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A preliminary report on the Swedish excavations with an appendix by Ragnar Hedlund

Abstract*
The main goals of the 2011 campaign were the excavation of the Kepez tower, the West Church and the necropolis. The tower of Kepez was excavated and black-gloss pottery indicates a date in the 3rd century BC. The 2011 excavations in the West Church uncovered three Late Roman and Byzantine building phases. Among the finds from Late Antiquity was a well-preserved glass lamp with a Greek inscription and a marble figurine, possibly representing an apostle or a saint. The excavations in the necropolis uncovered eleven tombs in the Area 5B, located along the Sacred Way, completing the excavation initiated in 2010. New tombs were discovered in the territory east and south of the sanctuary. Finally, the three stone sarcophagi inside the Built Tomb were moved in order to facilitate complete excavation and the cleaning of all the interior space of this monumental tomb. The conservation of architectural marble was continued and included the conservation of an Ionic column capital and an anta capital from Andron B. Thomas Thieme and Pontus Hellström prepared the publication of the *andrones.*

Introduction
The excavations of the Sanctuary of Zeus Labraundos in Karia in south-western Turkey were initiated by Uppsala University in 1948, and since 2004 three new research projects are being undertaken under the leadership of Lars Karlsson. The new projects deal with the forts and the tombs around the sanctuary, as well as the buildings of the Late Roman period. These topics were not studied in the early excavations and the new projects will therefore add new information about the history and the geographical extension of the sanctuary.

Firstly, in order to make a plan and gather dating information, Lars Karlsson of Uppsala University opened a trench in the centre of the tower at Kepez (Fig. 1). Secondly, the excavation of the West Church was concluded with the discovery of apses in the east, Jesper Blid, of Stockholm University, will describe this work below. The work of Olivier Henry of the Institut Français d’Études Anatoliennes, Istanbul is the last section of this preliminary report. His work this year had four main goals: the complete cleaning of the interior of the Built Tomb inside the sanctuary, the completion of the excavation of tomb area 5B along the Sacred Way, which was initiated last year, and the discovery of new tombs and the commencement of cleaning the tombs located east of the sanctuary. Furthermore, Ragnar Hedlund of Uppsala University is currently preparing a study on the monumental buildings on the Temple Terrace and how they relate to local patronage and Imperial power. With the collaboration of Jesper Blid, the architectural fragments of the South Stoa were studied, and an impressive elevation of the façade of the marble stoa was reconstructed on paper (see the appendix below). This report finishes with a description of this year’s work on the conservation and safe-guarding of the site.
Fig. 1. Map of the territory of the sanctuary with indications of this year’s excavations.

Fig. 2. View of the tower from the south.
The fortresses: The tower at Kepez

(BY L. KARLSSON)

This tower is located south of the sanctuary, 1,239.17 metres from the Temple of Zeus. It is situated on a small hilltop, 543 m above sea level (Fig. 2). The location is at the centre of the bowl which is formed in front of the sanctuary and is enclosed on three sides by mountain ranges. The view is uninterrupted, in all directions and the whole sanctuary is especially clear from here. The tower is asymmetrical and the sides measure 7.60 m (south) × 6.90 (east) × 9 (north) × 7.60 m (west) (Fig. 3). The walls are only preserved to a height of 1.50 m. The width of the walls is 85–90 cm. The entrance to the tower was at the east side.

The masonry of the tower consists of large polygonal blocks on the exterior and smaller rocks towards the interior. In order to strengthen the corners, the blocks here are similar to ashlar. The best preserved, northeast corner is built up by a technique using larger blocks alternatively project-
ing out over the line of the walls, thus creating a plaited effect of the corner chain (Fig. 4). This was also distinguishable in the east corner of the extension of the Hekatomnid tower at Tepesar Kale. A 1.5 m wide threshold was discovered in the middle of the east side; indicating the ancient entrance to the tower. A curious channel was later built along the east side of the tower (Fig. 5). That the channel is later than the tower can be understood from the fact that the channel’s cover blocks are placed on the threshold of the tower’s entrance. The channel measures 4.50 m in length, and varies in width from about 30 to 50 cm. Its function is not known. The cleaning we completed in the channel did not provide any finds.

The excavations of the tower’s interior began along the south wall and uncovered a little more than half of the interior space (Fig. 6). Approximately in the centre the excavations uncovered four upright-standing slabs from a hearth. The hearth frame measures 66–68 × 70–73 cm and contained terracotta-red soil clearly indicating fire (Fig. 7). Immediately south of the hearth, 219 fragments of a large pithos of the type with bands were discovered (Figs. 8–9). The rim diameter is 48 cm, but fragments of the foot could not be found. This type of pithos, with horizontal bands or half-rolls at intervals of about 7 cm, has been found in all the other towers. It is likely that this type of pithos functioned as a water jar, as fragments were found in the filling of the Hekatomnid well inside the Acropolis inner fortress.

Two fragments of black-gloss vessels were found (Fig. 9): a ring foot belongs to a Hellenistic kantharos, and several rim fragments belong to a bowl with out-turned rim, both vessels dating in the second half of the 3rd century BC. The plain wares consisted of three pieces of jug or amphora-foot fragments, dating to the 3rd century BC.

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1 See Karlsson, Blid & Henry 2011, fig. 15.
2 Labraunda KZ11.6: *Agora* XXIX, Cat. no. 241, fig. 16 and pl. 22, p. 267 (250–225 BC).
3 Labraunda KZ11.3: *Agora* XXIX, Cat. no. 917, fig. 60 and pl. 73, p. 334 (225–175 BC).
4 Labraunda, Inv. no. KZ11.1: *Agora* XXXIII, amphora, form 3, Cat. no. 124, fig. 20 and pl. 18, p. 257 (ca 325–260 BC); Labraunda, Inv. no. KZ11.2: *Agora* XXXIII, long-necked jug, Cat. no. 45, fig. 9 and pl. 9, p. 249 (ca 325–260 BC); Labraunda Inv. no. KZ11.4: *Agora* XXXIII.
During our research in the fortifications of Labraunda, we completed investigative excavation trenches in four free-standing forts (Burgaz 2007, Ucalan 2009, Tepesar 2010 and Kepez 2011). We also completed a major excavation inside the inner fortress of the Acropolis fortifications in 2009–2010. The overall impression is that Labraunda was protected by a series of very impressive defensive structures. It is likely that they were not only meant to protect the Sanctuary of Labraunda but also the Karian capital of Mylasa, as they seem to focus on the Sacred Way which connected Mylasa to the Anatolian hinterland in the northeast.

