The excavations of the P-building and the R-bath at Labraunda:
Archaeology in the 1950s
based on Inge Dahlén’s three excavation diaries

Görkem Çimen
Abstract

The area which today covers the Doric House, the Roman East Bath and the Byzantine East Church at the Karian sanctuary of Zeus at Labraunda in south-western Turkey, was by Swedish archaeologists called the P-building and the R-bath during the early 1950s. The excavations of this area in 1951 and 1953 were documented in three excavation diaries by archaeologist Inge Dahlén, written in Swedish. These diaries have, however, never been published. This thesis therefore focused to analyse Dahlén’s three excavation diaries in terms of three aspects. The first aspect was to understand the archaeological work and documentation methods at Labraunda during the 1951 and 1953 excavations and consequently, determine how the archaeology functioned in practice at the site in the early 1950s. The second aspect was to present in what ways Dahlén’s diaries could contribute to the current and future excavations at the East Bath at Labraunda. The last aspect was to study Dahlén’s own archaeological interpretations which occurred in the diaries. In order to present all the three aspects, the analysis and discussion on the diaries were organised into four headings: archaeological work, archaeological finds, stratigraphy and documentation methods. Studying the diaries based on these headings showed that certain improvements occurred in the diaries from 1951 to 1953. Dahlén’s excavation diaries reveal a large amount of archaeological data regarding the progress of the excavations and the numerous discoveries from the excavated areas. They need, therefore, to be taken into consideration for a better understanding of both the early and the new excavations that are being conducted at the same area.

Keywords: Labraunda, P-building, Doric House, R-bath, East Bath, East Church, Swedish excavations, Inge Dahlén, excavation diaries, archaeological work, archaeological finds, stratigraphy, documentation methods.
Acknowledgements

Seven years ago, when I moved to Sweden from Izmir, I spoke neither Swedish nor knew that I wanted to be an archaeologist and I hardly recognised anything about Labraunda. My 4 years of studies in Classical Archaeology has, however, ended with this result, a bachelor thesis about a part of the early Swedish excavations at Labraunda.

Firstly, I want to express my gratitude to my supervisor Lars Karlsson for all his encouragement and support as well as for his comments and suggestions on this thesis. I owe particular thanks to Pontus Hellström for making the excavation diaries available to me and for sharing his knowledge of Labraunda. I also thank Olivier Henry, Ayse Belgin-Henry and Christophe Bost for having introduced the diaries to me and for supporting my idea to continue studying them.

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1 Introduction

Labraunda is an ancient sanctuary, dedicated to Zeus Labraundos.\(^1\) The sanctuary is located in the Latmos mountains, approximately 700 m above sea level,\(^2\) in the inland of the ancient geographical region of Karia in what today is south-western Turkey (Fig. 1).\(^3\) The closest ancient city to Labraunda was Mylasa, today’s Milas, which lies 14 km south-west of the sanctuary. The two locations are assumed to have been connected by an ancient paved Sacred Road.\(^4\) The sanctuary has during different periods been excavated since 1948.

\(\text{\footnotesize Fig. 1. Labraunda in south-western Turkey.}\)

\(^1\) Zeus with the double axe, labrys. For a more descriptive information, see Hellström 2007, 35f.
\(^2\) Hellström 2007, 11.
\(^3\) Hellström 2007, 17.
\(^4\) Baran 2011, 51f.
1.1 Aims and questions

The primary aim of this thesis is to present and explain how the work was conducted in the area of the P-building and the R-bath in the south-eastern part of Labraunda during the early Swedish excavations in 1951 and 1953. This is achieved by analysing primarily three unpublished excavation diaries, written in Swedish by archaeologist Inge Dahlén (1920-2000). The presentation of the archaeological data based on these excavation diaries is expressed in the first question of the thesis: How was archaeology practiced at Labraunda in the early 1950s?

Notes and sketches in the three selected excavation diaries and one separate book for the architectural drawings offer a large amount of archaeological data from the excavated area covering the P-building and the R-bath. This area corresponds to what today is the East Bath, and its surroundings, where ongoing projects are still being conducted. The secondary aim of this thesis is, thus, to attempt to provide aid to the current excavations at the East Bath by presenting the contents of Dahlén’s diaries and making their archaeological data available. This aim is expressed in the second question of the thesis: In what ways can Dahlén’s diaries contribute to the current excavations at the East Bath at Labraunda?

Finally, this thesis aims to study Dahlén’s own archaeological interpretations, the changes in his ideas and if his treatment of the excavations changed from the 1951 to the 1953 seasons.

1.1.1 The importance of the excavation diaries

Inge Dahlén’s three excavation diaries from the 1951 and 1953 excavations of the P-building and the R-bath are important to analyse for two reasons. Firstly, the notes include clues and indications for our archaeological understanding of these two excavation seasons. Secondly and more significantly, the diaries present detailed archaeological data which have not been the focus of study, and although Dahlén’s diaries have helped a few scholars in their specific scientific work, the contents have never been extensively published before. The excavation reports of these two seasons were also never published, leaving this part of history very much unknown. This material is, thus, important to consider for the current and future excavations at Labraunda, especially at the East Bath and the Doric House.

1.2 The studied material and the limitations of the thesis

Different parts of the sanctuary were excavated in several campaigns during the early Swedish excavations between 1948 and 1960. These excavations were documented in excavation diaries and with architectural drawings. The source material of this thesis is, however, only limited to the three excavation diaries by Dahlén, one separate book for the architectural drawings and photographs, documented in relation to the excavations of the P-building and the R-bath during the seasons of 1951 and 1953. Excavation diaries concerning Labraunda’s other excavated areas from the same seasons, as well as earlier and later campaigns at Labraunda are not included in this thesis.

The main reason for this selection of the source material is due to my involvement in the new excavations of the East Bath during the seasons of 2015 and 2016. After my first season, I was asked by the project directors, who do not speak the Swedish language, to read the excavation diaries from 1950s concerning the area of the new project.
1.3 Method and source criticism

Qualitative close reading as method of analysis is applied to study the source material in this thesis and through it, it is possible to find clues about which theories, methods and traditions were used during the 1951 and 1953 excavation seasons at the P-building and the R-bath.

In order to present and explain how archaeology was practiced at Labraunda in the early 1950s, which is the primary aim of the thesis, I analyse the source material based on four headings, as follows: “archaeological work”, “archaeological finds”, “stratigraphy” and “documentation methods”. These headings are not terms used in the excavation diaries by Dahlén himself, but my own definitions in order to systematically shape my answers.

The notes in the excavation diaries follow a day-to-day, chronological order but are not written according to any categorisations. For example, notes from a working day may start with a description of newly discovered finds such as marble blocks and continue in the next paragraph describing the excavation in a specific room within the area of the R-bath, followed by a depiction of a newly found coin and end in the next paragraph with a description of the excavation in another room also within the area of the R-bath. At this point, Dahlén’s way of documentation leads me to find my own methods. While I analyse the diaries for instance, I categorise their contents based on the four above-mentioned headings. In order to find connections between different working days concerning a specific excavation area, I combine Dahlén’s descriptions from different days regarding the archaeological work conducted at that trench or room within the excavated area. Studying the connections between working days concerning a specific trench or room within the excavated area in this way enables me to follow the “archaeological work” done in different parts of the excavated area in a chronological order and describe the progress of its excavation. I apply the same method for the other three headings too. I combine the explanations for the finds one after another which enables me to construct a complete picture for the “archaeological finds”. I also collect features of similarities and categorise similar patterns in the notes and thereafter highlight and comment on distinctions. Categorising the similar patterns and distinguishing the differences in this way enable me to discover the archaeological records for the “stratigraphy” and the “documentation methods”.

Concerning the source criticism, there are certain aspects which need to be clarified. Firstly, the excavation diaries are original texts written by the archaeologist himself and can therefore not be compared with other sources concerning their reliability. Source criticism in its traditional meaning is, therefore, not possible to assess in the context of this thesis. Secondly, this difficulty gives me, in fact, also a possibility to perceive the situation from another perspective. My current participation in the fieldwork at the area where the early excavations took place, are my real-life experiences. By combining my own experiences from the current excavations at Labraunda with close reading as a method, I can analyse the data in the diaries critically and my thesis can, therefore, as a whole be considered as source criticism of how the archaeological data was created in the early 1950s. My understanding of the diaries is shaped on a subjective setting. Based on my critical analysis of the source material and my interpretation from my own perspectives, particular archaeological data which are mentioned in the diaries are presented, analysed and discussed in the next chapters.

