

To My Family and Uğraş Uzun

THE ANTAKYA SARCOPHAGUS:
DESIGN ELEMENTS AND THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE DOCIMEUM
COLUMNAR SARCOPHAGI

The Institute of Economics and Social Sciences
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in

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August 2003

APPROVAL PAGE

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ABSTRACT

THE ANTAKYA SARCOPHAGUS: DESIGN ELEMENTS AND THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE DOCIMEUM COLUMNAR SARCOPHAGI

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This thesis analyses the Antakya Sarcophagus within the context of other Docimeum columnar sarcophagi. The figured and architectural decoration of the Antakya Sarcophagus is described in detail, and a brief account of its contents is presented. The thesis also discusses the prototypes and the identification of the figure types and the affinity of these figure types to those on the comparable columnar sarcophagi. Finally, a production date for the Antakya Sarcophagus is proposed, and the controversies related to the accepted chronology of Docimeum columnar sarcophagi are demonstrated.

Keywords: Antakya, Docimeum, columnar sarcophagi, figured decoration, architectural decoration, kline lid, prototypes, funerary rites, tomb portal, hunt scene, symbolism, chronology.

ÖZET

ANTAKYA LAHDİ: BEZEK UNSURLARI VE DOKİMEİON SÜTUNLU LAHİTLERİNİN TARİHLEMESİ

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Bu tez Antakya Lahdi'ni diğer Dokimeion sütunlu lahitleri çerçevesinde incelemektedir. Tezde, Antakya Lahdi'nin figürlü ve mimari süslemeleri detaylı olarak betimlenmiş ve lahdin içeriği hakkında bilgi verilmiştir. Ayrıca, figür tiplerinin tanımlandırılması, prototipleri ve bu figür tiplerinin diğer lahitlerdeki benzerleriyle yakınlığı tartışılmıştır. Son olarak, Antakya lahdi için bir yapım tarihi önerilmiş ve Dokimeion sütunlu lahitlerinin kabul gören tarihlemesi hakkındaki tartışmalı noktalar sunulmaya çalışılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Antakya, Dokimeion, sütunlu lahitler, figürlü betimleme, mimari betimleme, kline kapak, prototipler, ölü gömme adetleri, mezar portalı, av sahnesi, sembolizm, tarihleme.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Antakya Sarcophagus is one example of the Docimeum columnar sarcophagi, found in Antakya, Turkey in 1993 during building work. It was then taken out by the Hatay Museum archaeologists and is now exhibited in a special room designed for it in the Hatay Museum.

The Antakya Sarcophagus has some obvious exceptional characteristics: it is the first columnar sarcophagus found in Antakya, and the only columnar sarcophagus found with the contents intact, including golden jewellery and coins offered for the deceased. Even so, no systematic study has yet been made describing the sarcophagus and its contents, or discussing the composition and identification of its figured decoration, except for a few pages of description of it in a few publications. The only English account of the sarcophagus is in the book “Antioch. The Lost Ancient City”, edited by C. Kondoleon (Kılınç, 2000: 103). This thesis aims to be the first detailed study of the artefact. Such a systematic study could help us locate the chronological and art historical place of the Antakya Sarcophagus among the other columnar sarcophagi, elucidate the characteristic features of its decoration, and direct us towards more general studies. These include the construction of a new chronology of columnar sarcophagi, their trade and distribution network, and testing the accepted theories

about the identification and symbolism of the figure types on the columnar sarcophagi.

Considering these benefits, this study aims to present the Antakya Sarcophagus in its entirety. The emphasis in this presentation is given to the figured and architectural decoration; the contents of the sarcophagus were studied only when relevant. The reason for such an emphasis is that, it is the figured decoration that creates the most discussion about the identification of these figures and their prototypes, and it is where the “message” related to the afterlife is communicated to people. On the other hand, the architectural decoration is vital for the dating of the sarcophagus, and the related controversy about the chronology of columnar sarcophagi.

The organisation of the text is as follows: The second chapter presents previous studies about Roman sarcophagi in general. In the third chapter, information about Docimeum marble and the Docimeum sarcophagi is presented so as to identify the marble and type of the Antakya sarcophagus. This chapter is also where different suggestions about the transportation routes of Docimeum marble and the issues about the prototypes of the form of the columnar sarcophagi are presented. The fourth chapter is devoted to the description of the Antakya Sarcophagus; its findspot, contents, dimensions, architectural and figured decoration. Peculiarities of the decoration and the composition are pointed out here. The fifth chapter discusses various issues about the composition and the figured decoration of the Antakya Sarcophagus. The aim of this chapter is to identify the figures on the sarcophagus by referring to the comparable figures on other sarcophagi, and discuss the symbolism communicated by these figures. Finally, in the sixth chapter, a date for the

Antakya sarcophagus is proposed and the controversial issues related to the chronology of the Docimeum sarcophagi are presented.

There have been, of course, difficulties in this study. First of all, one has to be content with written descriptions of the comparable sarcophagi most of the time, as clear photography showing the details of their decoration is lacking for the majority. A second difficulty is related to the lack of any recent study of the Asiatic columnar sarcophagi and their accepted chronology. The available chronology was a constraint for proposing a relative date for the Antakya Sarcophagus as it is clearly imperfect. A more reliable chronology could have resulted in a more absolute date for the Antakya Sarcophagus. A final difficulty is that there are diverse and controversial scholarly ideas about the identification and symbolism of some figures on the columnar sarcophagi. These figures also exist on the Antakya Sarcophagus, and they had to be presented without a certain identification. These difficulties, however, prove that there is a necessity for future studies. It seems that the Docimeum columnar sarcophagi and the Antakya Sarcophagus will continue to keep their position as a colourful and an endless source of research.

CHAPTER II

THE STUDY OF ROMAN SARCOPHAGI

Scientific research on Roman Imperial sarcophagi began as early as the 16th century. The aim then was to make drawings of all the sarcophagi found at or around Rome and classify them according to their subject matters (Koch, 2001: 285). Some of the drawings made in c.1550 by an unknown artist were included in the “Codex Coburgensis”, which took its name from Veste Coburg Museum where what remains of the manuscript is still kept today. Most of these exceptional drawings, however, were lost in time but some were fortunately copied in the “Codex Pighianus” in the mid-16th century (Koch, 2001: 285).

The first real attempt to collect and publish all of the known sarcophagi in a “Corpus” began in the second half of the 19th century, when in 1869, the classical philologist and archaeologist O. Jahn undertook the task in the last year of his life (Wiegartz, 1968: 667). After Jahn’s death, the German Archaeological Institute gave the right to publish the sarcophagi to Jahn’s student, F. Matz, who continued the task until his premature death in 1874 (Koch, 2001: 285). Matz was a pioneer in distinguishing Greek workmanship from Roman, and in devoting equal attention to western and eastern sarcophagi (Morey, 1924: 71). Even so, he did not recognize the sarcophagi of Asia Minor as forming a separate entity (Wiegartz, 1978: 667).

Matz's unfinished "Corpus der Antiken Sarkophagreliefs" was continued in 1879 by C. Robert (Wiegartz, 1978: 668; Koch, 2001: 286). Robert was another student of Jahn, and like his mentor, but unlike Matz, lacked an art historical perspective. Instead, he approached the sarcophagi from a literary and poetic viewpoint (Wiegartz, 1978: 668). In the four volumes he published between 1890- 1919, he examined the extent to which the mythological sarcophagi are related to poetic tradition (Koch, 2001: 286).

By this time, the Asiatic columnar sarcophagi began to arouse major interest as a separate entity. J. Strzygowski claimed in his "Orient oder Rom?" in 1901 that there was a specific group of sarcophagi originating from Asia Minor, and that these were the predecessors of early Byzantine sarcophagi (Strzygowski, 1901; Wiegartz, 1965: 9; Wiegartz, 1978: 669). This was a major claim at the time, as it suggested a major influence by eastern sarcophagi styles on western ones, and more generally on the whole field of western art (Wiegartz, 1965: 9). Moreover, it brought about discussions on the origins of columnar sarcophagi, which D. Ainalov, Th. Reinach, G. Mendel and A. Muñoz also contributed to in their researches on Imperial architectural ornamentation (Wiegartz, 1965: 9).

E. Weigand concluded this discussion in his 1914 article by classifying eastern Imperial ornamentation, and suggesting that the columnar sarcophagi originated in Asia Minor (Weigand, 1914: 29; Wiegartz, 1965: 9; Wiegartz, 1978: 669; Waelkens 1982: 1). Weigand also suggested there were two groups of Asiatic columnar sarcophagi, Lydian and Sidemara, the difference being the elaborateness of the ornamentation (Weigand, 1914: 73; Wiegartz, 1965: 26).

Moreover, Weigand established the connection of the "Torre Nova" group with the Asiatic columnar sarcophagi (Weigand, 1914: 73; Wiegartz, 1965: 17,

Wiegartz, 1978: 669). The “Torre Nova” group had been identified in the 1910 article of G.E. Rizzo (Rizzo, 1910). The group includes those sarcophagi with an uninterrupted figured frieze on four sides of the chest, and with columns or *Nikes* at the four corners (Wiegartz, 1965: 17; Koch, 2001: 166). The name is taken from one of the most famous examples of the type, found in a villa called Torre Nova, on Via Labicana, near Rome (Koch, 2001: 266). Weigand suggested that this group was connected to the Asiatic columnar sarcophagi and must be included in the Lydian group (Weigand, 1914: 72; Morey, 1924: 43-46; Wiegartz, 1965: 17; Wiegartz, 1978: 669; Waelkens, 1982: 1).

The “Sarkophag-Corpus” was continued by G. Rodenwaldt after the First World War until his death in 1945 (Koch, 2001: 286). Rodenwaldt especially dealt with the iconography of sarcophagi, the connections between them, and the economic aspects of sarcophagus production (Wiegartz, 1978: 671). Like Weigand, Rodenwaldt also accepted that the Torre Nova group was connected to the Asiatic columnar sarcophagi, and he located the group in the Lycian-Pamphylian region (Rodenwaldt, 1933: 203).

The next stage in sarcophagi studies was marked by C.R. Morey’s monograph about the “Sarcophagus of Claudia Antonia Sabina”, where he classified the columnar sarcophagi, and the figure types on them, and their origins (Morey, 1924; Wiegartz, 1965: 9). Morey accepted Weigand’s Lydian and Sidemara groupings and localized the production of the Lydian group in Ephesus, and the Sidemara group in northwestern Asia Minor (Morey 1924: 73-77; Wiegartz, 1965: 26). However, Weigand and Morey failed to agree on assigning individual sarcophagi to one or the other of these groups. For example, Morey

described the Iznik S (Iznik- Nikaia)¹ Sarcophagus as Lydian, whereas Weigand named it as Sidemaran (Weigand, 1914: 75; Morey, 1924: 54, 76; Wiegartz, 1965: 26). In fact, the distinction between these two groups is only clear when one compares the earliest example of the so-called Lydian group, the Melfi Sarcophagus, with a late example of the so-called Sidemara group, the Istanbul B (Sidemara) Sarcophagus. Otherwise, the distinction between these groups is extremely fluid if not ambiguous (Wiegartz, 1965: 26). Even so, M. Lawrence, another scholar who accepted the existence of the Lydian and the Sidemara groups, presented a chronology of columnar sarcophagi according to the ornamental distinction between these groups in 1951 (Lawrence, 1951: 162-166).

While the scholars studying columnar sarcophagi were busy with these discussions, the publication rights of the “Sarkophag-Corpus” were given to another F. Matz after the Second World War who continued the task until 1974 (Koch, 2001: 286). Before then, H. Wiegartz and G. Ferrari had joined in the discussions related to the groupings and the locations of the workshops, and rejected the idea that there were two groups of Asiatic columnar sarcophagi (Wiegartz, 1965; Ferrari, 1966). They suggested that the Lydian and Sidemara groups form a single class, and that the “Lydian” sarcophagi are only earlier in chronology than the “Sidemara” group (Ferrari, 1965: 83-86; Wiegartz, 1965: 26; Waelkens, 1982: 1).

H. Wiegartz also suggested a connection between the workshops that produced the “Torre Nova” group and the columnar sarcophagi in his

¹ There is a need to point out here that the sarcophagus names mentioned in this thesis are those in H. Wiegartz’s catalogue (Wiegartz, 1965). However, the names in C. Morey’s catalogue (Morey, 1924) are given in brackets so as to prevent any confusion.

“Kleinasiatischen Säulensarkophage”, and located the production centre for both groups in Pamphylia (Wiegartz, 1965: 49-51). In addition, he presented a chronology based on ornamental forms and their developments, and supported this chronology using the hair styles of portraits on sarcophagi lids (Wiegartz 1965: 26- 33). This chronology has been accepted in general terms up to this day (Waelkens, 1982: 7). Ferrari, on the other hand, suggested in her “Il Commercio Dei Sarcofagi Asiatici”, that the production centre for the “Torre Nova” group was in Pamphylia, whereas the centre for the columnar sarcophagi was in Docimeum, Phrygia (Ferrari, 1965, 97-99; Waelkens, 1982: 106).

M. Waelkens has more recently considered the question of the location of the workshops producing the Asiatic sarcophagi. He accepted the connection between the “Torre Nova group” and the columnar sarcophagi, but suggested that the workshop producing all the Asiatic sarcophagi was in Docimeum, Phrygia (Waelkens, 1982: 105-109). Waelkens presented a number of items of evidence to support his idea. One piece of evidence presented by him is the abundance of columnar sarcophagi found in Phrygia (Waelkens, 1982: 9). Another piece of evidence was an inscription in the Konya Museum referring to two carvers of statues from Docimeum (Hall and Waelkens, 1982). The unfinished sarcophagus lids found at the Docimeum quarries also confirm Waelkens that the production centre for columnar sarcophagi was Docimeum (Waelkens, 1982: 105- 109; Fant, 1985).

While these developments in the studies of Asiatic sarcophagi were taking place, the publication of the “Sarkophag-Corpus” continued. The publication rights were given to B. Andreae between 1974- 1989, and jointly with G. Koch between 1989- 1998 (Koch, 2001: 286). From 1998 to the present G. Koch, K.

Fittschen and W. Trillmich are together responsible for the publication of the Corpus (Koch, 2001: 287). As a result, of the nearly 15,000 sarcophagi known to exist, the published volumes of the Corpus contain over 4,000 examples in over 2,000 plates (Koch, 2001: 287). The latest symposium about the Sarkophag-Corpus was held in 2001 in Marburg, and anticipated the publication of “Anatolian Columnar Sarcophagi” by H. İřkan Iřık (Koch, 2001: 290).

A recent publication by G. Koch and H. Sichtermann, “Römische Sarkophage”, follows the “Sarkophag-Corpus” in its general terms, but also introduces suggestions about the classification of other examples from regions not yet studied in detail (Koch and Sichtermann, 1982; Koch, 2001: 287). Finally, G. Koch’s “Sarkophage Der Römischen Kaiserzeit”, published in 1993 in German, and in 2001 in Turkish, reviews the types of Roman sarcophagi, regional styles and relevant literature (Koch, 2001). In spite of these recent publications as major sources in the area of sarcophagi studies, as G. Koch mentions himself, there is still a lack of photographic documentation for the newly found sarcophagi, and the necessity of including the Docimeum sarcophagi as a specific class within the Sarkophag-Corpus (Koch, 2001: 163).

Although the “Sarkophag-Corpus” continues to be produced, sarcophagi studies today focus more on the identification of marbles and quarries using petrographic, isotopic and chemical analyses (Walker, 1984; Moens, 1990; Dodge, 1991). The scientific studies are especially helpful in confirming or rejecting ideas about whether the broken parts of a marble sculpture or a sarcophagus belong to the same original, and especially in the identification of the workshops where the sarcophagi come from (Walker, 1984: 207).

CHAPTER III

DOCIMEUM MARBLE AND COLUMNAR SARCOPHAGI

3.1 Docimeum Marble

The Antakya Sarcophagus is produced of Phrygian or Docimeum marble, otherwise *marmor phrygium*, *marmor synnadicum* or *marmor docimium* (Koch, 2001: 17). This marble is named after the Docimeum quarries at modern İŝçehisar, 20 km northeast of the modern city of Afyon (Fig. 1) (Walker, 1985: 32- 36; Koch, 2001: 31- 32). The marble is also sometimes known as Synnadic marble, after Synnada (modern Őuhut), located about 40 km southwest of Docimeum. Synnada was the administrative centre of Docimeum quarries and was where the administrative officers (*procurators*) of the quarries used to dwell (Walker, 1985: 33; Dodge, 1991: 43; Koch, 2001: 17).

The Docimeum quarries produced two kinds of marble: a fine-grained translucent silvery-white marble, used mainly for sculpture and sarcophagi (including the Antakya Sarcophagus); and a white-yellowish, fine grained marble with purple veins called *pavonazzetto* (Walker, 1985: 33; Dodge and Ward-Perkins, 1992: 153, 156; Koch, 2001: 17). *Pavonazzetto* was mostly used for *opus sectile* tiles, columns, and veneer, although there are rare cases where it was used for sarcophagi (Dodge and Ward- Perkins, 1992: 156; Koch, 2001: 17).

The question of who owned the marble quarries is answered by literary evidence. According to Suetonius, Tiberius expropriated all the principal *metalla* (mines and quarries) of the Roman Empire in AD 17 (Dodge, 1991: 32). By this time, the Docimeum quarries may already have been the property of the emperor. The imperial quarries were either directly administered by procurators or leased out to contractors (Dodge, 1991: 32).

J.B. Ward-Perkins suggested in 1980 that the state-owned quarries meant a new and more direct relationship between customers, quarries and supply (1980: 326-27). In Hellenistic times, the customer could directly order from the quarry (Ward-Perkins, 1980: 327). In Roman times, however, blocked-out marble was stored in yards where they were kept for decades or even centuries before being sold to a customer (Ward-Perkins, 1980: 327). A series of agencies in export centres were probably necessary to control the distribution of, for example, the Phrygian sarcophagi (Fig. 2) (Ward-Perkins, 1980: 329; Dodge, 1991: 36).

Epigraphic evidence from the Docimeum quarries is very informative about the state ownership of the quarries. In his “Cavum Antrum Phrygiae”, J.Fant examined and classified the inscriptions in the Docimeum quarries found on blocks intended to be exported (Fant, 1989). The inscriptions occur only on colored marble blocks, including Docimeum *pavonazetto*. Fant classified the inscriptions into three types. Type I and III include the contractor’s name, a serial number, a consular date and other information, whereas Type II inscriptions are about the internal control and accounting system, and are characterized by the date provided on them (Fant, 1989: 11-12, 18-26; Dodge, 1991: 35).

The time spans of these inscriptions reveal the demand peaks for Docimeum marble. The dates of the Type I and Type II inscriptions coincide: AD 92-119 (Fant, 1989: 28-30). The transition from Type II to Type III is gradual. Between 119-30, Type II inscriptions became simpler, and between 130-50, additional information appears on the inscriptions, which is characteristic of Type III (Dodge, 1991: 35). The latest inscription of this type dates to 236. The more detailed Type III inscriptions, after the 130's, possibly indicate a need for a reorganization of management, and more detailed reports due to a peak in marble demand (Dodge, 1991: 36). This growing demand is attested by the opening of new quarries at Carystos (in Euboea, Greece) under Hadrian, and more extensive work at Chemtou (in Tunisia) under Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius (Dodge, 1991: 36).

Most of the marble products in the empire, including sarcophagi, were transported from the quarries of the empire in half-finished form or in quarry state (Asgari, 1978: 476-80). Docimeum sarcophagi, however, are an exception to this rule. They were transported in a mostly finished state and had a higher market value at the destination point in order to justify their high production and transportation costs (Dodge, 1991: 38). Strabo's account (*Geography*, XII, 8. 14) (Jones, 1988: 507) reveals the high price of Docimeum marble already at the time of Augustus caused by the transportation expenses:

...and beyond it is Docimaea, a village, and also the quarry of the "Synnadic" marble (so the Romans call it, though the natives call it "Docimite" or "Docimaeon"). At first this quarry yielded only stones of small size, but on account of the present extravagance of the Romans great monolithic pillars are taken from it, which in their variety of colors are nearly like the alabastrite marble; so that, although the transportation of such heavy burdens to the sea is difficult, still, both pillars and slabs, remarkable for their size and beauty, are conveyed to Rome.

Other evidence for the high price of Docimeum marble is in the “Diocletian’s Price Edict” issued in AD 301, which fixed a quite high maximum price for Docimeum marble (Grant, 1978: 389; Dodge, 1991: 45).

Several theories have been offered concerning the transportation of Docimeum sarcophagi. Ward-Perkins suggests that the marble blocks and other products from Docimeum were brought down the river Sangarios (Sakarya), which runs into the Black Sea, as far as the modern Lake Sapanca (1980: 329). From there, the marble was transported overland and loaded onto ships at the port of Nicomedia, and exported with some Bityhnian marbles such as *breccia corallina*. He uses two kinds of evidence for this argument. One is the shipwreck at Punta Scifo near Croton in Calabria, which was carrying both Docimeum and Proconnesian marble (Ward- Perkins, 1980: 335). According to Ward-Perkins, this could indicate that the marbles from both quarries were loaded together at Nicomedia. Other evidence presented by Ward-Perkins is Pliny the Younger’s letter to Trajan, suggesting that a canal be cut linking Nicomedia with lake Sapanca to transport marble, farm produce and timber much more easily and cheaper (Pliny, *Ep.* X. 41) (Radice, 1969: 274; Ward-Perkins, 1980: 329; Dodge, 1991: 43):

There is a sizable lake not far from Nicomedia, across which marble, farm produce and timber for building are easily and cheaply brought by boat as far as the main road; after which everything has to be taken on to the sea by cart, with great difficulty and increased expense. To connect the lake with the sea would require a great deal of labour, but there is no lack of it. There are plenty of people in the countryside, and many more in the town, and it seems certain that they will all gladly help with a scheme which will benefit them all...

Other scholars have argued that the marble was shipped down the river Meander (modern Büyük Menderes) to either Miletus or Ephesus (Dodge, 1991: 43-45). According to this argument, the marble blocks and finished sarcophagi were transported first to Synnada (Şuhut), the administrative centre of the quarries, then to Apamea (modern Dinar), and then down the Meander valley to Miletus or Ephesus (Röder, 1971: 253; Dodge, 1991: 45;). In fact, the Meander terminated at Miletus, not Ephesus, so that Miletus as the main port for marble transportation seems most likely (Talbert, 2000). Indeed, the shipwreck found at Ponta Scifo could have been loaded first at Nicomedia, and then sailed to Miletus to be loaded a second time with Docimeum marbles (Dodge, 1991: 45). As it is not known to what extent the rivers Sangarios and Meander were navigable in antiquity, it is unfortunately not possible to prove either argument, whether the marbles were transported from Nicomedia or Miletus (Dodge, 1991: 45).

The Antakya Sarcophagus, in particular, might have been transported to Antioch by a sea journey after having been loaded from either Miletus or Nicomedia or Pamphylia (where agencies probably controlled the distribution of sarcophagi (Ward-Perkins, 1980: 329)). There is evidence from Pausanias (Book VIII, XXIX-3) (Jones, 1965: 49-51; Downey, 1963: 15) that the Orontes river was navigable in ancient times from its outlet up to Antioch:

The Syrian river Orontes does not flow its whole course to the sea on a level, but it meets a precipitous ridge with a shape away from it. The Roman Emperor (it was not known who he was, but some suppose Tiberius) wished ships to sail up the river from the sea to Antioch. So with much labor and expense, he dug a channel suitable for ships to sail up and turned the course of the river into this.

Who owned the transportation ships is another unknown factor. However, it is believed that they were probably privately-owned ships, probably designed

specially for carrying marble, which worked on a contractual basis, a common practice in the Empire (Ward-Perkins, 1980: 335; Dodge, 1991: 32).

The use of Docimeum marble for Asiatic columnar sarcophagi has already been proved by both stylistic studies (Koch and Sichtermann, 1982; Koch, 2001), and the evidence of recent scientific tests. One of these tests is based on determining the ratios of isotopes of carbon and oxygen using a mass spectrometer (Walker, 1984: 206). Samples from the same quarry tend to cluster in this test and an isotopic map of the quarry can be formed (Herz and Wenner, 1981: 19). One example of the isotopic tests made concerns the several fragments of columnar sarcophagi in the British Museum reconstructed by H. Wiegartz into a single sarcophagus (Wiegartz, 1965: Taf. 1). This test has revealed that some of the fragments are from different parts of the Docimeum quarries, and not belong to a single sarcophagus (Coleman and Walker, 1979: 109-11; Walker, 1984: 207-17).

3.2 Docimeum Columnar Sarcophagi

It has been disputed whether Docimeum supplied only raw marble, or if it was also the production centre for finished or half-finished products such as columnar sarcophagi. Waelkens was one of the scholars who argued that Docimeum actually produced finished marble products. He suggested that the flourishing local society in the 2nd and the beginning of the 3rd centuries could have formed an appropriate environment for the production of sarcophagi (Waelkens, 1982: 105). One piece of evidence he used to support his argument was a limestone plaque in the Konya Museum (Hall and Waelkens, 1982). The plaque is inscribed in Greek with the name of two brothers, Limnaios and Diomedes, who were “carvers of statues from the marbles of Dokimeion” (Hall

and Waelkens, 1982: 155). This inscription might possibly suggest the existence of a sculptural school at Docimeum that produced both sculptures and Asiatic sarcophagi (Hall and Waelkens, 1982: 153).

Another piece of supporting evidence Waelkens used for proving that Docimeum was the production centre of the columnar sarcophagi is that the number of sarcophagi found in Phrygia is higher than the other regions, including Pamphylia (Waelkens, 1982: 9). The number of columnar sarcophagi found in each region of Asia Minor is given below in Table 1:

Table 1- Number of Asiatic Columnar Sarcophagi found in various regions.

| | | | |
|-----------|----|--------------|------------|
| Phrygia | 62 | Lycia | 8 |
| Pamphylia | 44 | Lebanon | 4 |
| Bithynia | 24 | Cilicia | 3 |
| Italy | 23 | Athens | 2 |
| Unknown | 19 | Caria | 1 |
| Lydia | 11 | Lycaonia | 1 |
| Galatia | 11 | Dalmatia | 1 |
| Pisidia | 9 | Mysia | 0 |
| Ionia | 8 | Total | 231 |

Recent support for the location of a sarcophagus workshop in Docimeum are the four unfinished sarcophagus lids found in the quarries there (Fant, 1985: 655- 662). One of the lids is thought to be post-Roman, while the other three are *kline* lids, probably intended for columnar sarcophagi (Fant, 1985: 658-59). Although no sarcophagus chest has been found at the quarries, it is assumed that the chests must have been produced together with the lids to ensure that they fitted each other (Fant, 1985: 659). These finds clearly support the suggestion that the location of the production centre was in Phrygia, rather than in Pamphylia, as H. Wiegartz suggested (Wiegartz, 1965: 49; Fant, 1985: 659).

The columnar sarcophagi were, therefore, produced in Phrygia and transported from there in a mostly finished state. It has long been argued that the unfinished parts of the Docimeum sarcophagi, principally the portrait heads, were completed by travelling craftsmen directly sent from the workshops to the point of destination, although the suggestion has not been proven yet (Rodenwaldt, 1933: 206; Wiegartz, 1974: 376; Strong and Claridge, 1976: 206; Waelkens, 1982: 70; Ramage and Ramage, 1995: 207; Cormack, 1997: 147). It may well have been that local craftsmen completed these parts, as indicated by the widespread imitation of the ornamentation of the sarcophagi in other areas, and thus the creation of an Empire-wide “marble” or “Asiatic” style characterized by deep drilling for black and white effects, and sharp outlines (Strong, 1961: 45; Ward-Perkins, 1980: 331- 332; Dodge, 1991: 39).

In Phrygia, in fact, there had been a long tradition of burying the dead in sarcophagi, but it lost its importance in the Hellenistic Age, when grave reliefs and grave steles were abundantly produced (Koch, 2001: 14). The major period of production of sarcophagi began in c.AD 140, either independently, or under the influence of Rome (Koch, 2001: 14, 83). In the 2nd century, sarcophagi production in Docimeum grew in production and trade capacity to surpass that of Athens (Mount Pentellicus), another major sarcophagus producer, but about AD 200, however, the production and export of Docimeum sarcophagi fell behind Athens for unknown reasons (Koch, 2001: 83), and production ended completely at about AD 260-70 (Wiegartz, 1965: 31; Waelkens, 1982: 71). It is suggested that some of the stone cutters went to Rome to continue carving sarcophagi in other marbles, while others stayed in Anatolia and carved in other sculptural centres (Koch, 2001: 170, 172).

There are basically three types of sarcophagi produced in Docimeum: garland sarcophagi; sarcophagi with figured friezes; and columnar sarcophagi (Koch, 2001: 165-171). The Docimeum garland sarcophagi (Fig. 3), which take their name from the garlands carried by *erotes* and *Nikes*, are a group quite distinct from other Anatolian garland sarcophagi and those produced in Rome and Athens, the other major producers of this type (Koch, 2001: 165). Sarcophagi with figured friezes include those that have uninterrupted friezes along all four sides, or those with *Nikes* or columns in the corners: the latter group, with columns, is called the “Torre Nova” group (Fig. 4) (Koch, 2001: 166). The third type, columnar sarcophagi, were the most frequently produced type at Docimeum, represented by over 250 examples among the approximately 500 known examples of all Docimeum sarcophagi (Koch, 2001: 169).

Columnar sarcophagi can further be divided into four sub-types, which are thought to reflect a chronological order (Fig. 5) (Wiegartz, 1965: Tafel 46; Koch and Sichtermann 1982: 504- 507; Koch, 2001: 170). The first type is with a straight architrave, and the second one is “arcaded” with continuous arches. These two types appear around AD 150 and are stylistically connected to the “Torre Nova” group (Koch, 2001: 170). One example of the first type is Antalya M, or the “Herakles Sarcophagus” in Antalya Museum, depicting the labours of Hercules (Fig. 6). For the second type, Rome K (Palazzo Torlonia) is a typical example, representing the same theme (Fig. 7).

The third type is carved with a lunette-gabled-lunette pediment sequence. The architrave here is continuous. The fourth and final type is the “standard type” (Walker, 1990: 51), also known as the “geläufiger typ” (Wiegartz, 1965: 11, 34-48), the “normaltypus” (Koch and Sichtermann, 1982: 505), and “the principal

type” (Morey, 1924: 29). This type has the same lunette-gabled-lunette pediment sequence as the third type, the difference between the two being that the pediments on the “standard type” are interrupted by scallop shells (Koch, 2001: 170).

The “standard type” of sarcophagi began to be produced around AD 160, and after acquiring its permanent shape in the 180’s, dominated the Docimeum market (Koch, 2001: 32, 170). On the basis of the typology presented by H. Wiegartz, and G. Koch and H. Sichtermann, the Melfi Sarcophagus (Fig. 8) is a typical early example of the “standard type” (Wiegartz, 1965: 11, 34-48; Koch and Sichtermann, 1982: 505), while the Antakya Sarcophagus is a later example of this type.

The earliest types of columnar sarcophagi were thought to all have gabled lids, according to a single fully preserved example belonging to the first type, Antalya M, the “Herakles Sarcophagus” (Fig. 6) (Koch, 2001: 32). Around AD 170-80, *kline* lids, on which two people are reclining, became the norm for columnar sarcophagi (Koch, 2001: 32). The *kline* lids were represented as mattresses decorated with line patterns and sea animals. *Putti* or *erotes* in high relief were usually used to decorate the foot and the head of the mattresses. In time, these were transformed into individual sculptures, and additional figures of hunting and boxing *putti* were added on the rail in front of the mattresses (Koch, 2001: 32).

On columnar sarcophagi, the heads of the reclining people on the lid are assumed to have been carved as portraits of the deceased. There are a few examples of preserved heads, but most of these were unfortunately left unfinished (Koch, 2001: 73). Among the few heads with carved portraits, the Melfi

Sarcophagus (Fig. 8) is one, and Istanbul G (the Sarcophagus of Claudia Antonia Sabina) (Fig. 9) is another. The hair styles of these portrait heads have been used to suggest a date for these sarcophagi (Wiegartz, 1965: 27).