The general aim of the 2011 excavation was to find features that would associate the Late Antique cultural layer with a church-function. The links between this layer and possible religious activities were first considered in 2007. The trench from 2010 was enlarged in 2011, towards the east, in an attempt to find features associated with a church.

BY J. BLID

The archaeological mission of 2011 involved one more field campaign at the West Church, situated on the south-eastern perimeter of Labraunda’s so-called Area Z (Fig. 10). Work at this site was initiated in 2007 as part of the Labraunda in Late Antiquity project, with a survey that yielded several architectural fragments from a Late Antique church. The survey was later supplemented in 2009 with geophysical investigations and test-probes, and finally by a large-scale excavation in 2010. The 2010 sounding revealed several cultural layers dating from the Classical to medieval periods (Contexts 1–7). The general aim of the 2011 excavation was to find features that would associate the Late Antique cultural layer with a church-function. The links between this layer and possible religious activities were first considered in 2007. The trench from 2010 was enlarged in 2011, towards the east, in an attempt to find features associated with a church.

I thank my fellow field associates Ragnar Hedlund of Uppsala University, and Baptiste Vergnaud of Université de Bordeaux, for their energetic assistance in the excavations and with field documentation, as well as their expertise on various archaeological finds.
efforts have made it possible to calibrate and revise some of last year’s dating-suggestions and context-affiliations. For instance, both numismatic and ceramic evidence have connected Contexts 3 and 4, which, in last year’s preliminary report, were proposed to date from two different, but chronologically close, phases. This year, we were able to confirm that both of these contexts belong to the initial phase (Phase IIA) of the West Church. This also includes the paved platform in the north-eastern section of the trench (Units D:3–D:4 & E:3–E:4), which served as an elevated, intermediate level between the apse and the nave. Context 3, which consists of the concrete pavement that occupies most of the trench, is now believed to be the initial floor level of the West Church. This solves last year’s major problem as to why mosaic fragments, similar to the Context 4 mosaics inside Unit II:I, were found on top of the concrete floor, Context 3, inside the upper part of the trench (Unit E:3).\footnote{Cf. Karlsson 2010, 89.} The supposed Roman Imperial mending of the Context 1 stylobate, inside Units C:3–C:4, was also proven to belong to the church phase IIA. This mistake was based on a chronometric $^{14}$C-dating (Cal. AD
50–230) of a tooth found by the foundation of the stylobate in 2010.¹¹

Ragnar Hedlund has provided the study of the numismatic material, which consists of seven bronze coins from Contexts 3 and 4. All coins date to the reigns of the Emperors Constantius II to Arcadius (mid-4th to early 5th century BC). The coin that was found together with the ¹⁴C-tested tooth was minted during the period AD 355–363,¹² which therefore constitutes a new *terminus post quem* for this section of the stylobate. Another coin of a similar type¹³ was found within the adjoining concrete pavement (Context 3) in 2011, and a third coin, minted under Emperor Arcadius, was found in the vicinity in 2010.¹⁴

Two 4th century coins, from the reigns of the Emperors Valens (Fig. 26:2)¹⁵ and Constantius II,¹⁶ were also found by

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¹³ *RIC* VIII, 34–36; cf. for instance 498, nos. 104–109 (Cyzicus) and 544f., nos. 82–86 (Alexandria).
¹⁴ *RIC* X, 251f., 141–159.
¹⁵ *RIC* IX 96, 12b.
¹⁶ *RIC* VIII, 499f., nos. 117–124.
Fig. 11. Actual state plan of the West Church 2011. By J. Blid, G. Bengtsson & R. Hedlund.
the foundations of the Context 4 wall inside Units D:2–D:3, along with possibly contemporary sherds from an African Red Slip ware dish of Hayes Form 67. The final two coins were found between the stone slabs of the sanctuary of Phase IIA (E:3–E:4). One of these coins is illegible and cannot be attributed to a specific emperor; but the reverse, featuring an emperor dragging a captive and the legend GLORIA ROMANORVM, was typically used between AD c. 363–387. The second coin from this area is again from the reign of Constantius II, and of the FEL TEMP REPARATIO type, which was struck in Cyzicus between AD 351 and AD 354 (Fig. 26:1).

The numismatic evidence was found in closed deposits, such as between paving slabs and inside concrete floor layers, and thus provides a reliable method of dating. The homogeneous character of these coins, dating from a fifty-year period, indicates a limited phase of coin circulation. The terminus post quem for Contexts 3–4, based on numismatic evidence, is the coin from the reign of Emperor Arcadius, struck between AD 406 and 408 (Fig. 26:3). The ceramic materials, and particularly the fine wares from Context 3, were produced up until the end of the first quarter of the 5th century. More ceramic evidence to support the dating of Contexts 3–4 will be discussed below.

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITUATION AT THE WEST CHURCH

As mentioned in previous preliminary reports, the West Church area has been used for agriculture for generations. During the last few decades the situation has changed, and cultivation has focused on growing pistachio and walnut trees. Due to the agricultural activity, the topsoil layer is only c. 30 cm thick, and the architectural structures immediately beneath the earth are badly preserved. Ploughing and roots have recurrently damaged the remains, and vegetation has often made excavation problematic. Moreover, such a situation has had a negative effect on the preservation of small finds, such as pottery. Erosion has swept away much of the loose material, and only the protected deposits of finds, e.g. in floors and wall foundations, have been preserved. There are few undisturbed soil-strata that can provide us with a clearer image of occupation phases.

The small, open soil-plots for agriculture—now holding trees—are encircled by stone walls, constructed using material from the ancient ruins below (Fig. 12). This circumstance was an advantage during the survey of 2007 but has shown to be very challenging in terms of excavating. These late walls, which were built with large ashlar blocks and small rubble, had to be removed and the trees cut down; thus facilitating the continuation of the excavations.

Fig. 12. Modern, stone fence on top of the apse area.
THE EXCAVATION OF 2011 AND THE ARCHITECTURAL REMAINS AT THE SITE

Throughout the 2010 excavation we acquired new information on Labraunda from Classical Antiquity to the Middle Ages, and we were able to map a partial extension of the Late Roman and post-Antique occupation. The identification of another Late Antique and medieval church at Labraunda also poses new questions on the sacred and demographic topography of this particular area in the post-pagan period. Such questions will be further addressed in the forthcoming publication on Labraunda in Late Antiquity, which is planned for 2013.

