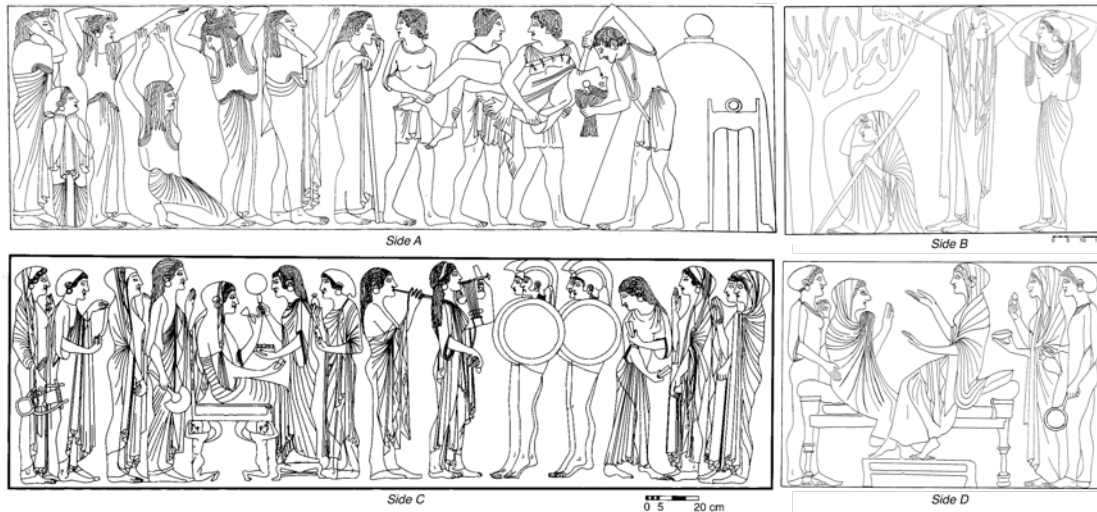

Fig. 4
Compilation of line drawings of reliefs on the four sides of the Polyxena Sarcophagus, by Kate Clayton after Nurten Sevinç. Reproduced from Rose (2014), 80, fig. 3.8, 84, fig. 3.12, 89, fig. 3.15, 92, fig. 3.18, with the kind permission of C. Brian Rose.

The subjects of these two sides have been variously interpreted. Most see non-mythological, idealised events in the life (and/or death) of a high status woman. The excavators initially proposed funerary celebrations, and Brian Rose upholds this interpretation based on the nature of the objects brought to the seated woman on Side C, which he sees as funerary.[38] In this sense, both sets of reliefs could refer to the deaths of princesses, juxtaposing mythological and historical. Others have seen the juxtaposition as one of death versus life. Very attractive is Carola Reinsberg's proposal that what is shown are preparations for a wedding (the *proaulia*), the bedecking of the bride on the left, the young bride reassured by her mother on the night before the wedding on the short side, the armed dancers part of an associated rite, perhaps to Artemis.[39] The nadir of death versus the pinnacle of life that is a wedding is a thematic opposition that would make sense as a programmatic response to grief.[40] The juxtaposition is known elsewhere, most notably for the archaic period

male figures bear Trojan names. Cf. a proto-Attic pot fragment showing a similar composition, which could also depict Polyxena, since there is no known example of Iphegenia being shown in such a prone position: *LIMC* 5, s.v. "Iphigenia" (Kahil and Icard), 2 (drawing in text).
[38] Sevinç and Rose (1996); Rose (2013), 98.
[39] Reinsberg (2001); (2004). Interpreting a wedding, also: Ateşlier and Öncü (2004); Şare (2005). Rose feels the objects offered are unlike those seen in images of weddings on Attic vases: Rose (2013). See also Neer (2012) for comments and further references.
[40] Şare (2005).

in the inscription of the *kore* of Phrasiklea from the Attic countryside (*CEG* 24): "I am forever to be called *kore* (virgin/unmarried girl), in place of marriage this is the name the gods allotted me."[41]

Embedded in assumptions about the relevance of such a theme, however, is the idea that it is particularly relevant to a woman. This is, beside ethno-linguistic identity, the other major problem with the identity of the owners of this tomb, for surprisingly examination of the bones has concluded that its occupant was a male in his forties.[42] As Richard Neer has aptly stated, this is an "inconvenient truth".[43] Many would solve this apparent incongruity by imagining that the monument was originally made with a woman in mind, but eventually used, for whatever reason, for the burial of a man.[44] Neer explores, alternatively, how the imagery might be relevant to male identity. One possibility is that Polyxena's death may be, in part, a device to present the tomb of Achilles, a nearby landmark in the Troad, to which the grand burial of an "heroic" man might be likened.[45] As well, it is not just Polyxena who is the protagonist of the scene, but Neoptolemus, also known as Pyrrhus. Neoptolemus/Pyrrhus' eyes, Neer notes, meet those of the princess he is slaughtering in a manner recalling the locked gazes of Achilles and the amazon queen Penthesilia as shown on a famous Attic vase painted by Exekias.[46] For Sides C and D, which are more difficult to reconcile, Neer's solution is that there may be another Pyrrhus connection: Neoptolemus/Pyrrhus was the inventor of the Pyrrhic armed dance – a choral armed dance which is the closest in style to that shown on the sarcophagus. The seated woman and musicians in particular have some parallels with a fragment of Sappho (fr. 44) that speaks of the arrival of Andromache for her wedding to Polyxena's heroic brother, Hector, the bride bedecked with finery and celebrations:

> the sweet-sounding pipe and cithara were mingled and the sound of castanets, and maidens sang clearly a holy song, and a marvellous echo reached the sky . . . and everywhere in the streets was . . . bowls and cups . . . myrrh and cassia and frankincense were mingled. The elder women cried out joyfully, and all the men let forth a lovely high-pitched strain calling on Paean, the Archer skilled in the lyre, and they sang in praise of the godlike Hector and Andromache.[47]

Neoptolemus, Neer reminds us, traditionally took Andromache as his concubine after the fall of Troy. The armed dancers, taken as males rather than females *à la* Reinsberg's interpretation, could then mirror the four Greek youths, including Pyrrhus/Neoptolemus himself, shown on the other side of the sarcophagus, alluding, albeit obliquely, to him.

The meaning of the armed dancers has proved one of the most difficult aspects of the tomb's reliefs to determine and Neer's proposal would make sense of them.

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[41] For themes bringing together marriage and death on Roman sarcophagi: Zanker and Ewald (2012), 76-77; Junker (2012), 164.

[42] Sevinç, et al. (2002).

[43] Neer (2012), 108.

[44] Neer (2012), 103-04; Rose (2013), 95-97.

[45] Neer (2012).

[46] Attic black-figure amphora by Exekias, London, British Museum B210: *CVA* London, British Museum 4, IIIHe.4, pl.(194) 49.2A-C; *ABV* 144.7, 672.2, 686; *Paralipomena*, 60; *BAdd*², 39; Beazley Archive Pottery Database number 310389.

[47] Trans. Campbell (1990), 88-91; cf. Neer 2012, 108.

There is, after all, some clever compositional mirroring on this tomb. Unlike the mothers on the short sides (Hecuba, Side B, and the larger figure on the *kline*, Side D) and the princesses on the long sides (Polyxena and the seated woman), however, the armed dancers are not spatially opposite the four Greek men on the other side (one needs to imagine the sarcophagus in 3D rather than as laid out in the drawing in fig. 4). Although one cannot exclude the *possibility* that such a connection could have been intended and/or understood, it seems perhaps too oblique to be considered highly *probable*. This borders on special pleading to make the armed dancers meaningful in the context of a male burial, and indeed to support the claim that the tomb was *intended* for a male. This is not certain.

Very intriguing in Neer's careful discussion of the long Side C, though, is the relation to the fragment of Sappho, for this opens up the possibility that Sides C, and perhaps D too, could also be mythological, depicting the wedding of Andromache – an *epitome* of a wedding known, as Sappho's fragment shows, in archaic poetry. As Neer notes, the scene includes almost all of the elements indicated in the fragment – with the exception of the armed dancers. They could, however, complement such a theme rather than detract from it, adding to the grandiosity of *royal-level* festivities. They might even add a Phrygian touch: as well as rites to Artemis, pointed out by Reinsberg, the Phrygian Corybantes were well-known armed dancers. The rendering of what looks like a Pyrrhic dance might not specifically identify it as that, rather than a formal armed dance in general. And one need not see a specific rite as much as a general nod to Phrygian musical and performance practices that might suit Troy, imagined as a Phrygian-related (if not exactly Phrygian) city.[48]

Without a clear male protagonist, such a mythological/legendary wedding might still seem best suited to the memorial of a female. The preponderance of women shown on the tomb, including female protagonists, and the fact that the seated woman on Side C (perhaps Andromache) can be seen as a very grandiose version of the "mistress and maid" formula, usually unquestioningly associated with women's memorials, supports this.[49] Assumptions of gendering in memorial practices might be confounded by, for instance, women being buried with items such as weaponry, but the analogy is not sound;[50] there are no good comparanda for men being memorialised *deliberately* with such female-rich imagery. The Mourning Women's Sarcophagus from Sidon is different, as the women on the sides of that tomb are shown lamenting – a traditional female role which has no bearing on the gender of the person within the tomb.[51]

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[48] Homer does not say that the city was Phrygian itself, but had Phrygian allies.
[49] The mistress and maid theme on Attic white *lekythoi*, with possibilities they are related to wedding imagery: Kurtz (1988); Reilly (1989); Sabetai (1994); Oakley (2000). On Classical Attic grave stelai for women: Stears (1995); Leader (1997). Similar scenes on stelai taken as women's from the Black Sea area: Akurgal (1955); Akyüz (2013); Laflı and Meischner (2015). One from Dascyleum: Polat (2007). Two other stelai from inland western Anatolia, one in Afyon museum, the other from Lydia: Uçankuş (2002), 485, bottom left (Afyon Stele); Roosevelt (2009), cat. 18.1B, fig. 6.24 (Lydia stele).
[50] Women buried with weapons: Arnold (1995).
[51] Mourning Women sarcophagus from Sidon, now in Istanbul Archaeological Museum: Fleischer (1983).