There are various suggestions concerning the origins of the architectural decoration on the chests of the Asiatic columnar sarcophagi and the figures set within this architectural frame (Rodenwaldt, 1933: 193-194; Toynbee, 1971: 272; Koch and Sichtermann, 1982: 478). It has been suggested that they continue the “heroon”, or “temple-tomb” tradition of Anatolia, embodied in the “Nereid Monument” at Xanthos (Fig. 10), the “Mausoleum” at Halikarnassos (Fig. 11), the “Heroon” at Limyra (Fig. 12) and the “Belevi Tomb”, all of which have figures set between columns (Elderkin, 1939: 102-104; Wiegartz, 1965: 23; Borchhardt, 1978; Fedak, 1997: 176; Mansel, 1999: 423; Borchardt, 1999; Koch, 2001: 169). According to another suggestion, Pompeian Fourth Style wall paintings were the prototypes of Asiatic columnar sarcophagi (Stryzykowski, 1907:119-121), such as a wall painting in the *triclinium* of one Pompeian house (Fig. 13) (Reg. I., Ins. 3, No. 25): in this, the gabled-lunette-gabled pediment sequence with the figures set between the columns is similar to the architectural form of the columnar sarcophagi.

A third suggestion is that the columnar sarcophagi were made to resemble contemporary Roman buildings, such as *nymphaea*, *propylaea*, and the *scaenae frontes* of theaters (Cormack, 1997: 147). Some of the examples that could have inspired the forms of the columnar sarcophagi are the façade of the Library of Celsus (Fig. 14), the West Gate of the Agora and the Middle Harbour Gate at Ephesos, the theater façades at Aspendos (Fig. 15) and Aizanoi, and the *propylon* of the south agora at Miletus (Fig. 16) (Wiegartz, 1965: 14). This suggestion

certainly makes sense, given their protruding columns that carry pediments, and the similarity of their ornamental decoration of the “Asiatic” or “marble” style, believed to be inspired by the Graeco-Roman tradition of western Asia Minor, to the decoration on the Asiatic columnar sarcophagi (Ward- Perkins, 1980: 331; Ward- Perkins, 1988: 165). An example for the latter point could be a marble cornice from the theater at Perge (Fig. 17) which combines a dentil band, lesbian cyma leaves, and egg-and-dart motif, similar to the decoration on the architraves of columnar sarcophagi.

In fact, both suggestions, that the pre-Roman *heroa* of Anatolia and contemporary Roman buildings inspired the form and decoration of the columnar sarcophagi, do not contradict with each other. The inspiration for the form of columnar sarcophagi and the contemporary buildings could have been one and the same, namely earlier *heroa*. Moreover, both the earlier *heroa* and the contemporary building façades could have an impact on the creation of the columnar sarcophagi and their development.

As it is, it is an Anatolian tradition from long before the Hellenistic period to bury the dead in tombs with architectural features, either monumental *heroa* as mentioned above, or more modest sarcophagi. One of the earliest examples of a sarcophagus with architectural decoration is from Samos, dated to the mid-6th century BC (Fig. 18) (Fedak, 1997: 173). The sarcophagus is a chest with engaged Ionic pilasters in low relief, and a gabled lid, with an incised decoration on the lower border that resembles vertical cyma leaves. It has been suggested that the form of this sarcophagus resembles local monumental architecture, such as the “Rhoikos Temple”, dated to 570-60 BC (Fedak, 1997: 73).

Other examples of sarcophagi with architectural decoration are occasionally, though not characteristically, found in Klazomenai around the mid-6th century (Fedak, 1997: 174). These “Klazomenian” sarcophagi were made of local reddish clay and had extensive painted decoration applied at the top and the sides of the chests. One example is from Izmir (Fig. 19). Here, there is a small Ionic column at the centre of the pediment giving the impression of supporting the gabled roof.

From the 5th century onwards, sarcophagi with architectural decoration became more popular. In Asia Minor, it is possible to see numerous elevated Lycian sarcophagi with a monumental character from that time on. However, these examples lack columnar decoration, as they were intended to imitate local timber architecture in a more durable form (Fedak, 1997: 175).

The 4th-century high podium temple tombs, such as the “Nereid Monument”, the “Heroon” at Limyra and the “Mausoleum” at Halikarnassos, had clear effects on the non-elevated sarcophagi of the era (Borchhardt, 1978; Fedak, 1997: 176; Mansel, 1999: 423; Borchhardt, 1999). The 4th century “Mourning Women Sarcophagus” is an example of the application of architectural features of the temple tombs to sarcophagi (Fig. 20) (Mansel, 1999: 422; Fedak, 1997: 176). The pseudo-peripteral arrangement of the sarcophagus allows 18 women to be placed among the columns.

On the so-called “Alexander Sarcophagus” (Fig. 21) of the late 4th century, the arrangement is less architectural than the “Mourning Women Sarcophagus”, as the chest is filled with reliefs. However, it has been suggested that the architectural ornamentation resembles that of the Tholos at Epidaurus (Fedak, 1997: 177).

Indeed, G.W. Elderkin compares the proportions of the “Mourning Women Sarcophagus” and the so-called “Alexander Sarcophagus” to that of the Istanbul A (Selefkeh) (Fig. 22) and Istanbul B (Sidemara) (Fig. 23) columnar sarcophagi, and suggests that the four examples are linked with each other, as their lengths are approximately twice their widths (Elderkin, 1939: 102). This same proportion is also found in Ionic temples like the Erechtheum. On the basis of the common proportions between the Ionic temples, the 4th century BC sarcophagi, and the Roman period columnar sarcophagi, it could be suggested that the Ionic temples are the predecessors of the classical and columnar sarcophagi (Elderkin, 1939: 102).

In later Hellenistic times, columnar sarcophagi continued to be produced, sometimes close to the original Samian type, such as the example from Iznik (Fig. 24) (Fedak, 1997: 179). In Early Imperial times, however, sarcophagi became much more elaborate and a means to convey religious messages related to the afterlife (Fedak, 1997: 179). Finally, in later Imperial times, the columnar sarcophagi of Docimeum began to be produced.

In conclusion, it seems perfectly possible to look for the prototypes of Roman columnar sarcophagi in earlier Anatolian *heroa* and sarcophagi. Contemporary Roman buildings most probably shared the same predecessors, so it may not be totally correct to decide whether *heroa*, or Anatolian sarcophagi, or contemporary buildings, were the most inspirational for Asiatic columnar sarcophagi. It is most probable that all of them played a role in the form and decoration of these sarcophagi.

CHAPTER IV

THE ANTAKYA SARCOPHAGUS

4.1 Findspot

The Antakya Sarcophagus (Fig. 25- 28) was found on February 25th, 1993, south of the city centre of Antakya, ancient “Antiochia ad Orontes”. It was discovered on Harbiye Street (Kışlasaray District), lot no. 487, while the foundation for an apartment building was being dug. Today, the location has a tall green apartment building on it, opposite the Jandarma barracks (Fig. 33), the exact address being 2. Ulus Street, Huri Apt. No: 8. The sarcophagus and its contents were excavated by the Hatay Museum archaeologists, and are now exhibited in the Museum in a special room designed for them.

The excavators, failing to keep any records and take any photographs, cannot provide any further information about the situation of the sarcophagus in its findspot, and the position of the lid; which direction it was found on the chest. However, the unfinished nature of the long side with the hunt scene suggests that this side was intended to be the rear, and the other long side with the seated and standing figures, the front side. Thus the placement of the sarcophagus in exhibition in the museum today is probably correct.

The area where the sarcophagus was found suggests the possibility of an ancient necropolis there, and another sarcophagus of plain stone in the garden of

the barracks today strengthens this likelihood. The barracks themselves were built by Ibrahim Pasha in 1832-3, whose father Mehmet Ali Pasha revolted against the Ottoman Empire and held Antakya under his control between 1833-9 (Demir: 1996: 90).

Ibrahim Pasha also had a palace built near the barracks closer to the Orontes river. Gertrude Lowthian Bell, who visited Antakya in 1905, and published her memories in 1908 (Demir, 1996: 183), writes in her memoirs that she saw “two fine sarcophagi, adorned with putti and garlands and with the familiar and.... typically Asiatic motive of lions devouring bulls” standing in the garden of the serail (Bell, 1985: 322). She also wrote a letter from Antakya to her parents in 1905 mentioning the two sarcophagi that she saw in the garden of the serail (Bell, 1905).

In the Princeton excavations of 1933-6, the excavators did not examine this precise area, but they were able to locate the existence of three necropoleis very near to the point (Fig. 34) (Stillwell, 1938: 1-3). One of these cemeteries is possibly the one mentioned by L’Abbe E. Le Camus (Demir, 1996: 174). L’Abbe E. Le Camus visited Antakya in 1888, and he wrote in his memoirs that near Phyrminus, the eastern flood-bed running into the Orontes, there were the ruins of eastern walls, which were near the Latin cemetery (Fig. 35) (Demir, 1996: 174). A map of J. Jacquot drawn in 1931, however, records the existence of sarcophagi in the general area where the Antakya Sarcophagus was found (Fig. 36) (Jacquot, 1931: 345; Demir, 1996: 102).

Although no other burials were apparently detected during the excavations at the location where the Antakya Sarcophagus was found, the area could not have been thickly populated when the burial was made, as there were certainly

other cemeteries nearby (Stillwell, 1938: 1). Moreover, the Antakya Sarcophagus was found just next to the road leading to Daphne, as shown in the excavators' map (Fig. 34). As columnar sarcophagi are believed to have been made to stand by the roads, and to be seen by passers-by, the location of the sarcophagus makes perfect sense within the city plan of the ancient Antioch (Toynbee, 1971: 272; Koch and Sichtermann, 1982: 478; Kleiner, 1992: 256; Ramage and Ramage, 1995: 205).

4.2 Contents

The sarcophagus is the only example of a *Docimeum* sarcophagus with its contents intact. Three skeletons were inside, one belonging to a young male, one an adult female and the other an adult male. The skeletons suggest it was a family burial. The remains are displayed in the museum. One must, however, keep in mind the possibility that this might be secondary burial, given that the chest and the lid had been anciently damaged. The other contents of the sarcophagus are pieces of jewellery; gold button accessories; and three gold coins. In addition to these, fragments of a purple textile with attached seed pearls and gold sequins were found in the sarcophagus.

4.2.1 Jewellery

The jewellery consists of a bracelet, a necklace, a pair of earrings, and a ring. The bracelet is plain and black coloured, with a diameter of 8.7 cm and a width of 1.2 cm (Fig. 37). It is made of jet, although it is described in the museum exhibit as "black amber". The nearest location where jet is found is Erzurum, Oltu, in northeastern Turkey. The jet produced there is called Oltu stone or Erzurum amber.

The necklace found in the sarcophagus is formed of 65 butterfly-shaped pieces of gold, joined parallel to each other by small rings (Fig. 37). Each piece has a length of 1.5 cm and a width of 0.9 cm. Thus the length of the necklace is about 60 cm. The total weight of the necklace is 49.9 gr.

The gold earrings from the sarcophagus are in the form of snakeheads with attached tails (Fig. 38). They weigh 2.72 gr. and each earring has a diameter of 1.2 cm.

The golden amulet ring has an incised standing female figure, possibly Demeter (Fig. 39). Coloured stones have been inserted in the small holes on the surface. The ring weighs 6.42 gr. and has a diameter of 2.3 cm.

4.2.2 Buttons

The button accessories are 29 in number. They are cylindrical shaped, with a total weight of 13.84 gr. (Fig. 40). Each button has two holes, a length of 1.1 cm and a diameter of 0.8 cm.

4.2.3 Coins

The sarcophagus yielded three gold coins. The Hatay Museum archaeologists cannot tell whether these coins came from the mouths of the skeletons or not. It was customary to place coins in the mouths of the deceased to pay the ferrying fee of Charon (Burket, 1985: 192).

The earliest coin belongs to the reign of Gordian III (AD 238-44) (Fig. 41), the second to Gallienus (AD 253-68) (Fig. 42), and the third was issued for Gallienus's wife Cornelia Salonina (Fig. 43) (Starr, 1982: 183). Beginning in AD 215, and especially after 235, aurei no longer appear in hoards on their own, but are normally found with silver and bronze coins and other objects. It has been concluded from this fact that aurei were increasingly becoming prestige objects in

the 3rd century, like jewellery, and were no longer used as circulating currency (Bland, 1996: 65). Their presence in the Antakya Sarcophagus with other gold objects testifies to their “special” nature, this time as prestigious funeral offerings.

The coin of Gordian III has a draped and laureate right-facing bust of the emperor with the legend “IMP GORDIANVS PIVS FEL AVG” on the obverse. The reverse of the coin has the figure of Laetitia, turned to her right, holding an anchor in her right hand and a wreath in her left. The legend on this side is: “LAETITIA AVG N”. The coin weighs about 4.59 gr. and has a diameter of 21 mm.

During Gordian’s reign, the aureus minted at Rome was struck 25% lighter than the issues during the reign of Severus Alexander (Carson, 1990: 79). The obverse legend “IMP GORDIANVS PIVS FEL AVG” replaced other legends in mid-240 and was used until Gordian’s death in 244 (Carson, 1990: 79; Baydur, 1998: 73). This specific aureus is paralleled by coins minted at Rome between January 241 and the end of July 241, with the reverse legend “LAETITIA AVG N” (Carson, 1990: 80).

The second coin, that of Gallienus, has the radiate right-facing cuirassed bust of Gallienus on the obverse, with the legend “GALLIENVS AVG”. The reverse has the figure of Liberalitas, turned to her right, holding a cornucopia in her right hand and a tessera in her left. The legend above reads: “LIBERAL AVG”. The coin weighs 4.59 gr. and has a diameter of 22 mm. The radiate crown of the emperor indicates a double denomination for coins, and this aureus therefore has a double value compared to that of Gordian’s, even though their weights are the same (Jones, 1990: 30).

During the joint reign of Gallienus (AD 253-60) with Valerian, no coins with the same obverse and reverse to that of the Antakya Sarcophagus were issued in Rome. The eastern mints are rather problematic. There are no parallels between the published aurei struck in Antioch and the aureus of the Antakya Sarcophagus. Another eastern mint, whose location is unknown, but is thought to be in Syria, became active in 255, but this also did not mint any parallels to the relevant aureus (Carson, 1990: 96, 97). Indeed, the only parallels date to the sole reign of Gallienus (AD 260-8), for the coins of the second issue of the mint of Rome have the same obverses and reverses as the Antakya one. However, these are antoniniani, not aurei (Carson, 1990: 101). If these coins were issued in gold in the same form as well, then the aureus of Gallienus from the Antakya Sarcophagus can be dated to AD 260-68. On the other hand, the portrait style of Gallienus with the hair lock in the middle of the forehead and the beard extending towards the neck has been dated to AD 260-1 (Özgan, 2000: 375). This date thus is likely to be the date of the aureus.

The final coin coming from the sarcophagus was issued for Cornelia Salonina. The obverse has the draped and diademed right-facing bust of Gallienus's wife, with the legend "SALONINA AVG". On the reverse of the coin, there is the figure of seated Vesta, turned to her right, and holding a patera in her right hand, and a sceptre in her left. The legend on that side reads: "VESTA". This coin weighs 2.09 gr. and has a diameter of 19 mm. The weight of the coin is strikingly low, which possibly indicates that this is a "quinarius", a coin with a "half" value (Jones, 1990: 263). The only parallels to this coin are aurei issued at the mint of Lugdunum, during the sole reign of Gallienus (AD 260-8). These aurei have the obverse legend "SALONINA AVG", and reverses

with figures of either Venus or Vesta (Carson, 1990: 95). The portrait style of Salonina could again give a more specific date for the quinarius. At about 260-1, the hair bun of the empress became more stiff and angled, which is a description that fits the quinarius (Özgan, 2000: 375). Thus the date of the quinarius of Cornelia Salonina must be the same as the aureus of Gallienus: AD 260-1.

The dates of the coins unfortunately do not provide any clues about the production date of the Antakya Sarcophagus. It has been mentioned before that aurei increasingly became prestige objects in the 3rd century (Bland, 1996: 65), and could have been kept for many years as a family treasure after they were issued. The date of the earliest coin, AD 241, if it was minted at Rome, does not provide a *terminus ante quem* for the production date of the sarcophagus. The sarcophagus could have been produced later than that date, and the deceased could have been offered kept for years after issued. Likewise, the Gallienus and Salonina aurei, dating to AD 260-8, do not help in determining the production date of the sarcophagus. The coins only show that the sarcophagus could not have been finally closed before this date. The sarcophagus could have been produced before 260-8, and finally closed with the other burials in it much later. It could also have been produced later than that date, though this is less likely, as the production of the sarcophagi ended around 260-70 (Wiegartz, 1965: 31; Waelkens, 1982: 71), and the deceased could have been offered aurei dating much earlier than the date they died. Hence, the coins cannot be used for securely determining the production date of the sarcophagus.

4.3 Dimensions

The dimensions of the chest of the sarcophagus differ according to where the measurements are taken, from the upper or lower edge, and from the right side or the left one. The chest of the sarcophagus has a length of 284 cm at the top and 250 cm at the base. This difference of 34 cm is because the figured decoration and the architrave extend forward from the main body of the chest. The chest has a height of 118 cm and an approximate average width of 124 cm. On the right side, the width is 123 cm when measured from the top edge of the chest, and 125 cm from the bottom; on the left side, the width is 125 cm at top and 124 cm at the bottom of the chest.

Although the chest of the sarcophagus is not a perfectly rectangular box, the length of the chest at the base (250 cm) is approximately twice the width (124 cm). As mentioned before, this same proportion is also found in Ionic temples like the “Erechtheum”, which is 11.634 x 22.507 m, as well as in other classical sarcophagi, such as the “Mourning Women Sarcophagus” (1.37 x 2.54 m) (Fig. 20) and the so-called “Alexander Sarcophagus” (1.67 x 3.18 m) (Fig. 21). It has been suggested by G. Elderkin that this common proportion of length twice the width proves the Ionic temples are the predecessors of classical sarcophagi and the better known Docimeum sarcophagi as Istanbul A (Selefkeh) and Istanbul B (Sidemara) (Elderkin, 1939: 102).

The lid of the sarcophagus also shows some differences in dimensions. The length is 250.5 cm at the front and 249 cm at the back. The width is 128 cm on the right side and 127 cm. on the left. The full height of the lid measured at the top of the reclining female’s head is 115 cm, with 45 cm of this height being the mattress. The head-board measures 58 cm high.

The column shafts are usually uniform with an average approximate height of 20 cm. The individual standing human figures have very slender, and mostly uniform proportions, the most slim-looking one being Figure F (Fig. 72). The proportions of the heads to the total bodies of the figures are calculated below in Table 2 (all the measurements are in centimetres).

Table 2- The proportions of the heads to the whole bodies of the standing figures on the Antakya Sarcophagus

| Figure | Total Height | Head | Proportion | Figure | Total Height | Head | Proportion |
|--------|--------------|------|------------|--------|--------------|------|------------|
| B | 108 | 15 | 1/7 | L | 110 | 14 | 1/8 |
| C | 109 | 16 | 1/7 | P | 112 | 14 | 1/8 |
| D | 107 | 15 | 1/7 | Q | 96.5 | 15 | 1/7 |
| F | 98 | 13 | 1/7 | S | 92 | 14 | 1/7 |
| K | 97 | 15 | 1/7 | T | 95 | 12 | 1/8 |
| I | 99 | 13 | 1/7 | U | 99 | 4 | 1/7 |

As can be seen from the table, the majority of the figures have head/body proportions of approximately 1/7. It has been suggested that some male figures on the Asiatic columnar sarcophagi are Lysippean because of their proportions (Elderkin, 1939: 104). However, the figures look closer to the school of Polyclitus, as the 1/7 proportion is that of the “Doryphoros”, representing the Canon of Polyclitus (Fig. 44), rather than that of the “Apoxyomenos” of Lysippus (Fig. 45), whose head is one eighth of the body (Bruneau, 2002: 68).

Although the human figures on the Antakya Sarcophagus have quite a uniform pattern of proportions, the disproportionality of the human figures compared to the horses is striking (for example, Figure J1 compared to Figure K (Fig. 75), and Figure M1 compared to Figure M2 (Fig. 77)). The same disproportionateness is apparent in other Docimeum sarcophagi, such as Istanbul

A (Selefkeh) (Lawrence, 1958: 289). In that particular example, the mounted hunter on the left side is nearly as large as his horse (Fig. 22). The awkward proportions are a feature of the Severan sculpture (Strong, 1995: 228), and it is very likely that the sculptors of Docimeum could have been influenced by the technique of Severan sculptors from Rome (Strong, 1961: 47).

4.4 Architectural Description

The Antakya Sarcophagus (Fig. 42- 45) belongs to the most commonly found and chronologically latest group of Asiatic sarcophagi, the “standard type” (Fig. 5). The long sides of this type are composed of three *aediculae* with a gabled pediment in the middle and lunette pediments on each side (Fig. 42). Each pediment rests on two spirally fluted columns. Between each two *aediculae* there is a bay, which constitutes an extra space where figures can be placed. This whole arrangement allows five figures to be placed on one long side, one figure under each pediment, and two more figures in the bays between these. On the short sides of this type of sarcophagi, there is an *aedicula* with a single gabled pediment resting on two spirally fluted columns with a bay on either side (Fig. 31). The short sides thus allow three figures to be placed next to each other, one under the gabled pediment, two in the bays. However, the tomb portal usually placed on one of the short sides allows the placement of only two figures on this side, standing next to the portal.

4.4.1 Columns

On the Antakya Sarcophagus, the finished column bases are double moulded and stand on raised square plinths (Fig. 46). On the plinths, there are circular carvings that surround the mouldings. Among the 16 columns of the

sarcophagus, this is the rule only for the 1st, 3rd, 6th, 12th, 13th, and 15th columns (starting from the extreme left column on the front and continuing around the chest in a counter clock-wise direction). The remaining column bases are missing one or more of these elements: the mouldings, the central element below, or the square plinths for a variety of reasons, usually when they were “hidden” by a figure or another feature.

As is the case on all columnar sarcophagi, the spirally fluted column shafts on the Antakya Sarcophagus form spirals in sequential order from left to right and from right to left. For instance, on both long sides, the spiral flutings on the extreme left column start from the right, and on the column next to it, it starts from the left, and this sequence is repeated without interruption on all sides of the sarcophagus, except where the column has been left unfinished. On the Antakya Sarcophagus, the 9th and 11th columns are unfinished, the former being completely unfluted, and the latter fluted only for a small part. The grooves and arrisses of the flutings are impossible to count in some cases, as the figures interrupt them, but the average number of arrisses is 17, and of grooves is 16.

The corner figures on the front side of the Antakya Sarcophagus are seated on high platforms, making the total height of the columns that carry the lunette pediments above them higher than the columns that carry the central *aedicula* (Fig. 25, 26). Accordingly, the columns of the central *aedicula* are raised on high square plinths in order to maintain the same level as the lunette pediments. At the rear side of the sarcophagus (Fig. 29, 30), both the corner figures and the middle figure were placed on high platforms, which in this case necessitated a raised plinth for the 2nd, 4th and 5th columns, quite an irregular pattern. On the right side, both the columns carrying the pediment and the figures

standing in the bays are at the same height of the adjacent corner figure of the front side (Figure E). The 7th and 8th columns on this side accordingly do not stand on square plinths, but have single mouldings, the moulding of the left one being narrower than the right (Fig. 27, 28). On the left side, all three of the figures stand separately on high platforms, at the same level as the adjacent corner figure of the front side (Figure A) and the two columns under the pediment are on raised square plinths (Fig. 31, 32).

The Corinthian column capitals are composed of two sets of acanthus leaves at the bottom covering the shafts from two sides, and four scrolls placed at equal intervals on the rectangular capital at the top (Fig. 47). Deep drill work was extensively used in the carving, especially on the acanthus leaves, which do not look like ordinary Corinthian capital leaves because of the use of a drill rather than a chisel (Strzygowski, 1907: 108).

4.4.2 Architrave

On top of the columns, there is an architrave composed of two bands of ornamentation. The lower band is of lesbian cyma, where a single semi-circle segment was placed above each column, and the rest of the space next to the semi-circle was filled with three or four branched leaf patterns extending towards it. The semi-circle was filled with a design made up with deep drillings, to present the contrast between the dark coloured drilled areas and the light coloured surface of the half circle (Fig. 47). Very similar examples of the same design with leaves around it can be found on other sarcophagi, as with the Iznik S, Ankara A, Athens-London, Istanbul A (Selefkeh) and Istanbul B (Sidemara) (Wiegartz, 1965: 29-30).

Above the lesbian cyma band is the band of egg mouldings. Each egg moulding is accompanied with a single motif of lesbian cyma, having a ratio of 1:1 (Fig. 47). This ratio differs in earlier examples of “standard type” sarcophagi, as in the Melfi Sarcophagus, where three eggs are accompanied by two motifs of lesbian cyma, thus a ratio of 3:2 (Fig. 48) (Wiegartz, 1965: 28). Each egg moulding is surrounded by thin strips around it. The rest of the area devoted to the egg-moulding band is often, but not always, filled with three-branched leaf patterns (Fig. 49). In some cases, the leaf patterns are replaced by three-armed dart motifs with drill holes at the top of the central arms (Fig. 27, 47). On the central *aediculae* of the front and left sides, the leaves are replaced by these darts, while on the right side, there is a mixed pattern of leaves and darts.

Under the pediments, the architrave is filled with scallop shells. These are usually interrupted by the neck of the standing or seated figure, except for the right side, where there are no human figures in front of the central *aedicula* (Fig. 27, 28). Above the architrave, there is a band of dentils at the bottom boundary of the pediment or the arch (Fig. 49). Within the triangle or the semi-circle of a pediment, there are usually two egg mouldings on both sides of the head of the figure, although these are not always present as the space did not always allow it. The inner space of the pediment was filled with leaves and floral patterns (Fig. 49). Within the upper boundary of the pediment there is again a band of dentils (Fig. 49). Above all these elements is a raking geison with a tendril work, elaborately carved with the drill extensively used, and a band with straight moulding (Fig. 49). On the central pediment of the front side (Fig. 47), above this straight element, there is a band of raking sima with floral designs and borings.

The rear side of the sarcophagus is a bit different from the other sides. Here, the inner space of the central pediment is left unfinished, and was left with drill holes, which were never developed into floral patterns (Fig. 50). Moreover, the left part of the raking geison is again unfinished, as it was not carved in as much detail as the right part. Finally, the right section of the raking sima above the geison is only slightly incised with floral designs and lacks the borings seen on the sima of the front side central pediment, while the left section of the raking sima was left smooth, lacking both incisions and borings (Fig. 50). Thus the architectural ornamentation of the central pediment at the back is unfinished, although the right section shows it was intended to be.

4.4.3 Bays

On the bays, the ornamental elements of the architrave are more or less the same as those on the architrave of the *aediculae*: a band of leaf patterns below (except for the right bay of the left short side (Fig. 51), where there is a lesbian cyma segment), above which are the egg mouldings (usually two eggs on each side of the neck of the figures), a band of dentils and a band of tendril work on the geison (Fig. 52). One major difference of the architrave in the bays is that they lack the scallop shell motif.

There are cases where the decorations of the architrave in the bays are unfinished. For example, the right part of the first bay on the front side was drilled, but not carved in as much detail as the left side (Fig. 52). The first bay of the rear side is also not uniform in decoration. The left part is less finished compared with the right part.

One particular feature of the Antakya Sarcophagus is that, on the second bay on the rear side, next to the head of Figure P, and over the architrave, there is a *Medusa* (?) head in a garland (Fig. 53).

4.4.4 Acroteria

As a rule, on all four sides of the Antakya Sarcophagus, the acroteria of the gabled pediments- the central pediments of the front and the rear sides, and the pediments of the short sides- are foliate (Fig. 27, 31, 47, 50). On the other hand, there are animal and *eros* motifs on the acroteria of the lunette pediments on the long sides, and the corners of the chest on the short sides.

Again as a rule, on the corner-acroteria of the lunette pediments on the long sides, there is a hoofed animal being attacked by another animal placed on the short sides. For example, on the front side, on the corner-acroterion of the left lunette pediment, there is an animal lying down with the rear left foot stretched behind (Fig. 54). The foreleg of the animal is below its body and a hoof is visible. This animal is being attacked by another placed at the corner of the left side (Fig. 55). Although the heads of both animals are broken (not obviously ancient damage), it is possible to say that the attacking animal is a male lion, given that the mane of the animal at the left corner of the right side is preserved (Fig. 56).

The corner-acroterion of the right lunette pediment on the front side is again occupied by this usual composition, an animal with an outstretched leg and a hoofed foot curved below (Fig. 57) is attacked by the corner figure of the right short side (Fig. 56). The heads of the two animals joining at the corner are mostly preserved, and the details allow one to determine the hoof, the upturned neck and the left ear of the victim and the lion's mane, its right paw on the victim's body, and its open mouth around the neck of the victim.

On the inner-acroteria of the lunette pediments of the long sides, an *eros* is depicted with a feline. For example, on the right acroterion of the left pediment, an *eros* on the right plays with a feline on the left and gives it something to eat (Fig. 54). The motifs are carved in detail, rendering the facial features of the feline and the *eros*. On the left acroterion of the right lunette pediment of the long side, the same motif of *eros* with the feline has been placed (Fig. 57). This time, the *eros* is on the left, and he is stroking the feline. The motifs were not carved in as much detail as the previous one.

As mentioned above, the right side has the bodies of two lions at the corners of the chest (Fig. 27). The pediment on this side is a gabled one, thus the acroteria are reserved for foliage patterns.

On the rear side of the sarcophagus, the acroteria are symmetrical to those on the front. The central gabled pediment acroteria are foliate (Fig. 50). The corner-acroterion of the left pediment has the attacked animal with the outstretched leg and the bent hoofed foot lying beneath (Fig. 58). The motif was carved in a lower relief than the one at the front, so is probably unfinished. On the right acroterion of this left pediment, there is again an *eros* playing with a feline, but the figures are unfinished and the outlines of them are only partly incised (Fig. 58).

The right lunette pediment of the rear side continues the symmetry. On the left acroterion of this pediment there is again an *eros* playing with a feline (Fig. 59). The figures are carved in more detail than those of the right acroterion of the first pediment, but not as detailed as those of the front side. Finally, the corner-acroterion of the right pediment is occupied by a hoofed animal, whose attacker is

at the corner of the left side (Fig. 59). The upturned neck and the ear of the animal is visible, although the figure is not as complete as that on the front side.

The left short side has the same acroterial decoration as the right short side, the lion bodies at the corners of the chest, and the floral patterns on both acroteria of the gabled pediment (Fig. 31).

4.4.5 Right side

There is a need to describe the architectural decoration of the right side under a separate heading because of the placement of the tomb portal here, which necessitated a different arrangement (Fig. 27). The tomb portal is in front of a triangular pediment that rests on two columns. Over the straight moulded lintel of the door is scroll work bounded above by a band of dentils from above. Above the dentils is an inverse “U” shaped straight moulded element. Above this is another band of scroll work, this time projecting, and a straight narrow boundary at the top of it. Then the usual architrave starts, a band of lesbien cyma and egg moulding. The band is interrupted by a scallop shell in the middle of the *aedicula*. There are five drill holes at equal intervals at the base of the scallop shell (Fig. 56). The egg mouldings are not surrounded by leaf patterns this time, but with a three-armed dart pattern on the right and left of the shell (the pattern on the left of the shell is damaged). On top of these bands is a pediment with a dentil band at the bottom. Inside the triangle of the pediment, there are two egg mouldings side by side. The triangle is again bordered by dentils on the inside. The pediment terminates at the top with tendrils and a straight moulding. The acroteria are foliate, as is the case with the gabled pediments on the other sides.

4.4.6 Lid

The lid is composed of two main sections: a base and a mattress on top. The lower part of the base has a narrow band of quite regular dentils (c.2.5 cm each), on top of which is another thicker band of floral pattern (Fig. 58, 59). The floral pattern is uniform on all sides and is decorated with drill holes. The dentil and the floral bands are interrupted by lifting bosses above each pediment. This means that there are three lifting bosses at each long side, and one at each short side. The lifting bosses have been chamfered at the bottom on the front side, to prevent the lid being opened after the final burial, but they are not chamfered on the right and the rear sides of the sarcophagus (Fig. 60, 61). The lifting boss of the left side, on the other hand, is only partly chamfered (Fig. 62).

