

SVENSKA INSTITUTEN I ATHEN OCH ROM  
INSTITUTUM ATHENIENSE ATQUE INSTITUTUM ROMANUM REGNI SUECIAE

---

# Opuscula

Annual of the Swedish Institutes at Athens and Rome

6  
2013

STOCKHOLM

**EDITORIAL COMMITTEE:**

Prof. Gunnar Ekroth, Uppsala, Chairman  
Prof. Arne Jönsson, Lund, Vice-chairman  
Ms Lisbeth Andersson, Stockholm, Treasurer  
Dr Erika Weiberg, Uppsala, Secretary  
Dr Jesper Blid, Stockholm  
Prof. Peter M. Fischer, Göteborg  
Dr Kristian Göransson, Rome  
Prof. Karin Hult, Göteborg  
Prof. Arja Karivieri, Stockholm  
Prof. Anne-Marie Leander Touati, Lund  
Dr Arto Penttinen, Athens  
Dr Mårten Snickare, Stockholm

**SECRETARY'S ADDRESS:**

Department of Archaeology and Ancient History  
Uppsala University  
Box 626  
SE-751 26 Uppsala, Sweden  
[secretary@ecsi.se](mailto:secretary@ecsi.se)

**EDITOR:**

Dr Jenni Hjohlman, Stockholm  
[jenni.hjohlman@antiken.su.se](mailto:jenni.hjohlman@antiken.su.se)

**DISTRIBUTOR:**

eddy.se ab  
Box 1310  
SE-621 24 Visby, Sweden

For general information, see [www.ecsi.se](http://www.ecsi.se)

For subscriptions, prices and delivery, see <http://ecsi.bokorder.se>

Published with the aid of a grant from The Swedish Research Council  
The English text was revised by Rebecca Montague, Hindon, Salisbury, UK

Contributions to *Opuscula* should be sent to the Secretary of the Editorial Committee (address above) before 1 November every year. Contributors are requested to include an abstract summarizing the main points and principal conclusions of their article.

For style of references to be adopted, see [www.ecsi.se/guide-contributors](http://www.ecsi.se/guide-contributors). All articles are sent to referees for peer review. Books for review should be sent to the Secretary of the Editorial Committee (address above).

ISSN 2000-0898

ISBN 978-91-977798-5-2

© Svenska Institutet i Athen and Svenska Institutet i Rom

Production and graphic design by eddy.se ab, Visby 2013

Printed by Elanders Sverige AB, Mölnlycke 2013

Cover: see Fischer in this volume, p. 323, *Fig. 22b*.

world keep underlining her role as protectress of officials,<sup>7</sup> both military and civic: when all available evidence is considered, Aphrodite, like most major Greek deities, appears as an almost disconcertingly multi-faceted deity. Cyrino certainly underlines the polyvalence of Aphrodite throughout her account, but to do justice to this plurality of meanings more stress on the actual cults of Aphrodite would have been necessary, along with more extensive evidence from archaeological and epigraphical sources as well as from literature and iconography. As it is, the fundamental question of who worshipped the goddess and in which circumstances, is only partly answered. Furthermore, perhaps due to the restricted format of the contributions to the *Gods and heroes of the ancient world* series, some complex issues are too narrowly presented, such as the concept of *mixis*, and the epithets Pandemos and Ourania. Although Cyrino notes the many meanings of the first two concepts, their polyvalence is obscured by their placement in the 'Love and sex' section. Whereas both *mixis* and Pandemos clearly can belong to an erotic context (the *mixis* of bodies in sexual encounters and Pandemos as an epithet used for a goddess approached in the marital process) they are not limited to this framework. *Mixis* spans Aphrodite's entire spectrum: she makes bodies mingle in love, war and civic harmony and although sometimes involved in the erotic sphere, Pandemos is mostly encountered in civic circumstances. (It is moreover questionable that it is an epithet specific to the Athenian *polis*, p. 38; the title is attested all over the Greek world.) Ourania, on the other hand, is not mentioned in the 'Love and sex' chapter, although we now know for certain that at least the Athenian Aphrodite Ourania was worshipped as a marriage deity. An inscribed treasure box testifies to the fee due to this goddess at the occasion of a wedding (SEG 41. 182, see for example Pirenne-Delforge 2007). *Aphrodite* thus gives an image of the goddess largely based on literary evidence that provides a starting point for a closer acquaintance. For a fuller picture of the goddess, readers of *Aphrodite* will hopefully be inspired by Cyrino's engaging style and use the 'Further reading' section to further explore Aphrodite's cults and character.