THE EARLIEST CHURCH, PHASE IIA (CONTEXTS 3–4)

The five eastern extensions (Units: B:5; C:5–F:5), revealed three separate apses belonging to three different phases of construction. The largest and earliest of these apses belongs to Phase IIA, which is marked in blue on the plan. About two-thirds of the width of this church phase was excavated, and if we hypothesize that the edifice is symmetrical, the total exterior width of the church would be c. 10 m (Fig. 13). Furthermore, this hypothetical width closely corresponds to the dimensions of Labraunda’s East Church. The apse of the West Church is c. 5.9 m wide with a slight projection of c. 1.5 m from the lateral wall. It is mainly built of large ashlar blocks but the lower course, on the south-eastern side, is cut from the bedrock. The apse is flanked at the south part by a narrow pastophorium. Probably, there is also an equivalent compartment situated on the northern side of the apse, but this has not been archaeologically confirmed. The similar

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20 The total length of Phase 1A has not been archaeologically confirmed, but in comparison to the East Church, c. 25 m would be a plausible suggestion.

21 This construction technique has previously been recorded in the Tetraconch at Labraunda; cf. Karlsson 2010, 85.
structural composition, i.e. with a slightly projecting apse and narrow pastophoria, can be found elsewhere in the region, e.g. at Church E at Knidos,\textsuperscript{22} and at the Agora Basilica at Iasos (Fig. 14:1).

In line with the western threshold of the pastophorium, there is a c. 30 cm high, rock-cut step in the northern section of the trench (Units E:4–F:4). The bedrock was used for the foundations of the church; a result of the steep angle of the slope on which the church is situated. In front of the rock-cut step leading into the apse there is a paved platform, ending in a stylobate, facing the nave. This elevated platform is most certainly an extended part of the sanctuary of the church. Empirically, we can conclude that the stylobate held a templon, and I would suggest that this was constructed from the four Doric, gneiss columns found at various locations in the trench.\textsuperscript{23} The intercolumnia were blocked by the chancel-screen type, which was found in Unit D:1 in 2010.\textsuperscript{24}

The different levels of the church floor, and the narrow distance between the side walls and the start of the apse, indicate, in my view, that this was a hall church without columnar supports in the nave (Fig. 15). This also appears to be the case at the East Church,\textsuperscript{25} which may imply a specific architectural correspondence between the two churches at the site.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{22} Cf. Love 1972, fig. 3.
\item \textsuperscript{23} Cf. Karlsson et al. 2011, fig. 32 (smaller type).
\item \textsuperscript{24} Cf. Karlsson et al. 2011, fig. 41.
\item \textsuperscript{25} Blid 2011, 100.
\end{itemize}
The parekklesion was apparently contemporary with the main church; just like the church, the floor of the parekklesion was decorated with mosaics. Scale-patterned sections with alternating blue, red and white tesserae are still preserved in situ in the western part. The parekklesion was not a completely new construction, but rather a modified and restored Late Classical stoa (Context 1), which had been in continuous use at least until the Imperial period. Some of the original gneiss columns of the Classical period were replaced during the restoration. The stylobate was repaired and a selection of reused columns supplemented the original stoa section. Last year’s excavation revealed a massive quantity of bricks from this area, which probably belonged to arches, bridging the intercolumnia. At the stylobate level, low stone barriers closed the spaces between the columns. South of the parekklesion was a presumably unroofed, sloping passageway which led westwards from a monumental gate to the southeast of the building complex (see below).

A door that connected the nave with the parekklesion has been excavated at the far western end of Unit D:1. The passage from the parekklesion to the exterior passageway (the ramp) was most probably through an intercolumnar gate of the old stoa (Units C:2–C:3). I also believe that the leaning column in the wall between the ramp and the paved stone platform further to the south-west in the trench indicate a small gate that was later filled up. It is likely that the southern platform was an extramural road, perhaps the Sacred Way from the Classical period, which led towards the ancient sanctuary. In a post-Antique phase, this road was blocked-off by a built stone drain, which may have channelled water from inside Unit B:2.

THE MONUMENTAL GATE

As previously mentioned, a wide gate was found in the southeastern section of the trench in order to provide access to the church complex. Beside the preserved, lower courses of the door-posts to this gate, several iron nails were excavated both in 2010 and 2011. Some have large heads and were probably used as decoration on the double doors of the gate (Fig. 26:4). Two nails were found, bent c. 10.2–10.5 cm from the head, which indicates the thickness of the original wooden doors (Fig. 26:5–6).

The gate was monumentalized towards the east by two engaged columns, at least one standing on a reused Ionic base of Hekatomnidan date, which was excavated in situ (Fig. 16). The base does not correspond in size to the Ionic geison block that was found inside Context 3 of the parekklesion in 2010.

26 Karlsson et al. 2011, 31–35.
Just like the geison block, the base does not match any known Hekatomnid building at Labraunda, which means that there are at least two further Classical monuments yet to be discovered at the site. Unfortunately, there is no way to determine whether these blocks originally came from buildings situated close to the West Church, or from within the Temenos. When reused, the Ionic base was carved with a graffito cross. This is the first example of its kind from the West Church, but several similar examples are known from the Propylaea Area further to the east.

PHASE IIIB (CONTEXT 5)
There is evidence to suggest that the apse of the parekklesion, Phase IIIB, does not belong to the initial Phase IIA. For instance, the masonry is not bonded to the West Church or to the monumental gate, and the apse is also built from

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27 Furthermore, there are no published dedication inscriptions to match these architectural fragments.

28 Cf. Ilabraunda 81–82.
smaller stones and bricks (Fig. 17). The connection between the monumental gate and the south-eastern wall of the West Church during Phase IIA has not yet been archaeologically confirmed, due to the later addition of an apse. However, the bishopric complex of St. Michael at Miletos may offer an interesting analogy (Fig. 14:2). At the church of St. Michael, a similarly large doorway in the south-east opens up to a *vestibulum* which was connected with the church via an aisle-shaped, orthogonal corridor. An equivalent, straight eastern wall could also be a plausible solution for the *parekklesion* of the West Church during Phase IIA.

