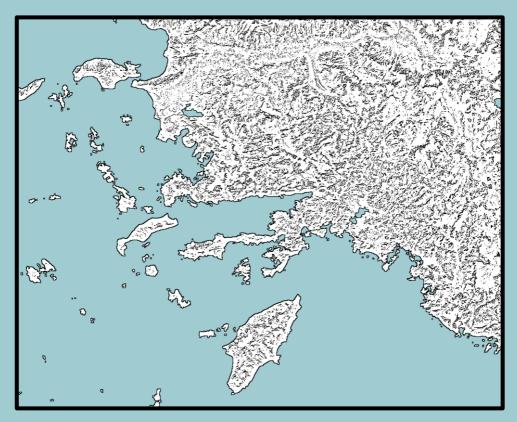
HEKATOMNIDERNE

Et karisk dynasti og dets kulturelle forbindelser i det 4. årh. f.v.t.



THEMATA 10

EN DEL AF VOX POPULIS THEMATA SERIE

THEMATA 10

HEKATOMNIDERNE Et karisk dynasti og dets kulturelle forbindelser i det 4. årh. f.v.t.

Kursusansvarlig: Birte Poulsen

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Hæftet er sat med Times New Roman og trykt hos Fællestrykkeriet, AU TRYK, Aarhus Trykt i 2023

ISSN 0107-2676

VOX POPULI – FAGBLAD FOR KLASSISKE STUDIER VED AARHUS UNIVERSITET

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Et karisk dynasti og dets kulturelle forbindelser i det 4. årh. f.v.t.

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God fornøjelse!

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Forord

Artiklerne i dette nummer af *Themata* serien er resultatet af kandidatkurset "Karien og Dodekaneserne (4. årh. – tidlig kejsertid)", der blev afholdt på Aarhus Universitet som del af "Kulturhistorisk seminar 2" ved afdelingen for Historie og Klassiske Studier i foråret 2021. Kurset blev afviklet som en konference, hvilket inkluderede flere trin fra "Call for papers" og indlevering af abstracts til mundtlige præsentationer og et endeligt skriftligt bidrag til publikation. Kurset fokuserede på regionens kulturelle forbindelser fra det 4. årh. f.v.t til tidlig kejsertid med specifikke referencer til dynastier, helligdomme, grave, begravelser og ritualer.

Igennem antikken var det vestlige Lilleasien et dynamisk samlingspunkt for østlige og vestlige civilisationer. Her blev evigtgyldige kulturelle præstationer produceret, og nogle af de mest betydelige kilder inden for græsk litteratur, filosofi, kunst og arkitektur havde deres ophav i de lilleasiatiske kystbyer og på de tilstødende ægæiske øer. I antikken udgjorde havet ikke en forhindring i interaktionen mellem samfund og kulturer men blev derimod brugt som et effektivt middel til udveksling af varer, skulpturformer, arkitekturteknikker, ideer og mennesker byerne imellem. Fire studerende indvilligede i at bidrage til denne udgave af fagbladets *Themeta* serie:

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The Hekatomnids

Self-Promotion of a Karian Dynasty

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Keywords:

Religion, Coins, Imagery, Hekatomnids, Power, Propaganda, Karia, Labraunda, Halikarnassos.

Abstract

In this paper, I examine the Hekatomnid dynasty's self-promotion, and how they communicated the image of their dynasty to their subjects and outsiders by visualising their power and control over Karia. Examining the imagery on their coinage, it seems clear that the spatial and religious relations are central. Following this line of research, I further examine their use of those spaces that are portrayed in the imagery evident on their coinage, and how the Hekatomnids transformed these spaces. What becomes clear is that the Hekatomnid rulers saw the importance of local cults and local places, solidifying their presence by tightly connecting themselves to existing cults and sanctuaries. Using architecture to frame and control this narrative, the Hekatomnids' imagery and architectural program embellished and crystallised their connection and power while emphasizing their local heritage. The self-presentation of the Hekatomnid dynasty focused on three pillars: connection to place, connection to the local, and connection to the religious.

The Hekatomnids – between East and West

Karia, in the southwestern part of modern Turkey, sits astride two continents and two worlds. In antiquity, the western coast of Asia Minor was influenced by two major cultures, the Greek and the Persian. In Karia, where the Mediterranean Sea meets the Taurus mountains, the Greek culture, flourishing along the coast where the Mediterranean allowed for communication and trade, met the Persian culture, which ruled the area through their powerful satraps. The satrapy of Karia, under the rule of a local dynasty¹, the Hekatomnids, set the stage for the blending of these two cultures and for the creation of imagery and an ideology of dynastic presentation, which made use of influences from both cultures.

The satrap Hekatomnos and his sons Maussollos, Idrieus, and Pixodaros as well as his daughters Artemisia and Ada made use of their power and wealth to create a lasting impression of their family upon the world. Communicating in a space shared by many cultures and influences, they created a remarkable blend of iconography, with which they proclaimed the greatness of their dynasty to both the Persian-influenced elite, the local Greek-Karian populace, and the Greek world. In so doing, they created a prototype of the Greek dynast, such as those who would later come to rule much of the region post-Alexander some thirty years after the death of Maussollos. This leaves us with some interesting questions: How did the Hekatomnids promote themselves and the Hekatomnid dynasty? How did they shape the narrative and presentation of their power? What imagery did they use, and from where did they draw inspiration?

In this paper, I will examine the presentation of Hekatomnid power predominantly through coinage and architecture. The aim is to reveal how the dynasty was influenced by, and communicated to, their Persian overlords and the local populace. I will examine the buildings and imagery of the family, particularly the Mausoleum of Maussollos, and its use and relation to the sanctuary of Labraunda. I will examine their use of imagery on their coinage, as this is interesting when determining the projected imagery that the dynasts wished to spread.

¹ Pedersen 2013, 34

While Hekatomnos founded the dynasty after his ascension to the rank of satrap, it was his son, Maussollos², who truly made his mark upon the land-scape of Karia by founding the great city of Halikarnassos, strengthening the borders of his realm, creating a strong navy, and embarking on a building program at the sanctuary at Labraunda, which would elevate the sanctuary to unseen heights of magnificence. He has been credited with the complete subjugation of the entirety of Karia, eliminating competing minor warlords and nobles³, becoming the sole power within the area and, nominally, subject only to his liege, the Persian king. His use of presentation, connection, association, and military power has drawn the most scholarly interest and will also be the focus here.

Dynasts – a definition

When using the term "dynast" in this paper, I am referring to noble and ruling persons, powerful and important, who present themselves and act within a framework of familial and blood relations. A dynast is any person with some degree of power who either presents themselves as inheriting or founding a familial line of succession, within which either their power and wealth are inherited, or their legitimacy is evident from their close relationship to an ancestor who previously held power or position. A dynast, then, is any person of power who inherits or creates a line of succession within his family, thereby creating a dynasty. But when it comes to the Greek-Hellenistic dynasts, which we become more familiar with in later periods in the region, more specific characteristics have been ascribed to them. This in part stems from their modelling of themselves in accordance with Alexander the Great, with whom they proclaimed a relationship and an association and thereby legitimised their initial ascent to power. Alexander himself did not have a legitimate claim to the throne of Persia. Instead, he cited his right to rule through might of arms but ruling over "spear-won-land" was a short-term legitimizing phrase. It hid the lack of actual hereditary legitimacy under the guise of "might-makes-right", reasoning that the conqueror must have been favoured by the gods.⁴

² Hornblower 1982.

³ Piekosz 2020, 13.

⁴ Piekosz 2020, 18.

Legitimacy through conquest was a short-term solution to a long-term consideration. The perception of legitimacy of rule was a central issue for these dynasts. The perception of legitimate power was important for all later dynasties, such as the Ptolemaic and the Seleucid, among others, who had to continuously present themselves as legitimate rulers. While their "inheritance" from Alexander initially was sufficient, as time progressed and later generations arrived, the connection with Alexander went by the wayside, and other aspects became more important. I argue that these attributes and aspects stem from earlier, already established dynasties, which inspired later generals and companions of Alexander to portray themselves and their families in a way that was already understood and accepted by their subjects.

The Hekatomnids were very concerned with this presentation of power and legitimacy, and the Hekatomnids present an interesting case for later Hellenistic dynasts, such as the Diadochi. Though they rose to power in the Late Classical period, many of the images and ways by which they would present themselves and their families, show a deep concern with how to present themselves. In their use of family dynamics, local customs, religious institutions, and rituals, as well as wealth, power, and strength of arms, they continuously strengthen their ties to and rule of the area under their control.

Foundations of power

Hekatomnos, son of Hyssaldomos the ruler of Mylasa⁵, rose to the position of satrap of Karia after 392 BC.⁶ Appointed to office by the Persian king Artaxerxes II, Hekatomnos' main legitimacy as ruler stemmed from his connection to the king rather than from his connection to any previous rulers or dynasties. As the satrap of Karia and *nautarch* for the Persian expedition to Cyprus⁷, Hekatomnos acted in the capacity of both a civic ruler and a military commander, being shown a great deal of trust by the Persian king. He presents an interesting case by being the first satrap of the separate satrapy of Karia, which until then had been lumped in with Lykia since the Persian conquest.⁸ From this the power of the Hekatomnids was closely connected to the

⁵ Konuk 2013, 102.

⁶ Hellström 2011, 151.

⁷ Diod. 14.98.1-3.

⁸ Bodzek 2019, 16.

local area of Karia⁹, making them local dynasts. This is visible in Hekatomnos' choice of imagery on his coins.

Coinage

Inheriting a region with a long tradition of coin production, beginning already in the mid-to-late 6th century BC¹⁰, the consistent imagery of the Hekatomnid coins shows the importance of this media for the projection of ruler imagery and expresses the iconographic policy of the dynasty. ¹¹ The production of coinage was a necessity for the payment of large building projects and military expeditions. As a first step for the mass production of ruler iconography, Hekatomnos increased production to a previously unseen scale, and his imagery became largely hereditary for his dynasty, according to Koray Konuk, who argues for the importance of his iconography:

"The 4th century BC satraps of Karia were the forerunners of Hellenistic kings. They were unique in that period in issuing a regular and prolific dynastic coinage, which remained practically unchanged until the arrival of Alexander the Great. Other satraps struck coins, but none was native, or more significant, hereditary, and there was no continuity of coinage from one family member to another as was the case with the Hekatomnids." 12

The standard Karian coinage imagery, produced by Hekatomnos, set the stage for dynastic representation of the Hekatomnid dynasty. The most important and long-lasting being the image of Zeus Labraundos and his two-headed axe. Hekatomnos is the first to depict this divinity on coins, and this portrait takes pride of place on the coinage of all the following Hekatomnid dynasts (Fig. 1). The choice of Zeus Labraundos is due to different considerations. The "local" aspect of the god is closely associated with the local identity, as only Karians and Lydians could enter the sanctuary; ¹³ his connection to Mylasa,

⁹ Lester-Pearson 2015, 182.

¹⁰ Bodzek 2019, 17.

¹¹ Carstens 2009, 117; Konuk 2013, 101.

¹² Konuk 2013, 101.

¹³ Bean 1971, 17.

the most important town in the area and the seat of Hekatomnos' power;¹⁴ and finally, the personal connection between the Hekatomnids and the sanctuary at Labraunda, where Hekatomnos and his heirs were the high priests.¹⁵ Anne Marie Carstens supports the theory that the title "king of the Karians" was connected with the office of the high priest at the sanctuary of Zeus Labraundos: an intriguing proposition, which would further underline the importance of this imagery for the ruling local dynasty. Hekatomnos' initial dynastic coinage combines the imagery of Zeus Labraundos with the roaring lion (Fig. 1), which has usually been depicted on small denominations of silver coins produced in Mylasa since the 5th century BC. It was the imagery of the ancestral seat of the Hekatomnids in Mylasa. However, this imagery was changed after Maussollos' founding of Halikarnassos where the image of the lion of Mylasa was exchanged with that of Apollo. The image of Zeus Labraundos on the obverse and Apollo on the reverse then becomes the standard imagery of the Hekatomnids (Fig. 1).¹⁶

While the change of imagery may seem like a departure from the base established by Hekatomnos, the decision to do so seems to stem from many of the same considerations that were the foundation for the initial Zeus Labraundos/lion coins of Hekatomnos. At the site of the new city of Halikarnassos, on one of the summits of the Zephyrion vale¹⁷, was a temple of Apollo next to the new palace of the Hekatomnids.¹⁸ The new imagery is intended to show the dual connections of the Hekatomnids with Zeus and the sanctuary of Labraunda and with Apollo and the city of Halikarnassos. As the lion of Mylasa signalled Hekatomnos' connection to their ancestral city, the new imagery is probably meant to make several statements. They invoke their connection to the new city, while also showing themselves as powerful and magnificent. As Halikarnassos was founded by Maussollos, they are placed, literally, at the centre of the history of the city, and thereby also at the centre of Karian politics, power, and wealth.

Konuk labels the Hekatomnid coinage "dynastic" rather than "satrapal". ¹⁹ Though Hekatomnos himself produced a great array of weights and images,

¹⁴ Ibid., 32-45.

¹⁵ Carstens 2009, 117.

¹⁶ Konuk 2013, 101-109.

¹⁷ Højte & Pedersen, Forthcoming.

¹⁸ Carstens 2009, 118.

¹⁹ Konuk 2013, 106.

the continuity of the image usage and the nature of the iconography show the focus on local and familial relationships between the producers and the intended users. This is not to say that no "satrapal" coinage was produced. The "Griffin-slayer" series is one example of this, showing a Persian hero slaying a griffin. Another example, and somewhat more interesting, as it blends iconography, is the archer type. On the obverse, it shows the traditional Achaemenid royal hero, while on the reverse, it shows the Zeus Labraundos from Hekatomnid iconography (Fig. 2).²⁰

Jaroslaw Bodzek suggests that, due to the mix of weight standards, different images, and non-conformity, "satrapal" coinage should be seen generally as symbolic rather than as a real effort from the minting authorities to implement standardisation.²¹ I find this a compelling argument, as we have already seen that the Hekatomnids were capable of and willing to implement standardisation in weights and imagery.²² Konuk suggests that the production of Achaemenid imagery occurred when the political situation shifted against the Hekatomnids, and Hekatomnos may have produced the "Griffin-slayer" type coins when his loyalty to the Great King was called into question. ²³ Carstens goes a step further, suggesting that perhaps the coins produced by the satraps were subject to approval from the authorities, or even that the mints were under the control of appointees.²⁴ Seeing the uniformity of images used and the local imagery and referencing, I believe Konuk is correct in assuming that the production of Achaemenid imagery should be considered politically motivated. The production of such coins was conducted at times of souring relations or opportune moments.

Rather than being a symbol of centralised approval, I would argue that they are another proof of the important role that coinage imagery played in Hekatomnid dynastic communication and presentation. Hekatomnid coin imagery has three basic aspects, which enforce dynastic presentation:

²⁰ Carstens 2009, 118.

²¹ Bodzek 2014, 63.

²² Konuk 2013.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Carstens 2009, 118.

- Dynastic control, meaning that it is the dynasts who control the imagery and production of the coins and the images. Both for political ends, such as showing symbolic acquiescence to Achaemenid control, and for dynastic ends, showing affiliation and legitimacy.
- Religious and cult association and affiliation, showing their connection to, support from, and control of local sanctuaries, and, by extension, local gods. It connects them to the local area with the added legitimacy of having positions as high priests and benefactors to local cults.
- Connection to places, such as Mylasa, the home of the founders of the dynasty and the largest city of Karia at the time. Later, the iconography changed to show a connection to Halikarnassos, proclaiming the dynasty's connection to the city, which Maussollos had founded, and in which he was buried.

The multi-layered meaning of Zeus Labraundos and the image of place connection to first Mylasa and then Halikarnassos makes the study of these areas interesting for further discussion of dynastic presentation. The sanctuary of Labraundos, which appears by proxy on many of their coins through the image of Zeus Labraundos, holds a central position in Hekatomnid presentation. Similarly, Halikarnassos, a wholly Hekatomnid creation and later a centre of their power, has an important role in the presentation of later family members.

Connections to the divine

As previously stated, the Sanctuary of Zeus Labraundos was an important site for the Karians. It was described by Herodotos as "a *great and holy grove of plane-trees*" at the time of the Persian conquest.²⁵ During Hekatomnid rule, the sanctuary was monumentalised and raised to a previously unseen importance;²⁶ and it acquired a position as a great sanctuary, a position it never quite lost.²⁷ As an important religious centre for the Karians, key to their identity²⁸, and connected to the city of Mylasa and the Hekatomnids, the sanctuary occupies an important position in the political landscape.²⁹ Furthermore, the Hekatomnids have a personal connection to the site, being the high priests

²⁵ Hdt. 5.119 (Translated by A. D. Goodly, 1922).

²⁶ Williamson 2013, 144.

²⁷ Bean 1971, 58.

²⁸ Ibid., 17.

²⁹ Williamson 2013, 153-167.

of the sanctuary.³⁰ These three, the sanctuary, the city of Mylasa, and the Hekatomnids, existed in an important trinity. Mylasa owned the sanctuary, which was presided over by the high priest, a hereditary position bestowed upon the most important man of Mylasa. According to Strabo:

"At Labranda there is an ancient shrine and statue of Zeus Stratius (...) The priestly offices are held by the most distinguished of the citizens, always for life. Now these temples belong peculiarly to the city; but there is a third temple, that of the Carian Zeus, which is a common possession of all Carians, and in which, as brothers, both Lydians and Mysians have a share." ³¹

It seems natural then that the Hekatomnids devoted much attention to this sanctuary, as the embellishment of this important place of worship would also reflect well on them and reinforce their position as local rulers. Of all the additions to the sanctuary, two are in particular interesting when examining Hekatomnid dynastic presentation. The two *andrones* of Maussollos and Idrieus.

The andrones

The two *andrones* were constructed during the rule of Maussollos and Idrieus. Hellström dates Andron B to between 377 and 352 and Andron A to between 351 and 343.³² He later suggests that both *andrones* were constructed during the reign of Maussollos with Idrieus supervising the construction when Maussollos became preoccupied with his project of Halikarnassos.³³ He further proposes that the promotion and embellishment of the sanctuary is all part of a larger Hekatomnid project, which followed an already established plan, of which the purpose was to increase the prestige of the dynasty.³⁴ Then, the building program was meant to show the resources, power, and benevolence of the dynasts, strengthening the connection between them and Zeus

³⁰ Carstens 2009, 117; Hellström 2011, 152.