JENNY WALLENSTEN  
Swedish Institute at Athens  
Mitseon 9  
GR-117 42 Athens  
jenny.wallensten@sia.gr

<sup>7</sup> J. Wallensten, *ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ ΑΡΞΑΣ. A Study of dedications to Aphrodite from Greek Magistrates*, diss. Lund University 2003.

*Labraunda and Karia. Proceedings of the International Symposium commemorating sixty years of Swedish archaeological work in Labraunda. The Royal Swedish Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities Stockholm, November 20–21, 2008*, eds. L. Karlsson & S. Carlsson (Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, Boreas, 32), Uppsala 2011. 475 pp. ISSN 0346-6442, ISBN 978-91-554-7997-8.

The Swedish excavations at Labraunda in Karia have a long but far from continuous history. Between the early campaigns (1948–1951, 1953, 1960) and their modern resumption (from 2003 onwards), 43 years passed, devoted particularly to the study and publication of the early finds: ten fascicles appeared between 1955 and 1995, covering large parts of the early discoveries. While this work is still in progress, the new excavations have focused upon "three study areas that were given very little attention in the early excavations" (p. 12): the military installations and tombs around the Sacred Way and the sanctuary, and the Late Roman and Byzantine buildings.

In spite of the long time that passed between the early and modern excavations, they now undoubtedly must be seen as parts of one and the same grand-scale project, and it is only natural that scholars active at the site today seized the opportunity to celebrate the 60-years memorial of their endeavours. In November 2008, a symposium was arranged in Stockholm, the *acta* of which appeared three years later.

The book is divided into four parts, the first of which is an introduction containing a history of the excavations by Lars Karlsson (pp. 9–17) and a survey of the documentation of Labraunda by the 18th and 19th-century travellers, written by Pontus Hellström (pp. 18–47).

Part II (pp. 49–272) contains 13 papers directly relating to the Labraunda sanctuary and its surroundings. Three of these discuss inscriptions and their historical implications, two are devoted to the festivals and banquets celebrated at the site, one to the coins found there, and seven to various architectural issues. Among the latter, I have chosen three for more detailed discussion.

Abdulkadir Baran presents his studies of 'The Sacred Way and the spring houses of Labraunda sanctuary' (pp. 50–98). The Sacred Way from Mylasa up to Labraunda had a total length of c. 14 km, but it can be traced only in its upper part, c. 6 km from the sanctuary. Its construction, presumably in the Hekatomnid period (392–333 BC), had various possible reasons: first of all to carry marble from Mylasa to the sanctuary, but perhaps also for military purposes, not least as the road continued past Labraunda towards Alinda. From 2003 onwards, the ten preserved stretches of the Sacred Way and the two of the Alinda road have been carefully documented.

The surrounding mountains offer ample water resources, and at least 42 natural springs in the vicinity of the roads (some 20 around the sanctuary itself) were furnished with built spring houses for the convenience of the travellers. Even though no pottery or other datable material was found at the spring houses, they were obviously associated with the Sacred Way and are, thus, to be dated within the Hekatomnid period. The author refers to nine groups of similar spring houses, all situated in the hinterland of Karia and dated to the Hekatomnid period.

While the spring houses have not yet been the subject of archaeological examination, extensive excavations were undertaken in 2007–2010 in a number of fortresses and free-standing towers north of or up to 3.4 km south and southwest of the sanctuary. These are presented at some length by Lars Karlsson in his paper 'The forts and fortifications of Labraunda' (pp. 216–252).

The most impressive construction is the ring-fort on the Labraunda Akropolis, c. 150 m north of the sanctuary but on a level c. 100 m above the Temple. It has eleven towers, two of them in an inner wall defending a small, upper fort. The Akropolis fortress was apparently the centre of a larger, Hekatomnid defence system, including the central tower of Tepe-sar Kale and the square "castle" of Burgaz Kale, with its three catapult towers. During the 3rd century BC, this system was extended with three free-standing, rectangular towers. All of these forts, except for Burgaz Kale, were clearly visible from the Akropolis.

Quite unexpected was the discovery, in the upper fort of the Akropolis, of extensive, Byzantine remains, including both buildings and ceramic material. Karlsson tries to place this occupation in the historic situation after the first victories of the Seljuk sultans in the late 11th century up to the abandonment of the area by the Byzantine emperors in the early 14th century.

