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## THIN-WALLED WARE FROM RECENT EXCAVATIONS IN THE EAST BATH COMPLEX AT LABRAUNDA (MILAS, TURKEY)

*The paper presents thin-walled fine wares discovered during recent excavations at Labraunda, focusing on the Knidian-type cups. These small vessels come in various shapes and fabric, posing the question of their origin, which are made in Knidos and which are imitations. The discussion on these cups entails their typological evolution and issues related to possible centers imitating the shape and the means by which they arrived at the site. There are four variants identified according to shape and six types of fabrics. Corroborating with other finds and research in other sites with possible imitations (Cos, Rhodes, Pergamum), we discuss the possibilities of how these cups arrived at Labraunda and why.*

Labraunda – thin-walled carinated cups – Knidian – Bath

### 1. Introduction

The paper presents a particular type of fine ware, the so-called Knidian-type bowls, to which we will continue to refer to as cups, given their morphological features. These drinking vessels are frequent discoveries at the site of Labraunda, and most recently during the excavations in the East Bath complex. The site of Labraunda is situated in ancient Karia, in south-western Asia Minor. During antiquity, Labraunda was on the route of a Sacred Way, a paved road connecting the Karian coast and the highlands of Karia and became a major pilgrimage site (Blid 2012b: 159; Williamson 2014). It shelters since the early antiquity a Sanctuary that became most famous under the dynasty of the Hekatomnids during the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC. The site also experienced a revival at the beginning of the Early Imperial period. The life of the site continued as a major place of worship, due to the presence of the Sanctuary of Zeus Labraundos, until the Late Roman period. The site is relatively isolated, in the southern slope of the Latmos Mountains, the closest urban center being the city of Mylasa, some 15 km southwest of Labraunda.

### 2. Archaeological contexts

The fine thin-walled tableware presented in this paper was discovered during the new excavation and research in the East Bath complex (fig. 1, 1-2) between 2014-2018 (Bost 2015: 355-366; Bost 2016: 424-435; Bost 2017: 245-255) and adjacent areas: in the East Church area and in a trench south the Doric House (Bost 2018: 301-305). The Bath was discovered in 1953, early in the history of research at Labraunda, but never fully investigated (Blid 2012a: 175-177; Blid 2016: 142-149).

The East Bath was built in the context of renewed interest in ancient cults and processions during the time of emperor Claudius in the mid 1<sup>st</sup> century AD (Crampa 1969: 197). An inscription from the time of emperor Hadrian confirms the existence of the East Bath in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD; moreover, this is when it benefits from a reconstruction, as a priest dedicated a new *apodyterium* (Blid 2016: 15).

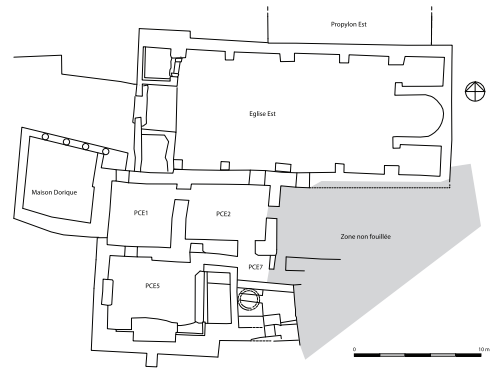
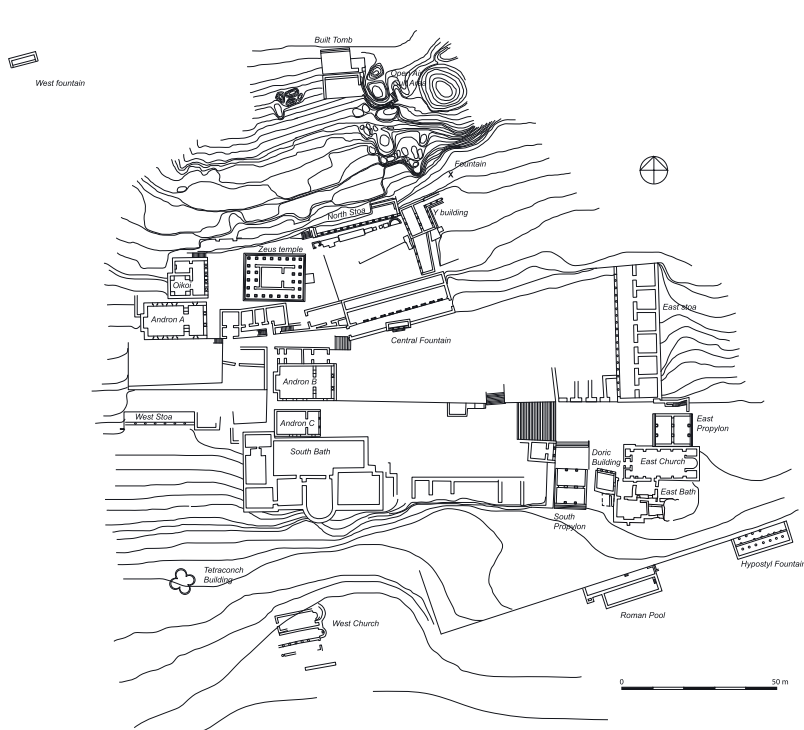
Other sectors at Labraunda with significant finds of Knidian-type sherds are the East Church complex, in the near proximity of the East Bath (Blid 2016: Fig. 192, 1-2), West Church (Blid 2016: fig. 120, 5; ‘Brittle ware’) and in the necropolis in the early imperial tombs (Lungu 2017: 242). Besides the finds made in the West Church (Blid 2016: Fig. 192, 1-2), and in the necropolis area (Lungu 2017: 242), another sector which provided numerous finds was the Water pool (Lungu 2016: 377; Çakmaklı 2017a: 229, 239; Çakmaklı 2017b).

