

The Nature of Maussollos's Monarchy

The Three Faces of a Dynastic Karian Satrap

by

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Abstract

This thesis analyses the nature of Maussollos's monarchy by looking at his (self-)representation in epigraphy, architecture, coinage, and use of titulature vis-a-vis the concept of Hellenistic kingship. It shall be argued that he represented himself and was represented in three different ways – giving him three different “faces”. He represented himself as an exalted ruler concerning his private dedications and architecture, ever inching closer to deification, but not taking that final step. His deification was to be *post mortem*. Concerning diplomacy between him and the *poleis*, he adopted a *realpolitik* approach, allowing for much self-governance in return for accepting his authority. Maussollos strongly continued the dynastic image set up by his father Hekatomnos concerning the importance of *Zeus Labraundos* and his Sanctuary at Labraunda, turning the Sanctuary into the major Karian sanctuary. This dynastic parallel can also be seen concerning Hekatomnos's and Maussollos's burials, with both being buried as *oikistes* in terraced tombs, both the inner sanctums depicting *Totenmahl*-motifs and both being deified after death. Hekatomnos introduced coinage featuring *Zeus Labraundos* wielding a spear, representing spear-won land. Maussollos adopted this imagery and added Halikarnassian Apollo on the obverse depicting the locations of his two *paradeisoi*. As for titulature, the Hekatomnids in general eschewed using any which has led to confusion in the ancient sources, but the Hekatomnids were the satraps of Karia, ruling their native land on behalf of the Persian King. All in all, Maussollos portrayed many characteristics of Hellenistic kingship, though the interpretation and context of these characteristics varied.

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List of Abbreviations

Sources

Ael. *NA.* = Aelian, *Perí zóon idiótitos/De Natura Animalum.*

Apollod. *Bibl.* = Apollodorus *Bibliotheka.*

Arr. *Anab.* = Arrian, *Anabasis.*

Aul. Gell. *NA.* = Aulus Gellius, *Noctae Atticae.*

Cic. *Tusc.* = Cicero, *Tusculanae Disputationes.*

Dem. = Demosthenes, *Uper tes Rodion Eleutherias* (=15) & *Kat' Aristokratous* (= 23).

Diod. Sic. = Diodoros Siculus, *Bibliotheke Historike.*

Hdt. = Herodotos, *Historiai.*

Hom. *Il.* = Homeros, *Iliad.*

Hyg. *Fab.* = Hyginus, *Fabulae.*

Isok. = Isokrates, *Panegyrikos* (= 4) & *Philip* (= 5) & *Peri Eirenes* (= 8).

Luc. *DD.* = Lucian, *Dialogues of the Dead.*

Paus. = Pausanias, *Hellados Periegesis.*

Plin. *NH.* = Plinius, *Naturalis Historia.*

Plut. *Mor. Quaest. Graec.* = Plutarch, *Moralia Quaestiones Graecae.*

Plut. *Vit. Alex.* = Plutarch, *Bioi Paralleloi, Alexander.*

Plut. *Vit. Alk.* = Plutarch, *Bioi Paralleloi, Alkibiades.*

Plut. *Vit. Demetr.* = Plutarch, *Bioi Paralleloi, Demetrios.*

Plut. *Vit. Per.* = Plutarch, *Bioi Paralleloi, Perikles.*

Plut. *Vit. Phok.* = Plutarch, *Bioi Paralleloi, Phokion.*

Polyain. = Polyainos, *Strategemata.*

Polyb. = Polybios, *Historiai.*

Ps. Arist. *Oik.* = Pseudo-Aristotle, *Oikonomika.*

Ps. Skyl. = Pseudo-Skylax, *Periplous.*

Quint. Smyrn. = Quintus Smyrnaeus, *Posthomerica.*

Step. Byz. *Eth.* = Stephanos of Byzantion, *Ethnika.*

Theopomp. = Theopompos.

Thuc. = Thucydides, *Historiai*.

Vitruv. *De Arch.* = Vitruvius, *De Architectura*.

Xen. *Ages.* = Xenophon, *Agesilaos*.

Xen. *Anab.* = Xenophon, *Anabasis*.

Xen. *Hell.* = Xenophon, *Hellenike*.

Secondary Literature & Numismatic Databases

CNG = Classical Numismatic Group, LLC. Lancaster and London. EA: Electronic Auction; Triton: printed auction.

FD III = Fouilles de Delphes, III. Épigraphie. Paris.

FGrHist = F. Jacoby (1923ff.), *Die Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker*. Berlin.

IG = Inscriptiones Graecae.

IK Erythrai und Klazomenai = H. Engelmann & R. Merkelbach (1972-3), *Die Inschriften von Erythrai und Klazomenai*, 2 volumes. Bonn.

IK Estremo Oriente = F. Canali de Rossi (2004), *Iscrizioni Dello Estremo Oriente Greco*. Bonn.

IK Stratonikeia = M. Sahin (1982), *Die Inschriften von Stratonikeia. Teil II, 1: Lagina, Stratonikeia und Umgebung*. Bonn.

I.Delos = F. Durrbach et. al (1926), *Inscriptions de Délos*. Paris.

I.Iasos = W. Blümel (1985), *Die Inschriften von Iasos*. Bonn.

I.Kaunos = C. Marek (2006), *Die Inschriften von Kaunos*. München.

I.Labraunda = J. Crampa (1969), *Labraunda. Swedish Excavations and Researches. Volume III. The Greek Inscriptions Part 1: 1-12 (Period of Olympichus)*. Lund. & J. Crampa (1972), op. cit. *Part II: 13-133*. Stockholm.

I.Mylasa = W. Blümel (1987), *Die Inschriften von Mylasa, I: Inschriften der Stadt*. Bonn.

Labraunda 1.1 = K. Jeppesen (1955), *Labraunda. Swedish Excavations and Researches. Volume I Part 1: The Propylaea*. Lund.

Labraunda 1.2 = A. Westholm (1963), *Labraunda. Swedish Excavations and Researches. Volume I Part 2: The Architecture of the Hieron*. Lund.

LSJ = H. Liddell, R. Scott, H. Jones, *A Greek-English Lexicon*. Online.

Mauss. 1 = K. Jeppesen, F. Hojlund & K. Aaris-Sorenson (1981), *The Maussolleion at Halikarnassos. Reports of the Danish Archaeological Expedition to Bodrum. Volume I: The Sacrificial Depot*. Copenhagen.

Mauss. 3:1 = P. Pedersen (1991), *The Maussolleion at Halikarnassos. Reports of the Danish Archaeological Expedition to Bodrum. Volume 3:1: The Maussolleion Terrace and Accessory Structures*. Aarhus.

ML = R. Meiggs & D. Lewis (1969), *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the end of the Fifth Century B.C.* Oxford.

NAC = Numismatica Ars Classica. London, Zurich and Milan.

OGIS = W. Dittenberger (1903), *Orientalis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*. Leipzig.

R&O = P. Rhodes & R. Osborne (2003), *Greek Historical Inscriptions, 404-323 BC*. Oxford.

SEG = *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*. Leiden.

Sinuri I = L. Robert (1945), *Le Sanctuaire de Sinuri pres de Mylasa I. Les Inscriptions Grecques*. Paris.

*Syll.*² = W. Dittenberger (1901), *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum. Second Edition*. Leipzig.

*Syll.*³ = W. Dittenberger (1915), *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum. Third Edition*. Leipzig.

TAM II = E. Kalinka (1920-1944), *Tituli Asiae Minoris, II. Tituli Lykiae linguis Graeca et Latina conscripti*. Vienna.

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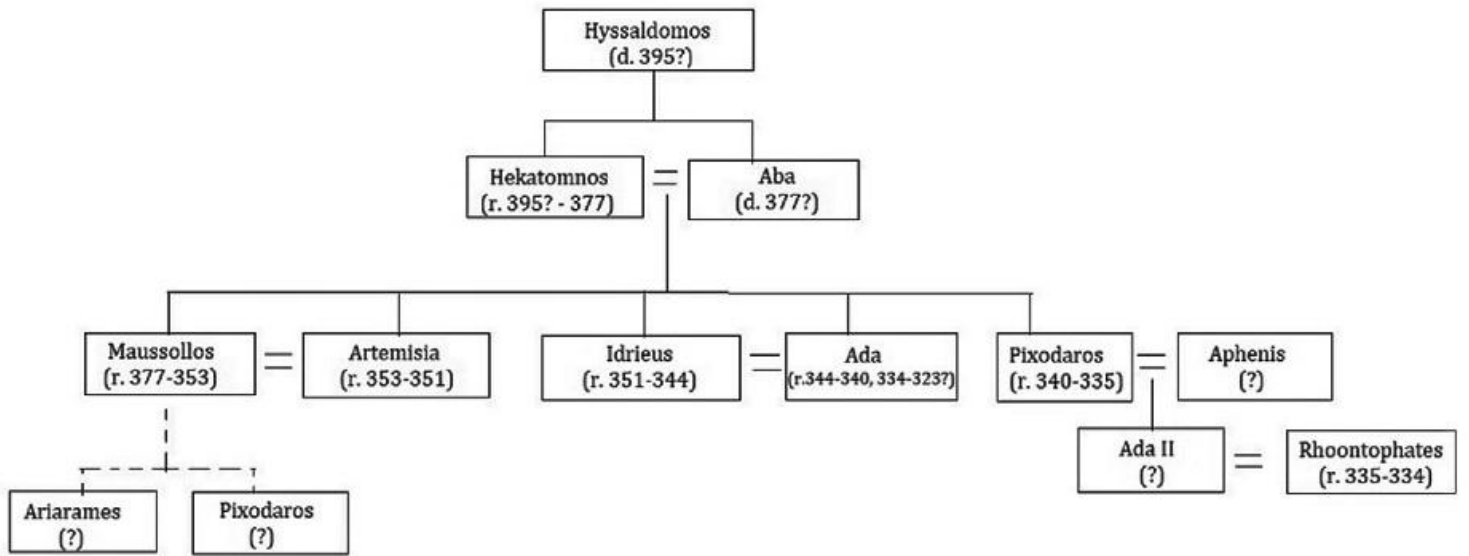
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Hekatomnid Family Tree



Introduction

ΔΙΟΓΕΝΗΣ

ὦ Κάρ, ἐπὶ τίνι μέγα φρονεῖς καὶ πάντων
ἡμῶν προτιμᾶσθαι ἀξιοῖς;

Diogenes

*‘Why, Carian, are you so proud, and expect to
be honoured above all of us?’*

ΜΑΥΣΩΛΟΣ

Καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ μὲν, ὧ Σινωπεῦ, ὃς
ἐβασίλευσα Καρίας μὲν ἀπάσης, ἤρξα δὲ καὶ
Λυδῶν ἐνίων καὶ νήσους δέ τινας
ὑπηγαγόμεν καὶ ἄχρι Μιλήτου ἐπέβην τὰ
πολλὰ τῆς Ἰωνίας καταστρεφόμενος· καὶ
καλὸς ἦν καὶ μέγας καὶ ἐν πολέμοις
καρτερός· τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, ὅτι ἐν
Ἀλικαρνασσῶ μνημα παμμέγεθες ἔχω
ἐπικείμενον, ἠλίκον οὐκ ἄλλος νεκρός, ἀλλ’
οὐδὲ οὕτως ἐς κάλλος ἐξησκημένον, ἵππων
καὶ ἀνδρῶν ἐς τὸ ἀκριβέστατον εἰκασμένων
λίθου τοῦ καλλίστου, οἷον οὐδὲ νεῶν εὖροι
τις ἂν ῥαδίως.

Maussollos

*‘Firstly, Sinopean, because of my royal
position. I was king of all Caria, ruler also of
part of Lydia, subdued some islands, too, and
advanced as far as Miletus, subjugating most
of Ionia. Moreover, I was handsome and tall
and mighty in war. But, most important of all,
I have lying over me in Halicarnassus a vast
memorial, outdoing that of any other of the
dead not only in size but also in its finished
beauty, with horses and men reproduced most
perfectly in the fairest marble, so that it would
be difficult to find even a temple like it.’¹*

This passage from Lucian’s *Dialogues of the Dead* depicts Maussollos of the Hekatomnid dynasty as one of the greatest rulers of his time.² Skilled and successful in warfare, handsome, and a great builder whose tomb was listed by many as one of Seven Wonders of the Ancient World.³ Maussollos became the lord of Karia upon the death of his father Hekatomnos around 377 BC and expanded his domain in every direction, creating a mini-empire within the Persian Empire.⁴ His reign witnessed major military conflicts such as the Great Satraps’ Revolt and the Athenian Social War, both in which he was victorious. Though his tomb is by far Maussollos’s best-known *mnema*, he also *synoikized* and redesigned Halikarnassos itself and turned the Sanctuary of Zeus

¹ Luc. *DD*. 29 (Diogenes and Maussollos).

² See Zgusta 1964 § 885 on the various spellings of Maussollos. This thesis shall use “Maussollos” as this is the most common way of spelling his name in epigraphy, and as Crampa notes ‘certainly the correct spelling of the time’: *I.Labraunda* p.9. All citations will however remain unedited and thus use their own respective spelling.

³ There are eight different lists of the Seven Ancient Wonders of the World. The Maussolleion is present on six of these; Hornblower 1982, 232-234.

⁴ All dates BC unless stated otherwise.

Labraundos from a tree grove with an archaic temple into the major Karian sanctuary and one of the major sanctuaries in Asia Minor.

Lucian, who lived in the second century AD, described Maussollos akin to how one would describe Alexander the Great or any of his Hellenistic successors. Primarily as a military leader who also sponsored large *euergetic* projects to be remembered throughout the ages. Whether Maussollos's reign foreshadowed the Hellenistic World that succeeded him has been a contentious debate. In her 1969 article, Bockisch was the first to note that Maussollos's, and in general the Hekatomnids', reigns foreshadowed Hellenistic kingship. She argued that especially the *synoikism* of Halikarnassos must be considered: '*einen Vorläufer der Alexanderzeit und der Diadochen*'.⁵ Bockisch however did not expand further on the topic. It was not until 1982 when Hornblower continued this line of thought in his monograph *Mausolus*, which remains up to today the most comprehensive study on Hekatomnid rulership. In it he argues that the Hekatomnid approach concerning their subject *poleis* and *koine* was very similar to the later Hellenistic and Roman approaches of governance: the Hekatomnids allowed the local communities to maintain their own local governance, whether democratic or oligarchic, though preferring the latter and championing policies favouring the landed few. These subject communities could freely decide on issues concerning citizenship, taxation and other local matters, but were denied an independent foreign policy.⁶ To maintain friendly relations, the Hekatomnids engaged in polite diplomatic relations with the various *poleis* and *koine* centred around various practices of bestowal dedications and titles.⁷ Hornblower further asserted that the Maussoleion was a centre for dynastic ancestor worship.⁸ This, combined with the *synoikism* of Halikarnassos and the extensive Hekatomnid building programmes at Labraunda, in which they assertively placed their names prominently on the architraves led Hornblower to conclude: 'Last of the satraps and the first of the Diadochi, the Hekatomnids bridge the classical and Hellenistic worlds'.⁹

In 1992 Ruzicka commented and expanded on the nature of Hekatomnid rulership in a short chapter. He argued that Maussollos expanded his father's local, Mylasan centred, domain to over all of Karia, defeating the many petty Karian *dynasts* – warlords. This expansion destroyed the old social structure which was replaced with a blend of monarchy and *polis*. Maussollos furthermore turned *Zeus Labraundos*, a local deity closely connected to the Hekatomnid dynasty, into a pan-Karian deity supplanting the traditional pan-Karian deity *Karian Zeus*. Maussollos had

⁵ Bockisch 1969, 117, 146.

⁶ Hornblower 1982, 52-53, cf. 77, 107.

⁷ Hornblower 1982, 136-137 provides a clear summary on Hekatomnid policy towards *poleis*.

⁸ Hornblower 1982, 252, 353.

⁹ Hornblower 1982, 353.

turned the dynastic image of his father from a local and Mylasan into a pan-Karian one. As Ruzicka stated, Maussollos Hekatomnized Karia.¹⁰

In 1994 Jeppesen argued that the Maussolleion and the terraces on which it stood were not just a site of ancestor worship, but the very location of an active cult to Maussollos who had been deified after death. The Maussolleion had become a sanctuary to the Hekatomnids themselves.¹¹ In a 2013 article Carstens expanded on this notion by arguing that the Maussolleion was not the burial site of a mortal ruler or a “mere” *oikistes* – founder – but that of a divine king known from the Near Eastern traditions. Whether Maussollos became divine upon death or earlier in life remains unknown according to Carstens.¹²

Carney’s 2005 article shifted the emphasis from the men to the women of the dynasty. The Hekatomnids had intermarried with Maussollos marrying his sister Artemisia, and his younger brother Idrieus marrying the other sister Ada (see family tree above). Carney argued that these sibling-marriages were conducted to create a dynastic identity which, in turn, emphatically separated the dynasty from the populace. In doing so, Carney argued, the Hekatomnids foreshadowed the dynastic identities created by the Hellenistic monarchs wherein women had the important role of providing dynastic legitimacy, despite sibling-marriages themselves being rare among said early monarchs.¹³ Furthermore, both Artemisia and Ada succeeded their brother-husbands upon death becoming independent rulers. Carney asserted that this was possible because they had co-ruled, in a subordinate position, with their brother-husbands.¹⁴ A last major point of contention with the Hekatomnid sibling-marriages is that the intermarried Hekatomnids remained childless. Carney asserted that this was deliberate. The Hekatomnids remained childless because they were satraps whose position could be revoked at any time. As such, the Hekatomnids did not emphasize dynastic succession. Rather they created a lasting memory of their short-lived dynasty.¹⁵

Recently,¹⁶ Strootman & Williamson have researched the Hekatomnid use of landscape within their architectural programmes. They argued that the Hekatomnids combined religious architecture with royal power as Hellenistic kings later would. At Labraunda this was achieved by constructing many *Andrones* – banqueting halls – in the sanctuary and possibly constructing

¹⁰ Ruzicka 1992, 46-54, 156-157.

¹¹ Jeppesen 1994 *non vidj*; Carstens 2013a, 180.

¹² Carstens 2013a.

¹³ Carney 2005, 79-87. It were especially the Ptolemies who intermarried, starting in the second generation with Ptolemy II *Philadelphos* (r. 284-246) and Arsinoë II (317-270/260?).

¹⁴ Carney 2005, 71-73.

¹⁵ Carney 2005, 83-85.

¹⁶ Carstens’ 2009 monograph *Karia and the Hekatomnids: the Creation of a Dynasty* and Marek’s 2015 article ‘Zum Charakter der Hekatomnidenherrschaft im Kleinasien des 4. Jh. v. Chr.’, in: E. Winter and K. Zimmermann eds., *Zwischen Satrapen und Dynasten. Kleinasien im 4. Jahrhundert*, 1–20, were both unavailable to me.

one of their palaces right beside it.¹⁷ Similarly, Maussollos's *synoikism* of Halikarnassos and subsequent relocation of the satrapal seat there, indicated a shift of Hekatomnid ambition from local and inland to imperial and Aegean, akin to Ptolemy I's court relocation from Memphis to Alexandria.¹⁸ At Halikarnassos, Maussollos again had his palace built right next to the principal sanctuary of the city: the Zephyrion, dedicated to Apollo.¹⁹ As for the Maussolleion, which was visible from afar, it strongly resembled the Hellenistic practice of burying kings as *oikistes*.²⁰

This thesis seeks to re-examine the nature of Hekatomnid kingship in light of its similarities to Hellenistic kingship and contribute to the historical debate by researching: What was the nature of Maussollos's monarchy? To do this, I shall examine Maussollos's image, both the image he created himself and the image that was bestowed upon him by his subjects. In particular, I shall look at Maussollos's image and portrayal in epigraphy, architecture and coinage. Importantly, I shall also examine Maussollos's official position in Karia and the Persian Empire, which is of paramount importance to his image. Though each of these sections has been subject to studies of varying degrees, in some cases unsatisfactory, the unique approach of this thesis is to study these different sources separately and examine whether Maussollos produced a consistent image of himself or whether the message varied per medium and possibly per audience. While researching this thesis, it became increasingly clear that Hekatomnos, Maussollos's father, played a pivotal role in shaping Maussollos's rulership as he unchangingly continued many of Hekatomnos's practices. As I shall argue throughout this thesis, Hekatomnos was a role model for much of Maussollos's imagery, especially in funerary architecture and coinage. This influence is paramount to understanding Maussollos himself.

Concerning Hellenistic kingship, it shall emphatically not be argued that a direct link exists between Hekatomnid rulership and Hellenistic kingship or any other direct connection between Hekatomnid Karia, Alexander or the *diadochoi*, or the functioning of the Hellenistic *poleis*.²¹ Rather, the examination of Maussollos's monarchy against the backdrop of Hellenistic kingship shall emphasize the regional origins of such modes of rulership. Debate surrounding the origin of Hellenistic kingship is split between the view that it primarily originated in the Near East,²² or that it first appeared around the Aegean.²³

Returning to the sources, epigraphy plays a central role in understanding Maussollos's rulership. His epigraphical record can roughly be split into two groups: personal dedications and agreements between *poleis*. Personal dedications reveal primarily how Maussollos wanted to

¹⁷ Strootman & Williamson 2020, 107-114.

¹⁸ Strootman & Williamson 2020, 114.

¹⁹ Strootman & Williamson 2020, 116-117.

²⁰ Strootman & Williamson 2020, 121.

²¹ Some historians do argue for such a direct link. E.g. Hintzen-Bohlen 1990; Carney 2005.

²² E.g. Adams 2007.

²³ E.g. Ogden 2013; Strootman 2014; van der Spek 2018.

portray himself, whilst Maussollos's influence on his image in agreements was contingent on the other; *poleis* had significant influence on these agreements, Maussollos could not simply dictate his will in these matters.²⁴ The epigraphical corpus consists of altar dedications by Maussollos, statues set up by *poleis* often as part of an agreement, statues set up by the Hekatomnids themselves, the Knossian *proxeny* decree bestowed by Maussollos and Artemisia, Maussollos's military pact with Phaselis, inscriptions recording criminal acts against Maussollos, Maussollos's extension of the Festival at the Sanctuary of Labraunda, and lastly the so-called Maussolleion in Iasos, which must not be confused with its wondrous counterpart. The architrave inscriptions on the dedicatory buildings in the Sanctuary of Labraunda are an integral part of architecture and shall therefore be discussed in the on Maussollos's architecture. I shall argue that Maussollos represented himself in his personal dedications in an exalted position, performing acts that were in his own days unheard of and in some instances for more than a century to come. He did so because he emulated a very close relationship to the divine. However, when communicating with *poleis* Maussollos represented himself above as a *primi inter pares* and an approachable reasonable ruler.

As for Maussollan architecture, I shall investigate the Sanctuary of Labraunda and the Maussolleion of Halikarnassos. These sites are the pivotal areas for understanding Maussollos's image in architecture as he had considerable freedom in either case to shape it in his own preferred way: the Sanctuary of Labraunda was no more than a tree grove with an archaic temple and his *synoikism* of Halikarnassos allowed him to redesign the city top to bottom. I shall focus on the employed architectural styles, location of the structure and its position in the landscape, and, where possible, iconography. *Zeus Labraundos* of course plays a major role in understanding Maussollan architecture at the Sanctuary and sheds light on the dynastic function of the deity. I shall therefore first discuss the connection between *Zeus Labraundos* and the Hekatomnid dynasty, primarily when and why he became the principal deity of the Hekatomnids. Next, I shall discuss Maussollos's extensive building programme at the Sanctuary itself by reconstructing the visual experience the partakers of the procession witnessed when they travelled from Mylasa to the Sanctuary of Labraunda. This will include the Sacred Way and its fortifications, the *stadion*, Maussollos's *Andron*, his purported palace and lastly, his stoa.

The second part of Maussollan architecture shall investigate the Maussolleion of Halikarnassos. However, the Maussolleion cannot be studied in isolation any longer. In 2010 in Milas – modern day Mylasa – a large sarcophagus was found under the terrace called *Uzun Yuva*. Though, the sarcophagus itself has not been published yet, it is very likely the final resting place of Hekatomnos.²⁵ As stated above, Hekatomnos had a profound impact on Maussollos's rulership.

²⁴ Ma 2005; See 2 for more extensive treatment.

²⁵ See 3.3.1 below for extensive treatment.

I shall therefore first analyse the *Uzun Yuva* followed by the Maussoleion and investigate the iconographical and situational similarities. I shall argue, as with Maussollos's private dedications, that he aimed for exaltation: he accorded himself such honours and privileges no contemporary could with the purpose of forging a very close personal connection to the divine. As we now know that Hekatomnos was deified after death, I shall argue that Maussollos had a similar goal, but was never deified in life.²⁶

The third section shall focus on Maussollos's coinage, which was also strongly influenced by that of Hekatomnos. Konuk, the principal researcher on Hekatomnid coinage, as extensively argued that Hekatomnid coinage therefore was primarily dynastic coinage.²⁷ I wholly support this interpretation, but I disagree with some of his iconographical interpretations which I shall re-evaluate. Furthermore, I shall focus on the intended audience of the iconography based on the weight of said coinage.²⁸ I shall argue that Hekatomnos represented a dynastic message of military hegemony via his issues of coinage featuring *Zeus Labraundos* wielding both an axe and a spear, which Maussollos continued. As Hekatomnos only struck this image on high denomination coinage, I argue that this message was primarily intended for the rival elite who opposed him early in his reign.²⁹ Conversely, Maussollos spread this message throughout Karian society by striking it on many lower denominations.

The last section shall focus on the official position of the Hekatomnids. In a 1988 article Petit argued extensively that the Hekatomnids were not satraps, but just local rulers who sometimes misrepresented themselves as satraps.³⁰ Though his proposal has received lukewarm reviews, it remains paramount to understanding why Maussollos represented himself as he did.³¹ I shall argue that the Hekatomnids were satraps but eschewed the title themselves.

This thesis shall be structured as followed. I shall first give a brief definition and overview of the concept of Hellenistic kingship which has so far remained undisclosed. Next, the cultural debate surrounding the Hekatomnids shall be discussed briefly. Much literature concerning the Hekatomnids is focused on the cultural aspects of their rulership, whether they Hellenized, Karianized, Persianized, or underwent a form of Creolization. Though this is not the focus of this thesis, it is important to consider whether the Hekatomnids used a cultural approach or multiple approaches to understand their dynastic identity. As such, I shall provide a brief overview of this debate and refer to it sparingly throughout this thesis.

²⁶ Descat 2011; see 3.3.1.

²⁷ Konuk 2013.

²⁸ See 4.

²⁹ See 1.4.

³⁰ Petit 1988.

³¹ Hornblower 1994, 215 is sceptical; Debord 1999, 138 rejects the notion; Henry 2010 accepts Debord 1999.

Next, I shall set the stage for the main part of the research. In an introductory chapter, I shall briefly discuss pre-Hekatomnid Karia, the Hekatomnid dynasty with a focus on their onomastic traditions, the role and influence of Hekatomnid sibling-marriage, and two biographies, one of Hekatomnos and one of Maussollos, to understand what Maussollos inherited from his father and what he contributed himself to the Hekatomnid legacy.³² Thereafter, I shall discuss the four main sections outlined above in the given order: epigraphy, architecture, coinage, and titulature. Throughout this thesis it shall become clear that Maussollos had three faces: the exalted one, visible in his private dedications and architecture. The egalitarian negotiator seen in the epigraphical record concerning the *poleis*. And, lastly, the might-makes-right monarch on his coinage.

Hellenistic Kingship

To be sure, this thesis does not seek to discuss the notion of Hellenistic kingship itself or expand on it in any meaningful theoretical way. Though entire tomes can, and have been written, on Hellenistic kingship I shall only provide a brief overview of generally accepted characteristics of this style of rulership which is relevant for the debate concerning the nature of Hekatomnid rulership.

The first Hellenistic kings were foremostly rulers lacking legitimacy. They were neither the hereditary successors to their positions of power or native to the people they ruled. Instead, these Hellenistic kings justified their rule based on their martial prowess and conquests, which they styled *γη δορικτητος* – spear-won land.³³ As they often ruled multiple peoples, these kings did not style themselves king of such-and-so land or people, but simply as king in a general sense.³⁴ Being victorious also legitimized their kingship in a practical matter. They could claim to be *soteres* and *euergetes* – saviours and benefactors – of their subjects.³⁵

Yet, Hellenistic kings also had to be wise rulers once war had been concluded. They were expected to be virtuous rulers centred around the ideals of *andreia* (manliness and courage), *philantropia* (love for their subjects), *epieikes* (generosity), *pronoia* (foresight), *dikaia* (justice), *sophia* (wisdom) and *sophrosyne* (self-restraint).³⁶ Especially when dealing with subject *poleis*, which were often democracies, Hellenistic kings would emphasize their virtues by allowing local self-governance and investing in public building projects whilst maintaining polite diplomatic ties with its institutions.³⁷ Kings would bolster said ties in a symbolical representation of reciprocity

³² Short bibliographies of the rest of the dynasty have been added in Appendix II.

³³ Walbank 1984, 63-66.

³⁴ Walbank 1984, 65-66.

³⁵ Walbank 1984, 81-82.

³⁶ Murray 2007, 23-25.

³⁷ Eckstein 2009, 248-255.

in which the king would grant additional privileges to a *polis* in exchange for acceptance of his authority and a local dedication, for instance a statue. This ritual was often influenced by the concept of speech-act: the king was forced to act generous and just or risk losing face in such a way that would damage his authority.³⁸

Hellenistic kings also played an important role in religion, claiming special protection from certain deities linked to their respective dynasties. Moreover, *poleis* started to introduce cults to these kings, praying for royal protection, which was quickly followed by the deification of previously deceased kings and their spouses. Eventually, such religious interactions with the royal families lead to veneration of the living king and thus the creation of a ruler cult.³⁹ The reason *poleis* introduced these cults was to improve the previously mentioned relations with their kings, who, in turn, received divine legitimization.⁴⁰

To summarize, Hellenistic kings were under perpetual pressure to prove their legitimacy which they did via military conquest, good governance, respectful conduct with their *poleis*, and veneration, or at least tried to do so.

The Cultural Debate: Hellenization, Persianization, Karianization or Creolization?

Most debate surrounding the Hekatomnids has not as much been concerned with their mode of rulership, but rather with the cultural approach of their rulership. Various historians have come to multiple conclusions on the purported cultural approach and significance of the Hekatomnids. Though this thesis is not concerned with analysing Hekatomnid cultural approaches, the current theories should be discussed as they form an important backdrop to the notion of rulership and will feature spread throughout multiple chapters.

The main part of the debate is centred around the four terms Hellenization, Karianization, Persianization and creolization, the latter only being used in a short article by Carstens.⁴¹ Most literature avoids defining these terms as they are very loaded and ambiguous. Each term individually can and has been subject to multiple tomes of research. Take for instance Hellenization. What is it? The spread of Greek culture? So, what can be defined as Greek culture and must this expression of culture be physical, or can it be intangible? When is an area Hellenizing? When it adopts only a few Greek elements? Must Greeks themselves be involved in this process? And so on.⁴² Yet, we must need an agreeable definition to work with. To avoid opening a new can of worms, Hellenization shall be defined here as the presence of Greek culture in the broadest sense. That is the presence of any element physical or otherwise which was

³⁸ Ma 2005, 181-183; See below 2.

³⁹ Chaniotis 2003, 432-437.

⁴⁰ Chaniotis 2003, 439-440.

⁴¹ Carstens 2013b.

⁴² Hornblower 1982, 332-333 is one of the few to comment (shortly) on this issue.

predominantly present in ancient Greece. As such, for the Hekatomnids to be considered Hellenizers, they must have actively increased the presence of Greek culture, not merely sustain it. This definition of Hellenization thus does not require the active presence and participation of Greeks.⁴³ As such, Kaptan importantly stresses that Hellenization is not a homogenic process and that it could and did take various shapes and forms in Asia Minor. The concept of Hellenization thus needs to be scrutinized per region.⁴⁴ The same conceptual reach and use applies to Karianization and Persianization respectively concerning Karian and Persian culture. As for creolization, Carstens describes it as a 'composite culture' in which none of the blended cultures are dominant but rather as a whole form something which is spread relatively evenly throughout the subject region.⁴⁵

Returning to the debate, historians are in agreement that what took place in Karia was inextricably a mix of cultures and they thus primarily discuss to what extent which culture was present and whether one of these cultures can be considered dominant. The sources for this debate have primarily been the architectural styles used at Labraunda, Halikarnassos and other smaller Hekatomnid projects. To a lesser extent, sculptures, epigraphical, numismatic and historical sources have been used. An important branch of the debate, which will be discussed separately below, were the Hekatomnid sibling-marriages.

Bockisch, as stated above, was the first to comment on Hekatomnid Hellenization, but only focused on the *synoikism* of Halikarnassos by Maussollos.⁴⁶ It was Hornblower who first greatly expanded this topic by arguing that elements of Hellenization were strongly present in the extensive building projects of the Hekatomnids, both at Labraunda and the Maussoleion of Halikarnassos with the latter being built by Greek architects, as well as building many Greek-style fortifications in Karia. Furthermore, he notes, that under the Hekatomnids Greek was the predominant language in Karia as can be seen in epigraphy. In short, the Hekatomnids both employed Greeks and imitated them.⁴⁷ The lingual switch however most likely predates the Hekatomnids' rise to power (see below). Hornblower, however, also noticed clear signs of what he supposed was Karianization, or at any rate instances of not-Hellenization, such as the blending of Doric and Ionic architectural styles used at the *Andrones* – banqueting halls – in Labraunda and the addition of a personal dedicatory inscription on the architraves of said buildings. Hornblower furthermore argues that the Maussoleion in Halikarnassos contains local, Greek, Persian and

⁴³ Chrubasik 2017, 93-97, who argues that Hellenization can best be seen as local non-Greeks adopting Greek culture.

⁴⁴ Kaptan 2013, 27.

⁴⁵ Carstens 2013b, 212.

⁴⁶ Bockisch 1969, 117.

⁴⁷ Hornblower 1982, 274-353.

Egyptian elements.⁴⁸ In a later article, Hornblower also argues that, unlike other Hellenizing monarchs, the Hekatomnids did not attempt to compete in Panhellenic sport festivals or openly proclaimed any Greek descent.⁴⁹ Simply calling the Hekatomnids Hellenizers is thus not correct. Cook agreed with Hornblower's analysis, whilst Waywell argued that the sculptures of the Maussoleion were Greek in style, but the chariot atop the Maussoleion was of satrapal, and therefore Persian, design.⁵⁰ Pedersen has argued extensively that Halikarnassos itself, after its *synoikism*, was rebuilt as a Greek city, had Greek fortifications and was also known as a Greek city in the Greek world.⁵¹ Both Gunter and Carstens acknowledge the strong presence of Greek elements in Hekatomnid architecture, but point out that Persian sphinxes were part of the said architecture, especially in Labraunda, indicating Persian cultural influence and, more importantly, signifying Persian political domination.⁵²

Ruzicka stresses that though Hekatomnos ruled as a Mylasan with satrapal powers over all of Karia, it was Maussollos who created a pan-Karian identity during his reign by inextricably linking *Zeus Labraundos* to the dynasty. In architecture, Maussollos used elements from multiple different subjects to emphasize his power over all his inhabitants, not just limited to one or a few groups. As such, Ruzicka argues that the identity created by Maussollos is above all a dynastic Karian identity sprinkled with other cultural elements, mostly Greek, to bind said peoples.⁵³ Henry rather argues that Karia itself was a heterogenic cultural region with strong Karian, Lykian, Ionian, and Greek elements. As such, it is not surprising to see these different cultures present, in varying quantities, throughout Hekatomnid architecture, emphasizing especially the local cultures.⁵⁴ Henry further stresses that the Hekatomnid image, though born from a mixture of cultures, was very consistent throughout the dynasty.⁵⁵ Carstens, in a brief article, argued that the Hekatomnids deliberately employed a cultural programme of creolization between Karian, Persian and Greek cultures as a political strategy based on a pragmatic approach between the waxing and waning of either the Greeks or Persians, whilst also reinforcing their local influence.⁵⁶ In a recent article Blid, examining the Maussollos's *Andron*, argued that the combination of cultural influences had a simpler explanation: it was aesthetically pleasing and innovative.⁵⁷

⁴⁸ Hornblower 1982, 246-251, 276, 293, 333-353. Cf. also Gunter 1985 and Hornblower's response: Hornblower 1990.

⁴⁹ Hornblower 2011, 358.

⁵⁰ Cook 1989; Waywell 1978; Waywell 1989.

⁵¹ Pedersen 1994; Pedersen 2010; Pedersen 2013.

⁵² Gunter 1989; Carstens 2011.

⁵³ Ruzicka 1992, 46-545.

⁵⁴ Henry 2010; Henry 2013.

⁵⁵ Henry 2017b.

⁵⁶ Carstens 2013b.

⁵⁷ Blid 2020, 84.

Thus, to briefly recap, a plethora of authors have researched Hekatomnid culture with all accepting that it is a mix, though with varying disagreements on whether it was predominantly Hellenistic, Persian, Karian or a Creolization. This thesis will approach the cultural debate from a limited angle. Based on the previously discussed works of Ruzicka, Henry and Blid, it will be argued that the Hekatomnids created a dynastic and consistent image, in which they employed aspects of many cultures, but not to enforce any of these said cultures. Instead, the Hekatomnids used these different cultural aspects to primarily reinforce their dynastic image. In short, this thesis suggests that the cultural approach was subservient to the dynastic image and not vice versa. Culture was a flexible tool.

1. Karia and the Hekatomnid Dynasty: An Overview

This chapter provides short overviews on pre-Hekatomnid Karia, the Hekatomnid Dynasty and their use of onomastics in forging a dynastic identity, the practice of sibling-marriage which dominated the two last generations and was unique both to Karia and the wider cultural worlds which Karia bordered, and, lastly, two biographies: one of Hekatomnos and the other of Maussollos. The purpose of this chapter is to set the stage in which Maussollos came to power and therefore profusely influenced him. Maussollos's ruler image is after all strongly influenced by the surroundings he lived in.

1.1 Pre-Hekatomnid Karia

The region of Karia had been a melting pot centuries before the ascendancy of the Hekatomnids. According to Greek myths, the Karian people in mythical times inhabited the Aegean Islands, living under the rule of the Kretan king Minos. With the Ionian and Dorian migrations, the Karians were driven into Anatolia, to the region named after them (see figure 1). At the time, it was inhabited by the Lelegians, whom they subdued. Kretan influences remained present among the Karians as they still worshipped the Kretan-born Zeus.⁵⁸ Many Karian cities also maintained mythical connections with Kreta, such as Erythrai and Kaunos.⁵⁹ Due to their island origins, the Karians were known as capable sailors and shipwrights at the time, which has been corroborated with archaeological evidence, such as the archaic settlement Hydas which featured a fortified hilltop with an adjacent harbour.⁶⁰ The Greeks, however, continued their migration eastwards and settled along the coastline of Anatolia, where they founded quite a number of *poleis*.⁶¹ Pseudo-Skylax, who wrote around the mid-fourth century, at the zenith of Hekatomnid power, briefly writes about Karia and its coastal settlements in his *Periplus*. He specifically mentions that Herakleia, Miletos, Myndos, Knidos and Halikarnassos were in his day, from an Athenian viewpoint, Hellenic *poleis*. The only coastal Karian *polis* according to him was Kaunos.⁶²

The Karians were initially perceived as barbarians by the Greeks, who are our only historical sources. They fought with the Trojans in the *Iliad* and are characterized as the opposite of their Achaean counterparts as their leader Nastes went to war covered in gold, like a *koure* – a girl, only to be cut down by Achilles. Homeros not just ridiculed their dress, but, more importantly, the Karian speech, calling them *barbarophonoi* – those who speak a barbarian language.⁶³

⁵⁸ Carless Unwin 2017, 2-5, 17-18, 32.

⁵⁹ Carless Unwin 2017, 69-74.

⁶⁰ Diod Sic. 5.53, 5.84; Herda 2013, 447. For Hydas: Benter 2009; Herda 2013, 447.

⁶¹ Hornblower 1994, 211-214.

⁶² Ps.Skyl. 99.

⁶³ Hom. *Il.* 2.867-875; Herda 2013, 429.

Similarly, Strabo, who commented on Homeros's passage above, used the verb *karizein* – speaking like a Karian – synonymously with speaking Greek poorly.⁶⁴

Karian society was at first based around village communities with substantial *poleis* not emerging until the fifth century. This does not mean that Karia was barren of *poleis*, take for instance Mylasa, but rather that the Karian *poleis* were relatively small and more regionally centred than their Greek counterparts along the coast. Karia would be subjugated by Kroisos, king of Lydia, in the sixth century and after Kroisos's demise at Cyrus the Great's hands Karia became part of the Achaemenid Empire in 546.⁶⁵ The Karians were, however, not too fond of their new overlords. The Karian *poleis* had been loosely united in their native *koinou ton Karon* – The Karian League – which was headed by a *basileus* – a king. The League assembled at the White Pillars of Marsyas near Labraunda where they decided to join the Ionian Revolt. The Karians suffered two initial defeats against the Persians in pitched battles, but reversed these defeats by ambushing the Persian army at night.⁶⁶ Karian independence was not to last however, after the fall of Miletos, the centre of the Ionian Revolt, Karia was nonetheless forced to resubmit. The institution of the Karian League however survived well into the Hellenistic Period.⁶⁷

There is some debate about the influence and purpose of the League. Hornblower argues that as the League met at least once in Labraunda, a sanctuary near the Hekatomnids' hometown of Mylasa, and that the White Pillars of Marsyas were also close by, it is very likely that the Hekatomnid predecessors were the *basileis* of the League. Furthermore, he asserts, it is likely that because of this dynastic title that they were appointed satraps.⁶⁸ Ruzicka agrees with Hornblower's assertion but argues that the clout of the League was very limited. Instead, the Hekatomnids were simply the most powerful warlords among many petty warlords in Karia.⁶⁹

Herodotos writes that after their victory, the Persians settled in around the plains of Miletos and its coast with the Karians being consigned to the more rugged interior.⁷⁰ An onomastic study by Sekunda confirms that there indeed was a cluster of Persians around the Maeandros Valley, in which Miletos lay, but that Persian settlement remained very scarce in the rest of Karia.⁷¹

The next mention of the Karians is during Xerxes' assemblage of his invasion fleet in 480, wherein the Karians contributed seventy ships and were equipped similarly to Greeks, clearly

⁶⁴ Strabo, 14.2.28; Herda 2013, 429.

⁶⁵ Hornblower 1982, 10-11, 16-20.

⁶⁶ Hdt. 5.118-5.121: at that time the Karians worshipped *Zeus Stratios* – Zeus of the Army – at Labraunda. See 3.1 below.

⁶⁷ Hornblower 1982, 55-61.

⁶⁸ Hornblower 1982, 55-61; Cf. Strabo, 14.2.23.

⁶⁹ Ruzicka 1992, 6.

⁷⁰ Hdt. 6.20.

⁷¹ Sekunda 1991, 97, 140.

indicating that they had maintained their naval tradition and that there had been cultural assimilation between the two main groups inhabiting Karia.⁷² After Xerxes' failure, Herodotos notes an instance in which Themistokles tried to dissuade the Ionians and Karians from continuing their commitment to the Achaemenid Empire, indicating that the Greeks apparently had softened their view on the Karians.⁷³ After further Persian setbacks, Halikarnassos and many nearby islands joined the Delian League, though Halikarnassos, and large parts of Karia, would shift back to the Persian sphere of influence in the latter half of the fifth century.⁷⁴ When Artaxerxes II (r. 404-358) ascended to the throne he made his younger brother Cyrus the Younger overlord of all the satrapies on the Aegean Sea, which would logically include Karia.⁷⁵ Cyrus, however, was not to remain loyal to his brother, assembled an army, and marched into the heart of the Achaemenid Empire.⁷⁶ Before his departure Cyrus appointed new governors to Lydia, Phrygia and Ionia, either implying that Karia was part of either Lydia or Ionia or that Karia was not under his governance.⁷⁷ The former option is preferred by Ruzicka, but our sources are noticeably silent about Karia.⁷⁸ After Cyrus's death in 401 at the Battle of Kunaxa,⁷⁹ Tissaphernes became satrap of Lydia of which Karia once again may have been part.⁸⁰ Tissaphernes would however fall out Artaxerxes II due to his poor performance in the war against Sparta, and was executed in 395.⁸¹ So far, the political history of Karia up until the ascension of the Hekatomnids.

