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Ute Kelp, Rossella Pace

Grave Monuments, Funerary Representation and Social Stratification in Hellenistic Times

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Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Zentrale, Podbielskiallee 69–71, 14195 Berlin, Tel: +49 30 187711-0
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IV Comparative Approaches

Grave Monuments, Funerary Representation and Social Stratification in Hellenistic Times

Ute Kelp – Rossella Pace

In Hellenistic times, expanding and competing realms and dynamic supra-regional power-networks resulted in a higher mobility of people, goods and ideas that helped to define a cultural *koine* in the Mediterranean world¹. Well into the time of Roman involvement in Asia Minor and the foundation of the Roman province of Asia in 129 BC, a progressive entanglement of different domains of this *koine* continued. Regarding Hellenistic culture in general and its funerary culture in particular, this facilitated the development of networks of meaning with widely used forms and iconographies that were adapted according to local needs and personal preferences².

In Pergamon and its surroundings as well as in the Aiolis, the region on the west coast of Asia Minor close to and soon incorporated into the territory of Pergamon, little is known of the funerary culture with the exception of a few prominent graves and grave monuments³. Some of the main objectives of the NekroPerg-Eol-project were to confront the necropoleis of inland and coastal cities, on the one hand, on the other hand contrast the necropoleis of cities in the southern and northern Aiolis, and most of all to estimate variations in the Hellenistic centre of Pergamon and smaller cities in the region. While some of these necropoleis offer a certain set of evidence, the preservation of the necropoleis of Pergamon, with a few extraordinary tumuli and chamber tombs, is very patchy and, with re-

spect to their social interpretation, references for comparison are lacking. Under such circumstances, it is far from trivial to determine just how special for instance the İlyas Tepe Tumulus with its chamber tomb might be (late 3rd cent. BC)⁴.

Among the available testimonies, the survey of the necropoleis of Aiolian Aigai provides unique data to tackle those questions. As shown beforehand⁵, the northern and southern necropoleis extended over more than 30 ha and allow the tracing of burial traditions in a diachronic perspective. Thus, the development of Hellenistic grave types and their social interpretation in relation to other cities in the region will become more feasible. After a few remarks on basic methodologies and the historical setting, we will present some preliminary results that may illustrate the potential of pursuing this research.

Funerary rituals are social practices and, as such, are especially tangible in archaeological terms, but tracing these practices is highly dependent on the state of preservation and excavation techniques⁶, particularly as graves were not only in continuous use, but were also reused, opened, robbed, re-appropriated, cut, dismantled and built over. Establishing the stratigraphy, chronology and understanding the mortuary practices of a site can often prove to be a considerable challenge, not least in light of the respective research history.

¹ Marek – Frei 2010, 235–388; Thonemann 2016; Chaniotis 2019.

² E.g. Fabricius 1999; Szewczyk 2018. For a source-based analysis, see more recently Heitmann-Gordon 2017.

³ E.g. the so-called Princess grave of Kyme in the British Museum, see Williams 1996, or the İlyas Tepe Tumulus in Pergamon, see Pirson et al. 2011b.

⁴ See Pirson et al. 2011b; Kelp – Pirson 2020, 321–324.

⁵ See the contribution by Stéphane Verger, Yusuf Sezgin, and Rossella Pace in this volume.

⁶ Hence the importance of ‘gêstes funéraires’, see the contribution by William Van Andringa in this volume.

Moreover, graves are also *lieux de mémoire*⁷ and represent their owners and their families. Not directly relating to social reality is a fundamental characteristic of representation⁸. On that account, determining rules of representation for each site and for each period is a key aspect to evaluating grave monuments and other funerary representations⁹. To reach beyond representation to the individuals and communities expressing their beliefs through the burial process requires a social contextualisation that is far from straightforward¹⁰.

The resulting question is how economical and representative value translates into social standing¹¹. In this respect it is very important to consider the fact that social stratification in an ancient society does not mean a functional division of society into economic, political or religious spheres, but evolves along the lines of status, honours and lifestyle¹². Accordingly, to work with burials means to reckon with the social persona and lifestyle of the deceased as well as to value the ideology of their descendants.

Transformations from the Late Classical to the Hellenistic Period

The area under consideration extends from the southern Aiolis with the city of Kyme at the estuary of the river Hermos (Gediz Nehri) to Pitane (near Çandarlı), the northernmost of Herodotos' Aiolian cities (Hdt. 1, 149) and later one of the harbour cities of Pergamon (fig. 1)¹³.

The principal road follows the coast, passing through Gryneion and Elaia, the main harbour city of Pergamon, and then moves up the Kaikos Valley and towards the stronghold of Pergamon right in front of the Pindasos Mountains (Kozak Dağları). The river Kaikos (Bakır Çay) runs through a fertile flood plain that is relatively small in area, at least compared to the Hermos Valley further south. Between the river valleys and the coast, the Aspordenos Mountains (Yunt Dağları) provide yet another, more secluded living environment with smaller poleis such as Aigai and Temnos.

Under Persian rule, most of the region was part of the Lydian satrapy, with the Pindasos Mountains limiting the extent of Hellespontic Phrygia, the satrapy

to the north¹⁴. But a certain regional fragmentation is also documented, the best example being the city of Atarneus – strategically situated at the northern entry to the Kaikos Valley – that belonged to the Peraia of Chios (from around 545 BC)¹⁵.