### 3. The two-handled carinated cups from the East Bath

The vessels in this category are thin walled, two-handled cups, used for drinking. Thus far, no entire vessel has been discovered in the East Bath, but numerous finds, whole and in a much better state of conservation have been recovered from the Water Pool sector. All of these vessels share the same defining features: strongly carinated body, straight rim, thin walls, low ring foot and two small and opposing handles, often recurved. However, the small differences can divide them into four groups: a) cups with straight vertical and slightly skewed rim (fig. 2, 1-4); b) cups with a slightly outwards oriented rim (fig. 2, 5-8); c) cups with a vertical rim and convex moulding on upper body (fig. 3, 9-11); d) cups with a beaded rim (fig. 3, 12-13). Among fine ware discoveries,



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Fig. 1. 1. Plan of the site (Henry 2016, Fig. 3); 2. Plan of the East Baths (Lamarre, in Bost 2018: Fig. 6.2.1).

the most frequent finds are fragments from so-called *Knidian-type bowls*, from the transition from Hellenistic to Roman period, previously discovered on site (Hellstrom 1965: 72-73) (fig. 2, 1-8). As noticed from the most recent publication of similar finds from this sector (Çakmaklı 2017b: 269), the vessels can be divided in the same four groups starting from variations of the basic features. Just like this plain cup, some of the vessels from the East Bath, nos. 9-11 are particular as they have a curled upper body and although their general morphology is similar to the Knidian cups, this feature differentiates them as a sub-category. Other cups with the same features were discovered during the excavations in the Andron A (Lungu 2018a: 277).

The fabric of the cups is always fine and thus far, certain groups can be identified: a) light gray fabric (7.5YR 5/1, 5YR 6/3; Gley 1 6/1 and 5/1) with fine mica and fine inclusions (fig. 2, 7; fig. 3, 10-11, 15-16); b) dark gray (Gley 1 3/1 and 2.5/1), with rare mica and very rare white inclusions (fig. 1, 4); c) reddish yellow fabric (7.5YR 7/6, 5YR7/6 and 7/8), with rare mica (fig. 2, 1-3; 6; fig. 3, 13, 17); d) light red fabric (10R 6/6 and 6/8), with very rare white inclusions and barely obvious mica (fig. 2, 5, 8; fig. 3, 9, 14); e) reddish brown fabric (5YR 6/3 light and 5/3 – 5/4), with very fine and hard to notice mica and whitish (lime?) inclusions (fig. 3, 12, 18).

All of the cups are decorated with a colored coating, a dull slip, often in shades of red or brown, only two gray (fig. 2, 4; fig. 3, 15); three preserve a dull dark gray coating on the interior surface (fig. 2, 7-8; fig. 3, 15). The coating is often diluted and dispersed unevenly on the surface of the vessels, most often both the interior and exterior is decorated as such.