In the centre of the Phase IIB apse there is a built basin dressed in hydraulic stucco, *cocciopesto*. Furthermore, there is a terracotta drainage pipe by the southern wall of the structure (Fig. 18). The outflow is on the south-eastern exterior of the apse, where the terracotta conduit corresponds with a larger subterranean drainage system, leading towards the south. On the western side, the basin is equipped with two steps which are made from reused marble blocks (Fig. 19); it is apparent that the basin was supposed to be distinguished from the floor level of the *parekklesion*. The area in front of the apse was also re-monumentalized with a monochrome
white mosaic made of large *tesserae*, measuring c. 3–4 cm on each side. This floor level is c. 10–15 cm above the mosaics of Contexts 3–4 further to the west, but it appears that this mosaic only covered the anterior of the apse.

The available ceramic evidence suggests that the Phase IIA church was still used during Phase IIB (Fig. 20). The peculiar development of the plan during Phase IIB can be compared to the Late Antique church complex at Karian Sinuri (Fig. 14:3). Like Labraunda, Sinuri was an extra-urban sanctuary that was turned into a Christian *locus sanctus* after the abandonment of the pagan cults.\(^\text{29}\) The church at Sinuri has a more complex, multi-apsed plan than the West Church, but the built basin inside the Phase IIB apse at Labraunda does not, to my knowledge, have a counterpart at Sinuri or elsewhere in Karia. Moreover, the function of the Context 5 basin is not clear; it seems too small to be a baptistery font, so perhaps a

\(^{29}\) This church should be dated no earlier than the late 5th century according to a recent study; cf. Ruggieri 2009, 216.
hagiasma, or some form of piscina, seems more plausible. The author has already discussed the possible spiritual impact of water on the Christian religious life at Labraunda.\textsuperscript{30} This may be further evidence to support this hypothesis.

**FURTHER EVIDENCE TO SUPPORT THE CHRONOLOGY OF CONTEXTS 3–5**

The ceramic material has, in some contexts, supported the chronology provided by the numismatic study. Other contexts have been solely dated from ceramic remains. Both Contexts 3 and 4 contained remains of El Mahrine-produced, African Red Slip ware (Figs. 25:1–2) at foundation level in Unit D:3, and on floor level (between the paving slabs) in the south pastophorium. As previously mentioned, this particular shape (Hayes Form 67) was contemporary with several of the coins excavated from Contexts 3–4. The chronology of these contexts thus relies on both numismatic and ceramic material.

A dish fragment of Phocean Red Slip ware (PRS), found in 2010 on top of the floor of Context 3 (Unit D:1), is evidence for continuous activity at the West Church throughout the 5th century (Fig. 25:3). Another Red Slip dish (Fig. 25:4), of the same date, was also found last year on top of the floor level. This dish is identical to late 5th or early 6th century examples from the Tetracoch, just north-west of the West Church. In addition, a few cooking pots were found in the equivalent level on the ramp, south of the parekklesiōn (Units D:1–D:2), which also correlate to examples from the 5th–6th century layers of the Tetracoch (Figs. 25:5–6).

Concerning the addition of the apse to the parekklesiōn, in Phase IIB, there is only one diagnostic pottery find to assist us in dating the structure. A decorated base fragment from a terracotta lamp, with an impressed cross, was found during the excavation of the basin inside the apse (Fig. 26:7). The cross is inscribed into a rouletted base-ring that has parallels in mid-

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\textsuperscript{30} Cf. Blid 2009, 137–139.
At present, this fragment forms the terminus ante quem for the secondary apse of the parekklesia.

A SELECTION OF VARIOUS SMALL FINDS FROM CONTEXTS 3–5

There are three particular finds that will be given additional attention in this preliminary report. They were all found on the eastern exterior of the church, protected in different ways from erosion and agricultural exploitation. The first find is a floor fragment of a dish of PRS with an impressed cross with double outlines (Fig. 26:7). It was found in Unit E:5, close to the apse, 10 cm above the bedrock. This motif is common on PRS, and is usually dated from the late 5th to the first quarter of the 6th century. An interesting detail about this particular fragment is that it has been broken, so only the cross remains undamaged. Considering this unusual break, I suggest that it was used as an amulet; sanctified by the Christian symbol at its centre. The sherd’s slip is unusually worn compared to other examples which have been found at Labraunda, and this may be the result of constant touching and carrying around before it was finally deposited next to the apse wall of the West Church.

The second object to be addressed is a glass lamp that was found close to the cross-stamped PRS sherd (Fig. 27). It too had been protected from erosion by the curved apse wall. The lamp has a bulbous, bowl-shaped character that has, to my knowledge, not previously been found at Labraunda. It is a suspended type that originally had three handles, of which only two now remain. On the other examples of Late An-

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31 Cf. Bailey 1988, cat. nos. Q3207–8; see also a similar Cypriot example in Menzel 1969, fig. 82:12.
32 Cf. Agora XXXII, 248; pl. 68 (No. 1404); Doğer 2007, pl. V:1.
tique glass lamps from the West Church the handles were attached to the rim; but here the handles are attached directly to the body. An unusual aspect of this lamp is the exterior ornamentation. Laurel wreaths and small, apparently randomly distributed temple-like buildings, adorn the lamp from the top of the handles downwards. There is also a partly preserved inscription in Greek, reading ὑπὲρτο, placed between the rim and the handles. At the moment it is not possible to form a more comprehensive reading of this text since the author has not been able to find any close comparisons for this fragmentary inscription.

The lamp’s decoration is unique, at Labraunda, as is the shape: it has no parallel at the site. The chronology of lamps with similar shapes have been studied by Anastasios Antonaras, who has gathered evidence from a number of museums and archaeological contexts, and concluded that this bowl-shaped, suspended lamp type was manufactured between the second half of the 4th century and throughout the 6th.

The final find that will be addressed here is a marble statuette that was excavated a few centimetres above the subterranean drain in Unit C:5, directly outside the monumental gate. The statuette is broken in half and only the lower part is preserved. The depicted figure is a barefoot male who is dressed in a toga. He is leaning left, onto a support, indicating that this may be a miniature representation of a larger original, or that the nature of the support, which is now hard to identify, has certain significance. The statuette was most likely made during the Late Antique period, considering the stylistic similarities with other preserved examples; for instance, the carved biblical figures of the panels that used to cover the doors of S. Ambrogio in Milan.

33 Cf. Karlsson et al. 2011, fig. 45:12.
34 Antonaras 2009, 125f., 479, 539 (no. 68).
35 Salvioni 1990, 129f., 186f. (nos. 2a.28a.1–2)
The statuette’s bare feet may allude to the celestial or spiritually elevated status of the depicted object. Since the statuette was found in connection with the church, a reasonable suggestion is that it depicts a member of the Christian “pantheon”, for example an apostle, perhaps previously exhibited inside the ecclesiastic complex.