If one assumes that the sexing of the bones found in the sarcophagus is correct, however, then clearly the tomb *was* used for the burial of a man.[52] Resistance to the idea that such a monument could have been made for a woman and then used by a man seems to stem in part from an underlying idea that this is a *problem*, both in terms of a woman powerful enough to commission such a grandiose tomb and in terms of gender specific iconography. Although unusual, the very fact that a man was (again, presuming the bone sexing is correct) buried in this tomb indicates that this was *not* a problem, though. It is known that there were powerful women in Anatolia. In fact, one such woman, Mania, inherited rule of the Dardanos (Troad) itself from her husband in the fourth century BC (Xen. *Hell*. 3.1.10-26). The Polyxena Sarcophagus could well have been made for a woman of very high status, then, but used for a male burial due to its exceptional quality, iconographic relevance being a relatively minor consideration. Although geographically and temporally distant, that this is not culturally inconceivable is suggested by the fifteenth century AD chapel of Anne Herlyng at East Harling in Norfolk, England, in which her husband, who predeceased her, was buried, while she went on to marry again, being buried elsewhere.[53] If one needs to have a man as commissioner, it is also possible for a husband to commission a grand tomb *for* a very high status/highly-valued wife. If he predeceased her this may have led to his being buried within, while his wife was eventually buried elsewhere, for whatever reason.

There is also the possibility that the iconography of the Polyxena Sarcophagus need not have been designed with explicit relevance for gender identity in the first place. This is not to say that there are no examples of gendered iconographies; as noted above, the pattern of usage of the "mistress and maid" scheme suggests that there were, and in most of the (admittedly few) cases in which male bones have been found in decorated tombs in archaic and classical Asia Minor, the themes include such traditionally male spheres as hunting and battle, and show male protagonists.[54] But given the exceptional nature of the Polyxena Sarcophagus, it could be a special case in which themes epitomising lamentation of death and celebration of life were selected with less concern for gender than modern and perhaps even other ancient viewers might expect. Although not a perfect parallel, Roman sarcophagi bearing myths involving female protagonists offer an example of how themes that might seem gendered could be used for single male or multi-gender burials.[55] And without needing the Pyrrhus-Pyrrhic dance connection, one could see how even the wedding of Andromache could swing both ways, the death and loss of Hector (and plenty of tragedy besides) intimately bound up in the theme.

The themes, then, could have been intended to resonate not primarily in terms of gender, but in other ways. One other way, as recognised by most, is through strong relevance to the locality. As noted above, Strabo placed the Biga Plain in the Troad – the territory of Troy. Whether or not the site of Hısarlık associated with Homer's Ilion

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[52] NB. a report has not been published, and sexing of bones can be very problematic, so what specifically led to the identification of a male here would be a welcome addition to the literature. Rose simply states that the bones are "unquestionably male": Rose (2013), 95. Bias in sexing of bones: Weiss (1972); Dennison (1979); Morris (1992), 81-82; Parker Pearson (1999), 95-96.

[53] Graves (2000), 77-83.

[54] As noted by Rose (2013), 96.

[55] See examples especially concerning tragedy of death (Niobe and her children) and marriage and death (Medea sarcophagi) in Zanker and Ewald (2012). This is also discussed by Borg, this volume.

later on was already recognised as such at this point, its connection with the Hellespontine area would have been alive. By the fifth century BC, if not earlier, tumuli and hillocks were identified as the tombs of Greek heroes such as Achilles and Patroclus, and as Rose points out in the vicinity of the Biga plain, the Ethiopian hero Memnon.[56] The Polyxena relief not only shows the tomb of Achilles, a local landmark, but an event (perhaps events) in the myth-history of the area. As indicated above, though, another difficulty of narrowing down meaning of the images on this tomb is whether they had particular relevance for different groups living in the area. Scholars tend to be divided over whether the tomb was intended for and used by a Greek family or a "native" Anatolian family, perhaps Mysians or Phrygians.

Concerning "native Anatolians", there were traditions of the survival of Trojan princes taken as founders of later communities.[57] Neer points out that the Teukrians at Gergis further inland in the mountains (the very seat of the above-mentioned Mania and her husband), considered themselves descendants of Troy.[58] The use of Trojan myths could be seen as part of intensifying ethnogenesis in an area with increasingly high traffic, changing occupancies and threats to land ownership under the Achaemenid Empire, perhaps especially around the time of the Ionian Revolt and Persian Wars. On the other hand, however, there were also Greek-speakers living in the Biga Plain area. As Neer has pointed out, the myth(s) employed here could be "read" from a Greek perspective too, since not only was the Trojan War one in which the Greeks were victorious, but there are references to Greek heroes and, in particular, to the tomb of Achilles, with which our tomb might be compared. Sarcophagi were used in Ionia, for instance on the island of Samos, so the burial custom itself is not necessarily "native" Anatolian, and there is nothing inherently Achaemenid about the iconography which might suggest some kind of Persian cultural affiliation opposing Greek culture – quite the opposite in fact, considering that items such as the typically Achaemenid tall incense burner with stepped lid *could* have been included.[59] One such burner is shown on a stele showing a seated woman from Dascyleum.[60]

A difficulty with the idea of different ethnic perspectives on the iconography of the Polyxena Sarcophagus is that it assumes that these were necessarily different. Different ethno-linguistic groups did indeed define themselves in terms of lineage and culture, and increasingly so in the time of the Persian Empire, when new obligations and pressures were interfering with traditional alliances and relationships. But it is not clear that this has to apply to the Polyxena Sarcophagus, where the basic relevance of the myth(s) to the context of death and to the locality and its prestigious history may have been shared.[61] At any rate, we do not *know* which ethnic group used this tomb, and so while the images could be meaningful in terms of ethnic identity, we do not have the information necessary to determine this kind of political intent. The possibilities can be mooted, and that there are those possibilities is important to recognise, but to insist on determining one or another meaning not only goes beyond

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[56] See n. 2, above.
[57] Carrington (1977).
[58] Neer (2012), 114 with references in nn. 70-71.
[59] Samian sarcophagi: Hitzl (1991). Cf. Rose on Achaemenid influence: Rose (2013), 93 and 95.
[60] Dascyleum stele, see n. 49, above. This stele is noted by Rose (2013), 93-94.
[61] Cf. here Hölscher (2011), for concerns about the levels at this myths might resonate for group identities depending on historical (primarily political) contexts.

what the evidence can actually support, but seems predicated on the idea that this is the only method of making meaning of myth.

Rather than dwelling on that sense of meaning, one might register possibilities and then zoom back out and look at the phenomenon of the appearance of myth and its relationship to the locality more generally. The ability to situate this tomb within display habits in this region is hampered by the fact that only a few tumuli have been excavated. So far, though, the Polyxena Sarcophagus stands out for the centrality of myth in its decoration compared to relief decorated stelai from nearby Daskyleion and the overall low use of mythological imagery in monumental decoration in Anatolia around this time. As noted early on in this paper, then, this monument may have been a real novelty. Having taken some time to make, and needing to be in place before deposition, it is reasonable to think that the monument was set up on the spot of the burial for some time before it occurred – a process which would have created some commotion and elicited interest in the area. The tomb then would have become a local landmark itself, and moreover a staged spectacle of unusual and exciting visual renderings of perhaps familiar stories, with a limited time opportunity for viewing before it was covered up.[62] Myth itself, arguably more open to interpretation than some other images, could be particularly useful for intriguing viewers, engaging their imaginations and offering them scope to think and talk about its meaning. The talk that something like the Polyxena Sarcophagus would ignite, spreading the news about the monument, could ensure a legacy reaching far beyond the time it was covered with earth, as well as a trajectory beyond the control of its makers and owners.

This act can be situated in the political history of Anatolia following the Achaemenid Persian conquest in the 540s BC. Looked at as "messages" and solely in terms of political ideology, one can *make* the myth(s) employed here meaningful as an assertion of power based on local legacy, opposing or resisting Persian threats to landownership and autonomy. Certainly, the kind of imagery that went into the Polyxena Sarcophagus contrasts with more "Persianising" imagery found in reliefs on tombs around Dascyleum, where trappings associated with the Persian court can be found in images of battle, hunt, banquets and even the stele depicting a woman noted above. But it is not necessary to see the sarcophagus' programme only in terms of political ideology. One can also see the unusual employment of myth as part of the economic enablement of this region under the Achaemenid Empire, when imported Attic pottery increased at Dascyleum and elsewhere, and when, as already noted, the Proconnesian quarries seem to have been increasingly exploited, opening up new possibilities for achieving distinction.