If we add to the discussion the similar cups from the Water Pool sector, previously published, we notice that most of them are described as having a micaceous fabric and one vessel has a reddish fabric and the second has a light gray fabric (Çakmaklı 2017b: 268). From the point of view of the coating, most of the cups are also unevenly decorated, while one is plain (Çakmaklı 2017b: 268, Figs. 7-8).

Item no. 6 (fig. 2) from our lot is among the very few a with a fully preserved handle, recurved, also called a *Pi-handle* and made by Knidian potters in the late Hellenistic period and the early Roman age (Doksanaltı 2007; Doksanaltı 2000: 76, Abb.1, nos. 3-4). The items referred to in the latter were discovered in a context from the second half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD (likely 60-80 AD) and are considered local productions with brown coloured fabric and coating. The only other find with one preserved handle is no. 14 (fig. 3), although several fragmented similar handles were found during the excavations.

Items nos. 12-13 (fig. 3) seem to represent 'Palestinian bowls', another widely imitated thin-walled shape in Knidos starting with the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC (Kögler 2014: 159-160, Fig. 3), but consisting of rare finds among the materials from the East Bath; the ones featured in this paper are the only ones identified as such in the Bath. These vessels are also strongly carinated, but the rim is beaded and not skewed. Another similar vessel has been discovered in Labraunda during the excavations in the West Church complex (Karlsson et al. 2011: 49, Fig. 45.5).

Two of the most interesting sherds from the East bath lot are nos. 14 and 17 (fig. 3) because they are both damaged

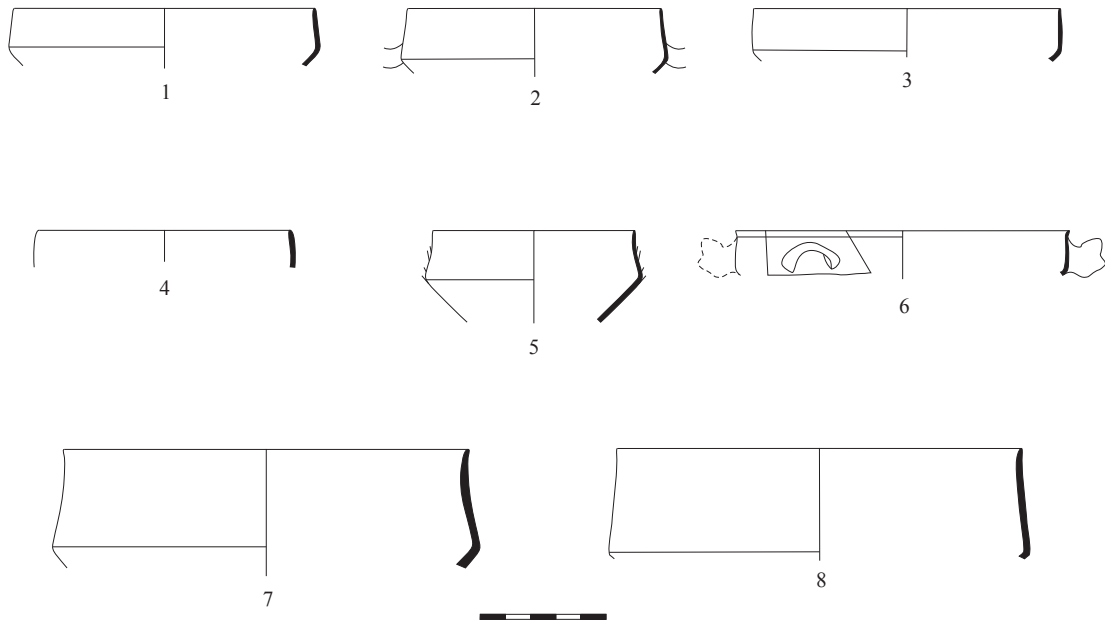
and improper for use. The first fragment, the rim is modelled irregularly towards the interior, while in the case of the second fragment, the base is clearly uneven. No. 14 is made from a light red fabric, with rare mica and white inclusions (fabric d). The second fragment, the base, is made from a light greenish gray fabric and shows fine mica and reddish inclusions (fabric a). Both fragments are deteriorated from exposure to heavy fire and can be considered as rejects. From a stratigraphical point of view, the finds come from filling layers, so no clear chronology can be offered.