The tributary Aiolian cities were part of the Persian dominion, and the Persian kings awarded some territory and cities in the region to Greek supporters (Xen. Anab. 2, 1, 3; Hell. 3, 1, 6) and Persian followers (Xen. Anab. 7, 8, 8–23). As documented for the Kaikos Valley inhabited by Mysians, these rulers and landowners were tasked with securing grain supplies and a military route in and out of Lydia¹⁶, thereby ensuring the loyalty of their followers. This is one example of how the Persian kings used privileges as a political strategy to exercise their power. But as Pierre Briant has pointed out, such gifts were by no means hereditary property but required continuous allegiance¹⁷. Pergamon itself is an instructive exam-

7 Drawing on the concept of French historian Pierre Nora (Engl. translation: Nora 1996–1998; German compendium: Nora 1998); for its application in antiquity see Stein-Hölkeskamp – Hölkeskamp 2010.

8 E.g. Barlösius 2004, 238.

9 Or, in terms of the agency embodied in such monuments, they are »social and relational, and therefore situational« (Gardener 2008, 136).

10 E.g. Brandt et al. 2017; Binsfeld – Kelp – Teegen 2022.

11 On the equally important question of how the health conditions of the deceased reflect their social status, see the respective contribution by Wolf-Rüdiger Teegen in this volume.

12 Winterling 2012. In contrast to modern societies all this is based on a generally accepted legal inequality in ancient societies, see Vittinghoff 1990; Vittinghoff 1994. The difference between defining e.g. the status-based economic potential or political power and specifying manifestations of status in the political or eco-

nomical sphere seems rather small. However, this framing gains importance in relation to class-based models of society. Especially when parameters such as »middle class« in purely economic terms« (Scheidel 2006, 54) become the starting point for defining »ancient middle classes« (referring to Roman society: Mayer 2012, 1–21 with Mouritsen 2012; Wallace-Hadrill 2013).

13 On the Aiolis in general, see Rubinstein 2004; Ragone 2008a, esp. 406; Heinle 2015; Savalli-Lestrade 2016.

14 Hansen 1971, 10. Regarding the satrapies, see Högemann 1992, 252–260; Wiesehöfer 1993, 96; Debord 1999, 91–104. 116–130; Marek – Frei 2010, 205–207.

15 For the Peraia of Chios, see Carusi 2003, 91–119.

16 Carusi 2003, 94. 104; Sommerey 2008, 136–140; Kelp 2020, 324 f. The remains of a settlement at Zindan Kayası (4th cent. BC) – affording control over the coastal road – have been described as the residence of a local dynast, see Pirson 2017, 51–53.

17 Briant 1985.



1 Map of the Aiolis

ple of the changing relationship between Persian rulers and Greek subordinates over time. Xerxes installed the exiled Eretrian Gongylos as ruler of Pergamon and of Gryneion, among several other cities (Xen. Hell. 3, 1, 6)¹⁸. Due to the increasing support of his descendants for Greek causes during the Spartan hegemony in the early 4th century BC, the Gongylid dynasty fell out of favour, which ultimately led to their eviction from Pergamon following the Peace of Antalcidas in 386 BC. Eventually, the Persian satrap Orontes allowed the resettlement of the Pergamene acropolis, yet Greek civic institutions emerged without any known dynastic constituent¹⁹. More recently, studies on the urban setting of nearby cities such as

Atarneus and Assos attest to the growing preeminence of Greek poleis, especially after the mid-4th century BC²⁰.

Emerging from well-connected ›Persianising‹ local élites of the 6th and 5th century BC, regional protagonists rose to power in the 4th century BC while being increasingly entangled with Greek polis life. In contrast to the Gongylids, some local rulers, like Hermeias of Atarneus, successfully extended their influence during the first half of the 4th century BC, but also encountered their limits during the final decades of Persian rule²¹. In spite of volatile alliances and revolting satraps in Asia Minor, which attest to regional instability around 360 BC, building activities aimed

