

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



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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

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 (Maussollos 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

ABSA	<i>Annual of the British School at Athens.</i>
Achaïe 3	A.D. Rizakis, <i>Achaïe III. Les inscriptions de cités achéennes. Épigraphie et histoire</i> (Athens, 2008).
Ager <i>Interstate Arbitrations</i>	S.L. Ager, <i>Interstate Arbitrations in the Greek World, 337–90 BC</i> (Berkeley and London, 1996).
AhT	G.M. Beckman, T.R. Bryce and E.H. Cline, <i>The Ahhiyawa Texts</i> (Atlanta, GA, 2011).
AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology.</i>
ala2004	C. Roueché (2004), <i>Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity. The Late Roman and Byzantine Inscriptions</i> , revised 2nd ed., available at http://insaph.kcl.ac.uk/ala2004 .
AM	A. Goetze (1933), <i>Die Annalen des Mursilis</i> (MVAG 38) (Leipzig).
Austin	M.M. Austin, <i>The Hellenistic World from Alexander to the Roman Conquest: A Selection of Ancient Sources in Translation</i> (Cambridge, 2nd ed. 2006).
Bagnall and Derow	R.S. Bagnall and P. Derow (eds.), <i>Historical Sources in Translation: The Hellenistic Period</i> (Oxford, 2nd ed. 2004).
BCH	<i>Bulletin de Correspondence Hellénique</i>
BE	<i>Bulletin Épigraphique</i> , publ. in <i>Revue des Études Grecques</i> .
Beckman <i>HDT</i>	G.M. Beckman, <i>Hittite Diplomatic Texts</i> (Atlanta, GA, 1996).
BICS	<i>Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies.</i>
BMC Greek	
(Caria, Cos, Rhodes)	B.V. Head, <i>Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Caria, Cos, Rhodes &c.</i> (London, 1897).

<i>BMC Greek (Ionia)</i>	B.V. Head, <i>Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Ionia</i> (London, 1892).
<i>BMCR</i>	<i>Bryn Mawr Classical Review</i> , http://bmcr.brynmawr.edu .
Bresson <i>I. Pérée</i>	A. Bresson, <i>Recueil des inscriptions de la Pérée rhodienne (Pérée intégrée)</i> (Paris, 1991).
Callimachus (Pfeiffer)	R. Pfeiffer, <i>Callimachus, I. Fragmenta</i> (Oxford, 1949).
<i>CIG</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> (Berlin, 1845–53).
<i>Clara Rhodos</i>	<i>Clara Rhodos</i> . Studi e materiali pubblicati a cura dell' Istituto storico-archeologico di Rodi. 10 vols. (Rhodes, 1928–41).
<i>CPG</i>	E. von Leutsch and F.W. Schneidewin (eds.), <i>Corpus Pseudoepigraphorum Graecorum</i> (Göttingen, 1839).
<i>CTH</i>	E. Laroche, <i>Catalogue des textes hittites</i> (Paris, 1971).
<i>EA</i>	<i>Epigraphica Anatolica. Zeitschrift für Epigraphik und historische Geographie Anatoliens</i> .
<i>EBGR</i>	<i>Epigraphic Bulletin of Greek Religion</i> , in <i>Kernos</i> .
<i>FD 3</i>	G. Daux and A. Salac, <i>Fouilles de Delphes, III. Epigraphie, 3. Depuis le trésor des Athéniens jusqu'aux bases de Gélyon</i> , 2 vols. (Paris, 1 (1932): nos. 1–178; 2 (1943): nos. 179–441).
<i>FGrH</i>	F. Jacoby, <i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> .
<i>GIBM</i>	<i>Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum</i> (Oxford, 1874–1916).
<i>GRBS</i>	<i>Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies</i> .
<i>Letters from the Hittite Kingdom</i>	H.A. Hoffner, <i>Letters from the Hittite Kingdom</i> (Atlanta, GA, 2009).
<i>HTC</i>	P. Debord and E. Varinlioglu (eds.), <i>Les hautes terres de Carie</i> (Bordeaux, 2001).