The source material (diaries, drawings and photographs) are today kept by the former excavation director, Pontus Hellström. They were all scanned to digital format and were made available to me by him. The complete diaries had to be transcribed by me in order to get accustomed to Dahlén’s handwriting and to avoid experiencing technical challenges with the

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5 Archaeological work refers to in this thesis to the excavations conducted at different areas.
scanned digital format as well as to allow for systematic study. After the transcription, a translation to English followed, all citations to the diaries referred to in the thesis are my own translations from Swedish to English.

As a last stage in my thesis, on May 7, 2017, an interview was made in Eskilstuna with Inge Dahlén’s wife, Stina Dahlén who as a cartographer also participated in the excavations of the R-bath in 1953. This thesis which is entirely based on Inge Dahlén’s diaries and my conception of them was on that day almost completed. My visit to Eskilstuna to meet Stina Dahlén together with their son Anders Dahlén became a complementary part for my thesis in the meaning that, during our interview, I learned about Inge Dahlén as an individual and archaeologist. I also had a chance to see his own personal photographs from the expeditions made to Turkey and working photographs from the excavations at Labraunda.

1.4 Theory

There are two levels concerning the theory of this thesis. The first level is the theoretical basis which I apply on the source material. The second level is the theoretical framework which Dahlén’s archaeological thoughts can be placed in, which is also based on my point of view. This second level is explained, analysed and interpreted in the thesis with specific examples, but a deep discussion about where to place Dahlén’s archaeological thoughts will, however, not be made available in this thesis. It is still significant to emphasise the separation of the two levels of the theoretical basis, the first one that I apply to analyse the source material and the second one concerning the placement of Dahlén’s own archaeological theories which formed his way of working and documenting the archaeological data from the excavations.

This thesis is both a presentation and an “archaeological interpretation”6 of the “archaeological data” recorded in Dahlén’s excavation diaries and is, therefore, “subjective” in its nature. What makes it even more subjective is the fact that my participation in the current excavations in the area helps me form my interpretations of the archaeological data in the diaries.

This thesis is placed within the theoretical definition “history of archaeology as archaeology”,7 meaning that it aims at utilising an historical event, such as diaries, to support new perspectives in the work in and around Labraunda. The following concepts do not describe any theoretical perspective as a whole but represent several central aspects which are chosen from particular archaeological theories and approaches. This thesis can therefore be defined as both “the archaeology of archaeology”8 and “the archaeology of the archaeologist”. The first term can be associated with the “History of Archaeology” which amongst other aspects, aims to “study critically how archaeological concepts and understandings have altered over time.”9 This approach is significant to consider while studying the thesis’s source material from the 1950s based on today’s perspective. The second term can be associated with the “individual archaeologist”10 and is also related to the history of archaeology. Since this thesis is based on the excavation diaries written by Inge Dahlén, there is thus only one “individual archaeologist” in focus. Dahlén is considered in the thesis as an “agency” and “individual” who as an archaeologist played a significant role in delivering the archaeological

7 Gustafsson, 2001. Gustafsson separates history of archaeology into two concepts in his PhD thesis: history of archaeology as archaeology and history of archaeology as history.
8 Bahn 2014, 1. This term is used by Bahn as the first part of a chapter name. The entire name of the chapter is The archaeology of archaeology: Pre-modern views of the past, see Bahn 2014.
9 Trigger 2016, 12.
10 Trigger 2016, 16.
data from the excavations thorough his diaries. The analysis of the diaries is based on Dahlén’s way of writing and documenting the excavations which indicates the individual’s active role.\textsuperscript{11}

1.5 A brief description of Labraunda

Previous excavations at Labraunda indicated that the cult began in the middle of the 7th century BC,\textsuperscript{12} together with the speculation that the cult may date to much earlier periods. However, archaeological finds from the excavation season of 2012 at the Split Rock has revealed activity already in the Bronze Age.\textsuperscript{13} The earliest written mention of Labraunda as a sanctuary was by Herodotos (484–425 BC).\textsuperscript{14}

The Karian region was during the 4th century BC ruled by Persian satraps from a local dynasty, beginning with the ruler Hekatomnos (392–377 BC) who was succeeded by his three sons and two daughters, called the Hecatomnids.\textsuperscript{15} Most of the buildings that have survived at Labraunda are dated to the period of the Hecatomnids, especially connected to Maussollos and Idrieus.

The buildings of Labraunda which reside on multiple terraces are here very briefly mentioned (Fig. 2).\textsuperscript{16} The south-eastern area of Labraunda consists of two Propylaia (South and East) functioning as gates by the entrance to the sanctuary, between them the Doric House, probably a fountain house,\textsuperscript{17} the East Bath and the East Church. The next terrace, connected by the Monumental Staircase, includes the South Bath and Andron C. On the terrace above there is Andron B, dedicated by Maussollos and the Well-house. The uppermost terrace is the Temple Terrace consisting of Andron A, dedicated by Idrieus, as well as the North Stoa, the Temple of Zeus and the Oikoi building.

1.6 A brief history of the excavations

Attempts to identify the location of Labraunda is known to have been made by several explorers from the 1820’s and onward.\textsuperscript{18} Every explorer is not explained in this thesis, but two French archaeologists stand out who published material from Labraunda. The first is Philippe Le Bas (1794-1860) who correctly managed to identify the location of Labraunda in 1844 and published the first drawings from the sanctuary without comments in the 1850’s.\textsuperscript{19} The second is Alfred Laumonier (1896-1988), who worked at Labraunda for eight days in 1933, which resulted in him accomplishing an inventory work of the visible ruins as well as drawing a map of the sanctuary. Laumonier’s intention to start excavations at Labraunda did, nevertheless,

\textsuperscript{11} Johnson 2010, 108.
\textsuperscript{12} It was based on the archaeological finds at the excavation of the Temple Terrace, east of the Temple of Zeus, see Hellström 2007, 17, 40.
\textsuperscript{13} Karlsson 2012–2013, 31.
\textsuperscript{14} Hdt 5.119–121; see also Hellström 2007, 35 and 37.
\textsuperscript{16} For an overview presentation of the buildings and structures at and around the sanctuary, see Hellström 2007, 63–154.
\textsuperscript{17} Hellström 2007, 74. See also Labraunda I:2, 6, 8.
\textsuperscript{18} Hellström 2007, 43. For a more complete historical background of the sanctuary’s geographical identification see Hellström 2007, 43–47. Westholm mentions some of the explorers as well, see Labraunda I:2, 6, 8.
\textsuperscript{19} Hellström 2007, 45f.
not occur due to financial issues.\(^{20}\)

The first excavations at Labraunda began in 1948 under the leadership of Axel W. Persson (1888-1951) from Uppsala University. Persson’s purpose to start the Labraunda excavations was to prove connections between Karians and Cretans during the Bronze Age, by hoping to discover inscriptions in the Karian language. Numerous of different parts of the sanctuary were excavated during the seasons of 1948, 1949, 1950, 1951, 1953 and 1960, all under the leadership of Swedish excavation teams.\(^{21}\) Due to the sudden death of Persson shortly before the planned excavation season of 1951, Gösta Säflund (1903-2004) from Stockholm University, was elected to be the new excavation director. The sixth season of the Swedish excavations at Labraunda took place in 1960, under the leadership of Alfred Westholm (1904-1996). The aim of this season was to complete the work at Labraunda by removing excavated soil and arranging marble blocks as well as organizing plans and drawings and preparing a final scientific publication.\(^{22}\)

Nonetheless, in order to continue the study of the architecture of Labraunda for publication intentions, three seasons of measuring and documentation were carried out in 1979, 1983 and 1985. This process led to the new Swedish excavations at Labraunda which began in 1988 under the leadership of Pontus Hellström, from Uppsala University and continued until 1993 as well as during the seasons of 2002 and 2003 when the excavations were re-continued after a eight year break.\(^{23}\)

Since 2002, the excavations at Labraunda have been carried out every summer. Between 2004-2012 the excavations were conducted under the leadership of Lars Karlsson, from Uppsala University. Since 2013 the excavations at Labraunda have been carried out under the leadership of Olivier Henry, from IFEA and ENS. The current team working at Labraunda is an international team from several nationalities participating in various projects held both within and in the surroundings of the sanctuary.

### 1.7 Excavations at the East Bath

The primary area of study in this thesis is what today is the East Bath. It is located at the south-eastern corner of the sanctuary, in-between the East Propylaea in the north and the South Propylaea in the west (Fig. 2). The two Propylaia were excavated in 1949. The Doric House situated adjacent with the East Bath on its north-western corner was excavated mainly in 1951. During the season of 1953, beginning with the earlier season’s remaining work in the Doric House, a large area of what today is called the East Church was excavated together with one room included in the East Bath. This entire area was designated by the archaeologists as R-bath which referred to a Roman bath. In 1960, the East Church, which is adjacent to the north wall of the East Bath, was completely excavated.