One of the main reasons for starting the excavations at Labraunda is said to have been its Minoan-sounding name. But no Bronze Age artefacts were ever found and interest came, instead, to focus around the architectural remains from the 4th and 3rd centuries BC. Against that background, it is perhaps not too hard to understand that very little attention was given to the (not insignificant) traces that had come to light of Late Antique, Christian presence at the site. From 2005 onwards, however, this flaw has been remedied—with quite important results.

Jesper Blid has presented a number of articles on the subject but, in this symposium volume, he is represented only by a short paper on 'Recent research on the churches of Labraunda' (pp. 99–108). The main part of this paper is devoted to the quite impressive East Church erected between the South and East Propylaia. The author draws attention to various traits

connecting the building with 4th-century, Syrian churches—as, for instance, the single nave, the tripartite sanctuary with elongated apse, and (probably) the twin-tower façade.

When the East Church had fallen into ruins, it was superseded by a small, Middle Byzantine chapel, inside and close to the entrance of the church. Other finds, notably the remains of a 5th or 6th-century *ambo* of Karian type, may indicate the existence of another, West Church.

Two papers try to elucidate the aims of the processions and ritual banquets performed at the sanctuary. Pontus Hellström, in his paper 'Feasting at Labraunda and the chronology of the *Andrones*' (pp. 149–157), starts his argument from the rather extensive feasting that took place at the sanctuary, with particular reference to a 4th-century BC decree preserved in two Roman copies. The reading of the text, as well as its precise meaning, remains a matter of doubt, but most scholars agree that it refers to a lengthening of the annual festival from one to two or perhaps even five days.

This, according to Hellström, should be seen in the light of the Hekatomnid's ambition to enhance the status of their family—also reflected in their magnificent building programme. Not only the *andrones* but other buildings as well, such as the East Stoa and the Oikoi Building, were intended for couches with room for altogether more than 150 banqueters. Moreover, thousands of people of lower rank may have taken part in the cult meals on various terraces outside the buildings—offering excellent "possibilities for the Hekatomnids to show their generosity as hosts and to hand out prestige on a number of different levels" (p. 154).

Hellström ends his paper with a (to me totally convincing) redating of Andron A, erected by Idrieus. The ethnic of this dynast, *Mylaseus*, may indicate that he was not yet satrap in Halikarnassos, but rather his brother's hyparch at Mylasa. If so, Andron A, too, must be assigned to Maussollos's reign.

Similar issues are tackled by Anne Marie Carstens in her paper 'Achaemenids in Labraunda. A case of imperial presence in a rural sanctuary in Karia' (pp. 121–131). The author assumes that the title "King of the Karian federation", known from the early 5th century BC onwards, must have been carried by the Karian satraps who, thus, combined it with their position as high priests of Zeus Labraundos. The ritual activities at the god's sanctuary aimed at enhancing the status of the Hekatomnids. The paved Sacred Way enabled them to arrive at Labraunda in a truly magnificent manner, and the processions then passed through the sanctuary along an intricate route, compared by the author with that encountered at Delphi. Likewise, the main purpose of the Hekatomnid building programme was to create a splendid setting for the ceremonial banquets.

So far, Carstens's account has much in common with that of Hellström. Her subsequent argument remains partly hypo-

thetical, but also thought-provoking and thrilling. Departing from a discussion of banquets and royal audiences in Achaemenid Persia, she proposes that a “vital part of [Hekatomnid] court life was [...] transferred to the sanctuary, where the multifaceted capacities of the high priest, King of the Karians, and the satrap were omnipresent” (p. 125).

Carstens prefers to see the *androne*s more as reception halls than dining rooms, and she emphasizes the Achaemenid iconography of the two male, bearded sphinxes that served as corner *akroteria* on Andron B. Similar representations are to be found guarding the palace of Dareios at Persepolis and (often) on Lydian seals surrounding the winged sun-disc of Ahuramazda. The author, thus, tries further to enhance the importance of the sanctuary at Labraunda by adding traits directly bringing out the position of the Hekatomnids as representatives of the highest worldly authority besides that of the supreme god.

