

THE OIKOI BUILDING AT LABRAUNDA:
ITS FUNCTION(S)

A Master's Thesis

by
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İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent University
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September 2022

To My Father



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The Graduate School of Economics and Social Sciences
of
İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent University

by

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September 2022

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ABSTRACT

THE OIKOI BUILDING AT LABRAUNDA: ITS FUNCTION(S)

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September 2022

This thesis investigates the function of the Oikoi building at Labraunda in the 4th century BC. The Oikoi building was constructed as part of the extensive Hekatomnid building program at Labraunda in the 4th century BC with an unusual ground plan. With its two rooms and a common tetrastyle in antis porch, the Oikoi building is an excellent example of experimental Hekatomnid architecture. Yet, because of the uniqueness of the building, the question of its function has remained unanswered since it was first excavated in 1948. In addition, the continuous use of the building throughout the centuries and its reconstruction in the 6th century AD caused the loss of the archaeological material of the 4th century BC. In order to find the function, two strategies have been used. First, a catalog of buildings with similar ground plans has

been provided in this thesis to see if the ground plan fits a specific function. However, the comparative study showed that buildings with two rooms might have several functions, such as a temple, a banqueting hall, a prytaneion, and an ekklesiasterion. The possibilities of the Oikoi building being a temple, a banqueting hall, or an ekklesiasterion were ruled out due to the Oikoi building's architectural features, its place in the sanctuary, and lack of sufficient evidence. Second, epigraphic research was done to see if the name "oikoi" given to the building on the architrave inscription provides information on the function of the building. By using Hellmann's (1992) study on the inscriptions from Delos, possibilities such as the Oikoi building being a treasury or a storage unit were examined. This thesis stands in a grey area on that function since there is no architectural or epigraphic evidence to eliminate this possibility. When we turn to the building itself, the context of the inscriptions found in the building showed that the Oikoi building functioned in relation to the office of the shrine, and there was a cult of Hestia related to the Oikoi building at least in the 2nd century AD. If the building was used continuously and the function did not change in the 2nd century AD, the Oikoi building being some kind of unusual prytaneion is possible also considering the Hekatomnid ideology of the 4th century BC.

Keywords: Oikoi, Labraunda, Hekatomnid, Karia, architecture

ÖZET

LABRAUNDA'DAKİ OIKOI BİNASI'NIN İŞLEVİ

Durak, Çağla

Yüksek Lisans, Arkeoloji Bölümü

Tez Danışmanları: Prof. Dr. Dominique Kassab Tezgör

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Eylül 2022

Bu tez, Labraunda'da Hekatomnid bina programının bir parçası olarak MÖ 4. yüzyılda inşa edilmiş Oikoi binasının işlevini bulmak amacıyla yazılmıştır. İki odalı ve önündeki dört sütunlu verandasıyla Oikoi binası alışılmışın dışında ve deneysel Hekatomnid mimarisine uyan bir plana sahip. Fakat bu kalıpların dışına çıkan yapısı sebebiyle, bu binanın MÖ 4. yüzyıldaki işlevi kazılmaya başlandığı 1948 yılından bu yana tam anlamıyla tanımlanamıyor. Farklı planının yanında, bina üzerinde MS 6. yüzyılda yapılan mimari düzenlemeler binanın MÖ 4. yüzyıla ait arkeolojik materyalinin kaybolmasına sebep olması da binanın işlevinin ne olduğu sorusuna yanıt bulmayı zorlaştırıyor. Oikoi binası'nın MÖ 4. yüzyıldaki işlevini bulmak için bu tezde iki yol izlendi. İlk olarak benzer bir plana sahip binalar ve o binaların işlevleri incelendi. Bu çalışmanın sonucunda Oikoi binası'nın bir tapınak, bir ziyafet binası, ekklesiasterion ya da prytaneion olabileceği ortaya çıktı. Fakat tapınak, ziyafet binası ve ekklesiasterion ihtimalleri Oikoi binası'nın mimari özellikleri,

kutsal alanda bulunduđu konumu ve bu işlevlere işaret eden yeterli kanıtın bulunmaması sebebiyle elendi. İkinci olarak, binaya arşitrav yazıtında verilen isim olan “oikoi” kelimesinin, binanın işlevine dair bir ipucu verebilecek olması sebebiyle epigrafik bir çalışma yapıldı. Bunun sonucunda binanın bir hazine binası ya da depo olarak kullanılmış olma ihtimalleri değerlendirildi. Oikoi binasının bir hazine binası ya da depo olaması ihtimali, kutsal alanda henüz tanımlanmış, bu işleve sahip olan bir bina bulunmayışı sebebiyle kesin bir şekilde elenmedi. Oikoi binasının kendisine döndüğümüzde ise bina içinde bulunan yazıtların ve bu yazıtların içerikleri sebebiyle binanın kutsal alan yönetimiyle ilişkili olabileceğı ve MS 2. yüzyılda Hestia kültü ile bağlantılı olduğu görülüyor. Bu aşamada, arkeolojik materyal daha geriye dönük bir çıkarımda bulunmak için yeterli değil. Fakat, eğer bina işlevini MS 2. yüzyılda kaybetmemiş ve aynı kalmışsa, Oikoi binasının MÖ 4. yüzyılda prytaneion benzeri bir yapı olma ihtimali yüksek görünüyor.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Oikoi binası, Labraunda, Hekatomnid, Karia, mimari

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Statement of the Research Question

Double-roomed buildings are known of in the ancient Hellenic World from both archaeological and literary evidence. Dating from the 7th century BC onwards, what is not always clear from such evidence is their precise function. Research over several years has shown they can be used for many purposes. They can be religious, such as a temple, a shrine, a dining hall, or a treasury. They can also be civic structures like a prytaneion or ekklesiasterion.

It is possible to assign a function under the appropriate circumstances using the available evidence when we examine literary and archaeological data and cross-reference them.

The subject of this thesis is the double-roomed building at Labraunda in Karia identified as an *oikoi* by its architraval dedication and its function in the 4th century BC.

Over the years, scholars have mentioned the building and offered interpretations of the building's function. The *Oikoi* building was first mentioned in a report published in *Anatolian Studies* by Persson (1951: 14). However, he did not provide any information on the building's function. He only mentioned a similar comparable structure from Thasos, which this thesis examines as a comparative study. One year later, another report (1952: 24), published in *Anatolian Studies*, mentioned the *Oikoi*

building as a priest's house without further explanation. Crampa (1972: 15) said that the *Oikoi* building was the office of the shrine based on epigraphic evidence, which is discussed in this thesis as a part of epigraphic research. Pontus Hellström mentioned different functions of the Oikio building as “a kind of sacred prytaneion” (1991, 300), “belonging to the group of Stoas” (1994: 44), “the office of the shrine” (2007: 119-125), and “a treasury” (2009: 270). References of the *Oikoi* building in later publications of different scholars are quoted from Persson, Crampa, and Hellström without further information on the function of the building except for Blid (2016), who studied the building and interpreted the function of the building's southern room in the 6th century AD as funerary.

The problem is that when the building was excavated between 1948-1953, it was not the exact structure of the 4th century BC. It was a structure that had already been transformed and restored at least two times throughout the centuries and was disturbed several times by earthquakes. Excavations show that in the process of restoration of later periods, the original floor was completely destroyed. That is why there is no material evidence we can use to assign a particular function to the building. The objective here is to give the most plausible answer to the question of the function of this building in the 4th century BC.

1.2 Methodology

In order to answer the question of the *Oikoi* building's function in the 4th century BC, two different strategies have been used in this thesis.

First, a comparative study was done to identify buildings with similar ground plans with two rooms in the ancient Greek world. In the light of this research, the functions of each building were explained to see if there is a pattern for a specific function that can be applied to the *Oikoi* building. Both religious and civic buildings were used in this study. Data presented for each building was gathered from excavation reports and research articles. However, it should be pointed out that, for some buildings, such as the ones at Spiliotaki and Sta Lenika, a detailed architectural analysis could not be done due to the superficiality of available sources. The buildings for this comparative study were chosen based on ground plans to see if the buildings with two rooms and a common porch fit into a specific type of building.

Second, epigraphic research was done in order to understand the meaning of the term “*oikoi*” as given to the building on its architrave inscription. Concerning this architrave inscription, Crampa (1972) was used to provide the translation and description. Epigraphic research was achieved by using primary and secondary sources. As primary sources, Pausanias and Herodas were used to understand how and why ancient writers used the word for such buildings. As secondary sources, Rups (1986) and Zanaras (1967) had been used to explain the meaning of the word in a sanctuary context. In addition to these, Hellmann’s research (1992) on inscriptions from Delos was used to specify the functions related to the word “*oikos/oikoi*”

Since extensive archaeological research on the *Oikoi* Building at Labraunda has not been done before, the *Oikoi* building’s architectural analysis has been presented by using excavation reports published in *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı* and *Anatolian Studies*. In addition to excavation reports, the general architectural study of

Labraunda done by Westholm (1963) and the study provided by Blid (2016) were also used. The author provided measurements and photos due to fieldwork on the site.

1.3 Outline of the Thesis

This thesis is divided into five chapters. The research question and methodology are presented in this first chapter as an introduction.

The second chapter gives a brief survey of the discovery of the site, the historical background before and after the construction of the building, the Hekatomnid building project of which the *Oikio* building was a part; and the site, Labraunda, to emphasize the significance of the sanctuary and its buildings for the local society and the rulers of the Karian region. This chapter puts the *Oikoi* building in context to understand its importance for modern scholars and the environment that led to the construction of the building in the 4th century BC.

The third chapter gives a complete architectural analysis of the *Oikoi* building. Throughout the thesis, one will see that there is a link between architecture and the function of a building. Architecture mainly forms and serves according to the requirements of the function. That is why it is crucial to analyze the architecture of the *Oikoi* building in detail. In addition to that, the data from the excavation conducted in the building is mentioned to support the conclusion argument and the answer to the research question of this thesis.

The fourth chapter is a catalog of buildings with two rooms in various sites, such as Mandra in Despotiko, Aliko in Thasos, Elaious in Argive Plain, Apta and Sta Lenika in Crete, Marmaria in Delphi, Perachora in Corinth, islands of Kos and Delos, since they have the same or similar ground plan with the *Oiko* building. Those buildings are analyzed in two parts as religious buildings and civic structures. The religious buildings are divided according to their purposes as temples/shrines and banqueting halls. Under the civic structures, two different buildings with different functions are covered as *ekklesiasterion* and *prytaneion*.

The fifth chapter presents the results of the epigraphic and comparative study based on epigraphic research on the word *oikos/oiko* and its possible meanings and a comparative study of buildings with two rooms. The final argument is presented by piecing together the epigraphic and comparative study.

CHAPTER 2

OIKOI IN CONTEXT

2.1 The Exploration of Labraunda

The excavations at Labraunda (Figure 1) started in 1948 under the directorship of Axel W. Persson, professor of Classical Archaeology at Uppsala University in Sweden. However, European travelers were already aware of the existence of Labraunda by the 18th century through the texts of ancient writers. In his article, Hellström (2011: 19-23) gives a complete list of passages that provides information about Labraunda. It is essential to mention them in this thesis to understand the steps that led the researchers to Labraunda. Five writers of ancient literature, Herodotos (5.119-120), Plutarch (301F-302A), Pliny (32.16), Aelian (12.30), and Strabo (14.659), commented on Labraunda in their texts.

Among these five writers, Strabo provides more explicit information and indicates the location of Labraunda:

Labranda is a village far from the city, being situated on the mountain near the pass that leads over from Alabanda to Mylasa. At Labranda, there is an ancient shrine and statue of Zeus Stratius. It is honoured by the people all about and by the Mylasians; and there is a paved road of almost sixty stadia from the shrine to Mylasa, called the Sacred Way, on which their sacred processions are conducted. (Strabo, 14.659; transl. H.L. Jones, Loeb Class. Library)

Taking these texts into consideration, European travelers such as Richard Pockocke and Richard Chandler in the 18th century, and Anton Prokesch von Osten, who was the first one to visit Labraunda, Hermann Pückler-Muskau, Charles Fellows, and

Philippe Le Bas in the 19th century conducted research in western Asia Minor to survey Labraunda (Westholm, 1963: 6; Hellström, 2011: 23- 37).

Philippe Le Bas, a French epigraphist, visited Labraunda in March 1844. His contribution to the study of Labraunda cannot be denied and is worth mentioning in detail. On 17 March 1844, Le Bas arrived at Labraunda. The particularity of Le Bas' study of Labraunda is the documentation. In *Voyage archaéologique en Grèce et en Asie Mineure*, which came out in four parts between 1847 and 1870, he published detailed and well-measured drawings of the Andron of Idrieus (Figure 2) and the monumental tomb (1844: 534-537). Thus, Le Bas was the first traveler who published detailed illustrations of the two buildings from Labraunda (Hellström, 2007: 45-46; 2011: 37-40).

The more systematic study at Labraunda started in the 20th century and continues today. Alfred Laumonier was the first scholar who embarked on a scientific approach at Labraunda. In 1933, he came to Labraunda to conduct a survey. He created a site plan that shows the visible ruins of the site. Laumonier also found a fragment of a statue base with an inscription that says the priest of Zeus Labraundos dedicated the sculpture (Laumonier, 1933: 41-49). The site plan Laumonier prepared worked out for Axel W. Persson from the University of Uppsala. Consequently, the excavations of Labraunda started in 1948 under the directorship of Persson¹ (Hellström, 2007: 47; 2011: 45; Westholm, 1963: 8).

¹ At the beginning of the 20th century, several scholars, such as Evans and Cook, proposed that the name "Labraunda" was connected to the labyrinthos of Knossos (as cited in Crampa, 1972: 193). That theory pointed Labraunda out to Prof. Persson in the first place and encouraged him to start the excavations at Labraunda in 1948. (Westholm, 1963: 1)

2.2 Historical Background: Hekatomnid Dynasty

The Sanctuary of Zeus Labraundos is an outstanding site because it provides a great deal of architectural and archaeological material to understand the cultural, architectural, socio-political, religious, and ideological aspects of the fourth-century Hekatomnid Karia. However, it is essential to primarily perceive Karia's and Karians' past to comprehend the concept of the sanctuary and its significance to society.

Karia (Figure 3) is the name given to the geographic area that is bounded to the north by the Meander river, to the west and south by the shore of the Aegean Sea, to the northeast by the Marsyas and Harpasos valleys, and to the southeast by the Indus valley. Karia first appears in the Hittite New Kingdom texts from 14th-13th century BC as Kar(a)kisa or Karkiya. In these primary sources, Kar(a)kisa is often mentioned together with the land of Lukka, which was the name of Lycia, as a member of the Assuwa coalition. According to the earliest Hittite sources, the Assuwa coalition was defeated by the Hittite King Tudhaliya II in the 14th century BC. Hence, Karia was not a kingdom in the Late Bronze Age. It was more like a principality that united with the other principalities in the region against enemies (Herda, 2020: 14-17).

The question of where Karia and the Karians originally came from has not yet been satisfactorily answered, but, thanks to linguistic research, it is possible to piece together the history of this culture and the territory.

Linguistic research demonstrates that the earliest version of the Karian language, proto-Karian or pre-Karian, belongs to the languages referred to as the Luwic group.

These languages, including Luwian, Milyan, Lycian, Sidetic, and Psidian, had developed when the Indo-European speakers settled in Anatolia. Thus, this research proves that the Karians lived in the region at least by the 3rd or 2nd millennium BC (Herda, 2020: 14-17).

The period we know as the 'Bronze Age Collapse' caused large groups with different dialects of the ancient Greek language to migrate from the Greek mainland to different parts of Western Anatolia around 1100-1000 BC. On the Karian coast, Greeks who spoke the Dorian dialect settled in the cities such as Iassos, Halicarnassos, Knidos, and Kaunos. Dorian Greeks also lived in towns nearby the coast with Karians. Nevertheless, local Karians mostly lived in inland Karia. The division between Greeks of the coast and Karians of the inland in the Iron Age through the Archaic period can be observed clearly from the pottery finds. While we see Mycenaean pottery and East Dorian decorated pottery tradition from the Late Bronze-Iron Age on the coastline, there is no evidence of such pottery tradition of Greeks in the inland Karia until the Late Geometric period around the late mid-8th century BC. Even though cities like Euromos, Hydai, Stratonikeia, and Mylasa came under the influence of Ionian Greeks in the Early Iron Age and Archaic period, this influence did not reach the southern mountainous areas of Mylasa until the Archaic period (Aytaçlar, 2020: 118-119; Ruzicka, 1992: 5).

Karia's political history began when the Lydian king, Croesus, took over the control of Karia in the early 6th century BC. (Henry, 2010: 70). We know that Karia was ruled under the king of Lydia in the 6th and 5th century BC (Hornblower, 1982: 35). However, in 546 BC, the Persian king Cyrus defeated Croesus, the king of Lydia,

and captured the Lydian capital Sardis. As a result, Karians did not resist Persian king Cyrus. They cooperated with the new Persian *satrap* of Lydia (Ruzicka, 1992: 7). In 392/91 BC, Persian King Artaxerxes II decided to split the Lydian satrapy into three administrative districts, Lydia, Ionia, and Karia, under the control of Persian rule. Hekatomnos, a local dynast from Mylasa, was appointed *satrap* of Karia by the Persian Great King. This occasion was extraordinary in the political history of the Persian Empire since Hekatomnos was not a member of the Persian aristocracy but a local dynast from Mylasa (Carstens, 2011: 11-12; Ruzicka, 1992: 5-14; Henry, 2010: 70).