No work was conducted afterwards but new research and limited excavations at the East Church took place between 2005-2011, under the supervision of Jesper Blid, from Stockholm.

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\(^{20}\) Hellström 2007, 47.

\(^{21}\) There is a list of the Labraunda expedition members between 1948-1953, recorded by Inge Dahlén. According to his list, the archaeologists who participated in both excavations of 1951 and 1953 are: Gösta Säflund as the Director, Inge Dahlén himself, Eric Berggren and Kristian Jeppesen as archaeologists, Jonas Crampa as philologist and Lars Käll and Sven Lindblom as architects. There are also other scholars in the list who have joined the early Swedish excavations at Labraunda, but only the members from the shore team who have participated in both seasons are specially mentioned here. Other members of the team who have participated in the early excavations are mentioned by Westholm in his Introduction chapter, see Labraunda I:2, 3–4.

\(^{22}\) Hellström 2007, 49–53. See also Labraunda I:2, 2f.

\(^{23}\) Hellström 2007, 55.
University. The East Bath was not excavated after the season of 1953, but in 2014 a new project began there, under the supervision of Christophe Bost, from IFEA and CNRS-IRAMAT. These new excavations started from the same room (the hypocaust) of which a large part was excavated already in 1953. The project has continued in 2015 and 2016, and is expected to continue in the years to come.

1.8 Previous research

There are numerous publications in form of preliminary reports and articles related to the excavations at Labraunda but three of the eleven books which have hitherto been published in the series *Labraunda. Swedish Excavations and Researches*[^24] are considered to be important for this thesis.[^25] The first publication of the series *The Propylaea*, written by Kristian Jeppesen (1955), is a detailed study of the 1949 excavations at the East and South Propylaia, under the supervision of Inge Dahlen. It also contains several architectural drawings. My thesis does not include the excavations of these two propylaia, but cover only the area of the P-building and the R-bath.

[^24]: This series is hereafter called the Labraunda series in the thesis.
[^25]: For a complete Labraunda bibliography between 1948–2010, see Hellström 2011.
The second publication of the Labraunda series, *The Architecture of the Hieron* (1963), written by Alfred Westholm was to be published as a final scientific publication related to the final season at Labraunda in 1960, also conducted by Westholm. The introduction chapter presents both a background for the excavations at Labraunda and a short description regarding the various areas and trenches excavated during the seasons between 1948 and 1960. Westholm explains the articles which were hitherto published and the current situation about the new schedule for the forthcoming publications, as well as the team members who have participated in the work until 1962. As it seems, Westholm’s introduction gives several central facts about the history of the early Swedish excavations at Labraunda and therefore, is significant both in general and for this thesis. The publication initially covers topographical information around the sanctuary and is followed by detailed descriptions of its buildings and architectural remains around and in connection with the Temple of Zeus. The structures as well as the floors and floor levels of the whole sanctuary are presented, based on a continuous numbering system given to walls and rooms. Westholm also presents his own architectural analysis for the sanctuary’s excavated structures and discusses their chronological aspects. The propylaea area, that is in focus of this thesis, is included in his discussion. The book ends with an appendix where Jonas Crampa introduces nine Greek inscriptions from Labraunda, two of them related to the R-bath.  

The most recent book in the Labraunda series *Remains of Late Antiquity*, written by Jesper Blid (2016) is a revised version of his doctoral dissertation *Felicium temporum reparatio, Labraunda in late antiquity (c. 300-600 A.D)* (2012). The book’s three main chapters of totally six covers three buildings from late antiquity in Labraunda: the Tetraconch, the West Church complex and the East Church complex. The focus of his study is to analyse these structures based on archaeological finds and architecture. Blid studies his material based on the earlier excavations between 1948 and 1960, as well as new excavations conducted between 2005 and 2011. The chapter concerning the East Church complex analyses, apart from the church, the Doric House and the East Bath, with references to the excavation seasons of 1951, 1953 and 1960. Finds from these earlier excavations are also studied. This chapter, therefore, contains information on architecture and finds, taken from Dahlén’s diaries of 1951 and 1953. Blid’s dissertation and book refer frequently to the diaries from the early Swedish excavations at Labraunda. However, they are not a study of the actual excavation diaries.

The early Swedish excavations in the south-eastern area of Labraunda, concerning the two Propylaia, the Monumental Staircase, the Doric House, the East Bath and the East Church were documented both textually and with drawings in the excavation diaries. In the preface of Jeppesen’s volume *The Propylaia* it is stated that the second volume of the publication should contain excavation reports from “The Great Stairway” and “The Thermae”. However, this second volume was never published, which means that, apart from the Propylaia, there is no published excavation report from the sanctuary’s other south-eastern areas. Other parts of the sanctuary have had a higher priority when it comes to publication. Dahlén’s excavation diaries of 1951 and 1953 which are the focus of this thesis have also not been published. In fact, there is no study that fully analyses the history of the early Swedish excavations at Labraunda with their excavation diaries. However, excavation diaries with sketches and drawings documented during the seasons of 1951 and 1953 are of great importance to Labraunda. This thesis, based on Inge Dahlén’s three excavation diaries on the P-building and the R-bath, therefore, fills a gap within the archaeological research of Labraunda.

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26 137 Greek inscriptions have hitherto been found during the Labraunda excavations; see Henry *et al.* 2016, 6.
27 *Labraunda* 4.
28 *Labraunda* 1:1 (the first volume of the Labraunda series).
2 Presentation of the source material

This chapter contains a presentation of the source material that this thesis is based on, namely the three excavation diaries, written by Inge Dahlén. In order to avoid any complications and give an immediate reference for the reader when needed, it is necessary to clarify and describe the names of the structures that were used in the diaries.

The 1950’s designation of the P-building equals what today is called the Doric House.

The 1950’s designation of the R-bath equals what today covers the East Bath and the East Church at Labraunda.

Fig. 3. Plan of the south-eastern corner of the sanctuary.
2.1 Building names used during the 1951 and 1953 seasons

All areas and buildings in Labraunda have clear names and definitions. These areas and buildings were, however, given different names during the early Swedish excavations. The names were given based on an alphabetical order by the Swedish archaeologists when they started the excavations in the late 1940’s. This is also the case for the two excavation years that are the focus of this thesis. In an effort to simplify the understanding of the area during the 1951 and 1953 excavation seasons, follows here a short explanation of the names and definitions used in this thesis.

The 1951 excavation diary focuses on the work in and around an area primarily called the P-building. In the 1953 diary, however, the same location is also referred to as the Area P, P-bath and Doric Building. The P derives from the given alphabetical name. Today this area is simply called the Doric House (Fig. 3), but to be true to the diaries the designation P-building is used in this thesis.

The area that today is called the East Bath at Labraunda is named R-bath in the 1953 excavation diaries. The fieldwork of the R-bath during that season covered not only the excavations of today’s Roman East Bath, but also the Hecatomnid Doric House and the Byzantine East Church (Fig. 3).

2.2 Three excavation diaries

The descriptions written on the first pages of the excavation diaries have in this thesis been taken as their titles. According to this, their names are as follows:

The diary concerning the excavation season of 1951 in the P-building is named The Swedish Karian Expedition, Diary for area P = the doric building, east of the K-propylaea, the summer of 1951 (Fig. 4). It has 113 written pages.

The excavation season of 1953 was documented in two excavation diaries and one separate book for the drawings. The first diary is named Diary, Labraunda, The Propylaea terrace, 1953 and is in this thesis referred to as Dahlén 1953:I. It has 192 written pages with 21 lines per page. The second diary is named Diary II, The Propylaea terrace from 10th August 1953 and is here referred to as Dahlén 1953:II. It has 72 written pages and has the same size as the first diary. Parallel to writing the diaries, the plan and elevation drawings were collected in a separate book, named Dahlén 1953, Stones from R. Most of the drawings are signed by Stina Eriksson (later Dahlén).

2.3 Who was Inge Dahlén?

Due to this thesis is shaped on excavation diaries written by one individual archaeologist, a brief personal background is necessary of their author.

