

**THE DISPLAY OF HEKATOMNID POWER IN  
KARIAN SETTLEMENTS THROUGH URBAN IMAGERY**

**A THESIS SUBMITTED TO  
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES  
OF  
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY**

**BY**

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**IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS  
FOR  
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF SCIENCE  
IN  
SETTLEMENT ARCHAEOLOGY**

**JANUARY 2007**

Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

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## ABSTRACT

### THE DISPLAY OF HEKATOMNID POWER IN KARIAN SETTLEMENTS THROUGH URBAN IMAGERY

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January 2007, 217 pages

This thesis focuses on a distinctive period in Karian history marked by the Hekatomnid dynasty in the 4th century BC. The basic question is the ways in which the Hekatomnid power was reflected in the Karian settlement practices and urban imagery. In this regard Maussollos, the most well-known member of the Hekatomnid dynasty, and his policies, including vast building projects and synoikismoι activities, are important indicators in giving a hint on Karian political praxis for the solution of conjectural problems arising from Karia's being 'in-between' Greece and Persia. On the other hand, it is suggested that these particular Hekatomnid power practices are displayed in the urban imagery, where 'scenographic planning' is observed to have been applied deliberately with this purpose, particularly in the Maussollan capital, Halikarnassos. Correspondingly, the Maussolleion is considered as the utmost level of Hekatomnid power display through the urban imagery founded by the scenographic planning in Halikarnassos.

Keywords: Hekatomnid Karia, Power Display, Urban Imagery, Scenographic Planning, the Maussolleion

## ÖZ

### KARYA YERLEŞİMLERİNDE ŞEHİR İMGELEMİ YOLUYLA HEKATOMNİD İKTİDARIN GÖSTERİMİ

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Ocak 2007, 217 sayfa

Bu tez, Karya tarihinde özgün bir dönem olan 4. yüzyıl Hekatomnid sülalesi devrine odaklanmaktadır. Çalışmada irdelenen temel soru, Hekatomnid iktidarın Karya yerleşim pratiklerinde ve şehir imgeleminde ne şekillerde yansıtıldığıdır. Bu anlamda, Hekatomnid sülalesinin en iyi bilinen üyesi olan Maussollos ile geniş ölçekli inşaat projeleri ve *synoikismos* aktivitelerini de kapsayan faaliyetleri, Karya'nın Yunan ve Pers arasında 'sıkışmışlığından' kaynaklanan bağlamsal sorunlarının çözümüne ilişkin Karia siyasi uygulamalarına dair ipuçları sunan önemli göstergelerdir. Diğer taraftan, Hekatomnid iktidarına özgü pratiklerin şehir imgeleminde gösterildiği, bu amaçla, özellikle Maussollos'un başkenti Halikarnassos'ta 'senografik planlama'nın tercihen uygulandığı açığa çıkarılmıştır. Bununla ilintili olarak, 'Maussolleion', senografik planlamanın temellendirdiği şehir imgelemi yoluyla Hekatomnid iktidarın gösterimindeki son seviye olarak ele alınmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Hekatomnid Karya, İktidar Gösterimi, Şehir İmgelemi, Senografik Planlama, Maussolleion

*...to the memory of Dođan Uslu*

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This study has been like a long cruise for its author. Having started with my personal discovery of *Halikarnas Balıkçısı*, Karia has been the *dream city* of my childhood. Hence this thesis is about Karia. Although it took a considerable period to realise this dream in the form of a 'thesis', I have been blessed to have plenty of Aegean folk songs in my ears and have lots of people around all of whom I owe my heart-felt thanks.

First and the foremost, I would like to express my deepest, sincere gratitude to Prof. Dr. Suna Güven, for everything. She has been my compass and showed me the way; without her, I would be lost.

I am indebted to Prof. Dr. Numan Tuna, for his heartily support and endless tolerance. His insights have always been inspiring for me. Also, I modestly would like to thank Prof. Dr. Poul Pedersen, who provided me with enormous ideas and support.

Throughout the course of this blue cruise, I have been delighted to have the opportunity to meet with great people that I am grateful: archaeologist Ms. Canan Küçükeren, Milas Municipality Cultural Affairs department, and Halikarnassos Museum workers, as well as those nice people of today's Halikarnassos, including my dearest aunt Mrs. Ayfer Uslu and her husband, Mr. Tevfik Uslu, and my own '*Hypapean*', Riza Üzel.

My precious family, they were with me all along the route. I owe my father Kemal Üzel, 'the godfather', the endless interest in 'the ancient', and to my mother, Hülya Üzel, the courage to carry whatever interest onto academic studies. This is more of their study than mine.

My friends, my treasure: I would like to thank Özgür Gökdemir, and Şükran Çağlayan for sharing their lives with me. My own *archaeological society*; Koray Kalaycıoğlu, Semih Demirer, Emine Üzüm, Tayfun Hız, and Özgür Özdamar; they all have their places in this long cruise and my personal history.

And to Umut: you are my *drama city*.

## Η Σατραπεία Satrapy

Τι συμφορά, ενώ είσαι καμωμένος  
για τα ωραία και μεγάλα έργα  
η άδικη αυτή σου η τύχη πάντα  
ενθάρρυνσι κ' επιτυχία να σε αρνείται ·  
να σ' εμποδίζουν ευτελείς συνήθειες,  
και μικροπρέπειες, κι αδιαφορίες.  
Και τι φρικτή η μέρα που ενδίδεις,  
(η μέρα που αφέθηκες κ' ενδίδεις),  
και φεύγεις οδοιπόρος για τα Σούσα,  
και πηαίνεις στον μονάρχην Αρταξέρξη  
που ευνοϊκά σε βάζει στην αυλή του,  
και σε προσφέρει σατραπείες και τέτοια.  
Και συ τα δέχεσαι με απελπισία  
αυτά τα πράγματα που δεν τα θέλεις.  
Άλλα ζητεί η ψυχή σου, γι' άλλα κλαιει ·  
τον έπαινο του Δήμου και των Σοφιστών,  
τα δύσκολα και τ' ανεκτίμητα Εύγε ·  
την Αγορά, το Θέατρο, και τους Στεφάνους.  
Αυτά πού θα σ' τα δώσει ο Αρταξέρξης,  
αυτά πού θα τα βρεις στη σατραπεία ·  
και τι ζωή χωρίς αυτά θα κάμεις.

(Από τα Ποιήματα 1897-1933, Ίκαρος 1984)

What a calamity that you who are made  
for beautiful achievements and renowned,  
should always be, through your hard fate, denied  
occasion and success; that you should always  
be hindered by the mean observances,  
the littlenesses, and indifferences.  
And how unblest the day when you give in  
(when you have lost yourself, and you give in),  
and you depart, a wayfarer for Susa,  
and come before the monarch Artaxerxes  
who welcomes you with favour at his Court,  
offering you satrapies and things akin.  
And you, despairing, you accept those honours,  
those that are not the honours you desire.  
Your soul is hungering for other things:  
the praises of the Demos and the Sophists, –  
the difficult, invaluable “Well done”;  
the Agora, the Theatre, the bays.  
These – how should Artaxerxes ever give,  
how should you ever find in satrapies;  
and what a life will yours be now, without them.

(*Poems by C. P. Cavafy*. Translated, from the Greek, by J. C. Cavafy. Ikaros, 2003)



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\* All photographs are taken by Ayça Üzel, unless otherwise indicated.

# CHAPTER I

## PROLOGOS\*

This study is an overarching attempt to shed some light upon a distinctive period in the history of Karia<sup>1</sup>, characterized by the rule of the Hekatomnid dynasty. In this regard, the basic aim of the study is to reconstruct the notion of ‘power display’ by gathering together evidence from the fields of political science, settlement archaeology, and history of architecture. The text tries to draw attention to the dichotomies created by “us” and “them”, where in this case, the Karians constitute the “other”, in the eyes of both some ancient writers, and some modern scholars.

### 1.1. INTRODUCTION

The main question of this study can be stated as the ways in which power practices were displayed in the settlement context in ancient Karia. In order to make a better understanding of the context, the study is divided into three main parts besides introductory and conclusive remarks, each having a distinctive point of view.

The first part, “Karia and the Hekatomnids”, is an effort to provide the outlines of the political and administrative structure in Karia in the historical and archaeological conjuncture. After a geographical introduction of the region, the socio-cultural background of Karia is explored by providing quotations from ancient sources, as well as the recent studies. The notion of a distinctive ‘Karian’ identity is sought for by exploring the ‘*ethnoi*’ in Karia. Accordingly, the ambiguous boundaries between the societies settled in Karia, such as

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\* Prologos: Middle English prolog, from Middle French prologue, from Latin prologus preface to a play, from Greek prologos part of a Greek play preceding the entry of the chorus, from pro- before + legein to speak.

<sup>1</sup> Greek literation of the ancient site names are preferred instead of Latin for the purposes of this study.

the Lelegians, Karians, Pelasgians are mentioned. Their interrelations and relationships vis-à-vis other communities in related parts of Asia Minor, like Lykia are concisely indicated as much as possible from the present evidence. Following this discussion, a brief history of Karia is outlined, dealing with the major historical events. The Hekatomnid Dynasty is the core subject of Chapter II. After the introductory background on the Karian region and people, the Hekatomnid dynasty as the rulers of Karia is studied in greater detail, by providing the major achievements of each member of the family in a historical context. Subsequently, ruled by the Hekatomnids, the political and administrative position of Karia during the rise of Hellenism is pursued. The impact of the beginning Hellenistic period, marked by Alexander's succession to power is dealt with the point of view of Karia. In this regard, her stance between 'Persia and Greece' is dwelt upon, particularly focusing on Maussollos' rule. Mutual interactions in political and administrative practices between the Hekatomnids and Macedonian Dynasty, Persia, and Greece are portrayed respectively. Consequently, a Karian political synthesis is suggested as a peculiar power practice implemented by the Hekatomnids, and particularly by Maussollos.

Second part, Chapter III is based on the settlement practices in Karia. The link with the previous chapter is provided by the first section which analyzes the relationship between settlement and power practices. In 3.1.1. *Settlement Pattern: Hierarchy Displayed*, it is aimed to demonstrate that certain types of settlement organisations, such as *pyrgoi* in Karia, may display a kind of hierarchy in the settlement pattern. On the other hand, power practices like *synoikismoi*, *sympoliteiai*, *metoikosis*, may also impact organisation of settlements, which is dealt within '3.1.2. *Re-settlement: Synoikismos*'. Therefore a two-way relationship is demonstrated between 'settlement practices' and 'power practices': it is suggested that while settlement practices may display power relations, power practices may also impact settlement relations.

Following this discussion, the second section, 3.2. *Settlement Deconstructed: Architectural Components* analyzes the notion of settlement. The target in this section is to defragment the notion of settlement to its tangible constituent elements, especially, the architectural components. First, the built environment in Karia that prepared the background for the Hekatomnid architecture is sorted. In this regard, architectural elements peculiar to Karia are analysed such as the compound buildings, stone tumulus tombs and fortified settlements. Next, the Hekatomnid architecture and its peculiar forms such as fortifications, *androns*, terraces, and monumental stairs are analysed with reference to the built environment shaped by the 'Lelegian' architecture in Karia.

3.3. *Settlement Reconstituted: Urban Planning* constitutes the last section of Chapter III. In this

section, the settlement elements deconstructed in the former section are reorganised within the urban planning activities in Karia, in order to reconstruct the notion of settlement in the creation of an 'urban imagery'. In this regard, it is suggested that the Ionian Renaissance set the logic behind planning in Karia; hence this notion is compared to several ideas that shape ancient planning such as the idea of orthogonality and scenography. Subsequently, Mausollos' capital, Halikarnassos is treated as a case study for urban planning in Hekatomnid Karia. In line with the ideas dealt with by the Ionian Renaissance, a comparative analysis of the planning in Halikarnassos are made vis-à-vis Priene, Kos and Lindos, and Pergamon, which are considered to represent the major schools in ancient town planning; orthogonal planning, scenographic planning and monumental planning respectively. The section and Chapter III ends with an evaluation of the peculiarities of the urban planning in Halikarnassos, which form the urban imagery.

The third and the last part, Chapter IV is devoted to the Mausolleion, as this monument represented the utmost form of Hekatomnid power display manifested in the urban imagery. Instead of a stylistic and typological approach, a comparative attempt is made to comprehend the meaning of the monument. In this regard, first the 'imagery' generated by the Mausolleion is explored, starting with the urban imagery that indicates its position in the urban plan. Later, the 'historical imagery' outlines a brief history of the monument until its extinction, dwelling on how it took place in the ancient imagery by giving references to ancient sources. The 'public imagery' on the other hand, provides a modern history of the monument, and its 're-invention' after its total destruction by the Hospitallers of St. John in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. With the renewed interest in antiquities in Renaissance, once again the Mausolleion was a focus of attraction playing on the imaginations of the antiquarians, as there were no known remains. With the accumulation of knowledge on the monument due to excavations in 19<sup>th</sup> century and recent studies, an image of the Mausolleion was formed in the public imagery.

Following its imagery, the monument itself is examined, again by deconstructing it down to its constituent elements. Architectural elements such as the terrace, podium, peristyle, pyramid and the tomb chamber are briefly described, as well as the technical features and stylistic characteristics.

4.2. *Reading the Mausolleion* constitutes the core of Chapter IV. Here, the monument is analysed in a comparative manner in order to understand the role it played in shaping an image of Hekatomnid power. To achieve this, firstly, the different sources of inspiration for the monument are sought for in ancient Egypt for the pyramid, Persia for the podium and Greece for the peristyle. The interrelatedness of these sources are clarified in '4.2.1.4. *Anatolia*

*and the Tomb: the Notion of Eclecticism'*, as Anatolia is considered to be both the recipient and source of the inspiration for the building of such a monument. The precedents of the Maussoleion are described and compared in the following section, such as the Tomb of Cyrus at Pasargade, the Pyramid Tomb at Sardis, and the Nereid Monument at Xanthos. Based on this background, a reading of the Maussoleion as an image of power follows subsequently. Here, the monument is observed from different perspectives; from the view of an external visitor, and that of a local viewer, in order to better understand its overall meaning.

Chapter IV ends with an exploration of the impacts generated by the Maussoleion, which are rather extensive in range. The immediate impact revealed in the architecture is studied by examining similar tomb structures constructed after the Maussoleion, such as the Belevi Monument, the Lion Tomb, and the Gümüşkesen Tomb. Next, the cultural impact is sought in ancient literary sources, such as the World Wonder Lists, ancient theatre plays on the monument as well as its owner, and the word 'maussoleion'. Following such immediate responses, the aftermath impact is explored. It is suggested that the Maussoleion created a 'vocabulary' peculiar to itself, and ranging from a 'verbal vocabulary' with the word 'mausoleum' as used today, to 'architectural vocabulary' with the 'mausoleum' as a building type. On the other hand, between these two conceptualizations, a slightly different notion is proposed: the 'visual vocabulary' which denotes several probable impacts that survived through social sub-conscience and reflected in different contexts visually. In this regard, a wide array of artefacts are explored, which may have been influenced by not only the Maussoleion but also other Karian edifices are briefly touched upon.

## CHAPTER II

### KARIA AND THE HEKATOMNIDS

The Hekatomnid dynasty that ruled Karia throughout the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC marks a distinctive period in the history of the region. On the other hand, Karian history dates long before the Hekatomnids. Therefore, interrelations of the Hekatomnid dynasty with the Karian region and historical background are important for an understanding of the specific developments in the 4<sup>th</sup> century.

#### 2.1. KARIA: THE REGION AND THE PEOPLE

The history of settlement in the Karian region dates back to the prehistoric periods as demonstrated by the mural paintings in Herakleia ad Latmos, which are the only known examples in Western Anatolia.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, the written sources mention Karian history, starting with the events in 7<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> centuries, as the region was under Lydian rule, and with its annexion to Persia as part of the Lydian satrapy. The regional characteristics and socio-cultural structure provide a framework for the history of Karia that set the background for the Hekatomnid period.

##### 2.1.1. *Karia: The Region*

The regional characteristics of Karia, including its location and geographical features, had a certain influence on the cultural practices of Karian people and economic opportunities that shaped its history.

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<sup>2</sup> Peschlow-Bindokat 2005, 51.

### 2.1.1.1. Location

Karia is roughly the region extending to the eastern coast of the Aegean Sea and encircled with the Maiandros River (Büyük Menderes) and Messogis (Aydın) Mountains to the north, Indos (Dalaman - Kocaçay) River to the south, Kızılhisar-Acıpayam Plain to the east, and Salbakos (Babadağ) Mountain to the northwest. The easternmost Karian cities from north to south are mainly Aphrodisias (Geyre), Herakleia Salbakos (Vakıf), and Apollonia (Medet), whereas on the west boundaries are drawn by the Dodecanese Islands close to the region, like Kalymnos, Kos, Nysiros, and Rhodes. Some ancient sources include Symi Island in this list as well.<sup>3</sup>

Today, Karia can be located over the region to the south of Aydın, southwest of Denizli and the whole of Muğla Province except Fethiye, while in the ancient times it was the neighbour of Ionia and Lydia on the north, Phrygia and Pisidia on the northwest, and Lykia on the southeast. However, these borders are not certain as some ancient sources indicate that the Gulf of Telmessos (Fethiye) was dissected between Karia and Lykia, while some others draw the border until the River Kalbis (Kaunos/Dalyan).<sup>4</sup> Moreover, although located towards north of the Maiandros River, Tralles (Aydın), Nysa (Sultanhisar), Mastaura (Bozyurt), Brioula (Bilara), and Hierapolis (Pamukkale) are all cited as Karian cities in ancient sources.<sup>5</sup>

### 2.1.1.2. Geography

The Karian coast on the west is indented by important gulfs, peninsulas, bays, and inlets, and islands as extensions of these, such as Knidos (Datça), Kerameikos (Gökova), and the Mandalian Gulf (Güllük). The inner parts are mountainous; the most important of which are Tmolos (Bozdağ), an extension of Taurus Mountains; Salbakos (Babadağ), Messogis (Aydın) Mountains, and Latmos (Beşparmak) Mountains extending towards Bafa Lake, together with Grion (Kazıklıdağ) Mountain. Between these mountains lie fertile alluvial plains and high plateaus, like the plains of Maiandros (Menderes), Marsyas (Çine), Mylassa (Milas).

The largest river of the Karian Region is Maiandros (Büyük Menderes), which stems from western Central Anatolia and runs westwards, passing over Denizli, Nazilli, Aydın, and Söke, flowing to the Aegean Sea near Miletus. Morsyros (Vandalas) River, Harpassos (Akçay), and Marsyas (Çine) are branches of this river filling the Söke plain with alluvium. They obstruct the Gulf of Latmos and formed the Bafa Lake. This formation pulled Miletos

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<sup>3</sup> Küçükeren 2005, 14.

<sup>4</sup> Küçükeren 2005, 15.

<sup>5</sup> Küçükeren 2005, 15.



(Balat) and Herakleia ad Latmos (Kapıkırı) away from the coast, which were important harbour cities of ancient times.

The other important rivers are Kybersos (Sarıçay) on the southeast, which flows to sea near Mylassa, as well as Kalbys (Dalyan), running into the Kaunia (Köyceğiz) Lake, which is the remnant of an ancient gulf, and Indos (Dalaman) River, which ends up in the Mediterranean Sea through Sarıgerme.

The climate in the region generally displays temperate characteristics. The coastal regions and their vicinity display Mediterranean characteristics, while the mountainous inner parts have a continental climate. The ancient sources mention that the region was vastly covered with forests, of which, not much remain today.

### 2.1.2. *Karia: The People*

Karia is known to have been a multi-ethnic region, with a composition of Greeks (on the coastal regions), and native Anatolian peoples, mostly distinguished as Leleges and Luvians. From ancient sources and archaeological evidence, we know for sure that there was a non-Greek element in the area, the Karians, and sources reveal that there were also Lelegians in Karia even in the Hellenistic period.

The name Karia was the Hellenised version of the original in Luvian, the language of the earliest indigenous people known of western and southern Anatolia.<sup>6</sup> The root Kar- bore the meanings of tip and relatedly peak; climax; extremity; lead; leader; chief; summit; cape, etc. The original name had two usages: First, as *Karka*, as used by Persians, was obtained by adding Luvian suffix -ka, meaning 'the place of', similar forms of which can be seen in modern Persian language as -gah. The usage of the word as Karia by Hellenes was derived from *Karuwa*, obtained by adding the Luvian suffix -uwa.<sup>7</sup> Therefore, the first form, *Karka*, meant 'Place of Summit', whereas the second, *Karuwa*, 'Land of Summit(s)'.<sup>8</sup> The name of Karia appears in a number of early languages as *Karkija* in Hittite, as *Karsa* in Babylonian, and as *Kurka* in Elamite and Old Persian. According to Herodotus, 'Kar' was also the name of the legendary eponymous ancestor of the Karians.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Umar 1999, 1.

<sup>7</sup> As in *Assuwa - Asia*. Umar 1999, 2.

<sup>8</sup> Umar 1999, 2.

<sup>9</sup> Herodotus, 1.171.

The etymological analysis of the name Karian itself, also suggests a Luvian connection, an autochthonous people of Anatolia. The word 'Lelegian' itself is thought to have derived from an onomatopoeic word based on the roots λαλυω or λαλαγωω ('babble', 'chatter'), thus referring to a language not understood by Greeks, like βαρβαροι.<sup>10</sup> There are also some other indications indicating that Greeks connected the word with the verb λεγω, meaning 'to collect'. In any case, it is clear that Lelegians, as well as other native *ethnoi* in Karia like Pelasgians, Luvians, and Karians were considered as non-Greeks, and usually as 'barbaroi'.

#### **2.1.2.1. Cultural Practices: Karian Tradition**

Karians have not remain unrecognised throughout the history. In fact, they have been distinguished as 'the Karians', and were attributed certain identifying characteristics. They have been cited frequently in a number of ancient sources, ranging from Homer to Herodotus, Thucydides, and Strabo. Common in all, they have been distinguished by their outstanding skills in their martial talent and marine attachments. Herodotus reveals that Karians were recognised as the 'Sea People' as told by Cretans. Even in earlier records, ancient Egyptian pharaonic sources for instance, describe the Aegeans as the 'people living in the heart of the sea', whereas the Babylonians in 3000 BC named Western Anatolians as 'the people living in the sun garden by the sea'.<sup>11</sup>

As Ball suggests, those Karians who lived near the coast would have had depended on the sea one way or another.<sup>12</sup> . They were noted as useful sailors and perhaps fulfilled the role of traders and or middlemen as early as 6<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>13</sup> It is known that Karians, together with Ionians, were involved in maritime trade. They took over cedars from Assyria and Lebanon transported them to Susa, in Persia. In this regard, Boardman states that Karians were "notable watermen".<sup>14</sup> According to the tradition, from the earlier periods, Karians adopted a marine culture related to the "Karian Thalassocracy" tradition, dated by Eusebius to as early as 8<sup>th</sup> century BC. Herodotus mentions Karians as very skilful pirates as well. Given so much reference in ancient sources, it does not seem surprising that the first woman admiral in history was Queen Artemisia I of Karia, the victor of War of Salamis in 480 BC against Greeks. Thucydides mentions how Karians were driven out their lands by Doric invasions:

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<sup>10</sup> Strabo, 7.7.1, 14.2.3, 14.2.28, see Annex 2. Also, Flensted-Jensen 2004, 109-123.

<sup>11</sup> Küçükeren 2005, 23.

<sup>12</sup> Ball 1977, 318.

<sup>13</sup> Ball 1977, 319.

<sup>14</sup> Boardman 2000, 130.

Minos, according to tradition, was the first person to organize a navy. He controlled the greater part of what is now called the Hellenic Sea (Aegean Sea); he ruled over the Cyclades, in most of which he founded the first colonies, putting his sons in as governors after having driven out the Carians. And it is reasonable to suppose that he did his best to put down piracy in order to secure his own revenues.<sup>15</sup>

In the Iliad, Homer defines Karians as speaking a barbarian language different from Ionian, and locates them around Miletos and the Mykale Mountain. Regarding the 'barbarian' characteristics of the Karian language, there is a disagreement among the ancient writers who mentioned about the subject. While Herodotus confirms the difference of the Karian language from the Ionian, Thucydides states that Homer never used the word 'barbarians' to mean non-Greeks and thus he might not be distinguishing them from the other Trojan allies. On the other hand, Strabo refuses this explanation as he indicates that the Karian language had a lot of Greek words, implying it to be a different language.<sup>16</sup> Indeed, the confusion continues even today although on different grounds, since very little is known about the Karian language and it is not deciphered properly yet. Inscriptions are scarce, and usually very short and fragmentary; mostly depicting names only. At present, Karian language is not yet persuasively demonstrated to be Indo-European, Indo-Germanic, nor Greek, but rather thought to be related with Luwian and other ancient Anatolian languages.

Karians were well-known as professional mercenaries serving abroad including Egypt, and most of the inscriptions of Karian language surviving today have been found in Egypt. Interestingly, they also participated in the Persian navy even before the Persian expansion in Asia Minor. In this context, a plate with Karian inscription dating to 6<sup>th</sup> century BC has been found in the Kirmanshah region of Iran. It is known that the Karians could produce a moderate sized fleet at the time of the Persian Wars, and even before that their usefulness in maritime enterprises were appreciated by the Persians.<sup>17</sup> Owing to their martial skills, a number of innovations in this field had been attributed to Karians, according to the ancient sources. Herodotus states that Karians were said to have taught the Greeks the use of crests<sup>18</sup> on helmets and of handles on the shield, which previously were slung over the shoulder.<sup>19</sup> He adds that they also painted and decorated their shields. Strabo mentions that ancient

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<sup>15</sup> Thucydides. 1. 4. 1

<sup>16</sup> Strabo, 14.2.3, 14.2.27, 14.2.28, also see Annex 2.

<sup>17</sup> Ball 1977, 318.

<sup>18</sup> This information was first encountered during the thesis research phase in the Turkish translation of George E. Bean's well-known book; *Turkey Beyond the Maeander (Eskiçağ'da Menderes'in Ötesi)*; however, in a rather interesting form: the 'crests' in the English version seems to have been regarded as 'crescents' by the translator; which leads to a mistaken interpretation of Herodotus!

<sup>19</sup> Bean 1989, 3.

writer Alkaios refers to ‘quivering their Karian crests’ while Anakreon said ‘come and you insert your arm into the handle of shield, which is the work of Karians’, when they were describing certain war scenes.<sup>20</sup>

Some Karian customs are known today, again, through the ancient sources.<sup>21</sup> For instance, Karian women did not dine in the same place with men, as cited by some authors. Herodotus explains the reason with a story; according to him, several tribes that did not return to Greece after the Trojan War headed south, some of them mingling with Lydians and Phrygians, and some with Karians. The Karian women refused to dine with their forced new husbands and took an oath not to utter their names of their new husbands, who had killed their sons, and husbands. This oath persisted for generations from mother to daughter. Therefore, Karian women did not dine with their husbands; however, the real reason had been forgotten in time. This custom was first seen in Miletus.

There are also idioms and phrases in the ancient Greek language related to the Karians and their characteristics, as perceived in their era. “Driving Karians to the danger” was used to mean evading danger to others, addressing the Karians as mercenaries. On the other hand, another saying; “Lydians are bad, Egyptians are worse than those, but Karians are even worse than both of these”, clearly states a Hellenocentric point of view on ‘barbarian’ populations.

#### **2.1.2.2. Social Structure: *Ethmoi* in Karia**

There are several sources locating Leleges in Karia, and the word itself is used either to be the same with Karians, or to designate a different people. Among these, Herodotus of Halikarnassos indicates that Karians were formerly called Lelegians, believing themselves to be the indigenous people of the region, despite the claim of the Cretans that they had originally been islanders subject to king Minos.

On the other hand, although acknowledging the existing claims that Lelegians were just another word for Karians, Strabo differentiates between the two by referring to Homer, Hesiod, and Aristotle as authorities for this distinction. He narrates that there were settlements in Miletos which were called Lelegian, and that in the inland territory of Halikarnassos, there were eight *poleis*, founded by the Lelegians; as they mingled with other

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<sup>20</sup> Strabo, 14.2. 27. See Annex 2.

<sup>21</sup> See the selected writings of Strabo in Annex 2.

peoples and disappeared, six of these were synoikised to Halikarnassos.<sup>22</sup> Moreover, he says that there are tombs and deserted fortifications which are called Lelegian in many places in Karia. He also states that the Karians settled in the mainland after migrating from the islands, and took away the country from the existing population which consisted of Lelegians and Pelasgians. Here, Lelegians are used as the pre-historic 'stop-gap' as some peoples who were there before the present population arrived.<sup>23</sup>

Another native writer, Hellenistic Philippus, not only distinguishes between the two peoples, Karians and Lelegians, but also provides a different view. Supposedly a Lelegian himself, Philippus indicates that "the two were not only distinct but unequal in status: the Lelegians had been and still were being used as slaves by the Karians", comparing them to "helots" or "penetai".<sup>24</sup>

### **2.1.3. A Brief History**

Karia was already a well-known region before the Hekatomnid period, as testified by the ancient sources. Both people and region of Karia were acknowledged, and some specific events were documented.<sup>25</sup> It is important to take a brief look at these ancient sources and specific events to make sense of the historical conditions that preceded the Hekatomnids.

#### **2.1.3.1. Karia in Ancient Sources**

*"I will tell you truly all," replied Dolon. "To the seaward lie the Carians, the Paeonian bowmen, the Leleges, the Cauconians, and the noble Pelasgi. Nastes led the Carians, men of a strange speech. These held Miletus and the wooded mountain of Phthires, with the water of the river Maeander and the lofty crests of Mt. Mycale. These were commanded by Nastes and Amphimachus, the brave sons of Nomion. As when some woman of Meonia or Caria strains purple dye on to a piece of ivory that is to be the cheek-piece of a horse, and is to be laid up in a treasure house- many a knight is fain to bear it, but the king keeps it as an ornament of which both horse and driver may be proud - even so, O Menelaus, were your shapely thighs and your legs down to your fair ankles stained with blood.*

*Homer, Iliad, XII. 124*

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<sup>22</sup> Pliny, 5.107; Strabo, 8.6.2. Strabo does not name these cities, see Annex 2. However Pliny, "in an apparently confused reference to the relocation, in which he attributes to Alexander, names them as Pedasum (Pedasa), Telmisium (Telmessus), Theangela (an apparent mistake for Termera), Medmassa (Madnasa), Side, and Uranium" says Demand (Demand 1990, 123). The other two towns that were not synoikised were Myndus and Syangela.

<sup>23</sup> See Flensted-Jensen 2004 for details.

<sup>24</sup> Demand 1990, 121.

<sup>25</sup> For some selected parts of the ancient sources on Karia mentioned in this text, see Annex 1 for Herodotus, Annex 2 for Strabo, Annex 3 for Vitruvius, Annex 4 for Pliny the Elder, Annex 5 for Isocrates, and Annex 6 for Lucian respectively.

Traditional views on the origins of Karians depend largely on ancient sources and presume them to be Dorians who migrated to Asia Minor. According to Herodotus, Halicarnassians regarded themselves as Dorians but seem to have employed the Ionic dialect and script.<sup>26</sup>

However, recent studies suggest Karians to be the autochthonous people of Anatolia. Pausanias also remarks on this when writing on Miletus: "Karians are the native people of these lands, whereas the Ionians settled in Myus and Priene took their cities from Karians".<sup>27</sup> The indigenous people of the region are Luvians, the history of which could be traced back to second millennium BC. Luvians, while merging with history, left their traces back to the regions they have lived, which have been acquired by Karians in both genetic and cultural terms.<sup>28</sup> In this sense, Karians may be regarded as among the ascendants of Luvians in the first millennium BC, together with Lelegians.

Ancient Hellenic sources record Karians among the earliest people of the Aegean, along with Lelegians and Pelasgians. Lelegians are mostly cited together with Karians, and most often as a sub-section of Karians, in ancient sources. Thucydides, the Greek historian, regards Lelegians as a branch of Karian '*ethnos*', which is confirmed by Pausanias. However, there is no inscription in Lelegian language surviving today, which implies that they probably spoke and wrote in the Karian language.<sup>29</sup>

Herodotus has a distinctive place in the history of Karia, since he is also a Karian himself because of his father. His name, like his uncle Panyassis', is from the Karian language. Herodotus acknowledges that Karians were settled in the vicinity of Miletos and Mykale Mountain; "The Karians have crossed over to the mainland from the islands when still living on the islands they were called Lelegians and were ruled by King Minos". However, he adds that these people in Mykale, Myus, and Priene wrote in Greek, but spoke a common language, which is thought to be most probably the Karian language.

Herodotus and Strabo were in the same opinion in that the earlier name of Karians was Lelegians, and that they separated from each other at some point in time.<sup>30</sup> Homer, on the other hand, mentions that Lelegians, under their King Altes, once inhabited in Pedasos (the ancient site of Pedasa) by the river Satnioeis, to the south of Troy. After the Trojan War, they

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<sup>26</sup> Herodotus 1.144.2, 2.178, 7.99. Hall 2001, 165.

<sup>27</sup> Küçükeren 2005, 71. Also see Strabo's account on how Lelegians and Karians were forced to leave Ionia in Annex 2.

<sup>28</sup> Umar 1999, 3.

<sup>29</sup> Küçükeren 2005, 21.

<sup>30</sup> See Annex 2 for a comparison with Herodotus 1.171 cited below.

advanced to the south, leaving lots of traces behind; such as the earlier name of Miletus, which was 'Lelegeis', they settled in the environs of Halikarnassos, in Karia.<sup>31</sup>

### 2.1.3.2. Karia before the Hekatomnids

The islanders, too, were great pirates. These islanders were Carians and Phoenicians, by whom most of the islands were colonized, as was proved by the following fact. During the purification of Delos by Athens in this war all the graves in the island were taken up, and it was found that above half their inmates were Carians: they were identified by the fashion of the arms buried with them, and by the method of interment, which was the same as the Carians still follow. But as soon as Minos had formed his navy, communication by sea became easier, as he colonized most of the islands, and thus expelled the malefactors. The coast population now began to apply themselves more closely to the acquisition of wealth, and their life became more settled; some even began to build themselves walls on the strength of their newly acquired riches. For the love of gain would reconcile the weaker to the dominion of the stronger, and the possession of capital enabled the more powerful to reduce the smaller towns to subjection. And it was at a somewhat later stage of this development that they went on the expedition against Troy.<sup>32</sup>

Karians were among the allies of Trojans in Homer's Iliad. After the Trojan War, it is thought that the Aeolians, Ionians, and Dorians migrated from the Greek mainland to Anatolia.<sup>33</sup> Dorians were the latest of the invaders who emerged roughly around 1000 BC and settled on the southernmost invading the islands Kos and three cities of Rhodes, and Knidos and Halikarnassos in the mainland. However, the Greek colonisation took place mainly in the coastal region, whereas in Karia the inner parts remained relatively intact and closed, which is related to the warrior characteristics of the Karians by some writers.<sup>34</sup> A group of Dorians, led by Antheus, migrated from Troizen in Peloponnesus to Halikarnassos, which was an island called Zephyria at that time, around 700 BC. According to Herodotus:

The Carians, now a mainland people, were originally islanders. Long ago, when they inhabited the islands, they were known as Leleges and were subjects of Minos; but as far as I have been able to gather information on the subject, they never paid tribute in money but manned his ships whenever he had need of them; and in this way, because Minos had great military success and extended his conquests over a wide area, they became in his day by far the most famous of all nations Long after this, the Carians were driven from the islands by the Dorians and Ionians, and settled on the mainland: that, at any rate is the account the Cretans give--though the

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<sup>31</sup> Bean 2000, 3.

<sup>32</sup> Thucydides I.1.

<sup>33</sup> Bean 2000, 4.

<sup>34</sup> Küçükveren 2005, 70.

Carians themselves deny it, and claim to have been mainlanders from the first and never to have been known by any other name than by their present one.<sup>35</sup>

After the settling of Dorians in the coastal regions, Karians entered the Dorian Hexapolis for a brief period; however, they were expelled from the membership as Agasycles of Halikarnassos did not leave the tripod cauldron he won in the Olympic games to the Temple of Apollo in Knidos as was the custom, but took it to his own city, Halikarnassos. This is also the period when the city started acquiring a thoroughly Ionic character despite the Doric domination.

Sixth century BC has also been a remarkable period in the history of Aegean Asia Minor as well as the Greek peninsula; whereas in Karia, a flourishing of natural sciences is seen. Thales, the Mathematician, was from Miletus, and his father had a Karian name, Examyas. Herodotus, the historian, was also a Karian, from Halikarnassos, just like Heracleitus the Satyricist, Dionysus, the Historian, and Panyasis, the epic poet. In this period, Karia was an autonomous administration under Lydian sovereignty, whom they regarded themselves like relatives and allowed them to their 'national' temple of Zeus Karios in Mylassa, together with the Mysians where they accepted only people of the Kar origin.

During the Persian invasion of Asia Minor the Lydian King Croisus of Lydia was defeated in 546 BC, the capital Sardis was destroyed, and the Lydian Empire collapsed. Karians established a federation against Persian invasion, the first Karian Federation, which gathered in Temple of Zeus Karios at Mylassa and decided to fight. The Persians under General Harpagos had taken the Ionian cities one by one subjugating the Karians, Kaunos, and Lykians, who revolted subsequently. Despite the resistance of the native Karian and Lykian cities of Kaunos, Xanthos and Pedasa, they could not overcome the superior Persian forces and had to succumb to Persian rule in 540 BC.

Almost a generation later, Ionians made an attempt to rebel against the Persian hegemony, and Karians also took part in this Ionian Revolt in 494 BC.<sup>36</sup> The unorganised revolt did not succeed and Miletos was conquered by the Persians. However, as the Karians did not abandon the revolt, the Persian King Daurises sent a troop over Karians, and in the location called the 'White Columns', the Karians took the decision to continue, and battled against the Persians near the Marsyas River, losing 10.000 warriors against 2.000 Persian soldiers, in 494 BC. The survivors gathered in Labraunda, and decided again to battle with the Persians,

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<sup>35</sup> Herodotus 1.171.

<sup>36</sup> Küçükveren 2005, 72.



as the Milesians sent assistance, however, could not overcome the overweighed Persian army and were defeated even more harshly and lost Mylassa. Nevertheless, they did not give up and laid in ambush and terminates the Persian army on night walk to Pedasa, together with their headquarters, including General Daurises. This never-ending resistance did not give any fruits. Eventually, Karians, like other western Anatolian cities, succumbed to Persian rule around 494 BC. Following the Ionian revolt, Darius, the new king, organised an expedition against Greece, but could not succeed, and was defeated in the Marathon War, in 490 BC.

In order to sustain their hegemony, Persians supported the local dynasties in the region. When Xerxes embarked upon his Greek expedition, like all the subjects of the Empire, Karians also provided the required logistics to the King; which, according to Herodotus, was 60 ships from only the coastal cities of Karia. During this period, Lygdames, a Halikarnassian dynast, was in rule, whose dynasty controlled Karia from some time before 480 BC until at least mid-fifth century.<sup>37</sup> Artemisia I (the Elder), Lygdames's daughter from his marriage to a Cretan woman, had been the first female admiral in the Salamis War in 480 BC of Persians and Greeks. Taking Xerxes's side, Artemisia I had defeated the Greek fleets, herself being the admiral of Halikarnassos, Kos, Nisyros, and Kalymnos. Despite the defeat of Persian navy, she managed to get through the Greek fleets without any loss, and according to *Suda*, the tenth century AD Byzantine lexicon, she was "outstanding in serving [the] Persians; because of her the King [Xerxes] said that the men had become women and the women men".<sup>38</sup> In this period, Halikarnassos seems to have been the seat of a rule which included the islands of Kos, Nisyros, and Kalymnos.<sup>39</sup> It is also in this period that the relations between Karian rulers and Persian Kings started to be more than a subject - king relationship, which continued in the following Hekatomnid dynasty period in Karia.

Xerxes was defeated in Palateia by Greeks for the second time in 480 BC. After Artemisia's death, her son Lygdames II took over the rule. He was known for his despotic measures and cruelty and led Herodotus to leave Halikarnassos, due his policies, whereas his uncle, Panyassis was executed for his political thoughts. The next 50 years with Lygdames are still unknown; except that Halikarnassos joined the Athenian Confederacy presumably at the

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<sup>37</sup> Bean and Cook 1955, 95.

<sup>38</sup> "Artemisia" in *Suda*, Adler No: alpha, 4030. trans. by David Whitehead (<http://www.stoa.org/sol/>; last accessed: 01.02.2007). Reference to Xerxes is found in Herodotus 8.88.1., 7.99.1.; see Annex 1.

<sup>39</sup> Herodotus, 7.99.1. Also see Bean and Cook 1955, 95.

time of Cimon's expedition to Karia around 468 BC if not earlier, and remained as a member until the first years of the Peloponnesian War.<sup>40</sup>

After the defeat of the Persians, the Athenians founded the Delian League, including Karians, together with the other Aegean cities that had been forced to resist Persians, pay tax, and provide fleets (446 BC). This had also been the period of beginning of Hellenic culture in Karia. In 430 BC Athens sent twelve warships to Karia to increase taxes, which Karia refused. Karians battled with the Athenians led by Lysichles in Myus and terminates most of the troops, including the headquarters. Subsequently, a revolt in Karia led by Milesians starts in Knidos against the ambitious rule of Athens, in 412 BC, and Persians again came to the scene to take the advantage of the situation. With the defeat of Athenians in the thirty-year long Peloponnesian War in 404 BC, the Delian League was dissolved, too and Karia returned to a democratic rule for a brief period. The Hekatomnid Dynasty, starting with Hyssadolmos, ascended to power at this point.

## **2.2. THE RULERS OF KARIA: THE HEKATOMNID DYNASTY**

The Hekatomnid dynasty period is usually considered as the most outstanding phase in Karian history, in terms of the interesting role it played in the shaping of the balance-of-powers between the two sides of the old world in the east and the west: Persia and Greece. Being neither Persian, nor Greek, this local dynasty from Mylassa founded by a local Hyssaldomos, or "Usalduma", whose name clearly most probably recalls local origins, rose to significance around 387 BC. Although not ruled as a satrap, it is evident that Hyssaldomos already occupied some high rank status in the Persian administrative system, for which he should have gained the trust of the Persian rulers. The family is named after his son, Hekatomnos, first recorded satrap of Karia.

Possibly coming from a descent of some cultic importance for the Karians, and particularly for Mylassans the Hekatomnids presumably had close relationships with Tissaphernes, the Persian satrap, who resided in Karia for a period after 404 BC. Finding himself preoccupied with Spartan attacks almost as soon as he returned to Anatolia, the Persian satrap Tissaphernes may simply have left the dynast of Mylassa in charge of Karia, naming him as hyparch, which would be Hyssaldomos. Being among the most important dynastic families in Karia, the Hekatomnids shaped the history of 4<sup>th</sup> century Karia, as well as influenced the political and cultural history of Anatolia and the Aegean.

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<sup>40</sup> Bean and Cook 1955, 96.

### 2.2.1. *Hekatomnos*

Hyssaldomos's son Hekatomnos ascended to power after his father's death. Etymologically, his name, which took the form Hekatomnos- εκατομνος in Greek, is thought to derive from the original name Kat(a)-u(wa)-umna, 'the man (servant) of *Kata* (*Kada*) temple', where *Kata* (*Kada*) addresses the usage of 'Ada', 'Mother Goddess' in Luwian-origin societies, with the prefix 'K-', standing as an abbreviation of the prefix 'Kuwa', 'sacred, good, beautiful'.<sup>41</sup> This brief etymological background of Hekatomnos' name provides the strong link of the dynasty to its Anatolian background, whereas *Kata* also refers to 'Hekate', the Greek transformation of this Anatolian Goddess.<sup>42</sup>

Persian satraps in Anatolia are known to have been sometimes used local dynasts as hyparchs, subordinate officials responsible primarily for financial matters in districts within a satrapy. Perhaps Hekatomnos had acquired such a position in Karia in the decade or so before his appointment.<sup>43</sup>

Although there had been rumours of Hekatomnos' secret alliance with Evagoras, the Athenian general, this could never be proven in the eyes of the Persian authority, and he endured in his privileged, semiautonomous position. Isocrates points at this in one of his speeches: "Hekatomnos, the satrap of Karia, has in reality been now for a long time disaffected, and will declare himself whenever we wish it".<sup>44</sup>

Unlike his predecessors, Hekatomnos, as the dynast of Mylassa, had been able to issue a full range of bronze and silver coinage minted most probably in a new mint in Mylassa. Some of these coinage series display the image of Zeus Labraundeus, the most important deity in Mylassa and the environs. Hekatomnos also made a number of benefactions in and around Mylassa, employing both local and Greek artists. All these efforts, together with the restricted range of building activities and their distribution suggest that Hekatomnos started off as a local dynast and acted as the dynast of Karia in the end; which meant he was still dynast of Mylassa, but with satrapal powers. In this way, he paved the way for Maussollos who later on took his father's initial attempts to create a new standing in the conjuncture, carrying them much further in terms of both construction and ideology.

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<sup>41</sup> Umar 1999, 11.

<sup>42</sup> See Berg 1974 for the discussions on this Karian deity.

<sup>43</sup> Ruzicka 1992, 18.

<sup>44</sup> Isocrates, 4.162. See Annex 5.

### 2.2.2. *Maussollos*

The time when Maussollos ascended the throne in 377/6 BC was relatively more secure than that of his father's, due to the settling of satrapal arrangements in Anatolia and the ratification of the King's Peace between Greeks and Persians in 387 BC. His direct succession after his father without any Persian involvement may be interpreted as their satisfaction with the existing Hekatomnid order in Karia. Thus, he was relatively 'free', in a sense, to implement his plans.

In the mid-360s, the new Athenian aggression created turmoil and a chaotic environment spreading over to Anatolia, raising new fears of Athenian imperialism. In this decade, Maussollos was rather busy with the political positions around him, and became a figure of major importance in Anatolian and Aegean affairs. He did not participate in the Anatolian revolt against the Persian King Artaxerxes, and usually followed an anti-Athenian policy. He also levied taxes and effectively collected them to implement his plans.

Maussollos' authority was officially recognized but not universally accepted. An inscription found in Iasos, mentions the punishment of certain persons there who had plotted against Maussollos. The city was within Maussollos' district as a Persian satrap, and "in his plan for the Hellenization of Karia he can hardly have failed to include it".<sup>45</sup> Bean states that Maussollos is also responsible for the island to be fortified with the "handsome walls which were standing till the end of nineteenth century".<sup>46</sup> As Iasos had remained faithful to Athens as long as possible, and Maussollos' anti-Athenian policy is thought to have caused some disaffection in the city.<sup>47</sup>

#### 2.2.2.1. **Achievements and Ambitions**

Among Maussollos' outstanding achievements, the most prominent ones that come to mind are "the creation of a strong navy, the foundation of a new capital, Halikarnassos, the domination of the Karian League of Greek city-states, and the expansion of Karia as far as the Maeander in the north, Rhodes to the south and Lykia to the southeast".<sup>48</sup> Maussollos "evidently viewed his *dynasteia*, like his satrapy, as pan-Karian, and as dynast of Karia, he

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<sup>45</sup> Bean 2000, 50.

<sup>46</sup> Bean 2000, 51.

<sup>47</sup> Bean 2000, 51.

<sup>48</sup> McNicoll and Milner 1997, 15.

had great ambitions involving, it appears, nothing less than a fundamental transformation of Karia's political culture and economic life".<sup>49</sup>

On the other hand, the question of the causes of the Social War is obscure. Doubtless, there was some resentment against the Athenian leadership, but that does not explain what precipitated the secession of Rhodes, Kos, and Chios. Speaking in 351/0 Demosthenes alleged that Maussollos had contrived to the Social War. Demosthenes was not disinterested and he gave no details. However, it is attested independently that Maussollos supplied forces to the rebels in time for the battle of Chios. Moreover, within a few years after the end of the war Maussollos and Artemisia, his wife and successor, encroached on the islands of Rhodes and Kos; they installed garrisons in the cities of Rhodes and their opponents were exiled.<sup>50</sup>

#### 2.2.2.2. Reconstructing Karia

Initially, Maussollos' capital, like his father, was at Mylassa, the principal city of inland Karia and his own hometown.<sup>51</sup> Around 367 BC, having established his hegemony over the other cities of the Karian League, Maussollos decided to choose Halikarnassos as his new capital and rebuilt that city on a much grander scale as his headquarters. Regarding the position of Halikarnassos to be more appropriate for his further aims, he also had a number of pragmatic reasons: it was "more easily defensible by land than Mylassa, the old capital"; "it provided a harbour suitable as a base for the Hekatomnid fleet and as an emporium", and as "the hills around Halikarnassos were probably well-forested, which would stimulate the growth of maritime power".<sup>52</sup>

In the light of Karian politics, Halikarnassos was a neutral site on the coast with a mixed Greek and Karian population. The Lygdamid dynasty had been thrown out in late sixth and early fifth centuries, and Greek political institutions were in place rather than monarchical administrations. Maussollos established a *synoikismos*, resettling the hinterland Karians,

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<sup>49</sup> Ruzicka 1992, 33.

<sup>50</sup> Sealey 1976, 440. Sealey concludes this note by stating the reasons for the social war: "Perhaps the immediate causes of the Social War should be sought in the ambitions and intrigues of Maussollos" (Sealey 1976, 440). However, this is too strong and personal a statement to be safely taken into account; as it reflects a high extent of *hellenocentricity*. The more plausible explanations should be sought in the increasing Athenian aggression and the expansion of maritime trade in this part of the Aegean. Economic opportunities for both Halikarnassos and Rhodes provided them with the necessary founding to resist Athens. Even Kos, the traditional ally of Athens, took sides with Halikarnassos and Rhodes, which addresses a shared restlessness against Athenian policies.

<sup>51</sup> Bean 1989, 6.

<sup>52</sup> McNicoll and Milner 1997, 17.

inhabitants of six Lelegian/ Karian towns in Halikarnassos “to form the core of the new capital's population”, which decreased the proportion of the Greek population in Halikarnassos.<sup>53</sup> However, he managed to withhold the political unification as “the people”, blurring the Karian and Greek distinctions, hence endowing the political life of the city “with a thoroughly Greek character”.<sup>54</sup> This was one of the first steps in “the great plan to which his life was devoted, nothing less than the Hellenization” according to Bean, of the whole Karia.<sup>55</sup> Correspondingly, writing in 362/1 BC, Diodorus for instance, referred to Karia as a land of ‘many noteworthy *poleis*’.<sup>56</sup>

### **2.2.2.3. Building Projects**

Maussollos undertook a great number of extensive building projects, and he literally reconstructed Karia in tangible terms as well as in conceptual terms. In this regard, he changed the ‘perception’ of Karia and how it was perceived. He rebuilt new sites with a greatly enlarged area on the old Lelegian towns of Myndus and Syangela, while he suppressed others and transferred their inhabitants to Halikarnassos by *synoikismos*. He built splendid fortifications on the fringes of his territory, at Latmos and Kaunos. He was active also in the Greek cities of the coast; as demonstrated in the decrees passed in his honour at Iasos and even at Ionian Erythrae; though they give no details, they refer to him as a ‘benefactor’. Inner Karia, too, would no doubt have been treated in a similar fashion, but Maussollos died comparatively young in 353 BC, and this part of his work remained uncompleted.<sup>57</sup>

### **2.2.3. Artemisia II**

Maussollos died in 353 BC and was succeeded by his wife and his sister, Artemisia the younger, as they had no children. She ruled for only three years, but in that time made herself famous in two notable respects. According to Bean, the first of these was “the superb tomb with which she perpetuated her husband’s memory, the Mausoleum”.<sup>58</sup> Artemisia’s “other claim to fame is of a totally different character”; similar to Artemisia I of Lygdamids, Artemisia II was also renown for her naval victory, which, she is reported in ancient sources

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<sup>53</sup> McNicoll and Milner 1997, 18.

<sup>54</sup> Ruzicka 1992, 36.

<sup>55</sup> Bean 2000, 15.

<sup>56</sup> Diodorus, 17.26.4

<sup>57</sup> Bean 2000, 6-7.

<sup>58</sup> Bean 2000, 82.

to have won against the Rhodians that came to occupy the city after Maussollos' death. Vitruvius relates this story and that Artemisia utilized the secret harbour cunningly, by destroying the first group of the Rhodian vessels with the ships she led from the secret harbour. After she seized the unmanned Rhodian vessels, she manned them with her own crew, sailed to Rhodes in the 'Rhodian' disguise and captured the city.<sup>59</sup> To celebrate this victory, Artemisia had a trophy erected there in the form of a statue of herself branding the city of Rhodes, and as ancient custom forbade that a trophy once set up should be taken down; to hide their shame, therefore, they afterwards erected a building around it and declared it forbidden ground or *abaton*, meaning inaccessible place.<sup>60</sup>

Artemisia is thought to have brought back Herakleia ad Latmos under Hekatomnid control once more. Within a few years, however, she died supposedly of her grief for her deceased husband, and their younger brother Idrieus together with her sister-wife Ada, came to power.

#### **2.2.4. Idrieus**

Idrieus, Artemisia's –and Maussollos'– younger brother, was also married to his sister, Ada. As they succeeded to power, Idrieus and his sister-wife Ada, “recommenced Maussollos' expansionism at a time when the Persian Empire was rent by revolts in Cyprus, Syria, and Egypt”.<sup>61</sup> Karian territory had been extended as far north as Sardes, and the island of Chios was added in 346 BC.

Idrieus, similar to Maussollos, assumed building activities throughout most of his territories, and continued the construction of civic and religious construction in Labraunda, according to the dedication inscriptions on some buildings where his name appears with the ethnic “Mylaseis”. However, unlike his brother, Idrieus “did not need to devote his resources to Halicarnassus”, rather, he was interested in “the consolidation of his hold over the inland territories acquired by his elder brother”.<sup>62</sup> Together with the inscribed evidence, Idrieus might rather have been concerned with the consolidation of the internal matters, which might be the same in his brother's reign, as a sort of job assignment, cooperation; whereas Maussollos was rather exterior-oriented.

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<sup>59</sup> Vitruvius 8.14, see Annex 3.

<sup>60</sup> Vitruvius 8.15, see Annex 3 . Also see Bean 2000, 83.

<sup>61</sup> McNicoll and Milner 1997, 18.

<sup>62</sup> McNicoll and Milner, 1997, 18.

From the extent of building activities in mostly in Labraunda and elsewhere, it may be safely deduced that Idrieus still retained the financial resources required the undertaking of such projects. In fact, Isocrates characterised Idrieus in 346 BC as “the most prosperous of those on the [Anatolian] mainland”<sup>63</sup>, which was also true for Maussollos before him, according to Ruzicka, presenting a testimony to the success of Maussollos’ commercial policies.<sup>64</sup>

Idrieus died in 344/3. His tomb, unlike his brother, is not known, but hypothesized to be in Mylassa and particularly in Labraunda.

### **2.2.5. *Ada I***

Following Idrieus’ death, Ada became the ruler on her own. However, Ada also could not reign for long either, as the younger brother Pixodarus dethroned her expelling to Alinda, an inland Karian city, at about 341/0 BC. The remains in Alinda shows that she attained a royal position there, and continued the building projects like her brothers. Although exiled by her brother, Ada managed to maintain a semi-royal position in the inland Karian city of Alinda. This is an interesting fact for several reasons; that although Pixodarus dethroned his sister, he did not execute her; although she evidently had a popular support. Moreover, her undertaking a number of building projects in Alinda, necessitates more than a popular support, that is, financial resources.

### **2.2.6. *Pixodarus***

Pixodarus was more aggressive against Greeks, displaying a rather pro-Persian policy. Having deposed his sister Ada to Alinda, he co-administered Karia with Persian satrap Orontobates, which shows that he may not have had the title of satrap, but ruled unofficially; as the official Persian appointee was Orontobates. Pixodarus made her daughter marry to Orontobates, thus “the way was open to the King to supplant the Hekatomnids by his own candidate” when he died before long in 336/5.<sup>65</sup> There is an interesting story about Pixodarus’ attempts to marry her daughter to establish a royal alliance. According to the ancient sources, before Orontobates, Pixodarus offered officially to Philip II of Macedon, Alexander’s brother, to marry her daughter, and sent an invitation in this regard. However, before Philip II, Alexander obtained the letter and sent a reply to Pixodarus that he wanted to marry his daughter. However, when Philip II learned this, he broke the arrangement.

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<sup>63</sup> Isocrates, 5.103. See Annex 5.

<sup>64</sup> Ruzicka 1992, 118.

<sup>65</sup> McNicoll and Milner 1997, 18.



Unlike his siblings, who managed to some extent to preserve the *de facto* autonomy of Karia, Pixodarus took more sides with the Persian Empire, as demonstrated also by his co-rule with Orontobates, and reportedly having her daughter, supposedly Ada II, with this Persian satrap, in an attempt to establish royal linkage with the empire. However, it is also argued that despite his attempts towards attaining Persian legitimacy, Pixodarus was disliked by the court and his authority was limited through Orontobates. Nevertheless, a bilingual inscription in Lykia proves that he was still controlling Lykia, at least partially.

Following his death, Orontobates was left in control, and this was the situation in Karia when Alexander arrived in 334 BC.

### **2.3. HEKATOMNID POWER IN THE RISE OF HELLENISM**

It is argued by some scholars that Hekatomnids, particularly Maussollos, have facilitated the spread of Hellenism in Karia, even before Alexander.<sup>66</sup> Although the scope of Hellenism is usually accepted as given and not made that clear in most of these sources, it is mostly implied with this term 'resorting to Greek practices and institutions', or a certain sense of 'Hellenification'. This study suggests that the Hekatomnid practices were not basically aiming at changing the social structure to 'Hellenise' Karia in this sense, but rather, to find a distinctive way out of both Greek and Persian practices, as well as local Karian and Anatolian traditions, which would serve the particular needs of Karia. As Starr points:

Asia Minor (...) was by no means a blank tablet on which foreign influences could write their messages with complete freedom: but it is not at this point possible to disentangle the influences of Hittite, Mesopotamian, and native forces inherited from the second millennium. In assessing the entry of Hellenic and Achaemenid artistic forms into this area, nonetheless, we must keep in mind the strong possibility that the native Anatolian workmen were responsible for most of the artistic product of Asia Minor in the Persian era.<sup>67</sup>

#### **2.3.1. *Between Persia and Greece: The Rise of Hellenism in Karia***

When considering the different implications of various sources on Hekatomnid practices, usually two 'sides' of the 'cold war' are cited: Persia and Greece. Karia, on the other hand is described as stuck in within these two worlds. Although this idea is worth to be dealt with, it is not without flaws, as it is suggested in this text that the particularity of Karia is its (or Hekatomnids') achievement to get out of where they are stuck by creating a Karian synthesis

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<sup>66</sup> See Ruzicka 1992, Hornblower 1982,

<sup>67</sup> Starr 1977, 63.

out of these influences. Moreover, the influence is not limited to Persia and Greece, but it is suggested here that Macedonia also shared some important points with Karia: the ruling dynasties in both had a closer relationship than is usually thought. Therefore, Hekatomnids, particularly Maussollos, have managed to build up a sense of Karianness by incorporating elements of Persia and Greece to a Karian core element, both politically and culturally.