This does not mean that any old myth would do. In the same way that any old myth could not be used for Pindar's odes, the myths here were tailored. The design of the reliefs participates in a known trope of juxtaposing negative and positive, as found in the depiction of the city at war and peace on the Shield of Achilles where, it might

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[62] This notion of creating a scene during construction has been mooted in an as yet unpublished paper on "Building Sites", delivered by Rolf Schneider in Oxford in 2011, but also touches on themes of agency (Gellian technologies of enchantment), materialities and place-making that can be further explored and consolidated, e.g. variously Gell (1992), (1998); Graves (1989), esp. 312-16 (citing Evans 1988); Mukerji (1997); Thomas (2001), esp. 177-81; Snickare (2012); Harmanşah (2013b); (2013a); (2014); Osborne (2014), and to some extent Turnbull (2002); Swenson (2014), esp. 700 on the notion of permanence; Farmer and Lane (2016).

be noted, a wedding is also included (Hom. *Il*. 18.478-608).[63] Polyxena's death and the weight given to the mourning Trojan women – the quintessence of lamentation – is clearly relevant to a sepulchral function. Also, of course, that myth, and perhaps the other sides if taken as referring to Andromache's wedding, were part of local myth-history, making this monument particularly resonant in this area, and indeed elevating it to a landmark that drew on and competed with the tombs of the great heroes of the Trojan War that dotted the countryside. Putting on a special show of well-chosen myth, and presumably importing the sculptors to carry this out, was one possible avenue for distinction. While the myth(s) chosen here could relate to the identity claims of one or another polity in this area, or one or another gender, then, one need not force decisions on that in order to appreciate the relevance and meaning of the subjects selected. And, importantly, a broader view of the use of myth itself as a phenomenon is another way of making it meaningful, in the sense of discerning differential regional dynamics in play in the provincial histories of the Achaemenid Empire.

The Kızılbel Painted Tomb and the Milyad

Regional dynamics of this kind are more pronounced in the case of the Kızılbel Tomb, located in what is often called "North Lycia" (fig. 5). In contrast to the Polyxena Sarcophagus, this is a stone built tomb chamber, the interior walls of which were covered in a myriad of paintings, friezes of differing sizes depicting varied subjects (fig. 6).[64] It is earlier than the Polyxena Sarcophagus, the style of the paintings indicating a date around 530 BC – not long, then, after the Achaemenid conquest. Located on an isolated hill overlooking a plain where once there was a lake, the tomb also precedes another famous painted tomb from this area located on the other side of Elmalı: the Karaburun II Tomb, the paintings of which show strongly Persian-oriented themes and which is stylistically datable to around 470 BC.[65] Bones found in both of the tombs have been attributed to males, the one from the Kızılbel tomb having died in his late 40s.[66]

Although often called "North Lycia", sometimes the "Lycian Highlands", this upland plateau, or *yayla*, was known as the Milyad in antiquity.[67] It is only in the fourth century BC that rock-cut tombs similar to those used on the coast of Lycia and, importantly, Lycian inscriptions, are found in the *yayla*.[68] Before then, the cultural and linguistic identity may have been quite distinct from the mountainous Lycian coast: only a few of the cluster of 100 tumuli at Bayındır, very near the later Karaburun II Tomb, have been excavated; these have been found to contain wooden chambers resembling those at Phrygian Gordium in central Anatolia, and vessels within bear

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[63] Shield of Achilles: Byre (1992).
[64] Mellink (1998).
[65] Karburun II Tomb, not yet fully published: Mellink (1970); (1971); (1972); (1973); (1974); (1975); Miller (2010). The banquet painting from this tomb was robbed in 2010. Reconstructed tomb now housed in the new Elmalı Museum.
[66] Kızılbel bones, 70 fragments, sex indicated by general size and thickness, bony rims suggest age: Mellink (1998), 71 (Lawrence Angel). Full report plus Karaburun II bones: Mellink (1973), Appendix 303-07 (Lawrence Angel). The excavators imply that the death may have been related to a significant knee injury exacerbated by regular horse riding.
[67] Coulton (1993); Kolb (2009); Momigliano and Aksoy (2015).
[68] Lockwood (2006); Kolb (2009); Lockwood (2011).

wax labels with Phrygian inscriptions.[69] Even in the Roman period, Arrian calls the Milyad a part of Phrygia controlled by Lycia (*Anab*. 1.24.5). Following the Persian conquest, when the Kızılbel Tomb was built, nucleated settlement seems to have diminished considerably; although this may change with further investigation in the area, so far there is a gap in sherd scatters and evidence at the mound of Choma (Hacımusalar).[70] A similar drop off in the Seki Plain, another *yayla* just to the west, has prompted the suggestion that there was a change to pastoral agriculture in the Persian period.[71] If so, the Kızılbel Tomb would be the landmark tomb of a so-called pastoral lord in the Milyad.
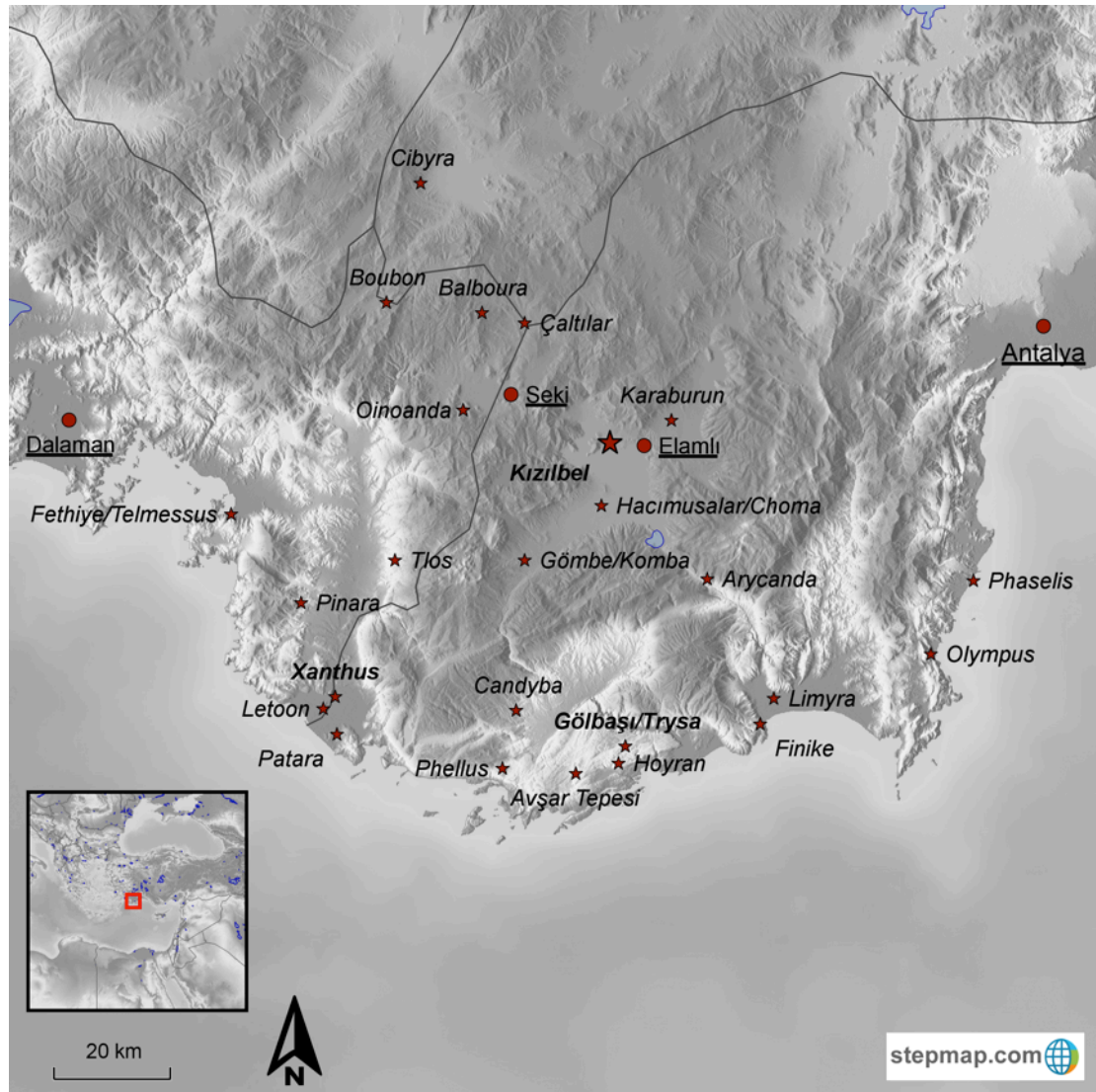

Fig. 5
Map of the Tekke Peninsula. Modern Turkish province boundaries shown. Lycian sites with significant early pillar tombs marked with X. By author using Stepmap.com.