Inge Dahlén was born in 1920 in Gothenburg, but moved as a 4 year old to Eskilstuna, 113 km northwest of the capital Stockholm. He studied Greek, Latin and Classical Archaeology at Uppsala University where he had Axel W. Persson as his teacher. Dahlén was involved in the excavations at Labraunda during the second season in 1949 and participated in

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29 The original name in Swedish is Svenska Karien Expeditionen, Dagbok för område P = doriska byggnaden, öster om K-propyléerna, sommaren 1951. K-propylaea is the South Propylaea.
30 The original name in Swedish is Dagbok, Labranda, Propyleterrassen, 1953.
31 The original name in Swedish is Dagbok II, Propyleterrassen från den 10 aug 1953.
32 The original name in Swedish is Dahlén 1953, Stenar från R.
four campaigns, the final one in 1953. During his participation in the fieldwork, he worked as a supervisor in different sections of the excavations at the Sanctuary. He spoke some Turkish which enabled him to communicate with the local workers during the excavations. Dahlén published an article in 1955 *Fragments of a Kline from Labraunda.*\(^{33}\) Until his retirement, he worked as a teacher (lector) of Greek and Latin in Eskilstuna.\(^{34}\)

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\(^{33}\) Dahlén 1955.

\(^{34}\) This part of the chapter is written based on my interview with Stina Dahlén on May 7, 2017.
3 Analysis of the excavation seasons of 1951 and 1953

In order to contextualize the 1953 excavations of the R-bath, this chapter begins with introducing the earlier excavation season, 1951, when the P-building was excavated (3.1). This archaeological background is necessary for several reasons. Firstly, it is difficult to totally separate the P-building and the R-bath, specifically its hypocaust, from each other and the architectural relation between these two structures should therefore be considered. Secondly, the excavations in the following season in 1953 started with the final work on P-building and continued eastwards, towards the R-bath. Thirdly, studying the material and presenting the work from the 1951 excavation of the P-building based on the relevant excavation diary, enables us to expand our understanding of the 1953 R-bath excavations.

The rest of the chapter is divided into two parts based on the four headings mentioned earlier. The first part (3.2) is a presentation of the “archaeological work”, referred to the excavations conducted at different parts within the excavated area during the 1953 season. The second part (3.3, 3.4, 3.5) is focused on the methods practiced during the 1953 excavations. As mentioned earlier in part 1.3, all the analysis is done by me concerning the archaeological methods, based on the way the archaeological data was recorded in Dahlén’s excavation diaries.

3.1 P-building in 1951: Archaeological work, archaeological finds, stratigraphy and documentation methods

Some photographs show what the P-building looked like before the excavation season of 1951. As this example (Fig. 6) indicates, not much of the P-building was visible before the excavations and except from its west wall, the structure was totally covered with soil.

The excavation of the P-building in 1951 started on July 9 and ended on July 30. The excavation diary begins with commenting on what then was uncovered of the building and that is, its west side, north-western and south-western corners.

The stylobate of the north wall of the P-building is one of the main aspects that is being documented in the diary and the progress of its excavation can be followed in Dahlén’s notes. It is noted to appear in the afternoon of the excavation’s first day when four additional workers join. During the next day, the direction of the stylobate is identified as being

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35 The architectural development of the P-building is outside the framework of this thesis and is not discussed thoroughly. However, this structure is related to the bath and their connection must be briefly explained for a better understanding. The east wall of the P-building (Doric House) constitutes the west wall of the hypocaust (of the East Bath). The original foundation of the P-building belonging to an earlier period, along by the east of the west wall in the hypocaust, indicates that the eastern part of the Hecatomnid P-building was destroyed in order to build the hypocaust of the bath during the Roman period. This archaeological data is documented and also published in relation to both early and new excavations. See Labraunda I:2, 58, 77–78, 98–99, 113; Labraunda 4, 133, 137.
36 Dahlén 1951, 3.
37 Dahlén 1951, 6.
WNW–ESE orientated. The whole stylobate (*Fig. 7*) is uncovered on that day and it is recorded to have had three columns between two antae. The middle block in the stylobate has been noted as being displaced toward the building, which is also visible in the photographs, and the whole north-eastern part of the building is recorded to have been sunk. Dahlén marks, however, that it could still not be determined if the divergent orientation could also possibly depend on the sinking of the foundation. It is noted on the following working day, that the entire length of the stylobate was cleaned and photographed. A lot of preserved bronze cramps are identified both at the topmost course of the foundation and at the stylobate. Four column drums with and without cutting for the beam ends are also recorded to be found overthrown immediately in front of the building. They receive P-block numbers from 22 to 25 and are being placed on the stylobate.

*Fig. 6* (above). *P*-building before the excavations, seen from NNW.

*Fig. 7* (below). Stylobate of the *P*-building, seen from ENE.

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38 Dahlén 1951, 7.
39 Dahlén 1951, 9f.
40 Dahlén 1951, 11.
41 Dahlén 1951, 30.
42 Dahlén 1951, 13. They are partly visible in *Fig. 8*. 
Another main subject that is being documented in the diary is the floor of the P-building. Its continuous recorded archaeological work can be presented as follows: Multiple layers of flooring are identified (Fig. 8). The topmost is a floor level of small brick pieces in cement, particularly well-preserved in the south-eastern corner where the brick pieces with an average length of about 7 cm are located in quite well-arranged rows.\(^{43}\) This description is followed by a simple sketch in the diary, showing the floor of the south-eastern corner with the brick pieces in situ. Approximately 7 cm below the brick and the pink mortar, there is an older floor, consisting of a marble mosaic of simple type in similar mortar. The marble tesserae are about 3 cm large. Below the mortar there is a layer of elongated stones. Thereunder there is mortar again and in many places, there is a void below.\(^{44}\) The above-mentioned marble mosaic is temporarily exposed only in the south-western quarter of the floor but can be traced in several places. In the middle of the floor, there is a marble block, which has a very strong white plaster.\(^{45}\) This marble block is questioned by Dahlén as being re-used. This rests on a block which also runs across the building in an east-west direction.\(^{46}\)

![Fig. 8. The north-western corner of the P-building, seen from SE.](image)

\(^{43}\) Dahlén 1951, 39.
\(^{44}\) Dahlén 1951, 39f.
\(^{45}\) Dahlén 1951, 41f.
\(^{46}\) Dahlén 1951, 42.
As the descriptions show, the stratigraphical description of the floor with the layers of brick pieces and marble mosaic is textually well-documented. As it is noted in the diary, the floor level is also photographed. These photographs are, however, not referred to in the diary with specific numbers.

According to the documented records in the diary, in total six inscriptions in and around the P-building are found in 1951. The letters of the inscriptions are always noted in Greek and are not translated to Swedish by Dahlén. The measurements of the inscribed blocks and lengths of the inscriptions with the heights of the letters are thoroughly recorded. One of them is explained and analysed as follows: This is the second documented inscription, P 12.\(^{47}\) Its find-spot is both clearly described in the notes and easily understandable due to its placement on the sketch showing the plan of the P-building. This is an architrave block of marble and is found 1.5 m north of the building, slightly west of its centreline. This block consists of six Greek letters: Ο Μ Ν Ω Μ Υ. At the end of the page in the diary, the dedication of the P-building has been chosen by setting the Hecatomnids in order as: Maussollos, Idrieus, Pixodaros (with a question mark). Maussollos and Pixodaros have, however, been crossed out and Idrieus has been chosen, but the motive is not given in the notes.\(^{48}\)

Some details about the documentation methods and documentation of the archaeological finds are mentioned below:

Marble. The documented archaeological finds in the diary consist almost only of architectural elements of marble and is specifically focused on the marble blocks. They are found in the area during the excavations of the building and documented with detailed descriptions. Except for only a few blocks, the descriptions of the architectural elements are, however, in most cases not accompanied by sketches or drawings in the diary. Each described block receives a number, for instance P1, P2, P3 etc. In total 82 marble blocks are documented, 81 with given block numbers and one unnumbered relief slab. Besides the descriptions of the features for the architectural elements, their locations are clearly identified textually in the diaries and 29 out of 82 are even shown on a sketch for the find-spots. A developed version of this sketch signed by Dahlén is published in The Propylaea.\(^{49}\)

Small finds. The number of the documented small finds are limited, especially in comparison to marble. This limited amount of the small finds represents in most cases pottery sherds which are documented with textual descriptions and are mostly complemented with sketches but do not receive any find number.

Coins. In total five bronze coins are documented. The finds-spots in relation to the distance of the visible structures or blocks are explained. At which height the coins are found is also indicated, referring to, such as surface, the stylobate level, above the floor and above the pavement. For example, “6 m NE of the Byzantine tower at the ground level”\(^{50}\) or “found by P 52, 30 cm under the stylobate level”\(^{51}\). Only two coins are recorded with their exact diameter measurements and thicknesses. Depictions on both reverse and obverse are described in detail, but without any related sketches, except for one. The visible letters are mentioned. Numbers referred to photographs are, however, not noted.