### **2.3.1.1. Hekatomnids and Macedonians**

Alexander's conquest of the Persian Empire proceeded with remarkable speed and success. Only in a few places he was vigorously resisted, and one of these was Halikarnassos.

Ada was seeking for any prospect to regain her throne, which did not last long. With the advance of Alexander the Great towards Karia, she contacted him, proposing sincerely to adopt him as her son. She offered Alexander to hand over her city Alinda and help against the rulers of Halikarnassos, Pixodarus and Orontobates, who took away her right to throne asking his help to restore her power. Alexander replied courteously; he declined to take Alinda from her, and earnestly accepted her being his 'mother', which he would do again for Darius' mother; and later, "when Halikarnassos was taken all but the two headlands, he left to her the task of capturing these, and when this was done, he appointed her queen of the whole Karia".<sup>68</sup>

After the capture of Halikarnassos, Alexander brought back Ada, with whom he had already had friendly dealings, and handed over the whole of Karia to her. How long Ada's restored rule lasted is not known. By the time that Alexander's successors had begun to fight for the country, she had disappeared.

The circumstances in Halikarnassos after the Macedonian seizure of the city are slightly known. Ruzicka relates that on the night that Macedonians finally entered the city, Alexander was reportedly concerned to limit destruction in a caring fashion for the inhabitants. Subsequently, as quoted both Diodorus and Arrian<sup>69</sup>, "he razed the city to the ground", however, evidently left Maussollos' tomb intact, and built temples on the heights.<sup>70</sup> Diodorus mentions about Macedonian construction activities including a wall and a large trench around the "citadel", which would require huge amount of building materials

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<sup>68</sup> Bean 2000, 162.

<sup>69</sup> Arrian, 1.22.7 and 23. 1-6. Diodorus, 17.26.4 and 27.6.

<sup>70</sup> Ruzicka 1992, 144.

probably obtained from the buildings in the city, meaning a “wholesale destruction of the city”, hence Alexander’s ‘razing’ of the city.<sup>71</sup>

According to Ruzicka, Alexander’s appointment of Ada I as satrap while he was not have to, “denotes his adopting a philo-Carian, pro-Hekatomnid policy”.<sup>72</sup>

### **2.3.1.2. Karia and Persia**

The evidence at hand suggests that despite the image drawn by both ancient and some modern writers, cities of Asia Minor, among which those of the Hekatomnid Karia had a prominent place, had flourished in the fourth century BC, in contrast to the preceding century.<sup>73</sup> As Starr clearly emphasizes, “it would seem evident that Persian rule did not seriously impede the great progress which is evident in the coinage and physical remains of the era”, due to the “internal stability and the evolution of the trading activity”.<sup>74</sup>

Karia was not only a satrapy of Persia, but more an ally to Persia, and since long before that had workers, stonemasons, artisans working in Persian palaces and Pasargadae in particular.<sup>75</sup>

### **2.3.1.3. Karia and Greece**

Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg states that confrontation with Persia helped the Greeks in building up an ethnic identity: “Persia was not only the great enemy but also the negative image that contributed to the construction of a Hellenic self image”.<sup>76</sup> In this regard, it may be suggested that the Hekatomnid Karia was double-crossed by mainland Greeks in a sense for being both ‘barbarian’ and ‘pro-Persian’.

Maussollos’ moves in shaping the fate of Karia cannot be understood without an outline of the Aegean political conjuncture of the 4<sup>th</sup> century. Austin states that already by the late sixth century, and “no later than the outbreak of so-called the ‘Ionian Revolt’ in 499 BC, tyranny, at least in the Aegean Greek world, was becoming increasingly associated in the Greek mind with the Persian rule and Persian domination”.<sup>77</sup> When the new Athenian

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<sup>71</sup> Ruzicka 1992, 145.

<sup>72</sup> Ruzicka 1992, 145.

<sup>73</sup> Starr 1975, 87.

<sup>74</sup> Starr 1975, 87.

<sup>75</sup> Hornblower 1982, 245.

<sup>76</sup> Sancisi-Weerdenburg 2001, 337.

<sup>77</sup> Austin 1990, 289.

Confederacy had issued a general call to the cities in Anatolia and the Greek mainland instructing not to submit to Persian rule, but join to the League, many cities followed the plea, and Naxos victory of the Athenian General Chabrias, increased the number of the members.<sup>78</sup> However, in 357 BC, Maussollos is allegedly reported to have instigated the Social War, breaking the power of Athenian Confederacy, and subsequently subjecting Chios, Rhodes, and Kos, who also participated in the revolt. This so-called Social War and Maussollos' unconfirmed intervention in this might be one of the reasons of Athenian negativity in the portraying of his policies and edifices.

### 2.3.2. *A Karian Synthesis: Hekatomnid Administration and Power Politics*

Hornblower depicts the essence of the socio-political structure in Karia in a very succinct way. He states that, until the Hekatomnid rule, the only organization of any kind embracing all Karians seemed to have been an old religious union, the *koinon* of the Karians, or simply "the Karians", centred on the temple of Zeus Karios at Mylassa", which is thought to be on the plateau now known as Peçin Kale today.<sup>79</sup> "The Karians" were headed by "the priest and the King", according to an official Hellenistic document, which is commented as, since the *koinon*'s cult centre was at Mylassa, dynasts of Mylassa probably served as *basileis* of the *koinon*.<sup>80</sup>

The policy that Maussollos and other Hekatomnids followed vis-à-vis the *koina* was 'essentially permissive', as 'they made no attempts to suppress them'.<sup>81</sup> At the same time they were seemingly 'encouraging' the institutions of the *polis* life', however it seems, only on the institutional level and in a limited manner. They could exist as both *polis* and *koinon*, which brings a concept of intermingling the administrative practices, and their adaptation to the social structure in a way that proved useful.

Similarly, communities other than *koina* were left intact; they were allowed to continue their social organization and traditional practices by the Hekatomnids. This is in line with the notion of Persian Tolerance, or with the Achaemenid policy elsewhere, as all these communities continued to operate 'with their traditional constitutional forms, to decide

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<sup>78</sup> Pomeroy *et. al.* 1999, 335.

<sup>79</sup> Hornblower 1982, 77.

<sup>80</sup> Hornblower 1982, 77.

<sup>81</sup> Hornblower 1982, 67.

religious issues, such as asylum, without evident interference from the satraps, and to regulate their own membership".<sup>82</sup>

By the time of the Hekatomnid rule during 4<sup>th</sup> century, Karians<sup>83</sup> as a whole, had reached a "higher degree of cultural and political sophistication"; they had already acquired some sort of a sense of Karianness, expressing their "ethnic identity by participation in common cults, the most important being the cult of Zeus Stratios at Labraunda".<sup>84</sup> They were also politically organized, forming a Karian League of cities, each of which was ruled by local dynasts.

On the other hand, the situation in Karia with regard to Persian rule was, as Miller characterises, 'a sophisticated allusion rather than real acculturation'. One of the reasons for this may be Karia's submission to Lykian satrapal rule for almost one and a half centuries until the 4<sup>th</sup> century Hekatomnid rule, avoiding any intimate contact of the local dynasts vis-à-vis the Achaemenid 'superstructure'. In matters of central administration, Maussollos particularly borrowed much from Persian practices, where "a hyparch, a familiar figure in satrapal administration, appears in anecdotes in the *Oeconomica* as Maussollos' chief subordinate with primarily financial responsibilities".<sup>85</sup>

The story in the *Oeconomica* of Maussollos' imposition of a change for passing soldiers' corpses through city gates to prevent commanders from falsifying death rates and then pocketing deceased soldiers' wages implies extensive record keeping and thus a bureaucracy of some sort that was likely under the hyparch.

Maussollos evidently maintained a court in Halikarnassos in which favoured figures were known, in the Persian manner, as "friends". Such men, including the hyparch, may have constituted the core of Hekatomnid central administration. (Polyaenus' reference to Maussollos' *phylakes peri to soma* indicates that a corps of bodyguards probably normally attended him.) Following Persian practice, Maussollos apparently maintained eunuchs as well as musicians at court. His sister-wife, Artemisia, Polyaenus relates, once led a great procession of eunuchs and musicians past Latmos, causing the Latmians to parade out of their city to gaze astounded at the spectacle (and thus, as planned, leave the city vulnerable

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<sup>82</sup> Hornblower 1982, 67.

<sup>83</sup> For the purposes of this thesis, the term Karians will be used to denote all non-Greek (by linguistics and/or ethnic self-definition) entities in the region, including Leleges, Luvians, Pelasgians, and other autochthonic peoples.

<sup>84</sup> Demand 1990, 122.

<sup>85</sup> Ruzicka 1992, 40.

to seizure). The level of astonishment that Latmians displayed indicates that such an exhibit of “local splendour” was something not experienced before, therefore, an ‘innovation’ by Maussollos.<sup>86</sup>

Another distinction in Maussollos’ political rule was the association of Artemisia, his sister-wife, with an important political power, an ‘official capacity’, which probably had no Greek or Persian precedence but seems rather to be related with ancient Anatolian dynastic traditions. Resolutions were given by both Maussollos and Artemisia; they both swore oaths sealing the agreements, as in Phaselis, hence they were perceived as an “official couple” by the contemporaries outside Karia. According to one story, the Erythreans, while “dedicating a statue of Maussollos and awarding him a crown “since he has been a good man regarding the *polis* of Erythreans”, dedicated at the same time a statue of Artemisia and awarded her a crown” as well.<sup>87</sup>

One distinctive point in Hekatomnid rule is the role of women in the shaping of the dynasty. As Carney also made clear, “women played a critical role in the public presentation of the Hekatomnid dynasty, particularly in the formation of a dynastic identity”.<sup>88</sup> In fact, there was already a rule or co-rule of women already as somehow like a tradition already in Karian history, as seen in the known example of Artemisia I.<sup>89</sup>

Several independent traditions existed about the official identity of Hekatomnids, particularly that of Maussollos. Isocrates, for instance, characterized Hekatomnos as a “viceroys” or “governor” (*epistathmos*) of Karia, indicating that contemporary Greeks were “aware of Hekatomnid satrapal authority”.<sup>90</sup> Maussollos, on the other hand, was called by later generations as the King of Karia [*rex terra Cariae*], or the ‘prefect of the territory’, ‘whom Greeks called Satrap’. Both traditions are partially true, as Maussollos was satrap of Karia, however, he also functioned as the king of Karia, with the level of autonomy he held. He might even have had had a cultic status as the King of Karians: Ruzicka suggests that as chief priests of the Karian League, the Hekatomnids may have been the kings of the Karians, which he thinks was a cultic kingship of limited political significance.<sup>91</sup> The uniqueness, and

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<sup>86</sup> Ruzicka 1992, 50.

<sup>87</sup> Ruzicka 1992, 40-42.

<sup>88</sup> Carney 2005, 65.

<sup>89</sup> Although they share their name, it is said that there is no relation between Artemisia II, Maussollos’ sister wife and Artemisia I, Lygdames’ daughter. Pedersen 1990, 111.

<sup>90</sup> Isocrates, 4.162, see Annex 5 and Ruzicka 1992, 44. While Norlin translates *epistathmos* as “viceroys”, Ruzicka prefers “governor”, both of which point to a recognized authority.

<sup>91</sup> Ruzicka 1992, 157.

the 'ephemerality' of Maussollos' political achievements within the Karian context, as Ruzicka states, may have been the reason for this confusion of his political identity.<sup>92</sup> The Greek authors of his time never recorded the achievements of this 'barbarian state', and when it was over, the remaining clues were so dispersed to draw healthy conclusions about the situation of this dynasty and of the extent of Maussollos' authority, such as the Hekatomnid coins, scarce references of Maussollos' court organization, or records pertaining to his relations with the local communities.

The Hekatomnid dynasty can be said to have marked a crystallization of this "cultural and political sophistication", mentioned earlier, through distilling a variety of impacts from elsewhere in one Karian style. It was already unusual for a satrap to be a local one, and Maussollos carried this much further by issuing coins, displacing all other local dynasts left, constituting Greek *polis*-like cities in Karia, and establishing a Karian 'monarchy' with its own 'centralised and at the same time, distinctive, even authentic institutions. All these arrangements practically stood for one solid fact: Maussollos created a 'Karian' state for the first time through the history of this region and people called with this name. Moreover, his political success had been successfully amalgamating the Greek and Persian elements -*poleis* and monarchy- within his own local, 'Karian' dynastic tradition, forming a totally distinctive, new model of administration, which is not but more than the sum of these three traditions: Greek, Persian, and Karian, or Anatolian. Although Maussollos did not surpass the other satraps in power,<sup>93</sup> According to McNicoll and Milner, "in view of his freedom of action and his achievements", Maussollos' achievements may be a hint for that "the power of the satraps, if used wisely, could have made them all de facto independent."<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>92</sup> Ruzicka 1992, 44

<sup>93</sup> McNicoll and Milner 1997, 15.

<sup>94</sup> McNicoll and Milner 1997, 15.

## CHAPTER III

### FOUNDING AN URBAN IMAGERY: SETTLEMENT PRACTICES IN KARIA

It is possible to trace the demographic structure, ethno-cultural tenets and administrative practices, ethnicity, cultural identity making processes, etc. in the settlement practices, be it in the form of settlement pattern, architectural components, or urban planning systems. In this regard, for an understanding of power display, it is essential to analyse these 'settlement practices'; they are inter-related.

#### 3.1. SETTLEMENT AND POWER

The internal power structures shaping Karia can be tracked by following the settlement patterns dispersed in the region. Community practices in terms of social organization, such as *komai* or *koina* through administrative power, i.e. dynasties, the Karian League, and finally satrapal authority, are reflected and made tangible in the settlement organization in the form of fortified settlements, such as *fluchtbergs*,<sup>95</sup> *pyrgoi*,<sup>96</sup> and synoikised cities, forming a 'settlement logic' specific to Karia, which is hierarchical in nature. Although not totally revealed yet, the settlement pattern in this regard interacts mutually and gives clues about community practices including administrative styles, whereas power practices later on largely shape the settlement patterns in Karia through *synoikismo*.

##### 3.1.1. *Settlement Pattern: Hierarchy displayed*

In general, it is difficult to have an exact reconstruction of the settlement patterns of Karia, and particularly that of the Halikarnassian peninsula due to the tentativeness of archaeological evidence and its dating.<sup>97</sup> For the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC, despite Persian domination, there is neither any evidence of extensive Persian settlement nor any known remains of

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<sup>95</sup> *fluchtberg*: fortified mountain retreat, see below. Demand 1990, 120.

<sup>96</sup> *pyrgos*: tower, castle, *burg*; see below. Hanfmann 1974, 2.

<sup>97</sup> Carstens 2002, 407.



Persian garrisons in Karia, which occurred elsewhere in Anatolia as in the Caicus River valley to the north.<sup>98</sup> As a traditional tendency, the Karian landscape, like that of the Lykian, was organized in minor dynasties with a limited territory conditioned by the limitations of the land, and settled in fortified *demesnes*, mentioned in ancient sources and inscriptions as *pyrgoi*.<sup>99</sup>

A three-tiered hierarchy structure can be suggested for Lelegian settlements in the Halikarnassian peninsula, based on Demand's classification. For city states, mountain heights well-inland were preferred, which is "a settlement pattern that lends some weight to the tradition that the Karians, arriving from the islands, drove them inland to mountain refuges".<sup>100</sup> At the peaks of these mountain city sites, an aristocratic (dynastic) upper class lived within walled citadels (fortified settlements), who ruled the farming and pastoral Lelegian people. The second tier was formed outside these citadels, but still within the city walls (fortifications) where a lesser privileged class lived; provided by the rulers to function as a market for the products of the country people. These country people were located at the third tier of the settlement hierarchy; the fortified farming compounds outside the city walls.

In addition to this three-tiered hierarchical structure, Demand adds '*fluchtbergs*', i.e. "fortified mountain retreats that served as temporary refuges and lookout places in times of danger".<sup>101</sup>

Karians, like Lelegians, settled at inland fortified sites, founded over high locations; despite their reputation for being seafarers and 'skilled' pirates. They spread over a larger territory than Lelegians, who were mainly located in the Halikarnassos peninsula, to the entire region that is known as Karia today.<sup>102</sup> There is, however, little distinctive material evidence, if any, that can help distinguish separate settlements of the individual communities of Karia; the same settlement pattern characteristics are indistinguishably assigned to all 'Karians' in ancient sources, as they probably became rather intermingled in 5<sup>th</sup> century BC.

Traditionally, Halikarnassos was considered as a Doric settlement. It among the original members of the Dorian Hexapolis, together with Kos, Knidos, and the three cities of Rhodes, Kamiros, Ialysos, and Lindos. However, Halikarnassos was excluded from the membership as Agasykles of Halikarnassos, the victor in the games of Apollo Triopius, did not leave the

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<sup>98</sup> Ruzicka 1992, 7.

<sup>99</sup> Hanfmann 1974, 2.

<sup>100</sup> Demand 1990, 120.

<sup>101</sup> Demand 1990, 121-122.

<sup>102</sup> Demand 1990, 122.

tripod cauldron to the Temple of Apollo in Knidos to dedicate to the God, but took it to his own city, Halikarnassos, as related by Herodotus.<sup>103</sup> However, some scholars assume that “the real reason for the expulsion of the city was the high proportion of Karians in its population” demonstrated by the known names of Karian-origin that belonged to the Halikarnassians.<sup>104</sup>

During the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC, the communities in the Karia region as shown in the Attic-Delian tax lists were collected under the *komai* units, whereas in the Halikarnassian peninsula Lelegians were not yet organized in a properly settled manner. However, in order to ease the taxation procedure, the Athenians collected their dues under the name of *poleis*.<sup>105</sup> The Karians were still semi-settled in dispersed *komai*, in the form of rural settlement organization. Even as late as 425 BC, Aristophanes mentioned in the *Birds* that Karians live on hilltops for the sake of security, which might be an indication that there had been “no striking alteration of the traditional dynastic settlement pattern in Karia by that time”.<sup>106</sup>

Starting at the outset of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, the diminishing of the destructive effects caused by the Peloponnesian Wars, together with the coming of the King’s Peace in 378 BC and the resulting period of peace led to movement towards a change in settlement structures. While the impact of the political conjuncture was practised as increasing demands for independence and a trend of establishing city states in Western Anatolian settlements,<sup>107</sup> the Hekatomnid rule acted like a catalyst for a shift of paradigm in settlement patterns of Karia. The *komai* structure of settlement organization might be said to have undergone a drastic change with the *synoikismos* projects implemented by Maussollos under the appropriate climax of the period during the second quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC.

With the Persian conquest in 540 BC, these dynasties “develop into more unified and politically coherent structures” due to the exterior pressure resulting from the Persian supremacy and “the need to match the organization may have formed more of a unity, than was ever the case before”.

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<sup>103</sup> Herodotus 1.144.3.

<sup>104</sup> Demand 1990, 120.

<sup>105</sup> Tuna 1999, 480.

<sup>106</sup> Ruzicka 1992, 12.

<sup>107</sup> Tuna 1999, 477.

### 2.1.2. *Re-settlement: Synoikismos*

As mentioned earlier, in the initial years of his rule, almost simultaneously with his shifting the capital to Halikarnassos and the inauguration of rebuilding activities, Maussollos physically synoikised six 'Lelegian' towns into Halikarnassos; Pedasa, Telmisium (Telmessos), Theangela (Termera), Medmassa (Madnasa), Side, and Uranium, leaving the remaining two; Myndos, the easternmost, and Syangela, the westernmost towns known to be Lelegian as well. It cannot be emphasized enough how important the role that this move played was in the shaping of the political and cultural reckoning of Maussollan Karia and afterwards, notwithstanding its impact on the material culture, reflected both in urban imagery and settlement practices. In fact, *synoikismos* as a concept may be regarded as a blueprint of a gradual development to a city; from the bottom, *oikos*, to *synoikismos*, and "finally working up to the theme of hierarchy of settlement, that is to say the fabric of the *polis*".<sup>108</sup> Thus, the concept of *synoikismos* deserves special attention in our understanding of the Maussollan context in Karia.

#### 3.1.2.1. *Synoikismos* and related concepts

In fact, the term *synoikismos* provides a somewhat problematic terminology to present a clear description, as it has been used to denote a couple of similar meanings and interchangeably with some other close terms such as *sympoliteiai*, *metoikosis*, *homopoliteia*, and *isopoliteia*. One reason for this confusion arises from the inconsistent usage of the terms for constitutional structures by the Greeks themselves.<sup>109</sup> *Synoikismos* can denote several connotations such as the physical union of two or more settlements to simply 'resettle', 'settle', or even just 'occupy'.<sup>110</sup> In the classical sources the word *synoikismos* "can mean simply the collaboration of different groups in the founding of a city",<sup>111</sup> but may also indicate "the foundation of a larger state by merging a number of independent communities".<sup>112</sup> Cavanagh makes the

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<sup>108</sup> Cavanagh gives a very useful introduction to why *synoikismos* is important in archaeology:

"Settlement, nucleation and dispersion, the relation of city and country, are concerns of archaeology, and especially concerns of the archaeology of intensive survey (...). In discussion of the Greek state Snodgrass has clarified the terms, in particular *polis* and *ethnos* (1977, 1980) which define the political entities whose settlements have been found. In what follows, however, it is proposed to start, as it were, at the bottom of the heap, with the term *oikos*, to move from there to *synoikismos*, and finally work up to the theme of hierarchy of settlement, that is to say the fabric of the *polis*. In this last context we are faced with a welter of terms which vary in content from one state to another: *polis*, *asty*, *chora*, *kome*, *demos*, *chorion*." (Cavanagh 1992, 97).

<sup>109</sup> Reger 2004, 148.

<sup>110</sup> Reger 2004, 149.

<sup>111</sup> Thucydides, 3.92-93; 1.24.2 and 6.5.1.

<sup>112</sup> Thucydides, 3.2; 2.15.

redefinition of the word as used by archaeologists so as to “imply the physical relocation of the population, or at least a political realignment which would result in a very different pattern of settlement, a radical redistribution of influence and population between the city and the country”.<sup>113</sup> Reger, on the other hand, cites Jeanne and Louis Robert: “pullulation of political entities –sometimes tiny independent towns having a small plain as their territory, on the coast or in the interior (...)” many of which, sometimes the majority “disappear later, (are) absorbed by their more powerful neighbours by means of *synoikismoi* or *sympoliteiai*”.<sup>114</sup> As Reger states, “a number of *sympoliteiai* attested in Asia Minor for the Hellenistic period resulted from the decisions of the kings or their representatives”:

Despite the etymological emphasis of *synoikismos* on physical living arrangements, the word was in fact always able to cover the amalgamation of political institutions also, without necessarily implying a physical restructuring of the settlement patterns. Thus, while *synoikismos* might implicitly emphasize the physical joining of separate settlements and *sympoliteia* political and citizenship arrangements, in fact the overlap between the two terms was considerable, and an action described as a *synoikismos* could be a purely political restructuring.<sup>115</sup>

### 3.1.2.2. *Synoikismoi* Practices: Mylassa, Rhodes and Kos

In Karia, and particularly in the Halikarnassian peninsula, *synoikismos* was not a new concept. Several *synoikismoi* were carried out around Mylassa, Latmos, Teos, etc. with different reasons before those of Maussollos. Mylassa, for instance, had been a 'village in antiquity', according to Strabo<sup>116</sup>, but was a *polis* in the fourth century BC, which, as Hornblower points out, is a change that might have taken place gradually in the fifth century. The move from Mylassa to Halikarnassos was not a new one for Maussollos. In fact, there had been a move of the dynastic seat early in the history of the Hekatomnid dynasty from nearby Peçin to Mylassa, as investigated by Radt, except for a fortress at another Mylassan site, Kuyruklu Kalesi, was never abandoned in the classical period, and may have been a Hekatomnid outpost even after the capital was moved to Halikarnassos.<sup>117</sup> There was an actual settlement at Kuyruklu Kalesi in the Hellenistic period but not earlier, which suggests that in the following period, the “synoikised but unprotected” Mylassa was temporarily abandoned by a section of the population “in favor of an older style of existence

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<sup>113</sup> Cavanagh 1992, 106.

<sup>114</sup> Reger 2004, 145.

<sup>115</sup> Reger 2004, 149-150.

<sup>116</sup> Strabo, 14.2.23, see Annex 2.

<sup>117</sup> Hornblower 1982, 99.

on the *εχυρα χωρια* of Karia”, and eventually, the Macedonian satrap Asandros moved the capital back to Mylassa from Halikarnassos: “Mylassa's leanest period was over.”<sup>118</sup>

There had been other *synoikismos* activities carried out in close proximities to Karia, of which, Maussollos was well aware. The fact that all six of the original members of the Dorian Hexapolis; Halikarnassos, Kos, Knidos, and the three cities of Rhodes, Kamiros, Ialysos, and Lindos, went through similar processes of *synoikismos*, and this happened consecutively. The first had been the three cities of Rhodes; Kamiros, Ialysos and Lindos. The Rhodian *synoikismos* took place in 408/7, where a new *polis* of Rhodes, named after the island itself was created and three *poleis* of the island; Lindos, Ialysos and Kamiros resettled in this new *polis*. The undertaking of this *synoikismos* almost immediately after the revolt of Rhodes from the Athenians in 411 BC, is an interesting motif that can similarly be discerned in the Maussollan *synoikismos*. The location of the new *polis* of Rhodes, on the other hand, was in a commanding position on the eastern tip of the island, overlooking Eastern Mediterranean maritime trade routes.<sup>119</sup> This was a successful instance of a *synoikismos* attempt involving both political and architectural aspects. It is possible that the success of the Rhodian *synoikismos* may have been an inspiration for Maussollos in his later undertakings.<sup>120</sup>

Moreover, around 366/5 BC, probably simultaneously or after Maussollos' *synoikismos* of Halikarnassos, a *metoikosis* was carried out in the island of Kos. Similar to *synoikismos*, but a more volunteer act, *metoikosis* was “a process whereby the families of an entire settlement collectively change abodes and move to a new, often nearby, location, often retaining the name of the original town”.<sup>121</sup> Kos and Halikarnassos, as neighbours, shared a common history in a number of occasions. During the course of fifth century BC, Kos was also ruled by a local Koan dynasty, which, according to Sherwin-White, was “one of the Persian supported tyrannies established in the Greek cities of Asia Minor and the neighbouring islands after the Persian conquest”.<sup>122</sup> On the other hand, until the fourth century BC, the economy was mainly based on agriculture: unlike their neighbour Halikarnassians (or Karians), the Koans “participated little in trade and ventures overseas”.<sup>123</sup> According to Sherwin-White, the presence of Halikarnassos and the Knidian control of the Triopum peninsula facing the old Koan city of Kos Astypalaea across the Gulf of Kos, may have been

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<sup>118</sup> Hornblower 1982, 100.

<sup>119</sup> Tuna 1999, 482.

<sup>120</sup> See Hornblower 1982, 151-155; Demand 1990, 181-188.

<sup>121</sup> Cooper, 1993.

<sup>122</sup> Sherwin-White, 33.

<sup>123</sup> Sherwin-White, 30.

the disincentive factors for this reluctance.<sup>124</sup> However, Kos is more frequently involved in alliance with Athens compared to Halikarnassos and Rhodes.

After the civil war in 366 BC, the Koans abandoned their city Kos Astypalea. The metoikesis, or volunteer *synoikismos* of Kos, resulted in the Koans' foundation of the capital city, Kos Meropis on the transit route of the maritime trade condensed on the northern tip of the island. There are, however, many reasons suggesting a Maussollan involvement due to the "proximity of the island to Halikarnassos; Maussollos' own relocation of his capital; his later role as the instigator of the Social War, in which Kos participated; and the subsequent Hekatomnid takeover of Kos".<sup>125</sup>

### 3.1.2.3. Maussollan *Synoikismoi*: Halikarnassos

When Maussollos resettled the six Lelegian towns to Halikarnassos through *synoikismos*, he reorganized the settlements in Myndos and Theangela furnishing them mostly with Greek political institutions. Along with Halikarnassos, Maussollos also had other coastal Karian cities, Myndos, Bargylia and Kaunos re-established based on a basically Greek *polis* structure, as well as endowing them with defensive fortifications, infrastructural establishments, and proper ports that were available for overseas shipping opportunities.<sup>126</sup> Moreover, similar 'urbanization' practices were also undertaken in the inland Karian settlements like Alinda, Euromos, and Amyzon,<sup>127</sup> which point to a more overarching plan than the mere betterment of a few major *poleis*.

The particularity of the Maussollan *synoikismoi* might be stated as their being a vast scale movement resulting in dramatic social as well as economic consequences. The resettlement activities carried out under Maussollos were closely linked with the immense building projects inaugurated elsewhere in Karia, and particularly in the Halikarnassos peninsula. The evidence for the local reaction to *synoikismos* is scarce, which may suggest that the process took place smoothly and swiftly. It might be said that one should expect more evidence from a more serious sort of rebellion, a total uprooting, or a widespread upheaval. On the other hand, ancient sources, like the *Suda*, mention that there was a prison built at

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<sup>124</sup> Sgerwin-White, 31.

<sup>125</sup> Demand 1990, 127.

<sup>126</sup> Bean and Cook 1955, 138. This is an important point as the ports and their eligibility for international shipping points to the economic motives behind the resettlement and reorganization activities of these towns as well as Halikarnassos. Moreover, it also brings to mind that Maussollos was not aiming at a secluded, closed, isolated Karia as a local power but was rather targeting at playing on the international arena. Apparently, he chose to be an open international power, at least aimed at this, instead of being a despotic barbarian tyranny although he was portrayed as such.

<sup>127</sup> Tuna 1999, 480.

Termera by the 'dynasts', most probably the Hekatomnids.<sup>128</sup> In another instance, it is related that the Karian League sent a team to the Persian King to complain about Maussollos, a request which the King did not heed and endowed Maussollos with more power. Although this account is told as an indication of resistance to Maussollan rule, it might also be deduced as the reaction of rivalling dynasts to the Hekatomnids in Karia rather than a societal resistance. Consequently it may also be read as the royal Persian support for Maussollan policies. On the contrary, however, the reason for the reaction being small or non-existent at all could be related to the careful economic policies that were implemented. Accordingly, communities of synoikised towns were employed in the vast building projects, also possibly serving in the manning of the fleets for Maussollos' new naval base in Halikarnassos, therefore leaving a little room for an economic uprising of people to this new condition.<sup>129</sup> There are, however, a number of returns after the ending of the Hekatomnid period. Nevertheless, one should keep in mind that there were quite a number of reasons apart from and seemingly more important than any problem of social adaptation or consent of the communities. In the first instance, the city of Halikarnassos had been held under siege for a long period by Alexander and destroyed almost totally by his forces, as well as the end of building projects after Idrieus, which was a phenomenon that cut off all sustenance opportunities due to the employment need of those projects to minimum.

On the other hand, there are some objections to this general scheme of a hypothetical Hekatomnid move, founded by Bean and Cook and generally accepted as the mainstream thought on the Maussollan *synoikismoi*. Demand is among the most outspoken voice against this theory: she questions the theory in places, and criticises the making of hasty conclusions from the latest date of ceramics. Drawing attention to the differences between physical and political *synoikismos*, she finds it hard to accept that the local dynasts in the time of Maussollos easily accepted the physical *synoikismos*, suggesting that:

While synoikism also should be understood as a physical act which supplied the workers needed for the creation of a new metropolis, this was possibly a temporary situation. Not only are the dates of pottery given by Bean and Cook are questionable, but the reinforcement of the fortifications at many of the peninsula sites and the apparently continuous use of tombs and cemeteries also suggest that people soon moved back, and some never even moved away.<sup>130</sup>

However, Demand lacks sufficient evidence to provide an alternative theory for the Hekatomnid moves and Maussollan *synoikismoi*. As seen in Table 2, Bean and Cook's theory

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<sup>128</sup> The *Suda*. Also, see Hornblower 1982, 152.

<sup>129</sup> See Ruzicka 1992, 121 for more information on Maussollan economic activities.

<sup>130</sup> Carstens 2002, 406.

for a hypothetical model of Hekatomnid move is supported with further evidence by Radt and Hornblower.

It is important to understand Maussollos' motives behind all these acts of resettlement in Karia. These 'resettlements', suffice to say; eventually increased his power throughout Karia, and in the international political conjuncture in his time, by increasing his naval power as well as contributing a lot to the centralization of political power. Maussollan *synoikismoi* were not isolated incidents, on the contrary, they were rather interconnected with the 4<sup>th</sup> century Western Aegean political economy. Thus, they should be regarded interrelated with the *synoikismoi* in Rhodes and Kos; all these synoikised *politai* were located over commanding positions of the East Mediterranean trade routes, which, in turn, resulted in the prosperity of these new centers.<sup>131</sup>

Moreover, as pointed out above, the extent and scale of Maussollos' resettlement and reorganization activities together with his building projects all of which were carried out in inland Karian settlements as well as major ones, suggest that Maussollos was not after embellishing a few major *poleis*, but aimed at a more grandiose scheme of transforming entire Karia based on an eclectic use of administrative practices derived from all foci of influence: Greek, Persian, as well as Anatolian dynastic tradition.

The urbanization policies of the Hekatomnid administration, and that of Maussollos in particular have resulted in a drastic transformation of the local settlement organization of the Karia region from dispersed, rural *komai* to the new urban centres with central functions; the new Halikarnassos being the most important among all.<sup>132</sup>

### **3.2. SETTLEMENT DECONSTRUCTED: ARCHITECTURAL COMPONENTS**

Settlement organization and the impact of the use of power through such practices as *synoikismos*, give a general view of the settlement organization both conceptually, as in political connotations; and tangibly as in its practice.

While settlement organization in Karia embodies the abstract societal relations and power structures in the settlement pattern within the Karian societal organization, the architectural components, the physical elements forming these settlements each on their own provide clues on the societal or community practices themselves. Therefore, the 'fragmentation' or 'deconstruction' of the Karian 'settlement' into its particular tangible constituent elements

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<sup>131</sup> Tuna 1999, 482.

<sup>132</sup> Tuna 1999, 480.



and its characteristic architectural components will help in understanding the 'built environment' of Karians and Lelegians that the Hekatomnid architecture was born into in order to develop its own particularities in the material culture.

### 3.2.1. *The Built Environment: 'Lelegian' Architecture*

Strabo's narrative on Lelegian people clearly mentions that there were Lelegian tombs/ burial-places and fortified settlements/deserted strongholds called *pyrgoi* in many parts of Karia. This descriptions had been a direct motive for the search of Lelegian culture in the region. However, epigraphical evidence pertaining to Lelegians is scarce; and there is almost no single 'Lelegian' inscription, except in Syangela, neither any coin have been found up to date. Nevertheless, there are a number of architectural elements of a distinctive type, referred to as 'Lelegian', the term 'Lelegian' is used with all caution here denoting a partial and sketchy knowledge to describe the local communities of inland Karia, mostly concentrated over the Halikarnassos peninsula.<sup>133</sup> In this sense, the analysis of the 'built environment' created by the local people of Karia that the Hekatomnid achievements were born into will help in creating a better understanding of them. In this sense, firstly several buildings constructed by local Karians/ Leleges will be explored; and then three distinctive building types; i.e. compound buildings, stone tumulus tombs, and fortified settlements which have been referred to as 'Lelegian' by modern studies will be briefly treated below.<sup>134</sup>

#### 3.2.1.1. 'Dragon Houses'

In their research, Jean Carpenter and Dan Boyd compared the 'unusual buildings' in South Euboea and the related structure on Mt. Hymmetos in Attika, Greece, which were called 'Dragon Houses' by local people, with similar constructions in Karia and found striking resemblances.<sup>135</sup> These buildings were found in scarcity and in isolation in Greece, but are abundant in Karia. Their style, characteristics, masonry, roofing, etc. differed very much from the other contemporaneous Greek buildings in the area, whereas in Karia, this

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<sup>133</sup> Hornblower, utilizes the term 'Lelegian' with caution: "The word 'Lelegian' can be used, with all caution, to describe the *inhabitants* of the inland part of the Halikarnassos peninsula before and in time of Mausolus, *occupying* sites which meet certain *simple* archaeological criteria." (Hornblower 1982, 90-*emphasis mine*) However, due to the time frame since the publication of his work, the recent studies use the term more extensively and confidently (see Flensted-Jensen -Carstens), despite the enduring lack of inscriptional evidence, but the increase of the studies conducted in inland Karia. As the second line of approach is more recent and appropriate to the arguments presented here, the term 'Lelegian' is considered to be plausible and will be used for the purposes of this thesis but in full awareness of the need for caution as indicated above.

<sup>134</sup> Carstens 2004, 113.

<sup>135</sup> The Karian connection of these buildings were first postulated briefly by Franklin Johnson in 1925 (Carpenter and Boyd 1977, 182).

architecture “was the rule, not the exception”,<sup>136</sup> features which appear strange and unusual in the Dragon-Houses of Greece are normal features of buildings in Lelegia”,<sup>137</sup> as stated by Carpenter and Boyd. As a result of their comparative analysis of ‘dragon houses’ in Greece with those similar structures in Karia, studied by Radt’s, they demonstrate the direction of influence to be from Karia to Greece and hypothesize that “these buildings in Greece were constructed as storerooms and shrines by Karian quarry slaves during the late Hellenistic/early Roman period”.<sup>138</sup>

Although only the buildings in Greece are named as ‘dragon houses’,<sup>139</sup> it is useful for our purposes, to look at several similar constructions built by locals in Karia, as this gives the opportunity to analyze these buildings, which vary greatly in terms of form –square, rectangular, and irregular plans, multi-roomed and multi-storeyed- and functions –houses, magazines, cisterns, tombs, and temples- in a more flexible fashion.

#### 3.2.1.1.1. *Alazeytin*

The best known example is found in Alazeytin Kalesi and designated as “Building 30” by Radt; it had also been noted by earlier researchers.

The structure was built on a rectangular plan with a lower storey terraced into the hillside. Its interior was divided into two rooms connected via a doorway, the northern one doubling the southern in length. Each room opens to the exterior on the long eastern façade of the building, made of cyclopean masonry. The building has a corbelled roof with rough corbelled slabs and in each room the final gap of the keel vault is closed by means of cover slabs.<sup>140</sup> There is an ancient quarry near the site outside the city wall surrounding the buildings in Alazeytin.

The south room of Alazeytin “Building 30” has an “atmosphere of a small cave”, which Radt suggests might be the interior sanctum of a larger building belonging to a shrine or a heroon, as indicated by its orientation, quality of work, and ornamentation. Based on the large blocks and the cave-like atmosphere, Carpenter and Boyd suggest the worship may have belonged to an earth or underworld power, ‘chthonic’ in character.

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<sup>136</sup> Carpenter and Boyd 1977, 185.

<sup>137</sup> Carpenter and Boyd 1977, 187.

<sup>138</sup> Carpenter and Boyd 1977, 111.

<sup>139</sup> The analogical connotation of these buildings in Greece as the ‘dragon houses’, where dragon stands for ‘giants’, is interesting in terms of giving clues about their perception by the modern local Greeks as it shares a similar fashion with the ancient local Greeks elsewhere, naming a certain type of wall as ‘cyclopean’.

<sup>140</sup> Carpenter and Boyd 1977, 194.

#### 3.2.1.1.2. *Theangela*

Named as “Building N” by Bean and Cook, this building in Theangela at Etrim Dağ is a rectangular structure with one original doorway having projecting lintels, and two communicating rooms. A second storey or balustrade is considered to have been built originally. It is covered by a roof of slabs, which is corbelled from two long sides. The access is provided via higher ground from the back of the building.

Bean and Cook suggest that as Theangela itself is a Maussollan creation this building cannot be dated later than 4<sup>th</sup> century BC. There are, indeed, no sherds found at the site earlier than the Hellenistic Period. Radt, on the other hand, suggests that the settlement at Etrim Dağ was occupied from the late archaic period or earlier through the Hellenistic or later period.

#### 3.2.1.2. Compound Buildings

Among the known examples of Lelegian architecture, compound buildings are regarded as “the most characteristic and to some degree the most peculiar of the building remains”, according to Carstens.

These buildings were firstly identified by Paton and Myres,<sup>141</sup> as multiple chamber-tombs mistakenly, and later as “the shieldings of Lelegian shepherds” by Bean and Cook; while Radt found parallels in the function of these buildings with modern Turkish buildings of the similar type.<sup>142</sup>

Compound building structures consist “typically of a circular outer masonry wall with an opening into an inner roughly circular court”. They are found in a variety of forms but all include a court with inclining inner walls and a series of rooms opening into them. Although Paton and Myers assumed a dome for the roof due to the inclination of the walls, their wide span ranging between 18-25m, outrules the possibility for roofing. The court, on the other hand, was intended to provide protection for the animals at night, while the thick walls were appropriate for cheese production. Situated mostly in the hills and uncultivable mountainous areas, thus supporting their assumed function as pens topographically, the estimated number of these buildings is around 70. They were detected especially in Iasos by Radt as are dispersed over the Halikarnassos peninsula. Similar ancient examples are found

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<sup>141</sup> Paton and Myres 1896, 281

<sup>142</sup> Radt, 1970. Radt has later speculated on other uses of these buildings, by analysing both ancient (Milesian peninsula, Kephallonia, and on Chios) and modern pens along the west coast of Turkey (Troas, Bergama, Teos at İzmir) and also in Argolid and Crete. Also see Carstens 2004, 113-114.

in the Milesian Peninsula, and also in Kephallonia in Khios where this type of circular compounds are quite typical.<sup>143</sup>

According to the scarce surface materials these buildings are dated to archaic and classical periods. Their masonry is 'Lelegian': delicate and precise dry-stone walls made with large polygonal blocks of local building material, the grey limestone with red veins breaking easily into slab-like stones, still used in modern Halikarnassos. With the change of the natural building material, the masonry also changes: in the volcanic west part of the peninsula, large polygonal blocks are used in construction.<sup>144</sup>

### **3.2.1.3. Stone Tumulus Tombs**

Stone tumulus tombs are regarded as characteristic in the archaic Halikarnassos peninsula and were widely dispersed particularly around Gökçeler site on the hills between Bodrum and Torba, where an ancient necropolis is thought to have existed. They may date as early as ninth century BC and are spread over a large area, including Lykia. Typically, these structures vary between 6-8m in diameter with off-centre chambers of at least 2m length in rough quadrangular shape. On the top, they are towered with a rounded roof constructed with a pyramid vault as observed in the surviving examples.<sup>145</sup>

Radt is the first scholar to systematically investigate the necropolis area as well as the architectural characteristics of these tombs, taking the best preserved example, Gebe Kilise Tomb (Pregnant Church) as a case study. This structure was built over a levelled terrace, and it "consisted of a krepis crowned by a cornice built by two thin courses of 'slabs', which projected lightly from the krepis wall".<sup>146</sup> The rounded roof started from outside of the krepis wall, the top parts of which seemed originally to be covered with more loose rubble, contrary to the first seven courses. A roughly quadrangular chamber and a dromos were placed inside, where the walls were constructed with isodomic –almost pseudo-isodomic– masonry with a slight inclination, and smoothed with a pick-axe. Although not visible from outside, the ceiling of the tomb is constructed as a tall pyramidal dome, providing the impression of a "huge rubble tumulus"<sup>147</sup> to the exterior. Covered by slabs, the pyramid vault starts at 1.25m height and consists of 29 courses.<sup>148</sup>

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<sup>143</sup> Carstens 2004, 114.

<sup>144</sup> Carstens 2004, 113.

<sup>145</sup> Carstens 2002, 114.

<sup>146</sup> Carstens 2002, 114.

<sup>147</sup> Carstens 2002, 111.

<sup>148</sup> Carstens 2002, 115.

There is another building complex near the tomb, probably constructed during the 5<sup>th</sup> or 4<sup>th</sup> century, which is thought to be associated with the tomb itself; perhaps a cult was connected with the tumulus, as Radt suggests.<sup>149</sup> The exquisite masonry of the tomb, the elaborate dry-stone construction and almost pseudo-isodomic ashlar masonry, suggest that this is a princely tomb, perhaps belonging to a local dynast in ancient Torba, or to the inland settlement at Gökçeler. Whoever it belonged to, its isolation from both the settlement and the necropolis, nevertheless was 'meant to dominate the bay' according to Carstens.<sup>150</sup>

Forming a "quite remarkable unit of monuments",<sup>151</sup> the stone tumulus tombs are accredited to be the ones mentioned by Strabo, and thus, considered 'Lelegian'. Radt also found similar examples in Kaplan Dağı however, where later archaeological surveys revealed that similar types of tombs were also used quite widely in archaic Lykia, as well. Carstens adds that these may date even as early as 9<sup>th</sup> century BC.

Among all three structures, the stone tumulus tombs, regarded as characterising the funerary landscape of the archaic Halikarnassos peninsula, are perhaps a kind of "local invention", "inspired perhaps by Sub-Mycenaean tombs elsewhere, but developing into a unique form of sepulchral architecture quite early".<sup>152</sup> The existence of similar tombs widely in the archaic Lykian landscape as well as the similarities in settlement organizations in the form of minor dynasties may indicate that archaic Karia and Lykia may have been "a more closely related cultural unit" than it is thought, with mutual contact even before the Persians, as pointed out by Carstens.<sup>153</sup>

#### **3.2.1.4. Fortified Settlements**

Fortified settlements are traditionally considered as characteristic features of Karia, which was a heavily fortified region even by ancient standards.<sup>154</sup> As Hanfmann states, "in Karia, *pyrgoi* (towers, castles, *burgen*), mentioned by ancient writers and in the inscriptions were some sort of fortified *demesnes*".<sup>155</sup> However, quite similar archaic walled settlements are also found both in Ionia and Aiolia, and mainland Greece: "even the sweeping curves of

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<sup>149</sup> Radt noted a similar practice in a domestic shrine at Vouni in Cyprus (Radt 1970, 72).

<sup>150</sup> Carstens 2002, 113.

<sup>151</sup> Carstens 2002, 115.

<sup>152</sup> Carstens 2004, 119.

<sup>153</sup> Carstens 2004, 119.

<sup>154</sup> McNicoll and Milner 1997, 41.

<sup>155</sup> Hanfmann 1974, 2.

characteristic Lelegian settlements” are found, as well as in the Lykian dynastic settlements, the “*Herrensitze*”, as stated by Carstens.<sup>156</sup>

Since some cities of Halikarnassos are mentioned elsewhere but particularly in Pliny and in the Athenian tribute lists, archaeologists interested in the region like Paton and Myres, as well as Bean and Cook, searched the region to identify these settlements. In Asarlık in the southern part of the Halikarnassian peninsula, Paton identified the site of Termera, walled with “rather impressive polygonal and pseudo-isodomic fortification wall” with a possible tower substructure including “two large cisterns coated with hydraulic mortar”.<sup>157</sup> Another fortified settlement with a big tower, similar to those of Halikarnassos city wall and the Myndos Gate, is identified by Bean and Cook as Telmissus, above the modern village of Gürice. Also, modern Gökçeler village to the north of Bodrum is the fortified settlement of Pedasa, according to Paton and Myres.

Carstens, on the other hand mentions a possible settlement of similar type, which she found herself in Geriş village.<sup>158</sup> So far, other edifices of this kind are found in Gökçebel/Dirmil, Bozdağ, Göl, Gökburun, Karadağ, Alazeytin, and Kaplan Dağ: they are all difficult to date and “belong to the type of stronghold or fortified settlement where both the summit or acropolis was enclosed by a wall, while at a lower level of the hillside, a habitation area was protected by another wall”.<sup>159</sup> However, as the towers are mostly built with the same technique as the city wall of Halikarnassos, it is thought that a reinforcement activity had been undertaken for all these fortifications contemporaneously as a result of Hekatomnid building activities.<sup>160</sup>

### **3.2.2 *Implications on Material Culture: Hekatomnid Architecture***

A variety of architectural styles seem to have been implemented during the rule of the Hekatomnid dynasty, in the overarching building projects undertaken by all members, but most importantly Maussollos. A substantial part of the impressively large financial resources that the dynasty maintained at its peak again under Maussollos, was invested in the large-scale building program, “probably surpassing anything seen in the Greek world since

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<sup>156</sup> Carstens 2004, 118.

<sup>157</sup> Carstens 2004, 115.

<sup>158</sup> Carstens 2004, 116-7.

<sup>159</sup> Carstens 2004, 118.

<sup>160</sup> As stated by Pedersen 1990, 111; Carstens 2002, 111. For more detailed information on fortified settlements, see McNicoll and Milner 1997, 111.

Athens in the time of Pericles".<sup>161</sup> Sites involved in these activities, particularly Labraunda, had played a similar role as the laboratory for architecture with experimental styles implemented therein, forming one of the most important components of a new art and architecture.

Labelled in its entirety as "the Ionian Renaissance"<sup>162</sup> to distinguish from the Ionic Renaissance applied only to the new Ionic architecture of 4<sup>th</sup> century Asia Minor, the vernacular 'architectural language' of this new architecture that Hekatomnids and their architects chose, according to Pedersen, was "a modernized version of the Ionic order – the old, local style of Eastern Greece and Western Asia Minor", of which, there were at least three variants to choose from: the Attic, the Samian, and the Ephesian. Consequently, all these architectural experiments and styles of this new architecture of the Ionian Renaissance became distilled into a new variant of the Ephesian, or Asiatic style.<sup>163</sup>

The Temple of Zeus at Labraunda, the Temple of Athena at Priene, the "experimental architecture" at Labraunda, the Sanctuary of Sinuri in Mylassa, as well as the Temple of Artemis at Ephesus, all can be related to the first, "Hekatomnid phase" of the Ionian Renaissance, in which, in Pedersen's words, "surprisingly unconventional" mixtures of Ionic and Doric order were utilised together".<sup>164</sup> However, contrary to the traditional purist, classicist view, such experimental mixture of architectural orders cannot be explained solely as "barbarisms" like Hornblower<sup>165</sup> and Tomlinson<sup>166</sup> do, but rather, "they are part of a general experimental developmental phase in architecture", as stated by Pedersen.<sup>167</sup> Moreover, the choice of Ionian order suggests not an arbitrary one, but on the contrary, besides being in line with the Pythagorean ideas of the time and providing a logical solution to the practical problematic of the Doric order in the 4<sup>th</sup> century, "it may well be that Mausollos preferred the Ionic order also for political reasons", as Pedersen puts it very clearly: "Athens was his political opponent. When he made the old local style of Asia Minor the style of his new empire, it would stress the independent role of this empire and support his claim to the leadership".<sup>168</sup>

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<sup>161</sup> Pedersen 1994, 12.

<sup>162</sup> Pedersen 1994, 12.

<sup>163</sup> Pedersen 1994, 27.

<sup>164</sup> Pedersen 1994, 21.

<sup>165</sup> See e.g. Hornblower, 1982 and Thomlinson, 1945.

<sup>166</sup> Tomlinson 1960, 55.

<sup>167</sup> Pedersen 1994, 24.

<sup>168</sup> Pedersen 1994, 32.

In this context, some particular characteristics of the Hekatomnid architecture will be described beginning with those of the fortifications that the Hekatomnids, Maussollos in particular, had extensively built in Halikarnassos and elsewhere in Karia, to the point that they represent an interesting continuity of the 'fortified settlements' of local Karian/Lelegian architecture. Next, other architectural components will be investigated, taking the sanctuary of Zeus Stratios at Labraunda as a basis of case study, a unit of analysis, which, according to Hellström, is a 'key monument' for understanding Hekatomnid architecture<sup>169</sup> providing a compact revelation of Hekatomnid architectural particularities. The *androns*, *propylaia*, and stoas in Labraunda, which Hellström identifies as 'Hekatomnid building types', will be treated next, followed by a separate heading for the monumental terraces including monumental stairs, due their considered importance for a comprehension of Hekatomnid 'ideals' embodied in the Ionian Renaissance in this study.

### 3.2.2.1. Fortifications

The Maussollan building projects involved the construction of immense fortifications all over Karia. At the same time, the earlier walls and towers were apparently reconstructed, as most of the latter had been (re)built with the same technique as Maussollos' Halikarnassos fortifications. This may not be very unusual as Karia is famous for its *pyrgoi* as mentioned above. However, their timing may somehow be considered to be interesting. Maussollos started the building and reinforcement of the fortifications and towers simultaneously with his *synoikismos* activities and vast building projects, that is, in the earlier years of his administration, during the King's Peace. In other words, due to this period of no-aggression politics by the King's Peace, there were, at least, no immediate threats against Karia that would require him to have fortifications built at the first hand together with the building projects, instead of sparing that resource for some additional impressive buildings. Apart from his so-called 'aggressive' politics and precautionary attitude to provide more security, a peripheral, almost 'instinctive' motive may be suggested to be underlying this attempt of 'fortifying' Karia; the 'fortified settlement' pattern of Lelegian type. Fortified settlements had continued to be in use later in Karia by the local dynasties, one of which Maussollos himself belonged to, the Hekatomnid dynasty. His palace in Halikarnassos in Zephyrion Peninsula was also fortified with strong walls, resembling those of the 'acropolis - palace complex' of the Anatolian tradition. This might also be in the very deep, an intuitive attempt for protection and feeling 'safe', 'being home', as well as being 'visible'.

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<sup>169</sup> Hellström 1994, 41.



The prominence of the Hekatomnid fortifications stems from the particularity of their wall technique and masonry.<sup>170</sup> Pedersen describes the technique used in Halikarnassos fortifications as “every second course of masonry is finished with two bonders side by side, so that they appear alternating on one side of the corner in one course and on the other side of the corner in the next course”. This system is observed for the first time in the fortifications of Halikarnassos and also in Latmos, before the middle of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC in the Hekatomnid period.<sup>171</sup> It began to be used and quickly spread all over western Asia Minor and also seen in the walls of Herakleia, Ephesos, Samos, and Perge until after the middle of 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC.

### 3.2.2.2. Temples

The Temple of Zeus at Labraunda is a small Ionic temple erected at the uppermost terrace of the sanctuary and dedicated to Zeus by Idrieus. This is stated to be ‘the first time in the history of Greek architecture carrying a dedication inscription by an individual’ and followed many others afterwards.<sup>172</sup>

The Temple of Zeus Stratios is comparatively short with 6x8 columns, as it was built over an earlier temple and kept its *in-antis* phase. Its architrave has 2 fascias, with its non-sculptured sima, and a marble roof towering the top. The pediment was covered with sculptural decoration. The columns and capitals are of archetypal Asiatic Ionic type with a base containing two scotias under a torus and a square plinth above, “as perhaps in archaic Ephesus Temple, otherwise earlier”, according to Hellström.

Hellström compares the Labraunda Temple with the Temple of Athena at Priene, which he believes shares several architectural details, and suggests that they should be the work of the same architect.<sup>173</sup> He concludes that Labraunda is the earlier one.

Of the other 4<sup>th</sup> century temples in the area that can be connected with the Hekatomnid building projects, there is the Temple of Ares and the Temple at Türkkuysu at Halikarnassos, and the Temple of Artemis at Amyzon. About the Halikarnassos temples, so little is known that they can be no real help at present. What is known is that the Temple of Ares was a large Ionic temple (with columns of a diameter of ca 1.20m) and that the

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<sup>170</sup> Pedersen 1994, 220.

<sup>171</sup> Pedersen 2004, 427.

<sup>172</sup> Hellström 1990, 243.

<sup>173</sup> For a detailed discussion and comparison of Temple of Zeus at Labraunda and Temple of Athena at Priene, see Hellström 1994, 37-38.

Türkkuyusu temple was a smaller Ionic temple with columns of about the size of the Labraunda temple.<sup>174</sup>

### 3.2.2.3. Androns

Hellström labels the *androns* as “the most unique Hekatomnid building type” which are “so far documented only at Labraunda, but it is possibly a question of time before the other androns will be identified”.<sup>175</sup> An inscription mentioning another *andron* dedicated to Zeus has been found in Halikarnassos; however, with no actual building remains yet.<sup>176</sup>

There are two *androns* at Labraunda with totally anachronistic orders. The earliest *andron* is the Andron of Maussollos, called Andron B, which is dated before 352 BC based on its architrave decoration. Being the earliest preserved building of the Hekatomnid project at Labraunda, it is an *in-antis* building with two columns on the front and with a square-like cella behind the porch. Andron A, Idrieus’ *andron* is identical to Andron B, but stands to a larger extent at its original height; only the marble entablature including the architrave and the roof are missing.

At first sight, the two buildings resemble monumental treasury buildings, or a variation of temples. However, they are different in the addition of a large raised rectangular niche at the back of the cella and with large windows opening towards the south and between the porch and the cella. This niche is thought to be the seat for statues of the god Zeus Stratios, and probably the ruling couple (Maussollos and Artemisia for Andron B; and Idrieus and Ada for Andron A) as well. They have double walls of gneiss, which are understood to have been decorated with stucco at the interior as fragments have been found at the site. Andron A has partial remnants of a stucco platform for the couches, which is thought to have been similar in Andron B.

Both buildings are of mixed orders of Ionic and Doric, with entirely marble fronts. Their Ionic columns carry Doric entablatures, and have the same type of Asiatic column bases and plinths with the temple; Andron A forms the earliest example for such a use of columns at Labraunda. The anta capitals also belong to the kind that has a long history in Asia Minor.

Above the columns and antae, to a height of 7.62m or 8.76 m was a normal Doric entablature with undecorated soffits carrying the inscriptions, which deserve special attention. The inscription at Maussollos’ Andron B reads:

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<sup>174</sup> Hellström 1994, 40.

<sup>175</sup> Hellström 1991, 40.

<sup>176</sup> Hellström 1991, 41.

