LYDIA : A CULTURAL AND SOCIAL HISTORY



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ABSTRACT

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A date-chart of significant periods and events from the third millennium BC to the seventh century AD prefaces the work. The text's chronological span runs from the heyday of the Mermnad kingdom to that of the Roman Empire, and the primary emphasis is on giving a narrative of the country's development under Greek influence: a wide range of literary and archaeological material is employed to this end.

The thesis is divided into six parts: the first deals with geographical notices in such authors as Strabo and Pliny; the second chronicles the Mermnad period, between the seventh and sixth centuries, with particular reference to contacts with the Ionian Greeks; the third describes Lydian experiences during the ensuing period of Persian hegemony, between the sixth and fourth centuries; the fourth, covering the sequel to Alexander's takeover, focusses on the culminating stages of Hellenization, discussing Sardis' Hellenistic period and the Seleukid and Attalid foundations in the countryside. The fifth part discusses the village communities, over an extended period as the topic warrants: inscriptions of the Roman period predominate, and are incorporated on the grounds that a broader panorama is thereby achieved, and that the patterns delineated will have changed only slowly and are anyway of relevance for the Hellenized country's continuing history. The sixth part, on religion native and foreign, deals with the relevant inscriptions and literature, charting the progressive influence of Persian and Greek cult but also the surviving Anatolian elements.

Appendices follow on the evidence for the process of change in language use from Lydian to Greek, on Maionia and the Heraklidai, and on Mycenaean contacts, together with a catalogue of the numismatic sources for religious history. Maps and sketch-plans accompany the text at appropriate points.

PREFACE

In the course of writing this I have had much valuable help and criticism from Mr Peter Fraser, Professor George Forrest and Dr Simon Price, my supervisors. I am further indebted to several other people for assistance at various stages, including Professors Anna Morpurgo Davies, Oliver Gurney, Trevor Bryce and Andrew Ramage, Dr Simon Hornblower and Mr Robin Lane Fox, Professor Crawford H. Greenewalt and the staff of the Sardis Expedition who kindly showed me around the capital, and the curators of the Manisa museum.

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A special acknowledgment is due to the late Miss L.H. Jeffery, my former tutor, from whose encouragement, learning and enthusiasm for Greek history I profited over many years. Her friendship was an honour.

Wherever possible and despite the occasional strangeness names have been given in Greek form; the illustration on the title-page is figure 33 of Ramage's 'Lydian Houses and Architectural Terracottas', the celebrated Lydian Dandy; and all dates are BC unless otherwise stated.

Abbreviations

AJA	American Journal of Archaeology
Anat. Stud.	Anatolian Studies
ANET	Ancient Near Eastern Texts relating to the Old Testament, ed. J.B. Pritchard (3rd edition with supplement Princeton 1969)
BASOR	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research
BCH	Bulletin de Correspondance Hellenique
BMC Lydia	A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum vol. 22: Lydia, ed. B.V. Head (London 1901)
BSA	Annual of the British School at Athens
CAF	Comicorum Atticorum Fragmenta, ed. T. Kock (Leipzig 1880-8)
CAH	The Cambridge Ancient History
ClG	Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum
CIL	Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum
CMRDM	Corpus Monumentorum Religionis Dei Menis, ed. E.N. Lane (Leiden 1971-8)
Class. Phil.	Classical Philology
CR	Classical Review
CRAI	Academie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres - Comptes rendus
D-K	Fragmente der Vorsokratiker, eds. H. Diels and W. Kranz (6th edition Zurich 1968)

FD	Fouilles de Delphes
Festschrift Dorner	Studien zur Religion und Kultur Kleinasiens: Festschrift für Friedrich Karl Dörner, edd. S. Sahin, E. Schwertheim and J. Wagner (Leiden 1978)
Festschrift Glueck	Essays in honor of Nelson Glueck - Near Eastern Archaeology in the twentieth century, ed. J.A. Sanders (New York 1970)
Festschrift Hanfmann	Studies presented to George M.A. Hanfmann, edd. D.G. Mitten, J.G. Pedley, J.A. Scott (Mainz 1971)
Festschrift Ramsay	Anatolian Studies presented to Sir William Mitchell Ramsay, edd. W.H. Buckler and J.M. Calder (Manchester 1923)
FGrH	Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker, ed. F. Jacoby (Berlin 1923 and ff.
I.Ephesos	Inschriften von Ephesos
IGR	Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes
I.Magn.Sip.	Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Sipylos, ed. T. Ihnken (Bonn 1978)
IvP	Inschriften von Pergamon
I.Priene	Inschriften von Priene, ed. F. Hiller von Gaertringen (Berlin 1906)
I.Sardis	Sardis vol. VII: Greek and Latin Inscriptions part one, W.H. Buckler and D.M. Robinson (Leiden 1932)
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society
JEA	Journal of Egyptian Archaeology
JESHO	Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient
JHS	Journal of Hellenic Studies

JKF	Jahrbuch für Kleinasiatische Forschung
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies
JOAI	Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien
JRS	Journal of Roman Studies
L-P	Poetarum Lesbiorum Fragmenta, eds. E. Lobel and D.M. Page (Oxford 1955)
LSAG	The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece, L.H. Jeffery (Oxford 1961); revised edition, with supplement, by A.W. Johnston (Oxford 1990)
LW	Lydisches Wörterbuch, R. Gusmani (Heidelberg 1964) (2nd edition 1982)
M3	Neue epichorische Schriftzeugnisse aus Sardis (1958-1971), R. Gusmani (Harvard 1975)
Meiggs and Lewis	A Selection of Greek historical inscriptions to the end of the fifth century B.C., R. Meiggs and D.M. Lewis (Oxford 1969)
Num.Chron.	Numismatic Chronicle
OGIS	Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae, W. Dittenberger (Leipzig 1903)
PMG	Poetae Melici Graeci, ed. D.M. Page (Oxford 1962)
Rayonnement	G.M.A. Hanfmann, 'Greece and Lydia: the impact of Hellenic Culture', 8th Congrès international d'archéologie classique, 1963 (Le rayonnement des civilisations grecque et romaine sur les cultures péripheriques): pp. 491-99; [with M. Pallottino, pp. 499-500]: Paris, 1965.

REA	Revue des Etudes Anciennes
Reisen I, II, III	Bericht über einer Reise in Lydien und der südlichen Aiolis ausgeführt 1906; Bericht über einer zweite Reise in Lydien ausgeführt 1908; Bericht über einer dritte Reise in Lydien und den angrenzenden Gebieten Ioniens ausgeführt 1911: J. Keil and A. von Premerstein (Vienna 1908-14)
Sardis	Sardis from Prehistoric to Roman times - Results of the archaeological exploration of Sardis 1958-1975: G.M.A. Hanfmann & W.E. Mierse (Harvard 1983)
Sardis I	Sardis vol. I: The Excavations part one, 1910-1914, H.C. Butler (Leiden 1922)
Sardis VI.1/2	Sardis vol. VI: Lydian Inscriptions part one, E. Littmann (Leiden 1916); part two, W.H. Buckler (Leiden 1924)
Sardis XI	Sardis vol. XI: Coins part one, 1910-1914, H.W. Bell (Leiden 1916)
Sardis XIII	Sardis vol. XIII: Jewelry and Goldwork, C. Densmore Curtis (Rome 1924)
Sculpture	Sculpture from Sardis: the finds through 1975 (Sardis R2), G.M.A. Hanfmann and N.H. Ramage (Harvard 1978)
SEG	Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum
SlG	Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum, W. Dittenberger (3rd edition Leipzig 1915-1924)
Survey	A Survey of Sardis and the major monuments outside the city walls (Sardis R1), G.M.A. Hanfmann and J.C. Waldbaum (Harvard 1975)

TAM V. 1	Tituli Lydiae (regio septentrionalis ad orientem vergens): vol. V fasc. 1 of Tituli Asiae Minoris; P. Herrmann (Vienna 1981)
TAM V. 2	Tituli Lydiae (regio septentrionalis ad occidentem vergens): vol. V fasc. 2 of Tituli Asiae Minoris; P. Herrmann (Vienna 1989)
TGF	Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta, ed. A. Nauck (2nd edition Leipzig 1889)
ZPE	Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik

Outline of Chronology

B.C.	
ca. 2500-2000	Early Bronze Age settlements (farmsteads?) beside the Gygaean Lake
	Other scattered settlements attested by mounds on open ground
	Western Anatolian red slipped ware dominant over a wide area
ca. 1500-1300	Circular wattle-and-daub hut, pithos containing cremation-burial found in Sardis
ca. 1400	LH III A pottery found at Philadelphia
ca. 1300-1200	LH III B/C and Anatolian pottery found in Sardis
ca. 1220-1159	Movements of western Asian tribes ('Sea Peoples') against Hatti, Arzawa, Egypt, Carchemish, Cyprus, Kilikia
ca. 1185	Traditional date for Trojan War and for establishment of 'Heraklid' dynasty in Lydia
ca. 1100	Sub-Mycenaean pottery and curved knife found in Sardis
ca. 1050-700	Protogeometric and Geometric wares in Sardis
ca. 1000	First appearance of Lydian painted pottery
ca. 800-750	Composition of Iliad
	Invention of Greek alphabetic writing
ca.750-700	'Phrygian city' at Gordion, with burial mounds and rock-cut chamber-tombs
ca. 696/676	Death of the Phrygian king Midas
ca. 680	Transfer of power from 'Heraklids' to Gyges of the Mermnad clan

ca. 680-ca. 645	Gyges on throne of Lydia
ca. 680-670	Attacks on Miletos and Smyrna, capture of Kolophon and Magnesia (ad Sipylum); gifts to Delphi
ca. 667-665	Kimmerian invasion beaten off; tribute paid to Assurbanipal in Nineveh; then military aid sent to Psammetichos against Assyrians
ca. 650-600	Earliest Lydian inscriptions
ca. 645	Kimmerians attack Sardis and kill Gyges
ca. 650-560	Royal burial mounds at Bin Tepe and fortifications of Acropolis and town
ca. 645-ca. 628	Ardys, Gyges' son and heir, on throne
644-636	Renewed Kimmerian assault, overcome by Ardys; second approach to Assurbanipal; during his reign also attacks on Miletos and capture of Priene
ca. 628-ca. 618	Sadyattes, Ardys' son and heir, on throne
ca. 625-618	Sadyattes inaugurates a war with seasonal raids against Miletos
ca. 625-600	Invention of electrum coinage
ca. 618-ca. 560	Alyattes, Sadyattes' son and heir, on throne
612	Fall of Nineveh; last of Alyattes' raids on Miletos; gifts to Delphi
ca. 600-ca. 550	Gold cupellation carried out at Pactolus North
ca. 600-590	Sack of Smyrna, attacks on Kolophon and Klazomenai; successful campaign against Kimmerians; alliance with Periander
591 - May 28, 585	War with Kyaxares of Media, ending in alliance after an eclipse

ca. 570	Expedition against Karia; Kroisos governor of Adramytteion and the plain of Thebe
561/0-547/6	Reign of Kroisos
560-550	Attacks on Ephesos and other Ionian poleis; eventual 'overlordship' of western Anatolia as far as the Halys River (except for Lykia and Kilikia)
	Introduction of bi-metallic coinage - improved gold-refining by means of cementation
ca. 550	Dedication by Kroisos of pillars for the Ephesian Artemision and of objects made both of electrum ('white gold') and of refined gold at Delphi and other Greek oracular shrines, which he consulted about war with Kyros
547/6	Defeat and capture of Sardis by Kyros; Kroisos probably put to death
ca. 546	Unsuccessful native revolt against Persian governor; establishment of satrapy of Sparda, terminus of the Royal Road from Susa
ca. 540	Hipponax 'floruit'
ca. 522	Oroites, the satrap of Sardis, active against Polykrates of Samos and the satrap of Daskyleion
521-511	Provincial reorganization by Dareios I and first minting of Persian coins (darics, sigloi) on Lydian standard
499-493	Ionian Revolt, inaugurated by burning of Sardian temple of Kybele
492	Democracies installed in Ionian poleis in place of the tyrants
	Land-survey and assessment of tribute by Artaphernes, satrap of Sardis
480-479	Xerxes' invasion of Greece

478/7	Establishment of the Delian League
ca. 450/430	First Greek inscriptions (grave-stelai) found in Lydia
	Herodotos and Xanthos writing histories
413-408	Satraps of Sardis and Daskyleion involved in the Peloponnesian War
408-401	Kyros the younger holding position of 'karanos', commander of the Persian troops west of the Halys (mustering at Kastoloupedion near Sardis) and taking Tissaphernes' place as satrap
399-393	Spartan raids on Lydian territory
ca. 368-352	Period of Satraps' revolt in the west
ca. 365	Droaphernes, hyparch of Lydia, regulates cult of Baradates Zeus
ca. 350	Bilingual dedication to Artemis by Nannas Bakivalis (Dionysikleos)
334	Alexander receives surrender of Sardis, proclaims 'freedom and restoration of ancestral laws' and leaves a garrison
ca. 330	Sardians attack the sacred procession from Ephesos
	Proxenia arrangements made between Sardis and Miletos
281-189	Lydia part of Seleukid kingdom, in consequence of Seleukos' victory over Lysimachos at the battle of Koroupedion
241-227	Antiochos Hierax dominant in Asia Minor with the help of the Galatians but defeated four times by Attalos I of Pergamon
226-223	Attalos effectively in control of Asia Minor despite Seleukid opposition
223-216	Achaios restores Seleukid dominance then usurps power and issues coins as king

215-213	Antiochos III's siege and capture of Sardis
ca. 205	Disturbances in Lydia and Phrygia, quelled by the introduction of two thousand Jewish families as military colonists
190-189	Battle of Magnesia and treaty of Apameia result in transfer of power from the Seleukids to Attalids; Sardis and Thyateira take tributary status, Magnesia is bestowed as gift on Eumenes II
188-133	Lydia part of the Attalid kingdom
	Introduction of stephanephorate
	Latest written use of Lydian likely
133	Attalos III's bequest of territory to the Roman Senate
132-130/29	Revolt of Aristonikos ('Eumenes III')
129-126	Organization of the new province by proconsul M' Aquillius and ten commissioners
94/3	Q. Mucius Scaevola proconsul (with legate Rutilius Rufus); authorized treaty between Sardis and Ephesos; first recorded priest of Roma
61/60	Polis of Maionia
ca. 29	Provincial Assembly (Koinon of Asia) erects a temple to Roma and Augustus in Pergamon; slightly later, a temple to Augustus in Sardis
20-19	Visit by Augustus to Asia Minor
9	The Koinon ratifies a proposal by proconsul Paullus Fabius Maximus to alter the calendar in Augustus' honour (but Sullan and Aktian eras remain in force in Lydia)
5-1	The Koinon pays tribute to Gaius Caesar and sends envoys to Rome

A.D.	
17	Major earthquake damages twelve Lydian towns; benefactions and temporary remission of taxes by Tiberius
20-30	Start of major building programme in Sardis
22	Senatorial scrutiny of claims to asylia made by Hierokaisareia's sanctuary of Artemis Anaitis and Sardis' of the civic Artemis
26	Sardis, Hypaipa and Smyrna compete for the neocorate of Tiberius
ca. 70-80	Lydia by now divided up into the conventus of Sardis and Pergamon
123/4	Visit to Sardis by Hadrian
218-222	Title 'First Metropolis of Asia, Lydia and Greece' adopted by Sardis
616	Destruction of Sardis by Chosroes of Persia

INTRODUCTION

Famous in antiquity for its agricultural and mineral wealth, sophisticated culture and, during one splendid century, wide-ranging political ascendancy, Lydia was the site of what its foremost scholar, George Hanfmann, has described as events of global importance for economic history, constituting it a first and prototypical example of the process of transition from an agricultural barter economy to a commercial monetary urban economy.[1] Lydian skill in goldworking and the dissemination of coinage have been singled out as the country's distinctive cultural contribution, and it is the one state in the Mediterranean world for which "the sudden rise of a social class of merchants or bankers (kapeloi or agoraioi) is specifically noted, and in direct connection with the invention of true coinage".[2]

The Lydians were renowned for horsemanship, textile working, manufacture and wearing of perfumes, unguents, jewellery and ornate brightly-coloured clothes, and for their music. They possessed more than one language, in which literacy was achieved in the seventh century, and cohabited with speakers of several others, as a self-confident, vigorous and comparatively complex society.[3]

And yet the one significant focus for presenting Lydian history overall is that of Hellenization: a process of which Lydia provides a case-study of perhaps unparalleled intensity. By 'Hellenization' I mean a conjunction of both aspects of a recent definition,[4] namely, using Greeks and imitating them. By using Greeks is meant deriving advantage from contacts, such as in political patronage, and by imitating them is meant borrowing features to rank alongside or in substitution for native ones, as in artistic production. I regard these two, indeed, as lying on the same continuum, that of a society's response to outsiders, and Mermnad 'philhellenism' as a convenient term for the pattern, relatively rich as this is in evidence, of such response at the society's highest political level.

Of Sardian material culture during the heyday, the seventh-fifth centuries, Greenewalt can say "so dominant are Greek ideals ... that the Lydian personality is often hard to extract and identify".[5] Borrowings from Greek art have been found to predominate over Near Eastern, within the spectrum of cultural contacts from both East and West to which the Lydians, by virtue of the position of their chief town, straddling major crossroads, were subjected over several centuries. Lydian familiarity with Greek styles, alongside flourishing, tenacious and more rustic native styles of artefact decoration, is apparent as early as the Geometric period, and apart from ascription of a joint Ionian and Lydian role in the invention of the 'Ionic' style culminating in the Ephesian Artemision during Kroisos' reign, the art historians portray Lydian art as a provincial, derivative version of Greek; this is despite a long-continuing native tradition as to architectural and ceramic techniques and decoration.[6] A process developing from the time of the Late Mycenaean imports and absorbing Greek influences at a gradually increasing rate led away from creation of a distinct and flourishing Anatolian koine and towards the eventual assimilation of major cultural and political forms, by virtue of which by the end of the third century Sardis had adopted the main institutions, and the language, of a Greek polis.[7]

Back in the sixth and fifth centuries, building no doubt on the fluctuating philhellenism displayed by Gyges and his successors in the seventh, cultural contacts and sympathies between Lydia and both Ionia and the mainland had been sufficiently intense to have left us, from an otherwise fragmentary record, evidence of a Mermnad trilogy, a vase by the leading painter Myson depicting Kroisos on the pyre, a play on the subject of the Lydians by Magnes and, tellingly as an index of some prevailing trends within literary culture, Lydiaka written for a Greek or Greek-speaking audience.[8]

Against this background, an attempt to describe 'eternal Lydia', to put flesh on the skeleton to which Lydian culture and society have been reduced, by the passage of time, earthquakes, and our reliance on Greek and Hellenocentric source

material both for direct information and for comparisons, cannot progress very far nor afford a wholly satisfactory amount of insight. Little can be known of the Lydians themselves in the current state of evidence. Their language is imperfectly understood, both intrinsically and in the context of its affiliations, their artefacts do not survive in sufficient quantities and diversity to enable us fully to catalogue and characterise stylistic patterns, occupation traces have been so overlaid by changing land-usage, incoming peoples, and geological disturbance as to make any map of 'Lydia' an approximate, indefinite one, and the observable historical sequence reflects a comprehensive assimilation of, successively, the artforms, the language, and the political and cultural institutions and buildings of a separate race. They have left no monuments except burial mounds, the ruins of their capital and a reputation.

The evidence we do have at our command comprises Greek and Roman literature, coins, inscriptions, ceramic and metal artefacts, and the findings of many seasons of archaological excavation at Sardis, first in 1910-1914 and 1922 by a Princeton team led by H.C. Butler, then from 1958 to 1975 by Hanfmann's Harvard/Cornell expedition, which since 1976 has continued under his successor C.H. Greenewalt. The earlier of these archaeological studies were complemented by the epigraphical investigations undertaken by Keil and von Premerstein, the contemporary ones by linguistic analyses of the Lydian corpus carried out by Gusmani and others and the epigraphical research of Robert in particular, against a background of increasing knowledge of Asia Minor as a whole. The archaeologists' findings augment, enrich and act as a corrective to the written record: in so doing, they create a physical framework within which that record should be set, for greater understanding, however impressionistic this understanding must remain at present.

A prime example of this is the congruence posited between the literary record of the rise, flourishing and fall of the Mermnad kingdom, representing as this does the zenith of purely Lydian history as known to us, and the archaeological record

of three successive excavated layers, within a much longer sequence of continuous occupation on the same site, which are separable one from another by traces of burning and by independently-dated Greek and Lydian sherds, and have been conventionally labelled by their excavator, Swift, as Lydian III, II, and I for the approximate periods 700-650, 650-600, and 600-547.[9]

Herodotos, writing a century after the capture of Sardis by the Persians, is our single most important literary source of information on the Mermnads and their subjects. It is principally through him that Kroisos, the last Mermnad king, is also the best known: Herodotos' narrative incorporated many current stories, by virtue of the legendary, and benign, status Kroisos had already attained among the Greeks, and thereby brought about the enduring fame of Kroisos as representative and both most and least fortunate Lydian.

As a native of Halikarnassos, and inveterate traveller, Herodotos was well placed to comprehend and comment on relations, and differences, between Greek and non-Greek peoples. Although an old Greek settlement, taking advantage of a promising stretch of coast, Halikarnassos was on the fringes of Karian territory and there is plentiful evidence of racial intermarriage of long standing, not of the absorption of Karian culture but of its continuance in close proximity with Greek. This is not the model of development in Lydia, but part of Herodotos' value for us is that he has kept alive traditional knowledge of his countrymen's non-Greek neighbours over their period of political ascendancy and cultural integrity.

What he has preserved are numerous tales of the Mermnad kings, in sequence composing a history of the dynasty, and of their 'Heraklid' and 'Lydian' predecessors together with a few anecdotes descriptive of Lydian cultural traits as transmitted to Greek witnesses. Of the three categories of sources discussed by Gould in his persuasive recent analysis,[10] namely, great families' own ancestral tales, information given by priests, and communities' common stories of the past, only the last of these is expressly identified but the nature of Herodotos' 'Lydiaka'

rules neither of the other two out; indeed, a Delphic source is very likely in view of the detailed accounts of the gifts made by three Mermnad kings to the oracle, as is no doubt the case for the other shrines so endowed, at Branchidai and those of the Ismenian Apollo, Ephesian Artemis, and Amphiaraus. Whether or not any descendants of the Mermnad family survived to relay oral traditions may be less certain but the sheer volume and intimacy of narrative about Kroisos (above all) tends in favour of an informant within that family.[11] As for popular informants, the text features by name the Ephesians, Smyrnaians, Klazomenians, Kolophonians, Prienians, Milesians and Adramytteians, the Samians and Korkyraians, and the Spartans, Korinthians and Athenians, all of whom, like Herodotos' own neighbours the Karians and the Lesbians, had dealings with the Lydians during the seventh, sixth or fifth centuries: none of these are identified expressly as the sources of individual stories but are, it may be thought, the only feasible candidates. In fact, he gives a specific attribution only three times: it was the natives who said that Apollo answered the prayer of Kroisos, on the pyre, by sending rain to put out the flames (1. 87), and then that the Gygaean Lake is replenished by unfailing springs (1. 93), and lastly that half the population, chosen by lot, emigrated to Etruria (Tyrrhenia) under the leadership of Atys' son Tyrsenos because of an 18-year-long famine, in the course of which they had invented all games except draughts (1. 94).

There is, on the other hand, no evidence that he understood written or spoken Lydian, or even Karian, nor indeed that his descriptions of Sardis and Bin Tepe, the area of the great burial mounds near the Gygaean Lake, are based on autopsy rather than on other people's accounts of them: accordingly, the inference must be that his information was obtained through the medium of interpreters, of Lydian, Karian and Greek nationality, both directly and indirectly in versions passed on in the Greek settlements he visited. For the former, the Karians, at least, were certainly familiar with Lydia and were regular visitors to sixth-century Sardis, while the latter are abundantly demonstrated by the very widespread

currency among sixth- and fifth-century Greeks, of Asia Minor, the Aegean islands and the mainland, of stories conferring on Kroisos a 'legendary' status based on a paradigmatic role, maintained to this day, as the possessor of luxurious wealth, and at the same time devoting especial attention to romantic versions of his fate at the hands of Kyros (and Apollo). Herodotos would himself have come across Lydians, as well as anecdotes about them, throughout Asia Minor, not least in Ephesos.

As for the accuracy of the stories passed on, in the sense of being either faithful renditions of actual occurrences or depictions of commonly-held beliefs (or culturally-derived misconceptions), there is insufficient independent evidence, by and large, to determine this. The Lydians were barbaroi, foreigners, alien to the Greeks because they did not share the same blood and language nor have temples, sacrifices or customs in common (8. 144. 2). Nonetheless, to Herodotos their customs (nomoi) <u>were</u> recognisable, closely akin to those of the Greeks, except for the practice of prostitution among the young girls (1. 94).

There are two ways of looking at their cultural specificity, their "Lydianness", through evidence for their own memory of the past and through evidence of Greek opinions on the subject. The latter are dominant in the historiographical record; analysis of the scanty traces of the former is bedevilled by a chronological bias, in that the numismatic data which constitute the bulk of the surviving material are mainly dated between the first and third centuries AD, at which period an antiquarian revival was under way. The fact of that revival is itself testimony to a thread of continuity in traditions about the Lydian past, whose intrinsic accuracy we have no means of assessing - nor, perhaps, occasion to doubt.

Elements of popular tales and traditions survived, in isolated cases into the middle Empire, in coin symbols, tribal or deme names, or as stories transmitted to the mythographers. The antiquarian revival mentioned above concerns first Omphale, then Pelops, the heroes Tylos and Masdnes, and the twin boys playing

dice became popular coin motifs, in contrast to a few symbols, pre-eminently that of the rider bearing the double-axe ("Tyrimnos"), which are maintained in the numismatic repertoire from the earliest, Hellenistic mintings in the second century BC to the latest in the third century AD. It is arguable that only the latter are genuine survivals.[12]

Folkloric elements retained in institutional names, on the other hand, such as Masdnis(?) as a Sardian deme, have a better claim to be so regarded, the motive and occasion of revival in this context perhaps being more obscure.

If we next look in detail at what classical writers say about the Lydians, the outlines of a definition of 'Lydianness'/Lydopathia emerge, to a slight but welcome extent correlating with the evidence for their material environment now brought to light by the archaeologists. A dozen salient motifs may be listed:-

Sexual licence

Besides the prostituting of young girls, to which a decidedly secular and utilitarian goal is ascribed, namely, the provision of dowries, despite the widespread knowledge of cultic purposes for such practice, reference is made to the sterilizing of women and the employment of eunuchs, both evidently for the benefit of the royal court.[13]

Luxury

Gold, jewellery, fine metal, ceramic and glass objects, textiles and dyes, furniture; personal adornment - wearing of earrings by men, perfumes, ointments: the Lydians had a reputation for soft living, admired by Sappho but frowned on by Xenophanes. Their jewellery and cosmetic objects are lavishly present in the archaeological record. A fondness for rich colours and for soft, intricately woven fabrics, a delight in ornament and sparkle: these features of Lydian "tryphe" are discernible both as part of their reputation and as actualized in the material remains, in forms such as the Dandy, with his earrings, elaborate hairstyle and patterned collar.[14]

Pastimes

Dice, knucklebones, ball games: these are surely not culturally distinctive, and indeed might represent something of the basis for Herodotos' remark about the similarity of Lydian and Greek customs. Both dice and knucklebones have been found in Sardis.[15]

Pioneering of bimetallic coinage

Controversy continues over the credit for the invention of true coinage. What is no longer greatly in dispute is that its terminus ante quem is the end of the seventh century, at the mid-point of the Lydian kingdom, while the first coins emanate from several Ionian towns as well as from Lydia but are all made of electrum, the natural alloy of gold and silver of which the major source was the Paktolos river, flowing down from Mount Tmolos to join the Hermos.[16]

Pioneering as kapeloi

This Greek noun, and its cognate verb and adjective, connote, or are uniformly translated to connote, retail trading, haggling, and in addition inn-keeping. It is the first of these meanings which has been generally accepted as reflecting the Lydian activity, in my view because of the combination of a belief that the Lydians minted coins for everyday marketing purposes and the existence of the 'Lydian Market', described by Xenophon (Anab. 1. 5. 6) as travelling with the troops of Kyros the younger, buying grain from the settlements they passed through and reselling it to individual soldiers. The belief in question is probably ill-founded, but there is no compelling reason not to accept the image of retail trading for the behaviour of Lydian kapeloi, in the restricted sense that commercial dominance, derived both from the profitably innovative exploitation of the chief source of electrum and also from a concomitant political ascendancy, itself became a distinguishing feature of Lydia's capital and lifestyles.[17]

Taboo on nudity

This, extending as it did to male nudity, set them apart from the Greeks, but it is the Greeks who were out of step with the majority of societies past and present.

Music

Although sadly we have no real idea of the sounds of Lydian instruments and singing, or of the nature of the 'Lydian mode', beyond Plato's animadversions in the *Republic* (3. 398 e-399 d) on its effeminate, emotional character, it is quite clear that pervading as it did religious and military and no doubt secular contexts Lydian music was seen as a wholly distinctive trait. It was regarded as nuanced, versatile, technically complex and disciplined, with the harp, stringed triangle, lyre, flutes, and pipes favouring high-pitched, shrilling tones conducive to and accompanying tragic melodrama: Plutarch (De Mus. 15-17/1136 B-1137 A) recounts a Greek tradition that the sensitive, impassioned nature of the music was suitable for dirges and influential in the development of tragedy, inspiring Alkman, Pindar, Simonides, Bacchylides and having much in common with the early music of its neighbours the Ionians. Athenaios (14. 625 e, f, 634 c, f, 635 d) continues this ancient tradition, adding that the Greeks owed the origins of their music to the coming of Phrygians and Lydians into the Peloponnese and that Terpander and Anakreon, both near neighbours of the Lydians, were among those transmitting elements of their music to the Greeks. One common theme is the diversity of the string and wind instruments in use, another the native fondness for high and fluctuating tones expressive of emotion. (Perhaps Egyptian folk music is stylistically a modern cousin.)

Horsemanship

Again, this is a characteristic of Greek descriptions of the Lydians, from Homer onwards. Their warriors were predominantly cavalrymen, fighting from horseback with long spears, and the literary topos of a love of equestrian pursuits

long continues in the Greek tradition. Material remains, both equipment and artistic representations, bear this out abundantly.[18]

Blood-oaths

These are attested only once, by Herodotos when relating the sworn agreement marking the conclusion of the war with the Medes (1. 74). Not only do these peoples like the Greeks swear oaths to cement relations with one another but they go on to cut their arms and lick one another's blood as an additional bond between them. That he inserts as arbitrators a Kilikian and a Babylonian does not necessarily detract from the impression that "these peoples" include the Lydians.

Cults

Kroisos' funeral-pyre prayer to Apollo is made the testimony of the Lydians themselves, rather than being mediated through a Greek interpretation. However, the paradigmatic and pro-Delphic bias of the story should give us pause, and it is clear that the religious landscape was a highly complex one, mingling Anatolian, Hellenic and Persian deities in a unique amalgam.

Cuisine

Local tastes and specialities, dictated of course by the nature of the countryside, were known and commented on long after the heyday of indigenous culture. One favourite was kandulos, a cake of milk, cheese, honey and hare-meat, another karyke, a mixture of blood "and other delicacies".[19]

So these form the outlines of a definition of 'Lydianness'. From our vantage point, Herodotos' seemingly dismissive characterization, in terms of the similarities with Hellenic culture, may now be seen to mask a more subtle picture, rather than being in itself a sign that Hellenization, in the sense of imitation of Greek ways, was already far advanced by the mid-fifth century. It will be appropriate to attempt the charting of the shift of balance, as between the use and

the imitation of Greeks, towards an imitation so wholesale it amounts to adoption of an alien way of life, this being from the perspective of Lydian culture as a whole (if not from that of individual Lydians with familial memories), a discontinuity.

At the outset, some aspects of continuity may be listed and described in terms of the physical environment: the Lydian heartland, territory occupied by speakers of Lydian, Torrhebian and 'Maionian', and with an overlord at Sardis, stretched between the vicinity of the River Hyllos in the west bordering Mysia and Aiolis, Mount Temnos to the north and the upper Hermos valley to the east abutting Phrygian territory, and the southern slopes of Mount Tmolos and the Cayster valley shared with Ionian Greeks and Karians in the south. Its inhabitants were clustered in the Sardian plain, the foothills of Mount Tmolos and the volcanic area of Katakekaumene, around the Gygaean Lake, and in the valleys of the Hyllos, Hermos and Kogamos.[20] The character of the terrain is principally determined by these rivers and by the mountain ranges crossing the country; the mountains, although they rendered travel from east to west difficult, imparted a favourably distinct physical unity to the country, while Lydia's position at the crossroads of natural routes between the eastern plateau and the Aegean coast, and from the northwest, within reach of the Hellespont, to the Aegean made for ease of communications and for prosperous settlement. The two maps at the end of this work show the major part of the territory generally understood to be 'Lydian'.

More accurate definition is rendered problematic both by the difficulty to which Strabo drew attention, caused by intermingling of populations in these fertile lands, and by the general characteristics of the terrain: as Foss[21] has commented there are no natural frontiers in Asia Minor; mountains and river courses serve as approximate guides (to probable ethnic occupation patterns), and apart from exceptional cases such as the alleged placing by Kroisos of boundary markers at

the frontier with Phrygia at Kydrara, close to the confluence of the Maeander and Lykos rivers, in the context of the invasion by Kyros in 547 (Hdt. 7. 30. 2), we may safely assume that fixed frontiers were, whether or not practicable, not socially or politically necessary.

Strabo's much-quoted and admiring description of the plains at 13. 4. 5:

ὑπόκειται δὲ τῇ πόλει τὸ τε Σαρδιανὸν πεδίον καὶ τὸ τοῦ Κύρου καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἕρμου καὶ τὸ Καϋστριανόν συνεχῆ τε ὄντα καὶ πάντων ἄριστα πεδίων . . .

is amply borne out by the literary and archaeological record: wheat and barley, vegetables, grapes, olives, fruit and nuts, were grown in profusion, while sheep and goats, fish, fowl, cattle, horses and (in much less significant numbers, however) pigs, water buffalo and camels were bred and exploited. Timber grew in the territory in great variety and was put to many uses. Geological characteristics provided substantial mineral abundance as well: besides electrum and argentiferous lead, copper, arsenic, antimony, cinnabar, yellow ochre, sulphur, sard (chalcedony) and rock-crystal, in addition to deposits of marble and limestone, occur in Lydia, offering a diversity of medicinal, craft, and cosmetic uses, including that Lydian speciality dyeing of fabrics. Iron, on the other hand, is not found in significant quantities, but is available in regions both within easy reach and for a time under Lydian influence, such as Bithynia and Kappadokia.[22] The territory remains an exceptionally fertile one.

Amongst the numerous settlement sites reliably regarded as Lydian, on the basis of falling within the geographical limits described above and occasionally yielding Lydian inscriptions or artefacts with known Lydian artistic traits, one was so far pre-eminent that its name was interchangeable with that of the country in official usage (by foreigners) during the sixth, fifth and fourth centuries, as the capital of the kingdom, satrapal seat, and later the largest polis, and one of the Roman provincial centres in Asia Minor. Continuously occupied from the Late

Bronze Age, the thirteenth century BC, to today, although since the transfer of power in the region from the Byzantines to the Turks in and after the seventh century AD it has sunk to the status of a village, Sardis is now primarily an archaeological camp: its physical remains already rank it alongside the better-known major sites of ancient Aegean and Anatolian civilization and there is every prospect that the progress of excavations and research will regain for it some of the status it once enjoyed.

It earned that status by virtue of its inhabitants' skilful exploitation of a stroke of geological good fortune, alluvial gold deposits brought down by the river Paktolos from Mount Tmolos on whose slopes it was built. Early occupation was generated by the natural fertility, both agricultural and mineral, of the region, the plentiful supply of water, and the defensive strength of the mountain's upper reaches, and fostered by a position close to the confluence of the Paktolos and the Hermos, on ancient trade routes between the Near Eastern interior and the coasts of the Aegean and Black Seas. It is illustrated within its neighbourhood of villages on the mountain and in the plain in Figure 2, and in schematic relationship with neighbouring countries and with the route of the Royal Road in Figure 1. The Lydians' other settlements could not match it, and its pre-eminent status and the attendant power and prosperity have rendered the task of studying the country and its people as a whole a difficult one, requiring us to have recourse to the Sardian material as being entirely representative of 'Lydianness', although we have at present no way of knowing whether this is true (in the face indeed of scraps of evidence on the nature of religious belief and dialectal differences to suggest that this is not wholly true).