Some final remarks have to be made concerning the Karian language and its usage. The language had its own alphabet which developed independently from the Greek alphabet: the lettering was Greek, but these were not phonetically connected to the Greek language.⁸² Furthermore, each Karian *polis* had its own version of the Karian alphabet, denoting a common origin, but no standardization.⁸³ Karian was also a difficult language to learn and only spoken by few outside of Karia itself, which meant that most Karians were bilingual.⁸⁴ Adiego notes that because of this many Karians had dual names: one Karian and one Greek.⁸⁵ The oldest reference of a Karian speaking Greek is an inscription from Egypt dating to 591 who wrote the dedication

⁷² Hdt. 7.93.

⁷³ Hdt. 8.22. Cf. Herda 2013, 421-422, who notes that this instance is an indication a continuous process Hellenization of the Karians.

⁷⁴ Hornblower 1982, 25-30.

⁷⁵ Diod. Sic. 14.12.8-9.

⁷⁶ Xen. *Anab.* 1.1.6-1.2.24.

⁷⁷ Diod. Sic. 14.19.5.

⁷⁸ Ruzicka 1992, 13.

⁷⁹ Xen. *Anab.* 1.8.27.

⁸⁰ Ruzicka 1992, 13.

⁸¹ Xen. *Hell.* 3.4.25. Cf. Westlake 1981 for detailed reconstruction of Tissaphernes's downfall.

⁸² Adiego 2013, 18.

⁸³ Adiego 2013, 19.

⁸⁴ Herda 2013, 465-467.

⁸⁵ Adiego 2013, 16-17.

in Greek.⁸⁶ Starting in the fifth century, Karian, both language and script, started slowly to make way for Greek. In the fourth century Karian was primarily used in graffiti and a few local official inscriptions, though it was most likely still widely spoken among the peoples themselves.⁸⁷ As Unwin notes, the dominance of Greek need not signify a loss of identity.⁸⁸

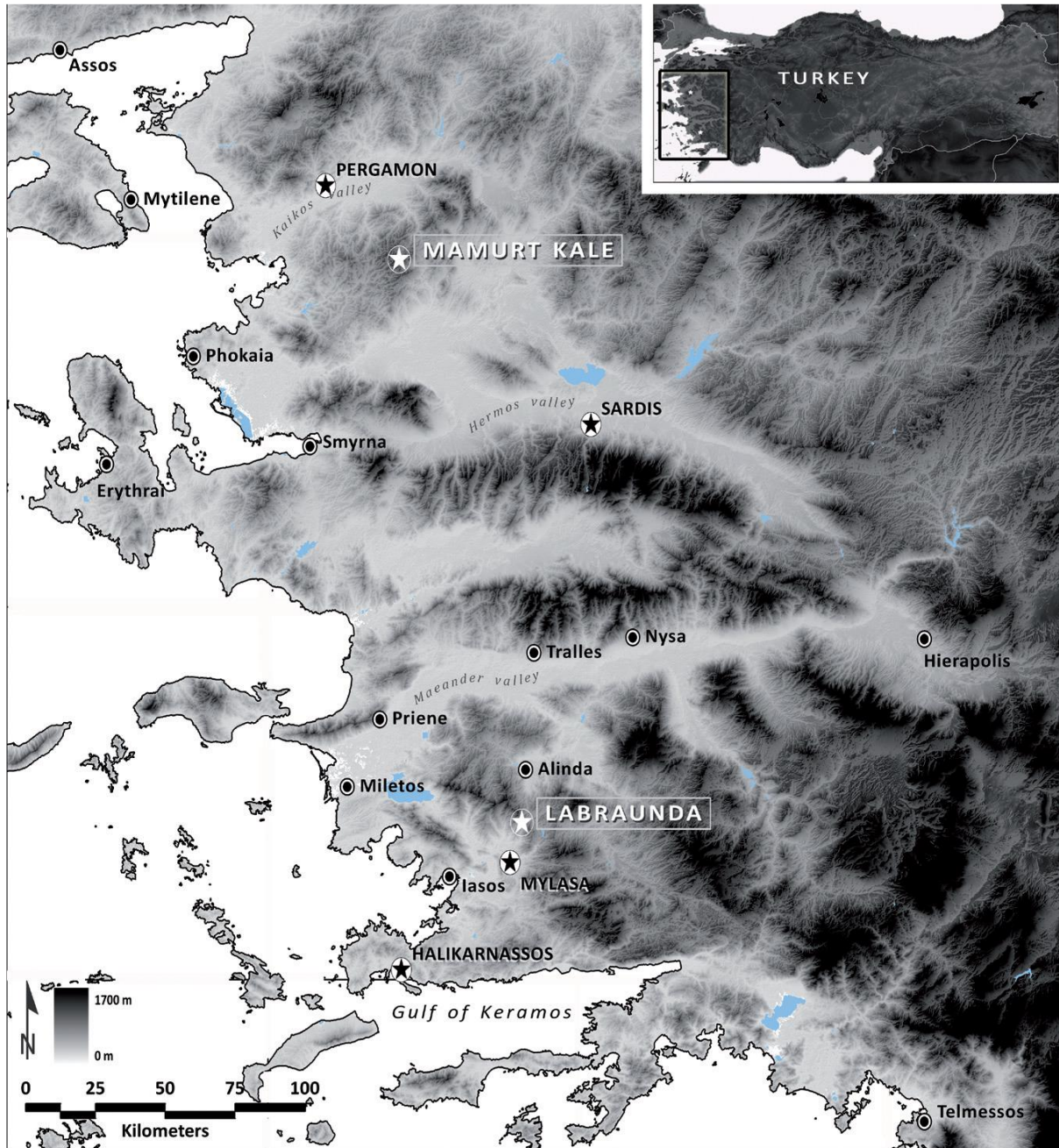


Figure 1 Map of Karia and its surroundings by Christina Williamson. Source: Williamson 2014, 88.

⁸⁶ Herda 2013, 422.

⁸⁷ Herda 2013, 441, 463-464, 472.

⁸⁸ Carless Unwin 2017, 2.

1.2 The Hekatomnid Dynasty

The Hekatomnid Dynasty ruled Karia from circa 395 until circa 323, first as satraps under the Achaemenids and at the end under Macedonian hegemony.⁸⁹ The dynasty consists of Hekatomnos and his five children, three sons and two daughters, who all ruled Karia in succession: Maussollos, Artemisia, Idrieus, Ada, and Pixodaros. It is unclear when any of his children were born, just that Maussollos was the eldest son and married his eldest sister, Artemisia. Similarly, Idrieus was the middle and next eldest brother and married the next eldest and consequently youngest daughter Ada. Pixodaros was the youngest son and as he lacked a sister to wed, he married a Cappadocian woman named Aphenis.⁹⁰ Hekatomnos had a sister named Aba, known from only two inscriptions, one in Iasos and one in Mylasa, and it has long been theorized whether she was also Hekatomnos's wife.⁹¹ Initially, it was deemed unprovable as corroborating evidence lacked.⁹² However, the discovery of the Mylasan inscription changed the *communio opinis* as it mentioned both Hekatomnos and Ada being venerated as *agathos daimones* together, strongly indicating that they were married.⁹³ Furthermore, excavations near the findspot of the Iasian inscription revealed a dynastic monument featuring two statue pairs and a supplemental inscription, which extensively praised Idrieus as the saviour of Iasos and the restorer of good governance.⁹⁴ The monument would thus have depicted Aba and Idrieus at any rate. As Nafissi correctly argues, it is highly unlikely that Idrieus would be portrayed with his father accompanying his further unremarkable aunt, but it is very likely that Idrieus would be portrayed with both his father and mother as the first pair and he and his sister-wife Ada as the second pair.⁹⁵ We can therefore confidently state that Aba was Hekatomnos's sister-wife and mother of his children. Hekatomnos's father is Hyssaldomos (d. -395?), who is only known to us via three short dedicatory inscriptions, and an attributable coin hoard.⁹⁶ As Hornblower points out, Hyssaldomos could theoretically have been satrap between 395 and 391 but lacking positive evidence, he likely was not.⁹⁷

The naming of Hekatomnos's children deserves some extra attention in light of the Hekatomnid dynastic rulership. Herodotos mentions a Pixodaros, son of Maussollos, from Kindya as one of the participants of the Karian League during the Ionian Revolt.⁹⁸ Hornblower, followed

⁸⁹ Petit 1988 argues that the Hekatomnids were not satraps, but only and rarely called themselves so. It shall be argued below, however, that the Hekatomnids were indeed satraps.

⁹⁰ Strabo, 14.2.17.

⁹¹ *Sinuri I*, p.100.

⁹² Cf. Hornblower 1982, 36-37.

⁹³ Descat 2011; I extensively discuss this inscription below at 2.3.1.

⁹⁴ See 2.8 below for extensive discussion of the monument.

⁹⁵ Nafissi 2015a, 71-72.

⁹⁶ *IKaunos* 47; *SEG* 19.653; *ILabraunda* 27; Konuk 2009.

⁹⁷ Hornblower 1982, 36.

⁹⁸ Hdt. 5.118.

by Ruzicka, asserted that these names were rather uncommon, especially in such unison, and that these men therefore must be considered the ancestors of the Hekatomnids. Somewhere between the Ionian Revolt and Hekatomnos's accession as satrap, the familial seat must therefore have also switched from Kindya to Mylasa.⁹⁹ Herodotos however mentions that during the Ionian Revolt the sparsely known Herakleides, son of Ibanollis, came from Mylasa and was the orchestrator of the successful night attack on the Persians. He must therefore have enjoyed great stature among the Karians and, in fact, is referred to as *basileus*, possibly of the Karian League, in the *Suda*.¹⁰⁰ He would therefore be a more likely ancestor of the Hekatomnids.¹⁰¹ Carney, in turn, states that the Hekatomnid dynasty may have been linked to Artemisia of Halikarnassos (fl. 5th century), often called Artemisia I, or given the epithet 'the Elder', to distinguish her from Hekatomnos's Artemisia, who is subsequently called Artemisia II.¹⁰² Whether these onomastic similarities imply ancestral connections remains and probably will remain unresolved. Personally, I would consider it highly unlikely if the Hekatomnids descended directly from any of these Karian heroes. To put it more nuanced, if Hekatomnos truly descended from any of these Karian heroes, or wanted to portray himself as such, it is highly unusual that both he and his father Hyssaldomos fell outside this onomastic tradition. Their names are not widely attested Karian names either. Only one other Hyssaldomos is known from the epigraphic record who was also from Mylasa.¹⁰³ As for the name Hekatomnos, it is considerably more prevalent, but, most attestations refer to our Hekatomnos and those who refer to other Hekatomnoses are mostly from the vicinity of Mylasa and postdate our Hekatomnos.¹⁰⁴ Adiego furthermore posits that the name Hekatomnos is a linguistic portmanteau between the Greek goddess Hekate and the Karian word for descendant (*ktmno*).¹⁰⁵ Rather, it seems that Hekatomnos had broken with any local naming tradition, if we presume that Hyssaldomos had adhered to such a concept in the first place. Hyssaldomos had after all given his son a Greco-Karian name.

Therefore, I would like to propose a third option. Hekatomnos purposefully named his children after a variety of Karian heroes in a bid to unite the Karians behind his rule internally and present a united Karia externally via the concept of *syngeneia*. This practice is best known from the Hellenistic Period in which local peoples claimed common descent from certain Greek founders important to nearby Greek *poleis* and duly became their kinsmen. Hellenistic kings also

⁹⁹ Hornblower 1982, 59; Ruzicka 1992, 6.

¹⁰⁰ Hdt. 5.121; *Suda* s.v. *Skylax*, who wrote a work on 'king' Herakleides.

¹⁰¹ Contra Hornblower 1982 21-22, 59, in which he argues based on Hdt. 6.43 that Herakleides was one of the tyrants who was driven out of power.

¹⁰² Carney 2005, 74.

¹⁰³ Zgusta 1964 § 1629-4.

¹⁰⁴ Zgusta 1964 § 325.

¹⁰⁵ Adiego 2013, 18. Cf. Also Sahin 1973, 190-191 where two Hekatomnoses are attested on an inscription dated to the mid fourth century at Lagina where a prominent temple to Hekate stood.

used *syngeneia* to claim ties with a great variety of local inhabitants, such as Alexander the Great himself whose claimed descent from Herakles allowed him to form ties with many Greeks in conquered lands, and also, after acculturation of myths, with many non-Greek inhabitants.¹⁰⁶ As Karia was still internally divided when Hekatomnos came to power (see below), one of the measures he took was top down *syngeneia* by connecting his children to pan-Karian heroes of the past: Pixodaros and Maussollos from Kindya, Artemisia of Halikarnassos, and Ada, named after his own sister-wife. The name Idrieus is more elusive, but Herodotos notes that the river Maryas originates in 'Ἰδριάδος χώρας' – the region of Idrias.¹⁰⁷ Zgusta therefore concluded that Idrieus was a local name that was '*Eponymos der Landschaft*'.¹⁰⁸ This however raises the question why Hekatomnos did not name any of his sons after Herakleides? Firstly, the Hekatomnids were still loyal satraps of the Persian Empire and to name a child of the ruling dynasty after a semi-successful rebellious local hero would discredit their loyalty; though Artemisia the Elder attacked a Persian ship at the Battle of Salamis to escape, this was at the time of the event unknown and Artemisia is further depicted as a loyal and wise adviser to Xerxes.¹⁰⁹ Secondly, the goal of *syngeneia* is to tie outsiders to oneself. Hekatomnos therefore did not have to include his own subjects in this process. As such, Hekatomnos thus preceded the Hellenistic kings in the uses of *syngeneia*.

1.3 Hekatomnid Sibling-Marriage and the Authority of Hekatomnid Women

A major issue of contention is the origin and purpose of the sibling-marriages of the Hekatomnids. As shown above, we now know this happened in at least the latter two Hekatomnid generations with Hekatomnos marrying his sister Aba and their children marrying among each other as well with Maussollos marrying Artemisia and Idrieus Ada. Yet, where did this practice come from, what was its purpose, and which role did the women have in government? Moreover, did Artemisia and Ada who both ruled after their husbands' deaths, govern by their ancestral right or did they receive power from their husbands? In other words, did Hekatomnid women govern because they were members of the same dynasty or because they were consorts?

Hornblower believed that Hekatomnid sibling-marriage had a foreign origin. He mused that it possibly was Persian as some sources mention Persian kings wedding their sisters.¹¹⁰ Though Hornblower considered the origin of the sibling-marriage most likely Egyptian as pharaohs had a long tradition of marrying their sisters, though also having concubines, in

¹⁰⁶ Stavrianopoulou 2013, 179-182. Cf. also Bolmarcich 2010 on the development of *syngeneia* from the Archaic to the Hellenistic Period.

¹⁰⁷ Hdt. 5.118.

¹⁰⁸ Zgusta 1964 § 453.

¹⁰⁹ Hdt. 8.87.

¹¹⁰ E.g. Arr. *Anab.* 2.11.9.

combination with the fact that the Karians had long-standing trade connections with the Egyptians dating back to at least the seventh century.¹¹¹ The influence of this Egyptian connection is however doubtful. Many Greek *poleis* had connections with Egypt though none of them adopted a systematic use of sibling-marriages. The most notable example is the port-city of Naukratis which was shared between Khios, Teos, Phokaia, Rhodes, Knidos, Halikarnassos, Phaselis, and Mytilene.¹¹² None of these *poleis* adopted the practice; Halikarnassos under the Hekatomnids of course witnessed the practice, but there is no evidence that the Halikarnassians themselves imitated either the Hekatomnids or the Egyptians. One could of course counter by arguing that these *poleis* lacked royalty. Moreover, the Hekatomnid dynasty was contemporaneous with the 29th and 30th Egyptian dynasties whose pharaohs are not known to have married their sisters, though little in general is known about these dynasties.¹¹³ Carney is also rather sceptical of such foreign origins and takes a local approach. She notes that sibling-marriages were not part of Karian traditions. There were however, Carney notes, multiple instances of couples sharing power and women succeeding their men in Karia, according to Herodotos, which may have formed the underlying conditions.¹¹⁴ This seems a more plausible origin though the Hekatomnids still stand out as a sore thumb. For now, we must contend with the fact that we do not know where the practice came from. Possibly, it was Hekatomnos himself who came up with the idea.

The purpose of the Hekatomnid sibling-marriages is an even more baffling issue. In general, sibling-marriages often have underlying considerations such as purity of dynasty and keeping property and wealth within the family. These considerations are at odds with the Hekatomnids' lack of offspring in the second generation, though, as Hornblower points out, genetic issues may well have been the primary cause of the childless situation.¹¹⁵ Carney argues that the Hekatomnids did not strive for continuation of their dynasty as they were "mere" satraps. They could be removed from authority at any moment making the idea of a perpetuating dynasty itself unlikely. Instead, the Hekatomnids strived for perpetual remembrance of the dynasty with their sibling-marriages clearly exalting the dynasty, possibly imitating the gods. As such, the Hekatomnids remained monogamous.¹¹⁶ There are, however, serious criticisms to be levied against Carney's view. As it is now known that Aba was Hekatomnos's sister-wife, continuation itself does seem to have been important.¹¹⁷ As for the fear of being removed from power, this is not as straightforward as Carney makes it seem. Xenophon has recorded the story of Mania, the

¹¹¹ Hornblower 1982, 360-363; Hornblower 2011, 359-361.

¹¹² Hdt. 2.178.

¹¹³ Cf. Petrie 2013, 373-390 for an extensive treatment of both dynasties. Note however that the "extensive" treatment of both dynasties is only 18 pages long.

¹¹⁴ Carney 2005, 75.

¹¹⁵ Hornblower 1982, 360-363; Hornblower remains indecisive on the issue.

¹¹⁶ Carney 2005, 79-83, 85; Cf. Hellström 2011, 153.

¹¹⁷ Nafissi 2015a, 71-72.

female satrap of Aeolis, who was murdered along with her adolescent son by the usurper Meidias.¹¹⁸ The reason for killing Mania's son is rather straightforward: he could and probably would have succeeded his mother. Aside from Mania there was also the dynastic Sanballat family who ruled their native Samaria.¹¹⁹ Dynasties among non-Persian satrapal families did occur. Furthermore, as described above, Tissaphernes was executed instead of removed from office for his poor performance in war in 395.¹²⁰ This indicates that he could not be simply recalled, but had to be removed from power as Tissaphernes very likely had established a powerful local network. Similarly, during Maussollos's reign, which will be discussed more extensively below, multiple satraps in Asia Minor clashed with one another, sparking the so-called Great Satraps' Revolt. If satraps simply could be recalled, such a conflict would have been easily preventable in the first place and also easily resolved. Yet, the fact that it was not indicates that the satraps held considerable local power centred around local networks of elites. The king could not simply send a resignation letter to a satrap.¹²¹

As a satisfactory answer still eludes us, it is worthwhile to take a comparative look at the Ptolemaic dynasty, which, over time, became increasingly incestuous.¹²² Why did the Ptolemaic dynasty increasingly practice sibling-marriage? Ager presents multiple co-existent explanations, some of which pragmatic and others symbolic. First of all, to appeal to the Egyptians whose pharaohs used to intermarry, though, Ager remarks, such intermarriage among pharaohs was far less prevalent than previously thought.¹²³ Other explanations are divine imitation, which separated the royals from the common people and in turn reinforced the royal ideology, and control of the royal lineage via isolationism. Lastly, Ager proposes, that the Ptolemaic dynasty deliberately embraced a socially abhorrent act – incest – to prove they had the strength, the sheer determination and will, to overcome its universally accredited decadence. As such, overcoming decadence was a central tenet of the royal ideology.¹²⁴ Returning to the Hekatomnids, all of the presented explanations of Ager could be applicable to some extent. As shall be argued throughout this thesis, Maussollos represented himself as an exalted mortal, continuously setting the stage for his divination, though never taking that final step because he expected to be divinized in death.

¹¹⁸ Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.10-12. Polyainos also relates this event, though in a more aggrandizing manner. Polyain. 8.54. Mania will feature prominently in chapter 5 on the Hekatomnid position.

¹¹⁹ Briant 2002, 767.

¹²⁰ Xen. *Hell.* 3.4.25.

¹²¹ *Syll.*³ 22: The so-called Gadatas-letter may be the closest parallel to a resignation letter. It was a letter written by Dareios I to Gadatas, whose precise rank is unknown, warning Gadatas that he would be removed from office if he did not respect local sacred lands. As Klinkott notes, the Persian King apparently needed a just motive to remove a satrap from office. Even if the King provided such a justification, rebellion was still possible; Klinkott 2005, 42-43.

¹²² Ager 2005, 4-8 for an overview of incest in the dynasty. N.B. Ager 2006 is a republished abridged version of Ager 2005 for anthropologists.

¹²³ Ager 2005, 16-17.

¹²⁴ Ager 2005, 18-26.

This, combined with the divination of Hekatomnos makes divine imitation therefore the most likely option.¹²⁵ Control of the royal lineage is possible, but with the abrupt end of the Hekatomnids after the second generation, we lack substantial evidence to confirm this. As for overcoming the decadent, once again this is a viable interpretation. The Hekatomnids did not shy away from an extravagant lifestyle as their building projects prove, but we lack the necessary corroboration.

Though we might not be able to fully establish the purpose of the intermarriages, we can safely conclude that continuation of the lineage was one of their goals, as argued above. This raises once again the question why the second generation failed to produce offspring. Genetic issues remain the primary culprit. However, as Ager shows, the later Ptolemies were far more incestuous and still managed to produce children. Most notably, Ptolemy VIII (184-116) ended up marrying his full niece Kleopatra III, who herself was a child of incest between Ptolemy's brother and sister. Nonetheless, this marriage resulted in five healthy children, some of who once again intermarried and begot children.¹²⁶ Contemporary research on incest has proven that up to half of the children from such unions suffered severe debilitations, but the other half was fine, though Seemanová noted that the subject group was by no means representative of the population.¹²⁷ Did Maussollos and Artemisia, and, Idrieus and Ada, belong to the unlucky half? Pixodaros's daughter seems to surely imply so, but this singular instance is not substantial enough to drive the point home.¹²⁸ There is however epigraphical evidence for two sons of Maussollos born out of wedlock. An inscription of a statue base from the Sanctuary of Labraunda has been preserved which was set up by Ariarames, son of Maussollos.¹²⁹ Whether he is the son of our Maussollos may be contested, but, as Crampa pointed out, the location of the statue, right next to the temple and nearby the statue of Hekatomnos, does indicate that he was the son of the dynast Maussollos, though obviously an illegitimate one.¹³⁰ Another inscription set up by the Mylasan Pixodaros the Strong claims to have been ἀπογόνος – born – to Maussollos, son of Hekatomnos.¹³¹ If we accept these two as Maussollos's illegitimate children, we may cautiously conclude that genetic incompatibility between Maussollos and Artemisia, and by extension, Idrieus and Ada led to their childless marriages. Though the inclusion of Idrieus and Ada might make this a sweeping statement, it remains the most likely solution for now.

A last issue which must be discussed is the role of the Hekatomnid women in governance. Were they mere consorts or did they actively rule alongside their male consorts? Carney has

¹²⁵ Descat 2011; see note 116.

¹²⁶ Ager 2005, 6-8.

¹²⁷ Seemanová 1971; Ager 2005, 10-14; Cf. also Reid 1976.

¹²⁸ Hornblower 1982, 359-360.

¹²⁹ *I.Labraunda* 28.

¹³⁰ *I.Labraunda* p. 28-29; Cf. Williamson 2014, 94.

¹³¹ *Syll.*³ 603; Cf. *I.Labraunda* p.29.

argued extensively that both Artemisia and Ada actively co-ruled with their brother-husbands, due to both of them having a visible role during their husbands' reigns and their own subsequent short reigns after the deaths of their respective husbands. As such, Artemisia is mentioned in a Knossian *proxeny* decree and granted a statue in an Erythraian *proxeny* decree for her husband Maussollos. Upon Maussollos's death, Artemisia succeeded him and ruled for two years which she spent finishing the Maussolleion of Halikarnassos. Similarly, Ada is featured alongside her husband Idrieus in multiple dedications and also succeeded him upon his death. Ada's sole reign was however cut short by Pixodaros who deposed her after three years. Carney importantly stresses however that this relationship was unequal with the men being dominant. The statue granted by the Erythraians for Artemisia for instance was worth less than that of her husband and the Knossian *proxeny* decree mentions specifically the land which Maussollos rules.¹³²

This view requires some scrutiny, however. First of all, the evidence for co-rulership is slim to begin with and moreover ambiguous. Both the Knossian and Erythraian *proxeny* decrees shall be analysed extensively in chapter 2, but I shall briefly comment on their ambiguity here. Starting with the Erythraian *proxeny* decree, Artemisia is indeed granted a statue like Maussollos, but that is also the only mention of Artemisia in the inscription.¹³³ Unlike Maussollos, Artemisia did not become a *proxenos* or was granted any of the rights that Maussollos had received. In fact, Artemisia is not even an addressee. The statue-grant is only mentioned passingly at the end of the inscription as if it were an extra honour bestowed upon Maussollos rather than a separate gift to Artemisia. Conversely the Knossian *proxeny* decree, in which Maussollos and Artemisia jointly bestowed the rank of *proxenos* on all Knossians and both vowed to uphold this decree, does grant Artemisia agency, but this is the only joint decree of Maussollos and Artemisia. Maussollos conducted the rest of his foreign policy by himself, or at any rate under just his own name.¹³⁴ So, why is Artemisia granted this agency in the Knossian *proxeny* decree? The answer, I believe, is that Maussollos tried to establish ties of kinship with the Knossians to create an alliance, which probably succeeded considering that the decree was published on a stele set up in Labraunda.¹³⁵ Artemisia was after all named after Artemisia the Elder, who was according to Herodotos half-Kretan:

‘οὔνομα μὲν δὴ ἦν αὐτῆ Ἄρτεμισίη, θυγάτηρ δὲ ἦν Λυγδάμιος, γένος δὲ ἐξ Ἄλικαρνησοῦ
τὰ πρὸς πατρός, τὰ μητρόθεν δὲ Κρηῖσσα ‘

¹³² Carney 2005, 65-67, 71-78; Diod. Sic. 16.36.2, 16.74.2; Strabo, 14.2.17; R&O 56; *I.Labraunda* 40. Cf. also Hornblower 1982, 40. Unnoticed by Carney, the Knossian *proxeny* decree justifies the decision by stating that the Knossians had been beneficial to Maussollos's affairs, not the affairs of Maussollos and Artemisia.

¹³³ R&O 56.

¹³⁴ Cf. *TAM II*, 1183; A reconstruction of this decree between Maussollos and Phaselis cautiously places Artemisia's name in one of the lacunae. See 2.5 on why this interpretation is incorrect.

¹³⁵ *I.Labraunda* 40. On the practice of kinship-diplomacy see Patterson 2010; Jones 1999.

'Artemisia was her name; she was daughter to Lygdamis, on her father's side of Halicarnassian lineage, and a Cretan on her mother's'.¹³⁶

Artemisia's presence on only the Knossian *proxeny* decree can thus best be seen as a successful attempt of Maussollos to establish kinship ties. Though kinship-diplomacy is often explicitly expressed through the usage of terms like the earlier discussed *syngeneia*, in this decree Maussollos only inferred such a similar connection.¹³⁷ It is of course possible, and likely, that Artemisia contributed to Maussollos's rule, but neither the Erythraian nor the Knossian *proxeny* decrees should be seen as evidence for active co-rulership.

To problematize these issues further, there is an ambiguous inscription which may infer that Artemisia was considered a usurper by Idrieus. According to Strabo, Maussollos bequeathed his lands to Artemisia upon his death, bypassing Idrieus.¹³⁸ The newly uncovered inscription was part of the previously mentioned dynastic monument at Iasos, which featured the statue-pairs of Hekatomnos and Aba and Idrieus and Ada. It is in a very poor state and has been thoroughly reconstructed by Nafissi. It reads:

Αὔξοντες τ[μ]α[ῖς βα]σιλεῖς κλεινοὺς παρὰ θνητοῖς.
στῆσαν τοὺς[δε Ἴ]ασεῖς, πρῶτοι ἐπ' εὐτυχίαις
σώσαντος π[α]τρίαν ἀρχὴν Ἰδριέω[ς [... 5-6 ...] . α .]
[ἐκ] δειγῶν παθέων ἤγαγε ἐς εὐνομίαν

"Exalting with their honours the kings, illustrious among mortals,
the Iasians first erected (the statues of) these for their good success.
After Idrieus saved his father's power, [- - - -]
led from terrible afflictions to good order."¹³⁹

This inscription is remarkable in many ways, especially that Idrieus is compared to great kings and that this is a dynastic monument rather than a personal monument, but the focus here must

¹³⁶ Hdt. 7.99.

¹³⁷ Patterson 2010, 14.

¹³⁸ Strabo, 14.2.17.

¹³⁹ Nafissi 2015a, 73-74 (Appendix 1.20); originally published in Italian (English translation my own):

«Esaltando con i loro onori i re, illustri tra i mortali,
gli Iasei per primi eressero (le statue di) questi per il loro buon successo.
Dopo che Idrieo salvò il potere paterno, [- - - - -]
condusse da terribili patimenti al buon ordine»

be on the third- and fourth-lines which states that Idrieus saved his father's power and turned terrible afflictions into good order. The lacuna would probably have stated from whom he had rescued his father's power, which must now be filled up with our best estimation. Though Idrieus ruled during an internationally turbulent time and participated in a Kyprian War like his father Hekatomnos had done (see below), his own domain was never externally threatened.¹⁴⁰ The threat must have thus been internal, yet Idrieus's reign had neither been under threat internally. The only option remaining is that Idrieus saved his father's power from his own very sister, Artemisia, who is portrayed as a poor ruler in the inscription.¹⁴¹ If this interpretation is correct, the inscription would imply that Artemisia had wrongly succeeded Maussollos and that the rightful succession, as was retroactively proven by good governance, had belonged to Idrieus.¹⁴² This could also explain why Idrieus used his *ethnic* Μυλασευς – from Mylasa – on his architrave inscriptions at Labraunda unlike Maussollos.¹⁴³ For by doing so, Idrieus actively distanced himself from Halikarnassos which had been Maussollos's and Artemisia's seat of power, making the use of his *ethnic* a sign of rivalry and animosity.¹⁴⁴ We may surmise that Idrieus would have had plans to overthrow Artemisia like Pixodaros would do to Ada after Idrieus's own death, with Idrieus being stuck in Mylasa whilst Artemisia governed from the coastal metropolis of Halikarnassos. Artemisia's short reign of two years subsequently made any such plans redundant and allowed Idrieus to assume the office of satrap nonetheless.

Conversely, ironically enough, Artemisia's reign paved the way for Idrieus to be succeeded by Ada instead of Pixodaros, who, as noted above, did not take too kindly to that. This change of rulership is most notable in the material record. Up until Artemisia women only fulfilled a dynastically legitimizing role as consorts and progenitors in Hekatomnid iconography.¹⁴⁵ To our knowledge, Maussollos and Artemisia were never portrayed together as a royal couple; Maussollos's statue at Erythrai stood on the agora whilst that of Artemisia was tucked away in

¹⁴⁰ Diod. Sic. 16.42.7, 16.46.3.

¹⁴¹ Conversely, historical sources portray Artemisia as a strong ruler who, among others, took the *polis* of Latmos and defeated a Rhodian incursion force after which she conquered the island: Polyain, 8.53.4 & Vitruv. *De Arch.* 2.8.14-15. On whether the Rhodian attack was fictitious or not, Hornblower believes it to be fictitious, Ruzicka accepts it, whilst Carney does not believe the event word by word, but does believe there was a military showdown between Artemisia and the Rhodians. Hornblower 1982, 129; Ruzicka 1992, 109; Carney 2005, 67-68. Whether true or not, Artemisia was accredited with a strong image. See Appendix 2 for further considerations on this event and a biography of Idrieus.

¹⁴² On a side-note, Hekatomnos was not succeeded by Aba, but by their eldest child Maussollos. Very little is however known about Aba who may have predeceased either.

¹⁴³ *ILabraunda* 15-19.

¹⁴⁴ Hellström 1989, 104. For other interpretations on the use of the *ethnic* see Williamson 2013, 9 who argues that Idrieus, who also ruled from Halikarnassos, employed his *ethnic* to strengthen ties with the Hekatomnid ancestral seat which may have deteriorated under Maussollos and Artemisia due to their focus on Halikarnassos. Cf. also *ILabraunda* p.6, where Crampa also presupposes rivalry between the two brothers.

¹⁴⁵ See 3.3 on *Uzun Yuva* and Maussolleion below.

the Sanctuary of Athena.¹⁴⁶ Idrieus and Ada, however, feature multiple times as a couple. Aside of the previously mentioned dynastic monument at Iasos, they are two more instances of their coupled portrayal. The first concerns a Milesian dedication of a statue pair of them in Parian marble set up at Delphi.¹⁴⁷ The second portrayal is on a stele from Tegea depicting *Zeus Labraundos* in the middle with Ada on his left and Idrieus on his right (see figure 2).¹⁴⁸ Idrieus and Ada had become a reigning couple whereas Maussollos and Artemisia were not.



Figure 2 Tegean Stele depicting Zeus Labraundos, Idrieus and Ada. Dated to Idrieus's reign, 351-344. Source: British Museum inv. no. 1914,0714.1 © The Trustees of the British Museum

To summarize, the origin of Hekatomnid sister-marriage is highly contentious, though local influences are the most likely candidate. The purpose of the intermarriages remains muddled with divine imitation being the most viable option, though alternatives are possible. Genetic issues were the root cause for the childless marriages. Lastly, as for the Hekatomnid sisters, Artemisia was initially just a consort and relatively invisible in Maussollos's iconography. She was a silent actor and advisor with specific diplomatic uses. Yet, Artemisia's reign set a new precedence for female governance. Ada, unlike Artemisia, was portrayed with her husband Idrieus as a royal couple, and upon Idrieus's death, governance "naturally" passed to Ada, rather than Pixodaros. The Hekatomnid queen had become a co-ruler and successor instead of a mere consort after Artemisia's reign.

1.4 Hekatomnos

After Tissaphernes's death, Hekatomnos (r. ca. 395-377) was appointed satrap of Karia, though it is unclear when exactly this happened.¹⁴⁹ Ruzicka likely posits that he may already have been involved with local administrative tasks under Tissaphernes.¹⁵⁰ Hekatomnos is first mentioned by Diodoros, concerning the year 391, when Artaxerxes ordered him to assist in the subjugation of Euagoras I (411-374), king of Kypros of who rebelled from Achaemenid overlordship in the

¹⁴⁶ R&O 56.

¹⁴⁷ *FD III* 4:176 (Appendix 1.1); see 2.2.2.

¹⁴⁸ *IG V*,2, 89 = British Museum inv. no. 1914,0714.1. Their names are barely legible above the carving. Cf. Hornblower 1982, 241 who suggests that someone from Skopas's workforce may have set up the dedication, because the sculptor worked on the Maussolleion and on a temple at Tegea. Personally, I find this suggestion insubstantial.

¹⁴⁹ Hornblower 1982, 36.

¹⁵⁰ Ruzicka 1992, 18.

same year.¹⁵¹ The coastal satrapies were ordered to build a fleet and Hekatomnos was ordered to invade Kypros which he promptly did, indicating that the Karians had a fleet at the ready to do so.¹⁵² The presence of a Karian fleet is further supported by a fragment of Theopompos which states that Hekatomnos was made *nauarch* – admiral – whilst Autophradates, satrap of Lydia, was made *strategos* – general.¹⁵³ Diodoros next mentions Hekatomnos in 386, when he apparently was no longer in Kypros and was in fact secretly funding Euagoras’s acquisition of mercenaries.¹⁵⁴ This, however, seems to have been a later addition and has no basis in reality.¹⁵⁵

The war against Euagoras was concluded in 385 when Euagoras was forced to surrender and resubmit himself to Artaxerxes II under harsh terms, including a very high tribute.¹⁵⁶ Hekatomnos was apparently at the time no longer involved in any way with the war and not much is further known about his reign, save for an entry in the *Suda* concerning the physician Dexippos of Kos (4th century). Both Maussollos and Pixodaros had fallen gravely ill and Hekatomnos called upon Dexippos, a student of Hippokrates, to heal his sons. Dexippos agreed on the condition that Hekatomnos stopped waging war against his fellow Karians.¹⁵⁷ Whether there is any truthfulness to this instance remains unknown, but it at any rate strongly implies that Karia was not wholly united yet during most of Hekatomnos’s reign and that the other dynasts made attempts to remove Hekatomnos from power. Though it is difficult to assign a date to such attempts, if it took place at all, a likely moment would be when Hekatomnos had departed for Kypros with a large part of his army. This would also explain Hekatomnos’s further silent return and disappearance from the stage in the war against Euagoras as he was needed in Karia to quell a local uprising.

Hekatomnos is lastly mentioned by Isokrates in his *Panegyrikos*, written in 380, in which he tried to stop inter-Greek fighting by launching a joint invasion of the Achaemenid Empire. He states that Hekatomnos had by then been disaffected for a long time with Achaemenid rule and

¹⁵¹ Diod. Sic. 14.98.3-4.

¹⁵² Diod. Sic. 14.98.

¹⁵³ Theopompos, *FGrHist*, 115, F.103. Cf. also Ruzicka 1992, 20 who argues that the Phoenician fleet would have been held in reserve due to possible conflicted interests. Contra Ruzicka, it is suggested here that Hekatomnos already had a fleet prior to the conflict. It has been shown that the Karians had a strong naval tradition and maintained a considerable fleet throughout the fifth century, though the fracturing of Karia and the alignment of some of its *poleis*, most notably Halikarnassos, with Athens and the subsequent resubmission of these *poleis* by the Persians could have jeopardized the existence of such a fleet (see above). Another possible source of ships for Hekatomnos might have been Cyrus the Younger. Diodoros mentions that Cyrus had a fleet of fifty triremes at the time of his rebellion (Diod. Sic. 14.19.5). It is not unlikely that after Cyrus’s and subsequently Tissaphernes’s deaths the fleet, or parts of it, came under Hekatomnos’s command. Xenophon, however, does not mention the presence of a fleet in his *Anabasis*.

¹⁵⁴ Diod. Sic. 15.2.

¹⁵⁵ Ruzicka 1992, 26-27; contra Hornblower 1982, 38.

¹⁵⁶ Diod. Sic. 15.8.2-3.

¹⁵⁷ *Suda* s.v. Dexippos. Cf. Ruzicka 1992, 24-25 who argues that the *Suda* most likely was corrupted and that the original text spoke of Koans instead of Karians; Ruzicka does not find it plausible that Dexippos would call for the cessation of war among Karians, but does find it plausible if it concerns his own countrymen. This interpretation is however rejected here as it lacks any supporting evidence.

would openly support the Greeks if they invaded.¹⁵⁸ There is, however, no corroborating evidence for this statement.¹⁵⁹ Hekatomnos died in 377/376 and was succeeded by Maussollos.¹⁶⁰ He was buried in a splendid tomb at Uzun Yuva, near Mylasa.¹⁶¹

1.5 Maussollos

Maussollos is by far the best documented Hekatomnid, though historical sources on his reign mostly persist of scattered references in the works of Diodoros, Isokrates and Xenophon. As Lucian's quote in the introduction states, Maussollos's twenty-four-year reign transformed Karia from a little-known region into a formidable mini-empire on the Aegean, most notably at Athens's expense, whilst he himself was known for his martial prowess, beauty and his tomb.

Maussollos likely *synoikized* Halikarnassos early in his reign and subsequently moved the satrapal capital from Mylasa to Halikarnassos. Hornblower suggests that the primary reason for such a relocation probably was to create a powerful fortress-city which, combined with the Karian fleet, could counterbalance the newly created Second Athenian League.¹⁶² Both Strabo and Plinius mention the *synoikism*, but both accounts are flawed. Strabo asserts that Maussollos created Halikarnassos by fusing six unspecified cities into one,¹⁶³ but this cannot be correct as Halikarnassos was already a well-known city and major port at the time.¹⁶⁴ Plinius, on the other hand, does specify which cities were *synoikized*, namely Theangela, Side, Medmassa, Uranium, Pedasum and Telmissum, but wrongly attributed the *synoikism* to Alexander the Great.¹⁶⁵ The *synoikism* fused the Greek and Karian populations into one political entity with its own *polis* institutions. The city was greatly expanded and reconstructed along a Greek grid plan, with most buildings featuring Greek architectural styles. Maussollos had a Persian-style satrapal palace – a *paradeisos* – built next to the Sanctuary of Apollo on the Zephyrion and had pre-planned his tomb in the centre of the city as the grid plan reveals.¹⁶⁶

Maussollos's early reign was rather prosperous, but by the end of the 370's both local and international tensions were rising. The Spartan defeat at Leuktra in 371 effectively ended the King's Peace, diminishing Achaemenid influence in the Greek mainland and, in turn, encouraging

¹⁵⁸ Isok. 4.162.

¹⁵⁹ See 5 below on the purported disloyalty of the Hekatomnids.

¹⁶⁰ Diod. Sic. 16.36.2; Maussollos died after a reign of twenty-four years in the year 353/352, putting Hekatomnos' death in 377/376.

¹⁶¹ See 3.3.1 below.

¹⁶² Hornblower 1982, 78-79, 102. Cf. Rumscheid 2010, 98 for contra on dating.

¹⁶³ Strabo, 13.1.59.

¹⁶⁴ E.g. the reign Artemisia I of Halikarnassos and Herodotos, who wrote extensively about his city of birth; Cf. Hornblower 1982, 80.

¹⁶⁵ Plin. *NH.* 5.107; Hornblower 1982, 79-81.

¹⁶⁶ Pedersen 2013, 35-42.

the Greek *poleis*, especially Athens, to act more boldly towards the Achaemenid Empire.¹⁶⁷ In 367/366 Arlissis, son of Thyssollos, was sent as an envoy to the Persian king where he tried to have Maussollos removed. The exact circumstances are unknown, but Arlissis may have tried to convince the Artaxerxes II to strip Maussollos from power. Artaxerxes however had Arlissis arrested and executed for treason.¹⁶⁸ Though Maussollos no longer had to wage open warfare with Karian dissidents as his father had had to, he himself still faced Karian opposition to his rule.

Troubled times would continue as in 366 Ariobarzanes, the satrap of Phrygia, rebelled marking the beginning of the Great Satraps' Revolt. Multiple Anatolian satraps would subsequently revolt before the uprising could finally be crushed in 360. The Revolt has been poorly documented with only Diodorus discussing it in full, though his account is full of grave errors. For instance, Diodorus has the Revolt start in 362/361, four years too late; Xenophon has Maussollos and Autophradates besieging Ariobarzanes in 366.¹⁶⁹ He furthermore represents the rebellious satraps as forming a unified front against the Achaemenid king and that they tried to coordinate their efforts with the Egyptian king Tachos – who had wrested control from the Achaemenids in Egypt as early as 374/373 and who was contemplating an invasion of Palestine.¹⁷⁰ Yet, Weiskopf has convincingly shown that there was no concerted unified effort of rebellion among the Anatolian satraps, but rather a succession of satrapal infighting in which the Achaemenid king eventually was forced to pick a side.¹⁷¹

At any rate, Diodorus mentions that when Ariobarzanes rebelled, for an unspecified reason, he was supported by Maussollos of Karia, Orontes the satrap of Mysia and Autophradates the satrap of Lydia.¹⁷² The Athenians and Spartans tried to profit from the chaos and intervened to aid the rebels either in Asia Minor or Egypt, though both the Athenian and Spartan attempts were half-hearted at best. Athens dispatched Timotheos to aid Ariobarzanes in 366, but under the condition that he was not to break the King's Peace, preventing him from directly engaging Achaemenid forces.¹⁷³ The Spartans, on the other hand, sent one of their kings Agesilaos II to Asia Minor to assist Ariobarzanes, not as a general with an army, but as a diplomat in 366.¹⁷⁴ Only in 361 would Sparta send military aid to Egypt, once again under Agesilaos' command, though without achieving any lasting results.

Maussollos's, and also Autophradates's, participation in the Revolt is a rather contentious issue as only Diodorus mentions it in a flawed account. Hornblower asserts that Maussollos may

¹⁶⁷ Ruzicka 1992, 60-61.

¹⁶⁸ *I.Mylasa* 1; see 2.6 below.

¹⁶⁹ Xen. *Ages.* 2.26.

¹⁷⁰ Diod Sic. 15.41-43, 15.90.

¹⁷¹ Weiskopf 1989, 9-14.

¹⁷² Diod. Sic. 15.90.

¹⁷³ Dem. 15.9.