“Maussollos Karios son of Hekatomnos dedicated this building to Zeus Stratios”, whereas, Idrieus’ inscription at Andron A states: “Idrieus Mylaseis son of Hekatomnos dedicated this building to Zeus Stratios.”<sup>177</sup>

This difference in the conceptions of the two inscriptions has raised some debate among scholars.<sup>178</sup> However, this is perceived not as a clash of interests between Maussollos and his brother Idrieus, but rather as a totally complementary policy making and a kind of division of labour may be suggested between the two, where Maussollos was mostly outward oriented dealing with Persia and Greece as Idrieus was taking care of internal matters en face the local dynasties and communities. Idrieus had to keep the internal *status quo* and maintain order particularly after Maussollos’ death; this might be the reason for Idrieus’ attachment to his local prefix, whereas Maussollos played more of an ‘international’ character.

However, it is perceived in this study as no clash but a totally complementary policy that was implemented by Maussollos and Idrieus; as Maussollos was a highly charismatic leader and Idrieus had to sustain the status quo first after his death.

The realization of the *andron* as a “building type” was “apparently a new architectural creation developed by the urge to glorify the Hekatomnid dynasty”, according to Hellström,<sup>179</sup> which had its eventual impact on Hellenistic and Roman architecture. Hellström defines this “building type” as “characterized by an exterior appearance of an *in-antis* temple and therefore stands out as a sacred building”, which also explains the reason for the earlier researchers to define it as a temple. The dedicatory inscription demonstrates that the building was basically intended for ritual meals and formal banqueting.

The interior fosters the message of the exterior that the building was furnished for ritual meals, *and* in the presence of the statues, most probably of the ruling couple and the god, which explains the *raison d'être* for the large, elevated niche at the back of the cella and visible from exterior. All these features make it “quite clear that this is a new kind of building” as stated by Hellström,<sup>180</sup> with no known earlier instance in Greek archaeology discovered until today. There are earlier buildings dedicated to ritual meals. However, these *hestiatoria* differ very much from the Labraunda *androns*, as they simply “imitated private dining rooms”.<sup>181</sup> Generally speaking, the latter are rather small, square rooms with a

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<sup>177</sup> Umholtz 2002, 261.

<sup>178</sup> Umholtz 2002, 262.

<sup>179</sup> Hellström 1994, 53.

<sup>180</sup> Hellström 1994, 53.

<sup>181</sup> Hellström 1994, 54.

capacity of seven to eleven couches on average, which implies a wall length of 4.5 to 6.3 m.<sup>182</sup> The sitting arrangement in classical *hestiatorion* does not imply particular importance attached to any couch position,<sup>183</sup> leaving the “question of rank” negligible in architectural expression. The Labraunda *androns*, in this regard, bring a quite interesting new outlook:

The temple form, the monumentality, the axially, the centred entrance, and the axially placed, large, elevated niche for statues, all these details indicate that the place of honour was the couch below the niche, on the axis of the building, and that the order of the couches was also a ranking order. This is the kind of building that one could expect to be crated for royal court, to accentuate the rank of a Hellenistic King. The most important novelty is, however, not the prestige aspect of the ritual setting. It is, I think, that the ritual meal was eaten in the presence of statues, placed in the room in such a way that they must have been intended to glorify the persons portrayed, if not yet actually deify them.<sup>184</sup>

#### 3.2.2.4. Stoas

Forming the easternmost end of the sanctuary, the East Stoa, 45m long and 14m deep, has six square rooms behind a Doric colonnade, which were built for banqueting purposes, capable of serving 11 couches each. Their walls are 6.3m long, with unfluted columns; and their entrances were off-set towards south. Fragments of Doric capitals and a complete *in-antis* capital have been found, which were weathered seriously. The abundance of roof tiles in the area demonstrates that they had tiled roofs.

Hellström states that there is no evidence of classical stoas have been found before the Hekatomnids, but only archaic: only two at Larissa, and one at Didyma.<sup>185</sup>

Hellström thinks that the Oikoi building in Labraunda can also be treated as a continuation of the stoa as it is basically a two-room suite behind a colonnade. Again, mixed architectural orders are utilized in this building, where the four *in-antis* columns are Doric with 20 flutes and with flat Ionic fillers. The architrave is Doric, but also without triglyphs above, even any fragments or dowel cuttings are found. He adds that there should have been an Ionic frieze, possibly undecorated, if not painted. Hellström suggests that this building was also used for banqueting. Besides the use of mixed orders, in *Oikoi* building too, there is an inscription.

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<sup>182</sup> Hellström 1994, 54. Hellström indicates that “A Classical *hestiatorion* almost never had a wall length of more than three couches, in order not to make the sympotic group too large, and inhibit pleasant conversations.”

<sup>183</sup> Hellström 1994, 54. Hellström states that there might be exceptions for the private dining rooms, where “there is an indication that the place of honour was immediately to the right of the entrance”, and for those of the *hestiatoria* at sanctuaries; however, for classical *hestiatoria*, there is no such architectural evidence.

<sup>184</sup> Hellström 1994, 54.

<sup>185</sup> Hellström 1994, 45.

The Doric House, again, is a small building with a Doric front of four *in-antis* columns with pediments on the sides, which is also considered by Hellström as a sort of stoa. It is thought to be a possible fountain house originally as there is no wall behind the colonnade.

### 3.2.2.5. Propylaia

The two *propylaia* at Labraunda are the foremost Hekatomnid propylon structures that remain to date, among those in Amyzon and elsewhere. The Labraunda *propylaia* are almost identical to each other in form and style, with only South one carrying an inscription of dedication by Idrieus. They are both built in marble in entirety and have Ionic in-ants fronts on either side, as well as had the identical intercolumniations. Their order resembles a temple, and they measure 10.63 x 10.83 on the crepidoma.

The Amyzon Gateway propylon, on the other hand, is approximately 2/3 of the size of Labraunda, measuring 7.4m in width. This is also dedicated to Idrieus. More important to Hekatomnid architecture than the *propylaia* in Labraunda however, are the monumental terraces and stairs, which form the parts of *propylaia*.

#### 3.2.2.5.1. Terraces

The monumental terraces were aptly and extensively utilized by the Hekatomnid architecture and found an immediate response, being regarded as a “characteristic” and substantial element of the Ionian Renaissance since they are found in several sites of Halikarnassos, Labraunda, Amyzon, and Priene as well.<sup>186</sup>

Labraunda terraces are substantial in this regard. When Maussollos and his brother Idrieus started the building project in Labraunda, the first step was to terrace steep mountain slope with large-scale retaining walls.<sup>187</sup>

Giving the large portico of the agora at Alinda as an example, Roland Martin states that the great porticoes also utilised terraces, where “the lower level portico acted as a retaining wall, and housing basement service quarters, while the upper storey enlarged the terrace while limiting it”.<sup>188</sup> According to Martin, the portico at Alinda was “one of the splendid models that herald the Pergamian porticoes”.<sup>189</sup>

The sanctuary of Artemis at Amyzon is a significant example for the terrace use in Hekatomnid architecture. This small temple, again, carries an inscription dedicated to

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<sup>186</sup> Pedersen 1994, 25.

<sup>187</sup> Hellström 1991, 243.

<sup>188</sup> Martin 1990, 180.

<sup>189</sup> Martin 1990, 180.

Idrieus. The temple and the *propylaia* themselves are small structures; however, the terraces form “the most important part of the architecture” in Amyzon.<sup>190</sup>

Monumental terrace is a feature associated mostly with Persian architectural practices. Although the extent of Karian receptivity to Persian material culture is very difficult to determine with the present evidence, according to Miller, it may well be argued that the appearance of these monumental terraces in 4<sup>th</sup> century Karia may have derived some inspiration from Achaemenid models like the dramatic employment of terraces at Achaemenid Sardis and Daskyleion, possibly imitating Susa and Persepolis.<sup>191</sup>

#### 3.2.2.5.2. *Monumental Stairs*

The extent use of monumental terraces as seen in Labraunda and elsewhere brings another monumental conception into the agenda of Karian architecture in the Hekatomnid period, which is closely linked: the extensive use of ‘monumental stairs’. Although not a proper building type, but rather “an essential feature of the domesticated landscape of Hekatomnid type”, the monumental staircases are a peculiar structure in Hekatomnid architecture which should rather be seen “as a part of the terraced landscape”.<sup>192</sup>

The monumental processional stairs in Labraunda served as an instrument of connexion, linking “at least seven buildings with columnar marble fronts erected” and the terraces they were built upon; therefore raising the expectations of the visitor who approached the Temple of Zeus at the uppermost terrace.

The use of monumental staircase in Labraunda, Amyzon, and Maussolleion, which is regarded as ‘the most influential part of the Hekatomnid *propylaia*’ by Hellström, is also an essential and striking feature of Achaemenid terrace architecture. They form an essential feature of the Ionian Renaissance.

The monumental stairs and more importantly, the terraces they link to each other constitute an important step in the development of terrace architecture as a Hellenistic motive that recurs for instance at Lindos and Kos, and some scholars even consider them to be the remote source of the monumental architecture in Pergamon. In other words, the Hekatomnid use of monumental stairs did not only link seemingly separate buildings to each other through terraces, but they also achieved one more thing: they conceptually linked the idea of “making effective use of a natural mountainous terrain by large-scale terraces”,

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<sup>190</sup> Pedersen 2004, 430.

<sup>191</sup> Miller 1990, 810.

<sup>192</sup> Hellström 1994, 41.

that is, 'the idea of scenography' which will set the core of Hellenistic planning later on; to the very notion of the 'Ionian Renaissance' itself.

### **3.3 SETTLEMENT RECONSTITUTED: URBAN PLANNING**

The notion of planning itself inherently implies a power practice, regulation of the terrain and settlement organization by some sort of authority. It entails an undertaking programmed in advance according to the needs and demands of the authoritative power that would also provide the vast financial resources required to realise this undertaking, in terms of urban planning; which, in this case is Maussollan urban planning practices.

Urban centres are the power bases, the locations where this authority is vested and concentrated, which is, the capital Halikarnassos in the case of Hekatomnid, more precisely, Maussollan Karia. Thus, how the individual architectural components are located within the urban context, based on the urban plan is essential to understand the presentation of power within the urban context. In this regard, firstly the Ionian Renaissance, the underlying philosophical spirit of Hekatomnid planning practices will be analyzed concerning its relationship with urban planning as it had set the determinants of planning in Halikarnassos. Then, Halikarnassos itself, the capital of Maussollos, will be examined closely; where, being the Hekatomnid power base, is crucial in how this practice of planning was realized by Hekatomnid authoritative power, and more importantly what it meant. Its relationship vis-à-vis other contemporaneous cities of its time will provide a comparative analysis of the conceptual underpinnings of different 'schools' of planning, shedding a light on differences and similarities among them and what they implied in terms of power practices.

#### ***3.3.1 Planning and the Ionian Renaissance: Orthogonality and the Idea of Scenography***

The Ionian Renaissance is the basic tenet that forms the underlying philosophy of the Hekatomnid building practices. With regards to urban planning, the Ionian Renaissance is essentially linked with the 4<sup>th</sup> century orthogonal system.<sup>193</sup> However, one bond, both physically and conceptually links the Ionian Renaissance with other forms of planning; the 'monumental terraces', which links it through 'monumental stairs' to the 'idea of scenography'.

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<sup>193</sup> See Pedersen 1990, 1998, 2002 for further details of this hypothesis.

Starting with the Ionian Renaissance itself, Pedersen, who perpetuated the notion in its specific context for the first time, differentiates it from the related concept of Ionic Architectural Renaissance.

The essence of the Ionian Renaissance is, according to Pedersen, the revival of archaic East Greek architecture, that of Western Anatolia and the islands, where the Ephesian version eventually became predominant and was used in the most important buildings, as well as the traditional ante capital from Asia Minor, like that of the 5<sup>th</sup> c. temple of Apollo at Didyma. Although some contemporary mainland Greece influence was technically inevitable in the modernization of this archaic Ionian tradition, due a large number of workmen hired from there as well as Samos, etc., such as the introduction of *opisthodomos* in Ionic temples; in the end, the choice was a distinctive and a deliberate one. In other words, as Pedersen states, "Hekatomnid architecture refers back -perhaps as a well-considered and self-conscious manifestation against the attic cultural dominance of the times - to Ionic architecture", which had been coined as "Ionic architecture" by earlier scholars, but reveals to be more encompassing than the realm of architecture, but impacting social, philosophical, and political dimensions as well- hence justifying the term, "Ionian Renaissance".

The Ionian Renaissance in terms of town planning practices, attempted a very strict systematization and orthogonality by the general use of grid systems, as stated by Pedersen.<sup>194</sup> He suggests that the units used may not have been based on a traditional system of feet and dactyls but on a number of dactyls that are easier to relate to the decimal system. This orthogonality, in turn, together with the choice of Ionic over Doric order which has inherent mathematical irregularities, relates to the philosophical tendencies of mathematical proportions in the Ionian Renaissance, which is coded and epitomised in Pytheos' and later on in Hermogenes' works.

Interestingly enough, another dominant feature in the Ionian Renaissance is the use of monumental stairs, and more importantly, the huge, monumental terraces. As exemplified in the Labraunda and Amyzon contexts, terraces have been an essential tool in the undertaking of Hekatomnid building projects. Moreover, terraces were not only important in rural but also in urban context as well, maybe even more important, hence the monumental terraces for, such as, the Sanctuary of Ares and Temple at Türkkuysu in Halikarnassos, which are 'city sanctuaries' in essence.<sup>195</sup>

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<sup>194</sup> Pedersen 2002, 112.

<sup>195</sup> Hellström 1990, 65.



Pedersen argues that the orthogonal system itself promotes the development of terrace architecture, when it has to be adapted to a steep, sloped or broken terrain.<sup>196</sup> The position of the town's squares, blocks, *insula* is dictated by the orthogonal system and not by the natural features of the site. Therefore, he suggests that the development of the Karian terrace architecture could have been promoted by the use of the orthogonal system. If so, Hippodamian urbanism and terrace architecture are not incompatible, as Pedersen also agrees, stating that "it appears insufficient to explain the monumental Carian terraces exclusively as the product of the orthogonal plan system".<sup>197</sup> As a result, therefore, he attempts to determine the Hippodamian planning tradition in which Hekatomnid planning has its roots, and to indicate some concrete sources of inspiration for the monumental terraces of Karia.

The forerunner of Karian monumental terraces is a still debated subject. Earlier scholars like Martin and Ward-Perkins proposed a theory of Persian origin for the emergence of monumental terrace architecture. In fact, the monumental terraces are not a new feature in Greek architecture as well, as they were also used in Delphi, Argive Heraion, Old Smyrna, Athens Acropolis, etc. However, none are comparable with Karian terraces. Regarding the masonry there are some interesting precursors in Ionian, Lydian, and Western Asia Minor; such as the acropolis of Sardis. Pedersen gives the façade treatment of the Pyramid tomb as an example, which may have served as an inspiration.<sup>198</sup> Altar of Poseidon at Monodendri near Miletos in the Ionian-Karian border may be also be another the place of inspiration where Hekatomnid architecture derived this decorative masonry. As Nylander suggests, the Tall-i Takht at Persepolis and altar of Poseidon at Monodendri are both representatives of the Ionian-Lydian architectural tradition, for which, he suggested that the workmen had been hired from Ionia and Lydia, including Karians as well. Along with the discussion on masonry, Pedersen concludes that "with the ancient Ionian-Lydian terrace structures at Miletos and Sardis, and the new terrace architecture in the Hipodamian town plan of Rhodes, the basis was laid for the Hekatomnids' introduction of monumental terrace architecture in 4<sup>th</sup> century south-west Asia Minor".<sup>199</sup>

Therefore, Pedersen, without ruling out any connection of Near Eastern influence such as Persian or even Phoenician architecture on Hekatomnid architecture, sees the greater influence within Western Asia Minor itself. Hence, he proposes the direction of influence the

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<sup>196</sup> Pedersen 1990, 109.

<sup>197</sup> Pedersen 1990, 110.

<sup>198</sup> Pedersen 1990, 110.

<sup>199</sup> Pedersen 1990, 111.

other way round, stating that it may have been Western Asia Minor architecture that influenced the Persian.<sup>200</sup>

Scholars earlier than Pedersen deployed a different conceptualization of the use of terrace architecture in Hekatomnid architecture and planning. The first and foremost are the descriptions by Roland Martin of the Karian terrace architecture, and subsequently urban planning, whose views had been widely accepted among scholars, but argued against by Pedersen's findings. Martin suggested that "in the course of the 4<sup>th</sup> century, a new element was introduced by the architects who worked for the satraps of Caria",<sup>201</sup> i.e. for Maussollos at his capital Halikarnassos, for his brother Idrieus in the sanctuaries at Labraunda and Amyzon, and for his sister Ada in Alinda, her capital. Yet, according to Martin, all these address at "a system of great terraces, boldly defined by handsome retaining walls and linked by flights of stairs crowned by *propyla*", on which buildings are located with the intention of creating a visual assemblage among them and integrate them "with the lines of the artificial landscape".<sup>202</sup> Martin was more confident in tracing the source of inspiration to the Persian terrace architecture, since he firmly states that "the Greek architects were here inspired more by Achaemenid than by Hellenistic tradition and more by royal architecture than by that of the democratic cities".<sup>203</sup>

There are substantial differences in the conceptual patterns that Martin and Pedersen dwell upon: while the former regards monumental terraces as the utilisation of architecture to create an artificial landscape, the latter takes the same monumental terraces as a tool for the artificial regulation of the landscape into orthogonal town plan. However, what Martin and Pedersen shares, is more important than their difference: the introduction of the Hekatomnids a new notion into the architecture and planning; that of terraces, but 'great' or 'monumental' terraces. This is the point that distinguishes Karian terrace architecture in Ionian Renaissance from the earlier usage of terraces in the context of Greek architecture; the attribution of another notion than functionality to the terraces, that is, monumentality, which makes terraces a manipulative tool in terms of urban planning. They, in fact, distort the notion of orthogonality, not may be in mathematical terms, i.e. they do not play against the grids; however, they put a third dimension upwards, breaking the monotony of the two-dimensioned orthogonal plan. This is because they are 'monumental', and not just functional; they are larger and higher than required to provide the conformity of the building to the

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<sup>200</sup> Pedersen 1990, 111-112.

<sup>201</sup> Martin 1990, 179.

<sup>202</sup> Martin 1974, 180.

<sup>203</sup> Martin 1974, 180.

orthogonal system in the sloped terrain. Therefore, in a sense they scrape the implied meaning of the orthogonal plan from a reflection of an equal society into a mere means for the ease of planning, to a planning tool; they are just functional, the monumental terraces set the scene, manipulating the sights of the viewers towards the building that they seated. Monumentality of the terraces achieves this, by providing an artificial landscape on the third dimension, breaking the monotony, and thus creating a 'scenographic effect', with the exploitation of these artificial landscape heights. This is where terraces take the planning in Ionian Renaissance into another realm than orthogonality, to idea of scenography. This is the transition of terraces from an architectural element to a planning element, to demonstrate the idea of scenography in terms of planning.

The idea of "exploiting the terrain for scenographic effect" can be traced back to the classical period; however, "often buildings remain essentially individual structures and visual unity is achieved by the sloping terrain".<sup>204</sup> In this regard is the Hekatomnid architecture important in the development of this idea of scenography. Hanfmann especially credits the Hekatomnids in particular for the translation of the idea of scenography into urban planning. Acknowledging the extent of their architectural activities, Hanfmann strongly emphasizes that "scenographic planning may have been pioneered during the late classical age by the Hekatomnid dynasty, known to have been utilised to some extent in the buildings at Labraunda and in the rebuilding of Halikarnassos". As Hanfmann suggests it very enthusiastically, "the old Anatolian acropolis-palace came back in a grandiose and monumental form" with the Hekatomnid planning activities, following the orthogonal, or Milesian grid-plan.<sup>205</sup> Martin, as well, categorizes this new phenomenon as a rise of a new school of urban planning in Asia Minor; working with three-dimensional units that emphasized both vertical and horizontal compositions, rather than the linear two-dimensional Milesian grid based system. This new approach required more dynamic and monumental environment, paying a much greater heed to the configuration of the landscape and utilised the site to create dramatic views.<sup>206</sup> This development is termed as "scenographic planning", which had been the precursor of the Hellenistic planning that found its most peculiar form in the 'monumental planning' of Pergamon.

It can be suggested that the idea of scenography was reflected in the architecture by means of a 'theatrical mentality'. The theatrical mentality is expressed, in line with scenographic planning, "in the choice of dramatic settings for temples, in a fondness for dramatic vistas

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<sup>204</sup> Hanfmann 1974, 41.

<sup>205</sup> Hanfmann 1974, 41.

<sup>206</sup> Lehmann 1954, 15-20.

and exciting, unexpected spatial changes within buildings, and although the evidence for it is scanty, in what seems to have a taste for a kind of façade architecture, possibly influenced by stage settings”.<sup>207</sup> A certain theatricality in planning and design, sometimes involving “an increasing interest in the manipulation of interior for emotional effects”, which may also be an “expression of that tendency toward mysticism, which was an aspect of Hellenistic which was an aspect of Hellenistic individualism”.<sup>208</sup>

In this regard, Labraunda was like the Hekatomnid laboratory of the Ionian Renaissance characterized by the mixing of orders, creation of ‘new’ architectural forms, surprising effects, use of the vista, etc. The Labraunda sanctuary acted as a precursor for the bigger plan of Halikarnassos, for trying out all these affects on a small scale so as to reflect theatrical mentality in urban planning with scenographic planning through the extensive use of terraces. In this regard, Ionian Renaissance did what it did in Labraunda architecturally, planning-wise in Halikarnassos: mixed ‘orders’.

### 3.3.2 *Planning and Halikarnassos*

Inseparably interrelated with the debates on Karian terrace architecture, regarding the layout of the city of Halikarnassos, there are two major strands of theorization. The first one is termed traditionally as ‘scenographic planning’, where the city is regarded like a theatre as a whole, as supported by Martin, Hanfmann, and Owens. The latter, on the other hand, is a more recent theory related to ‘orthogonal planning’, which is supported by the later academicians who worked in Halikarnassos and/or Labraunda excavations, like Pedersen, Jeppesen, and Hellström.

As in 1922, Von Gerkan was the first to mention the possibility of an orthogonal planning that might have been applied to Maussollan Halikarnassos.<sup>209</sup> K. Jeppesen in 1966 had argued that a Hippodamian plan might have been applied to the site, later on emphasizing more this possibility, while R. Martin sees the influence of the terraced plan of Persepolis; however, “both views may contain a measure of truth, for the Hekatomnid buildings in the city showed an admixture of Greek and non-Greek forms and concepts” as stated by Demand.<sup>210</sup> To start with, one of the most striking descriptions for the layout of the city of Halikarnassos comes from one of the ancient sources: Vitruvius. Vitruvius points out

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<sup>207</sup> Pollitt 1990, 111.

<sup>208</sup> Pollitt 1990, 230.

<sup>209</sup> Pedersen 1990, 95.

<sup>210</sup> Demand 1990, 125.

resemblance to a theatre as the stepped arrangement required by the *theatri curvatura*, the city was curved like a theatre.

The place had a curvature like that of the seats in a theatre. On the lowest tier, along the harbour, was built the forum. About half-way up the curving slope, at the point where the curved cross-aisle is in a theatre, a broad wide street was laid out, in the middle of which was built the Mausoleum (...) At the top of the hill, in the centre, is the fane of Mars (...) At the extreme right of the summit is the fane of Venus and Mercury, close to the spring of Salmacis.<sup>211</sup>

Hanfmann describes Halikarnassos similar to Vitruvius, where he says that the city “rises like an open air theatre around the wooden bay”. Similarly, according to Owens, “the terrain was skilfully utilised and the buildings were extensively terraced for visual effect” in Halikarnassos.<sup>212</sup>

When looked at Halikarnassos from the theatre, which is also a Maussollan edifice located to the Gökçetepe, the city beneath lies oriented in a panoramic vista. The standing remains in Halikarnassos that are known of are, the terrace of Hagia Marina, terrace of Mars, the stoa of the Thirty Columns, and the Maussolleion. Maussolleion is seated over a terrace dominating the central part of the city close to the Agora. The terrace of the Temple of Mars is located to a little further north of the agora. It is less than 100m long with some 105m width. Stoa of the Thirty Columns is a little further west. And the palace of Maussollos was located on the Zephyrion peninsula, on the opposite end to the Maussolleion.

Ruzicka, suggests that Maussollos setting out a magnificent capital at Halikarnassos was based “not on the Persian satrapal model of palace and surrounding *paradeisos* in a rural setting, but on an adaptation of the Greek urban model with a palace placed in a city”.<sup>213</sup> However, in terms of the scenographic effect of the city planning, the vastly used terraces may be regarded to have acted as ‘caveats’ of the theatre, visually speaking, as an act of “landscape architecture”.<sup>214</sup> As an Achaemenian architectural element, terracing in Halikarnassos, particularly on steep slopes may be thought together with some planting

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<sup>211</sup> Vitruvius 8.12., see Annex 3. On the other hand, Pedersen understands the text as follows:

Lowermost by the harbour the Agora was situated like the orchestra of a theatre. Midway up the slope was the main street of Halikarnassos placed like the *praecinctio* or horizontal causeway of the theatre. Adjoining this was the Maussolleion, and further up in the middle, like on the centre of the uppermost row of benches in the theatre, was the Sanctuary of Mars. (Pedersen 2001, 102)

<sup>212</sup> Owens 1992, 89.

<sup>213</sup> Ruzicka 1992, 34.

<sup>214</sup> I am grateful to my thesis advisor, Prof. Suna Güven, for bringing up this point.

activities over the terraces, in addition to the location of precious buildings over them; which, may bear some resemblance to the concept of *paradeisos*, as a somehow remote inspiration.<sup>215</sup>

Hornblower boldly claims there is certainly nothing Hippodamian in Halikarnassos with regards to the planning of the city. Martin, on the other hand, states that Halikarnassos adopts itself to the natural configuration of the site, as the hills and slopes are utilized for the benefit of the better presentation of the monumental structures in the city. Martin sees Halikarnassos and Karian planning in the late classical period as a direct precursor of the monumental urbanism of Hellenistic Pergamon. However, he never articulates that the Halikarnassos plan was not orthogonal, but according to Pedersen, this is the idea one gets.<sup>216</sup>

Pedersen compares the planning of Halikarnassos to that of Rhodes and concludes that contrary to the consideration of the two being totally in contrast, they were in fact both strictly orthogonal and even that Rhodes must have been the main source of inspiration for Maussollos to carry out such a plan, and even for the *synoikismos*. Pedersen also found out in his study that the modern streets of Halikarnassos coincide with the grid system, which is the same case in the city of Rhodes.

The planning of Halikarnassos can be best understood in comparison with other cities analyzing the different schools of thought in planning which have their place in its planning in one way or another. Therefore, although seemingly paradoxical; both orthogonal and scenographic at the same time, monumental planning have their impact on the city of Halikarnassos.

### **3.3.2.1 Halikarnassos and Priene: Orthogonal Planning**

Priene and Halikarnassos are closely related, in terms of both the architecture and planning as well. Built later than Halikarnassos, Priene became an inspiration in a short time for cities to be founded in orthogonal system. The strictly orthogonal planning of Priene can be regarded as a product of the architectural trend of the Ionian Renaissance which began in the first half of the 4th century BC, but soon prevailed in all of western Asia Minor in the late classical period. According to Pedersen, Priene was probably designed by architects and planners who had worked in Hekatomnid Karia and the leading architect, Pytheos, worked both on the Maussolleion and on the Temple of Athena at Priene. It is even argued by S.T.

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<sup>215</sup> For more information on ancient terracing, see Foxhall 1996, 132.

<sup>216</sup> Pedersen 1990, 99.

Schipporeit that the Hekatomnids were in fact instrumental in the foundation of the new Priene, ca. 350 BC.<sup>217</sup>

The orthogonal planning, which is sometimes called Hippodamian, Milesian, or functional planning, was a great success according to Hanfmann; it was developed from "a wedding of geometrical theory, rationalisation of social life, and simplicity of the layout",<sup>218</sup> of which, Priene presents one of the best preserved examples. Essentially, the orthogonal plan was based on the geometrical division of site and as a model had the shape and dimensions of the '*insula*' or block. Traditionally attributed to Hippodamos, this planning system was applied in Miletos, where he made a geometrical type of urban plan based on the functional squares of the city, after the Persian destruction in 494 BC. Priene is accepted to be one of the most characteristic examples of orthogonal planning, where "house and public buildings were integrated in these defined areas which formed the basic elements of this plan; the regular arrangement of agoras, temples, and gymnasia was governed by the proportions of the block".<sup>219</sup> Martin states that this in return led to the reduction of the architectural composition to an "unanimous adaptation to the linear movement of the plan". The outlines of the buildings were subject to the grid structure, so that, as Martin says "their individuality was toned down" and the streets, which were already reduced in proportions, could not develop wider, as well as were inappropriate for "monumental perspectives":

(...) at Priene, the only form of decoration seems to have been the massive masonry of the foundations. Priene provides a concise example of the possibilities and limitations of this plan. Paradoxically applied at an extremely uneven, mountainous site, the cross streets were often transformed into staircases so that methods of transport were limited to beasts of burden. It was difficult to insert large buildings into the network, even though they were integrated in the orthogonal plan and corresponded to a whole number of blocks. The Agora, the Temple of Athena on its terrace, and the Gymnasium all tended to enlarge themselves to the detriment of the streets; it is quite likely that the temple blocked the way to the west so that the streets of Athena could not reach the rampart.<sup>220</sup>

The strictly orthogonal system of Priene is regarded as a "product of the architectural trend which began in Halikarnassos" and continued in Ephesos in the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>221</sup> It is even suggested that the Hekatomnids were 'instrumental' in the founding of the new Priene, as stated by Schipporeit.<sup>222</sup> If so, this is totally in conformity with their acts politically and

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<sup>217</sup> Schipporeit 1998, 89; also see Pedersen 2004, 412.

<sup>218</sup> Hanfmann 1974, 26.

<sup>219</sup> Martin 1974, 180.

<sup>220</sup> Martin 1974, 180.

<sup>221</sup> Pedersen 2004, 54.

<sup>222</sup> Schipporeit 1998, 89; also see Pedersen 2004, 412.

architecturally. On the other hand, stating the unlikeliness of the refoundation of a small town like Priene without the aid of the dominant powers of the era, Tuna opposes the view that it was the Hekatomnids (or Athenians) who were responsible for the foundation of the New Priene. He points to the epigraphic evidence adding more to the weight of Alexander's role in the foundation of New Priene.<sup>223</sup> Although the location of the old Priene is not known, he emphasizes that while an inscription dated to 330 BC still uses the name Naulochon pointing out to the old Priene, the Naulchon type coins carry the label ΠΙΡ instead of ΝΑΥ. This, according to Tuna, addresses that the refoundation of Priene, which should have been started with the support of Ada as the ruler of the region, stands out as a Alexandrian project of Hellen type of *synoikismos*, as in the case of Smyrna.<sup>224</sup>

Pedersen suggests that the rationalism of the Priene city plan conforms with the theoretical ideas generally ascribed to the architects of the Ionian Renaissance, with those of Pytheos and later on, Hermogenes. Moreover, orthogonality, according to Pedersen, is a basic principle in Hekatomnid planning, and "especially the plan and terraces in Halikarnassos show that it must be connected with Greek 'Hippodamian' tradition".<sup>225</sup>

In Priene, orthogonality, as an 'ideal' in a sense, was 'imposed' on the terrain and the street system; this resulted in the streets being stepped in some places. In addition, several of the larger squares had to be built up artificially with the aid of terrace walls, as in the terrace of Temple of Athena at Priene.<sup>226</sup>

### 3.3.2.2 Halikarnassos and Kos & Lindos: Scenographic Planning

According to Martin, the development of terrace architecture is illustrated by two great sanctuaries, the Asklepios of Kos and the Temple of Athena at Lindos, on Rhodes. However, although seemingly paradoxical, both these cities have orthogonal planning system, bearing the similar dilemma with Halikarnassos.

To start with, the island of Kos, the closer neighbour of Halikarnassos, shared a number of common traits in terms of urban planning, as well as some political practices, which imply a certain degree of interaction between the two. Except for the western part, Kos is "regularly patterned and uniformly subdivided",<sup>227</sup> enjoying a certain degree of orthogonality in the planning system, like Halikarnassos. The ancient urban centre is divided by a wide main

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<sup>223</sup> Tuna 1999, 481.

<sup>224</sup> Tuna 1999, 481.

<sup>225</sup> Pedersen 1990, 109.

<sup>226</sup> Pedersen 1990, 109.

<sup>227</sup> Castagnoli 1971, 84.



street running in the east-west direction. The master plan of Kos, according to Morricone as quoted by Castagnoli, dates back to 366 BC, which is contemporaneous, even almost simultaneous with that of Halikarnassos. This complies with another interesting commonality between Halikarnassos and Kos & Lindos that all three cities have undergone *synoikismos*.

The great sanctuary of Asklepios on the island of Kos was located on the slopes of the hills that line the southern boundary of the plain that hosted the city and the port of Kos. At this particular spot, as a general feature of such Asklepeia, were natural springs that gave the place its holy nature. The importance of Kos in the development of terrace architecture is demonstrated by this sanctuary, which is set on a rising series of terraces adorned with stoas, stairways, temples, altars, and fountains, seems to have been designed with the idea of visitors (mainly those who were ill and had come to the god to seek relief from disease) would move, in an almost ritual fashion, to successively more elevated literally and metaphorically) levels of spiritual intensity.<sup>228</sup>

The lowest terrace was developed in the late 4<sup>th</sup> and early 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries and consisted of a propylon, a U-shaped stoa, and a fountain house. Following that came the middle terrace dated to 3<sup>rd</sup> century, which contained the modest Ionic temple on the right, across a 4<sup>th</sup> century altar, similar to the altar of Zeus at Pergamon. The remaining parts of the temple were part of a building program carried out in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century in accordance with Hermogenes' recommendations. On the left, a small stoa was located, dated to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, and a square structure, possibly an *abaton* (reclining house) was added at the beginning of the second century to complete the "still rudimentary installation" according to Martin.<sup>229</sup> Martin states that "the buildings were arranged in the old manner, placed without thought for anything but cult practices, and there is no evidence of a conscious architectural grouping". On the upper terrace, at the last step, surrounded by another U-shaped portico, there was the Doric Temple of Asklepios, constructed ca. 160 BC.

A comparable, yet more grandiose example is observed in Lindos, which is considered as even more 'instructive' regarding the development of terrace architecture, as Martin states "the modelling of the successive terraces with the aid of porticoes, colonnades and interlocking stairways was carried out in successive stages, so that one can recognize the processes used by the architects to impose a unity that is sometimes artificial".<sup>230</sup> In terms of

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<sup>228</sup> Pollitt 1990, 82.

<sup>229</sup> Martin 1988, 185.

<sup>230</sup> Martin 1974, 186.

the general layout of the city, although it is orthogonal, just in the same manner that Hanfmann (deriving from Vitruvius) resembles Halikarnassos to an open air theatre, Pollitt describes Lindos like a 'ship's prow':

The acropolis of Lindos is dramatic enough just as a geological structure, projecting as it does out into the sea like a great ship's prow.

Similar to Kos and Halikarnassos, in Lindos, there is the seemingly paradoxical use of terrace architecture together with the general orthogonal layout of the city: the Sanctuary of Athena. The cultic importance of the place where the sanctuary is built dedicated to Athena Lindia traces back to archaic times, as also implied by the first temple on the highest terrace which is associated with the sacred grotto below. Martin states that this ritual sitting remained unaffected for by later quests for symmetry.

The Doric Temple of Athena at Lindos is situated on a high, south-western point of this acropolis. It was built in ca. 330 BC over an older archaic shrine, and in the following period, "the dramatic setting of the new temple was enhanced by an architectural elaboration of the acropolis which screened off the crowning temple from immediate view and oblige one to ascend a series of stairways and pass through several gateways before the final vista was 'revealed'". A 87m long, wide-winged Doric stoa first welcomes the visitor, then he 'ascends' through a series of stairs to a *propylaia*.

Architectural setting was utilized in order to establish a series of stages for the dramatic 'climax' at the end, or, at the top; as the ascending setting not only increases the elevation, but also the expectations of the viewer to the topmost level possible.

Even when the natural terrain did not offer an obviously dramatic vista, as it did at Lindos, Hellenistic architects were able to create this sense of ascending, progressively more enthralling experience by using their repertoire of ramps, colonnades, and gates in a calculated, coordinated way.<sup>231</sup>

Pollitt states that the elaboration of the architecture of sacred sites "purely for the purpose of offering a kind of touristic thrill to those who visited them" is a purely Hellenistic conception. Architectural elements are used to 'set up' potential viewers so "they can gasp with delight as new vistas are successively opened to them".<sup>232</sup> The Hellenistic setting of the Temple of Athena at Lindos on Rhodes provides one of the most impressive examples for such arrangements, according to Pollitt.

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<sup>231</sup> Pollitt 1990, 231.

<sup>232</sup> Pollitt 1990, 230.

### 3.3.2.3 Halikarnassos and Pergamon: Monumental Planning

The first instances of the topographical planning works, which have been utilized vastly in Pergamon afterwards, were implemented in Halikarnassos in this period, which is also considered as a pioneer of the Hellenistic city planning.

The monumentality of Pergamon may be suggested to result from the application of the theatrical mentality and scenographic planning principles not to a limited space like a sanctuary, temple, etc. but homogenously to all over the city. Hence the separation made between scenographic and monumental planning, which is an important nuance for the purposes of this thesis.

Martin gives the credit for developing such an original understanding of planning with the introducing of monumentality and feeling for related masses into the planning of the cities to the Pergamene architects.

Pergamon was located on an outcrop outside the high massif of the Madra Dağ, ancient Pindasus, between deep valleys formed by two branches of the Caicus River, the Selinus on the west, and the Ketius on the east.<sup>233</sup> At the summit is placed the acropolis, rising approximately 335m above sea level and 275m above the plain surrounding, forming a kind of platform slightly tilted towards the west and descending in a series of landings towards the south.

Basically three essential phases of development are observed at Pergamon;<sup>234</sup> the first being the Hellenistic phase with very little remains, including the early Hellenistic stronghold on the hilltop. The second stage is the developing city, extending down the hill and encircled by a fortification wall built by Attalos I.<sup>235</sup> The third and the last stage is laid over an even more extensive area on which new fortifications were built by Eumenes II, in the early part of the second century BC. Below these walls and fortifications, there was a settlement lying over the lower valley, and a sanctuary of Asklepios towards the south-east.

The originality of Pergamon stems from its dramatic utilization of the natural terrain, incorporating it to the urban planning and architecture. In other words, Pergamon “takes full advantage of its dramatic position”,<sup>236</sup> whose architects managing “finally developing

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<sup>233</sup> Martin 1980, 180.

<sup>234</sup> Tomlinson 1990, 115.

<sup>235</sup> The ruler of Pergamon, “who had taken the title of king after a great victory over the Gauls” as stated by Tomlinson, 1992, 115.

<sup>236</sup> Tomlinson 1990, 111.

their predecessors' feeling for landscape and siting buildings in perfect harmony with natural lines of the landscape".<sup>237</sup>

Martin gives the credit for developing such an original understanding of planning with the introducing of monumentality and feeling for related masses into the planning of the cities to the Pergamene architects. He also states that Pergamene terrace-architecture had been developed on the basis of Hekatomnid terraces, however, some others believe no direct connection has been demonstrated yet.<sup>238</sup> Martin's theory had such interesting aspects and coherence that his views were influential and widely accepted among scholars since its first articulation in late 50s. Hornblower, for instance, regarding the Maussollan planning activities in Halikarnassos, wrote that there is nothing Hippodamian about it. However, these views did not go unchallenged, particularly with the restart of excavation activities in 60s by Jeppesen, and later since 80s with Pedersen, who suggested a totally different approach to the subject matter. Based on their continued researches, they stated a totally different approach.

An in-between approach has come relatively recently from Owens, who argues that this possible forerunner to Pergamon is to be found rather in Labraunda than Halikarnassos.<sup>239</sup> According to Owens, the underlying design of Halikarnassos differs from that of Pergamon. The design of Pergamon acropolis is the product of a gradual development of more than a century. Both on the acropolis and the lower slopes, the individual building are organically integrated as a 'series of complexes', which present a united composition of an impressive, fascinating urban landscape. On the other hand, Owens notes interesting similarities of the sanctuary to Zeus Stratios at Labraunda with the arrangements in Pergamon, though the former has "neither the same complexity nor the same monumentality in construction and design as Pergamon".<sup>240</sup> He describes Labraunda as a steep site where "the reconstruction necessitated terracing and the construction of ramps and stairways for access" (Fig. 7), and "the precinct was approached from the east, and two imposing entrance-ways gave access to a group of building complex was situated at a higher level at the western end of the site and included the temple itself, dining-rooms, houses and a stoa", which were "all arranged on different levels but nevertheless its simple landscaping and effective terracing brings a sense of unity to the buildings" united and cohesive arrangement". Therefore, he states "it is

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<sup>237</sup> Martin 1990, 180.

<sup>238</sup> Pedersen 1994,18.

<sup>239</sup> Owens 1992, 89. Owens makes a thorough analysis of Martin's and Ward's theories by comparing Pergamon with Halikarnassos and Labraunda.

<sup>240</sup> Owens 1992, 89.

surely at Labraunda and other more modest sites that the direct antecedents of Pergamene planning were to be found".<sup>241</sup>

Owens goes on to argue further that there is no dominant building at Pergamon.<sup>242</sup> However, the more important particularity and difference of Pergamon lies not in the absence of a dominant building, but the presence of it: for the first time not the temple but the theatre, as a secular structure, dominates the city as a whole.

Pedersen, in his recent writings, brings about a whole new approach to the relationship between Pergamon and Halikarnassos, utilizing the concept of Ionian Renaissance like a stepping board. Although it is a fact that there are "great differences between the regular, systematic planning typical of the cities" of the Ionian Renaissance, and the planning of Pergamon, Pedersen suggests that "the great changes took place in 4<sup>th</sup> century Asia Minor did also affect Pergamon at this time, and that the architectural revival of 4<sup>th</sup> century BC Asia Minor did leave an impression on Pergamon as well".<sup>243</sup>

Pedersen analyses certain architectural components of Pergamon, seeking for the traces of Ionian Renaissance in the building techniques, masonry style, and other minute detail. He analyzes the masonry of the wall of Philateiros observing that "in the corners the ashlar have been placed vertically according to a regular system" where, again, "every second course of masonry is finished with two bonders side by side, so that they appear alternating on one side of the corner in one course and on the other side of the corner in the next course", which is the exact definition of the double corner-bonding technique of Hekatomnid fortification masonry (see 3.2.2.1. *Fortifications* above). Therefore, addressing at the need for a more systematic analysis, and judging from the detail of the corner-bonding, he suggests that "the fortification technique developed in a way comparable to that of the monumental architecture of the Ionian Renaissance. So in this respect the Philetarian fortifications of Pergamon apparently fit logically into the tradition of the Ionian Renaissance and the 4<sup>th</sup> century architecture of Asia Minor".<sup>244</sup> He concludes his argument as follows:

(...) it may perhaps be said that some of the evidence at hand at present suggests that the remarkable development of Pergamon from a small fortified town to a centre of the Hellenistic world began in Asia Minor *context*, and that this happened as early as the fourth century BC (...) All this (the building activities) has its place in the general development of the western Asia Minor in the years following the King's Peace. What little can be studied of architecture from this period at Pergamon

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<sup>241</sup> Owens 1992, 89.

<sup>242</sup> Owens 1992, 89.

<sup>243</sup> Pedersen 2004, 412.

<sup>244</sup> Pedersen 2004, 429.

suggests that the vernacular tradition of the Ionian Renaissance also prevailed here – influenced perhaps by Archaic buildings in the region and certainly by Greek mainland trends, as was the case everywhere in the vigorous, flowering culture of 4<sup>th</sup> century western Asia Minor.<sup>245</sup>

Bammer points out another aspect of Pergamon stating that “the altar of Pergamon is the last important monument in Asia Minor related to the so-called Ionian Renaissance”. Hoepfner finds yet another parallel: he states that even the Great Altar of Pergamon can be clearly related to the Asiatic tradition as demonstrated e.g. “by the columns’ bases”, and moreover, it is thought to have a more intrinsic relationship with more important buildings of the Ionian Renaissance; i.e. the Maussoleion at Halikarnassos.<sup>246</sup>

Thus, “even though the Pergamenes may have tried to attach themselves culturally to Athens, they did have strong roots in the Asia Minor tradition”, as Pedersen convincingly states.

#### **3.3.2.4 Urban Planning in Halikarnassos**

Although Pedersen clearly demonstrated the use of a strict orthogonality in the urban planning of Halikarnassos, as he also implies in his later writings, it is not entirely correct to describe the city plan of Halikarnassos as solely orthogonal. It is a fact that orthogonality in all senses is ‘utilised’ in Halikarnassos planning, however, this has its own limits as it has been thoroughly in ‘functional’ terms, in the real sense of the word.

Halikarnassos is not as ‘orthogonal’ as in the case of Priene. The mentalities in the building of Halikarnassos and Priene differed drastically: the grid system used in Halikarnassos does not impose a strict orthogonality for the sake of planning, but rather tends to imply a hierarchy between buildings through orthogonality, high-lighting the locations of certain monuments and important eye-catching buildings, including the Palace of Maussollos. The basic idea for the unusual placement of buildings was a show-off for the monarch, or the intention to manifest the grandeur of the Hekatomnids and their land. However in Priene, the orthogonality is ‘imposed’ to the site with a regular and ordinary placement of the buildings that can form a typical Greek city underlining the democratic structures in the city. As Radt stated quoted by Pedersen, it is not only the geographical position that determine the structure of a town planning activity, but also, even more importantly, the social and administrative structure of the society to live in that settlement.

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<sup>245</sup> Pedersen 2004, 427.

<sup>246</sup> For Hoepfner’s account on the relation between the Maussoleion at Halikarnassos and the Great Altar at Pergamon, see Chapter 3.

Orthogonal system itself was not the aim but the means to reach the aim, in Halikarnassos; that is setting the most feasible stage possible to display in the most impressive way the urban imagery formed by the monumental buildings. A challenge to orthogonality not as a system but the underlying, determining idea comes from the urban imagery itself: the unusual constellation of buildings within the plan. Mars temple and its terrace, Mausolleion with again its terrace, Palace of Maussollos, were all located in places that they would be most impressive.

Moreover, terraces in Halikarnassos are not always used for their functionality, but rather for a theatrical effect: they serve as if artificially built scenes. Their monumental sizes both in terms of height and width, contradicts with the functional use of terraces to maintain orthogonality.

On the other hand, when compared to Pergamon and monumental planning, despite the certain visual unity that its plan has, Halikarnassos has one particular difference above all that stands out of the plan, which directs all the attention towards one particular focal point in the city: to Maussollos' tomb, the Mausolleion:

The tomb is not located on high ground overlooking the city but it is positioned to along the central avenue of Halicarnassus, and can be seen from the Harbour, and dominates the views from theatre and other vantage points throughout the city. *The layout of Halicarnassus utilises the terrain to direct the vision towards the centre-piece of the town, the tomb of Mausolus.*<sup>247</sup>

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<sup>247</sup> Owens 1992, 71 (*italics are mine*).

## CHAPTER IV

### DISPLAY OF HEKATOMNID POWER: THE MAUSSOLLEION

When approaching from the sea, “the major approach”<sup>248</sup> to Halikarnassos, the ancient observer would probably get the feeling of a city curved like a theatre, without observing a monotonous orthogonality. Rather he would see a dramatic theatricality. His first impression would be a dramatic vista composed not only by the natural features but also, and even more, by the scenographic panorama created by the urban planning; in which the Maussoleion in the centre played the leading role.

Standing over a 7m high terrace encircled by a ca 2.5m peribolos wall of white marble, the Maussoleion was “hung up in the void air”<sup>249</sup> reaching a height of 57m. Due to its monumentality, scale, and prominent position in the city, the Maussoleion “not only dominated the city but may also have served as a familiar landmark for sailors”.<sup>250</sup> In particular the Maussoleion terrace, with its 7m height, “must have been a very predominant feature in the city when viewed by someone approaching Halikarnassos from the sea”, to the extent that “its long, unbroken line in two colours of stone could be probably seen from as far away as the island of Kos”.<sup>251</sup> The pyramid crowning the top of the monument was, for the same viewer, “the visual center of the waterfront, symbolizing the immortality of the ruler after death”.<sup>252</sup>

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<sup>248</sup> Krischen 1956, 72.

<sup>249</sup> Hornblower 1982, 75.

<sup>250</sup> Fedak 1991, 73.

<sup>251</sup> Pedersen 2004, 431.

<sup>252</sup> Hanfmann 1974, 28.



## 4.1. THE MAUSSOLLEION: IMAGERY AND THE MONUMENT

Perhaps it is one of the most paradoxical, and thought provoking feature of this most influential tomb monument of the ancient world is that no major parts have remained, due to both earthquakes, and later on the Knights of the St. Jean of Rhodes. This has led to a wide array of imaginations about the monument over time. Following the latest Danish excavations and publications, we now have a rather well-known restoration of the Maussoleion.

### 4.1.1. *The Imagery*

Although no trace of the superstructure is extant, the perception of the Maussoleion has been remarkably influential. Three aspects concerning the impact of the Maussoleion are singled out in this study: urban imagery, historical imagery and public imagery, as described in consecutive sections.

#### 4.1.1.1. **Urban Imagery: Position in the Urban Plan**

There are no remains of the two most important buildings of Halikarnassos from the Maussollan building programme: the Palace and the Maussoleion. Vitruvius defines the position of the Mausoleum in the city of Halikarnassos as “in the middle of a street running like a gangway *per mediam altitudinis curvaturam*, ‘through the middle zone of the inclined curvature’ that was the natural theatre to which he compares the city as a whole”.<sup>253</sup>

The monumental tomb fits into the urban plan which clearly indicates that it was planned or at least the area for it was reserved in the time of Maussollos. As cited in Vitruvius, the market was located directly above the harbour, indicating a position that would fit the immediate east of the Maussoleion terrace. This is confirmed by a 15m wide thoroughfare along the northern section of the terrace, which supposedly served for the purpose of “conveying large crowds of people towards the centre of the city, i.e. the market square”.<sup>254</sup>

At the middle of the east side of the terrace and bonded with it was a building projecting markedly from the line of the wall, the purpose of which is difficult to understand unless it is assumed to have functioned as a propylon giving access from the lower level of the market square to the Maussoleion enclosure above.(...) The position of the market square right below the east side of the Maussoleion terrace explains why the monument was erected in the easternmost part of the terrace where it could best be seen from the market. What the rest of the terrace space was

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<sup>253</sup> Vitruvius, 8.11, see Annex 3. Also, Hornblower 1982, 228.

<sup>254</sup> Jeppesen 1994, 80.

used for is a matter of conjecture, but its oblong form may have been imposed by principles of town planning. Possibly, the Maussoleion was already anticipated when Maussollos decided to transfer his residence to Halikarnassos, and a site in the form of an *insula* was reserved for later implementation.<sup>255</sup>

#### 4.1.1.2. Historical Imagery: Early History and Ancient Sources

The traditional history of the Maussoleion depends on a number of ancient sources including Pliny and Vitruvius.<sup>256</sup> Among these, Pliny gives one of the most detailed descriptions of the monument.<sup>257</sup> Indeed, the monument was almost more famous than its owner Maussollos. The mythical story of Artemisia's grief after her deceased husband added to the mythological aura surrounding the monument. In fact, due to this mythology, the Maussoleion was long believed to be built by Artemisia after Maussolleion died even by modern scholars. According to the story, Artemisia, who could not bear the pain of her grief had this monument built; and had a monumental pyre for the cremation of the dead body, the ashes of which she drank with her wine. Also, she reportedly held Olympic games and oratory contests in the Maussoleion, to glorify the deceased in a heroic manner.

The monument is described by Pliny and Vitruvius in a considerable detail. Pliny relates that it was built by four sculptors, each of whom worked on one side of the monument: Bryaxis, Timotheos, Scopas, and Leochares. Adding to this narrative, Pliny states that the sculptors worked for the sake and beauty of their work and finished it without being paid after Artemisia had died from agony in a short period following Maussollos' death. Pliny's descriptions fostered the imagination of many researchers and antiquarians in the later periods.

With the Hellenistic conception of wonder lists Maussoleion became popular again. It was mentioned in most of these lists, among the Seven Wonders of the World<sup>258</sup>, and is still recognized as such, although no actual remains can give a clue to the contemporary viewer.

Until when the monument was still standing is not precisely known. It is thought that it might have been slightly damaged during Alexander's siege of Halikarnassos. Yet the ancient sources might have been trying to whitewash Alexander when they mention that he

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<sup>255</sup> Jeppesen 1994, 75.

<sup>256</sup> Vitruvius, 7. 13; Pliny, 36.4.30, also see Annex 3 and 4 respectively. Vitruvius also adds Praxiteles. however, Cook states that modern scholars disregard the name Praxiteles while accepting the other four sculptors had a share in the work. (Cook 1989, 33).

<sup>257</sup> Pliny, 36.4. 30-31, see Annex 4.

<sup>258</sup> Waywell 1990, 120.

left the monument intact but razed the city to ground.<sup>259</sup> Also it is not precise whether any of the ancient writers actually saw the monument themselves. It is known that an earthquake occurred in 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, after which the Maussoleion is thought to have survived. In the light of the similar monuments elsewhere in Anatolia and the Mediterranean, together with other peripheral evidence, it is believed to have survived to a considerable height in the 12<sup>th</sup> century. It is known that the core structures were still standing when the Hospitallers of St. John arrived in Halikarnassos in 1546. Among these Hospitallers, Martial describes the Maussoleion as “hanging in the void air”, which is a rhetoric for “too high”, according to Hornblower.<sup>260</sup> They utterly destroyed the monument and literally “razed it to the ground”, apparently reached the tomb chamber, and carried the stones to the Zephyrion peninsula, where the palace of Maussollos was located, to build the Castle of St. Petrus, which stands today, and gave the name *Petronium* to today’s Bodrum.

#### **4.1.1.3. Public Imagery: Imagination & Realities**

Almost contemporary with the destruction of the Maussoleion to its foundations by the Knights of St. John, a new interest in the antiquities rose in Europe marked by the Renaissance. As classical texts and ancient sources were ‘rediscovered’, Maussoleion also took its share from this new wave. It was ‘reinvented’ based on the imaginations of these earlier antiquarians who tried to reconstruct the monuments sometimes based on the ancient descriptions of Pliny and Vitruvius, but often totally freely, as this was a monument activating the imagination of people.

One of the earliest examples of such a reconstruction attempt belongs to a Milanese painter and architect Cesare di Lorenzo Cesariano.<sup>261</sup> Cesariano published an edition of Vitruvius in 1521 including a depiction of the Maussoleion not in compliance with Pliny’s description at all, although he claimed was based on an ‘ancient Greek manuscript’,<sup>262</sup> but was in fact an envisioning of the “architectural conventions of his day”, like the all others before the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Similarly, Antonia di Sangallo the Younger found a “solution with four temple-front porticos”.<sup>263</sup> In England, as well as in Italy such works were done by several antiquarians, such as Sir Christopher Wren with the help of his pupil Nicholas Hawksmoor,

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<sup>259</sup> Pedersen 1991, 77

<sup>260</sup> Hornblower 1982, 75.

<sup>261</sup> Colvin 1991, 111.

<sup>262</sup> Colvin 1991, 111.

<sup>263</sup> Colvin 1991, 111.

who proposed a neat reconstruction of the Mausolleion that was closer to ancient Rome than it was to ancient Greece. In Austria, Fischer von Erlach sketched out an unrealistic restoration based on baroque forms in a huge obelisk-like pyramid; in France the connoisseur Comte de Caylus, assisted by his pupil Jacques Souffleot (also called Petitot) tried to solve the problem according to the principles of neo-classicism; and in Germany, Karl Friedrich Schinkel "saw the Mausoleum as an exercise in the Sublime".<sup>264</sup> All these reconstructions were annulled by Pliny's failure to specify the order to which the thirty-six columns belonged.<sup>265</sup> So in some of the reconstructions Doric was preferred as a suitable order for a victorious ruler while others used the Corinthian for a splendid monument. In 1834, while classical archaeology was developing as a discipline, Luigi Caniba, stated that the order should be Ionic, as "that was the regular order in use in Ionia and the other regions of the Greek World".<sup>266</sup> When the site was discovered by Newton, Ionic capital fragments were found, confirming Caniba's statement.

Newton's excavations in 1856 made it clear that the building was rectangular, as also stated by Pliny, instead of being circular, square, or octagonal as maintained by some scholars. In 1848, the English architect C. R. Cockerell demonstrated "how these apparently conflicting figures might be reconciled by arranging the columns in a double row, thus reducing the upper part of the structure to smaller dimensions and standing it on a wider base corresponding to the excavated foundations", as Colvin states:

This 'smaller' plan - this idea was followed with minor differences by Edward Falkener (1851) and J.J. Stevenson (1896) but it was open to serious objections not least on structural grounds and did not have the support of Newton and his fellow excavator A.H. Smith, who had the first hand knowledge of the site and of the fragments recovered from it. The alternative is simply to ignore the awkward figure of 63 feet as a textual corruption in the surviving manuscripts of Pliny and to reconstruct the Mausoleum with a single colonnade standing on a high base and surrounding a central mass supporting the pyramid above. According to this formula the thirty-six columns are distributed so that the eleven appear on the long side and nine on the shorter side. The abundance of sculpture found on the site justifies the addition of plinths and offsets to support it, but the form of the inner structure supporting the pyramid remains almost entirely conjectural.<sup>267</sup>

This 'larger' solution was first suggested by Newton and Pullan in 1862, and gained a widespread acceptance. Later investigators followed the plan in essentials, such as Berner

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<sup>264</sup> Colvin 1991, 111.

<sup>265</sup> Pliny, 36.4.60, see Annex 4; also Colvin 1991, 111.

<sup>266</sup> Colvin 1991, 111.

<sup>267</sup> Colvin 1991, 111.

(1877), Adler (1900), Six (1904), Dinsmoor (1908), and Krischen (1923). Today this view has achieved general agreement among scholars, including Waywell, who has studied the sculpture, as well as Jeppesen and Pedersen from the Danish archeological team, who has re-excavated the foundations.