Excavations conducted at the beginning of this century by the Princeton team have now been renewed (after the losses occasioned by the looting and destruction of the expedition house in 1921) and vastly extended by some 34 years' multi-disciplinary work by the Harvard/Cornell team. Their efforts have been concentrated in a few specific areas of the city and its immediate environs, and

their labelling of these sectors will for reasons of convenience and comprehensibility be employed here. Figure 3, depicting the hypothetical layout of the Lydian city, on the basis of the state of knowledge in 1983 (which is essentially the current state), contains the chief sectors and components of the archaic city of the Mermnads; Figure 4 similarly depicts the city prior to 213 BC while under Seleukid control, as revealed by the archaeologists, and Figure 5 is the corresponding sketch plan for the city during the Attalid and Roman periods up to 17 AD. Apart from the Acropolis, particular areas of the lower city demonstrating long-continued occupation for both residential and industrial purposes have been isolated as at the heart of the Lydian city and its successors: these are known as the House of Bronzes/Lydian Market or HoB, Pactolus North or PN and Pactolus Cliff or PC. The first two of these, HoB and PN, are of especial importance: the first presents us with an unbroken sequence of active and diverse occupation from the Late Bronze Age to the late Hellenistic which above all documents the rise and fall of the Mermnad kingdom of Lydia's "heyday", and the second affords valuable testimony both to Lydian architectural and decorative styles in domestic dwellings[23] and to the Lydians' most important and innovative industrial and commercial activity, that of 6th-century goldworking as now demonstrated by a refinery beside the Paktolos, the details of which corroborate, rather than detract from, Herodotos' story that the Lydians were the first kapeloi or traders and that they were the first to issue coins and under Kroisos to mint bimetallic coins, of gold and of silver.[24] One strand of current numismatic thinking is that the Lydians' electrum coins and gold and silver ones date, respectively, to the late seventh/early sixth century and around the middle of the sixth, the latter being the time of Kroisos' reign; the excavators' findings at the gold-refinery area and at HoB tend to favour such a chronology as well as to suggest that a contemporaneous upsurge in trading and building activities can confidently be tied in with the newly-traceable developments in metal-working, as a central causative feature of the Lydians' growing wealth and power. Figures 8 and 9 illustrate the gold-refinery, first as an

integral part of the long-lasting Pactolus North sector and secondly in its own right with its hearths and furnaces, cupels, and concentrations of gold residue.[25]

After excavations in HoB led by Swift, a convention has come into force, as previously observed, that three distinct occupation levels dating roughly between the late eighth/early seventh and the mid-sixth century and known (from the earliest to the latest) as Lydian III, II, and I may be ascribed to the course of the Mermnad kingdom as previously known from literature. The perceived synchronicity may perhaps seem all too tempting, but on balance may surely be accepted, in the current imperfect state of knowledge, as possessing at least imaginative force in the effort to impose order on our material. These layers then would belong to the successive eras of the takeover of power by Gyges, the early vicissitudes created by two mid-century Kimmerian invasions but overcome to put the dynasty on a firm footing, and lastly the expansion and prosperity under Alyattes and Kroisos brought to an end by the Persian conquest; the suggestion is that the Kimmerians' attack put an end to Lydian III, a flood from the nearby Paktolos to Lydian II and Kyros' invasion to Lydian I. Of perhaps more fundamental importance is the evidence that there was in fact much continuity in the use and appearance of the urban area over these periods but at the same time an increasing adoption of Greek artistic patterns, both by way of import and by way of imitation, alongside the maintenance of Lydian ones.

To summarize, an endeavour to present a narrative description of Lydian culture and society, within the constraints mentioned above, based on the sourcematerial also mentioned, and focussing on the process of Hellenization of that culture and society, is worth making because of the 'monuments' listed at the outset, above all the Lydians' reputation itself: in a word, luxury - wealth derived

from agricultural fertility, the mining and refining of gold, and the conjunction of military strength with pioneering commercial activity as bankers and traders, exploited to secure the country a shortlived political ascendancy whose material expression, in Sardis, survives to this day. Assessment of Hanfmann's descriptive model, of the country as prototype of a society in transition between an agrarian barter economy and a commercial monetary one, will also be possible, and, more broadly, Lydia furnishes the welcome opportunity to glimpse a non-Greek society as it develops, in proximity to the Greeks of Asia Minor, the Aegean and the mainland, over several centuries.

INTRODUCTION

1. Sardis p. 83
2. op. cit. p. 80
3. Hanfmann in Proceedings of the 10th International Congress of Classical Archaeology (Ankara, 1973), pp. 25-35.
4. Hornblower, Mausolus, p. 333, and 295-6, 332-351 (chapter on Hellenization in Karia) with note 132 on p. 346.
5. Greenewalt, 'Lydian elements in the material culture of Sardis', Proceedings of the 10th International Congress of Classical Archaeology, p. 38 (and in general pp. 37-45)
6. Hanfmann, Rayonnement pp. 491-499, esp. p. 497; Sculpture pp. 13-18; Ramage, Lydian Houses and Architectural Terracottas.
7. See section entitled "The Lydian Language" and Appendix a, infra.
8. Athenaios, Deipnosophistai 15. 690 b-d; Xanthos, FGrH 90; D.L. Page, 'An Early Tragedy on the fall of Croesus?', Proc. Cam. Philol. Soc. 188, N.S. 8 (1962) pp. 47-49 and 'New chapter in the history of Greek Tragedy', pp. 27 ff. (fragment concerning Gyges, of Aeschylean date); J.D. Beazley, Attic Red-Figure Vase Painters p. 171.
9. BASOR 182 (1966) pp. 8-18; 186 (1967) pp. 31-37; 199 (1970) pp. 28-29; 203 (1971) pp. 8-10. Also Sardis pp. 26-33 on the HoB (House of Bronzes) excavations (Ramage). These are discussed in detail in the Preamble to Part Two, The Mermnad Period, infra.
10. Gould, Herodotus pp. 19-41 (chapter 2, 'Enquiry' and 'Social Memory')
11. Another feature perhaps suggestive of such a source is the precision of the regnal dates. It is standard Herodotean practice to assign specific numbers of years for different rulers: in the case of the Mermnads, he gives Gyges 38 years, Ardys 49, Sadyattes 12, Alyattes 57 and Kroisos 14 (1. 15, 16, 25, 86). There are all too few independent points of chronological reference, and those we have are themselves open to divergent interpretation. One is an Assyrian Rassam Cylinder, another the astronomical record of a solar eclipse.
Assurbanipal (Luckenbill, Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia II, pp. 297 f.) proclaims on a prism inscription dated between 644 and 636 that Gyges had sought his help in overcoming the Kimmerians who had invaded the country, but had then incurred the wrath of Assur and Ishtar by sending troops to assist the rebel Egyptian king Psammetichos, with the result that the Kimmerians invaded again and overran the country; afterwards his son Ardys had renewed the embassy to Assurbanipal.
A second such inscription, dated to 648, is in more fragmentary form but repeats the story of an embassy, out of the blue, motivated by Gyges' need for help against the Kimmerians (Piepkorn, Historical Prism Inscriptions of Assurbanipal, pp. 19, 47; Luckenbill, op. cit. p. 323). In conjunction, this Assyrian evidence allows for a transition from Gyges to Ardys a few years prior to 636, perhaps ca. 645. In turn Herodotos' stated span of 38 years gives the approximate date of 680, which has indeed now become the convention, for Gyges' accession.

The eclipse was the occasion of an end to hostilities between the Lydians in Alyattes' time and the Medes under their king Kyaxares, after some five years of war (1. 74). There are two possibilities, that of 30th September 610 and that of 28th May 585. The second is generally accepted (although Cook (BSA 1958, pp. 1-34) for reasons of Smyrnaian history and archaeology would prefer the earlier date) - Thales, whose floruit is the end of the seventh and first half of the sixth century, won fame for predicting one which occurred 170 years after the mid-eighth-century foundation of Rome (Pliny, N.H. 2. 53), while Herodotos expressly describes the one which terminated the Median war as Thales'. But both of these create problems. It is impossible to construct a kinglist consistent both with Herodotos' regnal periods and with these 'external' data; not only that, but his own chronology is internally inconsistent. The 49 years of Ardys and the 57 years of Alyattes simply cannot be accommodated as they stand, even by pushing Gyges' accession back into the eighth century, in view of the existence of a definite terminus for Kroisos' 14-year reign in late 547. There is contemporary reference to Kyros' campaign, before and unknown to Herodotos, in the Babylonian Nabonidus Chronicle (Smith, Babylonian Historical Texts, pp. 98-12 esp. p. 116). In addition, Herodotos' dating of the Median dynasty of which Kyaxares was third member puts his death ca. 594, some ten years too early for the war with Alyattes if this does belong in the 580s rather than between 615 and 610 (1. 95, 102, 107).

No satisfactory solution is possible, because the regnal periods recounted to Herodotos, or transmitted to him from Lydian archives, seem too generous. By the somewhat artificial expedient of cutting down Ardys' reign the following framework might be regarded as an otherwise reasonable approximation:

Gyges - 680-644
Ardys - 644-628
Sadyattes - 628-618
Alyattes - 618-560
Kroisos - 560-547.

The late-Classical chronographers Eusebius and Jerome offer slightly revised regnal periods, as follows: Gyges 36 years, Ardys 38, Sadyattes 15, Alyattes 49 and Kroisos 15. This overall reduction in length of the dynasty's tenure does have the advantage of giving Alyattes a full span with the lower terminus at ca. 560 immediately preceding Kroisos, fitting in the eleven-year war waged by Sadyattes and Alyattes with Miletos into the last fifteen years of the seventh century, the destruction of Smyrna around the turn of the century, the five-year war with the Medes in the first half of the 580s, punctuated by his attacks on other Ionian towns, together with the expedition against Karia dated ca. 570 (1. 16-22; Nik. Dam., FGrH 90 fr. 65). The Kimmerian raids, one of which Herodotos (1. 16) and Polyainos (7.2) link with Alyattes, are on the other hand too uncertain in date and character to be of assistance in this context.

In summary, it is clear that the information derived from Herodotos' sources is for our purposes incomplete and unreliable. The synchronicities contained in the extended anecdotes, making Gyges a contemporary of Psammetichos, Alyattes of Periander and Thales, Kroisos of Solon and

Alkmeion, are more impressionistic but also more generally valuable. The first modern treatment of this topic, which remains the most comprehensive, was that of Kaletsch, in 1958 (Historia, pp. 1-47).

12. Coin-symbols are catalogued and discussed below, at Appendix d.
13. Sexual licence: Hdt. 1. 94, 3. 48 (and Nikolaos of Damascus, FGrH fr. 59), Athenaios, Deipnosophistai 12. 515 d-f, 14. 638 e-f, and similarly Pseudo-Plutarch, Parallela minora 30 - the Smyrnaians' slavegirls saved them from a siege.
14. Lydopathia: Athenaios quotes a gloss on a term of Anakreon's, to treat 'Lydopathia' as a synonym for soft, comfortable living (in reference to a mention of bakkaris, a perfume or ointment, in Ion's play Omphale - 15. 690 b). Earrings: there is extant a golden specimen, with a pendant ram (pictured at Sardis figure 62).
15. Knucklebones - 156 game pieces in a grave - Sardis p. 235 note 28. Dice: BASOR 154 (1959) p. 9 no. 32 and figure 158 of Sardis (a five, from the Artemis Precinct).
16. An excursus on the origin of coinage follows at section b of Part Two, The Mermnad Period. Modern analyses have revealed a continuing presence of alluvial gold, and of deposits in the Tmolos' rock formations (as mentioned at page 21, note 19 of Survey). No ancient gold mines have been identified yet.
17. See the Preamble to 'The Mermnad Period'.
18. For example, we have the fragment of a vase decorated with a frieze of horsemen (Sardis, figure 156).
19. Cuisine: references are collected at part F b (ii) of Appendix a.
20. See my next chapter, on Geographical Testimonia, and Survey pp. 17-20.
21. 'Explorations in Mount Tmolos', CSCA 11 (1978) pp. 22-61.
22. Waldbaum, Metalwork pp. 1-11, 21 ff., 12-27.
23. Ramage, Lydian Houses and Architectural Terracottas pp. 1-4, 11-15, 38-41.
24. Hdt. 1. 94. 1.
25. Sardis pp. 34-37 (Ramage) and pp. 37-41 (Goldstein), describing first the results of the excavations at Pactolus North and then the goldworking installations and techniques.

PART ONE

Geographical Testimonia in Ancient Authors

This chapter sets out and discusses literary references to the territory of Lydia, in the context of the local populations' heterogeneity and the traditions which arose in consequence. These citations derive from several different authors, with different purposes in writing and varying degrees of reliability. They have in common an intrinsic value as relatively contemporary testimony to facts and beliefs on the subject of the distinctive features of the country.

Homer

Homer

Μήοσιν αὖ Μέσθλης τε καὶ Ἄντιφος ἠγησάσθην — Iliad 2. 864-6
υἷε Ταλαιμένεος τὼ Γυγαίη τέκε λίμνη
οἳ καὶ Μῆονας ἦγον ὑπὸ Τμώλῳ γεγαῶτας.

- ἢ Φρυγίης ἢ Μῃονίης ἐρατεῖνης. — Iliad 3. 401

ὡς δ'ὅτε τις τ'ἐλέφαντα γυνὴ φοίνικι μιήνῃ — Iliad 4. 141-2
Μῃονὶς ἠὲ Κάειρα παρήϊον ἔμμεναι ἵππων.

Ἰδομενεὺς δ'ἄρα φαῖστον ἐνήρατο Μῃονος υἱὸν — Iliad 5. 43-4
Βώρου ὃς ἐκ Τάρνης ἐριβώλακος εἰληλούθει.

πρὸς μὲν ἀλὸς Κᾶρες καὶ Παίονες ἀγκυλότοξοι — Iliad 10. 428-31
καὶ Λέλεγες καὶ Καύκωνες δῖοί τε Πελασγοί
πρὸς Θύμβρης δ'ἔλαχον Λύκιοι Μυσοί τ'ἀγέρωχοι
καὶ Φρύγες ἱππόμαχοι καὶ Μῃονες ἱπποκορυσταί.

πολλὰ δὲ δὴ Φρυγίην καὶ Μῃονίην ἐρατεινὴν — Iliad 18 291-2
κτήματα περνάμεν'ἵκει ἐπεὶ μέγας ὠδύσατο Ζεύς.

Τμώλῳ ὑπὸ νιφόεντι Ὕδης ἐν πίονι δήμῳ — Iliad 20 385.

ἐνθάδε τοί θάνατος γενεὴ δὲ τοί ἔστ'ἐπὶ λίμνῃ — Iliad 20. 390-2
Γυγαίῃ ὄθι τοί τέμενος πατρώϊον ἔστιν
Ὕλλῳ ἐπ'ἰχθυόεντι καὶ Ἕρμῳ δινήεντι.

Hipponax

Fr. 42 Masson.

--τέαρε --τόεύεις τὴν ἐπὶ Σμύρνης·
ἵθι διὰ Λυδῶν παρὰ τὸν Ἀττάλεω τύμβον
καὶ σῆμα Γύγεω καὶ τμεγάστρυ -- στήλην
καὶ μνῆμα Τῶτος τμυτάλιδι πάλμυδος
πρὸς ἥλιον δύνοντα γαστέρα τρέψας.

Homer

Beyond weighting the balance in favour of Strabo's assertion that Maionians and Lydians were the same people,[1] these eight references do not help us very much. It is at least made clear that Greek oral tradition maintained a comparatively precise image of the area around the capital, if not of the country as a whole, and that a general impression lingered of its position among the ethnic groupings of Asia Minor. Bracketed three times with Phrygia, once with Karia, its chief lake and mountain named, and two of its rivers mentioned for biographical vividness,[2] Lydia appears as one picturesque place among many, not otherwise significant.

Hipponax

Fr. 42 Masson

A journey through Lydia to the coast as seen from a sixth-century Ephesian perspective: - even in its current condition this text has some descriptive value. It is given here in Masson's sensible version.[3] Agreement that part of the route follows the Royal Road is straightforward enough; it is however entirely a matter of personal choice whether Smyrna is interpreted as the town or as the Ephesian quarter mentioned in fr. 50: the former might be preferred as providing a simpler closing stage, through

the Karabel Pass, without an extension southwards along the Cayster valley, but this problem is subordinate to the crucial one. Either one or two sets of landmarks for Hipponax's addressee can be recognized: Masson's version offers the royal cemetery of Bin Tepe and the Hittite rock-reliefs in the Karabel Pass, whereas the archaeologists see the entire passage as a summary description of Bin Tepe by proposing to read Alyattes in place of his brother Attales and Ardys in place of Tos and drawing attention to the three largest mounds, in the eastern, central and western parts of the cemetery, as appropriate illustrations of Hipponax's route past the tombs of the fourth, first and second Mermnads.[4] The site is illustrated in Figure 6, although this does not include the mound known as Alyattes'.

No final solution is attainable in the absence of the rest of the poem; the first version certainly does less violence to the transmitted text but the second has the weight of historical probability behind it, particularly in view of Herodotos' description (1. 93) of Alyattes' tomb as (implicitly) the largest of all, paralleling as this does the actual position of the most prominent mound at the eastern edge where Hipponax's route must be supposed to have begun. The sema Gugeo, accordingly, is traditionally identified with the central mound, Karniyarik Tepe, within which (in possible corroboration) the monogram Gugu has been found; the presence of late seventh-century Protocorinthian pottery in 'Alyattes' mound', Koca Mutaf Tepe, is in turn a clear indication of the general dating. (Schneidewin's delightful suggestion that 'Megastru' conceals the name of Gyges' courtesan, with her romantically distinctive tomb, does not solve the problem posed by the second half of line 3 and may be left aside.)

In the interests of neatness, finally, Kirmutat Tepe on the western edge is available for occupation by 'Tos'; this is the most contentious point because Pedley's emendation to Ardys, Gyges' son and heir, is textually impossible and the alternative, Atys, textually easier yet historically awkward, while Hanfmann's acceptance of Tos

fits the text best but has no echo in a Lydian context beyond that incidentally supplied by the use of the Lydian word for a monarch, palmuš.[5] In the end it seems to me no more or less plausible to put forward in support of Masson's version the purely literary consideration that the poem's imaginative range is thus extended.

It is at any rate uncontroversial that Hipponax has here focussed on Sardis, for his Greek audience, as the city of contemporary dominance.

Herodotos

Herodotos

1 93

Θώματα δὲ γῆ <ἡ> Λυδίη ἐς συγγραφὴν οὐ μάλα ἔχει οἷα γε καὶ ἄλλη χώρη πάρεξ τοῦ ἐκ τοῦ Τμώλου καταφερομένου ψήγματος. ἔν δὲ ἔργον πολλὸν μέγιστον παρέχεται χωρὶς τῶν τε Αἰγυπτίων ἔργων καὶ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων. ἔστι αὐτόθι Ἀλυάττεω τοῦ Κροίσου πατρὸς σῆμα, τοῦ ἡ κρηπὶς μέν ἐστι λίθων μεγάλων, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο σῆμα χῶμα γῆς. ἐξεργάσαντο δὲ μιν οἱ ἀγοραῖοι ἄνθρωποι καὶ οἱ χειρώνακτες καὶ αἱ ἐνεργαζόμεναι παιδίσκαι. οὖροι δὲ πέντε ἑόντες ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦσαν ἐπὶ τοῦ σήματος ἄνω καὶ σφι γράμματα ἐνεκεκόλαπτο τὰ ἕκαστοι ἐξεργάσαντο. — ἡ μὲν δὴ περίοδος τοῦ σήματος εἰσὶ σταδίοι ἓξ καὶ δύο πλέθρα τὸ δὲ εὖρος ἐστὶ πλέθρα τρία καὶ δέκα. λίμνη δὲ ἔχεται τοῦ σήματος μεγάλη, τὴν λέγουσι Λυδοὶ ἄβυσσον εἶναι. καλέεται δὲ αὕτη Γυγαίη.

5. 101. 2.

καιομένου δὲ τοῦ ἄστεος οἱ Λυδοί τε καὶ ὅσοι Περσέων ἐνῆσαν ἐν τῇ πόλι — συνέρρεον ἐς τε τὴν ἀγορὴν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Πακτωλὸν ποταμόν, ὅς σφι ψήγμα χρυσοῦ καταφορέων ἐκ τοῦ Τμώλου διὰ μέσης τῆς ἀγορῆς ῥέει καὶ ἔπειτα ἐς τὸν Ἕρμον ποταμὸν ἐκδιδοῖ, ὁ δὲ ἐς θάλασσαν.

7. 30. 2-31.

ἐκ δὲ Κολοσσέων ὁ στρατὸς ὁρμώμενος ἐπὶ τοὺς οὔρους τῶν Φρυγῶν τε καὶ Λυδῶν ἀπίκετο ἐς Κύδραρα πόλιν, ἔνθα στήλη κατάπεπηγυῖα σταθεῖσα δὲ ὑπὸ Κροίσου καταμηνύει διὰ γραμμάτων τοὺς οὔρους. ὡς δὲ ἐκ τῆς Φρυγίης ἐσέβαλε ἐς τὴν Λυδίην, σχιζομένης τῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ τῆς μὲν ἐς ἀριστερὴν ἐπὶ Καρίης φερούσης τῆς δὲ ἐς δεξιὴν ἐς Σάρδις, τῇ καὶ πορευομένῳ διαβῆναι τὸν Μαίανδρον ποταμὸν πᾶσα ἀνάγκη γίνεται καὶ λέναι παρὰ Καλλάτηβον πόλιν — δευτέρῃ ἡμέρῃ ἀπίκετο ἐς τῶν Λυδῶν τὸ ἄστυ.

Herodotos

This information about Kroisos' boundary-stele at Kydrara is an unprecedented detail, such stelai otherwise marking out only sanctuaries and milestones flourishing in the Roman period.[6] The exact location of Kydrara is unknown, Herodotos merely describing it as a station on the army's route from Kolossai to Sardis, on the same side of the Maeander as Kolossai. The general area of the Lykos' junction with the Maeander is in question, this area affording a suitable fulcrum for the roads into Karia and Lydia, as required by his narrative. To follow the course of the Maeander as far as Tripolis then to move towards Sardis via Philadelphia (Alaşehir) would answer the army's requirements reasonably well, enabling it to skirt the Mesogis mountain range. Equation of Kydrara with Karoura, which Strabo[7] puts on the borders of Phrygia and Karia, is not only linguistically but topographically awkward, Karoura being slightly too far west; what does stand out as a basic datum is the importance of the Maeander. Not only does Strabo elsewhere[8] describe it as forming a dividing-line between Karia and Lydia, but Xenophon,[9] whose map of Asia Minor is nearly contemporary with Herodotos' (and in this respect at least unaffected by intervening political events), explicitly puts the shift from Lydian to Phrygian territory at the crossing of the Maeander (now the Menderes). On this basis the conclusion is highly plausible that the Maeander at its confluence with the Lykos (Kargali) was deemed to represent the nodal point between all three countries, and further that the reason for placing a boundary-

stele at Kydrara was that this was the nearest town to a frequently-used ford. Admittedly the stele referred only to Phrygia and Lydia, according to Herodotos; on the assumption that Kroisos would have been concerned to delineate administrative or more particularly military provinces, this discrepancy could be reduced by deployment of two contingent arguments:- that Phrygia, possessing a separate royal house at an advanced stage of Kroisos' reign, enjoyed a greater measure of recognized autonomy than did Karia;[10] and that the Karians themselves were in general terms more closely involved with the Lydians at this period, forming as they did part of the Sardian community.[11]

Kallatebos, the only other station named for Xerxes' army, is similarly unlocated, although obviously on the farther side of the Maeander. The final section of their journey is characterized by the phrase 'deutere hemere', a somewhat ambiguous one since it is not stated what the place of origin was. Xenophon records that Kyros' army took three days (stathmoi) in 401 to march from Sardis to the Maeander and another to reach Kolossai. On the basis that 1 parasang = 3 miles, this would yield an approximate distance of sixty-six miles from Sardis to the Maeander, which is about right. Kyros' first six marches will have averaged twenty-three miles per day: twenty-two between Sardis and the Maeander and Kolossai, twenty between Kolossai and Kelainai, fifteen between Kelainai and Peltai, eighteen between Peltai and Keramon Agora, thirty between Keramon Agora and Kaystrou pedion; the distance given between Sardis and Kelainai will be one hundred and fifty miles, again an acceptable figure.[12]

That Herodotos calls Sardis the astu, the Lydians' town, does nothing to contradict archaeological indications that there was only one urban community of significant size in sixth and fifth-century Lydia, with the corollary that a comparatively high degree of political centralization prevailed.

After his dismissive remark that there are no noteworthy sights such as are to be found in other countries, he makes two passing references to the gold washed down by the Paktolos (Sart çay), source of Mermnad wealth as this was. The supply had been largely exhausted by the end of the first century BC (Strabo 13. 1. 23/591), although traces do remain. The river flowed through the agora on its way to the Hermos, providing a natural rallying-point.[13]

Bin Tepe is then singled out, as by Hipponax, as the most distinctive feature of the countryside. Certainly one of the tumuli is considerably larger than the remaining hundred or so, and two others are of prominent size, readily suggesting that they are the tombs of three (Mermnad) kings. The largest may perfectly well be considered that of Alyattes, particularly in view of the late seventh-century Protocorinthian pottery found inside; Herodotos' description also fits the mound's structure. But it is perhaps odd, for an account presumably based on autopsy, that the others are not mentioned at all. Needless to say, the five markers disappeared long ago; their place has apparently been taken by a single limestone stele.[14]

To sum up, within the limits imposed by his historical narrative Herodotos does furnish some valuable information on Lydian geography, focussing attention on the defining role of the Maeander and on Sardis' importance as the 'crossroads' for a western Asia Minor itinerary.

Xanthos
FGrH 765

fr 1
Steph. Byz. s.v. Λυδία - ἡ χώρα - Χάνθος ἐν Λυδιακῶν α΄- τὸ ἐθνικὸν Λυδὸς καὶ Λυδή.

fr. 2
Steph. Byz. s.v Λυκοσθένη - πόλις Λυδίας - Ξ. α΄Λυδιακῶν ἥν καὶ Λυκοσθένειαν Νικόλαος φησιν - ὁ πολίτης Λυκοσθενεύς - παρὰ δὲ Λυδοῖς Λυκοσθενίτης ὡς Δικαιαρχίτης.

fr. 5
Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἀρδύνιον - πόλις ἐν Θήβης πεδίῳ ὡς Χ. ἐν Λυδιακῶν β΄.

fr. 6
Steph. Byz. s.v. Στρόγωλα - πόλις Λυδίας - Ξ. ἐν Λυδιακῶν β΄.

fr. 7
Steph. Byz. s.v. Εὐπάτρια - πόλις Λυδῶν - οἱ πολῖται Εὐπατρίδαι μᾶλλον δὲ Εὐπατρεῖς - Ξ. ἐν γ΄Λυδιακῶν.

fr. 8
Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἀσκάλων - πόλις Συρίας πρὸς τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ - Ξ. ἐν δ΄ Λυδιακῶν φησιν ὅτι Τάνταλος καὶ Ἄσκαλος παῖδες <Τ>υμεναίου.

fr. 9
Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἀστελέβη - πόλις Λυδίας - Ξ. ἐν δ΄Λυδιακῶν - οἱ οἰκοῦντες Ἀστελεβαῖοι.

fr. 25
Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἕλγος - πόλις Λυδίας ὡς Ξ. ἐν Λυδιακοῖς - τὸ ἐθνικὸν Ἕλγιος καὶ Ἐλγαῖος.

fr. 26
Steph. Byz. s.v. Λόκοζος - πόλις Φρυγίας ἣν ᾤκουν Θρᾷκες Λοκόζιοι - κατεκλύσθη δὲ ὡς Ξ. <ὁ> Λυδὸς ὅς καὶ διὰ τοῦ ξ γράφει - - ἐν τόποις Λοκοξίτας τούτους καλῶν.

fr. 27
Steph. Byz. s.v. Μελάμπεια - πόλις Λυδίας ἀπὸ Μελάμπου ὡς Ξ. ἐν Λυδιακοῖς - τὸ ἐθνικὸν Μελαμπεύς.

fr. 4
Athenaios 515 d-e ὁ δ'οὖν Ξ. ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ τῶν Λυδιακῶν Ἀδραμύτην φησὶ τὸν Λυδῶν βασιλέα πρῶτον γυναῖκας εὐνουχίσαντα χρῆσθαι αὐταῖς ἀντὶ ἀνδρῶν εὐνούχων. --- Suda s.v. Ξάνθος - ἐν δὲ τῷ δευτέρῳ τούτων ἱστορεῖ ὡς πρῶτος Γύγης ὁ Λυδῶν βασιλεὺς γυναῖκας εὐνούχισεν ὅπως αὐταῖς χρῷτο ἀεὶ νεαζούσαις.

fr. 12
Strabo 1 3. 4 (49)
--- τοῦ μὲν Ξάνθου λέγοντος ἐπὶ Ἀρταξέρξου γενέσθαι μέγαν αἰχμὸν ὥστ' ἐκλιπεῖν ποταμοὺς καὶ λίμνας καὶ φρέατα αὐτὸν δὲ εἰδέναι πολλαχῆ πρόσω ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάττης λίθον τε κογχυλιώδη καὶ τὰ κτενώδεα. ---

fr. 13
Strabo 12. 8. 19 (579) and 13. 4. 11 (628)
--- Ξάνθος διηγούμενος οἷαι μεταβολαὶ κατέσχον πολλάκις τὴν χώραν ταύτην --- καὶ δὴ καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν Τυφῶνα πάθη ἐνταῦθα μυθεύουσι καὶ τοὺς Ἀρίμους καὶ τὴν Κατακεκαυμένην ταύτην εἶναι φασιν. --- Ξ. δὲ καὶ Ἀριμοῦν τινα λέγει τῶν τόπων τούτων βασιλέα.

fr. 14
Strabo 14. 5. 29 (680)
--- Ξάνθος - μετὰ τὰ Τρῳκά φησιν ἐλθεῖν τοὺς Φρύγας ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης καὶ τῶν ἀριστερῶν τοῦ Πόντου ---

fr. 15
Strabo 12. 8. 3 (572)
--- Ξάνθος - γράφει καὶ Μενεκράτης ὁ Ἐλαίτης --- ὅτι τὴν ὀξύην οὕτως <τὸ μυσόν> ὀνομάζουσιν οἱ Λυδοί.

fr. 16
Dionysios of Halikarnassos, Antiquitates Romanae 1. 28. 2.
--- Ξάνθος λέγων ὧδε· ἀπὸ Λυδοῦ μὲν γίνονται Λυδοὶ ἀπὸ Τορρήβου δὲ Τόρρηβοι. τούτων ἡ γλῶσσα ὀλίγον παραφέρει καὶ νῦν ἔτι σιλλοῦσιν ἀλλήλους ῥήματα οὐκ ὀλίγα ὥσπερ Ἴωνες καὶ Δωριεῖς.

fr. 18
Athenaios 415 c-d
Ξάνθος δ'ἐν τοῖ Λυδιακοῖς Κάμβλητα φησι τὸν βασιλεύσαντα Λυδῶν πολυφάγον γενέσθαι καὶ πολυπότον ἔτι δὲ γαστρίμαργον. τοῦτον οὖν ποτε νυκτὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα καταχρεουργήσαντα καταφαγεῖν, ἔπειτα πρωὶ εὑρόντα τὴν χεῖρα τῆς γυναικος ἐνοῦσαν ἐν τῷ στόματι ἑαυτὸν ἀποσφάξαι, περιβοήτου τῆς πράξεως γενομένης.

fr. 20
Parthenios, Narrationes Amatoriae 33. 1 (Peri Assaonos)
ἱστορεῖ Χάνθος Λυδιακοῖς καὶ Νεάνθης Β'καὶ Σιμίας ὁ Ῥόδιος - διαφόρως δὲ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἱστορεῖται καὶ τὰ Νιόβης - οὐ γὰρ Ταντάλου φασιν γενέσθαι ἀλλ''Ασσάονος μὲν θυγατέρα Φιλόττου δὲ γυναῖκα ---

fr. 23
Lydos, De Mensibus 3. 20
ὅτι δὲ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ὡς θεὸν ἐτίμησαν δῆλον ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς Λυδῶν βασιλίδος πόλεως. Σάρδιν γὰρ αὐτὴν καὶ Ξυάριν ὁ Ξάνθος καλεῖ. τὸ δὲ Σάρδιν ὄνομα εἴ τις κατὰ ἀριθμὸν ἀπολογίσεται πέντε καὶ ἑξήκοντα καὶ τριακοσίας εὑρήσει συνάγων μονάδας. ὡς κἀντεῦθεν εἶναι δῆλον πρὸς τιμὴν ἡλίου τοῦ τοσαύταις ἡμέραις τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν συνάγοντος Σάρδιν ὠνομασθῆναι τὴν πόλιν. νέον δὲ σάρδιν τὸ νέον ἔτος ἔτι καὶ νῦν λέγεσθαι τῷ πλήθει συνομολογεῖται. εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ φασι τῇ Λυδῶν ἀρχαίᾳ φωνῇ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν καλεῖσθαι σάρδιν.

fr. 3
Pliny, N.H. 25. 14
Xanthus historiarum auctor in prima earum tradit occisum draconis catulum revocatum ad vitam a parente herba, quam balim nominat, eademque Tylonem, quem draco occiderat, restitutum saluti.

Strabo

12. 7. 2 (570)
οἱ Πισίδαι --- Φρυξὶ καὶ Λυδοῖς καὶ Καρσὶν ὅμοροι πᾶσιν εἰρηϊκοῖς ἔθνεσι καίπερ προσβόροις οὖσιν.

12. 8. 2 (571)
οὕτω δ'ἐνήλλακται ταῦτα ἐν ἀλλήλοις ὡς πολλάκις λέγομεν ὥστε καὶ τὴν περὶ τὴν Σίπυλον Φρυγίαν οἱ παλαιοὶ καλοῦσιν, ἄδηλον εἴτε τῆς μεγάλης εἴτε τῆς μικρᾶς μέρος οὖσαν, ἢ καὶ τὸν Τάνταλον Φρύγα καὶ τὸν Πέλοπα καὶ τὴν Νιόβην.

12. 8. 3 (572)
καὶ οἱ Λυδοὶ καὶ οἱ Μαίονες, οὓς Ὅμηρος καλεῖ Μήονας, ἐν συγχύσει πως εἰσι καὶ πρὸς τούτους καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους. - ὅτι οἱ μὲν τοὺς αὐτοὺς οἱ δ'ἑτέρους φασι πρὸς δὲ τούτους ὅτι τοὺς Μυσοὺς οἱ μὲν Ἀράχας οἱ δὲ Λυδοὺς εἰρήκασι --- μαρτυρεῖν δὲ καὶ τὴν διάλεκτον. μιξολύδιον γὰρ πως εἶναι καὶ μιξοφρύγιον. --- τοὺς δὲ Μυσοὺς ὑπὲρ τὰς τοῦ Καΐκου πηγὰς πλησίον Λυδῶν.

12. 8. 12 (576)
ἡ δὲ Μυσία κατὰ τὴν μεσόγαιαν ἀπὸ τῆς Ὀλυμπηνῆς ἐπὶ τὴν Περγαμηνὴν καθήκει καὶ τὸ Καΐκου λεγόμενον πεδίον ὥστε μεταξὺ κεῖσθαι τῆς τε Ἴδης καὶ τῆς Κατακεκαυμένης, ἣν οἱ μὲν Μυσίαν οἱ δὲ Μαιονίαν φασιν.

12. 8. 13 (576)
ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς Ἐπικτήτου πρὸς νότον ἐστιν ἡ μεγάλη Φρυγία, λείπουσα ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τὴν Πεσσινοῦντα καὶ τὰ περὶ Ὀρκαόρους καὶ Δυκαονίαν, ἐν δεξιᾷ δὲ Μαίονας καὶ Λυδοὺς καὶ Κᾶρας.

12. 8. 15 (577)
ἐντεῦθεν δ'ἤδη γενόμενος μέγας ὁ Μαίανδρος τέως μὲν διὰ τῆς Φρυγίας φέρεται, ἔπειτα διορίζει τὴν Καρίαν καὶ τὴν Λυδίαν κατὰ τὸ Μαιάνδρου καλούμενον πεδίον, σκολιὸς ὢν εἰς ὑπερβολήν ---

12. 8. 18 (579)
καὶ ἡ Κατακεκαυμένη δὲ ἧπερ ὑπὸ Λυδῶν καὶ Μυσῶν κατέχεται διὰ τοιαῦτα τινα τῆς προσηγορίας τετύχηκε ταύτης. ἥ τε Φιλαδέλφεια ἡ πρὸς αὐτῇ πόλις οὐδὲ τοίχους ἔχει πιστοὺς ἀλλὰ καθ'ἡμέραν τρόπον τινα σαλεύονται καὶ διίστανται. διατελοῦσι δὲ προσέχοντες τοῖς πάθεσι τῆς γῆς καὶ ἀρχιτεκτονοῦντες πρὸς αὐτά.

12. 8. 21 (580)
Αἰσχύλος δὲ συγχεῖ ἐν τῇ Νιόβῃ. φησι γὰρ ἐκείνη μνησθήσεσθαι τῶν περὶ Τάνταλον -

οἷς ἐν Ἰδαίῳ πάγῳ
Διὸς πατρῴου βωμός ἐστι

καὶ πάλιν -

Σίπυλον Ἰδαίαν ἀνὰ χθόνα

καὶ ὁ Τάνταλος λέγει -

σπείρω δ'ἄρουραν δώδεχ'ἡμερῶν ὁδόν
Βερέκυντα χῶρον ἔνθ''Αδραστείας ἕδος
Ἴδης τε μυχηθμοῖσι καὶ βρυχήμασιν
ἕρπουσι μήλων πᾶν - δ'ἐρέχθαι - πέδον.

13. 4. 4 (625)
Προϊόντι δ'ἀπὸ τοῦ πεδίου καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ μὲν τὰ πρὸς ἕω μέρη πόλις ἐστὶν Ἀπολλωνία μετεώροις ἐπικειμένη τόποις. ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν νότον ὀρεινὴ ῥάχις ἐστίν, ἣν ὑπερβᾶσι καὶ βαδίζουσιν ἐπὶ Σάρδεων πόλις ἐστὶν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ Θυάτειρα, κατοικία Μακεδόνων, ἣν Μυσῶν ἐσχάτην τινὲς φασιν. ἐν δεξιᾷ δ' Ἀπολλωνίς διέχουσα Περγάμου τριακοσίους σταδίους τοὺς δὲ ἴσους καὶ τῶν Σάρδεων. ἐπώνυμος δ'ἐστὶ τῆς Κυζικηνῆς Ἀπολλωνίδος. εἶτ'ἐκδέχεται τὸ Ἕρμου πεδίον καὶ Σάρδεις.