The tomb represents, then, an opportunity to characterise a "pastoral lord" using material and visual culture. Already the stone-built tomb chamber, in contrast to

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[69] Dörtlük (1988); Börker-Klähn (2003); Işık (2003); Şare (2010).
[70] Özgen (1998); (2006).
[71] Momigliano, et al. (2011); Coulton (2012); Momigliano and Aksoy (2015).

the earlier wooden chambers at Bayındır, resembles types that flourish in Lydia as well as the Biga Plain and Dascyleum areas in the wake of the Persian conquest, indicating both new connections and new material acquisition and skills (quarrying of and building with stone). The tomb paintings, which have not occasioned the perplexity concerning gender encountered with the Polyxena Sarcophagus, represent around twenty subjects, scattered in a much less tightly controlled compositional scheme. Included are a high number of males, especially warriors, and themes form a spectrum, from those which appear to be non-mythological, such as hunts, often taken as biographic or idealised activities pertaining to the deceased, to some which are clearly known myths. In between are a large number of paintings, including the warrior images, which appear to be mythological or what one might broadly call "epic", but which resist immediate identification.
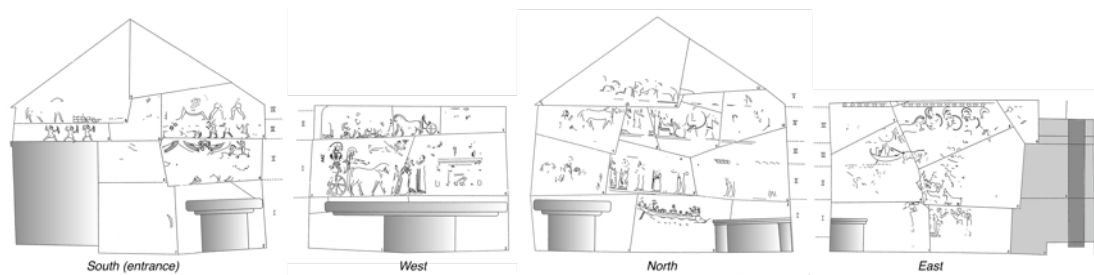

Fig. 6
Compilation of drawings showing paintings on the walls of the Kızılbel Tomb. After Mellink (1998), drawing sheets A-D, with the kind permission of Bryn Mawr College.

Fig. 7
Photo of Southwest corner of the interior of the Kızılbel Tomb showing on the south wall the beheading of Medusa and the ambush of Troilus, and on the west wall the departure of "Amphiaraus" and an arming scene in the top register. Mellink (1998), pl. 37, with the kind permission of Bryn Mawr College.

One of the obviously mythological subjects, shown in relatively large scale on the South (entrance) wall of the chamber (figs. 6 and 7), is the beheading of Medusa by Perseus.[72] The hero himself is not preserved, but is assumed to have been shown fleeing on the left, the quadruple-winged, gruesome sisters of Medusa pursuing him, while Medusa herself was shown collapsing on the right hand side (figs. 8 and 9). From her neck emerge her sons by Poseidon, the horse Pegasus (here his wings, signalling his divinity, are not clear) and the humanoid hero Chrysaor (see Hes. *Theog*. 278-83).

Although easily identifiable, determining the meaning of this painting has proved troublesome. The scholarship, so far, has concentrated largely on two main possibilities for its relevance: eschatological symbolism and local myth history. Mellink, for instance, noting the use of the theme with emphasis on Pegasus and Chrysaor on the foot of a sarcophagus of about 470 BC from Golgoi on Cyprus, thought that the theme could allude to rebirth.[73] Others have concentrated on the

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[72] Mellink (1998), 35-36, 57. Cf. similar compositions: *LIMC* 4, s.v. "Gorgo, Gorgones" (Krauskopf and Dahlinger) and *LIMC* 7, s.v. "Perseus" (Jones Roccos).
[73] Mellink (1998), 57. Golgoi sarcophagus: Wilson (1972); *LIMC* 7 s.v. "Perseus" (Jones Roccos), 169*.

potential local, *Lycian* relevance of Pegasus and Chrysaor.[74] Pegasus, for instance, was ridden by Bellerophon, who according to tradition sought supplication with the king of Lycia, by whom he was charged with slaying the Chimera.[75] Having succeeded, the hero married the Lycian king's daughter and begat a line of descendants. It is known that he was considered a hero and was shown on later Lycian tombs.[76] Chrysaor himself was not specifically linked to Lycia, and his depiction is rare, but another Lycian founder hero of the same name (apparently a great-grandson of Bellerophon) is known from later Lycian inscriptions; Henri Metzger has therefore suggested that the son of Medusa could have resonated for someone who knew of his namesake, even if they were not conflated.[77] The theme of Perseus beheading Medusa is itself also known from later Lycian tombs, such as a fragmentary *acroterion* from the *heroon* tomb of the fourth century Lycian dynast Perikles at Limyra. Attempts to interpret this later use of the theme have tended to derive political messages, either pro-Persian (the Persians being descended from Perses, the son of Perseus: Hdt. 7.61), or anti-Persian, the Persians once having been ruled by a Greek hero.[78] Perseus' association with Lycia is also indicated by his commissioning of the Cyclopes of Lycia to build the walls of Argos.[79]

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[74] Metzger (1983); Metzger and Moret (1999).

[75] *LIMC* s.v. 7 "Pegasos" (Lochin); Schmitt (1966).

[76] Bellerophon on the Heroon of Perikles at Limyra and the Heroon at Trysa, as well as man on winged horse versus panther outside a rock-cut tomb at Tlos, man on winged horse in relief on rock-cut tomb at Pinara and a charioteer versus a chimera on the sarcophagus of Merehi at Xanthos (all late fifth to fourth century BC): Borchhardt (1976); Metzger (1983); Metzger and Moret (1999), 295-301; Şare (2013). Also on Bellerophon see Keen (1998), 211-12.

[77] Metzger (1983), 363-67; Metzger and Moret (1999), 305-13 (with references to the inscription).

[78] Pro-Persian: Borchhardt (1976), 123; Keen (1998), 158. Anti-Persian: Özgen and Özgen (1988), 53. See discussion in Şare (2013), 60.

[79] Barringer (2008), 190-96.
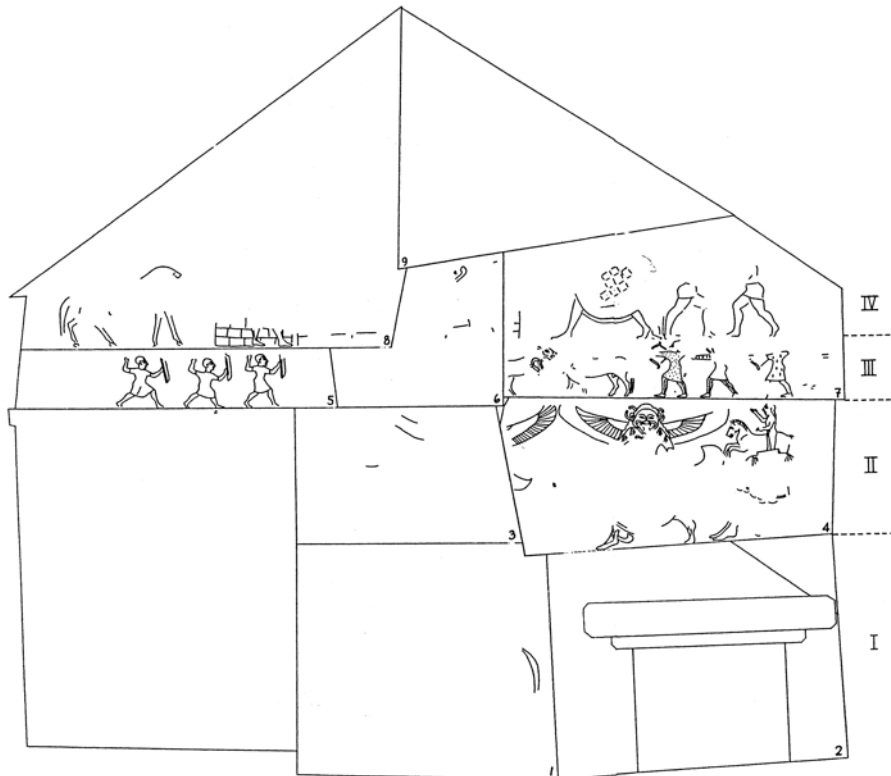
Fig. 8
Drawing of the paintings on the South (entrance) wall of the Kızılbel Tomb, showing the beheading of Medusa (II), a lion hunt (III) and the abush of Troilus (IV). Mellink (1998), drawing sheet D, with the kind permission of Bryn Mawr College.

Fig. 9
Painting of the gorgons on the South (entrance) wall of the Kızılbel Tomb (SII). Two sisters pursue Perseus (not shown), while Medusa collapses on the right, Pegasus and Chrysaor emerging from her neck. Mellink (1998), pl. XXVIIa, with the kind permission of Bryn Mawr College.