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\(^{47}\) Dahlén 1951, 20.
\(^{48}\) It is the inscription (I.Lab 20), which suggests that the P-building is dated to Idrieus ruling years. See Labraunda III:2, 17f.
\(^{49}\) Labraunda I:1, 53 (Pl. 1).
\(^{50}\) Dahlén 1951, 53.
\(^{51}\) Dahlén 1951, 69.
3.2 R-bath in 1953: Archaeological work

The excavation of the R-bath in 1953 started on July 10 and ended on August 15. Nothing was written in the first diary during the first week, but from July 17 and forward, until the end of the fieldwork, every single day have been recorded in the diaries. Dahlén starts the first diary with giving a short report for what had been done during his absence in the first week and writes about the continued work that he was involved in with the trenches of the sewer. After the excavation ended on August 15, until and including August 19, different kinds of preparatory work to close the season took place such as unravelling the railroad, carrying the wagons and ceramics to the store room, documenting finds and measuring the bath.

Dahlén documents finds one after the other that originate from different sections of the R-bath. This suggests that the excavation occurs in several rooms or trenches within the excavated area at the same time, such as in Rooms IV and V, the tepidarium and the apse. A selection of the archaeological work and finds from the excavated area is presented below.

3.2.1 Labraunda’s “Cloaca Maxima”

The excavation in the area of the R-bath began with the cleaning of the opening of the sewage system as stated on the first page of the first diary, as an underground sewer was found during the 1951 season. It is situated north of the four-stepped staircase, located north of the South Propylaea. On the same page the bath is mentioned with the term “the Roman bath” when Dahlén describes how the direction of the underground drain-pipe follows its route. Five trenches were dug during the following days along the sewer way, beginning with the first trench from the north of the four-stepped staircase continuing to the second trench at the south of the staircase, towards the P-building and ending 7-9 meters from the presumable outlet of the sewage at the south terrace wall. The first 18 pages of the first diary are related to how the work at the sewage system was being carried out, with drawings of the discovered small finds. However, among the sketches and drawings from 1953, there are no plan drawings for the area of the sewer trenches. The diary descriptions and photographs, taken inside and above the excavated sewer trenches, are documented and therefore, would be the only help to trace the sewer even though the lack of the plan drawings. It is still difficult to exactly locate the trenches, especially because the excavated trenches were back-filled and nothing of the sewer system is visible today.

3.2.2 P-building

The excavations moved from the sewer trenches to the P-building where the previous excavation season had taken place. The structure is this time mentioned in the first diary as both “the Doric P-bath” and “P-building”. The bedrock at the P-building was reached already at the beginning of the excavation, on July 22. The P-building's foundation at the north-eastern corner had been followed down to the “sterile” ground which is identified by Dahlén as bad bedrock.\(^52\) An elevation of the north wall of the “P-bath” has been documented both in the diary, by a rather quickly drawn sketch, and in the drawing book as a more detailed drawing with the title “the P-bath. Foundation”. Both drawings show that the foundation included eight courses.\(^53\) It is also clearly noted that “the foundation was solid as in all Hecatomnid buildings and that all the blocks were in place”.\(^54\)

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54 Dahlén 1953:I, 33.
3.2.3 The apse

On July 23, the work at the east side of the P-building was recorded to be halted. The focus of the excavation was shifted to the R-bath (Fig. 9) with the search for its south-eastern corner. Records from July 31 have notable information for the work in the R-bath. It is observed during the cleaning that the marble floor, by the most eastern part in the R, which is the east of the nave of the today’s East Church, had sunk down in the middle. The usage of the word apse appears for the first time to describe the spot of the marble block which is in situ by the north half of the middle apse and which, depending on the rough-cutting of the north part, is interpreted as an underlay for something round like a spiral column. The sunken marble floor in the eastern part of the R-bath is mentioned more specifically on August 4, as follows: “the floor has sunk 21.5 cm in the middle, compared with the outer edges. However, the entire southern part has sunk more”.

![Fig. 9. Plan of the R-bath area.](image)

3.2.4 The tepidarium and its tiles, water pipes and suspensurae

On July 31, the work started in the room east of the P-building which was identified as a tepidarium (Room IX in Fig. 9 and Fig. 10). The door at the south wall in the tepidarium, which connects with the southern room, was discovered on August 9. The documentation of the room shows that a quarter of the tepidarium, the whole south-eastern part, was left unexcavated.

55 Dahlén 1953: I, 93.
56 Dahlén 1953: I, 123.
57 This room is today called hypocaust.
58 Where a caldarium was excavated during the seasons of 2014, 2015 and 2016.
Various materials, discovered mostly around the south door and the north wall of the tepidarium, are described and documented in the diaries. For instance, three pilae tiles were found by the north wall of the room, but they were described as “‘column’ of round tiles with mortar at 86 cm depth below the room’s threshold” and “two-three tiles high and rests on stone floor”. A similar tile with rabbet and hole was found at the same depth and several more pieces, around ten or so, were later found. The hole was thought to fit quite well to tegulae mammtatae, but Dahlén himself questioned how to combine them. A square tile with approximately 2 cm mortar was apparently also found, without more information given. The sketch of this tile with a hole is probably afterwards, labelled as P.S. Tubulus. Dahlén described and documented three additional bricks that also received the P.S. note Tubuli. It is also mentioned that, without giving the exact amount, tubuli were found in the middle of the eastern part which is equal to the apse of the church. The measurements of six different kinds of tiles found in the tepidarium are documented on August 5. There is no information about how many tiles of each size are discovered, but tiles of 28,5 x 27,5 x 3 cm are mentioned to be “many”. Three fragments of a small water pipe, named A, B, C, are found at floor heating level in the tepidarium on August 6. Next day, without any complete description of length, some 15 fragments of 12 different, narrow ceramic pipes, of which few could be matched together, were recorded. They were found mostly by the north wall between what by Dahlén was called “our entrance” and the “hot air opening”, slightly above the floor, below the suspensurae. Some notes about the suspensura in the tepidarium are also recorded on the same day, by not being especially regular and the first three southwards at the north-eastern corner consisting of eight round-tiles with 2.7 cm mortar in between. These suspensurae descriptions, together with a few more comments about the east door, are documented by photographs. These photographs show the details of the suspensurae, consisting of eight round-tiles with mortar in between, by the north-eastern part of the tepidarium.

Fig. 10. Plan of the tepidarium showing the pilae tiles and the unexcavated south-eastern part.

59 Dahlén 1953:I, 93.
60 Dahlén 1953:I, 94.
61 Dahlén 1953:I, 95f.
63 Dahlén 1953:I, 125.
65 Dahlén 1953:I, 150, 152.
3.3 R-bath in 1953: Documentation of the archaeological finds

The finds that Dahlén chose to document in both diaries are most often well-documented with measurements and drawings. The first diary ends with a list of small finds, discovered in the R-bath area during the time that the diary was written. This list includes the find number, related diary page, definition and a check mark for the objects which have been photographed. The second diary begins with a continued list for small finds and ends with another six-page long list for finds such as bricks, tiles and some architectural elements, found in the area during the whole season.

Marble. Marble fragments such as marble mouldings and marble blocks are described on left-hand pages and drawn on the right-hand pages, their measurements are mentioned in both cases (Fig. 11). A new number beginning with a capital R is given to every newly found marble. First sentence in the first diary explains this numbering system: “This year’s R-block begins with number R100”.

Small finds. Documented small finds receive consecutive numbers such as “Small finds R 1, Small finds R 2” etc. They consist of pottery sherds, coins, iron and bronze artefacts. The sherds are described on the left-hand pages in detail with their colour both for pottery and slip, form, motifs, pottery quality and measurements. The room where they are found is usually written out, but the exact find-spot is not always obvious. On the right-hand pages, next to the written descriptions, the sherds are depicted with the motifs and again with the measurements. In some cases, the photograph numbers are added.

Coins. Coins are documented by detailed descriptions and sketches in the diaries. These sketches show the depictions on both sides, obverse and reverse. The exact measurements of the thickness and diameter of the coins are also noted. Most of the coins are even documented by photographs as stated in the diaries. Dahlén attempts to date the coins already in his notes and sketches. In total 23 bronze coins are recorded from the excavated area in 1953.

*Fig. 11. Example of a diary page containing field notes to the left and drawings with measurements on the right.*

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66 Dahlén 1953:1, 2. R-block refers to all blocks found in relation to the excavations of the R-bath.
3.4 R-bath in 1953: Stratigraphy

There are 17 elevation drawings in the separate book for the architectural drawings, on which the stratigraphical records, mainly for the walls, are available. Yet, there is another perspective for the archaeological data regarding the soil stratigraphy.