THE BYZANTINE CHAPEL (PHASE III), CONTEXT 7
The West Church was replaced in the Middle Ages by a smaller chapel which was built into the nave of the earlier church, marked in red on the plan. When this phase was first uncovered in 2010, we argued that it should be attributed to the Middle Byzantine period. This was based on the cloisonné masonry technique, which is in parts comparable to 13th century monasteries of the nearby Herakleia-under-Latmos region. However, the appearance of the architectural plan is far from the archetypical cross-in-square plan of the later Middle Ages. On the contrary, this chapel has an elongated form, measuring 14.1 × 4.6–5.6 m, which is more in line with its Late Antique predecessors. The plan includes many oblique angles and the apse, which is built inside the Phase IIA apse, has a slightly tilted orientation in comparison to the rest of the chapel (Fig. 21). The Byzantine phase did not incorporate the Late Antique pastophoria.

The walls of the chapel are mainly built from spolia, i.e. reused blocks from the previous church. In the northern wall there are three built-in columns and a marble Doric capital. In front of both the north and south walls are low benches, entirely built of liturgical furniture and other architectural elements belonging to the first church (Fig. 22). The foundations of the southern wall partly extend through the Late Antique floor level (Context 3), but the northern wall clearly stands on top of Context 3. The reinforced foundations on the southern side may have been intended to strengthen the building from the slope in which it was built. On the northern side of the western entrance to the chapel, the two fragments of the Late Antique, altar-base stands are still leaning against the wall (Fig. 23).

The East Church of Labraunda also appears to have had a Byzantine phase but it differs in style from the West Church chapel. A closer architectural parallel was excavated close to Milas, c. 14 km away, during the excavations in 1938 at the ancient, extra-mural sanctuary at Gencik Tepe (Fig. 24:1). This chapel may, tentatively, be dated by the 7th and 8th century coins which were found in graves encircling the chapel.

Also, the Agora Basilica at Iasos has a similar Byzantine phase (Fig. 24:2). It should, however, be noted that the chapel at Labraunda clearly surpassed these structures in terms of size. This is interesting given that Labraunda was not an extensive settlement like Iasos. Instead, the large dimensions of the chapel may indicate, in my view, a centre for spiritual journeys at Labraunda; an important locus within the sacrosanct topography of the region. The scarce ceramic material from Context 7 is still being processed, and a more precise dating suggestion for this building will follow in the final publication.

36 Cf. a regional example of the cross-in-square plan church from Kapıkırı Ada; Peschlow 1996, fig. 102.
35 Cf. Karlsson et al. 2011, fig. 40.
34 Säve-Söderbergh & Hellström 1997, 93 and 105.
CONCLUSION

The excavations of 2011 have confirmed the existence of yet another church at Labraunda. This so-called West Church is situated just north of the Sacred Way, which served as the main route linking Labraunda to the city of Mylasa in antiquity (Fig. 28). The numismatic and ceramic finds imply a construction date, for the initial church phase, during the first quarter of the 5th century (AD 406 at the earliest). A parekklesion was constructed on the south side of the main church using the remains of a Late Classical stoa. A circuit wall also fenced off the church complex, and a monumental gate provided the entrance on the south-eastern side.

It was probably during the 6th century that an addition was made to the parekklesion. An apse was added on the eastern side and a water basin was constructed in the interior; the area in front of the apse was refurbished with a monochrome, white mosaic. The function of this basin is not clear, but given its confined proportions it was probably not used as a baptismal font. Considering the situation within the ecclesiastical complex, a hagiasma or piscina seem like plausible options. Another water installation had already been unearthed inside the apse of Labraunda’s East Church, and it seems that such installations were common features of the churches at the site.

The ceramic finds from the Late Antique contexts are rather limited, but a few diagnostic examples have been unearthed at various locations. Amongst these was a small deposit of Late Antique pottery, found on the outside of the apse of the main church. One fragment bears a stamped cross. This seems to have deliberately been broken to preserve only the motif; perhaps this was intended to be kept as an amulet. A decorated glass lamp was also found here. The lamp has been adorned with decoration of laurel wreaths and small temple-like buildings. On top, towards the rim, there is a supposed votive inscription in Greek.

Fig. 27. Glass lamp from the West Church.
The lower part of a marble statuette was excavated just south of the parekklesion apse. The statuette is a barefoot male figure wearing a toga. The artistic representation is typical for Late Antiquity (4th–6th centuries), and the occurrence of this statuette in the direct connection with the church may imply the depiction of an apostle or another member of the Christian sacred ensemble.

Sometime during the Middle Ages (c. 700–1000 AD), a chapel was built inside the former nave of the Late Antique church. The excavation yielded no architectural fragments that can definitely be associated with this chapel, and the study of the ceramic material is yet to be completed. Despite the few archaeological finds from this context, comparisons to similar chapels at Iasos and Gencik Tepe, close to Milas, have situated the building in the wider architectural context of the region.

The necropolis excavations

(BY O. HENRY)

The 2011 season at the necropolis of Labraunda had four main objectives:

- Firstly, the continuation of the necropolis survey around the sanctuary in order to map burials of the necropolis.
- Secondly, the cleaning and documentation of monumental sarcophagi which had been found during earlier surveys.
- Thirdly, the extension of the Area 5B necropolis excavation, where eleven unplundered tombs from the 5th and 4th centuries BC had been discovered in 2010.
- Fourthly, the cleaning and detailed documentation of the monumental so-called “Built Tomb” located above the Temple Terrace of the sanctuary.