On top of the ornamental bands and the lifting bosses, there is a deep canal lying horizontally along the length of the lid on all four sides. However, on the left side, the bottom deep canal was only completed half-way, the remainder being a smooth channel (Fig. 62). On the front of the sarcophagus, a much thinner canal follows this canal on top, which extends further to the edges of the lid. On the rear and the short sides, the deep canal has another deep canal above it, so as to give an impression of a two layered moulding.

A mattress was placed on top of the base, but the length and the width of it are less than those of the base. This leaves an uncovered thin area, or “rail”, around the edges of the rectangular shaped base (Morey, 1924: 41). This rail is where the cupids stand (Figures W1, W2 and X) (Fig. 63).

On the front, the mattress is decorated with two curved patterns on the right and left corners (Fig. 71, 72). There are also bands of geometrical

decorations perpendicular to the mattress, placed at the left of Figure V, and the right of Figure X (Fig. 63, 64).

On the rear and the short sides, the mattress is decorated with dolphins and tritons. The animals are placed within double-panelled rectangles, seven at the back, four at the short sides, and a double leaf design fills the interval between the rectangles. On the right side, there are two dolphins and two capricorns next to the dolphins (Fig. 60). The same species of creatures are turned towards each other. At the back, there are two dolphins, two capricorns and two more capricorns. These are again turned to each other in groups of two. The place of the eighth rectangle and the animal on the right of the mattress is empty, surely unfinished (Fig. 65). On the left side, there are two dolphins and two capricorns, starting from left to right, the creatures again turned towards each other in groups of two (Fig. 62). The dimensions of the rectangular panels and the proportions of the animals are not uniform. The average lengths and widths of the outer and the inner panels are given below in a table for each side.

Table 3- Average dimensions of the rectangular panels on the mattress on which sea creatures are carved (in cm.).

| | Average | | | |
|-------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|
| | Length of Outer Panel | Height of Outer Panel | Length of Inner Panel | Height of Inner Panel |
| Right side | 23.5 | 21 | 10.7 | 9 |
| Back | 28.3 | 20.5 | 15.3 | 8.8 |
| Left side | 24.5 | 17 | 12 | 6 |

A final decoration on the lid are two bearded male heads. The heads are carved on the rear side of the sarcophagus, at the top corners of the mattress, one at the head-board, and the other at the foot-board. There are horns on both sides of their foreheads, which might indicate that they are satyrs. The one on the right

corner (Fig. 66) has slimmer proportions than the one on the left corner (Fig. 67) and his horns are carved in more detail, whereas the horns of the one on the left are only indicated by slight incisions.

Placing human faces on the acroteria of the lids is a feature of the sarcophagi with straight lids produced at Rome (Koch, 2001: 28). One example with the human faces on the acroteria of the lid is the sarcophagus from Via Amendola, dated to c.AD 170, now in Museo Capitolino, Rome (Fig. 68) (Kleiner, 1992: 258).

4.5 Figured Decoration

The figures on the chest and the lid of the Antakya Sarcophagus are described below starting from the leftmost figure on the front side and continuing in counter-clockwise direction. A letter is given to each figure by the author of this thesis for an easy reference.

4.5.1 Front Side

The front side is a composition of five figures; 2 seated figures at each end framing 3 standing figures.

Figure A. Female figure wearing a *chiton* and a *himation* (Fig. 69) (Goldman, 1994: 221,228; Croom, 2000: 30,87) seated on a plain cushion on a folding stool (Robsjohn-Gibbins and Pullin, 1963: 69; Richter, 1966: 103-104) whose legs terminate in the shape of animal hoofs. The left side legs of the stool are shown in very low relief behind the right side legs. The column at the back of Figure A has been roughed out behind the stool. The body of Figure A is shown frontally, while her head and legs are in profile. The left hand is within the fold of the *himation* and rests along the body at the level of the abdomen. The left hand

forefinger is damaged (ancient damage). The right hand is raised up to the level of the neck, the thumb on her neck. The right forefinger used to rest on her cheek (the figure scar is visible), but is now broken entirely (ancient damage). The rest of her right hand fingers used to be bent, but are now broken (ancient damage). The finger nails of both of the hands were rendered. The right leg is extended forward crossing over the left leg, the left foot placed just behind the heel of the right foot. She has *calcei* on her feet (Morrow, 1985: 179). The hair is tied at the back of her head in a bun, and a ribbon surrounds the head above the forehead and over the top of the bun. The face does not have a portrait character, however, the facial features are clear. The pupils have been indicated by slight drill holes. The left side of the nose and the tip of the chin has been broken off (ancient damage). There are encrustations on the broken parts of her face and within the folds of her clothes.

Figure B. Standing bearded male figure in a *chiton* and a *himation* (Fig. 69). The body is shown frontally and the head is slightly turned to his right. The weight of the body is on the left leg, and the right leg is at ease. The right arm is emerging from the *himation*, but has been broken at the elbow (ancient damage). The left hand holds a fold of the *himation* stretching the fold leftwards. He is wearing *lingulae* on his feet (Morrow, 1985: 118-119, 147). The toe nails have been rendered. The beard and the hair are curly, the beard untidy, and the hair is cut short at the nape. The face does not have a portrait character, however, the facial features are clear. The nose has been broken off (ancient damage). There are encrustations on his broken nose and within the folds of his clothes.

Figure C. Standing nude heroised youth (Fig. 70). The body is shown frontally, and the head is turned to his right. The weight of the body is on the

right leg, and the left leg is at ease. A *chlamys* is draped over the left shoulder and is fastened with a conical brooch. The right arm is broken (ancient damage) at the level of the chest below the armpit. The left arm is carrying the fold of *chlamys* but is broken (not obviously ancient damage) below the elbow. The protruding figure scar of the object (a garland?) he used to hold in his left hand is visible on the column base at his left. A baldric runs across the body from the right shoulder to the waist level on the left side, holding a weapon (a dagger or a sword) at waist level. The abdominal muscles are carefully rendered. He wears a laurel wreath on his head, although it has been carved in very low relief and is difficult to recognize. The hair is curly and grows half way down to his neck. The face does not have a portrait character, however, the facial features are clear. The pupils have been indicated. The nose has been broken off (ancient damage). There are encrustations on his broken nose, his armpit, and within the folds of his clothes.

Figure D. Standing female figure wearing a *chiton* and a *himation* (Fig. 70). The body is shown frontally and the head is slightly turned to her left. The weight of the body is on the left leg, and the right knee is slightly curved beneath the folds of the *himation*. The *himation* is wrapped diagonally around the upper body from left to right. The right hand extends from the diagonal wrap of the *himation* and the right forefinger is pointing left. A thick fold of the *himation* crosses the body diagonally from her right to her left at the waist level. The right wrist was wrapped in this fold and the left hand is placed close to the body at the level of left hip. The fingers of the left hand are broken (ancient damage), however, the position of the hand suggests that that the forefinger was outstretched, the second finger was slightly bent, and the third and the fourth fingers were bent. She has *calcei* on her feet. The hair is curly, slightly parted in

the centre and the shape indicates that it would have been knotted at the back, resembling the coiffure of the Figure A. The face does not have a portrait character, however the facial features are clear. The pupils have been indicated. The nose and the right eyebrow have been broken off (ancient damage). There are encrustations on the broken parts of her face, her cheek, and within the folds of her clothes.

Figure E. Bearded male figure seated on a tripod stool whose legs terminate in lion-paws (Fig. 71). There is a lion skin cushion on the stool, the head of the lion has been shown at the corner of the stool and the skin of the lion is stretching below the legs of it. Two legs of the stool were shown in high relief and the other leg of it was roughed out behind. Figure E is wearing a *chiton* and a *himation*. The body and the head are slightly turned to his left, but the legs are in profile. The right arm reaches forward at a 45 degree angle and the forefinger of the right hand is pointing forward. The other fingers of his right hand are broken (ancient damage), however, it is possible to state that the second finger was outstretched, while the third and fourth fingers were bent over. The left hand is placed on his left leg. Although the fingers of the left hand are broken (ancient damage), the position of the hand suggests that he may have been holding an object. The left leg is extended forward and right leg is behind the left, but the right foot was roughed out. He is wearing *lingulae* on his feet. The hair was cut short at the nape. The face does not have a portrait character, however, the facial features are clear. The pupils have been indicated. The nose has been broken off (ancient damage). There are encrustations within the fold of his clothes.

4.5.2 Right Side

The right side is a composition of one female and one male figure flanking a tomb portal on the left and on the right, respectively.

Figure F. Standing veiled female figure wearing a *chiton* and a *himation* (Fig. 72). The lower body is shown frontally and the upper body is turned slightly to her left. The weight of the body is on the right leg and left leg is at ease. The left knee is bent and recognizable beneath the *chlamys*. The right arm is extended horizontally across the body towards the left hand. The left hand is touching the body and the upturned palm holds an incense box (?), the right forefinger touching it. She has *calcei* on her feet. The veil of the *himation* is covering the back part of the head leaving some hair visible at the front. The way the head is carved suggests it was tied in a bun. The face does not have a portrait character, however, the facial features are clear. The pupils have been indicated. There are encrustations on her chin and within the folds of her clothes.

Figure G. Sacrificial animal, probably a bullock with a hump-back, standing to the height of the right hip of Figure F (Fig. 72). Only the fore part of the animal is shown. The animal is extending its right foreleg forward and the left foreleg is slightly visible behind. Its head is turned to its right. There are encrustations on the animal's right ear.

Figure H1: The double-leaved door of the tomb in front of which the altar H2 stands (Fig. 73). The door is plain with lintels projecting outwards. Above the upper lintel is a band of scrollwork and a band of dentils, enclosed on three sides by a plain border.

Figure H2: Flaming altar (*thymiaterium*) (Walker, 1990: 54) (Fig. 73) leaning forward on a round table with three feline shaped legs. The legs make a

broad curve below the neck of the leopards, finally terminating in paws that are curved outwards. Of the three legs, only the one that faces the viewer was carved in detail. The faces of the other two leopards are not visible. The table leaf is round, although not rendered in full view, slightly more than a semi-circle.

Figure I. Standing bearded figure (Fig. 74). The body is shown frontally, and the head is slightly turned to his right. The weight of the body is equally distributed between the legs. The legs are parted, and the feet are firmly on the ground, with the left foot slightly ahead of the right one. He is wearing a *chiton* and a *himation*. A twisted fold of the *chiton* crosses diagonally from above the waist on his right side, extending below the waist on his left side. The left wrist is wrapped in the fold. The right arm extends to his right side and holds a *patera* for pouring a libation on the flaming altar. The left arm rests along the side of the body just below the waist level, and the left hand holds a flattened object (a scroll?) in addition to the fold of the *himation*. He is wearing *lingulae*. The toe nails have been rendered. The hair was cut short at the nape. The beard and hair style are like those of the Figures B and E. The face does not have a portrait character, however the facial features are clear. The pupils have been indicated. There are encrustations within the curls of his hair and beard, and the folds of his clothes.

4.5.3 Rear Side

The rear side is a composition of a hunter mounted on a horse flanked by four attendants.

Figure J1: Horse on the right of the Figure K (Fig. 75). The head, neck and the forelegs of the horse were carved in high relief, whereas the back of its body is slightly visible on the left side of the Figure K and is roughed out in very

low relief. The right forefoot of the horse is firmly on the ground and is visible on the adjacent side, right side, next to Figure I. The left forefoot is raised, and beneath it is the dog, Figure J2. The right rear leg of the horse is not shown. The eye pupils of the horse have not been indicated. The tip of the horse's left eye has been chipped off (modern damage). There are encrustations under its chin. The figure has not been polished and tiny chisel marks are visible on the entire surface.

Figure J2: Dog beneath the left forefoot of the horse J1 (Fig. 75). The dog stands firmly on its feet, however the rear left foot is roughed out. The front left foot is broken (ancient damage), but was repaired in antiquity with an iron dowel. The tail is curved upwards and is in lower relief than the rest of its body. The dog looks up at the horse above it, but the facial features are not very clear. It has a collar on its neck and a ring of hair around the collar. The figure has not been polished and tiny chisel marks are visible on the entire surface.

Figure K. Standing attendant (Fig. 75) wearing a belted short *chiton* (Kleiner, 1992: 252, 249; Croom, 2000: 32) and a *chlamys* (Goldman, 1994: 229; Houston, 1947: 98) fastened at his right shoulder with a conical brooch. The head is slightly turned to his left. The upper body is shown frontally and the lower body is turned to his right, with his bent right leg extending forward, his straight left leg behind. The weight of the body is equally distributed between the legs, which are parted from each other. The left arm is entirely within the *chiton*. The left hand is broken from the wrist (ancient damage), but the strut on his left skirt and the remains on the column capital on his left suggest that he held the same object as Figure P, possibly a *lagobolon*, a staff used for flinging at hares, also used as a shepherd's staff or crook (Liddell and Scott, 1968: 1023). The right

hand holds the reins of a horse rearing towards the right. The figure is wearing boots without laces. His hair is curly and cut short at the nape. He is beardless and young. The face does not have a portrait character, however, the facial features are clear. The pupils have been carved as if he is looking up. The tip of his nose and the chin have been broken off (ancient damage). There are encrustations on the broken parts of his face and within the folds of his clothes. The figure has not been polished and tiny chisel marks are visible on the entire surface.

Figure L. Standing young male figure (an attendant) (Fig. 76) wearing a belted short *chiton* and a *chlamys* draped over the right shoulder fastened with a conical brooch. The body is shown frontally and the head is turned to his left. The weight of the body is on the right leg, which is straight and stands firmly on the ground. The left leg is curved from the knee. The left arm is entirely within the *chlamys* and the left hand holds an empty *cornucopia*. The right arm is bent, holding a spear at a slight angle, of which only the spearhead remains. He is wearing boots with laces. His hair grows half way down to his neck. He is beardless and young. The face does not have a portrait character, however, the facial features are clear. The pupils have been carved as if he is looking up. There are encrustations on his right arm and within the folds of his clothes. The figure has not been polished and tiny chisel marks are visible on the entire surface.

Figure M1. Young male mounted on a horse (Fig. 77). The body and the head are in profile and are turned right. He is wearing a belted short *chiton* and a *chlamys* draped over the right shoulder fastened with a conical brooch. The skirts of the *chiton* are pulled up so as to leave his right leg almost entirely naked. The right arm is raised holding a spear about to pierce a lion (Figure N). The left arm

and the left hand are entirely invisible and are behind the neck of the horse. The left foot is in low relief and is slightly visible beyond the right foot. He is wearing laced boots. The hair was cut short at the nape. He is beardless and young. The face does not have a portrait character, however, the facial features are clear. The pupils have been carved as if he is looking up. There are encrustations within the folds on his clothes. The figure has not been polished and tiny chisel marks are visible on the entire surface.

Figure M2. Rearing horse (Fig. 77). Only the right fore and rear legs of the horse are in high relief. The left rear leg is in very low relief behind the right rear leg next to the column. The left fore leg was not shown. The disproportionateness of the head and the body of the horse is striking. There is no saddle on the horse. The thick tail of the horse extends beyond the central *aedicula* and into the previous one, next to the *cornucopia* of the Figure L. There are encrustations on the horse's neck and under its chin. The figure has not been polished and tiny chisel marks are visible on the entire surface.

Figure N. Lion beneath the right foreleg of the horse (Fig. 78), rearing towards it. All of the legs of the lion are shown, however the right forepaw is incomplete. The tail of the lion is curved up, and lies over the left side of the animal. Only the two forepaws of the lion are in the same *aedicula* as the hunter, the rest of it is at the next *aedicula*, in front of Figure P. The mane of the animal is not as detailed as the hairs of the figures, and gives the impression that it is unfinished. There are encrustations the lion's left fore and rear legs. The figure has not been polished and tiny chisel marks are visible on the entire surface.

Figure O. Dog beneath the horse of the Figure M (Fig. 77), attacking the lion's left forepaw. All the four legs of the dog are visible, however the left rear

foot and the curved tail are in lower relief. The front legs are stretching forward as if to jump on the lion. It has a collar on its neck and a ring of hair around the collar. The figure has not been polished and tiny chisel marks are visible on the entire surface.

Figure P. Standing young male figure (an attendant) (Fig. 78) in a belted short *chiton* and a *chlamys* draped over the right shoulder fastened with a conical brooch. The body is shown frontally, and the head is slightly turned to his right. The weight of the body is equally distributed between the legs, which are parted from each other. The left foot is ahead of the other one and extends to his left. The *chiton* he is wearing covers the right arm entirely and he holds the reins of the horse of the Figure M in his right hand. The left arm is within the *chlamys* and he holds a staff, perhaps a *lagobolon* in his left hand at waist level. The body of the lion covers the skirt of his *chiton* horizontally through the entire bay. He is wearing laced boots. The curly hair grows half way down to his neck. He is beardless and young. The face does not have a portrait character, however, the facial features are clear. The pupils have been carved as if he is looking up. There are encrustations on his right arm. The figure has not been polished and tiny chisel marks are visible on the entire surface.

Figure Q. Standing attendant wearing a belted short *chiton* and a *chlamys* (Fig. 79) draped over the right shoulder fastened with a conical brooch. The head is turned to his right. The upper body is shown frontally, and the lower body is turned towards his left, his bent left leg extending forward, and straight right leg behind. The weight of the body is equally distributed among the legs. The right arm is within the *chiton* up to the elbow. The right hand holds a spear. The left arm is within the *chlamys* and the left hand holds the reins of the horse behind

him. The boundary between his left hand and the horse is not very clear. He is wearing boots without laces. The curly hair grows half way down to his neck. He is beardless and young. The face does not have a portrait character, however, the facial features are clear. The pupils have been carved as if he is looking up. The tips of the nose, the lips and the chin have been chipped off (modern damage). There are encrustations within the folds of his clothes. The figure has not been polished and tiny chisel marks are visible on the entire surface.

Figure R1: The horse at the left of the Figure Q (Fig. 79). The horse was represented only by the forefeet, neck and head. The right foreleg is raised, beneath which is a small dog looking up at the horse. The left foreleg is shown on the left side. Much less of this horse is shown compared to the Figure J1. The face of the horse has been broken off and only the right eye remained (ancient damage). The pupil of the right eye has been indicated. There are encrustations on the animal's right foreleg. The figure has not been polished and tiny chisel marks are visible on the entire surface.

Figure R2: The dog beneath the right forefoot of the horse Figure R 1 (Fig. 79). Its forelegs are stretched forward. All the feet of the dog are shown, however, the left rear foot is in lower relief than the other parts, as is its curved tail. It looks up at the horse, although its facial features are not clear. It has a collar on its neck and a ring of hair around the collar. The figure has not been polished and tiny chisel marks are visible on the entire surface.

4.5.4 Left Side

The left side is a composition of 3 figures; a female in the middle flanked by two males.

Figure S. Standing half-nude male figure (Fig. 80). The body is shown frontally, and the head is slightly turned to his left. The weight of the body is on the left leg, which is straight. The right leg is at ease, curved from the knee. The upper body is nude. The muscles of his abdomen are indicated. The right part of his abdomen has been chipped off (not obviously ancient damage). A *chlamys* is draped over the left shoulder tied with a conical brooch, and surrounds the lower body from the back and crosses diagonally to his left side to cover the upper part of the right leg from the front. The left arm is covered by the *chlamys*, and the left hand is holding the fold of the *chlamys* just below the waist level so as to cover the upper right leg and the genitals. The pubic hair is slightly visible above the cloth. The right arm is raised rightwards from the elbow, and the forefinger and the second finger of the right arm are stretched forward and the third and the fourth fingers are bent. The feet are bare and the little toes are bent over. The curly hair was cut short at the nape. He is beardless and young. The face does not have a portrait character, however, the facial features are clear. The pupils have not been carved. There are encrustations under his right arm.

Figure T. Standing veiled female figure in a *chiton* and a *himation* (Fig. 81). The weight of the body is on the right leg, the left leg is at ease and slightly curved from the knee. The body is shown frontally and the head is in profile, turned to her left. The right arm is wrapped in the *himation*, curved up from the elbow and the broken forefinger (ancient damage) of the right hand used to be touching her chin. The thumb of the right hand rests along her neck and the second, third and the fourth fingers are bent. The left arm is again wrapped in the *himation* and rests along the body horizontally from the left to the right side at the waist level. The left hand is holding a fold of the *himation* at the right side at the

waist level. She has *calcei* on her feet. The curly hair is visible at the front of the head. The facial features are clear, although do not demonstrate a portrait character. There are encrustations within the folds of her clothes.

Figure U. Standing young male (Fig. 82) in a belted short *chiton* and a *chlamys* draped on the right shoulder fastened with a conical brooch. The body and the head are slightly turned to his right. The weight of the body is on the right leg and left leg is at ease, curved from the knee. The right arm is curved up from the elbow, but the arm is broken just below the elbow (ancient damage). The left arm is within the *chlamys* and the left hand is holding a fold of *chlamys* at the waist level, slightly drawing it aside. He is wearing boots without laces. The hair was cut short at the nape. He is beardless and young. The face does not have a portrait character, however, the facial features are clear. The pupils have been indicated. There are encrustations under his right arm.

4.5.5. Lid

Figure V. *Putto* (?) seated at the corner of the mattress (Fig. 83). Only the legs, genitals and the lower stomach have remained which are parted and nude. On his right side is a head of a horse emerging from the edge of the mattress. The body of the horse is not preserved (ancient damage) except for the remains of two animal paws leaping behind the animal's neck: two more paws are visible some distance behind the horse. The body of the leaping animal has not been preserved either. On the left of the *putto*, there is the lower part of a folded cloth which he used to be wearing, probably a *chlamys*. The upper part of the cloth is missing (ancient damage). There are encrustations under his legs and on his feet.

Figure W. Two *erotes* facing each other, boxing (Fig. 84). Both are nude.

W1: The *eros* on the viewer's left (Fig. 84). The bent left leg is stretching forward and the straight right leg is behind. The arms are broken above the elbows, and the face is badly weathered. There are encrustations on his legs.

W2: The *eros* on the viewer's right (Fig. 84). The head is broken. The bent right leg is stretching forward and the straight left leg is behind. The left and the right arms are broken below and above the elbows, respectively. There are encrustations on his legs.

Figure X. *Putto* standing on the rail in front of the mattress (Fig. 85). He is on the left corner of the lid and is leaning to his left. The weight of the body is on the right leg, and the left leg is diagonally placed over the right leg. The toes of the left foot touch the ground at the right of the right foot. He is nude except for a *chlamys* draped over the right shoulder fastened with a conical brooch. The right arm is broken below the elbow. Under the left arm is a body of a bird (a goose?) the head of which is missing (ancient damage). On the left of the *putto* is a head of a horse emerging from the edge of the mattress. There are encrustations under his right arm and on his feet.

Figure Y1: Female figure reclining on the lid wearing a *chiton* and a *himation* (Fig. 64). She is turned to her left side leaning on her left elbow in a banqueting position. The left leg is bent below the right one and is not visible. The left hand is holding the fold of cloth falling over the mattress. The right arm is broken below the elbow (modern damage), and was probably holding the fold of cloth up. The marble was roughly blocked out for a portrait head, but it was never carved. There are encrustations within the folds of her clothes.

Figure Y2: Male figure reclining on the lid at the back of the female figure (Fig. 63). He is turned to his left side leaning on his left elbow in a banqueting

position. He is wearing a *chiton* and a *himation*. The right hand is on his wife's (?) right shoulder. The left hand is on the scroll on the mattress lying open before him. The head is broken off (ancient damage), and there is some modern damage on the shoulder. There is no indication that it was ever carved. There are encrustations within the folds of his clothes.

4.6 Composition

One of the most striking features of the Antakya Sarcophagus is the discrepancy of composition between the rear and the other three sides. On the front side and the short sides of the Antakya Sarcophagus, there are motionless seated and standing males and females. It is quite common to come across standing and seated males and females, and sometimes even standing children on “standard type” sarcophagi (Morey, 1924: 64-70; Wiegartz, 1965: 59-65; Koch, 2001: 171). These figures usually do not appear to reflect any symbolism or tell a story, unless they are mythological figures such as Hercules, Meleager, Daidalus and Icarus, and the Dioscuri, which is not the case with the Antakya Sarcophagus. As such, the front and the short sides of the Antakya Sarcophagus conform to the usual pattern of composition found on “standard type” sarcophagi.

On the rear side of the sarcophagus, however, a single hunting scene occupies all the available *aediculae* and bays, an exceptional composition among recorded Docimeum columnar sarcophagi (Koch, 2001: 171). There are a few examples which incorporate a continuous scene of hunting on one or two sides, and seated or standing figures on the other sides as with the; Athens A1 (A fragment incorrectly reconstructed by H. Wiegartz as part of a single sarcophagus- The Athens-London Sarcophagus- with other fragments from

London British Museum), Istanbul A (Selefkeh), Istanbul B (Sidemara), Istanbul I and Hierapolis A sarcophagi. It has been suggested that the balance of figures in movement and figures at rest is a 4th-century BC legacy (Elderkin, 1939: 104). One of the major funerary monuments of this era, the “Mausoleum” at Halikarnassos, for example, has friezes full of action and still figures standing among its columns (Mansel, 1999: 424- 429).

Among the columnar sarcophagi with hunting scenes, the Athens A1 (Fig. 86), Istanbul A (Selefkeh) (Fig. 22) and Istanbul I sarcophagi show the hunter on a horse with an attendant next to him, and they occupy one of the short sides. On the other hand, the Istanbul B and Hierapolis A sarcophagi have the hunting scene on their long sides as with the Antakya Sarcophagus. However, the hunting scene of the Istanbul B (Sidemara) Sarcophagus (Fig. 23) does not only occupy one of the long sides, but also one of the short sides. Moreover, on this example, the sides with the hunting scenes are not a “standard type”, but an “arcaded type” with continuous arches, unlike the two other sides. The common point between Istanbul B and the Antakya Sarcophagus is that they both depict a lion-hunt, an unusual theme on Asiatic columnar sarcophagi, which make the two examples exceptional.

The sarcophagus which is most similar to the Antakya sarcophagus with respect to the composition of the hunting scene is Hierapolis A (Fig. 87). This example is unfortunately very fragmentary and is reproduced in C. Morey’s catalogue only as a drawing (Morey, 1924: fig. 31). The hunter in the middle is mounted on a horse about to strike the prey, and he is flanked by four attendants (Wiegartz, 1965: 156). However, the prey is a boar instead of a lion.

Other than the hunting side, the other sides of Hierapolis A were probably similar to those of the Antakya Sarcophagus as well, although the fragmentary nature of this example has caused some dispute among scholars regarding the exact identification of the figures. For example, there is a nude heroized male in the middle *aedicula* of the second long side, a common point with the Antakya Sarcophagus. It is not clear however, whether he is flanked by four females, or two females and two males (Wiegartz, 1965: 156). There is also a tomb-portal on one of the short sides of Hierapolis A, but it is again disputed whether the figures flanking the portal are two females, or a male and a female (Wiegartz, 1965: 156). On the other short side, the identification is clear, there is a female in the middle flanked by two males, again a similar point to the Antakya Sarcophagus (Wiegartz, 1965: 156).

The fragmentary nature of the Hierapolis A, unfortunately, does not allow us to compare it with the Antakya Sarcophagus with respect to architectural ornamentation and thus suggest the relative chronology for the two examples. Thus, we will have to be content with the compositional similarity of them.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

5.1 The Use of Sarcophagi in Roman Period Burial Practices

Until the 130's, the Roman Empire can be divided into two parts according to the prevailing burial practices: cremation in the west and inhumation in the east (Fig. 88) (Morris, 1992: 52). In the eastern Greek-speaking world, inhumation in wooden or stone sarcophagi had always been the usual form of burial in the Classical period (Davies, 1999: 149). On the other hand, cremation was the rule in the western empire until the 2nd century AD, when the burial customs began to change and inhumation became more common (Walker, 1985: 10; Morris, 1992: 53).

There are disagreements about the reasons for this change in funerary practice. It has been suggested that from the 2nd century AD onwards, there was a belief in the immortality of the soul, influenced by Christianity and other mystery religions, and accordingly an interest in the "preservation" of the deceased by using more elaborate memorials (McCann, 1978: 20). Another theory is that inhumation in sarcophagi was a Greek fashion spread consciously by the philhellene emperors Hadrian and Marcus Aurelius (who even wrote his "*Meditations*" in Greek (Morris, 1992: 59)) (Walker, 1985: 17; Davies, 1999: 150). A third theory is that the practice of inhumation spread from the east to the

west allegedly after the aristocracy there perceived the new custom as reflecting their position in imperial society (Morris, 1992: 54, 61).

Whatever the reason, the change in the funerary customs in the west caused an expansion in the demand of the production and the trade of elaborately decorated marble sarcophagi from the 2nd century onwards (Kleiner, 1992: 256; Davies, 1999: 156). These sarcophagi reflect a set of values and beliefs embedded in their elaborate ornamentation, a system of symbolism to be read by the Romans (Koortbojian, 1995: 158; Davies, 1999: 157).

5.2 Funerary Rites, Sacrifice and the Two Figures next to the Tomb Portal

Before presenting the various suggestions about the identification of the two figures next to the tomb portal on the Docimeum columnar sarcophagi, it is necessary to discuss the religious symbolism related to burial rituals conveyed by these figures.

First of all, as explained below, the figures on the Docimeum sarcophagi have late Classical and Hellenistic prototypes in terms of stances, motives, gestures and dresses (Stryzowski, 1907: 111; Elderkin, 1939: 104-105; Strong, 1961: 46; Strong, 1995: 192; Ramage and Ramage, 1995: 229). In that case, it is likely that the figures next to the tomb portal on the Asiatic sarcophagi reflected the funerary rituals of Greek-speaking eastern part of the empire, a region within which local and Greek artistic traditions remained deeply rooted and highly popular.

On the other hand, a considerable number of the Asiatic columnar sarcophagi were exported to west (Table 1), and it is very likely that the

westerners bought these sarcophagi not only for their elaborate decoration but also because of the funerary symbolism that appealed to their own interests.

In fact, Greek and Roman funerary practices have many common points, and they must have mingled with each other even more in the 2nd-and 3rd-century eastern Roman Empire, where it was probably difficult to differentiate which practice was “Greek” and which was “Roman” (Strong, 1961: 47). For example, according to literary evidence, various stages of the funerary ceremonies, such as the offering of gifts; making libations for the deceased; funerary sacrifices; and the funerary banquets are common in both Greek and Roman rituals (Toynbee, 1971: 42; Burket, 1985: 192; Davies, 1999: 152).

Greek funerary rituals were composed of mainly three steps: the laying out of the corpse (*prothesis*); the carrying out (*ekphora*); and the funeral proper (Burket, 1985: 192). The funeral proper started by offering gifts- such as jewellery for women and weapons for men- to the deceased, and placing a coin in the mouth so that she or he could pay the ferrying fee of Charon (Burket, 1985: 192). Next, sacrifices and libations were made for the deceased, and as a final step, food was eaten at the graveside, or in later times, at the house of the deceased (Burket, 1985: 193). The deceased was often imagined to be at the funerary feast, as the grave reliefs with *Totenmahl* scenes show. One example of such a grave relief is from Samos (Fig. 89), showing the funerary sacrifice on the left and the feast on the right.

In the Roman Empire, the funerals varied according to the social rank of the deceased person. The public funerals, *funus publicum*, were for individuals who had made a significant service to their cities, and they were practised by officiants and politicians, by inviting all citizens (Toynbee, 1971: 55; Davies,

1999: 144). On the other hand, the funerals for “ordinary” citizens, *funus translaticum*, were quite similar to Greek funerals. The main emphasis in these funerals, of whatever kind, was getting rid of the pollution brought by death and performing the necessary rituals to propitiate the gods (Toynbee, 1971: 43).