³¹ Str. 14.2.23 (Translated by H. L. Jones, 1929).

³² Hellström 2011, 149-154; See also Utvaag in this volume.

³³ Hellström 2011, 149-154.

³⁴ Ibid.

Labraundos. More importantly, the construction of the *andrones* plays into the narrative which we see on the Hekatomnos coin (Fig. 1).

The *andrones* are equipped with large, flanking windows, allowing the feast goers a view of the plains of Mylasa below. The city of Mylasa itself is visible from the interior of the *andrones*, and the windows expertly frame the valley (Fig. 3).³⁵ From here, most of the valley and the tops of the surrounding hills are visible, including most of the area of Mylasa and surrounding villages (Fig. 5). Christina Williamson argues that this view is central to the choice of architecture:

"At the center of this view is the plain of Mylasa, the homeland of the Hekatomnids. As the satraps reshaped much of the hillside into terraces to accommodate their showcase architecture, it seems logical to presuppose that this view would have factored into their overall design." ³⁶

Labraunda was therefore not only a showcase of the wealth and connections of the Hekatomnids but also functioned as the theatre from which honoured and privileged guests were meant to view the accomplishments of the dynasts. The *andrones* and their orientation are telling when it comes to Hekatomnid use of the sanctuary (Fig. 4). They have prominent positions of their own, but it is in no way accidental that they are flanking the main temple of Zeus. It is a deliberate use of space and nature for the framing of power and the dynasty. Commenting on the use of a blend of Achaemenid and Greek architectural influences, Williamson rightly considers the banqueting halls some of the most remarkable additions to the sanctuary.³⁷

Another aspect of the architecture of the *andrones* worth considering is the hierarchy of space. The orientation of the room and the axiality of space created a hierarchy in the arrangement of seating.³⁸ The unusual dining arrangement and construction of the *andron* made it so that all the guests were facing the same direction, as opposed to all laying on their left side. The focus of this orientation is the "high seats" at the back of the room, most likely meant for

³⁵ See also Utvaag in this volume.

³⁶ Williamson 2014, 123.

³⁷ Williamson 2013, 145; Nováková & Kılınçoğlu 2019, 72.

³⁸ Hellström 2011, 153.

the key figures, the ruling couple.³⁹ Though such a hierarchy in banquets was perhaps not uncommon in the region, since they imitated the Persian customs⁴⁰, it is quite outspoken in this context. Reinforcing the importance of these rooms and this orientation was the addition of a niche at the back of the *andrones* two meters above the level of the floor, which held monumental statues.⁴¹ Whether these statues were of Zeus or of dynastic members is debated.⁴²

It is worth considering how the relationship between the Hekatomnids and Mylasa changed over time. Mylasa was the largest and most prominent city in Karia during this period but was then replaced by the new capital Halikarnassos founded by Maussollos. The construction of Andron B in Labraunda in this period may, in part, be due to the creation of this new city, which may have threatened the position of Mylasa. Perhaps the framing of Mylasa from Labraunda was meant in part to assuage the local populace, who may have been fearful of being relegated to second rank in comparison to Maussollos' prestige project. This is a fear which would seem reasonable after the removal of the lion from the iconography of the coins. Yet, as Hellström argues, the building of the andrones was part of an overall plan. Rather, I would argue that much like we see in the imagery of the coins, and as stated earlier, Mylas a still occupies a key position in the dynastic ideology and presentation and was not at all threatened by the founding of Halikarnassos. The embellishment of the sanctuary and the framing from the andrones are meant to balance the region after the foundation of Halikarnassos.

In their presentation and use of Labraunda, as it appeared above, the Hekatomnid self-presentation and use of architecture in Labraunda are similar to that on their coins: dynastic control of the presentation, with the image of the dynasts and the dynasts themselves at the centre of the narrative. Their association with the religious and local cult is underlined with them being both benefactors of the sanctuary and rulers of the land. Finally, their connection to the place is underlined with the framing of Mylasa and the valley through the *andrones*, grounding the Hekatomnids in a place and space both cultural, religious, and political.

³⁹ Piekosz 2020, 82.

⁴⁰ Dulun 2019, 46.

⁴¹ Williamson 2014, 126.

⁴² Hellström 2011, 153; Carney 2005, 84; Jeppesen 1994.

Having examined Labraunda, an already established sanctuary at the time of the Hekatomnids, it is interesting to consider their use of a place which the dynasts had more or less complete control over in regard to orientation, location, presentation and use: the city of Halikarnassos.

Setting the stage

The foundation of Halikarnassos was a major step in Hekatomnid presentation and policy. The synoikism of this new city was a huge expense regarding manpower, funds, and resources. It is also one of the most conscientious and interesting projects during Hekatomnid rule. The creation of Halikarnassos is not just a matter of centralisation but one of crystallisation anner. Stephen Ruzicka argues that the Hekatomnids, and Maussollos in particular, expanded their more localised Mylasan dynasty to encompass all of Karia, subduing minor local dynasts and expanding their power base and the socio-political structure with them at the top. The creation of Halikarnassos was a centralisation of power in the region, extending direct Hekatomnid interference into key areas of Karia. Hornblower presents a different theory, namely that Halikarnassos was synoikised early in the reign of Maussollos, and that the capital moved from Mylasa to Halikarnassos to create a powerful city, one that could house the Karian fleet to counterbalance the new Athenian league.

Ultimately, they touch upon some of the same core reasons for the foundation of the new city, namely that of extending Hekatomnid control and power away from the Mylasa/Labraunda axis and into the wider Karian/Hekatomnid sphere of interest. This change, as previously discussed, is perhaps visible in the change in the imagery on their coins. The synoikism of the six cities of the hinterlands into the larger city of Halikarnassos⁴⁷, was a process of integration with the clear goal of consolidating control of the area in a range of different forms. It happened for various reasons: while economic and military concerns were undoubtedly of major importance, the political integration, meant to

⁴³ Boehm 2011, 45; Hornblower 1982.

⁴⁴ Morley 2011, 154-155.

⁴⁵ Ruzicka 1992.

⁴⁶ Piekosz 2020, 38; Hornblower 1982, 78-9.

⁴⁷ Carstens 2002, 391.

draw more people into similar political and civic institutions⁴⁸, I argue, was the critical reason. The presentation of their power and connections, while providing an audience and workforce for their prestige project, was as much a concern for Maussollos as was the safe berth of his navy, the ready supply of manpower, as well as the control of the surrounding area. Just how important Maussollos considered personal presentation in his foundation of Halikarnassos, is also made startlingly clear by the construction of one of the greatest monuments of the ancient world.

The Mausoleum – Inspired construction

To say that the city was planned around the Mausoleum rather than the Mausoleum planned to fit into the city, would be accurate. A central construction had always been envisioned ever since the conception of the new Halikarnassos, or so some would argue⁴⁹, and this I would agree with. Such a policy of "presentation at the centre" is similar to what we have seen already in Hekatomnid presentation, and that they planned that a dynastic showpiece should be central to the city, seems clear. The choice of a grand burial monument seems fitting and would be in line with already established tradition amongst local dynasts. Indeed, though the scale and placement of the Mausoleum is new, neither the presentation nor use was unusual in the region. Monumental tumuli constructions, such as were common in Lykia and Lydia⁵⁰, were also evident in Karia, and construction of these seem to have halted with the arrival of the Hekatomnids.⁵¹ Other tomb types used by Lykian dynasts seem also to have emphasised the monumentality of graves and provided a wide repertoire of grave fashion.⁵²

In many ways, at least in function and purpose, the Mausoleum is quite similar to the Heroon at Trysa in Lykia.⁵³ A different tomb for a different dynast shaped like a sanctuary and placed just outside the settlement of Trysa. In projection and purpose, this tomb shares much with the tomb of Maussollos. The Heroon at Trysa, in turn, has drawn inspiration from the near East. The use of nature and particularly the subjugation of nature in the form of gardens

⁴⁸ Morley 2011, 155.

⁴⁹ Piekosz 2020, 38-39.

⁵⁰ Dulun 2019.

⁵¹ Ibid., 86.

⁵² Lockwood 2016, 300.

⁵³ Carstens 2010, 333-334.

and the use of landscape can be traced to the neo-Assyrians. The same "taming" of the landscape, I argue, is present in Halikarnassos, where the entire city functions as a testament to Maussollos' power, strength, and subjugation of the natural world. The placement of the Mausoleum at the centre of the city, within an orderly grid of streets and roads, is meant to convey a presentation of the Hekatomnids as being at the centre of order.

Inspiration was not only garnered from neighbouring dynasts and the Persian court but also from the Greeks. Halikarnassos had originally been a Greek city and was re-founded by Maussollos in accordance with his visions. The shift to a western/Greek focus is evident in the change in the imagery on his coins. As previously stated, Maussollos exchanged the Mylasian lion with the portrait of Apollo, paying homage to the Sanctuary of Apollo on the Zephyrion peninsula, next to which he had constructed his new palace. Poul Pedersen argues that Maussollos both in the choice of this image, the location of his new capital, and the chosen architecture purposely and publicly shifted his orientation towards the West. However, though he was heavily inspired by them, Maussollos also put his own mark on the architecture, sponsoring huge new projects, and importing workers and architects from the Greek area. Pedersen states:

"Since no living architectural tradition, to speak of, existed in Western Asia minor by this time, the Hekatomnids and their architects also had to 'invent' or re-establish an architectural tradition specific to Karia and Ionia. This new architecture is what is usually called 'the Ionian Renaissance' in Greek architecture." ⁵⁵⁵

In line with what we have seen previously, Maussollos not only copied his neighbours, his Persian overlords, and the Greeks living in and around Karia. He also imported, utilised, and combined aspects which fit the overall program of dynastic representation, and which reinforced his position and image as a dynast who sat astride the East and the West.⁵⁶ He utilised local, Western, and Eastern image and architecture, "paying respect to well established con-

⁵⁴ Pedersen 2013, 35-42.

⁵⁵ Pedersen 2013, 35

⁵⁶ Baran 2009, 291.

cepts of the dynast's tomb".⁵⁷ That the Mausoleum was central to the layout of the town from its inception, is clear. Precisely to what degree it is meant to elevate Maussollos and the dynasty, however, is debatable.

Temple of a founder - or a god?

While the importance of the mausoleum as a monument and as a cornerstone in Hekatomnid dynastic presentation is unquestioned, its precise purpose and meaning remains unclear. The debate, far from settled, boils down to the treatment and perception of Maussollos after his burial, and the purpose and position of the mausoleum as a civic institution. Is the mausoleum the temple of a city-founder, or is it the sanctuary of a god? Both Greek and local Anatolian traditions highlighted individuals in memorial monuments, and local dynasts legitimised their power based on the divinisation of ancestors and family members.⁵⁸ Much as the city of Halikarnassos itself blends many cultures, local, Greek, and Persian, the imagery and use of the mausoleum is a blend of many influences. Unlike many places in Greece and earlier Anatolian cultures, burial monuments in Karia, especially those of the dynasts, are meant to be connected and central to political, social, and religious centres as much as possible. Burial customs in Karia emphasise this connection, and there are inscriptions and evidence to suggest the presence of cults in Karia and surrounding areas that worship and mediate between *daimones* of persons and ancestors. It seems to have been a Karian phenomenon in particular⁵⁹, and such a connection would certainly play into Hekatomnid presentation with a central, monumental ancestor grave. This would be in line with both Greek and local traditions to a degree, supporting the idea that the mausoleum is an important civic monument, and emphasising Maussollos as a founder and eurgetes. A spiritual and semi-religious connection between the city and Maussollos would be in line with the more "Greek" local culture.

Carstens goes a step further and argues that Maussollos became a deified ruler, pointing to the sacral architecture, space, and layout of his tomb. Though, she states that, even if it was not a temple, it was presented as one, and Maussollos was a god worthy of worship⁶⁰, emphasising the Persian/near-

⁵⁷ Carstens 2013, 180.

⁵⁸ Nováková 2016, 195.

⁵⁹ Carstens 2010, 351; Carstens 2002, 402-403.

⁶⁰ Carstens 2002, 403.

eastern tradition of divine kingship, which would have inspired Maussollos.⁶¹ An argument that has merit but is also somewhat problematic, given local culture. According to Lykian inscriptions, among funerary rituals performed in honour of the dead, organised annual animal sacrifices seem to have been common practice.⁶² With the local Karian culture for worshipping daimones of persons and ancestors, the lines between local cultural ancestor-worship and outright divinisation of the dead begin to blur. I would argue against Maussollos becoming a divinised ruler for another reason. It would place him as an equal of the Persian High king after his death. Both would then rise to become divine rulers and would, in effect, be equals in death, when they never were in life. This, I would argue, is tantamount to treason or at least conspiracy against the majesty of the High king. A more subversive approach seems reasonable, as we have seen, the Hekatomnids do not shy away from openly showing their commitment to the Persian king when the political climate shifts against them. I agree with Carstens that the Mausoleum was certainly meant to seem as if it were a temple, and people were meant to believe that Maussollos had become divine, but they could not directly show it. "Deathscapes" in antiquity are spaces where the lines between worlds are not always clear. Grave monuments are meaningful monuments to the local communities, where communication between past and present is, to some degree, possible. They are part of and integrated in the social, political, and ritual landscape. 63 This is certainly the case for the Mausoleum of Halikarnassos. It was undoubtedly a monument with very real local political and cultural meaning, which also had ritualistic elements and practices surrounding it. Whether or not it is a sanctuary of a divine Maussollos or a marker for the semi-divine spirit of the Hekatomnid dynasty, is impossible to say.

Maussollos' and the Hekatomnids' use of space, religion, and local customs, blending aspects of Karian, Greek, and Persian practices and architecture, created a multifaceted dynastic monument with many readings and meanings depending on who used and saw it. This is exactly why it can be so difficult to define the precise use and meaning of the Mausoleum, other than as a monumental dynastic funerary marker. I would argue that the multifaceted commu-

61 Carstens 2013, 178.

⁶² Işın & Yildiz 2017, 87.

⁶³ Dimakis 2015, 36.

nication is intentional and thought out allowing for a larger reach and communicating equally to the many local communities.

Conclusion

The Hekatomnids presented themselves and their dynasty through a series of projects and imagery largely according to an overall plan, which the family followed. They emphasised the narrative of local connections, both to the divine and to places, such as Mylasa, Halikarnassos, and Labraunda, tying themselves into the local landscape and memory. Through large construction projects, they embellished and crystalised their powerbase and connections to the various sanctuaries and gods while simultaneously tying themselves into the landscape and area in a very physical and real sense. Drawing inspiration from neighbouring areas and dynasts, importing Greek imagery and architecture, as well as the Persian culture and iconography while paying homage to their own local roots, the Hekatomnids communicated to many different groups in many ways.

Always emphasising dynastic control and power in their presentation in imagery, the dynasty did not shy away from importing or embellishing ways to promote themselves and their family. Neither were they too proud to utilise their control to show affiliation or acquiescence to their overlords, though structurally, they always emphasised their own family and rule.

In conclusion, the Hekatomnid dynasty presented themselves as powerful Karian dynasts with a strong connection to the Karian gods and *poleis*. In making use of and creating new local imagery, they were proactive in shaping the narrative that they wished to present and were aggressive in their use of space and association, co-opting many different narratives and meanings.

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List of figures

Figure 1:



Clockwise from top left:

1: Tetradrachm of Hekatomnos, with Zeus Labraundos on the reverse. Traces of an inscription are barely visible on the obverse (British Museum, 1895,0406.1).

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2: Tetradrachm of Maussollos, with Zeus Labraundos on the reverse, along with the inscription: MAY $\Sigma\Sigma\Omega\Lambda\Lambda$ O, on the obverse is a portrait of Apollo, three-quarter facing with *chlamys* fastened around neck (British Museum, 1929,0602.34).

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3: Tidrachm of Pixodaros, with Zeus Labraundos on the reverse, along with the inscription: $\Pi I \Xi \Omega \Delta APO$, on the obverse is a portrait of Apollo, three-quarter facing with *chlamys* fastened around neck (British Museum, G.3191).

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4: Tetradrachm of Idrieus with Zeus Labraundos on the reverse, along with the inscription: $I\Delta PIE\Omega\Sigma$, on the obverse is a portrait of Apollo, three-quarter facing with *chlamys* fastened around the neck (British museum, RPK,p156A.1.Hid).

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Figure 2:



Tetradrachm of Maussollos, showing Zeus Labraundos on the reverse, on the obverse, the Great King is represented an archer crowned with *kidaris*, standing to right and shooting an arrow (British Museum, 1981,0220.1).

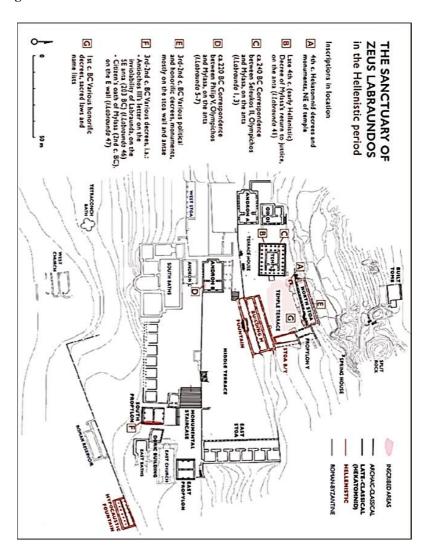
© The Trustees of the British Museum

Figure 3:



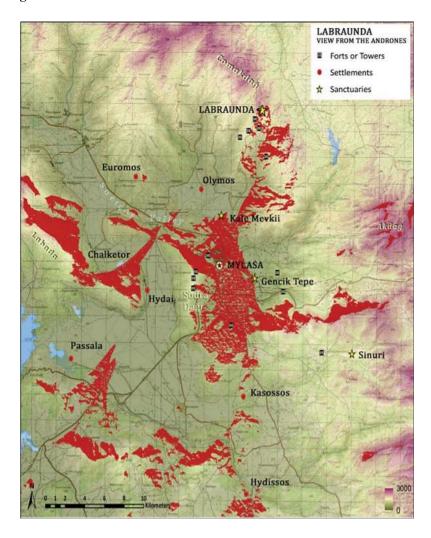
The View from Andron A. The view is of the valley to the South of the sanctuary, and Mylasa is clearly visible through the middle window (photography taken by C. Williamson, from Williamson 2014: Figure 2 on p. 127).