THE SURVEY IN THE NECROPOLIS

The survey conducted around the sanctuary of Labraunda revealed fourteen new tombs, mainly located to the southeast and northeast of the sanctuary (Fig. 29).40 Nine of those tombs belong to the “rock-cut pit” type of tombs, while five belong to the “rock-cut monumental sarcophagus” type. The geographical locations of these burials, sometimes far from the sanctuary, seems to imply the existence of ancient pathways in the forest, leading from Labraunda to other ancient locations. The tradition of placing burials along the roads is a well-known phenomenon and has also been confirmed at Labraunda. The location of the large necropolis, which is some 500 m northeast of the sanctuary, together with tombs T37 to T40 and T50, T51 and T116–T117, all aligned on a north–north-east axis, clearly indicates the existence of an

40 T104 to T117. It also confirmed the disappearance of T32, a free-standing sarcophagus that was mentioned by Paul Åström in the 1950s. This sarcophagus was located immediately north of T31, south of the road passing along the large terrace-wall at the entrance of the sanctuary.
old road leading from Labraunda to Alinda. Short sections of this old road had been already identified in earlier surveys. What is surprising is the presence of a series of rock-cut monumental sarcophagi (T104 to T106) far south of the sanctuary and hidden in the forest (Fig. 30). These tombs, usually favouring ostentatious places close to access roads, seem to indicate the existence of another path towards the south and the wide, natural terraces located down the valley. The remains of rough ashlar blocks and badly preserved walls scattered on some of those terraces seem to point to a tenuous occupation which was probably related to farming activities.
THE CLEANING AND DOCUMENTATION OF ROCK-CUT, MONUMENTAL SARCOPHAGI

In 2011 we proceeded with the cleaning and documentation of eleven rock-cut sarcophagi. Amongst these burials, only six of them still had preserved lids. All of them had been plundered and, in general, only a small amount of material could be retrieved by cleaning the pits. The pottery fragments can be dated to the Hellenistic and Roman periods. The oldest piece seems to be an Early Hellenistic bowl from the 4th century BC, found by Paul Åström in 1950 during the cleaning of T52 (Fig. 31).

Tomb T52 consists of a large pit which had been separated into two levels, the lower one being subdivided into two parallel pits. When this tomb was discovered by Åström, both of the lower pits were partly covered by slabs and the large lid of the top pit was still in situ. The north-western corner

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41 T24, T25, T28, T29, T30, T31, T33, T34, T36, T52, T105. Documentation of T34 could not be fully completed.

42 Labraunda II:1, no. 352.
of the upper lid was broken, probably by looters, providing a small opening into the pits (Fig. 32). Today, this lid stands beside the pit and the intermediate slabs have disappeared (Fig. 33). The cleaning of T52 in 1950 provided some of the few bone remains found in the Labraunda necropolis. The bone fragments were retrieved from the western, lower pit and were particularly interesting. According to the osteologist, Anne Ingvarsson-Sundström of Uppsala University, who examined the bones, they belonged to at least three different skeletons: two adults (one cremated and one unburned) and one large mammal, maybe a horse, which had been cremated. Although the mixture of unburned and cremated bodies in the same tomb has already been observed in the Labraunda necropolis, this is the very first time that a burial practice where a man was buried with his horse has been detected around the sanctuary. The association of a man with a horse, together with the other retrieved material, such as fragments of two iron spear-heads, seem to suggest that T52 once belonged to a “warrior burial”. Unfortunately, it is impossible to clearly date this phase of the tomb, as the bones were scattered inside the pit, due to robbers’ activity.

Another result of the 2011 documentation of the rock-cut sarcophagi at Labraunda confirms the large variety of this type of tombs around the sanctuary. The main characteristics of the tombs are identical, and clearly indicate that the conception of these burials followed a common pattern: a pit, with two levels, carved into a platform that cut off the top of a boulder, and was then covered by a monolithic, gabled lid with side bosses. Nonetheless, the pits and lids present a wide variety in size, shape and detail features (Fig. 34). Some of the pits are deep and narrow (T29), while others have a wide opening associated with shallow cavities (T24). The same diversity can be observed in relation to the depth-differences between the upper and lower pits: far from being regular, the ratio of both depths differs from 0.4 (T24) to 1 (T36). It is worth noticing, nonetheless, that the upper pit is never deeper than the lower one. As for the lids, these vary between regular, angular and symmetrical lids (T24 and T31) and lids showing rough cuttings with no right angles (T25) or dissymmetrical section and plan (T33). It would also seem that the wider the lid is, the thicker it is (T24 and T105), but this rule also has exceptions: T52, which covers two pits, has one of the thinnest lids. In sum, there seem to be no exact rules concerning the shape and cuttings of the rock-cut sarcophagi. One can suppose that, as this type of tomb was produced and used for centuries, there might be a chronological development in terms of shape. We attempted to conduct such a chronological-typological study a few years ago on an architectural basis for the whole region of Karia. At that time, however, we lacked material which would have allowed us to

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43 See Henry & Ingvarsson-Sundström 2011, 177–198, which discusses the presentation of T16, a rock-cut sarcophagus reused for centuries and from which the remains of at least seventeen individual skeletons, both cremated and unburnt, were retrieved.

44 Such practices are well-known in Thrace burial rites: Kouzmanov 2005.

45 For a detailed account of this type of tomb, see Henry 2009, 169–176.
Fig. 34. Comparative drawings of the rock-cut sarcophagi, documented in 2011. By O. Henry.
Fig. 35. Plan of the 2011 Area 5B necropolis excavations. By O. Henry.
date the tombs. After the systematic cleaning of the tombs from the Labraunda necropolis is completed, we hope to have gathered enough dating material in order to produce such a chronological-typological analysis. Nonetheless, one has to keep in mind the margin of error caused by both the long-term reuse and systematic looting of those tombs. Also, as was demonstrated by the 2011 documentation, many tombs lack their lid which would have provided valuable information for a typological approach.

EXTENSION OF THE AREA 5B NECROPOLIS EXCAVATION

In the 2010 season we discovered a new section of the necropolis (Area 5B), located along the road leading to the sanctuary, some 200 m southwest of its entrance. The excavations which were conducted there in 2010 revealed a group of tombs, of the “rock-cut pit” type, most of them untouched, dating from the second half of the 5th century BC. The decision was taken to extend the excavation both northward and southward during the 2011 season.

Although the results were not as rich as those from the 2010 season, seven new tombs were uncovered (T97 to T103) (Fig. 35). Even though all of them seem to have been robbed, as their covering slabs had been removed (T98, T100, T101, T102), many still contained burial material in situ (only T102 was found completely empty among the robbed tombs). T98 is puzzling, as it appears to have been reused in the early 3rd century BC by superimposing a secondary burial on top of the original burial, as evidenced by the silver drachma which was retrieved from the topsoil of the pit (Fig. 36). It seems that the robbers only noticed the secondary burial and did not dig further down, leaving the 4th century BC (original) burial untouched, together with its material (Fig. 37). Among the untouched tombs (T97, T99, T103), T97 did not have any material, while the material from T103 was seriously disturbed by a later canal that cut off its southern edge.