The Hekatomnid dynasty was already an influential family in the 5th century BC. Pixadorus, son of Mausollos, was a significant figure in the Ionian Revolt (499-493 BC) and his family was the dynast of Cyndia (Herodotos, 5.118-121). Thus, when these two Karian names reappeared in the Hekatomnid family in the 4th century BC, it became definite that Pixadorus of Cyndia and his father Mausollos of Cyndia were the ancestors of the Hekatomnids.

After the suppression of the Ionian Revolt in 493 BC, Heracleides, the dynast of Mylasa in the 5th century BC, escaped from Mylasa in 490s BC and left the seat of the Mylasan dynasty empty. Mylasa had a special significance for Karians because the center of the koinon of the Karians, an old religious coalition between local dynasts, was the Temple of Zeus Karios, located in Mylasa. So, the dynastic family of Cyndia took advantage and became the new dynast of Mylasa. As a result, Mylasa brought great wealth and power to the ancestors of Hekatomnos in the 5th century BC (Ruzicka, 1992: 5-9; 15-16).

Hekatomnos' son Mausollos became the new satrap of Karia when his father died in 377/6 BC (Briant, 2020: 47). According to Diodorus Siculus (xiv 36.2), Mausollos held the position of the satrap of Karia until he died in 353/2 BC (Hornblower, 1982: 38-39). When Mausollos became satrap, he started a process that involved fundamental changes for Karia. First, Mausollos moved the location of the dynastic seat from Mylasa to Halikarnassos, and he rebuilt the city. According to Pedersen (2020: 223), the reason is also defensive. Karia was the westernmost frontier of the Persian Empire. Thus, it would be easy to defend the border from the sea, and the way to do it was to relocate the capital to Halikarnassos.

The new capital was enlarged, surrounded by new fortification walls, and constructed with a Greek urban model (Briant, 2020: 47; Ruzicka, 1992: 33). That was not the only Greek concept we observed in Mausollos' reform. Before he changed the capital, Halikarnassos was a city with a mixed population of Greeks and Karians called the Salmacitians. However, we know that both cultures formed separate political entities that managed to collaborate in one assembly, which they referred as "the syllogos of the Halikarnassians and the Salmacitians" in literary sources (ML 32). To increase the population of the new capital, Mausollos brought Lelegians who lived in the hinterland of the Halikarnassos peninsula to the city and synoecized these communities. As a result, the society formed a new institution. In the literary sources of the 4th and 3rd century BC (BMI 887), they referred to themselves as the council and the people. That demonstrates that the population achieved a political unification and became "the people of the city." The concept of a council and people was the usual form of unity in traditional Greek poleis (Ruzicka, 1992: 34-36).

No indication shows Mausollos' synoecism strategy in other coastal cities where the Greek population was dominant. Instead of intervening in the domestic affairs of such cities, Mausollos encouraged oligarchies (Hornblower, 1982: 52-53). Yet, the situation in inland Karia was different. Before the Hekatomnids, the Karians who lived in the inland Karia were farmers and herdsmen and ruled by different local dynasts. However, these separate principalities gathered under the koinon of the Karians, which is an old religious coalition (Ruzicka, 1992: 5-6). We know that the concept of koinon of Karians was not disregarded entirely, but it evolved as some other institution that cooperates with the poleis and the satrap also. For instance, one of the duties of Mausollos as the satrap was to collect taxes from Karian communities in the name of the Persian king. Although we know local communities were authorized to discuss and manage topics such as local taxation in the ekklesia; according to the inscription (SEG 26.1229), Mausollos was excessively involved with local financial matters (Hornblower, 1982: 53; Ruzicka, 1992: 40-42). To achieve control over local communities, Mausollos developed a Persian-like administrative system. We know that he formed his court that included officials of the satrapy, such as a hyparch with financial responsibilities. In addition to that, we know Mausollos placed garrisons in cities and appointed city governors as a bridge between the city and satrap (Ruzicka, 1992: 41-42).

In order to formulate his ideology, Mausollos combined aspects of Greek and Persian cultural and political practices, which he then used to construct a new state mindset. He upheld both the monarchy and the poleis throughout his reign. All these deeds show that Mausollos was not a typical satrap. He conducted himself in a manner befitting a monarch of his realm. The Karians may have also regarded him as a King.

For instance, in the play "The small tomb," which was written by Epigenes in the 4th century BC., he alludes to Hekatomnos as the king. The drama was composed in the late 350s, and it provides the impression that by the time of Mausollos, the community had come to regard the satrap as the monarch (Ruzicka, 1992: 43-44).

Mausollos shared his satrap position with his sister-wife Artemisia. We know from Diodorus and Pliny that when Mausollos died in 353/2 BC, Artemisia kept the position by herself until she died in 351/0 BC. After Artemisia's death, Idrieus, their brother, became the satrap and ruled until he died in 344/3 BC (Hornblower, 1982: 40-41). Idrieus adhered to the same political system that Mausollos had established in Karia. He and his sister-wife, Ada, governed together. He maintained control of the city governors and garrisons. He was active in the political and economic affairs of the Karian communities (Ruzicka, 1982: 102).

When Idrieus died in 344/3 BC, his sister-wife Ada became the only satrap of Karia until 341/0 BC. In 341/0 BC, Ada's brother Pixadurus revolted against her, gained satrapal status with the consent of the Persian King, and exiled Ada to Alinda.

However, when Pixadurus became the new satrap of Karia, Philip of Macedon was a threat to the Persian Empire. By 338 BC, Philip of Macedon seized control of the Greek mainland, and in 336 BC, he started a military campaign against Persia to free the Greek cities in western Anatolia. Probably to secure the safety of southwestern Anatolia, Persian King Darius appointed a new Persian satrap, Orontobates, to Karia. Thus, the Hekatomnid dynasty ended, and a Persian satrap controlled Karia until the arrival of Alexander in 334 BC to western Anatolia (Ruzicka, 1992: 123-133).

2.3 Labraunda and the Hekatomnid Building Project

The King's Peace was signed in 387/86 BC between Athenians, Spartans, and Persians. This treaty ensured the safety of towns in western Anatolia; thus, the region had political and economic stability after dealing with long years of conflicts between the Greek world and Persia. All these developments brought a new approach and interest in art and architecture to Karia (Pedersen, 2013: 34).

Mausollos initiated the new perspective gained in art and architecture through extensive architectural projects in cities and sanctuaries like Halikarnassos, Latmos, Iasos, Bargylia, and Kaunos on the Karian coast, and inland such as Alinda, Amyzon, Cildara, Euromos, and Labraunda (Ruzicka, 1992: 37). Scholars today call this new Hekatomnid architectural experience the Ionian Renaissance which is "...a revival of Archaic East Greek architecture influenced by both contemporaneous mainland Greek architecture and substantial technical features introduced by Hekatomnids and their architects" (Henry, 2013: 81). Among the Karian cities and sanctuaries profoundly transformed in the 4th century, Labraunda has provided one of the best examples of Hekatomnid architectural projects developed at that time.

By the time of Mausollos, Labraunda already had significance for Karia.

Archaeological evidence from the surrounding area of the Split Rock on the northern part of Labraunda shows the ritual activity of Karians in the region as early as the Late Chalcolithic-Early Bronze Age. Two ancient writers, Plutarch and Aelian, even associated the name Labraunda with the Bronze age roots of the culture. On the one hand, according to Plutarch (45, *Moralia* 301F-302A), the name Labraunda was derived from Labrys, which means double axe in Lydian. On the other hand, Aelian

(12.30) stated that the name Labraunda was derived from labros which means violent storms (Henry, 2020: 96). Either way, both writers emphasized the Luwian roots of the name, which means the site was an important place in the Early Bronze age, and the Luwian connection of the Karians was known by the time of Aelian and Plutarch. This also throws light on the question of why Karians built Labraunda at this location. They probably continued the tradition from the Bronze age and used the area around the Split Rock and the spring as a sacred space. The ritualistic aspect of the Rock and the spring as an Anatolian tradition and the continuation of the area for ritual purposes are not unusual in the region. For instance, the ritual space with the Rock ritual tradition in Tekerlekdağ in Latmos Mountains, identified by Anneliese Peschlow-Bindokat, later became a cult place for Zeus Akraios. Another example is at the Hazzi Mountain, which was used for Hittite rituals in the Bronze age and later used as a sanctuary for Zeus Kasios (Carstens, 2011: 123).

As we know from Herodotos (5.119-121), the Karians united in Labraunda, the sanctuary for the cult of Zeus Stratius, before the Persians defeated them in 496 BC during the Ionian revolt. Architectural evidence also proves a religious activity at pre-Hekatomnid Labraunda during the Archaic period. On the southwest of Split-Rock, there was a propylon and a distyle in antis temple with an altar that belonged to the cult of Zeus Stratius (Figure 4) (Hellström, 2019: 67-69). Herodotos' account (5.119-121) also promotes the idea that Labraunda became a gathering place for the koinon of Karians at some point (Henry, 2020: 97).

Herodotos's account (5.119-121) tells us the deity of Labraunda was Zeus Stratius which means Zeus of Armies. However, when Hekatomnos became the new satrap

of Karia, Zeus Stratius became Zeus Labraundos, which means Zeus of Labraunda (Henry, 2020: 98-99). It was a clever move to emphasize the importance of Labraunda as a sacred place by giving the sanctuary its own deity, which was portrayed with a double axe called Labrys. In this way, perhaps Hekatomnos referred to the Anatolian origin of the Karians because we see double axe images on depictions of some Hittite gods. For example, we see God Sharumma on a rock relief found in Yazılıkaya, and a Hittite god-king on a cylinder seal found in Kültepe, holding a double axe (Briant, 2020: 47; Carstens, 2011: 31)

Hekatomnos used the image of Zeus Labraundos for the first time on the obverse of the dynastic tetradrachm coins with an image of a lion on the reverse (HNO 223, 642) (Figure 5) (Konuk, 2020: 246). His sons and successors, Mausollos, Idrieus, and Pixadorus, continued this tradition and used the image of Zeus Labraundos on their coinage (Figures 6,7,8). It is direct evidence of the strong ideology of the Hekatomnid dynasty that a relationship existed between the blessedness of the family's power and the god Zeus Labraundos (Carstens, 2011: 123; Henry, 2020: 99; Karlsson, 2013: 65). Hence, Mausollos carried on the legacy of Hekatomnos and promoted the sanctuary of Zeus Labraundos. He started an extensive building program in Labraunda with his brother, Idrieus, who was the governor of Mylasa at the time (Crampa, 1972: 6).

The goal of Mausollos was to advance a Pan-Karian god so that all Karians may worship a single overarching deity. Even though the worship of Zeus Karios in Mylasa would have been beneficial for achieving this goal, Zeus Karios was only a local god. Instead, Mausollos promoted the cult of Zeus Labraundos, which was

exclusively Hekatomnid and local. In addition to emphasizing his satrapal position, he did not simply promote the ethnicity of his people; instead, he also emphasized the authority and dominance of his dynasty. Two noteworthy pieces of evidence point to Mausollos' philosophy of hekatomnizing Karia. First, researchers discovered two later copies of an inscription from the 4th century BC (ILab 53, ILab 54) in Labraunda, which stated that the celebration at Labraunda was accessible to all Karians. Second, the sacred way that leads from Mylasa to Labraunda was lengthened as part of the construction work at Labraunda. This was done in order to make it possible for a large group to go from Mylasa to Labraunda in a procession. (Ruzicka, 1992: 46-50).

The sanctuary of Labraunda covers around 20.000 m² of space with four terraces (Figure 9). The Hekatomnid Labraunda consisted of at least nine structures with various functions and a monumental tomb near the Split-Rock. These structures are visible today thanks to excavations conducted on the site for 74 years. There are two entrances in the Ionic order on the southern (bottom) terrace, called East Propylon and South Propylon. Next to the South propylon, there is a distyle in antis Doric structure called the Doric house, which functioned as a fountain house. Access to the 2nd terrace is provided with a 12 m wide, 12,50 m long monumental staircase towards the west. There are two structures on both ends of terrace 3; the East Stoa with six rooms on the east, and on the west, the Andron of Mausollos functioned as a banqueting hall. A staircase from terrace 3 goes up to the temple terrace, where a peripteral temple with Ionic order, lying in the east-west direction, was built on the same foundation as the earlier Archaic temple of Zeus. On the northeastern part of the terrace, there is a stoa called the North Stoa. On the west of the Temple of Zeus

Labraundos, there are two buildings next to each other. One of them is the Andron of Idrieus, which functioned as a banqueting hall like the Andron of Mausollos, and the other is a tetrastyle in antis building with two rooms, named on an inscription as the *Oikoi*. Among those structures, the Andron B, the North Stoa, and the row of andrones with a stoa façade on terrace 2 were constructed at the time of Mausollos, and the construction of other buildings was completed by Idrieus, which we know from the dedicatory inscriptions (Williamson 2021: 116-127; Henry, 2020: 98; Umholtz, 2016: 395-397).

Some of the buildings and features of the sanctuary have to be explicitly mentioned to demonstrate the evidence they provide on the Ionian Renaissance and architectural experiments of the Hekatomnids. For instance, the Temple of Zeus at Labraunda was built with a grid plan on the same foundation of the Archaic distyle in antis temple. It was a peripteral temple with 6x8 columns in Ionic order with 24 flutes on the shafts. The entablature had two-fascia architrave, instead of three, with a dedicatory inscription naming Idrieus. Two-fascia architrave is usually seen in the tomb architecture, such as the rock-cut tombs of Kaunos and Heroon at Limyra. Hellström and Thieme (1982: 54) suggest that the reason might be to give more space to the inscription and make it bigger. Although the capitals are poorly preserved, according to reconstruction made by Hellström and Thieme, they had volutes with 24 eggs on the echinus, and the central part of the pulvini was decorated with an imbricated leaf pattern. The bases of the columns were on top of square plinths, which we see at the Archaic Artemision at Ephesus. The temple was raised on a three-stepped krepidoma, and the curvature was horizontal, which indicates an influence of the mainland Doric order. (Umholtz, 2016: 400-401; Hellström & Thieme, 1982: 49-55).

Both Andron of Mausollos and of Idrieus also have an experimental framework. They have a similar, symmetrical ground plan, one room with an Ionic colonnade in front, under a Doric entablature. During the excavations of the Andron of Mausollos, archaeologists found two male sphinxes with beards, portrayed in Persian style, which were used as acroteria decorations of the building (Umholtz, 2016: 399). On the architrave of both buildings, there were inscriptions identifying these buildings as andron. Although the Andron of Mausollos' floor was destroyed in later times, we know, because of the similar ground plan, that both Andron A and Andron B have slightly raised platforms around the inside walls for *kline*, and there are windows on the walls to circulate the air inside, indicating they were used as banqueting halls. In the ancient Greek context, andron is the name of one specific room of a house to host symposiums. However, these were not ordinary Greek andrones in Labraunda, nor were normal symposiums held inside. Both buildings were individual and monumental in size rather than small rooms attached to a building. Furthermore, we see that inside both buildings, there is a niche on the back wall to display a statue. Thus, we also see that the architectural features of the buildings were also manifesting the satrapal authority, not just the new aspects of architecture. First, the plan of the buildings shows that the satrap had a central role in the banquets. This proves the idea that hierarchy was a valid organization among the participants during the event. That emphasizes the power and importance of the satrap, which we do not see in the Greek symposia. Secondly, Persian-styled sphinxes on the acroteria are unique in both mainland Greece and Asia Minor. However, it is clear that Hekatomnids copied the ones from the walls of palaces of Persia, for instance, from Persepolis (Hellström & Blid, 2019: 243-275; Henry, 2020: 98-99; Umholtz, 2016: 397-399, 401-402).

CHAPTER 3

THE OIKOI BUILDING

There is a building at Labraunda which is very unusual because of its architectural order and ground plan, which fits the experimental edge of the Ionian Renaissance like the other structures in Hekatomnid Labraunda. It is called the *Oikoi* building. The *Oikoi* building is located on the temple terrace, west of the Temple of Zeus and north of the Andron A (Figure 10). It consists of two unequal-sized rooms accessed from a *tetrastyle in antis* porch (Figure 11). According to the inscription on the architrave, the building was dedicated to Zeus Labraundos by Idrieus (Crampa, 1972: 14-15).

2.1 Architecture

2.1.1 The porch, the southern room, and the northern room

The porch is 13 meters long and 4.28 meters deep, with 4 Doric columns between the antae (Figure 12). The original floor of the entire structure was completely taken out during the reconstructions in later periods; however, Westholm (1963: 69) suggests that the floor of the porch was covered with thin marble plaques based on the remains found during the excavations in the area.

The columns on the stylobate consist of four fluted drums (Figure 13). The height of the columns was 4.33 meters (Figure 14), including the capital. The column capitals were in Doric order. The columns have 20 flutes. Holes cut in columns' drums (Figure 15) indicate that the space between the columns was closed with a metal

fence except for the central intercolumniation (Hellström, 1984: 132; Hellström 1994: 48).