At the *funus translaticum*, the ceremonies began by the gathering of the closest relatives at the funeral house. The deceased were given a last kiss (usually by the mother if she was alive), and the body was washed, laid out on a bier, provided with Charon’s fee and was carried to the grave (Toynbee, 1971: 43; Davies, 1999: 149). At intervals, the relatives lamented for the deceased until the body was cremated or inhumed. In the case of the funerals of the upper (rich) classes, these preparations would take as long as seven days, and the funeral proper would be conducted by professional undertakers (*libitinarii*), and gravediggers (*fossores*), and the masters of all these people and the ceremonies (*dissignatores*) (Toynbee, 1971: 45).

Once in the grave, the family would throw earth onto the corpse, if it were to be inhumed, after offering some gifts for the deceased. The ceremonies at the grave continued after the deceased was inhumed with the sacrifices, and after returning from the grave, the relatives performed a purification rite by fire and water, *suffitio* (Toynbee, 1971: 50). These steps were usually followed by the funerary feasts, *silicernium*, eaten on the day of the funeral, and *cena novendralis*, eaten on the ninth day, the end of the mourning period, when also a libation to *Manes* was poured on the burial (Toynbee, 1971: 50; Ferguson, 1982: 134).

Given the basic funerary rituals of Greeks and Romans, it is now possible to present some suggestions about the identification of the figures next to the

tomb portal on the Docimeum columnar sarcophagi. On the Antakya Sarcophagus, there is a female (Figure F) at the right of the portal with an incense box in her hand, leading a sacrificial animal to the altar; and a male (Figure I) at the left of the portal, making a libation at the altar with the *patera* on his right hand, and a scroll on his left.

From the Greek point of view, Figure I on the Antakya Sarcophagus could be identified as someone related to the deceased, perhaps a relative, joining the libation ritual. From the Roman point of view, on the other hand, he could either be a relative of the deceased or an officiant in charge of, probably, the *suffitio* rite. The aristocratic family of the deceased who ordered the expensive sarcophagus might have arranged a *funus publicum*, and have performed the funerary rituals under the supervision of officiants. Thus the carvers of the Antakya Sarcophagus, and some other columnar sarcophagi with the same figure type, anticipating their use for the funerals of rich customers, may have chosen to depict an officiant in the libation scene.

Similar libation and offering scenes are seen on Roman reliefs that show emperors as main officiants in charge of the ceremony. For example on a panel from the triumphal “Arch of Marcus Aurelius” (Fig. 90), dating to AD 176, the emperor is shown wearing a toga with a covered head, the appropriate ceremonial dress, offering a libation at the altar. Next to the emperor are a musician, an attendant (*camillus*) with an incense box, and a *victimarius*, “an assistant at a sacrifice who slaughtered the animal victim” (Kleiner, 1992: 144; Beard et al, 1998: 149). In another relief, on the “Arch of Argentarii” in Rome, the emperor, Septimius Severus, clad in a toga with a covered head, is the main officiant, and

he and his wife his wife Julia Domna are depicted as offering sacrifices at the altar (Fig. 91).

The scenes on these reliefs show that the main officiant in charge of the ceremonies offering libations or sacrifices was dressed distinctively, such as a toga with a covered head. Although the libation offering scene on the Antakya Sarcophagus is similar to those on Roman reliefs, Figure I wears a Greek *himation* with an uncovered head, which might suggest that the scene represents a Greek funeral. Accordingly, Figure I most probably represents a relative of the deceased, as it was the family of the deceased who were mainly in charge of practicing the rituals in Greek funerals (Toynbee, 1971: 43). His beard, himation and the scroll in this hand may be alluding to the cultural and philosophical pursuits of the dead man (Wiegartz, 1965: 84; Toynbee, 1965: 104; Ferguson, 1982: 142).

There have been other suggestions about the identification of the male figures next to tomb portals on the Docimeum columnar sarcophagi. In the case of the Rome K (Palazzo Torlonia) Sarcophagus (Fig. 7), for example, the figure next to the tomb portal has been identified as the son of the deceased coming to the tomb with offerings (Ferguson, 1982: 141). However, there is no direct evidence that the Palazzo Torlonia figure is a son of the deceased, as he could be any other close relative. Moreover, the male figures on the Antakya and the Palazzo Torlonia Sarcophagi are totally different from each other. The male figure on the latter is nude, beardless and is holding a ram's head in his left hand and a staff in his right (Morey, 1924: 48), while the male figure (Figure I) on the Antakya Sarcophagus wears a *himation*, has a beard, and holds a scroll in his left

hand. Thus the Antakya Sarcophagus Figure I could represent any close relative of the deceased.

The identification of the female figures on the tomb portal scenes is even more complicated. For the Palazzo Torlonia Sarcophagus, the female figure next to the portal has been identified as the daughter of the deceased (Ferguson, 1982: 141), and in the case of the Istanbul B (Sidemara) Sarcophagus (Fig. 23), it has been suggested that the female figure is Helen, the sister of the Dioscuri, Castor and Pollux (Elderkin, 1939: 108). The female figures on the Antakya, Istanbul B, and Palazzo Torlonia Sarcophagi are quite similar to each other in dress and pose. They are wearing *himatia* that cover their heads and holding offering objects: on the Istanbul B a plate of offerings (Morey 1924: 43); on the Palazzo Torlonia; and on the Antakya Sarcophagus an incense box (Morey 1924: 48). The only main difference between the three is that the female figure (Figure F) on the Antakya Sarcophagus is also leading a sacrificial animal (Fig. 72). The female figure next to the tomb-portal on Istanbul B could be Helen, as there are figures identified as *Dioscuri* on one of the long sides of the sarcophagus (Elderkin, 1939: 107). There is however, no indication to suggest that the females on the Palazzo Torlonia and the Antakya sarcophagi are meant to be Helen, as no figures can safely be identified as *Dioscuri* on these two. On the other hand, there is no evidence that the females next to the portal represent the daughters of the deceased. They may simply represent the participants at the funerary ceremony, daughters or other relatives, bringing offerings to the altar.

There are, in fact, numerous Greek and Roman depictions where women are shown bringing offerings to the grave stelae, expressing their sorrow, or participating in religious ceremonies. Greek examples mostly show women

bringing offerings to stelae, with or without covered heads. On a white *lekythos*, a woman offers an *alabastron* and a wreath to the grave stele (Fig. 92). On another, a woman with a covered head mourns before the grave stele (Fig. 93). On the other hand, there are many Roman examples that show women participating in religious ceremonies with covered heads, such as the Antakya Sarcophagus Figure F. This is probably to signify the sacredness of the event, that it is a sacrifice, or to emphasize the respectfulness of the women and their maternal status (Kleiner and Matheson, 1996: 99). One example of veiled females participating in a public sacrificial procession is on the south frieze of the “Ara Pacis Augustae” (Fig. 94), where the participants show their piety by covering their heads (Kleiner, 1992: 94; Kleiner and Matheson, 1996: 99). There are also depictions of women with offerings in their hands, such as on the “Arch of Marcus Aurelius” quoted above, and the “Arch of Septimius Severus” at Lepcis Magna (Fig. 95) which shows Julia Domna, wife of Septimius Severus, with an incense box in her hand on (Beard et. al, 1998: 150).

It might be concluded, therefore, that the female Figure F and the male Figure I on the Antakya Sarcophagus were most probably intended to represent relatives of the deceased.

5.3 Tomb Portal

A common (or essential (Rodenwaldt, 1933: 194)) feature of the Asiatic sarcophagi is the tomb portal placed on one of the short sides (Kleiner 1992: 306; Ferguson 1982: 134; Toynbee 1971: 272). In some sources, it has been suggested that the “left” short side is always the one at the feet of the reclining couple and that the front of the sarcophagus can be determined accordingly (Morey 1924: 34;

Wiegartz 1965: 15). It has also been suggested in other sources that the tomb portal is normally on the left short side, at the feet of the reclining couple (Koch and Sichtermann, 1982: 503). These suggestions certainly do not fit the Antakya Sarcophagus, whose portal is on the right side, at the head of the reclining people. The same arrangement is the case for Antalya N (Sarcophagus of Domitias Filiskas) (Fig. 96). It is possible that the Antakya Sarcophagus and Antalya N are exhibited in the museums with their lids placed on the wrong direction. For the Antakya Sarcophagus, as mentioned before, the museum officers cannot give any information whether the lid was actually found as placed in the direction it now is. However, the unfinished nature of the side with the hunting scene indicates that this side was to the rear, and testifies to the correctness of the lid's current position. Consequently, the Antakya Sarcophagus suggests there are exceptions to the rule that the tomb portal is always on the left side, and at the feet of the reclining couple.

The tomb portal, within the architectural frame, is always closed and the long rectangular panels are usually undecorated, and sometimes the surface was left entirely smooth (Lawrence, 1958: 273). On the Antakya Sarcophagus, the tomb-portal is divided into two long rectangular panels, otherwise left unmoulded.

The Romans had a widespread belief in the afterlife, and the tomb was perceived as the house of the dead (*domus aeternae*) (Wiegartz, 1965: 24; Ferguson, 1982: 134). The Docimeum columnar sarcophagi in particular, with the columns forming an architectural frame for the tomb, may have been thought of as a house or a temple for the dead (Cormack, 1997: 147). Accordingly, the door motif represented the door of the tomb itself, as well as the “door of death” or the

“Gates of Hades” through which the dead soul must pass (Ferguson, 1982: 134; Lawrence, 1958: 276; Morey, 1924: 67).

For the origins of the tomb portal on the Docimeum sarcophagi, it has been suggested that the motif could have been ultimately derived from Egypt, where the tomb chamber in the Old Kingdom Mastabas have a painted door before which people could stand and place their offerings (Lawrence, 1958: 276). In addition, Etruscan ossuaries and sarcophagi, as well as Roman cinerary urns and sepulchral altars commonly have tomb portals (Lawrence, 1958: 277). It is, however, tempting to look for the immediate predecessors of the motif on the Docimeum sarcophagi in Phrygia itself, as numerous Phrygian grave-stones are decorated with a door motif (Ferrari, 1966: 76- 95; Waelkens 1982: 105, 106; Koch and Sichtermann, 1982: 498; Walker, 1985: 33-34; Waelkens, 1986).

5.4 Seated and Standing Figures

There have been many suggestions about the origins and identification of the seated and standing figures on the Docimeum columnar sarcophagi. The first suggestion is related to the identification of the seated figures, and argues that they are the representations of the people buried in the tomb (Akurgal, 1987: 148; Kılınc, 2000: 103). The second suggestion is about the origins of the seated figures, and argues that they derive from the Lycian prototypes as with those on the “Sarcophagus of Dereimis and Aischylos” (Fig. 97) (Rodewaldt, 1940: 45). On that specific example, it is assumed that the male and female seated face to face on both pediments of the gabled lid represent the deceased couple (İdil, 1985: 79-80). Another Lycian prototype for the seated deceased people is on the

“Harpy Tomb” at Xanthos, where two deceased ladies are represented with lively youths on the west side frieze (Fig. 98) (Akurgal, 1961: 134).

A third suggestion is again related to the origins of the figures on the Docimeum columnar sarcophagi, and argues that these figures have prototypes in late Classical and Hellenistic statuary. According to the argument, for example, some male figures are Lysippean types (Strzygowski, 1907: 111; Elderkin, 1939: 104). However, as mentioned above in the “Dimensions” section, the 1/7 head/body proportion of the figures on the Antakya Sarcophagus make them closer to the “Doryphoros” of Polyclitus (Fig. 44), rather than the “Apoxyomenos” of Lysippos (Fig. 45), which has a 1/8 proportion of head/body (Bruneau, 2002: 68).

However, seeing the prototypes of the seated and standing figures of the Docimeum sarcophagi in Hellenistic statuary is more convincing, as the poses, motives and dresses of these figures have very similar Hellenistic counterparts. First of all, the female standing figures of the Docimeum sarcophagi show clear affiliations to the matronly draped women of the Hellenistic age in terms of dress and pose. For example, one can compare the Figure D on the Antakya Sarcophagus (Fig. 70) to the “Large” and “Small Herculaneum Goddesses”, whose right arms are within the fold of *himation* and left arms resting beside the body (Fig. 99) (Smith, 1991: 75). Likewise, Figure T of the Antakya Sarcophagus has a pose similar to those of the Cleopatra (Fig. 100) and Diadora (Fig. 101) from Delos. This is the “pudicitia” pose, with one arm resting under the breasts, and the other raised to the face, representing the *sophrosyne* of the woman, meaning dignity and discretion (Smith, 1991: 84; Reeder, 1995: 123).

The seated and standing male figures of the Docimeum sarcophagi also have Hellenistic counterparts. The bearded and himation-wearing philosopher type figures are mostly represented seated and contemplating, sometimes standing, and carrying scrolls in their hands (Smith, 1991: 34). The seated Chrysippos (Fig. 102) and the standing philosopher from Capitoline (Fig. 103) are examples of the philosopher type. When these examples are compared to the Antakya Sarcophagus bearded male figures (Figures B, E, and I), the immediate difference between them is that the philosopher statues do not wear a *chiton* under the *himation* (Smith, 1991: 35). However, their full beards, untidy hair and *himatia* and the bearded male figures on the Docimeum sarcophagi represent a similar “man of intellect” image. In addition to that similarity, the *lingulae* Chrysippos is wearing on his feet are notable for their resemblance to those of the Figures B, E and I on the Antakya Sarcophagus.

The bearded male figures on the Docimeum sarcophagi could also be identified as poets, as they also have counterparts from the Hellenistic Period. An example is the statue of “Poseidippos”, a comic poet, wearing a *chiton* and a *himation*, seated on a chair and holding a scroll in his hand (Fig. 104) (Smith, 1991: 39). Although the poet-type figures are mostly beardless, their poses and the scrolls they carry in their hands are similar to those of the seated males of the Docimeum sarcophagi, as for example, Figure E on the Antakya Sarcophagus.

It has been suggested that these people wearing *himatia* and carrying scrolls in their hands on the Docimeum sarcophagi are intended to show men with an interest in philosophical pursuits and are connected to the Roman religious thought (Wiegartz, 1965: 84; Toynbee, 1965: 104; Ferguson, 1982: 142). In Roman religion it was thought that philosophers or poets symbolise the

cultural pursuits by which the deceased might gain immortality or reach celestial wisdom (Toynbee, 1965: 104). With his interest in philosophy, a person understands this world and beyond (Wiegartz, 1965: 65). He then takes the humane qualifications that he had acquired through philosophy or poetry to the heavenly places (Nock and Beazley, 1946: 143).

Having presented the general suggestions about the seated and standing figures on the Docimeum sarcophagi, now it is time to turn to a more detailed analysis of the figures on the Antakya Sarcophagus and their discussion. It has already been mentioned that the female standing figures of the Antakya Sarcophagus represent matronly dignity, like their Hellenistic counterparts. Moreover it has been mentioned that the philosopher/poet type is represented by three figures on the Antakya Sarcophagus: Figures B, E, and I. Figure I has already been identified as a relative of the deceased responsible for the libation ritual. He is bearded and holds a scroll in his left hand, so he could be identified as a philosopher/poet type figure, a “man of culture” (Walker, 1990: 51). Figure B, a bearded male wearing a chiton and himation also appears to be a philosopher/poet type figure (Wiegartz, 1965: 84), although it is not known whether he held a scroll in his broken right hand or not.

The seated Figure E creates the most discussion. He is certainly a philosopher/poet type, with his beard and teaching-like gesture. He and Figure D next to him (Fig. 105) make up a composition similar to that on a fragment of a columnar sarcophagus now in the British Museum (Fig. 106) (Walker, 1990: 51). On that fragment, a seated man (turned right unlike the Antakya Figure E, who is turned left) reads from a half-opened scroll to a mask-holding Muse *Thalia* standing next to him (Walker, 1990: 51). He sits on a lion-paw legged chair, very

similar to that of the Antakya Sarcophagus. Although the composition of the seated poet with his Muse standing and listening to him is quite analogous to the composition of Figure D and E on the Antakya Sarcophagus, there is no indication (a mask, lyre, scroll etc.) that Figure D is a Muse. On the other hand, she could originally have been holding a scroll in her left hand, on the basis of another fragment, London G (Fig. 86), as reconstructed by H. Wiegartz into the Athens-London Sarcophagus. The motives and the drapery styles of Antakya Figure D and London G are very similar to each other, with the right arms within the fold of *himation* and left arms resting beside the body. If Antakya Figure D was holding a scroll in her hand, then she could possibly be identified as a Muse, making the theme of the Antakya Figure D and E similar to the British Museum fragment. However, the British Museum fragment differs from Figures D and E on the Antakya Sarcophagus in one specific way, for it shows the seated male in the middle *aedicula*, while he occupies the right corner on the Antakya Sarcophagus.

Although Figure E can be identified as a philosopher/poet type figure, this identification becomes more complex when his position relative to Figure A (Fig. 42) is taken into consideration. Seated male and female figures on the Docimeum sarcophagi, such as Figure A and Figure E on the Antakya Sarcophagus, have been identified before as representations of the deceased couple (Akurgal, 1987: 148; Kılınç, 2000: 103; Wiegartz, 1965: 110, 113). H. Wiegartz also argued that the seated couples are representations of the deceased (Wiegartz, 1965: 103).

However, Wiegartz's chronology concerning the seated figures presents a problem. He argued that seated females appear only on the earlier sarcophagi, the latest being on Ankara A (Synnada) Sarcophagus (Fig. 114), dated by him to AD

205, and that the philosophical figures are seen only on later sarcophagi (Wiegartz, 1965: 113, Tafel 47). It will be argued in Chapter VI that the Antakya Sarcophagus is dated to AD 215-25 according to Wiegartz's chronology based on architectural ornamentation, in which case it is not possible to accept Wiegartz's conclusions about the chronology of the seated females. The only possibility of resolving this paradox is to accept that females could be represented as seated on later sarcophagi (after AD 205), and they, with their male counterparts, are contemplating couples rather than philosophers (as philosophy was for males only) (Wiegartz, 1965: 133). The exact identification of the Antakya Figures A and E remain for a future study, as resolving this controversial issue about the figure types on columnar sarcophagi is beyond the specific aim of this thesis.

5.5 Hunting Scene

Hunting scenes on columnar sarcophagi are continuations of a long and colorful tradition of funerary symbolism in ancient art, which began as early as the 5th century BC (Anderson, 1985: 70). On Attic *lekythoi* vases of this period, which were intended to be buried in the grave, there are representations of youths hunting hares among the tombs, which might signify that the dead youth loved hunting (Anderson, 1985: 71). At this period, the mythological stories of Hippolytus, Meleager and Adonis were already well appreciated (Erhat, 1999: 11, 145, 202). This is also the period when Herodotus recorded the story of Croisus and his son Atys, who was killed during a boar hunt. Atys's courage of going to the hunt in spite of his father's dream that he would be killed by an iron weapon, is highly praised by Herodotus (*Herodotus*, 1.37- 39) (Anderson, 1985: 70).

Hunting acquired a different signifying under the Persian rule in western Anatolia. It was then perceived as one of the most praiseworthy qualifications of the dead man when he was alive, by which he wins a triumph over death (Anderson, 1985: 71). The Lycians and Carians, continuing the Greek tradition, buried their rulers in massive and elaborate tombs, the best known of which is the “Mausoleum” at Halicarnassus (Fig. 11). The sculpted reliefs on these tombs depicted sacrifices, processions, battles and hunting, all meaning that the dead ruler was as glorious as his ancestors in this world and will continue to be so in the afterlife (Anderson, 1985: 73).

The same meaning of glory can be seen on the “Satrap Sarcophagus” (Fig. 107) dating to c.430 BC and belonging to a king of Sidon. The king here is represented on horseback throwing a javelin at a panther (Anderson, 1985: 75). The funerary symbolism is conveyed through other sarcophagi of this period, the most elaborate being the so-called “Alexander Sarcophagus” (Fig. 21), carved in the late 4th century BC. The hunting scenes on one of the long and one of the short sides of this sarcophagus were probably intended to recall the tradition of royal hunting (Anderson, 1985: 76).

In the 1st century BC and 1st century AD Roman period, original Roman pictorial representations of hunting are strikingly poor in number and quality (Anderson, 1985: 95). The Romans of this period wanted to see the Greek depictions of the hunt and valued a representation of Meleager more than a contemporary Roman-produced hunting scene. With the reign of Hadrian, who loved chasing game on horseback, contemporary hunting scenes gained prominence in the arts (Anderson, 1985: 102; Kleiner, 1992: 306). Hadrian’s hunting achievements were even commemorated on a series of tondi, later

incorporated into the “Arch of Constantine” in Rome (Fig. 108) (Anderson, 1985: 103; Kleiner, 1992: 306). Moreover, from the time of Hadrian onwards, the hunt as part of funerary symbolism reestablished its position on sarcophagi, the usual form of burial in the 2nd and 3rd century AD (Strong, 1961: 49; Walker, 1985: 10; Anderson, 1985: 126).

In the 3rd century in particular, hunt sarcophagi were produced abundantly in Italy, and are included in the *Menschenleben* (biographical) type of sarcophagi (Kleiner, 1992: 390). Among these hunt sarcophagi, the lion hunt, produced between AD 220-80, is the most abundantly carved theme (Strong, 1961: 67; Kleiner, 1992: 39). These sarcophagi depict the departure to the hunt and the hunt itself. It has been suggested that the lion hunt theme on these sarcophagi derives from the boar hunt of Meleager, Hippolytus, and Adonis, but they are clearly Roman in style (Kleiner, 1992: 392).

There have been many suggestions regarding the symbolism of the hunt scene on sarcophagi. The most immediate suggestion that the others stem from is that the *virtus* of the deceased is emphasized by the hunt scene (Nock and Beazley, 1946: 157; Strong, 1961: 69; Strong, 1995: 257). One related suggestion is that the Romans held success in the hunt and triumph over death equal to each other (Kleiner, 1992: 306). Accordingly, the beast, especially the lion, which the hunter overcomes represents the death over which the dead man triumphs (Ferguson, 1982: 146; Kleiner, 1992: 391). A final suggestion is that the hunt scenes simply represent the struggle and adventure in this life and in the other (Nock and Beazley, 1946: 163; Ferguson, 1982: 146).

For the Docimeum columnar sarcophagi, on the other hand, the lion-hunt theme is very uncommon. So far, there are only two representations of a lion-hunt

theme on these sarcophagi, on Istanbul B (Sidemara) (Fig. 23) and on the Antakya Sarcophagus. The lion hunt scene of the Istanbul B differs from that of the Antakya Sarcophagus in a number of ways: the scene was set on an “arcaded type” chest, rather than a columnar one; the composition consists of five horsemen, while there is a single horseman on the Antakya Sarcophagus; and finally, Istanbul B is much later (dated to AD 250-5). In spite of these differences between the two sarcophagi, the rarity of the lion-hunt theme on Asiatic columnar sarcophagi testifies to the exceptional nature of the Istanbul B and the Antakya sarcophagi.

Although the proposed time span of the Antakya Sarcophagus (AD 215-25) allows the possibility that it was influenced by the Italian 3rd-century lion-hunt sarcophagi, this is not likely for two reasons. To begin with, none of the examples of the Italian lion-hunt sarcophagi are columnar, instead, they are carved as continuous friezes. In addition, there is a difference in composition between the Italian and Asiatic hunt sarcophagi: the Italian sarcophagi show the departure to the hunt and the actual hunt as sequential scenes, and the mounted hunter is usually accompanied by *Virtus*, by whose urging he gets ready to throw his javelin. However, on the Antakya Sarcophagus, only the actual hunt is depicted and the mounted hunter is accompanied by a male attendant (Kleiner, 1992: 390). The composition and figure types on the Docimeum sarcophagi and the Antakya Sarcophagus in particular are in fact influenced by a totally different tradition than the Italian sarcophagi, mingling together Greek, Roman and local iconography. The funerary symbolism, however, is probably the same for the 3rd century Italian lion-hunt sarcophagi and the Antakya Sarcophagus.

5.6 Banqueting couple

Some of the 2nd-and 3rd-century Docimeum sarcophagi have reclining couples (often a male and a female (Cormack, 1997: 146)) on their lids (Toynbee, 1971: 272). Their predecessors could be sought on the Etruscan ossuaries and sarcophagi (Fig. 109), and the *kline* monuments of freedman in Julio-Claudian times (Kleiner, 1992: 306; Cormack, 1997: 145). This feature of the late Asiatic sarcophagi is also shared by the late Attic sarcophagi, unlike the earlier Asiatic and Attic sarcophagi, which have gabled lids (Walker, 1985: 22, 36). The reclining figures were most probably intended to carry portraits of the deceased, who commissioned the sarcophagus (Walker, 1985: 23). These portraits are unfortunately either missing or unfinished in most cases, as on the Antakya Sarcophagus.

The reclining figures are in a banqueting position, representing the funerary banquet eaten at the graveside (Strong, 1978: 678; Davies, 1999: 152). The funerary banquet was a feast given by Etruscans, Greek and Romans alike, and was shared with the dead (e.g. through holes sometimes cut in the lids (Walker, 1985: 11)). It represents the heavenly banquet, a condition of the existence of the soul of the deceased in the Elysian fields (Elderkin, 1939: 110; Nock and Beazley, 1946: 145).

As noted above, it has been suggested that sarcophagi were thought to be houses of the dead (Elderkin, 1939: 104; Wiegartz, 1965: 24), or temples for them (Cormack, 1997: 147). If these suggestions are accepted, depicting people reclining on the roofs of the temples or houses creates a paradox. One suggestion for resolving that paradox is that lids with reclining people most probably became common after the tomb was no longer considered a temple or a house (Elderkin,

1939: 110). Another suggestion is the idea of heroizing the dead by placing them above the temple or the house (Wiegartz, 1965: 24). Either way, it may be more reasonable to see the tomb-chests as imitating contemporary buildings like *propylaea*, *nymphaea* and *scaenae frontes*, rather than temples (Cormack, 1997: 147).

It is very common to come across an open scroll in front of the male banqueter on the lids of the Docimeum columnar sarcophagi, which is the case with the Antakya Sarcophagus. It has been suggested that with the addition of the scroll, the banquet became a literary event and the scroll could even indicate that the deceased was a poet (Elderkin, 1939: 110). The fact that the scroll motif is seen quite frequently on the Docimeum sarcophagi (either in front of the reclining male, or in the hands of the seated or standing philosopher/poet type male figures on the chest of the sarcophagus) refutes the idea that the scroll means in all cases that the deceased was a poet. It is more likely that the scroll alludes to the qualities of the deceased. By learning the gifts of the Muses- poetry or philosophy- he becomes more humane, a qualification that leads him to heavenly places (Nock and Beazley, 1946: 143).

On the whole, we might conclude that the banqueting couple on the lid serves two purposes: as an effigy of the commissioner-deceased, and the deceased ritually sharing the funerary banquet with the family members.

5.7 Erotes and Putti

Before the production of the Docimeum columnar sarcophagi, the workshops of the Eastern Empire, like those at Mount Pentellicus, Proconessus and Docimeum, often produced sarcophagi with *erotes* carrying garlands. Indeed,

even the entire sarcophagi could be devoted to playing *erotes* (Walker, 1985: 22, 34). The theme of *erotes* goes back to the Hellenistic period and it has been suggested that the Hellenistic interest in children created the *eros* motif in arts (Nock and Beazley, 1946: 143; Ferguson, 1982: 145).

On the Antakya Sarcophagus, the acroteria of the lunette pediments are decorated with *erotes* playing with felines (Fig. 54, 57, 58, 59). Besides, two corners of the mattress on the lid are decorated with seated and standing *putti* (Fig. 83, 85), while two boxing *erotes* (Fig. 84) stand on the rail. The *erotes* and *putti* on sarcophagi are thought to represent the soul, and its happiness and playfulness in the other world (Elderkin, 1939: 110; Wiegartz, 1965: 24; Ferguson, 1982: 145). It has also been suggested that the boxing *erotes* (Figures W1 and W2 on the Antakya Sarcophagus) makes one recall the fame of *Dioscuri*, and especially Pollux, as boxers (Elderkin, 1939: 110).

5.8 Sea Animals

The lids of many Docimeum columnar sarcophagi are decorated with sea monsters, sea-griffins, tritons, dolphins and other real or imaginary sea creatures (Koch and Sichterman, 1982: 506). The lid of the Antakya Sarcophagus is also decorated with dolphins and capricorns. It has been suggested that the sea animal motif was used on the sarcophagi with the belief that the animal would accompany the deceased soul to the Isles of the Blessed (Nock and Beazley, 1946: 167; Lawrence, 1962: 294; Ferguson, 1982: 138, 144).

CHAPTER VI

DATING

Proposing a date for the Antakya Sarcophagus is difficult for a number of reasons. First of all, it has no inscription that might indicate a date. Second, as explained in Chapter IV, the coins found in the sarcophagus cannot be used to determine the production date of the sarcophagus. The earliest coin dating to AD 241, if it was minted at Rome, does not provide a *terminus ante quem*. The sarcophagus could have been produced later than that date, and the deceased could have been offered an aureus kept under the possession of his/her family for years after it was issued, as it was a common practice to keep aurei as prestige objects in the 3rd century (Bland, 1996: 65). Likewise, the latest dated coin, that of Gallienus, dating to AD 260-1, only shows that the sarcophagus could not have been finally closed before this date. The sarcophagus could have been produced before 260-1, and could have waited to be finally closed with the other burials in it. It could also have been produced later than that date, though less likely, as the production of the Docimeum columnar sarcophagi ended around 260-70 (Wiegartz, 1965: 31; Waelkens, 1982: 71), and the deceased could have been offered aurei dating much earlier than the date they died. Moreover, it is theoretically possible that the coins are from a secondary burial, especially when there is ancient damage on the lid and the chest.

A third difficulty in dating is that while a number of sarcophagi have portrait heads on lids, which can be dated with some confidence by the hair and beard styles, this possibility does not exist for the Antakya Sarcophagus, as one head on the lid is missing and the other is unfinished. The hair and the beard styles of the figures on the chest of the sarcophagus could not be used with the same certainty to determine the date, since the artisans might have used generic and traditional hair styles on the chests- unless these figures have a portrait character- as they used standard figure types, gestures, motives, compositions, etc., that have late Classical and Hellenistic prototypes.

Under these circumstances, we have to rely basically on stylistic analyses and comparanda material for the dating of the Antakya Sarcophagus. But even so, there are other difficulties related to the stylistic predictions and comparanda. One is that most of the columnar sarcophagi are too fragmentary and too poorly preserved to allow a thorough idea of their ornamentation and figure types. Another difficulty is in finding clear photographs of the relevant sarcophagi, indeed for most of them, finding any photographs at all; the available catalogues are mostly content with giving brief descriptions alone (Morey, 1924; Wiegartz, 1965).

One final difficulty is fitting the Antakya Sarcophagus into the prevailing accepted chronology for the Docimeum columnar sarcophagi (Fig. 110). As explained in Chapter II, the chronology proposed by H. Wiegartz for the Docimeum columnar sarcophagi is accepted by M. Waelkens and G. Koch and Sichtermann (Wiegartz, 1965; Waelkens, 1982: 7; Koch and Sichtermann, 1982: 507), yet there are controversial points about this chronology (to be discussed below) which, of course, makes the dating of the Antakya Sarcophagus on

stylistic grounds difficult. The chronology of Wiegartz, however, will be accepted in general terms, and taken here as the basis for proposing a date for the Antakya Sarcophagus, as there is no alternative chronology that is coherent and that includes the new finds since 1965.

Wiegartz's chronology of columnar sarcophagi is based principally on the stylistic developments in architectural ornamentation, the depth of drill holes, and the density of light- and-shade effect, and is dated by the changing hair styles of the portraits on some lids (Wiegartz, 1965: 27-33; Waelkens, 1982: 7). In this chronology, there are specific sarcophagi that constitute absolute comparanda material for dating the development sequence of the columnar sarcophagi. Among these, two sarcophagi are dated with confidence according to the hair styles of the portraits on the lid. One of them is the Melfi Sarcophagus (Fig. 51), dated to AD 165-70, and the other is Istanbul G (the Sarcophagus of Claudia Antonia Sabina) (Fig. 111), dated to AD 185-90 (Delbrueck, 1913: 277-308; Morey, 1924: 17; Wiegartz, 1965: 27). After Istanbul G, Istanbul C (Izmit) (Fig. 112) and Iznik S (Iznik- Nikaia) (Fig. 113) are considered to be the next stages in development and were dated to c.AD 190 and c.AD 200, respectively, according to their architectural ornamentation. The multiple motifs of egg mouldings and the segments of lesbian cyma above the capitals of each of these sarcophagi constitute a common point in the architectural ornamentation of them.