13. 4. 5 (625-6)
Αἱ δὲ Σάρδεις πόλις ἐστὶ μεγάλη, νεωτέρα μὲν τῶν Τρωικῶν ἀρχαία δ' ὅμως, ἄκραν ἔχουσα εὐερκῆ. βασίλειον δ'ὑπῆρξε τῶν Λυδῶν, οὓς ὁ ποιητὴς καλεῖ Μήονας, οἱ δ'ὕστερον Μαίονας, οἱ μὲν τοὺς αὐτοὺς τοῖς Λυδοῖς οἱ δ'ἑτέρους ἀποφαίνοντες. τοὺς δ'αὐτοὺς ἄμεινον ἐστὶ λέγειν. ὑπέρκειται δὲ τῶν Σαρδέων ὁ Τμῶλος --- περιοικοῦσι δὲ Λυδοὶ καὶ Μυσοὶ καὶ Μακέδονες. ῥεῖ δ'ὁ Πακτωλὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ Τμώλου καταφέρων τὸ παλαιὸν ψῆγμα χρυσοῦ πολύ --- καταφέρεται δ'ὁ Πακτωλὸς εἰς τὸν Ἕρμον, εἰς ὃν καὶ ὁ Ὕλλος ἐμβάλλει φρύγιος νυνὶ καλούμενος. συμπεσόντες δ'οἱ τρεῖς καὶ ἄλλοι ἀσημότεροι σὺν αὐτοῖς εἰς τὴν κατὰ Φωκαίαν ἐκδιδόασι θάλατταν, ὡς Ἡρόδοτος φησιν. ἄρχεται δ'ἐκ Μυσίας ὁ Ἕρμος ἐξ ὄρους ἱεροῦ τῆς Δινδυμήνης καὶ διὰ τῆς Κατακεκαυμένης εἰς τὴν Σαρδιανὴν φέρεται καὶ τὰ συνεχῆ πεδία --- μέχρι τῆς θαλάττης. ὑπόκειται δὲ τῇ πόλει τό τε Σαρδιανὸν πεδίον καὶ τὸ τοῦ Κύρου καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἕρμου καὶ τὸ Καϋστριανόν, συνεχῆ τε ὄντα καὶ πάντων ἄριστα πεδίων. ἐν δὲ σταδίοις τετταράκοντα ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐστὶν ἡ Γυγαία μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ ποιητοῦ λεγομένη, Κολόη δ'ὕστερον μετονομασθεῖσα, ὅπου τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Κολοηνῆς Ἀρτέμιδος μεγάλην ἁγιστείαν ἔχον.

13. 4. 6 (626)
--- οὐδεμία δ'εὐρίσκεται Ὕδη ἐν τοῖς Λυδοῖς.

13. 4. 7 (627)
Περίκειται δὲ τῇ λίμνῃ τῇ Κολόῃ τὰ μνήματα τῶν βασιλέων --- χειροποίητον δὲ τὴν λίμνην ἔνιοι ἱστοροῦσι τὴν Κολόην πρὸς τὰς ἐκδοχὰς τῶν πλημμυρίδων αἱ συμβαίνουσι τῶν ποταμῶν πληρουμένων. Ὕπαιπα δὲ πόλις ἐστὶ καταβαίνουσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ Τμώλου πρὸς τὸ τοῦ Καϋστρου πεδίον.

13. 4. 8 (627)
--- τάχα γὰρ ἡ Μηονία φησὶν (Καλλῖνος) Ἀσία ἐλέγετο καθ'ὅ καὶ Ὅμηρος εἴρηκεν -
Ἀσίῳ ἐν λειμῶνι Καϋστρίου ἀμφὶ ῥέεθρα.

13. 4.10 (628)
Μετὰ δὲ Λυδοὺς εἰσὶν οἱ Μυσοὶ καὶ πόλις Φιλαδέλφεια, σεισμῶν πλήρης.

13. 4. 11 (628)
Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτ'ἐστὶν ἡ Κατακεκαυμένη λεγομένη χώρα, μῆκος μὲν καὶ πεντακοσίων σταδίων, πλάτος δὲ τετρακοσίων, εἴτε Μυσίαν χρὴ καλεῖν εἴτε Μηονίαν - λέγεται γὰρ ἀμφοτέρως ---

13. 4. 12 (628-9)
Τὰ δ'ἑξῆς ἐπὶ τὰ νότια μέρη τοῖς τόποις τούτοις ἐμπλοκὰς ἔχει μέχρι πρὸς τὸν Ταῦρον ὥστε καὶ τὰ Φρύγια καὶ τὰ Καρικὰ καὶ τὰ Λύδια καὶ ἔτι τὰ τῶν Μυσῶν δυσδιάκριτα εἶναι, παραπίπτοντα εἰς ἄλληλα. εἰς δὲ τὴν σύγχυσιν ταύτην οὐ μικρὰ συλλαμβάνει τὸ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους μὴ κατὰ φῦλα διελεῖν αὐτούς, ἀλλὰ ἕτερον τρόπον διατάξαι τὰς διοικήσεις ἐν αἷς τὰς ἀγοραίους ποιοῦνται καὶ τὰς δικαιοδοσίας. ὁ μὲν γε Τμῶλος ἱκανῶς συνῆκται καὶ περιγραφὴν ἔχει μετρίαν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀφοριζόμενος τοῖς Λυδίοις μέρεσιν, ἡ δὲ Μεσωγὶς

εἰς τὸ ἀντικείμενον μέρος διατείνει μέχρι Μυκάλης --- ὥστε τὰ μὲν αὐτοῦ φρύγες κατέχουσι τὰ πρὸς ταῖς Κελαιναῖς καὶ τῇ Ἀπαμείᾳ, τὰ δὲ Μυσοὶ καὶ Λυδοί, τὰ δὲ Κᾶρες καὶ Ἴωνες. οὕτω δὲ καὶ οἱ ποταμοὶ καὶ μάλιστα ὁ Μαίανδρος τὰ μὲν διορίζοντες τῶν ἐθνῶν δι' ὧν δὲ μέσοι φερόμενοι δύσληπτον ποιοῦσι τάχριβές. καὶ περὶ τῶν πεδίων δὲ τῶν ἐφ' ἑκάτερα τῆς τε ὀρεινῆς καὶ τῆς ποταμίας ὁ αὐτὸς λόγος.

12. 4. 13 (629)
Τῷ δὴ Καυστριανῷ πεδίῳ μεταξὺ κίπτοντι τῆς τε Μεσωγίδος καὶ τοῦ Τμώλου συνεχές ἐστι πρὸς ἕω τὸ Κιλβιανὸν πεδίον, πολύ τε καὶ συνοικούμενον εὖ καὶ χώραν ἔχον σπουδαίαν. εἶτα τὸ Ὑρκάνιον πεδίον Περσῶν ἐπονομασάντων καὶ ἐποίκους ἀγαγόντων ἐκεῖθεν. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὸ Κύρου πεδίον Πέρσαι κατωνόμασαν.

14. 1. 42 (648)
Μετὰ δὲ Μαγνησίαν ἡ ἐπὶ Τράλλεις ἐστὶν ὁδὸς ἐν ἀριστερᾷ μὲν τὴν Μεσωγίδα ἔχουσιν, ἐν αὐτῇ δὲ ὁδῷ καὶ ἐν δεξιᾷ τὸ Μαιάνδρου πεδίον, Λυδῶν ἅμα καὶ Καρῶν νεμομένων καὶ Ἰώνων, Μιλησίων τε καὶ Μυησίων, ἔτι δὲ Αἰολέων τῶν ἐν Μαγνησίᾳ. ὁ δ' αὐτὸς τρόπος τῆς τοποθεσίας καὶ μέχρι Νύσης καὶ Ἀντιοχείας.

Pausanias

1. 35. 7
Λυδίας τῆς ἄνω πόλις ἐστὶν οὐ μεγάλη Τημένου θύραι.

5. 13. 7
Πέλοπος δὲ καὶ Ταντάλου τῆς παρ' ἡμῖν ἐνοικήσεως σημεῖα ἔτι καὶ ἐς τόδε λείπεται, Ταντάλου μὲν λίμνη τε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καλουμένη καὶ οὐκ ἀφανὴς τάφος, Πέλοπος δὲ ἐν Σιπύλῳ μὲν θρόνος ἐν κορυφῇ τοῦ ὄρους ἐστιν, ὑπὲρ τῆς Πλαστήνης μητρὸς τὸ ἱερόν, διαβάντι δὲ Ἕρμον ποταμὸν Ἀφροδίτης ἄγαλμα ἐν Τήμνῳ πεποιημένον ἐκ μυρσίνης τεθηλυίας· ἀναθεῖναι δὲ Πέλοπα αὐτὸ παρειλήφαμεν μνήμῃ προτλασκόμενον τε τὴν θεὸν καὶ γενέσθαι οἱ τὸν γάμον τῆς Ἱπποδαμείας αἰτούμενον.

5. 27. 5
ἔστι γὰρ Λυδοῖς ἐπίκλησιν Περσικοῖς ἱερὰ ἔν τε Ἱεροκαισαρείᾳ καλουμένῃ πόλει καὶ ἐν Ὑπαίποις.

7. 24. 13
Τοιοῦτο γε δὴ κατέλαβεν ἕτερον τὴν ἰδέαν ἐν Σιπύλῳ πόλει ἐς χάσμα ἀφανισθῆναι καὶ λίμνη τε ὀνομαζομένη Σαλόη τὸ χάσμα ἐγένετο καὶ ἐρείπια πόλεως δῆλα ἦν ἐν τῇ λίμνῃ πρὶν ἢ τὸ ὕδωρ ἀπέκρυψεν αὐτὰ τοῦ χειμάρρου.

8. 2. 7
Ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ Νιόβην λέγουσιν ἐν Σιπύλῳ τῷ ὄρει θέρους ὥρᾳ κλαίειν.

8. 38. 10
--- ἕτερον δὲ Ἀχελῷον ῥέοντα ἐκ Σιπύλου τοῦ ὄρους ἐποιήσατο αὐτὸν τε τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ τὸ ὄρος τὸν Σιπύλον τοῦ λόγου προσθήκην τοῦ ἐς Νιόβην.

Xanthos

Of the seven other writers of 'Lydiaka' only Xanthos is known to have been a native: the loss of all but thirty short citations from his four books is therefore profoundly regrettable.[15] Twelve amount to bare topographical entries in Stephanos' Lexicon, but not one of the places in Lydian territory is independently known. Strabo's particular interests ensured the survival of four more fragments, in reference to the effects of a severe drought during Artaxerxes I's reign and of volcanic activity in the aptly-named Katakekaumene, the Phrygian emigration from Europe after the Trojan War and the derivation of 'Mysian' from the Lydian word for an oxye tree, a kind of beech, found in profusion on the Mysian Mount Olympos. (Menekrates of Elaia is jointly credited with this etymology.) Discussion of Niobe's lineage and

anecdotes from romantic folklore - Kambles' eating of his wife, castration of women by Adramys or Gyges, the plant restoring Tylon to life after a snake-bite - form the bulk of the remaining material. The one other item of significant value is Dionysios' quotation of a firm statement creating a distinction between two groups of Lydians on the grounds of ancestry, a distinction current in the fifth century in explanation of a well-known and evidently entertaining difference of dialect.[16] Background information of a kind to permit the 'fleshing-out' of this distinction in any way is simply unavailable.

We are left with an impression that Xanthos' work was a thorough medley of elements ranging from observations on physical geography to narration of one popular and colourful version of the Lydians' past, for the benefit of a Greek audience with whom he was sufficiently at home to appropriate the story of the Greek seer Melampos; the underlying emphasis is on their shared civilization.

Strabo

These constitute the main corpus of geographical data. Strabo's account is occasionally vague but this is readily explicable in view of his constant stress on the mixed character of the whole region's population and the consequent difficulty of laying down hard and fast nationaI boundaries. He has particular trouble with the Katakekaumene, assigning it both to Mysia and to Lydia while noting that in fact Lydians and Mysians both occupy it.[16a] This situation misleads him into describing Philadelphia, lying in the Kogamos plain at the foot of Mount TmoIos, as Mysian. Farther south, he employs the line of the Maeander to distinguish between Karia and Lydia, commenting that Karians, Lydians, Ionian and Aeolian Greeks live in the river

valley yet implying that this same region, the valley of the Maeander, forms a recognized boundary for (unstated) official purposes.

Considering his express statement that the Lydian language was extant onIy in the Kibyratis, the overwhelming preponderance of Greek names in the Lydian onomasticon, and Herodotos' failure, some four centuries previously, to detect any great difference between Lydian and Greek customs other than premarital prostitution,[17] it is a moot point how accurately Strabo would have been able to gauge the identity of a settlement. In any case, the general point remains that he presents specifically Lydian territory as having a southern limit at the Maeander.

To the northwest, the route from Pergamon to Sardis furnishes another perspective: directly across the Kaikos plain (the Soma - Kirkağaç plateau), over a mountain ridge, between Thyateira and Apollonis, and across the Hermos plain. This entails crossing the River Hyllos and the high ground intervening between it and the Gygaean Lake, although Strabo omits to say so. It should not be overlooked that it is the crossing of the mountain ridge which here focusses the traveller's attention on Sardis; Apollonis is recorded merely as marking the halfway point of the journey, Thyateira as arguably a Mysian border-town (Mysōn eschatos in a pejorative sense?) A corrective to this putative Mysian association for Thyateira, or rather a fresh indication of the mixed nature of settlement patterns, has been furnished by the finding of jewelry and tableware of Lydian style in a tumulus near Akhisar.[17a]

At all events the general picture of this hill-country as the frontier is clear enough, the more so when reference is made to a slightly later passage in which his geographical framework is summarized in terms of the observed character of Asia Minor: such natural landmarks as mountains, rivers, and plains are serviceable but imperfect guides as far as a population-map is concerned, the Tmolos for instance being confined within Lydian territory rather than coextensive with it, whereas the Mesogis which runs between Kelainai and Mykale is occupied in turn by five different

peoples; again, the Maeander and other rivers flow between some peoples, through the midst of others, and hence they make accuracy hard to attain. The same applies to the plains, seven of which are briefly described. Four have a claim on our attention.

The Caystrian, lying between the Mesogis and Tmolos ranges, contained a few settlements of at least partial Lydian character, most notably Hypaipa, one of the two towns recorded by Pausanias as housing a Persian sanctuary,[18] as well as Dioshieron, which sometimes, understandably, put Ephesian Artemis on its coins.[19] (There are a few stray coins of the Kaystrianoi, whose minting town is unknown, but which include depiction of a goddess identical with Hypaipa's cult-image, indicating active worship or respectful veneration of Artemis Anaitis.[20])

The Kilbian plain is described as large, quite densely-populated and fertile. It can boast only one securely-attested town, Nikaia, on the evidence of coins; Nikaia served as the central focus for the neighbouring district ('lower Kilbian') and the terms Kilbianōn Neikaias, Kilbianōn tōn peri Neikaian [as Nikaia takes precedence gradually] are standard. Ephesian Artemis reappears, as she does on another category of Kilbian coins, those belonging to the upper Kilbianoi. Their minting town was perhaps Larisa.[21] Nikander's 'Theriaka', a product of second-century Kolophon, provides one further reference:

ἀνέρες οἵ Τμώλοιο παραὶ Γύγαο τε σῆμα Παρθένιον
ναίουσι λέπας, τόθι Κίλβιν ἄεργοί ἵπποι χιλεύουσι
καὶ ἀντολαί εἰσι Καϋστρου

(633-635); certainly a Lydian ambience, although Robert rather exaggerates it.[22]

Strabo's topographical order seems to break down at this point, as the Hyrkanian plain is regularly located up to the northwest, between Magnesia and Apollonis or Hierakome/Hierocaesarea. All he has to say about it is that it owes its name to a settlement of (military) colonists there by the Persians; however, there are independent traces of Persian influence in the region to bear him out. Above all, Hierakome, which became Hierocaesarea in response to Tiberius' material assistance in the wake of the

major earthquake of 17 AD, maintained a strong Persian tradition: Pausanias and the distinctive Artemis Persike cointype bear testimony to the flourishing foreign sanctuary there.[23] Its earliest appearance comes in the 'Todesurteile' inscription, I.Ephesos 2, currently dated to the second half of the fourth century. One of those sentenced to death for disrupting a sacred procession is listed as coming from Hierakome; felicitously enough, he bears a Persian name, Sisines, son of Eumanes (l. 41)[23a]. It would appear that cross-cultural contacts, whether or not including intermarriage, were well under way; the list offers a medley of Lydian, Greek, and Persian names.

The latest appearance concerns the sanctuary itself: a coin of Julia Domna's period (193-211) depicts Artemis inside a tetrastyle temple.[24] In the intervening period Hierakome had had the distinction of undergoing two raids on that temple's precursor, by Philip V in 201[25] and Prusias II in 155.[26]

Elsewhere in the plain there is a single but welcome notice, from the Roman period, of the Dareioukometon katoikia, whose members built themselves a temple to Demeter Karpophoros.[27] In view of the fact that this inscription was found at Dere Köy it has been taken for granted that this is the Turkish form of the original Dareious kome: a harmless article of faith, since the existence of such a place is what matters. The locality does fit reasonably well with that of one of the tributary allies in the Athenian Empire, Δαρεῖον παρὰ τὴν Μυσίαν. The assessment-list's wording cannot of course be pressed very far but does suggest that Dareion was envisaged as lying somewhere near the borders of Mysia with Lydia.[28] It is anyway very likely that 'Dareion' represents the primary name, whether or not its subsequent expansion was the result of a false antiquarian aetiology: we have at present no means of telling.

To refer back to Strabo's treatment of the Hyrkanian plain, there is in fact an eponymous town. The double title borne by some of its Imperial coins, Hyrkanōn Makedonōn, surely suggests that a Makedonian garrison was superimposed on the old Achaemenid one during the Hellenistic period.[29] The local river-god Pidasos can be

found leaning against a shield, as though symbolizing the region's prevailing character.[30] Tacitus (Annales 2. 47) lists among the inhabitants of the twelve distinguished Asian towns affected by the earthquake in 17 AD the Apollonidenses quique Mosteni aut Macedones Hyrcani vocantur; there is some confusion in the text at this point: Apollonis, Mostene and Hyrkanis were three quite separate places, all in the northwest but at a considerable distance from each other, and indeed it is only on this basis that Tacitus' account yields the required twelve names. Mostene is further set apart by regularly bearing the title 'Lydian' (in the form Lydōn Mostēnōn) on its coins.[31] The other sufferers were Sardis, Magnesia, Temnos, Philadelphia, Aigai, Hierocaesarea (sic), Myrina, Kyme and Tmolos.

The site of Hyrkanis has been known since 1885, when Fontrier found the name on an Antonine statue base at the village of Papazli not far from the River Hyllos; Pidasos was no doubt one of its tributaries. It has even been possible to make provision for the longstanding military presence, as the remains of what looked like a small fortress, phrourion, were found at a short distance from Papazli.[32]

On the far side of the Hyllos an ancient site has been recognized since 1886 near the village of Saricam.[33] Fontrier and others assign to this area an inscription discovered at Manisa mentioning asylia at a 'local' sanctuary of the Persian goddess. It does not, *pace* Robert, seem altogether impossible that the inscription really derives from Hierakome, site, as befits its name, of an important sanctuary. But it is most likely that with more than one settlement of Persian colonists in the region there was more than one such sanctuary. Strabo's words leave the question open. It is tempting to speculate that areas of pre-existing sanctity would continue to have been treated with veneration by pious immigrants, although there is unfortunately no evidence either way.

One more product of the Hyrkanian plain's heterogeneous population deserves mention: the demos, both Greeks and Romans, of ---szedda erected a stele in honour

of their benefactor M. Antonius Bagoas and of his cousin (?) M. Antonius Bagoas, son of Melissos. The work was supervised by Zoilos, son of Bakchios (Apollonios) and grandson of Dias: Roman citizens, then, with a Persian cognomen and a relative with a Greek name honoured by a small but thoroughly Hellenized Lydian village, during the late first century BC or early first century AD.[34]

Lastly, 'the plain of Kyros': Strabo makes two allusions to it, the first topographical - the best of all plains are those of Sardis, 'Kyros', the Hermos and the Cayster, which together form a continuous stretch of land - and the second historical - like the Hyrkanian, the plain of Kyros received its name as a result of Persian activities. The only thing that can be said with confidence is that this was not the site of the battle between Seleukos and Lysimachos in 281,[35] while the only possible candidate for some Achaemenid connexion is the plain in which Kastolos (Kastollos) lay, between Kula and Takmak, in view of its use as a mustering ground for the western satrapal forces.[36]

To turn to the subject of the diverse ethnic communities: consistently with his report that Phrygians, Lydians, Karians and Mysians had not distributed themselves in easily-distinguished territorial groups, Strabo offers no very clear framework. The settlement pattern along the Mesogis is described in the vaguest terms, with reference to the Mysians, Lydians, Karians and Ionians but without any detail. At one point the Mysians are introduced as being among, or next to, the Lydians, while at another point the picture is complicated, no doubt appropriately, by a statement that Lydians, Mysians and Makedonians all live around Mount Tmolos. Elsewhere he loosely describes the Phrygians, Lydians and Karians as all border-neighbours (homoroi) of the Pisidians, adding in an amusingly prejudiced aside that the first three peoples were peaceable despite being northerners.

In an excursus on the racial origins of the Mysians, they are presented as either Thrakian or Lydian; no reasoning accompanies the first of these alternatives while the

second is supported by an appeal to etymology, on the authority of Xanthos (and of Menekrates of Elaia), in the claim that myson is the Lydian word for oxye, the beech tree flourishing on Mount Olympos. He adds that the Mysian language has been characterized as a blend of Lydian and Phrygian, a theory which he labels 'mythical' - sensibly, as it implies quite a high level of philological awareness. The most precise localization he feels able to offer for the Mysians is 'above the source of the Kaikos'. Lydian territory might, apparently, be envisaged as having its northwest limit not far below that source, which would at least tally with the itinerary given between Pergamon and Sardis.

Of greater relevance are his remarks about the Maionians. Notice is taken of Homer's knowledge of them, and contemporary controversy as to their identification with the Lydians is recorded. Unfortunately there is no more than a bald assertion that it is better to regard them as the same people. However, four references are made to Maionia as a distinct entity. The Katakekaumene is classed as either Mysian or Maionian; on the right-hand side of the road to Phrygia proper are the Maionians, Lydians and Karians; Lydians and Maionians are confused, at least by geographers, with other peoples and with each other (a remark contradicting his later assertion of their identity); Maionia is speculatively equated with 'Asia', on the grounds that Homer locates an Asian meadow beside the Cayster. Two strands might be detected within this material: Maionia represents alternatively the whole of Lydia or its northeastern part. The first, of course, shows Homeric influence; the second, relatively more modern, contains two analytical dimensions, the historical and the geographic. In other words, attention could focus either on dynastic tradition (which is discussed below, in Appendix b) or on the evidence for settlement in the region around Menye. In the latter context, an honorary decree of 61/60 is the first indication that the settlement had attained enough sophistication to rank as a polis;[37] two generations later, however, during the Augustan period the Maionians still retained the

brabeutes amongst their officials, not inappropriately in a region in which villages had long been and would continue to be the dominant form of settlement.[38] The epigraphical material demonstrates the presence of numerous villages, such as Atetta, Koresa, Doroukome and Nisyra, and architectural traces are scattered throughout the region.[39] One cultural trait which might conveniently be dubbed 'Maionian' is the local fondness for displays of expiatory devotion to 'the ruling gods'. Evidence is not precise enough to allow proper estimation of the limits of this territory.

The line of Mount Temnos offers a definitive natural frontier with Phrygia. Both Silandos, near the modern Kara Selendi, and Temenothyrai, some miles on the farther side of the Hermos at Usak, call themselves the metropolis of Mokadene, as late as the third century AD.[40] At Hamamlar to the north of Kula a village of Mokaddene is also known, the intriguingly named Thermai Theseos (both the Turkish and the Greek name referring to warm springs in the vicinity); the latter inscription dates to 140/1 AD.[41] Two Mokaddenian families (with Roman and Greek names) were living in Maionia during the first or second century AD.[42] Finally, Ptolemy gives a passing reference, when he describes the Mokkadenoi as an Asian demos 'alongside Bithynia' (Geography 5. 2. 27). Mention of Bithynia in this context is rather startling; if he actually has Mysian territory in mind this might tally with an earlier designation (5. 2. 16) of Maionia as being on the borders of Mysia, Lydia and Phrygia - particularly as he lists Saittai, Dadaleis (a mistake for Daldis or Satala) and Kadoi in 'Maionia', thereby not only defining it unequivocally as a district but also greatly enlarging its scope. We are left to fit the Mokadenoi into a band of territory along the upper course of the Hermos, before the river enters recognized Phrygian territory. The Mokadenoi appear after Ankyra and Synaos and before Kadoi in the Flavian conventus-list (I.Ephesos 13. I. 4-5).

Naour's study of Saittan epigraphy has led him to claim that the region of the Hermos plain encompassed by Silandos, Tabala, and Saittai should be viewed as

belonging to Mysia Abbaitis rather than to Lydia, for four reasons: imprecations against those interfering with graves, the verbs prosamartanein and paramartanein to denote their activity, depiction of household objects on tombstones, and the occurrence of the names Nias and Babeis are all common to this area and to Phrygia.[43] The point is very well taken, yet these parallels may just as readily be interpreted as the products of a heterogeneous settlement-pattern of long standing; it would be surprising not to find a relatively greater interpenetration of Phrygian (or indeed 'Anatolian') elements in northern Lydia, to match the more Hellenized southern areas, after all. An interesting testament to the mixed nature of the area's population is indeed to be found at Gure, a few miles west of Temenothyrai (Uşak) where a tumulus burial has produced a medley of Lydian and Phrygian objects together. [43a]

For present purposes, then, all that can be said in the absence of firm statements from Strabo is that the Temnos provides a safe boundary zone, with Iulia Gordos and Temenothyrai representing the probable northern limits of Lydia in urban terms.

To conclude, Strabo adds a few details of antiquarian interest, mainly as a contribution to Homeric exegesis. On the subjects of Hyde and Typhon, he claims that a line referring to the former in connexion with the Tmolos and found in some manuscripts then current at Iliad 2. 867 is a later addition, perhaps from 20. 385. After denying flatly that there is any such place he notes that some scholars link it up with the myth of Typhon, again by means of textual emendation. Not only was there controversy as to whether Hyde was Sardis as a whole or just its acropolis but various theories were current regarding the homeland of Typhon and the Arimoi. Strabo himself reserves judgment, although his manner of discussing Hyde rather implies that he does not rate Lydia's claim highly, despite Xanthos' brave attempt to solve the problem by putting forward a king of the Katakekaumene named Arimos. Next, he alludes to Lake Koloe, near 'the kings' tombs' (Bin Tepe); in a previous passage the Homeric and Herodotean name, Gygaean, was employed. Notice is taken of a river's

change of name: the Hyllos, also mentioned by both Homer and Herodotos, and appearing like, and on occasion with, the Hermos on the coins of Saittai,[44] has become the Phrygios, a change of which Strabo alone seems to be aware. Again, brief reference is made to the opinion (cavalierly ascribed elsewhere to 'the ancients') that Mount Sipylos and the surrounding country had formed part of Phrygia, and that Tantalos and his children Pelops and Niobe were accordingly Phrygians. The identity of the past scholars is quite unclear, Hellanikos and Xenophilos being possible candidates. Xanthos on the other hand had disputed the Tantalid tradition (although not the role of Mount Sipylos) and given Niobe a different father, Assaon, according to Parthenios. Homer fails to mention Tantalos, treats Pelops merely as Atreus' father and sets Niobe on Mount Sipylos without bothering to identify either of them more closely. Herodotos likewise ignores Tantalos, and Niobe too, but does specify that Pelops was a Phrygian. Aeschylus, whom Strabo criticises for having a confused image of Asia Minor, locates Mount Sipylos up in the Troad. (Later on Pausanias contributes by asserting that Tantalos' tomb, a lake named after him, and Pelops' throne were all to be found on Mount Sipylos, his own local mountain.[45]) The discussion, centred on Homer, of the relationship between Maionians and Lydians has already been noted.

It may by this stage be agreed that Strabo has preserved a relatively substantial body of information.

Pliny

5. 110

Lydia autem perfusa flexuosis Maeandri amnis recursibus super Ioniam procedit, Phrygiae ab exortu solis vicina, ad septentrionem Mysiae, meridiana parte Cariam amplectens, Maeonia ante appellata. Celebratur maxime Sardibus in latere Tmoli

montis, qui antea Timolus appellabatur, vitibus consitus, ex quo profluente Pactolo eodemque Chrysorroa ac fonte Tarni; a Maeonis civitas ipsa Hyde vocitata est, clara stagno Gygaeo. Sardiana nunc appellatur ea iurisdictio conveniuntque in eam extra praedictos Macedones, Cadieni, Philadelphini et ipsi in radice Tmoli Cogamo flumini adpositi Maeonii, Tripolitani iidem et Antoniopolitae (Maeandro adluuntur), Apollonihieritae Mysotimolitae et alii ignobiles.

5. 115

Intus et Thyatira adluitur Lyco, Pelopia aliquando et Euhippia cognominata.

5. 116

Interiere intus Daphnus et Hermesta et Sipylum, quod ante Tantalis vocabatur, caput Maeoniae, ubi nunc est stagnum Sale; obiit et Archaeopolis substituta Sipylo et inde illi Colpe et huic Libade.

5. 119-120

A Smyrna Hermus amnis campos secat et nomini suo adoptat; oritur iuxta Dorylaum, Phrygiae civitatem, multosque colligit fluvios, inter quos Phrygem, qui nomine genti data a Caria eam disterminat, Hyllum et Cryon, ipsos Phrygiae, Mysiae, Lydiae amnibus repletos. --- Smyrnaeum conventum magna pars et Aeoliae quae mox dicetur frequentat praeterque Macedones Hyrcani cognominati et Magnetes a Sipylo. verum Ephesum alterum lumen Asiae remotiores conveniunt Caesarienses, Metropolitae, Cilbiani inferiores et superiores, Mysomacedones, Mastaurenses, Briullitae, Hypaepeni, Dioshieritae.

5. 126

Pergamena vocatur eius tractus iurisdictio; ad eam conveniunt Thyatireni, Mossyni, Mygdones, Bregmeni, Hierocometae, Perpereni, Tiareni, Hierolophienses, Hermocapelitae, Attalenses, Panteenses, Apollonidienses aliaeque inhonorae civitates.

More effort seems to have gone into prose style than into geographical description, Pliny's main interest lying in antiquarian details. He does however give a useful list of conventus members. The most general, relative terms are used to locate Lydia, 'inland from Ionia, to the west of Phrygia, south of Mysia, and north of Karia' - a panorama quite probably derived from inspection of Agrippa's map in the Porticus Vipsania.[46] Controversy is ignored: whereas Strabo questions Hyde's existence Pliny knows it as the local name for Sardis. His items have a literary flavour to them, making the loss of Xanthos' and Nikolaos' work, for instance, yet more unfortunate. Homer remains the only securely-identifiable source, not only for Hyde and Maeonia but for Tarne too: Pliny's fons Tarni can hardly be anything other than a second epithet for the Paktolos ('Chrysorroas' plainly deriving from the famous gold-deposits), albeit a slightly muddIed and misleading one. The fertile Homeric Tarne is, according to a scholiast, synonymous with Sardis itself, of which the Paktolos of course forms an integral part. Perhaps 'fons Tarni' represents, if not a strained literary conceit, a simple error of memory.

It is however the apparently bizarre account of the town of Sipylum, with its successors, which particularly implies a literary substratum, consisting above all of a Tantalid history. Pausanias' testimony adds to the strength of such a suggestion. (In passing, might not the stagnum Sale be identical with the lake known as Saloe?[47])

Pliny's description of Thyateira as previously called Pelopia is a further contribution in this vein: as the home of the rider-god Tyrimnos (admittedly not a charioteer!) Thyateira might not have seemed entirely unsuitable for the hero. His placing of it beside the Lykos, in the region of Tralles and Nysa, is inexplicable unless

one considers his reference to the alternative name Euhippia to be in some way dependent on the real existence of a community of Euhippini in this same region.[48]

The appearance of a River Phryx from which the Phrygians took their name in the passage dealing with the Hermos does not enhance understanding of regional topography. Such a river is otherwise unattested and explicable only in terms of confusion with the younger name for the Hyllos, the Phrygios.

As for his conventus, their value as evidence is limited by the fact for which Strabo[49] and the official lists vouch that pre-existing national boundaries were to some extent disregarded when the arrangements were being made. Roman division of the province into administrative units for judicial and fiscal purposes increased the difficulty of making precise ethnic distinctions, at the same time as it weakened traditional local attachments. Fragments of an inscribed register of Flavian date have survived at Ephesos;[50] in combination with Pliny's account, dating as this does to the Augustan period (before Hierakome had changed its name to Hierocaesarea), they yield the following picture: the Pergamene conventus stretched far enough down the Kaikos valley to include Apollonis, Hermokapeleia, Stratonikeia's neighbours the Indeipediatai, Thyateira, Hierakome and Hierolophos; the Sardian conventus, although centred on the middle Hermos and Kogamos plains, ran into the fringes of Phrygian territory at Ankyra, Synaos and Kadoi (neighbours of the Mokadenoi, still organized tribally) in the north, into the Ephesian hinterland of the Cayster valley at Apollonoshieron in the south; the Ephesian conventus in turn included the Lydian community at Hypaipa; finally the Smyrnaean conventus had a northwestern border-zone in Magnesia and Hyrkanis, these two being singled out, alongside 'magna pars Aeoliae', perhaps in consequence of awareness that a national boundary was thereby straddled, although Pliny neglects to make this explicit.

Both Pliny's list and the inscribed official one are incomplete, the latter by accident of survival but the former in consequence of the author's dismissive attitude, as

expressed in the cursory phrases 'aliaeque inhonorae civitates', 'et alii ignobiles', and - to mark omission of coastal members of the Ephesian conventus - 'remotiores conveniunt'; they do however confirm and supplement rather than contradict each other, and amply bear out Strabo's contention.[51]

Pliny's testimony, in sum, is of strictly limited value yet interesting in its own right as an indication of the literary genre to which much of the available material belonged. It is clear that the range of 'Lydiaka' was wide at the time, and regrettable that neither Pliny nor Pausanias had much interest in scholarly exegesis.

Pausanias

Two items are of conspicuous value: it is useful to have an express statement that Temenothyrai was reckoned part of upper Lydia, even more so to find Hypaipa and Hierocaesarea described as Lydo-Persian, boasting distinctly foreign cult-practice. His phrasing of the latter, ἔστι Λυδοῖς ἐπίκλησιν Περσικοῖς ἱερὰ . . .

deserves attention as being suggestive of a considerable amount of intermarriage between original Lydian families and immigrant Persian ones. It is interesting to find that Achaemenid religious influence (no doubt as an eclectic blend of 'Magian',

Zoroastrian and other elements) had survived into the second century AD, and strongly enough to characterize both communities in the eyes of observers.

For present purposes, he can be taken to have indicated two border-zones for Lydia, the northeastern course of the Hermos, between Temenothyrai and Kadoi, well below the western reaches of Mount Dindymos, and secondly the central Cayster plain, Hypaipa having been located near Ödemiş. In addition, reference to Hierocaesarea focusses attention on the course of the Hyllos in the same context.

More of Pausanias' time is taken up with what one might now describe as Tantalid 'localizations', personal knowledge and autopsy being employed for essentially antiquarian literary purposes. All of the monuments to Pelops, Niobe and Tantalos can, as Bean proved, be traced in the immediate neighbourhood of Mount Sipylos and Magnesia (Manisa) including the water-filled chasm of which a graphic account is given: the Kara Göl would be a suitable candidate.[52]

Apart from this, his treatment of a region he clearly knows well is disappointing. It brings sustained narrative on the subject to an end.

PART ONE - GEOGRAPHICAL TESTIMONIA

1. Strabo 13. 4. 5 (625)
2. The Hermos is now the Gediz, the Hyllos the Kum çay.
3. Les fragments du poète Hipponax, with commentary on pp. 129-34. (There is an entertaining study by Ramsay in his Asianic Elements in Greek Civilization pp. 140-68.)
4. BASOR 170 (1963) p. 52 note 56 and Pedley, Sardis in the Age of Croesus pp. 58-70, esp. 60-3; in general for Bin Tepe see Butler, Sardis I pp. 8-11, esp. p. 9; Pedley, op. cit. pp. 64-5 for a plan of Karniyarik Tepe; (sic, Survey fig. 5); Bean, Aegean Turkey pp. 227-9; Survey pp. 5, 11-12, 95; and BASOR 170 (1963) pp. 52-7 with figs. 38-41 for Alyattes' mound, 174 (1964) pp. 53-5 with fig. 34, 177 (1965) pp. 27-35 with figs. 27, 33, 182 (1966) pp. 27-30 with figs. 21-5 for Gyges' mound. Sculpture p. 156; nos. 230-1 (with figs. 400-1) catalogue architectural pieces from Bin Tepe tumuli, the first a frieze with grazing deer (600-550 B.C), the second a frieze of horsemen (550-450 B.C.) - a good Lydian motif. Mellink has at AJA 94 (1990) p. 146 recorded the recent Carbon 14 dating for material in 'Alyattes' mound', namely, 640 ± 60 years: this would give us a lower terminus 20 years too early for the Herodotean Alyattes, but Carbon 14 testing, even at this comparatively recent era, is insufficiently precise, without independent corroboration, to rule out the additional two decades, if belief in Koca Mutaf Tepe's identity is to be maintained (information from Dr Lynn Pitts - verbal communication).