The material retrieved from the Area 5B necropolis excavation during the 2011 season is comparable, in terms of type and date, to the grave goods found in 2010: they seem to be local copies of Attic pottery. The grave goods mainly consist of pairs of pouring/drinking vessels, usually of water jug (pelike, olpe, amphoriskos) and a cup (bolsal, lebes) (Fig. 38). Most of the material seems to belong to the 5th century BC, while the pelike, retrieved from tomb T98, might belong to the 4th century BC.46 The acidity of the soil at Labraunda does not allow for good preservation of the pottery which, in most cases, only has some tiny remains of a very worn black-gloss. Aside from the aforementioned Hellenistic silver drachma, no metallic finds were retrieved. As in 2010, no organic material was preserved.

It seems noteworthy to mention the presence of two large, round pits. The first is located north of T99, while the second is less well-preserved as it has been cut off by T103. Unlike the

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46 Several comparative pieces, showing straight handles whose summit is covered by the neck of the jug, are dated to the 4th century BC, see e.g. CVA: Cracow, Collections de Cracovie, 15, Pl. (067) 13.A; idem, Poland, Collections diverses 24, Pl. (106) 1.21; idem, Wien, Kunsthistorisches Museum 2, 24–25, PIs. (85, 86) 85.1.4; idem, Milano, Collezione H A 2, III.I.6, III.I.7, Pl. (2279) 8.3.

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Fig. 36. Silver drachma from T98.
other bothroi discovered in the northern section of the 2010 excavations, these pits have a flat bottom and, therefore, seem to have been aimed at receiving a large vessel. These pits, or at least the southern one, seem older than some of the burials, as proven by the fact that the southern one antedates T103. It is not possible to clearly define the function (storage or funerary?) of those pits which might even have been dug before the area was dedicated to burial. Besides these two large cuttings, many features related to water have also been discovered. Firstly, one can notice a concentration of shallow, round cupules carved in the southern area of the excavated area. Their round bottoms and modest depths seem to point to a function related to libation or a practice of liquid pouring.

In the northern and southern parts of the excavated area, we discovered two long canals crossing the burial ground (Fig. 39). Both of these canals cut through a part of a burial (T95 in the north, T103 in the south). Both trenches of the canals were filled with large fragments of tiles and pithoi comparable with those found in the excavations of the towers surrounding the sanctuary and dating to the early 3rd century BC.

THE CLEANING AND DOCUMENTATION OF THE MONUMENTAL BUILT TOMB
The monumental Built Tomb is located north of the sanctuary. Dominating the whole site, it is situated some 30 m above the Temple Terrace and offers a panoramic view over the site (Fig. 40). In its actual state the tomb has a 13.5 m long, 7.5 m wide and 5.4 m high podium. The construction is two storeys high. The lower storey is accessible through both a doorway in the southern wall, and a rock-cut staircase.
from the east. From east to west it is composed of: an open courtyard area, an antechamber with two side sarcophagi and a funerary chamber which contains three huge sarcophagi, one along each side of the room (Fig. 41). An impressive, corbelled vault covers both the antechamber and chamber. The second storey is only accessible from a small doorway in the eastern façade wall of the tomb, 3.4 m high above the ground. A superstructure once stood above the second storey. Most of it has disappeared, probably after a major earthquake, and the only evidence of the superstructure consists of the many architectural fragments that can be seen in the slope between the tomb and the Temple Terrace. These architectural fragments are numerous, and are all made from local gneiss—just like the rest of the tomb. Amongst the recognizable pieces there are several blocks belonging to a Doric entablature (architrave, frieze with triglyphs and metopes, cornice), the base of an anta pier and at least two sima blocks.

This tomb has never been fully studied or properly published. It was first mentioned by Le Bas, who published a series of drawings. In 1960 the tomb was partly cleaned but only very few pottery fragments could be retrieved. Among these fragments are black-gloss sherds which indicate a date during the 4th century BC. Such a date seems to fit well with the construction technique of the tomb, with its large, elongated ashlar blocks and its corbelled vault. This type of tomb (a podium sheltering a funerary space, surmounted by a colonnaded structure) is also reminiscent of other monumental tombs from the same period, such as the Mausoleum at Ha-

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48 Le Bas & Reinach 1888, pl. II.9.
likarnassos and the recently discovered Uzun Yuva monumental tomb in Milas. There is no doubt that this tomb belonged to a major character of the Karian aristocracy, maybe even a member of the Hekatomnid family such as Idrieus who was one of the main patrons of the architectural transformation of the sanctuary of Zeus Labraundos in the 4th century BC.\textsuperscript{49}

The importance of this structure for the history of Labraunda, as well as for the general knowledge of 4th century Karian monumental (funerary) architecture motivated the detailed cleaning and documentation which we undertook in 2011.

The main aim of cleaning the tomb was to remove the alluvium that partly covered both storeys, as well as the open-air area. In particular, the north-western corner of the chamber, between the north and the east sarcophagi, was entirely filled with dirt that had probably not been removed in 1960, when the first cleaning was undertaken. Also, the sarcophagi were full of water and dirt from animals sheltering in the tomb. The floor of the top storey was also covered by a 20–30 cm thick layer from which we had hoped to retrieve some more dating material. Unfortunately, the cleaning (Fig. 42) did not provide us with more pottery sherds. Nonetheless, a large, thin slab was found in the north-western corner of the lower chamber. It appears that the dimension and shape of this slab are a perfect fit for the dimensions of the west sarcophagus, and, thus, the slab was probably part of its lid (Fig. 43). The cleaning also allowed discovering many architectural details such as metallic clamps, used to reinforce the very thick foundation/floor slabs in the southern doorway of the podium, and vertical dowels between the lintel and the jambs of the eastern access to the antechamber (Fig. 44).

The documentation of the tomb revealed many architectural details which had previously gone unnoticed. One such detail, for example, was that the southern wall of the podium is slightly leaning inwards, while the top row of blocks of the same wall is leaning outwards (Fig. 45). Such construction techniques were described by Vitruvius in his architectural treatise (3.5.13) and can be noticed in major ancient constructions, such as the Parthenon in Athens.\textsuperscript{50} Although Vitruvius explains the need of these refinements for aesthetic reasons, they would also have reinforced the whole structure,\textsuperscript{51} particularly in our case where the tomb is situated on a steep slope.