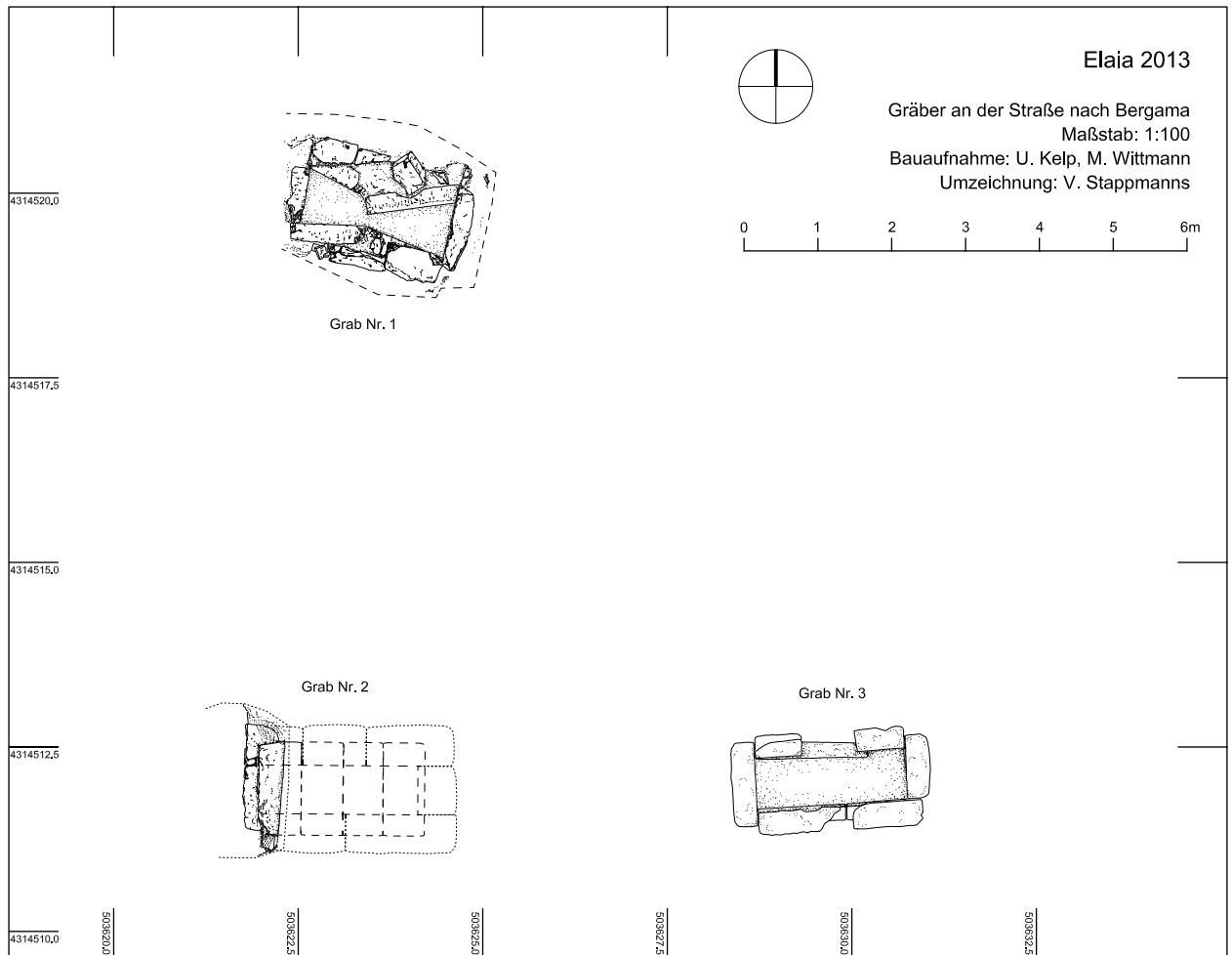
¹⁸ Marek – Frei 2010, 199; Pirson 2017, 51.

¹⁹ Hansen 1971, 8–13; Zimmermann 2011b, 18; Rheidt 2015, 300–305; in addition, see Pirson 2017, 54.²⁰ Rheidt 2015; Zimmermann – Matthaei – Ates 2015; Mohr – Rheidt – Arslan 2020.

²¹ For Hermeias see Diod. 16, 52, 1–7 and Berve 1967, 332–335; Carusi 2003, 105–114; Marek – Frei 2010, 207; Heinle 2015, 32 n. 182; 113.



2 Temnos. Cist graves in the necropolis



3a Elaia. Plan of a group of three cist graves east of the city



3b Elaia. Cist grave 2 built of ashlar blocks



4 Aigai. Cist graves in the necropolis



a



b

5 a.b Kyme, Southeast necropolis. Cist graves and sarcophagi

at monumentality in various forms²², eclectically using eastern and western repertoires and designs²³.

Beneath an over-arching level of long-standing as well as short-lived political alliances with and within the Persian administration, we have identified various regional components such as coastal and inland zones, river valleys and mountain areas. Established Greek poleis – the Aiolian poleis among them subdivided into south and north Aiolian cities – co-existed with local (Mysian) inhabitants, and the occasional Persian land-owners. They all add to the fluid perception and transitional movements on the fringes of Lydia²⁴.

In the aftermath of the conquest of the Persian Empire by Alexander the Great and the constitution of the Attalid realm with Pergamon as its supra-regional centre, the poleis and settlements of the region were increasingly affected. Tracing and describing the impact of Pergamene rule on the surrounding regions has been one of the main objectives of various regional survey activities over the last two decades²⁵. Against this background, the funerary landscape has also attracted attention, and in this contribution we aim to reflect on some of its peculiarities.

Hellenistic Grave Monuments and Funerary Practices in Aiolian Poleis and in Pergamon

Our knowledge of Kyme, Myrina, Aigai, Elaia and Pergamon offers a variety of models for funerary representation. Most burials contain grave goods that differ considerably in abundance and value. Among them are gender objects, rare objects and objects made of precious materials.

The tombs vary according to their monumentality and significance, such as the location of a tomb within the necropolis and in relation to streets²⁶. They may stand out for the value of their building stones, their architectural features as well as decorations and inscriptions.

In the Late Classical and Hellenistic times inhumation prevailed in the region and the most common grave types were single cist graves – built of either ashlar blocks or large slabs.

A few examples were identified in Temnos (fig. 2)²⁷, while three graves of this type emerged from the im-

mediate surroundings of Elaia (fig. 3 a. b)²⁸. At Aigai, we can observe this grave type over the entire area of the necropolis, as evidenced by older²⁹ and more recent excavations³⁰ (fig. 4). The same applies to the necropolis of Myrina³¹.

Furthermore, stone sarcophagi with gabled or flat covers were frequently in use in the Aiolian necropoleis. In particular, the necropoleis of Kyme have yielded the largest number of tombs of both types, which have been excavated around the city in recent years³² (fig. 5 a. b). The known examples in Pergamon are among the so-called Kunisch graves, which were found during construction work in the modern city of Bergama and can be dated to the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC (fig. 6)³³. Three out of the five sarcophagi belong to this period, all of them plain with gabled covers.

22 E.g. Mohr – Rheidt – Arslan 2020.

23 These developments are best known in Caria, culminating in the construction of the Maussoleion of Halikarnassos, see Pedersen 1994; Henry 2013; Karlsson 2013; Koenigs 2016, 186 f.