Figure 4:



The layout of the sanctuary of Labraunda in the Hellenistic period, showing the locations of the inscriptions (based on illustrations and information by O. Henry, from Williamson 2021: Figure 3.6 on p. 116).

Figure 5:



Viewshed, or area of visible surfaces (in red), from Andron A and Andron B at Labraunda (created in ESRI ArcGIS; based on ASTER satelliteDEM and the Russian General'nyi shtab maps -1:100,000, from Williamson 2014: Figure 4b on p. 130.)

Andrones i Labraunda

Religiøs og politisk funktion i Hekatomnidernes Karien Sara C. Utvaag

Keywords:

Labraunda, hekatomnid architecture, andrones, politics, religion, self-promotion, self-fashioning, Karia, landscape.

Abstract

During the Hekatomnid satrapy in the 4th century BC, the sanctuary of Zeus Labraundos was restructured and the, according to Herodotos, formerly modest shrine was given architectural additions which would change not only the appearance but also the significance of the sanctuary in the area. Among these additions, some of the most notable new structures were the two andrones of Maussollos and Idrieus which held large political and religious significance in the Hekatomnid dynasty, both in their function as dining halls for cultic festivals and as reception halls for audiences with the ruler. The andrones thus facilitated a bridge between ruler and people, but they are also an earthly link between the profane and the divine. This article seeks to investigate the function and significance of the two andrones in Labraunda as a part of staging and promotion of the Hekatomnid dynasty in the religious and political landscape. It investigates the manifestation of dynastic self-promotion in buildings, architecture, and sculpture as well as in view and landscape, discussing the function of the two *andrones* in the sanctuary and why the Hekatomnids selected this area as their new religious centre for power.

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Introduktion

Fra det 4. årh. f.v.t. blev selviscenesættelse gennem arkitektur yderst populært i det ægæiske område. Her begyndte konger, aristokrater og dynaster at promovere sig selv og deres sociale status gennem de bygninger, de lod opføre i deres eget navn, og brugen af monumentdedikationer udviklede sig markant blandt de hellenistiske herskere. Dog har monumentdedikationerne højst sandsynligt deres udspring længere mod øst: I Karien i det sydvestlige Lilleasien. Her blev en lokal aristokratisk familie, Hekatomniderne, udpeget som Kariens nye satrapper efter regionens brud med det Deliske Søforbund, og de skabte med tiden et prægtigt styre. Der findes i denne forbindelse talrige eksempler på, hvordan den siddende satrap i eget navn har opført storslåede monumenter, der således er blevet benyttet som et led i deres dynastiske promovering og selviscenesættelse. Et af de bedste eksempler på dette findes i Zeushelligdommen i Labraunda (Fig. 1), hvor den hekatomnidiske hersker, Maussollos, i den sidste halvdel af det 4. årh. f.v.t. påbegyndte et omfattende byggeprogram, der skulle ændre områdets udtryk for bestandigt.

Allerede før Hekatomnidernes tilstedeværelse i Labraunda dyrkede karerne Zeuskulten i bjergene nær Mylasa. Det tidlige Labraunda blev beskrevet som et ydmygt område bestående af en lille lund af platantræer med et mindre arkaisk tempel.⁵ Området gennemgik dog radikale ændringer, da Maussollos i 370'erne f.v.t. overtog satrapiet efter sin far, Hekatomnos, og igangsatte byggeprogrammet i Labraunda. Monumentaliseringen af området foregik igennem hele Maussollos' regeringsperiode og fortsatte langt ind i Idrieus', hans broders, tid, efter denne overtog styret i 351 f.v.t. I forbindelse med Maussol-

¹ Begrebet selviscenesættelse beskriver personers bevidste handlinger for at forme omverdenens opfattelse af dem, hvilket bl.a. kan gøres gennem arkitektur og arkitektonisk udsmykning: Jf. Stephen Greenblatts introduktion af det engelske begreb *self-fashioning* i Greenblatt 1980.

² Herunder er bl.a. Attalos' Stoa på Athens Agora værd at fremhæve. Fragmenter af indskriften på arkitraven viser, at bygningen blev dedikeret af Attalos II, og den skal derfor dateres til midten af det 2. årh. f.v.t.: Se Kaye 2016. Tendensen står i skarp kontrast til de dyder, der prægede den græske verden i arkaisk og klassisk tid, hvor ydmyghed var en stor del af traditionen: Se Hornblower 1982, 274; Umholtz 2002, 262.

³ Carstens 2009, 11-12.

⁴ For yderligere eksempler se Pedersen 2009; Pedersen 2017.

⁵ Herodot beskriver, hvordan karerne søgte beskyttelse mod perserne i den arkaiske Zeushelligdom under den joniske opstand: Hdt. 5.119. Strabon beskriver kort Labraundas udvikling op gennem den hekatomnidiske periode: Str. 14.2.23. Jf. Thieme 1993; Williamson 2014b.

los' program opførtes bl.a. en storslået bygning, som han i dedikationsindskriften omtalte som et $\dot{\alpha}\nu\delta\rho\omega\nu$. Dette *andron* fik senere følge af en lignende struktur, der sandsynligvis blev opført af Idrieus efter overtagelsen af herskermagten og byggeprogrammet.⁷

I denne artikel vil jeg undersøge, hvordan de to *andrones* kan have været brugt som et led i hekatomnidisk selviscenesættelse. Til dette vil jeg analysere bygningernes placering i landskabet samt brugen af arkitektur og skulptur i bygningerne, hvilket gøres med henblik på at diskutere, hvorfor det hekatomnidiske dynasti valgte at promovere sig i netop dette område, og hvad det kan fortælle os om bygningernes religiøse og politiske placering i det hekatomnidiske landskab.

Zeushelligdommen i Labraunda og det hekatomnidiske dynasti

Zeushelligdommen ligger på en bjergskråning i højlandet over Mylasa, og de to *andrones* blev således placeret højt i landskabet på terrasser, hvilket har givet en imponerende udsigt over det omkringliggende landskab. I Antikken blev helligdomme som regel placeret i områder, hvor naturlige elementer som grotter, bakketoppe og klipper gav udtryk for overnaturlige kræfter og dermed satte mennesket i tættere kontakt med det guddommelige. Hvor bjerge og himmel mødtes, mødtes også det jordiske og det overnaturlige, og med sin placering i Beşparmak Dağlari-bjergene må Zeus helligdommen i Labraunda have givet netop et sådant indtryk.

Vi ved fra Strabon, at man for at nå Labraunda fra Mylasa har måtte følge en 13 km lang brolagt vej, der havde ført folk fra byen til helligdommen allerede før Hekatomnidernes regeringstid. ¹⁰ Dynastiet valgte at forstærke denne vej i forbindelse med udvidelsen af Zeushelligdommen, og de forstærkede

⁷ Dateringen af de to strukturer er en igangværende diskussion, hvor der både argumenteres for, at begge bygninger er opført under Maussollos (se Hellström 2011; Pedersen 2009), og for, at Maussollos udfærdigede Andron B, hvorefter Idrieus overtog byggeprogrammet og opførte Andron A (Williamson 2014b). I det følgende vil jeg gå ud fra sidstnævnte dateringsgrundlag, da jeg mener, at der findes en særlig betydning i størrelsesforholdet mellem de to bygninger.

⁶ Crampa 1972, 9-11.

⁸ Pedley 2006, 3; Williamson 2014b, 90.

⁹ Hellström argumenterer for, at den korrekte stavemåde af helligdommens navn er *Labrayndas* snarere end *Labraunda*: Se Hellström 1996, 164. Dog, eftersom den sidstnævnte stavemåde er den mest udbredte, vil jeg benytte mig af denne for at undgå forvirring.

¹⁰ Str. 14.2.23.

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dermed også den infrastrukturelle forbindelse mellem by og helligdom, der ledte folk i procession fra Mylasa til Labraunda. Ved ankomsten til helligdommen er processionen blevet ført i en zigzaglignende rute igennem bygningerne, hvilket er et processionsmønster vi bl.a. kender fra græske helligdomme som Eleusis, Delfi og Olympia. 11 Der har altså været relationer mellem de græske religionsmønstre og de kariske, hvor bevægelse spiller en stor rolle.¹² Dette ses også i niveauerne mellem de to *andrones* og den hellige vej (Fig. 2), hvor det er tydeligt, at de to andrones ikke er placeret på de mest tilgængelige steder i forhold til den hellige vej, men at man derimod har prioriteret at have bygningerne placeret højere i landskabet. Noget af det første man har set, efter at man trådte ind i helligdommen, var derfor Maussollos' andron (Andron B, Fig. 3a & 3b) efterfulgt af Idrieus' andron (Andron A, Fig. 4a & 4b) få meter længere oppe ad skråningen i retning af Zeustemplet (Fig. 1). I dag findes blot ruinerne af bygningerne, men i deres storhedstid har de to andrones været et særdeles spektakulært syn i både arkitektur, skulptur og deres placering i landskabet, hvilket gør dem yderst interessante at undersøge i forbindelse med dynastisk selviscenesættelse.

Tidligere forskning

Udgravningerne af Labraunda blev påbegyndt i 1948 af et hold svenske forskere under ledelse af Alex Persson. Svenskerne varetog herefter udgravningsarbejdet de næste 60 år, hvorefter ledelsen blev overdraget til franske Olivier Henry, der endnu leder projektet. Der er i denne forbindelse blevet udgivet talrige udgravningspublikationer, der behandler helligdommen ud fra forskellige forskningsmæssige tilgange, hvoraf den seneste publikation behandler helligdommens *andrones*.

¹¹ Pedley 2006, 57-59, 93-95 & 135-151. For mere om Delfi og Olympia se Scott 2014.

¹² Jf. Kristensen 2019.

¹³ Hellström & Blid 2019, 11-13; Henry *et al.* 2019. Der findes et tredje *andron* (Andron C) i helligdommen, men da dette dateres til Romersk tid omkring det 1. årh. e.v.t. og således ikke er en del af det hekatomnidiske byggeprogram, vil Andron C ikke indgå i denne artikels argumentation. For Andron C: For mere om Andron C se Hellström & Blid 2019, 227-235.

¹⁴ Disse udgravningspublikationer om helligdommen inkluderer: Jeppesen 1955 (om propylæerne); Westholm 1963 (om *Hieron*); Hellström 1965 (om klassisk keramik, terracotta lamper og glas); Crampa 1969; 1972 (om græske indskrifter); Säflund 1980 (om stemplede amforhanke); Jully 1981 (om arkaisk keramik); Meier-Brügger 1981 (om kariske indskrifter); Hellström &

De to *andrones* er yderligere berørt i flere publikationer med forskellige metodiske udgangspunkter. Af særlig relevans er Pontus Hellströms undersøgelser af bygningernes arkitektur¹⁵, Anne Marie Carstens arbejde med bygningernes brug og sociale kontekst i Karien¹⁶ og Christina Williamsons analyser af betydningen af bygningernes placering i landskabet.¹⁷

Der findes i forskningen en bred enighed om, at de to *andrones* i Labraunda har haft en central betydning i det kariske landskab både religiøst, politisk og monumentalt, og det synes derfor væsentligt at grave dybere ned i undersøgelsen af hekatomnidisk selvpromovering og at stille spørgsmålene: Hvordan har selvpromoveringen konkret manifesteret sig i netop de to *andrones*? Og kan der være tale om, at byggeprogrammet i Labraunda har været et nøje planlagt politisk tiltag for at styrke Hekatomnidernes position som herskere i området?

De to andrones og Hekatomnidisk selvpromovering

Både Andron A og Andron B er udformede som distyle antebygninger med pronaos, hvilket er sammenligneligt med udformningen af græske templer. 18 Udformningen af de to bygninger inkorporerer derudover elementer fra både doriske, joniske og achaimenidiske arkitekturtraditioner i form af kapitæler, arkitraver samt to akroterfigurer i form af sfinkser udhugget i marmor (Fig. 5), der højst sandsynligt har prydet Maussollos' *andron*. 19 Brugen af denne form for kompositarkitektur har i høj grad understreget den hekatomnidiske relation til områdets achaimenidiske rødder og samspil med de græske naboer. 20

Ydermurene i de to *andrones* var forsynet med et varierende antal vinduer. Andron B har haft to vinduer i tværmuren mellem pronaos og cella, fire i

Thieme 1982 (om Zeustemplet); Gunter 1995 (om marmorskulptur); Blid 2016 (om levn fra senantikken); Hellström & Blid 2019 (om *andrones*).

¹⁵ Hellström 1996; Hellström 2011; Hellström & Blid 2019.

¹⁶ Carstens 2009; Carstens 2010; Carstens 2011.

¹⁷ Williamson 2013; Williamson 2014a; Williamson 2014b.

¹⁸ Hellström 1996.

¹⁹ Ibid., 168; Carstens 2011, 126-129; Williamson 2014a, 125. Akrotererne står i dag på Bodrum Museum: Inv. 1953:C 57: Se Hellström & Blid 2019, 114-116.

Williamson 2014a, 125. Den græske arkitekturs genfødsel i Lilleasien kaldes også den joniske renæssance og kendetegner i høj grad den hekatomnidiske arkitektur: Se Pedersen 2003; Pedersen 2020. For uddybning af bygningernes arkitektur se Hellström & Blid 2019.

sydmuren, heraf et i pronaos og tre i cella, og et i nordmuren i pronaos. Andron A har derimod haft vinduer i både tværmuren mellem pronaos og cella og i nord- og sydmuren. Heraf er to i tværmuren og fire i hhv. nord- og sydmuren, hvoraf et er placeret i pronaos og tre er i cella. Vinduerne på Andron A er næsten alle intakte og måler ca. 1,85 m x 1,05-1,15 m, hvorimod kun et enkelt vindue er bevaret i Andron B. Dette måler 1,62 m x 1,05-1,07 m.²¹ Udover at have forsynet bygningerne med en frisk luft og lys har vinduer åbnet for en storslået udsigt over dalen, hvor bl.a. det oprindelige hekatomnidiske hovedsæde, Mylasa, lå til skue i horisonten som en påmindelse om dynastiets herkomst og nærhed.²²

En rammesat udsigt

Christina Williamson har i sine undersøgelser af helligdommen og de to *andrones* haft en landskabsarkæologisk tilgang til helligdommen og argumenterer især for helligdommens dobbeltfunktion som religiøst og politisk centrum for det hekatomnidiske dynasti. Hun mener, at den rette sammensætning af arkitektur og landskab kan skabe et så monumentalt magtudtryk, at det kan bruges til at iscenesætte et dynasti, og hun argumenterer for, at Hekatomniderne i høj grad benyttede sig af dette i Labraunda. Herunder fremhæver hun især den rammesætning, de store vinduespartier i hhv. Andron A og Andron B har skabt om det kariske landskab, og hvordan denne konfrontation med dynastiets storhed og magt i panoramaet over det hekatomnidiske landskab har påvirket beskueren (Fig. 6). ²⁴

Som Williamson påpeger, har vinduerne næppe haft en udelukkende praktisk funktion som kilde til udluftning og lys, da man i så fald ville have placeret vinduerne højere oppe på murene for at undgå træk.²⁵ I stedet er vinduerne placeret ca. en meter over gulvet, hvilket giver en person et rigt udsyn over landskabet hvad end stående eller liggende på kline.

Andron B har udelukkende haft vinduer på sydmuren og har således kun haft udsigt over bjergdalen, hvorimod det senere Andron A var symmetrisk

²¹ Williamson 2014a, 127.

²² Carstens 2009, 66; Williamson 2013, 92.

²³ Williamson 2014b, 87.

²⁴ Williamson 2014a, 127-134.

²⁵ Ibid., 130.

udstyret med vinduer på både nord- og sydmuren.²⁶ På denne måde har man altså fra Andron A haft udsyn til både bakketoppen på nordsiden og dalen på sydsiden, hvor størstedelen af Hekatomnidernes domæne har været synlig med Mylasa i udsigtens centrum.²⁷ Især Mylasa er essentiel i denne konstellation, da byen både var Hekatomnidernes oprindelige hovedsæde og det tidlige mødested for den kariske koinon og dermed et af Kariens vigtigste magtcentre.²⁸ Anne Marie Carstens har foreslået, at Hekatomniderne kan have flyttet dette mødested fra Mylasa til Labraunda i forbindelse med den store monumentalisering af helligdommen for således at omdanne Labraunda til et af Kariens nye magtcentre.²⁹ I en sådan konstellation kunne de to andrones fungere som receptionshaller ved audienser med den fungerende satrap og som bankethaller under religiøse fester.³⁰ Her ville de store vinduer rammesætte udsigten over et landskab styret af et dynasti med stor magt i geografisk forstand men også en så stor politisk magt, at Hekatomniderne i deres storhed kunne flytte regionens magtcentrum fra byen til helligdommen. Forbindelsen mellem by og helligdom forstærkes yderligere af vinduernes rammesætning af den hellige vej, der fremstår som et konkret bindeled mellem de to steder. Hekatomniderne etablerer på denne måde et magtcentrum, der er forankret i både religion og politik, samtidig med, at de i deres byggeprogram repræsenterer både fortiden og fremtiden og dermed demonstrerer dynastiets enevældige magt over regionen og det Kariske landskab. Der er altså et gennemgående samspil mellem politik og ritual i rammesætningen af landskabet fra de store vinduer i de to andrones men også et samspil mellem det achaimenidiske Karien og det hekatomnidiske Karien, idet dynastiets herskere netop vælger at udvide en allerede eksisterende helligdom med deres egne meget synlige arkitektoniske tilføjelser, som de således kan bruge til at præge landskabet efter deres egen vilje.

Der synes altså at være en klar intention bag placeringen af de store vinduer på de to *andrones*. Ved at indramme en stor del af det hekatomnidiske magt-

²⁶ Ibid., 127.

²⁷ Ibid., 129-130. For en visuel fremstilling henviser jeg til en grafisk illustration af et kort over synlige områder set fra Andron A og Andron B publiceret af Christina Williamson: Williamson 2014a, 129, fig. 4a. For yderligere se Johansen i denne publikation.