¹⁷⁴ Diod Sic. 15.90; Xen. *Ages.* 2.26.

have initially supported the Revolt, but later helped to suppress it in a later stage, and was allowed to remain satrap.¹⁷⁵ Ruzicka is more ambiguous on Maussollos's participation, stating that he *prima facie* remained loyal, but secretly supported the Revolt, only to openly join the Revolt later, primarily because he had little choice in the matter as all of Anatolia rose up. When the Revolt collapsed, he somehow managed to remain satrap and gain substantial influence in Lykia, which the Achaemenid king had to accept as he still was at war with Egypt.¹⁷⁶

The first mention of Maussollos during the Revolt is in 366, when he navally blockaded the coastal Phrygian *poleis* of Assos and Sestos with his fleet of a hundred ships. Contemporaneously Autophradates besieged Assos by land and Kotys Sestos. It is at this moment that Agesilaos arrived to aid Ariobarzanes. What exactly happened is unclear, but both Autophradates and Cotys broke off their respective sieges. At the same time, Agesilaos managed to convince Maussollos to break of his naval blockade. Maussollos subsequently sent Agesilaos home with an escort and a large sum of money as they had previously established *xenia* – hospitality – ties.¹⁷⁷ It is this instance that has Ruzicka contemplate on Maussollos's duplicity. Yet, the question remains why the sieges and naval blockades were abandoned? Xenophon has Autophradates and Cotys flee in fear upon Agesilaos's arrival, despite that he was there alone. It is more likely that they were coerced by Agesilaos under threat of Spartan military intervention, realising that Achaemenid reinforcements would be scarce due to the war with Egypt. Similarly, Maussollos withdrew once the sieges had been lifted as this made his naval blockade obsolete, rather than any convincing rhetoric by Agesilaos; the Athenian general Timotheos had arrived to assist Ariobarzanes, but inexplicably sailed to Samos which he promptly besieged.¹⁷⁸ Ruzicka rightly assigned this change of heart due to the presence of Maussollos's fleet.¹⁷⁹ That Maussollos had *xenia* ties with Agesilaos or that he gave him money need not imply that he was disloyal, as Weiskopf points out. If anything, he had successfully bought off Agesilaos and neutralized the threat of a Spartan invasion.¹⁸⁰ Furthermore, as Klinkott points out, satraps had the authority to create peace treaties and conduct other formal procedures with outside powers.¹⁸¹

What took place after Maussollos's retreat is unclear. Ariobarzanes was no longer under any military threat, but suffered from internal instability. Ultimately, he was betrayed and handed over by his son Mithridates to Artabazus, the new satrap of Phrygia. Artabazus crucified Ariobarzanes around 363.¹⁸² This should have ended the Revolt, but Orontes, the satrap of Mysia

¹⁷⁵ Hornblower 1982, 173-175, 179, 181-182.

¹⁷⁶ Ruzicka 1992, 76-77, 82-86.

¹⁷⁷ Xen. *Ages.* 2.26-27.

¹⁷⁸ Dem. 15.9.

¹⁷⁹ Ruzicka 1992, 69.

¹⁸⁰ Weiskopf 1989, 66-67.

¹⁸¹ Klinkott 2005, 382-383.

¹⁸² Weiskopf 1989, 50-53.

and a subordinate of Autophradates had been planning a rebellion of his own since 364 which became an active war in the same year as Ariobarzanes's death. The reconstruction of this phase of the Revolt has proven very difficult as it is uncertain when what military activities took place. But by 360 Orontes had been defeated and executed by Autophradates.¹⁸³ What Maussollos was up to in these five years is dubious. Polyainos has recorded a story in which Maussollos tried to covertly take Miletos, taking advantage of the internal conflict in Autophradates's satrapy wherein it lay.¹⁸⁴ Maussollos sent his general Aigyptos to Miletos to meet with Hekatomnid sympathizers. He was however discovered and had to escape.¹⁸⁵ Weiskopf convincingly places this event in the five-year gap.¹⁸⁶

Around the same time, he became the satrap of Lykia, or was allowed to tax it.¹⁸⁷ The *Oikonomika* recalls that the Lykian tax-collector Kondalos tricked the Lykians into paying double taxes by feigning a decree from Maussollos.¹⁸⁸ The veracity of such stories is often difficult to gauge, but the backdrop does usually contain truthfulness. Maussollos's rule of Lykia is further confirmed by Lucian.¹⁸⁹ Aside from trying to expand his own influence, Maussollos most likely spent the remainder of the 360's policing both Karia and Lykia, securing their allegiance to himself, and indirectly to the Achaemenid Empire. It is also likely that for this reason he was allowed to remain satrap of both Karia and Lykia when the Revolt ended.¹⁹⁰

By 360 general peace had been restored to Anatolia, but it was not to last long at all. In 357 Maussollos instigated Byzantion, Khios, Kos and Rhodes to declare war upon their ally Athens, starting the Athenian Social War.¹⁹¹ The Second Athenian League had been growing in power since its inception twenty years prior, becoming a possible obstacle to Maussollos who wanted to preserve and consolidate his position of power.¹⁹² Maussollos had meticulously timed the outbreak of the war as it coincided with the conflict between Athens and Philip II of Macedon for the control of Khalkidiki, especially Potidaia. With Athenian troops and resources spread thinly, Maussollos and his allies won an early naval engagement off Khios, in which the Athenian

¹⁸³ For a reconstruction of this phase of the Revolt consult Weiskopf 1989, 86-91.

¹⁸⁴ Weiskopf 1989, 67.

¹⁸⁵ Polyain. 6.8.

¹⁸⁶ Weiskopf 1989, 52-54 who argues for its dating in these five years.

¹⁸⁷ Lykia most likely was ruled by Perikles of Limyra to sometime in the mid or late 360's. Not much is known about him, not even the circumstances of his death. Cf. Ruzicka 1992, 63-64.

¹⁸⁸ Ps. Arist. *Oik.* 2.2.14 (= 1348a).

¹⁸⁹ Luc. *DD* 29, see top introduction. See also 2.5 for further considerations.

¹⁹⁰ Weiskopf 1989, 67-68. Ruzicka's suggestion that Maussollos had rebelled and gained control of Lykia (cf. note 40) but was forced to submit later whilst maintaining control of both satrapies must be rejected as this implies that his disloyalty was rewarded.

¹⁹¹ Dem. 15.3. Diod. Sic. 16.7.3-4.

¹⁹² Ruzicka 1992, 92.

general Chabrias was killed and his colleague Chares was forced to retire.¹⁹³ It is very likely that Maussollos's substantial fleet played a major role in this early victory.

The following year, Athens recuperated from its defeat and sent Chares, Timotheos and Iphikrates with a fleet of 120 ships to subjugate their former allies. During Athens's recovery the islands of Imbros and Lemnos, loyal allies of Athens, had been sacked and Samos came under siege. Diodoros specifies that these raids were conducted by the Khians, Rhodians and Byzantians, but omits Maussollos, though it is unlikely that he remained passive in a conflict he had instigated.¹⁹⁴ The Athenians did not sail to said islands. Instead they opted to conduct a counterattack on Byzantion. Diodoros mentions only the Khians coming to the aid of the Byzantians, but bad weather prevented a naval engagement. The Athenian generals succumbed to infighting in which the bellicose Chares gained the upper hand and became sole commander.¹⁹⁵ He promptly abandoned the attack on Byzantion, crossed the Hellespont, and went ashore in Phrygia to aid Artabazus, who had now rebelled himself.¹⁹⁶ Chares, despite wanting to force a decisive engagement, must have gone ashore because of the arrival of either the Rhodian or Hekatomnid fleet, or both, losing his advantage after the weather had cleared.

Artabazus was at odds with Autophradates, making his rebellion another inter-satrapal conflict.¹⁹⁷ With Chares's support he won a victory against Autophradates, for which Artabazus richly rewarded Chares.¹⁹⁸ After this battle Artaxerxes II interceded and demanded that the Athenians cease all such hostilities against his lands or risk his personal involvement in the conflict.¹⁹⁹ Athens gave in to the demand and had to recognize the independence of Byzantion, Khios, Kos and Rhodes, with the latter three falling in the influence sphere of Maussollos.²⁰⁰ The war came to a close in 355 and Athens's defeat led to the collapse of the Second Athenian League.

In 355/354 Maussollos survived an assassination attempt which took place during the festival in the Sanctuary of Zeus Labraundos. The god himself supposedly intervened to save

¹⁹³ Diod. Sic. 16.7.4-16.8.7; Potidaia was taken in 356 by Philip II.

¹⁹⁴ Diod. Sic. 16.21.1-2.

¹⁹⁵ Diod. Sic. 16.21.3-4.

¹⁹⁶ Diod. Sic. 16.22.1.

¹⁹⁷ Dem. 23.153-155.

¹⁹⁸ Diod. Sic. 16.22.1. Diodoros mentions the defeat of the "King's army" though this seems unlikely; why would a royal army be present in Anatolia at the time? Ruzicka argues that Maussollos's army also participated in the battle as he was the only one with a significant army in the region (Ruzicka 1992, 95). This is however incorrect because, firstly, Autophradates surely also would have had a sizeable army and, secondly, implies that either Maussollos's fleet had beached and fought a land battle or that in the meantime Maussollos had sent (part of his) army up north through Lydia, with or without Autophradates' permission, and took part in battle in which he himself had very little to gain and everything to lose; risking namely either his fleet or army (or both) whilst protecting the land of another satrap. This is highly unlikely. Ruzicka asserts that Maussollos had to regain the respect of the King for his participation in the Great Satrap Revolt, but as has been demonstrated here, he did not rebel.

¹⁹⁹ Diod. Sic. 16.22.2; this confirms that there was no royal army in or near Phrygia and that it must have been a battle between Autophradates and Artabazus.

²⁰⁰ Dem. 15.26-27; Isok. 8.16.

Maussollos. The assassin Manitas was killed in the attempt whilst an accomplice Thyssos was also implicated.²⁰¹ One year later, Maussollos died a natural death in 353/352.²⁰² Maussollos's reign had transformed the Hekatomnid domain from the dominant Karian power centred around Mylasa into the dominant power in the Aegean, spanning both the satrapies of Karia and Lykia, being second only to the Achaemenid king himself.

²⁰¹ *I.Mylasa* 3.

²⁰² Diod. Sic. 16.36.2.

2. Maussollos in Epigraphy

This chapter will analyse Maussollos's (self-)representation in epigraphy. Specifically, the altars dedicated by Maussollos, the dedications set up to Maussollos, the statues set up by the Hekatomnids themselves, the Knossian *proxeny* decree, the military treaty with Phaselis, the attempts against Maussollos by Mylasans and Iasians, the extension of the Festival of Labraunda, and lastly, the Maussolleion in Iasos shall be analysed in said order. As stated above, two of Maussollos's faces are visible in epigraphy split between private dedications and *poleis* relations. The altar dedications, statues set up by the Hekatomnids themselves and the extension of the festival belong to the former, the other categories to the latter. I will however not discuss the architrave inscriptions of the Labraundan buildings set up by Maussollos in this chapter. As they are an integral part of the architecture, I shall discuss these in the chapter below concerning Maussollan architecture. It has to be said that the Hekatomnid epigraphical record has received little attention. Though these inscriptions are cited often in the relevant literature, analyses of the inscriptions themselves are rare and often limited to their respective *editio princeps*.

Before I shall dive into the epigraphical record, some points need to be discussed concerning the nature of the relationship between the Hellenistic ruler and the *polis*. Kings seldomly portrayed any form of (military) dominance over the *poleis* or justify their actions on accord of their kingship, for fear of being seen as an unjust despotic overlord. Instead, when intervening in local politics, these kings often portrayed themselves as respecting and following local laws. In cases where the king had to adjudicate disputes, he was careful to mould the image of his authority as being either extra-legal or supra-legal – that is as an authority which coexisted with the law or an authority which superseded the law in cases where local laws had failed to solve the problem. Furthermore, when new legislation was required, kings appointed local notables who were familiar with their laws to do so. In the few cases the king did legislate himself, he only added or amended a few laws, thus leaving the majority of local laws intact. In return for this royal aloofness the *poleis* respected the king's authority.²⁰³

Aside from legislative issues, kings wanted to maintain active and warm diplomatic relations with their *poleis*. This relation would be given shape in a highly ritualized performance centred around the previously mentioned concept of speech-act. *Poleis* would publicly ask for certain favours such as a separate tax status. Due to the public nature of the act, the king's hands were effectively tied as not honouring the demand would blemish his reputation as a beneficial king. Kings could be coerced, for lack of a better word, to act on behalf of their *poleis*. This was however by no means a one-way street as kings expected to be honoured in such a way that openly respected and affirmed their authority. *Poleis*, in return, thus obliged their kings with

²⁰³ O'Neil 2000, 425-429.

titles, honorary statues and other dedications. As both parties had something to gain, or lose, these commitments were actively negotiated in a highly respectful manner in which both had considerable influence.²⁰⁴ These relationships could greatly affect the very social fabric of a *polis* as Ma illustrates concerning Antiochos III (r. 222-187) and Iasos: a cult was established for his Laodike which in turn provided dowries to poor citizens.²⁰⁵ Though both sides thus had considerable influence on the process, kings could greatly affect local life. These discussed two-way symbiotic relationships form the backdrop of epigraphic evidence concerning Maussollos and his interaction with the *poleis*.

One last point needs to be raised concerning specifically the Hekatomnids. As shall be shown, the Hekatomnids never used any titles in epigraphy, save for the occasions in which the Persian king was involved. This is because the Hekatomnids tried to portray themselves as *primi inter pares*, both in their private dedications and towards their *poleis*.²⁰⁶

2.1 Dedicatory Altars

Maussollos is known to have dedicated three altars in his life, two in Mylasa and one in Labraunda. The dedicatory inscriptions of the two in Mylasa have survived. The altar in Labraunda is only once mentioned in a later inscription and has further not withstood the test of time. I shall first discuss the two altars from Mylasa followed by the Labraundan altar. The near-identical dedicatory inscriptions of the Mylasan altars read:

‘[Μ]αυσσωλος Εκατομνω τομ Βωμον
ανεθηκ[εν]’

‘[Μαυσσω]λλος Εκατομνω τομ Βωμον
ανεθηκεν’

‘*Maussolos, son of Hekatomnos, dedicated
this altar*’²⁰⁷

‘*Maussollos, son of Hekatomnos, dedicated
this altar*’²⁰⁸

Two elements stand out in these inscriptions. Firstly, the fact that they were both dedicated by an individual, rather than a *polis* or any other political institution, and secondly, the lack of a recipient.²⁰⁹ Maussollos, however was not the first individual to dedicate an altar. Thucydides

²⁰⁴ Ma 2005, 181-183, 185-186. Concept of speech-act first pioneered in Bertrand 1985.

²⁰⁵ Ma 2005, 182.

²⁰⁶ R&O p.266; Rhodes & Osborne argue specifically that the Erythraians portrayed Maussollos as a citizen by omitting his title and using his *ethnic* (see 2.2.2). Maussollos however never used any titles or an *ethnic*; the lack of a title is a Hekatomnid innovation.

²⁰⁷ *I.Mylasa* 6 (Appendix 1.17).

²⁰⁸ *I.Mylasa* 7 (Appendix 1.18). On the various spellings of Maussollos see Zgusta 1964 § 885. The use of the various spellings on these two altars indicates that Maussollos did not personally oversee the project.

²⁰⁹ E.g. the Great Altar at Delphi was dedicated by the Khians, not by individuals, *Syll.*³ 19.

mentions that Peisistratos the Younger, the son of the Athenian tyrant Hippias (ca. 547-post 490), dedicated two altars bearing his name, one at the Athenian agora and one at the Sanctuary of Apollo in Pythion, during his year in office as eponymous archon (522-521). The dedicatory inscription of the altar on the Athenian agora was destroyed after the ousting of the Peisistratids.²¹⁰ Three more individually dedicated altars are known from Archaic Athens.²¹¹ Outside of Athens there are possibly two more known altars dedicated by individuals though these are dubious. One is an archaic inscription on a marble block from the *agora* of Thasos which was part of Glaukos's *mnema*. Though the epigraphic evidence is rather limited, Glaukos is further known in the fragmented poems of the archaic contemporary poet Archilochos. Glaukos had been a very prominent Thasian, possibly a founder of the colony.²¹² It has therefore been suggested that this *mnema* could have been altar, in conjunction with its prominent location on the agora, or possibly a cenotaph.²¹³ This however remains inconclusive. Another possible personal dedicatory altar is from Delos and is dated to the end of the fifth century. The inscription, though badly damaged, states that the Athenians dedicated an altar to Apollo, and probably Athena. It mentions the individual Kleoteleos most likely in the capacity of the sculptor of the altar, though the lacuna makes this unclear.²¹⁴ The plain mentioning of the sculptor, however, does not elevate him to a co-dedicant.

Returning to Maussollos, him personally dedicating two altars thus was not a new practice, but nonetheless highly unusual and the first such attestation in Asia Minor. In fact, all the evidence presented here is dated to the Archaic Period. The Athenians most likely associated it with despotic rule after the Peisistratids.²¹⁵ It seems that Maussollos may have revived the practice. Umholtz argues however that the practice itself was not shunned for any social reasons. Such dedications were perfectly acceptable if the individual could afford it. In other words, costs not social norms were the obstacle.²¹⁶ However, Umholtz herself points out that in the Classical Period buildings were being dedicated and inscribed by private individuals, whilst "cheaper" altars were not.²¹⁷ There did seem to be some stigma connected to the private dedication of an altar. Only in the Hellenistic Period do individuals increasingly dedicate altars on a personal basis, usually on behalf of Hellenistic kings. This supports the notion that such a dedication inherently implied, possibly unwanted, monarchical tendencies.²¹⁸

²¹⁰ Thuc. 6.54.

²¹¹ *IG I³* 590, 596, 605.

²¹² See Jacoby 1941 on the dating of Archilochos.

²¹³ *ML* 3.

²¹⁴ *I.Delos* 47. Cf. *SEG* 19.517 which is a partial later copy and is far better preserved, though it still has crucial lacunae.

²¹⁵ Contra Hornblower 1982, 293.

²¹⁶ Umholtz 2002, 287-289.

²¹⁷ Umholtz 2002, 282-286.

²¹⁸ E.g. *OGIS* 17, 65, 97, 103.

Concerning the second element, the focus of the inscriptions is solely on the donor, Maussollos, as it lacks a recipient deity. This highly unusual practice is only attested here with Maussollos. All the previously mentioned altars had a recipient deity. To compare, Thucydides has recorded the inscription from the previously mentioned altar of Peisistratos the Younger in Pythion. It reads:

μνημα τόδ' ἦς ἀρχῆς Πεισίστρατος Ἰππίου υἱὸς
θῆκεν Ἀπόλλωνος Πυθίου ἐν τεμένει

'This memorial of his office Peisistratus son of Hippias
Set up in the precinct of Pythian Apollo.'²¹⁹

Though the emphasis of the inscription is on the donor, it does mention a recipient god. Maussollos side-tracked the gods who were to receive sacrifices on the altars. This unprecedented change, through what must be considered intended omission as both altars lack a recipient, places the sole emphasis on himself. By doing so, Maussollos crafted the image of himself being a pious beneficial ruler and second to none. Not divine, he does not receive divine honours, but the next best thing.

Maussollos had a third altar at Labraunda. The altar itself has not survived. We only know of its existence via a single Mylasan decree honouring the Seleukid governor Olympichos over a century later, around 240 (see Appendix 1.3).²²⁰ Olympichos adjudicated a land dispute between the Mylasans and Korris, the priest of Zeus Labraundos, in which the latter accused the former of illegally farming parts of the sacred land and keeping the produce for themselves. Korris filed a complaint directly to king Seleukos II (r. 246-225). Though Seleukos II initially decided in favour of the priest Korris, Olympichos overturned his king's decision in favour of Mylasa.²²¹ The Mylasans honoured Olympichos in various ways for his decision, including a sacrifice of two bulls on the day the Mylasans celebrated their freedom and democracy, a bronze statue on the agora, the title of benefactor, but also, and most importantly for this thesis, the Mylasans vowed to create an altar for him 'in white stone similar to the one for Maussollos' at the Sanctuary of Labraunda.²²²

Maussollos had a prominent white-stoned altar at Labraunda of such repute that it was considered to be a worthy gift for Olympichos as well. The reason for mentioning Maussollos is,

²¹⁹ Thuc. 6.54. Miraculously enough the inscription itself has also survived and was recovered in 1877 and remains currently in the epigraphic museum in Athens; Cf. ML 11.

²²⁰ The inscription itself is a late second century copy of the original decree, Isager 2011, 204.

²²¹ *I.Labraunda* 1 & 4.

²²² Isager 2011, 202-203.

of course, that the Hekatomnids originally came from Mylasa and that especially Maussollos and Idrieus were major patrons of the Sanctuary. By mentioning Maussollos, the Mylasans tried to reinforce their claim on the Sanctuary.²²³ Ameling states that as the altar is referred to by its dedicator – Maussollos – rather than its recipient, its dedicatory inscription very likely lacked a said recipient like Maussollos’s altars at Mylasa. By doing so, Ameling argues, Maussollos was both the dedicator and recipient of the altar, which in turn must imply that there was an active Cult of Maussollos, in which he was venerated if not outright deified.²²⁴ Whether the lack of a recipient infers a Cult of Maussollos is highly contentious, especially as the dedication was set up by Maussollos himself which would thus be an act of self-deification. Many dedications set up by Hellenistic kings, even those who were deified in their own lives, are not known to be self-deifying but always mention a different recipient. Take for instance the inscriptions *OGIS* 23 and 65. The former is a dedicatory inscription of a propylon by the later deified Ptolemy II Philadelphos at the Sanctuary of the Great Gods on Samothrace, circa 281-265.²²⁵ He “humbly” mentions himself as king, the son of his venerated parents (as *soteres*) and dedicates the propylon itself to the Great Gods. The latter inscription concerns the dedication of a set of altars, probably three, by Kleon and Antipatros, two priests of Zeus, circa 245, on behalf of Ptolemy III and his sister-wife Berenike, who were deified during their lives as *theoi euergetai* and are mentioned as such in the inscription.²²⁶ The altars are dedicated to the royal parents, the previously mentioned Ptolemy II and his sister-wife Arsinoe I who were venerated as the *theoi adelphoi*, *Olympian Zeus* and *Zeus Sunōmosios*, but not themselves despite the fact that they were already deified. In short, deified Hellenistic kings did not set up dedications to themselves.

Furthermore, though this thesis is set up to analyse the different sources of Maussollos’s image separately, comparison allows us to remedy ambiguity. In other one-sided sources Maussollos continually set the stage for his own deification by creating proximity to the gods, but never took that final step. I think that these altars should be considered in the same way. I therefore remain very sceptical of a Cult of Maussollos in his own lifetime. To conclude, Maussollos set up three altars deliberately lacking a recipient to present himself as a pious beneficial ruler and second to none.

²²³ Isager 2011, 202-203.

²²⁴ Ameling 2013, 215-217. Ameling further argues for the existence of a Cult of Maussollos due to the presence of a “Maussolleion” in Iasos (discussed below).

²²⁵ *OGIS* 23; Cf. Caneva 2016, 146-147 on dating.

²²⁶ *OGIS* 65.

2.2 Statues set up for the Hekatomnids

Five *poleis* are known to have had statues of the Hekatomnids: Mylasa, Kaunos, Iasos, Erythrai, and Miletos. Yet these *poleis* did not set up these statues with a singular purpose, which must have undoubtedly been the result of negotiations.²²⁷ As will be argued below, Kaunos and Mylasa set up statues to appease the authority of the Hekatomnids, whilst Erythrai and Miletos set up their respective dedications as a deterrence to a Hekatomnid political takeover. The statue group set up in Iasos perfectly fits the former model of appeasement to authority, but it is unique as it was not a separate statue, or collection of separate statues, but rather a limited dynastic monument which deserves to be discussed separately with the Mausolleion of Iasos.

2.2.1. Appeasing Authority: Kaunos and Mylasa

Kaunos maintained a close relation with the Hekatomnids by setting up dedicatory statues for Hekatomnos, Maussollos and his sister-wife and successor Artemisia, though only the statue bases have remained which were reused.²²⁸ The statues once stood together in a shrine near the harbour.²²⁹ All three statue bases have a similar inscription by first mentioning the name of the recipient in the accusative, followed by the name of the father, and concluded with the dedicators which invariably are the Kaunians (see Appendix 1.4-6).²³⁰ The shape and size of statue bases of Hekatomnos and Maussollos indicate that they received bronze statues, whilst Artemisia's statue was made of marble.²³¹

The statues are generally dated to the fourth century, and probably contemporary to the respective reign of the recipient Hekatomnid. This century in general witnessed a large boom of dedicatory statues around the Aegean.²³² Ma however asserts that the Hekatomnid statues at Kaunos had different function than many other honorific statues. Most honorific statues celebrated victory and their associated generals. Kaunos, for instance, had set up similar dedicatory statues to the Athenian general Konon, and later also his son Timotheos. But the Hekatomnid statues did not celebrate victory. Rather, these statues emphasized the presence of Hekatomnid authority over Kaunos as the Hekatomnids were there to stay, though the statues were part of mutual negotiations.²³³ The Hekatomnids very likely in return respected Kaunos's democratic institutions which they preserved as the statue bases imply.

²²⁷ Ma 2005; Ma 2013a, 294.

²²⁸ Pixodaros is also attested in a later decree set up in Xanthos concerning the foundation of the Cult of the King of Kaunos; *SEG* 27.942.

²²⁹ Ma 2013a, 80.

²³⁰ *IKaunos* 46 (Artemisia), 47 (Hekatomnos), 48 (Maussollos); Ma 2013b, 165-166.

²³¹ Marek argued that *IKaunos* 46 was a dedication set up by Maussollos instead of a statue of Artemisia due to the use of marble instead of bronze. Ma 2013b, 165-166 however, correctly, argues that different types of material were more often used for female Hekatomnid rulers, as has been shown in 1.3.

²³² Ma 2013b, 166.

²³³ Ma 2013, 166-169.

Mylasa had a similar dedicatory relationship with the Hekatomnids. Though the inscription of the statue base has not survived, a statue of Hekatomnos is mentioned in a decree of judicial nature concerning the punishment of the sons of Peldemos who vandalized said statue.²³⁴ The inscription mentions that the judicial punishment, confiscation of goods, was taken by the Mylasans in a democratic assembly which remained extant in later decrees.²³⁵ Once again acknowledgement of Hekatomnid authority, backed up by dedicatory statues, was rewarded with the preservation of local institutions.

As stated above, Hornblower was the first to point out that the Hekatomnids allowed *poleis* quite a considerable amount of local autonomy.²³⁶ Yet, in return, as proof of loyalty, the Hekatomnids bargained for dedicatory statues to themselves, to whichever Hekatomnid was in power at that specific moment. This, however did not entail that the Hekatomnids never interfered in local issues. A decree from Lagina dated to 323 has survived concerning a tax exemption granted by Maussollos and the Koarendeis, a local governing institution, more than thirty years prior. In the decree the joint decision was reaffirmed by the Koarendeis.²³⁷ We do not know how much influence either side had in the decision or who initially proposed it.²³⁸

2.2.2. Deterrence via dedication: Erythrai and Miletos

The relationship between Erythrai and the Hekatomnids, and in general the wider Aegean theatre, was complicated. Situated on the Aegean coast quite a bit north of Karia proper, it would nominally have been part of the satrapy of Ionia during Maussollos's reign, though as has been shown above, satrapal borders tended to fluctuate and Maussollos had attempted to expand his own domain at the expense of the Ionian satrapy before when he tried, but failed, to take Miletos.

Erythrai had struggled against various local powers in a bid to maintain their democratic institution, and, to a lesser extent, their independence. In the early fourth century it was in the Athenian sphere of influence, but Erythrai however suffered from internal instability. A revealing inscription from Erythrai has survived mentioning this internal conflict. Erythraian troops had been surrounded and locked up in the Erythraian acropolis by another part of the Erythraian citizenry. The latter were not allowed to reconcile with the former without Athenian consent. In return for Athenian influence in local matters, they vowed to defend Erythrai against the

²³⁴ *I.Mylasa 2*. The inscription shall be discussed extensively below under the heading Conspiracies against the Hekatomnids.

²³⁵ E.g. *I.Mylasa 3*.

²³⁶ Hornblower 1982, 136-137.

²³⁷ *IK Stratonikeia 501* (see Appendix 1.2); the decree is silent on how and why the prior decision was taken. Cf. also Hornblower 1982, 163.

²³⁸ Cf. *Syll.*² 573 (not republished in *Syll.*³) in which Idrieus only ratified a local decision of the Tralleans.

Persians.²³⁹ Erythraian troubles continued in the first half of the fourth century as the *polis* had to be relocated further north-east in the peninsula it was situated on (see figure 1).²⁴⁰

Somewhere around the early 350's Maussollos started diplomatic correspondence with Erythrai, trying to expand his influence along the coast.²⁴¹ Erythrai had most certainly become an oligarchy as inscribed public decisions only mention the council and no longer the people.²⁴² Erythrai responded in a manner which can only be seen as a sublime diplomatic move, checkmating Maussollos and curbing his encroaching influence. They granted him a plethora of honours which Maussollos was forced to accept if he wanted to maintain his image as a beneficial ruler. These honours subsequently made any encroachment on Erythrai counteract Maussollos's image. The stele which contained the Erythraian decision has survived in a decent condition. The inscription first mentions a justification for the bestowal of the honours: Maussollos, son of Hekatomnos, from Mylasa, had been an *aner agathos* – a good man – to the Erythraians.²⁴³ Next follow the plethora of honours, first the immaterial ones, followed by the material honours. Maussollos was granted the title of *euergetes* – benefactor – of the city, he was made a *proxenos* and a citizen. He personally received the right to sail in and out of Erythrai inviolably whenever he wanted, even during war. He was given legal immunity and a front row seat at the theatre, for him and all his descendants. Lastly, Maussollos received a bronze statue in the agora with a crown valued at fifty darics and Artemisia a marble statue set up in the Sanctuary of Athena with a crown valued at thirty darics (see Appendix 1.21).²⁴⁴

Maussollos thus received abundant honours from the Erythraians. Yet, this should hardly be considered the outcome Maussollos had wanted. First of all, the inscription refers to him not just as the son of Hekatomnos, but also specifically by his ethnic '*Mylasea*' – of Mylasa, which he himself never used. By using the *ethnic* the Erythraians branded Maussollos as an outsider who, despite him being an honorary citizen, ought not to meddle in their affairs. This was aggravated by being granted the title of *euergetes* and becoming a *proxenos*. The combination of both honours is well documented, though later Hellenistic kings were often only granted the title of *euergetes* as this was enough to establish the preferred ties of mutual respect, local independence and acceptance of royal authority.²⁴⁵ By making Maussollos a *proxenos*, he was expected to become

²³⁹ R&O 16. Note that the resolution of the civil strife was not important.

²⁴⁰ Hornblower 1982, 100. Hornblower muses that this may have been Maussollos's doing, though this remains uncertain.

²⁴¹ Concerning the debate surrounding the date Cf. R&O p.267. This correspondence is generally thought to have taken place during or at the end of the Athenian Social War when Maussollos was at the height of his power in the Aegean.

²⁴² R&O p.267.

²⁴³ Cf. Mack 2015, 27-28 on the general structure of *proxeny* decrees.

²⁴⁴ R&O 56.

²⁴⁵ Mack 2015, 38, 41; Marek 1984, 335-9.

and remain a beneficial supporter of the Erythraians and help them as much as he could.²⁴⁶ Any political ambitions Maussollos had concerning Erythrai would place him before a dilemma: either keep encroaching on Erythrai which would ruin his image as a benevolent ruler and violate his role as *proxenos*, or accept the honours, which put Erythrai out of reach. We may for instance surmise that Maussollos tried to secure an important harbour for his prominent navy up the coast of Ionia; his personal right to sail into the harbour at any time would not have been valid for his navy. The honorary statue was the physical embodiment of this agreement for all to see. Though the stele on which the decree was inscribed stood tucked away in the Sanctuary of Athena, Maussollos's statue stood prominently on the agora reminding every passer-by of the agreement with Maussollos. This honorary statue thus acted as a deterrence by being the physical embodiment of a deal which curbed Maussollos's ability to intervene in Erythrai. The statue of Artemisia should not be interpreted as her having influence on the agreement, as she was not made *proxenos* or granted any of the other honours. Furthermore, her statue was tucked away alongside the stele in the Sanctuary of Athena. Rather it was an extra gift for Maussollos honouring his wife.²⁴⁷ However, as noted above, Hellenistic kings did not always vie for political control of *poleis*. Kings would for instance become a second authority or adjudicator. Though even in this respect Maussollos had failed. His bestowal of *proxeny* placed such intervening roles firmly out of reach. At best, Maussollos had established meagre diplomatic ties.

Two later inscriptions shed further light on Erythraian intentions. After Maussollos's death, his brother Idrieus received a near similar decree: he was granted the title of *euergetes*, became *proxenos*, was granted a front row seat at games, and was made an honorary citizen. Idrieus also received one extra honour Maussollos had not received, namely the right to have his legal cases tried first. As Varinlioglu points out Idrieus's honours are more expressly described.²⁴⁸ But unlike his elder brother and sister, Idrieus did not receive an honorary statue. The Erythraians did not deem it necessary to deter Idrieus to the same extent as Maussollos. Another inscription reveals why. Around the same time Erythrai forged an alliance with Hermias of Atarneus, who was centred in the Troad.²⁴⁹ Though Idrieus was still by far the most powerful ruler along the Aegean coast, this alliance gave the Erythraians the opportunity to steer clear from Hekatomnid political submission or any other form of influence. They maintained the cordial relationship they had with Maussollos, but by not granting Idrieus and Ada similar statues, they were winding down the intensity of the diplomatic relationship. Hermias would eventually revolt

²⁴⁶ Mack 2015, 32; Mack notes that *proxenies* were in general not citizens of the *polis* who nominated them as such, contrary to Maussollos's bestowal of citizenship.

²⁴⁷ Contra Carney 2005, 72.

²⁴⁸ Varinlioglu 1981, no.1, p. 45-47.

²⁴⁹ R&O 68.

against the Achaemenids, but was defeated and killed in 343/342, either the same year or one year after Idrieus had died peacefully.²⁵⁰

That statues could have a deterring function is further illustrated in the case between Miletos and Idrieus. Located at the mouth of the Menander River, the natural border between Karia and Ionia, Miletos was never part of Karia. An inscription dated to 391-388, contemporaneous to the start of Hekatomnos's reign, concerns the adjudication of a territorial dispute between Miletos and nearby Myus. As these *poleis* could not come to an agreement, they asked Struthes, the satrap of Ionia to decide on this issue.²⁵¹ Miletos belonged to the satrapy of Ionia, though it had and maintained strong ties to the Greek mainland as it had been part of the Delian League. As shown above, Maussollos had unsuccessfully tried to encroach on Miletos. Idrieus likely tried to exert influence on Miletos as well. It is in this context that we must consider the statue group that the Milesians set up at Delphi.

The Milesians had Satyros sculpt the statue pair of Idrieus and Ada and dedicated it in Delphi.²⁵² Ruzicka argues that the statues at Delphi showed the rest of Greece that Miletos was loyal to the Hekatomnids and that any encroachment against Miletos would be met by Hekatomnid resistance.²⁵³ This interpretation is at face value plausible, but there are some issues. As shown above, Miletos was never part of Hekatomnid Karia nor is there supporting evidence for Miletos being part of Idrieus's domain; during Alexander's invasion in 334, after Pixodaros's death, Miletos was not a part of Karia, but a separate Greek *polis*.²⁵⁴ Unlike Erythrai, Miletos was situated very close to the heart of Hekatomnid power and could therefore not substantially rely on neighbouring *poleis* to counteract this imbalance. Instead, Miletos had to seek the attention of more powerful, though also more distant, political entities such as Athens and Macedon, who were at the time the only entities who posed any serious threat to the Hekatomnids. By physically honouring the Hekatomnids in a place where the main political rivals of the Hekatomnids were also present they ensured that Hekatomnid expansion into Miletos could only be interpreted as an act of unwarranted aggression. Such a loss of face was diametrically opposed to Hekatomnid self-image. Idrieus duly left Miletos alone, and Miletos, in turn, did not intrude in the Hekatomnid sphere of influence. This, however, does not disprove Ruzicka's interpretation of the statue pair, namely deterrence vis-à-vis the Greek mainland. This statue pair does both at the same time. It deterred the mainland from encroaching on Miletos, but also the Hekatomnids. The statue pair

²⁵⁰ Ruzicka 1992, 120-123.

²⁵¹ R&O 16.

²⁵² *FD III* 4:176 (Appendix 1.1).

²⁵³ Ruzicka 1992, 112.

²⁵⁴ Arr. *Anab.* 1.18.3-1.19.6 for the Siege of Miletos.

thus had a double function. By doing so, Miletos had secured its local independence, but also hamstrung any deeper diplomatic relationships with either side.

As has been shown here, both Erythrai and Miletos used dedicatory statues to prevent being absorbed into the Hekatomnid sphere of influence as this would portray the Hekatomnids as tyrants rather than beneficial rulers. Statues could thus be more than laudatory honours or signs of respecting authority. Statues could be diplomatic tools to keep rulers in check. Though this course of diplomacy came with its own ramifications as Miletos shows: no enemies, but no allies either. Miletos stood alone.

2.3 Statues set up by the Hekatomnids

The Hekatomnids, especially Maussollos and Idrieus, dedicated plenty of buildings, especially at Labraunda, but seldomly dedicated separate statues. In fact, only two such statues are known. The first is the dedication of a statue of and to *Zeus Labraundos* by Hekatomnos, set up right beside the temple. The dedicatory inscription reads:

Ἑκατομνωσ υἱοσσάλδωμ[ου ανεθηκε Δι Λαμβραυνδω]
'Hekatomnos, son of Hyssaldomos [made the dedication to Zeus Labraundos]'²⁵⁵

Both the inscription and the location of the statue are of importance as both allude to a very close relationship with the god Zeus Labraundos itself.²⁵⁶ Hekatomnos forged a strong link between himself and the deity, though interestingly enough Maussollos and Idrieus rebranded this relationship by not dedicating statues, but rather entire buildings such as the *Andrones* – dining halls – at the Sanctuary.

The second statue, of which only the head and a few scattered fragments have survived, is more ambiguous and concerns the so-called "Ada of Priene" (see figure 3). It was found in the *pronaos* of the temple of Athena in Priene and shows signs of fire damage.²⁵⁷ Carter argued that it is a depiction of Ada because it was similar in size to the colossal statues of the Maussolleion and has stylistic similarities with the so-called Artemisia statue from the Maussolleion (see figure 14).²⁵⁸ Lastly, he surmises, as the statue postdates Artemisia, it must be that of Ada.²⁵⁹ There are multiple glaring holes in this interpretation however. Firstly, stylistic similarities and size do not prove that it depicts someone from the same

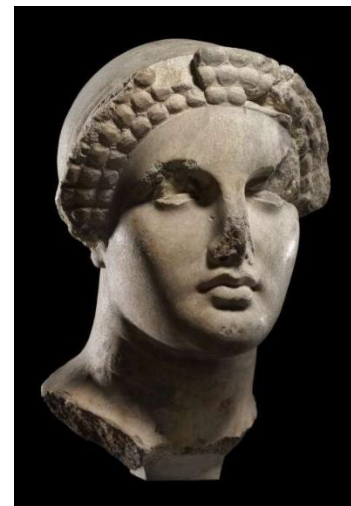


Figure 3 The so-called "Ada of Priene". Dated ca. 350-325. Source: British Museum inv. no. 1870,0320.138 © The Trustees of the British Museum.

²⁵⁵ *I.Labraunda* 27 (Appendix 1.9).

²⁵⁶ Williamson 2014, 94.

²⁵⁷ Carter 1983, 26-27, 272.

²⁵⁸ See 3.3.3; the statue does not depict Artemisia.

²⁵⁹ Carter 1983, 26-27, 274.

family. For instance, a local noble might have imitated the design. Secondly, just because it is dated to Ada's reign, does not prove that it depicts Ada. Lastly, Carter did not take into consideration who set up the statue. Though a dedicatory inscription is lacking, he presumed that Ada set it up herself. Yet, most independent statues of the Hekatomnids were set up by *poleis* as shown above. Carter's identification cannot be accepted.

As such, dedicatory statues seem to have primarily been a medium of communication between the *poleis* and the Hekatomnids.²⁶⁰ This however does not mean that the Hekatomnids refrained from using statues; the *Andrones* are believed to have housed a statue of the Hekatomnid who dedicated the building and the Maussolleion of Halikarnassos possibly had up to three hundred statues.²⁶¹ These shall be discussed in the next chapter. The Hekatomnids thus did not shy away from the medium of statues, but rather used them in combination with architecture rather than as free-standing objects.

2.4 Maussollos and Artemisia bestow *proxenos*-status to all Knossians

We have seen that both Maussollos and Idrieus had been made *proxenos* by Erythrai for the purpose of deterrence, but in this case, it are Maussollos and Artemisia who granted *proxeny* and the status of *euergetes* to all male Knossians. The inscription opens with the announcement that the decision to grant *proxeny* was a joint decision by Maussollos and Artemisia. Next follows the justification: the Knossians have been beneficial to Maussollos, both privately and publicly. As such, the Knossians are made *proxenoi* and *euergetes*, granted *ateleia* – immunity – in Maussollos's domain, and given the right to always sail in and out of Karian harbours. Lastly, both Maussollos and Artemisia vowed to do anything in their power to assist the Knossians if anyone wronged them (see Appendix 1.10).²⁶² The stele was set up in the Sanctuary at Labraunda, indicating that the negotiations had been a success. The dating is somewhat problematic as the inscription lacks any such defining characteristics. Due to its content, the inscription is generally dated to the early 350's, contemporaneous with the Athenian Social War. By granting the Knossians *proxeny*, it would have forced them to get off the proverbial fence and join Maussollos, or at any rate deferred them from supporting Athens.²⁶³ Due to their connected past, Kreta and Karia had always maintained friendly relations.²⁶⁴

Four major elements stand out in this decree: the role of Artemisia in Hekatomnid foreign policy, the portrayal of Maussollos as an independent ruler, the geopolitical aspect of this decree,

²⁶⁰ There is the case of Ariarames, ostensibly Maussollos's illegitimate son who placed his statue near that of Hekatomnos. But, as he is illegitimate, he is not considered to be part of the Hekatomnid royal ideology.

²⁶¹ Hellström 1989, 99-101; Waywell 1978.

²⁶² *I.Labraunda* 40.

²⁶³ *I.Labraunda* 40.

²⁶⁴ Hornblower 1982, 135; see 1.1.

and the granting of *proxeny* to all male inhabitants of a *polis*. I have already discussed the first aspect in chapter 1.3. I shall therefore only briefly restate what I noted above. Artemisia is portrayed as having significant agency in this inscription by being a co-dedicator alongside Maussollos. Conversely, this agency is limited in the inscription by specifically referring to ‘Μαυσσωλλου πραγματα – Maussollos’s affairs’ and ‘οποσης Μαυσσωλλος αρχει – in as much land as Maussollos rules. This is the only inscription in which Artemisia is given such a position, making it contingent on the Knossians. As Artemisia’s namesake, Artemisia the Elder, was half-Kretan, Maussollos was employing kinship diplomacy to sway the Knossians. This inscription should thus not be seen as evidence for active co-rulership between Maussollos and Artemisia.²⁶⁵

Secondly, concerning the portrayal of Maussollos as an independent ruler, Hornblower argues extensively that he portrayed himself as such by not referring to either the Great King or his satrapal status. Other satraps, such as Tissaphernes, had mentioned their respective rank and deferred to the Great King when communicating with Greek *poleis* concerning the epigraphic record.²⁶⁶ The lack of the satrapal title, or deferment to the Persian king, is common in Hekatomnid epigraphy, but its purpose is not to muse the notion of independence. Rather, it tried to create the illusion of equity between both parties. Maussollos tried to present himself as an equal to each Knossian individually or at best the *primi inter pares*.²⁶⁷ As such, they could all individually relate to Maussollos. Furthermore, most satraps were Persians and had most likely received a Persian education and had spent time at the Persian royal court. It is unclear whether Maussollos had done so, but he was at any rate more familiar with the local and Greek practices and customs concerning titulature.²⁶⁸ As such, he knew that not using his satrapal title yielded better results as he could represent himself as one of “them” rather than a foreign ruler which connotation the title of satrap inextricably had for many Greeks. Hornblower’s assertion is however supported by the phrase ‘οποσης Μαυσσωλλος αρχει’. It indicates that Maussollos did not perceive himself, or rather presented himself to the Knossians, as the ruler of a predefined area, but rather as the ruler of a dynamic land, regardless whether he had a superior.

Thirdly, the geopolitical aspect. Maussollos tried, apparently successfully, to expand his influence to Kreta, stretching Maussollos’s sphere of influence from Knossos to the eastern border of Lykia. Crampa notes that it is likely that Maussollos also maintained diplomatic relations with

²⁶⁵ See 1.3.