24 Kelp 2020.

25 Zimmermann – Matthaei – Ateş 2015; Pirson et al. 2015a. On the ongoing project TransPergMicro see <<https://www.dainst.blog/transpergmikro/about-the-project/>> (last access: 30.8.2021).

26 See the contribution by F. Pirson and S. Verger et al. in this volume.

27 From 2006 to 2008, the ancient remains were recorded as part of a three-year survey programme directed by G. Ragone, see Ragone 2007 and Ragone 2008b.

28 Pirson et al. 2012, 248 f. with figs. 82–84.

29 Clerc 1886; Clerc 1891.

30 Sükrü Tül excavated a limited area of the necropolis in 2005, see Sezgin 2017, 336 f.; Sezgin et al. 2019, 473 f. The most recent initiative to resume the study and excavation of the Aigai necropolis began in 2015. It is still ongoing under the direction of Stéphane Verger and Rossella Pace – funded by the NekroPergEol programme, the MEAE and UMR 8546 AORoc – as an integral part of the Aigai archaeological mission headed by Yusuf Sezgin.

31 Pottier – Reinach 1887; Çekilmez 2017; Çekilmez – Dereboylu Poulain – Erdan 2018; Çekilmez 2019, 59–61; Özdemir – Çekilmez 2020.

32 La Marca 2009, 404–407; Çirak – Kaya 2010; Korkmaz – Gürman 2011; Pace 2013; La Marca 2014; Atıcı – Beyazçam 2015; Pace 2016; Sudano 2017.

33 Kunisch 1972. These graves still comprise some of the few known undisturbed burials in Pergamon; for their location see fig. 1 in the contribution by F. Pirson in this volume.

Another quite frequent type is a simple fossa grave covered with stone slabs or tiles in the so-called ›alla cappuccina‹ manner, such as a grave at Elaia, excavated in the northern necropolis along a road that leads to the city (fig. 7)³⁴.

We have very well-preserved examples in Kyme (figs. 8–10) found in almost all of the burial areas investigated, which – despite the demands of emergency and preventive archaeology – represent the largest number of known extensive excavations in the Aiolian region. In most cases these tombs are scattered throughout the necropolis area – often already in use in previous periods – and do not have the same orientation. They mostly adapt to the space available within the respective area, following the terrain rather than being systematically arranged alongside pre-existing tombs. This is well documented in a more recently excavated area in the northern necropolis at Aigai, mainly with cist graves inside and outside a grave precinct³⁵. Older cist graves may be cut, built over or ignored altogether (fig. 11). Some notes from Myrina by Reinach and Pottier³⁶ also attest to visibility and a more intensive land use as guiding principles (fig. 12 a–c).

Within the necropolis areas, grave precincts prevail. They may be quadrangular, rectangular or circular and constitute the main formative element of the necropoleis. These precincts may be considered as real ›monumentalisations‹ in a family context, demonstrating the social status of the respective owners.

A perfect example is the circular grave monument excavated in 2015 in Aigai (fig. 13), situated near the ancient road into the city, close to a turning point. Underneath the circular monument, six cist graves were found. Building material in the surroundings led to the reconstruction of a monument crowned by a concave three-sided top. According to an inscription found nearby it was built at the beginning of the 1st century BC for Diaphenes, a prominent euergetes of the city, and his family³⁷.

Two other well-worked circular foundations have been documented at the opposite end of the necropolis as well (fig. 14), again strategically placed in between older grave monuments at the junction where the road turns towards the extra-urban sanctuary of Apollon. Such circular monuments certainly differed

in their layout, but they are the most representative civic grave monuments of their time. Some of them may even have reflected the older tumuli on the crest of the hill³⁸.

In Pergamon, tomb 2 in the south-eastern necropolis (fig. 15), excavated in 2007, displays the same characteristic – in this case semi-circular – foundation³⁹. Originally, dovetail metal clamps connected the blocks that formed the semi-circle. Roughly hewn on the inside, the outside of these blocks are well finished, giving the impression that they were visible at the time of construction. However, on discovery, this face of the built foundation was completely covered by some surrounding rubble walls⁴⁰. In view of the evidence in Aigai, we think that this burial site was reused and that at least part of the foundation of a pre-existing monument was integrated into a Roman tomb with rubble walls (*opus caementitium*) containing a cist grave built with bricks. If true, this foundation would be the first built grave monument on the eastern slope of the city hill, situated just outside of a smaller city gate and next to a cistern. From the early imperial period onwards, the extensive area was continuously in use as a burial ground⁴¹.

Considering the grave goods, common burials are usually equipped with unguentaria and other elements used in mortuary rituals (e.g. preparation of the body during burial, treatment of the corpse, etc.). Unguentaria occur in child and adult burials in varying numbers, but usually a pair was deposited. Some unguentaria or alabastra were also placed outside the tomb, attesting to the funerary process⁴². To this basic set of grave furnishing, personal objects such as small glass beads or coins may be added.

In Kyme and Aigai, the next step in increasing the amplitude of grave goods is to include metal objects⁴³. Bronze mirrors for women attest to the ›mundus muliebris‹, the female world, strigiles for men evoke their active lives in the gymnasium and palaestra.

These objects are widely found in graves and we can consider them as the most common symbols of the status of the deceased in Hellenistic times. We observe a few differences in the choice of these ›indicators‹ of status at various sites of the Aiolis. In Pergamon, in the first half of the 3rd century BC, a stone cist

³⁴ See S. Feuser in: Pirson et al. 2009, 191–194.

³⁵ This excavation by a Franco-Turkish team is being prepared for publication.

³⁶ Duchêne – Mathieux 2007.