Dahlén generally describes the soil with its type, colour, quality and depth, but often without producing sketches to show the relevant data for the soil stratigraphy. An example of this is a description, clearly and completely recorded in the diary for the first time on August 3, three weeks after the excavation started. In the south-eastern part of the R-bath, more specifically 2 m from the east and 2.5 m from the south wall, where the horizontal soil layers are 230 cm thick, the soil is divided into four levels after its content and colour (0-41 cm tile and mortar, white; 41-80 cm soil with tile, dark-gray; 80-150 cm soil with pebbles, lighter gray; 150-230 cm soil with few stones). This description is, however, only textual and is not combined with a sketch or drawing.

3.5 R-bath in 1953: Documentation methods

The method for the archaeological documentation in the both diaries from 1953 is that the left-hand pages consist of text which describes the daily work, whereas most of the right-hand pages have related drawings of the finds and architectural elements, but are in some cases left blank.

The emphasis in the diaries appears to be on documentation of the small finds and architectural elements. There are several dates which do not include any description of the work that has been done during that specific day, but simply contain records of the finds. It is however, possible to reconstruct the location of the archaeological work due to the descriptions of the find-spots. Among the drawings in the separate book, there is no complete plan documenting the find-spots of the discovered elements within the excavated area. Find-spots for some blocks are, however, shown in a few detailed drawings of certain rooms in the R-bath.

The first sketch showing the R-gate and Rooms I, II, III is drawn on July 26, where find-spots of three newly found objects also are shown. This sketch is referred to on the following pages as well. A more detailed plan in 1:50 scale that is showing the R-gate and Rooms I, II, III, IV and V is available in the separate drawing book, also dated July 26 (Fig. 12). This plan is furthermore used to give coordinates for the finds such as pottery, coins and marble. On the left side of the page, upper case letters are vertically placed in alphabetical order between A–Å, and on the top of the page lower case letters are horizontally written between a-t. The coordinates are created by combining one upper case and one lower case letter which is the meeting point of the two letters and it shows the exact locations of the newly discovered finds. For example, “A bronze coin was found at T e”.

3.6 Transportation of the soil

In both seasons of 1951 and 1953, a railway (see Fig. 6) was built and used to transport soil

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67 Dahlén 1953:1, 119.
68 Later to be identified as the entrance of the East Church, with the coordinates I M d; see Fig. 12. The blocks with the received numbers P 52 and P-55 establish the doorway of what today is the East Church.
69 “Å” is the 27th letter of the Swedish alphabet.
70 Dahlén 1953:1, 53.
from the excavated areas. The construction of the railway, extensions of the rails, repairs of the tracks and changes in its path appear in Dahlén’s notes which show that this railway was used regularly during the daily work. The railway transported soil with a few dump trucks to the excavation dump which was located south of the southern terrace wall next to the road.

Fig. 12. Plan of the excavated rooms in the R-bath in 1953, showing what today is the west part of the East Church (Room I, vestibule of the East Church).

71 As I was informed by Stina Dahlén, Inge Dahlén was to a large extent involved in all aspects of the construction of this railway for the transportation of the soil.
4 Discussion

My approach to explain the contents of the diaries, grouped under four headings, naturally shapes a new question: How much of the aspect of Dahlén’s own archaeological thoughts and interpretation occur when writing his diaries? In this chapter a limited selection of the analysis from the previous chapter is discussed which also forms certain new perspectives around this question.

4.1 Dahlén’s documentation methods

Dahlén’s method of documentation shows obvious differences between the diary of the P-building in 1951 and the two diaries of the R-bath in 1953. The apparent change is firstly based on the amount of the documented small finds. The diaries of 1953 consist both of a much larger group of documented small finds and with various sorts such as, apart from pottery sherds and coins, artefacts of bronze and iron. However, it is unknown how much of the discovered finds are documented in the diaries. This leaves the question unanswered about determining how representative are the documented finds. On the other hand, the fact that the small finds receive numbers, which do not appear in 1951, strongly indicates that Dahlén follows a more systematic documentation method in 1953. The second change concerns the way that archaeological finds are recorded in the diaries. The emphasis on describing the marble blocks one after another in 1951 transfers into another way of documenting the excavations in 1953. Descriptions of the finds are not anymore concentrated only on the marble but descriptive documentation of other types of finds are also included and complemented with an increasing number of sketches and drawings. This is furthermore accompanied by more archaeological data, where Dahlén explains more thoroughly about the actual excavations in different sections. This explanation enables me to place the 1953 excavation in a context even though some parts of the excavations recorded in the diaries are complicated and therefore difficult to understand.

As this thesis has determined, the documentation methods in the 1953 excavation diaries are much more thorough, the question remains what made Dahlén improve his methods for documenting the excavations. It is not easy to answer this question. However, it should be mentioned that one simple explanation which in any case needs to be taken as a consideration could have been the question of time. The 1953 excavation of the R-bath takes place in five weeks in a much larger area compared with the three weeks long 1951 excavation of the P-building.

4.2 An attempt to build chronologies

Regarding the chronological discussion, the diaries include certain aspects which show that Dahlén had an attempt to build both clear and simple chronologies. One aspect is the documentation of the coins found in the excavations. One of the documented bronze coins
from 1951 is dated to the 1st century BC.\textsuperscript{72} In the diaries from 1953, amongst other documented coins, six bronze coins are described with dating suggestions, of which three\textsuperscript{73} are determined to possibly be from the reign of Justinian (AD 527–565), one\textsuperscript{74} identified as depicting an emperor which is specifically mentioned as “Galerius Valerius Maximianus AD 293–305” and two more\textsuperscript{75} also dated to the period of emperor Maximianus (AD 286–305).

The other aspect of Dahlén’s work with chronologies is the way he separates the structures based on their building phases. Several structures, walls and floor layers are distinguished from the original levels and are identified as “later” or “secondary”. For example, during the excavation of 1951, on July 19, after removing large amounts of soil north of the P-building, another gate by the P 52 + 55 gate\textsuperscript{76} is noted to be identified, oriented in east-west direction. It is defined to be “more simple and maybe later”.\textsuperscript{77} Another example is that during the excavations of the R-bath in 1953, the area of Room IV is thought to be a “room” most probably based on the remains of walls, believed by Dahlén to be later walls.\textsuperscript{78} Room IV is recorded to have a secondary floor\textsuperscript{79} and a 68-cm wide secondary wall which is the south wall\textsuperscript{80} of the room.

The chronological discussion is partly continued in the following part with the P-building in focus.

4.3 Dahlén’s interpretations about the architectural development of the P-building

The P-building (Doric House) itself can certainly be the subject of a thesis as it is a complicated structure. In this thesis, it is not possible to thoroughly study its function,\textsuperscript{81} chronology, architectural development, situation and relation to the surrounded areas.\textsuperscript{82} At that point it may not be easy to see the building in a full context. But the P-building should be discussed based on how Dahlén in the 1951 diary presents his understanding and interpretation of the building.

The first sketch showing a simple plan of the P-building is dated to July 14.\textsuperscript{83} The displaced shape of the stylobate with the cramps for the four columns are shown on the plan. The find-spot of the three newly found blocks and next mentioned block are also situated on the sketch.

A more developed sketch showing the plan of the P-building is dated to July 20 (\textit{Fig. 13}) and explained by Dahlén as “the P-building’s relation to walls in the east and first-hand reconstruction attempt”.\textsuperscript{84} This “reconstructed” plan is organised by giving letters from “a” to

\textsuperscript{72} Dahlén 1951, 53. This coin was site-determined to be from Amorium in Phrygia.
\textsuperscript{73} Dahlén 1953:I, 97; Dahlén 1953:II, 40 (Small find no. 36a); Dahlén 1953:II, 42 (Small find no. 37a).
\textsuperscript{74} Dahlén 1953:I, 182f. (Small find no. 23).
\textsuperscript{75} Dahlén 1953:II, 6 (Small find no. 27).
\textsuperscript{76} Named also as “R-gate” in the 1953 diaries which is referred what today is the entrance of the East Church; see \textit{Fig. 12}.
\textsuperscript{77} Dahlén 1951, 72.
\textsuperscript{78} The walls identifying the Room IV appear in the plan (\textit{Fig. 12}) as rubble walls, but they were removed during the excavations.
\textsuperscript{79} Dahlén 1953:I, 61.
\textsuperscript{80} Dahlén 1953:I, 87.
\textsuperscript{81} P-building was suggested by Westholm to function as a “treasure house”; see \textit{Labraunda I:2}, 98. Both Hellström and Blied suggest on the other side, that P-building functioned as a “fountain house”; see Hellström 2007, 74 and \textit{Labraunda 4}, 127.
\textsuperscript{82} For a brief explanation of the P-building, see \textit{Labraunda 4}, 133–139.
\textsuperscript{83} Dahlén 1951, 20.
\textsuperscript{84} Dahlén 1951, 80.
“j” for specific areas to present related archaeological data. This sketch together with its explanations shows numerous significant details, as follows: the irregular orientation of the building, the columns situated on the displaced stylobate, the original building phase with its displaced current walls and the stereobate “a” which continues outside of the current building. The foundation is recorded to continue into the “d-f wall”. “d” is identified as a door that is covered-up. The plan shows also the R-gate, north of “e” which is defined as “bad quality, late wall”. The wall by the corner of “h” is described as being significantly displaced southwards.