   The route of the Royal Road is shown, in approximate outline between capitals, in Figure 1: as Tuplin has remarked, the journey between Susa and Sardis covered 111 stathmoi [a three-month journey for Herodotos and his fellows] (Achaemenid Administration, 1987, p. 110). It is perhaps salutary to be reminded that there were other Royal Roads, as listed by Tuplin (loc. cit., note 6), for Lykia, Egypt, Babylon, Mesopotamia and elsewhere.
5. The Gugu monogram - Gusmani, Neue epichorische Schriftzeugnisse pp. 67-71 no. B I 5. The Anatolian name Tos - Zgusta, Kleinasiatische Personennamen no. 1622 (occurring in Bithynia and Kilikia); the Anatolian name Motulos - Zgusta, op. cit. no. 976 (Karia; with possible Lykian variant Mutala) with Mutlei, Mutli - nos. 975.1, 975.2 (Lykia) and Motales - no. 1005. 2 (Kappadokia). For our Totos Mutalideo see no. 997.
6. E.g. I.Ephesos 3503-3512, boundary stones on Artemis' land (horos hierou [choriou] Artemidos); Reisen I 103-4, 121 (Thyateira), 132 (Mermere - in Latin), 143 (Daldis); Reisen II 35 (Thyateira); TAM V. 1 .47 (Silandos); TAM V. 2. 874 (Thyateira).
7. 12. 8. 17 (578).
8. 12. 8 15 (577).
9. Anab. 1.2. 5-6.
10. Hdt. l. 35, the story of the ill-fated Phrygian exile Adrastos.
11. Hdt. l. 92 on Alyattes' Karian wife, Kroisos' mother; l. 171: the temple of Zeus at Mylasa was common to Karians, Lydians and Mysians because of the kinship of Kar, Lydos and Mysos; Plut., Mor. 302 a: Arselis of Mylasa helped Gyges to the throne and took away as an adornment for his statue of Zeus Labraundeus the double-axe, labrys, inherited from Hippolyte and Omphale by the Lydian kings as part of their insignia. Greenewalt, Ritual Dinners pp. 42-3, reviews possible connections between the Karian war god Enyalios and the archaeologically-attested puppy sacrifices at Sardis. Carruba, JHS 90 (1970), pp. 195-6, discusses a Lydian community in Aphrodisias, and Pedley, JHS 94

(1974), pp. 96-9, discusses the Karian one in Sardis. Several Karian inscriptions have been found in Sardis: Hanfmann and Masson, Kadmos 6 (1967) pp. 123-5, Gusmani in Neue epichorische Schriftzeugnisse pp. 81-8, 106-111, Kadmos 21 (1982) pp. 127-9 (from Ahlatli Tepecik, on the south shore of the Gygaean Lake a little way to the northwest of the city; graffito on a fragment of a Lydian pot), and Kadmos 29 (1990) pp. 47-53 (two newly-joined sherds, previously published in Neue epichorische Schriftzeugnisse as C11 and C15). So far no inscriptions on stone have been found. There is a concentration of finds in the House of Bronzes (Lydian Trench) area, which may well but need not indicate the presence of a distinct Karian Quarter.

12. Anab. l. 2. 5-11.
13. Gold: Survey pp. 17, 21 (with reference to deposits at Magnesia and Nymphaion/Nif), 32, 170 note 4 (for documentation of modern traces); for goldsmiths in the 3rd century A.D. see Robert, Nouvelles Inscriptions de Sardes nos. 13 and 14 and note 1 on p. 55, now supplemented in specifically Jewish context by Trebilco, Jewish Communities in Asia Minor, pp. 43-51 especially p. 46 detailing the goldsmiths who contributed to the Synagogue. Water : Survey fig. 7 illustrates the Paktolos' course through the agora; in general the sections on precipitation and floods and on water supply, pp. 25-8 of Survey, describing inter alia the evidence for water-management (channels, cisterns, wells) and the flooding in 'Pactolus North' during the 5th and 4th centuries B.C. (See also Hanfmann, Letters from Sardis pp 230-4 with plan.) The Pactolus North gold-refinery precinct at Sardis is illustrated in Figures 8 and 9, below.
14. Cf. note 4; see also Sculpture p. 6 and note 40, and for a general survey the section On Stelai pp. 23-8, esp. p. 23 - the phallic type, circular with a global or oval top, was standard.
15. See the section on the Lydian language and Appendix on The process of linguistic change, infra.
16. A twelve-line inscription found in 1963 during excavation of the Sardian synagogue is couched in an unknown language and indeed alphabet: Gusmani, Neue epichorische Schriftzeugnisse pp. 115-132. Xanthos however speaks merely of a difference of dialect, so this cannot be 'Torrhebian' or 'Maionian'.

16a. Testimonia collected on p. 79 of TAM V. 1.

17. l. 94. l.

17a. AJA 95 (1991) p. 147.

18. 5. 27. 5.
19. BMC Lydia p. 76 no. 11.
20. Imhoof-Blumer, Lydische Stadtmünzen p. 54 (= Mionnet, Description IV p. 25 no. 126).
21. BMC Lydia pp. 64-7 nos. 1-19 (lower), 62-3 nos 1-8 (upper).
22. Villes2 pp. 314-15 and notes 5, l.
23. BMC Lydia pp. 102 no. 1 (first century B.C.), 103 nos. 5-8 (first century A. D). As an alternative to a change of name to express gratitude to Tiberius, Sardis elected to set up a statue: AJA 84 (1980) pp. 513-14.

23a. Sisines' native ancestors, or predecessors in the area, might have been buried in Archaic tumuli such as the one excavated in Hyrkanis during 1981, with two klinai in its chamber: AJA 86 (1982) p. 570.

24. Babelon, Coll. Waddington p. 293 no. 5010.
25. Polybios 16. l. 8.
26. Polybios 32. 15. 11.
27. Buresch, Aus Lydien pp. 32-3 = TAM V. 2. 1335.
28. Meritt and West, The Athenian Assessment of 425 B.C. p. 67 col. III 349-50.

29. BMC Lydia pp. 122 nos.2-3, 124 no. 17, 125 nos. 18, 22.2
30. Op. cit. p. 126 nos. 24-5; Head, HN p. 652 for the name.
31. BMC Lydia pp. 161 nos. 1-4 (second/first century B.C.), 162 no. 9 (Hadrian), 163 nos. 11-13 (L. Verus, Lucilla, Commodus) - Mostene; Hermokapeleia called itself the Lydōn Hermokapeleitōn polis under Constantine (for example): Reisen II 124.
32. (Mouseion 1886 pp. 11-21); Foucart, BCH 11 (1887) pp. 91-2 no. 11; Robert, Hellenica VI pp. 16-22, esp. p. 21.
33. (Fontrier, Mouseion 1886 pp. 67-8); Foucart, BCH 11 (1887) pp. 84-5 nos. 3-4; Robert, Hellenica VI pp. 56-69, esp. p. 59.
34. Reisen II 10 and TAM V. 2. 1322.
35. Appian, Syriaca 62 (battle in region of Hellespontine Phrygia); Strabo 13. 4. 5 (626) (plain of Kyros near Sardis); Porphyrios, FGrH 260 fr. 3. 8; Justin 17. 1. 7 - 2.5 ('ultimum hoc certamen conmilitonum Alexandri fuit'). Mendel, BCH 24 (1900) pp. 380-2, no. 27, published an epitaph of a Seleukid soldier, the Bithynian Menas son of Bioeris, whos has been killed 'Phrygioio para rhoon', namely, 'Kourou --- em pedio': this was found at Bazarköy on the northern bank of the Nikaian lake. Keil, however, in Rev. Phil. 26 (1902) pp. 257-62 argued for a Lydian location by identifying the river as Strabo's Hyllos. In my view Mendel has the better position.
36. Xen., Hell. 1. 4. 3.
37. TAM V 1. 514.
38. Op. cit. 515; the Maionian copy of the proconsul's edict reforming the calendar in 9 B.C. in Augustus' honour has partially survived: op. cit. 516.
39. Op. cit. 543, 460, 461, 425-6; also Azita (317), Choirome- (528), Axiotta (525-6), and Tarsi- if it is not Saittan (528, 159).
40. Op. cit. 47, dating to 299-302 A.D. (Silandos) and IGR IV 618, dating to the second or third century A.D. (Temenothyrai). A few miles to the west of Temenothyrai, in the vicinity of Bagis, the Turkish town of Güre has furnished a tumulus containing a chamber tomb with gifts of both Phrygian and Lydian character: AJA 96 (1992) p. 144.
41. TAM V 1. 71.
42. Op. cit. 525.
43. ZPE 44 (1981) pp. 11-36 (nos. 1-17), esp. pp. 15-16.
43a. AJA 96 (1992) p. 144.
44. BMC Lydia pp. 216 no. 24, 224 nos. 63-4, 225 no. 67 (Hyllos); 216, nos. 23, 25-7, 225 no. 66 (Hermos), 220 no. 46, 223 no. 58 (jointly).
45. 5. 13. 7.
46. N.H. 3. 17.
47. Paus. 7. 24. 13.
48. Tyrimnos - e.g. Reisen II 115, BMC Lydia p. 292 nos. 1-7; Euhippini - N.H. 5. 109.
49. 13. 4. 12 (628-9).
50. I.Ephesos 13; initial commentary by Habicht, JRS 65 (1975) pp. 64-91.
51. Of the 26 or 27 ethnics in the incomplete Sardian register 9 were previously unattested - Habicht, loc. cit. pp. 66-7. Among these it is interesting to note the strong Roman element: the Maibozanoi had recently decided to call themselves the Ioulianoi (I. 9-10), one community was already known simply as Flaviokaisareia (I. 11) in contrast to Flavian Daldis, Julian Gordos and the Lorenaioi now called Flaviopoleitai (I. 10-11, 8, 6-7), allegiance of some kind to a Murena was commemorated by Mourenioi (I. 15). Further, the communities

owing their origin to garrison-camps are recognizable - the Charakenoi of line I. 12, Apolloniacharakeitai of line I. 13 (and perhaps the Mourenioi as descendants of veterans). Thirdly, a continuing tribal structure is attested by inclusion of the Mokadenoi (I. 4-5) and possibly also the Lakimenoi and Outhimenoi (I. 14, 16), existing alongside the poleis and in a network with the villages. (For the demos of Lora, with Seleukid or Attalid origins, cf. TAM V. 2. 1095; neighbours of the Thyateirans, and joining with the latter demos to honour the deceased Dokimos, and also in early 'sympolity' with Iulia Gordos (in 36/7 AD) which was superseded or supplemented in the Flavian period by union of some kind with Thyateira: Petzl, ZPE 23 (1976) pp. 245-6 no. 2 and note 10). See also Herrmann in TAM V. I p. 255 generally.

52. Aegean Turkey pp. 35-40.

PART TWO

The Mermnad Period

(a) PREAMBLE

The Lydians of the seventh and sixth centuries lived in houses which have re-emerged into the light of day, in Sardis, largely by virtue of having been buried under destruction debris from the Mermnad fortifications, those triple structures of ashlar masonry on the lower slopes of the acropolis, which failed to withstand Kyros' siege. Figure 3 gives the suggested line of the fortifications, including the monumental mudbrick structure, MMS, which had served to protect the lower town. The houses themselves took the form of mudbrick structures, with thatched reed roofs (sometimes over baked clay) and terracotta fixtures (plaques, simas, decorative guttering) as architectural features. Although the houses were 'single-cell' in construction they were made divisible into two or more rooms by means of dividers slotted into the walls and bearing either light wattle-and-daub screens or heavy curtains. Doors and windows were inserted at evidently random intervals, and probably faced with timber. The absence of any structural timber as a component of the main construction, on the other hand, is a distinguishing mark of Lydian domestic architecture (as known at Sardis, at all events).

A notable fondness for architectural terracottas affixed to the upper reaches of their buildings amounts to another specifically Lydian trait: the surviving pieces are uniformly coloured matt black, white or brown, or instead a bright reddish-orange, while many are representational, with plants, animals or mythical characters, often in patterns of opposed pairs. This material affords an impressionistic glimpse of the Lydian aesthetic ambience, as demonstrated in and contributing to the character of the

capital.[1]

The residential quarters have yielded to the excavators not only a great range of seventh and early sixth-century pottery of local and foreign make, mainly Corinthian and Attic but even Lakonian, but also many diverse domestic artefacts and utensils: spinners' and weavers' tools, knucklebones for recreation, drinking and cooking vessels such as bread trays, strainers and graters, tableware, grindstones, perfume containers, ornaments. In addition, Lydian cuisine is as a result no longer known merely from topographical inferences and chance curiosities in Athenaios but also in physical remains: its ingredients included wheat, barley, lentils, chickpeas and garlic. Lastly, evidence suggestive of some intermingling of domestic and industrial usage is to be found in the close juxtaposition of rooms serving as kitchens with rooms serving as, for example, glass workshops.[2]

The geographical features, needless to say, largely dictated the modes of life of the Lydians. A considerable range is attested, in consequence: befitting expectations, both pastoral/agricultural and commercial/industrial activities were long pursued.

Goldsmiths and silversmiths, bronze-workers, potters, masons, sculptors, farmers, fishermen, horsemen, merchants, prostitutes, jewellers, cooks, butchers, bakers, blacksmiths, carpenters, cobblers, textile and ivory workers, huntsmen, dancers, Court officials, priests and priestesses, writers...[3]

That one recognizable grouping was that of people engaged in trade and commerce is suggested by Herodotos' story that the the market-people were partially responsible (whether physically by means of a corvée or 'financially' by means of tax-paying) for the erection of Alyattes' burial mound at Bin Tepe (aided by the contribution exacted from the artisans and prostitutes: 1. 93 (cf. Strabo 13. 4. 7).

Contemporaries looked upon the kapeloi as originating among the Lydians. Whatever the etymology of this noun, it is clear that such merchants travelled, for their

own profit, with armies such as that of the younger Kyros, buying for example grain en route and reselling it to the soldiers, as Xenophon testifies.[4]

As for "the working girls", Herodotos' reference should be related to his additional remark that Lydian girls engaged in prostitution before marriage (as one of the few exceptions he could find to the general impression that Lydian customs were like those of the Greeks): 1. 94. (It is generally supposed, though without confirmation in the literary sources, that such prostitution had a sacral purpose, parallel to Aphrodite's cult practices in Korinth, for instance.)

The artisans, or craftsmen, in turn, had a notable diversity of skills, appropriate variously to the needs of a farming community and to those of a commercial-cum-industrial one. A high degree of differentiation and specialization becomes apparent, mirrored perhaps in the development of specific quarters of the city occupied by, say, the goldsmiths or potters,[5] as Sardis became more active and dominant in international trade during the period of Mermnad ascendancy; society will have become correspondingly more complex, at least in the capital.

The archaeologists have posited numerous functional divisions of status and occupations, in addition to those described above, as follows[6]:-

(i) Royalty

In traditional guise, the kings possessed supreme power, as generals, lawgivers, chief priests, administrators and, here, controllers of minting, as shown by the use of the heraldic image of the lion and the probable ownership of the workshops situated on the banks of the Paktolos.[7]

The particular provenance of the Mermnad clan is not settled. They are depicted by classical writers as usurping the power of the 'Heraklid' dynasty, of whom the

uxorious Kandaules was last representative, but whether the takeover merely represented a transfer of power from one aristocratic clan to another, re-assertion of 'autochthonous' control of the country or alternatively an incursion from Phrygia, introducing a new burial procedure (that of the giant mounds) is not yet certain.[8] For present purposes, at any rate, it seems sufficient to note that the Mermnad period, under Gyges and his descendants, witnessed a remarkable efflorescence, an upsurge of energy, in tandem with the opportunities afforded by the "gold strike".[9] Accordingly it makes sense to treat the Mermnad period as our starting-point: it was in this period that the Lydians became literate and achieved their widest military and cultural repute.

(ii) Aristocracy

Hardly visible in their own right, except by strong inference from the carefully-charted clusters of burial mounds near well-favoured occupation sites[10] and, less strongly, from the evidence, particularly in grave-goods, of concentrations of wealth, the Lydian aristocracy may merely be regarded as occupying a traditional position within a predominantly rural community. Onomastic evidence of patrilineal clans such as the Tylonidai and Daskylidai in itself demonstrates the presence of families appropriately described as aristocratic.[11]

Their relationship with the Mermnad kings, as later with the Achaemenid satraps, is all but undocumented; the only one known by name, Pythios, was active in the early fifth century, earning (unlike Roman senators, as Hanfmann remarks[12]) a fortune from mining and trade.

It may be taken as a reasonable working hypothesis that they shared with the kings' family political ascendancy, as expressed in assumption of leadership both in peacetime and in war, and cultural patronage in the sense of encouragement to both native and foreign artists and craftsmen to produce artefacts which would have the

effect of enhancing their own status, as well as offering a means of livelihood. The forms political ascendancy took in practice, however, cannot be reliably described in the current absence of any information on the internal administrative structures during this period: we are left to presume a measure of pragmatic mutual support, in terms of advice 'in council' together with contribution in kind or in bullion to the royal exchequer and in the supplying of troops to the royal armies, on their side, and an honourable, profitable standing in the community and court as the kings' response.

(iii) Priests and Priestesses

The religious officials appearing in the Lydian inscriptions are not functionally remarkable. In Sardis, they acted as custodians of cult, with concomitant temple-warden authority as evinced by Mitridastas in the Achaemenid period. Others made dedications to their deity, consecrating monuments and invoking divine protection.[13] By way of possible contrast, the Maionian cult practised at least at later date in the 'God-ruled villages' (discussed in detail in an ensuing chapter) lays little emphasis on priests as intermediaries.

Priestesses, kaueis, are attested for a much longer span of time, occurring in Artemision inscriptions as late as the second century AD.[14] By then, however, they are indistinguishable from their counterparts in Graeco-Roman poleis.

(iv) Free men, craftsmen, agoraioi, kapeloi

The mass of the population fell into an intermediate category, and engaged in the diverse trades for which the country's physical features gave opportunity, as described already. The social hierarchy's degree of flexibility is a matter beyond the capacity of our sources, while the unifying factors such as language, binding the community together and resulting in such communal effort as working to maintain the capital's prosperity and influence, erecting the royal burial mounds, fighting against Greek, Persian, Kimmerian enemies, can be guessed at but not usefully documented. At all

events, the wide variety of occupations followed by the Lydian people itself serves as a dominant characteristic of the community's life as demonstrated in the capital (which is depicted, in archaeological outline, in Figure 3).

(v) Serfs

Found on Mnesimachos' estate (I. Sardis 1), in the Sardian plain, during the third century, serfs are a familiar part of the ancient Anatolian landscape, tied to the village rather than the temple estate. Chattel slaves, on the other hand, although also attested for Mnesimachos' estate, may possibly be a result of Hellenization,[15] as they are not attested for the Archaic period and no Lydian word covering such status has been identified.

PART TWO - THE MERMNAD PERIOD - (a) PREAMBLE

1. Ramage, Lydian Houses, pp. 4-6 (construction), 6-7 (interiors), 9-10 (roofs and tiles), 11-12 (general discussion of terracottas) and 38-41 (style and chronology) (with his note 3 on p. 10 re an illuminatingly similar modern Turkish house in nearby Sart Mustafa). Herodotos' remark, at 5. 101, to the effect that most Sardian houses (in 499) were 'made with reeds', those made of brick having thatched roofs, is not substantially at odds with the archaeologists' findings, given that thatched roofs do seem to have been all but ubiquitous.
Fortifications: MMS itself has formed a focus of archaeological work for the last few years, and is described in AJA 95 (1991) p. 147 and 96 (1992) p. 143 (for example). It has now been exposed for about 120 metres in length and between 6 and 9 metres in height; the mudbrick foundations were strengthened by means of a superstructure of limestone masonry, and bore gates and ramparts: traces of wood, iron nails, and perhaps shutters and doors have been located. In one sector at least, these fortifications were added to in the first half of the sixth century [the time of Alyattes and Kroisos] by a massive earthwork on the western side, about 15 metres wide and more than 12 metres high; Greenewalt suggested (AJA 94 (1990) pp. 145-6) that it was designed to protect the main wall from an enemy's mining and sapping. (Alyattes' mound at Bayrakli is no doubt a case in point.) Its destruction is set in the mid-sixth century, in other words under the impact of the Persians. The interpretation of MMS as a likely extension of the triple fortification system on the Acropolis (Arrian, Anab. 1.17.5 - admired by Alexander) was first put forward in 1977, the year of its discovery (AJA 82 (1978) pp. 328-30 and fig. 9), a year in which the Acropolis was also extensively explored, to good effect, with substantial Archaic occupational traces showing up - as again in 1986 (AJA 92 (1988) p. 126) and 1987 (AJA 93 (1989) pp. 125-8) in particular. A system of ramparts and terraces was found on the Acropolis during 1985 (AJA 91 (1987) p. 25) and assessed as more likely to have been erected in Kroisos' time, or indeed earlier, than under the Persians. Other refs. = 83 (1979) p. 340 (postulating the existence of a towergate complex within the fortifications), 84 (1980) pp. 513-14, 85 (1981) p. 474 (illustrating a section of the wall), 86 (1982) p. 570 (associated with significant quantities of seventh-century pottery - see my next note), and 87 (1983) p. 440.
All in all, these give us a good impression of the resources at the Mermnads' command, and of the growing size and power of their capital.

2. Houses: AJA 89 (1985) p. 564; 91 (1987) p. 25; 92 (1988) p. 126; 93 (1989) p. 126; 96 (1992) p. 143. Pottery: AJA 86 (1982) p. 570 (grey ware, black-on-red Lydian Geometric, 'Corinthianizing' skyphos - i.e. date ca. 700); 89 (1985) p. 564 ('Little Master' skyphos - ca. 570); 91 (1987) p. 25 (lydions, Middle Corinthian aryballoi); 92 (1988) p. 126 (East Greek Orientalizing, Attic, a Lakonian skyphos); 95 (1991) p. 147 (seventh-century painted pottery); 96 (1992) p. 143 (Attic black-figure).

Ceramics and occupational levels: at Sardis pp. 27-33 the House of Bronzes' Lydian levels III-I are described in correlation with the changing ceramic finds, both local and imported. For ease of reference, I summarise here the description given by Ramage (after Swift). The stratigraphy has traced occupation back as far as ca. 1400; the fourth layer from the surface, representing the 'Geometric' era, has been given the conventional dating of 850-700: this contains some monochrome ware, grey, yellow, red or black, together with some with geometric motifs, usually painted in black on red. Then our level III, covering approximately 700-650, continues these traditions, but supplemented by Corinthian as well as the 'Rhodian' and 'Cycladic' types. Level II, above it, with the timespan of ca. 650-600, appears to be marked by a greater range of Greek ceramics and by a trend among the native potters towards a more decorative technique employing two colours in harmony, with an evident preference for the black-on-red. It has been considered possible to differentiate the pottery of this level into two main types, namely, the more geometric style using such patterns as cross-hatched triangles and maeanders, alongside a 'looser' style with more dominant patterns, of concentric circles or parallel wavy lines (and a partiality for brown on buff glaze). Lastly, the uppermost level, ca. 600-547, is characterised by yet greater proportions of Greek ceramics (as described above). I am unconvinced that it has been proven that the Lydian craftsmen were essentially slavish imitators, rather than participants in the development of Anatolian and Aegean artistic styles.

3. Generally, Sardis pp. 67-79 on Lydian society and culture.
A chariot has recently been found in one of the Bin Tepe tumuli, in witness to one feature of that culture in material guise: AJA 96 (1992) p. 144. Its two wheels survive, with their iron studs and lynchpins as well as human protomes.
4. Sardis p. 83
5. Sardis pp. 67 f.: "the principle of organization seems to be agglutination, with 'heaped-up' dwellings aligned along major arteries and walled, more open spaces used for commercial, industrial and possibly sacred areas temple precincts). The overall impression is one of very urban congestion."
6. Sardis pp. 84-86
7. Waldbaum, Metalwork p. 7 n. 61
8. Sardis pp. 53 ff., esp. p. 55 and n. 30, and pp. 65f.; Survey pp. 11 f.
9. Waldbaum, loc. cit.; Wallace, JHS 1988 pp. 203-7.
10. A. and N. Ramage, 'The siting of Lydian burial mounds', pp. 143-60 of Festschrift Hanfmann (1971).
11. Nikolaos of Damascus, FGrH 90 fr. 47
12. Sardis p. 81
13. Gusmani, LW 22-24, 26, 28
14. I.Sardis 51-4
15. I owe this allusion, or comment, to Dr Simon Price.

(b) THE ORIGIN OF COINAGE

The efflorescence to which reference was made above as marking out the Mermnad period had as one causative or contributory factor the skilful exploitation of the mineral resources of the Sardian terrain and above all the gold dust washed down from Mount Tmolos in the River Paktolos and thence into the River Hermos. This gold dust is nowadays universally known as electrum, and is an alloy of gold and silver in varying proportions, ranging from 70 to 90% gold, 10 to 30% silver. In the Archaic period it was plentiful, but the supply was largely exhausted by the first century BC.[1]

Sophocles's Kreon urges Teiresias to go and buy *electrum* from Sardis (Antigone 1037-8) whereas Herodotos uses the phrase 'white gold' (1. 50. 2-3). Elsewhere, in talking about the tribute paid to the Achaemenids by the Ethiopians he describes the gold as 'unfired' (ἄπυρος) (3. 97): this matches the preceding reference, in which a distinction is carefully made between the 'white gold' and smelted, refined gold (literally, 'boiled-off'). It was a hall-mark of Kroisos' gifts to Delphi, apparently towards the end of his reign and so ca. 550, that specimens of both were sent, in abundance, while by contrast Gyges had sent silver and 'gold' objects, Alyattes a silver krater.[2] The technological basis of this distinction was known, at least in part, in fifth and fourth-century Boiotia and Athens (Pindar, Nemean Odes 4. 133, Plato, Republic 3. 413 e). Strabo clarifies the matter by defining 'electrum' as the purified residue, τὸ κάθαρμα , left after the first smelting of gold ore (3. 8/146).

By great good fortune we have archaeological evidence pertaining to Lydian metal-working. A gold-refining area has been identified in Pactolus North and its date of occupancy has crystallized at the second quarter of the sixth century. (This would mean that there were several other such areas, given that the minting of early coins, in

which it is generally agreed the Lydians took part, antedates this by one or two generations.) Figures 8 and 9 illustrate the currently-observed characteristics both of the site and of the processes, while the chief excavator, Andrew Ramage, has described its features and operations in detail.[3]

Two different processes were carried on in adjoining parts of the site; it appears that the stratigraphic evidence does not permit a perception of the two as consecutive, rather than concurrent, although on other grounds a strong argument has been put forward that the one did succeed and largely supersede the other. The one to be taken first, because it is at all events metallurgically prior, is cupellation. Some sixty artificial hollows in the earth were used by Alyattes' and Kroisos' countrymen for the refining of alluvial gold dust panned from the nearby river: charcoal and lead were heaped in with the dust and fired up, a constant high temperature was maintained with the aid of bellows, and the lead would melt and be burnt off, leaving behind a workable nugget of ore. The second process is cementation, whereby the products of cupellation, Strabo's κάθαρμα, after being hammered thin were put with brick fragments and salt into large pots which were then closed up and heated for several days in furnaces; the silver in the electrum alloy would be drawn out and absorbed by the salt, giving as the end-product a much improved gold content to the ore, which took on the character of purified gold, darker and heavier than the electrum afforded by cupellation.

For the historical significance of this one turns, first, to numismatics. Electrum was in widespread use in western Asia Minor, during the last decades of the seventh century and the first half of the sixth, as the material for coins. The 93 electrum coins from the foundation deposit at the Ephesian Artemision's Central Basis are variously attributed to the mints of Phokaia, Miletos, Ephesos, Teos, Kyme, Halikarnassos and Sardis. There are 20 electrum coins (including one from the Central Basis hoard) bearing an impression of a lion head and stamped with the Lydian 'legend' WALWE., together with 2 otherwise similar, and indeed die-linked with the former, but stamped

instead with KALI., while a fragment of comparable lion head type has now come to light in the gold-refinery itself.[4] In other words, it can safely be assumed that the Lydians, with the benefit of a major source of electrum, did take part in the novel activity of minting coins.

What remains a matter of theory, and controversy, is why they did so and what the coins were for. This is of particular relevance in the light of the claim confidently made by Hanfmann, to which I alluded in the Introduction, to the effect that "Lydia is a first and prototypical example of the process of transition from an agricultural barter economy to a commercial monetary urban economy." The emphasis here should be on the word "transition"; as he accepts, in conformity with Kraay's findings, the majority of commercial transactions will have continued to use barter, and the acquisition and spending of money will not have been the dominant socio-economic mechanisms.[5] The fulchrum for this model of Lydian society is, I think, Herodotos' assertion (1. 94. 1; probably derived from the same source as the belief held by Kroisos' contemporary Xenophanes that they were the first to mint coins - Pollux, Onomasticon 9. 83) that the Lydians were the first men known to the Greeks who minted gold and silver currency and also the first to be kapeloi. The text is as follows:

πρῶτοι δὲ ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν νόμισμα
χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου κοψάμενοι ἐχρήσαντο πρῶτοι
δὲ καὶ κάπηλοι ἐγένοντο.

So far as this can be pressed, the wording does not, unfortunately, lend itself to any causal connection between minting coins and being kapeloi. The sentence structure carries the two clauses in question consecutively, using particles which do not necessarily give the sense of a connection between them other than association in the author's mind: they both involve commercial activity. Without a consensus of understanding of the purpose behind the creation of coinage we have no completely acceptable framework for this fundamental aspect of the society and its development.

Recently, a short but comprehensive and illuminating review of this area of numismatic debate was conducted by Wallace.[6] It is valuable to have a summary statement of the three components of the definition of 'money': it is a standard measure of value, a means of exchange, and a means of storing surplus wealth. Before the invention of coinage, these needs had been met by other materials, crops, animals, metal objects, including bullion, and these long continued in such use alongside coined money, the mode of exchange being barter. In passing, there is, in my view, no reason why these other materials could not form the measure of value for 'retail traders', nor why 'retail traders' could not employ barter (as, of course, a great many do). However, coined money once introduced was clearly popular and seized on as offering, whatever drawbacks it might have had, certain advantages rendering it more attractive.

Wallace proposes an interesting and welcome explanatory model. He draws attention to the oddness of the choice of electrum: the ratio of gold to silver varies naturally, and over a considerable range, as we have seen, and in consequence the metal's market value must be doubtful and fluctuating; in addition, its intrinsic value, itself variable, would not readily be susceptible to measurement at a time when only the touchstone was known as a means of testing that value in very approximate (and rather haphazard) terms. On the face of it, then, electrum would appear a problematic and unsuitable material for engendering coinage. But it did so, and successfully: hence a different perspective is needed.

The problem posed by electrum's variability will have been well known to its possessors, existing as this problem did for its antecedent form, bullion. The potent hypothesis has been put forward that those possessors turned to coins in order to stabilise the metal's market value, by means of the guarantee, given by the minter's stamp, that it could be redeemed at a certain fixed price, this fixed price being the nominal (fiduciary) market value imposed on all coins of a specific manufactured

weight and denomination by the authority of that minter. Once that step had been taken, the advantages of coins' portability and versatility would soon be appreciated in their own right, speeding up the process of acceptance of the new-fangled invention. They duly answered all three requirements of true money, and enabled the possessors of electrum to profit from its standardized value. Wallace does not particularise the nature of such profit; in my view such standardization of the metal's market value will have been beneficial by virtue not only of giving their wealth more precise, generally-recognised form but also of rendering it more easily commutable for the purpose of maintaining social obligations as well as acquiring commodities.

That the consistent weights of each denomination indicate the makers' intention that similarly consistent values be attached to the coins is recognised as a central element by the proponent of an earlier theory, Bolin[7], who is followed by Hanfmann and Waldbaum.[8] The early electrum coins show a striking diversity of silver content, over a range greater than is found in the natural alloy, and between 45 and 69%, which is explicable only as the result of a deliberate admixture of silver at the time of cupellation, a 'dilution'. Although Bolin, writing in 1958, was unaware that the alloy in its natural state contains varying proportions of gold and silver, he considered that it was this dilution that explains the originating purpose of coinage: the monarch of the time, most likely Alyattes, added the extra silver in order to profit by deceiving the public as to the value of the electrum issued, representing the coins as more worth having than the bullion and varying the amounts of silver to conceal the extent of that profit. Hence the invention of coinage was no more or less than "a large-scale swindle".

It is an appraisal of the implications of the natural variability of electrum that allows us to escape from Bolin's thesis. As previously noted, the metal seems an odd choice; silver was available in quantity, notably in the region of Mount Tmolos itself, and gold was also located very close to Sardis, probably on the mountain as well as elsewhere.[9]

But to see the problem from the perspective of a desire to impose order on a chaotic state of valuation, taking advantage of the metallurgical techniques known at the time, is considerably more plausible and attractive.

The problem of the dilution would be resolved directly by that desire: the adding of silver, in its own right a precious metal, to the gold dust would be an attempt to bring the intrinsic value of the resulting coins into line with the market value of bullion and thereby to redress some of the imbalance occasioned by fixing their market value below that of the bullion in order to make them more acceptable to their potential receivers.

This line of argument must take into account the fact that we do not know the valuations relative to one another of electrum and silver. It makes satisfactory sense of the dilution only if silver was indeed always valued below electrum: in view of the fact that the substance we are calling electrum is, after all, a variety of gold we may reasonably assume that the bullion invariably possessed a market value above that of silver, with the corollary that the otherwise perverse addition of silver could be regarded as a legitimate part of the chain of events leading to the creation of, simultaneously, a new means of storing surplus wealth, a new means of exchange and a new measure of value, in the form of discrete stamped portions of precious metal.

A new means of exchange: one party to that exchange is not really in doubt but the identity of the other is a vexed question. It has been argued that the issuers of the early coins were private individuals, including merchants and traders.[10] This is historically implausible. Authority to institute and organize and, above all, to give the requisite guarantee for the novel operation resided in the Lydian kings. I would go further, and suggest that the Greek poleis which also issued the early coins did so on the example and even perhaps with the tacit approval of those kings: not only was political power more diffuse in the Archaic Greek settlements but their economic power was based more exclusively on agriculture and trade in the absence of the richer mineral resources

characterizing Lydian territory. No-one seems to have addressed the question of the whereabouts of the Greeks' own sources of electrum: we do not have evidence of the existence of such sources, whereas we do have evidence of the occasional sale of precious metals by the Mermnads to the Greeks and/or of a belief among the latter that the former were a prime source of such material. On balance, therefore, it may well be appropriate to put forward the hypothesis that the Greeks who took part in the introduction of money to western Asia Minor obtained much of the electrum from the Mermnads, and were in that restricted sense dependent on them.

This brings us conveniently to the other side of the coin, the receivers. Since Kraay's famous article[11] it has been accepted that the early coins were struck in denominated values higher than would have been feasible for the purposes of ordinary everyday market transactions; none of those coins constituted "small change", nor were they suitable for internal trade. Foreign trade could not have been the beneficiary because the coins although of high value would not have been recognized and accepted outside the issuers' specific areas of influence, as is demonstrated by the limited circulation of these early specimens. Their popularity calls for some other explanation, and it has been suggested that they were struck as payment for mercenaries.[12] This however has the drawback that we cannot be certain what the mercenaries would have done with them: they could not spend them on small, ordinary purchases within the issuer's territory, nor could they exchange them in their homeland or elsewhere outside that territory.

And yet these coins possessed considerable economic and symbolic value, sufficient to make them soon a worthy offering to Ephesian Artemis, hoarded in time of danger, comprising funeral objects, proudly emblematic of the issuers' identity, their production a means of livelihood for many artisans.

The fact must be faced that we are unable, on the current evidence, to identify with precision the social purpose of the first coins. All that etymology tells us is that as far

as the Greeks were concerned they (collectively, as νόμισμα) were *customary*. The other Greek noun for 'money', χρήματα, derives from a verb expressing the sense of 'answering a need', 'providing something to be used', and that noun accordingly denotes also 'property', including chattels, rendering it no more helpful than νόμισμα. (Our own word, of course, has an equally opaque Latin root.) It is here suggested that the original need served was, as Wallace proposes, that of standardizing the value of electrum, while the uses to which they were initially put remain in doubt.

However, I should like to draw attention, in this context, to the fact of the multiplicity of fixed values put 'on the market'. That multiplicity itself, with the sliding scale of relative units or amounts now in existence, might be seen as affording an opportunity for the creation of a particular attitude of mind, among the people known as the ἀγοραῖοι, an attitude of predisposition toward treating money as a useful means of exchange with commercial possibilities greater than those of the alternatives.

Cementation may be seen as the key to the next stage in this development. The second limb of Wallace's theory is that the technique was unknown, in Asia Minor, until the sixth century, and that its discovery was a breakthrough radically affecting the usage of coins. The ability to produce from electrum alloy gold divested of its associating silver, the purified gold of which Herodotos speaks, furnished the Lydians with a supply of entirely reliable precious metal: hence the bimetallic currency of Kroisos. One relevant change is well known: after the mid-century the electrum coins were mainly superseded and replaced by silver ones (together with the gold ones of Lydia and the succeeding Achaemenid Empire), while the few remaining electrum coins minted have a very much reduced silver content, down, in one instance, to 1%.[13] This is, no doubt, a shining example of the efficacy of cementation. Abandonment of the practice of adultering the gold dust would certainly have put more

silver into circulation.

It may be that more attention should be paid to the possibility that it was not just the refinement of electrum afforded by cementation, close to the end of the Mermnad dynasty, which contributed so markedly to the country's reputation for wealth, based as this was on unsurpassed stocks of gold and silver, but additionally and several decades beforehand the mining of gold seams on Mount Tmolos. Admittedly no definite trace has yet been discovered of such workings but the mountain region has not been comprehensively explored and the prospect has an intrinsic likelihood.