²⁸ Carstens 2011, 121-123.

²⁹ Denne teori er tidligere blevet italesat af Hellström: Se Hellström 1996, 169.

³⁰ Carstens 2009, 89; Carstens 2011, 125.

område i vinduerne har Hekatomniderne styret det billede, de ville give beskueren af deres dynastiske storhed gennem helligdommens byggeprogram. Dette vidner om, at der må have været politiske drivkræfter bag byggeprogrammet i helligdommen. Men udsigten fra det senere Andron A til bjergets top, hvor himmel og jord mødes, har også rettet beskuerens blik mod stedets iboende guddommelighed. Dette faciliterer således et klart møde mellem det politiske og det religiøse, hvilket må have præget beskuerens forståelse af det hekatomnidiske dynasti og deres tilstedeværelse i helligdommen.

Dedikation og skulptur

Hekatomnidernes tilstedeværelse giver yderligere genlyd flere steder i de to *andrones*, hvoraf arkitraverne på begge bygninger bærer dedikationsindskrifter. Her fremgår det, at bygningerne blev dedikeret til Zeus af hhv. Maussollos, der opførte Andron B³², og Idrieus, der opførte Andron A. Dateringen af Idrieus' dedikation af bygningen har dog været omdiskuteret, og især brugen af ordet "mylaseus" har skabt divergerende fortolkninger, da dette menes at forbinde Idrieus til byen som borger og ikke som hersker. Hen personlig fortolkning er, at "mylaseus" står som en retorisk forbindelse mellem Labraunda og Hekatomnidernes rødder i Mylasa og som et tegn på den politiske og religiøse forbindelse, der har været mellem to hekatomnidiske knudepunkter. Hvis mødestedet for den kariske *koinon* blev flyttet fra Mylasa til Labraunda³⁵, kan det tolkes som et tegn på, at Idrieus har næret et ønske om at understrege båndet mellem Labraunda og Mylasa og den politiske magt, Hekatomniderne har haft over området.

I indskriften på de to *andrones* har Maussollos og Idrieus dog ikke blot understreget deres politiske magt i området. De har også givet udtryk for deres forbindelse til den øverste af guderne i dedikationen af de grandiose bygninger til Zeus. Forbindelsen mellem Zeus og dynastiet har sandsynligvis også

³¹ Oversættelse af indskriften på Andron A: "[Idrieus, son of Hekatomnos, Mylasan] dedicated [the] andron to [Zeus Labraundos]" og på Andron B: "Maussollos, son of Hekatomnos, [dedicated the] andron [and] what is therein to Zeus Labraundos". Det skal understreges, at indskrifterne er yderst fragmenterede: Se Hellström & Blid 2019, 79 & 172.

³² Crampa 1972, 9-11; Williamson 2014b, 94.

³³ Crampa 1972, 11.

³⁴ Crampa 1972, 11-13; Hellström & Blid 2019, 252.

³⁵ Carstens 2011, 122; Carstens 2009, 100.

været fremvist i de store nicher indhugget i bagvæggene på de to andrones, hvor der muligvis har været opstillet en skulpturgruppe i bronze, der desværre ikke er bevaret i dag.³⁶ Det er dog muligt at gisne om en mulig rekonstruering af gruppen på baggrund af sammenligninger med andre bevarede fremstillinger med tilhørsforhold til Labraunda. Flere forskere har argumenteret for, at motivet i statueopstillingen i Labraunda har været reflekteret i et relief fundet i Tegea, der i dag står på British Museum (Fig. 7).37 Relieffet ses på en marmorstele, der er udformet som fronten på et andron. Det måler ca. 44 x 43 cm og viser tre figurer, der alle kan identificeres på baggrund af indskrifter, som er placeret over hver figurs hoved.³⁸ I midten ses Zeus, der er kompositionens største figur. Han har fuldskæg og bærer scepter og dobbeltøkse, hvoraf især det sidstnævnte attribut indikerer, at dette må være en afbildning af Zeus Labraundos.³⁹ På sin højre side har Zeus en mandlig figur, der i indskriften identificeres som Idrieus, og på venstre side ses en kvindelig figur, der er identificeret som Idrieus' søster og kone, Ada. 40 Idrieus og Ada står begge med armene fremstrakt i hyldest til den store gud, mens de modtager dennes velsignelse. På relieffet ser vi altså en meget nær relation mellem herskerne og guden, hvilket forbinder det politiske med det guddommelige. 41 Det synes sandsynligt, at fremstillingen på Tegearelieffet reflekterer den bronzegruppe⁴², der har stået i nichen i Idrieus' *andron*, da dette motiv er et ikonografisk udtryk for den dedikationsindskrift, der er indgraveret på bygningens arkitrav. I dedikationsindskrifterne lærer vi, at bygningerne gives til den øverste gud, Zeus, af hhv. Maussollos og Idreius i en hyldest, som er sammenlignelig med den, der ses på Tegearelieffet. Ved indgangen til Andron A har den besøgende således først læst om herskerens storslåede dedikation til guddommen for dernæst at blive konfronteret med det visuelle udtryk i skulpturgruppen i bagvæggens niche, hvor de to dødelige herskere, Idrieus og Ada, hilser den

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https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1914-0714-1,

³⁶ Hellström & Blid 2019, 272-273.

³⁷ Gunter 1995, 57-60; Hellström 1996, 167; Carstens 2009, 93-94.

³⁸ Blid 2020, 89; Se også

besøgt d. 27.5.2021.

³⁹ Gunter 1995, 57-60; Carstens 2009, 35 & 93-94.

⁴⁰ Hellström 1996, 167; Carstens 2009, 94.

⁴¹ Carstens 2009, 94.

⁴² Hellström 1996, 168: Han argumenterer for, at de fundne bronzefragmenter i *andron* stammer fra centralnichens skulpturgruppe; Se også Carstens 2009, 93.

øverste gud, Zeus. Og netop tilhørsforholdet mellem det hekatomnidiske dynasti og Zeus Labraundos har næppe været tilfældigt, da overhovedet i den fremmeste familie i Mylasa også har været ypperstepræst for Zeus Labraundos og konge over karerne. Ved at proklamere deres magt over nogle af de mest prominente bygninger i Labraunda fastslår Maussollos og Idrieus, at de besidder denne rolle og for bestandigt bør betragtes som den øverste forbindelse til Zeus. På denne måde iscenesætter Hekatomniderne sig som et bindeled mellem det hellige og det profane under beskyttelse af Zeus.

Funktionen af de to andrones i helligdommen

Som tidligere nævnt bliver de to bygninger omtalt som *andrones* i dedikationsindskrifterne. Det græske ord ἀνδρωνες henviser til spisesale for mænd⁴⁴, hvormed det sætter bygningerne i direkte forbindelse med drikkegilder og rituelle banketter, som har været fast implementeret i den græske religion og praktiseret i de fleste græske helligdomme⁴⁵, der dog sjældent har været så velorkestreret som i Labraunda. Med placeringen af de to *andrones* i en helligdomskontekst har Maussollos og Idrieus på denne måde sat rammen for bygningens funktion og dedikeret dem til rituel spisning, hvilket var en aktivitet, der dominerede under de religiøse fester afholdt til ære for Zeus Labraundos.

Andrones og religiøse fester

I forbindelse med byggeprogrammet forlængede Maussollos de religiøse fester til fem dage, og karerer fra alle kroge af regionen var velkomne til at deltage. Udregninger har vist, at op mod 100-150 gæster kan have deltaget i banketter samtidig i hhv. de to *andrones*, stoaerne og *oikos*-bygningen samt terrasserne udenfor (Fig. 2, 7, 10, 12 & 15).⁴⁶

Ved at forlænge varigheden af de religiøse fester og ved at tilføje yderligere bygninger til rituelle banketter har Hekatomniderne dermed også øget deres indvirkning på det antal mennesker, der har deltaget i begivenhederne. Det

⁴³ Str. 14.2.23; Carstens 2011, 121-123.

⁴⁴ Vitr. 6.7.5; Weir 2015, 868; Franks 2014, 156.

⁴⁵ F.eks. Demeter- og Korehelligdommen i Korinth: Se Pedley 2006, 75-76.

⁴⁶ Hellström 1996; Hellström 2007, 97-99; Hellström 2011, 154; Williamson 2014a, 126; Williamson 2014b, 93.

har dog næppe været det samme at deltage i en banket på terrassen, som inde i et andron. Pontus Hellström og Christina Williamson vurderer, at der har været plads til omkring 19-20 kliner i hvert andron, hvilket tyder på, at det har været mere eksklusivt at blive inviteret indenfor i et andron end at spise med den resterende folkemængde udenfor.⁴⁷ Hellström foreslår desuden, at også menuerne i både mad og vin kan have varieret, således at kun det fineste blev serveret i de hekatomnidisk dedikerede andrones. 48 En sådan opdeling af deltagere konstruerede på den måde et meget tydeligt politisk og socialt hierarki, hvor sikkert kun de mest prominente gæster har indtaget deres festmåltid inde i de to andrones sammen med repræsentanter fra dynastiet. Bygningens indre udformning og arkitektur tjente også til at understrege magtforholdet mellem Hekatomniderne og den mere prominente del af den kariske befolkning ved opstillingen af klinerne. I den græske tradition er andrones som regel udformet som kvadratiske rum med indgang forskudt fra midten, hvorved der gøres plads til et ulige antal kliner placeret langs murene i et egalitært system, hvor ingen kline var vigtigere end den anden. 49 I brud med denne græske skik er Andron A og B udformet som templer, og de har dermed en rektangulær grundplan og en indgang placeret midtfor med direkte udsyn til den skulpturfyldte niche i endevæggen (Fig. 8 & 9). Hellström argumenterer for, at der således ikke kan være tale om andrones i klassisk græsk forstand men nærmere i en østlig variant, hvor hierarkier spiller en større rolle. ⁵⁰ I hans rekonstruktion af Andron B (Fig. 8) har en herskerkline været placeret ved centrum af endevæggen foran nichen, mens de resterende kliner har været placeret symmetrisk langs væggene under de store vinduer og orienteret imod den centrale herskerkline. På denne måde har herskeren indtaget den øverste plads i hierarkiet, hvorefter den hierarkiske fordeling er blevet distribueret ned igennem rummet.⁵¹ Alle banketdeltagere måtte således tilpasse deres liggende position mod rummets centrale fikspunkt, hvilket i de to andrones var herskerklinen foran den skulpturfyldte niche, der har fremvist den dynastiske familie.

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⁴⁷ Hellström 2007, 90 & 132; Williamson 2014a, 125; Williamson 2014b.

⁴⁸ Hellström 2011, 154; Willamson 2014a, 126.

⁴⁹ Franks 2014, 156.

⁵⁰ Hellström 1996, 168; Hellström & Blid 2019, 269-273.

⁵¹ Hellström & Blid 2019, 116 & 269-272.

Husning af rituelle banketter med tydeliggørelse af dynastiet har dog næppe været den eneste funktion af de to andrones. Flere forskere har påpeget vigtigheden i ikonografien i sfinkserne fra Maussollos' andron⁵², hvoraf bl.a. Anne Marie Carstens argumenterer for, at sammenligneligheden med de to sfinkser og tidligere achaimenidisk hofkunst indikerer, at Andron B også har fungeret som receptionshaller for den kariske koinon⁵³, da denne blev flyttet fra Mylasa til Labraunda under det hekatomnidiske dynastis regeringsperiode. 54 Andron B fik således funktion som receptionshal ved audiens med den fungerende satrap sideløbende med funktionen som bankethal under religiøse fester.⁵⁵ På baggrund af bygningernes arkitektur har Hellström argumenteret for, at den tempellignende udformning understreger deres funktion som haller for rituelle banketter måske endda i forbindelse med en herskerkult. 56 I denne forbindelse fremhæver Hellström, at der højst sandsynligt findes en afgørende vigtighed i størrelsesforholdet mellem de to andrones og det nærliggende Zeustempel⁵⁷, og han foreslår, at Labraunda kan opfattes som et hekatomnidisk palads med to fyrstelige andrones og et mindre tempel til ære for dynastiets beskyttelse.58

Størrelsen betyder noget

Ser man på størrelsesforholdene mellem bygningerne i helligdommen, kan man overveje, hvorvidt der også eksisterer et hierarki mellem bygningerne, og dette kan måske fortælle noget om betydningen af de to *andrones* i helligdommen. Som Hellström pointerer⁵⁹, er det formentlig af stor betydning, at Zeustemplet ikke var helligdommens største bygning, idet det i størrelse blev overgået af både Andron A og Andron B. Med sine 9 m fra søjlebaserne til *apex* overgås templet nemlig af begge *andrones* med 1.3-1.6 m. Så i forlængelse af teorien om, at stedet har fungeret som politisk magtcentrum sideløbende med sin religiøse funktion, og at de to *andrones* således fungerede som

⁵² Gunter 1995, 24-30; Carstens 2009, 89-91; Blid 2020, 85.

⁵³ Carstens 2010; Carstens 2011.

⁵⁴ Denne teori er tidligere blevet fremsat af Hellström: Se Hellström 1996, 169.

⁵⁵ Carstens 2009, 89; Carstens 2011, 125.

⁵⁶ Hellström 1996, 168; Hellström & Blid 2019, 272-273.

⁵⁷ Hellström 1996, 165.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 169.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 165.

både audienssale og rituelle banketsale, kan det altså diskuteres, om Hekatomniderne måske har tillagt den politiske agenda bag byggeprogrammet større interesse end helligdommens religiøse kontekst. Dette kunne være en mulig forklaring på, hvorfor Zeustemplet er blevet størrelsesmæssigt nedprioriteret i forhold til de to *andrones*, da templet således ikke har været helligdommens vigtigste bygning. Samtidig har de to *andrones* haft et større visuelt udtryk i landskabet, da det er disse to tempellignende bygninger, man har set fra den hellige vej, og ikke det mindre Zeustempel.

Ydermere kan der foreligge en betydning i størrelsesforholdet mellem Andron A og Andron B, da det senere Andron A (Fig. 8) bygget af Idrieus er større end Andron B (Fig. 9). Idrieus' *andron* måler 12,12 m x 22,06 m i grundplan og overgår dermed Maussollos' *andron*⁶⁰, der har et grundplansmål på 11,72 m x 20,30 m. Hvis størrelsen på bygningerne har været tillagt en betydning, vil jeg mene, at det kan indikere, at Idrieus har næret et ønske om at overgå sin broder og vise sig som en endnu mere betydningsfuld hersker end sin forgænger. Dette afhænger selvfølgelig af, om Andron A faktisk blev opført af Idrieus, da teorien naturligvis er ugyldig, hvis begge *andrones* er bygget under Maussollos. Det er dog min klare overbevisning, at Andron A blev opført af Idrieus, da det forekommer mig usandsynligt, at Maussollos ville lade sin efterkommer give navn til et større og mere monumentalt *andron* med så prominent en placering i helligdommen, mens han selv havde magten, da dette kunne kaste skygge over den bygning, han selv havde opført til ære for Zeus.

De to *andrones* er utvivlsomt designet med det formål at imponere og betage dem, der besøgte helligdommen. Bygningerne har været indbegrebet af luksus, rigdom og storhed udtrykt i deres arkitektur og skulptur og også i deres relation til de resterende bygninger i helligdommen og deres placering i landskabet, hvilket har rammesat et kraftfuldt billede af Hekatomniderne som herskere. Dette har altså været herskernes måde at forme deres eget selvudtryk i regionen, der således kunne bruges til at præge andres syn på dynastiet. Men hvorfor valgte Hekatomniderne netop den lille platanlund med det be-

⁶⁰ Hellström & Blid 2019, 131.

⁶¹ Ibid., 23.

skedne Zeustempel til at opføre deres monumentale magtdemonstration? Og hvad har meningen været bag denne kombination af religion og politik?

Hyorfor Labraunda?

Under det hekatomnidiske styre oplevede Labraunda en rivende udvikling, hvor Maussollos tog det første spadestik til at give helligdommen det dynastiske særpræg, der skulle udvikle sig langt ind i hans efterkommeres tid. Han fandt i Labraunda et område, der har været tilgængeligt og fælles for hele Karien. Derudover må Hekatomniderne ligeledes have set en logistisk mulighed i området, som ifølge Strabon lå nær et fremragende marmorbrud⁶², der således kunne forsyne byggeriet med materialer uden omfattende transportomkostninger.⁶³ Dette var altså en ideel placering for et omfattende byggeprogram, der skulle resultere i et karisk knudepunkt med talrige bygninger dedikeret særligt til rituel spisning.

Maussollos' andron blev i sin tid en af de mest markante og essentielle bygninger i helligdommen. Med sin placering mellem det guddommelige i naturens bjergtoppe og det profane i byen blev Zeushelligdommen i Labraunda et jordisk bindeled mellem det hellige og det profane men samtidig også mellem herskeren og folket ved rituelle banketter under de forlængede Zeusfester og måske i mødet med den kariske koinon.64

Udviklingen i helligdommen stoppede ikke med Maussollos. Da Idrieus opførte sit andron, inkorporerede han elementer, der viser, at Andron A må have været en videre udvikling af Andron B. Han øgede bl.a. størrelsen på sit andron måske i et ønske om at overgå sin forgænger, men mere sigende var hans tilføjelse af vinduer i bygningens nordmur. Han gav på denne måde den besøgende et større udsyn over herskerlandskabet fra sit andron og forbandt samtidig byen og helligdommen. Med udsynet til Mylasa på sydsiden og

⁶² Str. 14.2.23.

⁶³ Tidligere isotopanalyser har indikeret, at marmoret fra Andron A stammer fra et marmorbrud i Herakleia i Lilleasien. Isotopværdier fra Herakleia overlapper dog med et marmorbrud i Mylasa, der muligvis er det, Strabon nævner. Hertil forekommer det mere sandsynligt, at Hekatomniderne har benyttet et nærliggende marmorbrud til deres byggeprogram: Se Hellström & Blid 2019, 203-

⁶⁴ Samme tendenser ses i den græske religion, hvor det politiske og det religiøse har været så nært forbundet, at det har været helt naturligt at samle politiske og religiøse aktiviteter på ét sted. F.eks. blev Knidiernes Lesche i Apollonhelligdommen i Delfi brugt som både bankethal og politisk mødested: Se Pedley 2006, 11-12.

helligdommens bjergtinde på den anden mødtes det profane og det religiøse i *andron* bygningens rum, hvori herskeren var til stede i form af både skulptur og i egen person under rituelle banketter og audienser med borgerne. På denne måde har Idrieus' *andron* været et visuelt såvel som fysisk mødested mellem politik og religion, sådan som det også blev udtrykt i dedikationsindskriften på bygningens arkitrav, hvor herskeren satte sig selv i direkte forbindelse med Mylasa og Zeus Labraundos.