Apart from the difficulty of assuming a Lycian identity on the part of a tomb-owning group in the Milyad, this is a good example of the attempts to derive intentional political ideological messages from tomb decoration. Given that Perseus was shown on tombs in (coastal) Lycia later on, and that there is a connection to the hero in another of the tomb's paintings (as argued below), one could speculate that there were claims to genealogical descent from Perseus circulating in southwest Asia Minor. If the Persian genealogy that Herodotus recounts was already circulating in this period (some 100 years before he was writing, but in a post-conquest period in which such ideas could have emerged) descent from Perseus could feasibly enable claims of brotherhood (*filia*) with the Persians, which could confer some political and economic benefits on local polities, whether kin or larger groups. But the relevance may be far less clear-cut. Perseus might generally be seen as an apt exemplum for the memorial of a man. The composition and emphasis of the painting makes much of the monstrousness of the gorgons, rather than presenting Medusa as a maiden, which might have drawn attention to her as a victim of death herself.[80] This monstrousness and the prominence of the sisters could indicate that the stress here lay on the heroic defeat of monsters – something which could be supported with reference to menacing beasts on other tombs in Western Anatolia, including gorgon heads, sphinxes, siren-like bird women and the chimera. The birth of Pegasus *and* Chrysaor is also rather prominent, and it is possible that this had local resonance or even resonated in terms of life emerging from death, as Mellink suggested.

It is difficult without good external evidence to make choices *between* these, and it may be that none of them were precisely intended. But neither need it be merely decorative. Rather than allegory or a kind of visual *eulogy*, one might see this painting (one of many in the tomb) as *elegy* – part of a vibrant collection of "visual songs" performed at a memorial, which need not be directly relevant to the social identity of the deceased, but create an impression, in this case one of high drama and action, excitement and escape. It is through such *feelings*, then, rather than *messages*, that the man buried here would be remembered, Perseus being relevant without having to connote anything too particular.[81]

Another painting on the same South Wall may be appreciated in the same light, although in that case is it easier to narrow down more focused potential meanings. Above a thin frieze depicting a lion hunt, are the traces of what has been identified as the ambush of the young Trojan prince Troilus (the brother of Polyxena) by Achilles (figs. 8 and 10).[82] On the left side of the frieze, just about visible, are the legs of a horse and a pair of ankles and feet in front of an ashlar masonry wall. On the other side of the masonry wall are the lower legs of a larger figure shown crouching and holding a large round shield. These elements fit known depictions of Achilles' ambush of Troilus as related in the *Cypria* – a prequel to the *Iliad*: the prince was attacked by Achilles as he watered his horses at a fountain outside of Troy's walls.[83] This is a very widely depicted theme in ancient Greek vase painting and its use in

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[80] Medusa as a maiden and victim of death: Topper (2007); (2010).

[81] Cf. Junker (2012), 161-69, esp. 169 on the broad spectrum of themes in Roman chamber tombs with multiple sarcophagi.

[82] Mellink (1998), 38, 58.

[83] *LIMC* 8, s.v. "Troilos" (Kossatz-Deissman) and LIMC 1, s.v. "Achilleus" (Kossatz-Deissman); Metzger and Moret (1999), 313-15.

funerary contexts is also known from a Clazomenian sarcophagus and, most prominently, in the roughly contemporary Tomb of the Bulls in Etruria.[84] Some paintings on Greek vases of the theme include Polyxena, who by some traditions accompanied her brother to the fountain. A variant of the story has this as the point Achilles falls for the princess, which leads ultimately to her sacrifice at his tomb later on. A badly preserved patch in the centre of the wall could be an embellishment of the fountain or another figure, perhaps Polyxena.[85]
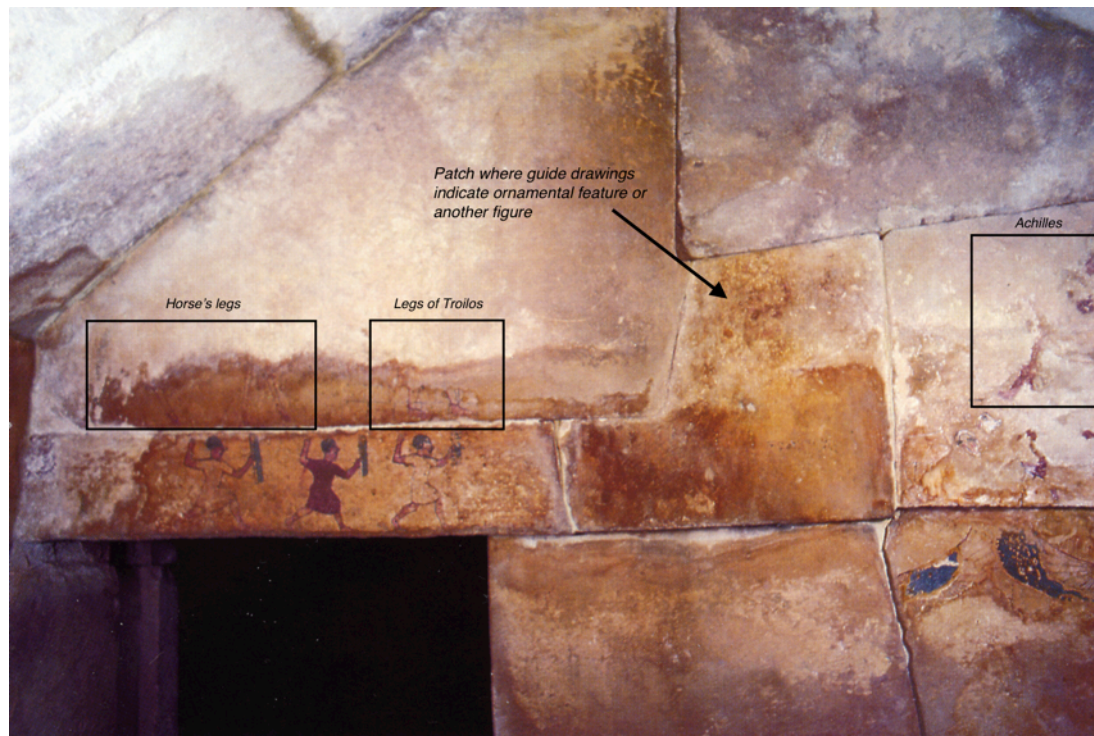

Fig. 10
South wall with the badly preserved painting of the ambush of Troilus (SIV) above the Gorgons (SII) and a hunt frieze (SIII). The lower legs of the prince and his horse are just about visible above the door, while on the far right are patches of the shield, cloak and leg of Achilles. In the centre is a badly preserved patch of painting that could have shown an embellished fountain spout or the another figure, such as the sister of Troilus, Polyxena. Cf. Fig. 8. Mellink (1998), pl. XXIXa, with the kind permission of Bryn Mawr College, with annotations by author.

By the Roman period, Troilus can be depicted as a hero of the Trojan War and, having survived it, an ancestor of Anatolian groups. Earlier versions, however, concentrate on the tragedy of the death of a mere youth, slain before his time – an event that was nonetheless key to the Trojan War since his murder in the sanctuary of Apollo led to that god eventually slaying Achilles.[86] Mellink suggested that the Kızılbel painting might have been meaningful for the tomb owners in terms of general allusion to the great "historic" event of the Trojan War, in which ancestors of the

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[84] *LIMC* 1, s.v. "Achilleus" (Kossatz-Deissman), 277 (Clazomenian sarcophagus in Izmir Mus. 3619); Tomb of the Bulls/Tomba dei Tori: Steingräber (1986), 350-51, no. 120, pls. 157-65, esp. pls. 157-58. On relationships between tomb paintings in Anatolia and Etruria more generally: Paschinger (1985); Steingräber (2010).
[85] Mellink (1998), 38; Metzger and Moret (1999), 314-15 (who feels there could be an 'oriental' element inserted).
[86] Smith and Hallett (2015).

Lycians had participated.[87] The name Troilus is found in a range of Roman period inscriptions from the Roman province of Lycia and Pamphylia, including Pisidia, and it is possible that the deceased was an earlier namesake, even if his primary language was not Greek (*or* Lycian).[88]

The depiction of Troilus as a young boy, though, has no direct connection to the age of the person buried in the tomb, nor to his death specifically. One could think therefore that it was Achilles who was intended as an *exemplum*, rather than Troilus, but the Kızılbel painting makes no attempt to glorify that hero's chase and capture of the mounted prince on foot. Unless it is a groom rather than Troilus, it is the young prince's feet that are shown before the horses. He was unmounted then, and Achilles' size is clearly differentiated. Clearly the boy stood no chance.

Such a death might seem rather "unheroic", but it could also serve as an epitome of a *blameless* death. As highlighted by Neer in his discussion of the Polyxena Sarcophagus, "blameless" was a trope in ancient literature, used to describe the tomb of Achilles ("a great and blameless tomb": Hom. *Od*. 24.80-4). The term suits even better the unfortunate death of Troilos (as well as his sister), however – all the more so since they perished at the hands of the greatest of heroes.[89] As Barbara Borg points out in the case of some poignant myths on Roman sarcophagi, both Polyxena and Troilos would in this sense serve as *exemplum mortalitatis* and *exemplum pietatis*.[90] If one speaks of representation of the deceased, then, it is this concept of a blameless death, packaged in a theme which, given its appearance on other tombs, may have been widely understood to symbolise that idea that may be relevant, rather than a character comparison or a simple local link.