In this context, it is relevant to observe that the first of the Mermnad kings already had sufficient reserves of gold, and silver, to endow Delphi with rich gifts, at the same time as he pursued a vigorous and expansionist policy of leadership and brought his country to the attention not only of numerous Aiolic and Ionian Greeks but also of the contemporary great power, Assyria, and of Egypt. By the premature end of his great-great-grandson's reign, around 150 years later, the country's position vis-a-vis other peoples had been transformed, and the capital had become one of the leading international cities and centres of attraction. As for the internal position, we cannot be specific but might well agree that Hanfmann's model of Lydian society has some merit, in that the supplies and exploitation of the locally-occurring precious metals had assumed considerable importance. They had not only become a means of livelihood but had fostered a certain attitude of mind: by virtue of its ability to move between and derive benefit from diverse fixed values expressed in physical, durable form this attitude of mind might properly be dubbed commercial. The market-place within which the kapeloi functioned had thereby gained characteristics not found in the contemporary Greek counterparts.

PART TWO - THE MERMNAD PERIOD - (b) THE ORIGIN OF COINAGE

1. Hanfmann and Waldbaum in Festschrift Glueck, pp. 313-14; Wallace, AJA 91 (1987) pp. 386-7.
2. Kroisos: Hdt. 1. 50-51 (and 1. 52: golden shield and spear for Amphiaraos), Diod. 16. 56. 6 ("10, 000 talents"); Gyges: Hdt. 1. 14; Alyattes: Athenaios, 6. 231 e.
3. Sardis pp. 34-6.
4. Gusmani, Lydisches Worterbuch no. 52, records 'valvel(?)' without comment. Cf. Wallace, JHS 108 (1988) pp. 203-7, postulating that this legend is (part of) the Lydian word for 'lion', with the corollary that this demonstrated the royal provenance of the coinage: quite plausibly. These are the only surviving series with legends, perhaps indicative of some particular minting occasion. For the fragment 'in situ', see Goldstein, BASOR 228 (1977) pp. 54-7 and his figure 8.
5. Hanfmann in Sardis, pp. 80, 83; Kraay, Archaic and classical Greek Coins pp. 24-5, 28-31.
6. AJA 91 (1987) pp. 385-397.
7. Bolin: State and Currency, q.v.
8. Sardis pp. 76-8.
9. Survey p. 21 and p. 170 note 4.
10. By Holloway in 1978 and Price in his Studies, pp. 4-10.
11. JHS 84 (1964) pp. 76-91, esp. 88-91. As Cook puts it, illuminatingly, in Historia 7 (1958) p. 261, "the value of the commonest denomination was in the region of ten sheep".
12. Kraay, loc. cit., p. 89.
13. Wallace, loc. cit., note 40.

(c) INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Lydian contacts with Ionia and Greece during the Mermnad period are inferred from literary sources and cultural artefacts, as indirect expressions of social realities otherwise lost to us. The cumulative impression given is of international exchanges mediated by and mainly affecting people at the highest social levels, with initiatives apparently coming in each significant case from the kings themselves; politics and trade predominate as historically visible modes of exchange. There is no evidence of actual settlement in the country by Greeks but relations were certainly close and varied, especially during the reign of Kroisos.

Within Asia Minor the pattern from Gyges' time onwards is that of progress from evidently unsystematic military aggression - attributable in part to a new dynasty's need for legitimation, on behalf of the society's status with outsiders - through random cooperation, if on unequal terms, at a political level to thoroughgoing claims (backed-up by force) of territorial overlordship. As for mainland Greece, appeal to the sanction of the Delphic oracle to settle a dynastic dispute is succeeded by contracts of military alliance. A constant and intimately related obverse is supplied by personal friendships and patronage.

Trading with the Greeks was a traditional and ancient Lydian pursuit given greatly enhanced impetus by the Mermnad kings' increasing mineral wealth and concomitant minting and distribution of coinage, over the early use of which (on the so-called 'Milesian' standard) they probably exercised substantial control, possessing as they did the chief source of electrum. Their wealth in turn attracted Greeks, including artists, to the court at Sardis and hence acted as a spur to cultural recognition on both sides, a century before Xanthos' Hellenizing history of his countrymen,[1] Magnes'

play on the same subject[2] and Herodotos' assertion (1. 94. 1) that Lydian customs were very much like Greek ones - the basis for this assertion will have lain, in part, in the Mermnad court's receptivity to Greek forms. Whereas commerce is now attested overwhelmingly in just one direction,[3] social contacts led to considerable Lydian influence on the aristocratic lifestyle in Kolophon at least, to judge by Xenophanes' moralizing complaint (D-K 21 fr. 3).

It seems probable that kapeloi, those economic agents singled out by Herodotos (loc. cit.) as originating within Lydian society, and of putative relevance to the spread of coinage, represent another Lydian transmission to the Greeks. The early electrum coins were struck in dimensions above those appropriate for everyday market purposes; if the primary motive for their issue were definitely known then the position of kapeloi as middlemen in the monetary chain would become clearer. Retail trade and the gradual spread of coins downwards in the community may have acted as stimuli for each other, and contributed to the appearance presented by Lydian society in general.[4]

Indications of cultural intimacy can be found in Alyattes' and Kroisos' employment of leading Greek craftsmen to make suitable gifts for presentation to Delphi. Glaukos of Chios, reportedly the first man to master welding, made a silver bowl of regal size with an iron stand for Alyattes, Theodoros of Samos, architect of the Ephesian Artemision and Samian Heraion, a second such bowl for Kroisos.[5] That these were not isolated occurrences is shown, generally but tellingly, by Sardis' position within the mainstream of East Greek art.

In the absence of any information as to the racial identities of the members of workshops and studios serving the court the safest course is to consider Sardian art as a flourishing element of Asia Minor's 'Koine', dominated as this certainly was by Ionian creativity. Hellenocentric bias is hard to avoid and of course historiographically simpler, yet Sardian involvement in the formulation of the Ionic architectural order and

the existence of a 'Lydo-Ephesian' school around the Artemision, constructed during Alyattes' and Kroisos' reigns and with the latter's sponsorship, indicate the need for caution. It is at all events clear that Kroisos' patronage stimulated the production of art in his capital, within the prevailing East Greek ambience.[6]

By the mid-sixth century the aesthetic atmosphere and iconography had become quite distinctively 'Hellenic' as far as sculpture, architecture and part of the ceramic output were concerned. On the other hand jewellery, ivory-work and ordinary ceramics remained vigorously native in style: skilful use of contrasting colours, black, white, brown and orange-red, and fondness for decorative relief sculpturing and for arrangement of figures in opposed pairs may be singled out as Lydian hallmarks, while the craft of decorated architectural terracottas and glazing techniques long continued, alongside the Hellenizing aspects of artistic production.

A social distinction is early apparent between customers for Greek and Grecizing and for native, popular wares. The contrast has been described as reflecting 'a remarkable social cleavage'; emphasis might instead be put on the hypothesis that sustained and intense fondness for Greek styles not only set the ruling family apart, at least temporarily, from most of its subjects but may have come to symbolize and enhance that separateness and royal prestige.[7]

Mutual intelligibility must have rested on willingness to pick up an appropriate vocabulary in each others' language; commercial activity at the seaports will have encouraged such a process, and we may note that Hipponax uses some Lydian words in a manner suggesting a degree of familiarity.[8] Bias in favour of Greek, the language destined to supplant Lydian during the early Hellenistic period, might however have been enhanced - if not largely created - by general Mermnad philhellenism[9].

Gyges' attitude to the Greeks was not one of unqualified admiration: according to Herodotos (1. 14. 4) he launched attacks on Miletos, Smyrna and Kolophon.

Nikolaos (FGrH 90. fr. 62) adds Magnesia to this list. It is taken for granted by Pedley, no doubt because of its closeness to Sardis, that Magnesia ad Sipylum is concerned here; this is by no means certain, its namesake on the Maeander being nearer than Miletos.[10] Herodotos distinguishes between his three towns by saying that the territories of the first two were invaded, the centre of the third captured. There are traces of some seventh-century destruction at Miletos, but these may as Cook and Hanfmann suggested be Kimmerian work.[11] The same applies to Smyrna; Pausanias however tells an anecdote (4. 21. 5 - probably dependent on Mimnermos[12]) turning on the defeat of the Lydians after initial success. Lydian sherds of this and a slightly later period (seventh and early sixth century) have been found in Kolophon; this is more likely to have resulted from purely peaceful contacts, such as those giving rise to Xenophanes' protest at his fellow-citizens' luxuriousness.[13] Emlyn-Jones' coupling of Kolophon with its neighbour Ephesos in terms both of socio-economic type - based on extensive inland territory divided into large estates - and of social sympathies shared with their Lydian counterparts is quite suggestive in the context.[14] None of Gyges' attacks at all events is described in sufficient detail to furnish a secure casus belli (regardless of Nikolaos' romantic fable about Gyges' favourite, the licentious Smyrnaean poet Magnes, humiliated by the Magnesians).

Strabo testifies to what may be seen as the next stage in Lydian relations with the Greek poleis, despite the prevailing chronological imprecision: he records that Gyges turned his attention to the northwest, managing (presumably by means of warfare, though we have no details) to bring 'the whole of the Troad' under his own control (13. 1. 22/590); it is unclear whether we should envisage this control in terms merely of acknowledged military weight in the region, with or without any payment of tribute by the Greeks, or of accompanying exchanges of population as well. There was a promontory called Gugas near Dardanos: perhaps a suspiciously aetiological detail, yet comparable to the town of Ardynion in the plain of Thebe.[15] More to the point, Strabo

comments that Abydos, a Milesian colony, was founded on Gyges' authority, or with his permission (ἐπιτρέψαντος Γύγου); this part of Abydos' foundation story serves no obvious patriotic purpose, such as might lead us to suspect Greek enthusiasm at work, and is sufficiently circumstantial to name the king involved. Hence we may reasonably regard it as symptomatic, if not probative, of substantial Lydian intervention in Greek affairs as far afield as the Troad. Whatever Gyges was up to, the plain of Thebe bore Lydian settlement, in at least noticeable numbers, evidently well before the seventh century (13. 1. 8/586); this might have furnished Gyges with a real reason for activity so far from the homeland, however obscure that reason now seems. If accompanied by an army, he might well have been considered by neighbouring Greeks a potential enemy worth conciliating. Apparently the plain's fertility had once made it a source of strife between Mysians and Lydians (13. 1. 61/612). Strabo adds (13. 1. 17/589) that over near Zeleia a royal hunting-ground was once laid out by the Lydians, but omits to give an approximate date; it might perhaps be supposed to have belonged to Kroisos rather than Gyges, although in either case its existence testifies to a continued Lydian presence. It may not be inappropriate to note that Pedley's thesis of direct overseeing of all Milesian colonies - in particular Kyzikos and Daskyleion - by Gyges (although attractive as an aition for the known later involvement of Lydians in the area) does go beyond currently available evidence.[16] Even if the story of Gyges' interest in their foundation of Abydos is the only reliable element, this constitutes the second suggested stage in the development of Mermnad-Greek relations, that of random cooperation of a political kind on unequal terms.

The second king, Ardys, was inevitably preoccupied with the need to repair the damage wrought by marauding Kimmerians, an important diplomatic means to which end was the restoration of good relations (with vassal-status for Lydia) with the Assyrian court: Gyges had earlier paid tribute to Assurbanipal in Nineveh, in the hope of military aid against the Kimmerians, but subsequently (not that Assurbanipal had

done more than send him the good wishes of Assur and Ishtar) lent the rebel Psammetichos troops; by way of sequel to his father's destruction by the Kimmerians Ardys is recorded to have renewed the relationship of spiritual vassalage, no doubt fitting into the Near Eastern 'power network' suitably.[17] As for his Greek neighbours, Herodotos (1. 15. 1) mentions attacks on Miletos and Priene; again, the wording suggests nothing more sustained than a raid on Miletos, whereas Priene is said to have been captured. Unfortunately the original site on the coast, abandoned at the time of Alexander's passage through Asia Minor, has been thoroughly buried by alluvium from the Maeander, so that no material evidence for any Archaic reversal such as capture by Ardys is obtainable.[18]

His successor Sadyattes, characterized by Nikolaos (FGrH 90 fr. 63) as 'τὰ πολέμια γενναῖος ἄλλως δὲ ἀκόλαστος,' evidently made periodic, seasonal raids on Miletos - and nowhere else - for six years in succession. This settled policy is an intriguing one, especially in view of the earlier signs of an ability to cooperate up in the Hellespont; we are given no explanation for long-standing enmity of this kind by ancient writers, and the theory that the Lydian king was simply anxious to prevent Miletos getting too prosperous and powerful, and thus in some undisclosed way threatening his own ascendancy in the communities of the hinterland is as attractive as any.[19] On the assumption that Sadyattes' attacks took the same form as those of his better-known successor, namely, destruction of the new crops, such an intention seems perfectly likely. (Herodotos (1. 17. 3) makes the sound point that Milesian naval strength at the time ruled out siege tactics.) Involvement, if not cooperation, also shows up, if in a rather distorted form, when a victim of the king's displeasure named Miletos fled to Daskyleion and then to Prokonnesos, leaving his wife behind to bear Alyattes; we may assume that this man was a native Lydian, dynastic intermarriage only occurring in the next generation.[20]

The last two Mermnad kings bulk much larger in the historiography, since they

both established considerably closer relations with their Greek neighbours, relations which run the gamut from conventional military aggression to court-sponsored cultural exchanges of diverse kinds, instanced by appeal to Delphi alongside creation of the social ambience within which later Greeks could imagine visits to Sardis by the Seven Wise Men. To take the military activity first: Alyattes continued his father's yearly raids into Milesian territory for five seasons, peace being made (supposedly on Periander's instigation) in the sixth.[21] These should be the years between ca. 610 and 605; the Lydian army also moved, with more drastic and decisive effect, against Smyrna,[22] which had been at peace with Lydia since Gyges' abortive attack, and here we do have clear, indeed unequivocal evidence in the archaeological record: complementing literary claims that Smyrna was captured, excavation at Bayrakli has produced traces of a thorough sixth-century devastation of what had in the seventh been a large urban complex, laid out indeed on a pre-Hippodamian grid pattern, and prosperous trading place, with close contact with Lydians; although the Bayrakli site was not then deserted, the paucity of ensuing settlement remains vividly bears out Strabo's statement (14.1.37/646) that from then on until Alexander's arrival the citizens of Smyrna lived in villages (kōmēdōn): with Alexander's encouragement, backed up by aid from Antigonos and Lysimachos, they moved down to a new site, above modern Izmir, leaving the decayed Bayrakli site, dating back as it did to the third millennium, for good. Most strikingly of all, Alyattes' siege-mound, rising above the city walls, has been found on the hill of Tepekule beside Bayrakli.[23]

Klazomenai was also attacked by Alyattes, again for no clear reason, although one naturally assumes standard desire for self-aggrandizement by military means as an operative motive; here, however, he was defeated. Finding this inexplicable, Pedley[24] proposed that use of war-dogs by Klazomenai might have been significant; the suggestion is by no means unreasonable, yet one might suspect something of a literary topos at play here as with the motif of the use of camels to frighten horses as a battle-

tactic.[25] It would be more interesting to know what policy was represented in these attacks of Alyattes': reversing the modus vivendi obtaining under his predecessors between Sardis and Kolophon, he defeated the Kolophonian cavalry by an unsporting trick, murdering them wholesale at a feast in Sardis.[26] The fact that these Kolophonian aristocrats were there at all is itself a more interesting historical detail than Alyattes' despotic behaviour. The sequel to this massacre, which would throw light on the king's wider political scheme, is lacking. (Admittedly Near Eastern enemies not infrequently meet their fate at feasts[27]: it should, however, be noted that in this case we know of no motive for personal enmity on the ruler's part, although all this indicates is just how ill-informed we are as to the details of movements within seventh and sixth - century politics.)

Alyattes' specific contribution to the second, 'cooperative', complex of relations with the Greeks was dynastic intermarriage: one of his two known wives was an Ionian, mother of Kroisos' younger rival Pantaleon.[28] Further, an example of the interweaving of social and political categories of behaviour can be found at Ephesos: both tyrants were closely related by kinship to Alyattes and Kroisos, Melas being the former's son-in-law and Pindaros his grandson.[29] One would very much like to know from which city Pantaleon's mother came: Ephesos and Kolophon, as we have seen, are 'the best bets'. At any rate, the outlines are clear enough, of political circumstances in these small-scale, predominantly agricultural communities in which personal contacts, more or less intimate and convivial, are chief mediating factors.

It should be noted in passing that not one of the poleis recorded to have undergone attack can be said to have passed thereby into political (and fiscal) subordination to Lydia; no doubt this would hardly be expected or appropriate as far as Smyrna was concerned. Kroisos' accession thus inaugurates a shift in policy, in consequence of a change of mood at an increasingly prosperous Sardis, towards assertion of a well-defined hierarchy of states in Asia Minor, material profit as well as collective prestige

(or at any rate self-satisfaction) being at stake. As it happens there is such a thoroughgoing lacuna in the testimony, literary and material, to Kroisan hegemony over the Greek poleis that we cannot in practice check Herodotos' sweeping statement (1. 28) that he controlled all the nations with the exception of Lykia and Kilikia west of the river Halys against any alternative evidence. (There is nothing to suggest that other literary accounts of Kroisos do not depend in this respect on Herodotos.) The nations involved include the 'Ionians, Dorians, and Aiolians', in Herodotos' remarkably concise formulation. Only Ephesos is expressly named, in anecdotal form, as submitting to Kroisos; it seems an odd choice for his first venture into imperialistic bullying, especially since his maternal nephew Pindaros was in a leading position there; this may, of course, have been the point, for all we know - certainly one of Kroisos' demands in the face of determined opposition was for Pindaros' exile.[30] The close religious ties between Sardis and Ephesos probably to some extent explain Kroisos' concern to establish uncontested ascendancy in the Greek city. However tribute, phoros, will have been the more significant gain, there as elsewhere.

Herodotos (1. 26. 3) summarily describes the ensuing course of conquest as affecting all the other Ionian and Aiolian cities one by one, with different aitiai employed against them separately (on what one might for the sake of analogy call the Archaic method of observance of the letter of international law, perhaps!). One could also wish to know Priene's fate; an excellent example of cooperation had a little earlier (ca. 570) been provided by a loan of some thirty mnai to Kroisos in an emergency by a Prienian, Pamphaes, who was repaid with interest some ten years later when Kroisos became king: in detail, the prince was in difficulties as regards fulfilment of his obligation to levy troops at his own expense for an expeditionary force against Karia.[31] Of most interest in this tale is the fact that at the time Kroisos was acting as governor of Adramytteion (a town with a royal Lydian undertone to its name) and the plain of Thebe (which as has already been mentioned bore 'Maionian' settlement long

before the seventh century, according to Strabo (13. 1. 8/586); Adramytteion is described in turn as an Athenian and as a Lydian foundation, which no doubt can reasonably be interpreted as indicating a mixed population. In support of the Lydian element the existence of Lydian Gates in Adramytteion is cited.[32] However, the political implications are unclear: the term used is ἄρχων, which needless to say could apply almost as well to personal authority exercised alongside or independently of organized civic structures as to official, magisterial authority, and hence tells us nothing usable. Strabo notes in passing (13. 1. 42/601) that Kroisos at some stage attacked and destroyed Sidene in the Troad because it had given refuge to the tyrant Glaukias, expelled from an unnamed town (presumably during the campaign of wholesale conquest). Beyond that, we are unable to say anything about the position and fortunes of Adramytteion and its neighbours.

It is anecdotally recorded that at a later period, with conquest of the mainlanders behind him, the king conceived the plan of mounting a similarly imperialistic attack on the East Greek islanders, which was narrowly averted by a visiting Lesbian or Prienian sage who pointed out the tactical dichotomy - Lydian cavalry strength and the islanders' naval strength, environmentally based as they were, would be incompatible.[33] This pleasing tale, culminating in abandonment of the plan, is by its very nature not disprovable; we do not have nearly enough detailed information to be able to estimate its merits in terms of historical probability. At most it could be agreed that the tale accurately reflects what Greeks of a slightly later generation considered characteristic of Kroisos' style and temper. On the other hand, establishment of settlements did not form part of that style.

Gyges was the first Lydian to force himself and his country upon the attention of mainland Greece, lavishly endowing Delphi with gifts in exchange for support in his bid to take over the Lydian kingship[34]; this central fact is not vitiated by Valerius Maximus' manifest doublet (7.1.2) of the good moral tale of Solon's dismissive attitude to Kroisos' claims to eudaimonia, only the names being changed in the Roman version. (Gyges is placed second to the worthy Aglaos of Psophis in this respect.[35]) Enumeration of Gyges' donations itself serves as respectable presumptive evidence of the tradition's basic truthfulness, faithful retention of attribution of some distinguished offerings to a foreigner surely being a prima facie historical improbability. Delphic motives are irrelevant; there is nothing intrinsically objectionable in allowing for religious sentiment as <u>partial</u> explanation of Gyges' innovative appeal for Apollo's support; the obverse of such a statement, of course, will be that his rivals' and countrymen's apparent acceptance of his position after Apollo's judgment exemplifies a healthy respect for other people's gods. This latter point may seem a little dubious, particularly as it requires the assumption of <u>substantial</u> Greek religious influence, at such an early date; yet later invention of the whole story is no easier to understand. Beyond this, Gyges was very probably too busy establishing his authority and then defending the land against external threats to have expended a noticeable amount of energies or resources cultivating friendship with the Greeks for its own sake. The same will certainly have applied for his son Ardys: - Sardis reportedly underwent two sackings at the hands of the Kimmerians and Treres in their reigns.[36] There is no extant account of dealings between Ardys and any Greek sanctuary, while Sadyattes' attacks on Miletos are the main theme of his biography.

As before, we are on comparatively firmer ground as soon as we reach Alyattes. Variously associated with him are the seven Sages of posthumous, romantic fame,[37] the tyrants of Ephesos and Miletos (as kinsman and adversary)[38] and, most relevantly and distinctively, Periander of Korinth and Alkmaion, the founder of the Athenian

genos' fortunes. Periander allegedly once sent a large number of young boys, sons of defeated Korkyraian enemies (who are naively called criminals in Nikolaos' version) to Alyattes to be castrated, and no doubt used thereafter as court-servants of one kind or another; the boys were saved by the good offices of the Samians.[39] Whether or not this disagreeable anecdote is well founded, its existence is an intriguing feature of the Greeks' own perception of the state of relations between the rulers, no distinction emerging between them on grounds either of nationality or of type of political standing. There is a material version of this relationship to be deduced from the large share of the Sardian market held by Korinthian pottery at this period.[40]

Alkmaion brings together two different strands in the network of international relations, those of political contact on guest-friendship terms with the leading men in a city and of generalised attempts to establish goodwill by donations to Delphi. The presence there of Alkmaion, as a commander in the 'First Sacred War', at the same time as Alyattes' envoys to the oracle is portrayed as beneficial to both parties, Alkmaion's assistance earning him the king's gratitude and enabling him to found the family fortunes by entering a winning chariot team at the Olympiad of 592.[41] Parke, followed by Forrest, interprets this as masking shrewd calculation of mutual advantage on both sides, given the contemporaneity of the 'First Sacred War' and Lydian military manoeuvres:[42] certainly a possible and helpful reading, as far as it goes, not that any evidence remains of actual loans of troops or resources to either side. Nor is Alyattes attested to have intervened on Periander's behalf at any stage, for example. Our lack of information carries with it the consequence that Kroisos' behaviour towards the poleis looks a fully original one, despite its roots in earlier Mermnad policy.

A general impression does remain of a steady procession passing through Sardis during this reign and still more (in consequence of new Lydian domination in Asia Minor) during the succeeding one: people such as Sappho's graceful friend Anaktoria, leading or hopeful artists, exiles like Alkaios in search of funds, and political and

cultural leaders.[43] As previously mentioned, Kroisos had wealthy and influential Greek friends even before he came to the throne; afterwards he extended the scope of Lydian activity at oracular centres on both sides of the Aegean, adding consultation of Dodona, Abai in Phokis, Didyma and Thebes (for Amphiaraus and Trophonios) to that of Delphi, according to Herodotos (1. 46. 2-52, 96. 1-2). Parke is cogently sceptical of the listing, particularly in view of the glorious part played by Pythian Apollo and the odd omission of Gryneion and Klaros, and adds that military desire for allies against Kyros' Persian army should be regarded as Kroisos' motive in courting Greek favour by means of lavish donations to their national shrines.[44] Although Parke is right to stress this straightforward motivation as a very important factor, it may be that he overestimates its causal uniqueness: surely such consultation harmonizes satisfactorily with an overall picture of Lydian-Greek relations as essentially many-sided, given the degree of traffic in both directions under the Kroisan empire.

As far as intercourse between first Alyattes, and then Kroisos and Greek leaders like Periander and Alkmaion is concerned, the politico-military alliances which we tend to expect as sole causal requirement belong to a whole complex within, properly, the preserve of social history: a leader's assertion of his community's place in the world will have been actualised in a variety of forms shaped by the given character of that community and inevitably going largely unrecorded. Further (less speculatively), the only such alliance which occurs in our sources is that between the beleaguered Kroisos and Sparta,[45] in relation to the Halys campaign and defence against Kyros.

Traces of intervention on behalf of mainland Greeks can be detected in Miltiades' case alone; during the Peisistratid tyranny in Attika Miltiades won for himself a position of quasi-regal authority in the Chersonese, under the auspices of which he mounted an attack on Lampsakos in which he was captured by the citizens; Herodotos says (6. 37) that Kroisos threatened dire punishment of the city unless it freed Miltiades, a man enjoying his favour, and thereby effected his rapid release. *Pace*

Miller, it is not expressly stated that Lampsakos, or any other part of the Chersonese, was directly in Kroisos' 'dominions'; fear of his renowned cavalry seems a perfectly adequate motive for obedience in this case. Miller's thesis of an intended but abortive alliance between Sardis and Peisistratid Athens is otherwise highly attractive.[46]

Any alliance there may have been with the Spartans in turn proved abortive, Kroisos and his countrymen evidently meeting Kyros in battle, in 547, on their own. At all events, Apollo's judgment in favour of Gyges, whether this represents Delphi's contemporary attitude or later folklore appropriating an heroic figure from the past, had ushered in the country's most prosperous and creative period while helping to create the right conditions for more thoroughgoing Hellenization in the future.[47]

PART TWO - THE MERMNAD PERIOD - (c) INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

1. FGrH 765 T 1, 3, 4, 5, 8.
2. Athen. 15. 690 c - a reference to the rich perfume (or ointment) bakkaris.
3. Pottery in Kolophon (see note 13); coins and ivory goat in Ephesos (Head in Hogarth's Archaic Artemisia pp. 74-93 for first publication, despite too high a dating; Pedley, Sardis in the Age of Croesus p. 109); terracotta head with earrings on Crete (Pedley, loc. cit.); 2 coins and pottery in Smyrna (Bayrakli - Cook, BSA 53-54 (1958-59) pp. 30 note 82, 31 note 87); nothing at Klazomenai (Cook, Ephemeris Archaiologika 1953-54 part 2 pp. 149-157).
4. Hdt. 1. 94. 1: πρῶτοι δὲ ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν νόμισμα χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου κοψάμενοι ἐχρήσαντο. . . . commentary by Milne, CR 63 (1949) pp. 85-7; Kraay, Archaic and classical Greek Coins pp. 24-5, 28. Wallace, AJA 91 (1987) pp. 385-97 (and the preceding section, scil.)
5. Glaukos: Hdt. 1. 25. 2; Theodoros: Hdt. 1. 51. 2-3.
6. Sculpture pp. 17 (the bilingual quality of inscriptions on columns dedicated by Kroisos is judged to have entered into the school of sculpture which formed the huge (Artemision) project, a school that one might call Lydo-Ephesian. It seems to be distinguished by 'a certain heavy fleshiness of form and luxury of costume') and 18 ('Sardian stone sculpture cannot be considered merely a provincial offshoot of the Eastern Greek, characterized only negatively by lack of skill'; 'we surmise that the leading Lydian sculptors - were among the pioneers in formulating both the Ionic order and Ionic sculptural types - possibly lions, mantle figures and stelai'); also Pedley, op. cit. pp. 100-116 on the arts in general. The Kybele shrine, showing a procession of priestesses to the Anatolian goddess and dated ca. 540-530, is a superb specimen of Lydo-Greek art: not only Ionic columns and the myths of Herakles and the Nemean lion, Peleus in the tree, komasts, a centaur, but also Lydian anathyrosis - as well as dancing maenads, the servants of Baki/Dionysos, and Pelops in his chariot, a figure with strong associations with Mount Sipylos. See Sculpture no. 7 on pp. 43-51, figs. 20-50. That 'Artemis' was worshipped in Mermnad Lydia is physically attested by the existence of the so-called Lydian Altar: Figure 7 (and Figure 3).
7. Hanfmann, Rayonnement pp. 491-499, esp. 493 ('a court school was formed during the reigns of Alyattes and Kroisos which made Sardis one of the art centers of archaic Eastern Greek art') and 497 ('the popular level of potterymaking (uninfluenced by Orientalizing stylists) where the simpler techniques of "marbling", "streaking", and decoration with white bands were practised and traditions of Geometric decoration continued'); Sculpture pp. 13-18's Overview and Appraisal, esp. 14 ('Lydia, as far as stone sculpture was concerned, presents itself from the beginning as a region of archaic Eastern Greek Art') and 18 ('In a remarkable social cleavage (this) "high class" Lydian art is quite distinct from a lower level of sculpture that has a kind of naive and expressive folkloric charm, especially in the representations of animals, a charm that is also encountered in Lydian vase painting').
8. Frr. 3, 4, 42, 92. 1-2, 103. 21-23.
9. It is salutary to remember the later Greek reluctance to learn Latin: Momigliano, Alien Wisdom: the Limits of Hellenization p. 19. As for that 'philhellenism', I note Hornblower's placing of Kroisos at the midway point, or 3rd stage, between making use of and imitating Greeks, and specifically in a sphere of politically motivated dedications at Greek shrines, this demonstrating a mode of

benevolent political solidarity (Mausolus, p. 296, with p. 295): certainly this is appropriate in the sense of matching our evidence and of providing an explanatory framework, but perhaps it does Kroisos, and the complexities of the Mermnad situation, less than perfect justice - or, rather, it is a matter of the pendulum swinging between the two extremes, those of exploiting and emulating Greeks, as the occasion arose, with a 'constant' of ancestral familiarity and interchange.

10. Ancient Literary Sources on Sardis p. 20, note to no. 45.
11. Archaeological Reports in JHS 80 (1960) p. 49; BASOR 162 (1961) note 8 on pp. 12, 14.
12. Mimnermos, fr. 14 West, describes a battle between the Smyrnaeans and Lydians in the Hermos plain (lines 3-4), with the latter getting the worst of it. Levi (Pausanias: Guide to Greece vol. 2, p. 151 note 87) makes the sound suggestion that the poem from which this is an extract was Pausanias' source.
13. Holland, Hesperia 13 (1944) p. 140: 'pieces of "marbled ware", characteristic Lydian pottery decorated with thin varnish in wavy combed bands, all belonging to the seventh and early sixth centuries, the period of Lydian occupation' (sic).
14. The Ionians and Hellenism pp. 21-2, 26.
15. Steph. Byz., s.v. Ardynion - on Xanthos' authority.
16. Pedley, Sardis in the Age of Croesus p. 46.
17. Rassam Cylinder- Luckenbill II pp. 297-8, nos. 784 and 785 - dated ca. 644-636.
18. Bean, Aegean Turkey p. 161; cf. Huxley, The Early Ionians p. 24.
19. Alternatively, as Pedley suggests (op. cit. p. 47) the Lydian motive was straightforwardly commercial, to oblige the Ionians to buy crops from Sardis.
20. Nik. Dam., FGrH 90 fr. 63.
21. Hdt. 1. 17-22.
22. Hdt 1 16. 2/Nik. Dam., FGrH 90 fr. 64.
23. Huxley, op. cit. p. 77; Bean, op. cit., pp. 22-30; Emlyn-Jones, op. cit., pp. 7, 25; J.M. Cook, JHS 71 (1951) pp. 247-9; JHS 72 (1952) pp. 104-6; BSA 53-54 (1958-9) pp. 1-34, esp. 23-25.
24. Ancient Literary Sources on Sardis p. 23, note to no. 59; Hdt. 1. 16. 2; Huxley, loc. cit.; Cook, Ephemeris Archaiologika 1953-54, part 2, pp. 149-157 on the topography.
25. Hdt. 1. 80. 2-6; Xen., Cyrop. 7. 1. 48-49, Polyainos 7. 6. 6, Frontinus, Strategemata 2. 4. 12-13: his solitary reference to Kroisos' camels ensuring victory against an unnamed enemy obviously involves a simple mistake for Kyros; cf. Pyrrhos of Epiros using elephants on Tarentum's behalf against the Roman army.
26. Polyainos 7. 1. 2; he also has Alyattes using war-dogs decisively against the Kimmerians (7. 2. 1).
27. Near Eastern feasts: - for instance 'Nitokris' in Hdt. 2. 100. 2-4, drowns Egyptian enemies, while Sesostris in Hdt. 2. 107 is nearly burnt alive in a banqueting room.
28. Hdt. 1. 92. 3.
29. Aelian, Var. Hist. 3. 26.
30. Hdt. 1. 26; Polyainos 6. 50.
31. Nik. Dam., FGrH 90 fr. 65.
32. 13. 1. 51 /606; 13. 1. 65/613.
33. Hdt. 1. 27 and Diod. 9. 25. 1-2: Bias or Pittakos.
34. Hdt. 1. 13-14. 4

35. From 'De felicitate'; Pliny, N.H. 7 151 has the same story.
36. Strabo 1. 3. 21/61; 13. 4. 8/627; 14. 1. 40/648; Hdt. 1. 15; Hanfmann 40/648; Hdt. 1. 15; Hanfmann in BASOR 177 (1965) p. 13; Swift in BASOR 182 (1966) p. 10; Hanfmann in BASOR 186 (1967) pp. 32-33.
37. Diog. Laert. 1. 38 (Thales), 1. 40-42, 1. 50-51, l. 67 (Solon), 1. 75, 1. 77, 1. 81 (Pittakos), l. 83 (Bias), 1. 95 (Periander), 1. 99, 1. 105 (Anacharsis); Thales helping Kroisos on Halys campaign - Hdt. 1. 75. 3-6.
38. Melas and Pindaros - Aelian, Var. Hist. 3. 26; Thrasyboulos - Hdt. 1. 20-22.
39. Diog. Laert. 1. 95; Hdt. 3. 48-49; Nik. Dam., FGrH 90 Fr. 59. 3; cf. Plut. Mor. 859-860 c: the Knidians were the rescuers.
40. Sculpture pp. 17, 23, note 84; Pedley, op. cit. pp. 60, 77 - Protocorinthian sherds in Alyattes' tomb, skyphoi, aryballoi, alabastra in Sardis ; further, Gyges' gifts to Delphi were housed in the Kypselid Treasury, in token of friendship.
41. Hdt. 6. 125; schol. Pindar, Pythian 7. 14-15.
42. Parke, History of the Delphic Oracle pp. 162-165, esp. p. 163 (with his Chapter 7 on The Oracle and Lydia); Forrest, BCH 80 (1956) pp. 33-52, esp. 51 - ignoring Kroisos altogether, he accepts the scholiast's dating of the one and only Alkmaionid Olympic victory to 592, and puts Alkmaion's visit to Sardis in 594, i.e. during the siege-part of the First Sacred War.
43. Sappho: frr. 16.19, 96. 6-7, 98 a. 10-11, 132.3 L-P; Alkaios: fr. D 11 (69) L-P; Page, Sappho and Alcaeus pp. 226-233.
44. Parke, op. cit. pp. 150-151, 154.
45. Hdt. 1. 65. 1, 1. 69-70, 1. 77. 3, 1. 82. 1, 1. 83; Paus. 4. 5. 3 (with 3. 10. 6).
46. Klio 41 (1963) pp. 77-81.
47. Cf. Syme's dictum, at Tacitus pp. 606-7 (aptly quoted by Hornblower, op. cit., pp. 345-6, in relation to the Hekatomnids) that "rulers may accelerate or retard the social movement; they seldom do much to modify it". As, it is hoped, this section has shown, this dictum is if anything even more true of Lydia under the Mermnads.

PART THREE

Under Persian Rule

(a) Introduction

An opening paradox: the two centuries of Achaemenid control prepared the country for the radical and wholesale adoption of a third separate culture. Progress towards Hellenization began earlier and went on more gradually than elsewhere in Asia Minor, despite Lydia's position as the chief western satrapy; comparison between the active philhellenism of Alyattes and particularly Kroisos in the sixth century and of the Karian Mausolos in the fourth is of course germane, in the sense that both dynasties played a leading part in creating a receptive climate of opinion, but of severely limited relevance in that Kroisos' philhellenism, displayed above all in the famous consultation of Greek oracles, was a more personal and informal affair, Mausolos' deliberately drastic and politically specific as befitted his different circumstances.[1] Above all, any Mermnad promotion there might have been was brought to a halt by the decisive foreign conquest and ensuing transference of national leadership to outsiders. Yet the quality either of Lydian society or Achaemenid rule - or, more likely, of both in combination - was somehow sufficiently favourable to Greek forms to permit the process of their absorption to flourish regardless of the lack of strong cultural leadership in the country. Evidently there were certain working similarities between Lydian and Greek society beside which Persian influence was to be comparatively negligible.

The Greek view of that influence, on the other hand, was highly distinctive. The extant literary tradition poses a crucial problem as to the historical accuracy of the cultural distance implicit - as an effect of direct Persian intervention - between accounts of the sequel to the Lydian revolt of 547/6 and of Alexander's activities after his success in 334.