Concerning their utility, beginning with the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, Labraunda held festivals and celebrations that involved ritual banquets, resumed during the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD when new interest rose for cult processions (Blid 2012a: 164-165). Moreover, the cups were also discovered in areas not directly affiliated with rituals and processions, like the baths. It is not hard to acknowledge their utility as drinking vessels, especially in a site abundant with water sources and containers, while the numerous finds suggest that they represented the main drinking vessels preferred by the people of Labraunda. Their utility is also clear in a thermal complex and similar finds have been attested in a bath complex in Miletus (Niewöhner 2015: 233, Fig. 77.6).

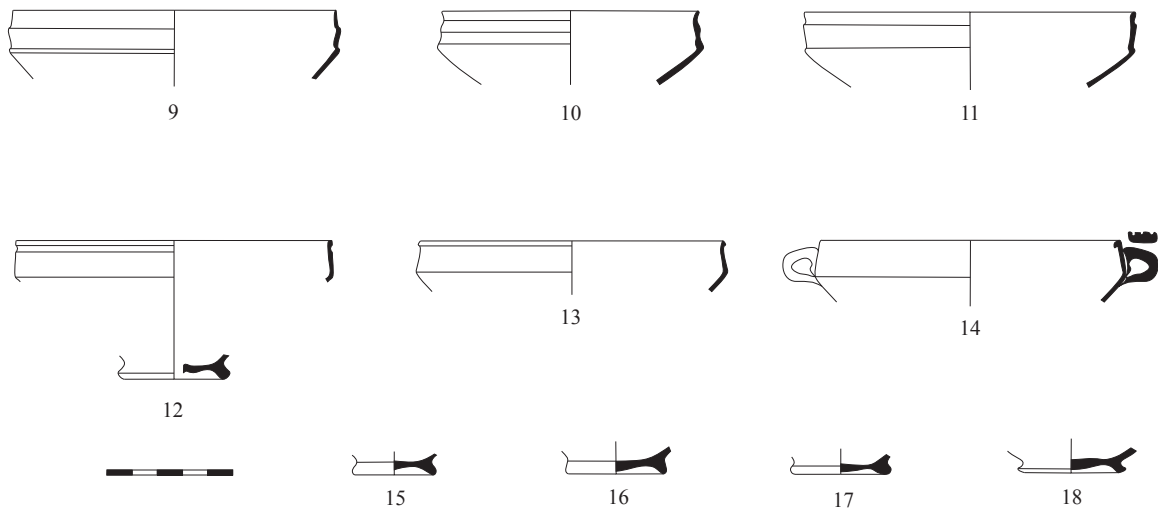
#### 4. State of research

These cups, formerly also featured as Coan cups (correction in Hayes 2008: 63), are considered as an export item in Asia Minor and the Aegean area (Kögler 2005: 53 and footnote 23). As stated in the beginning, the Knidian type cups are among the most frequent finds in late Hellenistic and early Roman layers in Labraunda, although most of the fragments are very small and represent body parts, making a clear typological identification harder. The main question is where were these cups made? Knidos is one possibility, as these two handle cups are the most common shape used for drinking or *the basic dining equipment* between 200-60 BC (Kögler 2014: 158, Fig. 1) until early Roman times, between 25-150 AD (Kögler 2014: 169, Fig. 18), classified as Knidian product Form 1 (Kögler 2010: Abb. A). Kilns have been discovered for making such cups, with reddish yellow to light brown fabric and dull slip from black to reddish brown (Kassab Tezgör 2003:36).

The Knidian two-handled cup has been also imitated by local Greek potters, after imports in Athens grew, but the production and popularity of these vessels spanned for a long time (Rotroff 1997: 119, 234; Hayes 2008: 269 cat. nos. 1618-1619). The original Knidian bowl is part of the 'Knidian Grey ware' derived from the Hellenistic black gloss pottery (Hayes 1997: 70). One two-handled cup thought of as Knidian production and two local imitations were discovered in a late Hellenistic context in Athens, starting with the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC until Roman time (Robinson 1959: 28, type G 51-52; Vogeikoff-Brogan 2000: 305-307, nos. 34-36). The cups featured in the 1959 Athenian Agora publication (Robinson 1959: 28, G51 and G520) are described as having both gray and pinkish buff clay and dull red slip. Knidian type pottery has been discovered in several sites in the Mediterranean, but