The stylobate blocks are bound together by bronze clamps in the dove-tail cuttings (Figure 16), which is also observed in some buildings in Hekatomnid Labraunda, such as the Temple of Zeus (Figure 17) and the two propylaea (Hellström, 2019: 67-69). The identical dove-tail cuttings are also seen on the frontal face of the architrave blocks (Figure 18). It is argued that the shape of the clamps was very similar to the double axe and placed on the junctions of the architrave blocks as a decorative element. In addition to being decorative, these exposed clamps might also be symbolic and a reference to Zeus Labraundos (Hellström and Thieme, 1982: 24; Hellström, 1984: 132-133)

The marble slabs on the doorposts show that the doorways (ca. 1.73m wide) to the rooms behind the porch were outlined with marble, yet only the lowest course of the southern room's doorway was preserved (Figure 19). The threshold with two long marble slabs was also found in situ, with square pivot holes on the corners and another hole at the center for the bolt. Although the doorway's threshold to the northern room has an identical technique, the pivot holes were elongated (Westholm, 1963: 82).

The dimensions of the southern room are 6.10x6.23 meters. L-shaped piers (Figure 20) were placed on each corner of the room in a later period² to support the brick cupola, which is also a later addition to the building (Blid, 2016: 201). The

² Date of the piers will be discussed later in this chapter.

construction technique of piers was irregular stone blocks at the bottom and brick courses on top. The bricks measured 0.25x0.27 m and 0.03 m thick. The piers were directly constructed on the bedrock, 4.3 meters below the stylobate level. In order to achieve that, the original floor was destroyed and replaced with a terracotta floor at the stylobate level (Blid, 2016: 197-200).

The northern room is smaller than the southern room. Its dimensions are 4.56x4.63 meters. Against the western wall of the room, a brick podium ³ (Figure 21) was erected in later periods. It was covered with marble slabs. It might be a statue base, although Westholm (1963: 92) suggested that it was an altar. The sizes of the podium's bricks are 0.25x0.26 m and 0.035 m thick (Blid, 2016: 198-201).

2.1.2 Walls

The walls of the building are made of local greenish-brown gneiss, except for the colonnaded façade, stylobate, columns, antas, entablature, and the roof, which were entirely made of marble (Hellström and Thieme, 1982: 31; Hellström, 1984: 132-133; Westholm, 1963: 35). The walls were constructed in ashlar masonry in the headers and stretchers technique (Figure 22). The western wall of the Northern room has nine preserved courses. The two header blocks on the uppermost course indicate they supported the entablature and the roof. Thus, they provide the total height of the walls (Westholm, 1963: 23; 36) which is ca. 5 meters.

³ Date of the podium will be discussed later in this chapter.

2.1.3 Entablature

The entablature is built in a reinterpreted Doric order which misses the ‘canonical’ triglyph-and-metope frieze (Figure 23). Instead, the frieze was blank, and an Ionic geison was above. Using Doric and Ionic elements together fits very well with the experimental edge of Hekatomnid architecture and the Ionian Renaissance (Hellström, 1994: 45).

The architrave (Figure 24) is 12.84 meters long and 50 cm high. Its thickness is 75 cm. On the frontal face of the architrave, there are rows of guttae (Figure 25) (Crampa, 1972:14). On the architrave, the name of the building and the dedicator’s name is written:

“Ἰδριεὺς Ἑκατόμνω Μυλασεὺς ἀνέθηκε τοὺς οἴκους Διὶ Λαμβραύνδῳ”

“Idrieus, son of Hecatomnos, Mylasan, dedicated the *oikoi* to Zeus Lambraundos”

(Trans. by Crampa, 1972: 14-15)

2.1.4 Roof

While the evidence for the original roof of the *Oikoi* is scarce, Westholm (1963: 84) suggests that there should have been a roof similar to the design of a temple roof because of the Doric colonnade. Thus, he states the marble tiles found during the excavation of the temple terrace were supported by wooden beams. Yet, he does not provide further information on the marble tiles and how wooden beams supported such weight. His interpretation has not been proven. Since a brick cupola (Figure 26) with a spiral pattern was found in the southern room, it is inevitable that the cupola was constructed on top of the southern room in later periods⁴ (Blid, 2016: 198).

⁴ Date of the cupola will be discussed later in this chapter.

2.2 Epigraphic and Material Evidence

2.2.1 Epigraphic Evidence

The name of the *Oikoi* building comes from its architrave inscription (ILab 17), which says the building is called “*oikoi*” and dedicated by Idrieus to Zeus Labraundos (Crampa, 1972: 15).

Apart from the architrave inscription, fragments of other inscriptions were found between 1950-1953 in the *Oikoi* building (Dahlen, 1955: 42). Among these, Crampa (1972) published nine of them in his publication⁵ (Table 1).

ILab.21, 30, and 36 are dedicatory inscriptions. ILab.21 mentions a dedication of a roof by the priest Titus Flavius Neon dated to the 2nd century AD. It was written on an anta capital which belongs to another structure in the sanctuary but is somehow carried here. ILab.30 mentions a dedication by Antipater; however, the nature of the dedication is unknown. This inscription was on a fragment of molding and dated to the mid-3rd century BC. Lastly, ILab.36 mentions the dedication of an altar to goddess Hestia, yet the name of the dedicator is missing. The inscription was written on two fragments of molding, unattached. The name of the goddess was written in archaized Ionic spelling, but Crampa dates the inscription to the 2nd century AD. He also notes that dedication to Hestia in Labraunda is not strange since, in the Greek world, it is usual to see dedications to Zeus and Hestia together (1972: 20-21, 30, 35-36).

⁵ Each inscription is referred in this these with the same numbers that Crampa gave them in his publication.

ILab.53 and 55 are documents written on plaques concerning the regulations at Labraunda. ILab.53 mentions the regulations of the annual festival at Labraunda⁶. Crampa states that this inscription is an Imperial Period copy of a 4th century B.C. document. ILab.55 is a document on the belongings of Labraunda. It includes the regulations on how to care for the belongings and their handover to the new official from the retired official. It is dated to the Imperial Period (Crampa, 1972: 81, 89).

ILab.87 and 88 are fragments of different letters written on marble plaques. ILab.87 is a health-wish part of a letter. The lettering is dated to the early Imperial period. However, we do not know if it is an original inscription or a copy of an earlier one. ILab.88 is a part of a letter from probably a Hellenistic ruler to the governor, asking for obedience. It is a copy of the Imperial period (Crampa, 1972: 165).

ILab.102 and 120 are fragments written on separate plaques, and the lettering of both is dated to the Imperial period. ILab 102 is a list, but its condition is not well enough to determine the content and proper date. ILab 120, however, has only two letters on it and probably indicates a name (Crampa, 1972: 175, 183).

2.2.2 Material Evidence

During the 1951 excavation campaign, Dahlen (1955: 45) found a bronze armrest (Figure 27) and a bronze foot of a *kline* (Figure 28), together with two bronze plates that were supposedly covering the *kline*'s wooden rail and two coins in the northern room, on the soil above the foundation level of the building. Two coins are dated to the 2nd century BC. from Halikarnassos and Mylasa. Dahlen (1955: 42) defines the armrest as "...the older Greek type, slender and elegant...". It has a protome in the

⁶ 53 is also mentioned in Chapter 2.

shape of a dog's head (Figure 29). He dates the frame 4th century BC. based on its artistic style, similar to a marble dog head found in Kerameikos. According to him, that frame belonged to a *kline* used in the andrones (Dahlen, 1955: 37-45).

2.3 Dating

The Inscription (ILab 17) on the architrave provides a date for building construction. As it is written on the architrave, the building was dedicated by Idrieus, who was the satrap between 351-341 BC (Crampa, 1972:14-15). However, Hellström and Thieme (1982: 45-46) suggest that, based on the location of the *Oikoi* building, the construction of the *Oikoi* was already begun in the last years of the satrapy of Mausollos. The architrave inscription supports that argument. In the dedicatory inscription, Idrieus is mentioned with his ethnicity as "Mylasan". During the satrapy of Mausollos, Idrieus was appointed as the governor of Mylasa. Thus, it is possible that when the construction of *Oikoi* was begun, Idrieus was still the governor of Mylasa (Crampa, 1972: 6).

In order to date the brick cupola, Jesper Blid analyzed the shape and construction technique of the supportive piers, and he looked at the contemporary architectural activity at Labraunda in terms of knowledge of the technique. On the one hand, Blid states that the evidence from various structures such as the church at Ephesos, the basilica at Hierapolis, and Hagia Sophia at Constantinople shows that the early pendentive cupolas have angled piers like the ones in the *Oikoi* building. On the other hand, this type of angled piers was still employed in the 8th century AD. Thus, to narrow the chronology, Blid compared the construction technique of brick courses on stone blocks with the ones from the churches of Ephesos and Philadelphia and

Hagia Sophia and Hagia Eirene at Constantinople. He concluded that this technique is dated mainly to the 6th century AD. Thus, Blid dates the brick cupola of *Oikoi* to the 6th century AD (Figure 30) (2016: 201-202).

Another inscription (ILab 21) found in the building suggests that the roof of the building was restored by the priest Titus Flavius Neon. This inscription is dated to the 2nd century AD. (Crampa, 1972: 20-21; Hellström, 2007: 124). Since the thickness of mortar joints of the podium of the Northern room is different than of the piers of the southern room, Blid suggests that the construction dates of the piers and the podium are not contemporary. Thus, he associates the construction of the podium with the restorations of Titus Flavius Neon in the 2nd century AD (Blid, 2016: 198-201).

Consequently, it is possible to mention three structural phases of the *Oikoi* building. First, the initial phase is the 4th century BC. Second, in the 2nd century AD, equipped with a new roof and a brick podium. Third, in the 6th century AD, a brick cupola and four piers were built on the southern room, and the floor was completely removed and replaced with a new terracotta floor.

CHAPTER 4

DOUBLE ROOM STRUCTURES IN SANCTUARIES

In this chapter, we will examine a series of buildings from the ancient Greek World that share similarities in plan with the Labraunda *oikoi* and discuss their function(s).

4.1 Religious Buildings

4.1.1 Temple/Shrine

4.1.1.1 The Building A at Mandra

Mandra is located on the Island of Despotiko, close to the Paros and Antiparos islands in the Mediterranean Sea. A sanctuary (Figure 31) was found at the site Mandra on the closest peninsula to the island of Antiparos. According to archaeological material found during the excavations, the sanctuary was used from the Archaic Period to the Classical period (Kourayos et al., 2012: 93).

The center of the cultic activity was the northern part of the sanctuary. On the west of the North Temenos, there is the Building A. The Building A is a building complex consisting of two parts with five total rooms facing east: The North part has two rooms and a common porch, and the South part has three rooms and a common porch. Both parts are aligned on the same axis, facing east (Figure 32). The North and South parts functioned as different units; these parts were not constructed simultaneously (Kourayos et al., 2012: 130).

The North part was constructed in two structural phases. It was first a building consisting of two rooms (A1 and A2) of the same size, opening onto a common porch. The doors of the rooms were 2.50 m wide and placed at the center. In this phase, the total dimensions of the building were 16.60 m (N-S) x 12 m (E-W) (Figure 33). The walls of the rooms were made of gneiss, yet the anta walls of the porch were made of marble ashlar (Kourayos et al., 2012: 99-101).

The width between the anta was 15.70 m. It is not certain if the stylobate was colonnaded or enclosed with a wall. However, a gneiss slab found in the remains of the building has a round wear mark on it. The diameter of the mark is 38-40 cm. If this gneiss slab belongs to the stylobate of the early phase of the North part, it is possible to reconstruct a colonnade with a maximum of 9 columns in Island Ionic order (Kourayos et al. 2012: 103-104).

The archaeological material found in room A1 dates from the Late Geometric period (8th century BC) to the early third quarter of the 6th century BC. Archaeologists found this material tucked together under the floor slabs, which gives the *Terminus Post Quem* for building construction. It means they were deliberately placed there after they had begun the foundation construction but before completing the floor. The date also fits with the marble ashlar wall construction technique of the side walls of the porch corresponding to the middle of the 6th century BC. (Kourayos et al., 2012: 104).

Besides the small amount of Geometric pottery, the material found in both rooms is mainly archaic votive objects such as faience and terracotta figurines, fine ceramic

vessels like *aryballoi* and alabastra, as well as silver and bronze vessels, *fibulae* made of gold, bronze, and ivory (Figure 34, 35) (Kourayos et al., 2012: 124-127).

The South part was built with three rooms (A3, A4, and A5). The total dimensions of the South part are 17 m (N-S) to 12 m (E-W). The rooms had two doors on both west and east walls, and eastern doors opened onto a colonnaded porch to the east. The stylobate was made of gneiss slabs with eight columns (Figure 36) (Kourayos et al., 2012: 105-114).

After the construction of the South part, the North part was modified. Its porch was enlarged 1 m to the east by elongating the side walls of the porch (Figure 37).

Fragments of architectural elements found in the remains of the building, such as eight fragments of a frieze with metope and triglyphs and a complete Doric cornice block, suggest that the second phase of the North part was constructed in Doric order (Kourayos et al., 2012: 116-118).

Eight fragments of architrave have an L shape profile with clamps in dovetail beddings and are decorated with regulae. The new stylobate is constructed with marble slabs. The bottom drums of the columns with a diameter of 53.5 cm and capital fragments with a diameter of 40 cm suggest that the height of the columns was 3.80 m. Based on the diameter of the bottom drums and 15.70 m width between antae, it is possible to reconstruct a stylobate with seven columns. The column capitals' echinus is dated to 500 BC (Kourayos et al., 2012: 119-123).

On the floor level of this second phase of the North part, fragments of a kouros' leg and a plinth of another kouros were found (Figure 38). In addition, a statue's marble base was also found in room A2, but not *in situ* (Kourayos et al., 2012: 123-131).

In front of the North part, aligned with the northern wall of the building, a square altar (56x56 cm) to Hestia was found with an inscription carved on it. It says “ΕΣΤΙΑΣ ΙΣΘΜΙΑΣ” (Figure 39) (Kourayos et al., 2012: 132)

In addition to giving a solid chronology to the building, the votive objects found in the North part, together with kouros fragments, the altar, and the axial orientation of the building that is east-west, also suggest that the North part of the building was used as a double temple (Kourayos et al., 2012: 164).

4.1.1.2 The Sanctuary of Apollo at Alikí

The sanctuary of Apollo is located at Alikí in the southeastern part of the Island of Thasos. The sanctuary functioned from the mid-7th century BC to the end of paganism (Daux, 1967: 84-85). In the Sanctuary of Apollo at Alikí, two buildings are constructed next to each other with the same ground plan but in different dimensions (Figure 40).

The South building was constructed against the hill. It was well preserved the entire building measures 11,6m x 13 m. The ground plan has two rooms of different widths and a shared porch with 3,5 m-high 5 Doric columns on the southwestern façade. The dimensions of the southern room are 4,9m x 6m. The northern room is larger. It measures 6,5m x 6m, and there is the remain of a hearth in the middle of the room.

The columns supported a frieze with metopes and triglyphs. The building is dated to ca. 500 BC, which makes it the earliest Doric construction on the island of Thasos (Daux, 1967: 85; 86, fig 33).

The North building was constructed on an artificial terrace. Unfortunately, this building is not well preserved. The North building is larger than the South building and measures 16,5m x 15m. The ground plan is the same; two rooms with different widths and a colonnaded porch in front facing to the southwest. The North building has two construction phases. Remains of two column bases show that the building had 6 Ionic columns in the first phase dated to the mid-6th century BC. The second phase corresponds to the end of the Archaic period. The Ionic columns were replaced with 4 Doric columns, and the side walls of the porch were elongated. The dimensions of the rooms were not changed. The southern room measures 5,5m x 9,5m. The northern room measures 7,5m x 9,5 m. In the final form, the northern room is larger than the southern room, and there is a hearth in the middle of the northern room, like the South Building (Daux, 1967:84-87).

Inside the North Building, many inscriptions were found during the excavations. These inscriptions are votive tablets of sailors (No. 12, 16, 17), thanking the gods for a safe journey. In addition to these, a base for a statue with an inscription (No. 7) on it saying "ΔΑΟΣ ΑΠΟΛΛ[..." was found together with an archaic kourous. A small altar with a dedicatory inscription (No. 5) was also found inside the North building. Thus, the two buildings of Alikí were identified as temples (Bent and Hicks, 1887: 409-438).

4.1.1.3 The Temple of Demeter and Kore at Elaious

The site is located in the Argive Plain, south of modern Spiliotaki. Here, a votive deposit was found, including material from the 6th century BC to the Hellenistic period, such as terracotta figurines (Figure 41), miniature pots, a 5th century BC bronze inscription⁷, and a relief with an image of a goddess, probably Demeter (Beaufils, 2000: 366).

The excavation was conducted approximately 100 m from the votive deposit by Verdhelis in order to find the temple to which the deposit was associated (as cited in Daux, 1966: 791). They found a rectangular building's foundations which appeared to have two rooms of different sizes with a Doric colonnaded porch in front (Figure 42). The dimensions of the building are 17.5m x 18.6m. The building was oriented northeast-southwest. The building is identified as the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore because of the archeological material found inside the votive deposit and dated to the late 6th- early 5th century BC (Daux, 1966: 791).

4.1.1.4 The Temple at Aptera

Aptera is located on the Paliokastro hill plateau in Crete. On the site, there are remains of monumental public structures and a fortification wall. The city was strategically and economically crucial with its two harbors in Souda Bay (Tzanakaki, 2019: 41).