³⁷ The publication is in preparation by Stéphane Verger, Yusuf Sezgin, Rossella Pace and Baykal Başdemir.

³⁸ See the contribution by S. Verger, Y. Sezgin, and R. Pace in this volume.

³⁹ U. Mania in: Pirson et al. 2008, 112–118, esp. 115 with fig. 35.

⁴⁰ Therefore, the monument was identified as a Roman grave building with a semi-circular bench, see n. 39.

⁴¹ Kelp 2014, 369–371 with fig. 14.

⁴² For example, see the contribution by U. Kelp et al. on Tumuli 2 and 3 in this volume.

⁴³ Pace 2016.

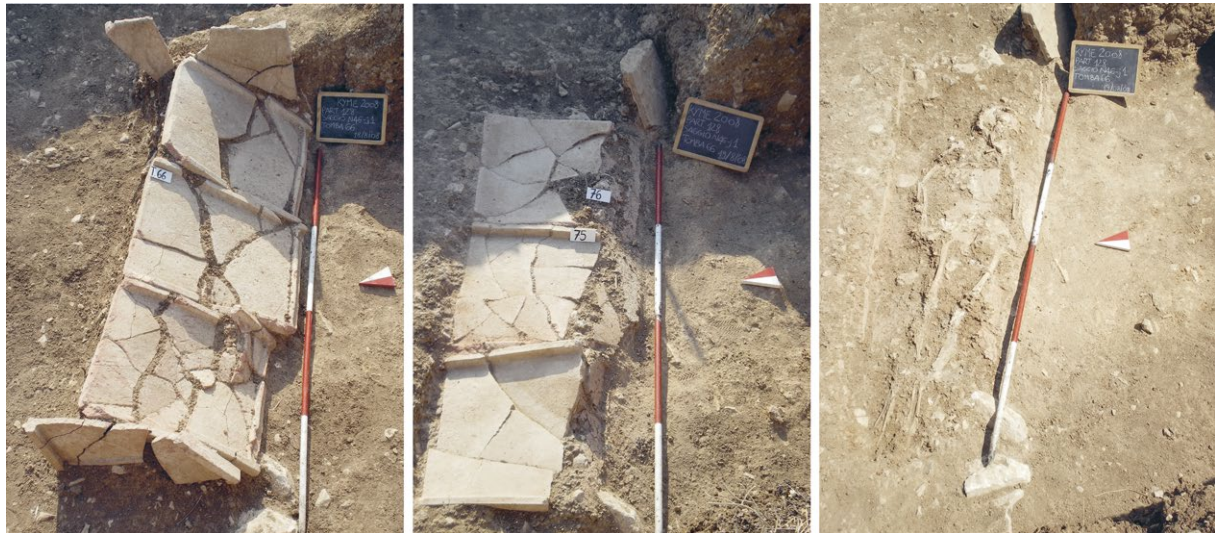


6 Pergamon, Extended necropolis area south of the city. Cist graves (so-called Kunisch graves) at the time of discovery



7 Elaia, Northern necropolis, Grave6. Fossa grave covered by tiles

8 Kyme, Southeast necropolis.
Fossa grave covered by slabs



9

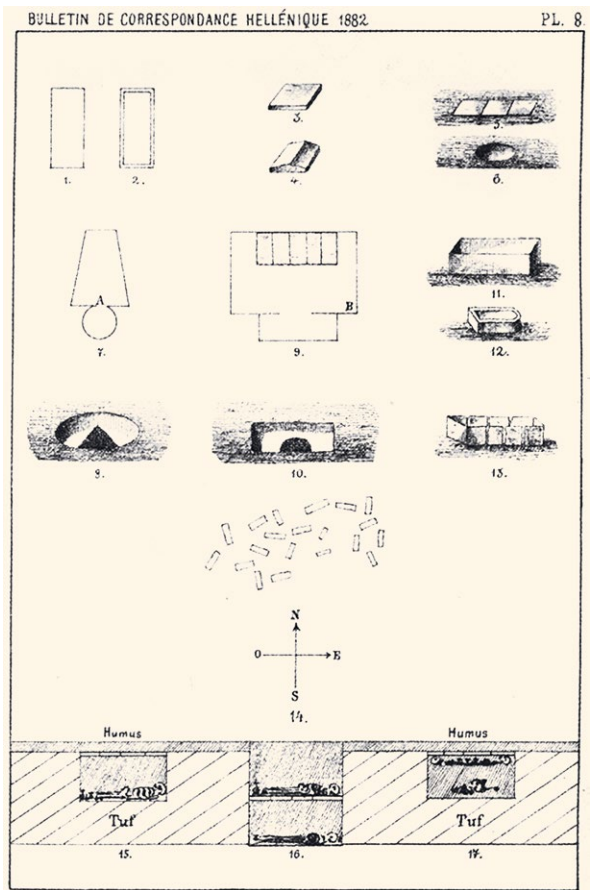


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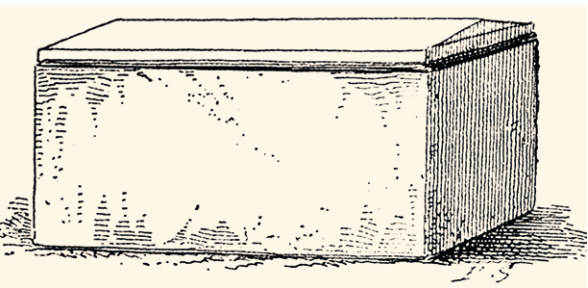
9/10 Kyme, Southeast necropolis. Fossa graves covered by tiles in the so-called ›alla cappuccina‹ manner