#### **4.1.2. *The Monument***

The Maussoleion was a groundbreaking monument of its time with its unique blending of architectural components and styles in one eclectic edifice. It was not only famous for its size, which measured 57m high for the monument and an additional 7m for the terrace it stood upon; but more importantly, for the beauty of its sculptures. For a descriptive analysis of the Maussoleion in order to understand what it looked like, first the architectural components of the monument will be exposed here, and then the stylistic characteristics will be dwelt upon.

##### **4.1.2.1. Architectural Components**

The architectural components of the Maussoleion have been investigated by the Danish archaeology team led first by Jeppesen and then by Pedersen, who still continues the work. Different than Newton, whose primary aim was to find some fine art, as Carstens states, the Danish team had focused upon the most correct restoration of the monument through documentation.

###### **4.1.2.1.1. *Terrace***

Extending over an area of 25,000m<sup>2</sup> the Maussoleion terrace was 105m wide and no less than 242.5m in length, running parallel to the coast, and rose up to 7m, crowned by a peribolos wall of white marble, perhaps 2,56m high, which made it strike the eye at the first glance.

Pedersen states that “the Maussoleion terrace is placed at a spot which must have occupied a central position in Halikarnassos, presumably in the immediate vicinity of the Agora”.<sup>268</sup> Based on the lack of traces of any urban construction in the area occupied by the terrace, he adds that the terrace area must have been reserved in advance according to the new urban plan. In this regard, Halikarnassos demonstrates that “the large Karian terraces were not only constructed in the countryside but are also found in an urbanistic context”.<sup>269</sup>

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<sup>268</sup> Pedersen 1991, 95.

<sup>269</sup> Pedersen 2004, 430.

The Maussolleion terrace was one of the two large terraces in the city of Halikarnassos, together with the terrace of the sanctuary of Mars; in addition to smaller terraces, like the Türkkuysu terrace and the terrace wall in the palace of Maussollos. Both the terrace of Maussolleion and the terrace of the sanctuary of Mars were longer than any terrace in Pergamon.<sup>270</sup> The terrace of the sanctuary of Mars is 105m wide and more than 120m in length. On the other hand, the Maussolleion terrace was 105m in width and no less than 242.5m in length, with a height up to 7m topped by a peribolos wall of perhaps 2.56m.<sup>271</sup> These dimensions demonstrate that these terraces, particularly that of the Maussolleion, “must have been a very predominant feature in the city when viewed by someone approaching Halikarnassos from the sea”.<sup>272</sup> Therefore, according to Pedersen, in the view of these evidence, the hypothesis advanced by Martin that Halikarnassos precursed Pergamon with its huge terraces may have some credibility.<sup>273</sup>

#### 4.2.3.1.2. *The Podium*

The height of the podium is 19.2m, and was thought to be equal in height with the peristyle and the pyramid above. The perimeter of the base and the top of the podium measured different from each other. The podium “contracted” towards the summit, and calculated to be narrowing “6.4m on each long side and 6m on each short side”. Thus, the podium was surrounded by a number of socles or parapets “stepped back above one another” of blue limestone; to provide support for the free-standing sculptures.<sup>274</sup>

#### 4.1.2.1.3. *The Peristyle*

The peristyle was placed above the crowning moulding and a one-stepped stylobate enclosed the ‘cella’. There were thirty-six columns in the Ionic order, arranged in 9 x 11 setting, placed on Asiatic-Ionic bases of white marble supported by blue plinths. The column shafts had twenty-four flutes and measured 1.1m at the base. The column capitals, again of Ionic-Asiatic type, were in conformity with the style of the Ionian Renaissance. No evidence exists for a frieze course between the architrave and the crowning dentils. The transition was achieved by an astragal under an egg-and-dart moulding. The free-standing sculptures stood in the ca. 3m wide axial intervals. A group of heraldic lion statues stood slightly set

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<sup>270</sup> Pedersen 2004, 430.

<sup>271</sup> Pedersen 2004, 430.

<sup>272</sup> Pedersen 2004, 430.

<sup>273</sup> Pedersen 2004, 431.

<sup>274</sup> Fedak 1991, 72.

back from the edge above the sima. The coffers of the peristyle were sculpted, providing an early example of this kind of ornament.

#### 4.1.2.1.4. *The Pyramid*

The pyramid was located above the peristyle and consisted of 24 steps according to Pliny's account. Again, they were same in height with the peristyle and the podium below. The pyramid supported a rectangular pedestal, the platform for the huge chariot group at the summit. It is thought that the chariot had at least one figure in it, who is thought to be Maussollos, possibly disguised as Helios. The height of the pedestal with the chariot group is thought to have measured 6.6m high.

#### 4.1.2.1.5. *The Tomb Chamber*

The tomb chamber was built with the corbelled-vault technique, which was widely used in funerary architecture since Mycanean times and especially in the Lelegian tombs in the Halikarnassos peninsula, to relieve the immense weight above.<sup>275</sup> A "unique and extensive system of drainage channels" and regularly placed pillars, perhaps to support the lifting machines used throughout the construction surrounded the entire foundation cutting. During the excavations of the Danish team, a deposit of sacrificial animals has been found in front of the tomb chamber of the Maussolleion.<sup>276</sup> These contained cattle, sheep and goat, hen and pigeons. Remains of hen's eggs were also discovered.

### 4.1.2.2. **Technical Features**

The technical tenets of the Ionian Renaissance were widely used in the Maussolleion. The dowel holes, the double bonding wall technique of the terrace, the ashlar masonry technique are all features of the other Hekatomnid edifices seen throughout the Ionian Renaissance. Moreover, the corbelled-vaulting technique was used as in local Karian architecture in the tomb chamber and presumably the cella of the peristyle to provide support for the pyramidal roof above.

### 4.1.2.3. **Stylistic Characteristics**

There were three types of sculptures in the Maussolleion, according to the classification of Newton, but verified as essentially correct by Waywell: Life-size figures, Heroic (slightly

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<sup>275</sup> Boyd 1978, 89.

<sup>276</sup> Højlund 1983, 145.

over- life-size) and colossal figures.<sup>277</sup> The groups at the base were life-size. The heroic figures were placed on the middle section, and on the upper pedestal were located the colossal figures. A marble faced wall following the upper pedestal was crowned on all four sides by relief friezes representing Amazonomachy and perhaps a Centaurmachy below.<sup>278</sup>

## **4.2. READING THE MAUSSOLLEION**

The Maussoleion was a multi-faceted monument in its entirety, and a comprehensive reading of the monument requires consideration of several factors which led to its development including social structure, political conjuncture, economic feasibility, and architectural background. Carrying in mind the formerly discussed questions of structure, conjuncture and feasibility, several sources of inspiration for the making of the Maussoleion will be discussed and an architectural background will be provided by listing the similar earlier monuments, in order to make a more comprehensive reading, which encompasses miscellaneous factors, distilling them into one distinctive monument.

### ***4.2.1. The Origins: Sources of Inspiration***

The Maussoleion represents an unusual blending of features from various sources of inspiration in continuous interaction. Therefore, it is not desirable to make an exact categorization of all these inspirations broken down into smaller parts. Rather, the idea in exploring these sources of inspiration is to demonstrate their interplay in constituting several parts of the monument towards building a totally new context. Hence, although the Maussoleion is constituted of several parts deriving from different sources, it is not just an arithmetic sum of those parts but more than that. It transformed what it borrowed from all these different elements. They were synthesized and blended, resulting in a new effect and meaning. It is this eclecticism which created the impact it made in its time and in the centuries that followed. Therefore, in order to understand the monument better, the origins of influence for the Maussoleion will be analysed broadly to indicate the range of diverse influence, namely; Egypt, Persia and Greece, which are revealed in three parts of the monument; pyramid, podium, and peristyle, respectively. However, it should be pointed out that the boundaries of influence are not clear-cut. So the headings below are used to demonstrate the interplay and mutuality of these different sources in different ways, since cultures are not monolithic entities but porous and mutually transitive, effecting each other.

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<sup>277</sup> Waywell 1990, 111.

<sup>278</sup> Fedak 1991, 72.



#### 4.2.1.1. Egypt and the Pyramid: the Notion of Eternal Apex

Instead of a conventional roof like the Nereid Monument or the 4<sup>th</sup> century tomb at Limyra, the design of the Maussoleion finished with a stepped pyramid. It is an intriguing question why such an eclectic combination of forms was preferred for the Maussoleion. To begin with, as Fedak states, in order to “understand why Maussollos in the fourth century chose the pyramidal form for the top part of his tomb; it is worthwhile to dwell further on the symbolic significance of pyramids”.<sup>279</sup>

In this respect, it should be noted that the study of pyramids is not only the study of Egyptian influence, but covers the Near Eastern impact as well, where is the known origin of such buildings. It is suggested that there is a high possibility for the stepped mastabas<sup>280</sup> to precede pyramids as architectural forms. Badawy states that the pyramids were basically symbolic elevations enabling the ruler to ascend to the sky and mingle with the stars, which was a conception with a strong ideological essence:

The ziggurat of Mesopotamia resembling the stepped mastaba or pyramid even to its method of construction (...) was also a “stairway to heaven” (name of the ziggurat at Sippar) and the term “ziggurat” probably meant “the pointed one” or “the high one”. Further names of the ziggurat, “house of the link between heaven and earth” (Babylon), and the existence of one sanctuary on top of another at the bottom, and have led scholars to consider this structure as an actual link, intended, according to Mesopotamian mythology, to connect heaven and earth. In this respect the pyramid would have been for the pharaoh what the ziggurat was for the Mesopotamian gods.<sup>281</sup>

Moreover, Fedak provides examples from Mesopotamia, where pyramid-topped stelae resembling obelisks have been found as well, for instance, from Assyria of the period of Shalmanesser III.

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<sup>279</sup> Fedak 1991, 111.

<sup>280</sup> A *mastaba* was a flat-roofed, mud brick, rectangular building with sloping sides that marked the burial site of prominent ancient Egyptians. In *Elements of Architecture*, the stages from mastaba to pyramid are explained as follows (see fig.29):

As the gateway to the afterlife for Egyptian kings and members of royal court, the Egyptian burial structure as a low rectangular mastaba with an internal serdab and chapel, then a mastaba with attached chapel and serdab. Later, mastaba forms of decreasing size were stacked over an underground burial chamber to form the stepped pyramid. The culmination of the Egyptian burial chamber is the pyramid, in which the actual burial site may be within the pyramid, in which the actual burial site may be within the pyramid- not below ground- with the false chambers, false doors, and confusing passageways to foil potential tomb robbers.

(<http://www.westga.edu/~rtekippe/slides2201/mastaba-pyramid.jpg>; last accessed 01.02.2007)

<sup>281</sup> Badawy 1956, 183.

The next phase in the development of pyramids is embodied by the tomb at Zosser, which provides a clearer image of ascending to the divine from the earthly world via steps. This concept is also used in the processional stairs of Maussolleion terrace and even the sanctuary of Labraunda.

According to Fedak, the iconographic significance of such monuments coincides with the broader meaning of tombs surmounted by pyramids, both serving memorial purposes; this symbolic meaning of the pyramid survived spreading to other lands, as seen in Egypt, as well as reappearing again outside of Egypt, such as in Jerusalem.<sup>282</sup>

Another interpretation concerning the choice of a pyramid for the top of the tomb comes from Hornblower. According to Hornblower, the shape of Egyptian pyramids “influenced the appearance of the Maussolleion” due to the long-standing traffic between Egypt and Karia, and particularly with Halikarnassos.<sup>283</sup> He gives other examples of the ‘Egyptianising’ artistic influence from the site of the Maussolleion, where some heads were found one of which is thought to belong to a sphinx. Moreover, Hornblower establishes another interesting linkage for this ‘Egyptianising’ effect other than the trade relations; he links the pyramids to another famous Karian, that is, Herodotus, “whose Second Book catalogues the ἐργα of the Kings and Queens of Egypt”.<sup>284</sup> Hornblower states that Herodotus considered the pyramids a special marvel not only because of their ‘sheer bulk’, but also because they included ‘ingenuity of construction’; “the Egyptian pyramid is the type of the ἐργον of a monarch”:

The governing thought is, ‘look on my works, ye mighty and despair’; and it is the most obvious and striking precedent for a tomb designed and executed for a future inmate: Herodotus describes the years taken to build the pyramid of Cheops (thirty years, including the ten taken to build the track along which the building blocks were pulled). This pyramid, he says was built step by step upwards, cranes being installed on each step to receive the material for the next up; the polishing off was done step by step downwards. None of this, perhaps, was beyond the imagination of an Egyptian priest to invent; but it was also enough to stir the imagination of a fourth-century Halikarnassian in search of an ἐργον.<sup>285</sup>

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<sup>282</sup> Fedak states that in Egypt, there are pyramids surmounting exposed private tombs as early as the New Kingdom, and outside of Egypt examples are seen such as the Tomb of the Pharaoh’s Daughter (Monolith of Siloe) at Jerusalem, which was an entirely rock-cut building except for the pyramid on top.

<sup>283</sup> Hornblower 1982, 245.

<sup>284</sup> Hornblower 1982, 245.

<sup>285</sup> Hornblower 1982, 245.

As a result, Hornblower states that not in shape alone, as there are small local tombs of Asia Minor not too dissimilar, but in scale, the size of the Maussoleion is Egyptian and so perhaps is the idea of a definite apex.<sup>286</sup>

In the Greek world, there is no evidence for the inclusion of stepped pyramids as the uppermost part of monumental tombs prior to the Maussoleion at Halikarnassos, which is presumably the first instance for such “reintroduction of the symbolic pyramid into monumental tomb architecture of Western Asia Minor in the fourth century”. Since then, the role of the pyramids became to serve as roof structures, as well as to support statues and other trophies, in terms of architecture.<sup>287</sup> The use of pyramids at the base, or placing a peripteral naos on top of them was avoided as this would lead to the loss of their symbolic meaning and visual importance, hence their use as a superstructure instead of a substructure; following the Near Eastern models.<sup>288</sup> Some monumental altars, such as the archaic Artemis altar at Sardis also used the stepped pyramidal scheme.

Fedak concludes that Maussollos’ oriental background in addition to the symbolic impressiveness of such structures may have been factors for his choice of pyramid roofing. One might add another probable source to these factors, that is, the tumuli tombs spread all over Karia. As will be discussed below, the basic idea is that the stepped pyramid roofing may not have been unfamiliar for use in the Karian architecture as the peninsula was famous with the so-called Lelegian stone tumulus tombs which also had stepped roofs and later the monumental stairs in the Ionian Renaissance might have provided some sort of affinity to the possible meanings that steps could convey. This notion of ascension, which implies a very generic notion of power and domination, brings us to the Persian influence on the Maussoleion.

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<sup>286</sup> Hornblower 1982, 245.

<sup>287</sup> Fedak 1991, 36.

<sup>288</sup> Fedak 1991, 36.

#### 4.2.1.2. Persia and the Pillar: the Notion of Monarchical Power

Persia, as the superior authority of the Hekatomnid satrapy, is another important source of inspiration and may have even had more impact than any other external influences, even to the extent that it behaved like a local impact. Krischen regarded the Maussoleion as “a tower rising over the city comparable to the Tower of Babel” drawing upon, perhaps for the first time, the parallelism of the tomb of Cyrus and the Maussoleion; he claimed that Mausollos wanted to compete with the tomb of the Persian King Cyrus at Pasargadae.<sup>289</sup>

It is known that Karians as well as Ionians and Lydians worked in Persepolis and Pasargadae as stone masons, workmen, sculptors, and artisans.<sup>290</sup> The tomb of Cyrus, in this regard, bears technical and artistic features deriving from Ionian workers. However, it is suggested that the whole conception of the tomb raised as a high podium over a pyramid is entirely Achaemenian. In the same manner, such tombs, built for the aggrandizement of the ruler after death, imposed a certain sense of power belonging to whom they were built for. Accordingly, Cyrus’ tomb had transience between the sacred and the profane: over the sacred pyramid was installed the high podium including the tomb chamber of the deceased. In this sense, the Maussoleion may be suggested to have turned this typology of podium-over-pyramid upside down as pyramid-over-podium.

On the other hand, similar to the Persian podium/tower tombs, their religious architecture, the tower temples are thought to have been built for Zoroastrian cultic rituals. Such temples as Zendan-i Suleiman are thought to bear similarities to the Urartian tower temples and in

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<sup>289</sup> Krischen 1956, 72 (translation above is derived from Hanfmann 1974, 28). Related paragraph in Krischen reads:

“Er (Mausollos) baute die alte Griechenstadt Halikarnassos, die Vaterstadt unseres Herodot, zu seinen Residenz aus und errichtete sich in ihrer Mitte ein gewaltiges Grabdenkmal, wie einen Turm, der den Babylonischen Turm vergleichbar, inmitten der ringsum zu seinen Füßen ausgebreiteten Stadt auftrug. (...) Das Mausollos bei seinem Bauvorhaben auf dessen vornehmes gegenstück, auf das Grabmal des Großkönigs Kyros den Blickt gerichtet hielt und sich fragte, wie er wohl mit diesem wetteifern könnte, ohne es so zu kopieren, daß es unangenehm auffiel, gleichvor aber daran dachte, es stark zu übertrumpfen, scheint uns die Entstehung es letzten Weltwunders, das wir hier zu würdigen haben, am natürlichsten zu erklären. Der Weg, den Mausollos einschlug, war eine *Übersetzung des persischen Königsgrabes in klassisches Griechisch*, wozu ihm mehrere erste griechische Künstler verhelfen sollten, berühmte Bildhauer und Architekten, denn es sollte ein hervorragendes Gesamtkunstwerk von Architektur und Plastik werden.”(emphasis mine).

Although, Hanfmann finds “any idea of connection with the Mausoleum ludicrous” as “the scale and the character of the tomb of Cyrus are so totally different”, I think Krischen makes a good point by founding a relationship between these two monuments (Hanfmann 1974, 28). Krischen’s remark on the “translation of the tomb of the Persian King into a Classical Greek monument” (see emphasis above) is brilliant in explaining the relationship between two monuments.

<sup>290</sup> Nylander 1970, 111; Hornblower 1982, 245.

this regard pose another Anatolian-Persian connection.<sup>291</sup> Therefore, Persian tower temples and tower/podium tombs had been influential in the creation of an architectural language for monarchic power display; from which the dynastic Lykian pillar tombs and consequently the Mausolleion borrowed, casting into native characteristics.

Another tool for power display that may have connections with Persian practices may be the monarchic iconography. This is also an overlapping area for which the Persian idea of monarchic iconography is displayed in Greek sculptural style.

With the monarchic iconography goes the honorific sculpture recording and glorifying the exploits of the monarch [Maussollos] (...), in hunting, fighting battles, and making or receiving offerings and sacrifices. All these themes we know were represented on the Mausoleum in frieze-like assemblages made up of sculptures in the round. They derive from the iconography of the oriental monarchies, from Egypt, Assyria, Persia, and they are recorded in many examples earlier than the time of the Ionian Renaissance in different peripheral areas of the Persian Empire, notably Sidon and Lykia.<sup>292</sup>

Other examples of such monarchic iconography deriving from Persian practice among the early fourth century representatives from these areas can be seen in the Nereid monument from Lykia and the sarcophagus from Sidon, c. 370, with its lordly lion hunt conducted from chariots.<sup>293</sup> Waywell notes that the walls of the palaces and tombs in Eastern civilizations were usually decorated with such themes, which also seems to be the case in Halikarnassos. One might expect that the palace of Maussollos should also be decorated in this way with "glass like mud-brick faiances".<sup>294</sup>

Looking at sculpture from the point of view of iconography, Waywell suggests that particular symbols of eastern monarchic power and force were the chariot and the lion, and these too featured prominently at Halikarnassos on the roof of the Mausoleum.

Alongside the eastern monarchic typology, Greek themes and myths are also presented, although on the Mausoleum they tend to be on a smaller scale, in genuine relief, and to be of essentially decorative character, however beautiful their execution. The Centauromachy

This mixed Greco-Persian typology of friezes and sculpture brings along with them the placement of the sculpture in the architectural order of the monument, which is framed by the peristyle.

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<sup>291</sup> Stronach 1967, 51.

<sup>292</sup> Waywell 1990, 64.

<sup>293</sup> Waywell 1990, 65.

<sup>294</sup> Waywell 1994, 64.

#### 4.2.1.3. Greece and the Peristyle: the Notion of Myth

The peristyle or the colonnaded section of the Mausoleion was a direct descent from the Nereid Monument which used the idea of Greek temple in a tomb building for the first time. The peristyle, in fact, brings to mind the concept of a Greek temple first, however, in Mausoleion, as in the Nereid monument, the function and meaning of the colonnade is changed. The peristyle did not only function as a member of the architectural order, or as a support for the heavy roof, but outlined the 'frame', where the statues of the members of the Hekatomnid dynasty were placed. The columns set the visual 'frame' or 'niche' for the statues, determining also the boundaries for the friezes of the mythological scenes below on the pillar. Thus, the generic meaning of the peristyle of the Greek temple is changed, even distorted in the Mausoleion peristyle, from 'sacred' to 'profane'.

Forming the middle part of the monument, the peristyle divides it into two parts; the pillar below and the pyramid above. In this sense, it also determines the visual boundaries for the mythological scenes in the monument. While it accommodates the statues located at the intercolumnations, it also manipulates the view to the quadriga statue placed at the top and to the friezes set below. The friezes, like sculpture, carry mixed Oriental-Greek iconography, which involve similarly mixed types, such as, in terms of dress: Persian figures appear alongside those wearing Greek garments or Carian tunics.<sup>295</sup> Hence, the peristyle is 'housing' the myth in the Mausoleion, created by the mixed Oriental-Greek iconography.

On the other hand, the mythological scenes used in the Mausoleion were derived from Greek mythology however they were used in a totally new context. On the other hand, noting the chariots had been frequent in Greek art since the Geometric period, the placement of the chariot on top, therefore most important symbol of the Mausoleum, was an innovation, established a precedent which had a long and varied after-life" as well as the stylized walking lion which reappeared in Greek art for the first time since the seventh century. Waywell suggests that before the Mausoleion, none of the chariots had been placed right on the roof of a building, where, he concludes, "the architectural/sculptural idea of placing a chariot group in this elevated, dominating place does seem to derive from Karian precedent on the Mausoleum".<sup>296</sup>

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<sup>295</sup> Waywell 1994, 65.

<sup>296</sup> Waywell 1994, 64.

#### 4.2.1.4. Anatolia and the Tomb: the Notion of Eclecticism

Due to being both a source of origin and homeland of the Maussoleion, Anatolia is suggested in this study to be embodying the very essence of the tomb in its ability to utilise the notion of eclecticism to the full potential in creating a new form out of the synthesis of several features derived from diverse sources of origin, including itself. The result is suggested to be more than simply a superimposition on top of each other of these seemingly irrelevant elements from Egyptian, Persian, Greek or Near Eastern architecture. The Maussoleion created a new and universally recognised architectural language, speaking or in a sense translating the vernacular Karian. This language was made possible through the environment created by the Ionian Renaissance; the unconventional mixture of orders in both architecture and urban planning was already a characteristic of this language, together with the architectural innovations and archaising tendencies it brought to the 4<sup>th</sup> century architecture of Hekatomnid Karia and Ionia. It is suggested that the Maussoleion alone, in a sense, embodied physically most of these tenets that Ionian Renaissance brought about, in its harmonious eclecticism of all local and external elements through its architectural form, sculptural features, and location in the urban plan.

Sculpture was an essential aspect of the Ionian Renaissance, inseparable from architectural traits. The sculptor was also architect and they were intertwined, as was also the case in the Maussoleion. Before the sculptures of the monument itself, it would be adequate to mention the impact of the Ionian Renaissance on sculpture.

As many of the temples, shrines and sanctuaries were refurbished or repaired in Ionia and Karia during the Ionian Renaissance,<sup>297</sup> so were the sculptures. Archaising tendencies are seen in the rebuilding after 350 BC of the Great Ionic temples to Artemis at Ephesos and Apollo at Didyma, both of which “retained archaic or archaising characteristics in their design and details”.<sup>298</sup> Thus, the character, nature, and extent of the sculpture produced reflect the conditions of the political background.

For the period before 30 BC, the main evidence for the Ionian Renaissance comes from Karia, and Halikarnassos in particular. This may, according to Waywell, be the result of limited excavation, but may also indicate that “the Ionian Renaissance was initiated by the forward political, architectural, and cultural push of the Hekatomnid dynasty of Karia, which then

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<sup>297</sup> Waywell 1994, 59.

<sup>298</sup> Waywell 1994, 59.

spread(s) rapidly northwards to Ionia itself, and south west to Knidos, Lykia, and other states of Asia Minor".<sup>299</sup> Waywell adds:

A question to be considered therefore is to what extent the Ionian Renaissance is in fact a Carianisation of Ionia, even a reoccupation of traditional Carian territory, if one gives any credence to the story told by Vitruvius (IV.1.4) of the founding of the Ionian cities by Ion who drove the Carians out of their ancient lands.<sup>300</sup>

Hekatomnid Karia in this regard is important in terms of the Ionian Renaissance for "establishing monarchic iconography, which is of great significance in Hellenistic and Roman periods", as stated by Waywell; the frequency and size of the image, icon or portrait of Maussollos is more important than that of the god".<sup>301</sup> In addition:

Significant too is the establishment under Maussollos of a female ruling portrait type for Artemisia and later for Ada, which was definitely displayed alongside the male statue to indicate a male/female ruling pair, so establishing an important precedent for certain Hellenistic and Roman Imperial portrait types, with which also the variable realism of features corresponds (...) This Karian portraiture, which spreads out into the cities of Ionia and the Greek mainland, is a remarkable manifestation and its roots remain uncertain. The male types may derive from the same source as the famous Satrap coin issues of Tissaphernes and Pharnabazos of the late fifth century, which continue also on the dynastic issues of Lykia.<sup>302</sup>

According to Waywell, this interest in portraiture was also similar in the Greek mainland and the Karian portraits should be evaluated in the light of this background of a greatly increased interest in portraiture in Greece.<sup>303</sup> However, there were few if any females attested in mainland Greek art. In this regard, the Hekatomnid female portraits also seen in the Maussoleion are considerable innovations.<sup>304</sup> Thus, as a consequence of the Ionian Renaissance, "the resulting style is an eclectic one which reflects the cultural demands of the patron, combined with the artistic beliefs of the architect/sculptural designer, expressed in the stylistic form achieved by the best workshops from the Greek world".<sup>305</sup>

The very idea of such a monumental tomb was already present in Anatolia. In that, tomb is a building type which Karia was already noted. There is more evidence for what Fedak calls 'proto-mausoleum' type of monuments in Lykia, the close neighbour of Karia than

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<sup>299</sup> Waywell 1994, 58.

<sup>300</sup> Waywell 1994, 58.

<sup>301</sup> Waywell 1994, 68.

<sup>302</sup> Waywell 1994, 63-64.

<sup>303</sup> Waywell 1994, 64.

<sup>304</sup> Waywell 1994, 64.

<sup>305</sup> Waywell 1994, 68.



anywhere else in the Mediterranean region, in looking for the antecedents of Hellenistic monumental built tombs.<sup>306</sup> The Nereid Monument was the first example that incorporated the Greek temple form into a funerary monument, which the Maussoleion directly derived from, as will be seen below, as well as other contexts of the monumental tomb form; the closed, sacred precinct as in Limyra Heroon, which the Maussoleion also formed through monumental terraces, which are thought to be Persian influence. In this regard, what the Maussoleion derived from Lykia and elsewhere in Anatolia first and foremost was not some building part or architectural element but a notion that was already present in Karia and the Ionian Renaissance: the eclecticism of forms and meanings, in order to create a new architectural expression. Through a synthesis this was to create a new meaning out of older language.

In this regard, the local forms evidently took their place in this synthesis. It is an interesting attempt to read the external elements in the Maussoleion from the interior, local Karian side. Firstly, the notion of pyramid will be discussed as not being unfamiliar to the Karians and Karian architecture for several reasons. As analysed in Chapter II of this study, the Karian region, and the Halikarnassian or Lelegian Peninsula, is known to have spent a special attention to tomb structures. These structures were essentially based on a circular building roofed with rubble stones, forming a pyramid-like topping. As their names also indicate, it is suggested that the construction roofs with rubble stones, may be an attempt to make earth tumuli tombs more durable, in other words, translation of earth tumuli into stone buildings for longevity as well as monumentality. For instance, the Gebe Kilise tomb, which was an earlier, most likely 7<sup>th</sup> century dynastic tomb located at the peak of the natural harbour Gökçeler overlooking the northern shore of Torba on the Halikarnassos peninsula as mentioned before, is a 'high point', as Radt names, of the so-called Lelegian tombs.<sup>307</sup>

The Karian built environment endowed by tombs such as Gebe Kilise and other Lelegian tombs, perhaps, already provided some idea of stepped roofing for the builders of the Maussoleion. These tombs were almost a translation of tumuli into stone: as Fedak states, "tumuli, regardless of their size, could not adequately convey the visual message that local rulers wanted to convey: they remained essentially 'silent' monuments".<sup>308</sup> This may also relate to the reading of the monument: such roofing would not be unfamiliar to the locals as tombs with this feature were scattered around elsewhere in the region. So, it would not have

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<sup>306</sup> Fedak 1991, 41.

<sup>307</sup> Carstens 2002, 404.

<sup>308</sup> Fedak 1991, 66.

been surprising or unconventional to the Karians in Halikarnassos, in particular to the former inhabitants of the synoikised Lelegian towns. As clearly seen in the Gebe Kilise tomb, the roof structure has a stepped form, narrowing upwards and originally covered with stones, maybe also covered with earth over the roof. This may stand for a visual affinity for Mausollos which in turn may have resulted in the idea of crowning the monument with a heap-like structure. Considering that most of the stone tumuli are thought to have been princely tombs exerting a local monumentality with certain dynastic connotations, Mausollos himself was of a local dynasty but playing on a larger scale than local. Hence, this form could be conceived by the local Karians, particularly by those people of the synoikised Lelegian towns.

On the other hand, the difference of the shape of the Mausolleion from the stone tumulus tombs, not a circular rubble stone heap but a neat rectangular pyramid, is understandable in terms of the 'international' message that Mausollos wanted to employ. The monument should fascinate those who saw it, particularly those coming from the sea, particularly the outsiders, but at the same time it should be both astonishing to them as something new, and also familiar for them to fully understand what Mausollos wanted to convey.

Moreover, besides the stepped roofs of Lelegian tombs, the pyramid may be related to another architectural form of the Ionian Renaissance: the monumental stairs. Similar to the pyramids, the monumental stairs provide an idea of ascension gradually, which are also used in the huge terraces of the Mausolleion as in the Labraunda sanctuary and elsewhere in Halikarnassos such as in Mars Temple. In essence, the pyramid crowning the top of the Mausolleion is composed of monumental stairs on four sides. These monumental stairs of the pyramid provide ascension to the sky. Accordingly, it is suggested that the monumental stairs share some common ground with the concept of pyramid both conceptually and physically.

Another aspect of the connection of the Mausolleion with Karian architecture may be observed in the tomb chamber itself. It is thought provoking to look inside Mausolleion, at the tomb chamber, to trace the Anatolian roots even more clearly. This place is the most private, intimate part of the tomb as it is actually the place where the deceased encounters his own gods and comes to terms with his own beliefs. Therefore, the tomb chamber may be expected to reveal a lot about the persona, or the intentions of the deceased and/or the builders of the tomb.

At this stage, the Karian tombs enter the scene again. The tomb chamber of the Mausolleion shares a lot in common with the earlier, contemporary, and later local Karian princely tombs

scattered around the peninsula. Accordingly, the chamber tomb at Geriş is a striking earlier example to compare with the Maussoleion. Interestingly enough, Geriş tomb repeats the topography of the Gebe Kilise tomb.<sup>309</sup>

Moreover, another chamber tomb has been found at Yokuşbaşı, which is dated later than Maussoleion. This is also a princely tomb, perhaps belonging to another local dynast. Carstens suggests that this is almost an 'imitation' of the Maussoleion tomb chamber; providing a time sequence of Geriş Tomb, Maussoleion, and Yokuşbaşı Tomb from earliest to the latest respectively. Adding to that (and also implied in the article), it is suggested in this thesis that a reverse reading of the possible influence can be considered. In fact, in the construction of the tomb chamber, the Maussoleion seems to be influenced by the earlier Karian tombs, like the Geriş Tomb. This was, evidently, a deliberate preference.

In the light of all evidence, it may be stated that the Maussoleion was influenced from a number of sources, including the Near East, Egypt, Persia, Greece, and Anatolia. However, the monument did not simply constitute an arithmetic totality of an Egyptian pyramid, Greek peristyle and the Persian podium. Indeed, the Maussoleion reflected the translation of a vernacular Anatolian architecture through a harmonious eclecticism of Egyptian, Persian, Greek, and other possible influences into a 'universal' architectural language that could still be readily comprehended by all of these cultures.

#### ***4.2.2. The Precedents: Similar Monuments prior to the Maussoleion***

The Maussoleion was an architectural form designed for a political expression. Yet it did not emerge all of a sudden, but was a result of a series of development in the forms of architectural expression. In fact Karia was already renowned for her tombs, and her neighbour, Lykia was a direct source of interaction regarding the realisation of such edifice. Moreover, Karia was already a convenient location geo-strategically and culturally as well, where all other exterior impacts could be mingled into one specific monument. An examination of the tombs earlier than the Maussoleion that may be specific sources of inspiration will be helpful to the theoretical discussion on the origins of the concepts and parts of the monument.

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<sup>309</sup> Carstens 2002, 404.

#### 4.2.2.1. The Tomb of Cyrus at Pasargadae

This stepped monument with a cella and a gabled roof in the Murghab plain in Pasargadae is called Meshed-i Madar-i Suleiman, and identified as the Tomb of Cyrus the Great.<sup>310</sup> The tomb is mentioned in ancient sources mostly in terms of its interiors, with only a superficial description of the tomb as a whole. Arrian states that it was located in a royal park and a grove of all sorts of trees were planted around and irrigated; letting a meadow grow on the ground.<sup>311</sup> This landscaping approach or '*paradeisos*' in a sense was later utilized in Lykian tombs as well.

The actual tomb of Cyrus is a burial above ground, like all other Persian, and Lykian tombs.<sup>312</sup> A rectangular pillar or 'plinth' forms the base, on top of which rises a stepped platform supporting a gable-roofed building, to a total height of 15m. The lowest part of the stepped pyramid starts out with an unfinished moulding. The base is also decorated but again unfinished. The surroundings of the tomb are furnished with columns, eight on each side, creating a "temenos-like structure".<sup>313</sup>

Although there are Greek elements utilised in the building, such as the *cyma*-mouldings, and the stone-working technique, use of anathyrosis, the complex as a whole has a non-Greek vocabulary. There are no known antecedents in early Greek architecture of the high, stepped podium of the Pasargadae type; for which Mesopotamian influence should be considered.<sup>314</sup> Apart from other local resources, the inspiration for such a monument may be sought in such buildings as ziggurats. The Persian monarch should have seen these during his campaigns.

The Tomb of Cyrus was an Achaemenian conception. According to Nylander, directly or indirectly, it had an impact on the later tomb monuments including the Pyramid Tomb at Sardis, Lykian tombs and Maussolleion at Halikarnassos.<sup>315</sup>

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<sup>310</sup> Nylander 1970, 91.

<sup>311</sup> Arrian 6.29.4, also see Fedak 1991, 32.

<sup>312</sup> Fedak 1991, 32.

<sup>313</sup> Fedak 1991, 32.

<sup>314</sup> Nylander 1970, 92.

<sup>315</sup> Nylander 1970, 93.

#### 4.2.2.2. The Pyramid Tomb at Sardis

The so-called Pyramid Tomb at Sardis is one of the rare funerary monuments that followed the ziggurat form as an architectural concept in the shape of a pyramid platform as in the tomb of Cyrus.<sup>316</sup> The tomb is located on a hillside near the river Pactolus, in the main necropolis of Sardis among other Lydian chamber tombs, to the northwest foothills of the Acropolis.<sup>317</sup> The actual tomb was buried with landslides and no trace of the burial chamber survives. However the building itself was made up of finely-worked limestone blocks. According to Hanfmann, this may belong to a Persian noble “who fell in the battle for Sardis (547 BC)”, which, if correct, means that it is earlier than the tomb of Cyrus.

It was found out to be a twelve-stepped limestone structure in the later investigations by S. Kasper in 1969, more than the six or seven steps proposed by earlier scholars. The steps are 0.34-0.35m high, close to the foot unit used in Ionia, as at Didyma.<sup>318</sup> Fedak says that it has technical similarities with the chambers of some of the Bin Tepe tumulus tombs. He also adds that the stone blocks, with their differently tooled surfaces, but all with drafted edges, can also be compared with a section of the city wall at Sardis.<sup>319</sup> In Persian royal architecture, similar masonry techniques can be found as far away from Sardis as Daskyleion and Pasargadae. Nylander, on the other hand, points out similarity of the system of units in the Pyramid Tomb and the Tomb of Cyrus at Pasargadae, all are 34-35 cm high, for which he states that “there is multiple evidence for the use of similar units in early Ionic architecture”.<sup>320</sup>

There is one more Pyramid Tomb that may be mentioned in this context; the one at the Midas City in Phrygia. This structure has the outlines of a steep, smooth-sided pyramid above the tomb chamber, which some scholars date to the period of Lydian Peace, during the second quarter of the sixth century.<sup>321</sup> Moreover, similar stepped funerary monuments and pyramidal structures are found in Amrith, Syria, and in Etruria. As Fedak states; “whether Egyptians or Babylonians inspired this form of building (in Syria) is hard to say; in either case, the pyramids on top presumably have a similar symbolic significance”.<sup>322</sup> In

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<sup>316</sup> Fedak 1991, 33.

<sup>317</sup> McLauchlin 1983, 5.

<sup>318</sup> Fedak 1991, 33.

<sup>319</sup> Fedak 1991, 33.

<sup>320</sup> Nylander 1970, 97.

<sup>321</sup> Fedak 1991, 34.

<sup>322</sup> Fedak 1991, 34.

addition, there is the Tomb of Pythagoras in the Athenian Kerameikos cemetery, which Hoepfner dates to some period between the early 4<sup>th</sup> century and middle of the 5<sup>th</sup> century. This monument is suggested to have been inspired by a stepped design like that of the Pyramid Tomb at Sardis, perhaps before the Persian invasion of Greece.<sup>323</sup>

#### **4.2.2.3. Taş Kule near Phokaia**

Taş Kule, or Taş Ev, is an impressive tomb located 7 km east of Eski Foça, the nearest ancient site to which is Phokaia.<sup>324</sup> It is hewn out of the local bedrock of limestone outcrop, and dominates the view rising 'majestically' from the level valley floor.

This is a free-standing monument cut from a massive, single outcrop of local bedrock. According to Cahill, there is no reason to suppose that religious or other considerations determined its orientation.<sup>325</sup> The monument basically comprises of two stories separated by a four-stepped transition which resembles a segment of a stepped pyramid. The lower storey is rectangular, measuring 8.8m x 6.2m and 2.7m high.<sup>326</sup> The upper storey is a "cubical mass" with the dimensions 2.9m x 2.9m and 1.9m high, on top of which a single step is preserved; it might be reconstructed as two or more steps forming the top of the pyramid, as proposed by Cahill. The only decoration at Taş Kule is a false door at the front, with a simple lintel moulding. The door, which is divided by four panels, measures 2.3m wide and 2.1m high.<sup>327</sup>

According to Cahill, "it does not fit easily into established architectural traditions of Asia Minor" as there are no exact parallels known for its shape or decoration.<sup>328</sup> Therefore, there is no agreement on its date or architectural tradition., However, its resemblance with Cyrus Tomb is worth consideration.

Taş Kule received "a relatively brief treatment" due its unusual shape. Ekrem Akurgal relates it to the indigenous Anatolian tradition assigning the characteristics of Lydian, Lykian, Phrygian, and Achaemenid Persian monuments, while dating it to the fourth century.<sup>329</sup> Bean points out resemblances with early Phrygian tombs found in the Sardis

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<sup>323</sup> Fedak 1991, 36.

<sup>324</sup> Cahill 1988, 481.

<sup>325</sup> Cahill 1988, 111.

<sup>326</sup> Cahill states that the dimensions are rather irregular; the width for example varies from 6.18m on the north side to 6.30m on the south (Cahill 1988, 111).

<sup>327</sup> Cahill 1988, 484.

<sup>328</sup> Cahill 1988, 481.

<sup>329</sup> Akurgal 2003, 292.

valley. Cahill, on the other hand diverts the earlier assessments that try to locate the tomb in local Anatolian funerary architecture addressing the strong parallels to the Achaemenian tower temples and tower tombs.

#### **4.2.2.4. Nereid Monument**

Ancient sources mention that when the Persians subdued the region in 545 BC, they terminated the population of Xanthos totally, except for those who were away from the city by chance. Thus, the city was repopulated by outsiders, which is thought to be a major source of foreign influence in Lykia. The stone construction started playing a more important role in Lykia starting with the translation of wooden timber construction into cut-stone architecture in the middle of the sixth century, which is when the first stone tumuli and pillar tombs appeared according to Fedak.<sup>330</sup> Therefore in the early stages, as Fedak states, “the transition from timber to stone there remained a clear visual link with the past, though this link later gradually diminished”.<sup>331</sup>

Although Fedak dismisses the pillar tombs and sarcophagi as the source of the Nereid Monument, it is evident that they at least constituted a visual familiarity for the idea of raising a colonnaded structure over a pillar. The pillar tomb consisted of a tall monolith with a burial chamber with crowning statue(s) on top, although there are exceptions to this scheme. Overall, there are almost thirty of these tombs in Lykia. Their origins are suggested to be in Persian tower structures, Mesopotamian stelai, or Near Eastern Assyrian obelisks. The Persian suggestion seems the most plausible as tower structures are extensively used both as a building type for temples and as shrines or funerary monuments. For instance, the tower at Pasargadae is thought to have been a fire temple tower of the Persian emperor. According to Fedak the elevated sarcophagi do not occur before the fifth century, so, they are more or less contemporary with the Nereid monument. However, this argument is not very plausible, as their being contemporaneous does not rule out the possibility of these structures inspiring the Nereid monument. Even if they were built only a few years before, that would suffice as a link since this is a new idea, which indicates a period of architectural experiments in Lykia, as in 4th century Labraunda in Karia. In all instances, the inspiration appears to have come from the East.

As a result, Fedak suggests the most probable antecedent of the Nereid Monument to be the house tomb, in which, according to him, a major component of the later elevated ‘temple

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<sup>330</sup> Carstens discusses an earlier dating, back to 7<sup>th</sup> -9<sup>th</sup> centuries BC.

<sup>331</sup> Fedak 1991, 42.

tombs' is found.<sup>332</sup> House tombs are in fact house tombs elevated on podia or platforms. The earliest examples of such tombs are the Heroon G in Xanthos and a dynastic tomb in Apollonia, before the Nereid Monument, which are house tombs on terraces; whereas the other contemporaneous house tombs have only a stepped crepidoma for additional height.

The earliest funerary forms in Lykia are the tumuli and pillar tombs. Built house type tombs appeared around the second quarter of the fifth century, and were followed by the reproduction of schemes in rock-cut architecture.

Certain Greek decorative and technical elements have been found in the Asia Minor hinterland and in Lykia even in the sixth century. However, it is important that "the full impact of the western influence was not felt before the end of the fifth century BC".<sup>333</sup> Even after, the local forms persisted to a large extent, and mixing with the western, Greek elements as well as eastern, Persian ones. The ingenuity here lies in the ability to absorb and mingle all these effects, forming a totally new architectural language. The Nereid Monument is the first prominent example of such multi-lingual architecture.

Colvin states that "in Lykia, the most prestigious form of monument was neither a tumulus nor a temple, but a tower or pillar".<sup>334</sup> About forty examples of these tower-tombs are known. In Lykia, like in Phrygia, the tomb was the house of the dead, expressed in the timber frame simulations in stone or the false door openings carved in the rock-face.<sup>335</sup> "Elsewhere in Anatolia, the tomb thought appropriate for a local ruler would often be a two-storeyed structure consisting of a massive podium supporting an architecturally more elaborate upper storey. The principal burial chamber was at the upper level, a lower chamber in the podium being reserved for slaves or relatives of lesser status".<sup>336</sup> The design of these native tombs was affected by influences from both Persia and from Greece.

The great tomb of 400 BC from Xanthos, known as the 'Nereid Monument' and later taken to the British Museum, resembles a Greek Temple at the first sight. However, the temple element rests upon a tall base with vertical sides, leaving no direct access to the 'temple'. It is often suggested that the Nereid Monument in this regard reflects the tradition of the Lykian tower-tombs, whereas Colvin proposes that the rectangular base should rather derive from

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<sup>332</sup> Fedak 1991, 42.

<sup>333</sup> Fedak 1991, 43

<sup>334</sup> Colvin 1991, 21.

<sup>335</sup> Colvin 1991, 22.

<sup>336</sup> Colvin 1991, 22.



the “substantial podia of the widely disseminated Anatolian tomb of the sixth to fifth centuries BC, rather than from the slender shafts of the Lykian tower-tombs”.<sup>337</sup> Whatever the sources of design were, “details of the architecture and construction show that the monument was built by Lykian rather than Greek craftsmen”.<sup>338</sup> The stonework was held together by joints “derived from carpentry”, and the cella had stone false doors with sliding panels, “in a manner characteristic of Lykia rather than Attica”.<sup>339</sup> The sculpture, too, is Greek in style, but its arrangement “in two superimposed friezes is Lykian”, as Colvin states.<sup>340</sup>

In its fusion of Greek and Lykian architectural traditions, the Nereid Monument was highly influential. Many imitations of its façade are to be seen in the rock-cut tombs of south-west Anatolia, and other monuments built with temple-like structures raised up on high bases, notably one at Limyra (possibly the tomb of the fourth-century Lykian dynast, Pericles), whose porticos were supported by Caryatids imitated from the Erechtheum.<sup>341</sup>

Although the stone-built tumulus was not unknown in Asia Minor (especially in Karia), it did not develop such elaborate architectural forms in the Eastern Mediterranean, the inventive genius of the Hellenistic architects concentrating rather on that fusion of tomb and temple” says Colvin.<sup>342</sup> On the contrary, however, it may be suggested that this form of stone-built tumulus in the Mausolleion might also have been conceptualised in a more abstract way: as the top pyramid of the tomb.

#### **4.2.2.5. Trysa Heroon**

The Trysa heroon marks a different concept in terms of similar tomb designs as it is not just a tomb but itself is an element of a larger complex for cultic activities, and not necessarily the dominant one.<sup>343</sup> Fedak states that few of the design details were derived from the Nereid Monument and related edifices. Childs, too, notes that it is the least typical tomb in Lykia.<sup>344</sup>

The complex is located on a spectacular setting 866m above sea level in Gölbaşı, Central Lykia on the High Plateau between Antiphellos (Kaş) and Myra (Demre). This large tomb or

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<sup>337</sup> Colvin 1991, 23.

<sup>338</sup> Colvin 1991, 23.

<sup>339</sup> Colvin 1991, 111.

<sup>340</sup> Colvin 1991, 23-26.

<sup>341</sup> Colvin 1991, 26.

<sup>342</sup> Colvin 1991, 27.

<sup>343</sup> Fedak 1991, 88.

<sup>344</sup> Childs 1978, 111.

funerary precinct is hard to date. According to Childs, stylistic analysis suggests a date slightly later than the Nereid Monument ca. 370 BC.

Limestone walls, measuring averagely 1m thick and originally 3m high, enclose a trapezoidal peribolos, measuring ca. 20 x 24m.<sup>345</sup> The western of which was set against a hill whereas the other three were free-standing. The entrance was provided through a slightly off-centre doorway portal on the principal southern side, which has the most elaborate masonry compared to the other three sides; with slightly rusticated blocks and smoothly drafted margins up to the door level.<sup>346</sup>

The heroon is famous for its low-relief friezes, which are now in Vienna. Above the door level, the wall on either side was sculpted with two tiers of reliefs depicting an Amazonomachy, Centauromachy, and the Seven against Thebes whereas the lintel carried eight Bes figures playing musical instruments, and was decorated on the exterior with winged-bull protomes and two pairs of seated couples, each showing a man facing a woman. These two seated couples are thought to represent the commissioners of the monument.<sup>347</sup> There is a similar figure to the one recovered from the walls of the Bodrum castle: an 'attendant' which squats besides an enthroned ruler in the city-siege relief on the west wall.<sup>348</sup>

The jambs carry two almost life-size dancing figures with *poloi*, which indicate the religious nature together with the rosettes indicative of the commemorative nature of the heroon. To the left of the entrance, there were three small groups of sculptures: Bellerophon and the Chimaira, a man in a chariot, and an armed warrior carrying off a woman were located respectively.

The rest of the interior walls were sculpted on all four sides with two tiers of reliefs as on the outside, south wall. Their subjects are: Odysseus and the Suitors and the Kaledonian Boar hunt on the southwest; battle with city siege and Amazonomachy on the west; Rape of the Leukipids, Centauromachy, and hunt on the north; Centauromachy, the Theseus cycle, Perseus and Medusa, and banquet on the East; a funerary banquet on the southeast.<sup>349</sup>

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<sup>345</sup> 19.66m on the south, 20.7m north, 23.5m east, and 24.54m on the west sides.

<sup>346</sup> Fedak 1991, 89.

<sup>347</sup> Fedak 1991, 91.

<sup>348</sup> Möbius suggested the similarity. Waywell 1983, 4.

<sup>349</sup> Sevin 2005, 111.

Although the range of frieze subjects implies a particularly strong Greek influence as they are derived from Greek mythology, “only here in Lykia the Greek mythology is so well represented”.<sup>350</sup> However, the “disposition of the friezes and the lack of mouldings above and below them are very un-Greek”.<sup>351</sup> There are also local or Anatolian themes of hunt and banquet. In this respect, the battle and the city siege of the west wall are certainly part of local iconography rather than Greek. The height (0.32 m) and the disposition of the decorative band (beneath the coping on the exterior of the south wall) is almost the same as, for instance, the Nereid Monument.<sup>352</sup>

The actual funerary monument stood in the northwest section of the complex, which is built as a large stone tomb house of typical Lykian design imitating the timber construction; it is oriented toward the cult building in the opposite corner.<sup>353</sup> There are fragments belonging to several other sarcophagi are found inside the closure which also contained plants and trees in a sense of landscaping attempt. Fedak states that the “Gölbaşı-Trysa heroon is not a building in the conventional sense; the architectural components do not create their own three-dimensional space defined by walls and a roof”.<sup>354</sup>

Here the circuit wall alone marks the limits of the sacred area. Within this enclosure existing natural features were not completely destroyed but rather adjusted to suit the new function of the site. In modern terminology the design could be described as a landscape architecture. The hanging gardens of Babylon, the setting of the Tomb of Cyrus, the adyton of the Didyma temple, Mustapha Pasha III temple at Alexandria and the later Mausoleum of Augustus at Rome are all, in a sense, related to the Lykian heroon in that they all depended for their decorative effects on landscape gardening as well as on architectural ornament.

This landscaping concept deserves some further thought. The Austrian excavators emphasize the relationship between the heroon and the temenos of a god with its sacred grove. It may be suggested that the Persian concept of *paradeisos* may have played a part in this landscaping effort, for which the connections of the Maussolleion and the city of Halikarnassos may be set: the large terrace of Maussolleion, which can be defined as a temenos, may also be thought to include some landscaping, as well as the monumental terraces in the city itself. However, further archaeological study is needed in this regard, which would also prove difficult, as the remains of such attempts would be hard to trace.

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<sup>350</sup> Childs 1978, 45.

<sup>351</sup> Waywell 1994, 57

<sup>352</sup> Sevin 2005, 111.

<sup>353</sup> Fedak 1991, 91.

<sup>354</sup> Fedak 1991, 91.

#### 4.2.2.6. Limyra Heroon

The heroon in Limyra was one of the first instances of the new form of tomb introduced by the Nereid monument, which became common in Asia Minor and elsewhere.<sup>355</sup> This heroon is situated in Lykia on a rocky terraced promontory commanding a spectacular view of the region 218m above the sea level, on the lower level of the acropolis of Limyra. It was discovered in 1966 and excavated between 1969 and 1971.

The tomb building itself, measuring 6.8 x 10.4m, was located on an ample rock-cut temenos of 19m wide and 18m deep. Although the structure was destroyed by earthquake, most of the sculptural and architectural fragments remained on the site due the difficulty of the terrain. The superstructure is built in *amphiprostyle* as in the late fifth century Ilissos and Nike temples at Athens, where instead of the columns, four Karyatids (2.8m tall) on circular bases were used as pillars. The podium was 3.8m high and built with ashlar blocks placed on a lightly protruding base of 0.5m high above the rock surface. It contained a *hyposorium* that could be approached through an opening from the south or the main façade. Contrary to the Nereid Monument, there was no relief decoration on the podium but a simple *cyma reversa* moulding was crowning the top.<sup>356</sup>

#### 4.2.3. *The Meaning: Maussolleion as an Image of Power*

Maussolleion was first and foremost an expression of power: it was the representation of Hekatomnid power displayed in the urban imagery. In this section it is suggested that the perception of this power, however, by external viewers and the local Karians had different connotations as well as similarities.

##### 4.2.3.1. External Image: How was it perceived?

Not the iconography of the Maussolleion but its location in the urban plan would be what first struck the eye of the various external viewers, those coming from the sea “the main approach to the city”: they were the main audience of the monument. First and foremost, the Maussolleion was primarily focused with the external viewer in mind, hence its location. Its grandiosity as if “hanging in the void air” would be the first thing catching the eye of the external viewer approaching from the sea, this artificial mountain meant “power” at the first glance. Placed on a high and extensive terrace, the long, unbroken line in two colours of

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<sup>355</sup> Fedak 1991, 68.

<sup>356</sup> Fedak 1991, 69.

stone in blue and white could be seen from as far away as the island of Kos.<sup>357</sup> The monument was creating an artificial height in an unexpected location in an orthogonally planned city resembling a natural theatre, where it negotiated the centre of visual attraction.

When the viewer, a visitor, approached a little more, enough to roughly discern the basic features of this artificial 'mountain', he would at once realise how unusual this building was: tracing the different parts of the monument, it should be something like a temple for a Greek, or a pyramid to an Egyptian; maybe a Persian would resemble it to a tower tomb. However, assuming all to be unaware of the fame of the monument, presumably none of them would easily recognize what it was precisely. Yet, they would definitely realise the grandiosity disseminating the image of "power". After coming closer, they would distinguish the unconventional mixture of several architectural types they knew or heard of. Looking top down, first they would probably see the quadriga at the top, and coming closer, they would distinguish separately the pyramid structure, the temple like form and the high podium upon which the monument rose. The quadriga would become clearer as chariot and the lion at the top of the pyramid roofing; these were "particular symbols of eastern monarchic power and force"<sup>358</sup> that could probably be readily understood by any external viewer; thus the "type of power" was recognized through the quadriga. On the other hand, the pyramid, was universal enough to convey "the idea of ascension", or an "eternal apex", "a stairway to heaven", after which the visitor would distinguish the sepulchral association of the building.

When the visitor landed in the harbour of Halikarnassos, he would probably observe that the building was placed next to the agora, which "to Greek thinking would have had heroic connotations"<sup>359</sup> for a sepulchral edifice as it was also inside the city walls. Coming from the harbour through the main street, closer to the agora, the visitor would already see at the eastern tip of the agora the *propylaia* and the monumental stairs of the terrace, manipulating the entrance way to the monument, the name of which he would probably have learned as the 'Maussolleion' by this time.

When the visitor approached the temenos after passing through one of the *propylaia*, he would be able to wander around and notice the architectural sculpture where he could see the Amazonomachy and Centauromachy friezes, which were "on a smaller scale, in genuine relief, and to be of essentially decorative character".<sup>360</sup> The free-standing sculptures, where

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<sup>357</sup> Pedersen, Pergamon, 431.

<sup>358</sup> Waywell 1994, 64.

<sup>359</sup> Hornblower 1982, 252.

<sup>360</sup> Waywell 1994, 65.

“Persian figures appear alongside those wearing *Greek* garments or *Carian* tunics” would further confuse him.<sup>361</sup> This hypothetical visit to the Maussoleion would probably end as the visitor left the monument with all but one distinct idea that this was a Karian edifice built for the Karian dynast.

According to Colvin, it was the idea of a heroon that was responsible for transforming the tomb into a major architectural monument such as the Maussoleion: “Once great men were accorded divine honours, then it followed that their tombs should be conceived in the likeness of the temples of the gods”.<sup>362</sup> Such practice was not common in the fifth century. However, it became a widespread application in the fourth century BC, and stemmed and matured not from Greece mainland but from Asia Minor and the islands. This is, according to Colvin, due to its encounter with the “native architectural traditions among the satrapies of the Persian Empire that considerably altered its character”.<sup>363</sup> Accordingly, Fedak states:

(...) it was a monumental undertaking on the part of a local ruler designed to win him immortality. Here the earlier Asia Minor tradition of commemorative buildings and grave monuments was developed into an impressive, even awe-inspiring, ‘heroon tomb’, or a true Syngonion on account of its portrait of its portrait statues.<sup>364</sup>

Hornblower on the other hand, suggests that “the unhellenic eclecticism of the Mausoleum is not the only evidence for Hekatomnid disregard for the rules and conventions of the Greek architecture”.<sup>365</sup> It may well be asserted that this disregard was not an unconscious act of some kitsch barbarian, but deliberate, although some scholars like Hornblower, Ashmole imply just the opposite. For example, Hornblower finds elsewhere the “indictment of the bad taste” of the Maussoleion. On the contrary, it may be suggested that Maussoleion was a deliberate attempt to create a new architectural language in its entirety, which is totally compliant with the Ionian Renaissance.

It is known that a poetic and oratorical competition, as well as Olympic games were organized for Maussollos after his death by his sister-wife Artemisia.<sup>366</sup> This shows an attempt to honour Maussollos in words and acts as well as in architecture. Such activities would also imply heroization in Greek context according to Hornblower, who suggests the

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<sup>361</sup> Waywell 1994, 65, *italics* are mine.

<sup>362</sup> Colvin 1991, 21.

<sup>363</sup> Colvin 1991, 111.

<sup>364</sup> Fedak 1991, 74.

<sup>365</sup> Hornblower 1982, 251.