Two of the three epigraphical papers are of a prosopographical nature, while the third aims at covering the entire ancient history of Labraunda: ‘The epigraphic tradition at Labraunda seen in the light of Labraunda inscription no. 134: a recent addition to the *Olympichos* file’ (pp. 199–215) by Signe Isager. The new inscription, discovered in 2002 and complementing an already known fragment, was published by Isager and Lars Karlsson in 2008. Here it is presented and discussed rather briefly. The main part of the paper is devoted, instead, to the “epigraphic tradition”—that is, a survey, period by period, of the various categories of monumental inscriptions known from the sanctuary from the 4th century BC to the early imperial period. For instance, *stelai* were unusual before the 2nd century BC, when many earlier documents were copied—perhaps as a consequence of the increasing Roman presence in Karia. It may at that time have become important to prove the rights of the city of Mylasa to the Labraunda sanctuary. This may also have been the purpose of erecting a statue of Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, if he is correctly identified by the author (and many others) with the Roman commander in Karia in 129 BC (and future consul of 122). This identification, however, is precisely what Jesper Carlsen tries to refute in another paper in the volume: ‘*I. Labraunda 62: text and context*’ (pp. 109–120), assigning the honorific inscription on the statue base, instead, to a much later member of the family, the consul of 32 BC. But in spite of his (quite good) arguments, no certain solution seems possible.

Part III (pp. 277–459) has a wider scope: nine papers discuss the ancient history of Karia or finds and remains from a number of Karian sites. Here, too, architectural studies prevail, one of which stands out in the crowd: Suat Ateşlier’s ‘The Archaic architectural terracottas from Euromos and some cult signs’

(pp. 279–290)—being the sole paper in the volume dedicated to an Archaic-period subject.

Very few decorated, architectural terracottas were known before from Karia south of Miletos/Didyma, just some occasional fragments from Mylasa and Amyzon. But in 1971–1972, Turkish excavations at Euromos, c. 12 km north-west of Mylasa, revealed a *bothros* filled with about 800 terracotta fragments, most of them with well-preserved paint.

The many fragments derive from a number of terracotta members (and presumably several buildings): relief-friezes depicting processions of chariots drawn by winged horses, banquet scenes, a centauromachy, and spiral ornaments; raking and lateral simas with many parallels from Karia and Phrygia; antefixes with Gorgoneia, lion heads, and lotus flowers; a disc akroterion with a Gorgoneion, high relief fragments probably deriving from a pediment, and eaves-tiles with relief guilloche. The author shows particular interest in the procession frieze, arguing for the identification of a veiled, female figure with the goddess Hekate—with reference, among other things, to the children and dogs surrounding her chariot.

The terracottas seem datable to the second half of the 6th century BC, and Ateşlier—quite reasonably—assigns the earliest group to the Temple of Zeus erected c. 550 BC, and the later ones either to a repair of that roof in 525/500 BC or to new buildings erected in the sanctuary during that period.

A short but thought-provoking paper by Simon Hornblower, the biographer of Maussollos, tries to place the achievements of the Hekatomnids in a wider context: ‘How unusual were Mausolus and the Hekatomnids?’ (pp. 355–362). Were they really as unique as they now appear to us, or is their apparent peculiarity mostly the result of suitable building material and an extraordinary amount of preserved inscriptions? In order to answer these questions, the author examines a series of “comparable and perhaps influential developments in Crete, Rhodes, Kilikia, Cyprus, and Egypt” (p. 355).

During this examination, Hornblower draws attention to a number of politically active and even ruling women in 5th and 4th-century Asia Minor and Cyprus, as parallels to and models for Maussollos’s sisters. But his main subjects are, on the one hand, the possible connections—ethnical and others—between Karia and Crete and, on the other, the Syennesis family in Kilikia, “a partly Greek hereditary dynasty which was allowed to rule an enclave in the Persian Empire” (pp. 359f.) from the 6th century BC perhaps into the 4th. Admittedly, Hornblower’s *stemma* of the Syennesis kings remains to large extent hypothetical (a fact which he does not at all hold back), but the parallels with the endeavours of the Hekatomnids to enhance their status and power without provoking the Achaemenid rulers are in various respects hard to deny.

Besides the *koinon* of the Karians discussed by Anne Marie Carstens, we meet during the Hellenistic period a *koinon*

of the Chrysaoreis comprising seven certain and two possible member cities in northern Karia. It is attested epigraphically from 267 to 81 BC and is still mentioned by Strabon. Departing from a newly found (1999) and published (2003) honorary decree from Lagina, Vincent Gabrielsen tries to establish the true nature of 'The Chrysaoreis of Caria' (pp. 331–353, with a detailed analysis of the decree in an appendix, pp. 346–351).