²⁶⁶ Hornblower 1982, 153-154; inscriptions from satraps which forego such titulature are generally from revolting satraps.

²⁶⁷ See above 2.

²⁶⁸ Henry 2010, 115; Henry argues that it is likely that the Hekatomnids were partially educated at the Persian court or at least visited Persepolis regularly. Henry based this on evidence of the pre-Hekatomnid Lykian rulers who portrayed themselves as Persian. I personally find this inference insubstantial to draw such conclusions from.

other Kretan cities, such as Gortyn.²⁶⁹ As noted above, this likely had to do with the Athenian Social War. The extent of Maussollos's influence in Kreta itself must have been limited however. His influence after all was based on providing protection and improving trade connections between Kreta and Karia by allowing access to Karian harbours. That Kreta was not too important to the Hekatomnids is noted by Idrieus's disinterest for Kreta; our sources do not mention Idrieus maintaining connection with Kreta, though this is an argument from silence.

Lastly, Maussollos turned the entire male citizenry of Knossos into *proxenoi*. The uniqueness of this act has generally gone unnoticed. Though scholars have commented on the mass-granting of *proxeny* and have pointed out that there are comparable cases in the Hellenistic period, there are two important points which must be addressed: time and motivation.²⁷⁰ Concerning the former, Maussollos is the first attested ruler to have granted *proxeny en masse*. The other recorded instances are all from the Hellenistic Period, specifically the latter half of the third century.²⁷¹ Maussollos's grant thus predates the bulk – the trend – of mass *proxeny* grants by roughly a century. Of course, we cannot with confidence say that he was the first to do so, or any such thing, but we can conclude that such a mass *proxeny* grant would have at the least been very unusual in his own time. Maussollos was once again innovating. As for the latter, the motivation, Maussollos's grant further stands out. If the interpretation given above is correct, namely that Maussollos tried to sway the Knossians to join him in the Athenian Social War, he would have granted *proxeny* based on a possible future hope. In other words, the *proxeny* was an incentive for the Knossians to choose his side which at the time was still an undecided matter: Maussollos gambled. The motivation for other mass-grants was not a future predicament, but rather a reward for previous good conduct and previous good relations. For instance, the *polis* Lilaia, situated in Phokis, granted *proxeny* to three hundred mercenaries sent to the *polis* by the Pergamene king Attalos I (r.241-197). It was the successful fulfilment of their services, aiding in the defence of the *polis*, which led to the grant.²⁷² It was thus a reward, and not a bargaining chip, for the Lilaians. Maussollos thus was innovative in two ways: he was the first attested ruler to grant mass-*proxeny* and he actively used it as a bargaining chip, rather than a reward.

²⁶⁹ *I.Labraunda* p.39.

²⁷⁰ E.g. Mack 2015, note 9 for an overview of mass-*proxeny*. Mack mistakenly states that Maussollos had a similar arrangement with the Knidians.

²⁷¹ *FD III* 4:132-135; *Syll.*³ 548, 942; *SEG* 15.411, 44.1148.

²⁷² *FD III* 4:132-135.

2.5 Maussollos and Phaselis

Phaselis was a *polis* located on the coast of ancient Lykia. It was originally founded by Rhodian settlers in the seventh century and became one of the major harbours of Lykia. Phaselis, unlike most Lykian cities, was Greek in appearance, having an agora, Greek institutions and maintaining ongoing trade connections with other Greek *poleis* such as Athens and Halikarnassos.²⁷³ Control of the *polis* however shifted with the rise of the Persian Empire and the infrequent Athenian incursions.²⁷⁴ Though Maussollos gained control of Lykia either during or after the Great Satraps' Revolt, Phaselis may have remained independent up to the extent that it conducted its own (partial) foreign policy as the inscription notes the conclusion of treaty of military support between Maussollos and the Phaselitans on egalitarian footing.²⁷⁵ Little of the treaty has however survived. The top and left parts are missing, making the interpretation of the inscription very difficult and contentious.²⁷⁶ The treaty is traditionally dated between 367 and 353.²⁷⁷

At any rate, what remains of the inscription starts with a mutual vow between the ambassadors of the Phaselitans and Maussollos before the gods *Zeus, Helios, Ge*, and Βασιλεως Τυχων – *Royal Fortune*. Helios was one of the main deities of Phaselis.²⁷⁸ As for *Royal Fortune*, it has been surmised that this may have been an instance of ruler-worship of the Persian King, though this is highly controversial, especially as Persian Kings did not consider themselves divine.²⁷⁹ It has been suggested that Artemisia also swore this oath, though only because her name could fit in the missing left part. Editors have always remained sceptical of this restoration and have cautiously added a question mark in their respective editions.²⁸⁰ Rightly so. Once again, there is no reason to suppose that Artemisia played any part in these negotiations. As shown above, the presence of Artemisia had a clear diplomatic function in the Knossian *proxeny* decree, after which she is not mentioned anymore in the inscription. Artemisia could not fulfil a similar function in the Phaselis treaty and is not mentioned anywhere else in the treaty either. Supposing her presence in this treaty can only be considered 'history from square brackets'.²⁸¹

The treaty continues, stating that both sides must remain truthful to the treaty and that both sides must, as has been written down, assist one another in the third month to fight together (συνβολαιων). The treaty lastly notes that both sides ought to be just to one another and restates that both should abide by what has been agreed (see Appendix 1.23). An incomplete passage from

²⁷³ Hornblower 1982, 122-123.

²⁷⁴ Adak 2007.

²⁷⁵ *TAM II*, 1183; Hornblower 1982, 123; Keen 1998, 174.

²⁷⁶ *TAM II*, 1183 *lemma*; Hornblower 1982, 123, 253.

²⁷⁷ *TAM II*, 1183.

²⁷⁸ Adak *et al.* 2005, 4.

²⁷⁹ Hornblower 1982, 252-253, n.241 for debate and rejection of this notion.

²⁸⁰ *TAM II*, 1183 line 1; See Appendix 1.23.

²⁸¹ Bodel 2001, 52-56.

Stephanos of Byzantion's *Ethnika* (6th century AD) infers that Maussollos had sent Karian troops to Solymos, a town in northern Lykia in the region of Milyas, which could ostensibly be in fulfillment of the treaty.²⁸²

Like with all treaties between Maussollos and a *polis*, Maussollos presented himself as an equal and not as a ruler. Though it remains unclear whether Phaselis was a subject *polis* of him, Maussollos's representation in this case is more equal than in other treaties, as has already been noted by Hornblower mentioned above. This, importantly, has to do with the nature of the document. Unlike with Erythrai or the Knossians, Maussollos needed direct military aid, rather than the establishment of diplomatic influence. The treaty suggests that when Maussollos gained control of Lykia, he had to militarily secure it as his father had done in Karia itself. The Lykians were not simply going to roll-over and Maussollos needed allies. A role which the Phaselitans gladly took upon themselves, no doubt in return for substantial benefits. Perhaps a larger role in the Lykian League?

2.6 Acts against Maussollos

Four inscriptions – three from Mylasa and one from Iasos – have survived in which the respective *polis* had to deal with the aftermath of actions undertaken by their citizens against Maussollos. These allow us to analyse Maussollos's approach to said *poleis* and how he dealt with internal enemies. Those from Mylasa concern a direct complaint by Arlissis to the Persian king about Maussollos, vandalism against a statue of Hekatomnos, and an assassination attempt against Maussollos during the Festival of Labraunda. The criminal act perpetrated by the Iasians is unclear, though it involved quite a number of citizens, some of whom managed to flee. In each instance the subject *polis* had to make amends for the criminal acts of their citizens. Both *poleis* responded differently. Mylasa employed a very formal, distant and internally unified approach in making amends, whilst Iasos's approach was far less formal and placed the initiative for restoring relations with its own (elite) citizens. Maussollos's role in these inscriptions is *prima facie* negligent. He is generally praised as a good person against whom a crime was perpetrated. As we shall see, order was restored by the *poleis* themselves, resolving the issue according to their own laws. As such, Maussollos is portrayed in the Mylasan inscriptions as a satrap respecting local laws and in Iasos as a bereft citizen. Maussollos's hand is however indirectly visible in the punishment: in each case the possessions of the perpetrators were confiscated, sold and the upbringings given to Maussollos.

Starting with Mylasa, all three decrees are inscribed on the same stele, making it identifiable as a later copy.²⁸³ Due to the reuse of the stele, its original location is unknown. As

²⁸² Step. Byz. *Eth.* 582 s.v. Σόλυμοι; Keen 1998, 173.

²⁸³ *I.Mylasa* 1-3.

each inscription starts with the regnal year of the Achaemenid king, they have all been securely dated. Next, each inscription mentions that Maussollos was satrap. These are the only inscriptions in which Maussollos is addressed as satrap.²⁸⁴ Though Maussollos himself avoided the use of his satrapal title, presenting himself as the first among equals, its inclusion, with that of the Achaemenid regnal year, most certainly stems from the Persian king's personal involvement in the case of Arlissis in the first inscription. This had thus become an imperial matter, rather than a local one. As the other two decrees were inscribed on the stele, the Mylasans followed the previous structure of referring to the Achaemenid king and calling Maussollos their satrap. As each inscription deals with a significantly different violation, they shall each be discussed individually from this point.

The first inscription, dated to 367/366, pertains to Arlissis, son of Thyssollos.²⁸⁵ After the aforementioned opening titulature, the decree states that the decision was democratically and institutionally ratified by the Mylasan assembly and approved by their three tribes. The crime is described: Arlissis on embassy to the Persian king petitioned to have Maussollos removed from office, who, alongside his father and his ancestors, is promptly hailed as a *euergetes* of Mylasa. The King instead expressed his support for Maussollos and had Arlissis executed. Rhodes & Osborne note that Arlissis was probably condemned to death because he abused the embassy to the King.²⁸⁶ Lastly, follows Mylasa's final judgement on Arlissis. His possessions were handed over to Maussollos. Curses were levied on the property to prevent anyone from reversing the decision. But if someone nonetheless dared to propose a reversal, he and his entire household would be *εξωλη* – utterly destroyed (see Appendix 1.12). This inscription follows a very clear structure: confirming Maussollos's rightful position as their ruler, the legitimization of the decision, listing the crime, praising the Hekatomnids as *euergetes*, a final verdict, followed by making the verdict irreversible. It is especially the irreversibility which stands out as it once again exalts Maussollos's position in the Mylasan society.

The second inscription, dated to 361/360, follows the same structure by first affirming Maussollos's right to rule followed by the democratic legitimization of the decision. The crime in this case concerned the sons of Peldemos who vandalized a statue of Hekatomnos, who is promptly hailed as *euergetes*. For this crime, Mylasa punished the sons by confiscating of their property, selling it and giving the proceeds to Maussollos. In line with the previous inscription follow the placement of curses on said property to make the decision irreversible, ending with the same threat of utter ruin for those who nonetheless propose to reverse the decision (see

²⁸⁴ *I.Mylasa* 5 is a fourth decree referring to Maussollos as satrap. It similarly starts with the regnal year of the king, but it has survived in a poor state with only the opening lines of the decree having survived. As such, the content of the inscription is unknown.

²⁸⁵ *I.Mylasa* 1.

²⁸⁶ R&O, p.262. Cf. also *IK Estremo Oriente*, p.136-137.

Appendix 1.13).²⁸⁷ Interestingly enough, the fate of Peldemos's sons is not mentioned. One would expect banishment or loss of citizenship, though the loss of all possessions did effectively neutralize the threat posed by the family. They had lost their means to counteract Maussollos.

The third, and last, Mylasan inscription concerns the assassination attempt on Maussollos at the Sanctuary of Zeus Labraunda during the annual festival in 355/354 shortly before his death. This inscription has a notably different structure. After mentioning the regnal year of the Persian king and Maussollos being satrap, it discusses the crime as a *fait accompli*. Manitas, son of Paktuos, had attempted to kill Maussollos, but he was saved with the help of Zeus whilst Manitas was killed, presumably by Maussollos's bodyguards. Next, the Mylasans decided to start an investigation into the crime to find accomplices and hailed Maussollos as *euergetes*. The investigation discovered an accomplice, Thyssos, son of Syskos. Only then is the democratic legitimization of the upcoming punishment mentioned, though it is incomplete. It only mentions that the decision was taken by the Mylasans and ratified by the three tribes, but not that a general assembly was convened. It seems that the decision was thus taken in quick succession after the assassination attempt with little time being spared for the official procedure, despite implying that this was indeed upheld. The punishment is the same as in the two previous cases. Confiscation and selling of property of both Manitas and Thyssos, with the revenues going to Maussollos, followed by the same curses and threat of utter destruction (see Appendix 1.14).²⁸⁸ Interestingly enough, Thyssos's personal fate is not mentioned. Is it possible that the hasty investigation and decision taken by the Mylasans could not adequately prove his guilt and that Thyssos was simply implicated due to possible previous unfavourable dispositions to Maussollos? The fact that Thyssos's personal fate is not mentioned whilst he is complicit in an assassination attempt on the ruling satrap can only be considered highly unusual, though it does fall in line with the previous inscription on the sons of Peldemos. Like them, Thyssos's financial clout is neutralized, making opposition difficult.

Iasos's approach to their citizens' conspiracy against Maussollos is markedly different and less formal of tone.²⁸⁹ This was possible as it remained a local matter, and most likely preferable to Maussollos who could style himself as an equal. The inscription starts with the opening phrase of many a democratic *polis*: 'εδοξεν τη βουληι και τωι δημωι – decided by the council and the people', followed by some more procedural considerations. It is then revealed that some Iasian men have conspired against Maussollos, and, by doing so, against Iasos. Maussollos is mentioned without any formal title as a private person nor is he honoured in any other way, not even as *euergetes*. He truly is represented as a private citizen. The crime itself remains unclear and it may

²⁸⁷ *I.Mylasa* 2.

²⁸⁸ *I.Mylasa* 3.

²⁸⁹ *Syll.*³ 169.

have never been performed at all. The inscription implies that some conspirators were caught whilst others managed to flee. The fate of the captured conspirators is not mentioned, similar to Peldemos's sons and Thyssos. All conspirators, captured or fled, did however face a public common punishment similarly to that of Mylasa: the confiscation of property, with presumably though unstated, the revenues of their sales being handed over to Maussollos. Though the inscription does not include a curse it does make the decision *τον αιδιον χρονον* – for all time. Yet, what follows next makes this inscription stand out especially. The adjudication of the case itself only occupies seven lines. The remaining seventy lines first present a summation of prominent Iasians grouped together by public office who support the decree followed by said Iasians purchasing the confiscated property of the conspirators in three sales spread out over two years (see Appendix 1.22).²⁹⁰ It is a combination of a public subscription and seized property sale.²⁹¹ Such public subscriptions were quite prevalent at the time around the Aegean, though not for such conspiracy matters, and had important social functions. First of all, it was an emotionally charged promise by both the citizens to help their *polis*, and by the *polis* to restore relations with the recipient, in this case Maussollos. Secondly, it coerced citizens into action as rejecting to donate, in this case purchasing confiscated property, or donating too little, would lead to social ostracism.²⁹² In some cases, separate steles were set up with the names of those who refused to donate, to invoke shame.²⁹³ Conversely, the order of appearance on the stele was based on who responded first, not the given amount, in order to show his zeal for his *polis*. This was however often prearranged as it was at Iasos: the archons are mentioned first, followed by the treasurers and other officials. Lastly, inscriptions of public subscriptions were placed in visible spots so all could see who had contributed, which we may surmise was the case with this inscription.²⁹⁴ The latter part of the inscription is therefore primarily a pledge of loyalty by the remaining Iasian elites.

Despite the varying styles between Mylasa and Iasos, it is notable that the punishment is unequivocally the same: the confiscation of property. This punishment has been recounted as early as the Archaic Period and was generally reserved for traitors, tyrants and other grave crimes such as seriously disrupting government, or very poor military leadership.²⁹⁵ The confiscation was not only morally associated with the worst crimes, but also deprived said criminals of the fiscal means to do so again. As the punishment was unchanging, it has to be supposed that it was

²⁹⁰ *SEG* 63.875.

²⁹¹ Cf. *SEG* 63.875.

²⁹² Ellis-Evans 2012, 109-117.

²⁹³ Ellis-Evans 2012, 109-117.

²⁹⁴ Ellis-Evans 2012, 109-117.

²⁹⁵ Connor 1985, 81-82, 84-86; Connor further notes that the practice was often accompanied by raising the physical house, though, as he notes, this was geographically limited to mainland Greece.

Maussollos who demanded it, in turn for further leaving the *poleis* to their own devices, respecting their local institutions. Whether the perpetrators were banished or lost their citizenship remains unknown, but the punishment itself was a way of legally removing Maussollos's enemies by destroying their means to resist him. As such, Maussollos was a pragmatist when it came to dealing with his enemies. He respected local judicial procedures and was primarily interested in the neutralization of his enemies in a way he could also profit from it. When possible, he abstained from executions. In fact, none of the perpetrators were executed, though Arlissis was executed by Artaxerxes II and Manitas died in the assassination attempt.

Maussollos thus demanded the confiscation of property as punishment for his public enemies. The punishment suited the crime morally as it was connected to treason and also fiscally destroyed his opponents' ability to continue resisting whilst enriching himself. Whether Maussollos gained relative considerable wealth through these cases is unknown; he was already a very wealthy man considering his building projects at Labraunda and Halikarnassos, and him maintaining a fleet of one hundred ships.

2.7 Maussollos and the Festival of Zeus Labraundos

Little is known about the Festival of Zeus Labraundos at the Sanctuary of Labraunda save for a grouping of three fragmented inscriptions which are undoubtedly Roman-period copies dated to the start of our calendar.²⁹⁶ Crampa's reconstruction furthermore reveals that the original decree was not set up by Maussollos, but that it was a late fourth-century Mylasan decree referring to an earlier decision by Maussollos in which he extended the festival.²⁹⁷ Maussollos had decreed that the festival was to be extended from a one-day festival with a procession to a five-day festival. The reconstruction next mentions that sacrifices had to be made on each day: on the first day the customary sacrifices, on the second day to Maussollos, on the third day to Idrieus, on the fourth day the remaining *polis* gods/commonly worshipped gods, and on the fifth and final day any remaining personal gods. Lastly, the inscription mentions that those who do not follow these procedures are to be cursed, both he himself and his family (see Appendix 1.11).²⁹⁸

This inscription stands out for three reasons. Firstly, Maussollos had drastically lengthened a festival, and, more importantly, was able to do so without impunity. Secondly, Maussollos, and later Idrieus, received sacrifices at Labraunda as if they were deities. Thirdly, there is the issue of the curse which is near identical to the curse mentioned on the inscriptions of the acts against Maussollos.²⁹⁹

²⁹⁶ *I.Labraunda* 53-54B, p.81-88.

²⁹⁷ *I.Labraunda* 53-54B, p.81-88.

²⁹⁸ *I.Labraunda* 54A, p.84-87.

²⁹⁹ *I.Labraunda* p.86-87.

Little attention has been paid to the lengthening of the festival. We may presume that festivals in ancient times changed over time the same way our own holidays do: over time they change a lot, including their duration, but on an annual basis very little if anything at all seems to be different.³⁰⁰ But what Maussollos did can best be compared with turning Christmas from a one- or two-day holiday into a week of festivities, practically overnight. Most historians have paid little attention to this. Hornblower has mused that Maussollos acted as *basileus* of the Karian League at the festival, implying that the office had substantial religious duties, though this remains speculation.³⁰¹ And if we are to accept this, it is highly unlikely that even the *basileus* of the Karian League had such influence to change the festival at will. Ruzicka states that Maussollos extended the festival to turn a Mylasan festival into a pan-Karian festival.³⁰² Roos lastly notes that the *stadion* discovered at Labraunda is contemporary to Maussollos, indicating that he might have introduced games.³⁰³ Though Ruzicka's and Roos's suggestions are likely correct, neither answer how Maussollos had "simply" managed to extend the duration of the festival fivefold. Though there was an assassination attempt on Maussollos during this festival, its connection with the extension of the festival remains unclear.³⁰⁴ As Crampa notes, if the festival was extended because Maussollos had survived the assassination attempt, the inscription would have probably mentioned so in the surviving fragments as these concern the justification and performance of the festival.³⁰⁵

Lengthening a festival at this moment was unique and tampering with a festival was a highly contentious issue. To illustrate this, I shall look at four cases in which individuals influenced the course of festivals: Sophokles (496-406) and the *Asklepieia*, Demetrios Poliorketes (337-283) and the Eleusinian Mysteries, the Canopus Decree of the Benefactor Gods Ptolemy III (r.246-222) and Berenike II (r. 246-222), and lastly, Antiochos IV Epiphanes (r.175-164) and the Festival of Daphne. The first instance, concerning Sophokles, is the most controversial as he was not a king or in a permanent position of power to start with and his role in setting up the *Asklepieia* around 420 is surmised at best, nor is this *prima facie* the lengthening of a festival, but the introduction of a new festival during the *Dionysia*. Parke has suggested that the introduction of the *Asklepieia* during the *Dionysia* may have been due to the influence of Sophokles, who was one of the main advocates for the introduction of the *Asklepieia*, and, as a tragic playwright, was closely associated with Dionysos. This has however remained a highly contentious issue as Parke

³⁰⁰ Cf. Hobsbawm 1983 on the nature and changeability of traditions and customs.

³⁰¹ Hornblower 1982, 60-61.

³⁰² Ruzicka 1992, 48. Cf. Williamson 2013, 8 & *I.Labraunda* 67 which may have been an attendance list of Karian envoys.

³⁰³ Roos 2011, 265.

³⁰⁴ *I.Mylasa* 3.

³⁰⁵ *I.Labraunda* p. 85; though Crampa notes that the now lost fragments may have commemorated the attempt, p.83.

himself implies.³⁰⁶ If Sophokles was responsible for the introduction of the festival, he must have had considerable support from the citizenry, who did not tolerate unwarranted changes to their religious calendar as the next example will illustrate: Demetrios Poliorketes. He wanted to be initiated in all grades of the Eleusinian Mysteries at once during his first occupation of Athens in 307. To this end he pressured the Athenians to change the calendar twice within a single year. The Athenians complied, but Plutarch's account also notes Athenian outrage at these sacrilegious acts.³⁰⁷ Subject *poleis* and citizens thus expected Hellenistic kings not to tamper with their religious festivities due to their sacred nature.

The third instance is the lengthening of the festival of the Benefactor Gods – that is Ptolemy III and his cousin-wife Berenike II – recorded in the trilingual Canopus Decree dated to 238.³⁰⁸ This lengthy decree devotes quite a number of lines to justify the extension. The five-day festival was to start on the first day of *Pauni*, the tenth month of the Egyptian calendar, which roughly corresponds with June. But this calendar, like ours, had 365 days, meaning it would slowly go out of sync with the seasons at the rate of one day per four years. To keep the festival in line with the seasons and make sure it started on the 1st of *Pauni*, a leap-day was added to the festival every four years, extending the festival by one day. The festival would thus quadrennially be extended by one day. The Canopus Decree goes to astronomical lengths to justify a relatively slow extension of festival that was initiated by a then living deified king and queen. To clarify, living deities could not “simply” extend a festival, but required a celestial, though contrived, justification to do so.

The fourth and last instance is the Festival of Daphne. The festival is primarily known due to the lavish military parade, consisting of up to 50,000 soldiers, held there by the deified Antiochos IV Epiphanes in 166. The festival itself, with many games and banquets, was to last for thirty days. It was a reaction to the festival held at Amphipolis by Lucius Aemilius Paullus (229-160), the victor of Pydna (168) to commemorate the decisive Roman victory over the Macedonians.³⁰⁹ Yet, not much is known about the festival before Antiochos's adaption of it. Though Antiochos certainly enlarged it, the festival itself was likely a pre-Hellenistic new-year festival. The enlargement primarily served to sway Aegean *poleis* in favour of Antiochos, who attended in large numbers, turning the local festival into a Pan-Hellenic imperial festival.³¹⁰ Interestingly enough, neither Polybius or Diodoros, who have recorded the festival of Daphne, are negative towards Antiochos's enlargement; Diodoros is, however, very negative towards

³⁰⁶ Parke 1977, 135.

³⁰⁷ Plut. *Vit. Demetr.* 26; Cf. Thonemann 2005 for a full overview of Demetrios's multiple tamperings with the Athenian calendar and further interpretation on the issue.

³⁰⁸ *OGIS* 56. Like the Rosetta Stone, it is written in Greek, Egyptian hieroglyphs and Demotic.

³⁰⁹ Polyb. 30.25-26.

³¹⁰ Strootman 2018, 173-175, 192-195.

Antiochos's personal conduct.³¹¹ We may thus reservedly conclude that lengthening a festival had become an acceptable royal practice by the 2nd century, but was still highly contentious in the 3rd century as the Canopus Decree illustrates and near unthinkable in the 4th century.

Returning to Maussollos, we must accept that what he did was exceptional in every respect for his time. An exalted mortal spontaneously lengthened a festival fivefold for unknown reasons aside from his political aspirations. As this decree on the festival of Zeus Labraundos is not the actual decree lengthening the festival, it is possible that Maussollos had a similar divine, celestial, explanation for the expansion which has now been lost. But, even if so, the sudden addition of four days is a drastic measure as the Canopus Decree shows, which would add four days over a period of sixteen years. Maussollos had done what no-one before him had done, and what only, possibly, few would ever do after him.

As for the sacrifices Maussollos and Idrieus received on the second and third days respectively, *prima facie* it would seem that they were deified *post mortem*. Neither, however, seemed to have received divine epithets from the Mylasans.³¹² Yet, it is highly unlikely that Maussollos added the sacrifices himself, or Idrieus for that matter, as Maussollos did not deify himself.³¹³ The most obvious evidence for this would be the sacrificial pit found at his Maussolleion in Halikarnassos. It contained at least five cattle, twenty-five sheep and goats, eight lambs, fourteen chickens and either eight squabs or chickens. Though the animals were not burnt, they were nonetheless deposited in a chthonic manner similar to some heroes – the hind ligaments had been severed before the sacrifice so the animals had a closer connection to the chthonic world.³¹⁴ I will extensively discuss the Maussolleion below in the next chapter, but for now it suffices to say that Maussollos received chthonic honours of a hero after death, not divine honours, let alone in life.

The Labraundan inscription does not specify what kind of sacrifices Maussollos and Idrieus received, but the sanctuary had no *bothroi* – sacrificial pits – for annual chthonic sacrifices. Furthermore, it is very likely that the sacrifices to Maussollos would have been performed on his previously mentioned altar, making these Olympian in nature. The sacrifices postdate Maussollos and Idrieus, possibly considerably, and were instituted by Mylasa. The reason why Mylasa would institute sacrifices to them must have to do with the fact that Mylasa struggled throughout the third century to maintain control of Labraunda, culminating in the aforementioned adjudication by Olympichos in Mylasa's favour. By instituting annual sacrifices at one of the most important festivals to the two greatest patrons of the sanctuary, Mylasa tied Labraunda to itself. It was also

³¹¹ Diod. Sic. 31.16.

³¹² *ILabraunda* p.84 for reconstruction: the lacuna where Maussollos's name would have stood is large enough to include an epithet, but this is not the case for Idrieus, making it unlikely either had an epithet.

³¹³ See section on Maussollos's altars above and 3.3 below.

³¹⁴ Højlund 1983, 145-146, 149-152.

for this very reason that a curse was placed on those Mylasans who failed to perform their sacrificial duties. Such neglect would weaken the ties between Mylasa and Labraunda, jeopardizing their hold on it.

To conclude, Mylasa instituted annual Olympian sacrifices to Maussollos and Idrieus in a bid to strengthen ties between the *poleis* and the Sanctuary of Zeus Labraundos. Maussollos's extension of the Festival at Labraunda from one to five days is nothing short of extreme, and, in his own day, unheard of. No mortal should have been able to enact such a sweeping religious reform.

2.8 The Maussolleion at Iasos

During a 1999 excavation of a Byzantine-period building in Iasos, located near the agora, seven ancient building blocks belonging to the same structure were found. Four of these blocks contained a total six of inscriptions: two mostly intact and four fragmentary.³¹⁵ These six inscriptions can be dated between the end of the fourth century and mid third century.³¹⁶ As such, they not only postdate Maussollos, but the entire Hekatomnid Dynasty.³¹⁷ The content of these inscriptions shall therefore not be analysed, save for the final line of three inscriptions which state where the inscriptions were to be displayed: *τη παρασταδι του Μουσσωλλειου* – the doorpost of the Maussolleion.³¹⁸ Maddoli raised multiple issues with this Maussolleion, which cannot be answered yet. Was the Maussolleion a functional building or a sanctuary, and was it built during Maussollos's lifetime or afterwards? Maddoli states that there were only two near-contemporaneous structures named after rulers: Amynteion of Amyntas III of Macedon (r. 392-370) in Pydna and the Alexandreion Sanctuary in Priene set up after Alexander's conquest of the *polis* in 334, though the former is only attested by a single scholiast. Both had different functions.³¹⁹ A possible third comparison is the Philippeion in Olympia set up by Philip II (r. 359-336) which housed the royal statues of himself, his wife Olympias, his son Alexander and his parents Amyntas III and Eurydike.³²⁰ The Philippeion however was clearly a dynastic monument which the Iasian Maussolleion was not.³²¹

As judicial decisions were displayed at the Maussolleion, it may have been constructed in the wake of the aftermath of the Iasian conspiracy against Maussollos described above. As Maussollos allowed the local institutions to remain intact when the guilty were punished, it may

³¹⁵ Maddoli 2007, 248.

³¹⁶ Maddoli 2007, 248-251.

³¹⁷ Maddoli 2007, 252.

³¹⁸ Maddoli 2007, nr. 11A, 11B, 12A1, inferred for the other three inscriptions: 12A2, 12B and 13.

³¹⁹ Maddoli 2007, 250-251.

³²⁰ Paus. 5.20.9-10.

³²¹ Cf. Schultz 2009.

be that the Iasians further honoured Maussollos by setting up a structure where judicial decrees would be housed to commemorate his pragmatism. This would imply a contemporary construction, though, it has to be said, aside from these six inscriptions nothing is known about the Iasian Maussolleion. If it was contemporary, it would not have been a cult building. As argued throughout this thesis, Maussollos did not deify himself, he only set the stage for doing so with the act of deification itself being reserved for those who outlived him.

As for the location of the Maussolleion, Maddoli has proposed it may have stood on the agora as the Byzantine building in which the steles were reused stood, near the dynastic monument of Idrieus and where also the decree against the conspirators was displayed.³²² Very little is thus known about the Maussolleion of Iasos, though it at any rate was unique in being named after a local ruler – a satrap – even if it was constructed in the late fourth century, contemporary with the earliest of the six inscriptions, as Maddoli has pointed out. Maussollos's influence in its construction remains unknown, but apparently the image of a just ruler was bestowed upon him.

Here, I return to the dynastic monument of Idrieus and Ada. As stated above, it featured two pairs: Hekatomnos and Aba, and Idrieus and Ada. The inscription at the base of the monument praised Idrieus for good governance and restoring order, comparing him to heroic kings (see Appendix 1.20).³²³ Nafissi notes that the use of the royal title, even in a comparative setting, was highly unusual because the Hekatomnids never styled themselves as such and preferred to be addressed without title.³²⁴ The dynastic pairs signify importantly that Idrieus's right to rule stemmed from his father, and not that of his predecessors, his siblings Maussollos and Artemisia. This importantly supports the aforementioned notion of rivalry between the two brothers, either originating or culminating in Artemisia's succession.³²⁵ As stated above, this dynastic monument certainly belongs to the category of statues which accept, and in this case even praise, Hekatomnid authority. Iasos's relationship with Idrieus was not limited to this monument. An Iasian inscription dated to circa 330-320 mentions the priesthood to *Zeus Idrieus* and *Hera*, possibly even *Hera Ada* depending on the reconstruction.³²⁶ Idrieus received Olympian deification. Hekatomnos and probably Maussollos were deified as *daimones*, not as Olympian deities.³²⁷ Maussollos, together with Idrieus, did receive Olympian sacrifices at Labraunda from

³²² Maddoli 2007, 251.

³²³ Nafissi 2015a, 71-74.

³²⁴ Nafissi 2015b, 40-41.

³²⁵ See note 144 and chapter 1.3.

³²⁶ Fabiani 2015; Carbon 2016.

³²⁷ See 3.3 below.

Mylasa as shown above, though this was inextricably tied to the disputed ownership of the Sanctuary.

Above all, the Iasian Maussolleion, the dynastic monument of Idrieus and Ada, the Olympian veneration of Idrieus, and the briefly mentioned deification of Laodike raises an important question: why was Iasos so intense – so over the top – with its dynastic veneration compared to its neighbouring *poleis*?

2.9 Conclusion

Maussollos's representation in epigraphy highlights two faces. Maussollos consistently represented himself, and was represented by the mentioned *poleis* of Kaunos, Mylasa, Erythrai, Knossos, Phaselis and Iasos, as an equal private citizen. He was not addressed with his title as satrap or any other distinguishing titles or honours, but just plainly as Maussollos, sometimes including his patronymic; the only inscriptions mentioning Maussollos in his capacity as satrap involved the Persian king, where such hierarchy was an inescapable fact. When we specifically look at Maussollos's private dedications, the dedications of the altars and the extension of the festival, we see that, though he still lacked titles, his actions were well beyond what a private citizen could do. His altars lacking a recipient remains outright unique, placing himself unequivocally on the centre stage. Similarly, Maussollos's lengthening of the Festival at Labraunda, though the exact circumstances remain unclear, must be considered an unparalleled event in his time which ought to have been unthinkable and quite likely sacrilegious. Not until the 2nd century were Hellenistic kings able to adapt festivals in a similar unscrupulous manner. Maussollos created the self-image of an exalted citizen.

When we look at the relation between Maussollos and the *poleis*, we see that one the most important ways to maintain these relations was with dedicatory statues, though the granting of these statues, combined with other honours, had different uses. Kaunos, Mylasa and Iasos set up statues to acknowledge Hekatomnid authority, whilst Erythrai and Miletos dedicated their statues in such a way that the Hekatomnids could not establish political authority over the *polis*. This however did not imply that the Hekatomnids did not gain any influence in either Erythrai or Miletos. These *poleis* had after all established diplomatic ties with the Hekatomnids and were bound by their own agreements to acknowledge at least some Hekatomnid influence inside their walls. Similarly, when Maussollos and Artemisia bestowed *proxeny* on all Knossians, they hoped to gain an extra foothold in the Aegean, by granting the Knossians lavish honours. In turn, the Hekatomnids gained political influence on the largest island in the Aegean.

When we look at the acts against Maussollos, he was represented as an aggrieved citizen who suffered great injustice at the hands of either Mylasan or Iasian citizens and therefore the *poleis*. As Mylasa and Iasos acted swiftly to rectify the relation with Maussollos and punish the

culprits, Maussollos is portrayed as a law-abiding citizen, respecting the legal democratic decision of the *poleis* on the matter. As the punishment is invariably banishment and confiscation of property, we must consider it likely that Maussollos demanded the punishment, permanently neutralizing the opposing families, for, in turn, leaving the local institutions intact. These instances of *realpolitik* kept both sides content. Maussollos had neutralized a threat and the *poleis* got to continue as they were.

One last point which needs to be addressed is Maussollos's afterlife. As Mylasa struggled to maintain control of Labraunda in the third century, they inextricably tried to connect Maussollos the Mylasan with the Sanctuary, by mentioning him in the decree honouring the Seleukid governor Olympichos, and, moreover, establishing Olympian sacrifices to him and Idrieus, which neither received in life.

Maussollos in epigraphy: ordinary and exalted in private dedications, equal and pragmatic towards *poleis*, divine in death.

3. Maussollos and Architecture: Labraunda and the Maussoleion of Halikarnassos

As Lucian's opening quote mentions, Maussollos was known throughout the ancient world as a great builder. Especially his Maussoleion of Halikarnassos – his tomb – was and is considered his greatest *mnema*. This chapter will focus on Maussollos's self-representation in his architecture. In other words, how did Maussollos choose to represent himself in his architecture; what message did he want to convey with his building programmes? And also, what role did the landscape play in his construction programmes? Maussollos specifically, and the Hekatomnids in general, were known to have invested in multiple sanctuaries and to have sponsored building projects across Karia. I shall focus on Maussollos's two largest building projects: the Sanctuary of Labraunda and his Maussoleion. These are the most representative of Maussollos as they are not only his grandest building projects, but also because Maussollos could and did mould the surroundings of both sites. The Sanctuary at Labraunda was no more than a grove with a small archaic temple, which he transformed into the major Karian sanctuary and one of the largest sanctuaries in Asia Minor.³²⁸ Primarily, Maussollos implemented a terraced structure of the Sanctuary and built an *Andron* – a dining hall – built a stoa, and incorporated all but the temple terrace itself into one of his palaces. Further outside the sanctuary Maussollos added a *stadion*. Lastly, Maussollos had the Sacred Way, a heavily fortified processional road between Mylasa and Labraunda, constructed. I shall also analyse the architrave inscriptions in this chapter as they are an integral part of the architecture and I shall also take the role of the landscape into account. I shall not analyse Idrieus's contributions to the Sanctuary. Though Idrieus constructed more buildings at the Sanctuary than Maussollos, he did not have the same freedom to act and play with the surroundings as Maussollos had. Idrieus could only add to what Maussollos had already constructed.

Pertaining the latter, the Maussoleion of Halikarnassos, Maussollos had a similar kind of freedom to act and play with the design and landscape as he wanted after the *synoikism* and restructuring of Halikarnassos. I shall extensively analyse it by looking at the previously mentioned sacrificial pit, the architectural style, and iconographic analyses of the friezes, statues, and the chariot which stood atop the Maussoleion. To add a dynastic comparative element, I shall also look at the tomb recently found at Uzun Yuva, which is probably that of Hekatomnos. The Maussoleion has been subject of many cultural analyses, but, as I have stated above, this is not central to my thesis. Therefore, I will only mention the respective views on the matter and leave any cultural verdict to my audience; my position on the cultural debate is that the Hekatomnids, Maussollos specifically, used cultural approaches as a tool self-aggrandizement rather than a scheme purporting specific cultural adherence and/or loyalty to a side.

³²⁸ Hornblower 1982, 277ff.

There is one more point which must be discussed before I shall analyse Maussollan architectural programmes and that is the relationship between the Hekatomnid dynasty and *Zeus Labraundos*. The dynastic relationship between the two has been discussed in many previous works, but too little attention has been paid to the origin and rise of *Zeus Labraundos*. Therefore, I shall attempt to reconstruct the appearance and rise in prominence of *Zeus Labraundos*, and why the Hekatomnids chose this Zeus as their dynastic patron.

To summarize, I shall first analyse the connection between the Hekatomnids and Zeus Labraundos, followed by an analysis of the architectural programme at Labraundos and lastly the Maussolleion of Halikarnassos.

3.1 The Hekatomnids and Zeus Labraundos

The origin of the god *Zeus Labraundos* is somewhat of an enigma. Herodotos notes that when the Karians sought refuge after their initial defeat during the Ionian Revolt in 499, they fled to Labraunda where *Zeus Stratios* – Zeus of the Army – was worshipped. The sanctuary, Herodotos says, was little more than a sacred grove of πλατανίστων – plane-trees.³²⁹ There was also a small archaic temple.³³⁰ Herodotos further states that *Karian Zeus* was worshipped in Mylasa itself.³³¹ *Zeus Labraundos* is notably absent from the works of a well-travelled man from Halikarnassos. Surely, he would have known about *Zeus Labraundos* if it was already a prominent deity in his own time. Strabo, who lived in Augustus’s day, notes that in his time the Mylasans worshipped four Zeuses: *Zeus Osogo* was worshipped in Mylasa itself, whilst *Zeus Labraundos* was worshipped at the Sanctuary of Labraunda. The third Zeus, *Zeus Stratios*, Strabo states, had a cult-statue and an archaic shrine, also at the Sanctuary of Labraunda. The fourth Zeus is *Karian Zeus* and also had a temple in Mylasa.³³² This would *prima facie* imply that *Zeus Labraundos* and *Zeus Stratios* co-existed in the Sanctuary, though the former had become dominant due to Hekatomnid patronage. *Zeus Labraundos* thus only rose to prominence after Herodotos. In fact, the first depiction of *Zeus Labraundos* comes from coinage minted in the reign of Hekatomnos (see figure 18 below).³³³ The first “written” mention of *Zeus Labraundos* is the reconstruction of the inscription of Hekatomnos’s dedicatory statue at Labraunda discussed above.³³⁴ We can thus safely say it was

³²⁹ Hdt. 5.119. More specifically, a grove of *Platani orientalis*, trees with a large crown that can grow up to thirty metres high: LSJ s.v. πλάτανος.

³³⁰ Hdt. 5.119. Herodotos uses the term ἱρόν (= ἱερόν), which may mean both temple or just the precinct. Archaeological evidence has shown that there was a temple in archaic times: Baran 2006, 36; Thieme 1993.

³³¹ Hdt. 1.171.

³³² Strabo 14.2.23; he uses ἱερόν for *Zeus Osogo* and *Zeus Labraunda*, and νᾶός and ξόανον for *Zeus Stratios*, indicating that the former two were more important.

³³³ Blid 2020, 87.

³³⁴ *I.Labraunda* 27; see 2.3. Ruzicka, based on Strabo 14.2.23 who says that the priesthoods were held by the most distinguished Mylasans, argues that the Hekatomnids had been the hereditary priests to *Zeus*

Hekatomnos who linked his dynasty to *Zeus Labraundos*. Ballesteros Pastor, however, suggested that *Karian Zeus*, *Zeus Stratios* and *Zeus Labraundos* were all the same deity. He argues that *Karian Zeus* was the Greek name for *Zeus Stratios*, and that *Zeus Labraundos* was the same as *Zeus Stratios* because he wielded an axe (see below).³³⁵ The first proposition must be incorrect as Herodotos differentiates between *Karian Zeus* and *Zeus Stratios*, including that each Zeus was worshipped by different people (see below).³³⁶

However, the second proposition does have some merit. Both in the Hekatomnid period and the centuries afterwards *Zeus Stratios* effectively vanished from the Karian epigraphical record. This is especially noticeable in the previously mentioned so-called Olympichos file. To recap, this consists of thirteen inscriptions related to the dispute for the ownership of the Sanctuary of Labraunda between the priest Korris and Mylasa, set up between 240-220. Olympichos eventually arbitrated in favour of Mylasa.³³⁷ During the process the Mylasans also requested aid from Philip V of Macedon (r.221-179) who subsequently conversed with Olympichos. The Mylasans vowed that if Labraunda was returned to them, they would make a sacrifice on behalf of Philip to *Zeus Osogo*, *Zeus Labraundos* and *Zeus Eleutherius*.³³⁸ The latter Zeus was worshipped primarily in Macedon and mainland Greece.³³⁹ *Zeus Stratios* is notably absent. Similarly, once the matter had been adjudicated the Mylasans honoured Olympichos twice. The first decree is badly damaged. Only the mention of the priest of *Zeus Osogo* survived.³⁴⁰ The second decree is the aforementioned decree in which Olympichos was bestowed an altar at the Sanctuary of Labraunda. He further received dedicatory crowns during the *γυμνικῶν ἀγωνῶν* – *gymnic games* – of *Zeus Osogo* (see Appendix 1.3).³⁴¹ Once again *Zeus Stratios* is missing.³⁴²

So, what to do with Strabo's mention of *Zeus Stratios*? It seems that worship of the deity, which had persisted throughout Asia Minor, had been revived by Strabo's time at Labraunda.³⁴³ Alternatively, it may have always persisted, but just at a negligible rate. There is one inscription

Labraundos since before Hekatomnos as they must have been the most distinguished citizens; Ruzicka 1992, 30. There are however some issues. Firstly, Strabo refers collectively to all priesthoods, not specifically to that of *Zeus Labraundos*. Secondly, Strabo does not say that the offices were hereditary, just for life. Thirdly, Strabo writes three centuries after the demise of the Hekatomnids and presents an account of his day. Ruzicka does not substantiate why there would already have been a priesthood to *Zeus Labraundos* before Hekatomnos.

³³⁵ Ballesteros Pastor 2003, 213-215.

³³⁶ Hdt. 1.171, 5.119.

³³⁷ *I.Labraunda* 1-12; Isager & Karlsson 2008.

³³⁸ *I.Labraunda* 6.

³³⁹ West 1977.

³⁴⁰ *I.Labraunda* 9.

³⁴¹ Isager & Karlsson 2008, 203.