A building with two rooms was found at Aptera (Figure 43) (Tzanakaki, 2019: 45). The building measures 6.32m x 3.96m. The dimensions of the rooms are equal

⁷ Non vidi

(2.26m x 3m). 76 cm wide doors of the rooms were placed off-center and opened to the east (Figure 44). The entire building was made of limestone ashlar masonry. Limestone blocks are attached with 34 cm-long clamps in dovetail-shaped beddings (Drerup, 1951: 99-102). Since the building was destroyed by a retaining wall in the Middle Age, architectural remains are not sufficient to make a detailed reconstruction of the building. Yet, two limestone corner fragments of the cornice of the building with Ionic kymation were found inside the building. The height of the fragments is 32.5 cm. (Drerup, 1951: 100-103). There is a small altar in front of the building identifies the building as a double temple dated to the 5th-4th century BC (Tzanakaki, 2019: 49).

Aptera's association with Artemis and Apollo is known through the city's coins (Figure 45). Hellenistic silver staters of Aptera depict the head of Artemis on the obverse and an armed man before the sacred tree of Apollo on the reverse (Inv. no: N 2590). On the Hellenistic silver half-drachms of Aptera, there is the head of Artemis on the obverse and a bow on the reverse (Inv. no: N 2603) (Tzanakaki, 2009: 907-908). So, the interpretation is that they were worshipped together in that double temple (Tzanakaki, 2019: 49).

4.1.1.5 Temple of Aphrodite and Ares at Sta Lenika

Sta Lenika is located on the western part of the Mirabello Gulf in Northern Crete, between the borders of ancient cities Lato and Olous (Bousquet, 1938: 387-388).

A square building with two rooms of the same size opening onto a common vestibule was found on the site (Figure 46). The building measures 12m x 12m. The vestibule

is enclosed by a wall with a doorway at the center. Doorways of both rooms are also placed at the center. The southern room has a second door opening to the south. The entire building was made of local limestone, and the walls were plastered. In both rooms, a bench for offerings is attached to the back (eastern) wall (Bousquet, 1938: 386).

According to inscriptions found in the structure and the bench-altar inside the rooms, the building is identified as a temple to Aphrodite and Ares. It was a replacement for two temples. The temple dates to the Hellenistic period (Bousquet, 1938: 386-408).

4.1.2 Banqueting Hall

4.1.2.1 Priest's House at Marmaria

On the south of the road from Arachova to Delphi is a sacred terrace called Marmaria (Figure 47). On the terrace, a building was discovered in 1901, on the west side of the 4th century BC temple of Athena Pronaia (Bookidis, 1983: 149).

The building measures 12.15m x 10.95m. It has two rooms of equal size (6.25m x 6.25m) and opens to a common vestibule facing the south, enclosed by a wall. Doorways to the rooms were placed off-center and 1.45 m wide. While the exterior walls were built of polygonal orthostats, about 0.55 m thick, laid above a two-coursed foundation made of local limestone, the inside walls were constructed out of smaller polygonal stones. The eastern wall of the structure was destroyed during the construction of the 4th century BC temple, which gives us the *Terminus Ante Quem*. Based on the structure technique of the walls, the building dates to the end of the 6th century BC (Bookidis, 1983: 150-154).

Bookidis draws a parallel between this structure and the *Hestiatorion* at Perachora based on the ground plan and some architectural features such as off-centered doors and suggests that it was a dining hall. If this is the case, it is possible to fit 22 couches in total (Figure 48) (Bookidis, 1983: 149-155)

4.1.2.2 Hestiatorion at Perachora

Perachora is located in the Heraion valley at Corinth. In the Heraion valley, there are two sanctuaries of Hera. The *hestiatorion* is situated between these two sanctuaries, next to a double-apsidal cistern, dated to ca. 300 BC (Figure 49) (Tomlinson, 1969: 171).

The *Hestiatorion* is a building with two rooms and a common vestibule, enclosed by a wall in front (Figure 50). The building faces northwest. Two rooms of the building are equal in size and square, measuring 6.32 x 6.32 m. On the north and west walls of the western room, a portion of the foundations remains visible. The largest of the limestone foundation blocks is over 3 meters in length. They average around 0.64 meters in width and stand about the same height. Only the bottom layer of the walls is still standing. It is constructed of rectangular blocks of various sizes. The tops are mostly flat, although they have occasional steps to make space for the next course's blocks. The walls were covered with plaster. Pebbles in plaster above rubble cover the floors. There is a 0.88 m wide, slightly elevated platform along the rooms' walls. Yet, there is no surviving evidence for the position of the doors (Tomlinson, 1969: 164-166).

Two couches were found *in situ* on the elevated platform of the eastern room. These couches were made of 1.80m long single stone blocks. Slots on the floor suggest that there were tables in front of the couches. Thus, there is no doubt that this building was a banqueting hall with eleven couches in each room based on the dimensions of the rooms and couches (Tomlinson, 1969: 168-169).

4.1.2.3 Building D at Kos

The sanctuary of Asklepios is located 4 km west of the city of Kos. The sanctuary was made of three terraces. All the archaeological remains on the sanctuary are dated to the 3rd-2nd century BC (Pedersen, 2015:157-159)

Building D is located on the middle terrace of the sanctuary, which was the main cultic area (Figure 51) (Interdonato, 2016: 173). There are two construction phases of the building. The first phase is dated to the late Classical period based on quarry marks on the reused blocks of the western wall (Livadiotti, 2013: 46). The second phase comes with the construction of Temple B at the end of the 3rd century BC. Building D consists of two rooms of nearly equal sizes (5mx7.85m. and 5.14mx7.85m) opening onto a common tetrastyle in antis porch facing east (Figure 52). Columns of the building were in Doric order. An abacus fragment found in the building suggests that the total height of the columns was 3.52 m due to the diameter of the abacus (44 cm). The perimeter walls of the building rise on 46/47cm high orthostats. Blocks of the perimeter walls are of different lengths and height changes between 21-25cm. This technique is typical for the contemporary architecture of Kos. The building was made of local limestone (Livadiotti, 2013: 44-46).

According to Armpis (1998: 76), the building was actually a banqueting hall. Considering the size of the rooms (5mx7.85m. and 5.14x7.85 m), they were suitable for 11 couches. Livadiotti supports that interpretation based on the text of IV mimiamb of Herodas (IV. 1-95), which was written around the 3rd century BC. The poem mentions two pious women and one of the women's slave visiting the sanctuary. According to the poem, when they visit the sanctuary, one of the women asked the priest to make the sacrifice and to divide it into two parts to feast in the rooms⁸. According to Livadiotti, Herodas referred to the two rooms of the Building D since there is no other building found on the site that would fit this description (Livadiotti, 2013: 49-50).

4.2 Civic Buildings

4.2.1 Ekklesiasterion at Delos

The ekklesiasterion, a rectangular structure as a part of a building complex in the Apollo sanctuary's northwest corner, is what is known as the ekklesia of Delos (Figure 64). According to its ground plan, it has two rooms, named X and Y, of unequal size opening onto a courtyard, enclosed by a wall facing south (Figure 53). The dimensions of room Y are 9.40m x 11.9m. Room X is more extended than room Y towards the south. The dimensions of room X are 13.7m x 16.3m (Vallois, 1929: 281).

⁸ (l. 92: *τᾶλλα δ'οικήης ἔδρη*)

Since different construction techniques and use of different materials are observed on the walls of the building, Vallois (1929: 278-315) suggests that the structure went through five construction phases from the 5th century BC to the late 1st century BC. The ground plan with two rooms and a courtyard was formed in the fifth phase of the building, which Vallois (1929: 291) dates to the 1st century BC. The roof tiles suggest that the building was roofed already by the mid-3rd century BC (Vallois, 1929: 279).

Attached to the center of the north wall of room X is a naiskos with ionic columns and entablature with triglyphs. It probably kept a statue inside. Besides the *naiskos*, five marble benches were found *in situ* against the walls of room X. Another statue base is also found against the center of the north wall of room Y, together with the same type of bench. These benches were carried here from the Theater at the end of the 1st century BC (McDonald, 1943: 64-95).

According to Vallois (1929: 278-279), the building is an ekklesiasterion undoubtedly because of the parastades remains found inside the building. He suggests that these fragments are mentioned in the inventory of Kallistratos (ID 1417) from the 2nd century BC as belonging to the ekklesiasterion of Delos.

4.2.2 Prytaneion at Delos

The Prytaneion is situated 20 meters southeast of the Apollo temple and faces the Delian Agora to the south. The Prytaneion is a rectangular structure with dimensions of 15.12 x 25.78 meters (Figure 54). The walls of the building were made of gneiss ashlar masonry above marble orthostats. There are six parts in the Prytaneion,

including two main rooms at the back of the structure (Miller, 1977: 67-68). An inventory inscription (ID 1417: I. 89-102) from Delos dated to the 2nd century BC mentions the inventories of the building such as bronze objects, Herms on marble bases, statue of Hestia, shield plates etc. and their location inside the building. Based on this inscription, it is possible to define each part⁹ of the building (Etienne, 1997:307).

A is the building's vestibule (3.30m deep, 14 m. long) with four Doric columns between 2.35m long walls from the east and west sides. The columns stood on a two-stepped krepis and were made of monolithic shafts with 18-20 flutes (Figure 55). Fragments of the frieze have metopes and triglyphs (Figure 56). Inside the vestibule, in front of both east and west walls, were pi-shaped seats (Etienne, 1997:310, 315; Vallois, 1966: 75-76).

B is the largest area inside the structure and serves as a courtyard. The base of a tall herm, still *in situ*, was positioned in the middle of the north wall of this courtyard (Figure 57) (Etienne, 1997: 318).

On the northern end of the courtyard, two vestibules, C1 and C2, were placed next to each other, accessible from the courtyard. At some point, however, an additional door hinge was added into the orthostats of the western wall, indicating that C1 was also accessible from outside of the building directly. They served as *prodromoi* to room D (access through C1) in the east and E (access through C2) in the west. A wall encloses C1, yet C2 has two columns in antis (Miller, 1977: 71-72).

⁹ Each part will be referred according to the referring system used in Etienne's publication (1997).

Dimensions of room D are 7.93m x 6.55m. (Miller, 1977: 73). Gneiss slabs were found at the center of room D. Considering the inscription (ID 1417), which mentions one of the parts as the prytaneion, D was that room with an altar/hearth dedicated to Hestia. Thus, gneiss slabs seems to belong to the altar/hearth (Etienne, 1997: 308).

Room E is smaller than room D because two little compartments were built on the north side of the room with a small space between them. The room's door was off-center (Etienne, 1997: 308). The question of the function of E is problematic. The reason for the confusion on the function of the room is because the room was referred to as the archeion in the 2nd century BC inscription (ID 1417) mentioned above, but also referred to as the *hestiatorion* in a 4th century BC inscription (IG 144, A, I.10) (Etienne, 1997: 306-308). According to Vallois (1944: 174), room E was initially built as a *hestiatorion* in the late 4th century and transformed into an archeion by the 2nd century BC. However, the most significant aspects of the Prytaneion are one room with the hearth and another room as the *hestiatorion*, where guests and citizens were served meals (Wycherly, 1976: 134-135). Etienne (1997: 308), however, suggests that room E was the *hestiatorion* and two compartments at the back functioned as the *archeion*.

4.3 Conclusion

The research presented above indicates that it is impossible to construct an architectural pattern that displays the function of the two-room temples. Regarding the building's architecture, four out of the six structures include a colonnaded porch.

These are the ones that are in Mandra, Alikí, and Elaíous. However, it is also possible to find a vestibule that is enclosed by a wall, like the ones in Aptera and Sta Lenika, both of which are located in Crete. The proportions of the rooms are not consistent with one another in terms of their dimensions. We find that the rooms in Mandra and Sta Lenika are the same size but that the rooms in Alikí and Elaíous come in various sizes. In this scenario, archaeological material is considered reliable evidence for temples, such as in the examples of Building A in Mandra and the Temple of Demeter and Kore in Elaíous; however, this kind of evidence is not always available in every situation due to a variety of factors.

On the one hand, the banqueting halls of Marmaria and Perachora have three critical architectural features in common with one another. To begin with, the doors are not centered properly. Second, each of the rooms is the same size. Third, they feature a porch that is enclosed. In this particular scenario, the building in Asklepion does not satisfy the requirements. However, we do not know where the doors of this building are located, which is a problem when it comes to the off-center doors. If this interpretation is accurate, the entrances to the rooms need to be offset from the center in order to accommodate the couches.

For the civic structures analyzed in this chapter, the primary evidence to assign function comes from the inscription for the Ekklesiasterion in Delos. Yet, the architectural criteria for the Prytaneion are the presence of two rooms; one with a hearth and one with a dining hall, as Wycherly (1976: 134-135) states.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

It is obvious that the Hekatomnids invested an excessive amount of time and resources on the building project at Labraunda. Once everything has been taken into consideration, one must realize that each building served the Hekatomnid family and the Karians primarily owing to the splendor of the structures, their capacity to display the ideology of the dynastic family, and the function they carried.

Considering all the efforts put on the building program at Labraunda, the *Oikoi* building must have served an essential purpose for the 4th century BC Labraunda.

5.1 Epigraphic study

On the architrave inscription of the *Oikoi* building, it says, “Idrieus, son of Hecatomnos, Mylasan, dedicated ‘*τοὺς οἴκους*’ to Zeus Labraundos.” ‘*τοὺς οἴκους*’ is the accusative plural form of the word *οἶχος* indicating two *οἶχος* of the building. In the Oxford Classical Dictionary (2012), the meanings of the word are given as “house, habitation, dwelling, room, hall, temple, camp, nest, household, household property, family, home.” So, it is necessary to give the meaning of the word based on its context, which is a sanctuary in that case.

On the one hand, Rups (1986: 11) states that *οἶχος* refers to a settlement as well as a house. On the other hand, Joannes Zanaras (1967) suggests that the word *οἶχος* is parallel with the word *εἰκω*, which means “to which one withdraws”. In the light of etymological research, Rups (1986: 11) concludes that the meaning of *οἶχος* is “any

dwelling place, room, or even public meeting hall that one can enter”. According to Hellmann (1992: 300-309), there are three different ways of using the word οἶχος, which belongs to the family of οἰκέω. These are οἶχημα, οἶχία, οἶχος. The most common use is “οἶχος”. The administrative inscriptions from Delos mention a number of buildings called “*oikos*” such as the Oikos of the Naxians, the oikos of the Andrians, the oikos of the Delians, etc. The word *oikos* can be used to refer to several functions, such as a treasury, a temple, a shrine, or a banqueting hall.

According to the inventory lists of Delos, it is definite that some buildings were used to store various materials like votive objects as a treasury as well as architectural materials, tools, and any other object that is not votive (Hellmann, 1992: 300-301). For instance, an inventory list (no. 203 B 94-99) suggests that building materials and tools were stored in the Oikos of the Andrians. Later, phiales, votive cups, and other vessels appear in the inventory lists (No. 287 B 87-91; 286 B 5-11) of the Oikos of the Andrians (Rups, 1986: 180-186). The epigraphic study presented above shows that the function of the *Oikoi* building at Labraunda can be a double treasury or a storage unit since it is called “*oikoi*” in the inscription on the architrave. Yet, there is no material evidence, such as the precious votive objects to support this argument.

The inventory list (No. 163 A 1.34) also suggest that the *Oikoi* of Zeus in Delos was used as a *hestiatorion* since the furniture was mentioned on the lists (Hellmann, 1992: 302). In addition to that, the mention of a banqueting hall in Herodas’ poem as “*oikoi*” (IV. 1-95) supports this argument, considering the dedicatory inscription on the architrave of the *Oikoi* building at Labraunda.

Crampa (1972: 15) says “In general terms, the word οἶκος (oîkoi) is used for all buildings in a shrine which are not considered as temples...” and he identifies the *Oikoi* building as the office of the priest of Zeus Labraundos. He supports this argument by giving an example from the Asklepion at Delos, which is mentioned in an inscription (IG, XI, II 159A) as the neokoros lived in an οἶκημα. In addition to that, Hellström (1992: 47) also suggests that the *Oikoi* building could be the office of the shrine, considering the contexts of inscriptions found in the *Oikoi* building at Labraunda as dedicatory (ILab 21, 30, 36), public documents (ILab 53, 55), letters (ILab 87, 88), and lists with names (ILab 102, 120). However, except for the ILab 30, which is dated to the 3rd century BC, these inscriptions are dated to the Imperial period. Thus, the *Oikoi* building might have been used as an office of the shrine and some kind of archive for the documents, at least in the Imperial period and not necessarily since 4th century BC.

Information about the temples and shrines with double rooms can also be found in Pausanias’ Description of Greece. While describing these structures, Pausanias uses three different terms based on the ground plan of the buildings, which allows us to conclude with three different types of temples with double rooms. These terms are ιερὸν διπλουν, ναὸς διπλοῦς, οἶχημα διπλοῦν. While the terms ιερὸν and ναὸς were used for more traditional temple-like structures, such as the ones in Argos (2.25.1), Olympia (6.20.03), and Mantinea (2.10.2). The term οἶχημα, however, was used for structures with unusual architectural features, such as the ones in Sikyon (2.10.2) and Athens (1.26.5). By comparing this literary evidence that Pausanias provided and the double-roomed buildings identified as temples from various sites, it is possible to identify three types of double temples (Figure 70). Type A is the one that has two

rooms next to each other with different entrances facing the same direction. Type B is the one that has two rooms with doorways on the same axis. Type C is the one that has two rooms with entrances from opposite directions (Fusco, 2019: 106-108).

Among these types, Type A has the same ground plan as the *Oikoi* building at Labraunda, as well as the temples in Mandra, Alikí, Elaious, Aptera, and Sta Lenika, which were studied in Chapter 4. However, we do not have any epigraphic evidence to identify the *Oikoi* building as a temple. Thus, this prospect should be discussed further by using comparative analysis.