In the earliest extant version of events, Herodotos (1. 153-157) reports that after his victory[1a] Kyros withdrew eastwards, accompanied by Kroisos, to tackle

the challenge of Babylon, leaving the Persian Tabalos as governor and the Lydian Paktyes as collector of booty. In response to the rebellion soon instigated by Paktyes he sent the Mede Mazares to Sardis with orders allegedly derived from Kroisos' advice to disarm the Lydians and force them to change their whole way of life by wearing chitons and long boots, playing musical instruments and engaging in market-dealing (καπηλεύειν) - as a precaution against any further trouble. One major suspect element, integral though it is to the general Greek tradition,[2] is the survival of Kroisos: the Nabunaid Chronicle reports the killing of the defeated king of Lu- after the campaign of May 547.[3]

Neither Xenophon (Cyrop. 7. 2. 10 ff; 7. 4. 12-13)[4] nor Nikolaos (FGrH 90 fr. 68) mentions any such treatment meted out to the Lydians, an omission which is insignificant in Xenophon's case because irrelevant to his theme, decidedly odd in Nikolaos', in view of the fact that one of his main sources was the Lydiaka written by the Hellenized Lydian Xanthos in the fifth century, except of course that Xanthos might be presumed to have presented a narrative favourable to his countrymen.

Polyainos (7.6.4) and Justin (1. 7.11-13) both give straightforward repetition of the Herodotean story, the former summing up thus: ἀρέλει βαρβάρων ἀπολεμώτατοι γεγόνασιν Λυδοὶ πρόσθεν ὄντες πολεμικώτατοι.

The tradition then assumes its final elaborate form in Chorikios' Oratio in Iustiniani Brumalia 14.

There is an interesting variant to be found in Plutarch (Mor. 173 c 2): after one of the Babylonian revolts (perhaps that of Samaseriba in 482, if a real occasion is sought) Xerxes gives orders that the Babylonians are to be disarmed and made to play the lyre and flute, keep prostitutes, engage in market-dealing and wear long flowing chitons.[5]

Again, Dionysios (A.R. 7. 9) represents the tyrant Aristodemos as following this same course ca. 505 in Cumae, with the additional detail of exile

ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς. Plutarch deals with this topic too, at Mor. 261 f.

Conversely, Arrian's Anabasis (1. 17. 3-6) provides a neat counterpoint with the statement that after the surrender of Sardis in 334 Alexander granted its inhabitants and the other Lydians leave to use their ancestral nomoi and to be free (τοῖς νόμοις τε τοῖς πάλαι Λυδῶν χρῆσθαι ἐάσας καὶ ἐλευθέρους εἶναι ἀφῆκεν) This formula is paralleled elsewhere in Hellenistic political contexts, while Alexander followed it up with immediate delegation of quasi-satrapal authority to three of his officers (Pausanias, Nikias, Asandros) backed by an Argive garrison, nor is there any sign at all that the ancestral nomoi had been officially proscribed by the satraps; nonetheless the statement serves as an oblique comment on assumed Achaemenid oppression as reflected in the established Greek narrative.

If the recurrent motif of enforced cultural change could be taken at face-value, it would most certainly represent a remarkable anthropological event. However, the possibility that we are entitled to assume a deliberate and drastic transformation - amounting in Greek eyes to cultural emasculation - of Lydian society is hedged-about with difficulty when we consider how well the wider judgment of the Lydians as luxuriously effeminate tallies with this specific motif. This judgment is expressed by Sappho (implicitly) (PLF 98 a), Anakreon (PMG 481), Xenophanes (D-K 21 fr. 3), Aristophanes (CAF i p. 519 fr. 492), Kratinos (CAF i p. 90 fr. 256), Alexis (CAF ii p. 320 fr. 68), Klearchos (FHG ii pp. 305-6 fr. 6, p. 310 fr. 22), Plato Comicus (CAF i p. 658 fr. 208) and Ion in his play Omphale, TGF p. 736 (frr. 22-24).[6] Justin (1 7. 12) sums up the historical motif neatly: "Ac sic gens industria quondam potens et manu strenua effeminata mollitie luxuriaque virtutem pristinam perdidit et quos ante Cyrum invictos bello praestiterant in luxuriam lapsos otium ac desideria superavit". It is in my view less likely that the picture of Lydian society current among Greek writers was distorted by neglect of a causal framework made available by the historians than that Herodotos' picturesque tale (τὴν πᾶσαν δικαίαν τῆς ζωῆς μεταβολὴν) was

itself an expression of the prevailing Greek prejudice, later taken by others to be a fixed aition, thereby to some extent clouding our picture of that society's genuine character. Herodotos does elsewhere (1. 94. 1) casually cloud his own picture by noting that Lydian customs in his day were, except for regular premarital prostitution, very much like Greek ones, and that kapeloi were in effect a distinctive national feature long before Kyros.

The striking similarity of the experiences undergone by Plutarch's Babylonians at Xerxes' hands is a suspicious aspect: the 'core-elements' reappear, music, long robes, prostitutes, general decline of martial spirit - needless to say, at least some of these elements were securely present before the Achaemenid incursion. The motif of disarmament might indeed be historically valid, in response to the needs of the moment, but beyond that this superficially promising story, lacking hard evidence in support, offers little of interest in its current form. Its real importance is rather to be found in its impressionistic testimony to Greek attitudes to the state of the country under the satraps: the effect of loss of national sovereignty was described by contemporaries merely as effeminate passivity.

Hence (at the risk of adopting a somewhat pedestrian format) it may be more fruitful first to give a brief summary of the pattern of administration then to treat individually the three main overlapping spheres within which some assessment of what the Persian conquest meant in practice may be made - those of politics, social structure and religion. In none of them is the evidence of a kind or quantity permitting many firm or wide-ranging conclusions. If more were available, a framework of enquiry in terms of the degree of continuity discernible during the two centuries between Kyros and Alexander would be preferable.

PART THREE - UNDER PERSIAN RULE - (a) INTRODUCTION

1 Cf. Hornblower, Mausolus pp. vii, 1-2 (332-351), 352-3.

1a A victory which has left material traces in destruction debris, fortifications brought down, houses put to the torch, a litter of arrowheads, and the skeleton of a soldier aged between 22 and 26 years old and wearing an iron helmet, variously on the Acropolis and near the Paktolos river in the neighbourhood of the agora. Recently:- AJA 93 (1989) pp. 126-7, 95 (1991) p. 147, 96 (1992) p. 143.

2. Hdt. 1. 86 ff., 3. 34-6; Xen., Cyrop. 7 2. 10 ff.; 7 4. 12-13; Ktesias, FGrH 688 fr. 9. 4-5; Nik. Dam., FGrH 90 fr. 68; Diod. 9. 33. 4-34; Zonaras, Epit. hist. 3. 23 b.

3. Nabunaid Chronicle: Smith, Babylonian Historical Texts pp. 114-118, col. II 16-18.

4. But at 7. 4. 14-15 an intriguing variant on the theme occurs: Kyros is said to have taken Lydian soldiers with him, those well-equipped with weapons, horses, chariots being allowed to keep them but those less well-equipped having their horses given to Persians and weapons burnt and being forced to follow on as slingers.

5. Babylonian revolts: Böhl, Bibliotheca Orientalis 19 (1962) pp. 110-114; Cook, The Persian Empire pp. (55-56 - Dareios), 100, 168 - Xerxes; Strabo 16. 1. 5; Arrian 3. 16, 7. 17; Hdt. 3. 150-160.

6. See also Athenaios, Deipnosophistai 516 c - d on cookery-writers' descriptions of Lydian karykes and kandaules; Xen., Anab. 3. 1. 31-2 - a Lydian masquerading as a Boiotian, Agasias the Stymphalian, is betrayed by his pierced ears, earrings being a Lydian 'trademark'.

(b) Achaemenid Administration

Persian conquest of Lydia was achieved late in 547, challenged by national revolt within a few weeks, confirmed by the revolt's rapid suppression and establishment of a satrapal court in place of that around the ruling family. To sum up Sardis' situation during the following two hundred years is deceptively easy: the city held a prosperously eminent position as main seat of government in Asia Minor and terminus of the Royal Road from Susa. But neither the principles underlying the satraps' administration nor the details of its functioning are satisfactorily documented. The royal inscriptions, from Behistun onwards, are first and foremost monuments to military and religious prestige; the majority of Lydian texts are funerary in character; Greek historiography, on which we are chiefly dependent, not least for interpretation of the archaeological facts, gives the Greek point of view. Certain features of the body of information do however offer some guidance.

Desire for the material profits to be had from conquest solidified into concern with the upkeep of provincial revenue: from Kyros' appropriation of Lydian treasure, in the guise of war booty, to Dareios I's definition of tribute-paying areas, reassessed by Artaphernes and reasserted for Ionia in the wake of Athenian interference by Dareios II.[1] That satraps were partnered by financial officers is to be taken for granted; we must envisage regular collectors of the heavy annual phoros due to the king, and perhaps in addition other overseers for subsidiary local taxes of diverse kinds, especially no doubt market-tolls. Although the tribute was reckoned in silver[2] there is no certainty that it was paid exclusively in coin (as that of the Delian League evidently was), and indeed if the analogy of practice in other regions can stand much of it will in fact have been paid in kind, in agricultural and industrial produce. Some light would be shed on this question if evidence as to the

mechanics of the operation and the way of spreading the load between townspeople, villagers and aristocratic estates were available. It is clear that the Persians recognized the value of the minting system they encountered in the western part of the empire, and allowed it to continue, although they do not seem to have adopted or introduced it elsewhere. They appear to have substituted their own darics and sigloi for the Kroisan versions, or at any rate for the 'croeseids', at the turn of the sixth century and in the first years of the fifth.[3]

Substitution of their own officials for native ones will also have occurred to some extent, but as Tuplin makes clear the general principle in force in the empire was that of minimal interference, in favour of maintenance of the existing ruling classes in power, with the acquiescence of the lower orders, wherever local conditions made this feasible. There is however a dearth of evidence, and apart from two bilingual inscriptions set up by Lydians possibly from the Aramaic-speaking bureaucracy we have no indication of structured native involvement in municipal affairs.[4]

Exercise of power also took the form of conscription of provincials into Achaemenid armies, on a regular or intermittent basis. Dareios I passed through Sardis on his way to and from Skythia; it is not recorded that Lydian soldiers accompanied him on the expedition but their absence would be more surprising than their presence, in view of the subsequent involvement in Xerxes' grand invasion of Greece of representatives from most of the Empire, including Lydians with their Greek-style equipment, marshalled under regional officers and with the satrap of Sardis as commander-in-chief. Again, Kyros the younger in the role of commander of all those who mustered at Kastolos had Lydian soldiers at his disposal.[5]

On the other hand, their subordination was apparently not expressed by enforced deportations to other parts of the Empire, the fate suffered by Paionians, Hyrkanians, Milesians and probably Karians.[6] Nor are Lydians among those named on Dareios I's building inscription at Susa as transporting raw materials for

the palace. They shared credit for the woodwork with the Egyptians, for the masonry with the Ionians, while Sardis as well as Baktria supplied the gold - presumably brought by Sardians and Baktrians - but the chain of labourers ferrying timber from Lebanon to Susa via Babylon was composed of Assyrians, Karians, and Ionians, the latter two groups far from home and possibly settled in foreign encampments.[7] Such encampments may certainly have housed the Lydian stonemasons, goldsmiths, woodworkers, blacksmiths and other craftsmen known to have been in Achaemenid service at Pasargadae and Persepolis, but lengths of stay are quite indeterminate, while some, at least, may not have travelled east under duress but voluntarily, in search of profitable employment. It is historically most feasible that both factors came into play successively .[8]

Arbitrary exploitation of the provincials' unequal status is seen at its clearest in the case of Pythios, the Lydian landowner who volunteered to furnish Xerxes' huge army with money and hospitality when it halted at Kelainai.[9] As the King wryly says, no one else had made such an offer of his own free will; rewarded by designation as a King's Friend Pythios subsequently suffered the loss of his eldest son in penalty for presuming too far upon his status and requesting that son's release from the army. This story is romantic yet instructive as regards relations between Achaemenid authority and the native aristocracy: open surrender of worldly goods, by way of gift-giving, together with personal vulnerability (both physical and legal) characterize the latter's dependence, whereas there is no external requirement of political sensitivity on the part of the former. No doubt, however typical or exceptional the specific form of this story may have been, influential men generally compromised for their own benefit with the imposed authority of satrapal rule. Our lack of knowledge of the working relationship between Lydian aristocratic families and the satrap's court is a particularly obstructive lacuna.

One of the system's more positive aspects is demonstrated by Dareios I in his rebuke to Gadatas for interfering with the priests of Apollo at Magnesia on the

Maeander; this gives an impression of a modicum of enlightened tolerance, while his commendation of Gadatas' planting of fruit-trees strikes a benevolently despotic note.[10] The Achaemenid search for reprisals after the burning of Sardis in 499, if accurately reported, puts emphasis on the functional relationship between imperial prestige and territorial integrity.[11] Consistently with this, by the time of the Ionian attack incoming Persians had integrated sufficiently, as a stable element in Lydian society, to rally to the Sardians' aid in a common cause;[12] we have no evidence to contradict the theory that Persians and Lydians lived side by side harmoniously. Moreover, one purpose of Tithraustes' expensive truce with Agesilaos was the protection of Lydian territory, in the temporary absence of suitable Achaemenid forces.[13]

Trade continued to flourish and to be dominated by the western market. Relatively few Persian artefacts have been found so far, although they are quite diverse in type: seventh-century 'Achaemenid' bowls at the Northeast Wadi, a chalcedony seal and a multi-coloured terracotta figure both depicting a man in Persian garments, silver incense burners (found outside Sardis, in the upper Hermos valley), bronzes with motifs such as Ahura Mazda, griffins, or sphinxes, and above all pyramidal seals, for which the capital appears to have become a leading manufacturer. Although iconographic fashions were predominantly East Greek and Attic, alongside traditional Lydian styles, in pottery and sculpture, use of these Iranian motifs in both media and in metal is documented, to markedly lesser degree but valuably broadening our understanding of the contemporary cultural medley (Sardis pp. 104-6).[14] The comparative security for traffic guaranteed by Achaemenid troops during the Empire's heyday in the sixth and fifth centuries will of course have benefited traders greatly, as well as the diplomatic couriers taking letters between the royal and satrapal courts, even though the consequences are no longer visible to a satisfactory extent.[15]

Architecture, fortunately, has left visible traces of Iranian participation in the affairs of the capital. Double-apsed structures in Pactolus North, antedating the

Ionian destruction and rebuilt after it, were initially seen by the excavators as a fort, but may have had a utilitarian purpose in relation to the water supply system characterizing the area.[16] The walls reveal a masonry technique quite different from the known Lydian ones, so they have a claim to being specifically Persian buildings, but contributing to the running of the city as a whole. The Pyramid Tomb on the western flank of the acropolis, with distinctively Iranian shape and masonry finish, falls into a recognized category, that of the private expatriate monument; its resemblance to the staircases of Takht-i Suleiman in Pasargadae helps to give it a sixth-century date as well as a secure ethnic identity.[17] The same applies to another tomb with Achaemenid character, evidently built in the form of a temple, and bearing a funerary banquet scene, a motif which becomes popular in Sardis during this period, as one instance of Iranian artistic influence, heavily outweighed as this is by the increasing volume of Greek imports, especially from Athens.

In conclusion, the guess may be hazarded that the satraps as successors to the native rulers, wielding authority in which the Lydian population acquiesced, had their headquarters in the brick palace of Kroisos, which survived into the Roman period as a gerousion but has not yet been definitely located on the acropolis.[18] The symbolic continuity would as time passed tend to foster that acquiescence.

PART THREE - UNDER PERSIAN RULE - (b) ACHAEMENID ADMINISTRATION

1 Hdt. 1. 88. 2-90; 3. 89-97 (payments in kind: Ethiopians brought gold, ebony and elephant tusks every other year, Kolchians 100 boys and 100 girls every fourth year, Arabians 1000 talents of frankincense annually) with DNa 28-29 (= Kent pp. 137-8); Hdt. 6. 42; Thuk.8 5.5

2 Hdt. 3. 90. 1 - Mysians, Lydians, Lasonians, Kabalians and Hytennians were together annually liable for 500 talents of silver, just as the Ionians and other members of the 1st nomos were liable for 400.

3 Kraay, Archaic and classical Greek Coins p. 37; Naster, Congresso internazionale di numismatica (Rome) 1961 vol. 2 (1965) pp. 25-36; Buttrey et al., Greek, Roman and Islamic Coins from Sardis p. 69 no. 389. Carradice, 'The 'Royal' Coinage of the Persian Empire' pp. 73-95 (and plates X and XI) discusses the chronology and circumstances of issue of three classes of coin, as follows:
(a) 'Croeseids', the term adopted among numismatists to denote gold and silver coins, differentiated among themselves by style, weight and denomination but having in common an obverse with the foreparts of a lion and a bull facing one another, right and left respectively, and a reverse bearing two square incuse punches. (A similar image but with the two animals back to back is found on one electrum coin - p. 74 note 4.)
(b) 'Darics', gold coins bearing a 'royal archer' image on the obverse, known to be of Achaemenid provenance;
(c) 'Sigloi', silver coins bearing the same 'royal archer' image (these are merely one type of siglos, silver coins becoming increasingly abundant and widespread during the fifth and fourth centuries).
A subdivision of the first class, the croeseids, is recognised, between 'early' and 'later' ones. (Pp. 73-4, and ff.)
Argument has proceeded as to the origins and significance of these coin-types, in particular the croeseids but also the darics and sigloi, in the context of the early development of the Achaemenid Empire. Carradice alludes to the sequence of numismatic debate and research on the subject at his notes 7 and 8. The starting point is the reference, in Pollux (Onomasticon 3. 87, 9. 84) to a 'Kroisan stater', as a particular gold coin: this tallies with the datum that the gold 'croeseids' are well-recognised to be the earliest of gold coins and thought to be probably the only such coins with a sixth-century date (p. 73 and note 2). But there are now differences of opinion as to their origins. Whereas it is agreed that all the croeseids derive from western Asia Minor and specifically from Sardis, Head, Naster and Kraay interpreted them as first issued under Kroisos himself and then continuing under the Achaemenids, Naster adding (in 1965) the theory that the 'early' ones were Mermnad, the 'later' Persian; Price (1984) attributes them all to Achaemenid authority, a view shared by Vickers (1986) and endorsed by Carradice a year later.
The evidence at issue is that of several hoards. Study of the types and condition of their contents leads Carradice to propose (p. 94) that the 'early' croeseids belong in the approximate period 550-520, the 'later' ones ca. 505-500 and the first darics and sigloi (occurring together as they do, unlike the 2 classes of croeseids) ca. 500-485. This renders the 'later' croeseids and the first darics and sigloi the work of Dareios I. It is necessary, however, to emphasise as he does that any dating remains at present imprecise and to an extent speculative, particularly because no proper studies of the die-links have been carried out yet.
Although such a schema might otherwise be simply a matter of record, rather than one of controversy in the context of this thesis, I must draw attention to

a problem created by dating the 'early' croeseids as late as the mid-century and/or removing them from Kroisos. The Herodotean evidence for a Mermnad origin for separate gold and silver coinage would not be impressive in its own right but has been buttressed by the excavations of PN, and specifically by the dating of the gold-refinery to the second quarter of the sixth century, in other words the years ca. 575-550. I have discussed the matter of the origins of coinage itself in a preceding section, Part b of 'The Mermnad Period', and remarked on the importance of the contemporary Lydian discovery of cementation. Carradice's chronology would leave at least a quarter of a century, and precisely those years when cementation is in evidence in the PN gold-refinery, without production of gold and silver coins by the Lydians.

If one looks at the range of evidence from the hoards currently available to us, it is to be noted that we are talking about a total of 605 croeseids, which sounds a splendidly large sample, but of which only 114 are the 'early' type. A hoard of 475 'later' croeseids, found in Turkey in 1945 and not apparently susceptible to close dating, has overbalanced the total. Of the other eight hoards, two others have not lent themselves to an attempt at dating, namely, one from Egypt found in 1900 with 5 'early' croeseids and one from Sardis found in 1922 with 30 'early' croeseids. The remainder of the hoards containing this class of coin are dated, at least provisionally, to ca. 520 and ca. 500 (77 from South-west Turkey in 1982 (accompanied by the first Karian silver coins, possibly from Mylasa - p. 80 note 32); 2 from Egypt in 1900 and 1897 (although the latter is uncertain and may be a 'later' type)).

As for the hoards with 'later' croeseids, these date ca. 500 and then ca. 490 and 480 (2 from Bayrakli found in 1951; 8 from Persepolis found in 1933; and 6 from western Asia Minor found in 1961).

It remains to add that Persepolis has in fact produced seven others, 1 'later', and 6 'early' specimens found together with a Lydian electrum coin (inter alia) (p. 81 and ref.); and that the Bayrakli hoard contained the first darics and sigloi showing the royal archer, overlapping with 'later' croeseids (p. 83).

The conclusions allowed by this material certainly include an ascription to Dareios of both the 'later' croeseids and the darics and sigloi, and a continued use of the Sardis mint for their issues. But Naster's opinion that the 'early' ones should be attributed to the time of the Lydian kingdom does have the advantage of making sense of the operations being carried out at PN during the second quarter of the sixth century without having to explain away a substantial hiatus in production of these coins and their successors; nor is it ruled out by review of these groups of coins, given the uncertainties and doubts as to the implications of hoards.

One final point, with reference to that Southwest Turkey hoard: the suggestion that the first Karian coins, buried as they were with 'early' croeseids, ca. 520, derive from Mylasa is curiously reminiscent of the ancient tradition of close ties between the Lydians and the inhabitants of Mylasa. Herodotos (1. 171) describes its temple of Zeus as common to the Karians, Lydians and Mysians because of the kinship of the 'founding fathers' Kar, Lydos and Mysos, while Plutarch (Mor. 302 a) narrates the tale of Arselis of Mylasa who helped Gyges to the throne and then took away the royal double-axe, the labrys handed down in the Lydian royal family from Hippolyte and Omphale, to adorn his statue of Zeus Labraundeus. The one thing we can safely say about these references is that historical familiarity and regular contacts between the two peoples underlie them.

4 Gusmani, Lydisches Wörterbuch nos.1 (dated to 394 or 348, from the acropolis) and 41 (dated to 388 or 342, from Falaka near Tire in the Cayster valley.). Tuplin defines the two structural elements of the Imperial system as (a) extraction of profit and (b) maintenance of control ('Achaemenid Administration', 1987, p. 109). That "native dignitaries", in his words (p.

112) "need not have lacked for some enjoyment of a real sense of power" applied, no doubt, for those Beyond the River, and elsewhere, but cannot be echoed on behalf of the Lydian counterparts, as far as our current evidence goes (except of course for Xerxes' host Pythios with his coercive power over some of his peasant neighbours and his possession of 2000 talents of silver and 4 million gold darics (as rounded up by Xerxes) - Plutarch, Mor. 262 d-263 c and Hdt. 7. 28)

5 Hdt. 5 11-25. 1; 7. 32-40, 74, 8. 118-119; Xen. Anab. 1.1.2, 2. 1-5, Diod. 14.19.6.

6 Hdt. 5. 12-17, 23. 1 (Paionians taken across the Hellespont); Strabo 13. 4. 13/629 (Hyrkanians to Northwestern Lydia); Hdt. 6. 20 (Milesians to Red Sea coast); Cook, The Persian Empire pp. 65, 240 note 25 (place called Karka on the Red Sea coast)

7 D S f. 36 ff. (= Kent pp. 142-4). Nylander (Ionians in Pasargadae pp. 69-70, 138, 146-7; AJA 69 (1965) pp. 49-55; AJA 70 (1966) p. 373 note 2; Iranica Antiqua 6 (1966) pp. 144-5 note 4; 5th International Congress of Iranian Art and Archaeology (Tehran, 1968) pp. 311-18) has carefully chronicled the Lydian share of the work; it seems clear that the Lydians were active at a comparatively humble level, as basic masons, but that their work as at Sardis was of very high quality and influenced the Achaemenid aesthetic.

8 See previous note, and PFT 873 (9 Sardian blacksmiths) and 1409 (2 Sardian halapzi-makers).

9 Hdt . 7. 27-9, 38-39. 3.

10 Meiggs and Lewis no. 12. Cf. Tuplin, loc. cit., pp. (143 and) 145, on 'the twin royal concerns for georgika and polemika', as depicted by Xenophon in Oecon. 4. 5 onwards: a neat and acceptably imaginative formulation.

11 Hdt. 5. 100-102 ('The Persians later used the burning of the temple of Kybebe as an excuse for burning Greek temples'). Plato (Menexenos 240 a), Charon of Lampsakos (FGrH 262 fr. 10) and Himerios (Orationes 6. 23) all claim that the attack on Sardis provoked Dareios' campaign of 490.

12 Hdt. 5. 102: the Persians 'this side of the Halys' came to the Lydians' rescue.

13 Xen., Hell. 3. 4. 25.

14 BASOR 233 (1979) p. 20 (7th-century 'Achaemenid' bowls at the Northeast Wadi); Sardis XIll p. 44 no. 116 (chalcedony seal depicting man in Persian trousers and heavy robe); BASOR 162 (1961) pp. 34-6 (some Perso-Lydian ceramic material and Near Eastern arrowheads). Otherwise: BASOR 166 (1962) pp. 9-10 (Korinthian, Attic), 12 (East Greek), 22-4 (Attic, Samian, Korinthian); 170 (1963) p. 25 (Naukratite seal, with bearded sphinx); 174 (1964) p. 25 (Attic); 177 (1965) p. 9 fig. 8 (Attic); 182 (1966) pp. 14, 24 (Attic, 'Ionian'); 186 (1967) pp. 30, 41-2, 52 (Attic, Korinthian, East Greek; Egyptian alabastron); 191 (1968) pp. 12-13 (East Greek, Korinthian); 199 (1970) p. 14 (Attic, Korinthian); 229 (1978) p. 65 (Korinthian, Attic; Lakonian krater); 233 (1979) pp. 8-9 (Attic etc.); Sculpture p. 14 (with notes 4-11) lists Oriental imports briefly - more Naukratite seals, a few seals and glazed pot - from Assyria and Babylonia, a Phoenician ivory head, a 'Late Hittite' rock-crystal lion, and Kimmerian or Skythian bronze horse-trappings and animals: an eclectic group, found at random and hinting at a great range of informal contacts with Eastern trading centres.

As Tuplin remarks (Achaemenid Administration, p. 110 note 3), Achaemenid seals are found in small quantities all over the territory of the Empire, as are seals of different provenance and styles, but it is not coincidental that many emanate from Sardis in view of its status as a satrapal centre.

15. PFT 1321 (message from the king to Sardis), 1404, 1455 (messages from Artaphernes to the king).

16 BASOR 162 (1961) pp. 26-9 with fig. 14; 166 (1962) p. 24; Sardis p. 101.

17 BASOR 199 (1970) pp. 36-8 re the Pyramid Tomb.
18 Pliny, N.H. 35. 172; Vitruvius 2. 8. 9-10.

(c) Politics: Satrapal History

Sparda, Sepharad, Sapardu: for the Persians, Jews and Babylonians[1] Lydia's capital city was to be equated with the country as a whole, as a force to be reckoned with in Near Eastern affairs from the early seventh century.[2] Kyros' conquest put an end to its functioning as an autonomous military power but adoption as the seat of the main western satrapy and terminus of the Royal Road from Susa ensured that in important respects its secular status was unimpaired.[3]

This arrangement should be seen as convenient maintenance of the schematic status quo, in that the dominant international position fostered by the Mermnads was taken over by their foreign rivals for their own benefit. Both materially and symbolically its importance remained, for example as the chief western mint and as appropriate focus of Ionian rebellion in 499.[4] The physical shape and extent of the Mermnad kingdom, however, did not escape modification.

The first Persian listed as holding vice-regal authority is Oroites, who appears ca. 522 plotting against Polykrates of Samos but is expressly credited by Herodotos with an appointment from Kyros and divides his time between Sardis and Magnesia on the Maeander, yet only gains authority in the Hellespontine region by murdering the satrap of Daskyleion, Mitrobates; it seems clear enough that during Kambyses' troubled reign Oroites had been left in peace as effectively the independent governor of a rich land, with the aid of more than a thousand Persian soldiers in permanent or temporary garrison (3. 120-126, 128). The presence of a royal secretary at his court, known from an anecdote, certainly cannot be taken as proof that Dareios' reorganization was already under way, but at least is a valuable detail, stemming from the existence of structural links with Susa, to offset Oroites' own first-generation display of the inherent danger in such delegation of power.[5]

Whatever part the example of Oroites' buccaneering played in Dareios'

administrative work, the official record of countries or provinces within the Empire set up at Naqš-i Rustam, Behistun and Persepolis distinguishes between Sparda and Yauna, and from Xerxes' time Karka, Karia, as well. The division of peoples into tribute-paying nomoi transmitted by Herodotos firmly enshrines Achaemenid disruption of the Mermnad kingdom as it had existed under Kroisos: Ionians, Magnesians, Aeolians, Karians, Lykians, Milyans, Pamphylians in the first nomos, paying four hundred talents, Mysians, Lydians, Lasonians, Kabalians, Hytennians in the second, paying five hundred, Hellespontines, Phrygians, Thrakians in Asia, Paphlagonians, Mariandynians, Syrians in the third, paying three hundred and sixty (3. 90). (Although Cook does not make this explicit, Dareios' and Herodotos' lists actually cross-cut each other, fiscal and cultural distinctions in turn corresponding only partially to administrative satrapal ones.[6])

That military control and exaction of phoros together formed the crux of the Empire's practical effort is suggested in the earliest known episodes: Kyros initially put the Lydian Paktyes in charge of the confiscated treasure of Kroisos and his countrymen and left the Persian Tabalos in charge of Sardis itself. Judging by Herodotos' narrative of the revolt that followed Kyros' departure for Ekbatana and Babylon, Tabalos was acting as garrison-commander on the acropolis but the verb does suggest general political oversight.[7]

The king's rapid departure had left details of provincial administration to be worked out later; in the meantime, once the revolt had been suppressed Mazares was occupied in 'restoring law and order', with actions ranging from the sending of demands (and bribes) for Paktyes' surrender to Kyme and Mytilene to the enslavement of Prienians. His successor Harpagos concentrated on the wholesale subjection of Ionia.[8] In accordance with pressing current needs, neither man went beyond the activities to be expected of military legates. Oroites' appointment no doubt reflected the restoration of settled conditions, to the extent that he and many other Persians to come could take up residence as (well-guarded) landowners.[9]

During the hiatus preceding the Skythian expedition the only Persian official

who has any claim at all to be considered satrap is Bagaios, a member of Dareios' council who disposed of the insubordinate Oroites by inducing the satrap's bodyguard to transfer allegiance to himself and then execute their former master (Herodotos 3. 128). It is perfectly possible that he may have stayed on in Sardis after carrying out his primary commission, rather as Tissaphernes was to do after dealing with Pissouthnes, and later Tithraustes (more briefly) after dealing with Tissaphernes in turn. At any rate, this is the period in which Dareios' provincial organization should probably be set, coinciding as it does with a relatively peaceful interlude between campaigns.[10]

The discernible change of major significance concerns the identity of the satraps themselves: the king's brother Artaphernes was put in charge on Dareios' departure from Sardis after the conclusion of the campaign against the Skythians,[11] and the satrapy continued thereafter to be the prerogative of the royal family, broadly defined. In contrast the less prestigious and less strategically important satrapy of Daskyleion was allowed to become an hereditary possession of one noble family, that of Xerxes' general Artabazos[12].

Artaphernes' province unambiguously included the Ionian poleis, whose dynasts (tyrannoi) and leading men were as far as we can tell answerable to him in essentially the way they had been to Kroisos. The appointment turned out to be a sensible one, in view of his loyalty and skilful handling of the Ionian Revolt (in which he figures as Histiaios' chief opponent).[13] Herodotos (6.4) records an episode of importance for the internal politics of the Empire, in which 'trouble in Sardis' is an outcome of jockeying for position between loyalists such as Histiaios and Artaphernes himself, both dependent on Dareios' favour[13a].

Artaphernes' tenure provides us with the closest view, out of two centuries, of ordinary satrapal administration in action, from two aspects, those of official traffic along the Royal Road and payment of tribute, with its political dimension.

The Persepolis Fortification Tablets[14] are the historical texts involved in the

first instance:- as clerical records, written in Elamite and stored in the palace-complex at Persepolis, their main subject is payment of rations to diverse groups of recipients, at dates falling between 509 and 494, the thirteenth and twenty-eighth years of Dareios and in Sardian terms ca. the second and seventeenth of Artaphernes. He is named in two of them, PF 1404 which is dated to November/December 495 and PF 1455. The former registers flour rations held by twenty-three men and twelve boys under the leadership of Dauma, who travelled from Sardis (Isparda) to Persepolis - no doubt staying during the three months' journey at the inns mentioned by Herodotos (5. 52-3) along the Royal Road: taking a sealed document from Artaphernes to, presumably, Dareios. The latter text similarly registers flour-rations held by Dadumanya, eight accompanying gentlemen and five boys, again on a mission to take a sealed document of Artaphernes' to the king. In response, PF 1321, dating to May/June 494, is the record of flour-rations for people bearing a sealed document of the king's to Sardis: - in this case Hamaratsa and his three companions are described as fast messengers, befitting the document's administrative level and also perhaps its date immediately preceding Dareios' full preparations for the attack on Athens, prompted as this was by the Ionian Revolt.[15]

In contrast PF 873 and PF 1409 give glimpses of Lydians at work in the imperial service, to set alongside those craftsmen whose contributions to Achaemenid palaces have also survived in the record, as well as those soldiers co-opted into Achaemenid armies to serve in the eastern campaigns and the early stages of the Greek ones[16]. Gold-miners, stonemasons, wood-workers from 'Sardis' - no separate name is known for the rest of the country - were imported to labour at Pasargadae, Persepolis and Susa. Some of their compatriots served instead, whether or not voluntarily, as blacksmiths and halapzi-makers (an untranslated term, unfortunately) in the Persepolis region.

PF 873 notes Iš̌timanka's distribution of flour along the lines laid down by Irsena to nine Sardian blacksmiths living on rations in a nearby town over a period

of three months in 500. PF 1409 in turn during the same year describes a single day's ration, yet again of flour, paid out to Kammazikara, an 'elite guide', by Parru for the benefit of two Sardian halapzi-makers travelling from Susa to Maknan; the guide seems primarily engaged in taking a sealed document from Parnaka to the king, only secondarily to be escorting the Sardians. No doubt Parnaka might plausibly be identified as a Pharnakes of the Daskyleion family, of which Pharnabazos, satrap at the time of the Ionian War, is the most famous member.[17]

Secondly, although we have no information as to the methods of tax collection, Artaphernes is found in 493/2 conducting a land-survey in Ionia in preparation for a financial re-assessment, as part of a scheme to restore favourably normal relations with the Greeks - not that taxes were substantially reduced, according to Herodotos (6. 42). Similarly the satrap is said to have summoned the leading men of the poleis and enjoined a sworn settlement of their mutual disputes on them. Mardonios' deposition of the tyrants in the spring or summer of 492 in favour of a degree of democracy fits in with this scheme (6. 43. 3: τοὺς γὰρ τυράννους τῶν Ἰώνων καταπαύσας πάντα Μαρδόνιος δημοκρατίας κατίστα ἐς τὰς πόλιας·). Political surveillance had previously been maintained through the self-serving loyalties of a few 'dynastic' families, collectively brought into discredit by the unreliability of Histiaios and Aristagoras of Miletos. There is no reason to suppose that such a land survey and re-assessment were not carried out in Lydia too, whereas Mardonios' political reform has no obvious bearing on Lydian conditions, with a minority resident in urban centres and the local aristocratic families perforce cooperating with the Persians. Of the many lacunae, the absence of clues to the working relationship between such families and the officers of the satrapal court is particularly regrettable.[18]

Instead we are thrown back on assumptions from analogy with the known workings of Achaemenid administration elsewhere (not that these are more than partial guides, in view of the inherent regional variations). For instance, there is the cautionary tale of the royal judge, Sisamnes, whose punishment for bribe-taking not only caught Herodotos' imagination (5. 25) but tallies with Dareios' own account of the moral quality of his legal system, as inscribed at Naqš-i-Rustam. It is worth quoting in some detail:

> "In the protection of Ahura-mazda my character is such that I love what is right and hate what is wrong; what one man says against another does not convince me until he has satisfied the Ordinance of Good Regulations; I made good much which had been set awry; there were lands hostile to each other, whose men killed each other; I acted with the protection of Ahura-mazda so that they should not kill each other; I established each man in his place, and they were fearful in the face of my judgments, so that the strong man should not kill or injure the muškinu."

Use of the archaic term 'muškinu' for 'serf' is an echo of Hammurabi's Code.[19]

A bronze talent-weight in the form of a lion and on the Euboic standard has been found at Abydos in testimony to some financial reorganization which can hardly have been confined to the Daskyleion satrapy.[20] It is inscribed (in Aramaic) 'exact according to the satrapy of the King', in reference to the homeland of Parsa, now the Iranian province of Fars. In this context the allegedly pejorative epithet 'the kapelos' given to Dareios, and contrasting with those for Kyros and Kambyses, 'Father' and 'Master' (despotes), perhaps gains some substance.[21]

As a footnote to Artaphernes' career Justin's anecdote (2. 10.1-11) concerning the transfer of kingship from Dareios to Xerxes in 485 merits passing attention. The rival claimants Ariamenes and Xerxes are made to submit their dispute (regardless of the existing principle of primogeniture) to the arbitration of their paternal uncle in his capacity as elder statesman. More to the point, given both this story's location in Susa and his prolonged tenure, we may wonder whether he had not by that time relinquished the satrapy to his son, who bore the same name.[22] Herodotos (6. 94) describes Datis' companion on the Marathon campaign as

Dareios' nephew, and then a mere decade later names the commander of the Lydians and Mysians in Xerxes' army as this man's son, yet another Artaphernes (7. 74). Lehmann-Haupt blithely listed Datis' companion and the Lydians' general as probably the same individual and - on the basis of that generalship - as putative third/fourth satrap of Sardis.[23] On the assumption that Dareios' brother, outliving him as he did, could not have been born long before 545 nor been much older than thirty-five when he took office in Sardis (Dareios himself being about twenty years old during Kyros' final campaign in 529),[24] he should not have had a grandson of military age in 481/0, while his son, a general in 490, also looks rather uncomfortably young. A feasible solution would be to accept Lehmann-Haupt's conflation of the second and third individuals, though this requires us to view Herodotos' statement about the Lydians' general as a straightforward mistake. At all events this would strengthen the case for listing an Artaphernes as satrap of Sardis twice in succession, parallel (if more briefly) to the clearly hereditary line taken in neighbouring Daskyleion. (Correspondingly, the satrap Pissouthnes boasted a father called Hystaspes, as did Dareios, suggesting some family link.[25])

Unfortunately, that seems to be all that can be said about the next satrap, except that we hear of no successor to him until ca. 450 and Pissouthnes' arrival. This is unexpected in the period of the Delian League's growth at Persian expense.