- IAPH2007* J. Reynolds, C. Roueché and G. Bodard, *Inscriptions of Aphrodisias* (2007), available at: <http://insaph.kcl.ac.uk/iaph2007>.
- IC* M. Guarducci, *Inscriptiones Creticae*, 4 vols. (Rome, 1935–50).
- ID* F. Dürrbach, P. Roussel, M. Launey, J. Coupry and A. Plassart (1926–73), *Inscriptions de Délos*, 7 vols. (Paris, VI [I] (1950): nos. 1–88; VII [2] (1972): nos. 89–104; I [III] (1926): nos. 290–371; II [IV] (1929): nos. 372–509; III [V] (1935): nos. 1400–1496; IV [VI] (1937): nos. 1497–2219; V [VII] (1937): nos. 2220–2879).
- IG* *Inscriptiones Graecae*.
- I. Didyma* A. Rehm and R. Harder, *Didyma*, II. *Die Inschriften* (Berlin, 1958).
- I. Ephesos* H. Wankel, Ch. Börker, R. Merkelbach, H. Engelmann, D. Knibbe, R. Meriç, S. Şahin and J. Nollé, *Die Inschriften von Ephesos*, 7 vols. *Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien* 11–17 (Bonn, 1979–81).
- I. Erythrai* H. Engelmann and R. Merkelbach, *Die Inschriften von Erythrai und Klazomenai*, 2 vols. *Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien* 1–2 (Bonn, 1972–3).
- I. Iasos* W. Blümel, *Die Inschriften von Iasos*, 2 vols. *Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien* 28/I and II (Bonn, 1985).
- I. Kaunos* C. Marek, *Die Inschriften von Kaunos. Vestigia. Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte* 55 (Munich, 2006).
- I. Knidos* W. Blümel, *Die Inschriften von Knidos*. *Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien* 41 (Bonn, 1992).
- I. Labraunda* J. Crampa (ed.), *Labraunda: Swedish Excavations and Researches 3 (I and II): The Greek Inscriptions* (Stockholm, 1969, 1972).
- I. Magnesia* O. Kern, *Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Maeander* (Berlin, 1900).
- I. Mylasa* W. Blümel (ed.), *Die Inschriften von Mylasa*, 2 vols. *Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien* 34–5 (Bonn, 1987–88).
- I. Priene*¹ F. Hiller von Gaertringen, *Inschriften von Priene* (Berlin, 1906).

<i>I. Priene</i> ²	W. Blümel and R. Merkelbach (eds.), <i>Die Inschriften von Priene</i> . Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien 69/I and II (Bonn, 2014).
<i>I. Rhod. Per.</i>	W. Blümel (ed.), <i>Die Inschriften der Rhodischen Peraia</i> . Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien 38 (Bonn, 1991).
<i>I. Stratonikeia</i>	M.Ç. Şahin (ed.), <i>Die Inschriften von Stratonikeia</i> . Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien 21 and 22 (Bonn, 1981–82).
<i>Iscr. di Cos</i>	M. Segre (ed.), <i>Iscrizioni di Cos</i> , 2 vols. (Rome, 1993).
<i>JHS</i>	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i> .
<i>JNES</i>	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i> .
<i>JRS</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i> .
<i>Kadesh Inscriptions</i>	A. Gardiner, <i>The Kadesh Inscriptions of Ramesses II</i> (Oxford, 1960).
<i>KBo</i>	<i>Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi</i> (Leipzig and Berlin).
<i>KUB</i>	<i>Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi</i> (Berlin).
<i>Le Rider Monnaies</i>	G. Le Rider, <i>Monnaies crétoises du VI^e au I^{er} siècle av. J.-C.</i> (Paris, 1966).
<i>LGPN VB</i>	J.-S. Balzat, R.W.V. Catling, E. Chiricat and F. Marchand (eds.), <i>A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names, VB. Coastal Asia Minor: Caria to Cilicia</i> (Oxford, 2013).
<i>Lindos 2</i>	C. Blinkenberg, <i>Lindos. Fouilles et recherches, 1902–1914, II. Inscriptions</i> . 2 vols. (Copenhagen and Berlin, 1941).
<i>Maiuri NSER</i>	A. Maiuri, <i>Nuova silloge epigrafica di Rodi e Cos</i> (Florence, 1925).
<i>Meiggs and Lewis</i>	R. Meiggs and D. Lewis (eds.), <i>A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century BC</i> (Oxford, 1969).
<i>Milet 1. 3.</i>	G. Kawerau and A. Rehm, <i>Milet. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen seit dem Jahre 1899, 1/3. Das Delphinion in Milet</i> (Berlin, 1914).
<i>Milet 1. 7.</i>	H. Knackfuss, mit epigraphischem Beitrag von A. Rehm, <i>Milet. Ergebnisse der</i>