11 Aigai, Northern necropolis. Grave precinct with cist graves



a



b



c

12 a Myrina. Reinach's sketch with various grave types, b Myrina. Reinach's sketch of cist grave T. B, c Myrina. Reinach's sketch of rich cist grave T. 51



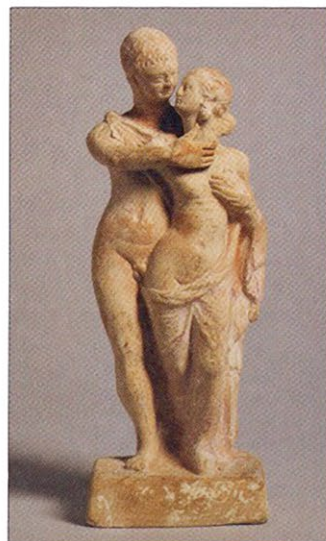
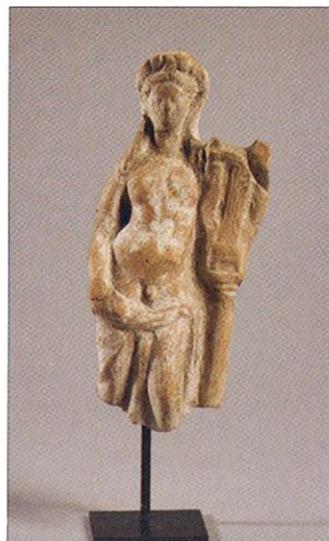
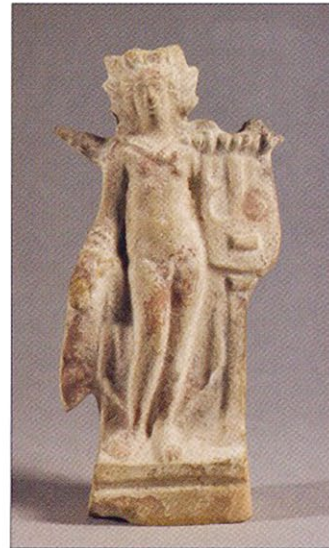
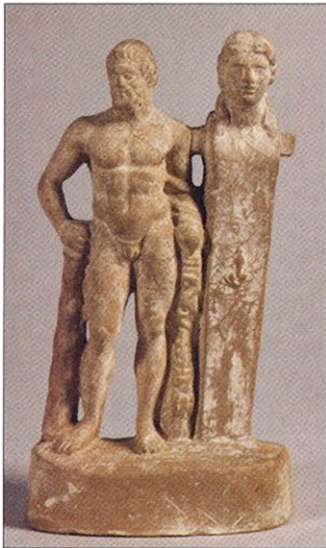
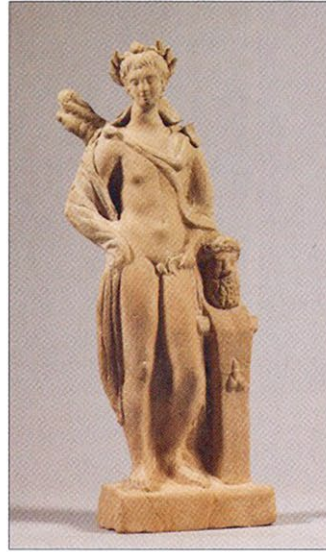
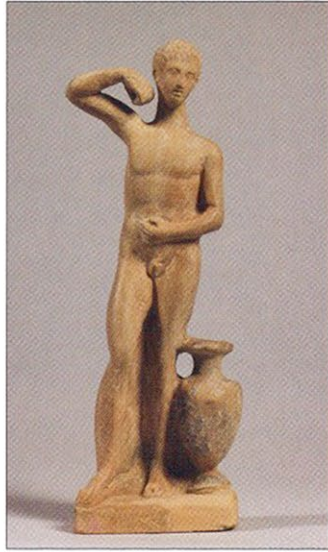
13 Aigai. Circular grave monument



14 Aigai, Northern necropolis. Circular stone foundation



15 Pergamon, Southeast necropolis. Tomb 2



16 Myrina. Figurines from grave T.51



17 Aigai, Grave L118

grave (Kunisch Grave A) could contain less valuable objects: apart from the bronze mirror, mainly unguentaria, ceramic alabastra and remains of wreaths of mixed materials⁴⁴.

At Myrina, the abundance of objects in each grave manifests the status of the deceased; in particular, the number and quality of the terracotta statuettes present in a grave are proportional to the standing of the owner within this setting (fig. 16). Some figurines are copies of well-known statues – some of them deriving from Pergamene types as Dominique Kassab has demonstrated⁴⁵. Others exhibit vivid and precious colours or are even gilded. There are also moulds inscribed with the name of the manufacturer.

Children's graves often contain various animal figures, a phenomenon also known from Kyme⁴⁶. The quality of the terracotta figurines found in Myrina is certainly higher than in other sites⁴⁷, while in Pergamon they are extremely uncommon⁴⁸. In Aigai in particular, some examples of good quality were found, which held a special position in the grave context. In one grave in Aigai, the figurines were placed at the head (fig. 17).

Another peculiarity of the graves of Myrina are the bronze sheets inscribed with the name of the deceased as well as vessels with inscriptions. It is not easy to interpret these vessels – do they attest to the ability of the city's inhabitants to read? They certainly indicate a level of knowledge that we might associate with well-off citizens. The corpus of funerary inscriptions from Myrina⁴⁹ remains the largest in number compared to the findings from other sites such as Kyme, Aigai, Elaia.