Hekatomniderne fandt altså et jordisk bindeled mellem det profane og det hellige men også mellem herskeren og folket, hvor dynastiet så en mulighed for at grundlægge deres eget politiske og religiøse magtcentrum, der med sine dybe rødder i den kariske kultur i form af en allerede eksisterende helligdom med tilhørende vejforbindelse samtidig legitimerede deres storhed i Karien. Hekatomniderne må have set muligheder i at udvide netop denne helligdom samtidig med, at de har fremhævet deres status som magtfulde herskere i inddragelse af storslået arkitektur, skulptur og landskab, der alt sammen blev rammesat i de to *andrones*. Det er derfor min klare overbevisning, at byggeprogrammet og forlængelsen af Zeus Labraundos-festerne utvivlsomt har været et led i Hekatomnidernes selvpromovering i målet om at fastslå og underbygge deres dynastiske satrapi.

Konklusion

Hekatomniderne formåede med deres byggeprogram i Labraunda at udvikle en helligdom, der kombinerede både religion og politik samtidig med, at det iscenesatte dynastiet som den øverste magt igennem helligdommens to mest prominente bygninger. Med den eklektiske arkitektur, skulpturprogram og bygningernes nøje udvalgte placering i landskabet har Hekatomniderne promoveret dynastiet og dets magt for alle, der besøgte Zeushelligdommen i Labraunda. Formentligt blev eliten inviteret til at spise sammen med dynasterne i de to *andrones*, hvor de nød banketter i genskæret fra skulpturernes bronze og med udsigten over Hekatomnidernes blomstrende rige. Den hekatomnidiske selviscenesættelse har altså både været at finde inde i bygningerne og i deres placering i det landskab, der blev indrammet af de store vinduer.

Derudover synes det yderst plausibelt at Labraunda har haft stor, politisk betydning for det hekatomnidiske dynasti i Karien, og at de to *andrones* har

tjent en dobbeltfunktion som både rituelle bankethaller og politiske audienssale. På denne måde har de to *andrones* udgjort et jordisk bindeled mellem det profane og det hellige samt et bindeled mellem de hekatomnidiske herskere og det kariske folk.

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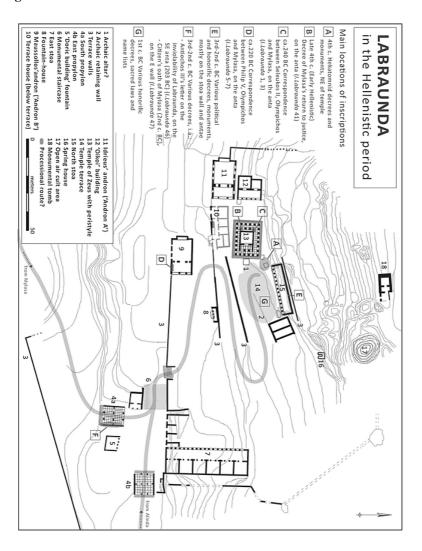
Illustrationer

Figur 1:



Udsigt over helligdommen i Labraunda med ruinerne af Zeustemplet og Andron A i forgrunden og udsigten over dalen og Mylasa i horisonten (fra https://travelatelier.com/blog/sacred-city-caria-labraunda/, besøgt 2.7.2021).

Figur 2:



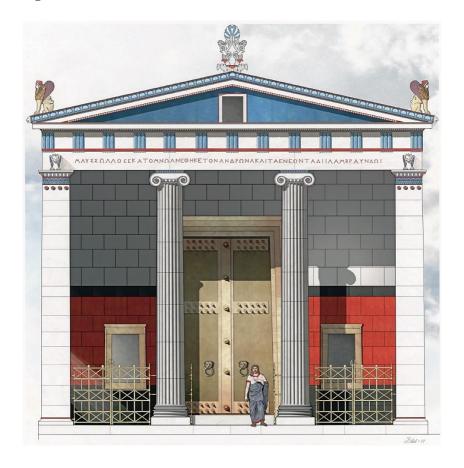
Grundplan over Labraunda i den Hellenistiske periode (kort af C. Williamson baseret på illustrationer af J. Blid og P. Hellström, fra Williamson 2013: Figur 6 på s. 151).

Figur 3a:



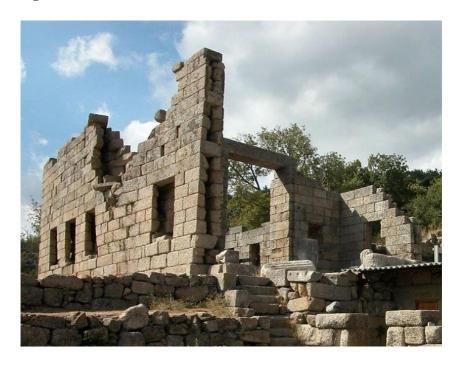
Andron B set fra sydvest (fra Hellström & Blid 2019: Figur 30 på s. 28).

Figur 3b:



Grafisk rekonstruktion af facaden på Andron B (illustration af J. Blid, fra Blid 2017: Figur 8 på s. 118).

Figur 4a:



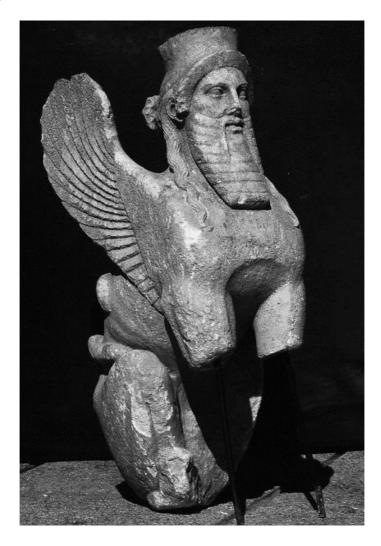
Andron A set mod nord-vest (fotografi taget af G. Büyüközer, fra Büyüközer 2019: Figur 10a på s. 116).

Figur 4b:



Rekonstruktion af Andron A (illustration af J. Blid, fra Hellström & Blid 2019: Figur 401 på s. 200).

Figur 5:



Sfinksakroter fra Andron B (Bodrum Museum, fotografi taget af Pontus Hellström, fra

https://explore.psl.eu/fr/decouvrir/expositions-virtuelles/zeus-la-double-hache-le-sanctuaire-de-labraunda/introduction, besøgt 2.7.2021).

Figur 6:



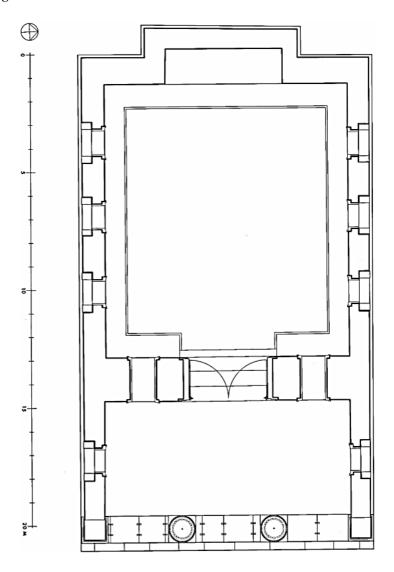
Vinduerne rammesatte det Hekatomnidiske landskab og en prægtig udsigt mod Mylasa. Her fra sydmuren i Andron A (fra Hellström & Blid 2019: Figur 268 på s. 144).

Figur 7:



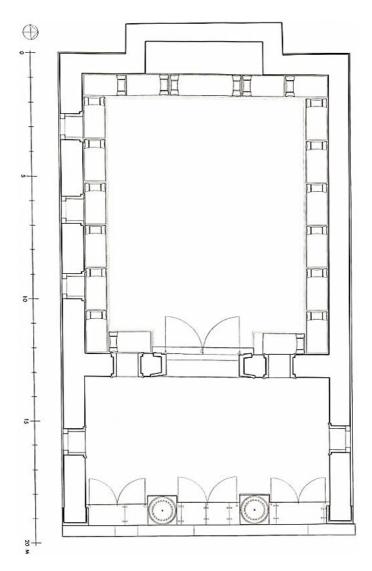
Relief fundet i Tegea (British Museum, 1914,0714.1). © The Trustees of the British Museum

Figur 8:



Rekonstrueret grundplan over Andron A (illustration af J. Blid, fra Hellström og Blid 2019: Figur 400 på s. 199).

Figur 9:



Rekonstrueret grundplan over Andron B (illustration af J. Blid, fra Hellström & Blid 2019: Figur 228 på s. 117).

A Tomb in Labraunda

Ruler, Priest or Indiviual? *Julie Lund*

Keywords:

Karia, Labraunda, Western Anatolia, Hekatomnid, Monumental, Tomb, Hellenistic, Idreus.

Abstract

Western Anatolia has shown to be a magnificent scene for the bridging of Greek and Persian beliefs, customs, and architecture especially, and these are vividly attested through the numerous monumental funerary tombs located throughout its landscape in the form of archaeological remains. A place in which this practice of monumental tomb construction became especially prominent and utilised as symbols of social importance, legitimation of power and glorification, was in Karia where the Hekatomnid family expanded, distributed, and exploited this particular trend in the Late Classical period.

This paper will focus on one of these monumental tombs, more precisely, the *Built Tomb* in Labraunda, for which the identity of the person buried has long been a topic of debate. The aim is to reach a clearer consensus on the ownership of this tomb, as this knowledge is important in more than one aspect: the immediate one being its shedding light on the general history and development of monumental funerary architecture in Western Anatolia, another most intriguing point of interest is the dating of this specific tomb, as it alone holds the agency and power to alter the chronology of these building types, dependent on its dedicated owner.

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Introduction

This paper discusses the monumental tomb in Labraunda with special emphasis on the identity of the individual buried. From this, different arguments will support, exclude, or appoint possible candidates for the ownership, and a few alternative interpretations will be introduced. The assessment of this question and its final conclusion will be based on architectural, chronological, epigraphic, and historical evidence.

It should be clarified that the individual of the tomb will not be referred to, nor considered, as a *hero*. This is in part because my focus lies on the identification of the buried individual, rather than how people perceived that person, not at all to mention the terminology's rather loose, contested, and even subjective character.

Incentive to study

I intend to study this topic because the knowledge generated from an investigation like this, in an overall sense, adds more pieces to the puzzle of the Karian tradition of grand monumental tomb construction. Another most intriguing and important factor of interest is the chronology surrounding the tomb, and less so the actual individual: was it conceived before or after Maussollos? If construction took place after Maussollos and his trend-setting mausoleum in Halikarnassos, then this study supports its first objective of shedding light on the general development of monumental tomb construction within the region. However, was it to exist before the reign of Maussollos, one could convincingly argue it a prototype to the succeeding mausoleums, and it would further support the notion that these types of construction are rooted deeply in Karian traditions. Dependent on its dedicated owner, this tomb holds the agency to alter the chronology of these specific funerary monuments.¹

¹ Karlsson et al. 2014, 74.

Previous investigations and discoveries of Labraunda

The location of Labraunda was for many years a mystery that scholars tried to solve in the best way they knew, following the literary accounts. In 1769 it was proposed by R. Chandler that Labraunda was to be found northwest of Mylasa, modern day Milas, later recognised to be Euromos, and despite being mentioned regularly in various ancient sources, the exact location of Labraunda was not fully established until the beginning of the 19th century, resulting from a correct reading and interpretation of Strabo (14.2.23).² The first documented visit to the site was by Austrian Anton Prokesch von Osten, who arrived in 1827 and published his recordings five years later. Presumably, this report went largely under the radar and received little attention as the following six visitors of Labraunda were all unaware that it in fact had already been rediscovered, and even published. One of these early visitors was Philippe Le Bas (1844), who, despite not being the first to locate the sanctuary as he initially believed, was the first to publish drawings from the site.³

Although the tomb never received thorough scholarly attention, it has, however, been mentioned in each visiting account. Prokesch described his journey from Milas to Çine in an Austrian archaeological journal (1932), in which he, from the upper plateau above the Temple Terrace, notices "ein schmales Gemach".⁴ Le Bas, visiting the site in 1844, made beautiful and detailed drawings of the tomb (Fig. 1) among others; R.M. Smith, reaching the site only 13 years later, provided the much-needed photographs and measurements of the structure which was later published (1862) in Newton's History of Discoveries; and finally, a rather confusing account by the French epigraphist G. Cousin, who, reaching the site in 1889, clearly, and among other puzzling facts, believed Idrieus' andron to be a tomb, and although describing the topography loosely, definitely encountered the monumental built tomb on the rocky plateau:

 $^{^2}$ For a full account of the literary sources with reference to Labraunda see Hellström 2011, 19-23.

³ Hellström 2011, 39-40; Henry 2014, 71 & 75.

⁴ Karlsson et al. 2014, 71: Prokesch von Osten 1832, 4-6.

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"On entre d'abord par une porte basse dans une sorte de caveau, au fond duquel se trouvent trois tombeaux vides. Le plafond en voûte est admirable de conservation. Au dessus de la voûte et reposant sur elle, une chambre rectangulaire d'un mètre de haut, couverte par de grandes plaques. Cette chambre est vide". 5

A brief introduction to Labraunda

Labraunda lies in the heart of the Karian mainland. It is most renowned for its sanctuary to the Karian deity Zeus Labraundos and was ruled by its priests as an autonomous shrine, belonging to no city.⁶ It was an important place of worship for the Karians and acted as a *locus* of power and as a display for the local dynasty of Hekatomnids (Hekatomnos and his three sons and two daughters) who, throughout most of the 4th century BC (ca. 395-323), ruled the Karian region as Persian satraps. ⁷ The sanctuary favoured and consistently adorned by this very family, however, appears to be much older; early Swedish excavations of the site suggests that cultic activity started taking place around the middle of the 7th century BC.8 Burials and the associated practices can be attested as early as the 2nd half of the 5th century BC and appear to have continued uninterrupted till sometime during the Late Roman period. In 2012 excavations were carried out around the Split Rock located just east of the monumental tomb, an area hypothesised to be the oldest of sacred spaces on site, and the finds in fact did indicate occupation from as early on as the Bronze Age.9

The monumental built tomb in Labraunda

This tomb has been the subject of a number of minor investigations throughout the years, yet it has never received complete attention, and it has therefore been published and studied in a sporadic and poor manner.¹⁰

⁵ Cousin 1900, 24.

⁶ Gunter 1986, 114.

⁷ Piekosz 2020, 27.

⁸ Hellström 2007, 17 & 40.

⁹ Cimen 2017, 7.

¹⁰ Henry 2014.

The monumental tomb (Fig. 1) is situated north of the sanctuary, ca. 30 meters above the Temple Terrace on a rocky plateau overlooking and, to a considerable degree, dominating the sanctuary (Fig. 2). Monumental in size, and constructed entirely from local gneiss, the length of the tomb podium measures 13.5 m, the width 7.5 m, and the height of the podium 5.4 m. Located on a high podium surrounded by steep slopes, the tomb can be reached by means of a rock-cut staircase (excavated in 2008, see Fig. 2)¹¹, leading to the tomb's open courtyard which may be accessed through the entrance on the lower stories' southern wall.¹² The tomb chamber and its antechamber are located in the building's podium, and the entrance was once sealed off by a huge piece of gneiss acting as a plug-door that is now visible in the forecourt.¹³ It is believed that the forecourt was covered with soil and rubble after its initial use as space of burial, seemingly in prevention of robbery, and perhaps even further use; however, at some point, during the Hellenistic period the space was cleaned out and new individuals (most possibly those in the antechamber) were introduced. 14 Afterwards, the frontcourt area seems to have been left open, acting as a space for annual rites and ceremonies in connection to those buried. 15 Entering the tomb, one encounters two sarcophagi each made of stone slabs, and each is pushed to the sides of the antechamber, creating a corridor-like entry to the inner funerary chamber. The main chamber contains three monolithic sarcophagi, two, again flanking the sides of the room as one enters, and one much larger placed along the back wall, visible throughout both chambers (Fig. 3). The tomb consists of two stories, the above mentioned lower funerary chambers, both corbel-vaulted, and a large empty space situated right above these, covered by ten large monolithic beams each weighing more than 4 tons. 16 The upper chamber may be entered through a tiny doorway placed above the entrance to the antechamber from the courtyard, and its function is debatable. Although many have tried to interpret the room as a cult space for libations; its ceiling is very low, leading most to believe it fulfilled more of a structural function than one of religiosity,

¹¹ Karlsson 2008, 130-132.

¹² Henry 2010, 93.

¹³ Ibid., 96.

¹⁴ Frejman 2012, 8.

¹⁵ Henry 2010, 96.

¹⁶ Ibid., 93.

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and, considering the enormous superstructure once crowning the tomb, a relieving space seems an accurate interpretation (Fig. 4). 17

Today the superstructure is no more, and its debris and architectural remains have been retrieved from the slopes between the tomb and the sanctuary, allowing for a more accurate dating and interpretation of its original appearance, a massive crowning structure in the Doric order. During the sanctuary's later life, the focus shifted from religious to economic, and the area became involved in purposes of agriculture. This shift probably took place between the 4th and 7th century AD, corresponding to the decline of pagan cult centres in this period. However, agricultural activity has been attested as early as the Hellenistic period. ¹⁸

Chronology

In a case like this, trying to identify or at least rule out possible candidates of ownership, questions of chronology become of utmost importance. As described above, the key to this tomb's mysteries lies in the placement of its chronological cursor, and special emphasis should therefore be paid to dateable features, material, techniques, etc.

The construction of the tomb, the type of vault chosen, and the profiles of the gneiss blocks, as well as the architectural debris (including examples of Doric architraves, friezes, and cornices) scattered along the slopes between the tomb and temple terrace, indicates that the tomb was built sometime in the Hekatomnid period (more precisely second half of the 4th century BC). ¹⁹ The modest finds of ceramics from the first cleaning of the tomb in 1960 support this date, again hinting to a date during the 4th century BC. Another, more recent, cleaning of the tomb took place in 2011, which unfortunately did not result in more sherds of pottery. ²⁰

The pi-shaped structure

¹⁷ Ibid.: The ceiling measures only 1.17 m in height.

