Caria and Crete in Antiquity

A persistent tradition existed in antiquity linking Caria with the island of Crete. This central theme of regional history is mirrored in the civic mythologies, cults and toponyms of southwestern Anatolia. This book explains why by approaching this diverse body of material with a broad chronological view, taking into account both the origins of this regional narrative and its endurance. It considers the mythologies in the light of archaeologically attested contacts during the Bronze Age, exploring whether such interaction could have left a residuum in later traditions. The continued relevance of this aspect of Carian history is then considered in the light of contacts during the Classical and Hellenistic periods, with analysis of how, and in which contexts, traditions survived. The Carians were an Anatolian people; however, their integration into the mythological framework of the Greek world reveals that interaction with the Aegean was a fundamental aspect of their history.

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Caria and Crete in Antiquity

Cultural Interaction between Anatolia and the Aegean

NAOMI CARLESS UNWIN
To my parents
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Preface

Identifying what it meant to be ‘Carian’ in the ancient world continues to both excite interest and elude easy answers. In this book, I seek to shed light on one aspect of this topic, with an investigation into how the inhabitants of Caria interacted with their neighbours and participated in the wider social and cultural networks of the Aegean. In particular, I want to explore the connections, both mythological and historical, between Caria and the island of Crete, and consider how the involvement of the Carians in the networks of the Aegean was an intrinsic aspect of their history. The roots of my interest in the history and culture of Caria date back to a trip along the south Aegean coast in September 2002. I was struck both by the distinctive landscape and geology of the region, and by the idiosyncrasies of its archaeology. As an undergraduate student, the complexities of categorising Caria and the Carians was intriguing; it was familiar to the Greek world and yet distinct. It was as a direct result of this experience that I pursued Carian studies during my master’s, and, with the encouragement of Riet van Bremen, developed the topic further during my doctorate.

I have since visited Caria a number of times, travelling along the fertile Maeander valley and its tributaries, and tackling the winding roads of the Bodrum and Datça peninsulas. The natural entanglement of Caria with the sea is striking. The islands of the Dodekanese are clearly visible from the coastal regions of Caria, and on a clear day it is possible to spot the sea from the inland sanctuary of Labraunda. The history of the Carians is often considered as somehow parallel to that of their Greek neighbours, and within Greek narratives they are frequently characterised as ‘barbarians’. But geographically, their worlds were entwined: the social and cultural landscape of Caria was shaped by its interaction with the Aegean, and vice versa, in the longue durée. It is my intention here to restore a Carian perspective in regional discourses, especially in relation to how the communities of south-western Anatolia framed their relationship with Crete and other islands of the Aegean.

This book is a revised version of my University College London DPhil dissertation, examined in December 2012. Many people have helped in the
Preface

long process of transforming that thesis into its current form. First and foremost, I would like to thank Riet van Bremen for her patience and precision as a supervisor, and for her continued guidance since the completion of the doctorate. The two examiners, Christy Constantakopoulou and Alexander Herda, provided much useful feedback and advice when it came to the publication process; the two anonymous readers at Cambridge University Press further helped me to remould and refine the structure of the monograph.

Continued work on the book was made possible by a Fernand Braudel IFER Postdoctoral Fellowship at the Labex RESMED in Paris (October 2013–July 2014) and a Senior Fellowship at the Research Center for Anatolian Civilizations at Koç University in Istanbul (September 2014–June 2015); the final redrafting of the text was completed with the support of a joint research fellowship between the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut in Berlin and the Center for Hellenic Studies in Washington DC (2015/2016).

I am grateful to all the staff at these institutions and to my fellow group of researchers, with whom I was able to share my work.

My ongoing involvement in the archaeological excavations at Labraunda has been a constant source of inspiration in my research over the last seven years. I would like to extend my thanks to the entire team, but especially to Lars Karlsson for welcoming me to the excavation; to Pontus Hellström and Olivier Henry for their endless insights and continued patience in answering my archaeological questions; and to Baptiste Vergnaud for making sometimes difficult work enjoyable.