Ankara A (Synnada) (Fig. 114) is believed to be the next in chronological order, dating to c.AD 205, and this sarcophagus marks a "style change" among the columnar sarcophagi (Wiegartz, 1965: 32). Here, a single egg moulding and a single segment of lesbian cyma are placed above each capital. The proportion of the figures also change, as now they are too large to fit in the space reserved for

them and their parts invade some of the architectural features (Wiegartz, 1965:32).

H. Wiegartz placed his reconstructed Athens-London (Fig. 86, 115) after Ankara A, and dated it to c.AD 215. He suggested that the main difference between Ankara A and Athens-London fragments is the leaf work on the geison of Athens-London as opposed to the deep tendril work on the geison of Ankara A (Fig. 114). The next step in Wiegartz's chronology is Istanbul A (Selefkeh) (Fig. 22, 116), dated to AD 230-35, and finally, Istanbul B (Sidemara) (Fig. 23, 117) and Ankara E (Fig. 118) sarcophagi, assigned a date of AD 250-55 and c.AD 260, respectively. Wiegartz's basis for dating Istanbul B later than Istanbul A is the more detailed carving of the leaf work around the egg mouldings and lesbain cyma segments. For the Ankara E Sarcophagus, he proposes the latest date among the three sarcophagi, because the lesbain cyma motif now disappears, and is replaced by leaf work in the column capitals.

The most controversial point in Wiegartz's chronology is that he bases his chronology on two examples, Melfi and Istanbul G (Sarcophagus of Claudia Antonia Sabina), which are dated according to the hair styles of the portraits on their lids. Thus Wiegartz assumes that the portraits on the lids were produced simultaneously with the chests of these sarcophagi. The unfinished portrait heads on the Antakya Sarcophagus and on many other Docimeum sarcophagi prove that this was not necessarily the case.

However, Wiegartz might be right in this assumption about the Istanbul G Sarcophagus (Sarcophagus of Claudia Antonia Sabina). Based on the inscription that the sarcophagus, it was argued that it was made for Claudia Antonia Sabina Procliane, wife of the ex-consul of Rome and proconsul of Asia, Sulpicius

Crassus (Morey, 1924: 15). This suggestion is supported by the fact that a Sulpicius Crassus, proconsul of Asia in 190-1 and 191-2, is known to have died in Lydia, put to death by the order of Commodus during his administration (Morey, 1924: 15). If the suggestion is correct, then the sarcophagus is an unusual one, commissioned by one of the wealthiest women of Asia Minor of her time. Moreover, the lid of the sarcophagus is highly exceptional with two reclining females rather than a male and a female, which might mean that Sabina's husband was already dead when the sarcophagus was commissioned, and she might have been forced to stay in Asia until she died (Morey, 1924: 15). These characteristics show that the sarcophagus was a "special" order, and it is unlikely that the sculptors carved a lid for an already available chest (Morey, 1924: 16). It is more likely that the chest and the lid portraits were carved together on this special commission.

For the Melfi Sarcophagus also, Wiegartz might have been attracted by the same idea that this sarcophagus was also a very special commission, ordered by a very wealthy customer who could afford the transportation cost to Italy. Thus, Wiegartz might have assumed that the chest of such a commission must have been carved simultaneously with the lid portrait.

However, the controversy begins when Wiegartz does not follow the same argument for other sarcophagi. For Antalya N Sarcophagus (Sarcophagus of Domitias Filiskas) (Fig. 96), he suggests a date of 190-5 on the basis of its ornamentation, compared with the Melfi and Istanbul G sarcophagi (Wiegartz, 1965: Taf. 47). However, the portrait head on the lid of this sarcophagus is preserved and the hair style of the female portrait is the hair style of Elagabalus's wives, dating to the second decade of the 3rd century. Wiegartz clearly did not

assume in this case that the sarcophagus was a special order, although it was inscribed and provided with a portrait on its lid, clearly a “special commission”. He also contradicts his previous assumption that the chest of the sarcophagus was produced simultaneously with the lid portrait by suggesting that in this case, the chest was carved earlier.

Another controversial point in the chronology of Wiegartz is the date of a sarcophagus which he called the “Athens-London” Sarcophagus (Fig. 86). This “sarcophagus” was reconstructed by Wiegartz (Wiegartz, 1965: Tafel 1) from fragments in London, formerly in the collection of Sir Frederick Cook, and in Athens, now in the Byzantine Museum (Walker, 1990: 53). However, an isotopic analysis of the London fragments revealed that they come from at least five different sarcophagi, probably from a single large tomb containing a number of burials (Walker, 1990: 53; Walker, 1984). Although the reconstruction of a single “sarcophagus” by Wiegartz turned out to be incorrect, his dating of the fragments to c.AD 215 is probably correct, if not later, as is shown by the full body parts of the figures (Walker, 1990: 53).

A third problematic point in Wiegartz’s chronology is that he dates the Athens-London fragments to c.AD 215, earlier than, for example, the Adana Sarcophagus (Fig. 119), on the basis that the architectural ornamentation on the Athens-London Sarcophagus is less elaborate, and the darts around the eggs on the Athens-London are replaced by leaf work on later examples, such as on the Adana Sarcophagus (Wiegartz, 1965: 30). The first argument could be valid, as the stylistic differences in the Athens-London and Adana Sarcophagi are notable. The second, however, cannot be accepted, since both darts and leaf work exist on

the Antakya Sarcophagus (on the central *aediculae* of the front and left sides and on the right side).

After discussing the accepted dates and the chronology of the columnar sarcophagi, it is now possible to suggest a date for the Antakya Sarcophagus. As mentioned before, in spite of the contradictions in Wiegartz's chronology, it will be taken here as a basis for the dating of the Antakya Sarcophagus, as there is no other alternative chronology. The most vigorous way to do this is to examine the architectural and figural ornamentation and compare it with Wiegartz's chronology (Fig. 110) (Wiegartz, 1965: Tafel 47).

There is a single egg moulding and a single segment of lesbion cyma over the capitals of the Antakya Sarcophagus, which suggest a date not before about AD 205, when the first sarcophagus after the style change, Ankara A, was produced. When one considers the foliate design on the geison of the Antakya Sarcophagus as opposed to the tendril work of the Ankara A, it is clear that the Antakya Sarcophagus must have been produced after Ankara A, and thus after c.AD 205.

The next step in Wiegartz's chronology are the Athens-London fragments, which he dates to c.AD 215 (Wiegartz, 1965: 30). There are many common points between the Athens-London fragments and the Antakya Sarcophagus. First of all, the figures on the "left side" of the Athens-London Sarcophagus (composed of Athens A2, Athens A3 and London A fragments) are very similar to the figures of the right side of the Antakya Sarcophagus (Fig. 27, 28). The motives, gestures, hair and the beard styles of Athens A2 and Athens A3 are comparable to Figures F, G and I on the Antakya Sarcophagus, while London A matches Figure H2, the three-legged table with the flaming altar. Unfortunately,

we cannot be certain whether the Athens A2 and Athens A3 fragments accord with other and the London A fragment, and thus whether the reconstruction of the “left side” of the “Athens-London Sarcophagus” is correct, since no scientific analysis has been made to determine the concordance of the Athens fragments with each other and to the London fragments.

Another parallel between the Antakya Sarcophagus and the Athens-London fragments is the standing females, Figure D on the Antakya Sarcophagus (Fig. 70), and London G fragment (Fig. 86) on the “rear side” of “Athens-London”. Their stance is almost identical, with the right leg at ease and curved from the knee, the right arm wrapped in the fold of her himation, and the left arm standing besides the body. The only difference in the pose of the two figures is that the head of London G is in profile, turned to her left, while the head of Figure D is only slightly turned to her left. The front of the hair styles of the two figures is also identical, and this might suggest that the Antakya Sarcophagus Figure D would have her hair tidied at the back in a small bun like that of London G, but the back of her head was not shown. The female figure of London G holds a scroll in her left hand, and this might also suggest that the Antakya Sarcophagus Figure D was also be holding a scroll in her broken left hand.

The final parallel between the Athens London fragments and the Antakya Sarcophagus is the ornamental and stylistic features. The acanthus leaves of the capitals and the rolls on top of these leaves are rendered in the same way with deep borings. The motifs of lesbian cyma are similar, as well as the three-leaved designs that surround them. The scroll-work on the top of the lintel of the tomb-portal of Athens-London, fragment London A, and over the dentils, and the straight moulded element are also identical in workmanship to those above the

portal of the Antakya Sarcophagus. The upper scroll-work divides into two, and branches out to the right and left side in the both examples. Given the similarities of the Athens-London fragments and the Antakya Sarcophagus, it is possible to propose a date of AD 215 or later for the production of the Antakya Sarcophagus.

The next sarcophagus that could be used as a comparanda for dating is Adana, which was dated to c.AD 225 by H. Wiegartz (Fig. 119) (Wiegartz, 1965: 143). The main reason why the Adana Sarcophagus was dated 10 years later than the Athens-London fragments are the darts around the egg mouldings of Athens-London are replaced by leaf work in the Adana Sarcophagus (Wiegartz, 1965: 30). As noted above, however, both darts and the leaf work exist on the Antakya Sarcophagus. These elements cannot therefore be used by themselves as an indication for dating, but they could support conclusions arrived at by other means. However, there is another possibility: these combined elements could indicate that the Antakya Sarcophagus marks a transitional phase, from using darts around all the eggs, to using leaf work instead. This possibility is supported by the fact that the use of darts on the Antakya Sarcophagus is not regular; they are found on the central *aedicula* of the front side (Fig. 47), the central *aediculae* of the right and left sides (Fig. 43, 45), and on the right bay of the left side (Fig. 51). These elements have not been used on the back of the sarcophagus. If their use indicates a transitional period, which is likely, then the Antakya Sarcophagus is typologically slightly earlier than Adana.

Other evidence that supports that the idea that the Adana Sarcophagus is later than the Antakya Sarcophagus is the tomb portal on the left side of the Adana Sarcophagus (Fig. 119). The band of scroll-work above the straight moulded lintel of the portal includes three egg mouldings, one in the middle, two

at the right and left corners, as well as the usual scroll work. However, these egg mouldings do not exist on the Antakya Sarcophagus. These egg mouldings are possibly later elements, as the Adana Sarcophagus is not the only one where they were used. The eggs also exist on Istanbul B (Sidemara), which is dated to c.AD 250. The eggs do not exist on earlier examples like Athens-London fragment London A. Moreover, the ornamental elements on the geisons, capitals and architraves on the Antakya Sarcophagus and the Adana Sarcophagus are alike.

In light of this evidence, on stylistic grounds, the Adana Sarcophagus should be slightly later than the Antakya Sarcophagus. So, the production date of the Antakya Sarcophagus is most probably between AD 215-25. It must be noted, however, that this time span is based on the accepted chronology of Wiegartz, and there are problems with this, as explained above. Another more accurate and updated chronology for the Asiatic columnar sarcophagi could give more certain results.

The coins found in the sarcophagus, although do not directly confirm this proposed date, are not in contradiction with it. It is possible that the sarcophagus was used 15 years later it was produced, either was not bought by the customer who first commissioned it, and bought by a second customer, or it was bought by the original buyer and waited to be used. Another possibility is that the sarcophagus was re-used, as mentioned before, which might be indicated by the ancient damage on the chest and the lid.

As noted, we unfortunately do not have the opportunity to make use of the hair and beard styles of the portraits on the lid of the Antakya Sarcophagus to confirm the proposed date. To what extent the hair and beard styles of the figures on the chest can be used for dating is disputable, as none of the figures have

portrait characters and they may have been produced as generic types based on earlier prototypes used over a long period. In fact, the hair and the beard styles of the male and the hair styles of the female figures on the Antakya Sarcophagus have very close Classical and Hellenistic prototypes. As mentioned before, the hair and beards of Figure B, E and I probably derive from typical untidy Hellenistic philosopher hair and beard styles, like that of the Capitoline philosopher (Fig. 103). On the other hand, the hair styles of those females on the Antakya Sarcophagus with an unveiled head (Figure A and D) have a coiffeur similar to, for example, a Roman copy of a head, originally dating to c.450 BC, probably that of Pheidisias's "Athena Lemnia" (Fig. 120). The "Lemnian" Athena has curly hair parted in the centre tied with a ribbon, a hair style especially similar to that of Figure A on the Antakya Sarcophagus. Another parallel hair style is from a slab of the "Nike Temple" parapet (Fig. 121), where two women are depicted with a bull. The hair style of the one on the left is again especially similar to that of Figure A on the Antakya Sarcophagus. Similar hair styles can also be seen on Hellenistic examples, such as the "Melos Aphrodite" (Fig. 122), dating to the 2nd century BC. Aphrodite's "ideal" hair is parted in the centre, tied with a ribbon and arranged in a loose bun at the back. Her frontal view is notably similar to that of the Figure D on the Antakya Sarcophagus. A final example with an analogous hair style is on a Hellenistic coin (Fig. 123) and a portrait bust (fig. 124) belonging to Queen Cleopatra VII Thea of Egypt, although the hair of the queen is not parted in the centre; it is tied with a ribbon and tidied in a small bun at the nape.

Although the hair and beard styles of the figures on the Antakya Sarcophagus have obvious Classical and Hellenistic counterparts, some of them

show late Antonine features. The full beards and the hair of male figures can be compared to coin portraits of Marcus Aurelius (Fig. 125) (Mattingly and Sydenham, 1930: Plate XIII). The philosopher beards of the Antakya Sarcophagus figures seem to have been updated according to late Antonine fashion. The hair styles of the female Figures A and D, on the other hand, hardly carry any late Antonine features. The elaborate and wavy coiffeurs of the Antonine ladies covering the ears down to the ear lobes are different from the less painstaking buns of the Antakya Sarcophagus figures leaving the whole ears exposed. One comparanda could be the marble portrait of Faustina the Younger, the so-called Type 7, wearing a wavy hair style tidied in a loose bun at the back (Fig. 126) (Kleiner and Matheson, 1996: 47). The only common point between Faustina's hair style and those of the figures on the Antakya Sarcophagus is the loosely tied bun at the nape of the neck. Moreover, none of the Antonine portraits has a ribbon around the head such as the one of the Figure A on the Antakya Sarcophagus. Thus the hair styles of the female figures on the Antakya Sarcophagus are much closer to those of the Greek prototypes, than to the Roman fashion.

The above mentioned "updated" philosopher beards according to the late Antonine fashion might at first seem to contradict the proposed Severan date of the Antakya Sarcophagus. This is not necessarily the case, as it is quite normal that the provincial sculptors did not follow the latest fashions of the capital, but may have been attached to a tradition of carving beards established when the columnar sarcophagi first began to be produced (Morey, 1924: 17). Moreover, the Severan date of the Antakya Sarcophagus is attested by further evidence such as the full limbs, weird proportions of the figures (e.g. with respect to their horses),

and the deep strong drill work applied to the hair, which are features of Severan sculpture (Strong, 1995: 228).

The proposed date of the Antakya Sarcophagi (AD 215-25) thus is valid, on the basis of the widely accepted relative chronology of Wiegartz, mainly based on the architectural ornamentation. This date, however, is subject to change, if a more reliable chronology of the Asiatic columnar sarcophagi can be made.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

This study was aimed at a systematic description of the Antakya Sarcophagus, with the hope to determine its distinctive features, help its chronological placement among the other Docimeum columnar sarcophagi, and contribute to future studies about the trade, the distribution patterns, and the chronology of the Docimeum columnar sarcophagi in general.

The presentation of this study began in Chapter II with background information concerning the previous studies about the Roman sarcophagi. This chapter revealed how little research has been made on the Docimeum columnar sarcophagi and specifically on the Antakya Sarcophagus.

The third chapter was composed of two sections, one on the Docimeum marble, and the other on the Docimeum columnar sarcophagi. The section about the Docimeum marble aimed at presenting various suggestions about the transportation of raw or finished marble products from the Docimeum quarries. As mentioned, it is still not known by which route Docimeum marble was transported to its destination(s). The second section about the Docimeum columnar sarcophagi, on the other hand, presented the types of columnar sarcophagi, and determined the typological class of the Antakya Sarcophagus. Various suggestions introduced in this section include the question of travelling

craftsmen and the inspirations for the architectural forms of the columnar sarcophagi.

The fourth chapter was devoted to the figured and architectural description of the Antakya Sarcophagus. This description revealed some features peculiar to the Antakya Sarcophagus, such as the lion hunt scene rarely found on Docimeum columnar sarcophagi, the satyr form acroteria on the lid, the Medusa carved on the rear side, and the interchangeable use of dart and leaf patterns on the architrave. These exceptional features of the sarcophagus may be starting points for future research.

Chapter V was where the identification and the prototypes of the figures, and the symbolic meanings of some motifs such as the tomb portal, scroll, *erotes* and sea animals were discussed. It has been found out that most of the figures (e.g. the standing males and females) and some compositions such as the libation and hunt scenes have late Classical and Hellenistic predecessors. On the other hand, it was mentioned that the origins of some motifs such as the tomb portal may be observed in local Phrygian doorstones.

Finally, Chapter VI aimed at proposing a production date for the Antakya Sarcophagus and bringing forward the controversial issues related to the chronology of the columnar sarcophagi. This chapter is probably the most controversial part of this study, as the proposed date is determined by stylistic grounds and was based on a previously made but an obviously problematic chronology. However, due to the lack of any inscription on the sarcophagus and finished portrait heads that might indicate a date, stylistic analyses were the only way to date the sarcophagus. Moreover, there are no coherent alternatives to the controversial chronology. On the other hand, it has been stated that the proposed

Severan date for the Antakya Sarcophagus is attested by other indications, such as the full limbs, disproportionateness of the figures and the deep drillings on the architectural and figured decoration that create a light-and-shade effect. A more vigorous chronology of Docimeum sarcophagi based on a thorough analysis of all details could have provided a shorter possible time span for the production date of the Antakya Sarcophagus.

This last point brings to mind the necessity for future research on Docimeum columnar sarcophagi. The latest scientific methods must be used to determine the correspondence of the previously reconstructed fragments to prove if they are from the same original(s), and a revised chronology of these fragments and the columnar sarcophagi in general must be prepared to come up with a more thorough picture of these sarcophagi. This is the only way to establish more secure dates for the Antakya Sarcophagus and the other Docimeum columnar sarcophagi.

Another possibility for future research is related to the distribution patterns of the Docimeum columnar sarcophagi. As the Antakya Sarcophagus is the first columnar sarcophagus found at Antakya, a new distribution map should be made to include the area. On the other hand, the existence of a single Docimeum columnar sarcophagus at Antakya reminds us of the possibility of the existence of more. Future research could focus on the area and act with this possibility. A related area of research could be made about the routes of transportation, as there are still gaps in our knowledge of which route the Docimeum sarcophagi were conveyed to their destinations.

A final area of future research could be related to the symbolism on Docimeum columnar sarcophagi. Eastern Roman religion in the late 2nd and

early 3rd centuries must be studied in more detail to come up with a probable ancient perception of life- after- death, so as to arrive at more specific conclusions about the symbolic meanings of figures.

On the whole, what this study revealed was that the Antakya Sarcophagus and the other Docimeum columnar sarcophagi are a combination of Greek and local tradition- as reflected by the individual motifs they share- in a Roman provincial setting- embodied in the architectural decoration showing Roman provincial features. The Antakya Sarcophagus and the other columnar sarcophagi need further research in order to resolve the related controversies in the area. This thesis hopefully is a first step, and a basic reference tool for such research.

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FIGURES



Fig. 1. Map of Roman Asia and central Phrygia.

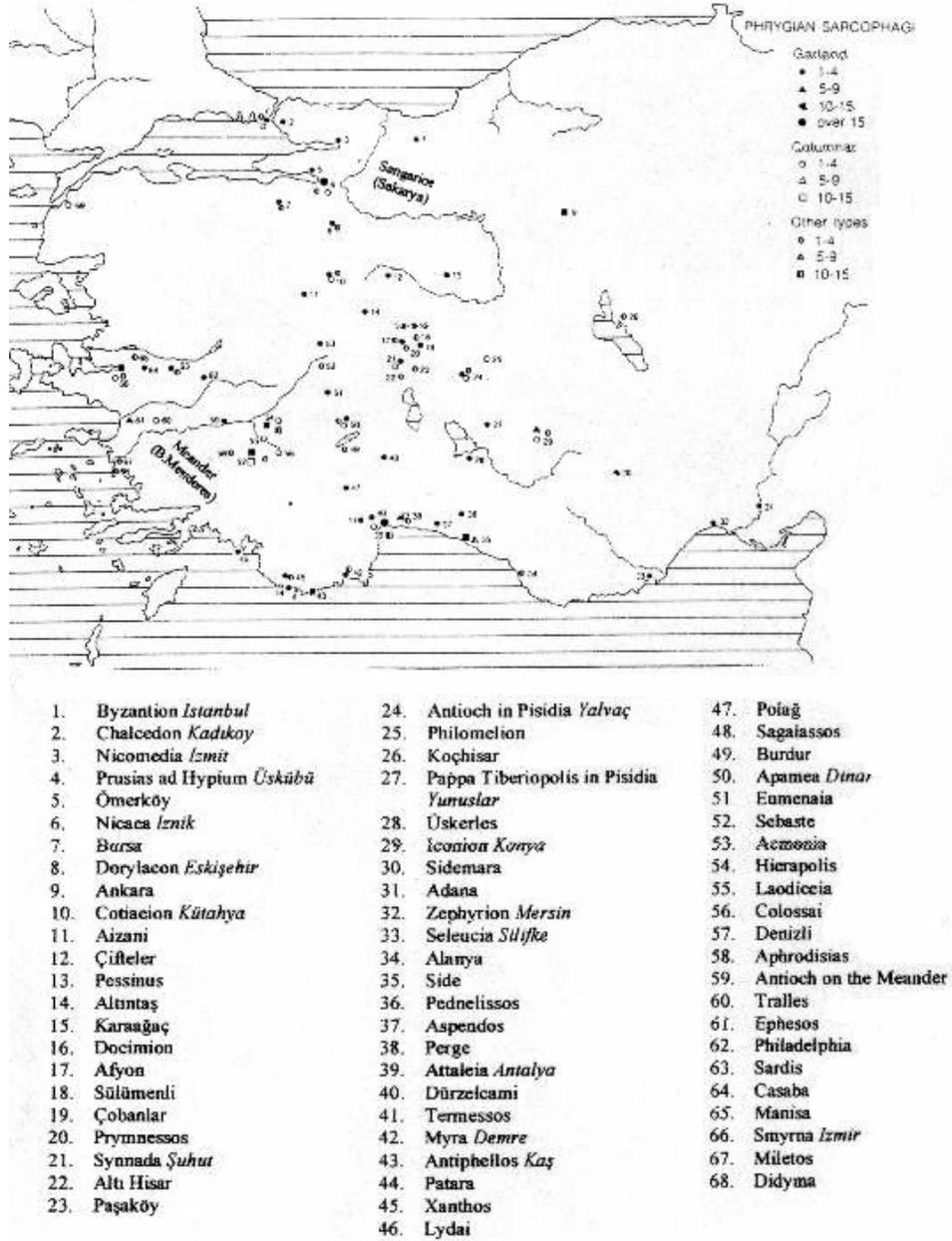


Fig. 2. Distribution map of Phrygian sarcophagi in Asia Minor.

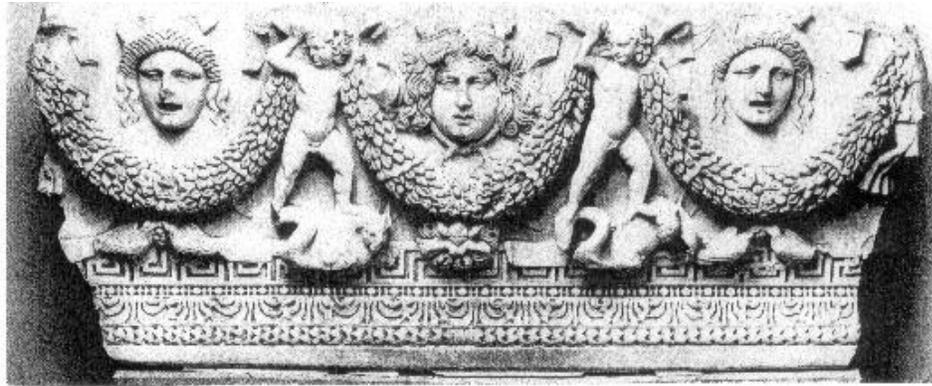


Fig. 3. Long side of a Docimeum garland sarcophagus. 115-20 AD.

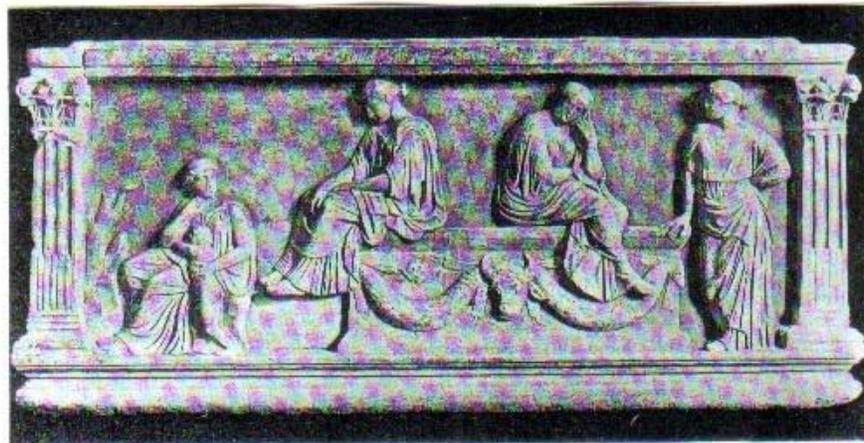


Fig. 4. Rome B (Torre Nova) Sarcophagus. 145-50 AD.

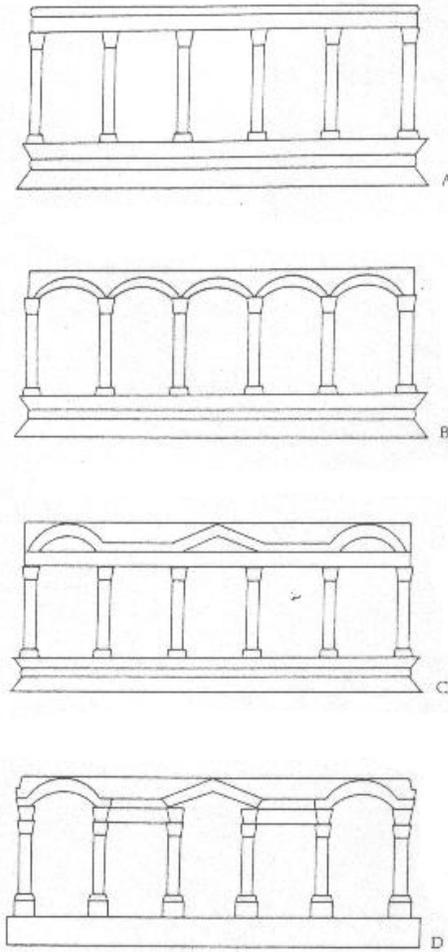


Fig. 5. Types of columnar sarcophagi in chronological order. A- Continuous architrave. B- Arcaded type. C- Lunette-gabled-lunette pediment sequence with uninterrupted architrave. D- Lunette-gabled-lunette pediment sequence with the architrave interrupted by a scallop shell.

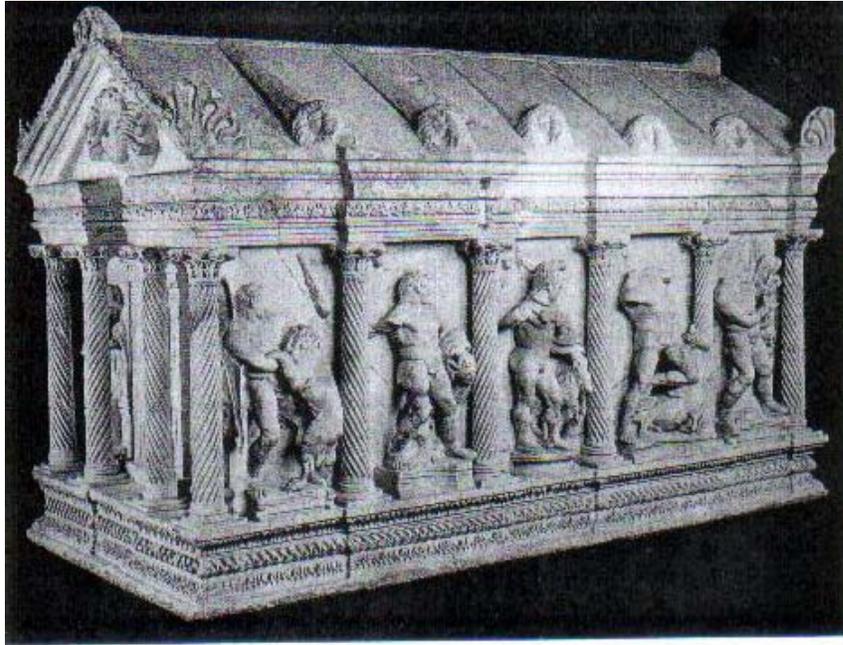


Fig. 6. Antalya M (Herakles Sarcophagus). 150-5 AD.

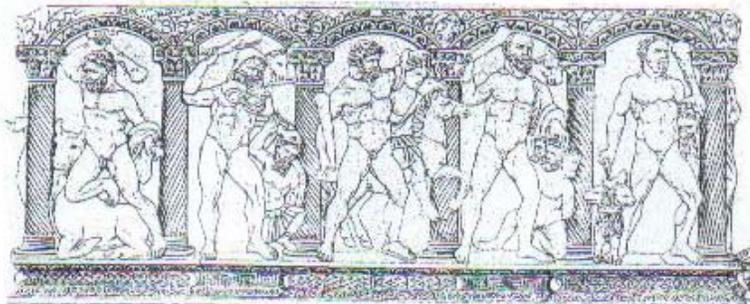
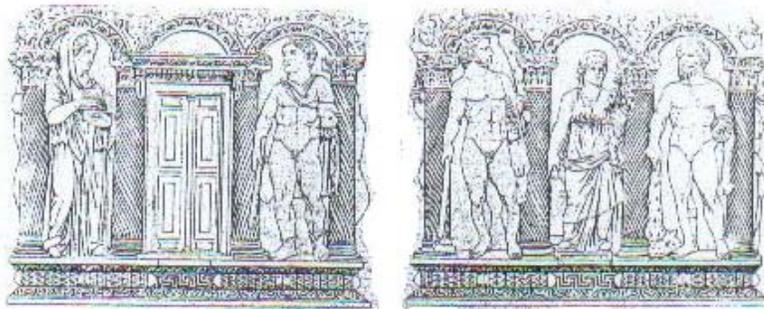
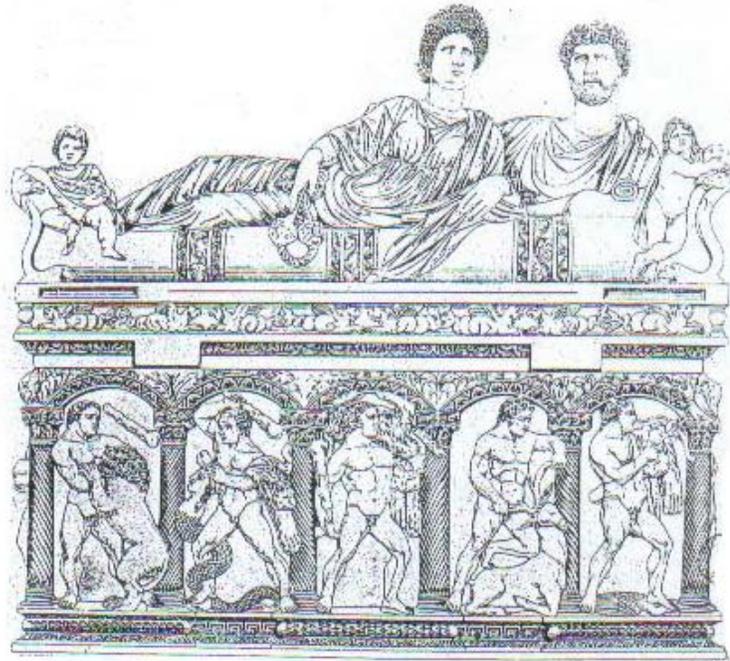


Fig. 7. Rome K (Palazzo Torlonia). 165-70 AD.