**Fig. 2.** Thin-walled ware from the East Bath complex at Labraunda.



**Fig. 3.** Thin-walled ware from the East Bath complex at Labraunda.

scarcely in the Aegean space (Kögler 2005: 57; Kögler 2010: 53-54; Rotroff 1997: 119, 233-234; Betina forthcoming), although similar cups were discovered in a Tiberian context during the excavation at Nemea (Miller 2001: 466, Fig. 194). J. Hayes notices in the case of Athens that in the second half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD the Asia Minor imports, including the two handled cups, spiked by comparison to the Italian, only to be replaced by local products towards the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD, although there are also imports present (Hayes 2000: 292, Fig. 21, nos. 1-3). The vessels later published

by Hayes (2008: 63-64, nos. 936-948), are designated as ‘Knidian gray ware’, characterized by an orange or pinkish fabric and a gray core, fine mica and little lime inclusions. Two other vessels are featured in the same publication (2008: 269, nos. 1618-1619), this time described as fawn-brown ware, with fine mica, brown slip on both surfaces and light orange clay and brown coating on both surfaces. Both vessels are put into the Knidian ware category and dated ca. 100-mid 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD, although for item no. 1618 Hayes suggests the Meander Valley as the location of a possible workshop.



The so-called Knidian type cups have also reached the Black Sea as well in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC, for example, in Panticapaeum there were Pergamenian imports attested, implying the development of a local production for these cups, some with West Slope decoration (Egorova 2016: 518, Fig. 1, nos. 15-16). On the western shore of the Black Sea, these cups reached Histria, as two items were discovered in a burial dated in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC. Both cups are described as having gray fabric at the core and covered with a dark slip (Dumitriu and Alexandrescu 1966: 194-195), probably products of a Knidian potter. Two other very similar cups dated in the 1<sup>st</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> centuries AD were also discovered at this site, this time considered either an imitation of a Pergamenian product or made in a Pontic workshop (Suceveanu 2000: 78). As a brief remark, the type seems to have also penetrated inlands, as there are registered finds in sites and the description does not include them in Pontic products, rather make them more similar to the imitations of Knidian types (Popescu 2013: 88, nos. 605-606).

### 5. Preliminary considerations

From the point of view of their origin, there is already a variety of options, besides the original Knidian producers, as seen above. First of all, because long distance regulated commercial relations, we must take into account the nature of the site, as Labraunda hosted a sanctuary and was a place of pilgrimage, people from all over Karia would have traveled there, including merchants who would have brought their products. As it is possible that the cups arrived along with the amphorae, however, considering the original potters in Knidos and the abundance of their cups, one would expect an abundance of Knidian amphorae as well, but as noticed thus far, these amphorae are rather scarce. If we consider the evidence from the transport vessels, the most numerous being Koan and Rhodian and the recent evidence from excavation in Rhodes, it is possible that the local products from these two centers, imitating the Knidian, could have arrived here with the amphorae. The fact that a Rhodian garrison was stationed at Knidos could also explain the contact between the Rhodians and Knidians and maybe even why Rhodian products were promoted. Even though we cannot establish the way of the influences, starting from this time the carinated cups begin to circulate and appear in other sites.

It has been suggested that a local/regional production developed in the surroundings of Labraunda (Çakmaklı 2017b; Lungu 2018a), but as yet no kilns for such a production have been discovered, nor are there archaeometric analysis on the fabrics to confirm such a hypothesis. Particularly interesting in such an analysis are the cups with convex upper body, as they appear mainly in this region (Lungu 2018a: 277). Furthermore, the two rejects featured in this paper could also be a sign of a local production, as such items are not proper for commerce. So, where do these cups come from? Some of them appear to be Knidian – the gray cups with dark slip, the cups with reddish yellow and light brown, dull reddish brown slip, so they could have arrived here by means of trade or brought by pilgrims. Thus far, other Knidian products discovered in the East Bath are lamps and sherds from rouletted bowls.