5.2 Comparative Study

The analysis of the buildings with two rooms presented in Chapter 4 reveals that the ground plan with two rooms and a shared porch may serve several purposes, including those of a temple, banqueting hall, *ekklesiasterion*, and *prytaneion*. At that point, one has to look at what gives the building its purpose and how the criteria may be applied architecturally to the *Oikoi* building in order to determine the most plausible solution.

The idea of an *ekklesiasterion* in Labraunda could be sensible since the administrative system of Hekatomnid Karia requires an *ekklesiasterion* as discussed in Chapter 2. Hellmann (1992: 122) points out that we do not have distinctive architectural features for the identification of an *ekklesiasterion*, but we know that unroofed, circular, or semicircular buildings were mainly preferred as an *ekklesiasterion*. However, the *Ekklesiasterion* at Delos shows that there might be exceptions in some cases since that building has a roof and two rectangular rooms. If we accept Vallois's (1929) interpretation, the building identified as *Ekklesiasterion* in

Delos based on the inscription (ID1417), it is possible to see some parallels in the *Oikoi* Building at Labraunda. Apart from the similar ground plan with two rooms and a common porch, the Ekklesiasterion and the *Oikoi* building are both roofed structures. In addition to that, there is a podium for a statue at the center of the back wall of two buildings. Yet, this comparison only suggests a weak possibility of the *Oikoi* building being an ekklesiasterion. Nonetheless, without primary evidence such as inscriptions and materials, the only similarity is the ground plan and the podiums inside the buildings. Besides, the structure of entrances is different. While the *Oikoi* building has a colonnaded porch, Ekklesiasterion at Delos has a wide courtyard. It is also important to note that the Ekklesiasterion at Delos was not a single structure, but it was a part of a large building complex.

In the case of banqueting halls, there is a pattern. Both Marmaria and Perachora examples show that a banqueting hall with two rooms has equal size rooms, off-center doors, and an enclosed porch. The *Oikoi* building does not meet any of the criteria, and neither does the building in the Asklepion at Kos. However, the reason might not be related to the function. During the time of Hekatomnids in the 4th century BC, Kos was politically bound to Karia. The date corresponds to the reconstruction phase of the city of Kos. Thus, the style and technique of the experimental Hekatomnid architecture might have already been adopted by the time of construction of Building D in the 3rd century BC (Pedersen, 2015: 169). The *Oikoi* building at Labraunda with its two rooms and tetrastyle *in antis* porch might have been influential and led to the construction of a two-roomed structure with a tetrastyle *in antis* porch in the Asklepion. In addition to that, both the building D in the Asklepion and the *Oikoi* building at Labraunda were placed at a close distance

to the temple. The same arrangement can be observed in Mandra also, as discussed in Chapter 4. The double Temple at Mandra is a part of a five-roomed building complex. The other three rooms attached to the temple are identified as banqueting rooms (Kourayos et al., 2019). Turning to the Building D in Asklepieion, it is also notable that both the *Oikoi* building at Labraunda and Building D at Kos have four Doric columns *in antis*. In terms of off-centered doors, it is certain that the doors of the *Oikoi* building were perfectly centered. However, the reconstruction of Building D with off-center doors is an interpretation, and there is no architectural evidence to validate this interpretation. Considering the epigraphic evidence solely from Herodas (IV 1-95) which he refers to the Building D as “*oikoi*”, and if the Building D is really a banqueting hall, then the same interpretation can be applied to the *Oikoi* building at Labraunda. The bronze armrest found in the *Oikoi* might then be an indication of a banqueting hall. However, that bronze armrest is not sufficient evidence in terms of quantity and lack of supportive evidence. So, it is not possible to firmly suggest that the *Oikoi* building was actually a banqueting hall based on material evidence.

For the temples, it is clear that there is not a certain architectural criterion to suggest the function of buildings with two rooms. However, there are some similar features of the *Oikoi* building and two-roomed temples. Unequal sizes of the rooms is seen in Alikí and Elaious, as well as in the *Oikoi* building. However, we see that double-room temples might have rooms of equal sizes, such as the temples in Mandra and Sta Lenika. The tetrastyle in antis porch of the *Oikoi* building is also one of the similar features of two-room temples. We see a colonnaded porch in Mandra and two buildings of Alikí and Elaious. However, there are also examples of two-room temples with vestibule enclosed by a wall, such as Aptera and Sta Lenika. In the

cases of Aptaera and Mandra, there is a square altar in front of the temples aligned with the side wall. Moreover, the altar of the Mandra temple has a Hestia inscription on it. A similar square structure also exists in front of the *Oikoi* building on the southern side (Figure 58). It could be interpreted as a base for a statue as well as an altar to Hestia which is mentioned in one of the dedicatory inscriptions (ILab 36) found in the building (Westholm, 1963: 68). Nonetheless, this inscription is dated to the 2nd century AD. Thus, it should not be evaluated in the context of the *Oikoi* building in the 4th century BC. Likewise, there is no epigraphic evidence mentioning another deity in the 4th century BC Labraunda that requires another cultic structure at the site.

On the one hand, it seems like we cannot draw a parallel between the Prytaneion at Delos and the *Oikoi* building directly other than Delos Prytaneion's two main rooms at the back and the colonnaded porch. On the other hand, the Prytaneion, as an ancient Greek structure, has a criterion that we can apply to the *Oikoi* building. As mentioned earlier in this thesis, a Prytaneion requires two main rooms; a room with a hearth and a dining hall (Wycherly, 1976: 134-135). Miller (1977: 28) argues that when Thucydides (2.15.2) identifies the prytaneion as οἶκος μέγας, he actually refers to the function rather than the architectural form. In that context, what he means is "the House of the State". The name "*oikoi*" on the architrave of the *Oikoi* building was given to the building deliberately. Considering the *Oikoi* building, its two rooms could have served as a hearth room and a dining hall. This difference of function between the rooms might explain their difference in shape and size. However, remains of a hearth for Hestia don't exist in the 4th century BC Labraunda's *Oikoi* building. Pausanias (V.15.8-9) mentions that the prytaneion at Olympia had a hearth

made of ashes, and Miller states that this type of a hearth leaves no trace in the archaeological record (1977: 34-35). Besides, one should keep in mind that the original floor of the *Oikoi* building was completely destroyed during the renovation and transformation phases of the building. Thus, the evidence might be taken out due to a possible change in the function. In fact, there is the inscription (ILab 36) found in the *Oikoi* building mentions an altar dedicated to Hestia. The square structure in the southern front of the *Oikoi* building might have served as that altar. However, the inscription is dated to the 2nd century AD; thus, it is no evidence of the function of the *Oikoi* building in the 4th century BC, but might indicate a change in the building's function over the centuries.

Among the buildings analyzed for the comparative study, only the *Hestiatorion* at Perachora and the Prytaneion at Delos were contemporary to the *Oikoi* building. While the buildings at Mandra, Alikí, Elaious, Aptera, and Marmaria are dated to earlier periods, the buildings at Sta Lenika and Kos and the Ekklesiasterion at Delos are dated to later periods.

5.3 Conclusion

According to the research presented above, there are different possible functions that can be assigned to the *Oikoi* building at Labraunda in the 4th century BC. Two rooms and a common porch plan is not a specific type of ground plan for a specific function. At this point, it is important to see if we can rule out any possibility or enhance a specific function.

While seeking the function of the *Oikoi* building, one must look for the reason behind the construction of the *Oikoi* building in the 4th century BC by the Hekatomnid dynasty at Labraunda.

First of all, we cannot say that the *Oikoi* building was a temple in the 4th century BC since we do not have any evidence of another cult in any of the inscriptions dated to the 4th century BC. To build a second temple immediately to the west of the Temple of Zeus would have been a waste of resources.

Second of all, we cannot say that the *Oikoi* building was a banqueting hall in the 4th century BC. As the comparative study demonstrates, the *Oikoi* building does not have any required features of a banqueting hall. There is no raised platform for *kline* along the walls, and the doors are not off-centered. Yet, Hellström (1986: 159) argues that two rooms of the *Oikoi* building might have functioned as dining rooms even though the doors are not off-centered. He states that the cutting of the thresholds is an indication of a raised platform along the walls. In the excavation reports, however, there is no mention of a feature that could be an indication of a regular dining hall, like windows for circulation of air that we mainly see in banqueting rooms. Besides, Labraunda already had at least three *stoas* for common banqueting (North *Stoa*, East *Stoa*, and a new *stoa* discovered during the 2021 excavation season¹⁰) and two andrones for formal banqueting in the 4th century BC. In both cases, it is safe to say that the Hekatomnid building project followed two different banqueting hall plans to fulfill the need properly. The possibility of using such a unique building as the *Oikoi* building for banquets is not impossible but rather low.

¹⁰ Non published yet

Could the *Oikoi* building simply be a double treasury or a storage with two rooms? This possibility is higher than the *Oikoi* building being a temple or a banqueting hall. In Labraunda, we do not have any structure identified as a treasury yet. Thus, the *Oikoi* building could have been constructed as the treasury of Labraunda. As stated by Hellmann (1992), the word *oikos* was used in inscriptions for some treasury buildings and storerooms, as discussed earlier in this chapter. In that case, the *Oikoi* building could have been two *oikos* (*oikoi*) sharing a common porch, and it could have functioned as a double treasury or store-rooms. Yet, there is no solid archaeological and epigraphic evidence to support this argument, beside the trace of metallic fence closing of part of its façade.

There is one aspect that might give us a solution. The piers of the southern room were constructed on the bedrock. It means that the floor was completely taken out and replaced with a terracotta floor after the construction of the piers in the 6th century AD (Blid, 2016: 202). So, the continuous use of the southern room and replacement of the floor caused the loss of evidence for earlier periods. However, this situation might enlighten another problem regarding the function of the *Oikoi* building.

If the original floor of the *Oikoi* Building was replaced in the 6th century AD due to a change in the function of the building, then it might be possible that the *Oikoi* building was used continuously with the same or similar function from the 4th century BC until at least the 2nd century AD, because the only solid evidence of change in the function is dated to 6th century AD as it is seen through the architectural modifications done in the southern room.

The epigraphic evidence found inside the *Oikoi* building provides a piece of valuable information on the function of the *Oikoi* building in the Imperial Period since many of them are dated to that period. As it is explained in Chapter 3, the contents of the inscriptions found in the building are known. Eight of them are dated to the Imperial period except for one dedicatory inscription, which is dated to the mid-3rd century BC (Crampa, 1972). Considering these inscriptions, it is necessary to discuss some important aspects of their contexts and dates. First of all, one inscription (ILab 53) concerning the regulations of the yearly festival at Labraunda is an Imperial copy of a 4th century BC inscription. One of the letters (ILab 88) is a copy of a Hellenistic inscription. Thus, such an important inscription on the regulations at Labraunda and a letter from the Hellenistic king to the governor was copied in the imperial period and kept together with other inscriptions that have similar contents in this building, as discussed above. Besides, another inscription (ILab 55) from the Imperial period found in the *Oikoi* building mentioning the regulations on the care of belongings and their handing-over from the old office to the new one raises the possibility that this building functioned in relation to the office of the shrine as an archive, as interpreted by Crampa (1972: 11) and Hellström (2007: 119-25), in the Imperial Period. If the function of the *Oikoi* building was the same in the 4th century BC and if the building was an archive/office of the shrine in the Imperial Period, it is possible that the *Oikoi* building was an archive/office of the shrine also in the 4th century BC.

One must also note that the rooms of the *Oikoi* building do not have the same dimensions, and these two rooms were not fitted in a rectangular structure. It has a unique ground plan. In that case, the possibility of having two different *oikos* with different functions gets higher.

The comparative study presented in Chapter 4 showed that the only building that has two rooms with different functions (a *hestiatorion* and a hearth room) and a common porch is the *Prytaneion* at Delos, which is contemporary with the *Oikoi* building at Labraunda. In that case, there are important questions that must be asked and answered.

First of all, is it sensible that Hekatomnids built a *prytaneion* at Labraunda? As discussed in Chapter 2, Mausollos had an ideology that displayed the dynastic power of his reign. This is something that can be found reflected throughout his reign. Labraunda was not only a place of worship for the Hekatomnids; it was also a political statement, as evidenced by the vast building project and the attempts to build a sanctuary that brings together all of the Karians. Thus, it is possible the *Oikoi* building served as some kind of *prytaneion* as the house of the state of Karia.

Second of all, does the *Oikoi* building fulfill the requirements of a *prytaneion*? Earlier in Chapter 4, it is mentioned that the *Prytaneion* requires a hearth room for Hestia and a banqueting hall. Unfortunately, even if there was a hearth, it was certainly destroyed due to the construction of the new floor in the 6th century AD. However, a dedicatory inscription (ILab36) that mentions an altar to Hestia was found in the *Oikoi* building. Is this a coincidence or solid evidence that raises the possibility of the *Oikoi* building being a *prytaneion*? A Hestia cult certainly existed in Labraunda in relation to the *Oikoi* building, at least in the 2nd century AD. Supposing that the hypothesis that the *Oikoi* building had the same function in the 4th century BC and the Imperial period is true; it is then possible that an altar to Hestia from the 4th century BC was restored and rededicated in the 2nd century AD. And the

small square structure located in the southern front of the building could be that altar.

Yet, there is no detailed study on this small square structure that could prove this argument.

Thus, the answer to the question of the function of the *Oikoi* building at Labraunda in the 4th century BC is that neither epigraphic evidence nor architectural evidence is sufficient in concluding a specific function. Yet, based on the evidence presented above, there is one prominent solution. The *Oikoi* building had one room that seems to have functioned as an archive/office of the shrine at least during the Imperial period, and another room functioned as a cult room/shrine to Hestia, forming an unusual *Prytaneion* which would have fitted well with the experimental architecture of the Hekatomnids and with the ideology of Mausollos in the 4th century BC.

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FIGURES

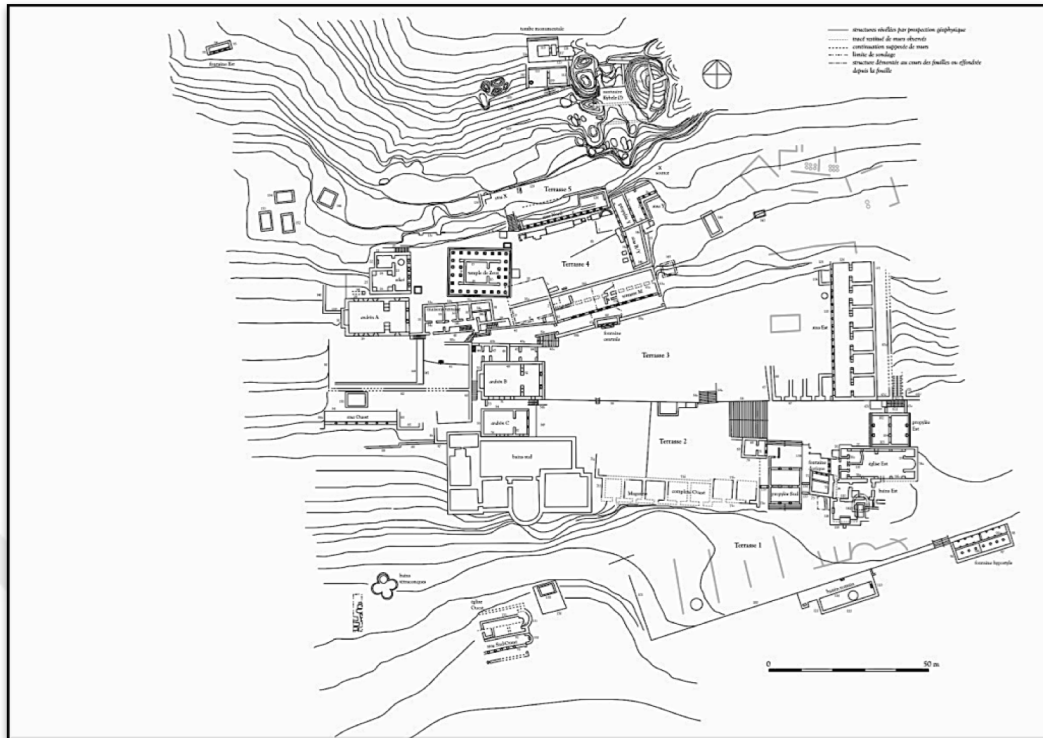


Figure 1 Site plan of Labraunda (O. Henry)

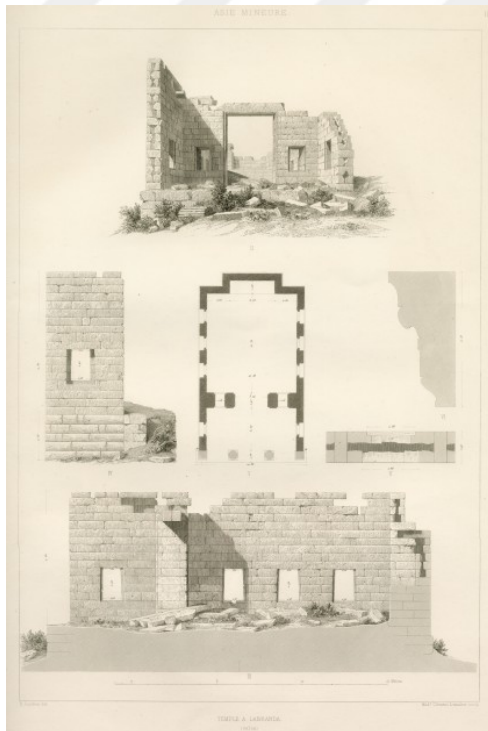


Figure 2 Drawing of Idrieus (Andron A) (Le Bas, 1888: pl. I)