¹⁸ Sitz 2017, 297. Activity is attested through the letters of Olympichos, strategos of Seleukos II (240-220 BC).

¹⁹ Henry et al. 2012, 253.

²⁰ Karlsson et al. 2012, 78.

In 2012, the slope between the tomb and the temple terrace was cleaned, and a Π -shaped structure was unearthed immediately south of the tomb podium (Figs. 6 & 7). The structure is relatively well preserved and was composed of a 12 m long retaining wall built up against the rock right beneath the podium. It was un-roofed with inserted low benches and open to the south overlooking the sanctuary.

In 2013, a trench was placed in the middle of the Π -shaped structure in order for the different stratigraphic layers to be examined and the structure's function and chronology determined. Three distinct phases were confirmed: the first has dateable material corresponding to the end of the Hellenistic period; the second between the middle of the 3rd and the middle of the 2nd century BC, and the lowest one in touch with the bedrock, composed of thick layers of ash, offers material from the end of the 4th century. 21 During the following campaign, a just as interesting feature was discovered, and a fourth phase was added. Hidden beneath the eastern corner of the terrace of the Π structure, the threshold of a small room was unearthed (Fig. 8). Excavations in and around this threshold showed the stratigraphy to be greatly disturbed, and a dating of the structure on the basis of material alone seems unwise. However, materials of various characters were attested, fragments of a Late Archaic Argive hoplite shield, a late 4th century amphora from Chios, and a surprisingly large amount of material dated within the Hellenistic period. The stone slab, forming the threshold to this building, is of considerable size: 1.96 m in length, and a northern width of 54 cm and 66 cm in its southern. This context 4 has been interpreted as a layer of deliberate disassembly. Accordingly, the Hellenistic material is derived from the above context 3, the one believed to have sealed off the earlier building after this was dismantled for the construction of the new structure and the areas possible new functions.²² The architectural elements as well as the assumed building techniques of this earlier structure points us in a considerably pre-Hekatomnid direction. The composition of the stone, unbound and stacked (not laid in the usual Hekatomnid header-and-stretcher fashion) technique, being almost identical to that employed in wall 7 south-east of the temple, hints to a construction date with-

²¹ Karlsson et al. 2014, 81-83.

²² Henry et al. 2015, 332.

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in the earliest phases of the sanctuary and corresponds to the dating of the excavated fragments of a hoplite shield in context 4.²³

Chronology

An abundance of material was uncovered from the structure ranging in dates from the earliest dateable material of the 6th century BC to the latest around 11th-12th century AD, testifying to a broad chronology of use, spanning from Archaic to Medieval times.²⁴ Although this material has not yet been fully published, it is possible to draw, at least, tentative conclusions from the small selections presented in the *Rapport Préliminaire*.²⁵ Examples of the oldest ceramics uncovered from context 4, clusters in date around the 6th and the 4th century BC, can be attested through finds of dateable ceramics in black varnish, retrieved especially from the context 3.²⁶ Over the centuries from the first use of the structure until sometime during the Roman period, the main bulk of material uncovered consists of typical banquet tableware and vessels such as cups, plates, amphorae, pitchers, and *pithoi*.²⁷

Labraunda and the Hekatomnids

I am hypothesizing a priori that the person buried in the monumental tomb must have been someone with a special connection to the sanctuary; therefore, Hekatomnid patronage will be touched upon shortly in this section. It should also be mentioned that Idrieus, the second son of Hekatomnos and successor of Maussollos, has already been postulated as a possible candidate to the ownership of the tomb by Olivier Henry, first in 2006 and again in 2014.²⁸

The main benefactors of Labraunda were undoubtedly Maussollos (377-353) and his younger brother Idrieus (351-344).²⁹ As we are already indisput-

²³ Henry et al. 2015, 332.

²⁴ Henry et al. 2013, 308.

²⁵ Karlsson et al. 2012, 293-298; Henry et al. 2014, 278-280.

²⁶ Henry *et al.* 2013, 308: A terracotta figurine of Kybele (BTB.03), decorated bronze leaves (BTB.69), and a *lekythos* (BTA.18).

²⁷ Henry et al. 2013, 308.

²⁸ Henry 2014: Director of the excavations at Labraunda, 2010-2014; I was unfortunately not able to consult the publication: Henry 2006.

²⁹ Piekosz 2020, 36 & 43.

ably aware of the location and monumentality of the Maussolleion, we shall focus on Idrieus and his active patronage and embellishments of Labraunda. Five buildings have been securely attributed to Idrieus by dedicatory inscription. These count: The Temple of Zeus; the "Oikoi" building, or "Rooms" as sometimes referred to; the second andron (called A in publications); the southernmost propylaea; and a small Doric structure, ("Doric House") possibly a wellhouse or a treasury (Fig. 3).30 All five buildings are constructed from local gneiss ashlars, enhanced with marble fronts, and the quality of the foundations and masonry work is remarkable, as are the two buildings dedicated by his predecessor and older brother Maussollos.³¹ Purely in terms of building techniques (no inscription), we may hypothesise the addition of another two structures to the overall Hekatomnid building scheme, as well as most retaining walls within the sanctuary. As will be emphasised in the following chapter, the monumental tomb shares some significant features and techniques of construction with the Hekatomnid buildings in the sanctuary, e.g. the so-called "Terrace House II" in the southern vicinity of the temple (see Fig. 3: the unnamed structure immediately south of the temple). Whether these came into being as a result of Maussollos' or Idrieus' patronage is open to discussion. It should, however, be mentioned that the construction of the Temple of Zeus seems initiated during the reign of Maussollos and most possibly merely resumed and completed by Idrieus at a later date.³²

No other individual than those from the ruling family seems to have sponsored buildings at Labraunda in this period, and thus the Hekatomnids, Idrieus in particular, furnished the sanctuary with lavish buildings, a sponsorship seemingly monopolised and exclusive to the dynasty.³³

In connection and high possibility that one of the Hekatomnids is buried here, it should be noted that we do not know the location of Pixodaros' grave (the youngest son of Hekatomnos), nor do we know much about his connection to Labraunda apart from the obvious one being his Hekatomnid de-

³⁰ Hellström 1991, 300. Andron A does not carry the name of Idrieus directly, yet it seems the only possible reconstruction; Blid 2019, 82. Without further explanation, it is stated in this article that Andron A most likely had been erected before the death of Maussollos in 353/352.

³¹ Hellström 1991, 300-301: For a more comprehensive study of the building techniques and qualities used on site.

³² Gunter 1985, 117.

³³ Gunter 1985, 121.

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scent.³⁴ We know from an inscription found at Iasos that the priestly office at Labraunda was hereditary and held by Hekatomnids. It has therefore been proposed by Pontus Hellström that the person buried might be a high priest, suggesting Korris, known for his extensive correspondence with Seleukos II, king of the Seleucid dynasty around 240 BC.35 We do not know if Korris actually was a descendant of the Hekatomnid dynasty, yet this "low" identification as Hellström puts it, proved more palatable for him, as he was not fond of the idea of burying a well-known member of the ruling family in a tomb that was not constructed from, or even decorated with, marble. 36 The possibility that this tomb in fact could have been constructed for Hekatomnos himself has, however, been suggested several times. This speculation mainly evolves around the fact that the road facilitating the transportation of marble was not developed before Maussollos' active patronage, explaining this conspicuous lack in the structure, as well as the choice of the Doric order in use, as opposed to the Ionic one preferred for the remaining Hekatomnid building scheme at site.³⁷ All of this seems to make fine sense, however, since then scholarly debate has focused on the so-called Berber Ini and the Uzun Yuva tombs as the possible final resting places of Hekatomnos, and, therefore, this hypothesis shall not be further pursued in this paper. Although, it should be mentioned that this theory of Hekatomnos' possible ownership to the monumental tomb in Labraunda was first suggested by Charles Thomas Newton, and even in later times by Olivier Henry.³⁸

What we do know

So, what do we know? So far, we have good reason to believe that the construction of the monumental tomb was conceived sometime during the second half of the 4^{th} century, and the Π -shaped structure's context 3, the first phase of the "new" building, indicates a date at the end of the 4^{th} century BC. This would all fully support the notion that this tomb could be the resting place of a Hekatomnid.

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³⁴ Henry 2010, 97.

³⁵ Williamson 2013, 152.

³⁶ Henry 2014, 73.

³⁷ Henry *et al.* 2012, 257.

³⁸ Newton 1862, 511; Henry et al. 2012, 257.

The overtly generous and monumental *euergetism* exercised in Labraunda by the Hekatomnids, Idrieus in particular, is by itself noteworthy and validates, at least, the close, perhaps even rooted, relationship between the two institutions. In the light of these epigraphic and historical indications, the potential candidature of Idrieus seems particularly attractive.

The general location of the monumental tomb is also quite revealing, this prominent position on the hilltop, overlooking the entire area is by no means random. In terms of sight, it offers a panoramic view of the area from its plateau and is the only building visible at all times from within the sanctuary. The presence of a rock-cut staircase leading to the tomb and the sanctuary in connection below supports not only our dating of the structure but also its significance. These ostentatious ways of showing off through burial became a trend during the Hellenistic period, but a deep transformation took place in the Karian sepulchral landscape already around the middle of the 4th century.³⁹ It is also around this time that staircases like the one found below the tomb in Labraunda start appearing, and this kind of spatial control and organisation was planned out to impress, welcome, arrange and, of course, ease accessibility to the cultic area. The staircase in and of itself is perhaps not remarkable, but the access to it right next to the northern stoa and in direct connection to the Temple of Zeus is indeed remarkable (Figs. 2 & 9). So, although the tomb itself lies beyond the borders of the temenos, its entrance certainly does not, and one might think of it as a certain kind of statement. The fact that the entry to the tomb area is located in the heart of the sanctuary, plastered up against the Stoa of Maussollos, right at the entrance to his and Idrieus' seemingly joint project of the grand Temple of Zeus, obviously the most important building of the sanctuary, clearly indicates not just a prominent person, but, more importantly, points to a person with a physical connection to the space.

But let us have a look at the more obvious features of monumentality, the tomb itself. Although the tomb bears no inscription, its sheer monumentality, construction, layout, size, weight, etc. is revealing in other ways. As mentioned above, this was a time of change within the general burial landscape of Karia. However, this tomb does have its parallels: it is much similar in layout

³⁹ Henry 2011, 163.

to the Hekatomnid mausoleums. The similarity lies in its 3-level construction, its underground funeral space located within the podium itself, its ante and main chambers, and its superstructure. The tomb in Labraunda has lost most of its crowning structure, depriving it of its main features of grandeur, yet it is not difficult to imagine its staggering original state which would have been even more dominating within the landscape than it is today. Also, considering the vast amounts of architectural elements originating from the structure retrieved from the slopes, the support created by the monolithic beams, ca. 40 tons, as well as the relieving space created below the latter, indicates that it must have been an impressively and immense building to oppose.

As mentioned, the excavation of the Π -shaped structure revealed dateable material from the end of the 4th to 2nd-1st century BC and was divided into four different contexts. Whereas the first two contexts merely confirm a continuous activity and importance of the tomb's owner, the third and fourth are of special significance. The 4th century context turned out to be a deliberate layer of demolition, removal of an older building making room for a new, while the third layer corresponds the first phase of this "new" building. This third context offered a large variety of drinking and pouring pottery in the style of banqueting ware, and the thickness of the layers of ash suggests that the cultic activity performed here was rather intense. The presence of the Π shaped structure unquestionably attests to the significance and importance of the tomb's main individual and possibly those buried there at a later date. The fact that not only a lavish tomb was constructed, but also a building acting as a monumental altar for the performances of rites in this person's memory is striking. One does not conceive of these types of buildings in a vacuum. It must have been a need for the people that they had a designated space in which they could remember and commemorate the deceased. Nevertheless, the overall facts are clear: the construction of the "new" Π-shaped building corresponds to the erection of the monumental tomb, if at least, its superstructure; the building seems to have acted as a monumental altar dedicated to the owner of the premises, framing these ritual acts, and the large amounts of ash and burnt material suggests severe ritual activity that most likely involved sacrifices, an activity that lasted at least until the Roman period.

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⁴⁰ Karlsson et al. 2014, 73.

In this sense, we may conclude what has already been made evident, that a person of great importance to the sanctuary was buried here. But there exists rather obstructing evidence, such as the re-opening and reuse of the tomb sometime in the Hellenistic period. We presume that this funeral monument was intended for one individual and possibly those co-buried, and it is, therefore, even more difficult to imagine and justify the reopening and use of a tomb designed for a dynast or other significant persons, as there were laws prohibiting this, and this could lead to damnation. The other striking and most puzzling factor leading to thoughts of lesser-known candidates than the Hekatomnids is the lack of use of marble in the overall construction. As mentioned briefly above, Hellström was more in favour of a so-called low identification, opting for the high priest Korris. As one of the presumed more important priests of the sanctuary, in addition to his possible Hekatomnid descendance, this could initially be a fine choice. However, examination of the tomb's architectural and structural details had not yet been conducted when Hellström suggested this. Overall, the new evidence means that the tomb cannot be attributed to Korris, as his existence around 240 BC is simply too late, because the tomb seems considerably earlier. In general, other priests of importance has been subjected to the postulations surrounding the tomb, yet these are more difficult to validate. The mere thought of a priest re-opening and disturbing a monumental tomb, and in particular, one of a dynast, seems unlikely; however, as we have little information on the more distant descendants of the Hekatomnids, these speculations are at least tentative.⁴¹

On the other hand, there exists other reasons why a person as prominent as a Hekatomnid could be buried in a marbleless tomb. As we are not aware of how Idrieus died, or exactly when (ca. 344/343),⁴² one might consider that the burial is not necessarily a result of the individual's own wishes but more a representation of how those left behind wanted to perceive that person and promote themselves in direct relation to the deceased. The Hekatomnids, seemingly, commissioned their own tombs, and this one does resemble the others, yet it is diverging in several ways.⁴³ Idrieus would certainly have been financially capable of setting up and planning his own tomb monument, being

41 Henry 2010, 97.

⁴² Piekosz 2020, 53.

⁴³ Henry 2014, 71.

described as "The most prosperous of those on the [Anatolian] mainland" ⁴⁴, but what if he never got around to it? These are all but speculations, but what if Idrieus died without planning his burial, and the good people of Labraunda, eager to pay back what was given them, and possibly eager to have such a prominent person buried here provided him this final resting place? The catchphrase "The dead don't bury themselves" might be very telling in this sense, yet few places would make as much sense as Labraunda for the burial of this specific Hekatomnid. ⁴⁵ It truly was this space in which he invested the most.

Concluding remarks

As it appears from the above, the monumental tomb in Labraunda still poses many unanswered questions, and until further evidence comes to light, it is impossible to securely attribute this tomb to a certain individual. Evidently, Idrieus is still the favoured candidate, yet some pieces of this puzzle remain unexplainable. Therefore, it should be safe to say that this tomb belonged to a person of great importance within the second half of the 4th century BC, a person with a presumably rooted connection to the sanctuary.

⁴⁴ Üzel 2007, 22. Isocrates' description of Idrieus in 346 BC.

⁴⁵ Ginn 2014, 18. Coined by the prehistorian Mike Pearson.

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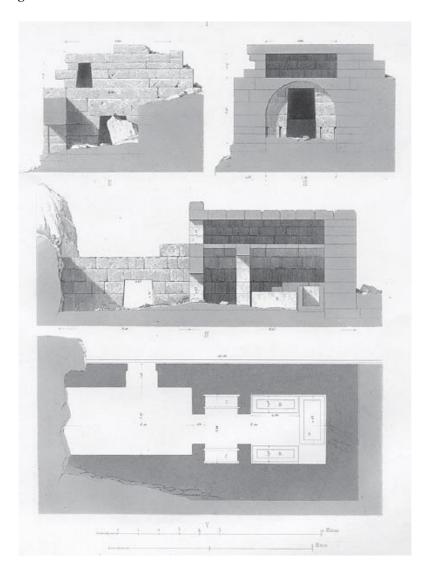
List of figures

Figure 1:



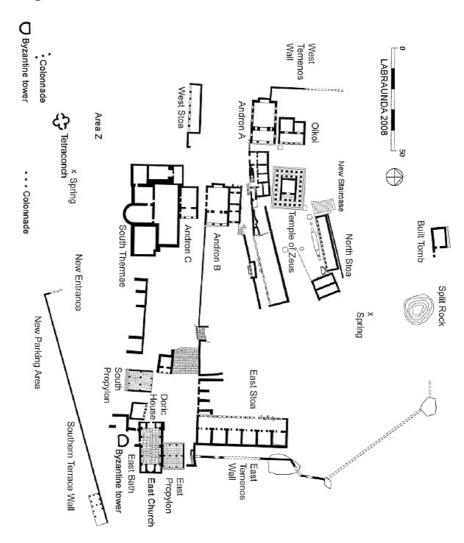
(Drawing by Philip LeBas from 1888, from Henry 2014: Figure 3 on p. 75).

Figure 2:



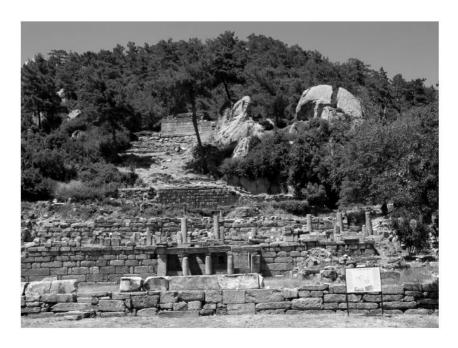
(Drawing by Philip LeBas from 1888, from Henry 2014: Figure 3 on p. 75).

Figure 3:



Map of the Sanctuary, with the monumental built tomb overlooking the site from the north (illustration by J. Blid, from Karlsson 2009: Figure 2 on page 59).