<sup>366</sup> Hornblower 1982, 253.

possibility that Maussollos was already heroized at his death, and the Maussoleion was intended as a *heroon*.<sup>367</sup> However, no literary evidence or epigraphic source mentions that Maussollos was “honoured as a hero, or that his funeral was an act of heroization”.<sup>368</sup>

#### 4.2.3.2. Local Meaning: What did it convey?

Easily seen from anywhere in the city of Halikarnassos, the Maussoleion stood for “an image of things achieved” by Maussollos in the eye of the local Karians, and especially Halikarnassians; the people of the city he ‘refounded’. Maussollos undertook a number of building projects, and in a sense rearranged settlement and social organization in Karia. Being his most elaborate project, the Maussoleion was a testimony of his achievements. A number of ritualistic dynamics shaped the local meaning of the Maussoleion: the tomb cult, the founder cult, the ruler cult, and the hero cult; all of which are interrelated in this monument and meant to convey highly understandable messages to local Karians.

Having refounded the city of Halikarnassos literally, as well as renovating other parts in Karia, Maussollos seems to have suggested a claim for the “founder cult”. Jeppesen states that the founder cult was based on the relationship between a powerful individual and a community, whose establishment that individual had successfully endeavoured to promote.<sup>369</sup> The concept of founder, or *ktistes*, does not necessarily mean literally ‘mark a beginning from nothing’, but also in the wider sense “implying any intervention of epoch-making consequence”, or may be “considered the benefactor, *eurgetes*, or saviour, *soter* of the community he patronized or ruled”.<sup>370</sup> Therefore, Jeppesen sees “no sharp distinction between the definition of founder cult and the definition of ruler cult”.<sup>371</sup> In this sense, Herakles is an important figure setting the example for a human being that has been recognized as a hero to attain the rank of a god; although heroes are confined to the Nether world and gods belong to Olympos; he became an Olympian himself.<sup>372</sup>

Jeppesen finds it inconvincing, that Maussollos have resisted the “temptation of also assuming the founder’s role and of claiming for himself the traditional honours pertinent to such a position, among these the privilege of being buried at the market square of the city he

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<sup>367</sup> Hornblower 1982, 253.

<sup>368</sup> Hornblower 1982, 258.

<sup>369</sup> Jeppesen 1994, 73.

<sup>370</sup> Jeppesen 1994, 73.

<sup>371</sup> Jeppesen 1994, 73.

<sup>372</sup> For a detailed discussion on this subject please see Jeppesen 1994, 73.

had founded".<sup>373</sup> The quadriga crowning the top of the monument is often related to the sun god Helios, as well as the coins depicting Maussollos with a helmet. Hence, it is argued that Maussollos wanted to deify, at least heroize himself through the monument. The sacrificial deposit found at the tomb chamber reinforces this hypothesis, as it is done in a manner to suffice the appetite of the 'hero'.

The Maussoleion may also be supposed to have an intimate meaning hidden inside, regardless of the message on the exterior. As seen in the very special and sacred moment of facing the gods, in the tomb chamber. No matter how ideologically constructed on the exterior, with all parts contributing to the overall meaning, the tomb chamber is the actual place where the deceased encounters his gods. This is the place where he is himself and a fatal being in the end, helpless in front of gods; there he is the Maussollos of Mylassa with possibly his local gods, in a construction that he is used to and which is accepted to be the common practice in his land; the chamber tomb. Complementary evidence is found in recent evidence: a tomb found in the outskirts of Halikarnassos. In plan Maussoleion conforms to local tradition, as may be illustrated by comparison to this recent tomb, which has same sequence of components in its disposition as the tomb of Maussollos: plug-block and an outer corridor – doorway interior corridor and tomb chamber.<sup>374</sup>

Accordingly, Carstens aptly suggests that "the Maussoleion modelled itself upon local tradition, not only in the architecture and plan of the burial chamber, but also in the ideological concept of the deified ruler as dynastic ancestor".<sup>375</sup> The Maussoleion was an edifice of a public identity:

Both the ideological (the deified ruler) and the architectonic elements (the sacred precinct) show that the Hekatomnid dynasty created its public identity, first and foremost by the construction of the Maussoleion, in a local cast. The recognition of the Persian satrap Maussollos and his family by the local Karians, including the local dynasties, is a vital key in the decipherment of the flourishing 4<sup>th</sup> century Karia.<sup>376</sup>

As a final note, Carstens aptly states that further systematic archaeological investigations are needed in order to make a conclusive remark.

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<sup>373</sup> Jeppesen 1994, 81.

<sup>374</sup> Jeppesen 1994, 19.

<sup>375</sup> Carstens 2002, 403-4.

<sup>376</sup> Carstens 2002, 407.



### **4.3. IMPLICATIONS OF THE MAUSSOLLEION**

The Maussoleion had a variety of implications in several different forms, ranging from architecture to literature. It is argued that these implications are not confined to the ancient periods but still continue today, in diverse areas.

#### ***4.3.1. The Immediate Impact: Perception***

The Maussoleion created an immense impact not only in architecture but also in other aspects of social and cultural life. The study of the nature of this immediate impact demonstrates how it was perceived by the contemporaneous ancient world.

##### **4.3.1.1. Architectural Impact: Similar Monuments after the Maussoleion**

The architectural impact of the Maussoleion had been swift. It immediately received response starting from the close vicinities first, and extending towards the Mediterranean in later periods.

###### *4.3.1.1.1. Belevi Monument*

Belevi monument is located about 14 km inland from the north of Ephesos, within the boundaries of ancient Sardis; standing at the foot of a sloping hillside overlooking the fertile area surrounded by Bintepeleer tumuli. In terms of decoration and size, this monument is regarded as the most similar tomb to the Maussoleion found in Asia Minor; a tomb chamber hewn out of the bedrock was surrounded by a square marble podium with a colonnade above and topped probably by a pyramid. The order was not Ionic, however, but Corinthian; and the top of the podium was embellished with a Doric frieze.<sup>377</sup> There is also a tumulus at Belevi, constructed in the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC, with a second building phase in the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC. According to Carstens, the Belevi tumulus is an 'evident example of a monumental tomb subject to a hero cult'; as a system of clay pipes surrounded the tomb in order to make possible the libation offerings, which took place at the top of the tumulus, leading the way to the offerings down to the antechamber.<sup>378</sup> Therefore, the location of the Belevi Monument was not a coincidence.

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<sup>377</sup> Colvin 1991, 37.

<sup>378</sup> Carstens 2002, 405.

Belevi monument rises on a ground square plan with each side measuring 29.65 m.<sup>379</sup> Only the podium with building fragments remains today. The living rock was artificially sculpted to provide the high basement in Belevi monument, in the opposite manner of the Maussolleion, where the rock surface was hewn in order to reach the foundation level. Above the *euthynteria*, a three-stepped crepidoma 1.18m high supported the base mouldings consisting of a plain band, *torus*, *scotia*, and Lesbian *cyma*. Above this base the podium was faced with ten courses of large neatly cut ashlar 0.69m to 0.88m high. A low architrave 0.45m and a higher Doric frieze (0.67 m) and a corona (0.45 m) ran around the top of the podium.

The Tomb chamber was hidden on the south side behind the wall of the facing blocks of the podium; a false doorway was placed on the opposite side of the podium in the middle of the north side. Along the south side a deep recess was cut into the rock core for the burial chamber (7.4m x 4.5m and 8.25m in height) which was placed off-centre and sealed from outside to conceal its existence. The burial chamber was hollowed out of rock and is rectangular covered with a barrel-vaulted roof. There was only a single burial as in the Maussolleion, revealing that it was not intended for a multiple dynastic use. The actual chamber within the recess was barrel vaulted and consisted of a small vestibule and a larger rectangular back-room for the kline sarcophagus. In the tomb chamber, a male statue in Persian dress stood as a grave guardian or a mourner. A similar life-size seated figure in Persian dress has been recovered from the walls of the Bodrum castle, which may have served the same purpose. The north or main façade of the edifice facing the street has an unfinished false door.

The second floor started out with a three stepped crepis 1.12m high the top step serves as the stylobate of a Corinthian peristasis with eight columns per side. The column bases are Attic-Ionic, resembling those in the largest tomb of Lykia or at Langaza in Macedonia according to Fedak.<sup>380</sup> The entablature had a three-fascia architrave crowned by an astragal, egg-and-dart and a plain fillet moulding; above the architrave there were both a *cyma*-profiled and lotus frieze and the dentil course. The Ionic cornice supported a plain *cyma* with lion-head water spouts. The total height of the entablature was 1.7m.

The ceiling of the peristyle was embellished in a 'baroque' manner with large coffers: the panels on the principal north side represented funeral games while the reliefs on the other sides dealt with a Centauromachy. The Austrian archaeologists restored three pairs of

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<sup>379</sup> Probably representing a unit of 100 feet of 29.65cm according to Fedak (Fedak 1991, 80).

<sup>380</sup> Fedak 1991, 80.

anthithetic lion-griffin figures facing large stone vases on each side above the *cyma*; pairs of horses were placed at the corners. However, little or no archaeological evidence survives for the reconstruction of the cella and the roof structure regarding the top of the structure. It is thought that the roof was most probably a stepped pyramid with a crowning element in a similar fashion to Halikarnassos.

A block perhaps belonging to the Ionic architrave of the inner order bears the inscription: HELIOS. Sculpted ceiling coffers, colossal statues between the columns some representing the daughters of the Sun judging from the inscription (Heliades) on the architrave, confronting griffins in the place where the lions were located at the Maussolleion on the roof above the cornice, and at some point horses, whether or not in the form of a four-horse chariot.

Among the sculptural finds inside the burial chamber are a large sarchophagus with an unfinished reclining figure on top and a standing statue of a servant, and there are thought to be other figures as indicated by the fragments. The residual paints on architectural members and sculptures according to Fedak indicate that painting may have replaced carving on the mouldings, a practice reminiscent of Macedonian architecture.<sup>381</sup>

If the tomb was ever finished, it is estimated to have reached a total height of 35m as some 2500 m<sup>3</sup> of marble was extracted from the quarries of the neighbourhood. A stepped pyramidal roof was intended, but perhaps never completed. To this can be added the crowning element, which might have been the quadriga. The unfinished architecture of the tomb indicates that the work was stopped rather suddenly.

For whom the tomb was built and when is debatable. The Belevi monument, like the Maussolleion, presents different styles; the high podium and the probable pyramid on top are considered non-Greek, while there is 'oriental' influence on some sculptures like the statue of the servant; the mixing of different orders on the exterior of the building characterizes the early Hellenistic period, as in Labraunda, while the tomb chamber was executed in Macedonian style.<sup>382</sup> The use of the Corinthian order while it was still developing in the Greek mainland further complicates the problem.<sup>383</sup> Moreover, there is also no

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<sup>381</sup> Fedak 1991, 80.

<sup>382</sup> Fedak 1991, 81. For the use of mixed orders, Fedak provides the examples from the Great Tomb at Lefkadia and the Propylon of Ptolemy in Samothrace; however, in the context of this study, this is a feature first seen in the Labraunda 'experiments'. Besides, Fedak openly discusses for Macedonian impact for some of such tombs as Belevi, displaying parallels from Langaza, Macedonia.

<sup>383</sup> Colvin 1991, 38.

uniformity in the corresponding details at Belevi; they show different variations in carving. This suggests the presence of two or more building phase at the Belevi monument. Similarly, the date of the monument is problematical but believed to be some time between the first half of the third century and early second century.<sup>384</sup> Its commissioner is thought to be a king, and the selection of such a site near an ancient tumulus of perhaps a royal origin of an earlier period, according to Fedak, must have been the decisive factor. This points to the Thracian King Lysimachos as the commissioner of the tomb.<sup>385</sup> On the other hand, Waywell earlier proposed that it was first built for Antiochus II who died at Smyrna in 246 BC.<sup>386</sup> Colvin suggests the most likely option was the Seleucid Monarch Antiochus II, who died in Ephesus in 246 BC, however, he does not rule out the possibility that it may have been begun by the Thracian King Lysimachus whose rule over this part of Asia Minor was terminated by his death in battle in 281 BC, hence was left unfinished and untenanted, and may subsequently have been appropriated for Antiochus.<sup>387</sup>

The decorative forms and some strictly technical details such as the type of the foot unit and form of the dowel holes are same as those in the Temple of Athena at Priene; which has been assigned to the first Hekatomnid phase of the Ionian Renaissance. It may be suggested as a possibility that some of the actual builders of the Belevi monument took part or at least had knowledge on the execution of Hekatomnid architecture, or Ionian Renaissance as practiced in Priene and elsewhere.

The impact of the Belevi tomb had been widespread. It influenced directly or indirectly such monuments as the 'Tomba Ildebranda' in Etruria, the so-called tomb of the Ptolemies at Rhodes, and the tower tomb at Ptolemais in North Africa.

On the other hand, the Belevi Tomb stands as one of the last examples of a monumental built tomb that included new features in its design.<sup>388</sup> This may indicate that the 'Mausoleum' form had reached a mature status, and continued to be used as a prototype. In this process from Maussolleion to mausoleum, the rectangular plan tend to become square, Corinthian or

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<sup>384</sup> Waywell 1983, 6.

<sup>385</sup> Fedak 1991, 81.

<sup>386</sup> Waywell 1983, 7.

<sup>387</sup> Colvin 1991, 39.

<sup>388</sup> Fedak 1991, 82.

Doric orders were preferred to Ionic, and the podium was lowered in relation to the peristyle and pyramidal roof.<sup>389</sup>

#### 4.3.1.1.2. *The Lion Tomb at Knidos*

The Lion tomb at Knidos presents the symbolic importance of lions in tombs and commemorative monuments. It is located within a complex, surrounded by thick temenos walls, on the projecting tip of the small peninsula 4 km east of Knidos; probably serving as an important landmark for the sailors of the time.<sup>390</sup>

With a still standing limestone core up to 6m high (which is thought to be the one third of its original height), the Lion Tomb at Knidos was erected to honour a number of individuals rather than one person. Its location within an enclosure also suggests that it was built as a heroon. Its overall design relates to the Maussoleion.

The square lower part of the tomb measures 12m per side, consisting of a three-stepped crepis and a high socle. Around the massive middle section of the building there are four engaged Doric columns ca 5.5m lower diameters in height on each side. The arrangement of three triglyphs are similar to the Doric Portico of Knidos, dated to perhaps fourth or early third century BC. The entablature was ended with a plain lion-head *cyma*, while the metope widths varied.

The crowning lion figure and its rectangular pedestal were supported by an oblong stepped pyramid above the lower storey. Inside the podium and the pyramid, there is a beehive-shaped tomb chamber built by “concentric horizontal courses overhanging each other so as to gradually converge to an apex”.<sup>391</sup> This beehive roofing of the interior resembles Mycanean tombs. However, the corbelled vault construction is also comparable to other roof structures in the Lelegian peninsula, like the Gebe Kilise Tomb, the tombs at Asarlık, and with the tomb chamber of the Maussoleion.<sup>392</sup> There are rectangular burial niches extending to the external marble facing of the podium.

No architectural decoration was found except for a broken relief shield. The lion was carved of Pentelic marble, possibly indicating a kind of Attic connections for the monument. It is important that remains of this tomb and other elevated tombs of similar pyramidal tombs were found along the ancient road to Knidos.

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<sup>389</sup> Waywell 1982, 111.

<sup>390</sup> Fedak 1991, 77.

<sup>391</sup> Fedak 1991, 77.

<sup>392</sup> Fedak 1991, 77.

#### 4.3.1.1.3. *Gümüşkesen Monument*

In the homeland of the Hekatomnid dynasty, a 'miniature' of the Maussoleion was built maybe 500 years later: the Gümüşkesen Tomb. Although not certain, it is thought that this tomb may date as late as 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD.<sup>393</sup>

The three characteristic elements of tombs similar to the Maussoleion are found in this small scale replica: podium, surmounting colonnade, and the pyramidal roof. Yet, when compared to the Maussoleion, these elements are treated very differently in proportion and detail.

Only 9m high, the Gümüşkesen Monument is square in plan (7,32m<sup>2</sup>), with a relatively low podium, which contains the burial chamber approached by an off-centre door in one side. The colonnade over the podium is open, without a central support or cella. There are Corinthian pilasters at the corners with the lower parts left unfluted. A shallow pyramidal roof crowns the top with only 5 steps. No sculptures apart from the ornamentations in the pyramidal roof, which imitate wooden ceiling ornamentations, are found. However, there might have been portrait statues placed within colonnade.

According to Waywell, in proportion and detail other monuments around the Mediterranean have been at least as influential. Therefore there is no simple line of descent even within Karia from the tomb of Mausollos. The Gümüşkesen monument reveals what is found with respect to other monuments in this area, too: only the very general concept of Mausoleum which derives from Halikarnassos.<sup>394</sup>

#### 4.3.1.1.4. *Other Possible Inspirations*

The Maussoleion had affected considerably the monumental practices of its period. Similar to the monumental tombs built in Anatolia, it was also imitated on the roofs of the Mourning women sarcophagus in relief as well as the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus in Rome.<sup>395</sup> The Great Altar of Pergamon is also suggested to bear similarities in both its conception and architectural formation. According to Hoepfner, the Great Altar reflects not only the general structure of the Maussoleion at Halikarnassos, but that it may also be inspired by this building in specific details, such as the placing of statues on a podium behind the columns.

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<sup>393</sup> Colvin 1991, 39.

<sup>394</sup> Waywell 1983, 5.

<sup>395</sup> Waywell 1994, 65.

#### 4.3.1.2. Cultural Impact: Literature

In addition to the literary testimony on the Maussoleion describing the monument in its architectural details, the most outstanding of which are that of Pliny and Vitruvius, there are also other pieces which are about Maussoleion; the literary pieces that only fragments survived to this date.

##### 4.3.1.2.1. *The World Wonder Lists*

A new interest in the places to be seen has emerged with the Hellenistic period hence the world wonder lists began to be prepared. Maussoleion appears in six of eight complete lists, and receives three mentions in the incomplete lists. Today, Maussoleion is still counted among the world wonders.<sup>396</sup>

##### 4.3.1.2.2. *Theatre Plays*

Following the death of Mausollos Artemisia is reported to have held oratory and poetry contests as well as olympic contests, in honour of her husband. According to the *Suda*, "Isocrates took part in a rhetorical contest with Theodectes, the orator and tragic poet, and Theopompus of Chios, and also with Erythraeus of Naucratis, to give the funeral speech for Mausolus, the king of Halicarnassus"<sup>397</sup>, all of whom were, reportedly, Isocrates' pupils. Theodectes won eight of the nine prizes on this one occasion with the tragedy he wrote for the dead Mausollos, which was named after the deceased. Hornblower suggests can be seen 'as a literary descendant of the tragic choruses offered at Sikyon for Adrastos'.<sup>398</sup> The theme of this play might be on the apotheosis of its subject, Mausollos:

This play would greatly gain the point if the subject of the drama were in some way Apolline. And indeed, it is very likely that it was: there was a mythical Mausolus, who was a son of the Sun God. This mythical Mausolus is mentioned in the *de fluviis*, a hellenistic treatise which survives in the corpus of the writings of Plutarch. It is easy to see what the theme of Theodectes' play could have been: precisely the apotheosis of the mythical Mausolus, and the circumstances leading up to it - with suitable allusions to the earthly Mausolus who claimed kinship with his mythical 'ancestor' - and through him, with the sun. (Apolline motifs abound on the Mausoleum.) An exact parallel would be the *Archelaos* of Euripides, a play about a mythical Macedonian king of that name, but written for King Archelaos, the historical leader of Macedon in the late fifth century.<sup>399</sup>

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<sup>396</sup> Waywell 1983, 11

<sup>397</sup> "Isocrates" in *Suda*, Adler No: iota, 653. trans. by Malcolm Heath (<http://www.stoa.org/sol/>; last accessed: 01.02.2007).

<sup>398</sup> Hornblower 1982, 260.

<sup>399</sup> Hornblower 1982, 261.

Therefore, Hornblower suggests that the Maussoleion is “the iconographic equivalent of Theodektes’ tragedy the *Mausolus*, itself designed (like Euripides’ *Archelaos*) to legitimate a dynasty by bridging the gap between history and myth”.<sup>400</sup>

Besides tragedy, the Hekatomnids and Maussollos have also been a popular subject for the Athenian comedists of the era. Indeed, as Hornblower indicates: ‘the interest shown in the Hekatomnid dynasty by fourth-century Athenian comedists is remarkable’,<sup>401</sup> a fact that bears a lot of political underpinnings. Their importance stems from their inherent political criticisms that lie behind, giving us a glimpse of the whole picture as well as some clues on how this ‘barbarian’ satrap, Maussollos himself was perceived by Greeks.

As early as the fourth century, the Middle Comedist Epigenes wrote a play called *The Mnemation* or the Little Tomb, which contains a reference to Maussollos’ brother Pixodaros, and thus its title is thought to be describing the Maussoleion itself, as Athenaeus says in *Deipnosophists*.<sup>402</sup> In Lucian’s *Dialogues of the Dead*, there is a hypothetical conversation between Maussollos and Diogenes.<sup>403</sup> In his *Menippus (Nekyomanteia)*, Lucian also states that “poor Maussollos in the under world found the immense weight of the tomb a burden”.<sup>404</sup> Another interesting play was written by the Middle Comedist Antiphanes, which was called *Καριναί*, the word meaning both ‘The Mourner’ and ‘Karian Woman’. In Hesychius’ lexicon, *Karinai* is explained to be related to Karian women, who were professional dirge-singers and to Artemisia, in particular; whose grief after Maussollos’ death is well-known.

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<sup>400</sup> Hornblower 1982, 271.

<sup>401</sup> Hornblower 1982, 259.

<sup>402</sup> “Epigenes” in the *Suda*, Adler No: epsilon, 2262 “A comic poet. Amongst his plays are Heroine and Mini-Tomb and Revelry, as Athenaeus says in *Deipnosophists*” [474A, 480A, 498E]. trans. by: David Whitehead (<http://www.stoa.org/sol/>; last accessed on 02.02.2007).

<sup>403</sup> Lucian, XXIV, see Annex 6. Also see Hornblower, 231 for further comments.

<sup>404</sup> The dialogue between Philonides and Menippos in “A Necromantic Experiment” part of *Menippus* takes place as follows (Fowles and Fowles 1905, 164-65):

*Phi.* Now, if a man occupies a costly towering sepulchre, or leaves monuments, statues, inscriptions behind him on earth, does not this place him in a class above the common dead?

*Me.* Nonsense, my good man; if you had looked on Mausolus himself--the Carian so famous for his tomb--, I assure you, you would never have stopped laughing; he was a miserable unconsidered unit among the general mass of the dead, flung aside in a dusty hole, with no profit of his sepulchre but its extra weight upon him. No, friend, when Aeacus gives a man his allowance of space--and it never exceeds a foot's breadth--, he must be content to pack himself into its limits. You might have laughed still more if you had beheld the kings and governors of earth begging in Hades, selling salt fish for a living, it might be, or giving elementary lessons, insulted by any one who met them, and cuffed like the most worthless of slaves. When I saw Philip of Macedon, I could not contain myself; some one showed him to me cobbling old shoes for money in a corner. Many others were to be seen begging--people like Xerxes, Darius, or Polycrates.



#### 4.3.1.2.3. *The Word 'maussolleion'*

A recent finding, a monumental tomb in Karian Iasos has demonstrated an interesting and important fact through an inscription. Built in 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC, this monumental tomb bears the inscription 'maussolleion' carved on its pillar. This suggests that the immediate impact of the monument was not limited to physical constructs, founding an architectural typology, but took its place also in the abstract level, with the word Maussolleion signifying a certain type of monumental tomb, and in a relatively short period.<sup>405</sup>

#### 4.3.2. *The Aftermath Impact: Vocabulary*

Hekatomnid/ Karian practices in general and the Maussolleion in particular may have created a vast vocabulary in differing areas from spoken language to a distinctive building type. A discussion of these vocabularies demonstrates a significant range of impact that was generated by a single monument.

##### 4.3.2.1. **Verbal Vocabulary: from 'Maussolleion' to 'mausoleum'**

In second century AD, Greek topographer Pausanias wrote that the Maussolleion was "of such a size and so marvellous in its construction that even the Romans have been utterly astounded by it and used the word 'mausoleum' for their own grandiose tombs".<sup>406</sup> The word mausoleum is seen regularly in the imperial period often in its modern sense: "any large tomb".<sup>407</sup> When the famous tomb for Emperor Augustus was built at the end of the first century AD, it was indeed known as 'Augustus' Mausoleum'. Hornblower states that Strabo is the first to use the word in this sense. However later evidence demonstrates that the concept was already in use in the form of 'maussolleion' as in Iasos. In the following centuries, and even today, the word itself has become a generic term signifying any grandiose built tomb, regardless of its resemblance to the original Maussolleion. The transformation of the word 'Maussolleion' signifying a specific tomb monument to 'mausoleum' as a signifier of any grand tomb shows the influence of the form created and its persistence in the social sub-conscience.

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<sup>405</sup> Pedersen 1990, 125.

<sup>406</sup> Colvin 1991, 38.

<sup>407</sup> Hornblower 1982, 233.

#### 4.3.2.2. Visual Vocabulary: from 'Tower Tombs' to 'Tower Houses'

Visual vocabulary involves somehow remote reminiscences of architectural undertakings directly or indirectly resembling or bearing visual touches reflected to day, particularly from the Maussoleion in our case. A similar notion in this regard is the translation of mother goddess figurines and murals into tapestry, which are still used today in kilim motifs as a reminiscence of a long, forgotten past, as an edifice of social sub-conscience. Interestingly enough, Mylassa, the seat of the Hekatomnid dynasty, is still famous today for its traditional carpets, and for their distinctive patterns, especially the one called traditionally as 'Ada Milas'. This is not an attributed label but the authentic, original name and romanticised today as bearing the very name of the 'Karian Princess', Ada of the Hekatomnids. Similar to the discussions on the motifs on Anatolian kilims and their meanings, it is intended at this point to display continuity in the form of possible visual connections with especially this tomb monument and other Karian/Hekatomnid edifices that have been carried to the present through the communal consciousness or maybe subconsciously endured. In this sense this is a liberal interpretation drawn from really obscure evidence, so it is not intended to be conclusive but rather as a brainstorming activity.

For translation of the Maussoleion into visual vocabulary in miscellaneous forms, it is provocative, to single out the traditional chimneys of the Halikarnassian peninsula, particularly those of modern day Mylassa. These in a remote way, may signify a visual relevance to the distinct shape of the Maussoleion. As traditional and locally familiar forms of modern vernacular Mylassan architecture still in use today, they may present an interesting lineage to the Maussoleion, although in a thoroughly different context.

To give another example, the Gumbet architecture is an interesting feature of the Halikarnassian peninsula. 'Gumbet' is a generic name given to any domed, small scale and mostly circular structures used for several facilities as baths, cisterns, or small mosques. In modern Bodrum, there is also a town with this name, some 3 km away from the centre to the Myndos gate, where took its name from the abundance of such structures found in the town. The word 'gumbet' seems to be the localised version of the Persian 'gunbad', "an Iranian and Mughal term for dome, usually used for a domed tomb",<sup>408</sup> the symbolism of which as a manifestation of the universal archetype is ancient and widespread, as Daneshvari states:

There is no doubt that the dome played an important symbolic role in funerary structures. The use of the term dome (*gunbad*, *qubba*) to signify the tomb structure is sufficient proof of its importance. Clearly the choice of the term *gunbad* (dome) was

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<sup>408</sup> Petersen, Andrew. 1996. *Dictionary of Islamic Architecture*. Routledge.

intended to attribute to this class of buildings the widely accepted cosmological and political symbolism of the dome.<sup>409</sup>

These domed structures, parallels of which may also be traced in the Aegean island architecture of Mykonos, Kos, and Rhodes, can be said to have remote connections with the Mykanean tomb structures, and particularly with Lelegian stone tumulus tombs in the peninsula. As mentioned earlier, Lelegian stone tumulus tombs may have close connections with the tomb chamber of Halikarnassos, and the visual similarity between the Lelegian stone tumulus tombs, like the Gebe Kilise tomb and the Gumbet structures are striking. Moreover, the use of the term 'gunbad' as domed tomb provides another vague but interesting linkage between these two types of buildings and may point out the persistence of forms and practices in the architectural context.

In this regard, the architectural forms of the windmills, for which the peninsula is well-known, are worthy of note. These appear as a transitory form between the stone tumulus tombs, which are circular in shape and the gumbets, some of which are squarish but always with a dome roofing. The windmills, mostly found in Yalıkavak, may stand for one of the lost rings in the evolutionary chain of architectural forms in the peninsula somewhere between stone tumulus and gumbet: they are circular in shape and do not have domes but rise up to a height of ca. 10m,<sup>410</sup> visually reminiscent of the concept of tower tombs as in the podium of the Maussoleion.

Yet another interesting aspect in this regard is the Ayan architecture of the Aegean and Karian regions in the Ottoman period. Although not very much studied, except by Ayda Arel, who has started her investigations in early 80s, the Ayan architecture raises new horizons.<sup>411</sup> Mostly belonging to the local notables, Ayans, the "great provincial dynasties, families who acquired wealth and power" emerged as a result of the deterioration in the 18<sup>th</sup> century of Ottoman *mirî* regime on land appropriation.

These fortified estates, similar to the fortified settlements of Karia, were "usually large farmsteads in which the master's quarters were fortified and sometimes had the appearance of strongholds".<sup>412</sup> Among such fortified estates still in the Aegean region are cited the

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<sup>409</sup> Daneshvari 1986, 36-37.

<sup>410</sup> Aysel 2006, 111.

<sup>411</sup> See Arel 1987, 1988, 1989, 1993. I owe this part mostly to my thesis advisor Prof. Dr. Suna Güven, who pointed out the possible relationship between Ayan Architecture and the concept of tower, to whom I am more than grateful.

<sup>412</sup> Arel 1993, 212.

complex in the village of Arpaz (ancient Karian settlement Harpasa) near Nazilli, the fortifications belonging to the Cihanoğulları estate in Cincin village, Aydın (also ancient Karian Tralleis). In many instances “these fortified domains had a keep or residential tower in direct connection to the master’s house”, such as the towers in the villages of Arpaz, Koçarlı, İnebolu in Aydın (ancient Neapolis of Karia), and Yerkesiği near Ancient Troy. There were also isolated towers such as in Donduran village (ancient Karian settlement of Orthosia in Mylassa), Mustafa Paşa Tower (Müsgebi/Ortakent in Halikarnassos peninsula).

Arel suggests that these towers should have derived from the same vernacular tower houses proper to the rural areas of the Aegean world, to which we may add ancient Karia. As she puts very aptly, “the feudal aspect of these fortified installations run by barons, who kept bands of armed men and were very often engaged in bloody conflicts among themselves, has an anachronistic quality”.<sup>413</sup> It may well be that this anachronistic aspect of these buildings may help us to explore the possible visual connections as well as the more profound continuity observed in the settlement pattern.

The tower house in Phokaia also brings to mind the Taş Kule/ stone tower Tomb in the same place. Besides the tower tomb - tower house connection, the notion of tower, conceptualizing ascension and hierarchy in a sense is a feature observed in both structures no matter what their functions are, and this may be suggested to have been reflected in their visual similarity in terms of their being high-towers, requires further work.

This example of tower houses is even more revealing in another aspect; considerable continuity of the settlement patterns in Karia. As discussed earlier, relationship of the local settlement patterns in Karia vis-à-vis the social structure was usually defined in terms of some sort of a feudal structure, where the society was organised in *demesnes* inhabiting in fortified settlements, where the dynast or landlord stayed in the core fortified residence, the *pyrgoi* in ancient sources and *herrensitze* in modern studies. The tower houses of Karia and Ionia, which were still called *pyrgoi* curiously by the contemporaneous Greeks, seem to have a real connection of this type of settlement pattern and social organization. They were markedly feudal in structure depending on an agricultural mode of production where the local notable ‘Ayan’, the ‘dynast’ in a sense, extracted the surplus and controlled the distribution of resources. Therefore, as Arel also suggests for the tower houses, “their archetype might well be the rural *pyrgos*, that is, the domestic tower or small castle which marked the center of such agrarian estates as the Hellenistic *latifundia*, the Roman farm, and

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<sup>413</sup> Arel 1993, 212.

the Byzantine *pronia*".<sup>414</sup> The distribution of such tower houses following more or less the lines of ancient fortified settlements and their location in close proximity of the ancient sites as Arel denotes, is another aspect of this type of settlement pattern.

#### **4.3.2.3. Architectural Vocabulary: from Mausollos' Tomb to Atatürk's Mausoleum**

The most safely traceable impact that Maussolleion created is definitely the mausoleum as an architectural form, which is still used in its basic tenets. As Colvin states, "by fusing all podium, temple columns and pyramidal roof into one, the designers of the Maussolleion had created a new architectural formula for the glorification of the dead".<sup>415</sup> This new formula was used in ancient times as seen in the Mausoleum of Augustus. In later Hellenistic times, pyramids appeared in several regions, and after Maussolleion, they were most frequently used as the superstructure of the monuments, providing the roofing structure, in built-tombs as well as rock-cut tombs.<sup>416</sup>

The concept of mausoleum both literally and architecturally continued to be widely used in modern times as in the ancient periods. Particularly the 20<sup>th</sup> century architecture witnessed some outstanding examples of the use of mausoleum as an architectural expression, as some very important figures in history lived in this era, who were perceived as a sort of modern 'founder's by their respective societies of the 'collapsed' and 'reborn' countries in the specific environment caused by the two world wars. In this regard, Jeppesen suggests that "not a few features of typical modern founder cults might have been copied from ancient precedents as they are known from ancient literary sources" but "they are probably better explained as evidence testifying to the fact that history repeats itself".<sup>417</sup> Although somehow deterministic for a historical theorization, this statement expresses the endurance of several factors that continue to affect people today as in the past: the founder cult generates some similar practice today as in the past. Rulers embody a set of values and connotations with their societies, even after their death. They stand for the image of those ideals, and their mausolea provide the visual landmark for that image in concrete architecture.

In this sense, as the founder of modern Turkey, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk deserves a special attention. Built almost fifteen years after his death, Atatürk's Mausoleum was planned after an architectural competition. Although not completed in line with the original plan, the *idea*

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<sup>414</sup> Arel 1993, 213.

<sup>415</sup> Colvin 1991, 36.

<sup>416</sup> Fedak 1991, 111.

<sup>417</sup> Jeppesen 1994, 73.

of the building shares some connections with that of the Tomb of Mausollos, the Mausolleion itself. The building was constructed at Rasattepe, known today as Anıtkabir after Atatürk's Mausoleum, which was a known Phrygian tumulus and the highest hill in Ankara of the period. The terrace of the monument covered a vast area reached by monumental stairs accompanied by "Hittite lions" on both sides. To the east of the terrace, which worked as a temenos structure, is located the actual Anıtkabir building, surrounded by a portico on both sides. The building itself is wrapped by a massive, sturdy colonnade rising to 50m in height. The original plan in fact contained different roofing in the form of a stepped pyramid to be built at the top of the colonnaded structure, in line with the Mausolleion. Indeed today, possessing a powerful ambience, the building is immensely visited as a 'secular shrine'. However, the actual burial chamber is not what is seen in the colonnaded building but underneath, as in the Mausolleion. Despite the powerful image of the monument itself, the actual tomb chamber is a plain and dignified structure, providing the peace deserved in eternal rest.

## CHAPTER V

### EPILOGOS\*\*

It is suggested in this study that the Hekatomnids were not a peripheral or ineffective dynasty but rather an important actor in the conjuncture of the Aegean politics of their period. They marked a distinctive period in the history of Karia and Western Asia Minor by creating a peculiar Karian synthesis of power, which is displayed in the settlement practices they implemented as well as in the urban imagery with the Maussolleion.

#### 5.1. CONCLUSIONS

When distinguishing between memory and posterity in the context of ancient Greece, Lin Foxhall makes an interesting remark. Stating that both are facets of the same jewel, Foxhall suggests that “if memory concerns a past which ‘is no longer the past but the present as one would like it to be’, then posterity concerns the construction (in all senses) of an image of the present for the future to see and remember”.<sup>418</sup> The Maussolleion in this sense, synthesizes both posterity and memory, as an image of the Hekatomnid power that resides in our memory. Foxhall states that “though humans cannot become gods and only rarely become heroes, they can become and produce memories which will outlast their tombstones”.<sup>419</sup> In this regard, Maussollos achieved at least to produce such a memory that has lived longer than his monumental tomb, regardless of whether or not he could become a ‘hero’, or a ‘god’, which is still a debatable subject. His tomb, on the other hand, may be suggested to be an impressive attempt to escape from ‘human time’ transforming it to the ‘monumental time’, which is permanent, hence divine.<sup>420</sup>

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\*\* Epilogos: Middle English epilogue, from Middle French epilogue, from Latin epilogus, from Greek epilogos, from epilegein to say in addition, from epi- + legein to say.

<sup>418</sup> Foxhall 1995, 132-133

<sup>419</sup> Foxhall 1995, 137.

<sup>420</sup> Foxhall 1995, 136.

On the other hand, the large scale building projects implemented by the Hekatomnids and Maussollos' *synoikismoi* affected the settlement organizations in Karia. This may be suggested to be in line with the 4<sup>th</sup> century urbanization movements in Western Asia Minor.<sup>421</sup> The transfer of inland rural communities into well established *poleis*, was largely due to the developing trade activities, in which Hekatomnids had been rather proactive. The building projects and *synoikismoi* brought the notion of 'urban planning' into the agenda as a necessity. The move of the Hekatomnid capital from Mylassa to Halikarnassos was a major impetus in this regard. Having been reorganized and planned in the aura of Ionian Renaissance, it seems that Halikarnassos acted as the palimpsest of Hekatomnid power. The thesis has revealed that orthogonality of the plan was manipulated in a scenographic manner in order to serve better the aim of monumentality, which played an important part in the display of power through urban imagery.

Similar to the commentary made by Konstan, who states that "to some extent a pan-Greek identity was undoubtedly a consequence of the Persian invasion",<sup>422</sup> it can be suggested for Hekatomnid Karia also that the Maussollan policies were, to some extent, a consequence of the Athenian aggression. Fredrik Barth emphasizes that ethnic diversity does not arise in ethnic isolation: it is the ethnic boundary itself that defines the group, instead of the cultural values that this boundary contains within.<sup>423</sup> Accordingly, it appears that Karian ethnic identity was shaped upon the 'boundaries' drawn by Persia and Greece. As Karia was both literally and conceptually between Persia and Greece, it can be suggested that Maussollos had to secure his land by both economic and military measures. As a result, it is suggested that Maussollos followed a policy of unified Karia ruled by a central authority. Apparently he was successful in overcoming the possible resistance from other local *dynasteia* in Karia which may have opposed Hekatomnid rule. The existence of a prison in Termera is an indication of his effective dominance. Accordingly, the dedicatory inscriptions at Labraunda which depict Idrieus with his local prefix, *Mylaseis*, seem to be targeting the other local *dynasteia* in Karia. This may have been an attempt to maintain a unified Karia, as the heads of local *dynasteia* would have been attending the annual religious festivals or other ceremonies. The *androns*, as well as the stoas were used for royal banqueting, the audience of which may be suggested to include these local *dynasteia* as well.

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<sup>421</sup> Tuna 1999, 477-485.

<sup>422</sup> Konstan 2001, 33.

<sup>423</sup> Barth 1969, 1-38.



On the other hand, a certain stance had to be maintained vis-à-vis Persia, as well. However, compared to the Athenian aggression, Persia proved to be less restrictive in Karia, as quoted with the famous phrase 'Persian tolerance', which helped the Ionian Renaissance flourish. Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg points to the fact that Persians did not have the resources required both ideologically and in terms of manpower to 'impose' a new system on their subjects. Thus, "the traditional view that Persian rule stifled Ionian culture overestimates the impact of the empire".<sup>424</sup> In this regard, it may be stated that this cultural and architectural flourishing in Karia and then in Ionia was in fact hampered by the chaotic environment created by Alexander's 'conquests' which were basically made in order to 'free' Asia Minor from the Persian 'oppression'. Despite the favourable relationship between Ada I and Alexander, the heads of two 'barbarian' dynasties, the siege of Karia by Macedonians inevitably played an important part in the demise of the Hekatomnids, and their latest capital Halikarnassos.

As stated in the thesis, Simon Hornblower emphasizes that Maussollos had been influential on later Hellenistic Kings in his hellenization policies. Bean on the other hand suggests that the basic aim of Maussollos was no less than the hellenization of whole Karia. However, it is important in the attribution of such labels to provide the definition of the label, which is hellenization in this case. Although some vague connotations are provided for the term 'hellenization', in fact, it is left to the reader what to include or exclude from the term. The usage of the Greek architectural forms in building projects or Greek language instead of Karian do not automatically make Maussollos 'phil-hellene', as such evidences should be evaluated in their own context. Naturally, Greek architectural forms were used; however, in a totally non-Greek manner, as demonstrated by the mixing of architectural orders at Labraunda, or incorporating Persian elements into it. All these tenets were then highlighted by the Ionian Renaissance. Indeed, Greek was *lingua franca* in this part of the world, which may be explained with the development of trade in the region, possibly the knowledge of Greek language was increasingly required, and with a kind of cultural *hegemonia*, exercised by Athens. As explained by Benedetto Fontana, Aristotle discusses *hegemonia* as leadership as opposed to domination, and states that "only the Hellenic *ethnos* is morally and rationally (...) capable of ruling and being ruled in this sense of *hegemonia*".<sup>425</sup> On the other hand, other non-Hellenic nations outside the Hellenic cultural and ethnic world could be subdued and

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<sup>424</sup> Sancisi-Weerdenburg 2001, 337.

<sup>425</sup> Fontana 2000, 315.

slaved.<sup>426</sup> In view of this, it might be stated that the negative perceptions of contemporaneous Greek writers concerning Hekatomnid Karia and particularly Maussollan activities may be the result of Karia's reluctance to give consent to Athenian *hegemonia* but following a relatively autonomous position.

On the other hand, the thesis suggests that instead of a Hellenization strategy, the Hekatomnids followed a pan-Karian policy which aimed at a unified Karia, without discriminating the various ethnicities. The peoples of Karia were intermingled deliberately through *synoikismoι*, in order to achieve this aim. In this making of a Karian cultural identity, a sense of Karianness is suggested to be traceable through both political practices and building projects. The Maussolleion also provides a message of *Karianness*, besides all other meanings it conveyed, such as its being the image of the things achieved by the Hekatomnids. As Beth Cohen states, "expressing ethnicity in visual art thus frequently entails developing a recognizable symbolic codification of contrasting forms distilled from reality and/or from substitutional invented traditions that can readily deciphered by the viewer".<sup>427</sup> Similarly Sian Jones notes that "certain aspects of material culture may become involved in the self-conscious signification of identity and, and the justification and negotiation of ethnic relations".<sup>428</sup> In these terms, it is suggested that the Maussolleion was a Karian edifice in its conception.

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<sup>426</sup> Fontana 2000, 316.

<sup>427</sup> Cohen 2001, 336.

<sup>428</sup> Jones 2002, 120.

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## APPENDICES

### APPENDIX A. TABLES

*Table 1. List of Karian Settlements*

(Source: Küçükeren, 2005)

Alabanda	Hydai	Labraunda	Pisye
Alinda	Hydissos	Lagina	Pladasa
Amnistos	Hyllarima	Larymna	Plarasa
Amos	Iassos	Latmos ad Herakleia	Priene
Amynanda	Idyma	Loryma	Rhodes
Amyzon	Itoana	Lyndai	Sebatstopolis
Anineta	Kallipolis	Madnasa	Sibda
Antiokheia ad Maiandros	Kalymnos	Mastaura	Stratonikeia
Aphrodisias	Kalynda	Miletus	StrobilosTabai
Apollonia	Karaura	Mobella	Syangela
Arpasa	Karianda	Mylassa	Syrna
Attouda	Kasara	Myndos	Tarmianoi
Bargasa	Kastabos	Myus	Teikhioussa
Bargyia	Kaunos	Narasa	Telmessos
Brioula	Kedrai	Neapolis	Termera
Bybassos	Keramos	Nysa	Thasthara
Daidala	Khalketor	Nysiros	Theangela
Erin	Kidrama	Olymos	Thera
Euhippe	Kildara	Orthosia	Thymbria
Euthena	Knidos	Panamara	Thyssanos
Gergas	Kos	Pasanda/ Sasanda	Tralles
Gordion Teikhos	Krya (Kryassos)	Passala	Trapezopolis
Halikarnassos	Kyllandos	Phoinix	Triopin
Harpasa	Kyndia	Physicos	Tymnos
Herakleia Salbakos	Kyon	Pidasas	Uda (Hyda)
Hierapolis	Kys	Pisilis	Uranion
	Kystis		

*Table 2. Maussollan Synoikismoi*

Name of the Site:	Bean & Cook	Hornblower	Radt	Characteristics / Description
<b>Halikarnassos</b>				Maussollos refounded the capital from Mylassa to Halikarnassos in early years of his rule Synoikised six Lelegian towns into Halikarnassos Some synoikised towns returned back during the reign of Asander, the later Macedonian Satrap of Karia
<b>Termera</b>	Asarlık	Asarlık	outside his geographical scope	Synoikised to Halikarnassos but Hellenistic pottery found Plenty of tombs, rock tombs: 2 fine examples at the summit of the South hill The Suda says 'the tyrants' used a Karian Xwriion called Termerion as a prison (probably the Hekatomnids) This might be the unique double-chambered vertical recess on the Termeran summit [B&C] Near or belonging to Myndos, opposite the Skandarian promontory of Kos: 40 stades far from Halikarnassos[H:93]
<b>Side (Sibda)</b>	Kara Dağ	suggests Girel Kalesi, Alazeytin or Kara Dağ	Kara Dağ	Synoikised to Halikarnassos. Apart from Pliny, only Stephanus of Byzantium mentions about Side [H:95] Does not appear in the tribute lists There is not much literary or epigraphic evidence Somewhere inland, remote from the 'argurologoi nies' of Athens is required: Kara Dağ in the centre of the peninsula is an obvious possibility for Side [H:96] however as so many of the Kara Dağ settlement are now known [Radt] it is not possible. One strong candidate is the Girel Kalesi, as this part of Kara Dağ is near to the highest point of the peninsula and the scent is unattractive. Very waterless and infertile, together with Ören Avlusu, they are hard to live even today. However, since Alazeytin is much more impressive and organized than any of the Kara Dağ sites, it surely has a better claim to the least securely attached Plinian name -certainly better than any of the newly discovered [Radt] minor Lelegian sites which are 'nameless', such as Koca Ören or Büyük Çevrim [H:96]

Name of the Site:	Bean & Cook	Hornblower	Radt	Characteristics / Description
<b>Madnasa (Madnasis)</b>		Göl (?)		Synoikised to Halikarnassos Main evidence for the settlement is the Athenian tribute lists: paid more than Uranium and on a regular basis [H:94] Coastal and with extensive remains at Göl Appearance of the parts of fortifications strongly suggest a military presence continued or resumed after the civilian population had left [H:88] Madnasa's fortifications look earlier than Uranium: the ashlar pattern is disorderly without achieving/appearing of great strength. The blocks are not bossed, nor the corners dressed. Such a wall might belong about 400 bc [H:96] Little post-classical pottery has been found.
<b>Uranium</b>		?Burgaz suggests Alazeytin	Burgaz	Synoikised to Halikarnassos Main evidence for the settlement is the Athenian tribute lists: paid little and seldom [H:94] Smaller and has a poorer harbour Diodorus says Uranium has been colonized by refugees from Syme As it has a poor harbour it should be located inland; hence in Alazeytin, suggests Hornblower, as it is also compliant with Diodorus' remark. However, Alazeytin is not on the coast [H:95] so Burgaz is acceptable as Uranium should be on the coast and smaller than Madnasa.
<b>Telmissos (Telmessos)</b>	probably the site above Gürice, nearby Ortakent (Müsgebi)	probably the site above Gürice [f:B&C]		Synoikised to Halikarnassos However, its <i>koinon</i> survived the <i>synoikismos</i> in the form of post-maussollos <i>koinon</i> [H] Ancient resources mention the distance to be 60 stades from Halikarnassos Continued in use after the <i>synoikismos</i> -at least for military purposes: there is a very fine tower on the summit is far too sophisticated to be earlier than the Hekatomnid period. The ashlar is comparable to 4th century ashlar of Iasos and Halikarnassos: may be a Hekatomnid edifice, but not for certain [H:94] Was surely an important site being halfway to Myndos
<b>Pedasa</b>	Gökçeler	Gökçeler [cannot but be accepted]	Gökçeler [R: due to the very considerable necropolis]	Synoikised to Halikarnassos Hellenistic pottery found : continued occupation This is not without parallel in the octopolis: changes of settlement were often partial or gradual [H:93] There is an elegant tower with a masonry approximating to ashlar "but is still recognizably the descendant of the flaky 'Lelegian' manner"[H:92] ]There were several places with the name Pedasa.

Name of the Site:	Bean & Cook	Hornblower	Radt	Characteristics / Description	Table II Cont'd
<b>Myndos</b>	Gümüslük	Gümüslük	Gümüslük	<p>Westernmost city to Halikarnassos and exempted synoikism That Maussollos preserved them (Myndos and Syangela), in some sense, is reported on the authority of Kallisthenes [H:96]</p> <p>Together with Theangela, to a lesser degree, was a place of some note in hellenistic times and form natural gateways, by land and the sea, to the Lelegian country deserving and getting a life of their own.</p> <p>Certainly at Gümüslük in hellenistic times, the most exiguous of all the sites so far reviewed (though the ruins are unimpressive [H:97] The walls are of rubble scarcely worked at all.</p>	
<b>Syangela / Theangela</b>	formerly identified as Alazeytin	/ Etrim	Kaplan Dağ is preferred	<p>Easternmost city to Halikarnassos and exempted synoikism Had coins issued in the 4th c bc. Second city of the Lelegian octopolis [R]</p> <p>Syangela is earlier to Theangela, its location is a vexed topographical question [H:97]</p> <p>That Maussollos preserved them (Myndos and Syangela), in some sense, is reported on the authority of Kallisthenes [H:96]</p> <p>Two major pre-hellenistic sites stand out in the neighbourhood of the later Theangela (securely located at Etrim from numerous inscriptions): Alazeytin and Kaplan Dağ. Kaplan Dağ is to be preferred, chiefly because it is nearer to Etrim. Alazeytin can then be identified as Side [H:98]</p> <p>Kaplan is a very well fortified settlement, and parts of its summit are flat and suitable for settlement. It controls the fertile Etrim plain [H:98]</p> <p>At Etrim, the volume of archaic and classical material, including fine tomb (may be of Pigres the fifth-century dynast?) suggests that the move from Kaplan to Etrim took place much earlier than the fourth century; perhaps in the mid-sixth as a result of the Persian conquest and 'sack'. If so, Maussollos treated Syangela differently from Myndos: at Myndos he moved the population physically; at Syangela the move (to Etrim) had already happened, and it was left for Maussollos to rebuild Etrim more splendidly, and give it the new name, Theangela (which did not immediately displace the old, as understood from Kallisthenes' referral in c. 330 to Maussollos' preservation of Syangela, an some coins from Etrim with the legend SY-may date from the latter part of the fourth century) [H:99]</p> <p>Together with Myndos, more than that, was a place of some note in hellenistic times Together with Myndos, form natural gateways, by land and the sea, to the Lelegian country deserving and getting a life of their own.</p>	

**Name of the Site:**      **Bean & Cook**      **Hornblower**      **Radt**      **Characteristics / Description**      **Table II Cont'd**

<b>Mylassa</b>	Milas	Milas	Synoikised from Kuyruklu Kalesi to Milas	<p>Mylassa had been a 'village in antiquity', according to Strabo, but was a polis in the fourth century, a change which might have taken place gradually in the fifth century [H:99]</p> <p>There was also a move of the dynastic seat early in the history of the Hekatomnid dynasty from near-by Peçin to Mylasa -an anticipation of the later move from Mylasa to Halikarnassos. [H:99]</p> <p>A fortress at another Mylassan site, Kuyruklu Kalesi was never abandoned in the classical period () It may then have been a Hekatomnid outpost even after the capital was moved to Halikarnassos [Radt Kuyruklu Kalesi] [H:99]</p> <p>In the Hellenistic period (but not earlier-than the hellenistic period) there was an actual settlement at Kuyruklu Kalesi. This suggests that in the Successor period the synoikised but -despite Maussollos' levies for wall-building-unprotected city of Mylassa was temporarily abandoned by a section of the population in favor of an older style of existence on the exura xoria of Karia. By the time of Macedonian satrap Asander, the capital had inevidently been moved back to Mylassa from Halikarnassos: Mylassa's leanest period was over. [H:99-100]</p>
<b>Lelegian Settlement</b>		<b>Alazeytin Kalesi</b>	<b>Alazeytin Kalesi</b>	<p>The best example of a walled settlement [H:90]</p> <p>Consists of roughly circular cluster of buildings, surrounded on all sides by a fortification wall which, for a section of its eastern lenth, was formed froE7m the outside walls of the dwelling-houses of the town. The summit of the hill foms a kind of acropolis, on which certain large buildings are to be identified as the house of the headman of the town [H:91]</p> <p>There is a rudimetary theatre on the site [Radt] perhaps a theatron for spectators at religious festival [H:91]</p> <p>There is also a Maussollan watchtower [R:71]</p>
<b>Lelegian Settlement</b>			<b>Kışla Dağ</b>	<p>Fluchtburg' or refuge type of structure east of Halikarnassos</p> <p>Crude Lelegian Masonry</p>

**Abbreviations:**      H: Hornblower, 1982  
                                  R: Radt, 1970  
                                  B&C: Bean and Cook, 1955

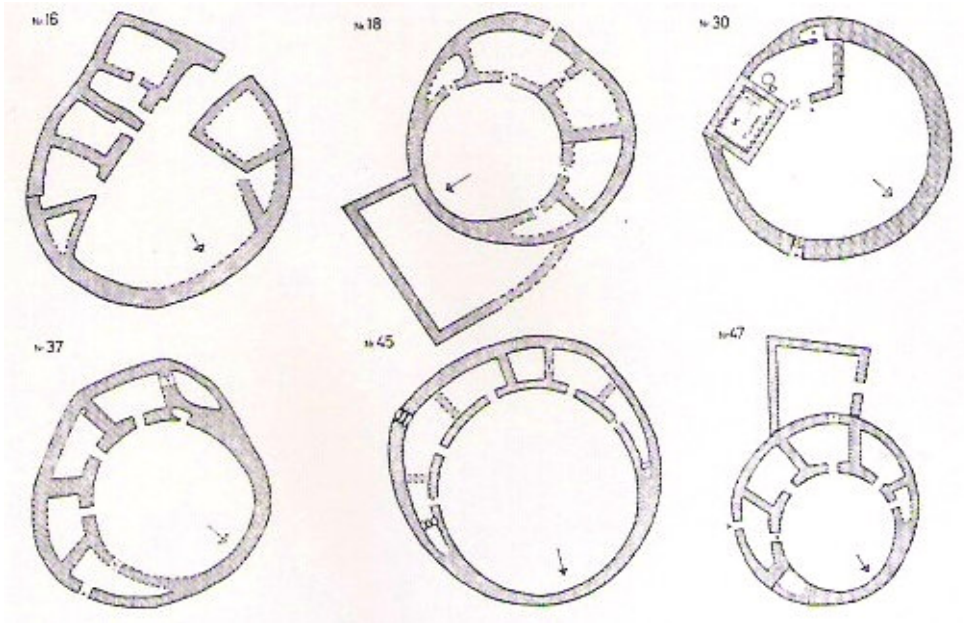


APPENDIX B. FIGURES



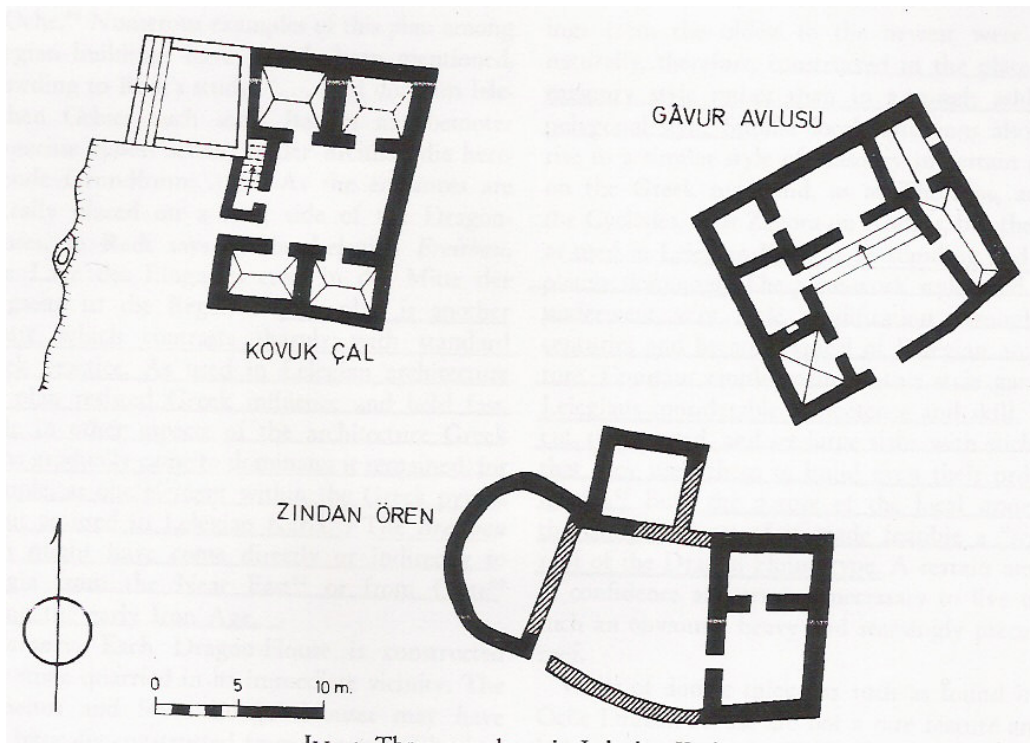
(Source: Pedersen, 2004; revised)