Figure 3 Map of Karia (O. Henry)

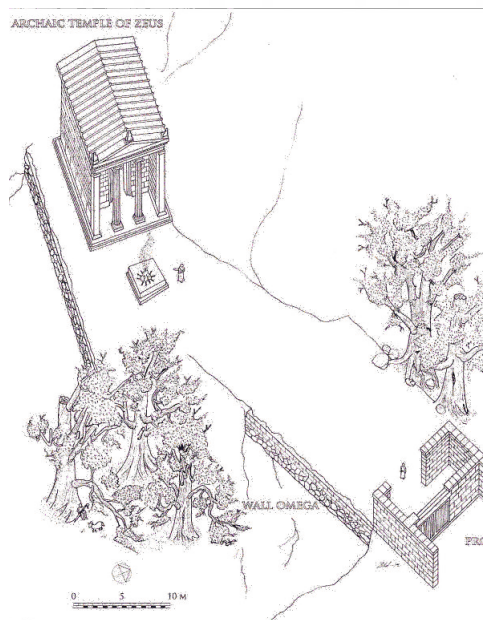


Figure 4 Archaic reconstruction of Labraunda (J. Blid)



Figure 6 Hekatomnid coinage – Hekatomnos (Henry, 2020: fig.4)



Figure 5 Hekatomnid coinage – Mausollos (Henry, 2020: fig.4)



Figure 7 Hekatomnid coinage – Idrieus (Henry, 2020: fig.4)



Figure 8 Hekatomnid coinage – Pixodarus (Henry, 2020: fig.4)



Figure 9 Reconstruction of Labraunda with the view of two Andrones and the Temple (www.labraunda.org)

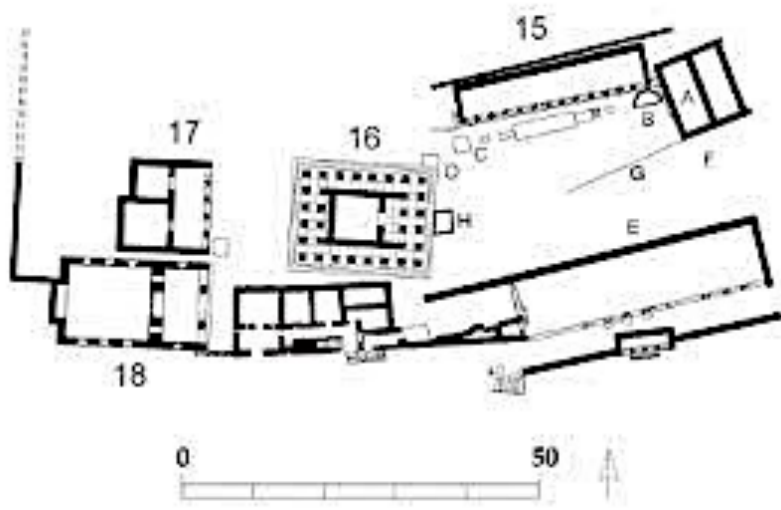


Figure 10 Temple terrace (www.labraunda.org)

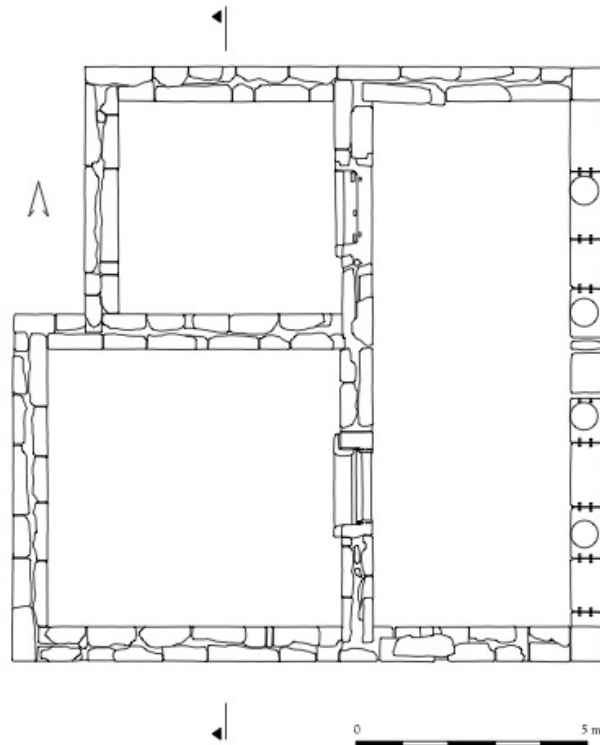


Figure 11 Ground plan of the Oikoi building (O. Henry)



Figure 12 Oikoi building from East (O. Henry)



Figure 13 Columns of the Oikoi building (Ç. Durak)

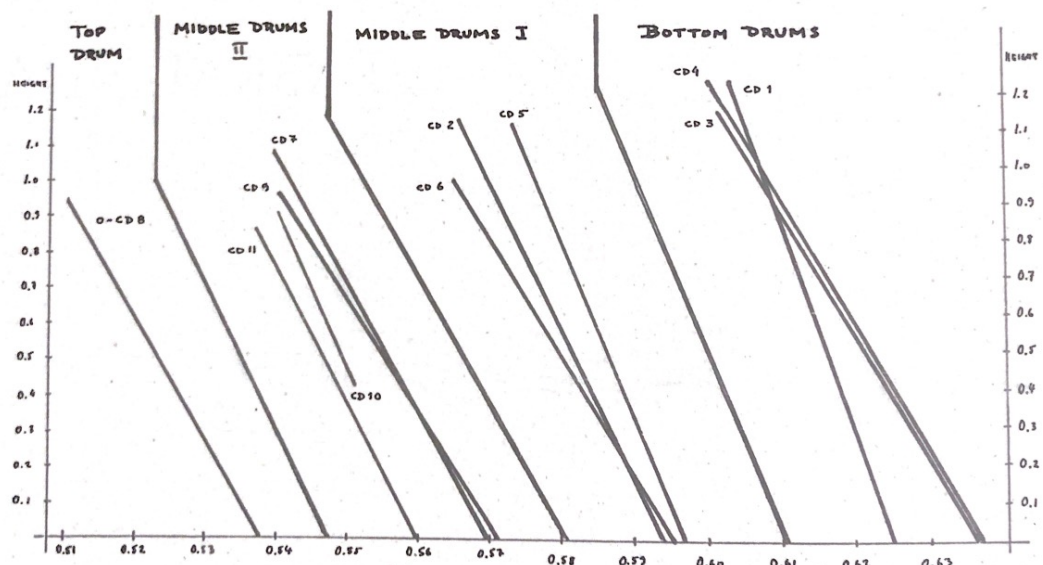


Figure 14 Diagram of column drums (Hellström, 1984: fig.3)



Figure 15 Cuts on the column drum (Ç. Durak)



Figure 16 Dove-tail beddings on the stylobate (Ç. Durak)

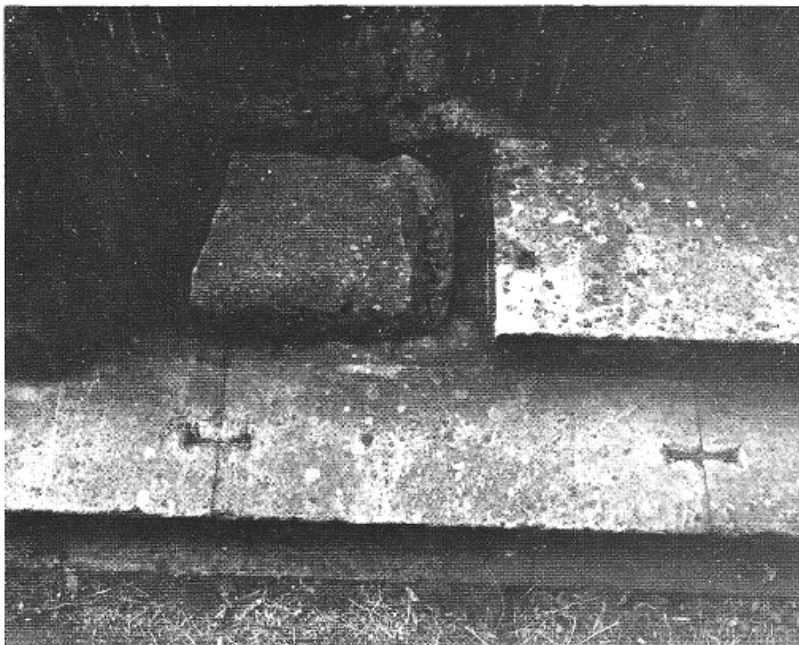


Figure 17 Dove-tailed beddings on the northern krepis of Temple of Zeus (Hellström and Thieme, 1982: Pl 5.4)



Figure 18 Clamp holes on the architrave of the Oikoi building (Ç. Durak)



Figure 19 Marble Slabs of northern doorway (Ç. Durak)



Figure 20 The pier on the southeastern corner (Ç. Durak)



Figure 21 Brick podium of the northern room (Ç. Durak)



Figure 22 North wall of the northern room (Ç. Durak)

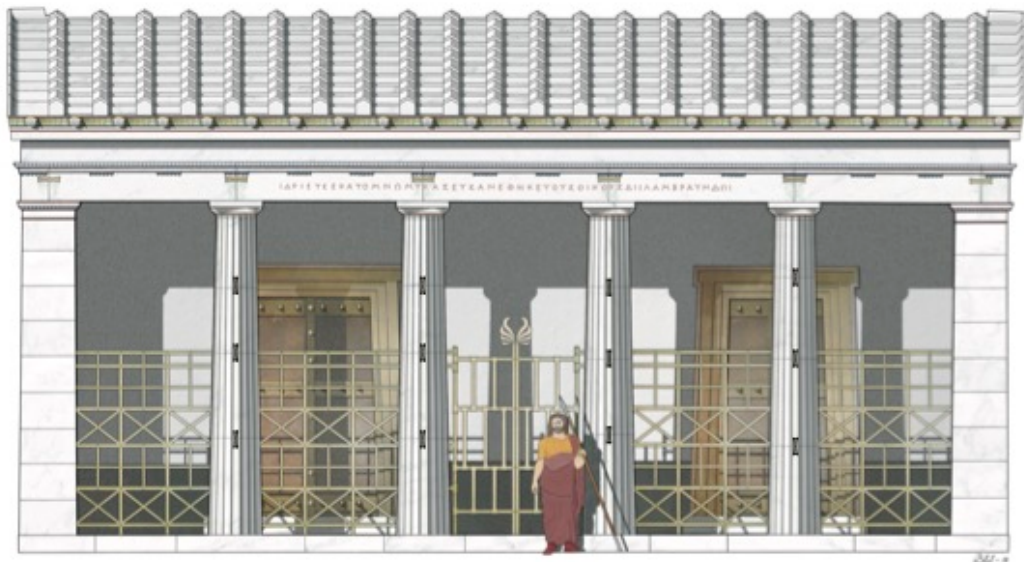


Figure 23 Reconstruction of the Oikoi building (J. Blid)



Figure 24 The architrave of the Oikoi building (O. Henry)

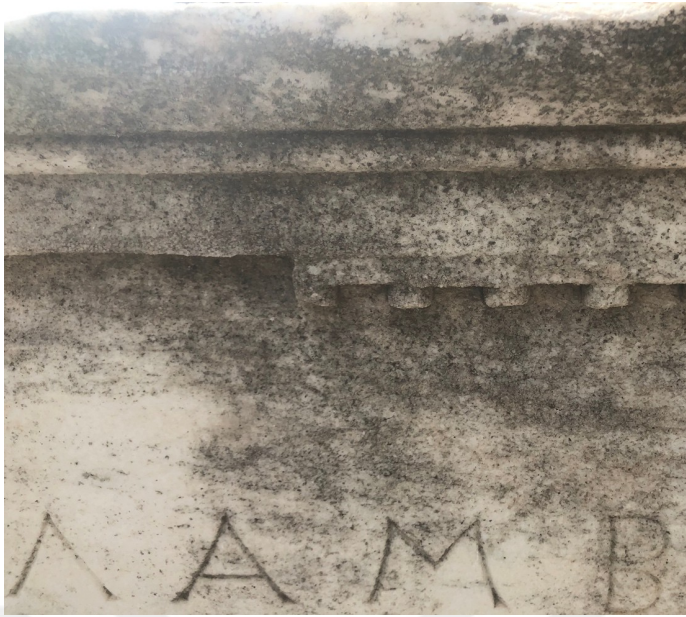


Figure 25 Detail of guttae on the architrave (Ç. Durak)



Figure 26 Brick Cupola (Blid, 2016: fig. 215)



Figure 27 *Bronz armrest found in the Oikoi building (Dahlen, 1955: Pl.1 1)*



Figure 28 *Bronze foot found in the Oikoi building (Dahlen, 1955: Pl.2 3)*



2
Figure 29 Protom of the armrest (Dahlen, 1955: Pl.1 2)

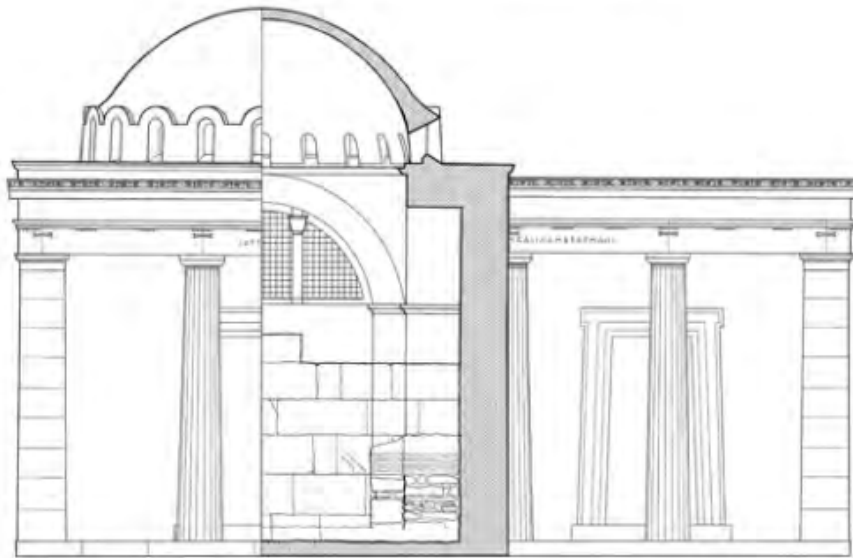


Figure 30 Reconstruction of the Oikoi building with cupola (J. Blid)

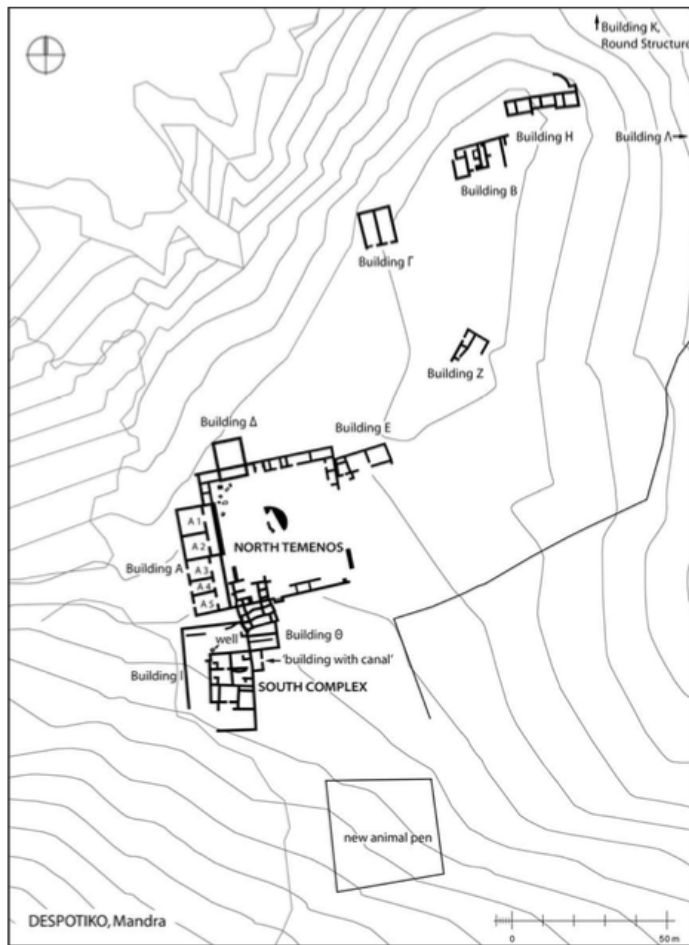


Figure 31 Site plan of Mandra (Kourayos et al., 2012: fig. 4)