Both 'Artaphernes the second' and Pissouthnes, in the absence of a named intermediary, appear to have served as satrap for a remarkably long time. However there is no good reason to read back the troubled conditions prevailing at the end of the century by proposing that the post fell vacant and discounting altogether the satrap's reported accessibility - in Sardis, not in Kelainai - to the exiled Themistokles in the mid-460s.[26]

Nothing is known of Pissouthnes' tenure as it affected the Lydians. He is distinguished only by his initial encouragement of the Samian revolt from Athens in 440,[27] use of Greek mercenaries in the time-honoured fashion,[28] and his own late revolt from Dareios II, maintained after defeat at Tissaphernes' hands by his

son Amorges with Athenian support[29]. 416-412 is the most suitable approximate date for their activities, and will mark the onset of a most disturbed period in the area for which Artaxerxes II's weakness was chiefly responsible and which accordingly persisted during his long reign.

Under Pissouthnes' successors (from 414 onwards) political activity continued, and with increasing intensity, to revolve around military and diplomatic relations with the Ionian and mainland Greeks.[30] During Kyros' years as karanos in Asia Minor, from late 408 to 401, the three distinct satrapies of Sparda, Daskyleion and Katpatuka/Kappadokia were effectively redefined as primarily military provinces; the map was to some extent redrawn in that the focus shifted away from civil concerns. As the royal document expresses it, "I send down Kyros as karanos of those who muster at Kastolos",[31] which lay near the later polis of Philadelphia in the Kogamos valley, thus reasonably well located unlike the other named Achaemenid mustering-ground at Thymbrara - unless they were in the same area (Cyrop. 6. 2. 11). The title 'karanos' has been referred to the Old Persian noun 'kara', 'troop of soldiers'; its general bearing is quite clear.[32]

Tissaphernes found himself confined to Karia, where indeed he already had a residence. Kyros had at his disposal Xerxes' palace and the parks, paradeisoi, including in time his own, lying in the regions of Sardis and Kelainai.[33]

When early in 401 he set out on the march to Babylonia, with a Lydian travelling market in his train, the element of personal decision (looking rather like rebellious autocracy from Susa's vantage point) was stressed in the satrapal dispositions, which included leaving Lydia and Phrygia in the charge of relatives, Ionia and Aeolis in that of an Egyptian friend (Diodoros 14. 19. 6). In view of his overriding military concern and subsequent downfall, and Tissaphernes' reinstatement in the following year, there is no need to consider the redivision a significantly formal one.[34] However, weakening central authority, highlighted and exacerbated as this was by pressure from Agesilaos in particular, contributed over the next few years to a situation in which originally informal redivision in

accordance with perceived military needs hardened into the accepted pattern.

Lydian territory certainly suffered severely from Spartan raids, which came to a head early in the critical year 395, with a victory by Agesilaos over both Tissaphernes and Pharnabazos in the Hermos plain near Sardis followed by Tissaphernes' arrest and execution on behalf of Parysatis, the vengeful mother of Kyros and Artaxerxes. Domestic political intrigue, hence, was allowed to take precedence over considerations of state.

In his place the chiliarch Tithraustes (here, commander of the royal bodyguard) stayed on in Sardis during 395 to meet the challenge posed by Agesilaos; it is a telling indication of the rapid decline in imperial effectiveness that Tithraustes resorted to bribing him with thirty talents to agree to an eight-month truce, during which he promised not to mistreat the Lydians.[35]

A lacuna of more than two years now ensues, although we cannot be certain about the degree of anarchia: it would appear that the Persian landowners and garrisons were left to their own devices, minor officials to continue with whatever administrative practices were in force (as regards settlement of legal disputes and payment of taxes), without an overlord based in Sardis. Alternatively, Ariaios' rebellious tenure of power in the town, to which Xenophon alludes at Hell. 4. 1. 27, for 395/4, might well in the interests of coherence be deemed to have extended over this period. It was brought to an end eventually by Tiribazos' official arrival in 392.[36]

Even now, the prime concern seems, by virtue of our reliance on Greek historians, to have been diplomatic negotiations with the Greeks, whose embassy on the subject of the 'King's Peace' was led by Antalkidas.[37] The needs of Lydia itself were by no means of paramount interest by comparison. At all events, Tiribazos, previously the satrap of Armenia, was evidently obliged to concentrate on politico-military affairs at the expense of internal civil ones.

He was in turn shortly replaced, in 391, by Autophradates, whose territory was however reduced by the parallel appointments of Strouthas in Ionia and Hekatomnos in Karia, the latter's personal stronghold at Mylasa receiving Achaemenid blessing and enlargement.[38] As far as Ionia was concerned, the new arrangement probably lasted no more than four years, being superseded on Tiribazos' return in 387, but certainty is impossible.[39] (General confusion and slackening of central control do seem indicated.) Strouthas is attested as arbiter in a boundary-dispute between Miletos and Myous and as Thibron's successful opponent.[40] Autophradates was occupied with the war against Evagoras of Cyprus, but also recovered control of that old Mermnad dependency Ephesos.[41] He appears to have been influential in Lykia too, like Tissaphernes but unlike Kroisos, his name translated into Wataprddata on a tomb at Phellos.[42]

Tiribazos returned to the satrapy in 387 to handle the new round of negotiations with Antalkidas and his colleagues on the status of the Asia Minor poleis; subsequently he took over as satrap from Autophradates until 379, when he fell temporarily from royal grace .[43]

Autophradates' second tenure of office has no clear terminus. He was active during the 'Satraps' Revolt' of ca. 367-352, loyal until 362 and reconciled four years later, and was still in power at Sardis as late as 353 with an intervention in an Aegean campaign. Someone of the same name was later briefly prominent during Alexander's progress through western Anatolia; in view of the three decades in office Autophradates had enjoyed by the mid-350s the temptation is strong to see Alexander's opponent as an homonymous kinsman.[44]

Another satrapal official is known for this period, in fact. Droaphernes is described in a much later Greek copy of the original inscription as ὕπαρχος Λυδίας, based in Sardis and taking it on himself to regulate the behaviour of Baradates Zeus' temple-servants.[45] Variant usage of such titles as ὕπαρχος casts doubt on an immediate interpretation of Droaphernes as Autophradates' direct subordinate, but seems acceptable in this

case.[46]

Two brothers descended from one of 'the Seven' held positions of authority in 350 and 334 respectively. Roisakes, commander of the Boiotians under Artaxerxes III Ochos on his Egyptian campaign, was at the same time satrap of Lydia and Ionia and had local troops with him.[47] With Spithridates, evidently his successor,[48] he was killed at the Granikos in close combat with Alexander himself.[49] An intriguing contemporary sidelight is thrown on a satrapal officer's potential sense of responsibility and commitment by the declaration allegedly made by Arsites, hyparch or satrap of Hellespontine Phrygia, to the effect that he would not allow any houses to be burnt in his territory.[50]

So the end is reached with the situation described at the outset by Arrian (Anab. l. 17. 3-6): after their satrap's death at the Granikos the garrison commander Mithrines and citizens of Sardis voluntarily (and despite the strength of their acropolis) surrendered to Alexander, thus freeing him of the necessity of laying a siege. Alexander duly proceeded after a token grant of eleutheria under the ancestral laws to subscribe to the pattern of Persian administration by putting in a 'strategos', a financial officer responsible for taxes and tribute, and a garrison commander. The attempt to include a native in the upper reaches of administration was not repeated.[51]

A few years previously, three Lydians had gone on an embassy to Miletos to discuss terms of proxenia for Milesians in Sardis - an embassy which demonstrates a continuing social and commercial relationship with the Greeks but also constitutes one brief interruption of the Lydians' long and eloquent political silence.[52]

This would be a reasonable version of the Lydian satrapal register:

B.C.

(547-546	Tabalos appointed by Kyros as garrison-commander)
?546-522	Oroites
522-511	Bagaios (?)
511-?480	Artaphernes (I) (with Gadatas as Ionian hyparch)
?480-450	Artaphernes (II)
ca. 450-414	Pissouthnes
414-408	Tissaphernes (with Tamos as Ionian hyparch)
408-401	Kyros as karanos of western armies (with Tissaphernes in power in Ionia and Karia)
401-400	One of Kyros' relatives (with Tamos in power in Ionia and Aiolis)
400-395	Tissaphernes (for all satrapies ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ ?)
(395	Tithraustes the chiliarch)
395-394	Ariaios (unauthorized? - from base at Kolossai; Karia given own satrap)
394-393	ἀναρχία
392-391	Tiribazos
391-387	Autophradates (with Strouthas satrap of Ionia, Hekatomnos of Karia)
387-379	Tiribazos (including Ionia)
379-?353	Autophradates (with Droaphernes hyparch of Lydia)
ca. 350-	Roisakes
-334	Spithridates
(334	Mithrines in charge, as garrison-commander)

PART THREE - UNDER PERSIAN RULE - (c) POLITICS

1. DB I. 12-17 Kent, Old Persian p. 119; Obadiah 20 (in the Old Testament); Smith, Babylonian Historical Texts pp. 150-159, esp. p.156. Trebilco, Jewish Communities, p. 37, comments on that Obadiah reference - "the exiles from Jerusalem who are in Sepharad" - that this may refer, here, to Sardis, but if so at a time when there is no other evidence for Jewish settlers.
2. Since Gyges' embassy to Assurbanipal: Rassam Cylinder - Luckenbill II pp. 297-8; also Alyattes' alliance with Kyaxares of Media: Hdt. 1. 16, l. 74.
3. The Royal Road: Hdt. 5. 52-54.
4. Hdt. 5. 100-2; Plato, Menexenos 240 a; Charon of Lampsakos, FGrH 262 fr.10; Aristotle, Posterior Analytics 94 a-b; Plut., De Herodoti malignitate - Mor. 861 b-d; Himerius, Orationes 6. 15; Hanfmann, BASOR 166 (1962) pp. 5-9 for early archaeological recognition of traces of the destruction.

   On the subject of the Sardian mint, the archaeological evidence, including the fact that so far only three silver sigloi have been found at Sardis by the two expeditions, and restriction of the Imperial coinage to the area of western Anatolia, strongly suggests that although this mint continued to function its products remained part of the Aegean economic system rather than affecting the Iranian one, which continued to be one of barter and exchange in kind, and that the tribute paid to the emperor was not, or not mainly, minted.
5. The Old Persian word Khshathrapavan lying behind 'satrap' apparently has the force of 'Lord of power': Teixidor, JNES 37 (1978) p. 185; cf. RE article on Satrap, pp. 82-84 ('Protector of the kingdom') and Dupont-Sommer, CRAI 1974 pp. 145-148. On the characteristics of garrisons, see Tuplin, 'Achaemenid Administration', pp. 132 f. with commentary on Xenophon's account (Cyropaed. 8. 6, Oecon. 4. 5) of satrapal military forces: a distinction is to be drawn between the guards of certain important urban citadels and the troops distributed widely and in relatively small groups throughout the countryside. In Lydian context, this provides us with the garrison on the Sardian acropolis and the military settlements occupied in variously protecting and perhaps farming the countryside - Xen., Anab. 7. 8. 9-22. As for royal secretaries, or scribes, according to Herodotos (3. 128. 4) every 'hyparch' had one. (An interesting description of the Persepolitan 'chancellery', staffed inter alios by Yauna, "the Greek", at Tuplin, op. cit., p. 118 and notes 37-9)
6. Cook, The Persian Empire pp. 77-90, esp. 77-85; DNa. 28-29 Kent pp. 137-8: Katpatuka, Sparda, Yauna, Saka/Skudra, Yauna takabara, Put (Libya); DB I. 12-17, esp. 15 = Kent pp. 116-119: Sparda, Yauna; XPh. 22, 28 = Kent pp. 150-2: Sparda, Yauna; Karka; A II/III Persepolis. 22, 23, 26, 30 = Kent pp. 155-156: 'iyam Spardiya, Yauna, Yauna takabara, Karka: this is the Sardian, the Ionian, the petasos-wearing Ionian, the Karian'; cf. also DPe 12-13 Kent p. 136; DPh. 7-8 Kent pp. 136-7: 'This is the kingdom I hold, from Skythians who are beyond Sogdiana, thence to Ethiopia, from Sind, thence to Sardis, which Ahura-mazda greatest of gods bestowed on me'; DSm. 7-8 = Kent p. 145.
7. Hdt. l. 153. 3 - 157.
8. Hdt. l. 157. 3 - 171. 2.
9. Oroites: Hdt. 3. 120. 1; residence at Magnesia on the Maeander: 3.122. 1, with Lydian agent Myrsos son of Gyges (*sic*).
10. Hdt 1 94. 1; Kraay, Archaic and classical Greek Coins pp. 24-5, 31-2, 37; Naster, Congresso internazionale di numismatica (Rome 1961) vol. 2 (1965) pp. 25-36; for a description of a siglos see no. 389 on p. 69 of Buttrey et al., Greek, Roman and Islamic Coins from Sardis. In general, also, Sardis p. 102.
11. Hdt. 5. 11 ff., 25 (Artaphrenes, as hyparch of Sardis).

12. Daskyleion perhaps omitted from Dareios' list, as subordinate to Sparda?; Artabazos' family: Hdt. 4. 143-144, 6. 33; cf. Ionians' and Aiolians' embassies after downfall, soliciting the same terms from Kyros as they had had from Kroisos: Hdt. l. 141. 1.
13. 5. 23-24, 6. 1-2, 29-30; Hammond, History of Greece pp. 204-209
13a. Forrest suggests (verbal communication) that the episode illustrates two competing elements within Persian reactions to the Greeks, and vice versa, those of antipathy (as revealed by Mardonios, for example) and (self-seeking) friendship, as in Histiaios' case. It does not however clarify Persian relations with the Lydians, although they no doubt took sides in their turn.
14. ed. Hallock; with The Evidence of the Persepolis Tablets.
15. Hdt. 5. 97-126, 6. 1-33; Huxley, The Early Ionians pp. 144-153; Emlyn-Jones, The Ionians and Hellenism pp. 32-35.
16. DSf 36 ff = Kent pp. 142-4: 'gold was brought from Sardis and Baktria and wrought here; the stonecutters who wrought the stone were Ionians and Sardians; the men who wrought the wood were Sardians and Egyptians; wall-ornamentation was brought from Ionia; cedar and timber were brought from Lebanon by Assyrians as far as Babylon, from Babylon to Susa by Karians and Ionians'/Nylander Ionians in Pasargadae pp. 69-70, 138 (with notes 355-6), 146-7; cf. pp 16-18; Iranica Antiqua 6 (1966) pp. 144-5 and note 4; AJA 69 (1965) pp. 49-55; AJA 70 (1966) p. 373, note 2; 5th International Congress of Iranian Art and Archaeology, pp. 311-318; Hdt. 7. 74; Xen., Hell. l. 4. 3; Walser, Die Volkerschaften pp. 78-80 for 6th delegation - Lydians or Syrians, pp. 86-88 for 12th delegation - Ionians or Lydians, with Tables 19, 59-61, 13, 45-9, 83.

    In all, the Persepolis tablets make reference to some fifteen thousand involuntary foreign workers, at 108 sites, as Tuplin comments (loc. cit., p. 116 and note 28). None of his examples are Lydians.
17. Pharnakes, father of Artabazos: Thuk. 1 129; Pharnakes, son of Pharnabazos: 2. 67, (5.1), (8. 58)
18. Cook makes the useful suggestion on p. 177 of The Persian Empire that Persian fief-holders of the kind encountered by Xenophon at the end of the century left little room for the natives. No doubt there will have been dispossessions.
19. DNb = Kent pp 138-40; Olmstead, History of the Persian Empire p. 123 and note 14.
20. CIS 2 no. 108
21. Hdt. 3. 89; 'kapelos' is not necessarily Milne's 'commercial traveller': CR 63 (1949) p. 85.
22. Meiggs and Lewis no.12 is a copy of a letter from Dareios I to Gadatas, his 'slave' at Magnesia on the Maeander; this is in itself insufficient as a reason to suppose an Ionian satrapy already existed; Gadatas need have been only a landowning and influential Persian, a useful subordinate figure for Artaphernes.
23. RE s.v Satrap pp. 130-131.
24. Hdt. 1 209. 2.
25. Pissouthnes son of Hystaspes: Thuk. l. 115. 4; Dareios son of Hystaspes: DB I 1-4
26. Plut., Themistokles 31; cf. Cook, op. cit. p. 130 and p. 249 note 15.
27. Thuk. l. 115. 4-5; (Meiggs and Lewis nos. 55-56)
28. Thuk. 3. 33. 2 (Arkadians)
29. Thuk. 8 5. 5, 19 2-3, 28 2-5, 54. 3: Andokides 3. 29; Ktesias, FGrH 688 fr. 15 (53).
30. Thuk. 8. 5. 5: Dareios II was anxious to recover the revenues lost by decades of Athenian Imperial interference in his territory, an anxiety affecting his satraps' behaviour.

31. Xen., Hell. l. 4. 3; Diod. 13. 70. 3; Plut, Lysander 9.
32. Karanos = strategos: Xen. Hell. 1. 4. 3; Anab. l. l. 2 (satrap and strategos).
33. Xen., Anab. l. 2. 7 - Xerxes' palace, Kyros' palace and park at Kelainai; Diod. 14. 80. 2 - gardens and park of Tissaphernes at Sardis; Xen., Oeconomicus 4. 20-24 and Cicero, De senectute 59 - Kyros' park at Sardis; cf. Pliny, N.H. 35. 172 - Kroisos' palace at Sardis; Klearchos fr. 43 a (Wehrli) - Lydians' parks at Sardis; Strabo 13. l. 17/589 - royal hunting grounds laid out by Lydians and later used by Persians in the mountains near Zeleia.
34. Diod. 14. 19. 6, 35. 2-3.
35. Xen., Hell, 3. 4.25; Diod. 14. 80; Nepos, Conon 3; Polyainos,7. 16 1; Plut., Agesilaos 10, Artaxerxes 23; in general for the Spartans in Asia Minor at this period see Lewis, Sparta and Persia, pp. 136-155.
36. Xen., Hell. 4. 8. 12; Diod. 14. 85. 4. Certainly Ariobarzanes, satrap of Daskyleion/Hellespontine Phrygia in 362/1, cannot be fitted in despite Nepos' description (at Datames, 14. 2. 5): praefectus Lydiae et Ioniae totiusque Phrygiae, referring to this period; Diod. 15. 90. 3, 17. 17. 6; cf. Lewis, Sparta and Persia p. 119 note 75 ("surely wrong", indeed).
37. Xen., loc. cit. 12-17, 5. l. 25-33, 35-36.
38. Strouthas: see note 40; Hekatomnos: Diod. 14. 98. 3 and Hornblower, Mausolus pp. 34-38.
39. Xen., Hell. 5. l. 25,-28, 30-31
40. Tod, Greek Historical Inscriptions II no. 113 3, 42 for Strouses; Xen., op. cit. 4. 8 17-19: replacing Tiribazos; Diod. 14. 99. 1-3.
41. Diod. 14. 98. 3; Polyainos 7. 27. 2; a coin of his may survive, if he is represented by the abbreviation **Oata** on Head, HN(2) p. 598, with note 2. For satrapal coins in general see Head, op. cit. pp. 596-8 (Spithridates, Tissaphernes [?]) and Babelon, Traité des monnaies grecques et romaines II. 2 pp. 101-138.
42. TAM I 44 c. 11, 14-15 (Cizzaprnna, Xanthos), 61; Bean, Lycian Turkey pp. 177-9 on the Xanthian stele.
43. Diod. 15. 8. 4-5, 10-11.
44. Satraps' Revolt: Diod.15.90-3; for a narrative see Olmstead, History of the Persian Empire pp. 411-425; Cook, The Persian Empire pp. 220-3.
45. Robert, CRAI 1975 pp 306-330, esp. 309.
46. e.g. Hdt. 3. 120. 1 (Oroites hyparch of Sardis); Thuk. 8. 5. 4 (Tissaphernes strategos τῶν κάτω); Xen., Anab. l. l. 2 (Kyros strategos and satrap); Polybios 21.16. 4 (Zeuxis satrap of Lydia under Antiochos III); OGIS 220 (Meleager strategos of Hellespont under Antiochos I); Welles, Royal Correspondence no. 73 (Leonippos satrap of Karia (?) under Mithridates V of Pontos).
47. Diod. 16. 47. 2.
48. *Pace* Olmstead (History of the Persian Empire p. 496 - or at least his phrasing) Roisakes did not mint at Lampsakos or Kyme; there are three coins with **Spithri** and types of those two poleis: Head, HN(2) p. 598.
49. Arrian, Anab. l.12. 8, 15. 7-8, 16. 3; Plut., Alexander 16. 4-5; Diod. 17.19.4, 20. 2-7 (as Spithrobates, satrap of Ionia, and Rosakes).
50. Arrian, Anab. l. 12. 10; Diod. 17. 18. 3.
51. For an instance of a Lydian, Manes son of Kumlis, possibly involved with the satrap's Aramaic-speaking officials see Gusmani, Lydisches Wörterbuch no. 1, a bilingual (with Sculpture p. 162 no. 241).
52. Milet III 135/SIG 3 273.

(d) Social Structure

Analysis of the basic organization of society cannot be pressed very far, yet some clues to the broad structural outlines do exist and allow us to see where the stress should be put:- definitions of what constitutes a village may differ, especially as regards the unit's dependence on outside groupings - the landowning families, the central officials, the polis - but the social primacy of villages remains indisputable. They occupy a position at one level of the socio-economic scale opposite but intimately in tandem with the ruling class, as composed in turn of native 'dynastic' families, Persian owners of estates and their Greek successors, and buttress the latter's position by surrendering part of the produce of their members' work, in kind or (no doubt less usually) in payment, in exchange for a protected place in the social structure: an Anatolian version of the social contract.

For an example of the system's effects obtaining before the Persian conquest there is the acropolis-complex at Larisa on the Hermos in the Aeolic fringe of Lydian territory, dating in part to the middle and later sixth century. Its excavators consider the best categorization of a group of buildings of this period to be 'Tyrannenbauten'.[1] The group's nucleus was a palatial residence, with a religious temenos and defensive improvements to the walls closely associated. As they remarked, it is highly unlikely that this building owes nothing to the contemporary palace of Kroisos, so far untraced at Sardis. Nylander defined its type as an old Anatolian one, influencing the buildings at Pasargadae and Persepolis on which Lydian and Greek craftsmen worked.[2] The possibility is at least worth noting that the occupants of the Larisan palace formed part of a uniform Anatolian pattern, that of a power-structure composed of dynastic families wielding military and religious influence in recognized districts. Alongside should be set the presumptive evidence afforded by the results of a field-survey carried out in 1970 by the

excavators of Sardis.[3] Within the clear distinction to be drawn between the one major urban centre of Sardis and the many villages a mediating role is to be assigned to the scattered clusters of burial mounds dating to this period and earlier and found near Daskyleion as well as in the central Lydian valleys. As the archaeologists suggested, on the assumption that the groups of mounds belong to prominent members of neighbouring communities the visible clustering - uniformly in a good strategic position and near a valuable source of water - tends to indicate a degree of regional autonomy, with authority in the hands of particular families deriving strength from long-established residence.[4] The imposing necropolis now known as Bin Tepe near the Gygaean Lake (Gölmarmara) with its royal associations is merely the most distinguished example of its genre. (No doubt the same might in fact be said of Sardis itself, before its development into a polis.[5])

With all due reservations I consider it feasible to use the title 'limited Anatolian feudalism' of the structure inherited by the satraps, its chief components being the predominance of village communities possessing an originally non-magisterial hierarchy and occasionally subject to exaction of corvee labour for craft and military purposes, coexisting with a ruling class composed of (hereditary) landowners answerable for fiscal and military purposes to the king and his representatives.[6]

The importance of bonds of kinship would be enhanced to complement those of neighbourhood if the existence of tribal demes such as the Mokaddenoi, now attested only in the period of the Roman Empire, could safely be read back into this period; there is indeed no obvious historical explanation to hand for the later introduction of such ethnic subdivisions.[7]

As thus defined, this structure survived the Mermnads' departure, changing in so far as a foreign element entered its aristocracy and the increasing Greek cultural dominance brought with it the growth of several urban centres. Outside them, small close-knit communities survived with their hereditary priesthoods into the

Roman Empire.

Erection of Alyattes' burial mound by the market-dealers, craftsmen and prostitutes of Sardis as related by Herodotos (1. 93) and Strabo (13. 4. 7/627) has distinct overtones, whatever facts lie behind it, of community-wide participation in labour. The comparable case of Pythios, an excessively wealthy Lydian landowner living at Kelainai at the time of Xerxes' Greek campaign, is highly interesting: he evidently had the power to make his neighbours (τοὺς πολίτας indeed) turn from agriculture to mining, in pursuit of gold. Plutarch (Moralia 262 d - 263 c) does not comment on his method of gaining a leading position in the socio-economic hierarchy, nor on the source of his land-ownership at Kelainai, but from Herodotos' narrative (7. 27-8, 38-9) it seems clear that his wealth and power were profitably sanctioned by the Persian authorities. Perception of him as one of the numerous local dynasts, who had managed to accommodate himself to the new regime, and perhaps to fill the gap left by the demise of native rulers in relation to the community, is certainly not unwarranted. Foreign officials, on the other hand, may be seen as likely to be excluded from the traditional social network.

Another aspect of such structuring is prefigured in an episode involving Kroisos. As governor of Adramytteion and the plain of Thebe he was called upon to muster troops from his own resources for the Karian expedition mounted ca. 570: an anecdote, one would say, with a strongly seigneurial flavour, were it not for the uncertain interpretation of those troops. Their relationship with Kroisos, who as a spendthrift youth had to secure a loan from a Prienian, Pamphaes, in order to comply with Alyattes' instructions, might be seen as that of mercenaries with paymaster, rather than that of neighbours in an (ill-defined) subordinate position carrying the effective obligation to bear arms as and when required; but the money Kroisos had to raise could instead be considered as going towards food and equipment, as part of his side of the bargain, so that the resemblance would be to patron and clients within the community.[8] We may compare the native officers

leading the various regional contingents co-opted into Xerxes' army.[9]

The functional relationship between aristocracy, however composed, and dependent peasantry is valuably glimpsed in Xenophon's account (Anab. 7. 8. 9-22) of his raid on an estate held by the Persian Asidates in the Mysian part of the Kaikos plain. Xenophon had been advised of the profit to be had there by members of a 'dynastic' family stemming from Eretria with homes and power in Mysian/Aeolian territory based on direct Achaemenid grant;[10] there is no indication of Asidates' own title to the land, though it may of course have been similarly obtained. His estate centred upon an aule - the farm's manorial building - protected by a heavily-fortified watch-tower (τύρσις, πύργος) capable of housing troops and of giving refuge to the peasants; property included more than two hundred slaves and substantial numbers of livestock. Reinforcements were readily available and summoned by waving of torches, hence stationed at no very great distance. Itamenes, a Persian otherwise unattested (though a namesake had intervened in the affairs of Kolophon in mid-century - Thukydides 3. 34) and with no known official position under the satrap, brought troops to Asidates' aid, while from other encampments came Assyrian hoplites and Hyrkanian cavalry, both forces expressly in the King's pay, as well as other peltasts and cavalry to whom the same presumably applied. At the second attempt Xenophon was successful in capturing Asidates himself, by dint of attacking his refuge in several unfortified villages near the town of Parthenion after a decoy march into Lydia.[11]

Underlying this episode is the established Achaemenid principle of residential garrisoning, employed wholesale with Hyrkanian colonists in northwestern Lydia and emulated ca. 205 by Antiochos III and his governor Zeuxis in the transfer of two thousand Jewish families from Mesopotamia and Babylonia to help keep the peace in Lydia and Phrygia.[12] More relevant in the present context is the question of Asidates' title to the land. He may well have been a recipient of a royal grant in the same manner as the families of Gongylos and Demaratos, the grant including,

or simply comprising, provision of material support from towns in the area and concomitantly perhaps bestowing a dominant position in those towns. Xerxes' grant to Themistokles provides the clearest example: Magnesia was to supply his bread, Myous his meat, Lampsakos his wine, Perkote his bedding and Palaiskepsis his clothing.[13]

Royal grants in both Achaemenid and Seleukid times have elements of military 'fief-holding' and of fiscal convenience to them; the latter is to the fore in the surviving description of Mnesimachos' third-century estate in the Sardian plain, in keeping no doubt with more settled contemporary conditions.[14] Its scope extended to several villages and gardens, worked both by slaves and by native serfs with their own households attached to the village community: in other words, it does not look essentially different, just larger and more clearly originating in a royal (Antigonid) grant. There is unfortunately no indication as to whether such endowments had been a feature of Mermnad rule, but they do at all events constitute one angle from which to view the current aristocracy.[15]

Of the attested forms of dependent labour at the base of such estates only chattel slavery, if truly represented by Xenophon's term andrapoda for his human booty, and serfdom - of laoi apparently tied to specific villages - are recognizable. Collective land-ownership by the peasants within those villages need not be supposed to have extended beyond the fact that each community's defined territory comprised the sum of all its members' family holdings.

To the extent that Persian backing, in exchange for regular payment of 'tribute', was integral to maintenance of their local positions we may group the tyrannoi of the coastal poleis with these landowners. More generally, this set of practices is valuable for the insight afforded into socio-political attitudes: the belief is involved that bestowal of an estate as means of livelihood would confer on the recipient, King's Friend or not, the practical right to claim contributions in kind or in labour from at least some of the peasants or townsmen living in the designated area. Asidates' holding may after all have been won by private initiative

(constituting δορίκτητος γῆ ?), but it clearly formed part of the satrap's structure of administration by virtue of his sanctioned ascendancy in the neighbourhood.

Kinship groupings are, needless to say, primarily displayed on gravestones. Those few inscribed in Lydian during the course of the satrapy are uninformative, only the name and patronymic of each owner appearing;[16] similarly the earliest extant use of Greek, on two fifth-century gravestones, falls in this category by recording the subjects' names without even a patronymic, although the man responsible for one of them does list his own (but fails to record in what relationship he stood to the dead man).[17] Evidently membership of the community was not of central importance in these cases. In the Hellenistic and Roman periods, however, from which the great majority derive, detailed listing of a wide range of relatives is a distinctive feature that may very well hark back to authentic older traditions. In the northeast, the middle and upper Hermos valley, particularly, with greater use of a commemorative formula not only members of the immediate nuclear family but daughters-in-law, uncles, foster-children regularly swell the ranks of mourners, and kinship terms found otherwise only in Homer long continue in currency, suggesting that traces of extended grouping survived the pressure of urban Greek culture. Further to the south the fashion for recording family burial-plots, with a list of eligible occupants, tends to mask any such traces as in general only the nuclear family members are expressly named. But the distinction is far from absolute; and it remains true that the high degree of awareness of kin transmitted by the Lydians to incoming foreigners and, more importantly, retained by themselves despite Hellenization, is an aspect of national culture safely to be assumed for the satrapal period.[18]

Other communal institutions fall into two categories, those of the cultic organization: doumos, speira, phratra, symbiosis, and the craft guilds: homotechnon, synodos, synergasia, plateia. Again, the evidence is mainly confined to the Roman period, during which both sets of organizations interact

with families by honouring deceased members - one of their chief functions, in terms of that evidence, alongside, in the first case, cultic dedications.[19] There is no sign of precursors of either set in material relating to the Persian period, not that this is an absolute objection to belief in their existence. Temple-servants do appear to have been grouped together in Sardis, while the blacksmiths, stonemasons and wood-workers deported to work on the Achaemenid palaces will have formed cohesive groups on their own account; the goldsmiths and potters, for example, apparently had separate, distinctive areas of the city set aside for their activities.[20]

In view of the circumstances, the Lydians condemned to death in the mid-fourth century for disrupting an Ephesian sacred procession represent a few isolated occupations:[21] a bath house attendant (l. 21), a shoe-seller (l. 35), a colleague specializing in boots or sandals (l. 29), a gold-worker (l. 35), a priest (l. 43), and sacred herald (hierokeryx, l. 53), and a dealer in conifer wood (l. 44). A personal slave, with the name Mithradates, is also registered (ll. 46-7). Other men are described purely by name and patronymic (and sometimes by grandfather's name as well, in view of the evidently limited repertoire), while two non-Sardians are listed by village of origin (Hierakome, ll. 41-2, Ibidos kome, l. 55).Closer specification of kin also appears: a brother of the bath house attendant (ll. 21-3), a brother of the first shoe-seller (ll. 26-7), two Greek-named brothers perhaps of the second (ll. 29-30), and a son-in-law without his own patronymic. Despite its narrowness, this document is currently our most substantial text as regards structuring of the community. The cumulative impression is of a society already recognisably akin to the Greek pattern.

PART THREE - UNDER PERSIAN RULE - (d) SOCIAL STRUCTURE

1. Böhlau and Schefold, Larisa am Hermos I pp. 27-8, 83 ff., 140, 143, 153 ff., note to p. 84.
2. Ionians at Pasargadae p. 117
3. A. and N. Ramage, 'The siting of Lydian burial-mounds' in Festschrift Hanfmann, pp. 143-60 and figs. 1 (distribution map), 2 (central), 3 (western), 4 (Daskyleion).
4. Cf. e.g. the Peisistratidai at Brauron.
5. Survey pp. 17-34, esp. pp. 18, 29; Hdt. 5. 101-2 ('reed and mud-brick houses'); on the extent of territory controlled by Sardis see Survey pp. 19-20.
6. Cf. Evans, JAOS 83 (1963) pp. 20-26 for Mesopotamian parallels.
7. Mokad[d]enoi; in Flavian conventus list - I.Ephesos 13 I. 4-5; Temenothyrai - TAM V. 1. p. 1 no. 2/IGR IV. 618; Silandos - 47; Thermai Theseos - 71; Maionia - 525; Ptolemy, Geography 5. 2. 27.
8. Nik. Dam., FGrH 90 fr. 65; Aelian, Var. Hist. 4. 27.
9. Hdt. (7. 74), 7. 96: τούτοισι πᾶσι [in the Mss] καὶ τοῖσι ἐς τὸν πεζὸν τεταγμένοισι αὐτῶν ἐπῆσαν ἑκάστοισι ἐπιχώριοι ἡγεμόνες — οὐτε — ἔθνεος ἑκάστου ἐπάξιοι ἦσαν οἱ ἡγεμόνες ἔν τε ἔθνεϊ ἑκάστῳ ὅσαι περ πόλιες τοσοῦτοι καὶ ἡγεμόνες ἦσαν· εἵποντο δὲ ὡς οὐ στρατηγοί ἀλλ' ὥσπερ οἱ ἄλλοι στρατευόμενοι δοῦλοι.
10. Xen., Hell. 3. 1. 6: Pergamon, Teuthrania and Halisarna ruled by descendants of Demaratos, King of Sparta and Xerxes' companion; Gambrion, Palaigambrion, Myrina and Gryneion ruled by descendants of Medizing Eretrian Gongylos. The subject of the varying forms of land-holding, from truly Royal land downwards, in conjunction with this well-attested system of grants of estates and/or right to income or sustenance therefrom, is reviewed by Tuplin, loc. cit., pp. 133-7.
11. Asidates ἐξαυλίζεται εἰς κώμας.
12. Josephus, Antiquitates Judaicae 12. 147-153 (cf. 14. 235, 14. 259-61, 16. 171); Robert, Nouvelles Inscriptions de Sardes p. 12 with notes 5-6.
13. For Gongylos and Demaratos see note 10, supra; Themistokles (after learning Persian): Thuk. 1. 138. 5-6, Plut., Themistokles 29. 7, 32. 5 (Plutarch's friend Themistokles as a descendant received revenue from Magnesia still) - he was ruler of Magnesia according to Thukydides.
14. I.Sardis 1.
15. Grant to Aristodikides of Assos of crown land near Ilion by Antiochos I: Welles, Royal Correspondence nos. 10-13; sale to Queen Laodike of crown land near Kyzikos by Antiochos II: op. cit. nos 18-20.
16. Gusmani, Lydisches Wörterbuch nos. 1-2, 41 (e.g.).
17. I Sardis 102-103.
18. Robert, Anatolia 3 (1958) p. 110; Naour, ZPE 44 (1981) pp. 15-16 and note 19 (on the northeast); cf., e.g., Keil and Premerstein, Reisen III 27, from area of Philadelphia, with, e.g., Reisen II 171 from that of Maionia: 4 siblings, mother, wife, at least 3 paternal or maternal nephews, sister-in-law and grandfather.
19. **(i)** Reisen II (8 - Zeus Phratrios), 147 (phratra and speira), 152 (speira) 158 (speira), 216 (symbiosis), Reisen III 15 (symbiosis), 95 (symbiosis), Radet, BCH 11 (1887) p. 453 no. 15 (phratra), Bakir-Barthel and Muller, ZPE 36 (1979) p. 167 no. 27 (symbiosis), TAM V. 1. 179/Buresch, Aus Lydien no. 34 (doumos) 187/ Buresch, op. cit. no. 31 (symbiosis), 449/Herrmann,

Ergebnisse no. 25 (doumos of Artemis Anaitis?), 451/Herrmann, op. cit. no. 35 ('junior' phratra of Asklepios), 536 (doumos of Zeus Masphalatenos, Men Tiamou, Men Tyrannos), 537 (symbiosis of Zeus Masphalatenos and Men Tiamou) **(ii)** Herrmann, Ergebnisse pp. 12-17 nos. 7-13; Bakir-Barthel and Müller, ZPE 36 (1979) pp. 163-165 nos. 25-33.