Another painting on the West Wall could have similar resonance. Here there is a question of whether the theme is mythological, strictly speaking. The largest and best preserved in the tomb, and consequently the most widely known and discussed, it depicts a warrior stepping into a chariot (fig. 11). The warrior, shown in hoplite-style armour, turns to a female figure behind him. A charioteer of smaller scale than the protagonist stands at the ready, and before the chariot is shown a group of three people: an old man seated on the ground, holding a staff, his hand raised up before him, and two women, one of whom holds a young child that Mellink identifies as a boy.[91]

The iconography and composition is very similar to the departure of the hero Amphiaraus in Greek vase paintings, most obviously the Amphiaraus Crater, a late Corinthian crater of c. 560 BC, where the figures are labelled.[92] The hero was one of the Seven against Thebes, who according to later literary sources was persuaded by his wife Eriphyle to join that battle despite knowing he would perish, having been

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[87] Mellink (1998), 58.

[88] Troilos as name: Milner (2012), 103-4, no. 18, IBb20, 05-6, no. 20, IBb37, 15-6, no. 31, IDg1, 23-4, no. 40, IKh3, with further examples listed by Coulton on 420.

[89] Neer (2012), as discussed above in relation to the Polyxena Sarcophagus.

[90] Cf. here Junker (2012), 164-65 on the resonance of *mors immatura*, which need not be restricted to memorials for particular genders or age groups.

[91] Mellink (1998), 22-24.

[92] Amphiaraus crater, formerly Berlin, Antikensammlung 1655 (the vase disappeared after WWII): *LIMC* 1, s.v. "Amphiaraos" (Krauskopf), 7*; Wrede (1916).

bribed with the gift of the necklace of Harmonia – clearly shown in the Crater painting. It has been pointed out, though, that some vase paintings, and the Kızılbel painting, deviate from the Crater in various ways, above all in the lack of the necklace. In the Kızılbel painting the elder male is shown seated on the ground, unlike his counterpart, the seer Halimedes on the Crater, and he does not hold his hand to his head in a gesture of dismay, but out before him in a gesture that Mellink saw as one of "well-wishing".[93] Metzger has also pointed out that while Amphiaraus is shown with an angry expression on his face in the Berlin Crater painting, this too is lacking in the Kızılbel painting.[94] The most striking difference in the Kızılbel painting, however, is the appearance of a very distinctive, long-haired, bearded winged figure over the horses pulling the chariot.

Fig. 11
Painting of the chariot with warrior (Amphiaraus?), woman (Eriphyle?) to the left and elder seated on the ground to the right, the winged figure above the horses. West wall, above the *kline* (WI). Two other women, one with a child, is shown behind the seated elder. Mellink (1998), pl. VIb, with the kind permission of Bryn Mawr College.

It has been suggested that the vaguer vase paintings could depict a more generic "departure of the warrior", drawing on a well-known iconographic formula, and that this could be the case for the Kızılbel painting as well.[95] A scene of arming shown in the register above (figs. 6 and 7) – a trope in literature and featured often on Athenian painted vases – could be related.[96] A further suggestion is that there was an adjustment here first to make the painted warrior more clearly allude to the deceased (Mellink sees the painting as biographical), and second to make it express the idea of

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[93] Mellink (1998), 59.
[94] Metzger (1983), 361; Metzger and Moret (1999), 317.
[95] Wrede (1916); Metzger (1983), 361-62; Metzger and Moret (1999).
[96] Mellink (1998), 25-26, 52, 61-62. Departure of the warrior trope: Yalouri (1971); Shapiro (1990); Oakley (2004); Matheson (2005).

his final journey, not just to battle but to the afterlife.[97] According to this, the winged figure would be an addition emphasising the eschatological connotations of the painting.[98]

Argument over whether the painting is mythological or not may be a red herring. As Metzger implied, even the more generic images of departure in this vein could be seen as dependent on the Amphiaraus model, with a related allusion to the death of the man buried in the tomb as brought upon him by forces outside his control rather than by his own failings – again, *blameless*. Such ideas could resonate particularly well as an epitome within a visual elegy for an elite man, working in the way that Pindar drew on heroic models, Amphiaraus included, for his odes. In this sense, there could have been some tailoring to direct the viewer away from Amphiaraus and increase the connection to the deceased more specifically, which if so is an important interference. But it is hard to know if this is over interpreting intention here, and one still needs to admit the strong mythological basis in the painting.

The addition of the winged figure is an important interference, though. Such a figure is unknown in any of the other depictions of Amphiaraus or the related departure compositions. One can imagine it enhancing the fatalism of the painting, suited to the tomb context. But this is not the only reason it is important. It also suggests something about the connectivity of the *yayla*, which is quite telling. The form recalls winged figures sometimes shown in Laconian vase painting, some archaic depictions of *nikai* and divine figures (and sometimes monsters), but the hairstyle, especially the beard, and the lotus, described as "oriental" by most, make one think of Egypt, or perhaps even more so Syria, the Levant or Cyprus. The opposite of what has been argued for some Cypriot art such as the "Master of Animals" and the Cypriot "Heracles", where iconographies related to those known in the Greek world were borrowed to enhance a local idea, this would be the insertion of a "foreign" motif into more standard Greek iconography, which could enhance the connotations of the heroic warrior (whoever he is) as understood by certain circles.[99] Whether this would have been the circles of the painters or the circles of the tomb owners depends on to whom one attributes the design. Either way, this one insertion suggests that people in this *yayla* shared some imaginative links with groups in the Eastern Mediterranean.

Finally I turn to those paintings in this tomb that seem mythological, but which have proved hard to identify. Such are the plentiful images of warriors, including the arming scene on the West Wall mentioned above, a cavalcade and march of hoplite figures, which could all be "generic", but could all easily belong to mythological heroic stories. The line between the two is very fuzzy here. Also difficult to identify, but tempting to see as mythical episodes of some sort are three

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[97] Paschinger (1985), esp. 5, sees most of the paintings in the tomb as "narrative" as opposed to "symbolic", which seems to mean historical narrative rather than mythical; Mellink (1998), 51-54.
[98] Paschinger (1985), 20-41, esp. 36, argues that the lotus carried by the figure is a symbol of death. Mellink (1998), 51-54, saw the figure, which she identified as female despite its beard, as "auspicious". Metzger sees an oriental insertion to localize the story or perhaps to enhance the eschatological aspect: Metzger (1983), 367-68; Metzger and Moret (1999), 315-18.
[99] As Metzger and Moret (1999), 317-18. Master of animals and Cypriot Heracles: Counts (2008); Counts and Arnold (2010).

Fig. 12
North wall showing paintings *in situ*. Cf. fig. 13. Mellink (1998), pl. 31, with the kind permission of Bryn Mawr College, with annotations by author.
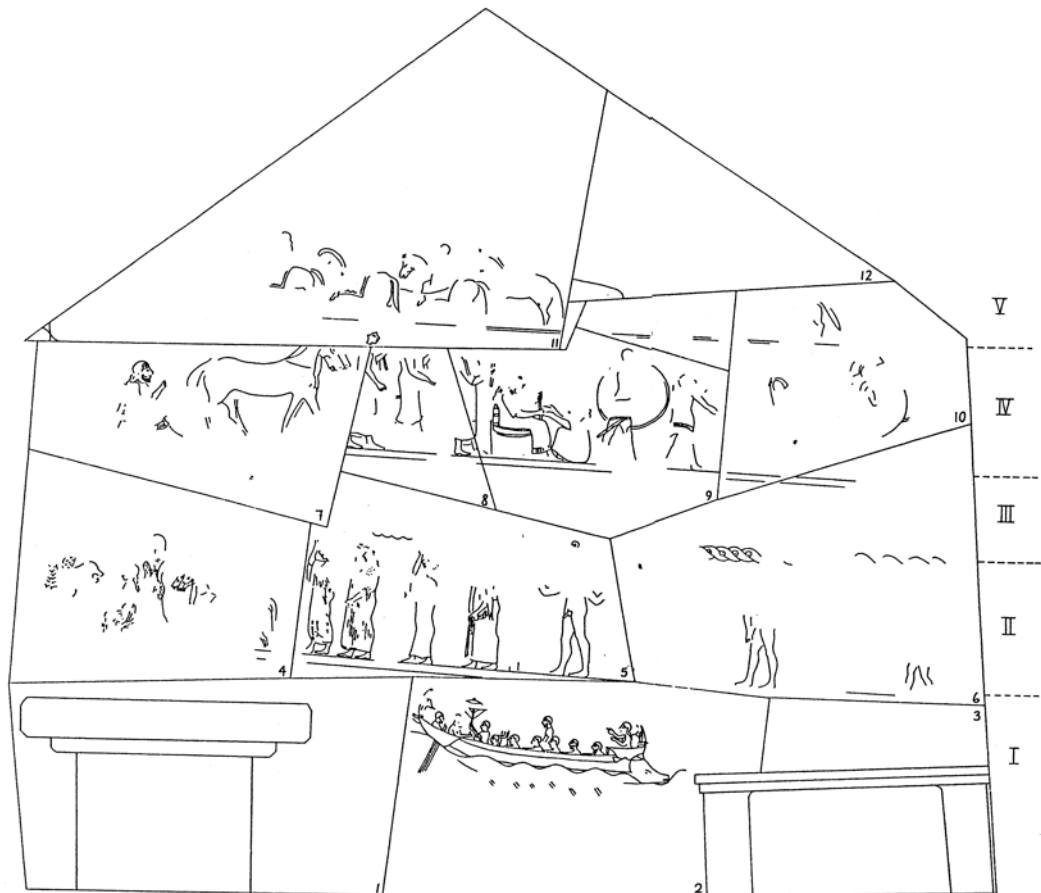
Fig. 13
Drawing of paintings shown on the North wall, opposite the entrance to the tomb. Note the length of the entourage in the second frieze from the bottom (NII), here identified as the exposure of Andromeda to the *Ketos*/Kraken. Mellink (1998), drawing sheet B, with the kind permission of Bryn Mawr College.