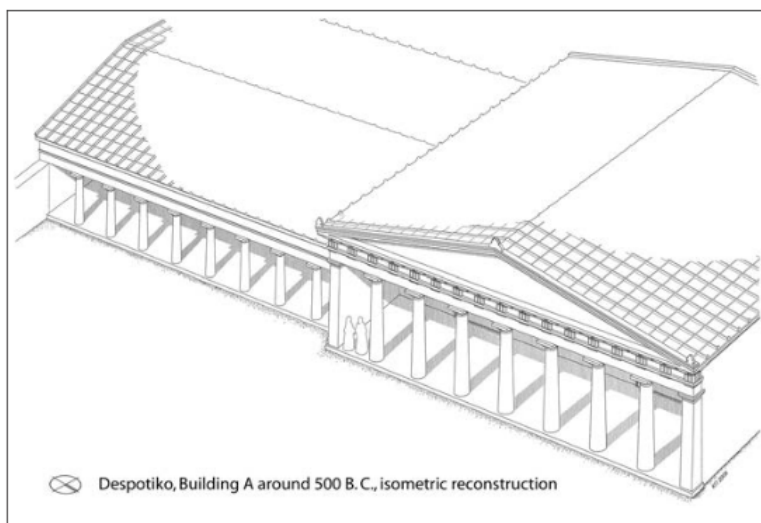


Figure 32 Reconstruction of Building A (Kourayos et al., 2012: fig. 34)

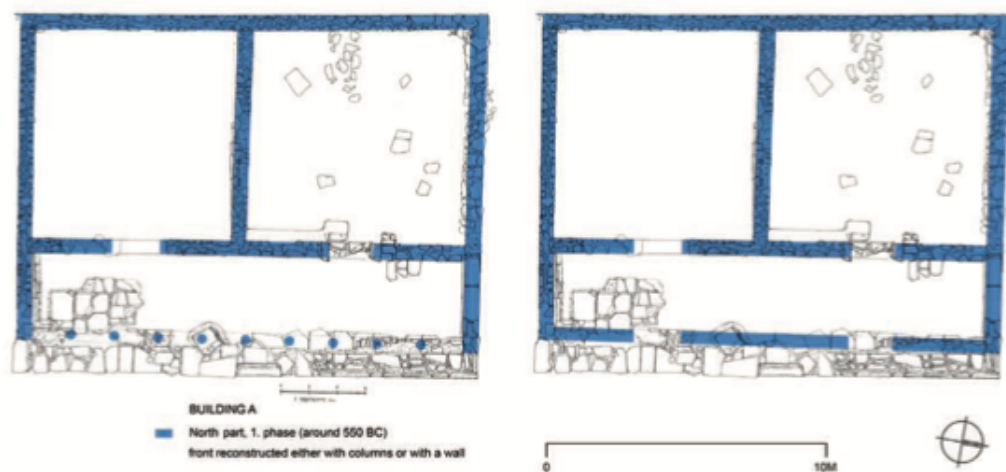


Figure 33 1st phase of North Part with different interpretations of the porch (Kourayos et al., fig. 7)



Figure 34 Terracotta figurine found in Room A1 (Kourayos et al., 2012: fig. 40)

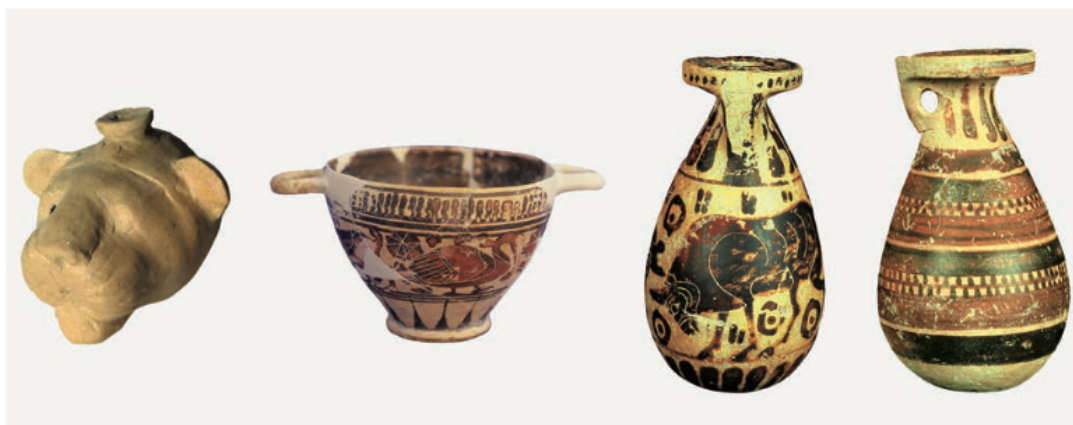


Figure 35 Pottery finds found in Room A1 (Kourayos et al., 2012: fig37)

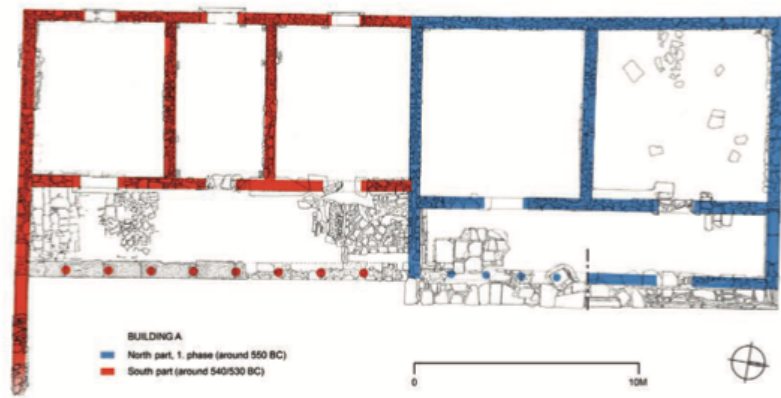


Figure 36 South Part and North Part phase 2 (Kourayos et al., 2012: fig 7)

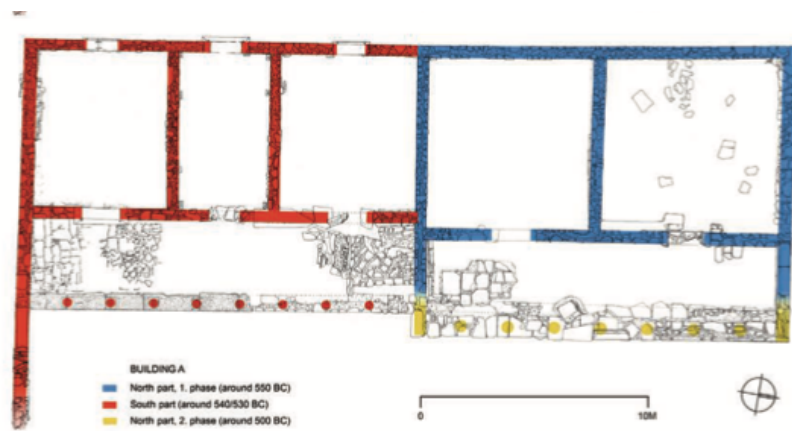


Figure 37 South Part and North Part phase 2 (Kourayos et al., 2012: fig 7)



Figure 38 Kouros leg found on porch of North Part (Kourayos et al., 2012: fig 42)

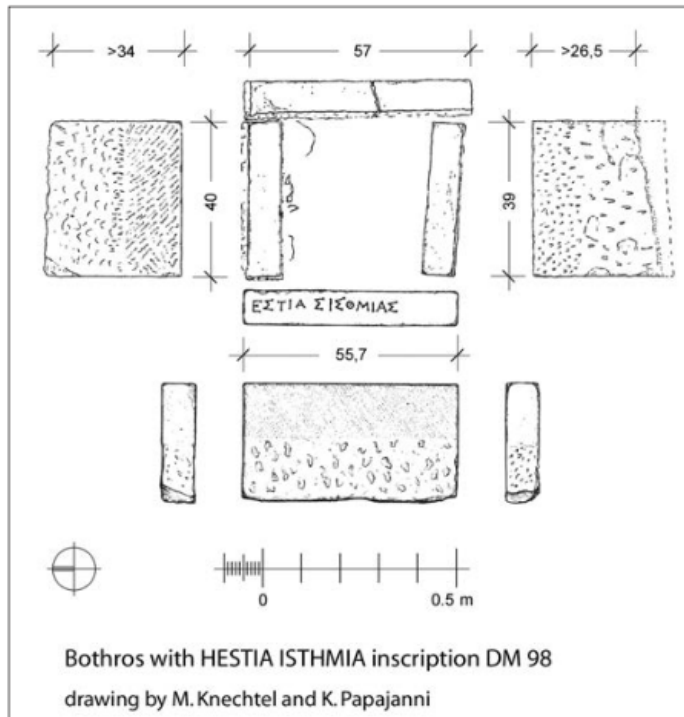


Figure 39 Bothros (M. Knechtel, K. Papajanni)

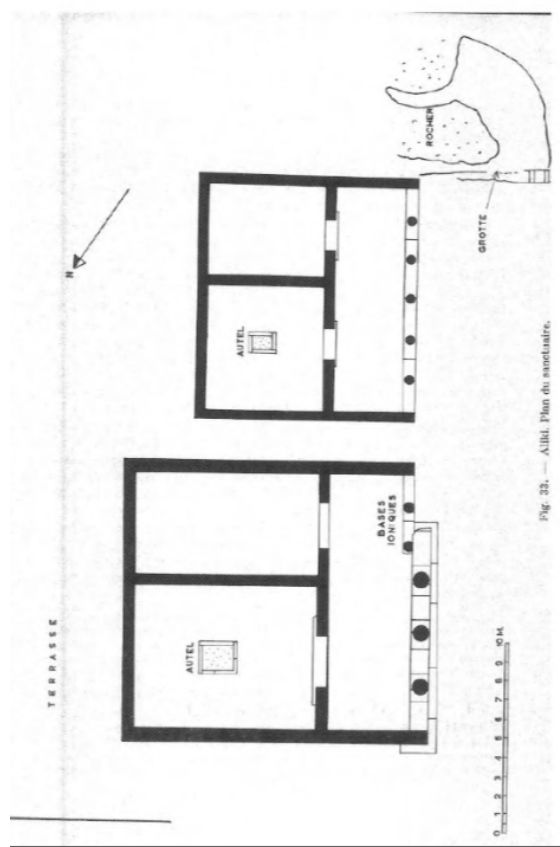


Figure 40 Ground plans of the buildings at Aliko (Daux, 1968: fig.33)



Fig 9-11. Elaiou. Figurines de terre cuite.

Figure 41 Figurines from Elaiou (Daux, 1965: fig 9-11)

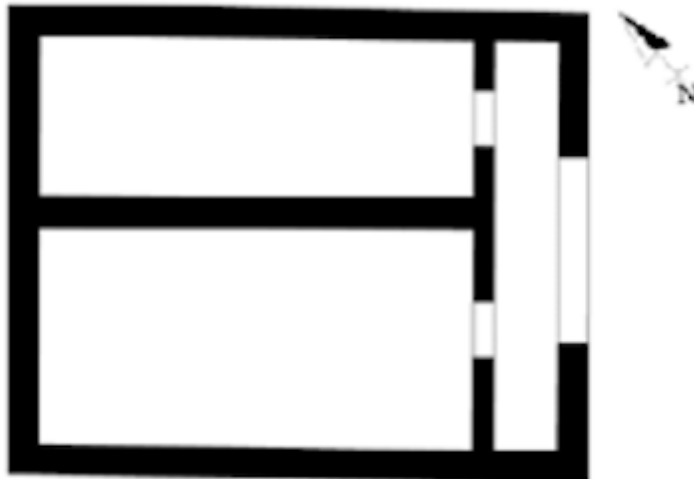


Figure 42 Ground plan of the temple at Elaiou without the columns (U. Fusco)



Figure 43 temple at Aptera (Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Ephorate of Antiquities of Chania)

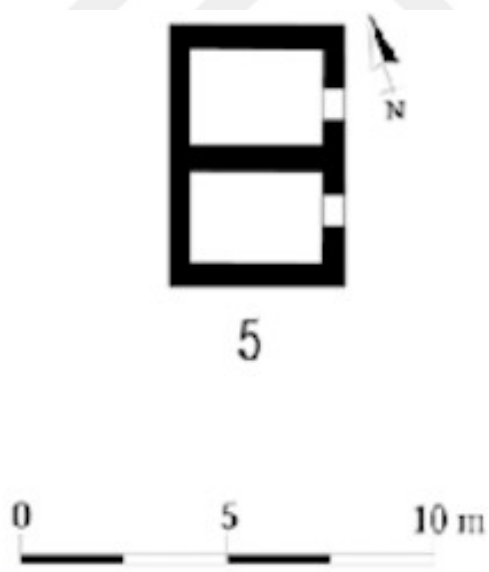


Figure 44 Ground Plan of the temple at Aptera (U.Fusco)

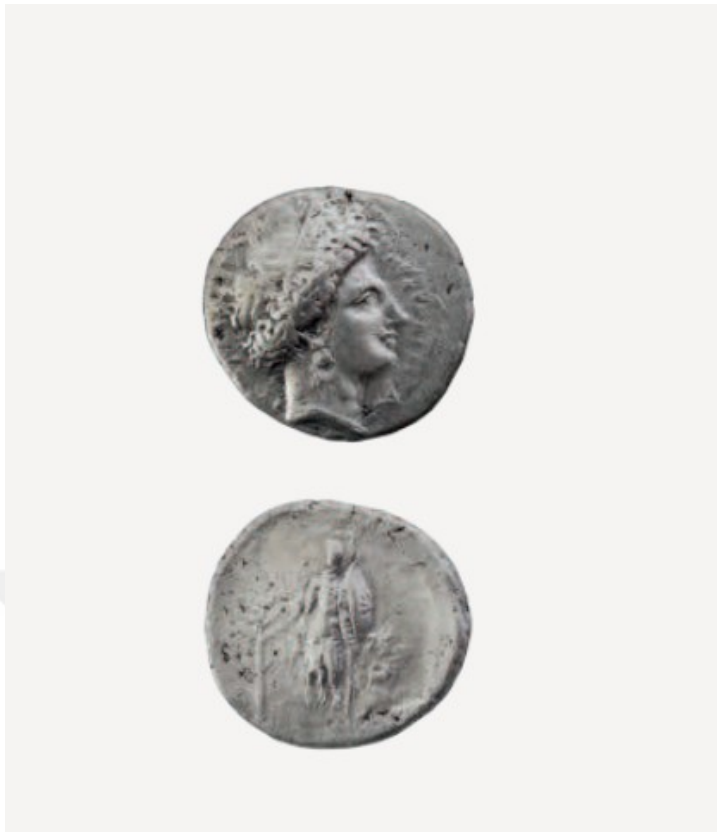


Figure 45 coins of Aptera (Tzanakaki, 2019: fig.12)

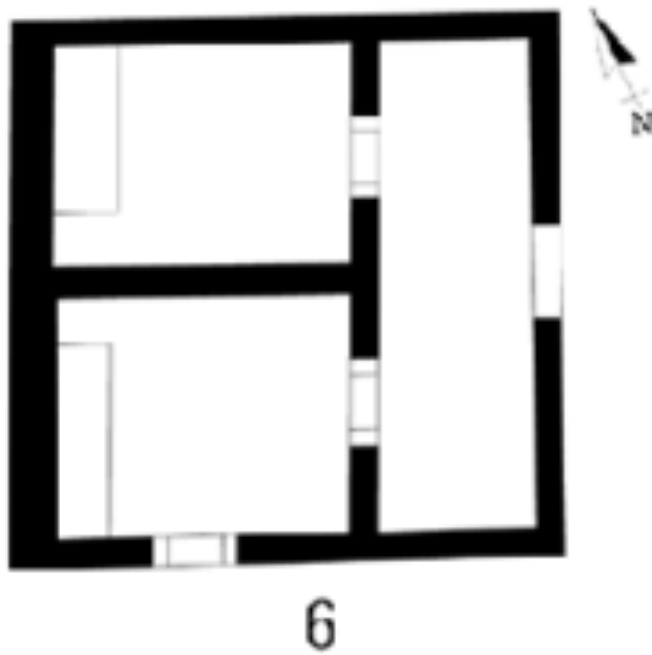


Figure 46 Ground Plan of the Temple at Sta Lenika (U. Fusco)

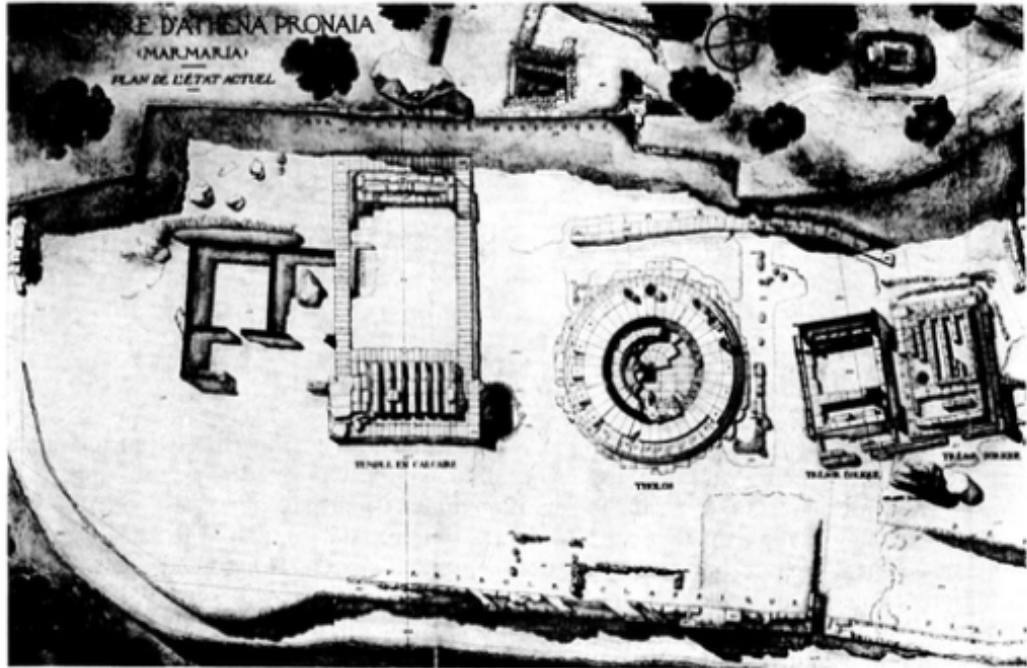


Fig. 1. — State Plan of the Marmaria, Delphi.