Based on descriptions in the journals of the excavators of the 19th century and on a couple of remains on site, the graves of Myrina were simple cist graves – some of them rock-cut (fig. 18) – set in clusters next to and on top of each other in several layers. These clusters are unknown in Kyme, Aigai, Elaia or Pergamon, but common in Temnos for instance.

At Aigai and Kyme, grave contexts contained wreaths of mixed materials: gilded terracotta beads set on copper wire⁵⁰, modelled on Macedonian types of gilded and gold wreaths that were found in Macedonia and mainland Greece in well-equipped and élite burials, as well as in Pergamon⁵¹. During recent

⁴⁴ Kunisch 1972, 94–96 fig. 4; see also p. 174 with n. 47 in U. Kelp et al. in this volume.

⁴⁵ Kassab 2016.

⁴⁶ Çirak – Kaya 2010.

⁴⁷ Kassab 1987, 179 f.

⁴⁸ For terracotta findings from Pergamon see Kielau 2018, esp. 21 f.

⁴⁹ See the contribution by Claudio Biagetti in this volume.

⁵⁰ For the terminology used for the components of mixed material wreaths see e. g. Asderaki – Rehren 2008. The English terminology for copper alloys of copper and tin (see Zahner 2020) differs from the common denomination ›bronze‹ in German and other languages, which we use throughout the text.

⁵¹ Pencheva 2021. For Pergamon see the contribution by U. Kelp et al. in this volume.



18 Myrina. Rock-cut cist graves

years of research, it has become evident that the use of gold objects at Kyme reached unprecedented levels of quantity and quality – it certainly stands out from other sites in the region, with productions of great technical complexity and variety⁵². Architectural features as well as the use and refinement of precious building materials were obviously not characteristic of the most opulent tombs at Kyme and Myrina; instead, the number of grave goods and the deposition of precious jewellery were important.

However, some funerary stelae of considerable artistic importance and complex funerary iconography⁵³ from Kyme, as well as the discovery of chamber tombs

in the surroundings⁵⁴, probably covered by tumuli, attest to the presence of other grave types (fig. 19). For this reason, other more conspicuous or monumental funerary monuments may not be excluded.

Less widespread, but present, are cremation graves in metal urns, which recall a well-documented ancient aristocratic burial ritual. At present, we know of only two Early Hellenistic cases in the region. One a container from Myrina, from which the few remaining diagnostic pieces, today kept in the Louvre, confirm a hydria. Another bronze hydria – set in a quadrangular cist grave – survived in Kyme (fig. 20)⁵⁵. This ensemble came to light near crema-

⁵² Scatozza Höricht 2010; Çirak – Kaya 2010; Pace 2016. However, some of the more conspicuous burial objects can also be found in other poleis; see, for instance, the golden diadem and other pieces of jewellery allegedly found in the bay of Elaia: Conze 1884 and J. Krasel et al. in this volume.

⁵³ Pace 2013. The reassembled stele is currently on display at the Archaeological Museum of Izmir.

⁵⁴ Taliano Grasso 2012a; Pace 2016, 176 f.; more recently excavated and published: Korkmaz – Küçüküney – Doğu 2015.

⁵⁵ Atıcı – Karakaş 2013, 237 f. with figs. 8–13. The vessel is on display in the Izmir Museum.

tions in ceramic vessels in a necropolis area to the east of the city. While the metal urns represent an elaborate form of this burial, the principle remains the same for containers made of less conspicuous materials (fig. 21). In Elaia, the cremated remains of the deceased filled the lower part of an amphora, which also contained an unguentarium; the amphora was similarly set in a rectangular cist grave covered with tiles (fig. 22 a. b)⁵⁶. Among the Hellenistic cremation graves in Elaia excavated in 2008, there is also a simple quadrangular ostotheke of volcanic tuff without any grave goods (fig. 23)⁵⁷.

In general, we can ascertain a tendency to customise and monumentalise funerary monuments. In terms of space, rectangular precincts with a few graves prevail, clearly protecting and saving space for future interments. In terms of architecture and in a limited number of monuments, these tendencies are more discernible, as for example in the circular monument at Aigai or in the tumuli at Pergamon⁵⁸. Regarding the memorial aspect, we can see the continuous use of older tombs and activities in some of the graves, as is presumably the case with the Seç Tepe at Elaia⁵⁹. In Aigai, the veneration at tumuli has been confirmed as well⁶⁰.

To conclude, we are still left with a few examples that can be clearly attributed to Hellenistic times, but as is often the case in funerary practice, traditional grave types – in particular tumuli – remain popular in the Hellenistic period as well. In urban areas, these grave types were modified according to the standards of their time and local preferences.

Cremations are more popular in coastal cities (Kyme, Myrina, Elaia), but also appear in inland cities, as documented on the northern slope of Pergamon's city hill⁶¹. In the coastal cities, there is a tendency to express opulence through grave goods, but

precious jewellery and terracotta figurines seem to occur with regularity only in the southern Aiolis⁶². Notably, the typical cist grave clusters of the southern Aiolis (Temnos, Myrina) – not to be confused with one or more common cist graves – do not occur in Aigai, Elaia or Pergamon. It is noteworthy that not only do grave monuments and grave markers show local peculiarities, but the burials and grave contents also seem to follow local patterns. On the one hand, this persistent particularity of burial practices in the region is remarkable and reflects the regional components mentioned at the beginning. On the other hand, the orientation of Aigai towards Pergamon also seems apparent in the funerary culture. It is primarily the representative quality of tumuli such as those at Aigai, but also in the Kaikos Valley (e. g. in Atarneus) that set the stage for the new dimension reached with the Yığma Tepe in Pergamon⁶³.