Fig. 1 Map of Karia and Southern Ionia



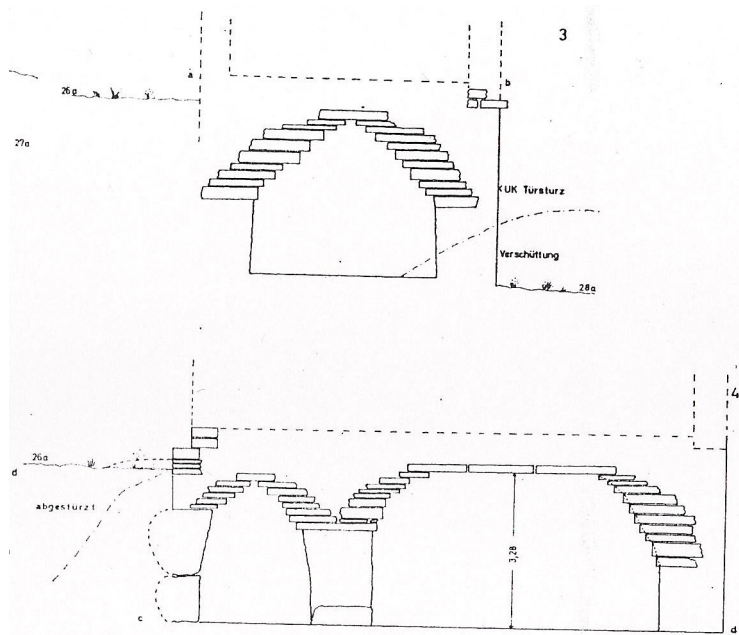
(Source: Radt 1970)

**Fig. 2** Compound Buildings No.s 16, 18, 30, 37, 45, and 47



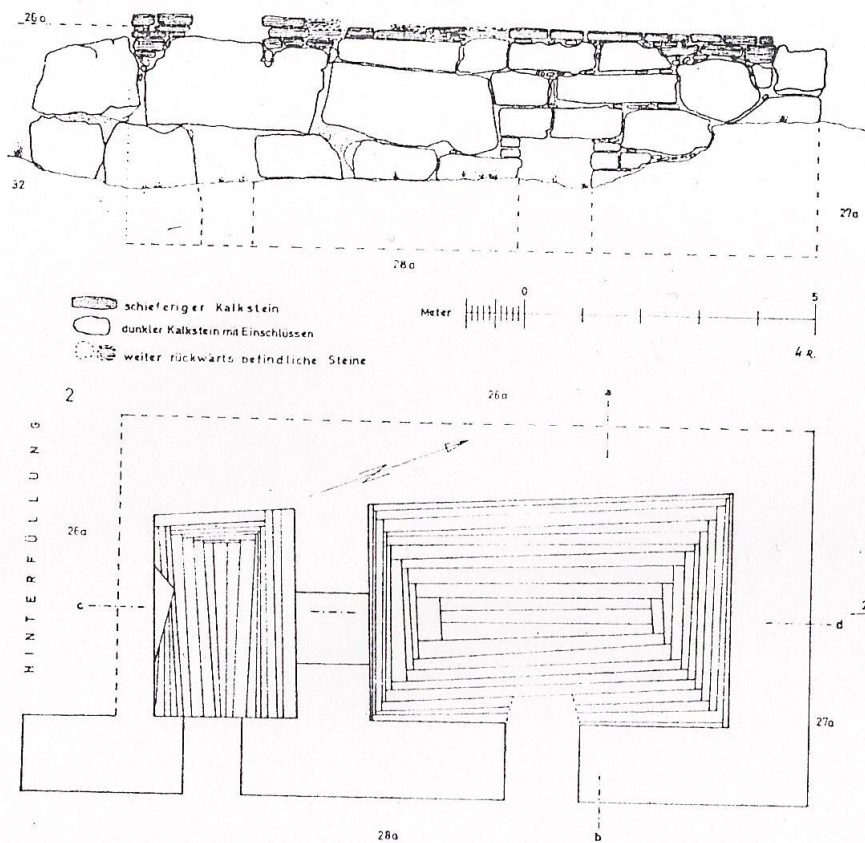
(Source: Carpenter and Boyd 1977)

**Fig. 3** Three Complexes in Lelegian Karia



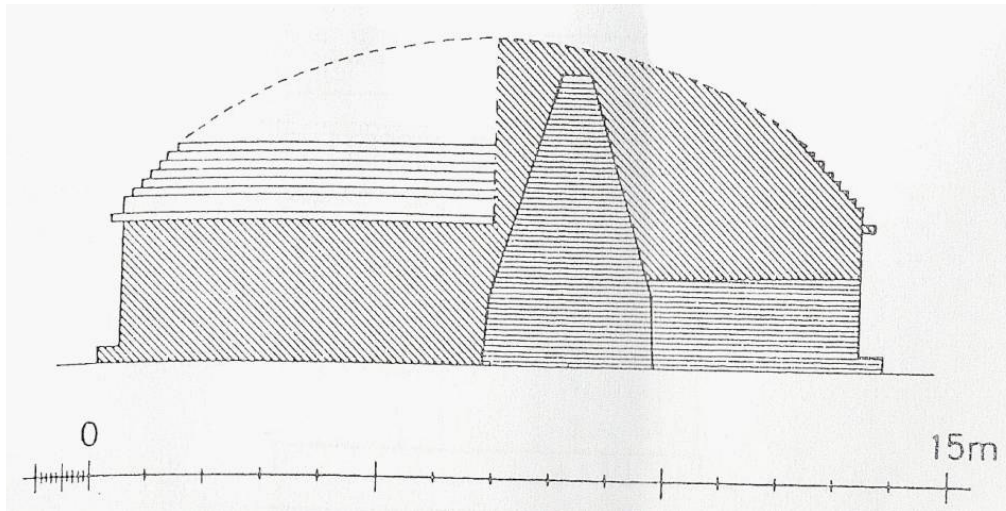
(Source: Radt 1970)

Fig. 4 Alazeytin Building 30, section drawing



(Source: Radt, 1970)

Fig. 5 Alazeytin Building 30, top view



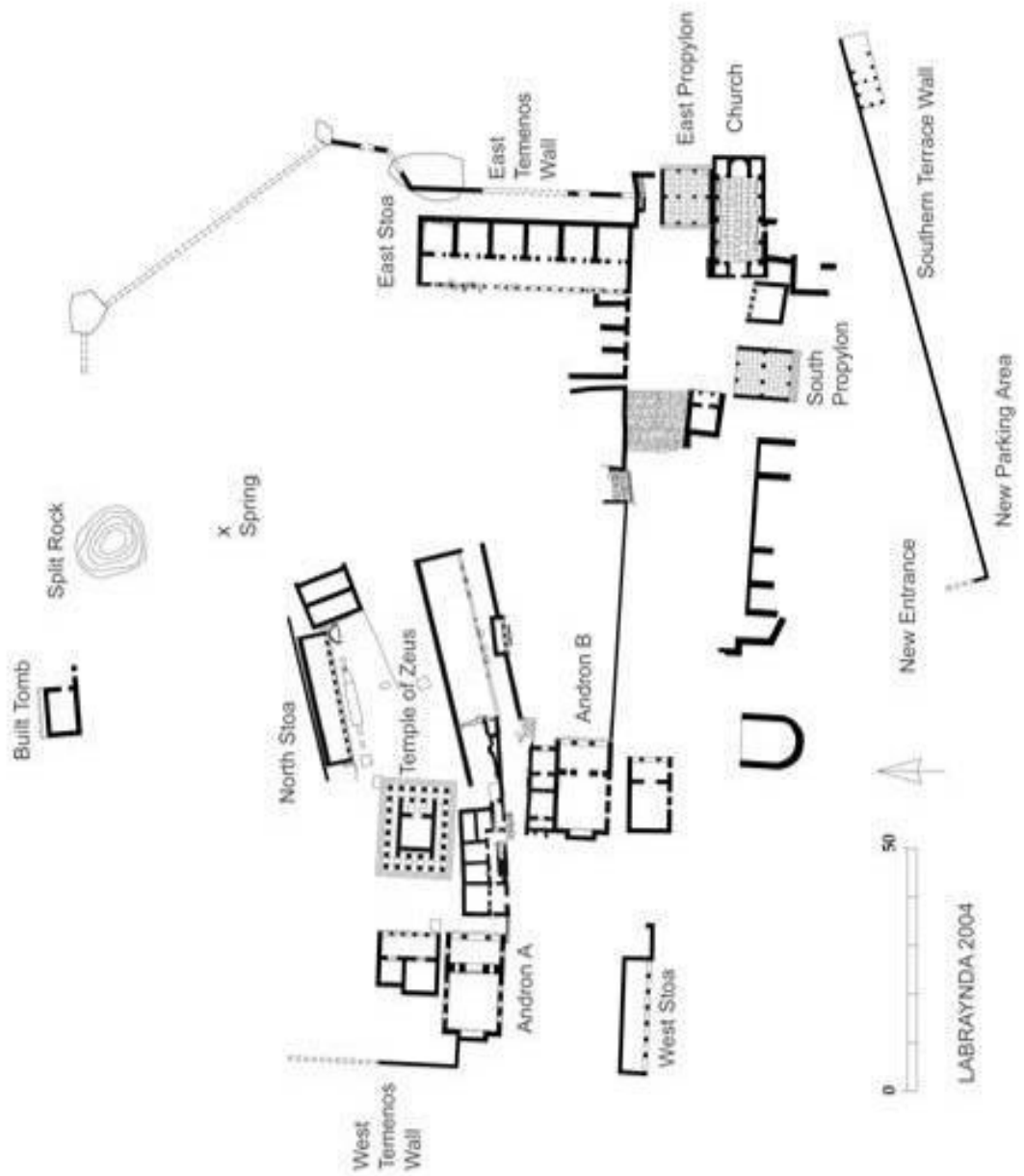
(Source: Fedak 1991)

**Fig. 6** Gebe Kilise Tomb Section drawing



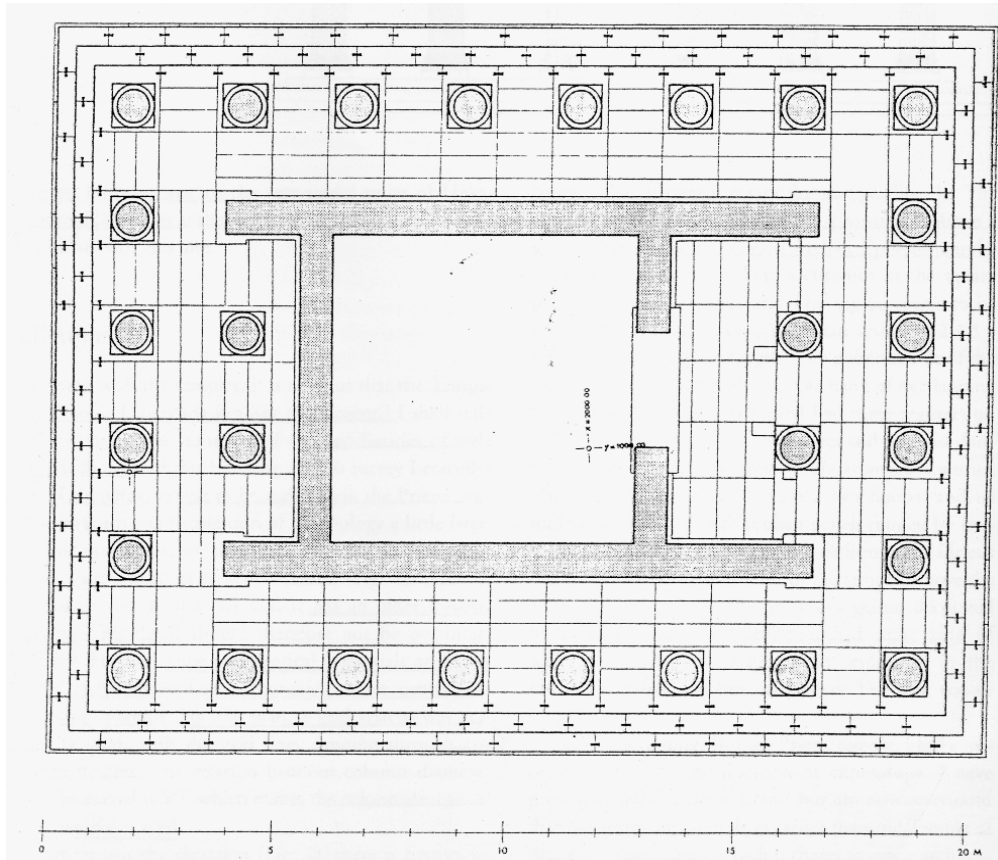
(Source: Carstens, 2002)

**Fig. 7** The Gebe Kilise Tomb



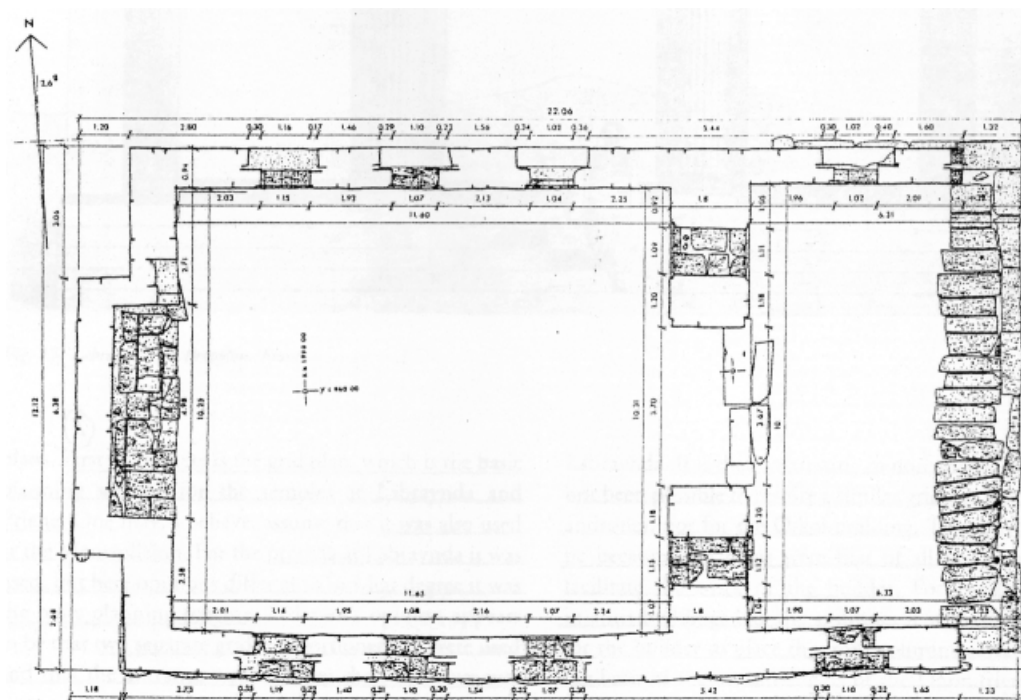
(Source: <http://www.srii.org/labraynda5.htm>; last accessed on 01.12.2006)

**Fig. 8** Labraunda site plan



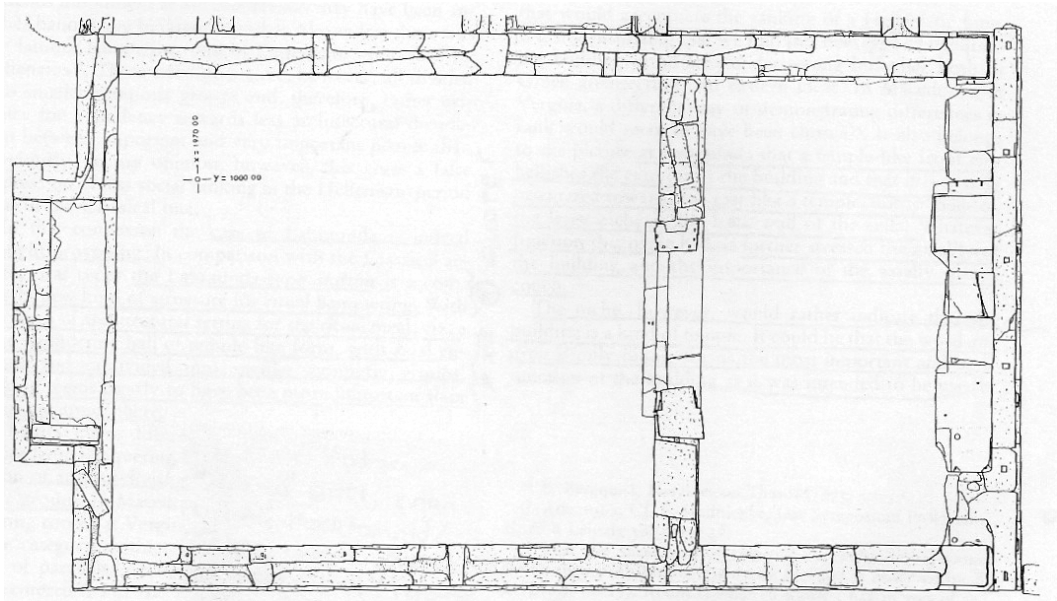
(Source: Hellström, 1994)

**Fig. 9** Labraunda Temple of Zeus



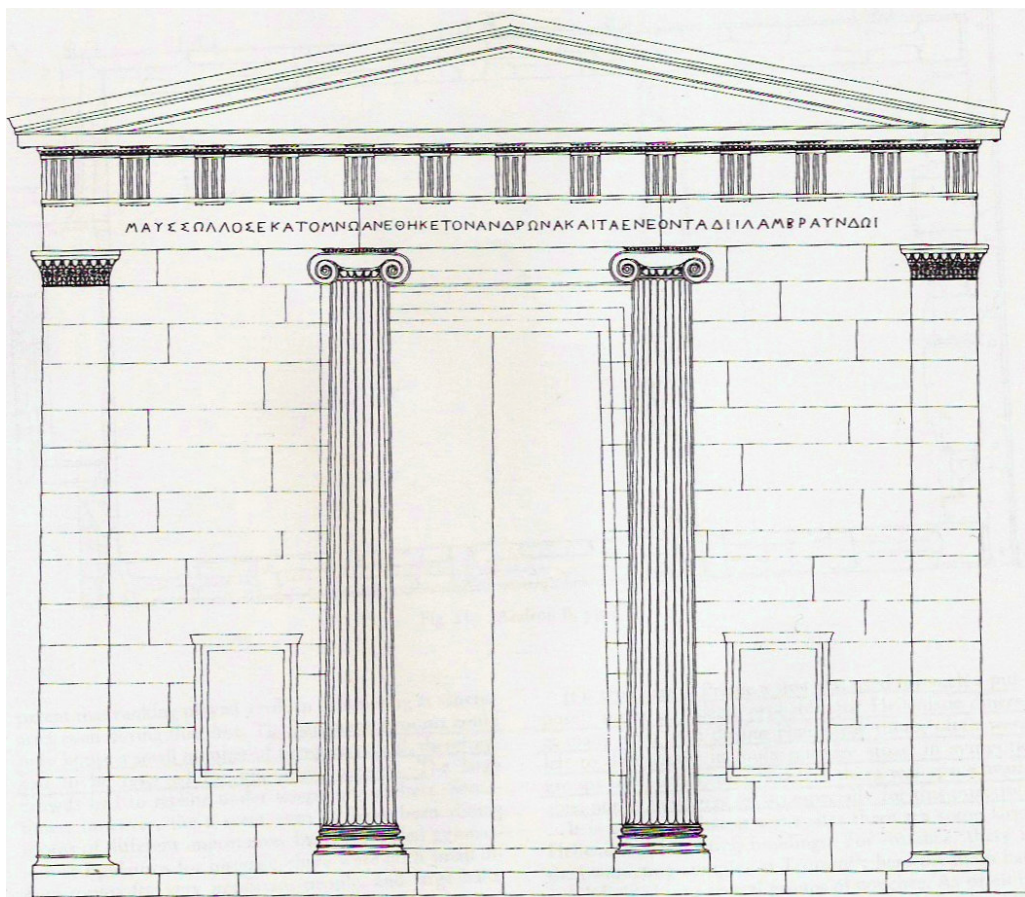
(Source: Hellström, 1994)

**Fig. 10** Labraunda Andron A Plan



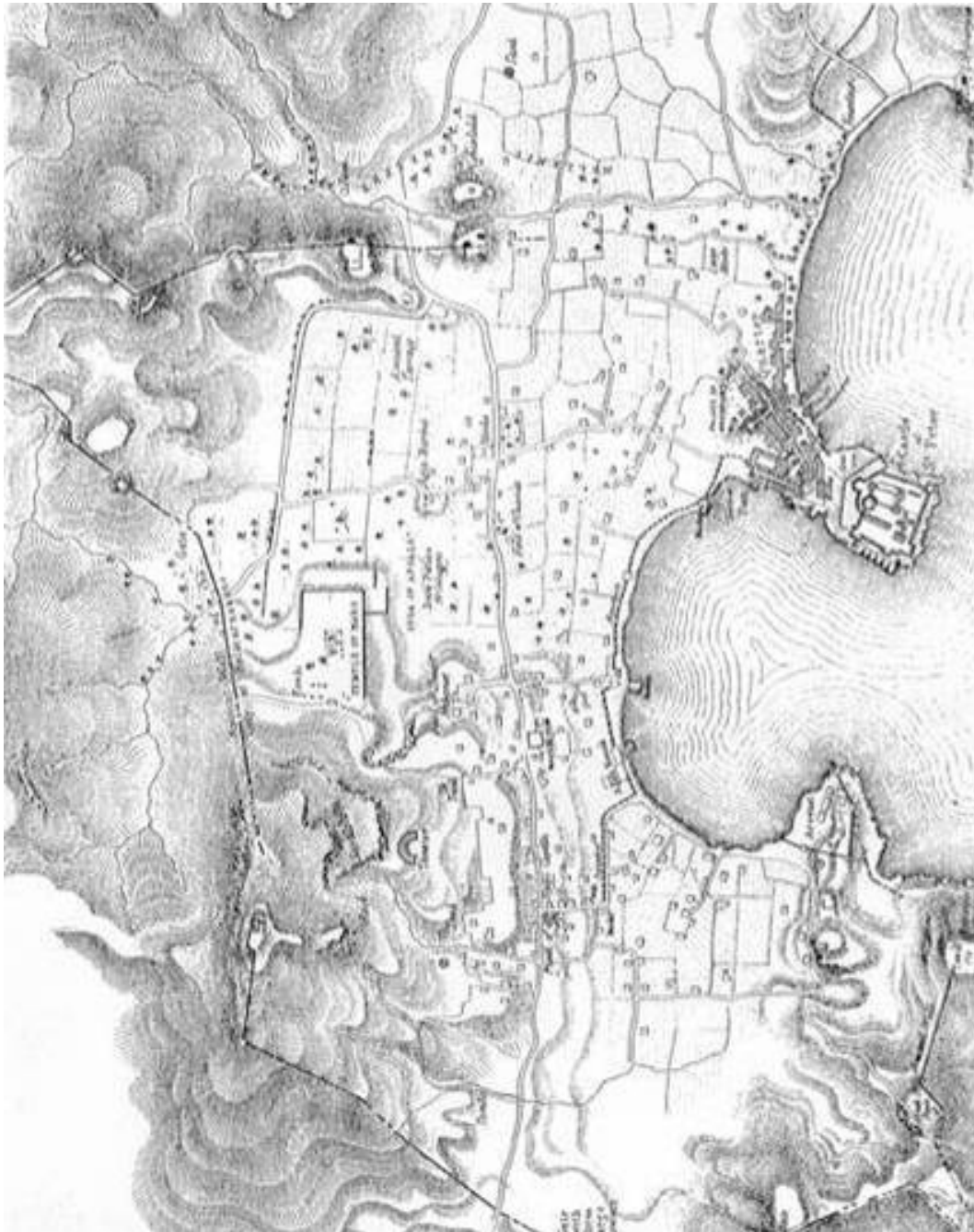
(Source: Hellström, 1990)

**Fig. 11** Labraunda Andron B Plan



(Source: Hellström, 1994)

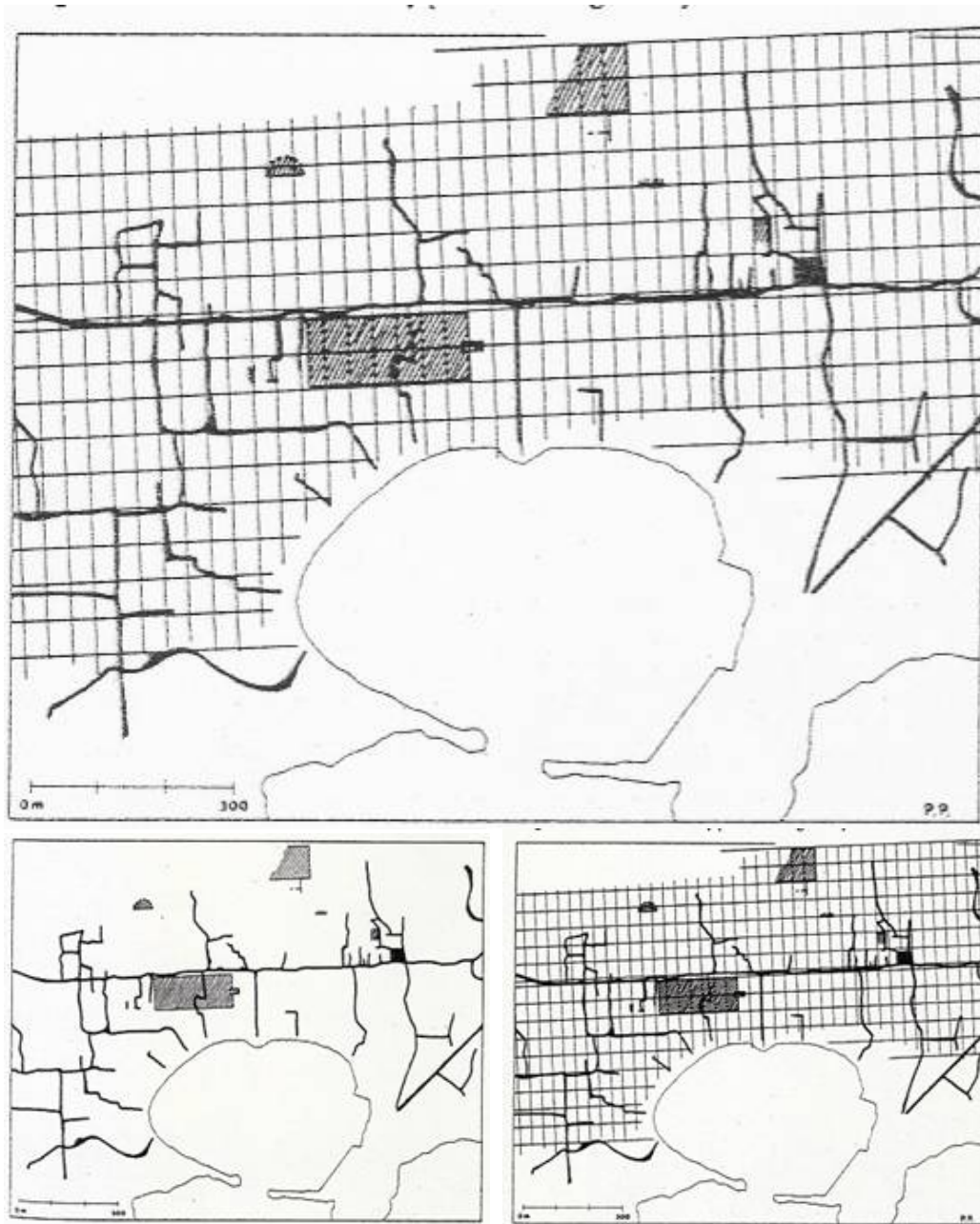
**Fig. 12** Labraunda Andron B front view



(Source: Pedersen 1991)

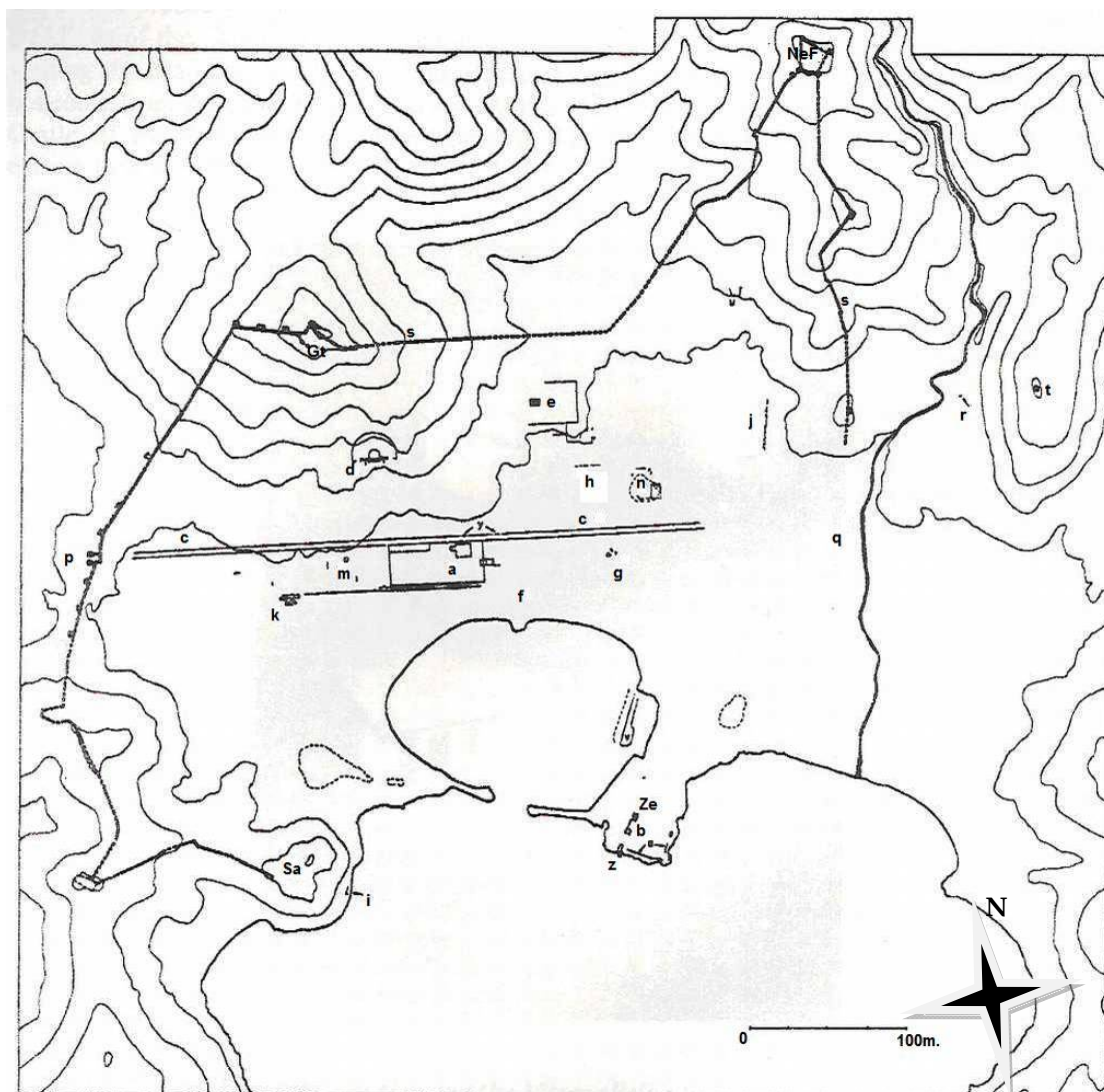
**Fig. 13** Halikarnassos from Newton's sketches





(Source: Pedersen 1991, 2004)

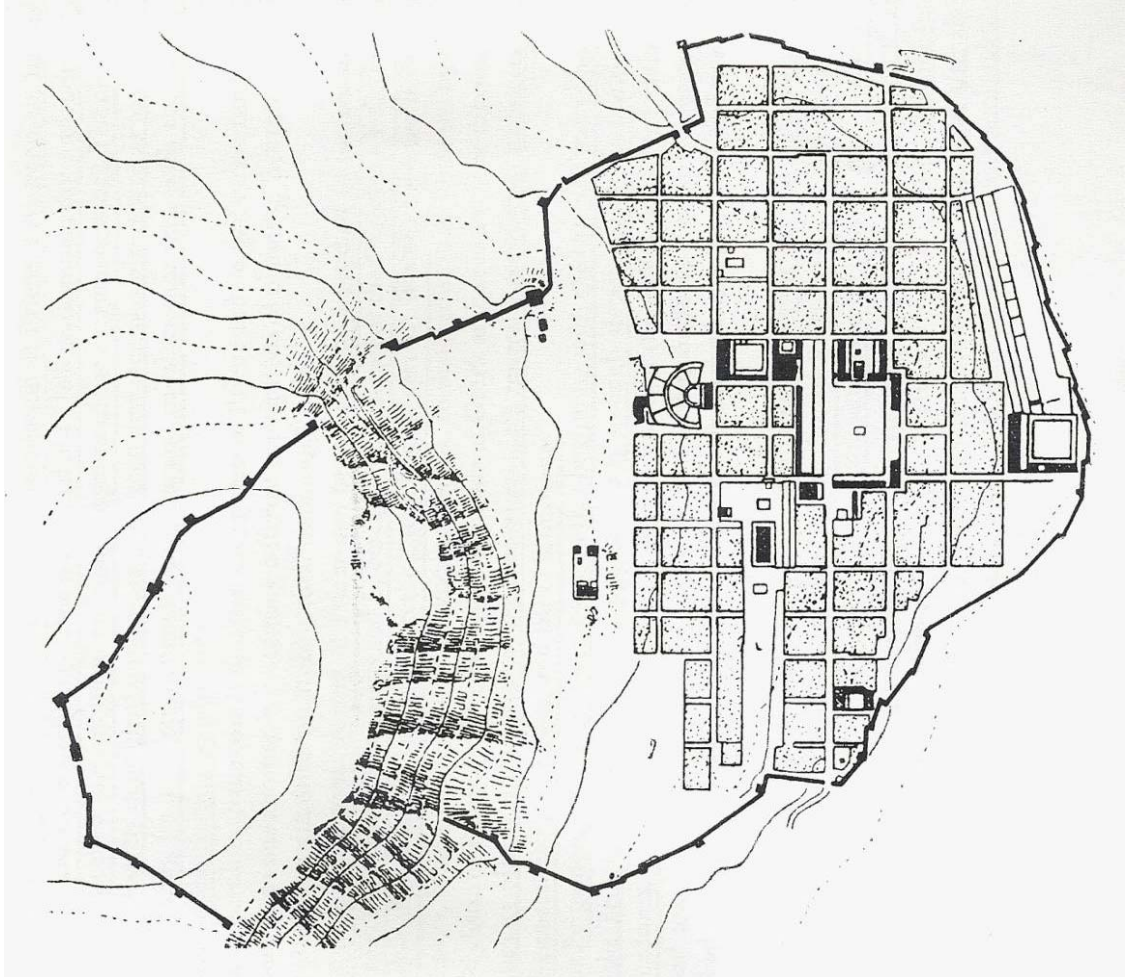
**Fig. 14** Orthogonal grids in Halikarnassos plan, according to Pedersen. Below is the comparison of modern streets with the ancient grid system.



(Source: Pedersen, 2004; revised)

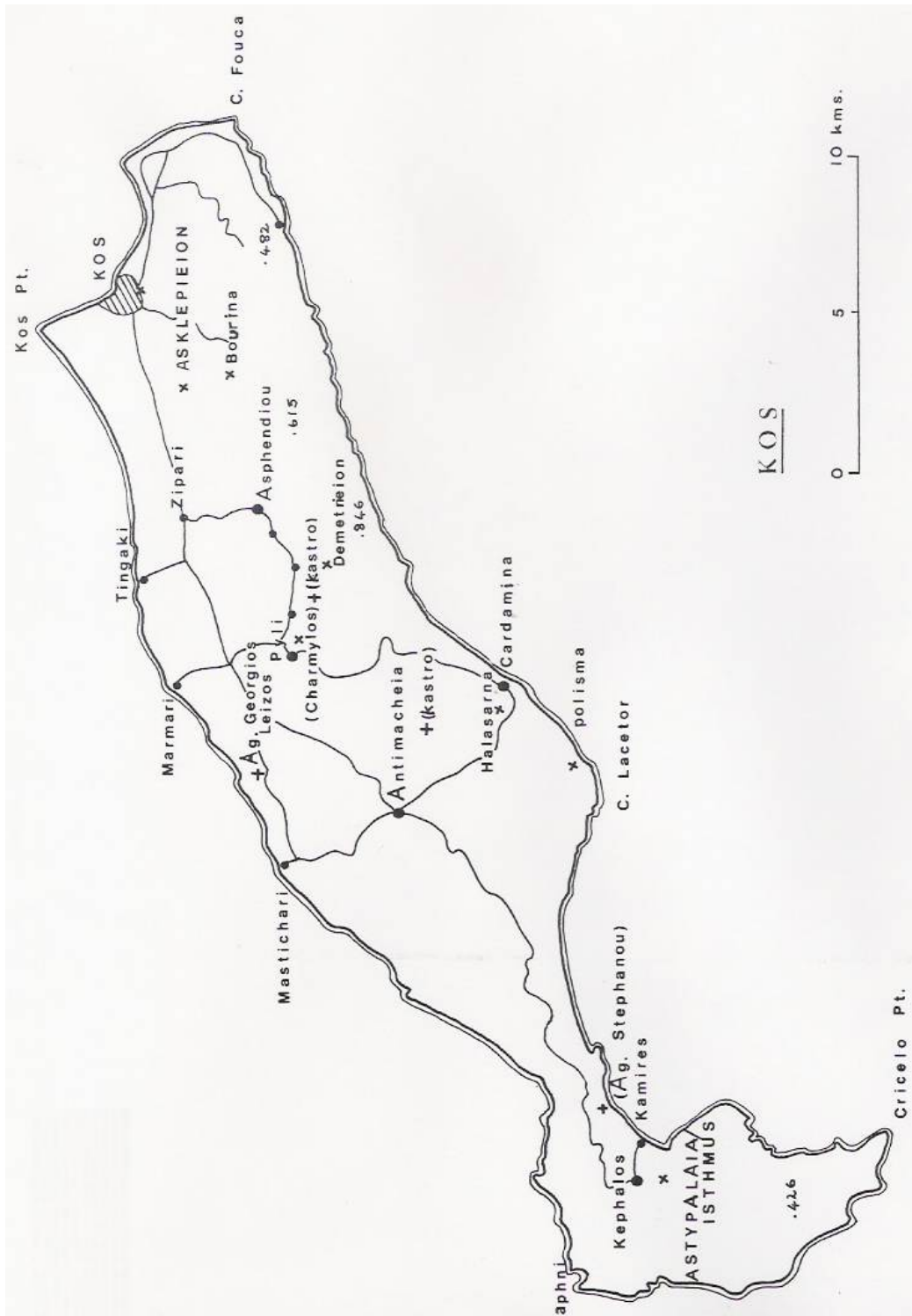
**Fig. 15** Plan of Halikarnassos

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| a: The Maussoleion  | n: Approximate location of Türkkuyusu Temple |
| b: Palace of Maussollos and presumed location of Apollo sanctuary | p: Myndos Gate                               |
| c: Main street of ancient Halikarnassos                           | q: Approximate location of Mylasa Gate       |
| d: Theatre  | r: "Tomb of a Carian Princess"               |
| e: Sanctuary of Ares  | s: City wall                                 |
| f: Agora  | t: Free-standing fortification tower         |
| g: Sanctuary of Demeter   | z: ship-shed?                                |
| h: Gymnasium?   | Ze: Zephyrion Fortress                       |
| j: Stadion  | Sa: Salmakis Fortress                        |
| k: Late Roman Domus   | Gt: Göktepe Fortress                         |
| l: Salmakis Fountain  | NeF: North east Fortress                     |
| m: Hellenistic House  |  |



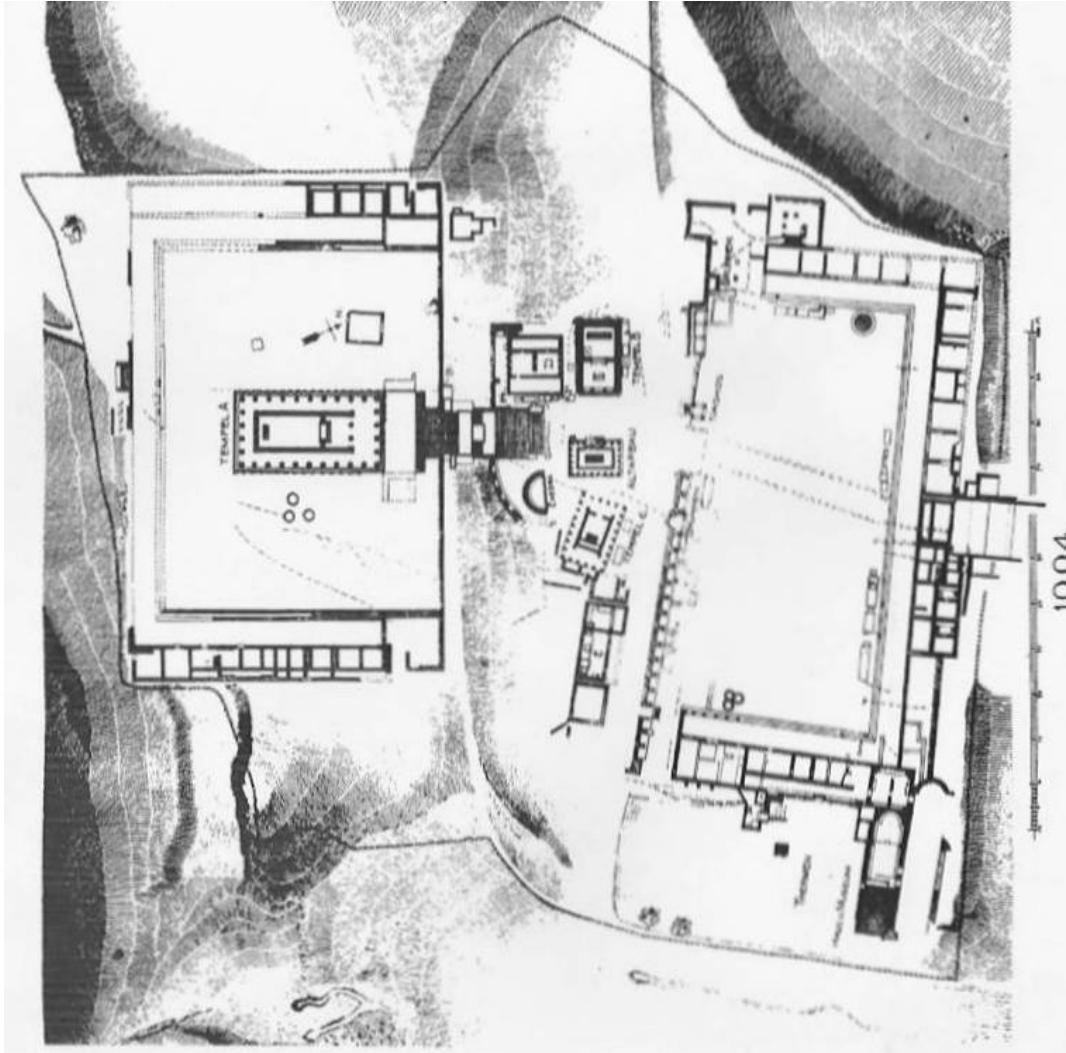
(Source: Pedersen, 2004)

**Fig. 16** Plan of Priene



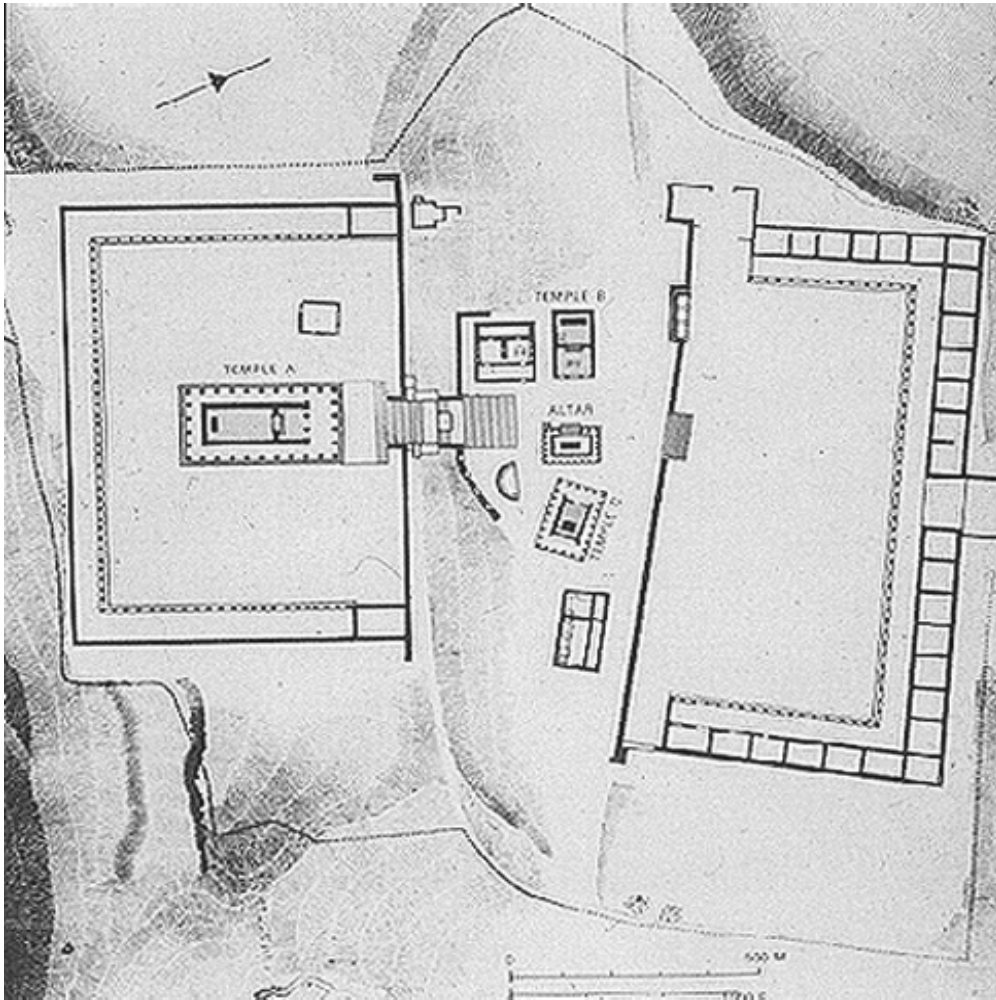
(Source: Sherwin-White, 1978)

Fig. 17 Map of Kos



(Source: Sherwin-White, 1978)

**Fig. 18** Plan of Asklepeion in Kos



(Source: Sherwin-White, 1978)

**Fig. 19** Kos Asklepeion, 4<sup>th</sup> century BC plan detail



(Source: Pedersen, 2004)

**Fig. 20** Kos Asklepeion, reconstructed view of the 3<sup>rd</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> centuries BC

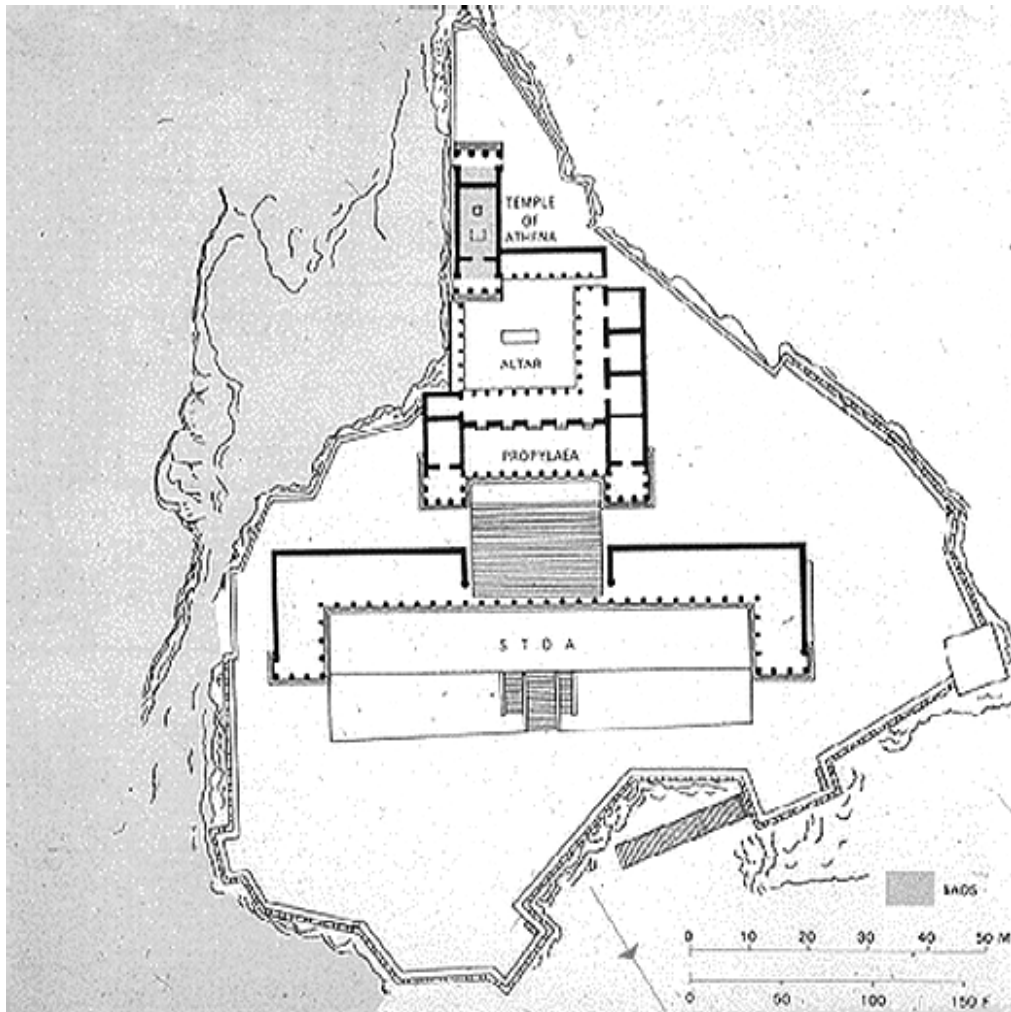
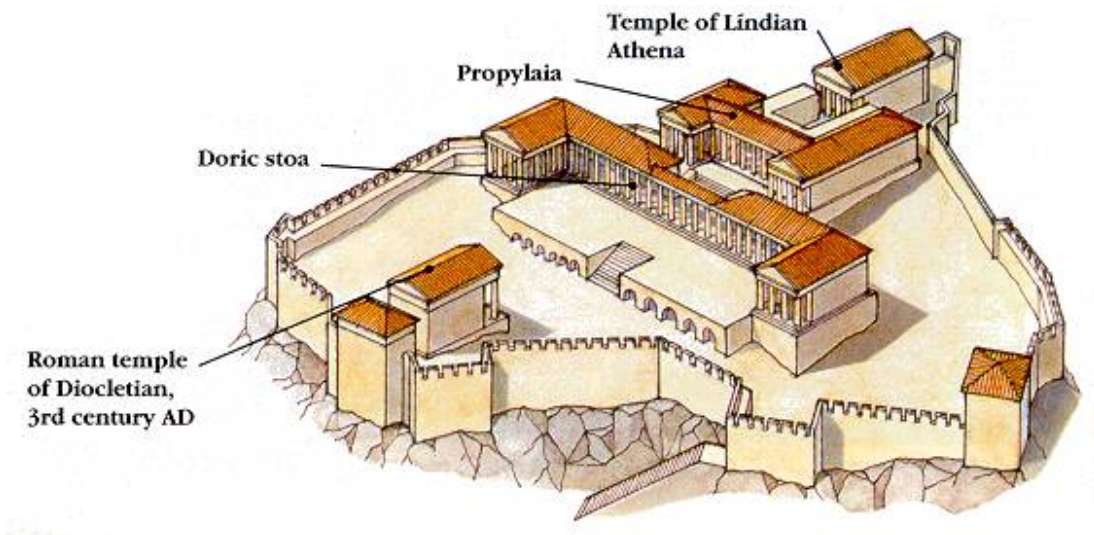
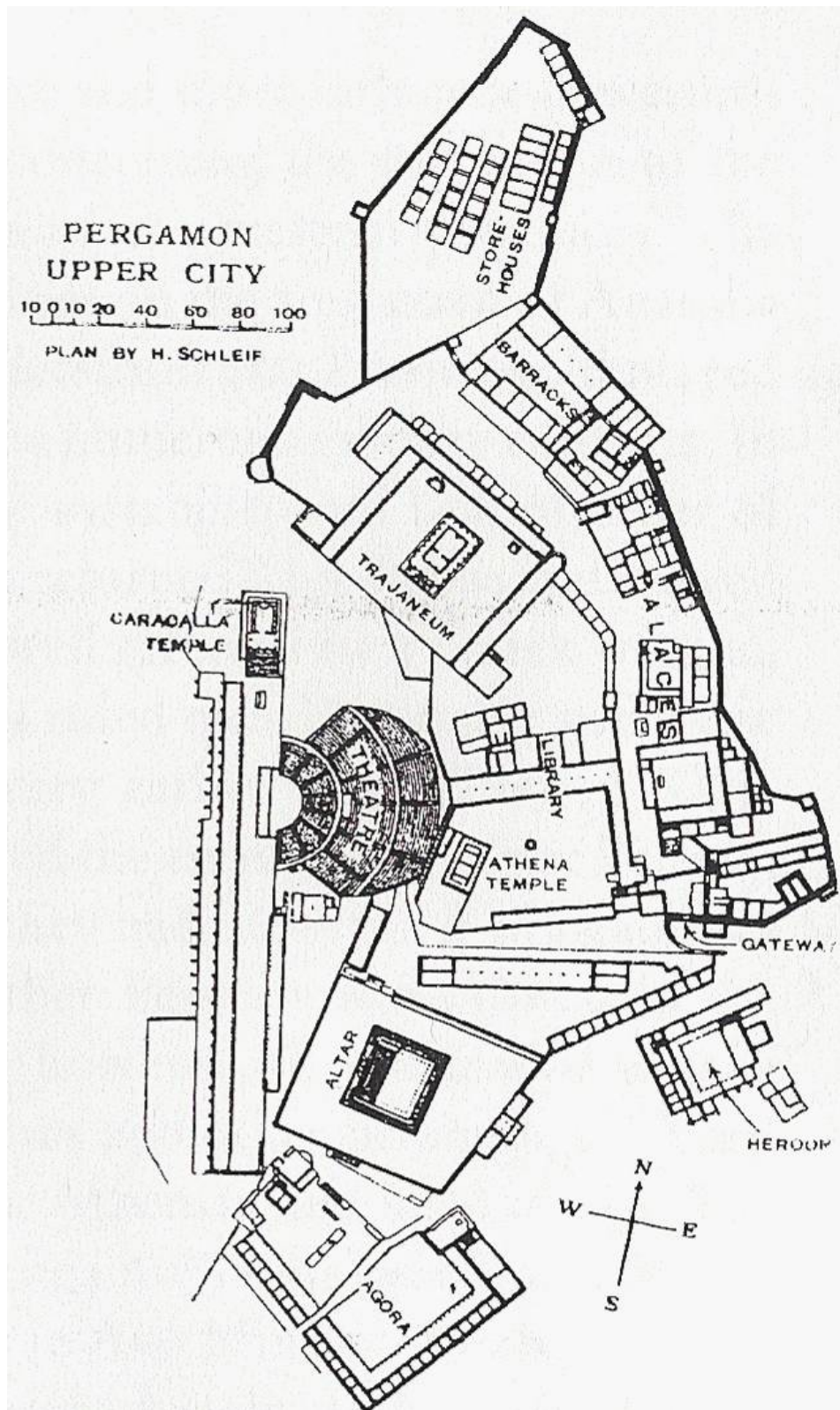


Fig. 21 Lindos, Sanctuary of Athena



(Source: [http://www.goddess-athena.org/Museum/Temples/Lindia/Acropolis\\_reconstruction\\_captions.html](http://www.goddess-athena.org/Museum/Temples/Lindia/Acropolis_reconstruction_captions.html); last accessed on 20.03.2006)

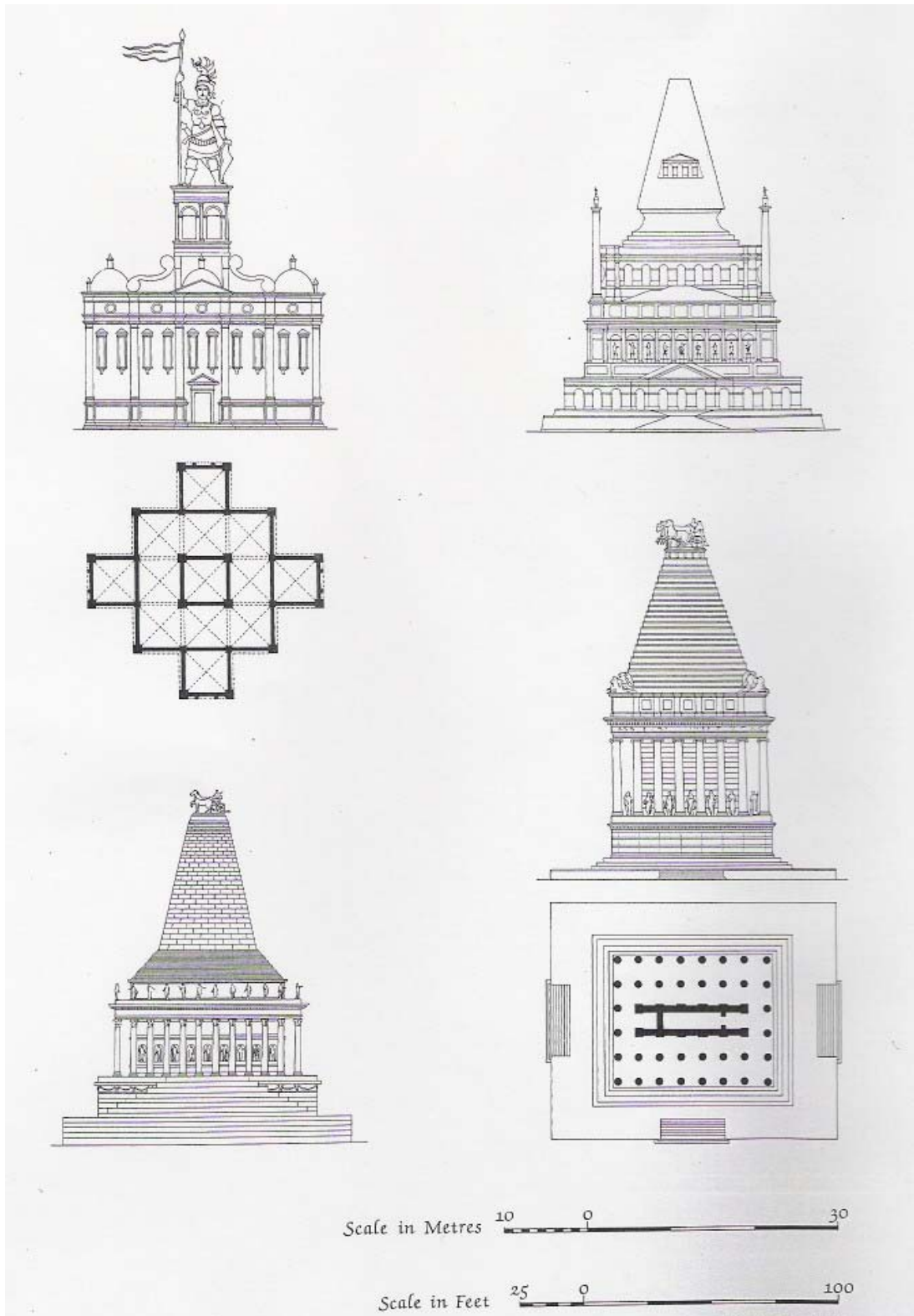
Fig. 22 Lindos, reconstructed view of the Acropolis