³⁴² The Olympichos file furthermore shows that *Zeus Osogo* had already become a major deity at Mylasa. The origin of *Zeus Osogo* is unknown, but he underwent a spectacular rise in popularity, starting at least in the early third century. Olympichos himself seems to have had a personal affiliation with *Zeus Osogo* as he donated lands to the god (*I.Labraunda* 8). *Zeus Osogo* had become more important than *Karian Zeus*.

³⁴³ Cf. Ballesteros Pastor 2003, 213-215 on *Zeus Stratios* elsewhere.

from Labraunda dated to the Early Imperial Period whose opening line reads [...] ατειο [...].³⁴⁴ It has been surmised, and disputed, that it referred to *Zeus Stratios* in the possessive genitive – Στρατειου – indicating that there was a priest to the god at that time, and thus an active cult.³⁴⁵ By the Early Imperial Period, the Sanctuary of Labraunda had become shared between *Zeus Labraundos* and *Zeus Stratios*. Though we cannot confidently state that *Zeus Labraundos* is *Zeus Stratios*, the former effectively did supplant the latter at Labraunda.

Two historical sources of later date also discuss the origin of *Zeus Labraundos*: Plutarch and Aelian. Plutarch states that when Herakles defeated the Amazonian queen Hippolyte as part of his Twelve Labours, he gave her axe to the Lydian queen Omphale, whose successors up to Kandaulos inherited the axe in turn. When conflict broke out between Kandaulos and his subordinate Gyges, the latter received support from Arselis of Mylasa who slew Kandaulos, recovered the axe and took it home with him. Once home he erected a statue to Zeus, placing the axe in its hand. And that is how Zeus got the epithet:

‘Λυδοὶ γὰρ “λάβρυν” τὸν πέλεκυν ὀνομάζουσι’
‘for the Lydians call the axe labrys’³⁴⁶

Diodoros also mentions a close relationship between Herakles and Omphale, resulting in a son, but only long after completing his labours. Nor does Diodoros mention Herakles giving her Hippolytes’s axe, though Diodoros is primarily concerned with telling Herakles’s story.³⁴⁷ The origin of the *labrys* is however a contentious issue. Scholars in the early 20th century often connected it to Minoan Kreta due to the ostensible onomastic similarities between *labrys* and *labyrinthos*. There was also a Minoan goddess who had a double axe as attribute.³⁴⁸ This connection has however come under severe scrutiny in the last few decades. Conversely, the origin of the axe-wielding Zeus might actually be Hittite. An image from the Sanctuary of Yazilikaya depicts the Hurrian deity with a double axe standing over a panther.³⁴⁹ This imagery argues for a strong cultural link between the Hittites and Karians and gives credibility to Plutarch’s interpretation of the non-Greek Anatolian origin.

Our second source for the origin of *Zeus Labraundos* is a passage of Aelian (ca.175-ca.235 AD). His account is rather convoluted and indicative of later development of the area. He refers

³⁴⁴ *I.Labraunda* 91.

³⁴⁵ *I.Labraunda* p.168-169.

³⁴⁶ Plut. *Mor. Quaest. Graec.* 45 = Plut. *Mor.* 301F-302A; this is the only occurrence in Ancient Greek of the word *labrys*.

³⁴⁷ Diod. Sic. 4.31.8.

³⁴⁸ Carless Unwin 2017, 17-21. Cf. also MacGillivray 2004 for the astral/cyclical interpretation of the axe/*labrys* shaped symbol common in Minoan Kreta.

³⁴⁹ Carless Unwin 2017, 17-25.

to the Sanctuary in his *Perí zóon idiótitos – On the Nature of Animals* – and states that there was a pond with fish wearing golden accoutrements. After which he discusses the god:

‘τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα ξίφος παρήρτηται, καὶ τιμᾶται καλούμενος Κάριος τε καὶ Στράτιος· πρῶτοι γὰρ οἱ Κᾶρες ἀγορὰν πολέμου ἐπενόησαν, καὶ ἐστρατεύσαντο ἀργυρίου [...] Ζεὺς δὲ Λαβρανδεὺς ὕσας λάβρω καὶ πολλῶ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν τήνδε ἠνέγκατο’

‘A sword is attached to the side of the statue, and the god is worshipped under the name of ‘Zeus of Caria’ and ‘God of War,’ for the Carians were the first to think of making a trade of war and to serve as soldiers for pay [...] Zeus received the title of Labrandeus because he sent down furious (*labros*) and heavy rainstorms’³⁵⁰

It is clear that the three Zeuses were conflated in Aelian’s time. His description of *Zeus Labraundos* and the explanation of the epithet do not match what we know about the deity in the Hekatomnid period. From Hekatomnos onwards, Karian coinage steadfastly portrayed *Zeus Labraundos* with an axe, not a sword.³⁵¹ Nor are there any events recorded why specifically *Zeus Labraundos* would be associated with large rainstorms. The disappearance of the axe and the misunderstanding that *labrys* was a Greek word threw Aelian off. He wrongly associated the epithet with the most likely Greek alternative: ‘*labros*’ – ‘fury’.³⁵² Such mis-associations happened more often in ancient times. The most notable example is the etymology of *amazon*. The Greeks thought it was derived from *a-mastos* – without breast – but the word *amazon* is in fact a loan word.³⁵³ We may therefore safely ignore Aelian’s passage when we are researching the Hekatomnids and stick to Plutarch’s account.

The question remains, however, why did Hekatomnos choose *Zeus Labraundos* as his principal deity rather than *Karian Zeus* or *Zeus Stratios*?³⁵⁴ Concerning the former, Herodotos notes that *Karian Zeus* was shared with the Mysians and Lydians because they were kindred peoples: *Kar*, the forefather of the Karians, was the brother of *Lydos* and *Mysos*, the eponymous forefathers of the Lydians and Mysians.³⁵⁵ A shared deity, especially such a geographically wide

³⁵⁰ Ael. NA. 12.30.

³⁵¹ Bockisch 1969, 131; older coins from the Karian city of Keramos feature a similar Zeus with an axe, but instead of wearing a *himation*, he is wearing a loincloth and has a lion at his feet, similar to the imagery at Yazilikaya. Cf. note 302.

³⁵² Special thanks to Lars Karlsson for sending me his article: Cf. Karlsson 2015, 75-77 who extensively explores the option of a weather deity at Labraunda.

³⁵³ Keessen 2009, 91-93.

³⁵⁴ Or Hekate, Hekatomnos’s namesake for that matter? Hekate had a large temple at Lagina with a frieze depicting her protecting Zeus by giving the mock baby to Kronos (cf. Berg 1974). Interestingly enough, Hekate was not part of Hekatomnos’s dynastic image.

³⁵⁵ Hdt. 1.171. Strabo 14.2.23 corroborates this, though Herodotos may have been his source.

spaced deity, would have been too overinclusive for Hekatomnos, who, as shown above, did not yet rule a united Karia, and had no claim to either Lydia or Mysia.³⁵⁶ So how about the latter, *Zeus Stratios*? Herodotos mentions that *Zeus Stratios* was only worshipped by the Karians.³⁵⁷ However, epigraphical and archaeological evidence indicate that *Zeus Stratios* was worshipped outside of Karia. He was worshipped across Asia Minor and later spread to the Greek mainland and was therefore also too inclusive.³⁵⁸ Furthermore, the Karians had regrouped and successfully counterattacked the Persians from the Sanctuary of *Zeus Stratios*.³⁵⁹ The deity thus was connected to a Persian defeat which a loyal satrap like Hekatomnos would not want to emphasize. Conversely, *Zeus Labraundos*, as shown above, had been a little-known, geographically limited, deity which made it the perfect candidate for Hekatomnos to use and mould into his dynastic deity, supplanting the other two Zeuses slowly.³⁶⁰ It also allowed Hekatomnos to associate himself with the great hero Herakles, claiming divine descent and placing himself in a context of mortals becoming gods.³⁶¹ Maussollos would make this connection more explicit on his Maussoleion. Though I shall discuss the building extensively below, it featured a frieze depicting the *Amazonomachy*, and more specifically, Herakles fighting Hippolyte.³⁶² Lastly, as argued above, the Hekatomnids were descended from “king” Herakleides, son of Ibanollis, and ruler of Mylasa, whose name, on obvious onomastic grounds, further reinforced the link between the Hekatomnids and Herakles.³⁶³

We should also further consider the symbolic implications of the *labrys/pelekos* – the (double) axe – wielded by *Zeus Labraundos*. The axe, on the one hand, is a tool often used by gods and heroes in the early works of Homeros and Hesiodos. Most notably, Hephaistos uses an axe to cut open Zeus’s head from which Athena subsequently springs.³⁶⁴ On the other hand, it is often a weapon used by the barbarian other. Aside from Hippolyte, Penthesilea, her sister and successor

³⁵⁶ *Suda* s.v. ‘Dexippos’.

³⁵⁷ Hdt. 5.119.

³⁵⁸ Ballesteros Pastor 2003, 213-215.

³⁵⁹ Hdt. 5.118-5.121.

³⁶⁰ Ruzicka 1992, 49; Ruzicka argues that it was Maussollos who turned *Zeus Labraundos* into a pan-Karian deity. As shown in this section, though the process described by Ruzicka is supported, it is argued that it already started under Hekatomnos. On geographical space see Carless Unwin 2014, 43.

³⁶¹ Ruzicka 1992, 49 (see critique in the note above); Chaniotis 2003, 431, 435.

³⁶² Hornblower 1982, 267-268; Ruzicka 1992, 54.

³⁶³ See above; Hdt. 5.121; *Suda* s.v. *Skylax*, who wrote a work on ‘king’ Herakleides.

³⁶⁴ Kouremenos 2016, 43-44.

to the position of Amazonian queen, is also described as fighting an axe just before being cut down by Achilles in Quintus Smyrnaeus's (fl. 4th ca. AD) *Posthomerica*.³⁶⁵ In a similar vein, Theseus, when travelling from Troizen to Athens, killed six bandits in the manner which they themselves disposed of their victims. The last of these bandits was Prokrustes, who would kindly receive visitors and offer them a bed to spend the night. He would then make his visitors, now victims, fit his special guest-bed by either amputating "excess length" or stretching his victims. Theseus discovered Prokrustes's intentions timely and returned the punishment.³⁶⁶ Though the axe is absent from the written sources, the visual representation of the myth in art, most notably a *kylix*, have Theseus wield an axe taken from Prokrustes as he is about the return the punishment (see figure 4).³⁶⁷ One last example suffices to drive this point home. Leaving the realm of myths, in Plutarch's description of the Battle of the Graneikos, when Alexander is fighting Roisakes, he ends up getting struck on the head by Spithridates with his *κοπίδι βαρβαρικῇ* – barbarian battle-axe.³⁶⁸ There was thus a strong barbaric association with the axe in the Greek world. The fact that *Zeus Labraundos* wields an axe taken from such a barbarian – Hippolyte – is not just a trophy signalling victory over a defeated enemy, but moreover the symbolic embodiment of triumph over barbarism. It is in this light that Hekatomnos placed himself. He did not just defeat his enemies and united Karia, he drove out the barbaric and petty dynastic lords and brought order to Karia.³⁶⁹



Figure 4 *Kylix depicting Theseus's accomplishments. Top-right shows Theseus punishing Prokrustes with a double-axe. Source: Smith 1881 Plate X = British Museum inv. no. 1850,0302.3. © The Trustees of the British Museum.*

³⁶⁵ Quint. Smyrn. 1.597-598. Plinius attributed the invention of the battle-axe to her; *NH* 7.201.

³⁶⁶ Diod. Sic. 4.59; Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.4; Paus. 1.38.5; Hyg. *Fab.* 38; Plut. *Vit. Thes.* 11. The sources disagree on Prokrustes's exact lineage and whether he had one or two (one small and one large) beds.

³⁶⁷ Smith 1881 Plate X = British Museum inv. no. 1850,0302.3.

³⁶⁸ Plut. *Vit. Alex.* 16. Though *κοπίς/kopis* is usually translated as sword it can refer to any heavy bladed weapon. It is generally accepted that Spithridates used an axe (cf. Perrin's translation). This confusion arises because ancient authors were less interested in matters such as equipment, tactics and "technology", and preferred to focus on matters like morale and (individual) excellence. Cf. Echeverria Rey 2010, 26. Cf. also Diod. Sic. 17.20.4-6, Arr. *Anab.* 1.15.7-8 for other accounts of the same event. Arrian also uses the term *κοπίς/kopis*; Diodoros, however, uses the term *ξίφος/xiphos* – generally translated as a double-edged sword – to describe the weapon that struck Alexander (and switched Spithridates and Roisakes around).

³⁶⁹ For the rather fruitful continuance of worship of *Zeus Labraundos* after the Hekatomnid dynasty, mostly in Asia Minor, see Carless Unwin 2014.

3.2 Maussollos and the Sanctuary of Labraunda

Human presence at the Sanctuary dates back to at least the 6th century as pottery shards attest to.³⁷⁰ Somewhere between the start of the fifth century, with Herodotos as *terminus ante quem*, and Hekatomnos's reign, the Sanctuary was expanded by the construction of the temple terrace with a small temple in antis on it, and a monumental entrance door in the eastern terrace wall.³⁷¹ This is very likely the temple of *Zeus Stratios* mentioned by Herodotos.³⁷² To our knowledge, Hekatomnos did not invest in the Sanctuary in any significant way. He may have changed the resident deity from *Zeus Stratios* to that of *Zeus Labraundos* as his aforementioned dedicatory statue to the latter was placed right beside the temple.³⁷³ It is unlikely that Hekatomnos would have placed a statue to *Zeus Labraundos* next to an active temple to *Zeus Stratios*. Though switching deities within Sanctuaries may seem outright sacrilegious, it was not unheard of, even when it concerned principal deities to the region. Attalos I (r.241-197), for instance, after defeating the Galatians at the Battle of the Kaikos River (241), substituted the cult of *Athena Polias*, the central deity of Pergamon worshipped on the acropolis, with that of *Athena Nikephoros*.³⁷⁴ Hekatomnos may have similarly substituted *Zeus Stratios* for *Zeus Labraundos* during and after the conflicts with the other petty Karian lords. At any rate, Idrieus, who expanded the temple with a peristyle, dedicated it to *Zeus Labraundos*.³⁷⁵

Maussollos was the first major Hekatomnid investor of the Sanctuary. On the temple terrace, he added a stoa just north of the temple. He added the lower terrace ring and built his *Andron* – Andron B – on it. He also constructed the Sacred Way, an eleven-kilometre long processional road between Mylasa and the Sanctuary.³⁷⁶ The Sacred Way and the Sanctuary were heavily fortified: along the Sacred Way stood two fortresses and three separate towers. To the east of the Sanctuary, on the far side of the Sacred Way, stood another fortress atop an acropolis, nicknamed *Petras* – the Rock.³⁷⁷ Lastly, Maussollos had the *stadion* built, though this somewhat off from the Sanctuary itself.³⁷⁸ The purpose of this section is to discuss these building projects of Maussollos in turn and analyse these in light of his kingship. To this end, I shall analyse these projects in the order of appearance from the viewpoint of a Mylasan in partaking in the procession to the Sanctuary: starting with the Sacred Way and ending on the temple terrace. Lastly, I shall discuss Karlsson's & Henry's proposal of a Hekatomnid palace at the Sanctuary.³⁷⁹

³⁷⁰ *Labraunda* 1.2, 105-106.

³⁷¹ *Labraunda* 1.2, 106; Henry 2017c, 551.

³⁷² Baran 2006, 36.

³⁷³ *I.Labraunda*, 27.

³⁷⁴ Strootman 2005, 124.

³⁷⁵ *I.Labraunda* 16.

³⁷⁶ *Labraunda* 1.2, 106-108.

³⁷⁷ Karlsson 2011, 217.

³⁷⁸ Roos 2011.

³⁷⁹ Karlsson 2015; Henry 2017c, 574-578.

Idrieus's building projects are not part of this analysis despite being the largest contributor to the Sanctuary. Nonetheless, his contributions do deserve a quick honourable mention. He first of all added the *Oikoi* building and his own *Andron* – Andron A – west of the temple, that is behind it. He expanded said temple with a peristyle. At the lowest ring he added two propylai and the so-called Doric building.³⁸⁰ There is debate whether Idrieus could have constructed so much in his short seven-year reign. Hellstrom, supported by Blid, argues that as Idrieus used his *ethnic* on the architrave inscriptions, he built during his brother's reign as he as satrap would not want to identify as merely a Mylasan.³⁸¹ Similarly, Umholtz argued that the temple expansion had started under Maussollos, but was completed by Idrieus, who subsequently took credit for it.³⁸² This is however contested.³⁸³ I myself have argued above that the use of the *ethnic* was because Idrieus wanted to distance himself from both Maussollos and Artemisia, and therefore Halikarnassos, because Artemisia had surpassed Idrieus in the chain of succession.³⁸⁴ Therefore, I shall only analyse the structures which were certainly extant in Maussollos's reign.

3.2.1. The Sacred Way, its Fortifications, and the *Stadion*

Two historical sources mention the Sacred Way between Mylasa and the Sanctuary of *Zeus Labraundos*. Strabo specifically refers to it as a paved processional road almost sixty *stadia* long.³⁸⁵ Aelian simply mentions that the Sanctuary was seventy *stadia* from Mylasa.³⁸⁶ Which of these two is correct is near impossible to ascertain as most of the Sacred Way has not been preserved, mostly due to contemporary construction works, including an asphalted road covering large parts of it.³⁸⁷ Most of the Sacred Way consisted of large pavement blocks with low retaining walls and drain channels at either side.³⁸⁸ As the Sacred Way went up into the hills, much effort had been put into making the journey as smooth as possible by, among others, terracing parts of the Sacred Way.³⁸⁹ Furthermore, along the Sacred Way stood in total 42 spring houses where passers-by could get clean water. These are of simple design: a small basin with walls on three sides and a flat ceiling. Though dating these spring houses has proven difficult, they may be dated to the Hekatomnid Period.³⁹⁰ The procession from Mylasa would thus pass along a well-paved road where water was in abundance.

³⁸⁰ *Labraunda* 1.1; *Labraunda* 1.2, 110-112; *ILabraunda* 15-19.

³⁸¹ Hellström 2011, 154-155; Hellström 2015, 108; Blid 2020, 82.

³⁸² Umholtz 2016, 641.

³⁸³ Ruzicka 1992, 104-105.

³⁸⁴ See 1.3.

³⁸⁵ Strabo, 14.2.23.

³⁸⁶ Ael, *NA*, 12.30.

³⁸⁷ Baran 2011, 52-55, the length of the Sacred Way would have been between 10-13 kilometres.

³⁸⁸ Baran 2011, 55-64.

³⁸⁹ Williamson 2013, 6.

³⁹⁰ Baran 2011, 67-91.

About 3,3 kilometres from the Sanctuary, the procession would pass the *Harap Kule*, a free-standing tower on the eastern side of the road, and the first of five Hekatomnid defensive structures along the Sacred Way.³⁹¹ 300 metres further up the Sacred Way, on the west side, the procession passed the *Burgaz Kale*. This was a fortress with three catapult towers, and the largest of the Hekatomnid defences in the area.³⁹² About 1,5 kilometres further up the road the procession would pass the next two fortifications. The *Tepesar Kale*, on the west, and the *Kepez Kule*, on the east. The former consisted of a main tower, which was expanded in third century with two additional towers. The latter was a free-standing tower.³⁹³ Just before reaching these towers, at 2 kilometres from the Sanctuary, the procession would have passed the first of many rock-tombs, which would only increase in number and size closer to the Sanctuary. Effectively all these tombs are dated to the mid-fourth century, during the reign of Maussollos and the build-up of Labraunda.³⁹⁴ At less than a kilometre to go, the procession would pass the last free-standing tower, the *Ucalan Kule*.³⁹⁵

With such fortifications between Mylasa and the Sanctuary, the Sacred Way was not just a processional road, but also had a clearly military function.³⁹⁶ As Karlsson points out, all defences stand on the southern slopes of the Latmos Mountains, separating Karia from Ionia, defending the Mylasan plain.³⁹⁷ These defences thus formed a crucial defensive line in case of an overland invasion, though Maussollos seems not to have been at risk of such, even during the Great Satraps' Revolt. Graffito discovered in the defences reveal further that the garrisons came not just from Mylasa, but from all over Karia.³⁹⁸ The reason that such defences stood along the Sacred Way undoubtedly had to do with the palace-complex which lay at the foot of the temple terrace (see below). But the defences must have also provided comfort and a sense of security to the Mylasans. Processions often included many rites and other activities along the way. Take, for instance, the Athenian procession to Eleusis which was interrupted by the Peloponnesian War. Due to the land-dominance of Sparta, the Athenians had to go by sea for most of the war, foregoing many sacred rites and dances along the way. To the elation of the Athenians, Alkibiades had raised an army to guard the procession on his return to Athens in 407, allowing the usual procession route across land to take place, and all the according rites.³⁹⁹ The defences around Labraunda, though erected for defence of the royal palace, also allowed the Mylasans to perform the procession in their own

³⁹¹ Karlsson 2011, 224-225.

³⁹² Karlsson 2011, 217-220.

³⁹³ Karlsson 2011, 223-225.

³⁹⁴ Henry 2017c, 565. Cf. Roos 1989.

³⁹⁵ Karlsson 2011, 224-225.

³⁹⁶ Baran 2011, 52-53.

³⁹⁷ Karlsson 2011, 247-248.

³⁹⁸ Henry & Karlsson 2009.

³⁹⁹ Plut. *Vit. Alk.* 32; Williamson 2014, 89.

way as Alkibiades had provided for the Athenians. All in all, the Sacred Way allowed for safe and easy travels to the Sanctuary.⁴⁰⁰

Just before reaching the Sanctuary, the procession would pass the *stadion* on the western side of the road, set up in the time of Maussollos.⁴⁰¹ The *stadion* is somewhat of an enigma as *stadia* usually are not connected with sanctuaries in Asia Minor; aside from Labraunda, only the Sanctuary at Didyma had a *stadion*. And unlike at Didyma, the *stadion* at Labraunda was located outside the sanctuary, though this is probably due to the terrain as the hills and limited space at Labraunda do not allow it to be placed within the sanctuary.⁴⁰² As the terrain around the *stadion* is either the same height or lower, the spectators sat further up the hill near the sanctuary rather than along the track itself.⁴⁰³ The *stadion* was therefore barely visible. A further enigma is the use of the *stadion*. Roos notes that there may have been games at the Sanctuary in line with the extension of the festival by Maussollos, though the inclusion of games itself is not mentioned.⁴⁰⁴ A later decree, however, does indicate that there may have been games as an honorific crown was granted.⁴⁰⁵

3.2.2 The Lower Terraces: Maussollos's *Andron* and the Palace

The entry into the Sanctuary may not have been very spectacular in Maussollos's day. As stated above, the two propylai, one facing the Sacred Way in southern direction, the other facing to east in the direction of the *polis* Alinda, are both dated to the reign of Idrieus.⁴⁰⁶ Even if we accept that construction started under Maussollos, or possibly that at least some of the buildings were completed during Maussollos's reign, the procession would for many years have passed through a construction site.⁴⁰⁷ Upon entering, the procession had to continue up to the temple terrace in an intentional zigzagging pattern up the monumental staircase and passed Maussollos's *Andron*, having the participants

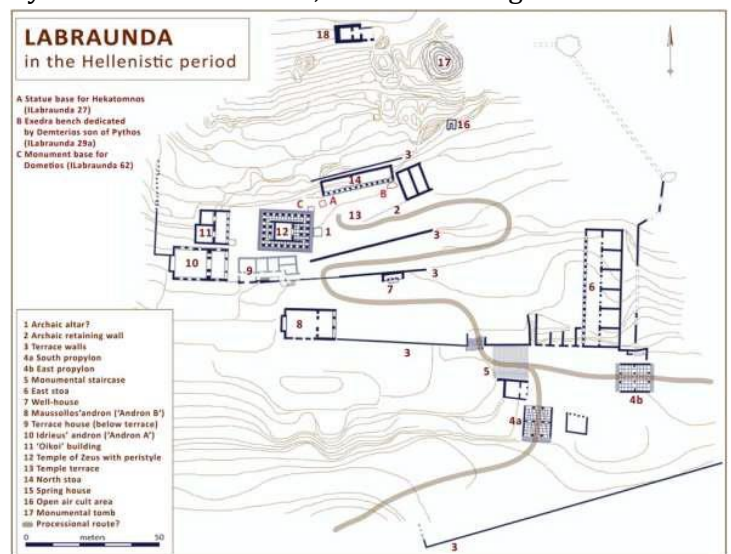


Figure 5 Layout of the Sanctuary of Labraunda including the processional route by Christina Williamson. Source: Williamson 2013, 32.

⁴⁰⁰ Williamson 2013, 5-7.

⁴⁰¹ Roos 2011, 265.

⁴⁰² Roos 2011, 257.

⁴⁰³ Roos 2011, 264.

⁴⁰⁴ Roos 2011, 265.

⁴⁰⁵ Williamson 2012, 117; *ILabraunda* 11.

⁴⁰⁶ *Labraunda* 1.1; *ILabraunda* 15-19.

⁴⁰⁷ See notes 380-383.

witness Hekatomnid splendour (see figure 5).⁴⁰⁸ After entering the Sanctuary, the procession went up the monumental staircase in westward direction and subsequently up a narrower staircase in northern direction arriving on the terrace of *Andron* B. Hellstrom suggested that as the monumental staircase is significantly wider than the northern staircase and exceeds the entry capacity possible through the propylon-area, it may have had an additional function as part of a theatre. Though the steps are too closely spaced to have been seats, it was a viable spot for the chorus.⁴⁰⁹ Corroborating evidence is however lacking.

Once up the monumental and northern staircases the procession had to go west again, where it would pass Maussollos's *Andron*. This is the most discussed building within the Sanctuary due to its combination of multiple architectural and cultural styles.⁴¹⁰ Measuring 21 metres long and 12 wide, the *Andron* effectively overshadowed the temple on the terrace above.⁴¹¹ It had an Ionic colonnaded façade with the Ionic columns being crowned with Doric epistyles and a Doric frieze. Behind the façade was the rectangular *cella* which served as a dining hall.⁴¹² It had space for twenty reclining couches.⁴¹³ However, unlike Greek dining halls, the *Andron* had a hierarchical, instead of egalitarian, design: down the central axis the central couple – Maussollos and Artemisia – would be seated, and behind them was a small niche in the back of the wall which would have contained a statue of *Zeus Labraundos*, possibly accompanied by Hekatomnid statues.⁴¹⁴ As for the others who dined with Maussollos, they could only have been the elite.⁴¹⁵ The architrave was inscribed with dedicatory inscription:

‘Μαυσσωλλος Εκατομνω [ανεθηκε τον α]νδρωνα [κα]ι τα ενεοντα Δι Λαμβραυνδωι’
 ‘Maussollos, son of Hekatomnos, [dedicated the] Andron [and] what is therein to Zeus
 Lambraundos’⁴¹⁶

The antae blocks – the corner stones – of the architrave were decorated with Achaemenid-style lion-griffins.⁴¹⁷ Two male sphinxes flanked the architraval inscription on the roof. They were made in an archaizing style with a long beard interrupted by a moustache. They also have long

⁴⁰⁸ Carstens 2011, 123; Williamson 2012, 106.

⁴⁰⁹ Hellström 2015, 114-115.

⁴¹⁰ Blid 2020, 81.

⁴¹¹ Strootman & Williamson 2020, 110.

⁴¹² Blid 2020, 82-83.

⁴¹³ Strootman & Williamson 2020, 110.

⁴¹⁴ Blid 2020, 82. The suggestion of *Zeus Labraundos* accompanied by a Hekatomnid pair is based on the Tegean stele (figure 2). As argued in 1.3, Maussollos did not represent himself as a pair with Artemisia. Such a statue grouping may have stood in Idrieus's *Andron* however.

⁴¹⁵ Hellström 1989, 104.

⁴¹⁶ *I.Labraunda* 14 (Appendix 1.8). Cf. Carless Unwin 2014, 44 on the various spellings of *Zeus Labraundos*.

⁴¹⁷ Blid 2020, 84-85.

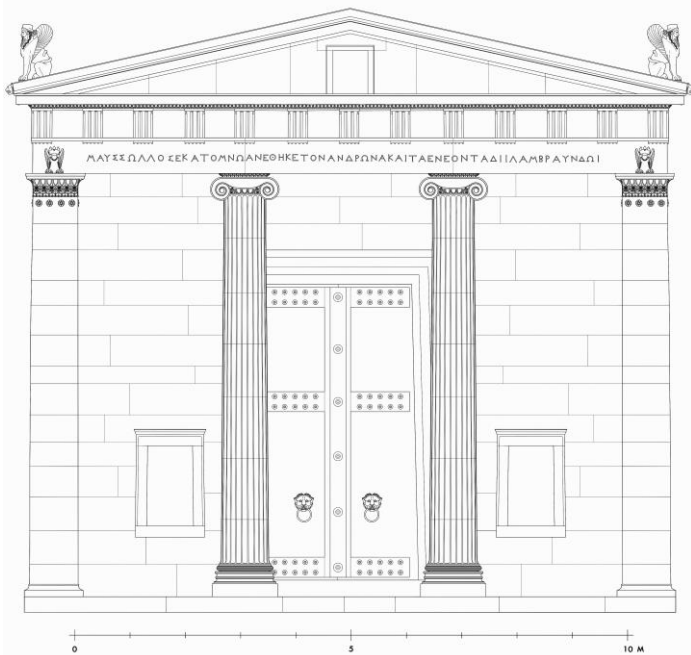


Figure 6 Front view of Andron B. Drawing by Jesper Blid. Source: Blid 2020, 83.

curly hair and wear a *polos* – a crown (see figure 6).⁴¹⁸ Lastly, the Andron had large windows in the south wall and two epiphany windows in the facade.⁴¹⁹

These features have all been scrutinized and much is disputed. Karlsson interpreted the mixing of the Ionic and Doric orders to symbolize dominance over both Greek groups within Karia.⁴²⁰ This is however disputed. A badly damaged inscription from Labraunda may have recorded attending envoys who are all Karian.⁴²¹ If correct, the lack of envoys from Greek *poleis* refutes Karlsson’s interpretation. Blid has argued that Maussollos mixed the styles for the ‘striking aesthetic effects’ to create ‘an original and

memorable design’.⁴²² This interpretation indeed seems more likely.

A similar discussion revolves around the male sphinxes. Karlsson has argued that these were signs of Persian authority.⁴²³ This would however be an unusual gesture to make in an area where so few Persians themselves lived.⁴²⁴ Furthermore, Maussollos did not tend to depict himself as a satrap. Carstens has argued that the sphinxes had a similar function in Labraunda as they had in Persian context: sphinxes were guardians.⁴²⁵ In other words, the sphinxes do not represent Persian domination, but are there to protect Maussollos. Blid agrees with Carstens’s interpretation and points out that sphinxes furthermore symbolized the king’s duty for harmony and peace.⁴²⁶ The location of the sphinxes is also important. As they are on the corners of the roof they flank the architraval inscription in a similar manner found in the Persian world, most notably a Persian royal inscription from Persepolis.⁴²⁷ Carstens further surmised that there were strong resemblances between the facial features of the sphinxes and archaizing images of *Zeus Labraundos* on Roman coinage: both are bearded, have curly hair, and wear a *polos*.⁴²⁸ Though

⁴¹⁸ Carstens 2011, 127-129.

⁴¹⁹ Williamson 2014, 94; Blid 2020, 82.

⁴²⁰ Karlsson 2013, 65.

⁴²¹ *I.Labraunda* 67; Williamson 2013, 8.

⁴²² Blid 2020, 84.

⁴²³ Karlsson 2013, 65.

⁴²⁴ Sekunda 1991, 97, 140.

⁴²⁵ Carstens 2011, 127.

⁴²⁶ Blid 2020, 84.

⁴²⁷ Blid 2020, 84.

⁴²⁸ Carstens 2011, 129.

Blid agrees with the iconographic analysis, he notes that the primary deity of a sanctuary was never depicted on the *akroteria*, making it highly unlikely that the sphinxes represent *Zeus Labraundos*.⁴²⁹ The sphinxes thus are strongly related to Persian royal iconography, symbolizing the harmony and peace Maussollos ought to, and arguably did, bring to Karia, for which they guarded him in turn.

The architraval inscription has caused much debate over the years. At first, it was considered to be the first instance of a personal name being inscribed on the architrave of a religious structure. Some ancient sources derided the practice. For instance, Plutarch recounted that when Perikles had issues acquiring public funding for the Parthenon, he threatened to fund it himself and put his own name on the architraval inscription. The Athenians responded despondently and acquiesced to funding the Parthenon.⁴³⁰ Hornblower noted duly that such inscriptions were un-Greek.⁴³¹ Gunter subsequently argued that this practice came from the Near East.⁴³² For a long time it was thus thought that Maussollos had broken with the Greek tradition of not personally inscribing a religious building. Umholtz has however argued that Maussollos did not break with any such tradition because such a tradition did not exist in the first place. She argued that it was quite common to personally inscribe buildings and other votive objects, such as altars and the “architraves” of grave steles.⁴³³ The practice itself was thus not uncommon. In fact, Umholtz notes, there are some instances known from Classical Greece wherein private people dedicated and inscribed their names on large buildings. Most notably, the Spartan general Brasidas (d. 422) who had set up his own treasury at Delphi. Umholtz importantly notes that most of these instances concern the foundation of new cults.⁴³⁴ So why are so few temples attested with a personal inscription and why do many sources object to such a practice? As Umholtz convincingly points out, the sources do not object the practice itself, rather they specifically abhor the practice when the construction of said structure was (partially) publicly funded.⁴³⁵ So what Maussollos had done by placing his name on the architrave inscription was not an unusual act by itself, but very unusual in practice as only few had enough wealth to set up such magnificent buildings. The personal architrave inscription is thus above all a statement to Maussollos’s wealth. Umholtz’s observation that architraval inscriptions were primarily used on structures concerning the foundation of new cults also fits nicely with the establishment of the dynastic cult of *Zeus Labraundos* by Hekatomnos and upheld by his sons Maussollos and Idrieus. One last

⁴²⁹ Blid 2020, 86.

⁴³⁰ Plut. *Vit. Per.* 14; Cf. Umholtz 2002, 287-289 for exhaustive list of such instances. Umholtz furthermore considers the story about Perikles apocryphal.

⁴³¹ Hornblower 1982, 293.

⁴³² Gunter 1985, 117-118.

⁴³³ Umholtz 2002, 262, 274-278.

⁴³⁴ Umholtz 2002, 280-281.

⁴³⁵ Umholtz 2002, 290.

observation concerning the architraval inscription was made by Williamson who points out that the architraval inscription created a strong direct link between Maussollos and the deity itself, effectively merging the two.⁴³⁶ This connection was further emphasized by the niche dedication, most likely depicting *Zeus Labraundos* together with Maussollos, at the back of the *cella*.⁴³⁷

Lastly, the windows in the south wall and the pediment windows in the façade had different functions. The windows in the south wall gave a great view of the surrounding area, including Mylasa and most of the Hekatomnid domain all the way up to the mountains near Halikarnassos. The view linked Maussollos directly with the lands he ruled and showed his physical reach.⁴³⁸ This view was however only seen by the elite who dined in the *Andron*. The windows in the façade however are so-called epiphany windows where any passer-by could receive epiphanies from *Zeus Labraundos*. As such, the *Andron* also had a cultic function, but not for Maussollos though it further integrated him with the deity.⁴³⁹ Combined with the architraval inscription, Maussollos once again represents himself as being very closely linked to the divine but does not outright state that he was divine.

To summarize, when the procession arrived at Maussollos's *Andron*, they would see an awe inspiring and aesthetically innovative building without parallel. Upon closer inspection the architraval inscription, guarded by the royal Persian sphinxes, would not only show Maussollos's great wealth but also his close connection to *Zeus Labraundos*. This connection would be further emphasized by the dedication in the niche and the epiphany windows. For the lucky few, the elite, who got to dine inside, the stunning view reminded them of the physical extent of Maussollos's authority.

Karlsson proposed that the Hekatomnids might have had a *paradeisos* at the Sanctuary for each satrap had one. He argues that *paradeisoi* all had the following in common: some element of nature or wildlife represented in a garden, running water, and a clearly visible combined religious and political function. These were all present at the Sanctuary.⁴⁴⁰ Karlsson further suggests that the *paradeisos* would have been near the Propylon area, which would also explain why the Hekatomnids had constructed said defences.⁴⁴¹

⁴³⁶ Williamson 2014, 95.

⁴³⁷ Blid 2020, 82. See 1.3 for the rejection of the presence of a statue of Artemisia.

⁴³⁸ Williamson 2014, 94-95.

⁴³⁹ Blid 2020, 82-83.

⁴⁴⁰ Karlsson 2015, 78-80. Cf. *Labraunda* 1.2, 109 wherein Westholm first suggested there might have been a palace at the Sanctuary & Hellström 1996 who suggested that *andrones* implied a palace.

⁴⁴¹ Karlsson 2015, 81.

Continuing this train of thought, Henry, the current lead excavator at Labraunda, has proposed that only the temple terrace itself was actually the Sanctuary with the terrace wall forming the *temenos*. The lower terraces, he suggests, would have been a palace, though ultimately unfinished (see figure 7).⁴⁴² Henry convincingly argues for this interpretation by firstly pointing to the epigraphical record. Though decrees of various kinds could be found throughout the sanctuary, Mylasan honorary decrees for instance were found mostly near the *propylai*, and all decrees specifically related to the Sanctuary of *Zeus Labraundos* were found inside the proposed *temenos*.⁴⁴³ Secondly, Henry points out, that the previously mentioned necropolis, where the elite were buried, the fortifications, the *Andron* and other supposed official buildings indicate that there was much more to the Sanctuary than worship. These features were common at other *paradeisoi*, indicating that satrapal duties were also performed at the Sanctuary.⁴⁴⁴

This *paradeisos* was likely planned by Hekatomnos as he first linked the deity and the Sanctuary to the dynasty. Maussollos would build a second *paradeisos* at Halikarnassos, after its *synoikism*, on the Zephyrion promontory, which it shared with the Sanctuary of Apollo.⁴⁴⁵ This move would also explain why the Labraundan *paradeisos* was never finished.

The procession from Mylasa thus did not just pass Maussollos's *Andron* but had to pass right through his palace in order to reach the temple terrace. Such an act further reinforced the link between Maussollos and *Zeus Labraundos* and was an acknowledgement of Maussollos's authority by all passers-by. If we now look back at the assassination attempt of Manitas, he did not just try to assassinate Maussollos during a sacred festival at the most important sanctuary of the Hekatomnids, but tried to kill Maussollos in his own palace.⁴⁴⁶

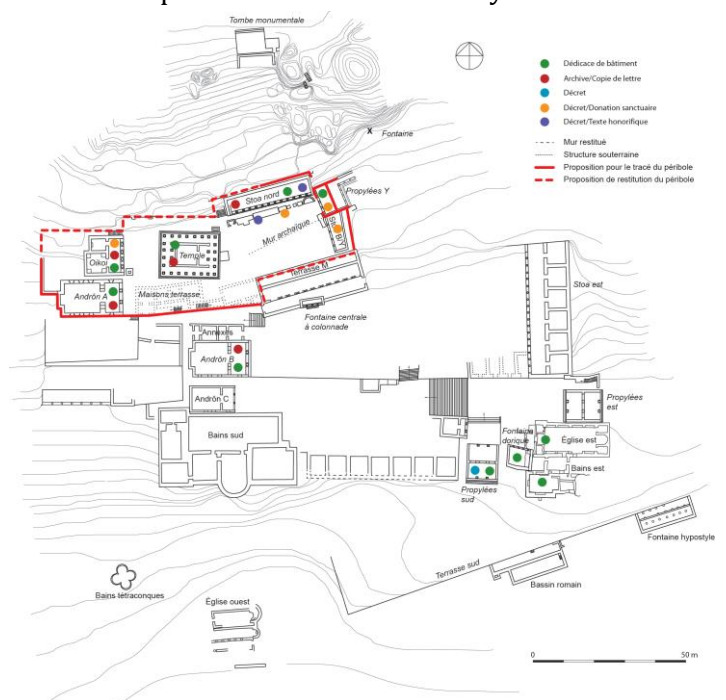


Figure 7 Sanctuary of Labraunda. Red line demarcates the suggested *temenos* by Henry. Other terraces belong to the *paradeisoi*. Map made by Olivier Henry. Source: Henry 2017c, 577.

⁴⁴² Henry 2017c, 579.

⁴⁴³ Henry 2017c, 575-576.

⁴⁴⁴ Henry 2017c, 577-579.

⁴⁴⁵ Strootman & Williamson 2020, 116-117.

⁴⁴⁶ *I.Mylasa* 3.

3.2.3. The Temple Terrace

Before the procession could reach the temple terrace, it had to closely pass Maussollos's *Andron* and make one more zigzag around the terrace wall itself. Upon arrival, turning west around the corner of the terrace wall, the procession would be greeted by the temple and Hekatomnos's statue right beside it. When facing right, looking in northern direction, the people would see a stoa dedicated by Maussollos as its inscription on the anta block revealed:

[Μ]αυσσωλλος Εκα[τομνω]

ανεθηκε την στοιν ν ν

Δι Λαμβραυνδωι' vac

vac

'Maussollos, son of Hekatomnos

dedicated the stoa to

Zeus Lambraundos'⁴⁴⁷

Little can however be said about the stoa itself. It was about 29 meters long, but it was rebuilt in the Roman Period. Furthermore, the interior cannot be excavated because a railway passes along the hillside above the stoa.⁴⁴⁸ The original design therefore remains unknown. But the inscription itself reveals once again to what extent Maussollos had integrated himself with the Sanctuary. After passing through his palace and past his highly aesthetic *Andron*, the procession would be confronted by Maussollos's presence once again. Above Maussollos's stoa, in northern direction, the procession would be confronted with two last sights. Firstly, a magnificent tomb, whose resident remains unknown, about halfway up the hill. At the top of the hill, 100 meters higher than the Sanctuary stood the akropolis fortress called *Petras*. This fortress had eleven towers and an inner defensive ring. Due to its height, all the previously mentioned defences along the Sacred Way could be seen, except for the *Burgaz Kale*, which was the largest fortification around Labraunda after *Petras*.⁴⁴⁹ The sight of the *Petras*, aside from its obvious function of protecting the palace, would also comfort any participants, assuring their safety.

⁴⁴⁷ *I.Labraunda* 13 (Appendix 1.7). Umholtz suggests that as the inscription was engraved on the anta block instead of the architrave, the entablature may have been wooden; Umholtz 2016, 641.

⁴⁴⁸ Umholtz 2016, 641.

⁴⁴⁹ Karlsson 2013.

3.2.4. Preliminary Conclusion on the Sanctuary of Labraunda

Maussollos had turned himself into an inescapable presence at the Sanctuary of *Zeus Labraundos*. The procession from Mylasa would travel comfortably across the Sacred Way, passed the Hekatomnid defences and reached the necropolis, where the elite were buried. Before, the procession could enter the Sanctuary itself, it had to pass through Maussollos's palace and his *Andron*. The palace was the physical embodiment of Maussollos's authority and its position next to the Sanctuary cemented the ties with *Zeus Labraundos*. Similarly, the *Andron* portrayed royal power merged with religious proximity via the architraval inscription, niche in the back of the *cella*, and the usage of the southern windows and epiphany windows. Once upon reaching the temple terrace, this connection was further cemented, first by the close proximity between the temple and the statue of Hekatomnos, and secondly, by Maussollos's stoa, which also benefitted of its proximity to the temple and had a similar dedicatory inscription to that of the *Andron*. Maussollos was effectively omnipresent at Labraunda. Just like in the epigraphical record of his private dedications, Maussollos exalted himself by claiming proximity to the gods, especially *Zeus Labraundos*.

3.3 The Tombs of the Hekatomnids: Uzun Yuva and the Maussoleion of Halikarnassos

The Maussoleion of Halikarnassos was the final resting place of Mausollos, but it is not the only Hekatomnid tomb known to us. To fully understand the place of the Maussoleion within Mausollos's self-image, we must look at the tomb *Uzun Yuva* in Milas – modern-day Mylasa – which likely is the last resting place of Hekatomnos. Though the superstructure, if it had one, has been destroyed and much of the objects of the burial chamber have recently been looted, a highly decorative sarcophagus survived. The setting and iconography of the sarcophagus is vital for understanding the Maussoleion.