Returning to the initial question regarding the social context of the İlyas Tepe Tumulus with its chamber tomb of Macedonian type, we may reason on safer ground. Apart from chamber tombs in a Lydian and Graeco-Persian tradition, there are no antecedents in the region⁶⁴. While the architectural layout of Tumuli 2 and 3 in Pergamon, the earliest of the 3rd century BC tumuli⁶⁵, is firmly rooted in local traditions, chamber tombs with a voussoir vaults such as the İlyas Tepe Tumulus clearly turn a page and attest to the Hellenistic residence that Pergamon became during that time. More generally, the funerary landscape in the wider surroundings of Pergamon seems to reflect the overall sectionalism that characterised this region for centuries. Such perseverance in burial practices once again attests to long-lasting burial traditions, but also to fractured regional networks as late as the Hellenistic period.

56 S. Feuser in: Pirson et al. 2009, 191–194 with fig. 61.

57 S. Feuser in: Pirson et al. 2009, 191–194 with fig. 62.

58 See the respective contributions by S. Verger, F. Pirson, and M. Meinecke et al. in this volume.

59 Kelp 2020, 321–323.

60 See the contribution by S. Verger et al. in this volume.

61 See the contribution by J. Krasel et al. in this volume.

62 Again, some finds in Elaia (see n. 61) and Pergamon attest to grave goods of similar opulence, so this picture may change further as new burials are discovered.

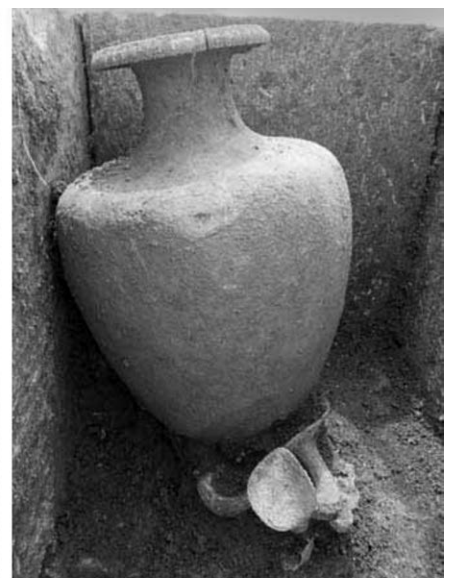
63 See the respective contributions by F. Pirson and M. Meinecke et al. in this volume.

64 Namely Rüzgâr Tepe in the north necropolis of Kyme (Taliano Grasso 2012a) as well as Seç Tepe in Elaia and the chamber tombs in the Taşdam Tepe Necropolis (Kelp 2020).

65 See the contribution by U. Kelp et al. in this volume.



19 Kyme. Large grave stele from the southeast necropolis. Digital reassembly of two fragments by R. Pace, MAIKE



20 Kyme, Eastern necropolis. Cremation in bronze urn



21 Kyme, Southeast necropolis. Cremations in ceramic vessels next to inhumation in fossa grave after the removal of the cover tiles



a



b

22 a Elaia, Northern necropolis, Grave 3. Cist grave covered by tiles containing an amphora burial, b Elaia, Northern necropolis, Grave 3. Amphora burial with cremation



23 Elaia, Northern necropolis, Grave 5. Ostotheke of volcanic tuff with cremation next to another fossa grave covered by tiles

Abstract

In accordance with the main goals of the project NekroPergEol, this paper estimates variations in the necropoleis of the Hellenistic centre of Pergamon and smaller cities in the region. The preservation of the necropoleis of Pergamon, with some extraordinary tumuli and chamber tombs, is very patchy, while the survey of the ample necropolis of Aiolian Aigai allows to trace the local burial traditions in a diachronic perspective. Thus, the development of Hellenistic grave types and their social interpretation in relation to other cities in the region becomes more feasible.

In the process, we evaluate and confront the necropoleis of inland and coastal cities on the one hand, and on the other hand we contrast the necropoleis of cities in the southern Aiolis with the necropoleis of cities in the northern Aiolis. Preliminary results show the persistent particularity in burial practices in the region. Not only do grave monuments and grave markers show local peculiarities, but also the burials and grave contents seem to follow local patterns.

Keywords: Aiolis, funerary monuments, funerary representation, social stratification, Hellenism

Illustration Credits

Fig. 1 After the Barrington Atlas, pl. 56

Figs. 2. 4. 11. 13. 14. 18 Photo Aigai Necropolis
Project MAFE

Fig. 3a D-DAI-IST-EL13_Straßengrab 100_AA_16-5 [1]

Fig. 3b D-DAI-IST-EL11-Ar-01_003

Figs. 5a.b; 8-10. 21 Photo MAIKE (Missione
Archeologica Italiana Kyme Eolica)

Fig. 6 After Kunisch 1972, fig. 1

Fig. 7 DAI-IST-EL08-Ar-01_185

Fig. 12a After Duchêne – Mathieux 2007, pl. 4

Fig. 12b After Duchêne – Mathieux 2007, pl. 5

Fig. 12c After Duchêne – Mathieux 2007, pl. 8

Fig. 15 DAI-IST-PE07-So-01_172

Fig. 16 After Duchêne – Mathieux 2007, pl. 10

Fig. 17 Photo Y. Sezgin – Aigai excavation

Fig. 19 After Pace 2013, fig. 9

Fig. 20 After Atıcı – Karakaş 2013, fig. 9

Fig. 22a D-DAI-IST-EL08-Ar-01_098

Fig. 22b D-DAI-IST-EL08-Ar-01_172

Fig. 23 D-DAI-IST-EL08-Ar-01_121