paintings on the North Wall, including from top to bottom a supplication, apparently in a court ambient; a procession of figures behind a seated female; and a ship (figs. 12 and 13). The "supplication" scene includes on the far left an elderly man seated seer-like on the ground with a pair of horses before him and a file of figures before that, while on the right there is a file of hoplite-style warriors processing right. In the centre is a seated elder, before whom crouches a youthful figure, presumed to be male, his hands held to the knees of the elder. The whole suggests some epic narrative, but so far specific identification has proved elusive. Mellink suggested that this may be a "Lycian" myth, unknown in literary sources.[100] It may be, however, that the subject is known, but unrecognisable because it was rarely depicted, or depicted quite differently. One suggestion has been Priam begging for the return of the body of Hector, but apart from the lack of a body the ages of the protagonists in the centre are reversed.[101] Other possibilities mooted by Mellink include someone (Kassandra?) begging Priam not to admit the Trojan horse; the arrival of Odysseus at the court of

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[100] Mellink (1998), 58.
[101] Priam's supplication to Achilles: Metzger and Moret (1999), 301-05 (Moret).

Alkinoos; or the arrival of Bellerophon at the court of the Lycian king.[102] The combination of elements suggests supplication with possible provision of military aid, but also the possibility of doom indicated by the seer.

The ship shown on the bottom of the same North Wall has been seen as biographical by some, but could also very well belong to the world of epic myth, perhaps even a related one.[103] The type of ship and the waves underneath it are similar to ships shown on the sides of Attic craters and *dinoi*, which may play on the Homeric notion of sailing on the wine dark sea, but the occupants of the ship are not paralleled elsewhere. They include several rowers and other crew, as well as a dark-haired bearded man shaded by a parasol shown seated near the stern and two figures in the castle at the bow, one pointing forward, the other turned back and gesturing toward the other figures in the ship. One thinks of possibilities including Paris abducting Helen, which could link to a return of Paris to Priam and the resulting Trojan War (the subject of the warrior and supplication paintings?). In that case, however, the identity of the parasol-shaded man, who should be a ruler of some kind, would remain a question – unless he should be Paris, with Helen and another woman in the bow. The possibilities are tantalising, and research that could turn up identifications has not been exhausted.

As indicated at the start of this paper, a new identification of one of the paintings in this tomb is offered here, and this supports the idea of known myths rendered in unfamiliar ways. The long frieze across the middle of the North Wall shows a procession and a seated woman on the far left. The focus has so far been on the seated woman, who is confronted by some kind of beast with scales (just about visible) and a roaring, apparently feline face (figs 13 and 14). Mellink, suggesting a connection between all the images on the North Wall, proposed that what may be shown is Bellerophon presenting the Chimera, the beast the Lycian king demanded he slay, to the Lycian queen.[104] Surprisingly little attention has been paid to the entourage, which after all makes up most of the frieze (figs 12 and 13). Included are several female attendants, many with one arm bent, hand up by their heads. They may have been shown carrying goods on their heads, or performing a gesture of dismay.[105] Behind them are traces of other figures, including, importantly, a group of naked males painted in dark blue, their genitals left white. The positions of their arms, bent and raised to their heads, suggested to Mellink that they too may have been shown bearing items on their heads.[106]

These blue men are absolutely key. Who are they? Blue figures are known in Etruscan wall painting, most obviously the paintings in the Tomb of the Blue Demons, where they are clearly demons.[107] The Kızılbel figures do not have any demonic attributes and their colour is notably darker. A distinct possibility is that they

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[102] Mellink (1998), 29, 58.

[103] Biographic: Paschinger (1985), 4, 16-17 and 44-47. "Lycian" myth: Mellink (1998), 52, 53 (where she moots the idea that the figure in the bow of the boat may be the suppliant) and 58.

[104] Mellink (1998), 52 and 58. This possibility was entertained by Metzger too, who eventually opted for an unknown related Lycian story: Metzger and Moret (1999), 295-301.

[105] Mellink (1998), 52, perceived a faint curve of an item above the head of the third standing female.

[106] Mellink (1998), 32. For a colour photo see Mellink (1998), pl. XVIII c.

[107] Tomb of the Blue Demons/Tomba dei Demoni Azzuri: Krauskopf (1987); Haynes (2000), 238-39; Krauskopf (2006).

represent black men – Nubians or Ethiopians. Black people are shown as enemies or subjects in Egyptian tomb paintings, and on Greek painted vases they are stereotyped as "others", with pronounced facial features and genitals.[108] A known myth fits the appearance of black men here: the exposure of the Ethiopian princess Andromeda to the *Ketos* or Kraken. She is shown on later Attic red-figure vases together with black attendants who indicate her Ethiopian ethnicity (although not race – she is not herself shown as black).[109] In vase paintings she is most often shown standing, tied to posts or being rescued by Perseus, but she can be shown seated on some red-figure vases and on Etruscan urns from Volterra.[110] The *Ketos* is usually shown as a dragon or serpent, but sometimes it is only the head which is shown, as on the earliest known rendition of the myth on a late Corinthian vase, where Perseus is shown fending off the beast (fig. 15).[111] This would suit the scales visible to the left of the supposed feline head (fig. 14), which could actually be the snout of the beast. It is possible that Perseus was shown grappling with the beast. His rescue of Andromeda is popular in art from around this time, but the painting is not well-preserved enough to distinguish his figure if so.

Fig. 14

Detail of the far left of the second frieze from bottom (NII) (cf. Fig. 12 for location), showing from right to left: horses, woman standing, seated woman, what has been interpreted as a small feline head at face level of the seated woman, and patches of scales. Mellink (1998), pl. XVIa, with the kind permission of Bryn Mawr College, annotations by author.

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[108] Snowden (1970); (1983); Bérard (2000), 390-412; Bindman, et al. (2010).

[109] *LIMC* 1 s.v. "Andromeda I" (Schauenburg), 2* (=red-figure pelike in Boston MFA 63, 2663), 3* (=red-figure hydria in London, BM, E 169); Phillips (1968); Bérard (2000), 402-06.

[110] *LIMC* 1 s.v. "Andromeda I" (Schauenburg) e.g.: 16* (=red-figure oinochoe in Bari Arch. Mus. 1016), 28* (=Volterra urn in Florence Arch. Mus. 78.486); Phillips (1968), pl. 13 fig. 39, pl. 14 fig. 43, pl. 15 fig. 44. See also *LIMC* 7, s.v. "Perseus" (Jone Roccos).

[111] Berlin, Staatliche Museum F 1625: *LIMC* 1 s.v. "Andromeda I" (Schauenburg), 1*; Phillips (1968), pl. 1 fig. 1. See also the Volterran cist, Volterra Museum 331, *LIMC* 1 s.v. "Andromeda I" (Schauenburg), 27 and 28*; Phillips (1968), pl. 15 fig. 44. Further: *LIMC* Suppl. s.v. "Ketos" (Boardman).

Fig. 15
Corinthian amphora showing Perseus, Andromeda and the *Ketos*, from Cerveteri/Caere, 575-550 BC.
Berlin, Staatliche Museen F 1652, h. 34.8 cm. Photo by Ingrid Geske (bpk, Antikensammlung, SMB, photo number 00089850).

Such a theme brings us back to the difficulty encountered with the painting of Perseus beheading Medusa: how is this meaningful in this context? Perseus was often shown rescuing Andromeda, so there is a connection, but since he is not emphasised in the painting one might consider how the exposure of Andromeda itself may have been resonant. Again, rather than direct didactic eulogising of the deceased, the

subject of a girl offered up to death would not be unsuited to a broader funeral elegy. Such a theme could also resonate in terms of hubris and ensuing tragedy, a motif of mythic punishment known to have been the subject of some Hellenistic period public statue groups.[112] Andromeda's exposure was due to her mother Cassiopeia's having boasted of her beauty, in a way similar to the boasts of Niobe, whose children are shown being slain in punishment on Roman sarcophagi.[113] In that case, though, the grief of Niobe over her loss is prominent. Another possibility is that this is a version of a trope of the sacrifice or attempted sacrifice of a daughter, which could allude to the sacrifices a good leader must face.[114] Or, the choice may have been predicated on the desire to include tales of exotic foreign lands and peoples, especially given the space accorded to the entourage and the prominence of the unusual blue men. Among the above one might see what are perhaps more *probable* ways that this subject could have been relevant (a link to Perseus; the jaws of death), but it is difficult to determine with any certainty what was intended.