As for the Maussoleion of Halikarnassos, it was on the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World and as such has fascinated many historians leading to numerous tomes and reconstructions.⁴⁵⁰ These stem from the poor attestation of the Maussoleion in our historical sources; only Plinius gives an account of its design whilst Vitruvius discusses the involved architects which differ slightly from Plinius's.⁴⁵¹ My aim is not to compare the plethora of reconstructions and determine which is the most accurate. I shall follow the reconstruction of Kristian Jeppesen, who was the lead archaeologist and excavator of the Maussoleion for many years (see figure 13 below).⁴⁵² Nor is it my aim to discuss which sculptor did what part,⁴⁵³ or to determine the cultural inspirations for the Maussoleion or make comparisons with other monumental burial sites which could have inspired the Maussoleion, such as the so-called Nereid Monument from Xanthos in Lykia or many of the rock-cut tombs around Karia.⁴⁵⁴

My aim is to place the Maussoleion in the context of Mausollos's ruler image, which is considered to both be his tomb in the style of that of a *heroon* or an *oikistes* and a dynastic monument.⁴⁵⁵ There is however debate whether there was a cult to Mausollos *post mortem*.⁴⁵⁶ To this end, I shall analyse its location within Halikarnassos, its architectural design and iconography extensively. We cannot however fully understand the role of the Maussoleion in Mausollos's ruler image by just looking at the structure itself. This section shall first discuss the *Uzun Yuva*, followed by the Maussoleion of Halikarnassos and a preliminary conclusion.

⁴⁵⁰ See Cook 2005, 30 n.333 & Hoepfner 2013 for an overview of reconstructions and the latest reconstruction. See note 3 on the prevalence of the Maussoleion as an ancient world wonder.

⁴⁵¹ Plin. *NH*, 36.30-36.31; Vitruv. *De Arch*, 7.praef.12-13.

⁴⁵² Jeppesen 1976; Jeppesen 1989.

⁴⁵³ I firmly believe that Mausollos himself decided what to depict (Cf. Hulden 2001, 94, 100). For completion's sake, the involved architects according to Plinius were Skopas, Bryaxis, Timotheos, Leochares and Pythis (Pytheos); Vitruvius mentions Leochares, Bryaxes, Skopas, Praxiteles and is doubtful whether Timotheos was involved, see note 451. For debate on the sculptors see Hornblower 1982, 225-226; Cook 1989; Corso 2019.

⁴⁵⁴ For debate on different cultural influences see Hornblower 1982, 246-251; Carstens 2002; Henry 2010; Carstens 2010; McGowan 2013; Carstens 2013a.

⁴⁵⁵ Hornblower 1982, 237; Ruzicka 1992, 52-53; McGowan 2013, 170; Carstens 2013a, 179.

⁴⁵⁶ Hornblower 1982, 252; Jeppesen 1994 *non vidi*; Carstens 2013a, 180.

3.3.1. Hekatomnos's Tomb at Uzun Yuva

In Milas stands a Corinthian column dated to the time of Augustus, known to the locals as *Uzun Yuva* – High Nest – because storks nest atop it annually.⁴⁵⁷ It has long been known that the column stands on a raised platform, which has been given the same name, that is at least as old as the column, though modern habitation has made research difficult. Archaeological excavations by Rumscheid in 2006 have shown, firstly, that the platform itself measures 29.4 by 36 meters and contained multiple chambers. Secondly, that the raised platform itself is located on a far larger terrace, 90 by 120 meters, which covered a large part of the hill it is located on. Thirdly, the platform was designed to house a monumental structure which was never finished. Fourthly, the terrace has been dated, based on artistic parallels, ratio parallels and the east-facing orientation, to Maussollos's reign.⁴⁵⁸ Fifthly and lastly, its location suggests it was an *oikistes* tomb.⁴⁵⁹ Rumscheid interpreted the results as followed. He argued that it was the original location of the Maussoleion, but that Maussollos abandoned the project when he *synoikized* Halikarnassos and opted to construct his tomb there. As such, Rumscheid argued, the Uzun Yuva, had never been used as tomb; based on the aforementioned artistic parallels, Rumscheid argued that it was the same workforce which built both structures.⁴⁶⁰

In 2010, however, it was discovered that locals had dug a tunnel from under a private house into the Uzun Yuva and had been looting the chambers, possibly since 2008. Only then was the large sarcophagus, measuring 2,75 x 1,85 meters, discovered.⁴⁶¹ Though the looters had sold many artifacts from the chambers, the sarcophagus has survived in a decent state. The Uzun Yuva was occupied after all.⁴⁶² The sarcophagus has two reliefs, one at the front (see figure 8) and one at the back (see figure 9).⁴⁶³ The frontal relief depicts a banqueting motif, also known as a

⁴⁵⁷ Rumscheid 2010, 69-70.

⁴⁵⁸ Rumscheid 2010, 72-82, 89-92.

⁴⁵⁹ Rumscheid 2010, 97.

⁴⁶⁰ Rumscheid 2010, 89-100. One of Rumscheid's arguments to date the Uzun Yuva to Maussollos's reign is a fragment of Strabo, concerning Mylasa (14.2.23), from which he concludes that Mylasa was too small and insignificant in Hekatomnos's time. It reads: 'ιστορειται δε κωμη υπαρξαι το παλαιον, πατρις δε και Βασιλειον των Καρων τον περι τον Εκατομνω'. The Loeb translation reads: '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 Hekatomnos' (trans. Horace Jones 1929, Loeb Edition, emphasis own). The problem is the insertion of 'but' in the translation which Rumscheid seemingly used. The Greek equivalent (αλλα) is missing; Strabo does not say that Mylasa was a small village in Hekatomnos's time. Rather it reads paraphrased: It is related that Mylasa was a mere village in ancient times; it was the native land and royal residence of the Carians of the house of Hekatomnos. This however does not undermine Rumscheid's other valid arguments.

⁴⁶¹ Pedersen 2017, 241.

⁴⁶² Brunwasser *et al.* 2011, 25.

⁴⁶³ The results of the investigation of the sarcophagus have not been published yet, though images of the sarcophagus can be found in some publications and online such as figures 8 & 9. Cf. also Blid 2020, n.47.



Figure 8 Front frieze of the Uzun Yuva Sarcophagus. © Fahri Işık. Source: Pedersen 2017, 242.

Totenmahl motif, in which the deceased lies reclining on a *kline* – couch – surrounded by his family and sometimes servants. This motif is generally interpreted as depicting the deceased enjoying a comfortable life, enjoying his wealth, and sharing the moment with his loved ones.⁴⁶⁴ The *Totenmahl* motif first appeared in the Near East in the 7th century and slowly travelled west, reaching in Asia Minor in the 6th century. Economic turmoil in the 5th century saw a dramatic decline of the motif in Asia Minor, but economic recovery in the 4th century revived it, first in Lykia and later in Karia.⁴⁶⁵ The Uzun Yuva sarcophagus depicts a man lying on the *kline* with on his left a young boy followed by two adult men. On the right an elderly woman sits next the reclining man, his wife, with a little girl aside her. Next to the elderly woman stands a teenage boy and a younger woman.⁴⁶⁶ The presence of the women indicates their dynastic importance: they were an integral part of the dynastic image.⁴⁶⁷ It is important to note that the sarcophagus did not fit through the entrance, indicating that the Uzun Yuva platform was constructed around the sarcophagus.⁴⁶⁸ The rear relief depicts a hunting scene wherein Greeks and Persians together bring down a lion. Such hunting scenes, and other royal activities, are often found in combination with the *Totenmahl* motif, depicting the deceased's prowess.⁴⁶⁹ Special attention should be paid

⁴⁶⁴ Pedersen 2017, 237-238.

⁴⁶⁵ Pedersen 2017, 239-240.

⁴⁶⁶ Konuk 2013, 111-112.

⁴⁶⁷ Carney 2015, 38-39.

⁴⁶⁸ Henry 2017a, 363.

⁴⁶⁹ Pedersen 2017, 240-241; Novakova 2017, 264-267.



Figure 9 Rear frieze of the Uzun Yuva Sarcophagus. Photographer unknown. Source: Gallery www.howturkey.com (UNESCO Heritage of World: Turkey)

to the man on horseback. He has similar long hair and a V-shaped dress as the male reclining figure. It is therefore likely the same person. The hunting scene also depicts the cooperation and unity between the Greeks, or Greek-looking Karians, and Persians.⁴⁷⁰ Though few Persians lived in Karia itself, many Greeks living in the coastal cities might have had adverse feelings to living in a Persian satrapy, which such a hunting relief could sooth.⁴⁷¹

The discovery immediately prompted the debate on whose tomb it was. The debate is split into two, with one side arguing that it was Hekatomnos's final resting place and the other that of Idrieus. Henry argues extensively for the latter option, believing that Hekatomnos was buried in a rock-cut tomb near Mylasa, *Berber Ini*, which has a similar mixing of orders as Maussollos's *Andron*.⁴⁷² In a later publication, Henry supplemented his view by adding a few minor objections, most importantly that it was highly unlikely that Maussollos would have left his father's tomb unfinished, reassigning the same workforce to his own tomb.⁴⁷³ He further points out that Hekatomnos had been satrap for fifteen years and Maussollos for twenty-four. Either thus had plenty of time to construct their tombs during their own respective reigns.⁴⁷⁴ The latter argument

⁴⁷⁰ Cf. Heckel 2006 for the so-called "Alexander sarcophagus" which depicts Greeks and Persians fighting and also depicts a hunting scene between the two. Heckel argues that these are therefore simplifications between East, the Persians and their subject peoples, and West, Greeks, and Macedonians.

⁴⁷¹ Cf. Sekunda 1991, 97, 140 on the presence of Persians in Karia.

⁴⁷² Henry 2010.

⁴⁷³ Henry 2017a, 362-364.

⁴⁷⁴ Henry 2017a, 362-364.

implies that both Hekatomnos and Maussollos would have been constructing their tombs right from the beginning of their reigns, which is unlikely, especially concerning Maussollos as the historical sources credit the construction of the Maussolleion to his sister-wife Artemisia (see below). The duration of their reigns is not equal to the time spent building tombs. Furthermore, it might have been Artemisia who had reassigned the workforce from her father's tomb to that of her deceased husband to enforce her legitimacy to rule. After all, her legitimacy to rule came from Maussollos and not her father.⁴⁷⁵

Descat, however, after re-evaluating an inscription that had been used as a foundational block at a local mosque in Milas came to the conclusion that it had to be Hekatomnos's tomb as his convincing reconstruction reads:

‘Δαίμοσιν Αγαθο[ις]	‘To the beneficial deities
Εκατομνω και Α[βας ων]	Hekatomnos and Aba, being
γρασταπατις Μα[υσσωλ-]	The <i>grastapatis</i> of Maussollos,
λου ανεθηκε τα [εσχα?]	Dedicated this brazier(?)
ρια Αρτιμης Ταργ[ηλιου’]	Artimes, son of Targelios’ ⁴⁷⁶

As the inscription was found near Uzun Yuva, Descat argues, it was part of the funerary dedication to Hekatomnos and Aba.⁴⁷⁷ Konuk subsequently identified the reclining figure as Hekatomnos and the seated woman as Aba, his sister-wife. The male on the outer left is the eldest and therefore Maussollos. Besides him, stands Idrieus as next eldest son. Next to Aba, stands the teenager Pixodaros flanked by Artemisia. The little girl is Ada. The little boy, Konuk argues, may have been a sixth child who died prematurely and therefore is not mentioned in historical sources.⁴⁷⁸ Personally, I am more inclined to believe Descat and Konuk and consider the Uzun Yuva the final resting place of Hekatomnos. However, as these scholars have stressed, the results of the investigation have not yet been published.⁴⁷⁹ We cannot resolve this debate in an acceptable manner yet.

The restored inscription by Descat remains crucial in our understanding of Maussollos's rulership as it reveals that he had venerated his deceased parents and therefore established a cult to them. There are many more inscriptions to the deceased in Mylasa mentioning the *daimones*

⁴⁷⁵ See 1.3 on her position as queen.

⁴⁷⁶ Descat 2011 (Appendix 1.19); original translation in French: ‘Aux divinités bienfaisantes d’ Hékatomnos et d’ Aba, en étant (les brasiers?) Artimès’. English translation my own.

⁴⁷⁷ Descat 2011, 200-201.

⁴⁷⁸ Konuk 2013, 111-112; Cf. Henry 2017a, 362-364 for contra of this interpretation. Pedersen has accepted Descat's and Konuk's interpretation: Pedersen 2017, 241.

⁴⁷⁹ E.g. Pedersen 2017, 241; Blid 2020, n.47.

agathoi, but this is one of the earliest if not outright the earliest.⁴⁸⁰ There is another important difference. Other inscriptions mention the *daimones agathoi* at the top in the genitive, but this inscription refers to the *daimones* in the dative, making it an attribute of the deceased.⁴⁸¹ Maussollos had divinized his parents, and people from his inner circle, like Artimes, complied to worship them; Artimes was the *grastapatis* who was responsible for the food at court.⁴⁸² The main reason Maussollos could do so was because Hekatomnos had been buried as a founder of Mylasa.⁴⁸³ Later epigraphical sources, such as the Nomos inscription of Nemrud Dağ, indicate that the practice of ancestor veneration as *daimones* remained customary in an attempt to legitimize authority.⁴⁸⁴ Whether there is a direct connection between both practices remains highly contentious and in my view unlikely, but the veneration in both cases served a similar purpose.

Maussollos was however restrained in the divination of his parents. He only elevated them to the position of *daimones*. Though *daimones* remain poorly understood, they are generally considered to be between gods and mortals. They are often impersonal and resemble certain forces or activities such as the previously mentioned *daimones agathoi* – The (lesser) Good Gods.⁴⁸⁵ Maussollos made his parents personified *daimones*; personified by their human lives. Maussollos's restraint in the lesser divination of his parents stands in stark contrast to the early Hellenistic kings, beginning with the *Epigonoï*, who venerated their parents as *theoi*. The deification was not just an act of a devoted son. Maussollos could now claim lesser divine descent, inching ever closer to the gods and likely foreshadowing his own ethereal fate: he probably expected similar honours which will be discussed below.

⁴⁸⁰ Descat 2011, 195.

⁴⁸¹ Descat 2011, 195; Cf. Blümel 2004, nr. 61-62.

⁴⁸² Descat 2011, 199.

⁴⁸³ Rumscheid 2010, 97.

⁴⁸⁴ Strootman Forthcoming, 17-18.

⁴⁸⁵ Mikalson 1991, 22-23; Polinskaya 2013, 75-78; gods sometimes may appear as *daimones*.

3.3.3 The Maussoleion of Halikarnassos

Cicero, Strabo, Plinius and Aulus Gellius (125-180 AD) all accredit the construction of the Maussoleion to Artemisia.⁴⁸⁶ Only Lucian accredits its construction to Maussollos, or more precisely comments on how the tomb is his greatest work.⁴⁸⁷ The Halikarnassian urban landscape solves this conundrum by showing that its location had been carefully planned and fitted into the grid-plan which was used to redesign Halikarnassos after the *synoikism*.⁴⁸⁸ The Maussoleion stood on a two-tier terrace aside both the main road and the agora (see figure 10).⁴⁸⁹ As many have noted, such a location would only be fit for the *oikistes* – founder – of the city, which Maussollos could claim to be after the *synoikism*.⁴⁹⁰ With its height of 45 meters, it could be seen both from sea and from the *paradeisos* on the Zephyrion peninsula; together the Maussoleion and the royal palace accompanied by the Sanctuary of Apollo dominated the cityscape.⁴⁹¹ Neither Maussollos or Artemisia lived to see the completion of the tomb, it was finished during the reign of Idrieus.⁴⁹²

The lower terrace of the Maussoleion measured 241,6 x 105,7 meters.⁴⁹³ To put these measurements in perspective, the total surface area of the terrace was 25.500 square meters, thrice the size of the upper two terraces of the Sanctuary of Labraunda.⁴⁹⁴ The terraces were furthermore 7 metres high.⁴⁹⁵ Together with the smaller upper terrace, the location of the Maussoleion mimicked both terraces of the Sanctuary of Labraunda and of the Uzun Yuva.⁴⁹⁶

The lower terrace could only be entered through a propylon in the eastern wall next to the agora.⁴⁹⁷ The entire complex, the terraces, propylon and Maussoleion, were built at the same time



Figure 10 Map of Halikarnassos. The Maussoleion was located right in the centre next to the agora. Map by J. ter Haar and Jona Lendering. Source: Livius.org.

⁴⁸⁶ Cic. *Tusc.* 3.75; Strabo, 14.2.16; Plin. *NH.* 36.30; Aul. Gell. *NA.* 10.18.

⁴⁸⁷ Luc. *DD.* 29.

⁴⁸⁸ Pedersen 2013; Hoepfner 2013, 82.

⁴⁸⁹ Hoepfner 2013, 82.

⁴⁹⁰ See note 456.

⁴⁹¹ Corso 2019, 112; Strootman & Williamson 2020, 116-117.

⁴⁹² Plin. *NH.* 36.31; Cf. Hornblower 1982, 237ff. for extensive treatment of construction dates.

⁴⁹³ Jeppesen & Zahle 1975, 78.

⁴⁹⁴ *Mauss.* 3:1, 94, 99.

⁴⁹⁵ Strootman & Williamson 2020, 120.

⁴⁹⁶ *Mauss.* 3:1, 82-85, 107; Rumscheid 2010, 72-82, 89-92.

⁴⁹⁷ Carstens 2013a, 177; *Mauss.* 3:1, 63-70.

as debris of the latter was used to shore up the foundations of the former.⁴⁹⁸ It has been proposed that the main terrace, strongly resembling a *temenos*, was a performative space where the burial performances and dynastic rituals were conducted (see figure 11).⁴⁹⁹ As such, it is likely the location of Maussollos's funeral games which were hosted by Artemisia, including a theatrical funerary contest in which Theopompos, Theodektes and Naukratis competed. Though

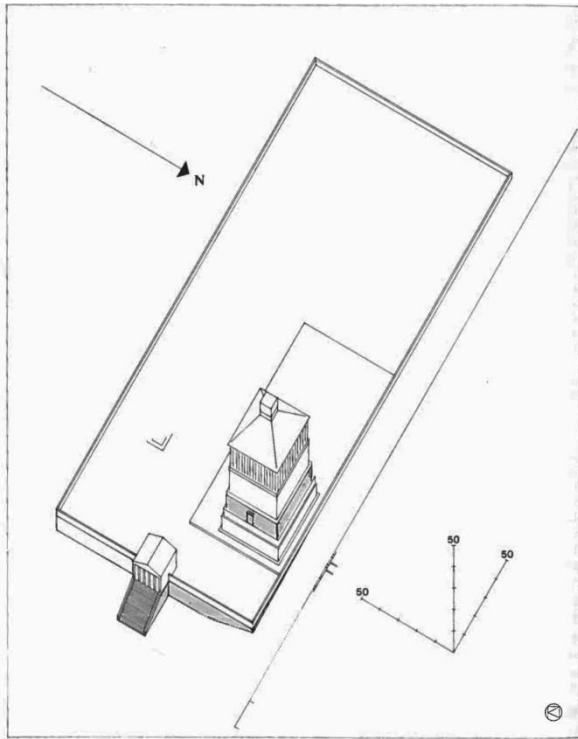


Figure 11 Drawing of the Maussolleion and the terraces by Kristian Jeppesen. Source: *Mauss.* 3:1, 86.

Theopompos won, we must focus on Theodektes. his tragedy was called *Mausolus*, though not a single fragment has survived.⁵⁰⁰ The fact that a tragedy had a mortal as subject was highly unusual. As Gibert notes, aside from Aischylos's *Persians*, all prior Greek tragedies concerned the mythical and divine.⁵⁰¹ Furthermore, *Persians* is notably about the follies of Xerxes and his shortcomings as a king.⁵⁰² *Mausolus*, we may surmise, was a tragedy lauding him as great ruler whose tragic death had cut short his reign.⁵⁰³ The fact that a mortal was the subject of a tragedy was another innovation of the Hekatomnids.

The propylon has been poorly preserved and little can be said about it, but upon entry the visitor would be amazed by the splendour of the Maussolleion and could see a large seated statue in front of a large door, which was actually a facade (see below and figure 13). The

entry to the burial chamber was on the other, west, side of the building, similarly to the Uzun Yuva (see figure 12).⁵⁰⁴ Excavations at the western side revealed a staircase leading down to the burial chamber with the aforementioned sacrificial depot at the base of the staircase which itself was covered by a pile of stones.⁵⁰⁵ The sacrificial pit contained five cattle, twenty-five sheep and goats, eight lambs, fourteen chickens and either eight squabs or chickens. These animals were all butchered, having their extremities and heads removed and their ligaments severed. They were subsequently placed in the anatomically correct position on the clay floor of the sacrificial depot,

⁴⁹⁸ *Mauss.* 3:1, 93.

⁴⁹⁹ Strootman & Williamson 2020, 120, 123.

⁵⁰⁰ Aul. Gell. *NA.* 10.18; Hornblower 1982, 334.

⁵⁰¹ Gibert 2009, 440.

⁵⁰² Cf. Georges 1994 on the interpretation of *Persians* in the wider Greek view of the Persians.

⁵⁰³ Waywell 1978, 23.

⁵⁰⁴ Rumscheid 2010, 91.

⁵⁰⁵ *Mauss.* 1, 23-27.

indicating that the carcasses still contained their flesh.⁵⁰⁶ Anatomical analysis has shown that these animals were healthy and strong when they were sacrificed.⁵⁰⁷ Lastly, the carcasses were spread evenly across the floor of the sacrificial pit.⁵⁰⁸ Hojlund argues that it was a chthonic sacrifice to the deceased. Though chthonic sacrifices usually were burnt, Hojlund points out that some hero worship included sacrifices similar to the Maussolleion. He furthermore notes that the tendons were severed during life so the animals were closer to the chthonic realm upon death.⁵⁰⁹ As for the removal of the extremities and the heads, Hojlund argues, that these were removed because these contained too little meat for the deceased.⁵¹⁰

The sacrificial depot did not just contain animals, but also an abundance of pottery shards and four bronze coins featuring Apollo and an eagle. The coins are too worn for further research.⁵¹¹ One of the most interesting and important finds near the staircase during the initial excavation of the site in 1858 by Charles Newton was an alabaster vase with Xerxes I's (r.485-465) name stamped on it in Old Persian, Elamite, Babylonian and Egyptian hieroglyphs.⁵¹² It has been

surmised that it was a gift from Xerxes, who had travelled through Karia on his way to Greece, to the Elder Artemisia.⁵¹³ Carstens argued that it was above all a desirable precious gift that connected the Hekatomnid Dynasty to the Elder Artemisia.⁵¹⁴ Carstens is undoubtedly correct, but this was not the only function of the vase. Firstly, it was a gesture of loyalty of the now-deceased Maussollos to Artaxerxes III built upon the notion that the relationship between the two families went back many generations to a period no one remembered.⁵¹⁵ In turn, such a gift

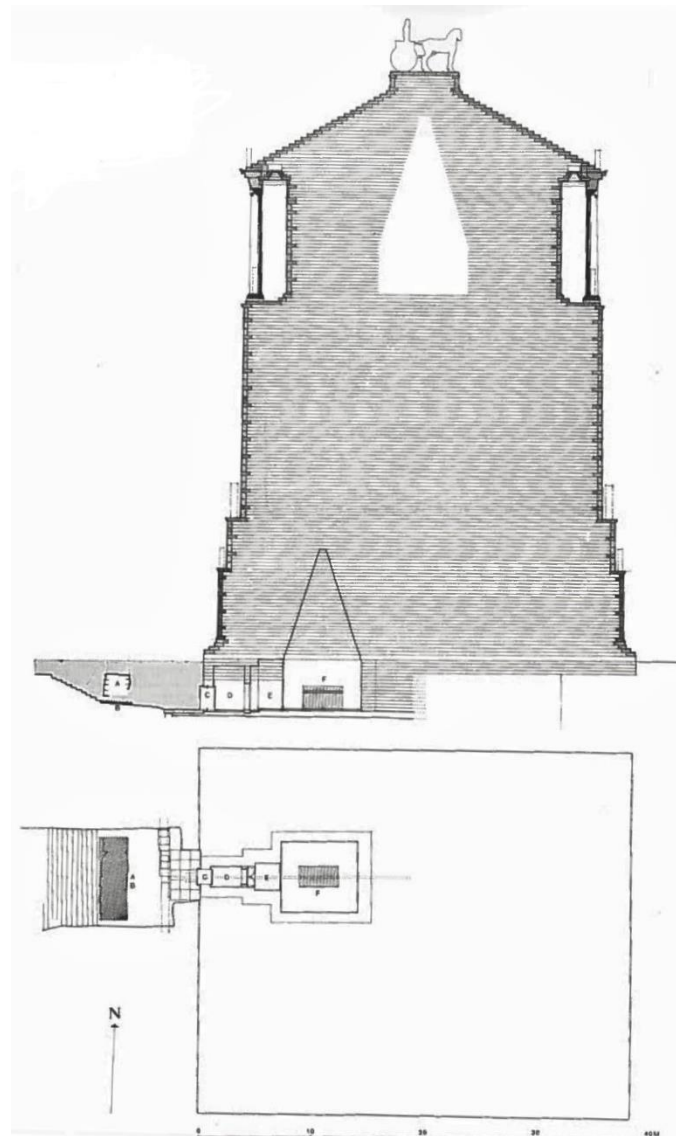


Figure 12 Cross-section and floor plan of the Maussoleion at Halikarnassos by Kristian Jeppesen. (a) the stone pile covering (b) the sacrifice. (c) the stone plug which blocked the entrance to the tomb. (d) and (e) anterooms. (f) Tomb chamber with sarcophagus. Source: *Mauss.* 1, 22.

⁵⁰⁶ *Mauss.* 1, 53-80.

⁵⁰⁷ *Mauss.* 1, 109.

⁵⁰⁸ *Mauss.* 1, 81.

⁵⁰⁹ Hojlund 1983, 150-152.

⁵¹⁰ Hojlund 1983, 151.

⁵¹¹ *Mauss.* 1, 28, 51.

⁵¹² *Mauss.* 1, 41; Carstens 2006, 123 = British Museum inv. no. 1857,1220.1.

⁵¹³ Carstens 2006, 123; Hoepfner 2013, 27-30.

⁵¹⁴ Carstens 2006, 123-124.

⁵¹⁵ Cf. 1.2 on the factuality of this claim.

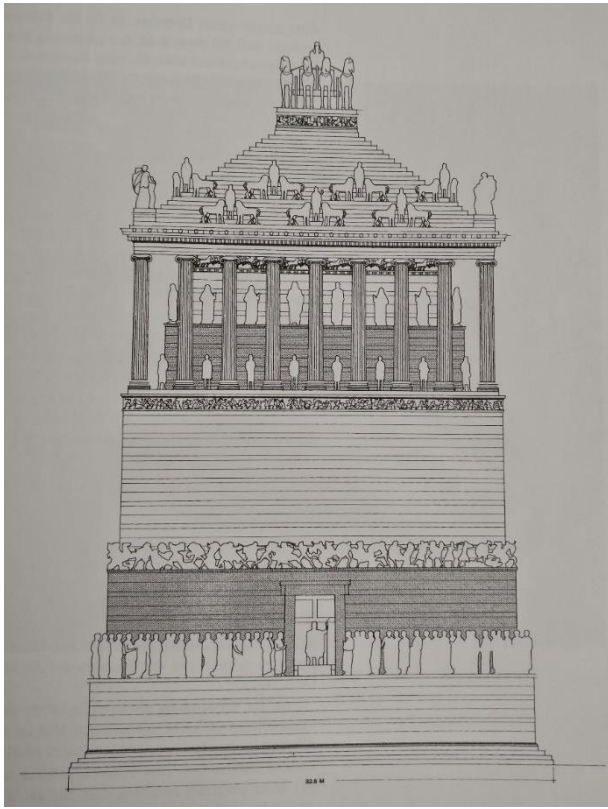


Figure 13 Reconstruction of the eastern side of the Mausoleion of Halikarnassos by Kristian Jeppesen. Source: Hoepfner 2013, 73.

coerced Artaxerxes III in a manner similar to speech-act, an “act-act”, to have faith in the Hekatomnids. Secondly, it reminded Artaxerxes that his distant predecessor had confided in the Elder Artemisia as ruler and that he in turn should confide in Maussollos’s chosen successor: Artemisia the Younger.

The burial chamber itself had been badly damaged by the wanton looting of the Knights Hospitaller between 1494-1527 when they reused the stone of the Maussoleion to build the still-extant Castle of St. Peter on the Zephyrion.⁵¹⁶ However, remains of a sarcophagus have been found along with golden ornaments and remains of up to eighty glass vessels.⁵¹⁷ Only Aulus Gellius has written about Maussollos’s funeral five centuries later. He noted that Maussollos was cremated.⁵¹⁸ Jeppesen therefore initially thought that the sarcophagus was Artemisia’s. But

as Pedersen points out, the discovery of the Uzun Yuva sarcophagus forces us to reconsider the issue and conclude that the Hekatomnids preferred to be inhumated.⁵¹⁹ Pedersen furthermore argues that the presence of at least eighty vessels indicated that the sarcophagus chamber itself represented a *Totenmahl* motif just like the sarcophagus at Uzun Yuva.⁵²⁰ Special attention has also been paid to the large sealing stone. As Hoepfner pointed out, the stone, once in place, could not be removed, from which Hoepfner concluded that the Maussoleion was only intended as the *oikistes* grave of Maussollos and not a dynastic monument.⁵²¹

As for the Maussoleion proper, Plinius is the only source who mentions the shape of the building, but his measurements are off. First of all, he states that the structure was rectangular which has archaeologically been disproven: it had a square base. Furthermore, Plinius’s measurements are way off concerning both the length and the height of the structure, being off by half in either case: each side measured about 40 meters and the Maussoleion was 45 meters high.⁵²² About halfway up was an enclosed colonnade of 36 columns called a *pteron* – a wing.⁵²³ Atop the *pteron* was a step-pyramid of 24 steps topped off with a marble *quadriga* – four-horse

⁵¹⁶ Cook 2005, 3; the Knights Hospitaller knew it was the famous Maussoleion.

⁵¹⁷ Pedersen 2017, 249.

⁵¹⁸ Aul. Gell. *NA*. 10.18.

⁵¹⁹ Pedersen 2017, 249.

⁵²⁰ Pedersen 2017, 250-251.

⁵²¹ Hoepfner 2013, 86.

⁵²² Plinius, *NH*. 36.31; Hornblower 1982, 226-227.

⁵²³ Plinius, *NH*. 36.31-32.

chariot.⁵²⁴ Carstens notes that the design of the Maussoleion resembled a peristyle podium tomb set up like a temple in a sanctuary.⁵²⁵ The cultural origin of the design has been hotly debated. Hornblower argued that it was a mixture of Lykian, Egyptian, Greek and Persian cultures.⁵²⁶ Ruzicka also proposed a mixture, but just of Greek and Persian cultures.⁵²⁷ More recently, McGowan has argued for a dominant Greek influence.⁵²⁸ Personally, I do not believe that Maussollos actively aimed at the mixing of cultural styles to infer a cultural message. Obviously, the design was influenced by his own cultural perceptions, but I believe the solution is far simpler. Blid proposed for *Andron A* that Maussollos mixed styles and cherry-picked elements because it was aesthetically pleasing.⁵²⁹ Similarly, I believe that Maussollos mixed different cultural aspects to make a splendid unforgettable tomb.

The Maussoleion was decorated with a plethora of statues; fragments of up to three-hundred unique statues have been found.⁵³⁰ Due to the many reconstructions, the positioning of these statues is debated. As stated above, my aim is not to argue which placement is correct, but to place the Maussoleion as a whole into the ruler image of Maussollos. To reiterate, I shall follow Jeppesen's reconstruction, but note that this is open to debate. The only statue whose location is uncontested is that of the *quadriga*. Little has, however, survived of the chariot that stood atop and it is not known if it had occupants, though there was theoretical space for such statues. Multiple options have been proposed varying between Maussollos and Artemisia or Nike, or possibly just empty.⁵³¹ Waywell thought it contained at least Maussollos.⁵³²

Waywell furthermore looked extensively at the remaining parts of the chariot, mostly fragments of the wheels, and based on its heavy design came to the conclusion that it was a Persian satrapal chariot signifying Maussollos's authority.⁵³³ There are however some issues with this interpretation. Firstly, as I have shown in the epigraphical record, Maussollos avoided referring to himself as satrap. Emphasizing this position in sculpture would be contradictory of what we otherwise know of his self-representation. Secondly, the chariot stood 45 meters high, making it nigh impossible for viewers to distinguish between a Persian and Greek chariot. Thirdly, and lastly, when Waywell analysed the remaining fragments of the horses, he came to the

⁵²⁴ Plinius, *NH.* 36.31-32.

⁵²⁵ Carstens 2013a, 177.

⁵²⁶ Hornblower 1982, 250-251, 333ff.; supported by Cook 2005 and Carstens 2013a, 180.

⁵²⁷ Ruzicka 1992, 52.

⁵²⁸ McGowan 2013.

⁵²⁹ Blid 2020, 84.

⁵³⁰ Waywell 1978, 57; Waywell's catalogue remains the standard work for the sculptures of the Maussoleion.

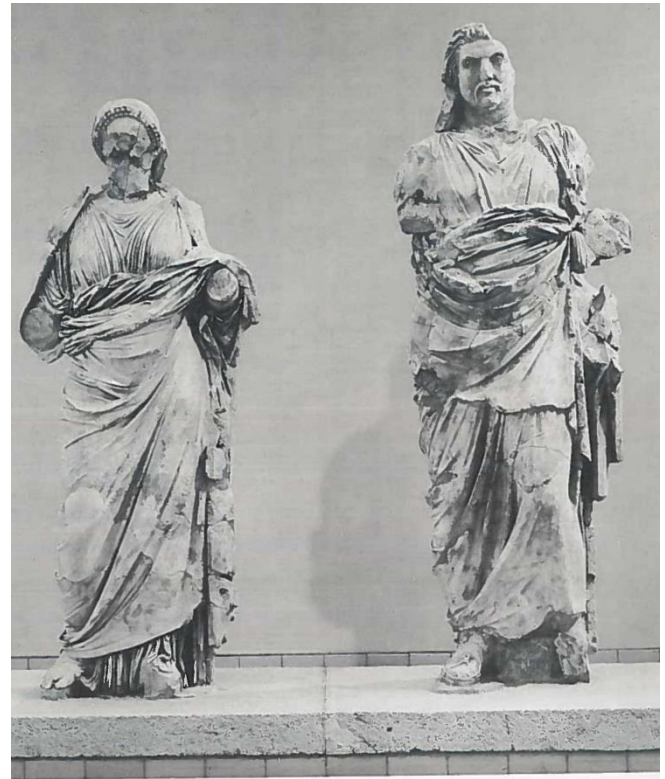
⁵³¹ Waywell 1978, 22-24.

⁵³² Waywell 1989.

⁵³³ Waywell 1978, 23; Waywell 1989.

conclusion that the proportions were slightly off.⁵³⁴ Is it not possible that the dimensions of the chariot were also off? The step pyramid was further covered with many lions, which were arranged in pairs. Each pair had a lion facing left and one facing right.⁵³⁵ The lions were either painted red or white and symbolized the heroic dead.⁵³⁶

The human statues came in three sizes which Waywell classified: Colossal, Heroic and life-size. The colossal statues were $1\frac{2}{3}$ times the size of the life-size statues and the heroic statues $1\frac{1}{3}$.⁵³⁷ The colossal category contained both men and women. The men wore a Greek himation with a Karian tunic below and possibly held a sword or knife.⁵³⁸ The women stood in the *femina orans* stance, raising their arms as a gesture of reverence. As such, these statues were generic.⁵³⁹ These statues are generally placed on the *pteron* interspaced between the colonnades, thus thirty-six in total, and are considered grieving ancestors.⁵⁴⁰ The two most famous and intact statues of this group are the so-called statues of Maussollos and Artemisia identified as such by Newton midway the 19th century (see figure 14). However, as Waywell and Henry have pointed out repeatedly, it would have been very coincidental if precisely their statues had survived.⁵⁴¹ We do however have to re-evaluate the claim that these statues represented grieving ancestors. As Waywell himself noted, the statues were generic, with all the men and all the women being portrayed similarly, and therefore lacking the necessary individuality to recognize ancestors. Moreover, thirty-six ancestors are quite a lot of people to remember and depict if we presume that a person on average remembers four generations, including his own, in general. These statues were probably just generic depictions or alternatively Karian heroes with some of whom the Hekatomnids had already connected themselves onomastically.



26, 27 Colossal statues traditionally identified as Maussollos and Artemisia.

Figure 14 The so-called statues of "Artemisia and Maussollos".
Image by Geoffrey Waywell. Source: Waywell Plate 13.

⁵³⁴ Waywell 1978, 18-19.

⁵³⁵ Waywell 1978, 28-29.

⁵³⁶ Hornblower 1982, 270.

⁵³⁷ Waywell 1978, 36-37, 57.

⁵³⁸ Waywell 1978, 37-41.

⁵³⁹ Waywell 1978, 42.

⁵⁴⁰ Waywell 1978, 43.

⁵⁴¹ Waywell 1978, 103-105; Henry 2017b 103.

There were two more clusters of colossal statues. The first was a hunting group containing at least a Persian rider, four leopards and a boar.⁵⁴² Lastly, there was a last colossal statue in a seated position located at the false entrance on the eastern façade (see figure 13). Marks of purple paint have been found on this statue.⁵⁴³ Henry pointed out that, if Maussollos was present among the sculptures, this would have been him.⁵⁴⁴ As for the heroic statues, not a single statue has survived intact, but fragments reveal that the male statues wore either Greek, Karian or Persian dresses and the women either Greek or Karian dresses.⁵⁴⁵ Similarly, none of the life-size figures have survived. Waywell argues that the life-size statues depicted a fight between Greeks and Persians because one fragment contained a Greek helmet and another a Persian head.⁵⁴⁶ This interpretation has to be rejected as the evidence is too slim and the alternative options too many. The Uzun Yuva depicts Greeks and Persians hunting together and the Maussolleion also depicts a Persian hunting.⁵⁴⁷ Such a hunting scene is far more likely, though one could wonder why the Maussolleion would have two hunting scenes.

The Maussolleion was further decorated with three friezes, all in poor condition, depicting Herakles's Amazonomachy, the Kentauromachy and a chariot race. The Amazonomachy frieze is traditionally placed right below the *pteron*, and was therefore the most visible frieze. The Kentauromachy just below the *quadriga* at the top of the step-pyramid. The chariot frieze was located on the *cella* behind the *pteron* (see figure 13).⁵⁴⁸ The friezes were highly decorative with the background painted blue and the foreground, the actors, painted red. Many supplemental objects, like weaponry, reigns and armour, were added in metal, which are now lost.⁵⁴⁹ Lastly, Cook has pointed out that the friezes were rather modest in size when compared to the statues, and therefore easily overlooked.⁵⁵⁰

The interpretation of the friezes has been disputed. Hornblower argued that these depicted common themes and therefore lacked a specific interpretation.⁵⁵¹ Ruzicka, however, argued that especially the Amazonomachy played an important role in the dynastic imagery as it depicts Herakles killing Hippolyte (see figure 15), which is central to the origin myth of *Zeus Labraundos*.⁵⁵² The frieze has also been compared to the Amazonomachy frieze on the Parthenon,

⁵⁴² Waywell 1978, 45-46.

⁵⁴³ Waywell 1978, 44.

⁵⁴⁴ Henry 2017b, 105.

⁵⁴⁵ Waywell 1978, 47.

⁵⁴⁶ Waywell 1978, 50-51.

⁵⁴⁷ Pedersen 2017, 240-241; Novakova 2017, 264-267.

⁵⁴⁸ Cook 2005, 31-33.

⁵⁴⁹ Cook 2005, 30. As the friezes were painted I do not consider the type of marble relevant, but for marble provenance see: Stampolidis 1989; Cook 2005, 29-30.

⁵⁵⁰ Cook 2005, 34.

⁵⁵¹ Hornblower 1982, 267-268.

⁵⁵² Ruzicka 1992, 49. On the commonality of the depiction of Herakles grasping the enemy and dealing the death blow dating back to the Archaic Period see Blok 1995, 355.

which is often symbolically interpreted as representing the Greek victory over the Persians. Such an interpretation, or rather allusion to the Parthenon, of the Amazonomachy on the Maussoleion is, however, only supported by a few.⁵⁵³ Lastly, Hulden has argued that the Amazonomachy does not specifically refer to an event, but rather that it is a generic depiction of victory of the enemy: *‘Rein äußerlich repräsentieren sie die militärischen Erfolge der Hekatomniden und ihre Sieghaftigkeit’*.⁵⁵⁴ In line with the dynastic interpretation of *Zeus Labraundos* given above, Ruzicka’s and Hulden’s interpretation need to be combined: the frieze linked the Sanctuary of *Zeus Labraundos* directly to the Maussoleion and *Zeus Labraundos* himself was the embodiment of Hekatomnid victory, as orchestrated by Hekatomnos, though not over unspecified generic enemies, but the “barbarous” Karian dynasts.⁵⁵⁵ As the Amazonomachy was the most visible of the friezes, we may surmise that it was this frieze which would contain such a political message.



Figure 15 Maussoleion frieze depicting Herakles killing Hippolyte (the third and fourth from the left). The lion pelt can be seen hanging between his legs and clasped around his shoulders as he raises his club for the death blow. Source: British Museum inv. no. 1847,0424.13. © The Trustees of the British Museum.

As for the other two friezes, the surviving parts of the chariot frieze do not depict distinguishable individuals, though not a single slab has survived in its entirety.⁵⁵⁶ It is therefore interpreted as a funerary chariot race akin to Homeric times.⁵⁵⁷ The Kentauiromachy has been poorly preserved and also lacks distinguishable participants. It likely represents the symbolic victory over barbarism, akin to the Amazonomachy.⁵⁵⁸ Cook points out that the Kentauiromachy

⁵⁵³ Primarily: Cook 2005, 34; McGowan 2013, 167-168. Cf. also Hulden 2001, 87.

⁵⁵⁴ Hulden 2001, 101.

⁵⁵⁵ See 2.1 and 1.5 above.

⁵⁵⁶ Cook 2005, 100ff.

⁵⁵⁷ Cook 2005, 35.

⁵⁵⁸ Hulden 2001, 95; Cook 2005, 65-70.

would have been barely visible so high up.⁵⁵⁹ It therefore may have been a practical consideration to use a generic depiction of the Kentaumachy.

I return to the question whether the Maussoleion was, aside from a tomb, a dynastic monument.⁵⁶⁰ There are clear dynastic elements of repetition in the Maussoleion when we compare it to the Uzun Yuva. Both featured a terraced structure and were located in the heart of the city, indicating that both were *oikistes*-tombs. Furthermore, both featured the *Totenmahl*-motif (see above). Yet, I remain sceptical about the colossal statues located in the *pteron* due to their generic portrayal and number. However, the historical sources only refer to the Maussoleion as Maussollos's tomb.⁵⁶¹ They do not mention any dynastic function as, for instance, Pausanias does concerning the Philippeion when he plainly mentioned whose statues stood inside.⁵⁶² Above all, the Maussoleion is remembered for its splendour. Of course, the authors who refer to the Maussoleion lived long after the demise of the Hekatomnid dynasty, but the absence of familial references remains noteworthy nonetheless. We may wonder whether contemporaries recognized the dynastic similarities between the Uzun Yuva and the Maussoleion, but for later ancient sources the Maussoleion was just a wondrous tomb.

Lastly, was there a cult to Maussollos, and the Maussoleion possibly a temple?⁵⁶³ Aulus Gellius strongly suggests so:

'Id monumentum Artemisia cum dis manibus sacrum Mausoli dicaret [...]

*'When Artemisia dedicated this monument, consecrated to the deified shades of Mausolus, [...].'*⁵⁶⁴

But the issue with Gellius is that he lived five centuries later. As Carstens, points out, it is very likely that Maussollos, like his father, became divine upon death.⁵⁶⁵ Though, like Hekatomnos, Maussollos would have become a *daimon* – there is no evidence that he became a *theos*, at least not yet. Mylasa did after all introduce Olympian sacrifices to Maussollos.⁵⁶⁶ As such, we may surmise that there was a cult to Maussollos. However, the archaeological record reveals that continuous worship was very unlikely.⁵⁶⁷

⁵⁵⁹ Cook 2005, 35.

⁵⁶⁰ Hornblower 1982, 237; Ruzicka 1992, 52-53; McGowan 2013, 170; Carstens 2013a, 179.

⁵⁶¹ Cic. *Tusc.* 3.75; Strabo, 14.2.16; Plin. *NH.* 36.30; Luc. *DD.* 29; Aul. Gell. *NA.* 10.18.

⁵⁶² Paus. 5.20.9-10.

⁵⁶³ Jeppesen 1994 *non vidi*; Carstens 2013a, 180.

⁵⁶⁴ Aul. Gell. *NA.* 10.18; Cf. Carstens 2002, 403.

⁵⁶⁵ Carstens 2013a, 178-179.