Figure 4:



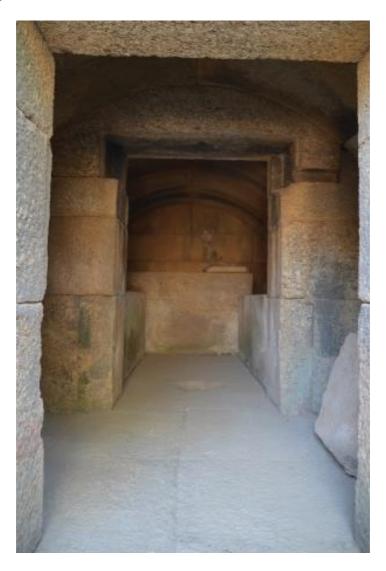
A view of the tomb from the Sanctuary (S) (from Karlsson 2008: Figure 1 on p. 110).

Figure 5:



The monumental staircase (from Karlsson 2009: Figure 67 on p. 85.

Figure 6:



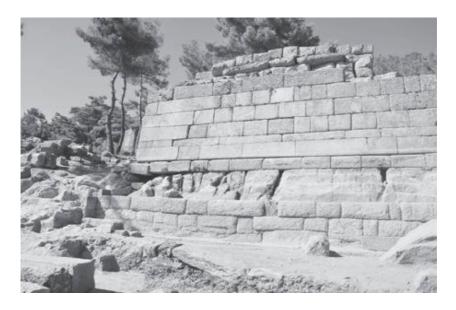
A look inside the monumental tomb from the open courtyard (from Karlsson *et al.* 2012: Figure 41 on p. 78).

Figure 7:



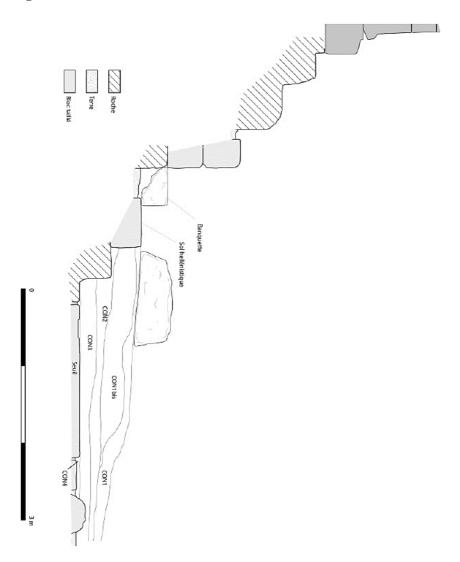
Inside the second story of the tomb (from Karlsson *et al.* 2012: Figure 42 on p. 79).

Figure 8:



View of the Π -shaped structure beneath the tomb podium (photography taken by O. Henry, from Henry 2014: Figure 15 on p. 81).

Figure 9:



Section of the 2014 survey (from the west) (illustration by M. Vormier, from Henry *et al.* 2015: Figure 43 on p. 331).

Figure 10:



View of the sanctuary (and the "new staircase"), as seen from the south (illustration by J. Blid, from Hellström & Blid 2019: Figure 472 on p. 276).

The Sarcophagus in the Hekatomneion in Mylasa

A study of the banquet scene *Christina Nielsen*

Abstract

In 2010, a magnificent sarcophagus was discovered in the monumental grave complex on the Uzun Yuva terrace in ancient Mylasa. The relief on the front side shows a "sympotic" scene with a central character, most likely the deceased, reclining on a *kline* holding a drinking vessel. The man reclining on the *kline* has been suggested to be Hekatomnos, father of Maussollos. He is surrounded by mourners, probably his family and servants.

This paper will examine the meaning of the banquet and the significance of this type of banquet motif. It will deal with the subject in two ways: firstly, it will question what the banquet scene represents, and whether the motif is meant to depict a banquet taking place in the afterlife, or if it is meant to represent an everyday banquet from the life of the deceased. To answer these questions, the relationship between motif, vessel, and context will be examined. For example, how the sarcophagus was meant to be experienced and by whom. Secondly, it will examine where these banquet motifs originated and why it was used on the sarcophagus from Mylasa. Lastly, it will examine the term "Totenmahl".

It will be concluded that a more plausible understanding of the banquet scene is that the scene was meant to display the pleasant life of Hekatomnos, and that it demonstrated his status and wealth, and especially that of the Hekatomnid dynasty. However, the message was most likely not for a living audience but rather a higher power. Furthermore, it will argue that the banquet motifs should not be understood as one homogenous group, but that they could serve different and multiple purposes. In the case of the banquet scene from Mylasa, the motif also served as propaganda, but not for the deceased Hekatomnos, but the new dynastic ruler, Maussollos. Finally, the term, Totenmahl, needs to be adjusted or abandoned.

Keywords:

Sarcophagi, Mylasa, banquet motif, Totenmahl, Hekatomnids.

Introduction

In Mylasa, modern-day Milas, stands a single Corinthian column, which marks the centre of a huge terrace elevated above the rest of the area (Figs. 1 & 2). The monuments on the terrace have been named after the column, which has been called "Uzun Yuva", Turkish for "high nest", after the storks who nest on the top every summer. 1 Mylasa has since antiquity been known for the column, until 2010 when a monumental tomb was discovered under the Uzun Yuva monument.² The burial chamber came to light after tragic circumstances involving illicit digging and plundering. The looters had tunnelled their way into the underground chamber, and in the process, did considerable damage to the tomb and subsequently sold off the grave artefacts.³ Even in its plundered condition, the Hekatomneion represents a vital find with tremendous potential because it uncovered an exceptional example of a widespread and very popular motif of ancient funerary art, the so-called banquet scene found on a monumental sarcophagus with reliefs decorating each side.4 These motifs are referred to as "Totenmahl-reliefs", and in modern scholarship, they have been suggested to have many different interpretations and meanings. To this day, it is still unclear whether this scene was meant to portray a commonday in the life of the deceased, a banquet in the afterlife, or an everyday meal in commemoration of the deceased.⁵ This paper will seek to establish whether the banquet image from Mylasa was meant to depict a scene from this life or the afterlife. Concerning the meaning of the banquet scene, the scene from Mylasa will be examined in regard to its own vessel, surrounding, and context. Furthermore, an assessment of the modern-day term of Totenmahl will also take place.

The Tomb of Hekatomnos

The position of the tomb is dominant because, from the terrace, it is possible to get a view of the entire plain of Mylasa up to the mountains (Fig. 3). The placement of the tomb in the middle of Mylasa suggests that it must have

¹ Rumscheid 2010, 69-71 (digital version without page number, pages are an estimate).

² Rumscheid 2010, 69-71; Pedersen 2017b, 241.

³ https://archive.archaeology.org/1101/topten/turkey.html, visited 5.6.2021.

⁴ Diler 2021, 87; Pedersen 2017b, 237 & 241.

⁵ Draycott 2016b, 1-4; Pedersen 2017b, 238-239; Fabricius 2016, 43.

belonged to an important member of the community. Prominent areas such as hilltops or city centres were often used to bury elite citizens or members of the ruling dynasty according to Karian burial tradition. Such locations were most likely chosen with the purpose of keeping the memory of the deceased alive.⁶

The tomb has been identified as belonging to Hekatomnos, whom the Persian King had appointed to be governor of the province, or satrapy, of Karia in 392 BC.⁷ It was the job of the Hekatomnids to attend to Persian interests in this province. Even though the Hekatomnids politically belonged to the Persian empire, they managed to establish themselves as a powerful local hereditary dynasty, which ruled with significant independence.⁸

"ίστορεῖται δὲ κώμη ὑπάρζαι παλαιόν, πατρὶς δὲ καὶ βασίλειον τῶν Καρῶν τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἑκατόμνω πλησιάζει δὲ μάλιστα τῆ κατὰ Φύσκον θαλάττη ἡ πόλις, καὶ τοῦτ' ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς ἐπίνειον."9

From this passage from Strabo, it is known that the Hekatomnids had a long history intertwined with Mylasa, as it was both their native land and where the family had their stronghold during the reign of Hekatomnos. ¹⁰ It would, therefore, have made sense for Hekatomnos to have people remember him in Mylasa because it was Hekatomnos who changed Mylasa from a small settlement into the capital of Karia. ¹¹

Hekatomnos died in 377/76 BC and was then succeeded by his son Maussollos. ¹² Adnan Diler has suggested that the start of the architectural structure for the tomb must already have been planned and started during a shared administration between Hekatomnos and Maussollos, but the decoration of the burial chamber was decided by Maussollos only. ¹³ The tomb,

⁶ Diler 2021, 87.

⁷ Pedersen 2017a, 149; Diler 2021, 87; Pedersen 2017b, 241.

⁸ Pedersen 2017a, 149-151; Carstens 2009, 11-12.

⁹ Str. 14.2.23 (translated by H. L. Jones, 1929):

[&]quot;It is related that Mylasa was a mere village in ancient times, but that it was the native land and royal residence of the Carians of the house of Hecatomnos. [...]."

¹⁰ Rumscheid 2010, 103-105.

¹¹ Diler 2021, 87.

¹² Ibid., 93.

¹³ Ibid., 91.

though, remains unfinished because Maussollos in ca. 370 BC decided to move the capital from Mylasa to Halikarnassos, which serves as a *terminus* ante quem for the erection of the tomb.¹⁴

The burial chamber

When entering the tomb, the descent towards the burial chamber is blocked by a substantial carved rectangular pillar designed to hold its position with bronze bolts inserted into sockets (Figs. 4 & 5). After crossing the entrance, a 9.30-meter-long *dromos* (corridor) leads up to a *stomion* (inner door) that separates the *dromos* from the burial chamber, which measures 4.67 x 3.72 m (Fig. 6). Inside the chamber, shelves are built on both sides, two shelves on the south and one on the north side (Fig. 7).

These shelves most likely held the burial offerings at one point. 15 Coloured wall paintings are depicted on the internal walls of the chamber. They are located on the two lunettes, the half-circle-shaped space formed at the top of the walls by the arched ceiling at each end. 16 Friezes are visible on both sides below the wall paintings. Above the entrance, at the eastern wall, four figures are depicted: in the middle are two sitting figures. A male is holding a golden staff accompanied by a woman draped in a cloak. Visible behind the central figures are two standing figures (Fig. 8). The seated man is suggested to depict Hekatomnos, while the seated woman is most likely his sister-wife Aba. According to C. Isik, the figure behind Hekatomnos is probably a male servant, while the standing figure behind Aba might be a female family member, probably Artemisia, or a member of the court.¹⁷ A similar scene is depicted on the opposite end wall, the western wall, though in slightly worse condition (Fig. 8). Whereas the east wall is dedicated to Hekatomnos, the west wall is dedicated to his successor Maussollos. He is seen in a similar composition as Hekatomnos, and Artemisia most likely accompanies him. The accompanying friezes have two different subjects: the west frieze shows a Centauromachy, and the east frieze depicts an Amazonomachy (Fig. 8). By por-

¹⁴ Diler 2021, 93; Pedersen 2017b, 241.

¹⁵ Diler 2021, 88.

¹⁶ Diler 2021, 90-91; https://kvmgm.ktb.gov.tr/Eklenti/72323,mugla-milas-uzunyuva-mausoleum-and-museum-complexpdf.pdf?0, visited 5.6.2021.

¹⁷ Diler 2021, 90-91.

traying the two rulers opposite each other, they are brought together, and the continuity and the endurance of the dynasty are portrayed. ¹⁸

Inside the burial chamber, a monumental sarcophagus, measuring 2.90 m long, 2.28 m wide, and 1.54 m high, takes up all the space and feels too big for the room (Figs. 9 & 13).19 Significant reliefs cover all four sides of the sarcophagus. Most notable is the front-facing relief with a banquet scene, which will be described in more detail later. On the right/north side, a male is seen lying on a kline and bending his head in sorrow, accompanied by a woman who sits beside him also on the kline and extends her hand towards the man (Fig. 10). The scene has been identified as a mourning scene for Hekatomnos, with Maussollos, the son and successor of Hekatomnos, as the reclining man accompanied by his sister-wife Artemisia. On the opposite side of the sarcophagus, the left/south side, a "Position change" or "Successor scene" is depicted. Hekatomnos sits with one raised hand and sits with his sister, Aba, standing in front of him. Opposite them, a male figure is seated, which has been suggested to be Maussollos, and like Hekatomnos, he is also accompanied by his sister-wife Artemisia, placed in a similar composition. 20 The male figures in the background are most likely servants. It has been suggested that the scene is representing the transfer of power from Hekatomnos tohis successor and son, Maussollos.²¹

Another possibility is that it is meant to depict the power and unity of the dynasty. On the backside of the sarcophagus, a man, sitting on top of a horse, is hunting a lion. In his hand, he at one time must have held a bronze spear which is now lost. He is accompanied by four other men dressed in Greek and Persian clothing and a hunting dog (Fig. 11).²² Most scholars have identified

¹⁸ Diler 2021, 90-91; https://kvmgm.ktb.gov.tr/Eklenti/72323,mugla-milas-uzunyuva-mausoleum-and-museum-complexpdf.pdf?0, visited 5.6.2021.

¹⁹ Diler 2021, 88.

²⁰Diler 2021, 90; https://kvmgm.ktb.gov.tr/Eklenti/72323,mugla-milas-uzunyuva-mausoleum-and-museum-complexpdf.pdf?0, visited 5.6.2021.

²¹ Diler 2021, 87 & 90; https://kvmgm.ktb.gov.tr/Eklenti/72323,mugla-milas-uzunyuva-mausoleum-and-museum-complexpdf.pdf?0, visited 5.6.2021.

²² Diler 2021, 90; Pedersen 2017b, 241;

https://kvmgm.ktb.gov.tr/Eklenti/72323,mugla-milas-uzunyuva-mausoleum-and-museum-complexpdf.pdf?0%, visited 5.6.2021.

the man on the horse that is about to deliver the final blow to the lion, as Maussollos. ²³

The Banquet scene from Mylasa

The final scene covering the sarcophagus is the first thing seen when approaching the burial chamber. The inner door frames a "sympotic" scene displayed on the façade of the huge monolithic sarcophagus (Fig. 12). In the centre of the scene, a man is reclining on a *kline* and is holding a *phiale* (drinking vessel) in his hand. He has a beard, long hair falling over the shoulder, what appears to be a crownlike headdress on his head, and he is dressed in a *chiton* and *himation*. In the scene, the central figure is surrounded by other characters, two bearded men on the left side, two small characters in front of the *kline*, and on the right side three figures, two women and a male between them (Fig. 13).

The four characters in the centre, the reclining man, the sitting woman and the two smaller characters in the front, are all wearing crownlike headdresses suggesting an elevated status from the other characters in the scene, and it also makes them the primary figures of the scene (Fig. 19). Considering the vessel for the scene, the sarcophagus, we can most likely interpret the central figure as the deceased occupant of the sarcophagus. This figure is widely accepted to be Hekatomnos.²⁴ The other three of the central figures are most likely the immediate family, the wife, and the children of the deceased. In this case, his sister-wife Aba and two of his children, Maussollos and his daughter Artemisia.²⁵

The remaining four figures in the scene are most likely servants: the two figures approaching from the left, and the standing woman and man to the right side. The man, nearest to the *kline* of those approaching from the left, is carrying *arhyton* in his left hand and a *strigil* in the other hand. All the male servants are displayed with short hair and a beard, further setting them apart from the main figure, the reclining man. The attendant to the right in between the women is of high interest, according to Poul Pedersen. The man has his

²³ Diler 2021, 91-93.

²⁴ Pedersen 2017b, 241; Ruggendorfer 2021, 170.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Diler 2021, 90.

arm folded across his chest and is clad in a very distinctive manner: in a long-sleeved, distinctly belted Persian *chiton*. The standing attendant is known from other representations of the subject and has been referred to as either the "Oriental", "Persian", or "*Bandaka*" attendant. According to Pedersen, the servant figure is seen in other banquet depictions, such as the standing attendant from the tomb chamber of the Belevi Mausoleum.²⁷

The Banquet motif

The banquet scene, as seen on the sarcophagus, is not limited to Mylasa. The banquet motif is one of the most popular and widely used motifs for funerary art.²⁸ The first known example of the banquet scene originates from the Near East, more specifically from a wall panel relief from Nineveh in 645-635 BC, where King Assurbanipal reclines accompanied by his wife.²⁹ They are surrounded by servants waiting on them. The scene is set in a garden, and a severed head can be seen hanging from the tree (Fig. 14). The scene is not entirely identical to the composition of the banquet scene from Mylasa, but they share some similar traits. They both depict the central figure reclining surrounded by his family while servants are attending them. From Nineveh, the motif spreads far and wide. It has been found in south-eastern Anatolia, western Asia Minor, the Aegean Islands, most parts of the Greek mainland, in Etruria, and the Roman Empire well into the imperial period.³⁰

The Totenmahlrelief

In modern scholarship, we have gathered the occurrence of the banquet compositions under the term "Totenmahlreliefs", and the principal concern has been trying to understand the significance and meaning of the motif, but to this day, it is still unclear.³¹ An important development for establishing the meaning was in 1999 when Johanna Fabricius published a detailed study on the subject and how the "Totenmahlreliefs" should be interpreted. She offered

²⁷ Pedersen 2017b, 241.

²⁸ Diler 2021, 87; Pedersen 2017, 237 & 241.

²⁹ Draycott 2016b, 2; Pedersen 2017, 239;

https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/W 1856-0909-53, visited 5.6.2021.

³⁰ Pedersen 2017b, 237-240; Fabricius 2016, 43.

³¹ Pedersen 2017b, 238-239; Fabricius 2016, 43.

three different answers to the scene. The first possible interpretation was that the banquet was meant to symbolise the pleasant daily life of the deceased. It was meant to demonstrate the status and display the central figure enjoying his material wealth in the presence of his family. The second possibility was that the banquet was meant to depict an everyday meal held in honour and commemoration of the central figure, most likely a deceased person. The third option is that the banquet is meant to be seen as a symposium in the afterlife.³²

Before examining the meaning of the banquet motif, consideration in applying the term Totenmahl must be taken. Because we must be aware of its connotation as using the term *Totenmahl* to describe these banquet scenes without thought can impact and sway the understanding and interpretation of the scene.33 When looking at the name, Totenmahl, it suggests an eschatological perspective, because translated it means "meal of the dead". ³⁴ An eschatological understanding would entail that the depictions of the banquet scene were found in a funerary context. However, the banquet motif can be seen in different contexts. In the early 20th century, it was recognised that there was a significant group from Athens, whose context and use differed from the rest of the "Totenmahlreliefs". 35 This led to the Totenmahl motifs being separated into two distinct categories. The first category is the "sympotic" depictions found in a funerary context. The motif displays a central male figure reclining on a couch, often a deceased person accompanied by his wife and servants. These are most commonly found in Asia Minor and the eastern Aegean. However, when the motif arrived in the Aegean Islands and Athens, it went through some changes. Instead of being used in a funerary context, they were used in a religious context and functioned as votive reliefs. In the 5th century BC, the change occurred because citizens of Athens were no longer allowed to have themselves represented on tomb reliefs. The central figure was then not meant to be understood as a deceased person, but a hero, which earned this branch the term "Heroenmahlreliefs". 36 Since the term Totenmahl is both used to

32 Ibid.

³³ Amann 2016, 73-74, n. 6.