All these identifications, analyses and interpretations are followed by a P.S. note, written one week later, on July 27. According to the note, Dahlén had three evidences of an older building preceded the P-building. The first one is that it contains well-cut, “yellow re-used stone (gneiss)”. The second one notes “the stereobate angel in the north-east”. The third one notes “a sharp angle by the north-western corner that should mean that the west wall has been repositioned to give passage”.

Fig. 13. “Reconstructed” plan of the P-building.

85 Dahlén 1951, 81–83.
86 Dahlén 1951, 83.
4.4 Notable changes of Dahlén’s interpretations

Two notable changes occur in Dahlén’s thoughts and interpretations towards the end of the season in 1953, on August 12 and 13. Firstly, the tepidarium is identified probably to be a caldarium. The underlying reason for this new conclusion is unfortunately not given in the notes, but this new identification is followed directly by descriptions of the large bricks and vault bricks found in the room. The room is, however, continued to be mentioned as tepidarium, noted in quotation marks, even after the reconsideration as caldarium.

Secondly, the work in Room V (Fig. 9 and Fig. 12), mentioned first as ‘Opposite of “tepidarium”’, began on August 12, three days before the end of the 1953 excavations. Room V is later recognized to be a praefurnium, noted as follows: “Room V must be a heating arrangement for the “tepidarium”, praefurnium, where a lot of ceramics are found, 10 full cartons”.

4.5 Dahlén’s stratigraphical documentation

Contrary to general assumptions on the lack of documenting stratification in the 1950s, several stratigraphical records are available in Dahlén’s method of documenting the excavations. Several elevation drawings (Fig. 14) lead to reveal stratification and present archaeological data concerning the excavated walls and rooms from 1951 and 1953. When the descriptions of the archaeological data, recorded in the diaries are combined to see a chronological progress of the work, conducted during the excavations, they give a picture of the rapidity of the work. For instance, the stylobate appears already on the first day of the excavation in 1951 despite the huge amount of soil which covered the whole P-building before the excavation started (see Fig. 6). Besides, the whole stylobate is recorded to be uncovered according to the notes in only four working days. Another example is the pre-excavation soil layer north of the P-building which is defined to be 1.60-1.65 m above the level of stylobate. This is a large amount of soil, which can be determined by studying the photograph of Fig. 8 (north of the column drums), that was rapidly removed without being able to follow the stratigraphic context from the diaries. This shows once again that the stratigraphy given in most cases are related to the contexts of the wall chronologies with the help of the elevation drawings.

The soil stratigraphy on the other hand, is, however, not revealed in the same way. As it is exemplified in part 3.4, the soil that is documented in the diaries is in most cases only described textually and without drawings.

The room numbers (I, II, III, IV, V) in the R-bath area, designated by the archaeologists and begin to be mentioned in 1953 from July 28 onwards, and the coordinates shown in the plan (Fig. 12) make it easier to orientate oneself and understand what Dahlén refers to when he presents the archaeological work and the exact locations for the finds. However, the main problem concerning the stratigraphy at this point is the lack of complete documentation based on the principle of strata. This term does not exist in the diaries or drawings and it is, therefore, difficult to place and study the finds in their own contexts. Commonly in 1953, pottery sherds, marble, coins and other small finds are well-described and documented with sketches, drawings and references to photographs, as it is mentioned earlier. They are, however, recorded with less stratigraphical information concerning their find-spots based on

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89 Dahlén 1953:II, 32.
90 Dahlén 1951, 42.
in which *strata* they are discovered, even though the depth measurements below the wall surfaces and thresholds or above the floor are mostly given to explain the approximate location of the newly explored finds or the architectural elements.

Another example concerning the stratigraphy is the work that has been done in Room II (*Fig. 12*) dated to July 29, in 1953 which also includes the term “cultural layer”. It is noted that the red soil in Room II was burned, some brick pieces lie flat and there were a couple of green glass pieces, one piece of charcoal and two bone fragments in the soil. These lines are followed by a brief explanation of the excavation in the room by writing that half of Room II, the eastern part, was cleaned down to the stone floor. However, in the western part, the “cultural layer/s” and the red soil remain, where a lot of pottery sherds were found. On the following pages these pottery fragments from Room II are described, with measurements, colours, motifs and in some cases qualities. They are documented by drawings and photographs one after the other, without referring to any stratigraphical record. Two days later the rest of Room II is recorded to be excavated with a trowel. Some information about the stratigraphy is noted only textually without any sketch or drawing: “7–10 above the floor, there is flameproof or waterproof white clay. In the east-west centre line of the room, the western part, there is a majority of soot 0–7 cm above the floor, below the clay. In the south-western corner, 29–38 cm above the floor there is fired bricks = red soil”.

*Fig. 14. Example of an elevation drawing, showing what today is the south wall of the East Church.*
5 Conclusion

The main aim of this thesis was to present how the archaeology was practiced at the Labraunda sanctuary in the beginning of 1950s. In order to answer this, three excavation diaries and one separate book for the architectural drawings, documented by the Swedish archaeologist Inge Dahlén were studied, analysed, interpreted and discussed. This source material was based on the 1951 and 1953 excavations of the P-building and the R-bath in the south-eastern corner of the sanctuary. These designations for the two buildings were then given by the archaeologists, but today P-building is referred to as the Doric House and R-bath covers the Byzantine East Church and the Roman East Bath. The south-eastern part of the sanctuary was partly excavated and studied during the early Swedish excavations but the work resulted in very limited publications. However, how they conducted their work and how Dahlén documented the finds have neither been studied in detail nor have his three excavation diaries ever been published.

New excavations at the East Church and the East Bath have been conducted since 2005, (for the first time since 1960) and they continue as ongoing projects today. Dahlén’s excavation diaries are considered to contribute to the current excavations of this area because they contain detailed information concerning the archaeological material, archaeological work and the documentation methods in relation to the excavations. This aspect was the secondary aim of this thesis. The third aim, as a complementary aim to the previous two aspects, was to understand Dahlén’s own interpretations of the work and the changes in his archaeological thoughts.

The contents of the diaries were analysed and discussed through close reading as a method of analysis. The diaries were written in a chronological order, but the excavations took place at different rooms and trenches within the excavated area at the same time and it might therefore be difficult to follow the work through the notes. In order to construct a complete view of a specific excavation room or trench, the archaeological data recorded in the diaries were organised by me into four headings: archaeological work, archaeological finds, stratigraphy and documentation methods. This textual organisation was done by combining the working days, to describe the archaeological work conducted at the excavations, and collecting similarities, to discuss the documentation methods.

The Swedish excavations at Labraunda began in 1948 under the leadership of Axel W. Persson, from Uppsala University and continued in six seasons until 1960. The focus of this thesis, however, was based on two seasons, documented in three excavation diaries, when a part in the south-eastern corner of the sanctuary was excavated under the supervision of Inge Dahlén. The excavation of the P-building was conducted in 1951. The excavation of the next season in 1953 focused on the R-bath.

Photographs taken before the excavation season of 1951 show that the P-building was totally covered with soil, apart from its western wall. It was also recorded that the north-eastern part of the P-building appeared to have been sunk. The diary of 1951 concentrated on three central aspects: documenting architectural remains of marble, mainly with descriptions, presenting archaeological data of the stylobate and uncovering the floor of the P-building.
Textual descriptions, photographs and limited drawings reveal the stratification of the floor and the stylobate.

The excavations of 1953 were conducted at a larger area which contained Labraunda’s sewer system, P-building and the R-bath. The descriptions of the daily work show that different parts of the R-bath were excavated simultaneously, including the apse and the tepidarium. 17 elevation drawings reveal the stratification of the several walls in the excavated rooms. The availability of the sketches or drawings for the stratigraphical records concerning the soil was, however, not Dahlén’s priority. This kind of information was instead described textually. Apart from the architectural remains, the 1953 diaries also concentrated on documenting small finds. Documentation from both seasons, but more specifically from the 1953 excavation, suggest that some chronological data was already presented in the diaries. Dahlén did this both by dating some of the coins with exact ruling years of the emperors as well as by making distinctions between walls, structures and floors which were original or to believed to be later.