And again, precise meaning may be beside the point. Rather than didactic or decorative, imagining that these paintings functioned in an elegiac sense would allow more flexibility in how they could work, neither imposing meaning nor implying it was entirely free. One can also appreciate more generally how the use of myth in this tomb would have fit into the dynamics of this region. Unlike the Polyxena sarcophagus, this tomb was not open to the air, so there was limited time for viewing and this may have been possible only for a limited crowd of admirers, creating and reinforcing power structures in the area. Privileged visitors, both before and at the burial ceremony, would have been presented with a visual show, not only impressing them with novelty, but inviting them to participate in interpretation. Even those who could not see the paintings would still hear of them, disseminating and further diversifying potential interpretations, but at the same time multiplying the power of the landmark as it was transmitted through the imaginations of the local populace and beyond.

Although not exactly intended consciously, the theme of "exotic, foreign lands" noted above is something worth returning to. The ship painting also makes allusions to travels and overseas contact, whether biographical or not. This is important in grasping the imaginative world of elites in this inland, rural *yayla*. This imaginative world speaks of highly cultivated contacts: well-known iconographies and innovative new renderings indicate an influx of stories and skills needed to depict them in the upland plain. Even though imports of image rich Attic pottery did increase at Gordium after the Persian conquest, one suspects that the transmission of such stories came not from old connections to central Anatolia, but from the Lycian coast to the south. There, while the inland Milyad was becoming less nucleated, urban monumentality as well as importation of Attic pottery was on the increase – at least at Xanthus.[115] Metzger has suggested that travelling Greek poets of the kind that composed dedications in Greek verse for the later, fourth century BC Lycian dynast Arbinas may have been responsible for the uptake of myth in the Kızılbel tomb.[116]

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[112] Smith (1991), 356-58.

[113] Hubris, sacrilege and punishment themes: Smith and Hallett (2015), 161, and see also Smith in n. 112, above. Niobe sarcophagi, see n. 55, above.

[114] Cf. sacrifice to save the city: Kearns (2002).

[115] Metzger (1972).

[116] Metzger and Moret (1999), 299 and n. 9.

But, as he also notes, the unusual insertions such as the winged figure in the "Amphiaraus" painting, may have been drawn from other Eastern sources, suggesting multiple connections in the *yayla*. Robin Lane Fox has suggested that a major transmission route for stories and ideas was not so much (or only) itinerant poets, but sailors and traders who exchanged their own tales for those foreign to them.[117] The unusual elements in the Kızılbel paintings suggest what one might well imagine – that such bearers of stories may include people other than Greeks. Unusual renderings such as the proposed Andromeda myth may also suggest drawing on versions of stories more frequently encountered in Eastern Mediterranean circles than in the Aegean, or other parts of the Mediterranean, and therefore depicted in unfamiliar ways.

This new *yayla* connectivity is all the more striking for the contrast it forms with the Lycian coast – or more particularly the western and central Lycian coast. While the *yaylas*, in the period following the Persian conquest, see a decrease in settlement density and monumental urbanism, as noted above there is a corresponding increase along the coast. It is at this time that a series of monumental stone built tombs – the pillar tombs of Lycia – start to be erected at various sites. Some of the earliest of these tower-like tombs, from Xanthus, Isinda, Tüse, Gürses and Trysa for example (sites marked with an **x** in fig. 5), carried relief sculptures around their tops. Apart from the later Harpy Monument (c. 480 BC), which includes siren-type figures abducting young girls, and a few "eastern-style" figures stabbing rampant lions on one or two of the earlier tombs, the reliefs include plenty of hoplite style warriors, but are devoid of the kind of myths shown in the Kızılbel paintings.[118] This is confusing, since it is at places such as Xanthus that an increase in Attic pottery imports is notable, and an early fifth century BC cup foot from the acropolis of that city even carries a Greek hexameter.[119] Both coast and *yayla* were ostensibly under Achaemenid administration at the time. One infers, however, that such different display patterns stem at least in part from different circles of contact, and indicate differing regional dynamics in operation along the western and central coast of Lycia, separated as it was from the inland Milyad by rugged mountains. The Milyad may have been in contact with the Mediterranean through the Limyrus River valley in eastern Lycia, still the easiest route between plain and coast, or through Pamphylia to its east. So far only a little is known of archaic Limyra, at the mouth of the Limyrus River, but further investigation of these levels may help to shed light on its relationship to the Milyad and the Mediterranean.[120]

Conclusions and Reflections

Both of the tombs considered here offer different possibilities for narrowing down some reasons why the mythological images they bear may have been chosen. The Polyxena Sarcophagus presents a case of carefully selected and controlled imagery: a juxtaposition of epitomes of death and grief through the murder of Polyxena and the mourning of the Trojan women (also important protagonists in that sense), and life through what may well be a wedding, and more specifically as

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[117] Lane Fox (2008).
[118] See Draycott (2007); Draycott (2008).
[119] Metzger (1972), no. 386, pl. 85 (A18-1482); Metzger and Moret (1999), 299, n. 9.
[120] Limyra early phases: Gebauer (2012a); (2012b); Marksteiner (2012).

proposed here the wedding of Andromache – a wedding which not only complements a Trojan-oriented package, but which was a topic of archaic period poetry. The subjects seem female-oriented, and even though a man may have been buried in the sarcophagus, the idea that it was made for a woman need not be considered a problem. But on the other hand it is not necessary to *force* a decision about whether it was only meaningful in terms of one or another gender, especially if it was, as the sexing of the bones indicates, used for a man.

Neither is it necessary to see the iconography as strictly meaningful for a "native" Anatolian group or for Greeks – at least not in the sense that one can identify the group through their iconographic choices. One suspects that in the high traffic Hellespontine area ethno-linguistic identity may have been important, and there is every chance that the sarcophagus was made to be meaningful on that level, or, if not intended, that viewers could make that of it. The staging of this sarcophagus with its innovative depictions of mythological stories – all the more innovative if one does take Sides C and D as a rare pictorial rendition of the wedding of Andromache – would have been a major local event, pulling in viewers and allowing them to form opinions, perhaps even *inciting* ethnic identification. As we cannot know the ethnicity of the group who had the tomb made, however, one need not insist on it having to be read one or another way. It is also possible to view the tomb more generally as a visual event, drawing attention, making a landmark and in doing so revising local social relations with the community and establishing hierarchic power through private possession of such a wonder. One can in this way appreciate the relevance of the programme and also allow for subjective receptions and meanings – indeed, appreciate that as a part of what makes it work.

What is most striking is that this was a method of social distinction that is located in the Achaemenid Empire period, not just because it can be seen as an identity response on a political level, but because it emphasises the enrichment of its provinces, set abuzz with greater abilities to obtain materials and ideas, and to create and become new things. This is all the more clear in the case of the Kızılbel tomb. There, the programme seems far less controlled. With some of the paintings, such as the ambush of Troilos and the allusion to, if not *the* departure of Amphiaraus, it is relatively easy to appreciate how they could have resonated in context as epitomes or *exempla* of blameless deaths, in two different ways. With others, such as the beheading of Medusa and the painting here identified as the exposure of Andromeda, immediate relevance is harder to pin down, and may not have been the point. Rather than self-representation in the sense of conveying the identity of the deceased in any direct way, eulogising him, or even functioning as allegories, it has been suggested here that one might think of these paintings as parts of an elegy – a medley celebrating the deceased without dictating meanings about death or him as a person.

How unexpected it is for myth to be used in this fashion in the Milyad in this period is something which has not been highlighted in the literature, and indeed the social structure and connections of the Milyad in this period are generally not very well-known. The influx of this visual range and the innovative creation of what appear to be bespoke (and thus difficult to identify) paintings in an area which had previously shown connections with central Anatolia imply the emergence of cultural and economic links with new areas. The mythological themes in general as well as the painting of the ship suggest that the Mediterranean was now an important imaginative

reference point. Themes with far off lands and the unusual winged figure in the "Amphiaraus" painting hint at interactions with the Eastern Mediterranean. The contrast with the themes that prevail on the contemporary pillar tombs in Lycia along the south coast augments and expands the impression from the tomb architecture, both indicating how much the two areas differed in connections and priorities, even if the *yayla* was now more Mediterranean-oriented.

None of this undermines the value of considering the relevance of the particular mythological subjects adorning these tombs. One should not underestimate the sophistication that went into their creation, selection of themes and the rendering of complex narratives visually, which are important parts of understanding mindsets and behaviours of people in the past. It is not just what one can glean from the subjects chosen and their rendering that matters, though, but also the fact that epic language is being chosen as a method of attraction.

Often, when tombs like this are set into historical context the concentration lies on political history, using literary sources for political geography and event history and taking images as responses or expressions of political ideologies, especially "Greek versus Persian" politics that tend to dominate discussions of Achaemenid Asia Minor.[121] The emphasis here has been more on discerning economic and connectivity patterns, which might be missed without attention to "art" and the imaginative sphere. In the second section of this paper it was noted that "making meaning" is a term intended to acknowledge modern-day scholarly agency in the production of explanations. The concepts of economy and connectivity should therefore be admitted as central to the kind of historical explanation offered here. Whether this complements or conflicts with the kinds of meanings and the kinds of histories that others want to make is something this paper now leaves open to discussion.

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[121] Cf. again Hölscher (2011), on meaning of myth for group identities in contexts of conflict such as the Persian Wars.

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BAdd²	Carpenter, Thomas H., Mannack, Thomas and Mendonça, Melanie. *Beazley Addenda* second edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989).
CVA	*Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*.
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