³⁴ Ruggendorfer 2021, 169.

³⁵ Draycott 2015, 47.

³⁶ Pedersen 2017b, 238-239.

describe banquet scenes found in funerary and votive contexts, some scholars have preferred instead to abandon the name *Totenmahl* and refer to them as "banquet scenes" or "banquet motifs".³⁷

A Banquet in this life or the afterlife?

The question then becomes of the eschatological connotation of the name Totenmahl and whether we are meant to see the afterlife portrayed in the banquet scenes found in funerary contexts. To understand the meaning of the banquet scene, it will require that we instead look at the individual scene according to its own context. In the earlier studies of the "Totenmahlreliefs", the banquet motif has been studied as a homogeneous group, and they have been studied with a focus on the motif's development. More recent studies have concluded that they are not a homogenous group with a common meaning and have attempted to understand their meaning according to location and time. Within the funerary category, some cases stand out and display adaptions to the motif, and this will require the category to be further subdivided according to regions and local adaptions. There is, for example, a version of the scene from early 4th century BC Lykia that has more social character with several banqueting participants as well as family and children.³⁸ To understand the meaning of the Mylasa banquet scene, we will have to shift our focus from the general banquet motif and look towards the individual banquet scene and its context especially concerning its surroundings. Perhaps a better understanding of the banquet scene can be reached if we examine its association with the other depictions in the burial chamber of Mylasa than would be possible by comparing it to other banquet scenes.

Why the afterlife?

Before we move on to look at the context of the banquet scene, we must ask why the afterlife would be depicted. We do not know much about what the Hekatomnids believed about the afterlife, but we know from ancient Greek literary and epigraphic sources that the afterlife was not described as a place

³⁷ Pedersen 2017b, 237; Ruggendorfer 2021, 169.

³⁸ Pedersen 2017b, 238.

where one wines and dines, but it was in fact, a relatively miserable place.³⁹ For example, in the Iliad, the afterlife, Hades, is described as murky darkness.40 The same goes for the early Persian concept of an afterlife, which was described as a dark, dreary land of shadows.⁴¹ Then how does the banquet scene fit into this, when it contradicts the basic understanding that we have of the afterlife? For a better understating of the afterlife beliefs of the Hekatomnids, it would be beneficial to examine the Maussolleion in Halikarnassos and the large deposit of sacrificed animals found at the foot of the wide procession staircase leading down to the tomb chamber. 42 The remains of the animal sacrifices may have functioned as a very large "packed lunch" for Maussollos on his journey to the afterlife. 43 The purpose of this packed lunch could be, as Anne Marie Carstens suggests, "[...] as meat to prepare at his welcoming barbecue in the Underworld"44, which would suggest that dining and, therefore, also banqueting took place in the afterlife. The underworld might, therefore, not have been such a miserable place for a dynastic ruler. However, even though food placed near tombs are commonly understood as food for the afterlife, we actually know very little of this practice.⁴⁵

Aba, Maussollos, and Artemisia

If this is meant to be a symposium in the afterlife, what would be the role of the other figures in the scene? Are they meant to be present in the afterlife as well? Concerning the presence of Aba, she may have been dead at the time. It has been suggested that she died before Hekatomnos, and the tomb was meant for both Hekatomnos and Aba. Materials found during excavations, such as gold rings and earrings and appliques from textiles, could imply a female presence in the burial. ⁴⁶ If this was the case, that would explain the many depictions of the two of them together in the burial chamber. However, the depictions

³⁹ Draycott 2015, 1.

⁴⁰ Hom., Il. 11.57-58.

⁴¹ https://www.worldhistory.org/article/1485/death-and-the-afterlife-in-ancient-persia/, visited 5.6.2021.

⁴² Carstens 2016, 329.

⁴³ Pedersen 2017b, 251; Carstens 2016, 349.

⁴⁴ Carstens 2016, 349.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 347.

⁴⁶ Diler 2021, 99.

tions of the children offer some difficulties for the interpretation of the afterlife symposium. If we work under the assumptions that the children are meant to portray Maussollos and Artemisia, with the relocation of the capital from Mylasa to Halikarnassos serving as *terminus ante quem* for the tomb, they would still be alive at this point.⁴⁷ Perhaps they were not meant to be understood as real people but as representative of a concept, such as family or the dynasty.

Furthermore, the appearance of the children also offers some difficulties because, in the banquet scene, they are portrayed as small children, while in all the other depictions in the burial chamber, we see them portrayed as adults (Figs. 8, 10, 11 & 13). Additionally, why are they the only two of Hekatomnos' children present in the depiction? It could be that it follows a fixed formula for the scene's composition, which would explain why we see them as children and maybe explain why we only see a certain number of children.⁴⁸

The audience

Another way we can try and deduce whether the scene was meant to portray an afterlife symposium is to question the scene's message and especially who the intended audience was. For this, we would have to ask what kind of purpose such an image would serve. A possible way to understand this kind of image is as a source of reassurance and comfort for the people left behind, because, in his afterlife, the deceased is seen enjoying himself surrounded by family. Then the problem arises of whom could access and experience the image. In the case of Mylasa, the sarcophagus was placed in an isolated room closed off with a huge pillar to ensure the chamber remained closed.⁴⁹ Then, after it had been erected, it would be impossible to experience the depictions again. Furthermore, the size of the room and the size of the sarcophagus make it nearly impossible to move around the room (Fig. 9). How would it then have served as reassurance when no one could experience it? Maybe it was not intended to be experienced by an audience. Why would there be a need for

⁴⁷ Diler 2021, 93.

⁴⁸ Draycott 2016b, 2, n. 6; Amann 2016, 73-74, n. 6.

⁴⁹ Diler 2021, 88.

displaying Hekatomnos in the afterlife if it was not possible for a living audience to experience it?

Maybe the scenes were not meant for the living but for higher powers. The scene displays the elite status of Hekatomnos by portraying him reclining in his family's company, enjoying his material wealth, and having servants take care of him. This might be a way for the deceased or his family to demonstrate the worthiness of Hekatomnos, and the Hekatomnid dynasty, to the gods. However, the banquet scene was not meant to be experienced alone, but alongside the other scenes in the burial chamber. The message can perhaps be found in the other depictions in the burial chamber.

The decoration in the burial chamber

It would also be relevant to examine who was responsible for the design of the tomb. As mentioned earlier, construction of the main structure had been started during a joint administration between Hekatomnos and Maussollos, but Maussollos alone had been responsible for the decoration inside the burial chamber.⁵¹ It is, therefore, not only the agenda of Hekatomnos we must consider, but especially that of his son and successor, Maussollos. For inferring the agenda, it would be relevant to look at the banquet scene against the other depictions in the chamber. The banquet scene is often, as seen on the sarcophagus in Mylasa, accompanied by complimentary scenes, such as scenes of war, hunting, sacrifices, processions and audiences, and sometimes mythological scenes.⁵² In Lykia, the banquet scenes are often seen together with scenes where the ruler performs actions demonstrating his virtues as ruler and his virility as a man, actions such as hunting, either lion, bear or wild boar scenes, or scenes where he is seen in battle.⁵³ These must be understood as tools in promoting a specific image of the deceased ruler, such as wealth, status, strength, and political power.⁵⁴ In this regard, the lion hunt scene from Mylasa differs from others because most have identified the hunter as Maussollos, not

⁵⁰ Pedersen 2017b, 239; Fabricius 2016, 43.

⁵¹ Diler 2021, 91.

⁵² Fabricius 2016, 37.

⁵³ Novakova 2011, 223; Pedersen 2017b, 240.

⁵⁴ Fabricius 2016, 37.

Hekatomnos.⁵⁵ It would have made more sense if the power and virtues of the deceased Hekatomnos were demonstrated, as seen on the Lykian banquet scenes, but instead, they display his successor.⁵⁶ Perhaps it is not meant to demonstrate the power of Hekatomnos, but the power of the dynasty. By placing himself and the rest of the family into almost all the depictions in the burial chamber, the focus has shifted from the deceased and towards the dynasty and especially the transfer of power from Hekatomnos to Maussollos.⁵⁷ It plays into the scene from the southern side of the sarcophagus in which Maussollos is represented taking over the satrapy from Hekatomnos. The lion hunt scene would also have served as a way for Maussollos to demonstrate his virtues and worthiness. By placing these scenes on the sarcophagus of the first ruler of the Hekatomnid dynasty, Maussollos is connecting himself with the dynasty and the great ruler Hekatomnos. This aligns well with the assumption that Maussollos and not Hekatomnos designed the decoration in the burial chamber.⁵⁸

A fixed image with local adaptions

An argument for a somewhat fixed motif is the appearance of the children in the Mylasa banquet scene and the presence of children in general in the banquet scenes found in funerary contexts.⁵⁹ The supposed Maussollos and Artemisia are portrayed as children, while in the other depictions in the burial chamber, they are seen as adults (Figs. 8, 10, 11 & 13). However, at the time of Hekatomnos' death, both Maussollos and Artemisia must have been adults because, according to Xenophon, Maussollos participated in the revolt of the satraps ten years prior.⁶⁰ The portrayal of them as children could be explained by a fixed formula of the motif.⁶¹ This formula had developed from the first known example from Nineveh, and subsequently crossed borders and spread from the Near East to the Greek and Roman world.⁶² Even though the original

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⁵⁵ Diler 2021, 91-93.

⁵⁶ Pedersen 2017b, 240.

⁵⁷ Diler 2021, 87 & 91-93.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Pedersen 2017b, 238.

⁶⁰ Xen., Ages. 2.27.

⁶¹ Draycott 2016b, 2, n. 6; Amann 2016, 73-74, n. 6.

⁶² Draycott 2016b, 2; Pedersen 2017b, 237.

scene is not entirely identical to the composition of the banquet scene from Mylasa, they share many similar traits: a central figure reclining surrounded by his family while servants are attending them (Figs. 13 & 14).⁶³ It can, therefore, not be ignored that we have a somewhat fixed composition of figures because they can be found in many different regions and has stayed relevant for a long time.⁶⁴

On the other hand, we also have elements only seen in some areas, suggesting a form of manipulation of the motif to fit a certain narrative.⁶⁵ Perhaps the banquet motif should be understood as having more than one possible meaning because, as can be seen with the Mylasa example, we have a local adaption of the motif, which also serves as propaganda for the new dynastic ruler.⁶⁶

The standing attendant

In some depictions from Asia Minor, we see a figure depicted in more than one example. The servant from the Mylasa banquet scene, standing to the right in between Aba, and the standing female are also proposed to be present in other cases of banquet scenes from Asia minor. In the Belevi monument, a similar Persian dressed servant was placed inside the burial chamber, and the same was the case for a statue of a seated servant found in the Castle of Bodrum in 1918, suggested to belong to the Maussolleion at Halikarnassos (Figs. 15 & 16).⁶⁷ All three versions are dressed in unique clothes, consisting of trousers, a thin cloak reaching the knees, and a thin belt. (Figs. 13, 15 & 16).⁶⁸ It has therefore been suggested that they are meant to represent the same, maybe even a specific, person, such as a member of the court either the Hekatomnid, the Achaemenid, or both.⁶⁹ This figure has been referred to as the "Oriental", "Persian", and "Bandaka" servant.⁷⁰ In the case of the Belevi monument, we have the attendant in connection with a banquet scene, but with the squatting servant from the Mausoleum in Halikarnassos, it has only

⁶³ Pedersen 2017b, 239.

⁶⁴ Diler 2021, 87; Draycott 2016b, 2; Pedersen 2017b, 237 & 241.

⁶⁵ Draycott 2016b, 2.

⁶⁶ Diler 2021, 91-93.

⁶⁷ Pedersen 2017b, 244 & 250.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 250.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 244, 250 & 253.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 241 & 252.

been proposed that a banquet scene was present, but its existence has not been proven definitively.⁷¹

Rhyton and Phiale

A more common element are figures depicted with a rhyton and/or a drinking vessel, such as the *phiale*, in their hand. 72 In the Mylasa banquet scene, the man standing to the left of Hekatomnos has in his hand a rhyton, perhaps shaped as a lion, and Hekatomnos holds a *phiale* in his hand (Figs. 13 & 19). The *rhyton* appears in representations from Asia Minor and can also be seen in some depictions on the Greek mainland, suggesting some significance.⁷³ The presence of both could be understood as a libation ritual in honour of the deceased/hero or representing elite culture, more specifically the Persian elites. Margaret Miller argues their presence is a reference to the Persian Courts drinking traditions. She bases the connection on the position in which the drinking vessel is being held, on the tips of the fingers. Another example of where this habit can be seen is in the Karaburun II Tomb, where both the reclining man and the servant hold the vessels in the same manner (Figs. 17 & 18).⁷⁴ As Miller argues, drinking customs were vital, and a distinctive manner of drinking could determine which social status a person possessed and which political cultural group a person belonged to. 75 In the case of Mylasa, taking into account the satrap status awarded to Hekatomnos and Maussollos by the Persian king, it would have made sense to honour Persian drinking customs and implement them on the scene.⁷⁶ For the other examples, the presence of the rhyton and drinking vessel could have another meaning, or it could just have grown into becoming a fixed part of the motif.

Conclusion

As for whether the image was meant to display this life or the afterlife, what would be the point of displaying Hekatomnos in the afterlife when it could

⁷¹ Ibid., 250-251.

⁷² Ibid., 239 & 250.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Draycott 2016a, 276-277.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Pedersen 2017a, 149-151; Carstens 2009, 11-12.

not be experienced by a living audience and serve as reassurance? A more plausible explanation than the afterlife interpretation is that the scene was meant to display the pleasant life of Hekatomnos. The banquet scene aims to demonstrate the status and power of him and his family during his lifetime, and this was the message that was meant to be expressed to the higher powers. Nonetheless, maybe it should also be accepted that the banquet motif should not be understood as one homogenous group, but they could serve different and multiple purposes, because as can be seen with the Mylasa example, the motif also served as propaganda for the new dynastic ruler, Maussollos.

The extensive distribution of the image implies that the motif was well-known and resonated with many different people. For the incorporation of the motif into the Hekatomnid dynasty, it is possible that Maussollos had seen this motif elsewhere, and then took this motif, made minor changes, and placed it in a new context, thereby adjusting its narrative and fitting it to his agenda as the new dynastic ruler. It could also be that the banquet motif had evolved into common funerary imagery in some areas. The motif was so popular that, by this time, it was very widespread and largely familiar. To make it more relevant, local rulers and other prominent members of society could then incorporate elements to fit regional, cultural, and personal narratives. This could also explain why Maussollos and Artemisia are portrayed as small children, while in all the other depictions in the burial chamber, they are depicted as adults because the motif followed a static schematic for the scene's composition.

Finally, the *Totenmahl* term in modern scholarship offers several problems because it covers many different banquet motifs found in many different contexts. For example, the first "Totenmahlrelief" was not found in a funerary context but was a wall panel relief in the palace of the Assyrian king at Nineveh. Furthermore, the name's connotation suggests that all the scenes should be understood from an eschatological perspective. The term, therefore, either requires revision or abandonment because it, in its current usage, can lead to misunderstandings and misinterpretations.

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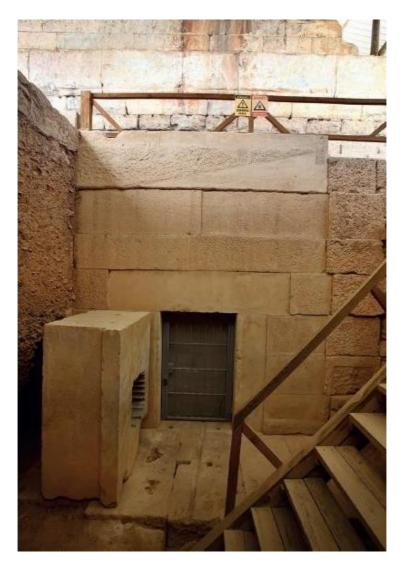
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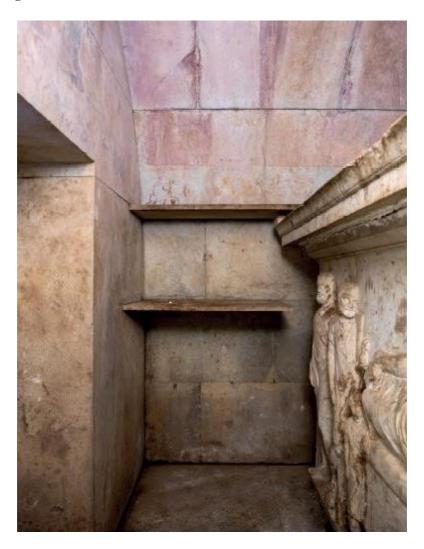
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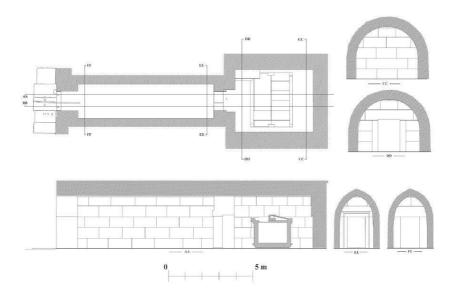
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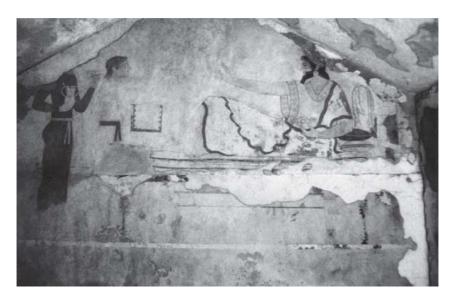
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