Beside the details concerning the architecture and construction technique of the tomb, a surprising discovery was made while documenting the structure. After a careful calculation of the dimensions of the tomb, it appears that the western wall, i.e. the back wall of the chamber, has a thickness of 3.15 m (Fig. 46). Such dimensions cannot be explained by structural requirements, especially considering the thickness of the southern wall which is only 1.22 m even though the wall acts as a retaining wall for the whole building (Fig. 47). An analysis of the top of the tomb also confirms the anomaly of the western section of the tomb. The construction techniques are representative of two very different systems: the roofing of the upper chamber is composed of a series of ten long beams of gneiss, whilst the top of the western wall is made of roughly cut, but very imposing ashlar blocks (Fig. 48).

\textsuperscript{49} Henry 2006.

\textsuperscript{50} Orlandos 1977, fig. 181.

\textsuperscript{51} Hellmann 2002, 189.
Fig. 42. The upper room after cleaning.

Fig. 43. Part of the lid of the western sarcophagus, retrieved during the cleaning of the chamber of the monumental built tomb.
Other projects and measures for safeguarding the site

(by L. Karlsson)

The marble conservation programme was initiated in 2010 by conservator Agnete Freccero and in 2011, through the collaboration with the Department of Conservation of Göteborg University, two conservation students, Erika Andersson and Andreas Bernth, assisted with the cleaning and consolidation of the Ionic column capital and the anta capital from Andron B (Fig. 49), as well as an anta capital from the South Propylon. A conservation plan was conceived which emphasizes the cleaning and conservation of marble blocks of historical or architectural importance, but also those standing in conspicuous places and are visible to visitors walking through the sanctuary.

A programme for stabilizing the south wall of Andron A was initiated in cooperation with the Department of Architectural Preservation of the Middle East Technical University (METU) in Ankara. The head of the department, Professor Güliz Altıöz, and her staff completed a first preparatory study in Labraunda this year. The project will be partly supported by a grant from the Kaplan Foundation, New York. Furthermore, three MA students of Architectural History, Merve Demiröz, Elifnaz Durusoy and Ayşe Bike Baykara from METU, produced a complete plan and elevation of the

Fig. 44. The lintel above the doorway of the antechamber, with vertical dowel cuts on both sides.

Fig. 45. Elevation of the western façade of the podium of the monumental built tomb. By O. Henry.
Fig. 46. Ground plan of the monumental built tomb. By O. Henry & N. Carless Unwin.

Fig. 47. North–south section of the open air area of the monumental, built tomb. By O. Henry & N. Carless Unwin.
Fig. 48. Top plan of the monumental built tomb by U. & O. Joneborg.

Fig. 49a–b. The anta capital of Andron B before and after conservation.
long, southern terrace-wall (cleared in 2003), which marks the southern border of the sanctuary (Fig. 50).

The completion of the excavations at the West Church necessitated the erection of a protective terrace-wall (Fig. 51).

The cut for the creation of the modern road in 1960 destroyed the lower levels of the church area. In order to prevent further landslides, the rocks from the removed eastern terrace-wall were gathered and then used for the erection of a new wall. It was built by our five skilled workmen in one week. A stone staircase was also built from the road up to the southeast gate of the church.
Three new information signs in English and Turkish were placed at last year’s necropolis excavation along the road, in front of the Doric Building and at the South Bath. The site of Labraunda contains now a total of seventeen information signs, placed at various buildings.

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Fig. 52. The reconstruction of the north façade of the South Stoa. By J. Blid.
Appendix: Labraunda during the Imperial Age (Fig. 52)

(by R. Hedlund)

In recent years, we have learned a substantial amount about the developments of Labraunda in Late Antiquity and in the Byzantine period. However, the long time-span between the Hellenistic age and Late Antiquity, of which the Roman Imperial age constitutes a major part, has received less attention. A number of studies which explore different aspects of the sanctuary during the Imperial age have been published, most notably those of Crampa and Gunter. Regrettably, no work specifically focusing on the sanctuary of Labraunda in the Imperial age has been published to date; the exception is the study by Liljenstolpe and von Schmalensee on the important building usually referred to as the “Stoa of Poleites” (the North Stoa) constructed in the age of Trajan. However, a large body of unpublished work exists and therefore, there is a need for synthesis. Such a study would greatly contribute to our knowledge of the relationship between the Roman Imperial authorities and their subjects in the provinces. A more exact grasp of these relations, we would argue, is of key importance for our understanding of the ways in which the Roman Empire developed.

The buildings surrounding the Temple Terrace present the most prominent remains of monuments in Labraunda from the Imperial age. As mentioned above, one of these has been studied in detail by Liljenstolpe & von Schmalensee; the building facing this one, on the south side of the Temple Terrace, has hitherto received less attention. No systematic investigation of this building has been completed, although a number of finds have been examined and allocated to it. Therefore, in this project, we initially focused on this building, which we refer to as the “South Stoa”. The reconstruction of this building is a very difficult task, as architectural blocks found on the Temple Terrace during the original excavations and drawings of these blocks by the architect Sven Lindberg during these excavations suggest that there were two very similar stoas, in addition to the North Stoa, on the Temple Terrace. However, it is extremely uncertain which blocks would have belonged to which of these buildings. Some of the blocks feature the fragmentary remains of a dedicatory inscription to an emperor, possibly Trajan. These were published by Crampa; however, he refrained from suggesting a context for the fragments.

The archaeological context and the architectural blocks which remain suggest that the “South Stoa” is of another, and rather more complex, character than the North Stoa, as the latter was built facing the Temple Terrace on the north side, and the Well-Terrace on the south side. As the Well-Terrace lies below the Temple Terrace, the “South Stoa” would therefore have had two or three storeys facing south and one or two storeys on the north side. Thus, it is a highly unusual building, which, nonetheless, bears certain similarities to buildings known from other cities in Asia Minor and dated to the Roman Imperial age. As for the appearance of the building in detail, the appearance of the architectural blocks safely indicates a dating to the Roman Imperial age. The investigations in 2011 have enabled us to present a very hypothetic reconstruction (Fig. 52).

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52 Cf. Labraunda III:2 and Labraunda II:5.
53 Liljenstolpe & von Schmalensee 1996.
54 Published by Crampa as inscr. no. 24 A–B; cf. Labraunda III:2, 24–26.
55 Examples include the famous library of Celsus in Ephesus and the nymphaeum of Ulpius Trajanus in Miletus; cf. Ward-Perkins 1981, 288–290 and 298–299.
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