The other cups, however, seem to be imitations from yet uncertain centers. Some of the best options so far are Cos, Rhodes and Pergamon, while not excluding the existence of another local/regional center yet to be identified. These are thus far hypotheses, while archaeometry analyses were not yet performed. If we are connecting the cups with the amphorae finds, in relation to trade, most fragments are Coan (Dressel 2-4 dated in the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC-1<sup>st</sup> century AD) and to a lesser extent Rhodian. It is plausible that some of the earlier cups arrived at Labraunda along with the transport vessels. Following the discoveries at Panticapaeum and the implication that Pergamon produced Knidian-type cups starting in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC (Meyer-Schlichtmann 1988: Tafel 43; Egorova 2016: 518), it is not unlikely that some of cups from Labraunda also come from there, considering that there are finds from this center attested on the site. Furthermore, late Hellenistic imported fine wares identified on site originate from workshops in Cos, Rhodes and Pergamon (Lungu 2016: 371). In the case of the transport vessels, for the same period, most of the imports arrive from Cos, Rhodes and Knidos, noting that in the 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC there was a boom in the trade with Rhodes and to a lesser extent with Knidos, based on the finds. It seems that this is a period when Rhodian imports are the most numerous, which can be explained by the Rhodian garrison present in Knidos between 188-167 BC (Lungu 2016: 375-377).

Concerning the chronology, the pottery kilns discovered at Knidos producing two-handled carinated cups date to the 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC (Kassab Tezgör 2003: 42). There are also fragments recovered from surveys that dated the fine ware production until the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD (Kassab and Tuna 1988: 54). Recently, Knidian type cups have been discovered and studied as part of an assemblage from Rhodes (Betina forthcoming). According to the study, the assemblage can be dated in the late 2<sup>nd</sup> century to the late 1<sup>st</sup> century BC, as the later variants show an increased distance between the rim and the carination, even more obvious during Roman time. Furthermore, the cups discovered, as in our case, show a variety of fabrics, from gray to reddish shades, all contemporary and not making this criteria one that can also be used for dating. At Pergamon, similar carinated cups have been dated to the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC-beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD (Meyer-Schlichtmann 1988: Tafel 43, type S2). On other sites in the proximity of Labraunda, at Euromos, very similar bowls were discovered in contexts along with pseudo-Coan amphorae type Dressel 2-4 and at Iassos, dated in the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC-1<sup>st</sup> century AD (Lungu 2018b: 198, fig. 53-54). Two cups with whole profile were discovered in Ephesos, both with recurved handles, so-called Knidian, but as in the case of some of the Athenian finds, they do not belong to the gray ware category, as their fabric is reddish yellow and reddish brown, found in a middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD context (Ladstätter 2005: 301, nos. 348-349). In Corinth, a well dated deposit during the time of emperor Tiberius includes three carinated cups with recurved handles, while the author also mentions that similar finds are rare before the Roman occupation (Slane Wright 1980: 171, Plate 32, nos. 95-97). Similar cups were discovered in another Tiberian context during the excavation at Nemea (Miller 2001: 466, Fig. 194).

According to P. Kögler's study of Knidian pottery, the late Hellenistic cups are rather small and only during the early imperial period they reach larger sizes (Kögler 2010: 283-284; Kögler 2012-2013: 207; Kögler 2014: 159, Fig. 2.). From the Labraunda lot, most of the finds have a diameter between 8 and 12 cm, while the distance between the rim and the carination varies between 1,7 and 2,7 cm. The two larger cups have a diameter of 16 cm and the distances between the rim and carination are 3,7 and 4 cm (fig. 2, 7-8).

Following their characteristics and analogies, the cups from the East Bath complex, as well as in the case of finds from other sectors (Lungu 2018a: 277) span between the late 1<sup>st</sup> century BC and the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD. Items nos. 6-8, 18 are possibly Claudian, corresponding to archaeological layers

connected to the building of the East Bath. The cups nos. 12-13 (fig. 3) can be dated in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD, as corroborated by other finds from the same contexts (forthcoming).

As stated in the beginning, although there are numerous finds of Knidian-type cups, most of the sherds are in a very fragmentary state. Very few come from layers dated to the occupation and a future publication will include these finds together with the other pottery fragments from the same contexts. What seems relevant is that the Knidian-type cups dominated the drinking vessels in Labraunda and even in the case of fragments discovered in filling layers they still attest to a clear preference for this shape. The main issue left to be determined is the true origin of these cups and whether a local/regional production developed in the area.

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