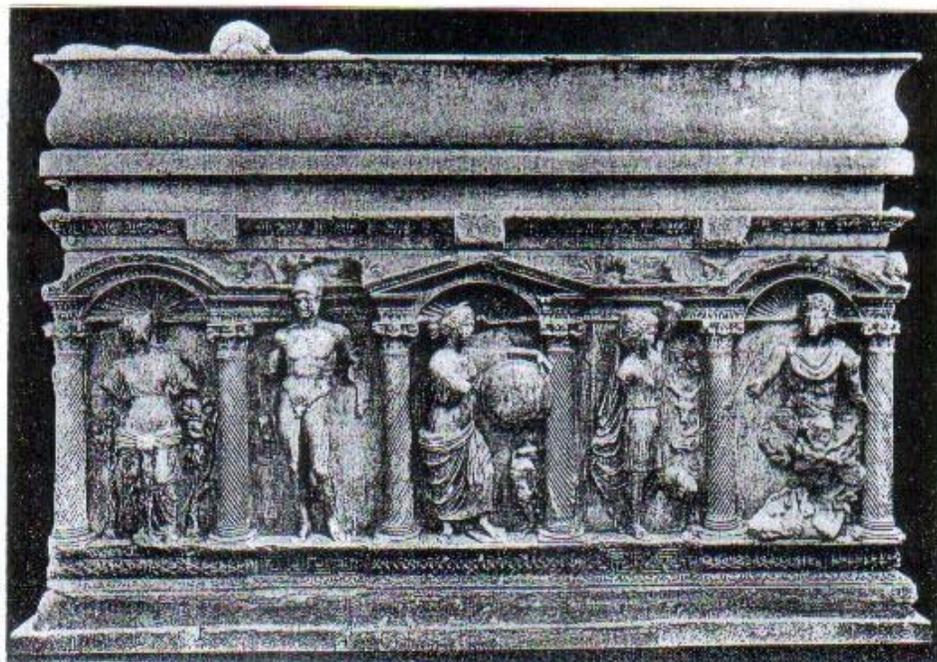
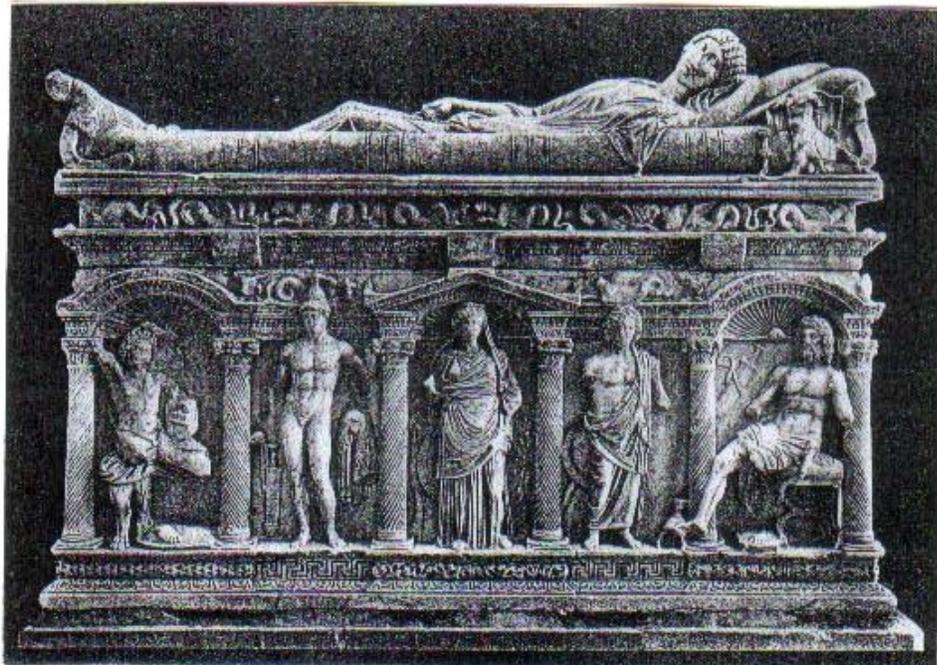


Fig. 8. Melfi Sarcophagus. 160-70 AD.

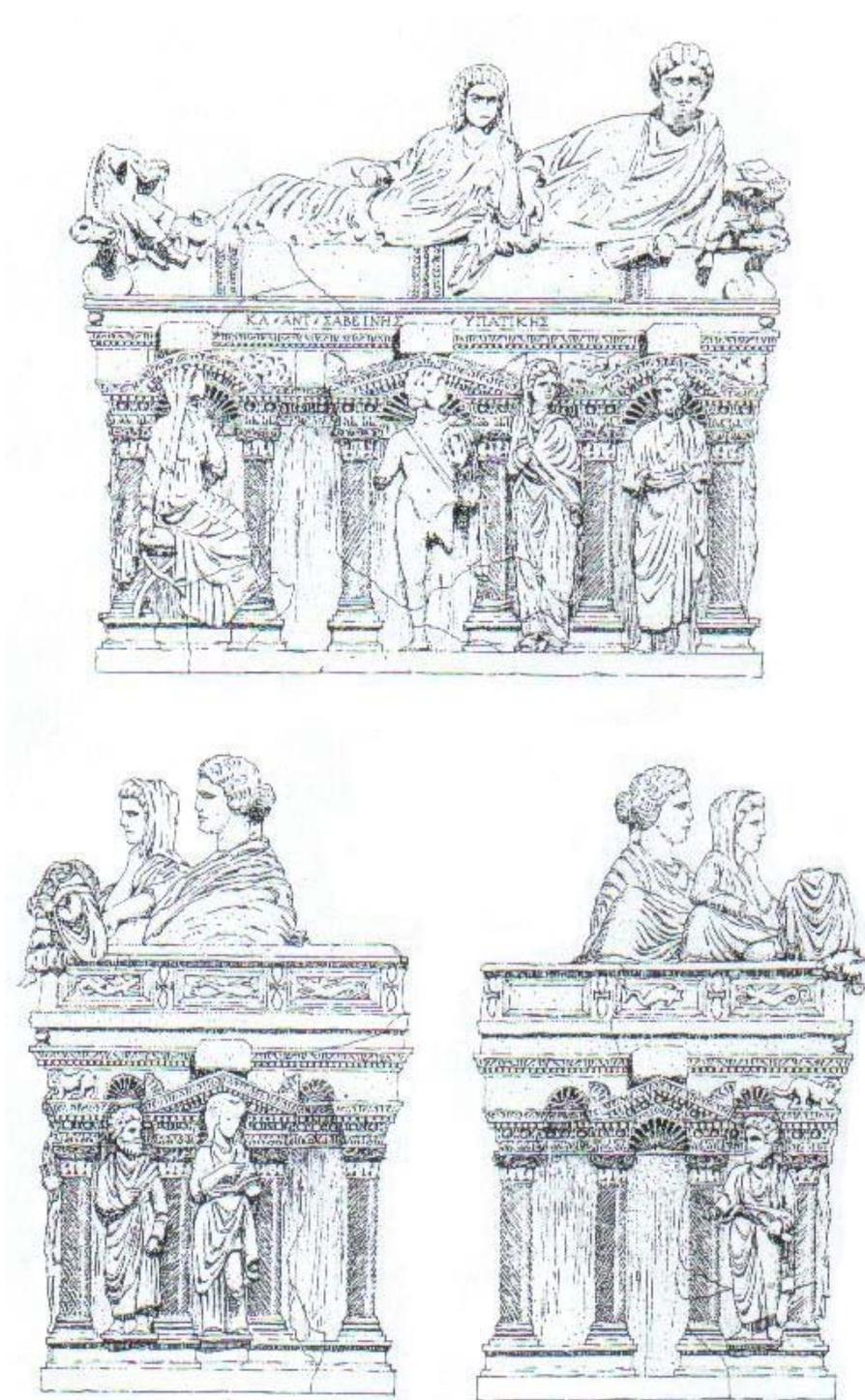


Fig. 9. Istanbul G (Sarcophagus of Claudia Antonia Sabina). 185-90 AD.

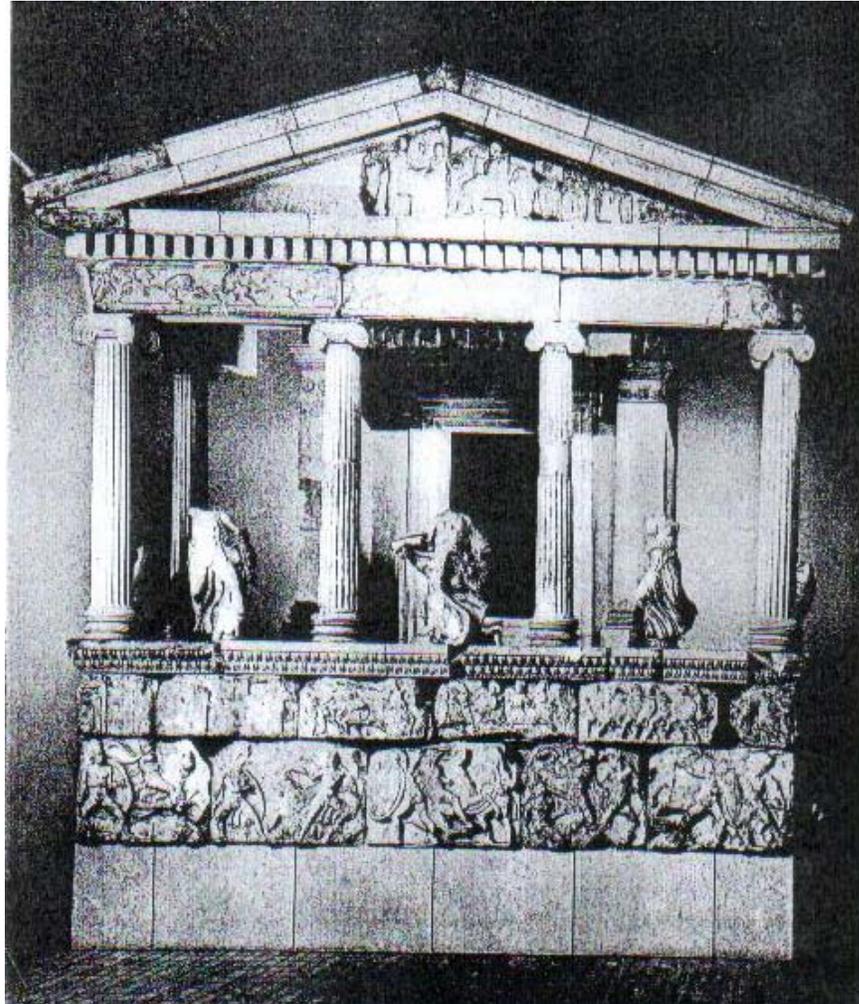


Fig. 10. The Nereid Monument. c.390-80 BC.

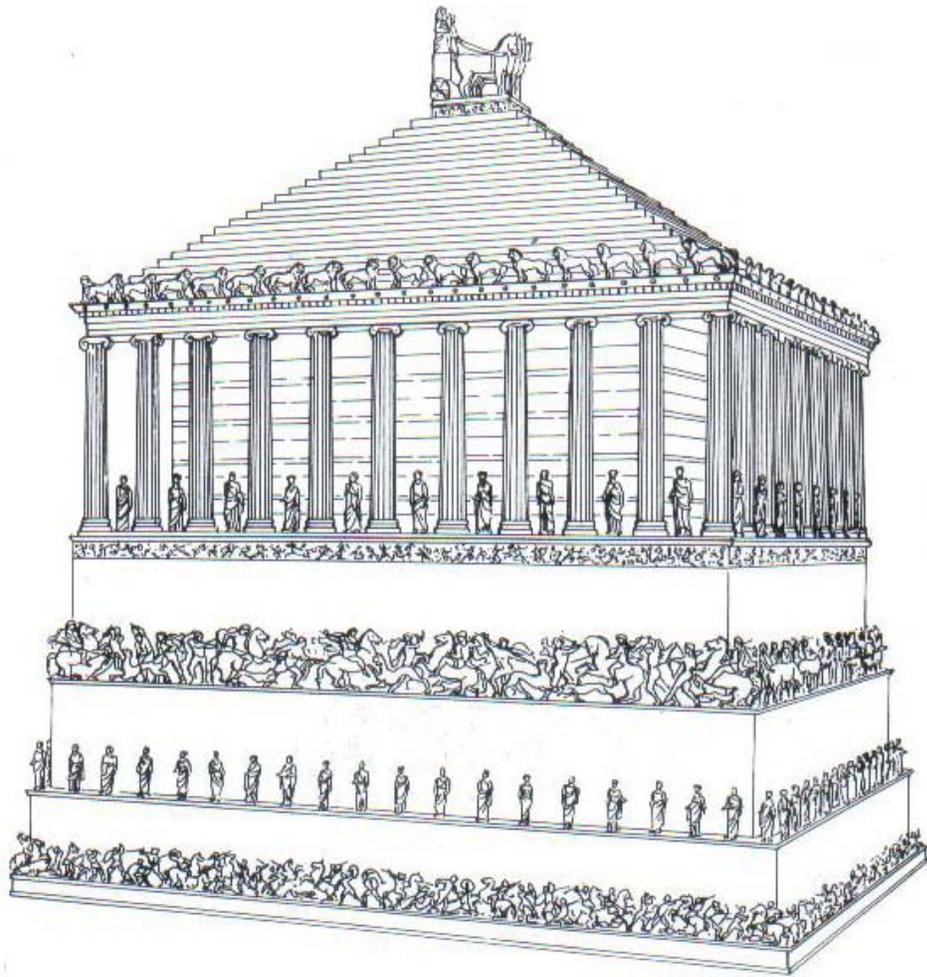


Fig. 11. Reconstruction of the Mausoleum at Halikarnassos.

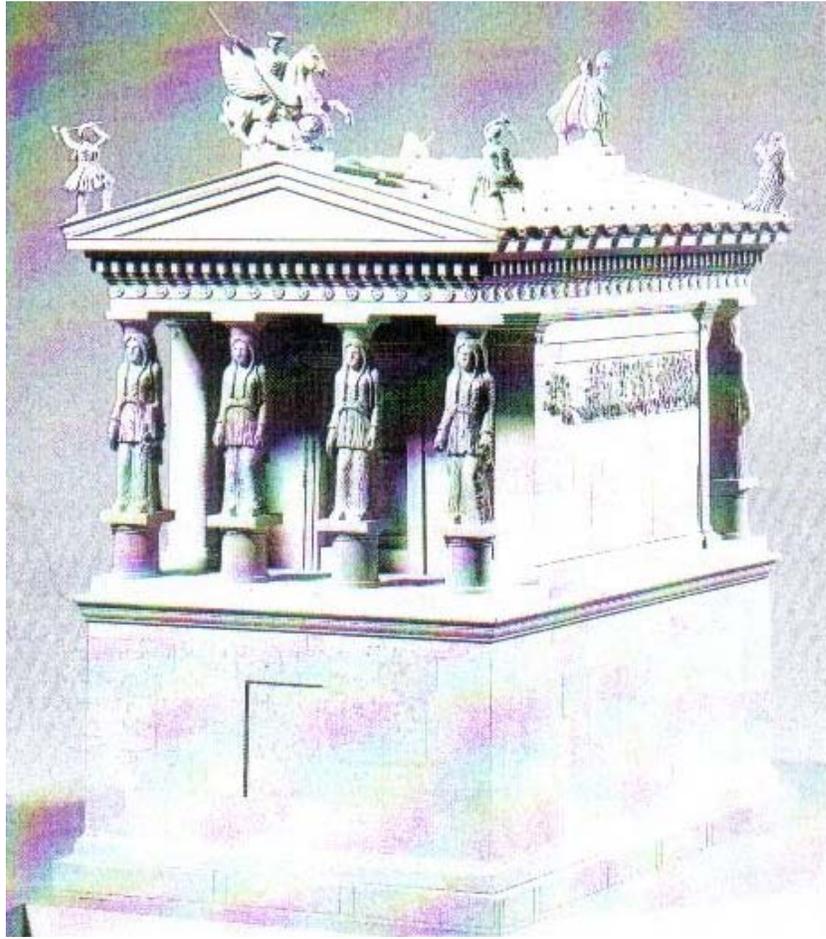


Fig. 12. Reconstruction of the Heroon at Limyra.

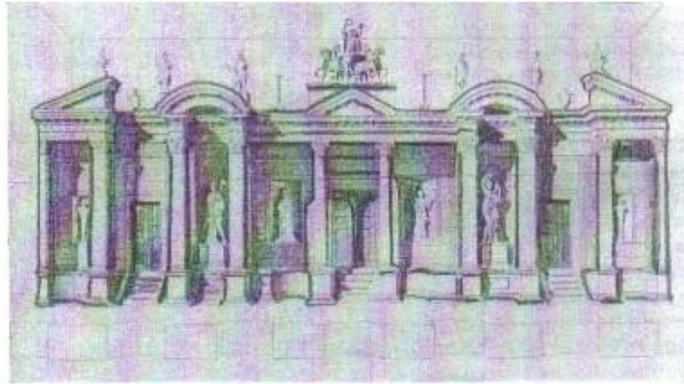


Fig. 13. Reconstruction of Pompeian stage façade.

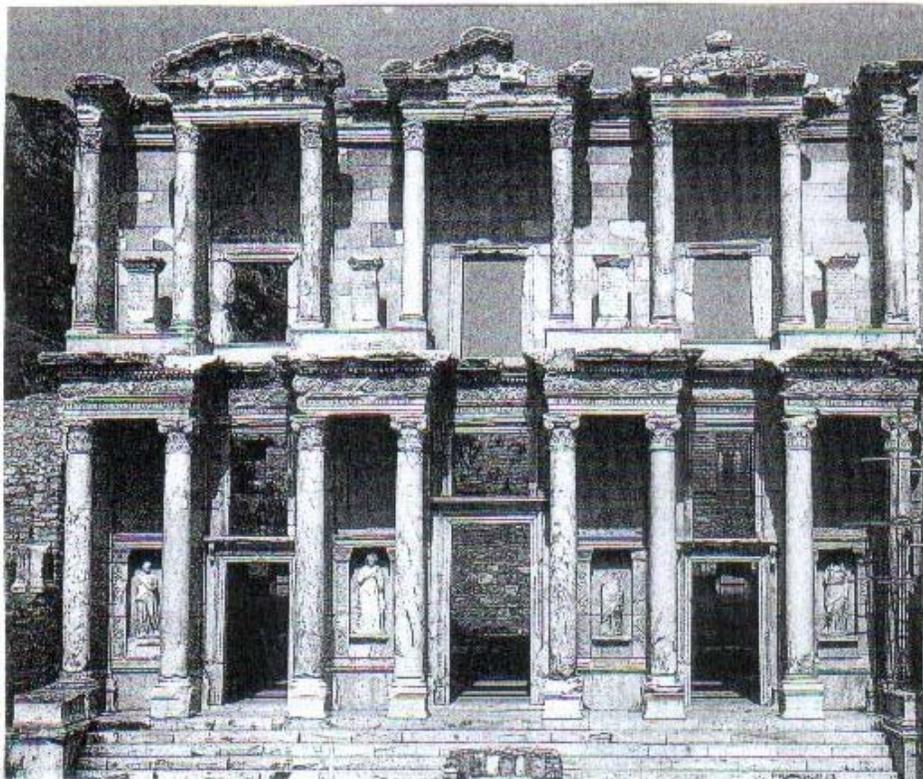


Fig. 14. Library of Celsus, Ephesus. AD 135.



Fig. 15. The *scaenae frons* of the theatre at Aspendos. 2nd century AD.

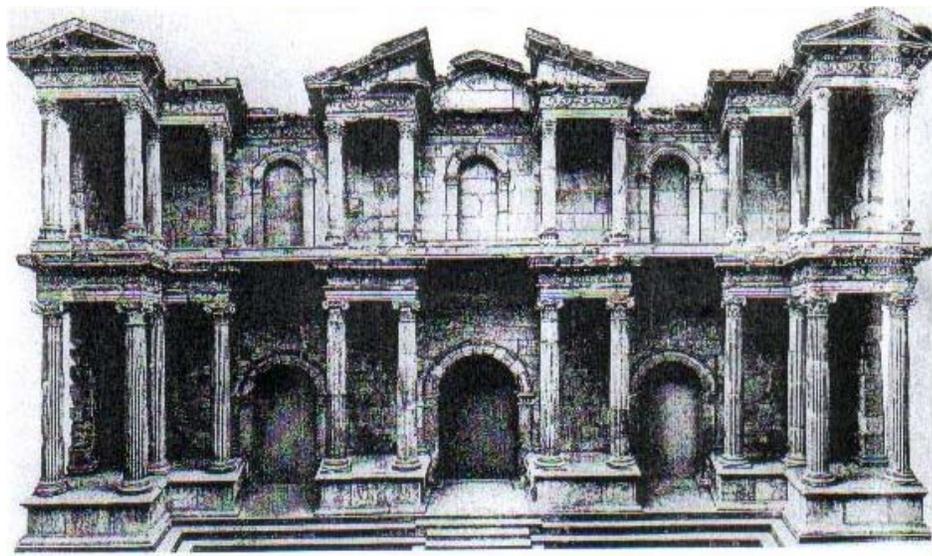


Fig. 16. *Propylon* of the south agora of Miletus.



Fig. 17. Marble cornice from the theatre at Perge.



Fig. 18. Sarcophagus with columnar decoration from Samos. Mid-6th century BC.

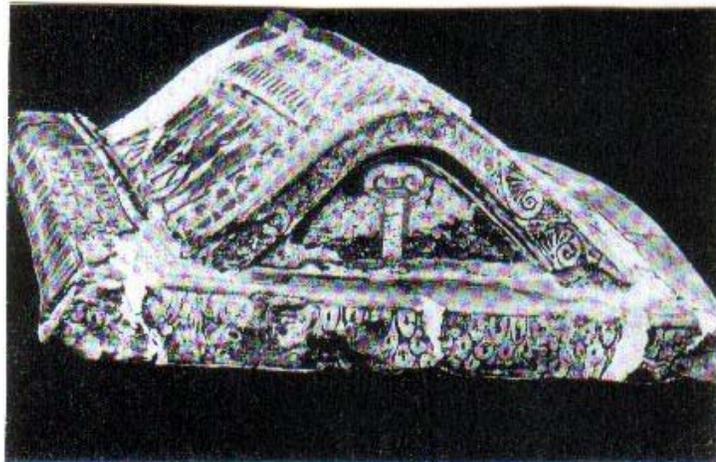


Fig. 19. Klazomenian sarcophagus from Izmir. Mid-6th century BC.

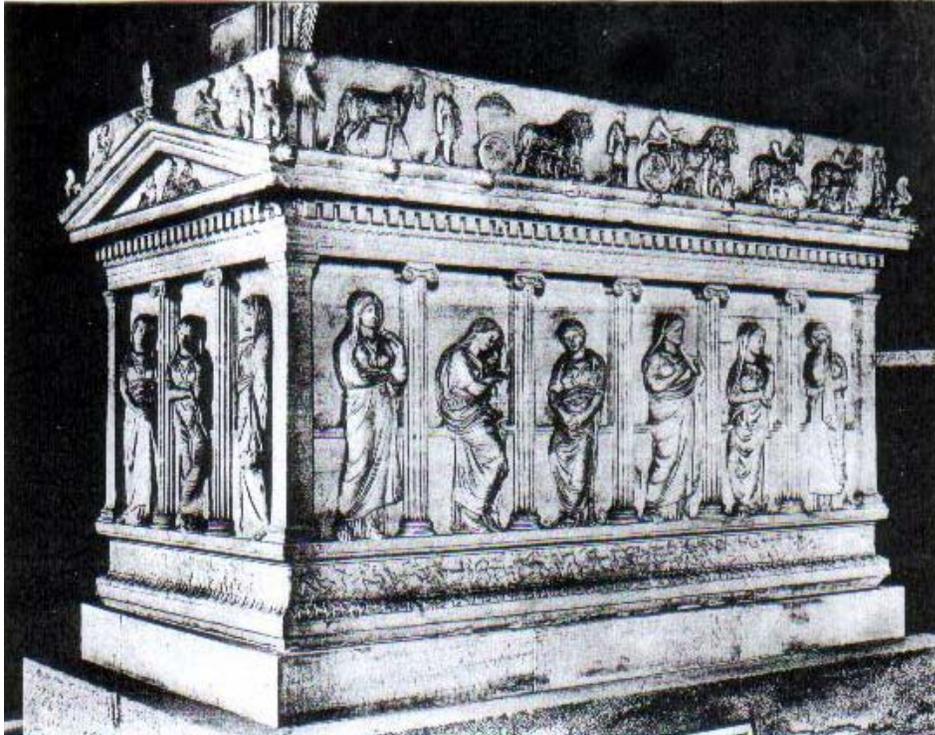


Fig. 20. "Mourning Women Sarcophagus", from royal necropolis of Sidon.
c.360-40 BC.

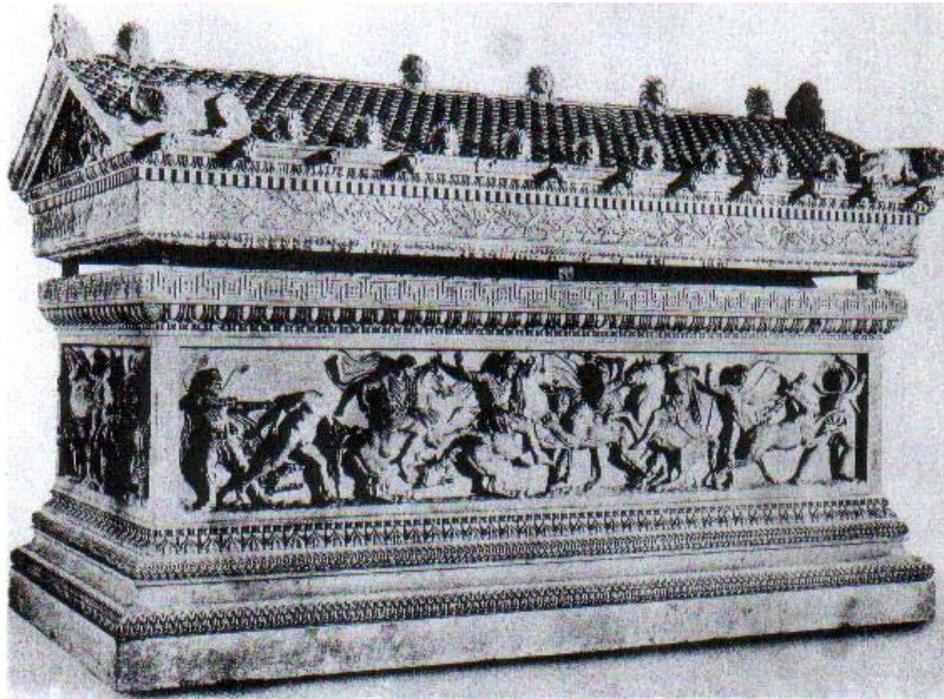


Fig. 21. “Alexander Sarcophagus”, from the royal necropolis of Sidon. c. 320-10 BC.

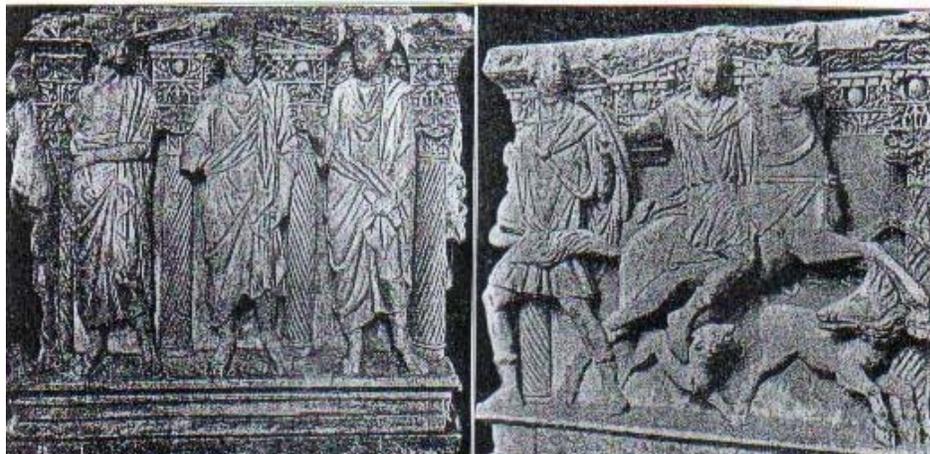
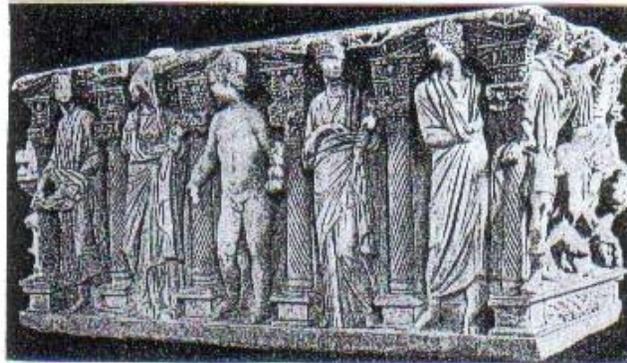


Fig. 22. Istanbul A (Selefkeh) Sarcophagus. AD 230-5.



Fig 23. Istanbul B (Sidemara) Sarcophagus. AD 250-5.

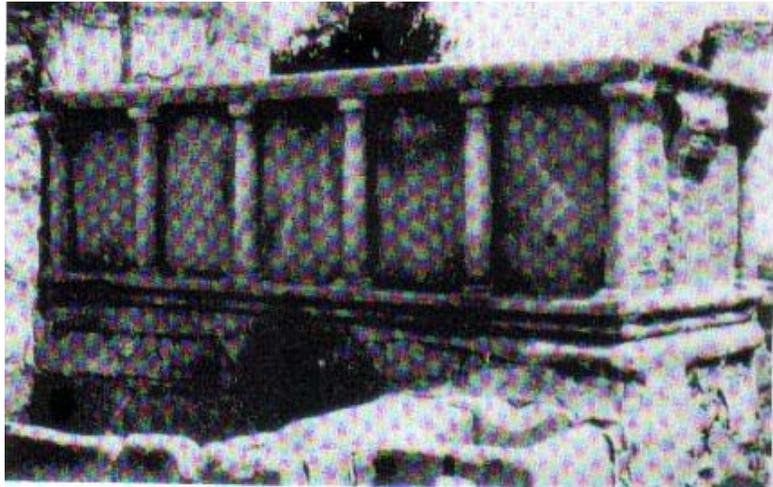


Fig. 24. Iznik Sarcophagus. Late Hellenistic.

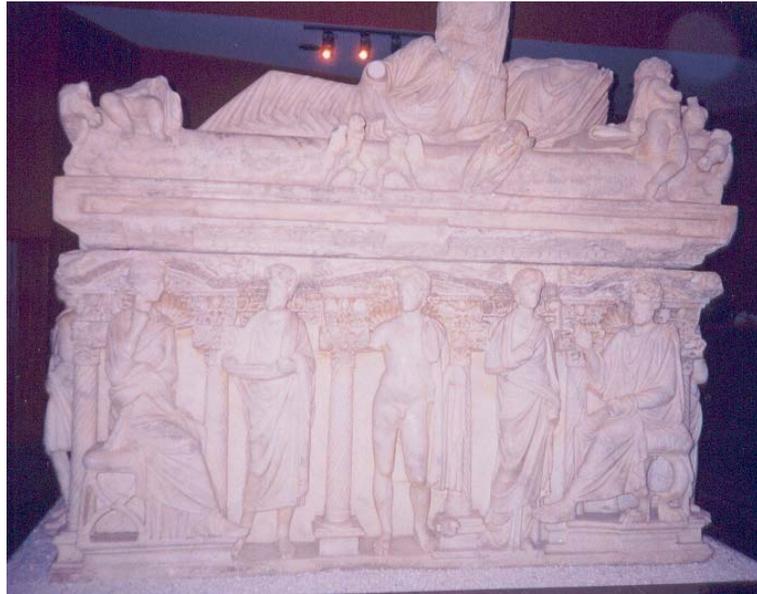


Fig. 25. Front side of the Antakya Sarcophagus.