There are common features regarding the archaeological work and the documentation methods practiced during the both seasons of 1951 and 1953. Marble blocks received find numbers associated to their discovered areas, namely the blocks found in 1951 in and around the P-building received their numbers beginning with the letter “P” and the blocks found in 1953 in connection with the R-bath excavations received their numbers beginning with the letter “R”. The letters of the newly discovered inscriptions were always recorded in Greek with the precise measurements and specified descriptions of the blocks which in some cases were followed by sketches. Plans showing the P-building and the R-bath are both documented through quickly drawn sketches but more carefully drawings signed by Inge Dahlén and Stina Eriksson were also available. The archaeological finds, both small finds and marble blocks, were often documented with exact measurements. The find-spots of the small finds as well as the marble remains were described mostly in relation to their distance of the visible structures or blocks, but further information about in which strata they were found did not always appear in the diaries. In most cases Dahlén documented the work daily in his excavation diaries. In order to move the soil from the excavated areas, a railway was constructed and was made use of frequently.

The differences in documenting the two seasons should also be mentioned. In comparison to 1951, the two diaries and the separate book for the architectural drawings from 1953 contain notably more sketches and drawings both for the small finds and architectural remains. The locations of the architectural remains were clearly described in both seasons but their find-spots were only in some cases shown on plan sketches. This was done much less for the 1953 season. The change in the 1953 diaries was that Dahlén added coordinates in the plans which enabled him to give reference to the exact location of the newly discovered finds. This way of referring to the coordinates were, however, not applied to every find. The number of documented brick, tiles, small finds concerning pottery sherds and coins were considerably higher in the diaries of 1953. Apart from the marble, small finds received consecutive numbers as well. However, these find numbers which covered all types of small finds were not categorised separately.

Dahlén’s three diaries from 1951 and 1953 contain much more than what is presented and discussed in this thesis. This thesis gives an idea concerning the practiced archaeological methods and the discoveries which were documented in the excavation diaries. It contributes to create a better understanding of the work conducted at the P-building and R-bath during the early excavations. The archaeological data and the documentation methods analysed and discussed in the thesis is only a selection of certain aspects and therefore, leaves other details
As this thesis is not a complete study of the excavation diaries from the early Swedish excavations, a more detailed and complete study is, in my opinion, necessary to be done concerning the history of the early excavations at Labraunda, possibly covering firstly the south-eastern corner of the sanctuary and then the whole of Labraunda.

The main purposes with the new excavations at the East Bath, initiated in 2014, are listed in its excavation report. According to this, one of the primary intentions is to understand the East Bath as a whole and in relation to its surrounded buildings. As certain parts of the East Bath were already excavated in the early 1950s, the documentation of the archaeological data from these early excavations is of the greatest importance for the new projects that are being conducted in the same area. Dahlén’s diaries, drawings and photographs of the 1951 and 1953 excavations at the P-building and the R-bath, as well as their presentation and interpretation in this thesis organised into four headings, contribute to a better understanding of the East Bath.

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95 For instance, I find some uncertainties in the 1953 diaries concerning the eastern part of the R-bath where Dahlén mentions an eastern wall, closed by a late wall and a gate, defined as “R’s east gate”; Dahlén 1953:I, 172, 176, 180, 182; Dahlén 1953:II, 4.
96 Henry et. al. 2015, 355–366.
6 List of illustrations

Front page, on left. The apse in the R-bath in 1953, seen from west (by I. Dahlén, from S. Dahlén).

Front page, on right. The excavations in the R-bath in 1953 (from S. Dahlén).

Fig. 1. Labraunda in south-western Turkey (by A. Frejman, 2017).

Fig. 2. Plan of Labraunda (from Labraunda archive).

Fig. 3. Plan of the south-eastern corner of the sanctuary (by J. Blid, from 2012, 163).

Fig. 4. First page of the 1951 excavation diary (from Dahlén, 1951).

Fig. 5. Inge Dahlén, at Labraunda in 1950 (from S. Dahlén).

Fig. 6. P-building before the excavations, seen from NNW (from Labraunda archive).

Fig. 7. Stylobate of the P-building, seen from ENE (from Labraunda archive).

Fig. 8. The north-western corner of the P-building, seen from SE (from Labraunda archive).

Fig. 9. Plan of the R-bath area (by S. Eriksson and I. Dahlén, from Labraunda archive).

Fig. 10. Plan of the tepidarium showing the pilae tiles and the unexcavated south-eastern part (by S. Eriksson, from Labraunda archive).

Fig. 11. Example of a diary page containing field notes to the left and drawings with measurements on the right (Dahlén 1953:I, 47–48).

Fig. 12. Plan of the excavated rooms in the R-bath in 1953, showing what today is the west part of the East Church (Room I, vestibule of the East Church) (by I. Dahlén, from Labraunda archive).

Fig. 13. “Reconstructed” plan of the P-building (from Dahlén 1951, 80).

Fig. 14. Example of an elevation drawing, showing what today is the south wall of the East Church (by S. Eriksson, from Labraunda archive).
7 Bibliography

Unpublished excavation diaries


Printed sources

Stockholm.
Appendix 1: Inscriptions 20 and 22

Among the notes, there is no background information for the purpose of the 1953 excavation in the R-bath. However, two inscriptions, both as parts of lintels, referring to a bath were found in 1951 during the excavations of the area of the P-building. These inscriptions may, therefore, have been seen by the archaeologists as evidence for a bath.

The first inscription is a profiled marble block with the given block number P 44. This is the БАЛАНΗΟΝ inscription (I.Lab 20), which is a dedication of a Balaneon (bath) by Claudius Menelaos. It is found face up, exactly 2 m north of the north-eastern anta. In the diary of 1951, the preserved length, width and height is documented and the visible part of the inscription is written with Greek letters. The right corner of the block including the Greek letters in two rows and its profile are also sketched. The sketches are followed by two P.S. notes. The first one is a remark to Dahlén himself: “Compare the cubic statue base on area R”. The second one concerns the block’s location: “Constitutes the door lintel to P 52-55”. These two notes are most probably written afterwards since the above-mentioned cubic statue base is documented 15 pages later, as an inscription which emerged the next working day.

An additional detail regarding this inscription is that in the next season in 1953, on July 25, it is written in the diary, that “the БАЛАНΗΟΝ inscription was moved from the P-building up to the wall by the R-gate” where it is still located to this day.

[Θεοῖς Σεβαστοῖς ν καὶ Διὶ Λοβραύνδωι Σω]τήρι ν καὶ τῷ δήμῳ vac
[Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Χρυσάορος ὦις Κυρείνα Μ]ενέλαος ν τὸ βαλαβήνον ν ν
[καὶ ἄλλα (?) ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀνέθηκεν vac

“To Gods Augusts and Zeus Labraundos Saviour] and the people [Tiberius Claudius, son of Chrysaor, of (the tribus) Quirina] Menelaus [dedicated] the bath [and the other objects (?) by his own means].”

The second inscription is a marble block with the given block number P 81. This is the ΑΠΟΔΥΤΕΡΙΟΝ inscription (I.Lab 22), which is a dedication of an Apodyterion (dressing

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97 Dahlén 1951, 46.
98 Labraunda III:2, 18f.
99 Dahlén 1951, 47. The “cubic statue” is the third inscription (I.Lab 65) which is related to the bath; see Labraunda III:2, 133f.
100 Dahlén 1951, 47. The two blocks, P 52 and P 55, establish the doorway of what today is the East Church.
101 Dahlén 1953:1, 39. The entrance of what today is the East Church.
102 Labraunda III:2, 19.
103 Dahlén 1951, 111.
room) by the priest Titus.\textsuperscript{104} It is found in front of the Byzantine tower\textsuperscript{105} and is identified as a door lintel to the R-bath.

The paved area south of the foundation of the East Proylaea, what today is the East Church, is named Apodyterium with a question mark on the plan-drawing from 1951 showing the propylaea area. After the excavation season of 1953, the earlier way of referring to the area as an Apodyterium? is substituted with the word Thermae in the plan of Labraunda, made by Lars Käll in 1955.

Even though the inscription was found in an earlier season, amongst the drawings from 1953, there is a drawing depicting this block with its inscription, also including the leaf.

\begin{verbatim}
[Δϊ Λαβραύνδωι Ὄ Τίτος Φλάβιος Νέων ιερεύς]
[vac τὸ] ἀποδυτήριον [ἀνέθηκεν vac ]
\end{verbatim}

“[The priest] Titus [Flavius Neon dedicated the] undressing room to [Zeus] Labraundos.”\textsuperscript{106}

\textsuperscript{104} \textit{Labraunda} III:2, 21.
\textsuperscript{105} Above Room VI there was a Byzantine tower, what today is known as the Bee-hive tower.
\textsuperscript{106} \textit{Labraunda} III:2, 21.