⁵⁶⁶ See 2.7.

⁵⁶⁷ Hornblower 1982, 252-258.

3.3.4. Preliminary Conclusion on the Maussoleion of Halikarnassos

The Maussoleion continues Maussollos's trends from Labraunda and his private dedications by setting the stage for divination. There was also a clear dynastic trend between the Maussoleion and Uzun Yuva visualized in the use of terraces, being an *oikistes*-tomb, and the presence of the *Totenmahl*-motif. The ancient sources however did not consider this dynastic link. Like his father, Maussollos was likely deified as a *daimon* upon death. This has made me wonder, could one of the reasons for relocating the satrapal capital to Halikarnassos have been so Maussollos could also receive an *oikistes*-tomb – to become a founder in his own right?⁵⁶⁸ Theodectes's play *Mausolus* showed how Hekatomnid innovation, once again, narrowed the barriers between Maussollos and the divine. Furthermore, Maussollos linked the Maussoleion to Labraunda with the Amazonomachy-frieze. Lastly, the Maussoleion combined with the *paradeisos* on the Zephyrion dominated the Halikarnassian cityscape. Like at Labraunda, Hekatomnid, specifically Maussollos's, presence was inescapable in Halikarnassos.

⁵⁶⁸ If we follow this line of thought, though highly speculative, a sarcophagus eerily similar to that of Uzun Yuva was discovered in Iasos (Pedersen 2017, 241-243). We know that Idrieus was thoroughly praised and later deified by the Iasians (Nafissi 2015; Fabiani 2015; Carbon 2016). Could this be Idrieus's tomb? And could he have been the *oikist* of Iasos?

4. Maussollan Coinage: Dynastic Innovation and Continuity

Coinage was one of the most important media of communication with the general public for an ancient ruler. Unlike statues or sponsored constructions, coinage would spread and reach effectively the entire general public.⁵⁶⁹ Numismatic iconography thus depicted the dominant dynastic message. The denomination and metal of the coinage also play an important role in this respect. The higher denominations and more precious coins were not accessible, for lack of a better word, to the poorer inhabitants. Rulers could and did adjust their political messages to expected audiences based on the denomination.⁵⁷⁰

Hekatomnid coinage itself stands out like a sore thumb in comparison to both Persian and satrapal coinage. As Mildenberg notes, Hekatomnid coinage appears strikingly Greek and independent, as if they were not part of the Persian Empire.⁵⁷¹ The most influential researcher of Hekatomnid coinage is Konuk. He has argued extensively that Hekatomnos's introduction of *Zeus Labraundos* on his coinage was the start of dynastic trend which continued throughout the entire dynasty and beyond: the imagery prevailed on the coinage of the Persian Rhoontophates, who was married to Pixodaros's daughter Ada and succeeded Pixodaros as satrap upon his death in 336 and ruled until Alexander's conquest in 334.⁵⁷²

This thesis wholly supports the dynastic interpretation set forth by Konuk. This chapter wishes to expand upon this, though it does not wholly support Konuk's interpretation of the iconography. Firstly, I shall briefly discuss the coinage of Hyssaldomos, Hekatomnos's father and that of Hekatomnos himself. Secondly, I shall discuss that of Maussollos. Thirdly, and lastly, I shall place the dynastic numismatic iconography in the larger context of Maussollos's ruler image.

4.1 Hyssaldomos's and Hekatomnos's Coinage

Next to nothing is known about Hyssaldomos, aside from him being the father of Hekatomnos and his sister-wife Aba, and a few attributable coins. Discovered in the so-called Hyssaldomos hoard, alongside coins of Hekatomnos, Hyssaldomos's coins are only recognisable as such due to the addition of the Karian letter III, on either the obverse or reverse, which is the first letter of Hyssaldomos's name in Karian.⁵⁷³ There are only two coin-types attributed to Hyssaldomos, both based on the Milesian standard and struck in Mylasa. Both types invariably depict a right-facing lion on the obverse, whilst the reverse either depicts a facing lion or a young man (see figure

⁵⁶⁹ Osborne & Alcock 2012, 5-7.

⁵⁷⁰ E.g. Hekster 2003.

⁵⁷¹ Mildenberg 2000, 12.

⁵⁷² Konuk 2013; Konuk 2015. Cf. also Strabo, 14.2.17; Arr. *Anab.* 1.23.7-8 who refers to Rhoontophates as Orontobates.

⁵⁷³ Konuk 2009, 7.

16).⁵⁷⁴ Interpretation of the iconography is effectively impossible due to the lack of knowledge about Hyssaldomos himself. It is striking, however, that Hyssaldomos only minted coins with small denominations; the *Hemiobol* – ½ obol – was the largest denomination.⁵⁷⁵ Beginning with Hekatomnos, the denominations would rapidly increase.



Figure 16 Hemiobol of Hyssaldomos. Collection: CNG EA 239 (2010), 170. Source: hno.huma.Hy.Hemi.

At first, Hekatomnos continued his father's iconography by minting coins with a right-facing lion and a young man, but importantly added the first three letters of his name, EKA, in Greek.⁵⁷⁶ Over time, Hekatomnos implemented multiple iconographies. One type depicts the Great King slaying a griffin on the obverse with a Milesian rosette on the reverse (see figure 17). Konuk interpreted the coin-type as Hekatomnos professing his loyalty to the Persian king, which Diodoros portrayed as lacking.⁵⁷⁷ Yet, Konuk's interpretation faces two major obstacles. Firstly, there is no supplemental evidence for Hekatomnos's disloyalty and was inferred by Diodoros because he was not a Persian.⁵⁷⁸ Secondly, though the imagery was definitely a sign of loyalty towards the Persians, the recipients of the message were not Persian; only very few Persians lived in Karia.⁵⁷⁹ Rather, the general Karian public were the recipients. I have argued above that Hekatomnos still had to secure control of Karia, fighting rival dynasts.



Figure 17 Hekatomnos's triobol depicting the Great King slaying a griffin. Collection: British Museum inv. no. 1971,0614.1. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Source: hno.huma.H.triobol.

The imagery is therefore a deterrent to the Karian populace wanting to support his rivals. Hekatomnos could count on Persian support, his rivals could not hope to prevail. It is hereby also important to note that the Hekatomnids only minted silver coinage, with only Pixodaros minting golden coins; none of them minted bronze coins.⁵⁸⁰ Though the smallest denomination minted by Hekatomnos was a *Hemitartemorion* – 1/8 Obol or 1/48 Drachm, the griffin-slayer motif is only present on the *triobol* – three obols.⁵⁸¹ Little is known about the

Karian economy, wages and costs of living, though we may look to Athens for comparison.⁵⁸² Thucydides notes multiple times that the standard daily wage for Athenian sailors during the Peloponnesian War was three obols a day, though this could vary per commander.⁵⁸³ Though

⁵⁷⁴ Konuk 2009, 4-9.

⁵⁷⁵ Konuk 2009, 2.

⁵⁷⁶ Konuk 2009, 8-10.

⁵⁷⁷ Konuk 2013, 104.

⁵⁷⁸ See above 1.4 and below 5.

⁵⁷⁹ Sekunda 1991, 97, 140.

⁵⁸⁰ Konuk 2013, 102, 110-111.

⁵⁸¹ Konuk 2013, 104.

⁵⁸² Cf. Ruzicka 1992, 38ff., for some considerations on the Karian economy, especially the importance of Halikarnassos under Maussollos.

⁵⁸³ Thuc. 7.29, 7.45; Cf. also Thompson 1965.

wages between Karia and Athens would have varied and other factors like inflation, over a period of at least one generation, also played a significant role, we may guesstimate that a *triobol* would have been about a daily wage and therefore a common denomination in circulation.⁵⁸⁴ Hekatomnos's message of Persian support was therefore widespread among the people, save for the poorest segments of the general Karian public who lacked the means to pose a threat anyway.

The most important type introduced by Hekatomnos, based on the Chian standard, depicted *Zeus Labraundos* on the obverse, wearing a laureate, holding a spear pointing downwards in one hand and the double-axe resting on his shoulder in the other. The reverse depicted a roaring lion (see figure 18).⁵⁸⁵ This coin-type is the aforementioned oldest depiction of *Zeus Labraundos* known to us and the start of the previously mentioned dynastic Hekatomnid coinage.⁵⁸⁶ Konuk argues that the deity was depicted because the Hekatomnids were the cult priests.⁵⁸⁷ As argued above, Hekatomnos was personally responsible for the aggrandizement of *Zeus Labraundos* and the linking of him to his dynasty – hence *Zeus Labraundos*'s absence on Hyssaldomos's coinage. Hekatomnos had turned *Zeus Labraundos* into



Figure 18 Tetradrachm of Hekatomnos depicting *Zeus Labraundos* (obv.) and a lion (rev.). Collection: CNG Triton XV (2012). Source: hno.huma.H.tetr.

the very symbol of victory over the other Karian dynasts represented by the barbarian double-axe now in Zeus's possession, which also represented his *paradeisos* at the Sanctuary. One may therefore wonder what the downward-pointing spear represented. It most likely represented the concept of spear-won land, justifying Hekatomnos's rule over Karia. He had defeated the other dynasts and now ruled their lands by right of conquest. This concept is known to have been depicted profusely in Hellenistic coinage such as the bronze coinage of Kassandros, though he only depicted the spearhead.⁵⁸⁸ The theme is also present at the Villa Boscoreale on one of the frescos. It depicts two women, one standing and the other seated, with the standing woman resting on a spear pointing downwards with both hands. The seated woman is depicted with a Persian hair dress. This fresco has been interpreted to represent the Macedonian victory and conquests, the spear-won land, of the Persians. The feminine portrayal of Macedon is interpreted as depicting the Roman-held soft view of Macedon.⁵⁸⁹

A further clue to its interpretation can be found in the denomination. The image was only struck on *tetradrachms* – four drachms.⁵⁹⁰ The coin would thus have had considerable purchasing

⁵⁸⁴ Cf. van Wees 2009 who argues for a modernistic approach of the Ancient Greek economy as far back as the Archaic Period.

⁵⁸⁵ Konuk 2013, 105-106.

⁵⁸⁶ See note 572.

⁵⁸⁷ Konuk 2013, 105.

⁵⁸⁸ Valassiadis 2005.

⁵⁸⁹ Smith 1994, 109-111.

⁵⁹⁰ Konuk 2013, 105-106.

power if we accept the earlier proposed daily wage of about three obols, and would therefore only have been in the possession of the wealthy elite. The iconographic message was directly addressed to them: Hekatomnos was the ruler of Karia, do not resist.

4.2 Maussollos's Coinage

Maussollos's coinage can be split into two categories. Coins minted in his time in Mylasa, which Konuk aptly names transitional, and those from Halikarnassos after the *synoikism*.⁵⁹¹ The transitional period saw Maussollos continue to strike coin-types with a right-facing lion on the obverse and either a Milesian rosette or trident on the reverse on the *hemiobol* and *stater*. The trident is generally considered to be an attribute of *Zeus Osogo*.⁵⁹² He also had two different types



Figure 19 Maussollos's tetradrachm depicting Zeus Osogo (obv.) and Zeus Labraundos (rev.). Collection: British Museum inv. no. 1981,0525.1. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Source: hno.huma.m.tetr.Zeus.Osogo.

of *tetradrachms* in circulation. Both featured *Zeus Labraundos* on the reverse, as opposed to Hekatomnos who had the deity on the obverse.⁵⁹³ One type depicted the Great King as an archer and should be interpreted in a similar line as the griffin-slayer motif of Hekatomnos.⁵⁹⁴

The other type depicted *Zeus Osogo*, resting on his trident and holding an eagle, on the obverse (see figure 19).⁵⁹⁵

Maussollos likely tried to combine the most important Zeus of Mylasa, with the Sanctuary of *Zeus Labraundos*, which was part of his *paradeisos*.⁵⁹⁶ The coin-type represented the axis of Maussollos's authority, and, being a *tetradrachm*, was once again aimed at the elite.

Upon the *synoikism* of Halikarnassos, Maussollos had a new coin-type minted, depicting *Apollo* with a laurel wreath on the obverse and *Zeus Labraundos* on the reverse (see figure 20). The iconography of Apollo was hardly unique as it was already present on bronze



Figure 20 Maussollos's tetradrachm depicting Apollo with a laurel wreath (obv.) and Zeus Labraundos (rev.). Collection: NAC 100 (2017), 158. Source: hno.huma.m.tetr.Apollo.

Halikarnassian coins.⁵⁹⁷ Konuk argues that the coin linked the ancestral identity with the new governmental seat.⁵⁹⁸ With the suggestion and affirmation of the *paradeisos* at Labraunda by

⁵⁹¹ Konuk 2013, 106-109.

⁵⁹² Konuk 2013, 106-107.

⁵⁹³ Konuk 2013, 107.

⁵⁹⁴ Konuk 2013, 107 notes that the Great King as an archer was a very common motif in Karia.

⁵⁹⁵ Konuk 2013, 106-107.

⁵⁹⁶ See above 2.2.2.

⁵⁹⁷ Konuk 2013, 107-108.

⁵⁹⁸ Konuk 2013, 109.

Karlsson and Henry, we can now refine Konuk's interpretation.⁵⁹⁹ The coin-type is not so much a link between new and old. Rather, it represents and symbolically links Maussollos's two *paradeisoi*. It represented the new axis of authority centred around Halikarnassos and the Sanctuary of Labraunda. Maussollos did not confine this iconographical message to the elite this time. The iconography was struck on *hemidrachms*, *drachms*, and *tetradrachms*, becoming the most circulated coins in Karia.⁶⁰⁰ This message was therefore aimed at the general public. We should take a quick glimpse at one of Pixodaros's *tetradrachms* for comparison. At first, it looks near identical to Maussollos's coinage, depicting both *Apollo* and *Zeus Labraundos* (see figure 21). But, upon closer inspection, *Zeus Labraundos* no longer has a spear, but a sceptre.⁶⁰¹ The message of spear-won land, of conquest, was apparently no longer deemed necessary by Pixodaros.



Figure 21 Pixodaros's tetradrachm depicting Zeus Labraundos with a sceptre. Collection: CNG Triton XII (2009), 325. Source: hno.huma.Pix.tetr.

Unlike in his epigraphical and architectural representation of his rulership, Maussollos's coinage has a very practical iconographical message representing his authority. Though it may infer divine favour of both deities, *Apollo* and *Zeus Labraundos*, there is nothing elevating Maussollos himself to a new heroic stature as can be seen in his architecture and epigraphy. In fact, only the inclusion of his name links Maussollos to the coinage. Maussollos's main innovation in the numismatic dynastic tradition was the creation of a uniform message to be spread to effectively most of the general public.

⁵⁹⁹ Karlsson 2015; Henry 2017c, 577-579.

⁶⁰⁰ Konuk 2013, 109.

⁶⁰¹ Konuk 2013, 110.

5. The Official Position of the Hekatomnids within the Persian Empire

'Mausolus autem fuit, ut M. Tullius ait, rex terrae Cariae, ut quidam Graecarum historiarum scriptores, provinciae praefectus σατράπην Graeci vocant'

'Now Mausolus, as Marcus Tullius [Cicero] tells us, was king of the land of Caria; according to some Greek historians he was governor of a province, the official whom the Greeks term a satrap'⁶⁰²

Confusion surrounding the official position of the Hekatomnids already existed in ancient times as this quote of Aulus Gellius reveals and he was hardly alone. The Greek historians to whom Gellius most likely referred addressed him with a plethora of different titles. Isokrates calls Hekatomnos *epistathmos* – quartermaster, whilst his pupil Demosthenes steadfastly refused to address the Hekatomnids by any title.⁶⁰³ In the *Oikonomika*, attributed to Pseudo-Aristotle, Maussollos is called a *tyrannos*.⁶⁰⁴ Theompompos uses the term *archon* for Hekatomnos.⁶⁰⁵ Diodoros refers to each Hekatomnid individually as *dynastes*. In fact, Diodoros, during his description of the Great Satraps' Revolt, explicitly mentions Maussollos separately as *dynastes* aside from the other satraps.⁶⁰⁶ Additionally, Strabo refers to Hekatomnids as *basileus*.⁶⁰⁷ Cicero, of course, refers to Maussollos as *Cariae regis* – king of Karia.⁶⁰⁸ Lastly, Plutarch is the only ancient historian who does refer to the Hekatomnids, in this specific case Pixodaros, as satrap.⁶⁰⁹ Consistency among the ancients, even among contemporaries, is thus lacking.

This plurality of titles formed the start of Petit's 1988 article in which he argued that the Hekatomnids were not satraps, nor was Karia a satrapy.⁶¹⁰ Petit's article received lukewarm responses.⁶¹¹ Other historians, such as Hornblower, Debord and Briant, have proposed that the Hekatomnids had a double function as both satrap and local leader – whether it be *dynastes* or

⁶⁰² Aul. Gell. *NA*. 10.18.

⁶⁰³ Isok 4.162, 5.103; e.g. Dem. 15.3, 15.9, 24.12. Demosthenes may have refrained from using a title for the Hekatomnids due to their, specifically Maussollos's, role in Athens's decline during the Athenian Social War. As such, a scholiast noting on Demosthenes' *Kata Timokratous*, in which an envoy to Maussollos is mentioned, deemed it necessary to comment: 'Μαύσωλος, τῆς Καρίας σατράπης ὑπήκοος ὦν τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν Περσῶν'. Schol. Dem. *Kat. Tim.* (=24) 1a.

⁶⁰⁴ Ps.Arist. *Oik.* 2.2.13.

⁶⁰⁵ Theomp. *FGrHist.* 115 F. 299.

⁶⁰⁶ E.g. Diod. Sic. 14.98.3, 15.90.3, 16.42.6, 17.24.2.

⁶⁰⁷ Strabo, 14.2.17.

⁶⁰⁸ Cic. *Tusc.* 3.75.

⁶⁰⁹ Plut. *Vit. Alex.* 10.

⁶¹⁰ Petit 1988, 313-315.

⁶¹¹ Hornblower 1994, 215 is sceptical; Debord 1999, 138 rejects the notion; Henry 2010 accepts Debord 1999.

King of the Karians.⁶¹² Nevertheless, it remains an important topic to analyse as their official position had profound impact on their self-representation. As such, I shall extensively entreat Petit's first statement, that the Hekatomnids were not satraps, arguing to the contrary. Whether Karia was a satrapy shall not be discussed extensively; only when Petit intertwines the two premises shall I comment on it.

Petit substantiates his claim, that the Hekatomnids were not satraps, by arguing that they are only mentioned as such in eight inscriptions which are all from Karia: one referring to Hekatomnos, four to Maussollos, one to Idrieus, and two to Pixodaros. As Petit notes, the vast corpus of remaining Hekatomnid inscriptions lack titles.⁶¹³ Petit next argues that, when looking at other satraps, five criteria concerning them and their position can be distilled. Firstly, they are all male. Artemisia and Ada evidently were not. Secondly, they are all Persian, specifically Achaemenids, with a few isolated exceptions. The Hekatomnids do not fit this criterion as an extra-Persian dynasty. Thirdly, they are directly responsible to the Persian King. In other words, there is no other official which outranks them, but the King. Hekatomnos, however was subordinate to Autophradates in their campaign against Euagoras I in 391, and Maussollos was a mere follower during the Great Satraps' Revolt, though, Petit concedes, there is room for discrepancy here. Fourthly, Karia by sheer size is far smaller than any other known satrapy, making its rulers most likely not satraps. And, fifthly, etymologically the word *satrap* means: '*celui qui a la garde de ce qui est perse, des interest perses, de l'ordre perse a l'etranger, ailleurs qu'en Perse meme*'. Or: 'the one who has custody of Persian things, Persian interests, Persian order abroad, elsewhere than in Persia itself'. Only Persians could fulfil Persian interests; local dynasts would be detrimental to Persian imperial interests, as they would advance his, or his peoples', interests primarily. Petit goes as far as calling a non-Persian satrap a *contradictio in terminis*.⁶¹⁴ Furthermore, Persian satraps were to imitate the royal courts in their own lands, which a non-Persian could not do. The Hekatomnids also fail this criterion. All in all, combining the literary and epigraphical evidence with the five criteria, Petit concluded that the Hekatomnids were not satraps, but only sparingly used the title to enforce their power, which their Persian overlords accepted as long as they remained loyal.⁶¹⁵

Yet, there are multiple issues with Petit's analysis. It is correct that only eight inscriptions refer to the Hekatomnids as satrap, but Petit has failed to take into account the nature of these inscriptions vis-à-vis the remaining corpus of Hekatomnid inscriptions. The inscription referring to Hekatomnos as satrap has been lost and when it was still extant, it was extensively damaged

⁶¹² Hornblower 1982, 55-61; Debord 1999, 138; Briant 2002, 668.

⁶¹³ Petit 1988, 313-315.

⁶¹⁴ Petit 1988, 318-320; personal translation.

⁶¹⁵ Petit 1988, 318-320.

with only six lines partially legible (see Appendix 1.15).⁶¹⁶ The nature of the inscription therefore remains unknown. As for the decrees of Maussollos, these are the three decrees pertaining to the acts committed against him from Mylasa, which are extensively discussed above, and a further fourth inscription which is too badly damaged to discern any further content (see Appendix 1.16).⁶¹⁷ As stated above, these decrees were not set up by Maussollos, but by Mylasa, which included the satrapal title because the Persian King had become involved, necessitating such hierarchy. Furthermore, they are of judicial nature. Similarly, Idrieus is only mentioned once as satrap, in an official setting, though not by himself. The Tralleans mention him as such when Idrieus ratified their democratic decision to set up a sanctuary to Dionysos-Bacchos.⁶¹⁸ As for Pixodaros, mentioned twice as satrap, the first inscription concerns a tax-dispute from the first half of the third century between Diokles and the Plataseis.⁶¹⁹ The inscription post-dates Pixodaros by half a century, making it impossible for Pixodaros to have exerted any influence on the contents of the inscription. The only reason why Pixodaros is mentioned at all is because Diokles argued that he was exempt from taxes because his father, Dion of Kos, had been made a *proxenos* of Platasa during the reign of satrap Pixodaros, which the Plataseis honoured. The second inscription is the trilingual inscription from Xanthos, written in Greek, Lykian and Aramaic. It is dated to 338/337, near the end of Pixodaros's reign. Like the inscription of Idrieus, it concerns the ratification of a religious matter: Pixodaros ratified the Xanthian decision to set up an altar to the *Kaunian King* and *Arkesimas*, and the appointment of Simias as priest.⁶²⁰ Interestingly enough, this decree both in Greek and Lykian refers to Pixodaros as the satrap of Lykia, but in Aramaic calls him the satrap of Lykia and Karia, indicating that his position of satrap was more important than the specific region of which he was satrap.⁶²¹

To summarize, of the eight decrees, only six are preserved sufficiently. None of these six inscriptions were set up directly by the Hekatomnids but by their *poleis*, and all are official in nature: four are judicial, three of Maussollos and one of Pixodaros, and two are religious, Idrieus's and one of Pixodaros. Their *poleis* and its inhabitants used the satrapal title to grant authority to their decisions, or in the case of Mylasa due to the presence of the Persian King, and it is highly unlikely that these *poleis* did not know what position the Hekatomnids held. Petit's preliminary epigraphical conclusion thus needs to be rejected. It is however important to note that this is not connected to the Hekatomnid double function, as they are never mentioned with any other

⁶¹⁶ *I.Mylasa* 4; Cf. Hornblower 1982, 36, n.6 on restoration.

⁶¹⁷ *I.Mylasa* 1-3, 5.

⁶¹⁸ *Syll.*² 573 (not republished in *Syll.*³).

⁶¹⁹ *I.Labraunda* 42.

⁶²⁰ R&O, 78.

⁶²¹ Petit 1988, 314.

titulature in the epigraphical record either. As argued above, the Hekatomnids refrained from using any title because they wanted to represent themselves as the *primi inter pares*.

Concerning the five criteria set forth by Petit, the first argument, that satraps had to be male, which two of the Hekatomnids were not, fails on two grounds. Firstly, there is no evidence that Artemisia and Ada were ever appointed officially as satrap.⁶²² This statement however is mitigated by the fact that it is an *argumentum ex silentio*, especially now both women only ruled shortly. Secondly, and more convincingly, there is evidence of at least one woman becoming satrap after the death of her husband, namely Mania, the widow of Zenis of Dardanos. Xenophon relates the event as followed. Zenis ruled Aeolis in Pharnabazus's stead. Though Pharnabazus was nominally satrap himself, he had Zenis rule in his stead as satrap. When Zenis died, Mania managed to convince Pharnabazus to appoint her as the new satrap:

‘ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Φαρνάβαζος ἔγνω δεῖν τὴν γυναῖκα σατραπεύειν’
‘When Pharnabazus heard this, he decided that the woman should be satrap’⁶²³

This took place in 399, a few years before the appointment of Hekatomnos. Petit's first criterium must be discarded.

Petit's second criterium, that satraps were nominally Persian, is also rebuffed by the story of Mania, as both she and her husband were Dardanians.⁶²⁴ In fact, there were more non-Persian satraps. Babylon was ruled between 421-414 by the native Belsunu, whom Xenophon calls Belesys in his *Anabasis*, who around 407 became satrap of *Ebirnari*, which roughly corresponds to modern-day Syria.⁶²⁵ Similarly, the Sanballat family ruled their native Samaria as satraps.⁶²⁶ Furthermore, Mania was murdered with her seventeen-year-old son, by her son-in-law Meidias who tried to usurp her position. He sent gifts to Pharnabazus, expecting to be confirmed as the new ruler, but Pharnabazus swore to avenge Mania instead.⁶²⁷ Meidias is not a Persian but Greek name, and he expected to be able to succeed Mania, indicating that being Persian was not necessary. It is furthermore clear, that Mania wanted to found a dynasty, like the Hekatomnids and the Sanballats would do after her, as Meidias deemed it necessary to murder her young son to consolidate his power. In other words, they all expected that non-Persians could succeed themselves. This criterium has duly been rebuffed.

⁶²² Ruzicka 1992, 124.

⁶²³ Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.10-12. Polyainos also relates this event, though aggrandized; Polyain. 8.54.

⁶²⁴ Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.10-11; contra Ruzicka, who states that Hekatomnos was the first non-Persian satrap, Ruzicka 1992, 17-18.

⁶²⁵ Klinkott 2005, 268-270. Xen. *Anab.* 1.4.10.

⁶²⁶ Briant 2002, 767.

⁶²⁷ Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.14-15.

The third criterium, that satraps, were only subordinate to the King, which the Hekatomnids according to Petit, were not, touches on a currently hotly debated topic concerning the satrapal system. Formalists, such as Jacobs, argue that there was a strict satrapal hierarchy with greater and lesser satraps, in which Karia was a lesser satrapy of the greater satrapy of Ionia.⁶²⁸ Other historians, such as Klinkott, though they accept certain hierarchy among satraps, rather argue for a more informal approach in which each satrap was more or less independent, though this varied per satrap.⁶²⁹ This section does not seek to re-evaluate the position of the satrap within in the Persian Empire, but analyse the official position of the Hekatomnids. As such, relying on previously mentioned sources throughout this thesis, Mania was clearly a subordinate of Pharnabazus as cited above. So was Orontobates, the satrap of Myus, who during the second phase of the Great Satrap's Revolt rebelled against his direct overlord Autophradates, satrap of Ionia.⁶³⁰ Similarly, Cyrus the Younger had been made lord of all satrapies on the Aegean Sea before his rebellion, clearly being their superior.⁶³¹ At the same time, the Hekatomnids clearly were not subordinate to the satrapy of Ionia as Hekatomnos had been made co-commander together with Autophradates during the campaign against Euagoras I in 391.⁶³² For now, Jacobs's approach must be considered too formal, though Petit's notion of equality between satraps is clearly incorrect.

The fourth criterium, that Karia was too small to be a satrapy, is at face value an odd argument to make. Does size really matter that much?⁶³³ Would other factors like population and tax collection rates not be more important? Aside from that, this argument assumes that the Achaemenid satrapal system had clear and strict predetermined borders between regions and that only regions, or collections of regions, of a certain size could become a satrapy which touches upon the same debate of the satrapal system. This does not seem to be the case as the sources illustrate a continuous flux of satrapal borders and the creation or disintegration of satrapies.⁶³⁴ Most notably, Maussollos's failed attempt to incorporate Miletos into his domain and his near contemporaneous acquisition of Lykia, which had not been a satrapy before, shows that satrapies had no predetermined borders and satraps could extent their influence considerably without royal disapproval.⁶³⁵ As such, this point further supports Klinkott's position on satraps and rejects Petit's fourth criterium.

⁶²⁸ Jacobs 1994, 118-138.

⁶²⁹ Klinkott 2005, 61-66.

⁶³⁰ Weiskopf 1989, 86-91.

⁶³¹ Diod. Sic. 14.12.8.

⁶³² Diod. Sic. 14.98; Theopomp. *FGrHist*, 115, F.103.

⁶³³ Though it is becoming rather repetitive to state and nearing overreliance, Aeolis was smaller than Karia yet ruled by a satrap, as was Samaria for that matter.

⁶³⁴ Klinkott 2005, 426-427

⁶³⁵ Polyain. 6.8; Ps.Arist. *Oik.* 2.2.13.

Lastly, that only Persians could advance Persian interests and that local dynasts per definition opposed Persian interests, seems to be based on our contemporary notion of nationalism, rather than any historical notion, and is plainly wrong. Persians did not always advance Persian ambitions. Take for instance the rebellions of Cyrus the Younger, and of Ariobarzanes and Orontobates during the Great Satraps' Revolt. These all did considerable harm to Persian imperial ambitions as their uprisings led to a loss of revenue from the rebellious regions, recruitment of troops and thus an increase of army upkeep necessary to suppress the rebellion, and, loss of face abroad. Conversely, many non-Persians greatly advanced Persian interests. Aside from Belsunu, Zenis and Mania, the Hekatomnids, and the Sanballats, the best example is Memnon of Rhodes (ca. 380-333), who despite belonging to the upper echelons of Persian society was not a satrap. He first advised the satraps of Asia Minor not to engage Alexander in a pitched battle, but was ignored leading to the disastrous defeat at the Graneikos.⁶³⁶ After the battle, Dareios made Memnon supreme commander in Asia Minor and for a considerable time led the defence of Halikarnassos.⁶³⁷ When the defence became untenable, he left Halikarnassos and led the Persian fleet in a counter-offensive against the islands off the coast of Asia Minor, achieving small successes, before suddenly dying a natural death in Persian service in 333.⁶³⁸

All Petit's arguments have been rejected, nullifying his viewpoint, though this does not prove that the Hekatomnids were satraps. Klinkott has provided an alternative interpretation of the satrap based on five criteria. Firstly, internal protection of the empire via military and judicial means. Secondly, setting up and maintaining an effective administration. Thirdly, mediate between and unite the different peoples of the often-pluralistic satrapies. Fourthly, protection against external threats. Fifthly, and lastly, if possible, expansion of the Persian Empire.⁶³⁹ The Hekatomnids, Maussollos in particular, met all these criteria as shown throughout this thesis. Maussollos maintained a sizeable navy and military to defend Karia and allowed his subject *poleis* to conduct justice in an orderly manner.⁶⁴⁰ Maussollos had inherited a stable Karia from his father Hekatomnos, which he maintained, proving effective governance. Maussollos further united the Greeks and Karians in his lands successfully by maintaining order and representing union between the peoples and his *paradeisoi* on his coins depicting *Apollo* and *Zeus Labraundos*. He also protected the Persian Empire from external threats and expanded it during the Athenian Social War, bringing Kos, Khios, and Rhodes into the Karian/Persian sphere of influence. If we accept Klinkott's criteria, the Hekatomnids clearly were satraps.

⁶³⁶ Arr. *Anab.* 1.12.9; Diod. Sic. 17.18.3.

⁶³⁷ Arr. *Anab.* 1.23; Diod. Sic. 17.23.4-6; Briant 2002, 782-783.

⁶³⁸ Arr. *Anab.* 2.1.1-2.1.3.

⁶³⁹ Klinkott 2005, 37.

⁶⁴⁰ *I.Mylasa* 1-3.

This, however, does not answer the question why most ancient authors did not call them what they were: satraps. If we look at Diodoros, the primary historical source of the Hekatomnids, and his use of *dynasteia*, it becomes clear that he never used this term to refer to the Persians. He primarily used *dynasteia* to refer to Greek rulers and a few non-Greek rulers, who had hegemonic powers within their lands. The term by itself is neutral and may be applied to any kind of government which is inherently inegalitarian, often due to the absence of the power of laws.⁶⁴¹ As such, Diodoros on a regular basis refers to rulers such as Dionysos of Syrakousai as *dynastes* and *tyrannos* to add a moral qualification to their hegemony.⁶⁴² In other words, many ancient authors thus thought that being a satrap was tied to being a Persian which it was not. It is probably also for this reason that the Greek authors expected the Hekatomnids to rebel and even help Greek efforts against the Persian Empire. Isokrates mentions that both Hekatomnos and Idrieus were considering open rebellion, Diodoros included Maussollos in the Great Satraps' Revolt, and Demosthenes expected that tensions would rise between the Great King and Artemisia.⁶⁴³ Yet, we lack corroborative evidence in each case. In fact, the Hekatomnids each, as far as we know, were loyal subject rulers of the Great King. Weiskopf argues that the primary cause of this was the fact that the Hekatomnids had Hellenized.⁶⁴⁴ However, none of our sources refer to the Hekatomnids as fellow Greeks, and, as shown above, Diodoros also referred to non-Greek rulers as *dynastes* as long as they were not Persian. It is not the presence of Greekness, but rather the perceived lack of Persianness which led ancient authors to incorrectly suspect rebellious tendencies.

To conclude, the Hekatomnids were satraps, despite many Greek authors thinking otherwise due to them not being Persians. As stated above, the Hekatomnids themselves refrained from using their titles to appear as *primi inter pares*.

⁶⁴¹ Bearzot 2013, 2240-2241.

⁶⁴² Diod. Sic. 14.2.2; 14.7.1. Cf. also in books 14 to 17, wherein the Hekatomnids feature, other Sicilian Tyrants like Damon, Agyris and Euphron (14.78.8; 14.95.4; 15.70.3), the Thirty Tyrants of Athens (14.32.1), Jason of Pherai and his successors (15.57.2; 15.60.6; 16.52.9), Klearchos the Spartan magistrate who had seized power in Byzantion in 399 (14.12.3-4.), Syennis of Kilikia (14.20.2) and two unnamed lords of Sidon (14.79.8, 16.43.1).

⁶⁴³ Isok. 4.162, 5.103; Diod. Sic. 15.90; Dem. 15.11-12.

⁶⁴⁴ Weiskopf 1989, 65.

Conclusion

In this thesis I set out to reconstruct Maussollos's ruler image, both the one he created of himself and the one which was created of him by his *poleis*. This has revealed three faces of Maussollos: the exalted one, the egalitarian negotiator, and the might-makes-right monarch. The first and last faces were continuations of his father's dynastic image.

The epigraphical record has revealed two faces of representation. In Maussollos's non-recipient private dedications, despite representing himself as a private person by foregoing titles, he acted in a manner which other citizens could not by primarily transgressing socio-cultural norms. The dedication of his three altars, two in Mylasa and one in Labraunda, without a recipient deity remains unique. By doing so, he created an image of himself as a pious beneficial ruler and second to none. In a similar vein he extended the Festival at Labraunda, quintupling its duration, which was unprecedented in his own time, and would remain so well into the second century. He created a self-image of more than a person, but not a deified entity. He was exalted.

The reciprocal section of the epigraphical record shows a different Maussollos. Continuing to forego titles, he represented himself as an equal in negotiations, ranging from establishing diplomatic ties, *proxenies*, and military support, with various *poleis*. The results of these negotiations varied. *Poleis* like Mylasa, Kaunos, and Iasos set up statues as a sign of recognition of Hekatomnid authority, whilst Erythrai and Miletos used similar honorary statues as measure of deterrence. Even when Maussollos received personal injury in the four acts against him, he represented himself as an aggrieved citizen who ought to be compensated rather than a ruler exacting justice; the Mylasan decrees only mention his satrapal title because the Great King himself was involved. This, however, did not entail that Maussollos did not exact any pressure on the procedures. We may reasonably presume that he demanded the invariable punishment in these cases, confiscation of property and banishment, in return for continued royal aloofness. Maussollos thus employed a *realpolitik* approach when it came to negotiating with *poleis*.

When we look at Hekatomnid architecture, we see the establishment of a dynastic identity. It was Maussollos's father, Hekatomnos, who first linked the dynasty to *Zeus Labraundos*, wielding an axe to symbolize his victory over the other barbaric petty Karian dynasts, and made the deity the primary deity at Labraunda, ousting *Zeus Stratios*. Under Maussollos, and later Idrieus, the Sanctuary of Labraunda was turned into the major Karian sanctuary and one of the largest sanctuaries in Asia Minor. Maussollos directly linked Mylasa to the Sanctuary by constructing the Sacred Way and heavily fortifying it with two fortresses and three towers. Upon reaching the Sanctuary, visitors would first have to pass through Maussollos's, ultimately unfinished, *paradeisos*, as an act of accepting his authority where they would look upon his *Andron* – *Andron B* – which was above all a statement of innovation and wealth. The architrave

inscription and the statues in the niche of the building further cemented the close relationship between Maussollos and *Zeus Labraundos*, whilst the south-facing windows of the *Andron* gave high-ranking dignitaries a prominent view of a large part of Karia, including Mylasa. Upon reaching the *temenos*, Maussollos's presence continued through the construction of his dedicatory *stoa*. Maussollos had turned himself into an inescapable presence at Labraunda which was adorned in great wealth and splendour.

The dynastic image is furthermore present in Hekatomnid funerary culture. Hekatomnos was most likely buried in Mylasa in the *Uzun Yuva*. The location in the centre of Mylasa indicates that he had received an honour akin to that of an *oikistes*. His sarcophagus depicts a *totenmahl*-motif where Hekatomnos is depicted lying on a *kline*, surrounded by his sister-wife and children. The reverse depicts Hekatomnos participating in the hunt with both Greeks and Persians. An inscription found close by reveals that both Hekatomnos and Aba were deified after their death as the lesser deities *daimones agathoi*. Maussollos imitated his father in many ways when he undertook the construction of his Maussolleion of Halikarnassos. He gave himself the honour of an *oikistes* burial in the centre of Halikarnassos, next to the *agora*. He received a rare extensive chthonic sacrifice, accompanied by other grave goods, including a vase of Xerxes I which was meant to symbolize not only his loyalty but that of the entire dynasty to their Persian overlords. The sarcophagus chamber itself featured a *Totenmahl*-motif. The structure of the Maussolleion proper was above all an innovative design, like the *Andron*. The Maussolleion was richly decorated with both statues and friezes. The statues depicted grieving notables, hunting scenes, and himself seated on a throne. The Amazonomachy frieze depicted Herakles slaying Hippolyte, further cementing the link between Maussollos and *Zeus Labraundos*. During the funeral games, Maussollos was the first mortal to be the subject of a tragedy in which he was portrayed positively. A cult to Maussollos is likely as his father was also deified, but only as a *daimon*. This cult importantly was *post mortem*; Maussollos set the stage for his deification, as the exalted one, but did not take the final step himself. Maussollan architecture strongly resembles his private dedications in this sense.

Maussollos continued Hekatomnos's dynastic image on coinage. His father had put *Zeus Labraundos* on his coinage, wielding the aforementioned axe and a downward-pointing spear most likely representing the concept of spear-won land. Hekatomnos only struck this image on high denominations, making it a message for the elite. Maussollos continued striking this imagery of *Zeus Labraundos* but combined it with Apollo on the obverse. By doing so, Maussollos depicted his two *paradeisoi* – his two centres of power – on his coinage. Furthermore, Maussollos struck this imagery on all silver denominations, making it a widespread message across Karia. Maussollos's coinage therefore contained a very different message than his previous personal

aggrandizements in epigraphy or architecture, nor does it contain the diplomatic tone of an equal negotiation. The imagery primarily portrayed a message of political might.

Considering Maussollos's representation of his rulership we must not forget that he was a satrap, and therefore subservient to the Persian King. A position he performed competently by supporting the Persian king during the Great Satraps' Revolt, bringing Lykia back into the fold, and by defeating Athens in the Athenian Social War. A position which he did not want to highlight. Maussollos, and the Hekatomnids in general, portrayed themselves without titles.

So, what was the nature of Maussollos's monarchy? It shared many characteristics with later Hellenistic kingship, though the interpretation of these characteristics varies. Maussollos, and the Hekatomnids in general, struggled with legitimacy as many of the early Hellenistic kings did, but in a markedly different way. Whereas Hellenistic kings were interlopers in the lands they ruled, the Hekatomnids were not. They were Karians descended from a family of dynastic Karian warlords. The Hekatomnid issues of legitimacy stemmed from the rejection of their authority by other Karian warlords, who were equally legitimate claimants. Hekatomnos had solved this issue by defeating his rivals militarily which he duly reminded them of on his coinage through the notion of spear-won land. Though Maussollos did not have to fight to secure Karia, he still had to contend with rival elites who unsuccessfully tried to undermine his position. Aside from the Hekatomnid coinage, the concept of spear-won land is notably absent. Maussollos, though successful in multiple wars, did not depict himself as a victor or a conqueror in his architecture or epigraphy. The Hekatomnids had to secure Karia, and likely Lykia, militarily, but they avoided styling their rulership as that of mere conquerors. Both the Hekatomnids and Hellenistic kings approached *poleis* in a diplomatic courteous manner, though unlike Hellenistic kings, Maussollos preferred to forego any titles to truly appear as an equal in the negotiations. The purpose of these negotiations was similar: creation of close relationships with said *poleis*. As for divination, both received said honour, but Hellenistic kings were generally deified bottom up, the *poleis* introduced the practice initially. The exception to this rule is Philip II of Macedon who initiated the dynastic cult himself at his Philippeion. The Hekatomnids, like Philip, also instigated their own cult of worship. To summarize, Maussollos's monarchy and Hellenistic kingship shared many characteristics, but these materialized in different ways, depending on circumstances. Nevertheless, the presence of all these characteristics is a clear indication that this mode of governance arose primarily around the Aegean and that the interpretation of said characteristics was dependent on circumstances.

A subsidiary conclusion is that Hekatomnos was far more important for the establishment of the Hekatomnid dynastic identity than previously suggested. Ruzicka's assertion, that it was Maussollos who turned his father's Mylasan-styled governance into a pan-Karian one, is incorrect. It was Hekatomnos who first linked *Zeus Labraundos* to his dynasty, made the Sanctuary of

Labraunda a focal point of the dynasty, and initially secured dominion of Karia. It was also Hekatomnos who first introduced sibling-weddings and named his children after pan-Karian heroes. The connection between Hekatomnos and Maussollos must be seen akin to that between Philip II and his famous son Alexander III the Great. The son succeeded as he did due to the efforts of the father.

Further research can focus on multiple areas. First of all, both Idrieus and Pixodaros have been attested extensively in epigraphy which individually requires a re-evaluation because too often Hekatomnid epigraphy is presented as a near-uniform collection of inscriptions whilst there are clear differences between the brothers. Throughout this thesis, I have referred occasionally to both the younger brothers in epigraphy, especially when it concerned continuity, but both require an individual treatment as there are also clear signs of deviation, such as Idrieus's inclusion of his ethnic and his later deification in Iasos, and Pixodaros's iconographic shift on coinage by replacing the spear of *Zeus Labraundos* with a sceptre. Secondly, a comparative analysis between the reigns of Artemisia and Ada could help us understand the acceptance of female rule in Karia; as proposed in this thesis, Artemisia succeeded Maussollos unexpectedly, whilst Ada's succession of Idrieus was considered more natural. It seems that Artemisia had created a precedent for female succession. Third, further research is necessary into the practice of ancestor veneration as *daimones agathoi*, especially when this practice arose and what its geographical limits were. It also raises the question why Hellenistic kings could venerate their parents as *theoi* instead of *daimones*. Fourth, as the styles of governance between the Hekatomnids and the Argeads more closely resemble one another than that of later Hellenistic kings, it would be worthwhile to research and distinguish two modes of Hellenistic kingship: one which has to struggle to maintain legitimacy, such as many early Hellenistic kings, and one in which legitimacy is not a dominating issue, such as the Argeads, Hekatomnids and some later Hellenistic kings. Fifth, Hekatomnid rulership could be put into a better relative perspective by comparing it to other areas in the Persian Empire which retained native rule to a considerable degree, such as Lykia and the Sanballat dynasty. Finally, and more regionally, it has been shown that Iasos was more extreme in its veneration of rulers than neighbouring *poleis*, especially concerning Maussollos and his Iasian Maussolleion, Idrieus, his dynastic monument and deification, and the later cult of Antiochos III's wife Laodike. Research could focus on explaining this phenomenon.