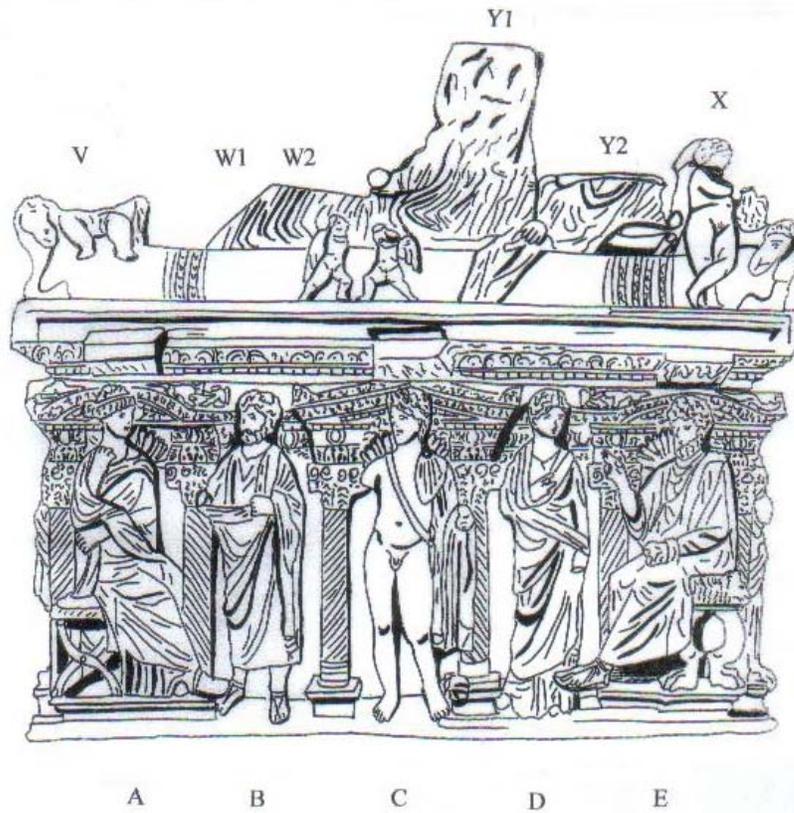
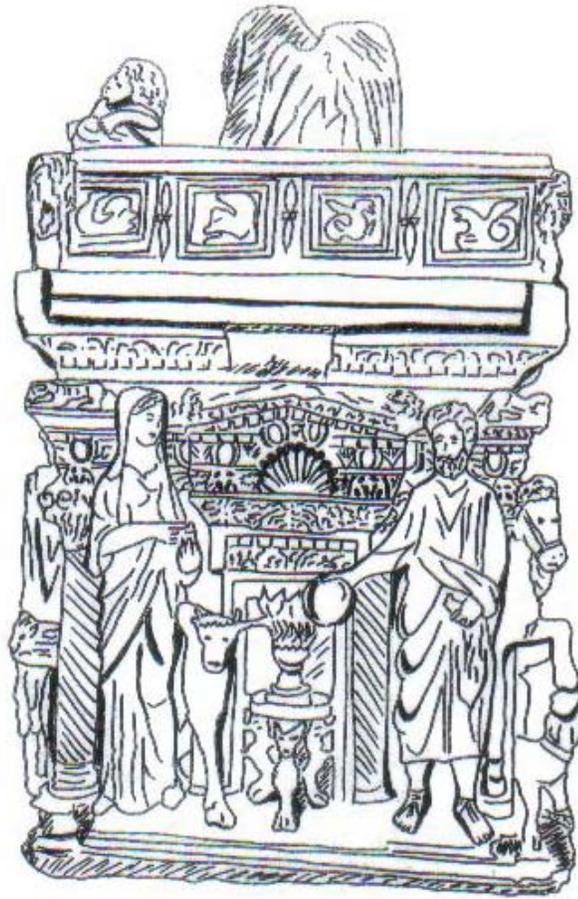


Fig. 26. Drawing of the front side of the Antakya Sarcophagus.



Fig. 27. Right side of the Antakya Sarcophagus.

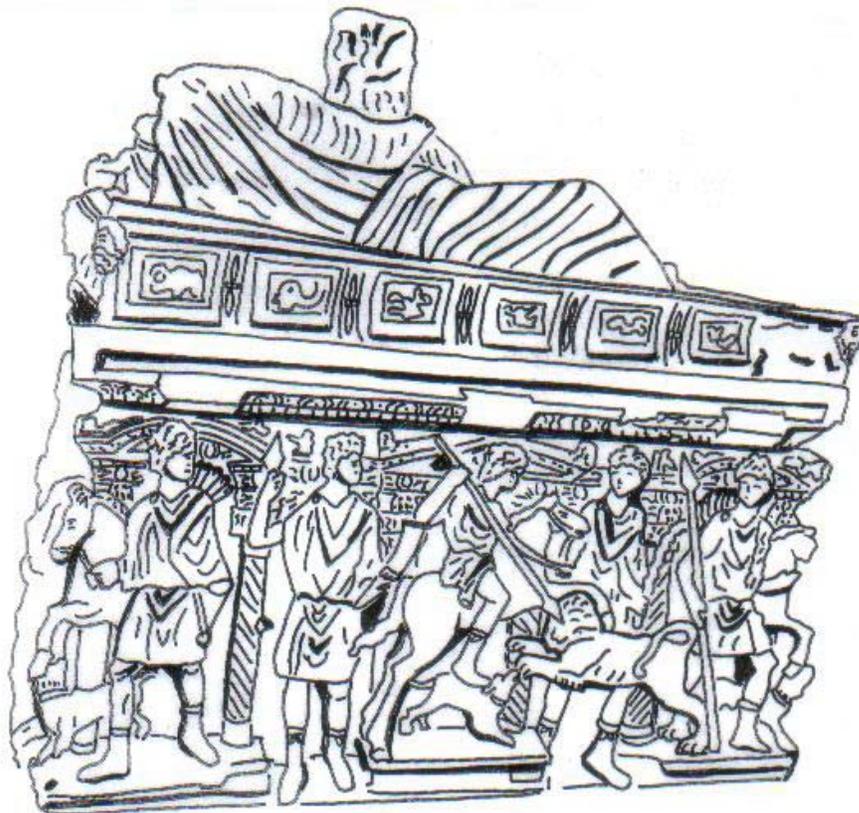


F G H1 I
H2

Fig. 28. Drawing of the right side of the Antakya Sarcophagus.



Fig. 29. Rear side of the Antakya Sarcophagus.



| | | | | | | |
|----|---|---|----|---|---|----|
| J1 | K | L | M1 | P | Q | R1 |
| J2 | | | M2 | N | | R2 |
| | | | O | | | |

Fig. 30. Drawing of the rear side of the Antakya Sarcophagus.



Fig. 31. Left side of the Antakya Sarcophagus.

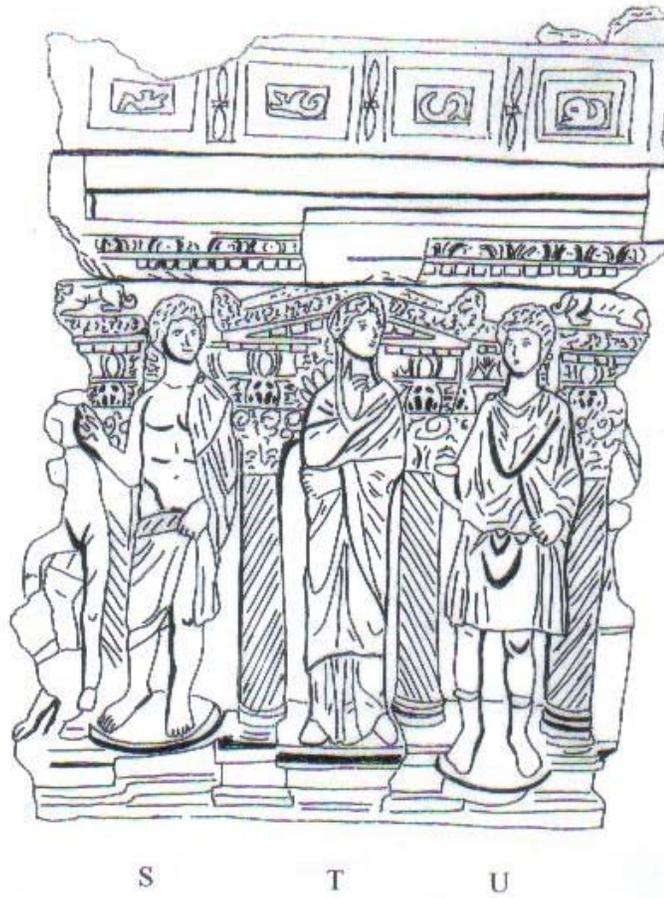


Fig. 32. Drawing of the left side of the Antakya Sarcophagus.

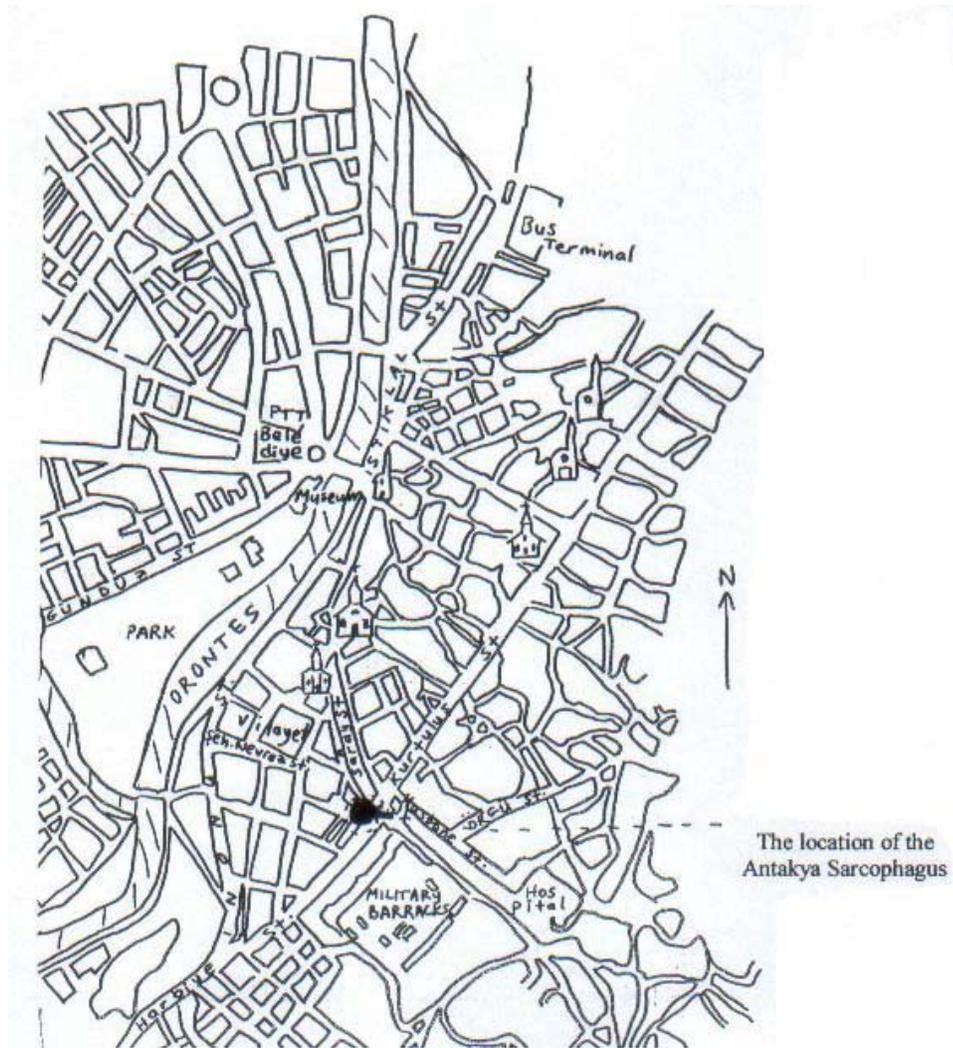


Fig. 33. Modern Map of Antioch and the location of the Antakya Sarcophagus.

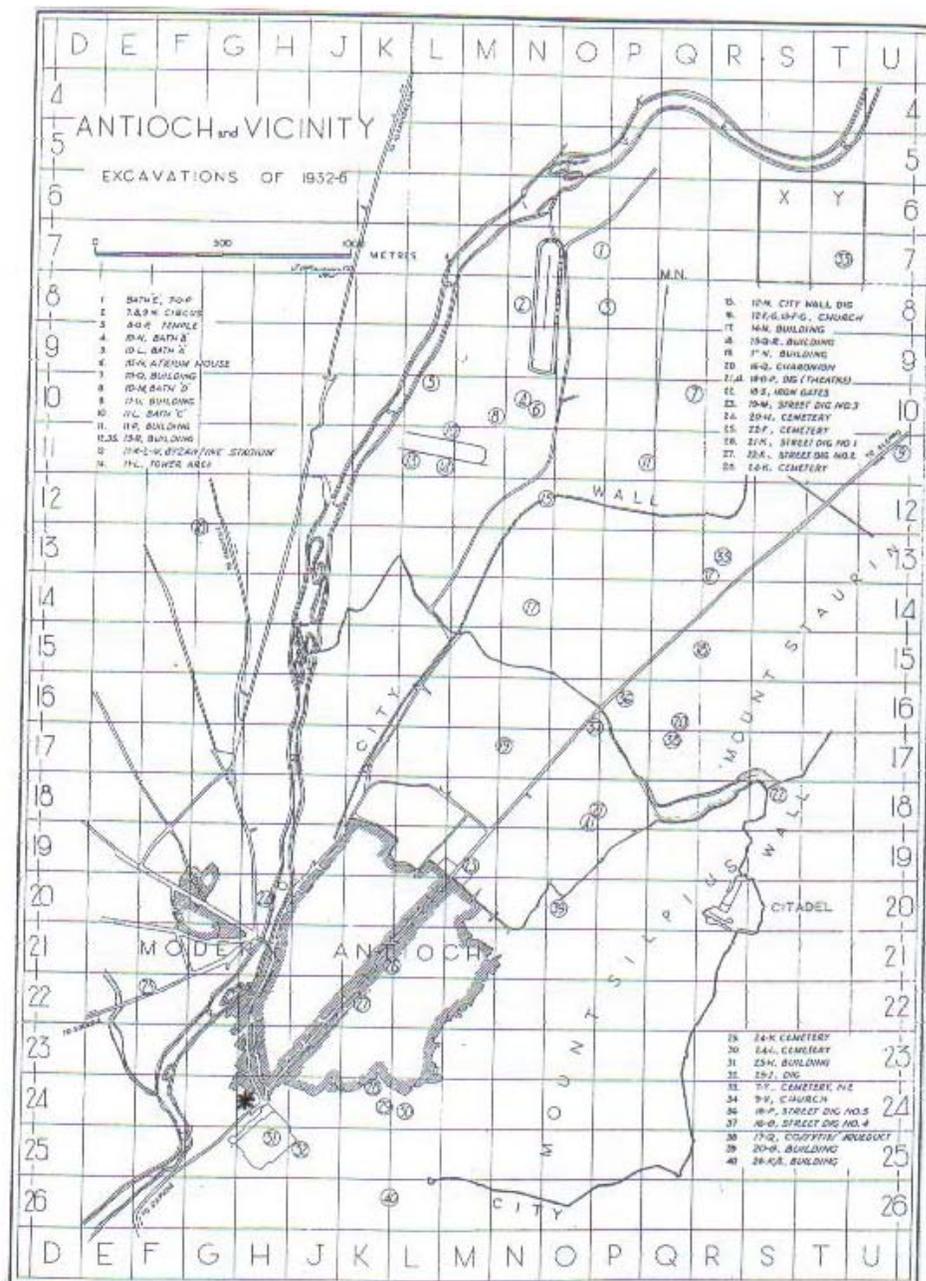


Fig.4. Map of the Antioch Excavations.(* indicates the findspot of the Antakya Sarcophagus.

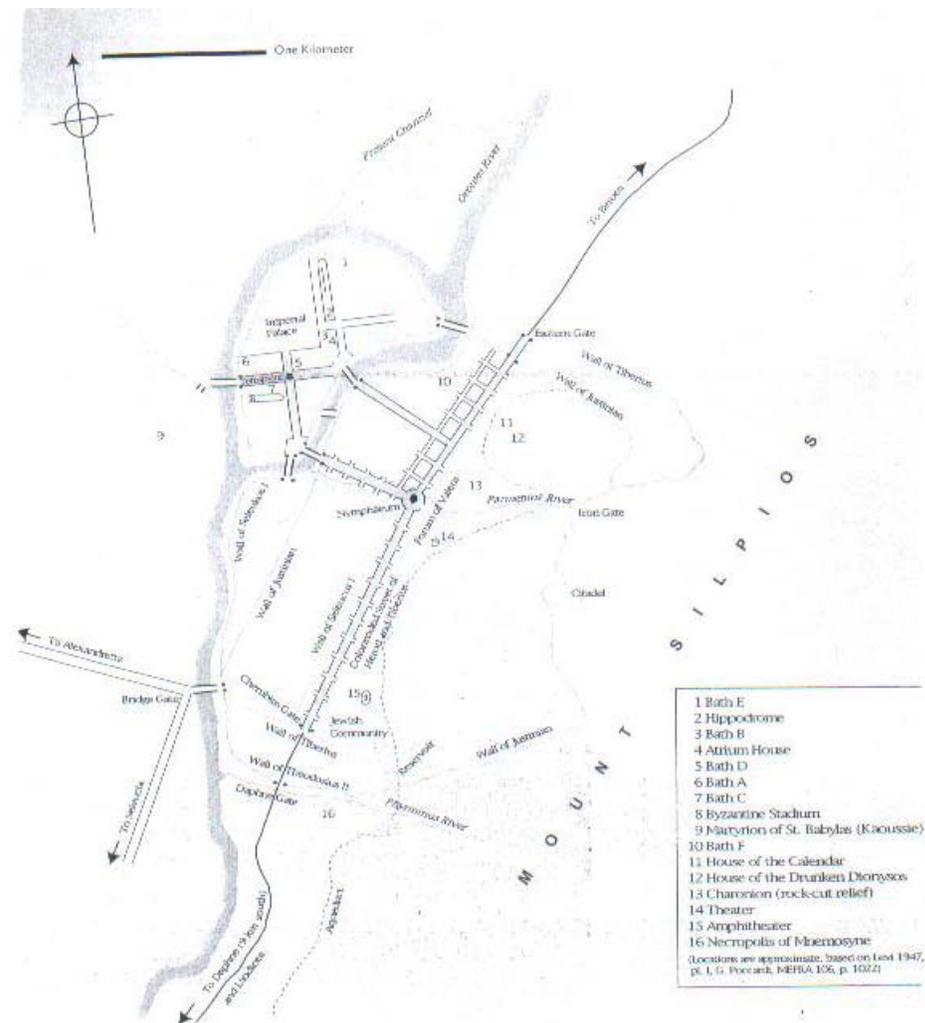


Fig. 35. Map of Ancient Antioch.

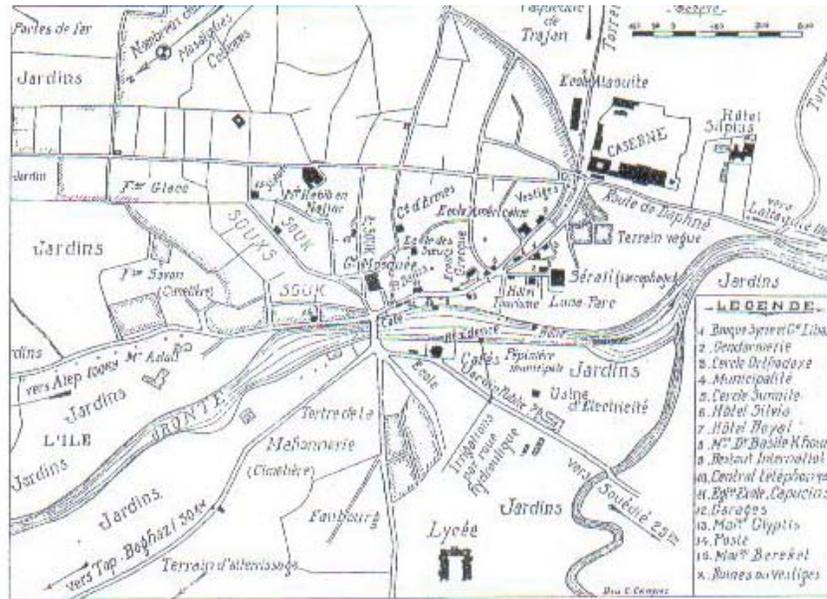


Fig. 36. Plan of Antioch in 1931 drawn by P. Jacquot.



Fig. 37. Jet bracelet and golden necklace from the Antakya Sarcophagus.

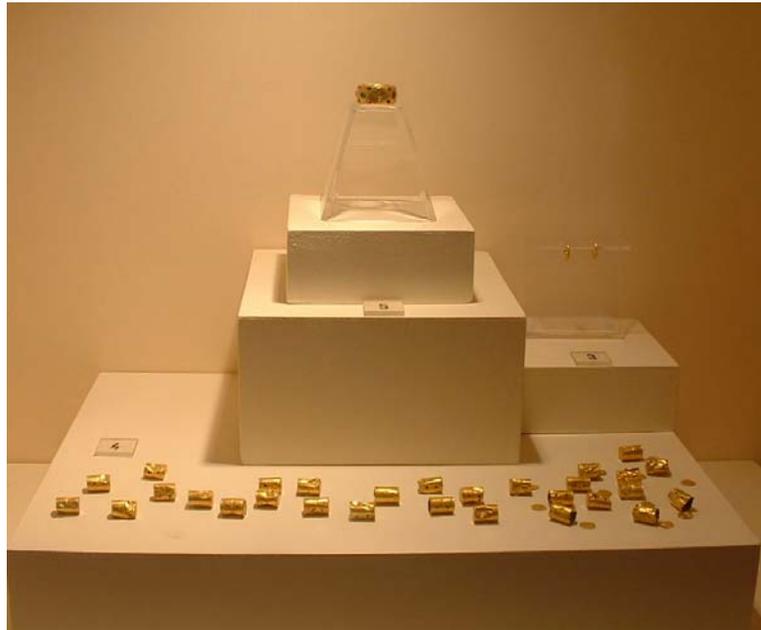


Fig. 38. Gold earrings from the Antakya Sarcophagus (right).

Fig. 39. Gold amulet ring from the Antakya Sarcophagus (top).

Fig. 40. Gold button accessories from the Antakya Sarcophagus (bottom).



Fig. 41. Aureus of Gordian III, from the Antakya Sarcophagus (left).

Fig. 42. Aureus of Gallienus, from the Antakya Sarcophagus (middle).

Fig. 43. Aureus of Cornelia Salonina, from the Antakya Sarcophagus (right).

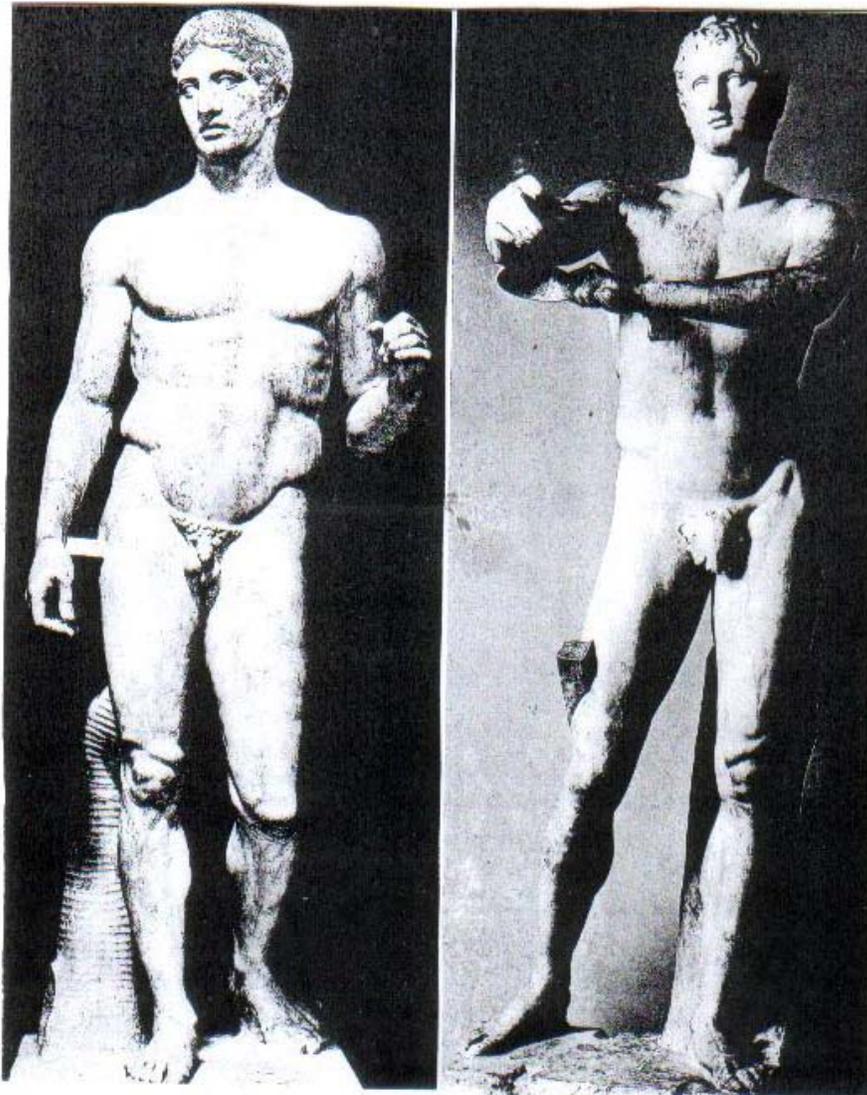


Fig. 44. Roman copy of Doryphoros from Pompeii. Original c.440 BC.

Fig. 45. Roman copy of Apoxyomenos. Original c.320 BC.



Fig. 46. Column base on the front side of the Antakya Sarcophagus.



Fig. 47. Detail of the gabled pediment on the front side of the Antakya Sarcophagus.



Fig. 48. Column capital of the Melfi Sarcophagus.



Fig. 49. Three-branched leaf pattern on the architrave of the Antakya Sarcophagus, front side.



Fig. 50. Central pediment of the rear side of the Antakya Sarcophagus.



Fig. 51. Right bay of the left side of the Antakya Sarcophagus.



Fig. 52. Detail of the first bay of the front side of the Antakya Sarcophagus



Fig. 53. Detail of the second bay of the rear side of the Antakya Sarcophagus, Medusa (?) head.



Fig. 54. The corner and right acroteria of the left lunette pediment of the front side of the Antakya Sarcophagus.



Fig. 55. The corner figure of the left side of the Antakya Sarcophagus.



Fig. 56. The corner figure of the right side of the Antakya Sarcophagus.



Fig. 57. The corner and left acrotéria of the right lunette pediment of the front side of the Antakya Sarcophagus.



Fig. 58. The corner and right acroteria of the left pediment on the rear side of the Antakya Sarcophagus.



Fig. 59. Corner and left acroteria of the right pediment on the rear side of the Antakya Sarcophagus.



Fig. 60. Lid on the right side of the Antakya Sarcophagus.



Fig. 61. The lifting bosses on the rear side of the Antakya Sarcophagus.



Fig. 62. Lid on the left side of the Antakya Sarcophagus.



Fig. 63. Right part of the lid on the front side of the Antakya Sarcophagus



Fig. 64. Left part of the lid on the front side of the Antakya Sarcophagus



Fig. 65. Unfinished rectangle on the lid of the rear side of the Antakya Sarcophagus



Fig. 66. Satyr head on the right corner on the rear side lid of the Antakya Sarcophagus.



Fig. 67. Satyr head on the left corner on the rear side lid of the Antakya Sarcophagus.



Fig. 68. Sarcophagus from Via Amendola. c. AD 170.

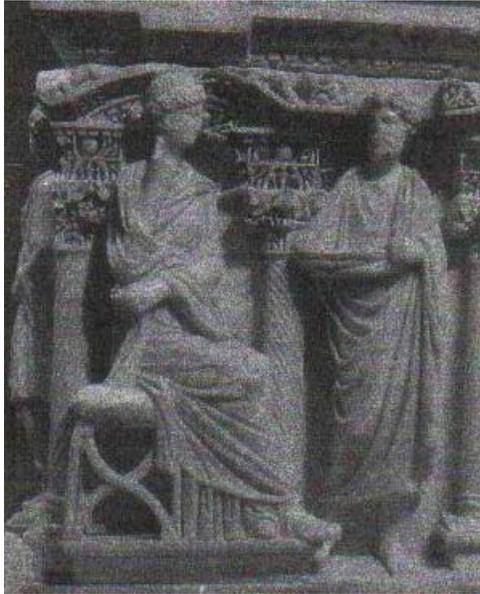


Fig. 69. Figure A and B on the Antakya Sarcophagus, front side.

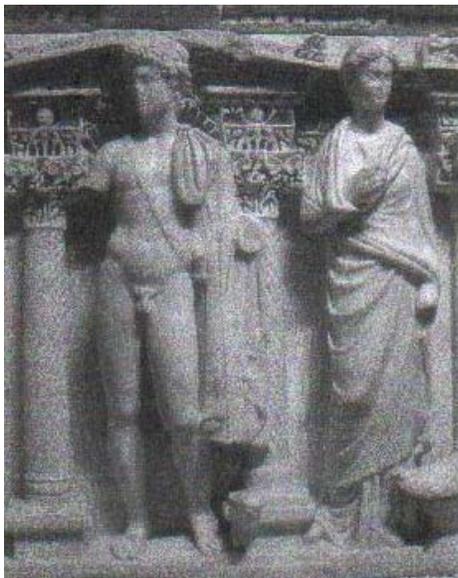


Fig. 70. Figure C and D on the Antakya Sarcophagus, front side.



Fig. 71. Figure E on the Antakya Sarcophagus, front side.



Fig. 72. Figure F and G on the Antakya Sarcophagus, right side

Fig. 73. Figure H1 and H2 on the Antakya Sarcophagus, right side



Fig. 74. Figure I on the Antakya Sarcophagus, right side.



Fig. 75. Figure J1, J2, and K on the Antakya Sarcophagus, rear side.

Fig. 76. Figure L on the Antakya Sarcophagus, rear side.



Fig. 77. Figure M1, M2 and O on the Antakya Sarcophagus, rear side.



Fig. 78. Figure N and P on the Antakya Sarcophagus, rear side.



Fig. 79. Figure Q, R1, and R2 on the Antakya Sarcophagus, rear side.

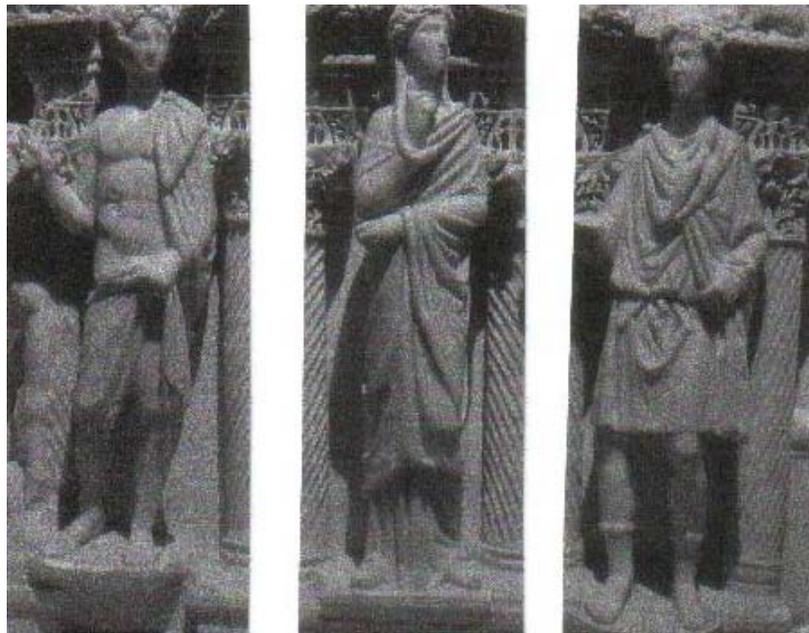


Fig. 80. Figure S on the Antakya Sarcophagus, left side.