(Source: Pedersen, 2004)

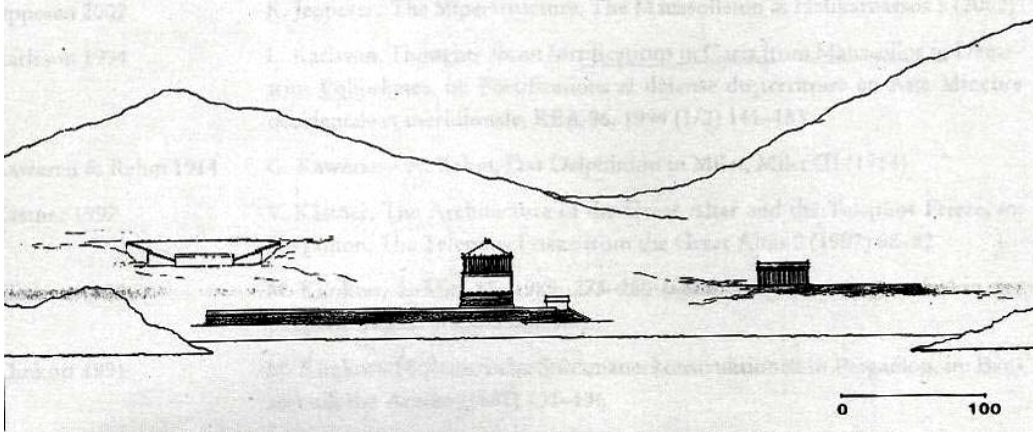
Fig. 23 Pergamon, The Upper City





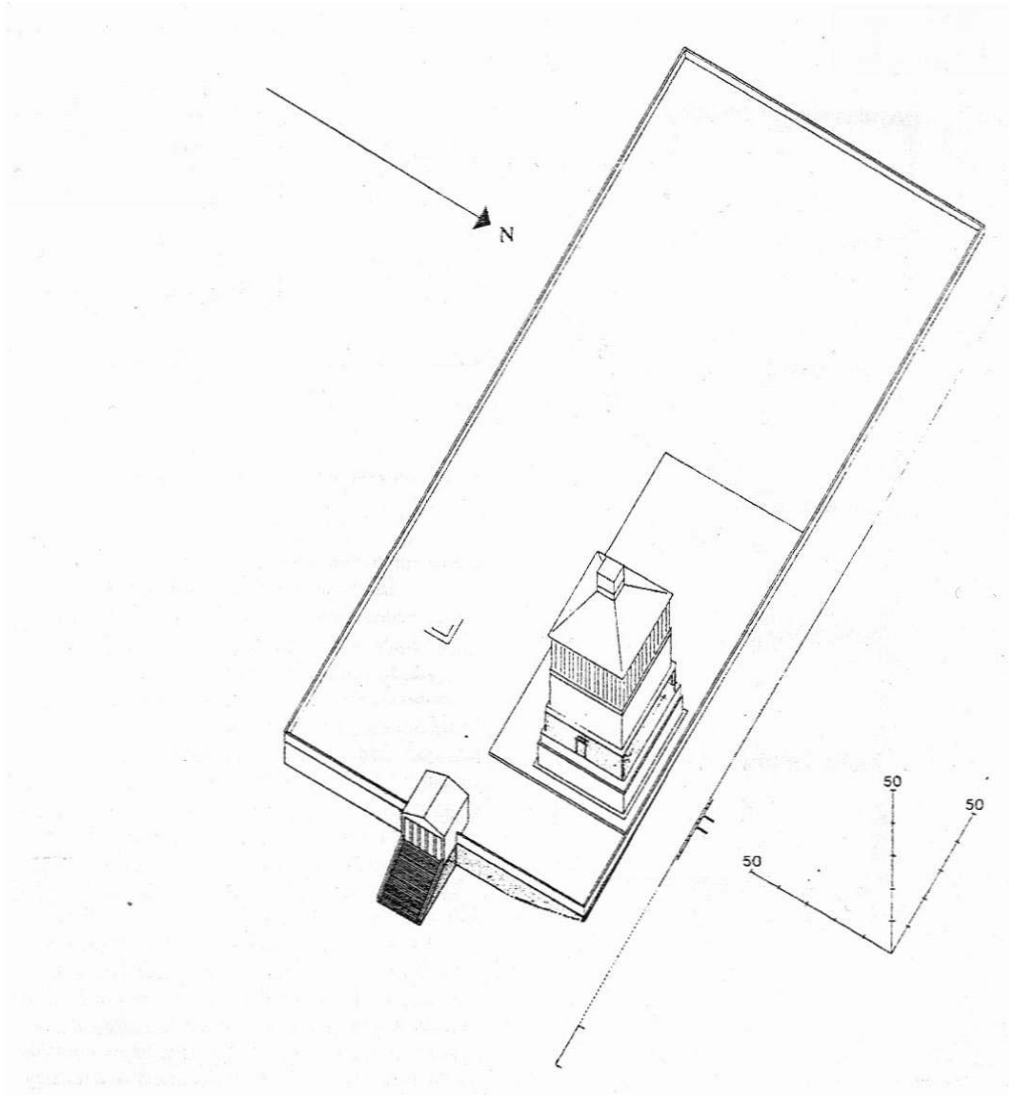
(Source: Colvin, 1991)

**Fig. 24** Several Reconstructions of the Mausoleion: The Mausoleum of Halicarnassus: as envisaged by Lorenzo Cesariano 1521 (*top left*), Fischer von Erlach, 1721 (*top right*), the Comte de Caylus, 1753 (*bottom left*), and C.R. Cockerell, 1848 (*bottom right*)



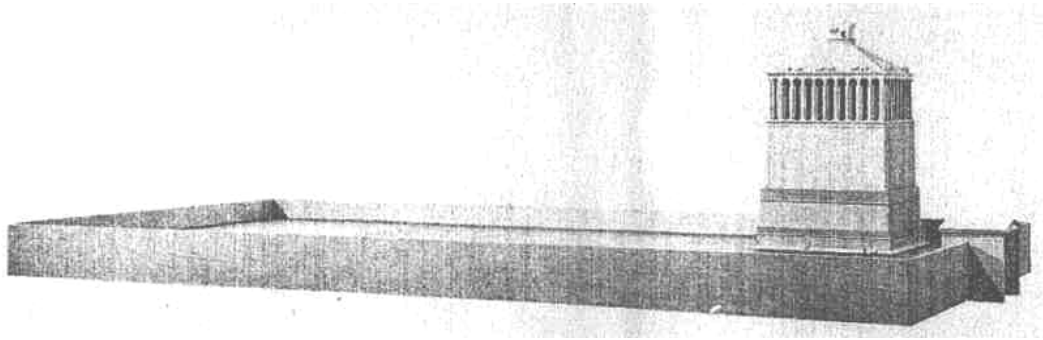
(Source: Pedersen, 2004)

**Fig. 25** Sea view of the Halikarnassos theatre, the Mausoleion with its terrace and the Sanctuary of Ares



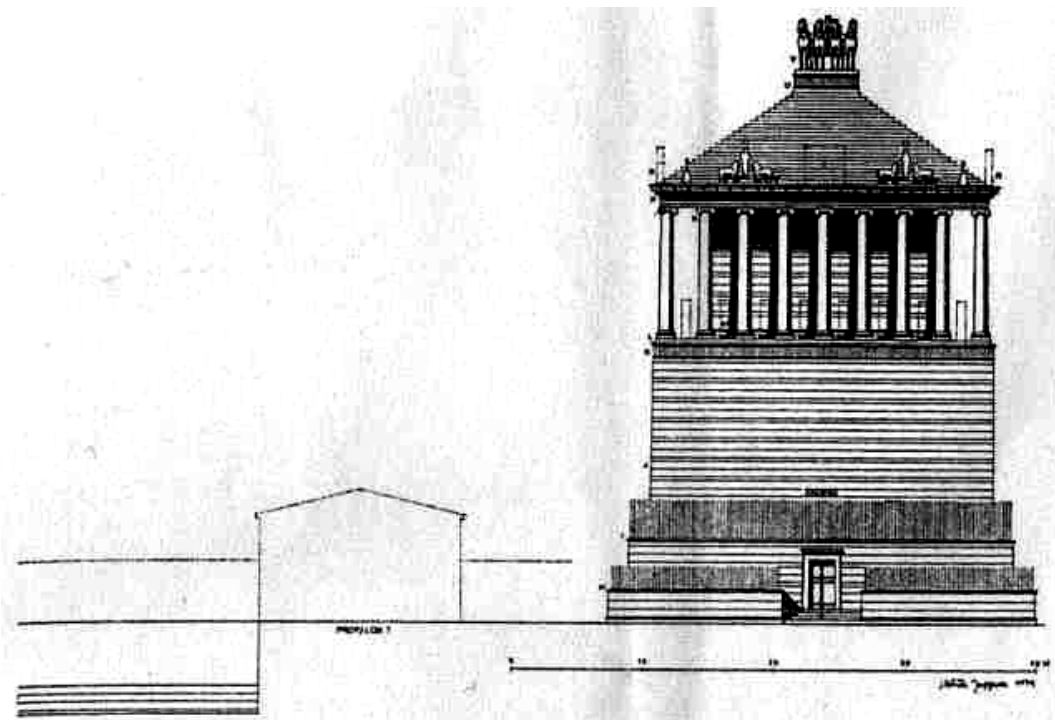
(Source: Jeppesen, 1989)

**Fig. 26** The Mausoleion terrace and tomb



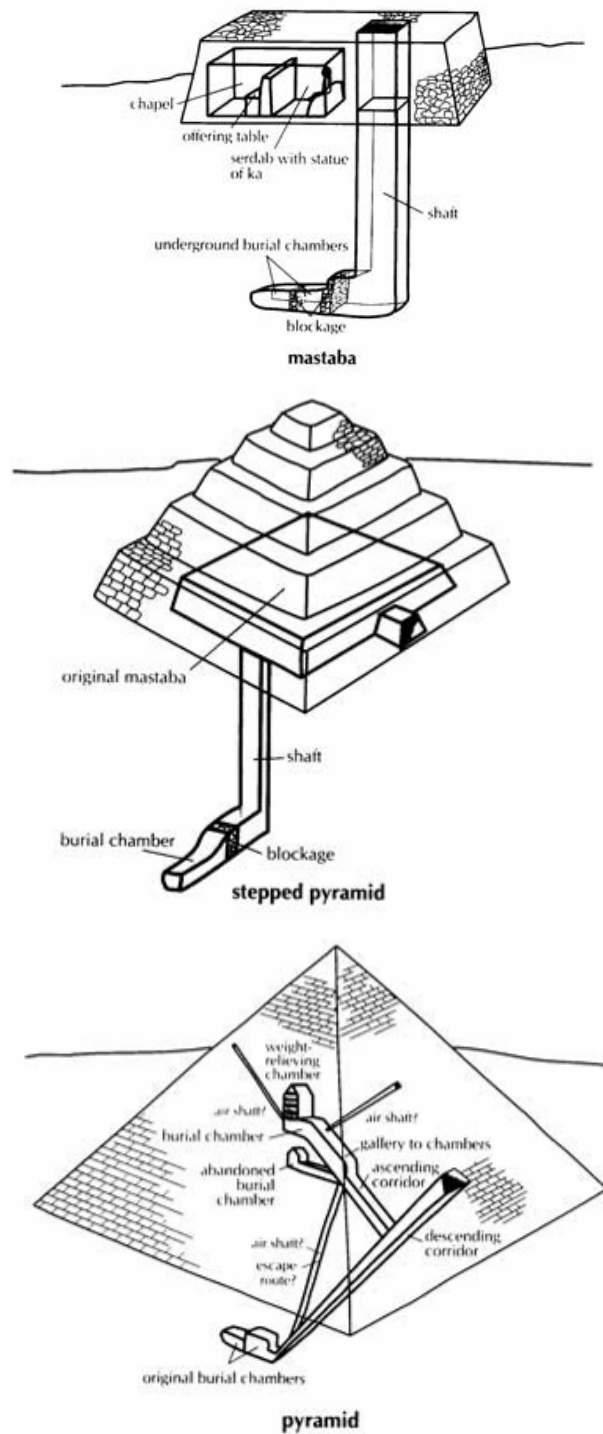
(Source: Jeppesen, 1989)

**Fig. 27** The Maussolleion and its Terrace



(Source: Jeppesen, 1989)

**Fig. 28** Reconstruction of the Maussolleion and the eastern propylon (next to the Agora of Halikarnassos)

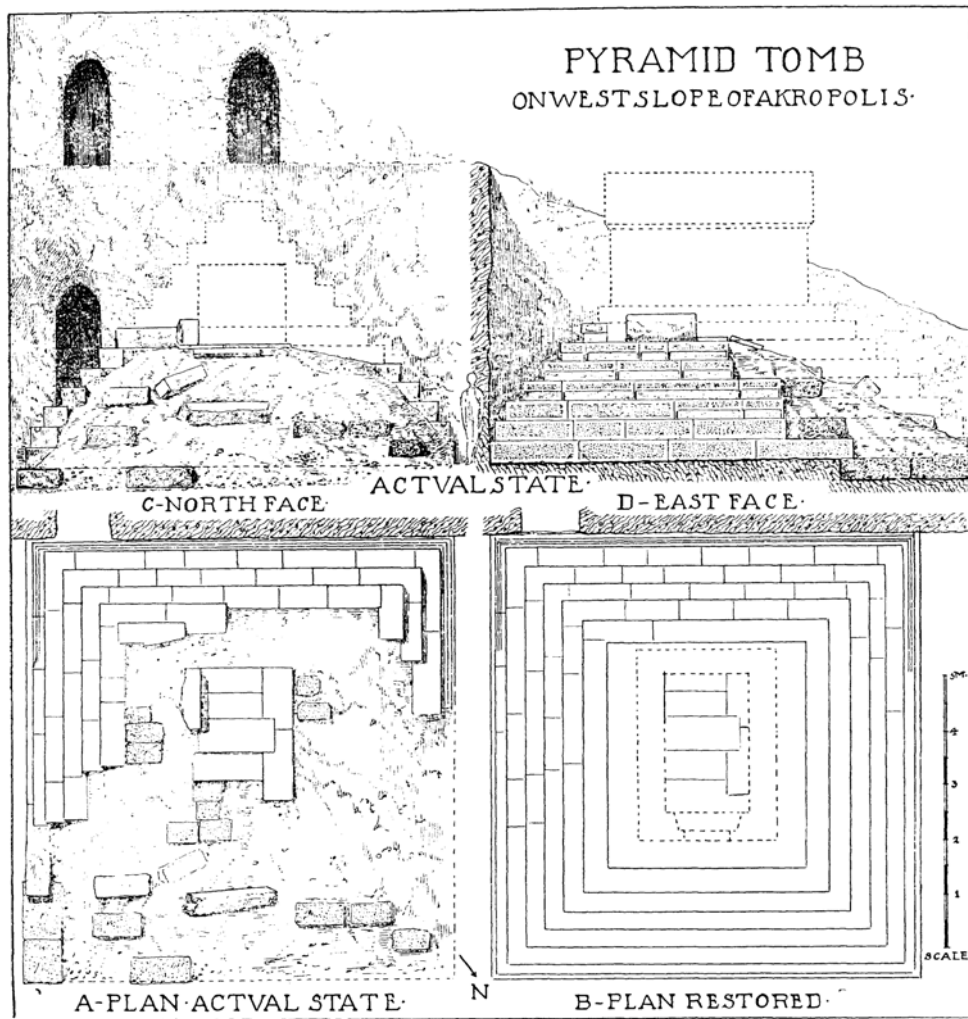


(Source for Figures 29, 30, and 31: <http://www.westga.edu/~rtekippe/slides2201/mastaba-pyramid.jpg>; last accessed on 01.02.2007)

**Fig. 29** Stages displaying the development from *mastaba* to pyramid; stage 1, *mastaba*

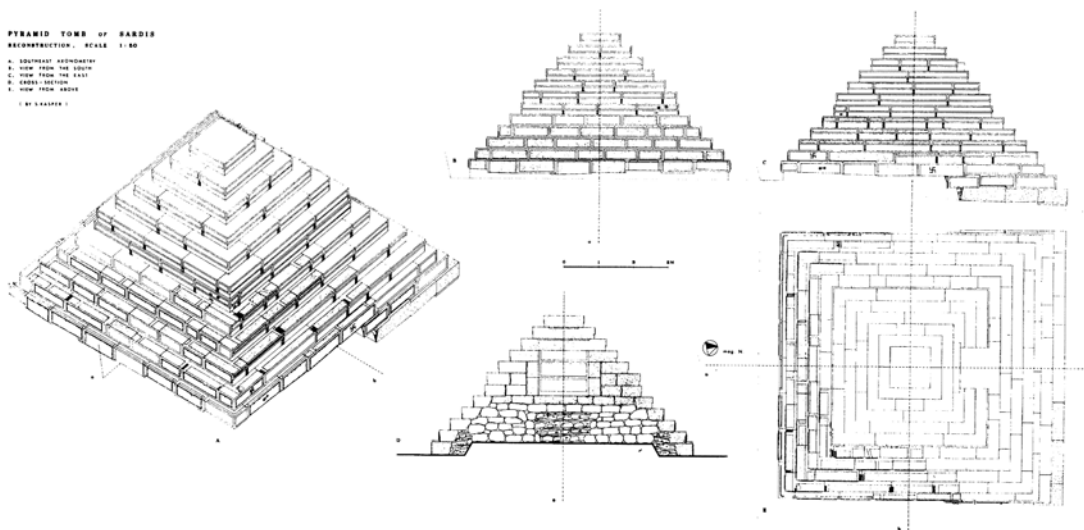
**Fig. 30** Stages displaying the development from *mastaba* to pyramid; stage 2, stepped pyramid

**Fig. 31** Stages displaying the development from *mastaba* to pyramid; stage 3, pyramid



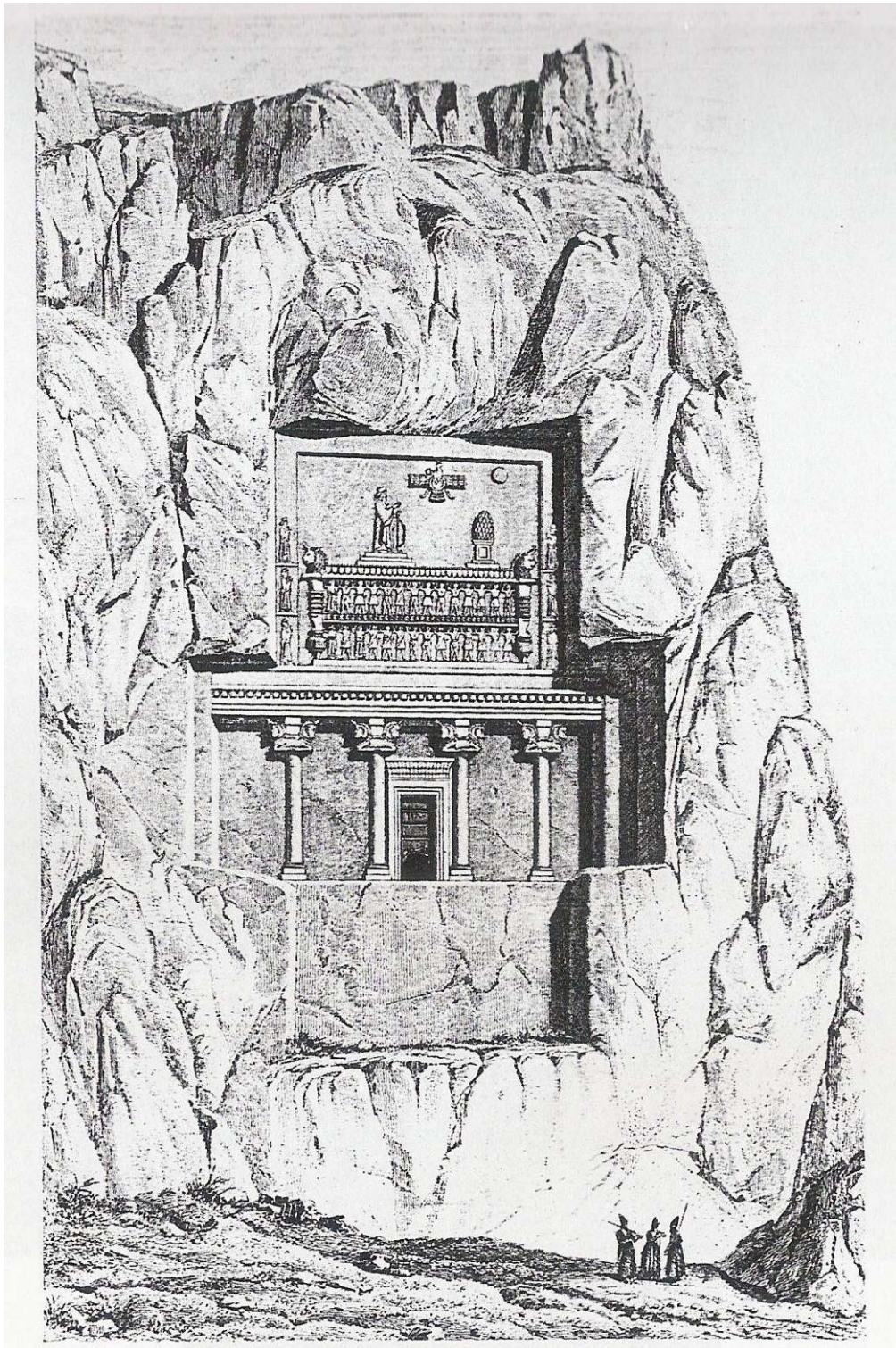
(Source: Buttler, 1922)

**Fig. 32** Sardis Pyramid Tomb



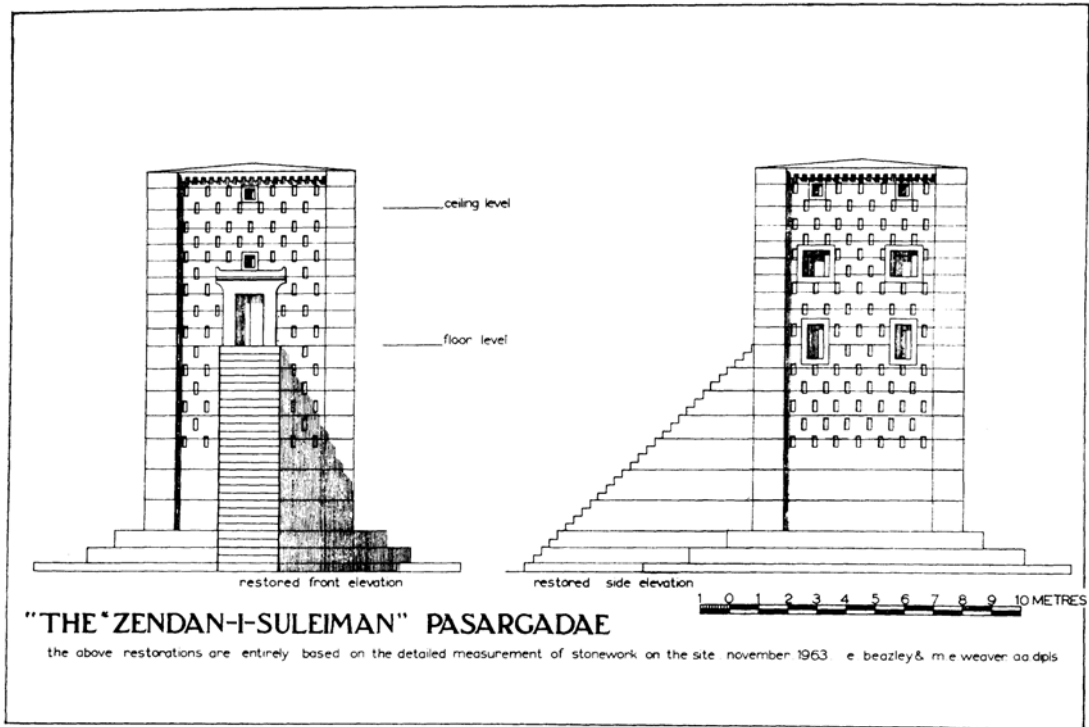
(Source: McLauchlin, 1983)

**Fig. 33** Sardis, Pyramid Tomb drawing by Kasper



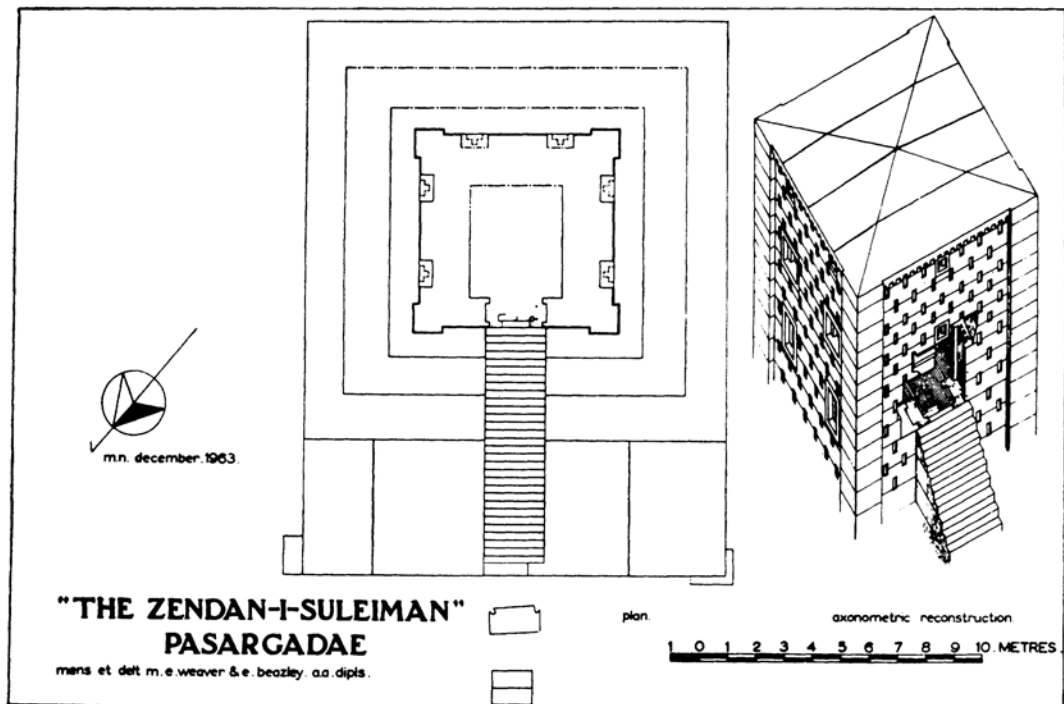
(Source: Krischen, 1956)

**Fig. 34** Persepolis royal inscriptions, funerary inscription of Darius



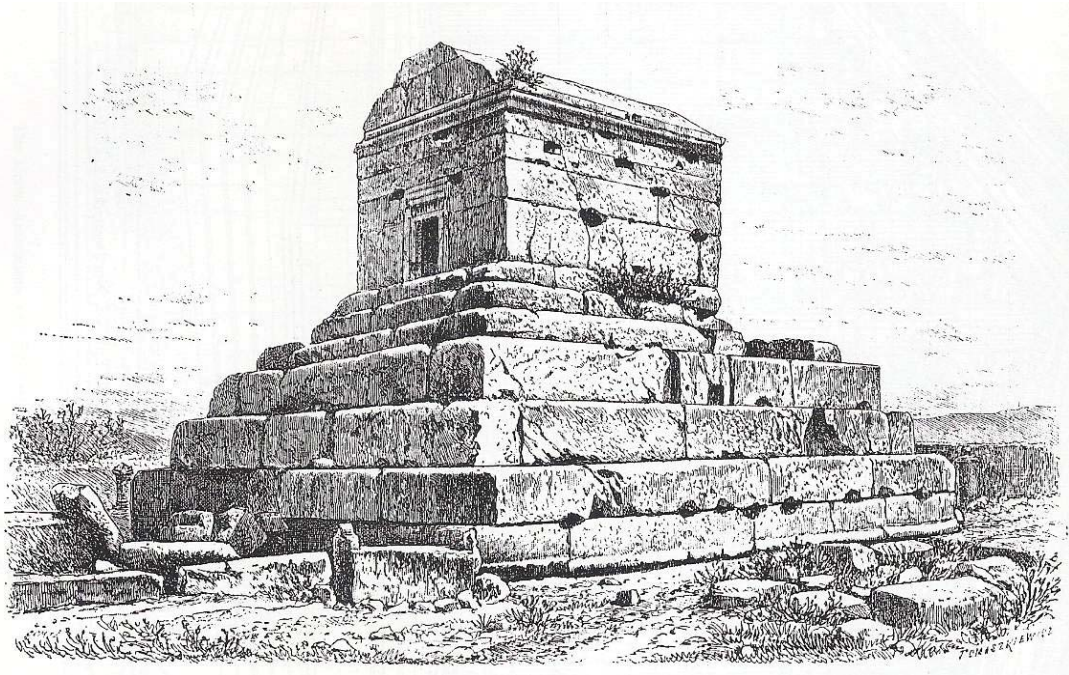
(Source: Stronach, 1967)

Fig. 35 Tower Temple; Zendan-i Suleiman at Pasargadae



(Source: Stronach, 1967)

Fig. 36 Axonometric reconstruction of Zendan-i Suleiman



(Source: Krischen, 1956)

**Fig. 37.** Tomb of Cyrus at Pasargadae, reconstructed drawing



(Source: [http://www.livius.org/a/iran/pasargadae/pasargadae\\_tomb\\_cyrus\\_1.JPG](http://www.livius.org/a/iran/pasargadae/pasargadae_tomb_cyrus_1.JPG); last accessed on 15.09.2006)

**Fig. 38** Tomb of Cyrus at Pasargadae

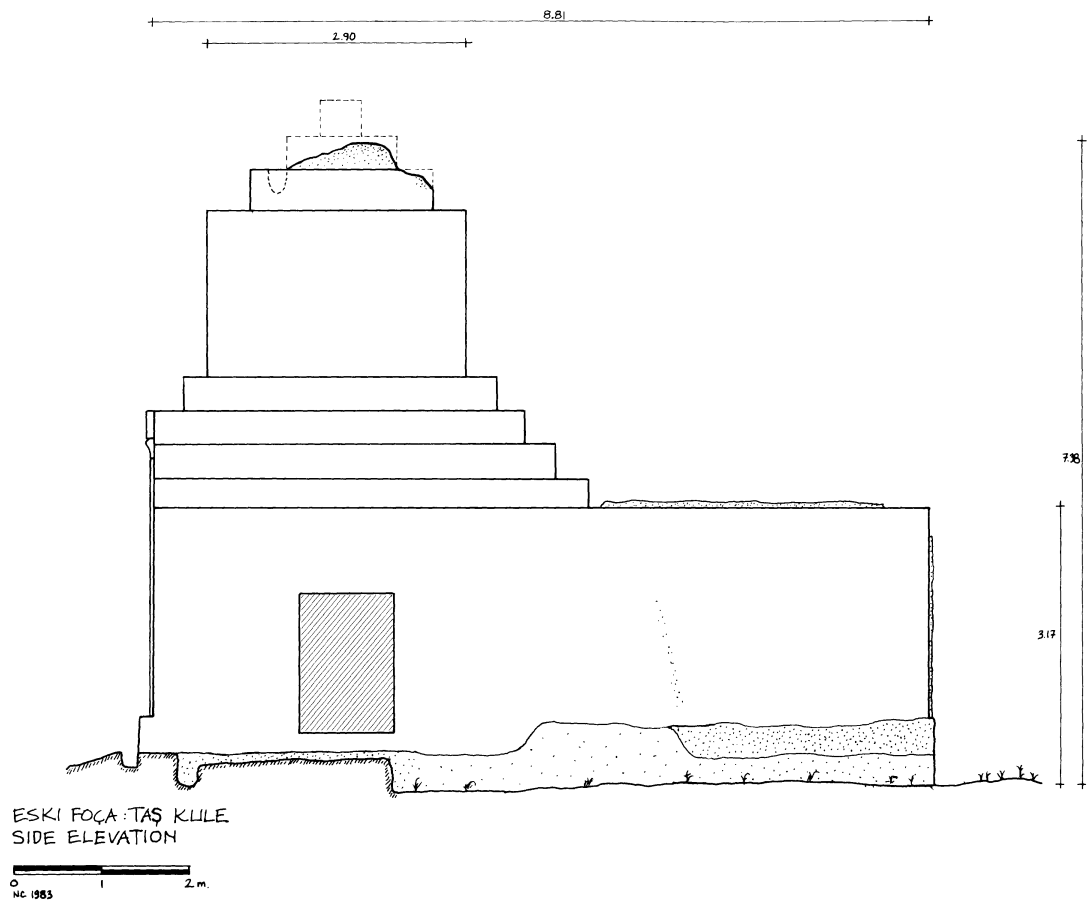




(Source for Figures 39 and 40: Cahill, 1988)

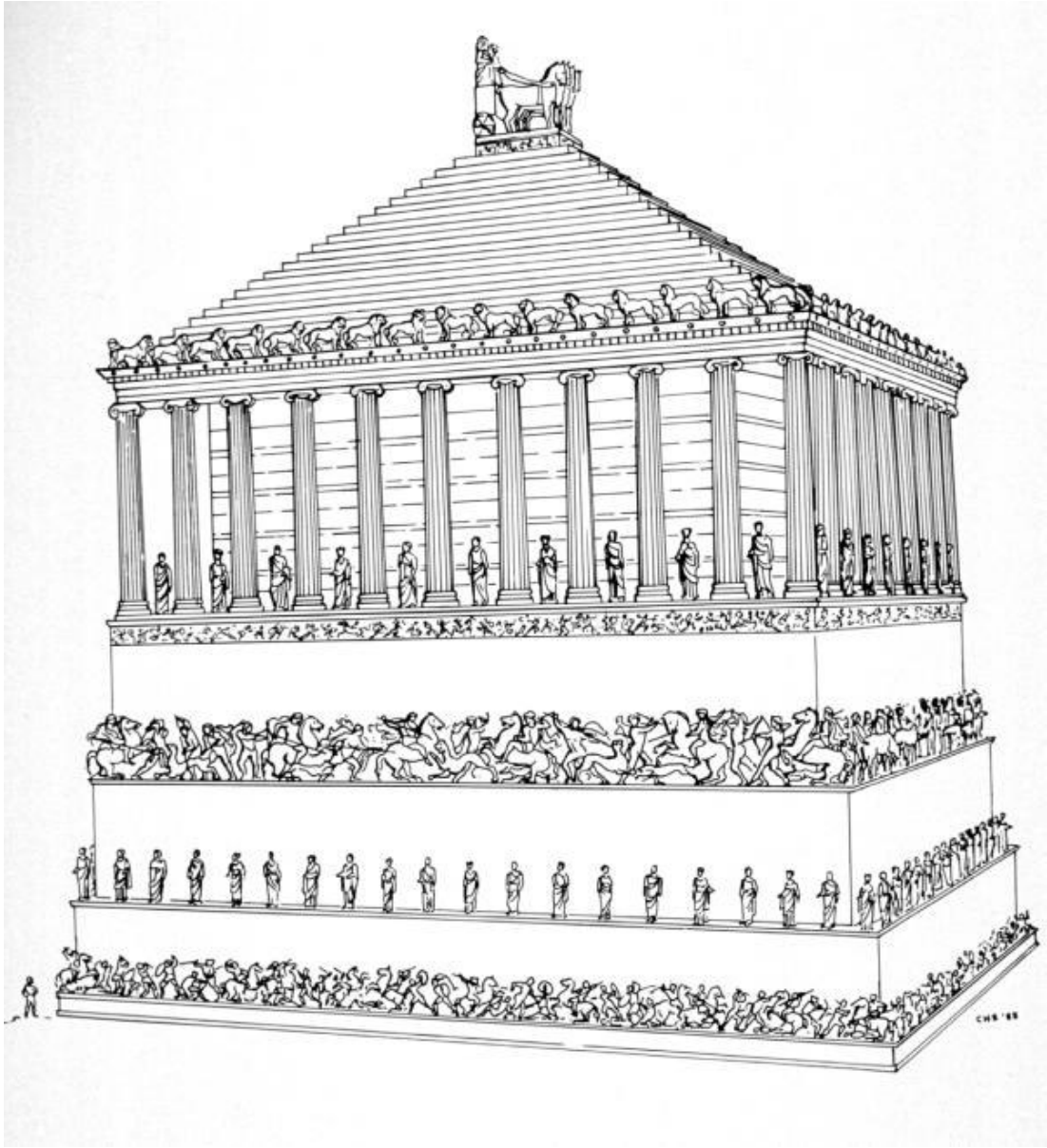
**Fig. 39** (left) Taş Kule in Foça (Phokaia), view from west

**Fig.40** (right) Taş Kule in Foça (Phokaia), view from the northeast



(Source: Cahill, 1988)

**Fig. 41** Taş Kule in Foça (Phokaia), side elevation



(Source: Stewart and and Bergen, 1991)

**Fig. 42** The Mausolleion Reconstruction Drawing



(Source: Fedak, 1991)

**Fig. 43** Nereid Monument



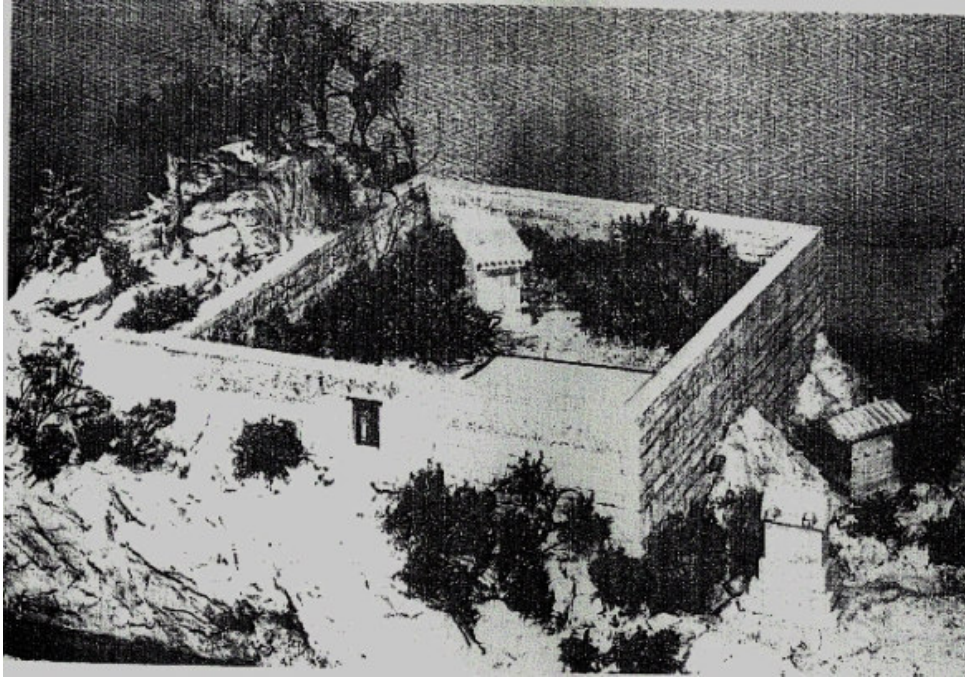
(Source: <http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/CGPrograms/Site/Image/NereidMonumentS.jpg>; last accessed on 22.03.2006)

**Fig. 44** Nereid Monument (photo by the British Museum)



(Source: <http://www.thebritishmuseum.ac.uk>; last accessed on 10.02.2007)

**Fig. 45** Nereid Monument Marble frieze slab



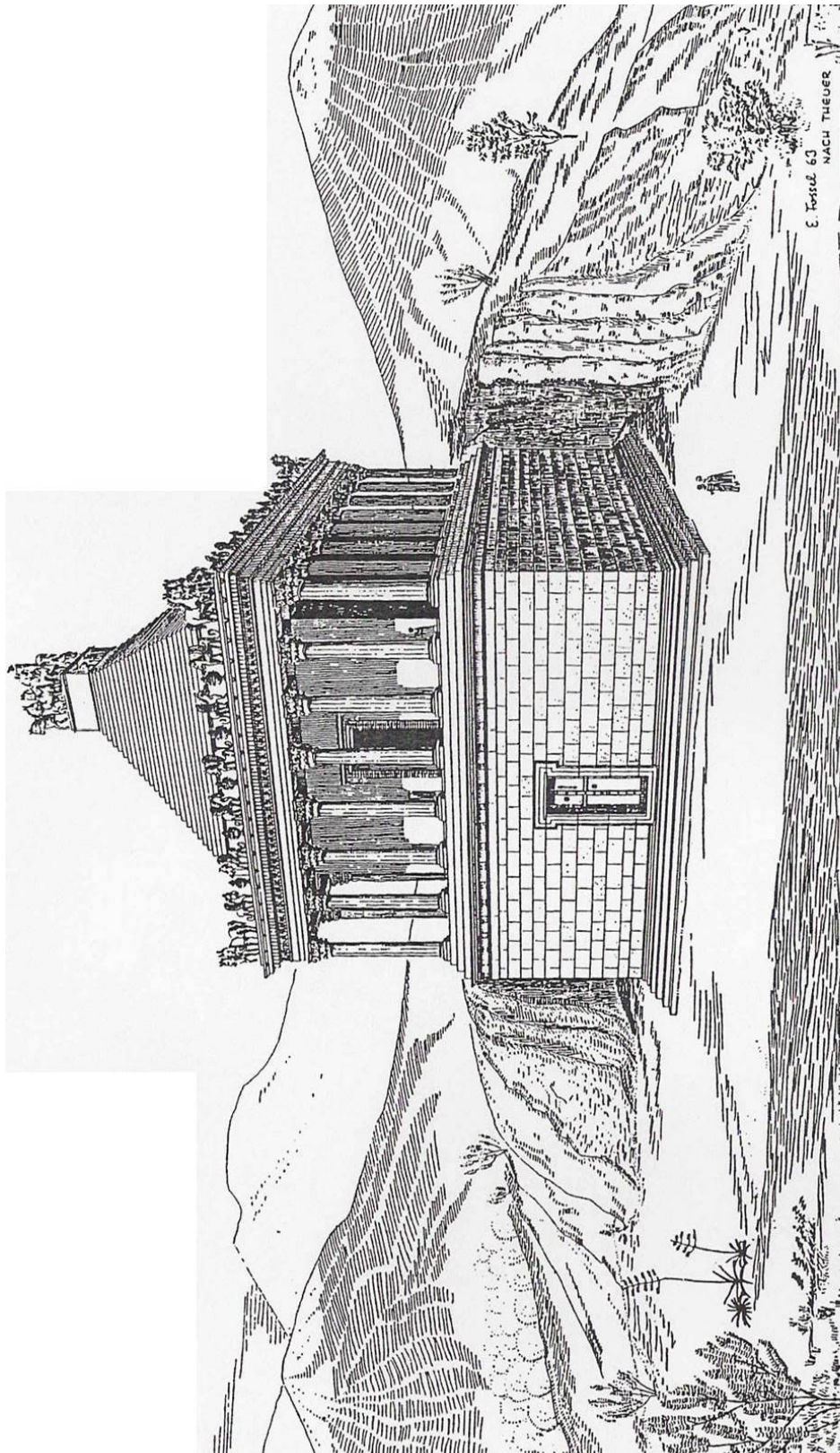
(Source: Niemann, 1889)

**Fig. 46** Gölbaşı (Trysa) Heroon



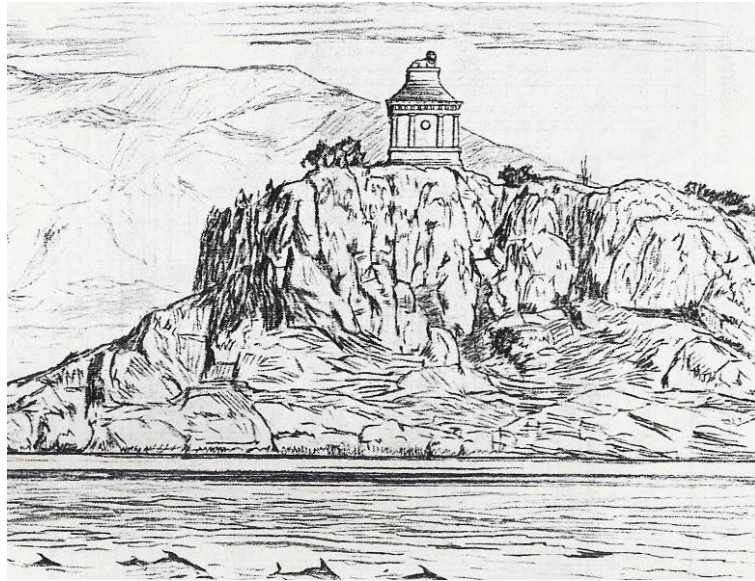
([http://www.aeria.phil.unierlangen.de/photo\\_html/bauplastik/fries/goelbasi\\_trysa/trysa\\_2.JPG](http://www.aeria.phil.unierlangen.de/photo_html/bauplastik/fries/goelbasi_trysa/trysa_2.JPG); last accessed on 08.02.2007)

**Fig. 47** Trysa Heroon Friezes on the southern interior; centaurmachy



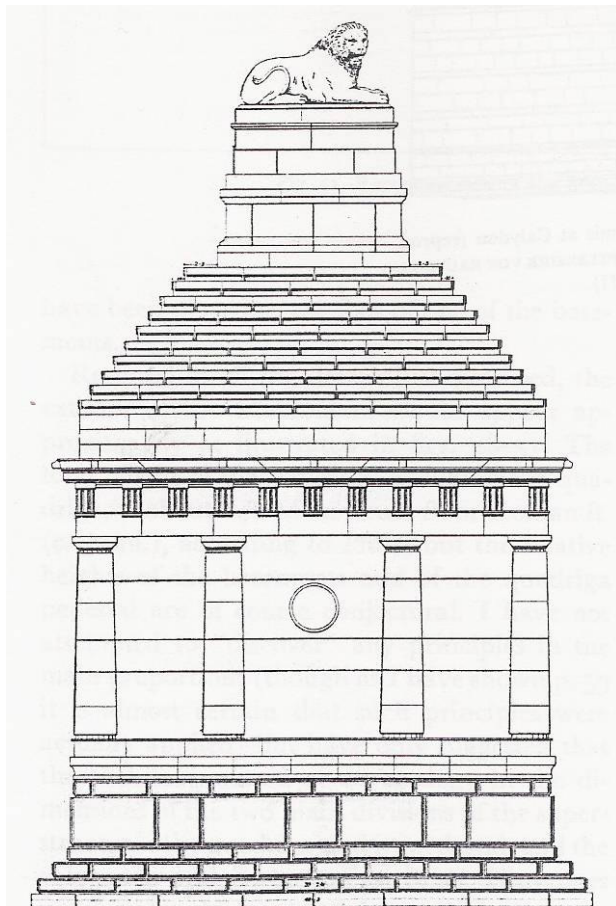
(Source: Colvin, 1990)

**Fig. 48** Belevi Monument, Reconstruction by Austrian Archaeologists Team



(Source: Krischen, 1956)

**Fig. 49** The Lion Tomb at Knidos sketch of the general view



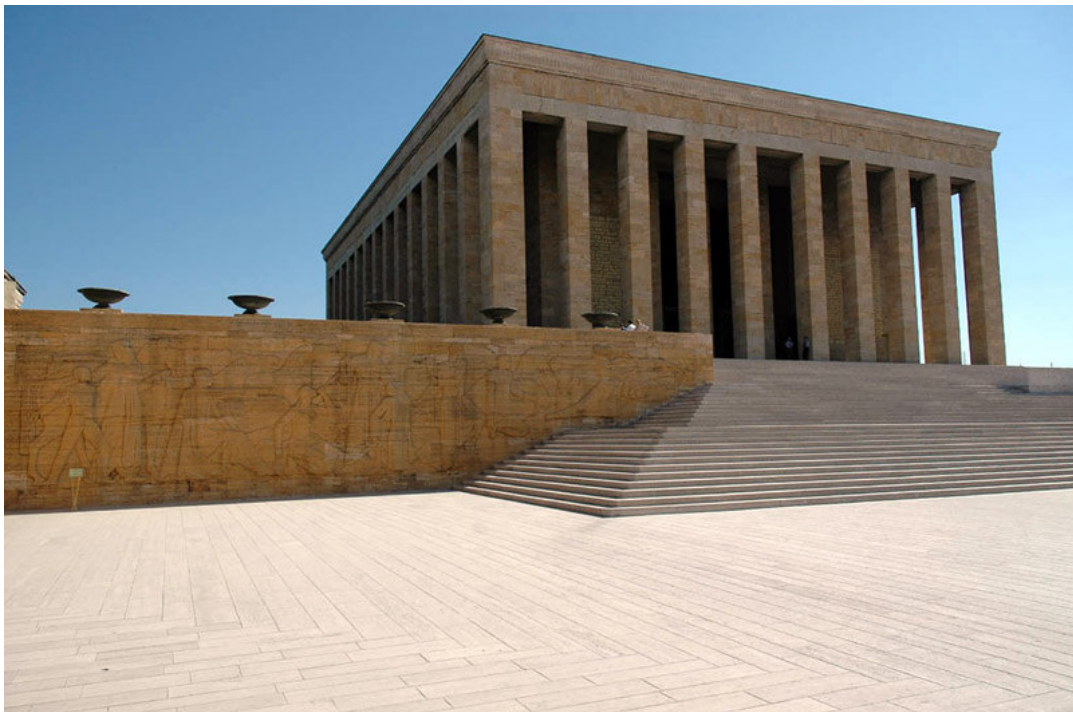
(Jeppesen, 1957 from Newton HD pl. LXIII)

**Fig. 50** The Lion Tomb at Knidos



(Source: <http://www.ankara.bel.tr/ankara/anitka1.jpg>; last accessed on 15.01.2007)

**Fig. 51** Atatürk's Mausoleum; Anıtkabir 3D Plan



(Source: <http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/0/01/Anitkabir.DO.jpg>; last accessed on 15.01.2007)

**Fig. 52** Anıtkabir, frontal view



## APPENDIX C. PLATES



**Pl. 1** The fortified summit in Geriş with the tower building, viewed from north west. Possibly a Lelegian fortified mountain retreat (*fluchtberg*) formerly, the walls had been restored during the Maussollan period. The lower city walls of the ancient Lelegian fortified settlement are still traceable.



**Pl. 2** Close view of the tower building in Geriṣ. The walls were restored in the Hekatomnid period, possibly in the time of Maussollos, as seen in the wall techniques.



**Pl. 3** Fortification (tower) walls in Geriṣ displaying the Hekatomnid masonry technique.



**Pl. 4** Polygonal terrace walls over the Lelegian substructure in Geriș, which may have formed the ancient lower city wall. Lelegian masonry can be traced in the lower courses.



**Pl. 5** Polygonal terrace walls in Geriș.



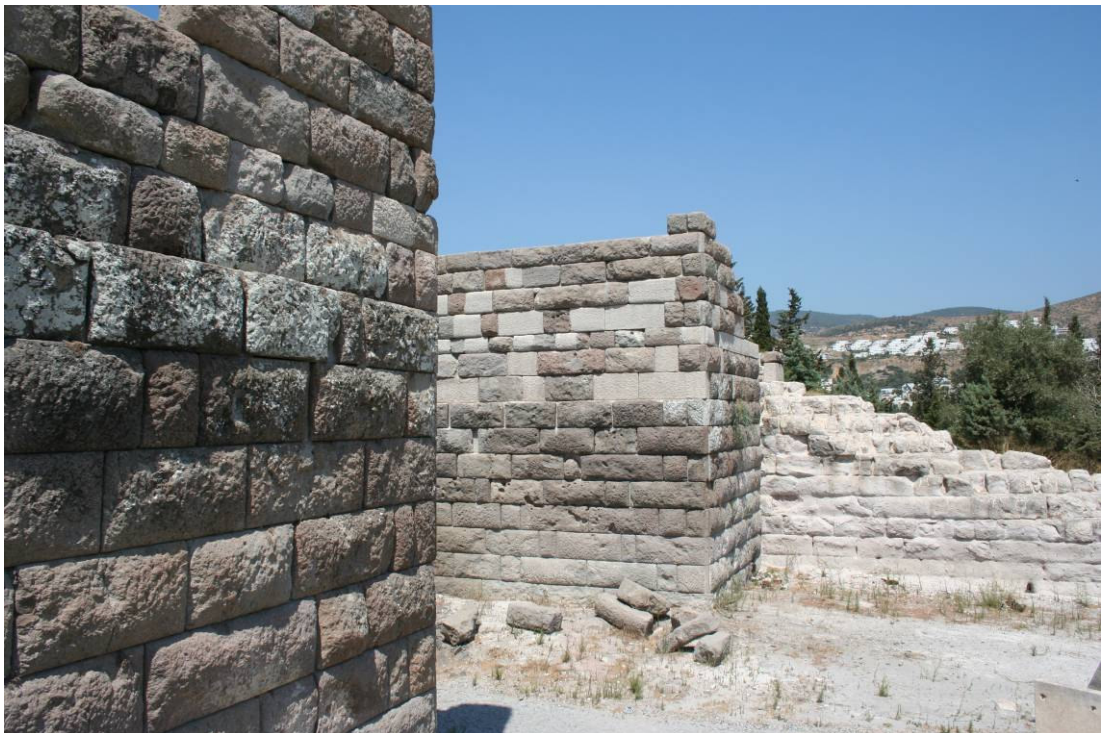
**Pl. 6** Beçin Kale, General view



**Pl. 7** Beçin Kale, close view of the restored fortifications.



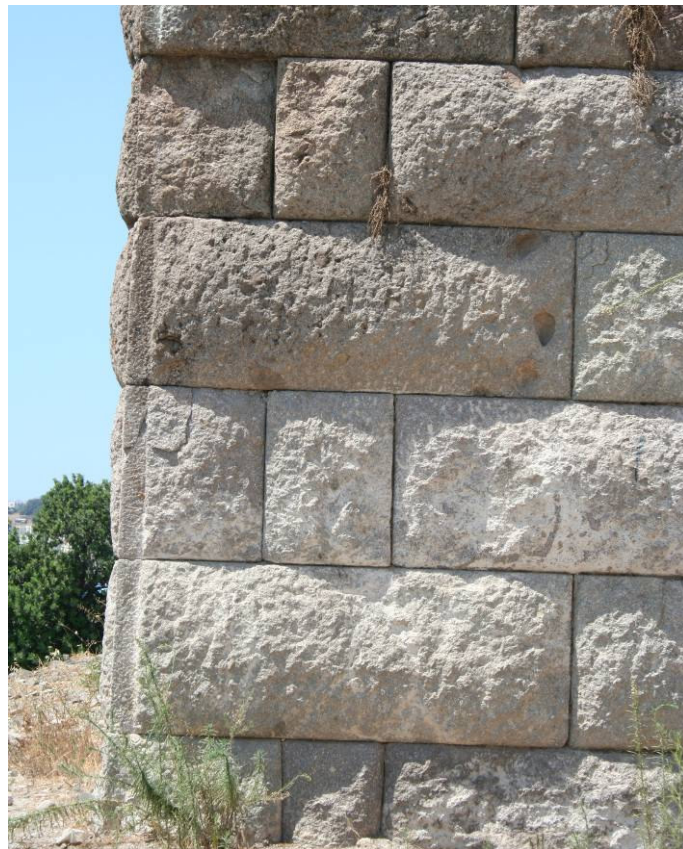
**Pl. 8** Myndos Gate general view



**Pl. 9** Myndos Gate, double corner bonding masonry technique. Hekatomnid fortifications remains continue towards the Göktepe seen at the back.



**Pl. 10** Myndos Gate details of the masonry technique – interior view.



**Pl. 11** Myndos Gate details of the wall technique – exterior view



**Pl. 12** Milas Baltalı Kapı



**Pl. 13** Labrys detail on the vault of Milas Baltalı Kapı. The name 'Labraunda' is related with this Labrys cult



Pl. 14 Labraunda Temple of Zeus



Pl. 15 Labraunda, Temple of Zeus





Pl. 16 Labraunda, Andron A, front view



Pl. 17 Labraunda, Andron A eastern view.



Pl. 18 Labraunda, view of Andron A, interior.



Pl. 19 Labraunda, Andron A, niche.