Appendix I: Dossier of Inscriptions

This dossier of inscriptions contains an overview of all the inscriptions analysed in-depth in this thesis. The used edition is in bold font, including, where applicable, any secondary literature which proposed a different reading. Other editions have been added in cursive font (*EP = Editio Princeps*). The dating is added in cursive to the right of the inscription. This is however by no means an exhaustive list of all the concordant editions, but only those I came across in my research. This list is structured alphabetically, not by order of appearance in the thesis.

1. **FD III 4:176** = *Syll.*³ 225.

Μιλήσιοι ἀνέθεν Ἀπόλλωνι Πυθίῳ. ca. 346-344
 Ἰδριεὺς Ἐκατόμνω. Ἴδα Ἐκατόμνω.
 [Σ]άτυρος Ἰσοτίμου ἐποίησε Πάριος

2. **IK Stratonikeia 501** = Hornblower 1982, M2.

	[Ἐτο]υς πρωτου Φιλιππου	8	αρτεμου Μ[α]νηι και το[ις]	
	Βασιλευοντος, Ασαν-		[ε]γγονοις των γεωργιω[ν]	323
	δρου σατραπευοντος'		[πα]ν[τ]ων και των αλλων	
4	εδοξεν κοαρενδουσιν' τ-		[υπαρχ]οντων αυτωι παν-	
	ην ατελειαν ην εδωκεν	12	[των] αναγραφαι ε[ν τωι]	
	Μαυσσωλλος Ἐκατομνω		[ιερωι εν Λ]αγιν[οις]	
	και Κοαρενδεις [...]ιδι Οσ-			

3. **Isager 2011**, *EP* Isager & Karlsson 2008 (informally known as *I.Labraunda* 134).

1	[ca. 9]ΕΙΝ[ca. 29]	
	[ca. 9]απασαι[ς	ca. 25]	
			[υπαρχειν δε] τα αυτα και τοις ε[γγονοις αυτου' στη			ca. 220
			[σαι δε αυτο]υ και εικονα χαλκην εν τη[ι ?ιεραι αγοραι?]			
5			[εν τωι επιφανε]στατωι τοπωι' στησαι δε και του Δημ[ου]			
			[εικονα χαλκην πηχε]ων πεντε στεφανουσαν την Ολυμ-			
			[πιχου εικονα' επ]ιγραφαι δε επι του Βηματος' ο δημοσ			
			[Ολυμπιχον Ολυ]μπιχου ευεργετην' ιδρυσασθαι δε			
			[και αυτωι απεναν]τι της εικονος Βωμον λευκου λιθου			
10			[ομοιον τωι του Μαυ]σσωλλου τωι εν τω ιερωι του Δι-			
			[ος Λαβραουνδου και] συντελειν αυτωι πομπην και θυσι-			
			[αν εφ' εκαστου ε]τους τηι τεσσαρεσκαιδεκατηι του			
			[?' Απελλαιου? μην]ος εν ηι ημεραι ο δημοσ εκομισατο την			

15 [τε ελευθερια]ν και την δημοκρατιαν· θυειν δε αυ-
 [τωι ταυρο]υς δυο και ευωχαισθαι εν τη ημεραι
 [ταυτηι τους τε ιε]ρεις και τους νενικηκοτας τους
 [στεφανιτας αγω]νας και την συναρχιαν· τους δε
 [ιερεις επιμελεισθα]ι της τε θυσιας και της θοινης·
 [δουναι δε τους ταμιας το αν]άλωμα εκ των κοινων προσο-
 20 [δων· ειναι δε εκεχει]ριας πασιν εφ' ημερας τρεις .
 [τους δε πολιτας και] τους αλλους παντας συνει-
 [ναι εστεφανωμενους εν τα]ις ημεραις ταυταις, υμναισθαι
 [δε και εν τη πενταε]τηριδι τοις Ταυρειοις κατα τα αυ-
 [τα και τοις της πολεω]ς κτ]ισταις· την δε ανγγελιαν ποι-
 25 [ησασθαι εν τωι γυμνι]κωι αγωνι τωι συντελουμε-
 [νωι Διι Οσογωι, οτι στεφα]νοι ο δημος Ολυμπιχον Ολυμ-
 [πιχου ευεργετην της π]ολεωσ χρυσωι στεφανωι [και]
 [εικονι χαλκηι αρετη]ς εν]εκεν και ευεργεσιας της [εις]
 [εαυτον· οπως δε πασιν]φανερων ηι, διοιτι ο δημος [ο Μυ-
 30 [λασεων τιμαι τους ευε]ργετουντας αυτον [και ινα]
 [υπομνημα υπαρχηι αυτωι ανα]γραψαι τοδε το ψηφισ[μα]
 [εις στηλας λιθινας και στησ]αι αυτην τημ με[ν μιαν]
 [εν τωι ιερωι του Διου] ?Λαβραυνδου?

4. I.Kaunos 46 & Ma 2013b

'Αρτεμισιαν Εκατομνω
 Καυνιοι ανεθηκαν [...]' ca. 353-351?

5. I.Kaunos 47 = SEG 12.470. EP Bean 1953

'Εκατομνων Υσσαλλωμου
 Καυνιοι ανεθηκαν [...]' ca. 391-377?

6. I.Kaunos 48 = SEG 12.471. EP Bean 1953

'Μαυσσωλλον Εκατομνω
 Καυνιοι ανεθηκαν [...]' ca. 377-353?

7. I. Labraunda 13

‘[Μ]αυσσωλλος Εκα[τομνω]
ανεθηκε την στοιην ν ν
Δι Λαμβραυνδωί vac
Vac

377-353

8. I. Labraunda 14

‘Μαυσσωλλος Εκατομνω [ανεθηκε τον α]νδρωνα [κα]ι τα ενεοντα Δι Λαμβραυνδωί

377-353

9. I. Labraunda 27

‘Εκατομνω ν Υσσαλδωμ[ου ανεθηκε Δι Λαμβραυνδωί]’

377-353

10. I. Labraunda 40 = R&O 55 = Hornblower 1982, M7.

[Ε]δοξε Μαυσσωλλωι και [Αρτε]μισιηι· επειδ[η]
Κνωσιοι και ιδιηι και δημοση[ι δια] τε[λους]
ανδρες αγαθοι εισι περι Μαυσ[σ]ωλλο[ν] ν ν ν
4 και τα Μαυσσωλλου πραγματα ειναι[ι] ν ν
αυτους π[ρ]οξενους και ευεργετας ε[ς τ]ο[ν]
αι χρονον· ειναι δε και ατελειαν αυ[τοις]
8 οποσης Μαυσσωλλος αρχει, και εσ[π]λο[υν]
και εκπλουν ασυλι και ασπονδει· εα[ν δε τις]
αδικηι Κνωσιους, επιμελεσθαι vac
Μαυσσωλλον και Αρτεμισιην, οπως ν ν ν
μη αδικησονται, κατα δυναμιν vac
12 την αυτων. vac
vac

ca. early 350's

11. *I. Labraunda 54A*

- τος ν Μουσσω[λλου δε γνοντος την εορτην πλεω ημερης μης ενιαυ]-
σης της υπα[ρχουσης αγεσθαι και, ωσπερ προτερον εποιηθη μη]
4 ημερη προσο[δος, νυν παντας ημερας πεντε την πανηγυριν και θυσι]-
ην ταυτην σω[ζειν, (και?) τη μεν πρωτη θυειν τα ιερα τα κατα Λαβραυν]-
δα τα πατρια, τη [δε δευτερη -----]
α και ταις ενπρ[οσθεν θυσαις ---, τη δε τριτη -- ως, τη δε τε]-
8 ταρτη τα λοιπα[α -----, τη δε πεμπτη ---, επιμελεσθαι δε]
και τους επιγε[ινομενους --- συντελεισθαι τηνδε την εορτην κατα]
ταυτα⁶⁴⁵ επικατα[ρατον δε ----- ει]-
να και αυτον κα[ι ----- ην αποδ -----]

ca. 1st c. BC – 1st c. AD
(original decree is
dated to the late 4th/
early 3rd c.)

12. *I.Mylasa 1 = Syll.³ 167 = IK Estremo Oriente 236 = R&O 54.1*

- Ετει τριηκοστωι και ενατωι Αρταξερξευς βασιλευ-
οντος, Μουσσωλλου εξαιθραπευοντος· εδοξε
Μυλασευσιν εκκλησιης κυριης γενομενης, και επε-
4 κυρωσαν αι τρεις φυλαι· επειδη Αρλισσις Θυσσωλλου
αποσταλεις υπο Καρων προς βασιλεα παρεπρεσ-
βευσε και επεβουλευσε Μουσσωλλωι οντι ευεργετη
της πολεως της Μυλασεων και αυτωι και τωι πατρι
8 Εκατομνωι και τοις προγονοις τοις τουτων, και βασιλευς
αδικειν καταγνους Αρλισσις εξημιωσε θανατωι·
πραξαι και την πολιν την Μυλασεων περι των
κτηματων εκεινου κατα τους νομους τους πατριους·
12 και προσθετα ποιησαντες Μουσσωλλωι επαρας
επισησαντο περι τουτων μητε προτιθεναι ετι
παρα ταυτα μηδενα μητε επιψηφιζειν· ει δε τις
ταυτα παραβαινοι, εξωλη γινεσθαι και αυτον
16 και τους εκεινου παντας

367/366

⁶⁴⁵ Crampa puts a semicolon here, but there is no reason to believe that this should be interpreted as a question mark; he uses the modern question mark to indicate uncertainties elsewhere (e.g. line 5 of this inscription).

13. *I.Mylasa 2* = *Syll.*³ 167 = *IK Estremo Oriente* 237 = R&O 54.2

Ετει τετρωκοστω και πεμπτω Αρταξερξευς
βασιλευοντος, Μαυσσωλλου εξαιθραπευοντος·
εδοξε Μυλασευσι εκκλησιης κυριης γενομενης,
4 και επεκυρωσαν αι τρεις φυλαι· τους Πελδεμω
παιδας παρανομησαντας ες την εικονα
την Εκατομνω, ανδρος πολλα και αγαθα ποιησαν-
τος τημ πολιν τημ Μυλσδεων και λογωι και εργωι,
8 αδικειν και τα ιερα αναθηματα και τημ πολιν
και τους ευεργετας της πολεως· αδικειν δε κατα-
γοντες εξημιωσαν δημευσει της ουσιης και επω(λη)-
σαν τα κτηματα αυτων δημοσιη, εκτησθαι κυριως
12 τοις πριαμενοις· και επαρας εποιησαντο περι τουτων
μητε προτιθεναι μητε επιψηφιζειν μηδενα· ει δε τις
ταυτ[α πα]ραβαινοι, εξωλη γινεσθαι και αυτον και τους
εκεινου π[αν]τας

361/360

14. *I.Mylasa 3* = *Syll.*³ 167 = *IK Estremo Oriente* 238 = R&O 54.3

Ετει πεμπτω Αρταξερξευς βασιλευοντος
Μαυσσωλλου εξαιθραπευον[τ]ος· Μανιτα του
Πακτωω επιβουλευσαντος Μαυσσωλωι τωι Εκατομν(ω)
4 εν τωι ιερωι του Διος του Λαμβραυνδου θυσιης ενιαυ-
σιης και πανηγυριος εουσιης, και Μαυσσωλλου μεν
σωθεντος συν τωι Διι, Μανιτα δε αυτου [τ]ην δικην
λαβοντος εν ξειρων νομωι, εγνωσαν Μυλασε[ι]ς, παρη
8 νομημενου του ιερου και Μαυσσωλλου του ευερ-
γετεω ερευναν ποιησασθαι, ει τις και αλλος μετε[σ]-
χεν η εκοινωνησεν της πραξιος· ελεγκθεντος δε
και Θυσσου του Συσκω και κριθεντος συναδικειν
12 μετα Μανιτα, εδοξε Μυλασευσιν και επεκυρωσαν
αι τρεις φυλαι· τα Μανιτα του Πακτωω και Θυσσου
του Συσκω προστεθηναι Μαυσσωλωι· και τα
κτηματα επωλησεν η πολις δημοσιη επαρας
16 ποιησαμενη τουτων τας ωνας τοις πριαμενοις
κυριας ειναι, και μητε προτιθεναι μητε επιψηφιζειν
μηδενα· ει δε τις ταυτα παραβαινοι, εξωλη γινε-

355/354

σθαι και αυτον και τους εκεινου παντας

15. **I.Mylasa 4** = *IK Estremo Oriente* 239 = Hornblower 1982, M3 (cf. p.36, n.6).

[Επι
Α]ρθυασσιος· Αρταξ[εργε]υς βασιλευοντος
Υσσ]αλδωμου εξαιθρ[α]πευοντος
]ΩΜΟΥ τη Αφροδι[τη
]ΑΝΗΝΕΡΓΑΣΤΟΝΤ[
?Βαργυλι]ητεων και Κωρανζ[εων
]ΑΝΗ Ταλαγρεω[ν

ca. start 4th c.

16. **I.Mylasa 5** = *Syll.*³ 170.

[Ετει] εβ[δ]ομωι Α[ρτα]ξεργε]υς Βασι]-
[λευ]οντος του Αρ[τα]ξεργε]υς, Μα]-
[υσσ]ωλλου του Εκα[τομνω] εξαι]-
[θραπ]ευοντ[ος

353-352

17. **I.Mylasa 6**

‘[Μ]αυσσωλος Εκατομνω τομ Βωμον ανεθηκ[εν]’

377-353

18. **I.Mylasa 7**

‘[Μαυσσω]λλος Εκατομνω τομ Βωμον ανεθηκεν’

377-353

19. **I.Mylasa 350 & Descat 2011**

‘Δαμοσιν Αγαθο[ις]
Εκατομνω και Α[βας]ων]
γρασταπατις Μα[υσσωλ]-
λου ανεθηκε τα [εσχα?]
ρια Αρτιμης Ταργ[ηλιου]’

377-353

20. **Nafissi 2015a**

Αϋξοντες τ[ιμ]α[τις] βα]σιλεῑς κλεινοϋς παρὰ θνητοῖς.
στησαν τούσ[δε] Ἰ]ασεῖς, πρῶτοι ἐπ’ εϋτυχίαις
σώισαντος π[α]τρίαν ἀρχῆν Ἰδριέω[ς] [... 5-6 ...] . α .]
[έκ] δειγῶν παθέων ἤγαγε ἐς εϋνομίαν

ca. early 4th/3rd c.

21. **R&O 56** = *IK Erythrai und Klazomenai*, 8.

- εδοξεν τη βουλ[ηι. στρατηγων/πρυτανεων (?)]
γνωμη· Μουσσωλλον [E]κατ[ομνω] 377-353
Μυλασεα, επει ανηρ αγαθος [εγε]-
νετο περι την πολιν ten Eρυ-
5 θραιων, ειναι εοεργετην της
πολεως και προξενον και πολι-
την· και εσπλουν και εκπλουν
και πολεμου και ειρηνης ασυλε[ι]
κα[ι] ασπονδει, και ατελειαν κα[ι]
10 [π]ροεδριην. ταοτα δε ειναι αο-
[τω]ι και εκγονοις. στησαι δε α[ο]-
[του κ]αι εικονα χαλκην εν τη αγ[ο]-
[ρη]ι και Αρτεμισιης εικονα
[λιθι]νην εν τωι Αθηναιωι· και
15 [στεφ]ανωσαι Μουσσωλλον μεν
[εκ δαρ]εικων πεντηκοντα, Αρτμε-
[μισην] δε εκ τριηκοντα δαπε[ι]-
[κων. γραψ]αι δε ταοτα εστηλη[ν]
[και στησαι]ι ες το Αθηναιον· [και]
20 [επιμεληθ]ηται [τους εξεταστας. (?)]

22. *Syll.*³ 169 = *I.Iasos* 1.

- 1 εδοξεν τη βουληι και τωι δημωι, μηνος Απατουριωνος,
επι στεφανηφορου Παταικο του Σκυλακο[ς· τ]ων αν[δρ]ων 360's-350's
των επιβουλευσαντων Μουσσωλλωι και τη Ιασεων ποληι τα
κτηματα δημευσαι, και τα των φευγοντων επι τη αιτιη ταυτ[ηι]
5 και τα τουτων δημευσαι, και φευγειν αυτους και εκγονους
τον αιδιον χρονον. οιδε τα κτηματα επωλησαν· αρχον[τες]·
Ηγυλλος Ουλιαδευς, Δεινων Κοπρωνος, Μαρσουας Ιστιαιου,
Φανιας Πασιφανευς. ταμιαι· Θοας Ιατροκλευς, Διοσκοριδης
Εκαταιο, Θευγειτων Πασιφανευς, Απολλωνιδης Ερμαιου.
10 αστυνομοι· Ευπολεμος Δαμωνος, Φορμιον Γλαυκωνος.
συνηγοροι· Βατιων Φανεω, Ευκλεδης Δημητριο, Ανυτος
Βρυαξιος, Μαρων Μελανθιο. πρυτανεις· Ευκλης Ιατροκλευς,
Θοας Εκαταιου, Ευθαλλιων Αρτεμωνος, Ερμων Εκαταιο,

Ερμωναξ Μεννεα, Θαρρηλιος Στρατωνος. ιερεις Διος Μεγιστ[ου]
 15 Απελλης Σανιωνος, Κτησων [.2.]ατευσ, Απολλωνιδης Μικιωνος,
 Κοπρων Δεινωμος, Πιξοδαρος Ιερωνος, Διονυσιος Αετιωνος,
 Απολλοδωρος Βρυαξιος, Φανης Σφυρωνος, Λεων Σιλωνος,
 Απολλωνιδης Ιπποκρατευσ, Μαχων Ποσιδος. οιδε
 απο φυλης· Υλιατος Εξαιτο, Δεμοφων Πολεμαρχο, Κλεαρχος
 20 Αντιφανευσ, Κτιτης Ιατροκλευσ, Βρυαξις Πολεμωνος,
 Μελανθος Κυδιου, Μητρις Αμυντα, Απολλωνι[δης] Λεωνι[δεω],
 Χαρμοφων Ευηθιδου, Μελανθος Νουμηνιο[, ...] Πυργιωνο[ς],
 Διων Αστυλο, Πασιας Διονυσιο, Βρυων Σαννιωνος, [vac] Ερμω[νος],
 Διοσκοριδης Αμυντα, Τηλεμαχος Δ[ιο]φωντος, Ερμων
 25 [Π]υργιωνος, Μητρις Σαννιωνος, Αρτεμιδωρος Πανταλεοντο[ς],
 Διοδωρος Μελανος, Αρθοντος Δημητριο, Εκαταιος Μεννεα,
 [Σ]ατυριδης Σατυρο, Ταρρηλιος Φοινικιδευσ Φαν[ιας Π]ασιφανευσ[ς],
 Ε]υθαλλιων Σκυλακος, Απολλωνιδης Ιδακο Δημ[ων] Ταρρηλι[ο],
 Τ]ροιζηνιος Δημητριο, Ερμων Ευξιθεου, Δημητριος Μελανθο[υ],
 30 Ευ]μαχος Αρτεμωνος, Φανιας Σκυλακος. [οιδε τα] κτηματα
 [επ]ριατο· Ευδικος Σαμιο γην εν Τυενν[εσσωι] Πυρωνος,
 [σ]τατηρων δεκαδυο· μνημονες συνεπ[ωλησαν] Ιατροκλης
 Σαμιου, Θοας Ιατροκλευσ. Διοσκο[ριδης Εκατ]αιο γην
 [ε]ν Τυεννεσσωι των πολεμαρχων vac στατ]ηρων
 35 εβδομηκοντα τριων· μνημονε[ς συνεπωλησαν] Εκαταιος
 Σαμιο, Ιστιαος Αντιδοτο. Μ vac Μεν]νεα γην
 εμ Βριδαντι Πυρωνος του Σκυ[λακος στατηρων εβδο]μηκοντα
 πεντε. Διογενης Διονυτα επ[ριατο vac] Πυρωνος
 το Σκυλακος στατηρων επτα. [vac
 40 ε]πριατο αυλην Πυρωνος το Σκυ[λακος στατηρ]ων εικοσι[ν
 ε]νος· μνημονες συνεπωλησαν [τα Πυρωνος κτη]ματα Θοας
 [Ιατ]ροκλευσ, Απελλης Μαρωνος, Κλεανθ[ης vac]ανδρου,
 [Ερ]μοδωρος Αρτεμωνος, Κλεανδριδης [Μελαν]θου. Ευδικος
 [Σα]μιο επριατο καπηλειον των πολεμαρχων
 45 [στα]τηρων δεκαεξ· μνημονες συνεπωλησαν Ιστιαιος
 [Αντι]δοτο, Εκαταιος Σαμιο. Βρυαξις Ιδακο επριατο την αυλην
 [την Α]ισχυλινου στατηρων πενηκοντα· μνημονες· [vac ω]ν
 [vac κ]λευσ, Νουμηνιος Κυδιου, Κτησων Κρ[ατ]ητος, Ερμων Λυ [vac]
 [vac]ων Αθηναγορα και Αρτεμιδ[ωρος vac

- 50 Χα]ρμοφων Ευηθιδου και Πανταλεων Φανεω [και vac
 Η]ροδοτο γην την ευ Βριδαντι επριατο στατηρων [vac
 κο]σιων τεσσερακοντα' γνωμονες παρεστησαν [vac
]ς Πλουτιωνος και παιδες τρεις. [επι στεφανη]φορου Δημονικου του Αριστ[3] μ]ην[ος
 vac Α]ντιπατρος Πρυτανιο[ς], Φαιδιμ[ος] Δι [vac
- 55 vac] Δημητριου, Λυ[κος Αν]αξανδριδου, [vac τον vac
 vac] κληρον τομ προς τ ν ν ιστα ν ν
 [vac]ιανθο στατηρων τεσσερα[κοντα.
 τον τριτον κληρ]ον επριατο Παντα[λεων ν ν στατηρων [vac
 vac] ημιστατηρ]ου. τον τεταρον [κληρον επριατο [vac
 vac] στατηρων π]εντ[ε] εμιστα[τηρου. τον πεμπτον κληρον επριατο
- 60 [vac] στατηρων τεσσαρων. [τον εκτον κληρον
 επριατο [vac] στατηρων τεσσα[ρων. τον εβδομον
 κληρον επριατο ν ν στατηρων] τριων [ημιστατηρου. τον ογδοον
 κληρον επριατο ν ν]ου στατηρ[ων vac]
- 65 [vac] Κα]λλ[ι]φωντος και Λεω [vac]
 [vac πεν]τε. τον ενατον κληρον επ[ριατο
 vac]ας Ευδικου στατηρ[ων vac]
 τον δεκατο]ν κληρον επριατο Δρακων Ιατροκλ[ευσ και
 [vac]σος Δημητριου στατηρων [vac μηνος
- 70 vac] εωνος' τομ πρωτον κληρον επ[ριαντο vac
 στατη]ρων δεκα ενος. τον δευτερον κληρον επ]ριαντο [vac]
 [vac]νος, Παρων Τυμνεω στατηρων επτα.
 [τον τριτ]ον κληρου επριατο Αριστοκρατης [ν ν στατηρων ν ν
 ημιστα]τηρου. τον τεταρον κληρον επριατο Περικλης [ν ν
- 75 στατηρω]ν τεσσερων εμιστατηρου. τον πεμπτον κληρον [επριαντο
 [vac]Ομφακιωνος, Βρυαξις Νοσσου στατηρων [vac
 τον εκτ]ον κληρον επριατο Σταφυλος Ομφακιωνος στατηρων [ν ν
 τετα]ρτης. τον εβδομον κληρον επριατο [vac
 στατηρ]ων επτα. τον ογδοον κληρον επριατο [ν ν
- 80 στατηρων] επτα. τον ενατον κληρον επριατο [ν ν
 στατηρ]ων εικοσι τριων ημιστατηρου. τον δεκα[τον κληρον επριατο
 ν ν] Απολλωνιδου στατηρων δεκαεπτα.

23. *TAM II, 1183* = Hornblower 1982, M10

[-----]
[ορκους δε δοντον τοις πρεσβεσι τοις Φασηλιταν Μαυσσωλ-]
λος και Αρτεμισια (?) ομοσ]αντες Δια και 'Αλιον και Γαν και
Βασιλεως Τυχαν η μαν εμμε]νειν τοις ωμολογημενοις ποτι
Φασηλιτας αδολωσ και α]βλαβεωσ· ομοσαντον δε και Φα-
σηλιταν ουστινας κα Μ]αυσσωλλοσ γραψηται κατα τα[υ-
5 τα εμμενειν τοις ωμολογ]ημενοις εξαιρωντες το Βασι[λε-
ωσ Τυχαν, εκτινοντον δε κ]αταδικασ Μαυσσωλλοσ Φασηλι-
ταισ και Μαυσσωλλωι Φασηλ]ιταν, ει τινεσ οφειλοντι εμ μησι
τρισιν καθ' ο τι προγεγρ]α[π]ται. των δε εμπροσθε συν-
βολαιων πριν δι' ορκωμο]σιαν κατα<λα>φθημειν, δικασ
10 δομειν Μαυσσωλλον Φασ]ηλιταισ και Φασηλιτας Μαυσ-
σωλλωι καθ' ο κα Φασηλιτα]ι και Μαυσσωλλοσ ομολογησων[τι

ca. 367-353

Appendix II: Biographies of Artemisia, Idrieus, Ada and Pixodaros

Artemisia

Maussollos was succeeded by his sister-wife Artemisia who only ruled for two years.⁶⁴⁶ Artemisia is generally credited with constructing her brother-husband's tomb: the Maussoleion of Halikarnassos.⁶⁴⁷ Aside from this feat, her reign is poorly documented. Vitruvius writes that the Rhodians refused to be ruled by a woman and attacked Halikarnassos. Artemisia used her guile to defeat the Rhodians. Halikarnassos had two harbours. The main greater harbour which was enclosed from the city by a wall, and a small hidden harbour. Artemisia hid the Hekatomnid fleet in the hidden harbour, allowed the Rhodians to sail into the great harbour where they were welcomed under the pretence of surrender. Once inside, however, Artemisia sprung the trap, cut off the Rhodian retreat and virtually wiped out the invading army. Artemisia then set out for Rhodes. The Rhodians thought they saw their own fleet approaching and did not prepare their defences. They were quickly defeated by Artemisia.⁶⁴⁸

Whether this event took place is debatable. Hornblower believes it to be fictitious, Ruzicka accepts it, whilst Carney does not believe the event word by word but does believe there was a military showdown between Artemisia and the Rhodians.⁶⁴⁹ There are however multiple objections to the Rhodian attack. Around the same time, traditionally dated to 351, Demosthenes gave his famous speech *Uper tes Rodion Eleutherias* in which he argued, unsuccessfully, that Athens should come to the aid of the Rhodian democrats who were trying to overthrow the oligarchy which had come into power in 353. The Athenians were not enthusiastic about helping the Rhodians who had waged war on them only a few years earlier in the Social War. Demosthenes notes that Rhodes had been unable to defend themselves from Maussollos, if he ever had intended to invade, and that this had not changed with Artemisia's ascension. Demosthenes furthermore quipped that Artemisia would sooner or later have to take Rhodes for the Persian King which whom she supposedly had a falling out.⁶⁵⁰ Rhodes thus was apparently powerless against Artemisia, and Athens for that matter.

But Demosthenes was of course a polemicist and prone to undercutting reality in favour of promoting his own agenda, raising the question why he would want Rhodes under Athenian influence. In other words, what would Athens have gained – and what were the risks – if Rhodian democrats overthrew the oligarchy and renewed their alliance with Athens? The advantages would have been the indirect acquisition of the Rhodian fleet, which, though its size remains

⁶⁴⁶ Diod. Sic. 16.36.2.

⁶⁴⁷ Strabo, 14.2.16; Plin. *NH.* 36.30; Aul. Gell. *NA.* 10.18.

⁶⁴⁸ Vitruv, *De Arch.* 2.8.14-15.

⁶⁴⁹ Hornblower 1982, 129; Ruzicka 1992, 109; Carney 2005, 67-68.

⁶⁵⁰ Dem. 15.11-12, 26-27.

unclear, would have been substantial and still mostly intact after the Social War. Demosthenes himself also calls Rhodes a “fortress to overawe Karia”, which is both an advantage and a risk. Rhodes was necessary to contain the Hekatomnids in Karia, but Rhodes aligning itself with Athens was also a *casus belli* for Artemisia. Yet, Rhodes itself would not have been a match for the Hekatomnid fleet, making any potential independent Rhodian attack on Halikarnassos doomed to fail. Ruzicka contends that a surprise attack could destroy a large part of the Hekatomnid fleet, evening out the odds, but this seems more like wishful thinking.⁶⁵¹ And even if the surprise attack would succeed, it would only be a matter of time before the Hekatomnid fleet would have been rebuilt; Rhodes was in no position to sustain a protracted war against Artemisia.

Rhodian military capabilities for such an action would thus have been limited, making the attack less likely, but what could have been their motive? After all, the Hekatomnids were their allies who had helped them defeat Athens. Ruzicka argues that the Rhodians had commercial reasons. Ever since the *synoikism* of Halikarnassos, the city had taken a lot of trade and commercial activities from Rhodes. A devastating attack could shift the impetus back to Rhodes.⁶⁵² At first glance, this interpretation seems credible, but argues for a quick and successful war, as any protracted conflict would harm commerce, both for Halikarnassos and Rhodes. Furthermore, the loss of Hekatomnid support on Rhodes, regardless whether Hekatomnid interference in Rhodes was tolerated, would leave Rhodes with scant allies. The Social War could not have been won with just Byzantion, Khios and Kos, and disrupting Hekatomnid support would inevitably lead to renewed Athenian interference.⁶⁵³

Rhodes thus lacked both the military strength and motive to attempt such an attack. There is also a third objection. Only Vitruvius mentions this event. Most notably, the event is absent in Polyainos writings, who lived well after Vitruvius and should have had access to his works as well as countless other sources, and who had dedicated an entire book to the notable deeds of women, including a chapter dedicated to Artemisia – in which he ironically enough confuses her with her more illustrious namesake. Though Polyainos does tell about a ruse with which Artemisia II took the city of Latmos (see below), and commemorates Artemisia I’s military prowess and guile, he does not mention the Rhodian episode. The Rhodian attack has no basis in reality. Nonetheless this story does portray Artemisia as a strong ruler, which might be more important than its historicity.

Polyainos mentions also that Artemisia took the city of Latmos with a ruse. Wanting to take the city, she organised a great procession and sacrifice at the nearby sanctuary of the Mother

⁶⁵¹ Ruzicka 1992, 110.

⁶⁵² Ruzicka 1992, 109-110. Ruzicka also points out that occupation could never have been the goal as the Achaemenids would never allow this infringement of their power.

⁶⁵³ In fact, as Demosthenes’ speech shows, even Hekatomnid naval prowess did not act as a deterrence just after their defeat in the Social War.

Goddess seven *stades* from Latmos, whilst hiding her troops near the city. When the Latmians left the city to witness the procession and sacrifice, the troops took the city.⁶⁵⁴ As stated earlier, Polyainos conflated the two Artemisia's of Karia into one person, making unclear which one took Latmos, but it is generally accepted that it was Artemisia II who had taken the city.⁶⁵⁵ Artemisia died in 351, having ruled for just two years. She was succeeded by her brother Idrieus, who would rule for seven years.⁶⁵⁶

Idrieus

Idrieus reigned during an internationally turbulent period, though the Karia he had inherited from his sister was at its zenith. In the year of his accession, 351/0, Artaxerxes III invaded Egypt once again in another attempt to bring it back under Achaemenid control but was defeated. This defeat sparked a rebellion in both Cyprus, Cilicia, and Phoenicia in which Idrieus was asked to reclaim Cyprus. Thereupon Idrieus readied eight thousand mercenaries and forty triremes and, according to Diodoros, delegated command to the Athenian general Phokion and Euagoras II, the grandson of Euagoras I against whom Hekatomnos had fought and the former king of Cyprus who had been ousted circa 351 by Pnytagoras.⁶⁵⁷

The appointment of Phokion as general is however unlikely for multiple reasons.⁶⁵⁸ Firstly, Diodoros only mentions him at the start of the Cypriot campaign, but subsequently vanishes from the account in later passages. Secondly, Plutarch has dedicated one of his *Bioi Paralleloi* to Phokion in which he is foremostly depicted as a loyal and able Athenian statesman and does not make any mention of serving under any foreign leader as a mercenary commander, let alone one of the few entities which could, and did, actively threaten Athenian naval dominance. Thirdly, Plutarch describes Phokion as a devout follower of Chabrias, who in turn, made Phokion his favourite and helped him rise through the ranks quickly, though he was absent during the Battle of Khios in 357, during the Athenian Social War, in which Chabrias died. In fact, Plutarch describes Phokion has the calm and rational counterpart to Chabrias, who at times could become impassioned in battle. Only Phokion could temper Chabrias, and due to his absence at Khios Chabrias acted rashly, hasting into battle and his death. Furthermore, Plutarch notes, Phokion took care of Chabrias's family after his death, including raising his son Ktessipos who would often annoy Phokion or not show him proper respect.⁶⁵⁹ It is very unlikely that Phokion would enter into the service of Hekatomnid Karia against whom his mentor and friend had died in combat.

⁶⁵⁴ Polyain, 8.53.4.

⁶⁵⁵ E.g. Ruzicka 1992, 42.

⁶⁵⁶ Diod. Sic. 16.36.2; Strabo, 14.2.17.

⁶⁵⁷ Diod. Sic. 16.42.7, 16.46.3; Högemann 2006.

⁶⁵⁸ Contra Ruzicka 1992, 116-117.

⁶⁵⁹ Plut. *Vit. Phok.* 6-7.

Fourthly, and lastly, Plutarch writes that it is generally accepted that Phokion was elected *strategos* of Athens forty-five times, despite his personal objections to being elected and his absence during said elections, which must have predominantly been in his latter life.⁶⁶⁰ It is once again very unlikely that he would have been elected so often if he had served as a mercenary commander for a foreign power.⁶⁶¹

Euagoras, on the other hand, may have fled to Karia after his ousting as coins bearing his name, which were never used on Cyprus, were found in a Karian coin hoard.⁶⁶² As such, he would have been a very likely candidate to lead the invasion of Cyprus as he probably still would have had some connections and allies on the island.

Upon arrival of the Hekatomnid fleet, Salamis, ruled by Pnytagoras, was quickly besieged and the countryside pillaged. Concurrently with the invasion of Cyprus, Artaxerxes III focused on subjugating Phoenicia, which he achieved with a ruse. The Sidonian king Tennes had initially rebelled, but upon hearing of the arrival of the large Persian army believed that the revolt was doomed to fail and set upon betraying the Phoenicians to save himself. After receiving assurances from Artaxerxes, Tennes left Sidon and went to the king's side at Achaemenid army camp, having loyal mercenaries open the gate to the Persian army who subsequently sacked Sidon and massacred the inhabitants. Tennes hoped to be reinstated as king of Sidon, but Artaxerxes had him executed as he no longer had a use for him and could after all still not be trusted due to his rebellious nature. The destruction of Sidon cowed the remaining Phoenician cities into submission.⁶⁶³ The siege of Salamis ostensibly continued, but Diodoros mentions that Pnytagoras at an unspecified moment also resubmitted to Persian control and was favoured by Artaxerxes above Euagoras, who did not regain his kingdom.⁶⁶⁴ Diodoros's description is unclear, at best, and illogical. Why would Artaxerxes favour the rebellious Pnytagoras above the loyal Euagoras who *nota bene* was ousted by the Salamians for his loyalty towards the Persians?⁶⁶⁵

It is unclear when this revolt exactly took place as Diodoros has the revolt, and its subsequent quashing, all take place in 351/350, but Isokrates mentions in his *Philip*, written in 346,⁶⁶⁶ that the revolt of said territories was still ongoing, and also speaks of Idrieus as inclined to revolt which implies the said invasion of Cyprus could not have taken place yet.⁶⁶⁷ The revolt

⁶⁶⁰ Plut. *Vit. Phok.* 8.

⁶⁶¹ Ruzicka argues that Phokion might have known Euagoras through Chabrias who had had extensive dealings with his grandfather Euagoras I, Ruzicka 1992, 117 and note 58, though this does not refute any of the above.

⁶⁶² Ruzicka 1992, 117.

⁶⁶³ Diod. Sic. 16.43-45.

⁶⁶⁴ Diod. Sic. 16.46.1-2.

⁶⁶⁵ Diodoros mentions that Euagoras was falsely accused of an unspecified crime to Artaxerxes (cf. note above), though this does not explain his support in favour of Pnytagoras who was openly rebellious.

⁶⁶⁶ Norlin 1928, 244-245.

⁶⁶⁷ Diod. Sic. 16.40.3-5, Isok. 5.103

would have taken place very soon after Artaxerxes III's failed Egyptian campaign, when he was at his weakest. It is also uncertain when the revolt was suppressed, though 343 is the *terminus ante quem* as Artaxerxes launched another invasion of Egypt in that year, which this time was successful.⁶⁶⁸ As Idrieus died in 344/343, after a reign of seven years, he may not have witnessed the end of the revolt, which, in that case, would have spanned his entire reign.

Idrieus was the wealthiest man in Anatolia and used his wealth, among others, to further many Hekatomnid building programmes.⁶⁶⁹ Like Maussollos, he expanded the Sanctuary of Labraunda by building an *Andron*, like Maussollos, and constructing multiple *propylai*. It is also in his reign the Maussolleion was finally completed.⁶⁷⁰ Like Maussollos, he tried to gain power in Miletos, but ultimately failed.⁶⁷¹ Idrieus had died of natural causes – an unspecified disease.⁶⁷²

Ada & Pixodaros

Ada succeeded her brother-husband, like Artemisia had succeeded Maussollos, though her tenure would be short as she was deposed after ruling only two or three years by her brother Pixodaros, in 341/340.⁶⁷³ Ada fled to fortress-city of Alinda and remained there trapped for the duration of Pixodaros's rule.⁶⁷⁴ The Achaemenid king did not mind this ousting of Ada, as he had Pixodaros confirmed as satrap.⁶⁷⁵ In the same year as his accession, Philip II of Macedon besieged Perinthos in Thrace. Artaxerxes did not want the city to fall into Macedonian hands and ordered his coastal satrapies to help the Perinthians in any way possible, which they did by providing mercenaries and supplies. With Persian aid Perinthos was able to sustain a multitude of Macedonian attacks and Philip had to break off the siege.⁶⁷⁶ Whether Pixodaros was one of the satraps who aided the Perinthians at the behest of Artaxerxes III is unclear, but not unthinkable.⁶⁷⁷ In 338 Artaxerxes III was assassinated by his chiliarch Bagoas. He put Artaxerxes's youngest son, Arses, on the throne, killing his older brothers, believing he could control Arses. Yet, Arses turned on Bagoas after two years, and Bagoas also had him and his offspring killed. This led to the accession of Darius III in 336 who finally had Bagoas killed.⁶⁷⁸ The collapse of Persian royal authority led Pixodaros to seek

⁶⁶⁸ Diod. Sic. 16.51. Diodoros's dating, who also places this event in 351/350, is incorrect; the commonly accepted date is 343.

⁶⁶⁹ Isok. 5.103.

⁶⁷⁰ Plin. *NH*. 36.31; Cf. Hornblower 1982, 237ff. for extensive treatment of construction dates.

⁶⁷¹ Ruzicka 1992, 112.

⁶⁷² Strabo, 14.2.17.

⁶⁷³ Diod. Sic. 16.74.2; Strabo, 14.2.17.

⁶⁷⁴ Arr. *Anab.* 1.23.7-8.

⁶⁷⁵ R&O 78.

⁶⁷⁶ Diod. Sic. 16.75-76.1.

⁶⁷⁷ Ruzicka argues that Pixodaros did aid the Perinthians to prove his loyalty to the Artaxerxes, Ruzicka 1992, 127. There is however no reason to assume that Pixodaros was in a precarious position after ousting Ada.

⁶⁷⁸ Diod. Sic. 17.5.2-5.

an alliance with Macedonia via marriage. Philip was already preparing for a large-scale invasion of Persia and with the collapse of Persian royal authority Pixodaros chose to ally himself with Macedonia.⁶⁷⁹ Pixodaros wanted to marry Ada to Philip's son Philip Arrhidaeus, but Alexander intervened. He had the tragic actor Thessalos tell Pixodaros that Philip Arrhidaeus was half-witted and that he should marry Ada to him, which Pixodaros approved. When Philip found out, he was furious and cancelled any wedding to Ada.⁶⁸⁰

Now that the Macedonian alliance had failed, Pixodaros formed closer ties with the Persians. His daughter, Ada, married Rhoontophates who would succeed Pixodaros as satrap upon his death shortly before Alexander's invasion, circa 335.⁶⁸¹ Strabo mentions that Pixodaros explicitly asked for a Persian co-ruler as he himself had medized,⁶⁸² but it is more likely that now the Macedonian alliance had come to nothing, he sought protection against the expected Macedonian invasion by currying favour with the Persians.⁶⁸³ After Pixodaros's death, Karia, was still a significant regional power as Rhoontophates, together with Memnon, led the Persian war effort against Alexander's invasion after the Battle of the Graneikos (334).⁶⁸⁴

When Alexander invaded Karia, Ada came to him, surrendered Alinda, and offered to adopt him as his son in return for restoring her to her throne, which Alexander readily accepted.⁶⁸⁵ The marriage gave Alexander legitimacy in the eyes of those who still supported Ada and was a sign of continuation for the local Karians.⁶⁸⁶ According to Diodoros, Ada's support for Alexander caused all Karian cities, aside from Halikarnassos itself, to defect to Alexander.⁶⁸⁷ Arrian, however, represents a bleaker picture. He does not chronologically place the meeting between Alexander and Ada, but rather treats it as an afterthought, describing the meeting summarily after the fall of Halikarnassos, though clearly implying that it took place earlier. According to Arrian, Alexander first took Miletos and then marched on Halikarnassos, taking all the towns between the two cities.⁶⁸⁸ It is most likely that Ada approached Alexander just after the fall of Miletos as Alinda is geographically closer to the former than to Halikarnassos, and Rhoontophates still had control of much of the interior. During the Siege of Halikarnassos, Alexander mounted an attack on Myndos, a city near Halikarnassos in the Bodrum Peninsula, which failed.⁶⁸⁹ Ada had apparently not been able to convince the city to surrender.

⁶⁷⁹ Ruzicka 1992, 129-130.

⁶⁸⁰ Plut. *Vit. Alex.* 10.

⁶⁸¹ Strabo, 14.2.17; Arr. *Anab.* 1.23.7-8.

⁶⁸² Strabo, 14.2.17.

⁶⁸³ Bosworth 1980, 153-154.

⁶⁸⁴ Arr. *Anab.* 1.23.1.

⁶⁸⁵ Arr. *Anab.* 1.23.8; Diod. Sic. 17.24.2.

⁶⁸⁶ Bosworth 1980, 154; Carney 1996, 569-570; Sears 2014, 212, 217-220.

⁶⁸⁷ Diod. Sic. 17.24.3.

⁶⁸⁸ Arr. *Anab.* 1.20.2.

⁶⁸⁹ Arr. *Anab.* 1.20.4.

The battle for Halikarnassos itself was fierce, though when the outer city fell, Alexander prevented his army from looting the city, only punishing the arsonists who tried to reduce the city to ruins, using scorched earth tactics.⁶⁹⁰ Sears argues that Alexander was trying to win over the Halikarnassians via leniency, and that Ada symbolized this notion as the Greek counterpart to the Persians who were now in power, placed there by her brother.⁶⁹¹ If this was Alexander's (and Ada's) plan, it failed miserably. Though the outer city fell, the inner city held out to the following year; Alexander had left Ptolemy behind with a substantial force whilst he continued his march into Cilicia.⁶⁹² Furthermore, Ada did not seem to have enjoyed wide support among the Karians as at the Battle of Gaugamela, Dareios had a contingent of displaced Karians in his army, clearly still willing to fight for their Persian overlords rather than support Ada.⁶⁹³

Nothing is further known about Ada, though she must have been of considerable age when she was reinstated as ruler of Karia. She must have died around 323 as Alexander then appointed Philoxenos as the satrap of Karia.⁶⁹⁴ With her death the Hekatomnid Dynasty came to an end.

⁶⁹⁰ Arr. *Anab.* 1.22.7, 1.23.3-4.

⁶⁹¹ Sears 2014, 218

⁶⁹² Arr. *Anab.* 2.5.7.

⁶⁹³ Arr. *Anab.* 3.11.5.

⁶⁹⁴ Arr. *Anab.* 7.23.1.

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SEG 15.411; 19.517; 19.653; 27.942;

44.1148; 63.875.

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