Fig. 81. Figure T on the Antakya Sarcophagus, left side.

Fig. 82. Figure U on the Antakya Sarcophagus, left side.

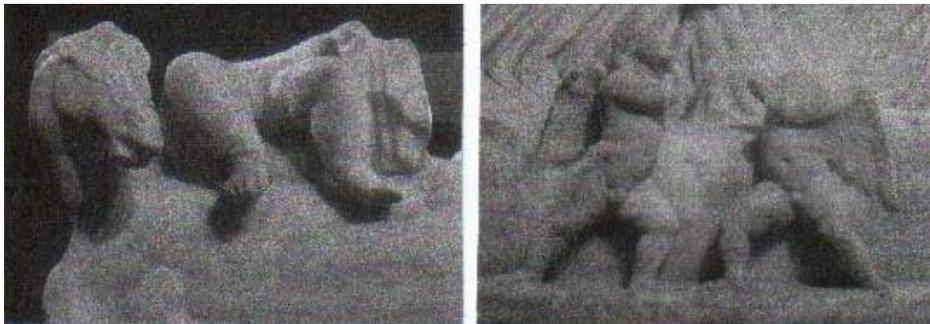


Fig. 83. Figure V on the Antakya Sarcophagus, lid.

Fig. 84. Figure W1 and W2 on the Antakya Sarcophagus, lid.



Fig. 85. Figure X on the Antakya Sarcophagus, lid.

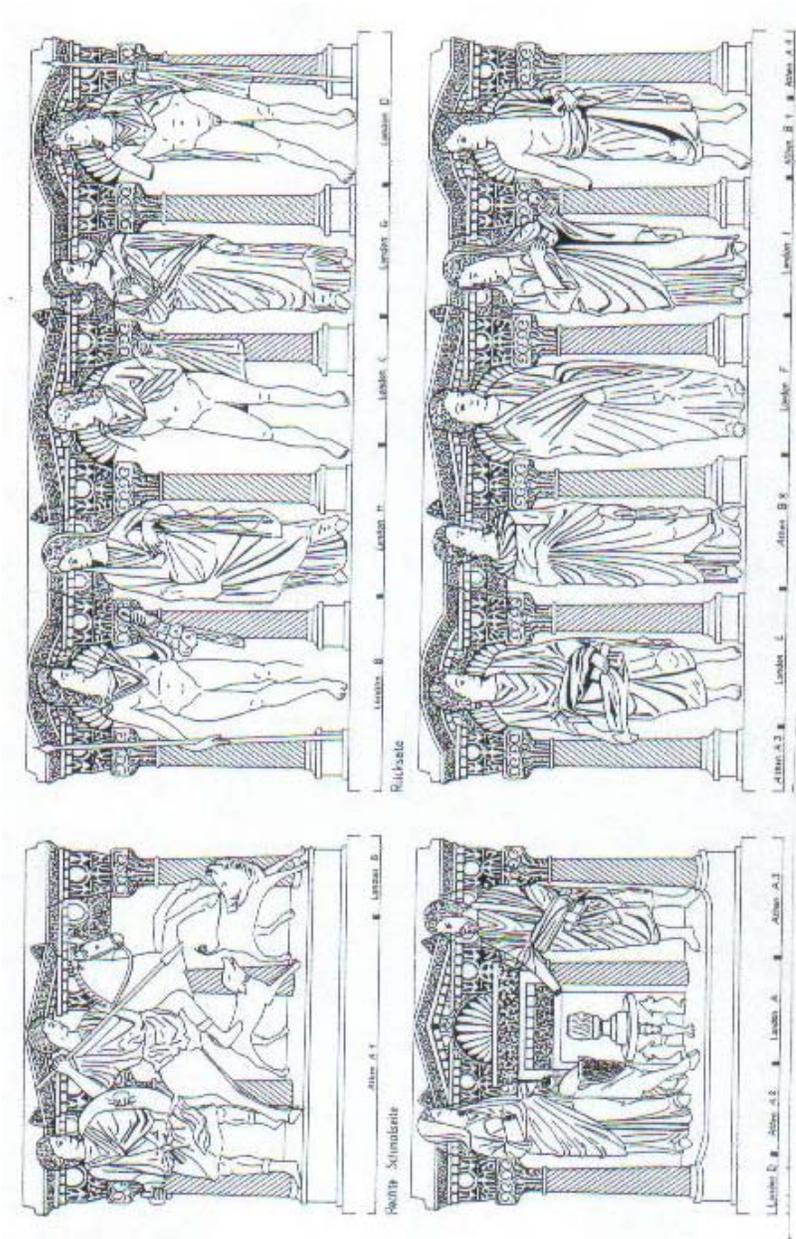


Fig. 86. Reconstruction of the Athens-London Sarcophagus.



Fig. 87. Drawing of the Hierapolis A Sarcophagus, long side.



Fig. 88. Cremating and inhuming areas in the Roman Empire, c.AD 60.



Fig. 89. Grave relief from Samos. Sacrifice and funerary meal. Late 3rd or 2nd century BC.

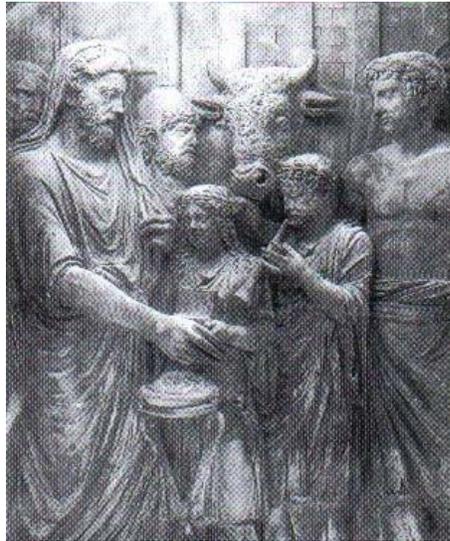


Fig. 90. Panel from triumphal arch of Marcus Aurelius. AD 176.



Fig. 91. Septimius Severus and Julia Domna offering a sacrifice, from the Arch of Argentarii. Rome



Fig. 92. White lekythos. Second quarter of the 5th century BC (left).

Fig. 93. White lekythos by the Painter of Athens. Third quarter of the 5th century BC (right).

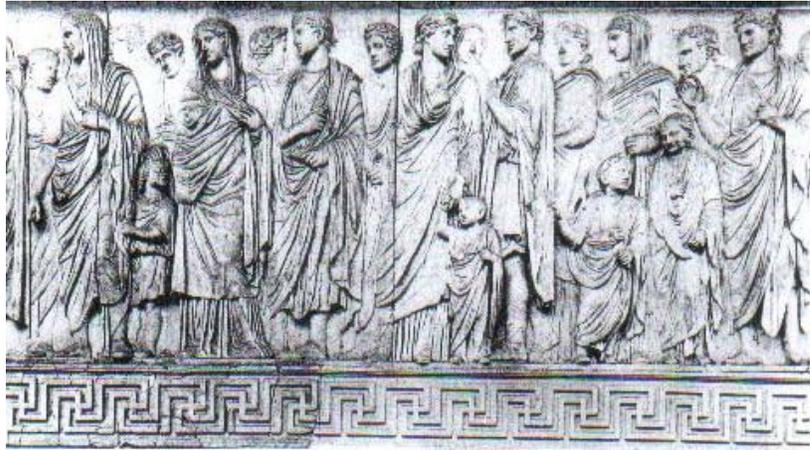


Fig. 94. South frieze of the Ara Pacis Augustae.

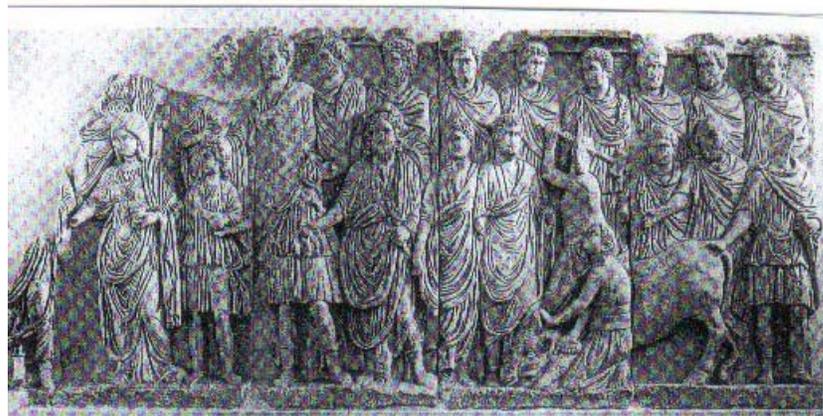


Fig. 95. Frieze from the arch of Septimius Severus at Lepcis Magna, Julia Domna at the left with an incense box in her hand. AD 203.

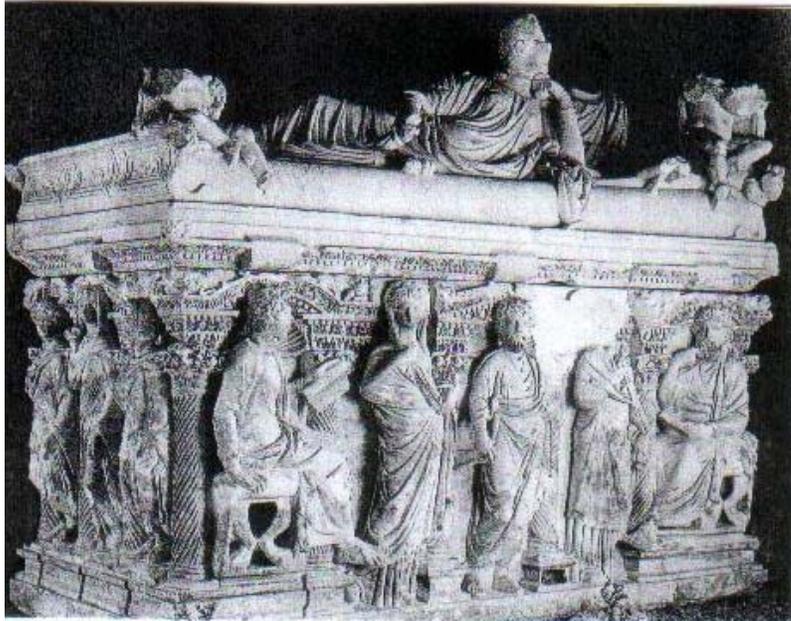


Fig. 96. Antalya N Sarcophagus (Sarcophagus of Domitias Filiskas). AD 190-5 (?).

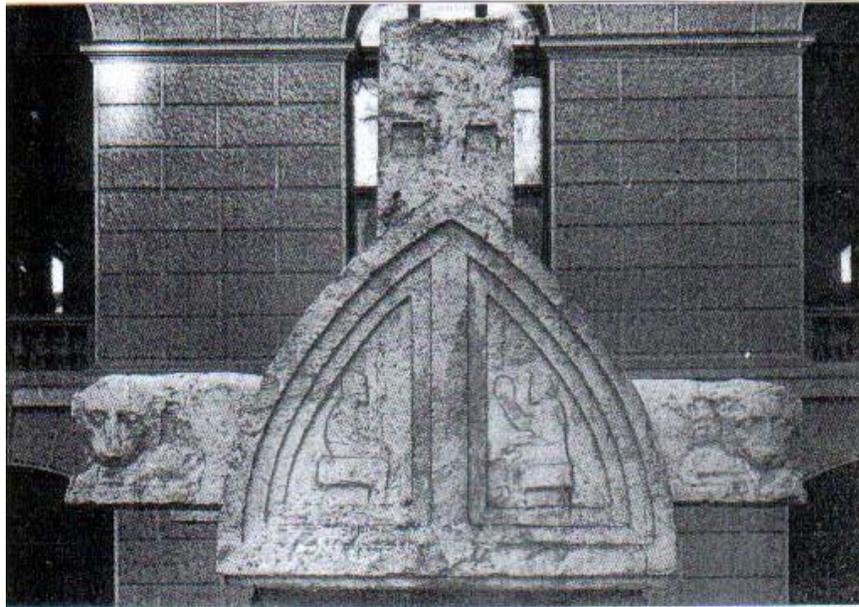
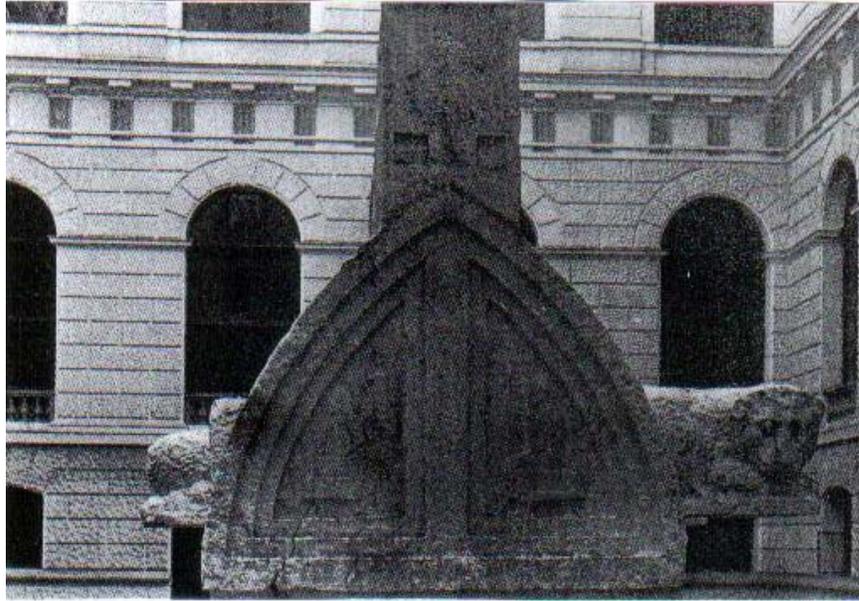


Fig. 97. Lid of the Sarcophagus of Dereimis and Aischylos. 380-70 BC.



Fig. 98. West side frieze of the “Harpy Tomb”. c.470 BC.

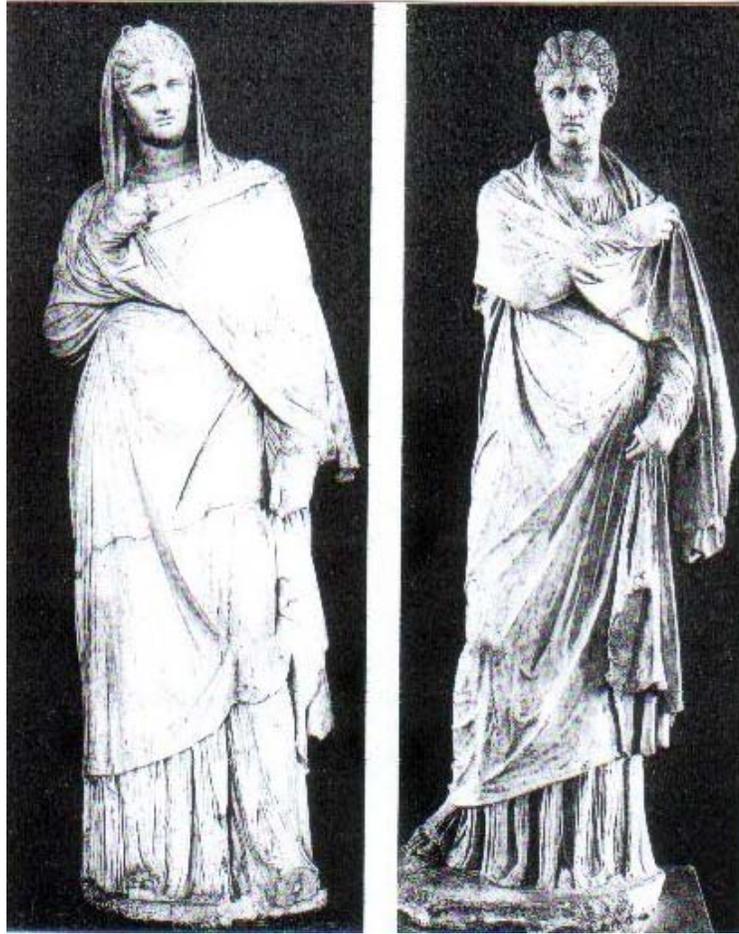


Fig. 99. Large and Small Herculaneum Goddesses. Original c.300 BC.

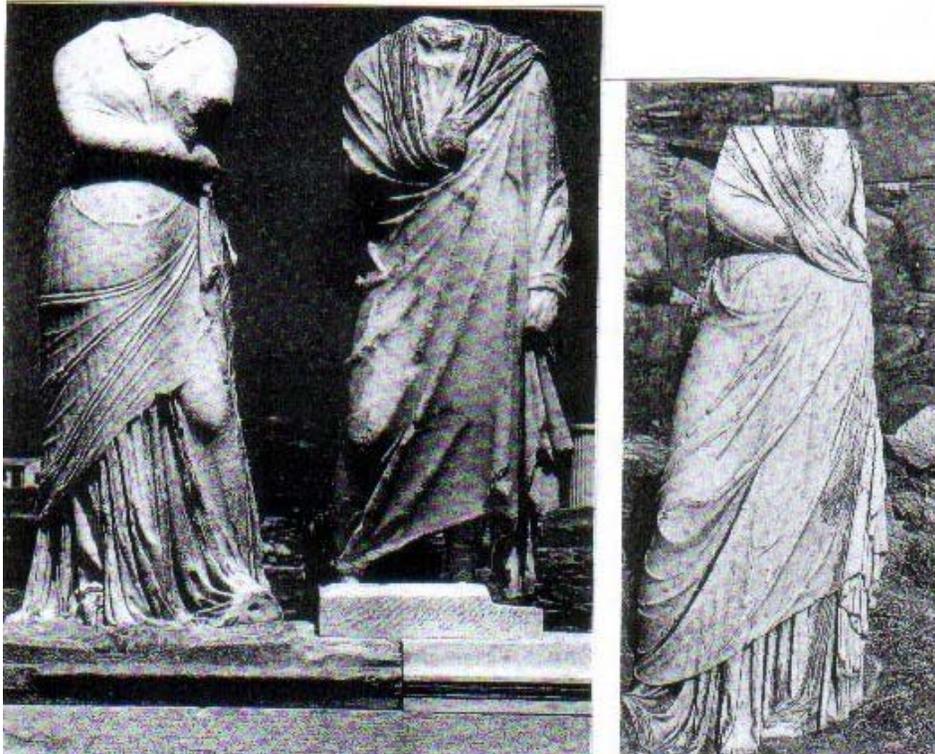


Fig. 100. Cleopatra and Dioskourides. 138-7 BC.

Fig. 101. Diadora. 140-30 BC.

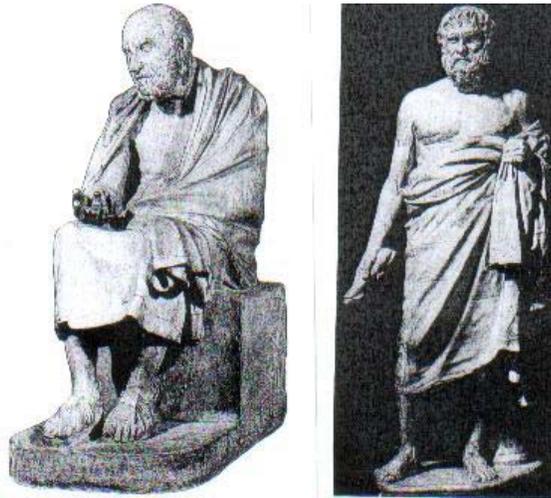


Fig. 102. Chrysippos, Stoic. Original late 3rd century BC.

Fig. 103. Capitoline philosopher. Original mid 3rd century BC.



Fig. 104. Poseidippos, comic poet. Original mid 3rd century BC.



Fig. 105. Figure D and E on the Antakya Sarcophagus, front side.

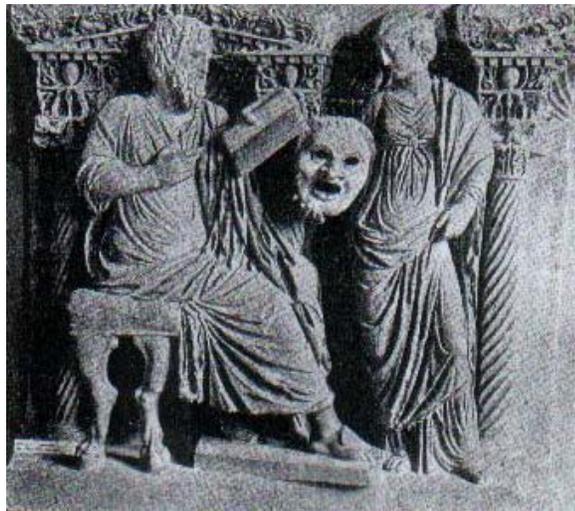


Fig. 106. British Museum fragment of a sarcophagus, poet and *Muse*.

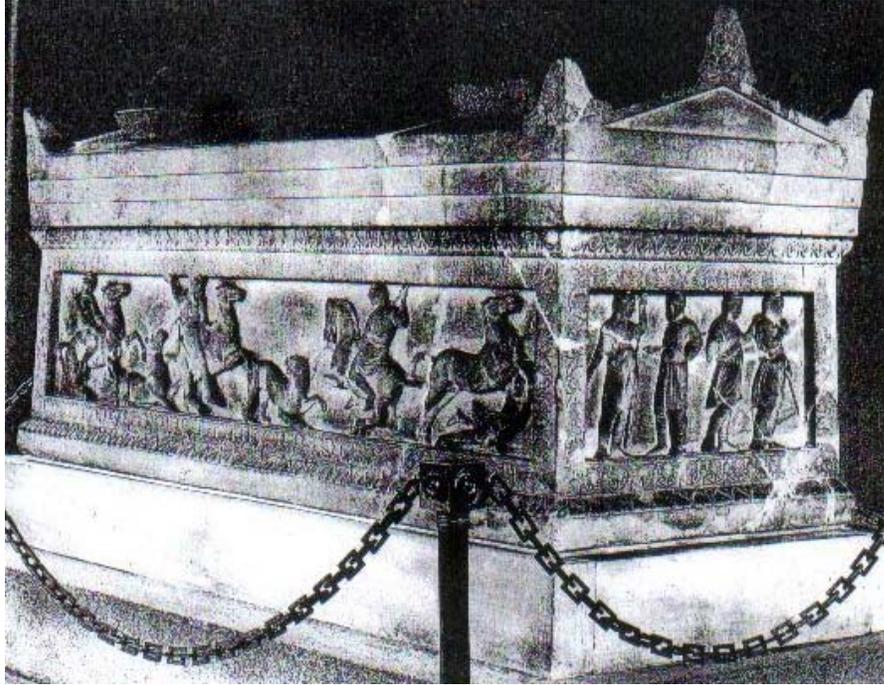


Fig. 107. Satrap Sarcophagus from the royal necropolis of Sidon. c.400 BC.



Fig. 108. Hunting tondi from the Arch of Constantine. Top: sacrifice to Hercules, Bottom: boar hunt. c. AD 130-8.



Fig. 109. Lid of an Etruscan sarcophagus from Cerveteri. Late 6th century BC.

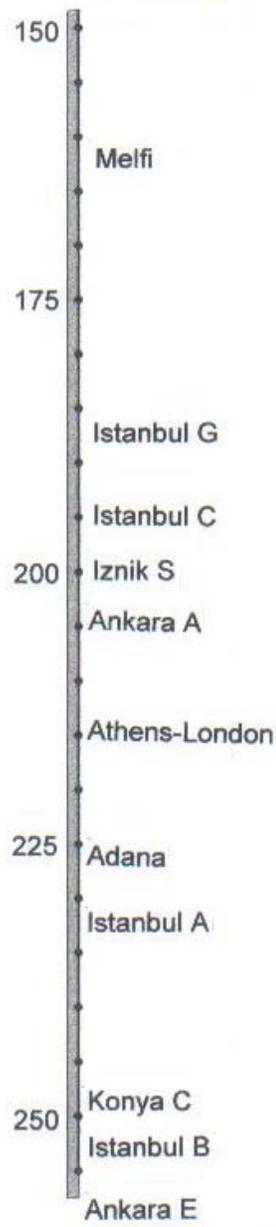


Fig. 110. Chronology chart for the Docimeum columnar sarcophagi.



Fig. 111. Detail of the architectural ornamentation of the Istanbul G Sarcophagus (Sarcophagus of Claudia Antonia Sabina). c. AD 185- 90 (?)



Fig. 112. Detail of the architectural ornamentation of the Istanbul C Sarcophagus. c. AD 195 (?)



Fig. 113. Detail of the architectural ornamentation of the Iznik S Sarcophagus (İznik- Nikaia). c. AD 200(?).

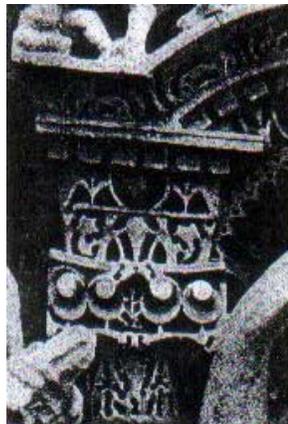


Fig. 114. Detail of the architectural ornamentation of the Ankara A Sarcophagus. c. AD 205 (?)



Fig. 115. Detail of the architectural ornamentation of the reconstructed Athens-London Sarcophagus. c. AD 215 (?).



Fig. 116. Detail of the architectural ornamentation of the Istanbul A (Selefkeh) Sarcophagus. c. AD 230-5 (?).



Fig. 117. Detail of the architectural ornamentation of the Istanbul B (Sidemara) Sarcophagus. c. AD 250-5 (?).

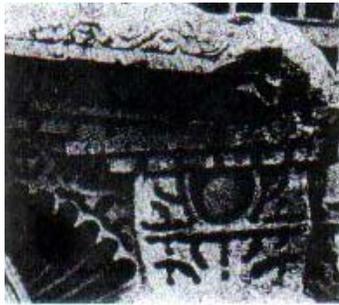


Fig. 118. Detail of the architectural ornamentation of the Ankara E Sarcophagus. c. AD 260 (?).

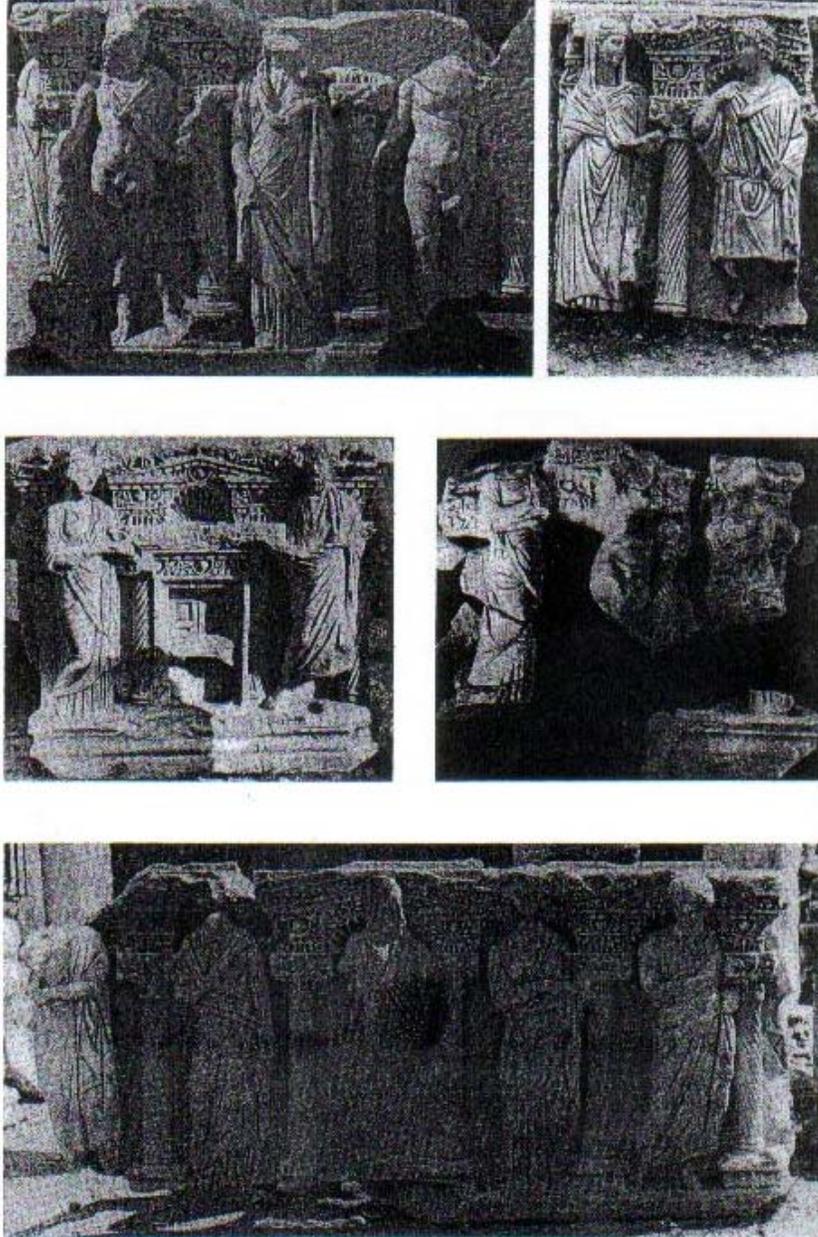


Fig. 119. The Adana Sarcophagus. c. AD 225- 30 (?).



Fig. 120. Head of the Lemnian Athena. Original c.450 BC.



Fig. 121 Roman version of a slab of the Nike Temple parapet. c. 420- 400 BC.



Fig. 122. Melos Aphrodite. 2nd century BC.



Fig. 123. Tetradrachm of Queen Cleopatra VII Thea of Egypt. 42-30 BC.

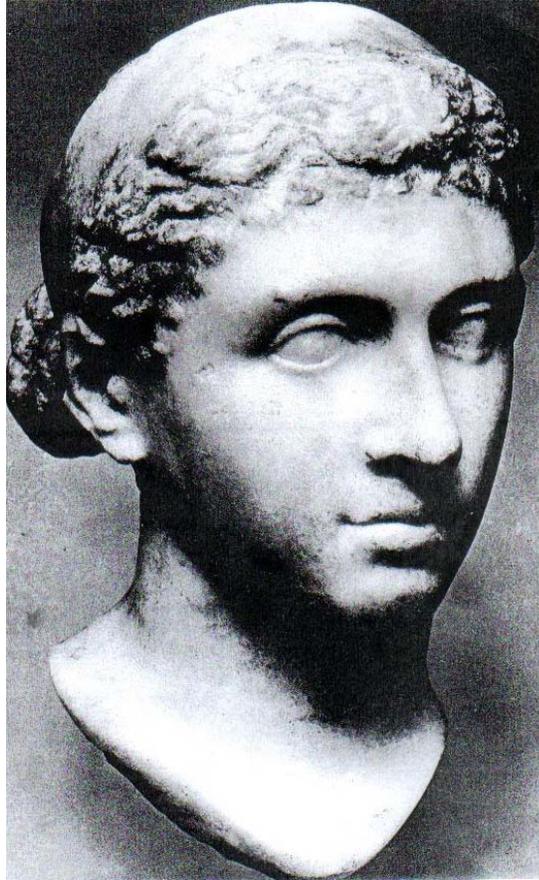


Fig. 124. Bust of Queen Cleopatra VII Thea of Egypt. c. 50- 30 BC.



Fig. 125. Bronze coin of Marcus Aurelius.



Fig. 126. Portrait of Faustina the Younger, Type 7.