According to general (but not total) consensus, the Chrysaoreis were mainly a religious league centred around the sanctuary of Zeus Chrysaoreus near Stratonikeia but, by close reading of all documents referring to them, Gabrielsen argues convincingly for the league being, in fact, also a kind of federal state. He presents his conclusions under three points:

(1) The members of the *koinon* were all Karian *poleis*. Strabon states that Karian lineage (*genos*) was necessary, but this finds no support in epigraphical sources and is certainly not correct as far as Stratonikeia is concerned. Also according to Strabon, the voting strength of the individual *poleis* depended on the number of *komai* belonging to the city.

(2) *To koinon ton Chrysaoreon* was a federal state, probably based upon a *sympoliteia* agreement. Decisions were taken by an Assembly (*ekklesia*), and its activities were perhaps supervised by officials called *hieromnemones*. The partaking *poleis* made obligatory monetary contributions to the federal treasury. The inhabitants of the separate *poleis*, "the multitude" (*to plethos*, and probably *ho sympas demos*) had the right to take part in the civic and religious life of the other cities.

(3) Adducing several examples, the author shows that "the League's political loyalties [...] internally within the League were fragile, while externally vis-à-vis other powers they were divided" (p. 344). Particularly the 3rd-century struggles between Ptolemies and Seleucids laid great strain upon the *koinon*, and separate *poleis* tended to act independently in order to benefit from the political situation.

The dividing line between a religious league and a federal state may, admittedly, be vague, and the available sources are partly abstruse, but Gabrielsen's methodical study arrives at evidence weighty enough to prove his point: the Chrysaoreis were more than a religious league.

Labraunda had a momentous history even after the Hekatomnidids and so, apparently, had Halikarnassos. In her paper on 'Halikarnassos during the Imperial period and Late Antiquity' (pp. 424–443), Birte Poulsen vigorously challenges the orthodox view (based upon ancient authors) that the city "was almost deserted and ruined during the Imperial period and later" (p. 425), perhaps already after its destruction by Alexander.

As shown by Poulsen, even ancient authors—such as Cicero, Vitruvius, and Strabon—may be interpreted in quite a different way, and archaeology, inscriptions and other literary

texts attest to the presence of important monumental buildings during the first centuries AD: a theatre, a large stadium, at least two gymnasia, a library, a custom house, a temple dedicated to Emperor Tiberius(?), and a Kaisareion for the cult of the Julio-Claudian dynasty.

In Late Antiquity, Halikarnassos apparently enjoyed an era of prosperity during the 5th century, attested by the House of Charidemos with its rich mosaics, both geometric and figurative, at least six more mosaic floors throughout the city, and monumental family tombs in the necropoleis outside the Myndos and Mylasa Gates. During the reign of Emperor Justinianus, Halikarnassos was mentioned as the third city of Karia, surpassed only by Miletos and Herakleia.

The author concludes that Halikarnassos was "fully functioning during the Imperial period" and "a flourishing centre during Late Antiquity" (p. 438)—still, apparently, with the same general extension as during the reign of Maussollos. The evidence brought together by Poulsen clearly proves her right.

Part IV—'Appendices' (pp. 461–475) consists of the facsimile and English translation of humorous drawings and notes on the life of the Labraunda excavators sent by Kristian Jeppesen as a gift to his father in 1951, and moreover of an extensive bibliography on Labraunda 1948–2010.

Of the 26 contributions to this symposium volume, only 15 have been discussed here—chosen mostly from my personal interest and whims. Still, I hope that this review will provide a tolerably adequate picture of the wealth of information supplied on new and ongoing studies on Labraunda and Karia as a whole. Little has been said about pottery, coins and other small finds, nothing about the Karian language and inscriptions. But the volume still shows to what degree the subject has widened since the excavations started 60 years ago—thematically, methodologically, and chronologically. The points of reference extend from Rome and Sicily to Persia, from Constantinople to Egypt. The rich epigraphical yields from a number of Anatolian cities now cast a new light on the increasingly informative inscriptions found at Labraunda. This is a volume of which both editors and authors can be proud. It is also technically a high-quality product, with illuminating and beautiful colour photographs and extremely few misprints.

ÖRJAN WIKANDER  
Department of Archaeology and Ancient History  
Lund University  
Box 117  
SE-221 00 Lund  
orjan.wikander@klass.lu.se