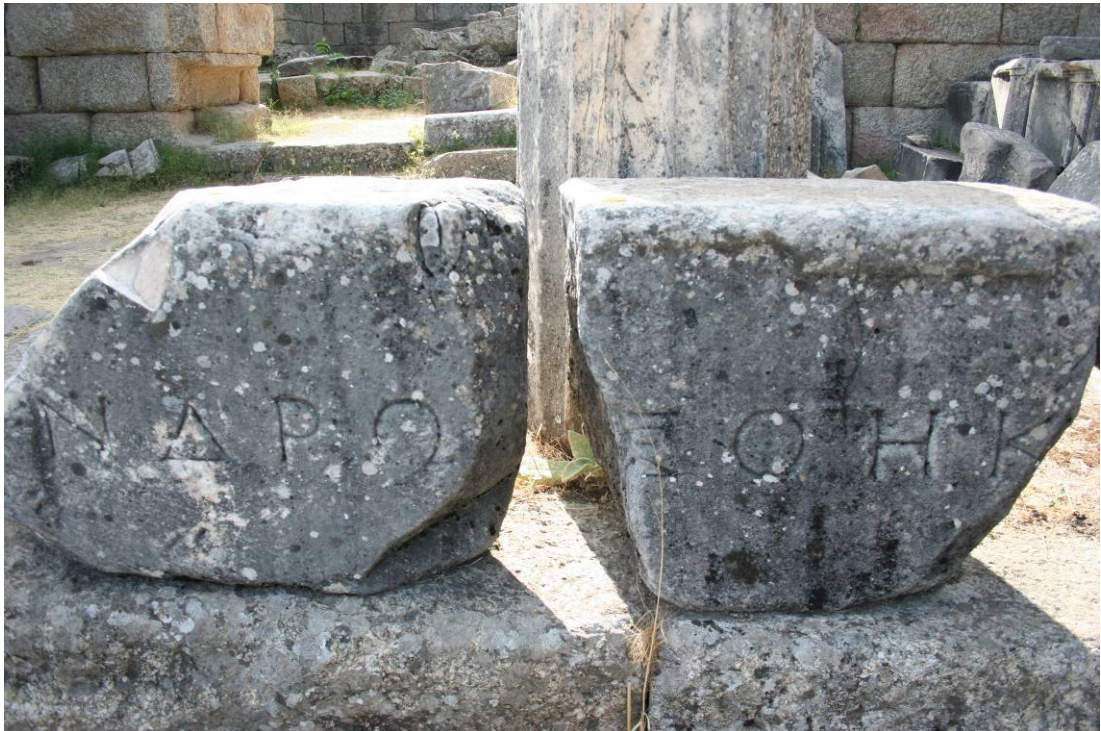
Pl. 20 Labraunda, Andron B front view.



Pl. 21 Labraunda, Andron B front view.



Pl. 22 Labraunda, dedicatory inscription.



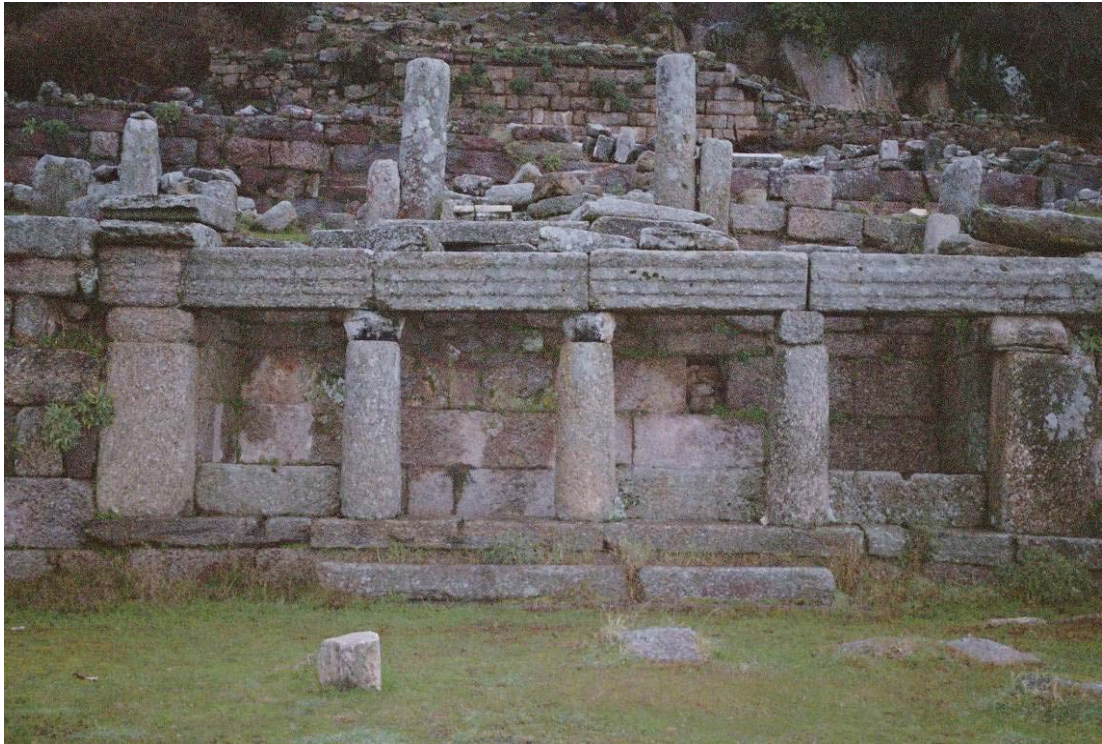
Pl. 23 Labraunda, andron inscription.



Pl. 24 Labraunda, view of Andron A and Oikoi building from the Temple of Zeus.



Pl. 25 Labraunda, view of the Stoa from the terraces



Pl. 26 Labraunda, east Stoa



Pl. 27 Labraunda, view of the south Propylaea



Pl. 28 Labraunda, view of Propylaia and monumental stairs, Andron A and Andron B.



Pl. 29 Labraunda, view of the south Propylaia and the monumental stairs

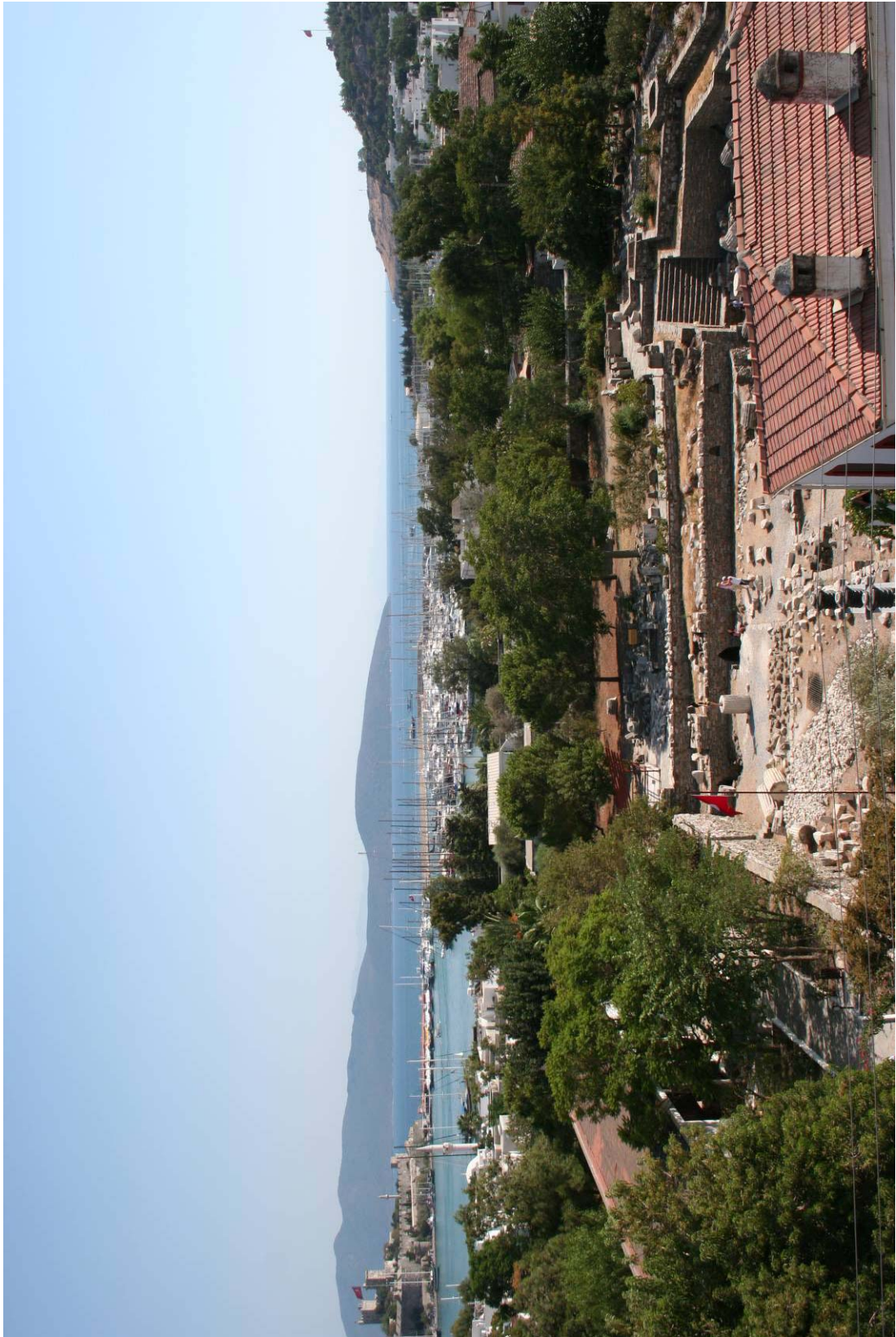


Pl. 30 Monumental stairs at Labraunda



Pl. 31 Monumental stairs at Labraunda





Pl. 32 Mausolleion ruins, view from above



Pl. 33 The Mausolleion, general view of the remains from west



Pl. 34 The Mausolleion, view of the tomb chamber from the west



Pl. 35 The Mausolleion, general view of the remains from the east



Pl. 36 The Mausolleion, view of the tomb chamber from the east



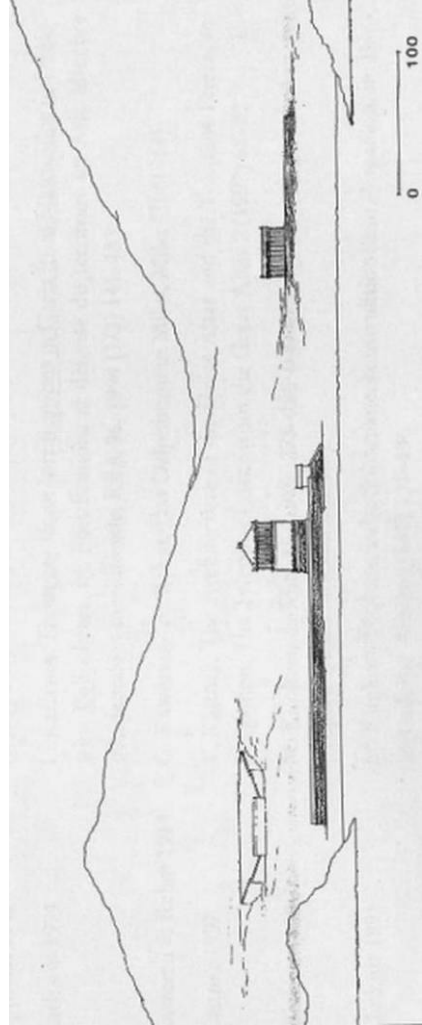
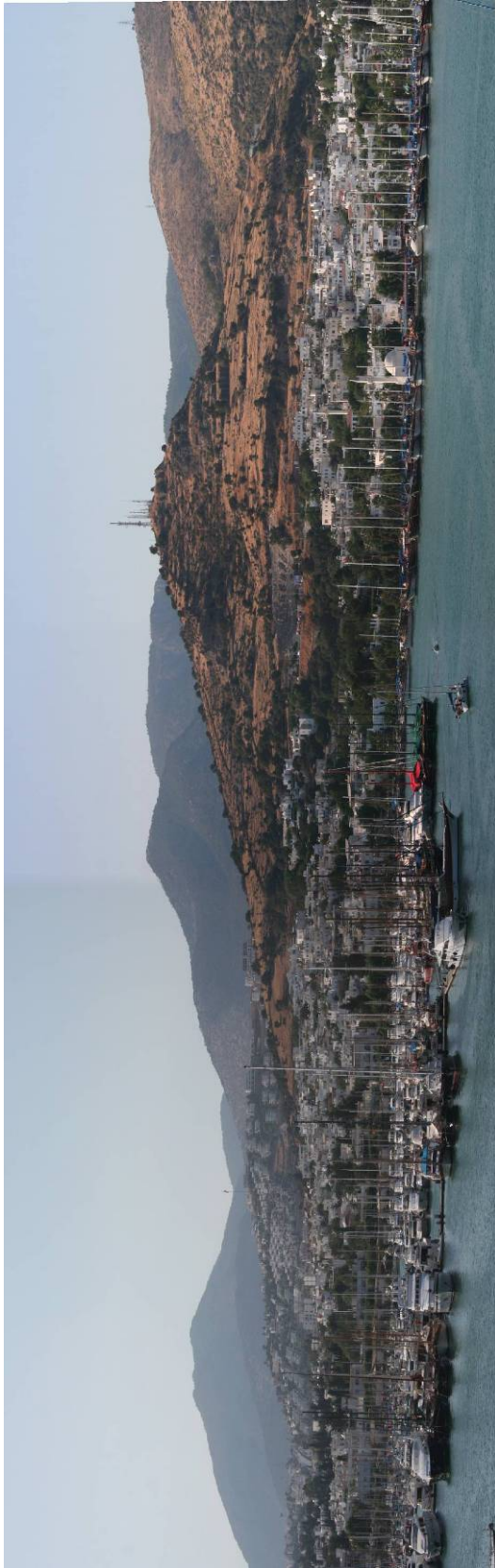
Pl. 37 The Mausolleion, Amazonomachy fragment



Pl. 38 Halikarnassos, ruins of the Temple of Mars Terrace



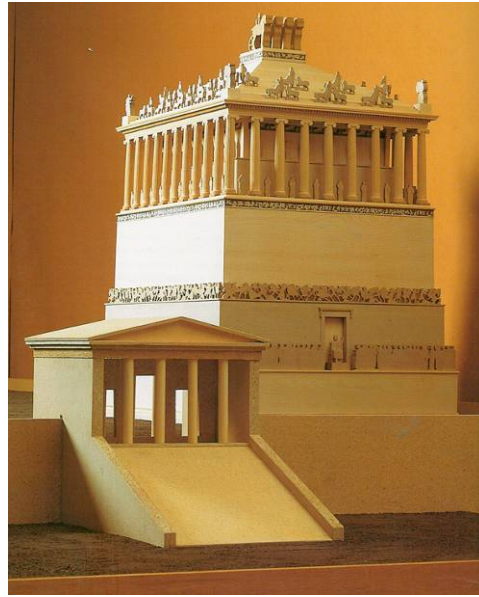
Pl. 39 Halikarnassos, view from the theatre.



**Pl. 40** Panoramic view of Halikarnassos theatre compared to Pedersen's drawing of Theatre, Maussoleion, and the Temple of Mars. (Source: Pedersen, 2004)



**Pl. 41** View of the Halikarnassos theatre from the Bodrum Castle and a hypothetical view of the Maussolleion scaled approx. 2,5:1 to the Tepecik Mosque in the front (ca. M:T= 57:20 m). The castle is on the Zephyrion peninsula where Maussollos' palace was located.



**Pl. 42** (top left) Statue of Maussollos in the British Museum (Source: <http://www.portrait-sculpture.org/general/image/vlarge/mausolus0.jpg>; last accessed on 25.12.2006)

**Pl. 43** (top right) Mausolleion Model by the Danish team (Source: <http://www.humaniora.sdu.dk/typo/uploads/pics/maus.jpg>; last accessed on 26.02.2006)

**Pl. 44** (bottom left) Sphinx from Labraunda, displayed at the Bodrum Museum.

**Pl. 45** (bottom right) Wax reconstruction of so-called Ada I, at the Bodrum Museum .



**Pl. 46** Reused material derived from Maussoleion and other ancient buildings on the walls of Bodrum Castle





Pl. 47 Belevi Monument General front view



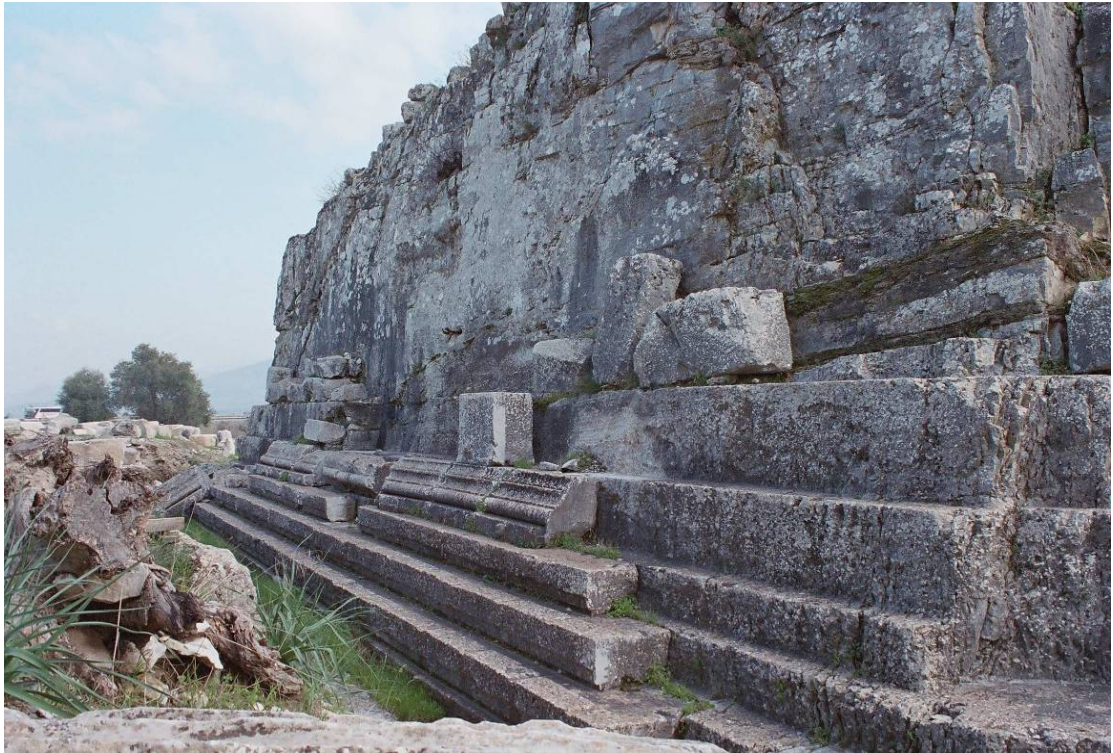
Pl. 48 Belevi Monument eastern view of the bedrock structure



**Pl. 49** Belevi Monument, tomb chamber



**Pl. 50** Belevi Monument, general view of the core bedrock and the Sardis valley



**Pl. 51** Belevi Monument, eastern corner



**Pl. 52** Belevi Monument - Unfinished Moulding



Pl. 53 Gümüşkesen Monument general view



**Pl. 54** Gümüşkesen Monument,  
view from the left side



**Pl. 55** Gümüşkesen Monument,  
view from the right side



**Pl. 56** Traditional chimney of a house in Milas



**Pl. 57** (above) Detail of chimney in a traditional Milas house.



**Pl. 58** (right) Detail of chimney from a traditional Milas house



**Pl. 59** Chimneys from modern Bodrum houses



Pl. 60 Gümbet in Müsgebi



Pl. 61 Gümbet structure in Gümbet, Bodrum





Pl. 62 Gumbet in Müsgebi



Pl. 63 Gumbet in Bodrum displaying reused material



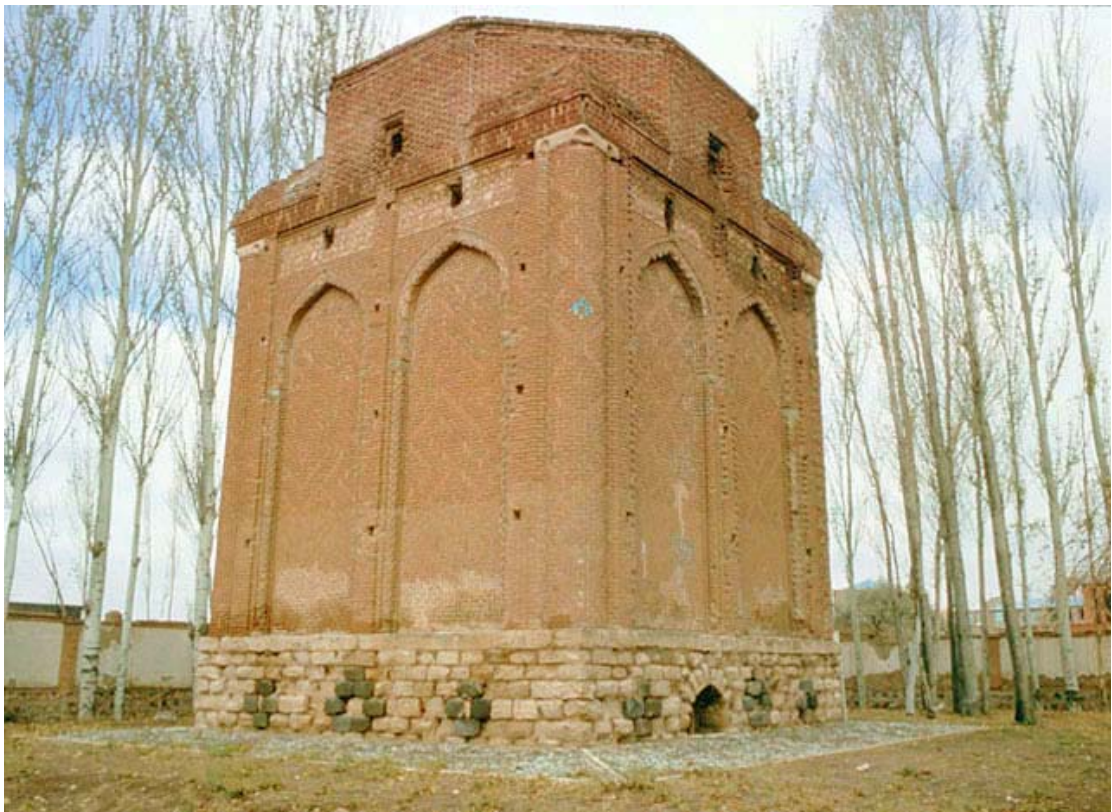
Pl. 64 Gümbet in Geriş



Pl. 65 Geriş Tomb



Pl. 66 Gebe Kilise Tomb



Pl. 67 Gunbad-i Surkh in Iran (Source: [www.archnet.org](http://www.archnet.org); last accessed on 10.01.2007)



**Pl. 68** Windmills in Ortakent



**Pl. 69** Far view of the windmills in Yalıkavak



Pl. 70 Arpaz (Harpasa) Tower House (photo: Kemal Üzel)



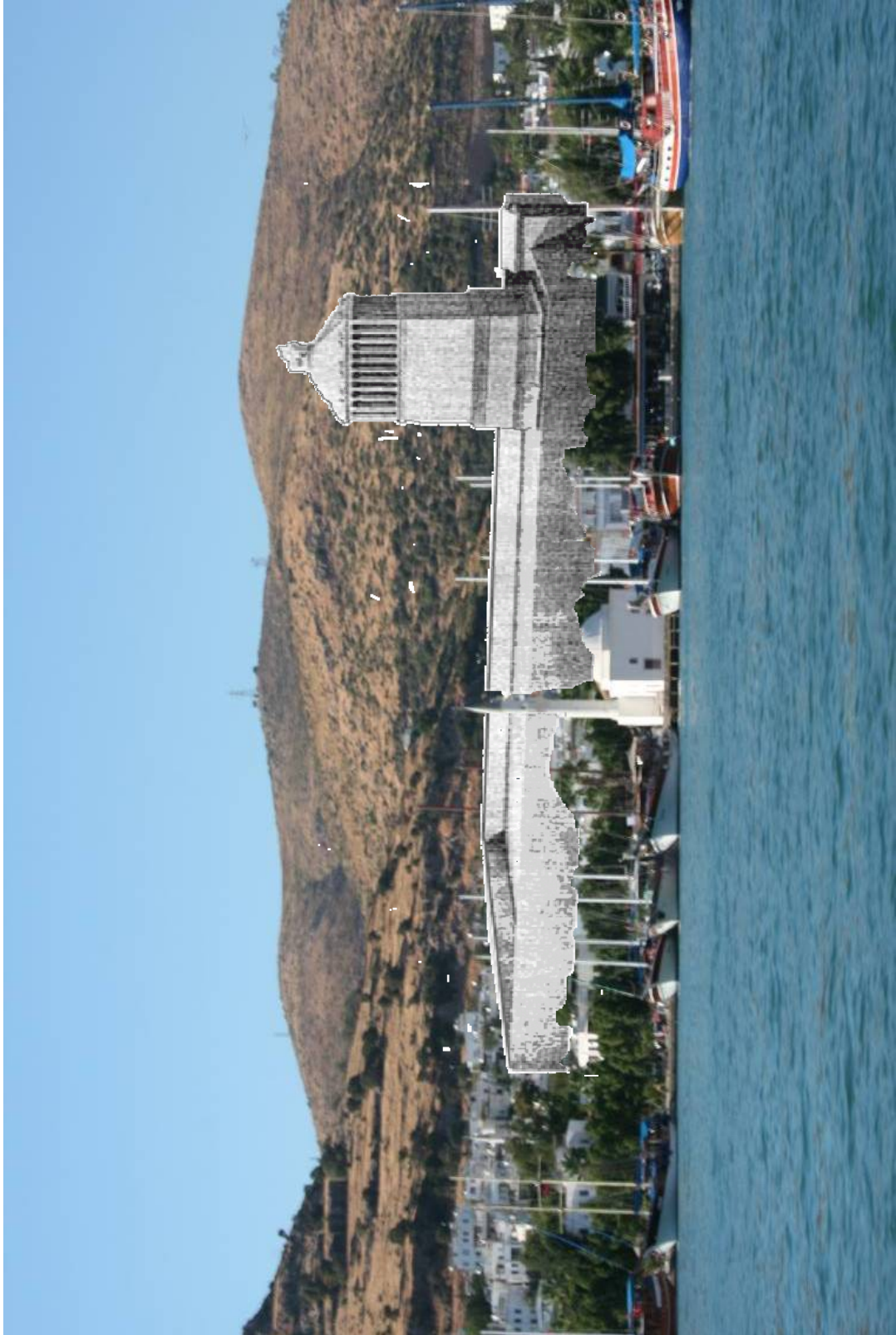
Pl. 71 Arpaz (Harpasa) Tower House, view of the general complex (photo: Kemal Üzel)



Pl. 72 Müsgebi Tower House



Pl. 73 Müsgebi (Ortakent) Tower House: Mustafa Paşa Kulesi



**Pl. 74** Hypothetical view of the Mausolleion from the sea. (Scale:ca. 2,5:1 to the Tepecik Mosque) (drawing: Jeppesen, 1990 photo: Ayça Üzel)

## ANNEXES

### ANNEX 1. HERODOTUS, THE HISTORIES, SELECTED PARTS

Godley, A. D. 1920. *Herodotus, with an English translation* by Cambridge. Harvard U. P.

**7.99.1.** I see no need to mention any of the other captains except Artemisia. I find it a great marvel that a woman went on the expedition against Hellas: after her husband died, she took over his tyranny, though she had a young son, and followed the army from youthful spirits and manliness, under no compulsion. Artemisia was her name, and she was the daughter of Lygdamis; on her fathers' side she was of Halicarnassian lineage, and on her mothers' Cretan. She was the leader of the men of Halicarnassus and Cos and Nisyros and Calydnos, and provided five ships. Her ships were reputed to be the best in the whole fleet after the ships of Sidon, and she gave the king the best advice of all his allies. The cities that I said she was the leader of are all of Dorian stock, as I can show, since the Halicarnassians are from Troezen, and the rest are from Epidaurus.

**8.68.1.** Mardonius went about questioning them, starting with the Sidonian, and all the others were unanimous, advising to fight at sea, but Artemisia said,

**8. 68A** "Tell the king, Mardonius, that I, who neither was most cowardly in the sea battles off Euboea nor performed the least feats of arms, say this: 'Master, it is just for me to declare my real opinion, what I consider to be best for your cause. And I say to you this: spare your ships, and do not fight at sea. Their men are as much stronger than your men by sea as men are stronger than women. Why is it so necessary for you to risk everything by fighting at sea? Do you not possess Athens, for which you set out on this march, and do you not have the rest of Hellas? No one stands in your way. Those who opposed you have received what they deserved.

**8.88.1.** Thus she happened to escape and not be destroyed, and it also turned out that the harmful thing which she had done won her exceptional esteem from Xerxes. It is said that the king, as he watched the battle, saw her ship ram the other, and one of the bystanders said, "Master, do you see how well Artemisia contends in the contest and how she has sunk an enemy ship?" When he asked if the deed was truly Artemisia's, they affirmed it, knowing reliably the marking of her ship, and they supposed that the ruined ship was an enemy. As I have said, all this happened to bring her luck, and also that no one from the Calyndian ship survived to accuse her. It is said that Xerxes replied to what was told him, "My men have become women, and my women men." They say this is what Xerxes said.



## ANNEX 2. STRABO, GEOGRAPHICA, SELECTED PARTS

Jones, H. L. ed. 1924, *The Geography of Strabo*. Cambridge, Mass. Harvard U. P. London: William Heinemann, Ltd.

### Book 7 Chapter 7

7.7.1. These are the nations, bounded by the Danube and by the Illyrian and Thracian mountains, which are worthy of record. They occupy the whole coast of the Adriatic Sea, beginning from the recess of the gulf, and the left side, as it is called, of the Euxine Sea, from the river Danube to Byzantium.

The southern parts of the above-mentioned mountainous tract, and the countries which follow, lying below it, remain to be described. Among these are Greece, and the contiguous barbarous country extending to the mountains.

Hecataeus of Miletus says of the Peloponnesus, that, before the time of the Greeks, it was inhabited by barbarians. Perhaps even the whole of Greece was, anciently, a settlement of barbarians, if we judge from former accounts. For Pelops brought colonists from Phrygia into the Peloponnesus, which took his name; Danaus brought colonists from Egypt; Dryopes, Caucones, Pelasgi, Leleges, and other barbarous nations, partitioned among themselves the country on this side of the isthmus. The case was the same on the other side of the isthmus; for Thracians, under their leader Eumolpus, took possession of Attica; Tereus of Daulis in Phocæa; the Phœnicians, with their leader Cadmus, occupied the Cadmeian district; Aones, and Temmices, and Hyantes, Bœotia. Pindar says, 'there was a time when the Bœotian people were called Syes.' Some names show their barbarous origin, as Cecrops, Codrus, Cælus, Cothus, Drymas, and Crinacus. Thracians, Illyrians, and Epirotæ are settled even at present on the sides of Greece. Formerly the territory they possessed was more extensive, although even now the barbarians possess a large part of the country, which, without dispute, is Greece. Macedonia is occupied by Thracians, as well as some parts of Thessaly; the country above Acarnania and Ætolia, by Thesproti, Cassopæi, Amphiloichi, Molotti, and Athamanes, Epirotic tribes.

7.7.2. We have already spoken of the Pelasgi. Some writers conjecture that the Leleges and Carians are the same people; others, that they were only joint settlers, and comrades in war, because there are said to be some settlements called Settlements of the Leleges in the Milesian territory, and in many parts of Caria there are burial-places of the Leleges, and deserted fortresses, called Lelegia.

The whole country called Ionia was formerly inhabited by Carians and Leleges; these were expelled by the Ionians, who themselves took possession of the country. In still earlier times, the captors of Troy had driven out the Leleges from the places about Ida near the rivers Pegasus and Satnioeis.

The fact of the association of these people with the Carians may be regarded as a proof of their being barbarians, and Aristotle, in his Politics, shows that they were a wandering nation, sometimes in company with the Carians, sometimes alone, and that from ancient times; for, in speaking of the polity of the Acarnanians, he says that the Curetes occupied a part of the country, and the Leleges (and after them the Teleboæ) the western side. On the subject of the Ætolian polity, he calls the present Locri, Leleges, and observes that they occupy Bœotia. He repeats the same remark on the subject of the polity of the Opuntians and Megareans. In speaking of the polity of the Leucadians, he mentions an aboriginal by name, Leleges, and a grandson by his daughter of the name of Teleboas, and besides two and twenty of his sons of the name of Teleboas, some of whom inhabited Lucas. But we should chiefly rely upon Hesiod, who thus speaks of them: "For Locrus was the leader of the nation

of the Leleges, whom Jupiter, the son of Saturn, in his infinite wisdom, once gave as subjects to Deucalion, a people gathered from among the nations of the earth." For it seems to me to be obscurely intimated by the etymology of the name, Leleges, that they were a mixed people anciently collected together, which had become extinct. And this may be said of the Caucones, who exist no where at present, yet were formerly settled in several places.

### **Book 14 Chapter 1**

**14.1.1.** It remains for me to speak of the Ionians and the Carians and the seaboard outside the Taurus, which last is occupied by Lycians, Pamphylians, and Cilicians; for in this way I can finish my entire description of the peninsula, the isthmus of which, as I was saying, is the road which leads over from the Pontic Sea to the Issic Sea.

**14.1. 2.** The coasting voyage round Ionia is about three thousand four hundred and thirty stadia, this distance being so great because of the gulfs and the fact that the country forms a peninsula of unusual extent; but the distance in a straight line across the isthmus is not great. For instance, merely the distance from Ephesus to Smyrna is a journey, in a straight line, of three hundred and twenty stadia, for the distance to Metropolis is one hundred and twenty stadia and the remainder to Smyrna, whereas the coasting voyage is but slightly short of two thousand two hundred. Be that as it may, the bounds of the Ionian coast extend from the Poseidium of the Milesians, and from the Carian frontiers, as far as Phocaea and the Hermus River, which latter is the limit of the Ionian seaboard.

**14.1. 3.** Pherecydes says concerning this seaboard that Miletus and Myus and the parts round Mycale and Ephesus were in earlier times occupied by Carians, and that the coast next thereafter, as far as Phocaea and Chios and Samos, which were ruled by Ancaeus, was occupied by Leleges, but that both were driven out by the Ionians and took refuge in the remaining parts of Caria. (...)

**14.1. 4.** (...) On departing from the Ephesians, the Smyrnaeans marched to the place where Smyrna now is, which was in the possession of the Leleges, and, having driven them out, they founded the ancient Smyrna, which is about twenty stadia distant from the present Smyrna. But later, being driven out by the Aeolians, they fled for refuge to Colophon, and then with the Colophonians returned to their own land and took it back, as Mimnermus tells us in his Nanno, after recalling that Smyrna was always an object of contention. (...) Ephorus says: Miletus was first founded and fortified above the sea by the Cretans, where the Miletus of olden times is now situated, being settled by Sarpedon, who brought colonists from the Cretan Miletus and named the city after that Miletus, the place formerly being in the possession of the Leleges; but later Neleus and his followers fortified the present city. The present city has four harbors, one of which is large enough for a fleet.

The city of Ephesus was inhabited both by Carians and by Leleges, but Androclus drove them out and settled the most of those who had come with him round the Athenaeum and the Hypelaeus, though he also included a part of the country situated on the slopes of Mt. Coressus. (...)

### **Book 14 Chapter 2**

**14.2.1.** Coming now to the far side of the Maeander, the parts that remain to be described are all Carian, since here the Lydians are no longer intermingled with the Carians, and the latter occupy all the country by themselves, except that a segment of the seaboard is occupied by Milesians and Myesians. Now the beginning of the seaboard is the Peraea of the Rhodians on the sea, and the end of it is the Poseidium of the Milesians; but in the interior are the extremities of the Taurus, extending as far as the Maeander River. For it is said that the mountains situated above the Chelidonian islands, as they are called, which islands lie off the confines of Pamphylia and Lycia, form the beginning of the Taurus, for thence the

Taurus rises to a height; but the truth is that the whole of Lycia, towards the parts outside and on its southern side, is separated by a mountainous ridge of the Taurus from the country of the Cibyrans as far as the Peraea of the Rhodians. From here the ridge continues, but is much lower and is no longer regarded as a part of the Taurus; neither are the parts outside the Taurus and this side of it so regarded, because of the fact that the eminences and depressions are scattered equally throughout the breadth and the length of the whole country, and present nothing like a wall of partition. The whole of the voyage round the coast, following the sinuosities of the gulfs, is four thousand nine hundred stadia, and merely that round the Peraea of the Rhodians is close to fifteen hundred.

**14.2.3.** (...) The Caunians once revolted from the Rhodians, but by a judicial decision of the Romans they were restored to them. And there is extant a speech of Molon entitled Against the Caunians. It is said that they speak the same language as the Carians, but that they came from Crete and follow usages of their own.

**14.2. 14.** As for the Carian coast that comes after Rhodes, beginning at Eleus and Loryma, it bends sharply back towards the north, and the voyage thereafter runs in a straight line as far as the Propontis, forming, as it were, a meridian line about five thousand stadia long, or slightly short of that distance. Along this line is situated the remainder of Caria, as are also the Ionians and the Aeolians and Troy and the parts round Cyzicus and Byzantium. After Loryma, then, one comes to Cynos-Sema and to Syme, an island.

**14.2. 16.** Then to Halicarnassus, the royal residence of the dynasts of Caria, which was formerly called Zephyra. Here is the tomb of Mausolus, one of the Seven Wonders, a monument erected by Artemisia in honor of her husband; and here is the fountain called Salmacis, which has the slanderous repute, for what reason I do not know, of making effeminate all who drink from it. It seems that the effeminacy of man is laid to the charge of the air or of the water; yet it is not these, but rather riches and wanton living, that are the cause of effeminacy. Halicarnassus has an acropolis; and off the city lies Arconnesus. Its colonizers were, among others, Anthes and a number of Troezenians. Natives of Halicarnassus have been: Herodotus the historian, whom they later called a Thurian, because he took part in the colonization of Thuri; and Heracleitus the poet, the comrade of Callimachus; and, in my time, Dionysius the historian.

**14.2. 17.** This city, too, met a reverse when it was forcibly seized by Alexander. For Hecatomnus, the king of the Carians, had three sons, Mausolus and Hidrieus and Pixodarus, and two daughters. Mausolus, the eldest of the brothers, married Artemisia, the elder of the daughters, and Hidrieus, the second son, married Ada, the other sister. Mausolus became king and at last, childless, he left the empire to his wife, by whom the above-mentioned tomb was erected. But she pined away and died through grief for her husband, and Hidrieus then became ruler. He died from a disease and was succeeded by his wife Ada; but she was banished by Pixodarus, the remaining son of Hecatomnos. Having espoused the side of the Persians, he sent for a satrap to share the empire with him; and when he too departed from life, the satrap took possession of Halicarnassus. And when Alexander came over, the satrap sustained a siege. His wife was Ada, who was the daughter of Pixodarus by Aphenis, a Cappadocian woman. But Ada, the daughter of Hecatomnos, whom Pixodarus had banished, entreated Alexander and persuaded him to restore her to the kingdom of which she had been deprived, having promised to cooperate with him against the parts of the country which were in revolt, for those who held these parts, she said, were her own relations; and she also gave over to him Alinda, where she herself was residing. He assented and appointed her queen; and when the city, except the acropolis (it was a double acropolis), had been captured, he assigned to her the siege of the acropolis. This too was captured a little later, the siege having now become a matter of anger and personal enmity.

**14.2. 23.** But as for Mylasa: it is situated in an exceedingly fertile plain; and above the plain, towering into a peak, rises a mountain, which has a most excellent quarry of white marble.

Now this quarry is of no small advantage, since it has stone in abundance and close at hand, for building purposes and in particular for the building of temples and other public works; accordingly this city, as much as any other, is in every way beautifully adorned with porticoes and temples. But one may well be amazed at those who so absurdly founded the city at the foot of a steep and commanding crag. Accordingly, one of the commanders, amazed at the fact, is said to have said, "If the man who founded this city, was not afraid, was he not even ashamed?" The Mylasians have two temples of Zeus, Zeus Osogo, as he is called, and Zeus Labrandenus. The former is in the city, whereas 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 honored 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. The priestly offices are held by the most distinguished of the citizens, always for life. Now these temples belong peculiarly to the city; but there is a third temple, that of the Carian Zeus, which is a common possession of all Carians, and in which, as brothers, both Lydians and Mysians have a share. It is related that Mylasa was a mere village in ancient times, but that it was the native land and royal residence of the Carians of the house of Hecatomnos. The city is nearest to the sea at Physcus; and this is their seaport.

**14.2. 24.** Mylasa has had two notable men in my time, who were at once orators and leaders of the city, Euthydemus and Hybreas. Now Euthydemus, having inherited from his ancestors great wealth and high repute, and having added to these his own cleverness, was not only a great man in his native land, but was also thought worthy of the foremost honor in Asia. As for Hybreas, as he himself used to tell the story in his school and as confirmed by his fellow-citizens, his father left him a mule-driver and a wood-carrying mule. And, being supported by these, he became a pupil of Diotrophes of Antiocheia for a short time, and then came back and "surrendered himself to the office of market-clerk." But when he had been "tossed about" in this office and had made but little money, he began to apply himself to the affairs of state and to follow closely the speakers of the forum. He quickly grew in power, and was already an object of amazement in the lifetime of Euthydemus, but in particular after his death, having become master of the city. So long as Euthydemus lived he strongly prevailed, being at once powerful and useful to the city, so that even if there was something tyrannical about him, it was atoned for by the fact that it was attended by what was good for the city. At any rate, people applaud the following statement of Hybreas, made by him towards the end of a public speech: "Euthydemus: you are an evil necessary to the city, for we can live neither with you nor without you." However, although he had grown very strong and had the repute of being both a good citizen and orator, he stumbled in his political opposition to Labienus; for while the others, since they were without arms and inclined to peace, yielded to Labienus when he was coming against them with an army and an allied Parthian force, the Parthians by that time being in possession of Asia, yet Zeno of Laodiceia and Hybreas, both orators, refused to yield and caused their own cities to revolt. Hybreas also provoked Labienus, a lad who was irritable and full of folly, by a certain pronouncement; for when Labienus proclaimed himself Parthian Emperor, Hybreas said, "Then I too call myself Carian Emperor." Consequently Labienus set out against the city with cohorts of Roman soldiers in Asia that were already organized. Labienus did not seize Hybreas, however, since he had withdrawn to Rhodes, but he shamefully maltreated his home, with its costly furnishings, and plundered it. And he likewise damaged the whole of the city. But though Hybreas abandoned Asia, he came back and rehabilitated both himself and the city. So much, then, for Mylasa.

**14.2. 25.** Stratoniceia is a settlement of Macedonians. And this too was adorned with costly improvements by the kings. There are two temples in the country of the Stratoniceians, of which the most famous, that of Hecate, is at Lagina; and it draws great festal assemblies every year. And near the city is the temple of Zeus Chrysaoreus, the common possession of all Carians, whither they gather both to offer sacrifice and to deliberate on their common

interests. Their League, which consists of villages, is called "Chrysaorian." And those who present the most villages have a preference in the vote, like, for example, the people of Ceramus. The Stratoniceians also have a share in the League, although they are not of the Carian stock, but because they have villages belonging to the Chrysaorian League. Here, too, in the time of our fathers, was born a noteworthy man, Menippus, surnamed Catocas, whom Cicero, as he says in one of his writings, applauded above all the Asiatic orators he had heard, comparing him with Xenocles and with the other orators who flourished in the latter's time. But there is also another Stratoniceia, "Stratoniceia near the Taurus," as it is called; it is a small town situated near the mountain.

**14.2. 26.** Alabanda is also situated at the foot of hills, two hills that are joined together in such a way that they present the appearance of an ass laden with panniers. And indeed Apollonius Malacus, in ridiculing the city both in regard to this and in regard to the large number of scorpions there, said that it was an "ass laden with panniers of scorpions." Both this city and Mylasa are full of these creatures, and so is the whole of the mountainous country between them. Alabanda is a city of people who live in luxury and debauchery, containing many girls who play the harp. Alabandians worthy of mention are two orators, brothers, I mean Meneclis, whom I mentioned a little above, and Hierocles, and also Apollonius and Molon, who changed their abode to Rhodes.

**14.2. 27.** Of the numerous accounts of the Carians, the one that is generally agreed upon is this, that the Carians were subject to the rule of Minos, being called Leleges at that time, and lived in the islands; then, having migrated to the mainland, they took possession of much of the coast and of the interior, taking it away from its previous possessors, who for the most part were Leleges and Pelasgians. In turn these were deprived of a part of their country by the Greeks, I mean Ionians and Dorians. As evidences of their zeal for military affairs, writers adduce shield-holders, shield-emblems, and crests, for all these are called "Carian." At least Anacreon says,

Come, put thine arm through the shield-holder, work of the Carians.

And Alcaeus says,

shaking the Carian crest.

**14.2. 28.** When the poet says,

Masthles in turn led the Carians, of barbarian speech,

we have no reason to inquire how it is that, although he knew so many barbarian tribes, he speaks of the Carians alone as "of barbarian speech," but nowhere speaks of "barbarians." Thucydides, therefore, is not correct, for he says that Homer "did not use the term 'barbarians' either, because the Hellenes on their part had not yet been distinguished under one name as opposed to them"; for the poet himself refutes the statement that the Hellenes had not yet been so distinguished when he says,

My husband, whose fame is wide through Hellas and mid-Argos.

And again,

And if thou dost wish to journey through Hellas and mid-Argos.

Further, if they were not called "barbarians," how could they properly be called a people "of barbarian speech?" So neither Thucydides is correct, nor Apollodorus the grammarian, who says that the general term was used by the Hellenes in a peculiar and abusive sense against the Carians, and in particular by the Ionians, who hated them because of their enmity and the continuous military campaigns; for it was right to name them barbarians in this sense. But I raise the question, Why does he call them people "of barbarian speech," but not even once calls them barbarians? "Because," Apollodorus replies, "the plural does not fall in with the metre; this is why he does not call them barbarians." But though this case does not fall in

with metre, the nominative case does not differ metrically from that of "Dardanians":

Trojans and Lycians and Dardanians.

So, also, the word "Trojan," in

of what kind the Trojan horses are.

Neither is he correct when he says that the language of the Carians is very harsh, for it is not, but even has very many Greek words mixed up with it, according to the Philip who wrote *The Carica*. I suppose that the word "barbarian" was at first uttered onomatopoeically in reference to people who enunciated words only with difficulty and talked harshly and raucously, like our words "battarizein," "traulizein," and "psellizein"; for we are by nature very much inclined to denote sounds by words that sound like them, on account of their homogeneity. Wherefore onomatopoeic words abound in our language, as, for example, "celaryzein," and also "clange," "psophos," "boe," and "crotos," most of which are by now used in their proper sense. Accordingly, when all who pronounced words thickly were being called barbarians onomatopoeically, it appeared that the pronunciations of all alien races were likewise thick, I mean of those that were not Greek. Those, therefore, they called barbarians in the special sense of the term, at first derisively, meaning that they pronounced words thickly or harshly; and then we misused the word as a general ethnic term, thus making a logical distinction between the Greeks and all other races. The fact is, however, that through our long acquaintance and intercourse with the barbarians this effect was at last seen to be the result, not of a thick pronunciation or any natural defect in the vocal organs, but of the peculiarities of their several languages. And there appeared another faulty and barbarian-like pronunciation in our language, whenever any person speaking Greek did not pronounce it correctly, but pronounced the words like barbarians who are only beginning to learn Greek and are unable to speak it accurately, as is also the case with us in speaking their languages. This was particularly the case with the Carians, for, although the other peoples were not yet having very much intercourse with the Greeks nor even trying to live in Greek fashion or to learn our language--with the exception, perhaps, of rare persons who by chance, and singly, mingled with a few of the Greeks--yet the Carians roamed throughout the whole of Greece, serving on expeditions for pay. Already, therefore, the barbarous element in their Greek was strong, as a result of their expeditions in Greece; and after this it spread much more, from the time they took up their abode with the Greeks in the islands; and when they were driven thence into Asia, even here they were unable to live apart from the Greeks, I mean when the Ionians and Dorians later crossed over to Asia. The term "barbarize," also, has the same origin; for we are wont to use this too in reference to those who speak Greek badly, not to those who talk Carian. So, therefore, we must interpret the terms "speak barbarously" and "barbarously-speaking" as applying to those who speak Greek badly. And it was from the term "Carise" that the term "barbarize" was used in a different sense in works on the art of speaking Greek; and so was the term "soloecise," whether derived from Soli, or made up in some other way.

**14.2. 29.** Artemidorus says that, as one goes from Phycus, in the Peraea of the Rhodians, to Ephesus, the distance to Lagina is eight hundred and fifty stadia; and thence to Alabanda, two hundred and fifty more; and to Tralleis, one hundred and sixty. But one comes to the road that leads into Tralleis after crossing the Maeander River, at about the middle of the journey, where are the boundaries of Caria. (...) Since there is a kind of common road constantly used by all who travel from Ephesus towards the east, Artemidorus traverses this too: from Ephesus to Carura, a boundary of Caria towards Phrygia, through Magnesia, Tralleis, Nysa, and Antiocheia, is a journey of seven hundred and forty stadia; and, from Carura, the journey in Phrygia, through Laodiceia, Apameia, Metropolis and Chelidonia. (...)

### ANNEX 3. VITRUVIUS, DE ARCHITECTURA, SELECTED PARTS

Morgan, Morris Hicky. 1914. *Vitruvius: The Ten Books on Architecture* by with illust. by Herbert Langford Warren. Cambridge Harvard U. P. London: Humphrey Milford Oxford U.

#### Chapter VIII: Methods of Building Walls

[10] Then there is the house of Croesus which the people of Sardis have set apart as a place of repose for their fellow-citizens in the retirement of age,—a “Gerousia” for the guild of the elder men. At Halicarnassus, the house of that most potent king Mausolus, though decorated throughout with Proconnesian marble, [p. 54] has walls built of brick which are to this day of extraordinary strength, and are covered with stucco so highly polished that they seem to be as glistening as glass. That king did not use brick from poverty; for he was choke-full of revenues, being ruler of all Caria.

[11] As for his skill and ingenuity as a builder, they may be seen from what follows. He was born at Melassa, but recognizing the natural advantages of Halicarnassus as a fortress, and seeing that it was suitable as a trading centre and that it had a good harbour, he fixed his residence there. The place had a curvature like that of the seats in a theatre. On the lowest tier, along the harbour, was built the forum. About half-way up the curving slope, at the point where the curved cross-aisle is in a theatre, a broad wide street was laid out, in the middle of which was built the Mausoleum, a work so remarkable that it is classed among the Seven Wonders of the World. At the top of the hill, in the centre, is the fane of Mars, containing a colossal acrolithic statue by the famous hand of Leochares. That is, some think that this statue is by Leochares, others by Timotheus. At the extreme right of the summit is the fane of Venus and Mercury, close to the spring of Salmacis.

[12] There is a mistaken idea that this spring infects those who drink of it with an unnatural lewdness. It will not be out of place to explain how this idea came to spread throughout the world from a mistake in the telling of the tale. It cannot be that the water makes men effeminate and unchaste, as it is said to do; for the spring is of remarkable clearness and excellent in flavour. The fact is that when Melas and Arevanias came there from Argos and Troezen and founded a colony together, they drove out the Carians and Lelegians who were barbarians. These took refuge in the mountains, and, uniting there, used to make raids, plundering the Greeks and laying their country waste in a cruel manner. Later, one of the colonists, to make money, set up a well-stocked shop, near the spring because the water was so good, and the way in which he carried it on attracted the barbarians. So [p. 55] they began to come down, one at a time, and to meet with society, and thus they were brought back of

their own accord, giving up their rough and savage ways for the delights of Greek customs. Hence this water acquired its peculiar reputation, not because it really induced unchastity, but because those barbarians were softened by the charm of civilization.

[13] But since I have been tempted into giving a description of this fortified place, it remains to finish my account of it. Corresponding to the fane of Venus and the spring described above, which are on the right, we have on the extreme left the royal palace which king Mausolus built there in accordance with a plan all his own. To the right it commands a view of the forum, the harbour, and the entire line of fortifications, while just below it, to the left, there is a concealed harbour, hidden under the walls in such a way that nobody could see or know what was going on in it. Only the king himself could, in case of need, give orders from his own palace to the oarsmen and soldiers, without the knowledge of anybody else.

[14] After the death of Mausolus, his wife Artemisia became queen, and the Rhodians, regarding it as an outrage that a woman should be ruler of the states of all Caria, fitted out a fleet and sallied forth to seize upon the kingdom. When news of this reached Artemisia, she gave orders that her fleet should be hidden away in that harbour with oarsmen and marines mustered and concealed, but that the rest of the citizens should take their places on the city wall. After the Rhodians had landed at the larger harbour with their well-equipped fleet, she ordered the people on the wall to cheer them and to promise that they would deliver up the town. Then, when they had passed inside the wall, leaving their fleet empty, Artemisia suddenly made a canal which led to the sea, brought her fleet thus out of the smaller harbour, and so sailed into the larger. Disembarking her soldiers, she towed the empty fleet of the Rhodians out to sea. So the Rhodians were surrounded without means of retreat, and were slain in the very forum. [p. 56]

[15] So Artemisia embarked her own soldiers and oarsmen in the ships of the Rhodians and set forth for Rhodes. The Rhodians, beholding their own ships approaching wreathed with laurel, supposed that their fellow-citizens were returning victorious, and admitted the enemy. Then Artemisia, after taking Rhodes and killing its leading men, put up in the city of Rhodes a trophy of her victory, including two bronze statues, one representing the state of the Rhodians, the other herself. Herself she fashioned in the act of branding the state of the Rhodians. In later times the Rhodians, labouring under the religious scruple which makes it a sin to remove trophies once they are dedicated, constructed a building to surround the place, and thus by the erection of the "Grecian Station" covered it so that nobody could see it, and ordered that the building be called "abatou."



#### ANNEX 4. PLINY, NATURAL HISTORY, SELECTED PARTS

Bostock, John M.D., F.R.S. H.T. Riley, Esq., B.A. 1855. *The Natural History Pliny the Elder.*, London. Taylor and Francis, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street. pp. 6317-8.

**36. 4. The first artists who excelled in the sculpture of marble, and the various periods at which they flourished. The Mausoleum in Caria. The most celebrated sculptors and works in marble, two hundred and twenty-five in number.**

30. Scopas had for rivals and contemporaries, Bryaxis, Timotheus, and Leochares, artists whom we are bound to mention together, from the fact that they worked together at the Mausoleum; such being the name of the tomb that was erected by his wife Artemisia in honour of Mausolus, a petty king of Caria, who died in the second year of the hundred and seventh Olympiad. It was through the exertions of these artists more particularly, that this work came to be reckoned one of the Seven Wonders of the World. The circumference of this building is, in all, four hundred and forty feet, and the breadth from north to south sixty-three, the two fronts being not so wide in extent. It is twenty-five cubits in height, and is surrounded with six-and-thirty columns, the outer circumference being known as the "Pteron." The east side was sculptured by Scopas, the north by Bryaxis, the south by Timotheus, and the west by Leochares; but, before their task was completed, Queen Artemisia died. They did not leave their work, however, until it was finished, considering that it was at once a memorial of their own fame and of the sculptor's art: and, to this day even, it is undecided which of them has excelled. A fifth artist also took part in the work; for above the Pteron there is a pyramid erected, equal in height to the building below, and formed of four and twenty steps, which gradually taper upwards towards the summit; a platform, crowned with a representation of a four-horse chariot by Pythis. This addition makes the total height of the work one hundred and forty feet.

## **ANNEX 5. ISOCRATES, SPEECHES AND LETTERS, SELECTED PARTS**

Norlin, George, Ph.D., LL.D. 1980. *Isocrates. Isocrates with an English Translation in three volumes*, by Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press; London, William Heinemann Ltd.

### **Speech 4: Panegyricus [4.161; 4.162]**

[161] Are not Egypt and Cyprus in revolt against him? Have not Phoenicia and Syria been devastated because of the war? Has not Tyre, on which he set great store, been seized by his foes? Of the cities in Cilicia, the greater number are held by those who side with us and the rest are not difficult to acquire. Lycia no Persian has ever subdued.

[162] Hecatomnus, the viceroy of Caria, has in reality been disaffected for a long time now, and will openly declare himself whenever we wish. From Cnidus to Sinope the coast of Asia is settled by Hellenes, and these we need not to persuade to go to war--all we have to do is not to restrain them. With such bases at our command for the operation of our forces, and with so widespread a war threatening Asia on every side, why, then, need we examine too closely what the outcome will be? For since the barbarians are unequal to small divisions of the Hellenes, it is not hard to foresee what would be their plight if they should be forced into a war against our united forces.

### **Speech 5: To Philip [5.103]**

[103] And mark also that Idrieus, who is the most prosperous of the present rulers of the mainland, must in the nature of things be more hostile to the interests of the King than are those who are making open war against him; verily he would be of all men the most perverse if he did not desire the dissolution of that empire which outrages his brother, which made war upon himself, and which at all times has never ceased to plot against him in its desire to be master of his person and of all his wealth.

## ANNEX 6. LUCIAN, DIALOGUES OF THE DEAD, SELECTED PARTS

Fowler H. W. and F. G. Fowler. 1905. *The Works of Lucian of Samosata*, Oxford: The Clarendon Press. pp. 145-146

### XXIV. Diogenes. Mausolus

*Diog.* Why so proud, Carian? How are you better than the rest of us?

*Mau.* Sinopean, to begin with, I was a king; king of all Caria, ruler of many Lydians, subduer of islands, conqueror of well-nigh the whole of Ionia, even to the borders of Miletus. Further, I was comely, and of noble stature, and a mighty warrior. Finally, a vast tomb lies over me in Halicarnassus, of such dimensions, of such exquisite beauty as no other shade can boast. Thereon are the perfect semblances of man and horse, carved in the fairest marble; scarcely may a temple be found to match it. These are the grounds of my pride: are they inadequate?

*Diog.* Kingship--beauty--heavy tomb; is that it?

*Mau.* It is as you say.

*Diog.* But, my handsome Mausolus, the power and the beauty are no longer there. If we were to appoint an umpire now on the question of comeliness, I see no reason why he should prefer your skull to mine. Both are bald, and bare of flesh; our teeth are equally in evidence; each of us has lost his eyes, and each is snub-nosed. Then as to the tomb and the costly marbles, I dare say such a fine erection gives the Halicarnassians something to brag about and show off to strangers: but I don't see, friend, that you are the better for it, unless it is that you claim to carry more weight than the rest of us, with all that marble on the top of you.

*Mau.* Then all is to go for nothing? Mausolus and Diogenes are to rank as equals?

*Diog.* Equals! My dear sir, no; I don't say that. While Mausolus is groaning over the memories of earth, and the felicity which he supposed to be his, Diogenes will be chuckling. While Mausolus boasts of the tomb raised to him by Artemisia, his wife and sister, Diogenes knows not whether he has a tomb or no--the question never having occurred to him; he knows only that his name is on the tongues of the wise, as one who lived the life of a man; a higher monument than yours, vile Carian slave, and set on firmer foundations.