Figure 47 Marmaria Terrace (Bookidis, 1983: fig. 1)

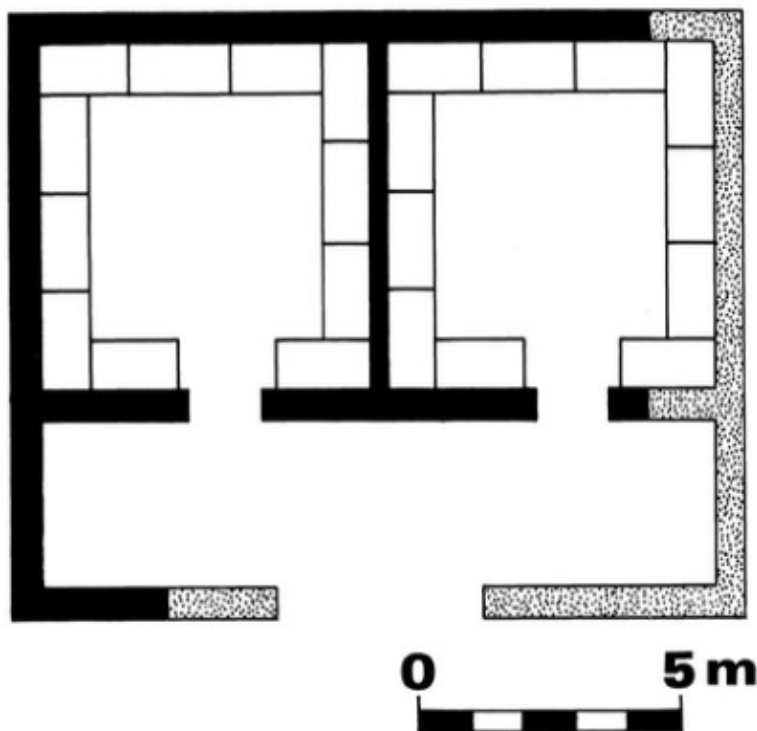


Figure 48 Ground Plan of the building at Marmaria (Bookidis, 1983: fig 3)

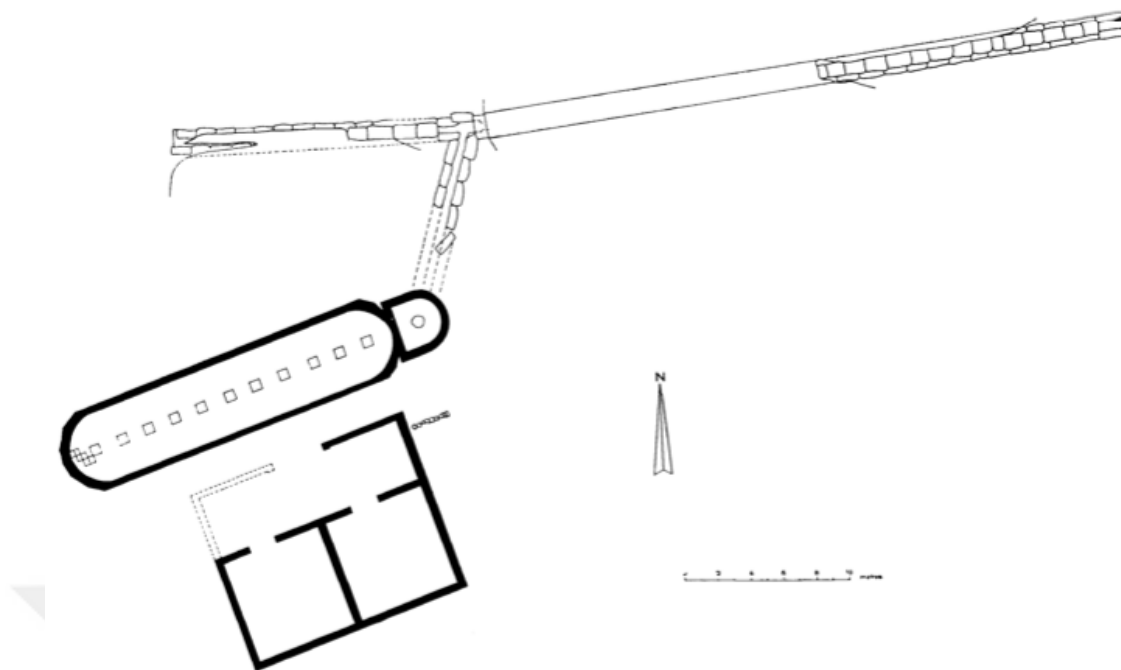


FIG. 1. THE HESTIATORION, THE DOUBLE-APSIDAL CISTERN, AND DRAIN. Scale 1 : 500

Figure 49 Location of the Hestiatorion (Tomlinson, 1969: fig. 1)

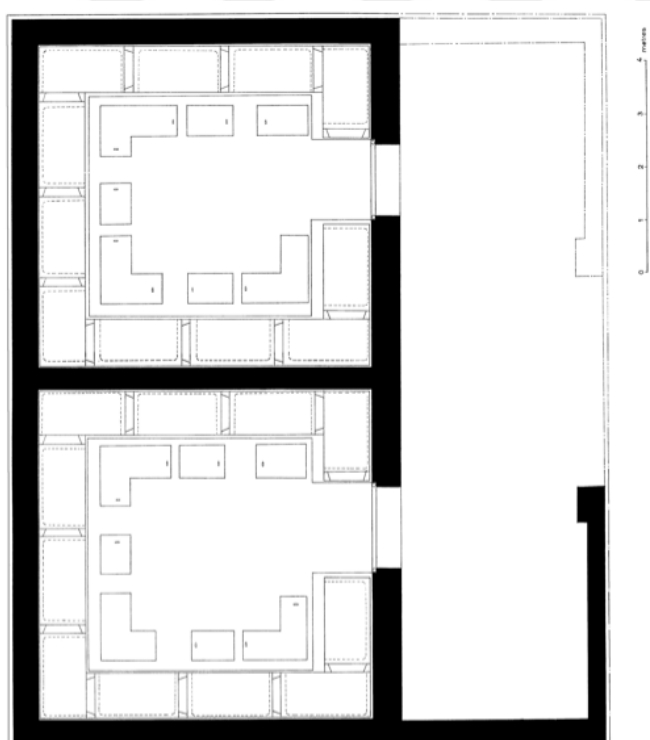


FIG. 5. THE HESTIATORION: RESTORED PLAN.

Figure 50 Ground Plan of the Hestiatorion (Tomlinson, 1969: fig 5)

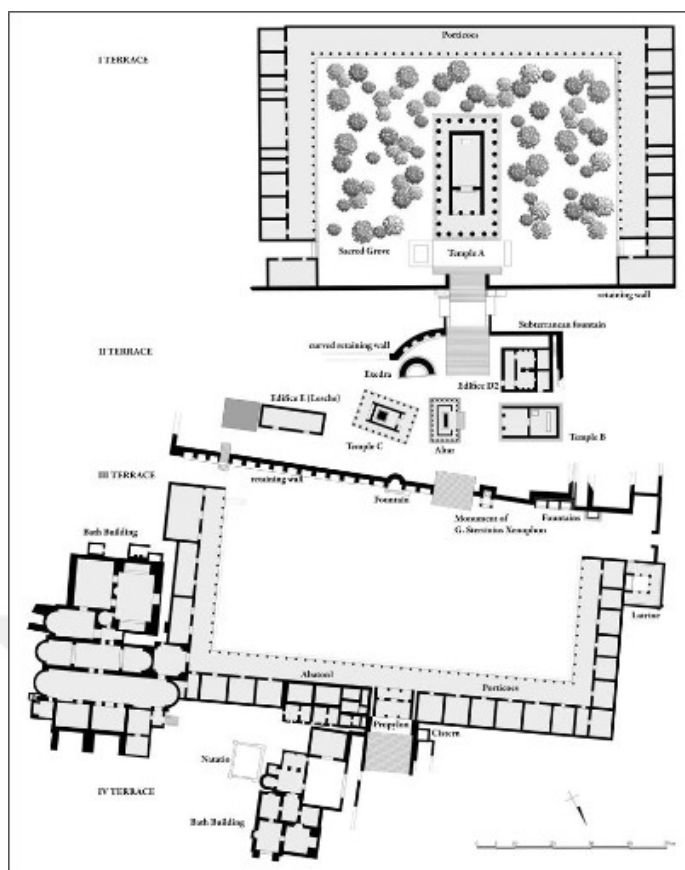


Figure 51 Site Plan of Asklepieion at Kos (Livadiotti, 2013: fig 2)

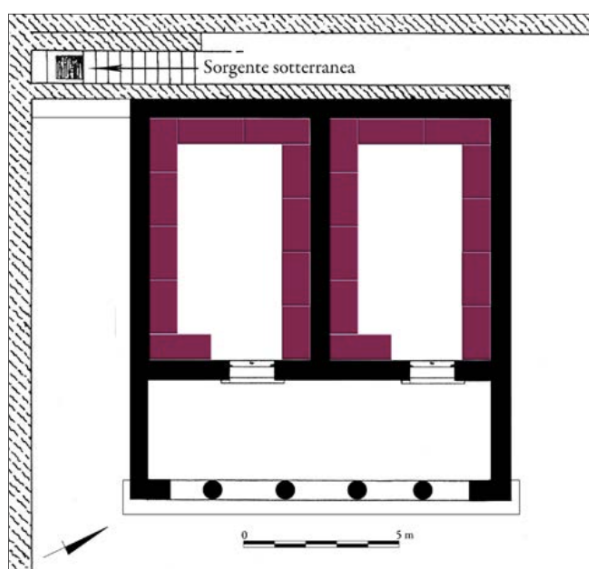


Fig. 21. Kos, *Asklepieion*. Edificio D, ricostruzione della planimetria con la collocazione di 11 *klinai* per vano (rielaborazione dell'A. sulla base di HERZOG, SCHAZMANN 1932, fig. 31).

Figure 52 Ground Plan of Building D (Livadiotti, 2013: fig. 21)

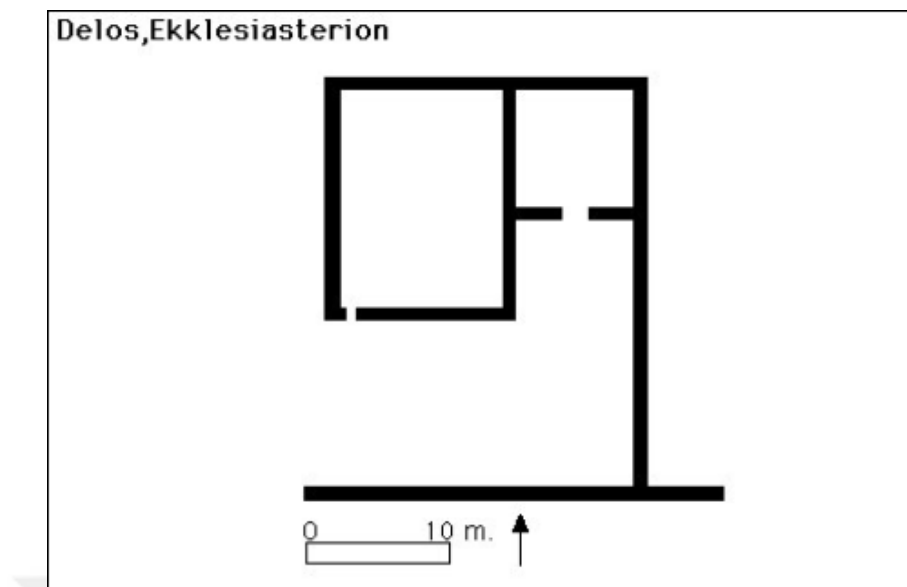


Figure 53 Ground plan of the ekklesiasterion
<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu>



N° 25. 643
 DELOS
 22 Prytaneion, plan selon
 qu'il existait
 d'après R. Etienne...
 Reconnu par M. J. (1997)
 Reconnu par M. J. (1997)
 (cf. plan n° 1997. 643)
 D'après M. J. (1997)
 1/1000

Figure 54 Ground plan of the Prytaneion of Delos (Etienne, 1997: fig 1)



Figure 55 Column of Prytaneion (Etienne, 1997: fig 5)

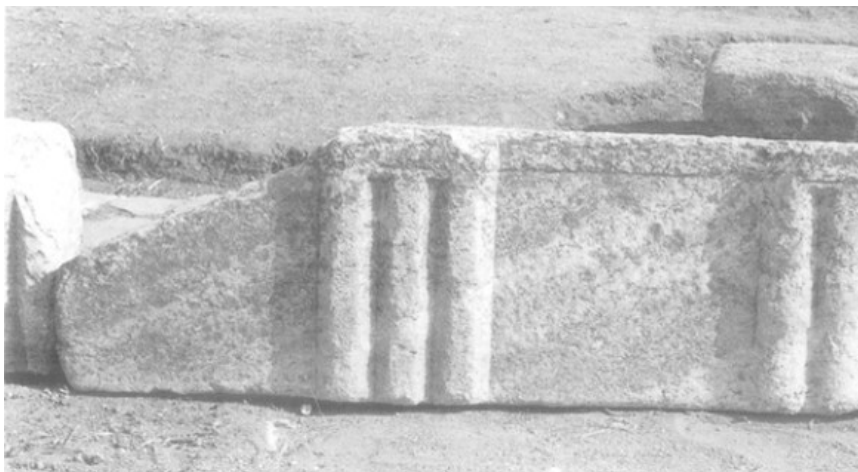


Figure 56 Metope and triglyph frieze of Prytaneion (Etienne, 1997: fig 8)



Figure 57 Prytaneion at Delos from the south (Etienne, 1997: fig.2)



Figure 58 Square structure in front of the Oikoi building (O. Henry)

APPENDIX A

The Inscriptions Found in the Oikoi Building

ILAB 17	1	Ἰδριεὺς Ἑκατόμνω Μυλασεὺς ἀνέθηκε τοὺς οἴκους Διὶ Λαμβραύνδωι.
ILAB 21	1 5	ν Διὶ Λαβραύνδωι ν2 Τίτος Φλάβιος Νέων ιε- ρεὺς τὴν στοὰν ἐσκέ- πασεν τῇ οἰκοδομῇ, ν καθ' ἧ ὑπέσχετο. V
ILAB 30	1	[Ἀντί]πατρος? Ναυκρά[τους] [Διὶ Λ]αβραύνδωι.
ILAB 36	1	[— Σεβαστ— καὶ Διὶ Λαβραύνδω? ιδρύσατο τὴν, ὃ φ.ε[ίλουσαν .c.6. .] Ἰστίης θυμέλην [—] [—]ς, τε Σεβ[αστοῦ? καὶ ἱερεὺς] τοῦ Διός· ἡ δ' αὐτοῦ? [—]
ILAB 53	1 5 10	[.]ε.ντ.ε.[— τοῖς] ἄλλοις Καρσίν .[— τῷ Διὶ] τῷ Λαβραιύνδωι .[— Ἑκα]- τόμνω ν σωθέντ[—] νης ν αἰ προστεθε[ῖσαι —] τέσσερες καὶ Ἰδρ[—] σαμένου καὶ Κάρα .[ς — ἐ]- ορτὴν πλέω ἡμερ[—] πάντας ἡμέρας π[έντε — τὰ] πάτρια, τῇ δὲ δευ[τέρῃ —] ως, τῇ δὲ τετάρτ[ῃ —] τ.ε.λεῖσθαι τηνδ[—] [. .c.7. .]ην ἀποδ[—] [. . .c.10. .].τ.[—]

ILAB 55	1	[—]ο.τ. .[—] [—]ζωφορ.[—] [—]γ.ραφα.την.[—] [— τὸν] νόμον ἀνα[—]
	5	[—]ω ᾧ παραδιδού[ς —] [—] μ.εταπαραδίδουσ[θαι —] [— ἀν]α.θημάτων, καθὼς δ.[—] [—]ε.τεταχειον καὶ τῆς ι.[—] [ὅπως — ἀναγρ]α.φ.ῆ. < ⁶¹ > ⁶¹ [⁵¹ π] ⁵¹ ἐ.π.ὶ τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ —]
	10	[— τοῖς] γραμματεῦσι τῶν τε ἀρχ[όντων καὶ βουλῆς —]
ILAB 87	1	vacat? [—]φ.χαίρε.[ιν —] [—] ὑπε[—] [—]. [—]
ILAB 88	1	[—]λ.η. ποιοῦ κα.ὶ τὸ. [— τ]ῆν πρὸς τὸ θεῖ- [ον εὐσέβειαν —] ἡμῶν συστα- [—]vacat
ILAB 102	1	[—]ΣΕΚ. [—α]π.αρτι.- [—]ΣΑΝ [—]ΑΡΥ-
	5	[—]ΝΑΙ [—]ΕΣν vacat
ILAB 120	1	[—]Α.Σ.[—]