Thanks of various kinds are also due to Hans van Wees, Simon Hornblower, Rosalind Thomas, Rostislav Oreshko, Filippo Battistoni, Alexander Millington and Ireen Kowalleck. Ignacio Adiego has generously allowed me to reproduce his table of Carian letter forms, for which I am extremely grateful; Pontus Hellström searched the Labraunda archive to provide some excellent photographs of the site and the early excavations. I must also extend my thanks to Wolfgang Blümel for allowing me to use his photographs of the inscriptions from Mylasa. Research trips to the Fonds Louis Robert in Paris and Inscriptiones Graecae in Berlin offered me the opportunity to study the squeezes of a number of the inscriptions discussed in the book; I thank Professor Glen Bowersock and Professor Klaus Hallof for granting me access to the collections, and Mme Béatrice Meyer and Jaime Curbera for their assistance in Paris and Berlin respectively.

On a personal note, I would like to thank my friends and family for their ongoing encouragement and support, with special mention to Yannick, Ben, Alice and my sister Abbie; also to Laura and Esther. I am also grateful
to Genevieve for first suggesting that we take a trip to Turkey, and to Patrick Finn for introducing me to the study of the ancient world. This book is dedicated to my parents, Jean Carless and Martin Unwin, whom I would like to thank for everything along the way.
A Note on Transliteration and Translation

The names of ancient authors have been transliterated in their Latinised versions; however, I have opted to transliterate other personal and geographical names in their Greek forms (Mausollos rather than Mausolus; Knidos and Halikarnassos rather than Cnidus and Halicarnassus). For the sake of clarity, I have made exceptions in certain cases where the Latinised versions are markedly more familiar in the English-speaking world; notably Caria and Crete, rather than Karia and Krete. All translations are taken from the Loeb Classical Library, with minor revisions where appropriate.
## Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ABSA</td>
<td>Annual of the British School at Athens.</td>
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<td>AJA</td>
<td>American Journal of Archaeology.</td>
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<tr>
<td>AM</td>
<td>A. Goetze (1933), <em>Die Annalen des Mursilis</em> (MVAG 38) (Leipzig).</td>
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<tr>
<td>BCH</td>
<td><em>Bulletin de Correspondence Hellénique</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>BE</td>
<td><em>Bulletin Épigraphique</em>, publ. in <em>Revue des Études Grecques</em>.</td>
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<tr>
<td>BICS</td>
<td><em>Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies</em>.</td>
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xvi Abbreviations


CIG *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum* (Berlin, 1845–55).


CPG E. von Leutsch and F.W. Schneidewin (eds.), *Corpus Paroemiographorum Graecorum* (Göttingen, 1839).


EA *Epigraphica Anatolica. Zeitschrift für Epigraphik und historische Geographie Anatoliens*.

EBGR *Epigraphic Bulletin of Greek Religion*, in *Kernos*.


FGrH F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*.


GRBS *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*.


Abbreviations


IG *Inscriptiones Graecae.*


I. Magnesia O. Kern, *Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Maeander* (Berlin, 1900).


Abbreviations

I. Priene

I. Rhod. Per.

I. Stratonikeia

Iscr. di Cos

JHS
*Journal of Hellenic Studies*.

JNES
*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*.

JRS
*Journal of Roman Studies*.

Kadesh Inscriptions

KBo
*Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi* (Leipzig and Berlin).

KUB
*Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi* (Berlin).

Le Rider Monnaies

LGPN VB

Lindos 2

Maiuri NSER

Meiggs and Lewis

Milet 1. 3.

Milet 1. 7.
Abbreviations

Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen seit dem Jahre 1899, 1/7. Der Südmarkt und die benachbarten Bauanlagen (Berlin, 1924).

Milet 6.3.

NC Numismatic Chronicle.


PP La Parola del Passato.

PSI Papiri greci e latini, Pubblicazioni della Società Italiana per la ricerca dei papyri greci e latini in Egitto.

REA Revue des Études Anciennes.

REG Revue des Études Grecques.


RPhil Revue de Philologie.


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<td>Excavation of Sardis, VII. Greek and Latin Inscriptions, part 1 (Leiden, 1932).</td>
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<tr>
<td>SEG</td>
<td>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum (Leiden).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SNG Turkey 1</td>
<td>K. Konuk, Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, Turkey, 1. The Muharrem Kayhan Collection (Istanbul and Bordeaux, 2002).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TAM 3</td>
<td>R. Heberdey, Tituli Asiae Minoris III. Tituli Pisidiae linguis Graeca et Latina conscripti (Vienna, 1941).</td>
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<tr>
<td>ZPE</td>
<td>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik.</td>
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