	<i>Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen seit dem Jahre 1899, 1/7. Der Südmarkt und die benachbarten Bauanlagen</i> (Berlin, 1924).
Milet 6. 3.	P. Herrmann, W. Günther and N. Ehrhardt (eds.), <i>Inchriften von Milet, 3. Inchriften n. 1020–1580</i> (Berlin, 2006).
NC	<i>Numismatic Chronicle</i> .
P.Cair.Zen.	C.C. Edgar (ed.), <i>Zenon Papyri, Catalogue general des Antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Cairo</i> . 4 vols. (Cairo, 1925–31).
P.Col.Zen.	W.L. Westermann and E. Sayre Hasenoeuhl (eds.), <i>Zenon Papyri. Business Papers of the Third Century B.C. Dealing with Palestine and Egypt</i> . 2 vols. (New York, 1934–40).
P. Lond.	F.G. Kenyon and H.I. Bell (eds.), <i>Greek Papyri in the British Museum</i> (London, 1893–1917).
P. Mich. Zen.	C.C. Edgar (ed.), <i>Papyri in the University of Michigan Collection</i> (Ann Arbor, 1931).
PP	<i>La Parola del Passato</i> .
PSI	<i>Papiri greci e latini</i> , Pubblicazioni della Società Italiana per la ricerca dei papiri greci e latini in Egitto.
REA	<i>Revue des Études Anciennes</i> .
REG	<i>Revue des Études Grecques</i> .
Rhodes and Osborne	P.J. Rhodes and R. Osborne, <i>Greek Historical Inscriptions, 404–323 BC</i> (Oxford, 2003).
Rigsby Asyilia	K.J. Rigsby, <i>Asyilia: Territorial Inviolability in the Hellenistic World</i> (Berkeley, CA, 1996).
Robert and Robert Amyzon	J. Robert and L. Robert, <i>Fouilles d’Amyzon en Carie, I. Exploration, histoire, monnaies et inscriptions</i> (Paris, 1983).
RPhil	<i>Revue de Philologie</i> .
Sardis 6. 2.	W.H. Buckler, <i>Sardis. Publications of the American Society for the Excavation of Sardis, VI. Lydian Inscriptions, part 2</i> (Leiden, 1924).
Sardis 7. 1.	W.H. Buckler and D.M. Robinson, <i>Sardis. Publications of the American Society for the</i>

	<i>Excavation of Sardis</i> , VII. <i>Greek and Latin Inscriptions</i> , part 1 (Leiden, 1932).
SEG	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i> (Leiden).
SNG Copenhagen Caria	<i>Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum. The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals. Danish National Museum. Caria</i> , parts I and II (Copenhagen, 1947).
SNG Copenhagen Troas	<i>Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum. The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals. Danish National Museum. Troas</i> (Copenhagen, 1945).
SNG Keckman	U. Westermark and R. Ashton, <i>Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum. Finland. The Erkki Keckman Collection in the Skopbank, Helsinki</i> , part 1. <i>Karia</i> (Helsinki, 1994).
SNG Turkey 1	K. Konuk, <i>Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, Turkey</i> , 1. <i>The Muharrem Kayhan Collection</i> (Istanbul and Bordeaux, 2002).
TAM 2	E. Kalinka, <i>Tituli Asiae Minoris II. Tituli Lyciae linguis Graeca et Latina conscripti</i> . 3 vols. (Vienna, 1 (1920): nos. 1–395; 2 (1930): nos. 396–717; 3 (1944), nos. 718–1230).
TAM 3	R. Heberdey, <i>Tituli Asiae Minoris III. Tituli Pisidiae linguis Graeca et Latina conscripti</i> (Vienna, 1941).
TAM 5	P. Herrmann, <i>Tituli Asiae Minoris V. Tituli Lydiae, linguis Graeca et Latina conscripti</i> . 2 vols. (Vienna, 1981 and 1989).
Tit. Cam.	M. Segre and I. Pugliese Carratelli, ‘ <i>Tituli Camirenses</i> ’, <i>Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni Italiane in Oriente</i> 30–32 (1952–4): 211–246.
ZPE	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i> .