20. Survey pp. 3-4, (21-22), 27-29, 125: Gold-refinery, 'Lydian Market' and Pactolus North industrial sector, concentration of pottery at Northeast Wadi (NEW).
21. I.Ephesos 2.

(e) Religion

In the absence of a wide range of Lydian texts no complete description can be given of the religious scene encountered by the Persians nor of their contribution to it. However, of the known components secure contemporary existence can be ascribed to worship of Kybele and of Hermes' counterpart Kandaules, a priesthood with ritual, probably including divinatory, functions, sacrificial puppy-burial, and at least aristocratic respect for Greek oracles and cult, especially in the case of Ephesian Artemis. By the end of the satrapy numerous other components are identifiable: the concepts of the sanctity of grave-sites and personal dedications to such gods as Šãntaš, Marivdas, Lamẽtruš (Demeter?), Armaš, Levš (Zeus?), Baki/Dionysos, Qldãnš and 'Artimuš', the latter now diversified in accord with local feeling into Šfardẽtis and Kulumsis (Sardian and Koloenian) alongside Ibšimsis (Ephesian) and worshipped with Qldans at a shrine in the Artemis Precinct. Kybele too had a temple in classical Sardis, the Metroon, while Lydian interest in foreign gods had led by the fourth century to the introduction of the mystery cults of Sabazios, Aggdistis and Mã.

Components attested only in Greek historical context but with a strong claim to derive from indigenous religion are worship of Tyrimnos, the rider-god bearing a double axe, and of Asvi, identified in the Hellenistic period with Athene of Pergamon, and further the Maionian tradition of 'God-ruled villages' and concomitant zeal for expiation of sins.[1]

The Persian pantheon and ethical values are partially demonstrated in the articles of faith contained in the Achaemenid inscriptions of Susa, Behistun, Persepolis, Hamadan and Naqš-i-Rustam; their infusion was to take effect in 'Lydianized' form to judge from comparison of those inscriptions with the

evidence for conditions in the satrapy.[2]

Ahura-mazda's primacy is not straightforwardly mirrored, as Anahita, tribal goddess of water and fertility and second member of the dynastic triad completed by Mithras, assumes far greater importance in consequence of her perceived equivalence with and ready assimilation to the Anatolian Artemis. Artaxerxes II's personal encouragement of her cult and iconography (itself a break with tradition) boosted that importance further. Statues were erected during his reign in Sardis, Baktra, Damascus, Parsa, Ekbatana and Babylon, and her titles added like those of Mithras to Ahura-mazda's in royal inscriptions.[3]

Knowledge of her original identity survived her transformation into Artemis Anaitis at the chief centres of her worship, Hierakome and Hypaipa, as knowledge of the Magian priests' fire-ritual survived the departure of the satraps.[4] It is obviously not coincidental that the main concentration of worship of the Persian goddess occurs in the northwest, 'Hyrkanian' plain in which Hyrkanis was to become the most notable polis, the name deriving from the presence of troops brought in from the northern district of Persia bordering the Caspian Sea to serve as a permanent garrison. That the area retained military associations is shown by the title under which the politai coined during the Empire, Makedonian Hyrkanians.[5] Hierakome lay on the plain's northern edge, Dareioukome, with its Iranian connotations, on its southern[6]; in turn its western was the site of another sanctuary of the Persian goddess, probably at Hierolophos and in the Attalid period still jealously preserving the ἀσυλία τῆς παρ'[ἡμεῖν] Περσικῆς θεᾶς·[7]

Under the new title 'Hierokaisareia' adopted in gratitude for his help after the devastating earthquake of 17 A.D., Hierakome applied successfully to Tiberius in 22 for recognition of the inviolability of its own shrine of Persian Artemis, purportedly founded by Kyros himself; formal grants bestowed by, amongst others, the proconsuls Perperna and Isauricus had extended the area of asylum eventually to the land for two miles around it.[8] Two or three decades later, the persons of several slave-girls were dedicated to the service of the goddess, under

the supervision of two hieronomoi Cretinus son of Artemidoros and Biton son of Rustius, who like two of the girls, Terentia and Octavia, bore Latin names: a telling instance of intimate cultural interchange.[8a]

Hypaipa is geographically isolated in this respect but as Robert pointed out it lies in a good strategic position capable of maintaining an Iranian garrison, on the route south into the Cayster valley from Mount Tmolos.[9] Again, a village on the shore of the Gygaean Lake just north of Sardis clearly contained a strong Persian element, employing the name Maibozanoi[10]; these people are listed in the Flavian conventus-register as having recently begun to call themselves Julians,[11] and elsewhere testify to their cultivation of Artemis Persike.[12]

Worship of Persian Anahita was however by no means confined to Persian immigrants, but spread among the native population. As Artemis Anaitis she held a prominent position at Philadelphia, for instance, with games in her honour, the Anaeiteia, from Augustan times[13]; she was even adopted as one of the Maionians' 'village-ruling' deities, hence in the heartland of Lydian religion.[14] On the evidence of coin-types Persike and Anaitis had different cultic images, the former always at Hierakome/Hierocaesarea a huntress but the latter at Hypaipa and elsewhere a veiled figure wearing a long chiton and kalathos. The complexity of religious interaction is emphasized as late as 153 A.D., in a text found across in northeastern Lydia at Selendi; Anaitis ἡ ἀπὸ ἱεροῦ ὕδατος is invoked to protect a family tomb. Folk-memory of Anahita's links with water had evidently lingered over some five centuries; protection of tombs had been a function of the native gods.[15]

One other particular creation is known, that of Baradates Zeus in Sardis, ranking as far as we can tell alongside Qldãnš and the succeeding Polieus Zeus. An otherwise unknown hyparch of Lydia, Droaphernes (at an Artaxerxan date probably corresponding to 365) ordered abstention from the alien mysteries of Sabazios, Aggdistis and Mã for those of Baradates Zeus' servants privileged to enter the adyton. One, Dorates, is expressly singled-out, but without indication of

rank.[16] This priestly elite was still active in Zeus' temple ca. 100 B.C.[17]

Priests take up much of the testimony: the small altar adorned with lions, Kybele's heraldic beasts, found near a sherd marked -kuvav- in the Pactolus North cupellation area rather suggests the presence of official ministrants,[18] but Hipponax is more helpful in that he actually names a contemporary Lydian kaves: Kikon, priest and seer.[19] The Lydian noun kaveš behind the Greek κώυς is independently attested,and the feminine form kaveis survives as an archaizing title for the priestess of Sardian Artemis into the second century A.D.[20]

Fourth-century colleagues are Mlimnš the priest of Baki and Armaš and 'servant' of Artemis,[21] Alikres the priest of Lamẽtruš,[22] Attis Pagtuo a presumably bilingual priest of Dionysos who was one of three Sardians chosen as resident proxenoi for visiting Milesians,[23] Spelmos son of Tuios (and grandson of Bagates) a turbulent hierokeryx condemned to death for participating in a riot against the sacred procession from the Ephesian to the Sardian Artemision along with another priest Paktyes son of Attis (whom it is tempting to regard as a relative of Attis Pagtuo),[24] and last but not least Mitradaštaš son of Mitrataš the warden of Qldaňš' and Artemis' temple.[25] He bears Persian names transcribed into Lydian, not that this identifies race quite securely: Mitradaštaš may have been either a Persian taking an active part in the religious life of his adopted country - just as we find in late fifth-century Ephesos, where Xenophon (Anab. 5. 3. 6-7) met the neokoros of Artemis Megabyxos - or a socially accommodating Lydian. [26]

Official tolerance of indigenous religions is well-portrayed in the letter sent by Dareios I to his 'slave' Gadatas rebuking him for interference with servants of Apollo at Magnesia on the Maeander.[27] Gadatas had been claiming tax (phoros) from the gardeners on Apollo's estate, and instructing them to dig ordinary unhallowed ground, despite the privileged status conferred by their occupation and the respect allegedly shown to Apollo by Dareios' ancestors. The extant Greek version (dated to the second century A.D.) carries a clear reference to Persian consultation or at least recognition of Greek oracles: Apollo is described as a god

ὃς Πέρσαις εἶπε πᾶσαν ἀτρέκειαν.

It may also be noted that the building of the altar within the Artemis Precinct (the archaeologists' L A 1) took place early in the satrapy's history.[28] This altar was probably the one at which Kyros observed the rebel Orontas take an oath of loyalty in 401, serving Persians and Lydians alike, no doubt, for the purpose of veneration. [29]

The eclectic result of the period's ethnic mingling can be neatly exemplified by the mid-fourth-century dedication to Artemis by the bilingual Nannaš son of Bakivas, or Dionysikles[30]; by the grave-stele of Atrastas son of Timles, erected soon after the fall of the Empire, in 330/29, and depicting a man dressed in Iranian clothes sharing a funerary meal with his wife[31]; or by these lines from Diogenes' Semele:

κλύω δὲ Λυδὰς Βακτρίας τε παρθένους
ποταμῷ παροίκους Ἄλυϊ Τμωλίαν θεὸν
δαφνόσκιον κατ' ἄλσος Ἄρτεμιν σεβεῖν
ψαλμοῖς τριγώνων πηκτίδων ἀντιζύγοις
ὁλκοῖς κρεκούσας μάγαδιν ἔνθα Περσικῷ
νόμῳ γενωθεὶς αὐλὸς ὁμονοεῖ χοροῖς .[32]

Artemis here appears in distinctly Anatolian guise, in the same context indeed as Kybele. The two goddesses were however always recognized as essentially distinct.

To conclude, a substantial degree of harmonious interplay between Persian, Lydian and (culturally prestigious?) Greek elements may, in the absence of contradictory evidence, reasonably be assumed.[33]

PART THREE - UNDER PERSIAN RULE - (e) RELIGION

1. Collections have been made: Steinleitner, Die Beicht pp. 10-46, 83-120; Buckler, BSA 21 (1914-16) pp. 169-183; SEG IV 647-652; Robert, Hellenica VI pp. 107-8 no. 43; Herrmann, TAM V. 1 on the Sacellum Deae Anaeitae et Menis Tiamu, 317-332; Petzl, ZPE 30 (1978) pp. 250-8 nos. 1-2, 258-61 no. 4; Bakir-Barthel and Muller, ZPE 36 (1979) pp. 182-3 no. 36.
2. Compare DPh. 7-8 (= Kent pp. 136-137): 'This is the kingdom I hold - which Ahura-Mazda greatest of gods bestowed on me' with XPh. 22 (= Kent p. 151): 'Babylonia, Assyria, Sattagydia, Sardis'; and A Sa. 4-5 (= Kent p. 154): 'By the favour of Ahura-mazda, Anahita and Mithras I built this palace; may Ahura-mazda, Anahita and Mithras protect me from all evil, and may they not shatter or harm what I have built'; cf. also XPh. 35-41 (= Kent p. 151): 'Among these countries there was a place where false gods had been worshipped - by the favour of Ahura-mazda I destroyed the sanctuary of the demons, and I proclaimed "The demons shall not be worshipped"; where the demons were previously worshipped, I worshipped Ahura-mazda and Arta ('Justice') reverently'. This claim of Xerxes' finds no echo in known Lydian experience.
3. Berossos, FGrH 680 fr. 11; Hdt. 1. 131 for the belief that Persians have no divine images, temples or altars. See also Lommel, Die Yäst's des Awesta, pp. 32-44; Weller, Anahita pp. 71-79.
4. Paus. 5. 27 5-6. Wikander, Feuerpriester in Kleinasien und Iran passim, esp. pp. 49, 83, 89-91; Kaibel, Epigrammata Graeca p. 537 no. 903 a from Hypaipa: Apollonios the archimagos, 3rd or 4th century A.D.
5. BMC Lydia, pp. 122 nos. 2-3, 124 no. 17, 125 no. 22.
6. Buresch, Aus Lydien pp. 32-3; Meritt and West, The Athenian Assessment of 425 B.C. p. 67 col. III. 349-50; cf. Strabo's Plain of Kyros (13. 4. 5.).
7. Welles no. 68; Robert, Hellenica VI pp. 56-61, esp. pp. 58-9; in general Robert, Amyzon pp. 115-117 (with pp. 151-3, 177).
8. Tacitus, Annals 3 62.

8a. TAM V. 2. 1252, dated to 41/2, 43/4 or 51/2 AD. Herrmann rightly raises a query as to whether these girls are being given to the goddess in order that they should engage in public prostitution. But Herodotos' reference to the Lydian practice of premarital female prostitution, at 1. 94, does not authorise us to interpret the practice as having a religious rather than a secular purpose, while the isolated nature, and the provenance, of this epigraphic datum must argue against such survival, tempting though belief in it might be.

9. Amyzon p. 116 note 152.
10. B.E. 1981 no. 505.
11. I Ephesos (I a) 13. I. 11: Ἰουλεῖς οἱ τάχειον λεγομένοι Μαιβωζανοί, paying 4 denarii for an unspecified purpose.
12. See note 10.
13. BMC Lydia p. xc: Ἀ[σκλήπ]εια ?; Imhoof-Blumer, Lydische Stadtmünzen p. 126, note 41: perhaps Ἀνάειτεια ; Robert, Etudes Anatoliennes pp. 161-3; IGR IV 1634: Aur. Eugenetor Elpidianou, pancratiast at the Sebasta Anaeiteia of Philadelphia.
14. See note 1; in general the principal texts can be found in TAM V. 1 317-332

(the shrine of Anaitis and Men Tiamou), 335-373 (Kollyda), 446-468 (the area between Gölde and Menye) and 522-541 (Maionia).

15. BMC Lydia pp. 102 no. 1, 107 no. 27; pp. 111 no. 21; 121 no. 72; Anahita: Lommel, Die Yäst's des Awesta, Yasht 5 on pp. 32-44 esp. sections 78 on p. 38 and 96 on p. 41; Weller, Anahita pp. 71-79 esp. 73 ff .; Anaitis ἀπὸ ἱεροῦ ὕδατος : Buresch, Aus Lydien p. 117 no. 56; Lydian tombs: e.g. Gusmani, Lydisches Wörterbuch nos. 1-5.
16. Robert, CRAI 1975 pp. 306-330 esp. 309; Lewis, Sparta and Persia p. 53. But surely the ban shows concern for ritual purity, rather than any 'exclusive' element in Achaemenid attitudes. Moreover, I cannot agree with Hanfmann (Sardis p. 89) that this inscription is firm evidence of the public usage of Greek in 4th-century Sardis: Robert makes it quite plain that what was found was a late reproduction/translation, of possibly Hadrianic date, affording no opportunity to draw any conclusions about the languages other than Aramaic used for the original text.
17. I.Sardis 22
18. Gusmani, Neue Epichorische Schriftzeugnisse no. A II 5 and pp. 28-30.
19. Hipponax 4 (Masson) : κίκων ὁ πανδάλητος ἄμμορος κυνῶν — οὐδὲν αἴσιον προθεσπίζων with [frr. 78. 7, 102. 17, 118. 14, 151 and] pp. 106-109.
20. kaveś - Gusmani, Lydisches Wörterbuch nos. 22, 23, 24, 26 and p. 150; kaveis - I.Sardis 51. 4
21. Gusmani, op. cit. no. 22.
22. Gusmani, op. cit. no. 26.
23. Milet III 135
24. I Ephesos 2.
25. Gusmani, Lydisches Wörterbuch nos. 23-24
26. There is a fine surviving example of a 'Persian' tomb, the so-called 'Pyramid Tomb', on the slope of the acropolis: Butler, Sardis I pp- 167-70 with figs. 185-188; BASOR 162 (1961) p. 31; 166 (1962) pp 28-30; 199 (1970) pp. 36-38 with figs. 27-28; the fanciful suggestion has been made (Pedley, Ancient Literary Sources on Sardis p. 76) that this might be the tomb of Pantheia and Abradatas, of Xenophon's Cyrop. 7. 3. 2-16.
27. Meiggs and Lewis no. 12.
28. Survey pp. 88-103 esp. 88-95, with figs. 181, 183, 186.
29. Xen., Anab. l. 6. 7.
30. Gusmani, Lydisches Wörterbuch no. 20 and Sculpture pp. 11, 177-8 no. 274 with figs. 465-6: the accompanying lions and eagle being Kybele's animals, it is plausibly suggested that a mistake might have been made during Roman restoration of the monuments in the Precinct.
31. Gusmani, op. cit. and Sculpture pp. 27, 157-8 no. 238 with fig. 404.
32. Diogenes, TGF 45 fr. 1 (Snell vol. 1).
33. The apparently isolated incident in which more than 40 Sardians of varying but no more than moderate social rank attacked a sacred procession from the Ephesian to their own Artemision, allegedly a foundation dependent on the former, provides some corrective. (I.Ephesos 2)

PART FOUR

HELLENIZATION

(a) The Lydian Language

The Lydians come into the historical light of day in linguistic terms in the second half of the seventh century. Graffiti on structures of that period in Pactolus North and Bin Tepe are inscribed in the alphabet employed by the language known by virtue of its preponderance and distribution as Lydian: it belongs to the Anatolian branch of Indo-European and has affinities with the earlier-attested Hittite and Luwian but is sufficiently distinct from those languages to represent something of a separate phenomenon.[1]

Lydian coexisted with the native languages of incomers. At first, Karian is well represented, attesting to the presence of Karians, as traders or soldiers, in seventh and early sixth-century Sardis and Ahlatli Tepecik on the southern shore of the Gygaean Lake.[2] Aramaic, introduced with the Achaemenid administrative structure, is briefly attested, as late as the fourth century, with a mere two examples.[3] Of perhaps closer origin is a quite unknown language (and script) of which one specimen, some thirteen lines long, remains; it is described as the Synagogue inscription after its findspot. It cannot be either Maionian or Torrhebian as these two are regarded by ancient writers as only different dialects of Lydian whereas the inscription is markedly dissimilar. It can be dated no more precisely than to the Archaic period.[4] Greek, in turn, appears in the country comparatively late, with one isolated graffito, on a plate of plain local ware, during the second or third quarter of the sixth century, and then two simple gravestones in the fifth century, but thereafter as first the other foreign languages and then the native one

fall silent it becomes louder, until it is the only one (apart from Latin, eventually) in public use.[5]

As for the evidence the early graffiti provide of the achievement of literacy, the dating suggests a pace of development not significantly slower than that of their Greek neighbours: although Miletos at any rate knew the 'Eastern Ionic' alphabet as early as the eighth century, by the sixth traces of literacy are still scanty at Ephesos, Kolophon, Smyrna and other poleis[6]. Among their Anatolian neighbours, the Phrygians' attainment of literacy is set in the late eighth century; they have, on the other hand, left a corpus of considerably shorter duration and more limited scope.

That the earliest extant use of Lydian is the handiwork of artisans, on public monuments, strongly suggests literacy as an accepted mode of communication over a wide social scale. The sixth century saw increasing employment of writing, for public consumption, for example on coins; there are two Lydian nouns, perhaps regnal names or bearing regal associations, engraved on two specimens of the electrum coinage of the period, one found in the Sardian Artemision and one in the Ephesian.[7] It is however principally on ceramic wares that inscriptions have survived, from numerous areas in and around Sardis - the domestic/industrial sectors known as Pactolus North and House of Bronzes, the Acropolis wall, the necropolis hill (Figure 3). This category has a chronological span from the sixth century (the heyday, at least in numerical terms) to the third century, with one tentative example from the second.

These inscriptions cover a range of functions in the same manner as Greek ones, such as the dedication of a marble bowl to Levs, the Lydian Zeus.[8] The recording of ownership is common, for instance by Artymas on his incense burner and by their respective owners on 18 out of 23 stemmed dishes unearthed from a large domestic complex on the east of the Acropolis, dating to the first half of the sixth century and preserved under destruction debris.[9]

Those stemmed dishes bear various graffiti, ranging from alphabetic signs through animal representations (a deer and a dog) to sheer "doodles". Inscriptions at the same rudimentary level, by Lydians, are attested for Smyrna, before or after its destruction by Alyattes around the turn of the seventh century.[10]

Whether or not in response to Greek influence, inscriptions on stelai gradually become relatively numerous, and not only for Sardis but for several widely-dispersed places as well: apart for one possibly fifth-century stele from the area of the city known (by reason of its Roman usage) as the Marble Court, those with secure dating are concentrated in the fourth century, often with the benefit of precise Achaemenid dates, and from the Cayster valley (the Ephesian hinterland), Maionia, Magnesia (in the lower Hermos valley), the Kogamos valley and upper Hermos valley, and even in Aiolis.[11] These stelai are mainly dedicatory or funerary, but they are not exclusively erected on priests' behalf but also on behalf of seemingly ordinary members of the community, evidently in the expectation of being generally understood and as serving an important purpose. There is a good example of this in a long inscription setting out in solemn and lasting form the property and financial arrangements made by several members of a family.[12]

There are four bilinguals extant, all of fourth-century date, two Lydian-Aramaic and two Lydian-Greek. Only one of the latter, the dedication to Artemis by Nannas Bakivalis/Dionysikleos, was found in Sardis, the other being a dedication to Athene/Asvi- by Bartaras/Partaras in the Temple of Athene at Pergamon.[13] Here, Nannas Bakivalis is aware that for dignity and for popular display his patronymic may be equated with Dionysikles and his goddess Artimu- with Artemis; similarly Bartaras knows how to write his name in Greek and how to set Asvi- into an Hellenic guise, in order to mark his ability to move between his own culture and an admired alien one, this being evidently a meritorious proceeding. One of the Lydian-Aramaic ones, on the northern slope of the necropolis hill, seeks from the Ephesian and the Koloenian Artemis protection for the grave of Manes, son of Kumles and grandson of Silukas; the other was set up

in a small settlement in the Cayster valley, by or on behalf of Bantakasas son of Abrnas: neither of this pair specifies his reason for resorting to Aramaic as well as his own language, although it may be assumed that they both had positions within the satrap's government.[14]

This record is completed by a small collection of inscribed seals, dated by Boardman to the sixth and fifth centuries, and by a stamped tile from the House of Bronzes area which was considered by the excavators to be possibly Roman in date - a stray exception to the drying-up of all evidence of the Lydian language in other than onomastic use after the third century.[15]

What the diverse material remains of the language do have in common is public character. Although the seals, for instance, were probably created for wealthier Lydians, the artisans will have needed a working knowledge of the written language, and more generally the mundane nature of the inscribed ceramics, together with the element of display inherent in the sculptural inscriptions, gives an impression of a significant measure of functional literacy amongst Lydian communities both in the capital and beyond.

Lydian is well attested in the onomastic record. The fourth-century Nannas and Bartaras, with their Aramaic-speaking neighbours Manes son of Kumles and Bantakasas, are joined by several others who form the subjects of some Greek inscriptions - Kados, Babas, Kondas, Paktyes, Papes and others indicted for disrupting the sacred procession from Ephesos in honour of Sardian Artemis,[16] the envoys to Miletos Potas Papeo, Artimes Pagktuo and Attis Pagtuo priest of Dionysos[17]; in the third century the workers on Mnesimachos' estate, mortgaged to the Artemision, include Tuios Maneos Kaikou, Kadoas Armanandou, and Ephesos Adrastou[18] (the Atrastas of fourth-century inscriptions), while in the second century a list of temple-servants set up in the Artemision has the names Ephesos the cook, his wife Ninis, sister Seddis a lyre-player and children Attalos and Artemis.[19] Then gravestones continue throughout the Roman Imperial period to give occasional specimens of 'native' nomenclature, such as Athes in Saittai

(57/8 AD), Tation Papiou in Kula (70/71 AD), Koalbusos in Dioshieron (2nd century AD), Potta daughter of Menekrates, a prophetess in Maionia (also 2nd-century).[20] In addition genos-names demonstrate antiquarian pride: Masdnis, Mermnas after 94/3, Alibalis ca. 45-35, Tymolis erecting a stele in honour of the emperor Tiberius, Asias in the first century AD and perhaps Kikinnas in the second, along with the predictable Dionysias; a Knidalian clan is attested setting up a gravestone for its member Glaukos in the fourth century AD near Tripolis.[21] Again, a Roman citizen in the second half of the second century AD, living in Karian Tabai, serving as prophet and thespiode, was Tib. Cl. Ardys, of patrilineal descent from the Heraklidai descended from Ardys: a remarkably resonant claim to true Lydian ancestry.[22] Similarly, Torrhebos and Tyrannos turn up during the Empire, bearing names from Lydia's romanticised past.[23]

The last certain employment of the Lydian language comes in the third century BC, and in the destruction debris from Antiochos III's siege, 215-213.[24] The Lydian and Greek languages appear to have been used and understood concurrently in the fourth and earlier third centuries, but after that Lydian rapidly falls out of sight, surviving into the first century AD only in the Kibyratis and believed to have died out in the homeland (Strabo 13. 4. 17/631).[25] By trawling through such writers as Hipponax, lexicographers were able, from the fifth century AD onwards, to record a continuing knowledge, from this once-vigorous and esteemed society, of around 50 words: these enshrine a folk memory of delicacies of Lydian cuisine, some of their names for plants, animals and musical instruments, status and ethnic terms, and a few vernacular items.[26]

The capital's transformation into a **polis** had as an accompaniment the abandonment for public and communal purposes of Lydian, literally the language of the native realm, perhaps in part because it was not readily able to express the concepts underlying existence in a true polis. Even before then, the most tenacious of linguistic elements, personal names, had begun to be rendered into Greek, and thereafter purely Hellenic onomastic forms (with an Imperial admixture of Latin

ones) came to dominate the historical record: a testament to the gathering momentum of "Hellenization".

PART FOUR - HELLENIZATION - (a) THE LYDIAN LANGUAGE

1. This section is intended as a narrative and Appendix **a** as a catalogue of the relevant evidence. For discussions and analysis of the place of Lydian within a linguistic grouping, see Heubeck, Lydiaka pp. 59-82; Heubeck, Lydisch in Altkleinasiatische Sprachen pp. 397-427; Gusmani, LW pp. 25-27; Gusmani, Neue epichorische Schriftzeugnisse pp. 55-61. As Hanfmann summarises the latter's views, in Sardis p. 88, the complexities of the situation are not amenable to definition in terms of a single 'family tree', and both Phrygian and Greek are regarded as major contributors to the form of the language including its alphabet. The evidence upon which philologists are able to work is that of around forty texts, of varying length and type, covering some four centuries; it does seem clear that no final assessment is yet possible, and the language is still quite imperfectly understood.
   Graffiti: Gusmani, Kadmos 27 (1988) pp. 27-34 (stonemasons' marks on a stretch of MMS); Neue epichorische Schriftzeugnisse, B.I.5 ("Gugu" in 'Gyges' Mound', Karniyarik Tepe). With reference to the stonemasons' marks (as they are, reasonably enough, interpreted) it is worthy of note that several letters appear to belong, variously, to the Lydian, Phrygian and Karian alphabets: this no doubt demonstrates the at least superficial similarity of these languages (and the difficulty facing philologists).
2. Karian inscriptions: Hanfmann and Masson, Kadmos 6 (1967) pp. 123-5, Gusmani in Neue epichorische Schriftzeugnisse pp. 81-8, 106-111, Kadmos 21 (1982) pp. 127-9 (from Ahlatli Tepecik): graffito on a fragment of a Lydian pot), and Kadmos 29 (1990) pp. 47-53 (two newly-joined sherds, previously published in Neue epichorische Schriftzeugnisse as C.I.1 and C.I.5); also AJA 88 (1984) p. 455. Catalogue in Neue epichorische Schriftzeugnisse (as at 1975) = C.I.1-6, C.II.1-3, all on local ware, spanning a period between ca. late 7th and ? 3rd/2nd century (but heavily concentrated in the 7th-6th centuries). (See also part D of Appendix a.)
3. Aramaic: LW 1 (stele in wall on north slope of necropolis hill; 394 or 348); LW 41 (stele from Cayster valley; 388 or 342).
4. 'Synagogue inscription': LW D (pp. 115 ff.) and Fig. 157 of Sardis.
5. (i) BASOR 174 (1964) pp. 52-3 with fig. 33 - boustrophedon, ca. 570/560-540/525, according to Pedley; (ii) I.Sardis 102-3 (quoted in Appendix a, part E). It is open to us to ponder what effect the multi-linguality of the Achaemenid Empire (as discussed by Tuplin, 'Achaemenid Administration', p. 110) might have had: our sources do not shed any light.
6. LSAG pp. 339-41, 326-7. In the second edition, Johnston has reported on the current consensus that the middle of the eighth century should be regarded as the terminus ante quem for adoption of the alphabet in Greece, and given the opinion that a North Semitic origin, rather than the Phrygian one espoused by Young, should be favoured. The role of the Euboians at Al Mina is emphasised, and the hypothesis put forward that "a settlement of trading Greeks from certain of the Aegean islands, established on the Syro-Phoenician coast, learnt the 22-letter alphabet from the local 'Phoenicians' during the late Geometric period". (Pp. 21-2, Supplement pp. 425-7) This chronology puts the Lydians perhaps a century behind the Greeks in the attainment of literacy. Theories as to the reasons for that attainment (or resumption) of literacy are beyond the scope of this work, but unspecific recourse to the needs, exigencies and socially stimulating effects of international trade and colonization may be permitted to suffice.
7. Wallace, JHS 108 (1988) pp. 203-7.

8. AJA 88 (1984) p. 455.
9. (i) Gusmani, Kadmos 22 (1983) pp. 56-60 (= LW 111 (2nd ed.)) - possibly second half of 6th century; (ii) AJA 93 (1989) pp. 126-7; between one and four signs per dish and a total of twenty-four different signs.
10. Cook, 'Old Smyrna', BSA 53-4 (1958-9), pp. 17, 29-31 n. 82, 87, plate 42.31: apparently a considerable Lydian element present - Lydian wares, one or two graffiti, a tumulus burial with Lydian-style offerings, coins [croeseids] in hoard with darics. Also the graffito on a column of the Ephesian Artemision, in the first half of the sixth century: LW 48 ("-Is Inl-")
11. See Appendix a, parts A and B.
12. Gusmani, Neue epichorische Schriftzeugnisse, A.I.4 (pp. 11-24). An example of a funerary text is published in AJA 82 (1978) pp. 328-330, and illustrated by fig. 9: the stele is tentatively dated to the fourth century, and depicts a funeral banquet 'of conventional type'.
13. LW 20 and 40 (quoted in Appendix a, part C)
14. LW 1 and 41 (quoted, in part, in Appendix a, part C)
15. Boardman, 'Pyramidal Stamp Seals in the Persian Empire', Iran 8 (1970) pp. 19-45; Gusmani, Neue epichorische Schriftzeugnisse, A. III. 1.
16. I.Ephesos 2 (full list of names in Appendix a, part F (a))
17. Delphinion no. 35
18. I.Sardis 1 and Appendix a, part F (a)
19. I.Sardis 3 (and Appendix a, loc. cit.)
20. TAM V. 1. 705, 276, I.Ephesos 3753, TAM V. 1. 535 (quoted in Appendix a, loc. cit.)
21. ISardis 125, 124, 127, 34, Gusmani, op. cit., nos. 4-5, TAM V. 1. 460, ISardis 12, Reisen III 65 (quoted in Appendix a, loc. cit.)
22. Robert, La Carie II nos. 28, 30, 133, 193, 196 - 165/6-185/6 AD (quoted in Appendix a, loc. cit.)
23. Reisen III 113; ZPE 44 (1981) p. 82 no. 1, TAM V. 1. 7 and 741 (quoted in Appendix a, loc. cit.)
24. Gusmani, Kadmos 21 (1982) pp. 125-7 (= revised reading of Neue epichorische Schriftzeugnisse's A.II.8). He considers this (from a jug of 'Hellenistic style') to be likely not to have predated that siege by many years, and to belong to the mid-century. It is an example of the ubiquitous 'X fecit' formula.
25. Strabo (13. 4. 17/631) describes the Kibyratai as descendants of Lydians who had settled in the Kabalid. Ethnic heterogeneity is vividly reflected in the range of local languages, Pisidian and Solymian as well as Greek and Lydian. He uses the verb katechein of the Lydian presence in Kabalia, implying that at some undefined period the country was not merely settled but controlled by Lydians.

    When recording the Achaemenid division of satrapies Herodotos (3. 90) classes together in the second nomos the Mysians, Lydians, Lasonians, Kabalians and Hytennians, their tribute assessed at the heavy annual rate of five hundred talents (of which perhaps Sardis would have borne the brunt). This grouping takes on more significance in the light of a later passage, 7. 77, in which he describes the Kabalians as "Maionians but called Lasonians", equipped with Kilikian battle gear for Xerxes' expedition against the mainland Greeks.

    Taking Strabo's and Herodotos' references together produces a speculative but intriguing picture, of 'pre-Heraklid' migration eastwards and temporary dominance in the Kabalid followed by centuries of uninterrupted residence side by side with the Pisidians and maintenance of traditions and language brought from the homeland. 'Maionian', Herodotos' title for both Lydians and Kabalians, has an archaizing flavour (7. 41. 1), while Strabo's emphasis on Kabalia as the last place in which Lydian was known to be a living

language, by the first century AD, might well suggest a long-continued settlement in a backwater.

Two Hittite scholars, Cornelius (Orientalia 27 (1958) p. 396; Revue Hittite et Asianique 62 (1958) p. 10; Anatolica 1 (1967) p. 65) and Macqueen (Anatolian Studies 18 (1968) figures 8-9 on p. 173, 10 on p. 174, 11 on p. 176) postulated that an undistinguished western Anatolian country known to Hittite archives of the second half of the second millennium as Hapalla was the precursor of Kabalia. The phonetic and orthographic values of the names do not, at all events, contradict such a theory, which would offer the possibility of a vigorous mid-second-millennium occupation of the Lydian territory, and a migration into the Kibyratis in consequence of the widespread disruption in the 13th and 12th centuries, these being conditional upon the larger hypothesis that the more important allied country of Arzawa represents the precursor, in part or in whole, of Lydia itself (Cornelius' and Macqueen's articles *supra* and Garstang's & Gurney's Geography of the Hittite Empire, pp. 83-100 (1959)). One arguable point in its favour, perhaps, is that Arzawa was evidently one of the Luwian-speaking provinces, Lydian an isolated member of the Luwian family of Anatolian languages: Heubeck, Lydiaka pp. 59-82; Heubeck, Lydisch in Altkleinasiatische Sprachen pp. 397-427; Gusmani, LW pp. 25-27; Gusmani, Neue epichorische Schriftzeugnisse pp. 55-61. But this is thoroughly controversial and speculative.

26. Appendix a, part b ii (Lexicography)

(b) The consequences of surrender to Alexander

The death of Spithridates in the battle beside the River Granikos, Alexander's first major engagement, in 334 left his subordinate Mithrenes in de facto command. Different titles are accordingly given to the latter: garrison commander by Arrian (Anab. l. 17. 3), satrap by Diodoros (17. 21. 7). It is however agreed that during Alexander's march eastwards after his convincing victory Mithrenes forestalled attack (regardless of his citadel's natural and fortified strength) by surrendering control over Sardis, and thereby over the whole country as administered from and centring upon the city. In Arrian's picturesque narrative, the wealthier Sardians felt it expedient to accompany Mithrenes on his mission to the Makedonian camp; we have quite insufficient detail for a proper appraisal of the possibility that these citizens, apart from making a prudent estimate of military odds, were actively in favour of surrender as representatives of a philhellenic social grouping - but this possibility is on general grounds a very strong one.

The sequel, at all events, was a granting of the right to use the old Lydian laws (or customs) and to be free: Σαρδιανοὺς δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Λυδοὺς τοῖς νόμοις τε τοῖς πάλαι Λυδῶν χρήσθαι ἔδωκε καὶ ἐλευθέρους εἶναι ἀφῆκεν. (Anab. l. 17. 4). Needless to say, we have no idea of the character of the laws ostensibly revived by this edict, nor of the substantive content of eleutheria as far as the Lydians were concerned.[1] Arrian's phrasing is too ambiguous to provide proof (in the absence of corroborating evidence) that Alexander was restoring laws that had been in abeyance - yet faithfully remembered - for the preceding two hundred years, rather than merely maintaining the status quo for administrative convenience while at the same time issuing 'liberation' propaganda for the benefit of those coastal poleis next on his route: πάλαι can as easily denote 'ancestrally traditional' as 'formerly in use'. One supplementary point to be made

is that the sources for the critical moments in Lydian history constituted by Kyros' and Alexander's assumptions of power do not overlap - in other words the earlier motif of cultural repression is textually independent of the later one of archaising freedom, and hence offers no prescriptive (and incidentally pro-Hellenic) formula.[2]

A set of officials was immediately installed to replace the satrap and his staff: Pausanias was appointed overseer (ἐπιμελητής) of the acropolis, Asandros strategos of exactly the territory held by Spithridates, Nikias financial officer in charge of tribute and taxes - and perhaps the converted mint.[3] If analogy with Alexander's disposition of Hellespontine Phrygia[4] can stand then we may assume that the taxation system was taken over intact, with no other change but the identity of the beneficiaries. An Argive garrison of undisclosed size was left with Pausanias, cavalry and light-armed troops with Asandros; interestingly, as one of the king's Hetairoi Pausanias had higher status than Asandros, the satrap's successor. His position was of course of strategic importance.[5] Finally, grants of democracy and autonomy to the Ionian poleis in due course had the effect of limiting Asandros' arche to a considerably smaller area than Spithridates', detaching Ionia once and for all.[6]

Apart from Alexander's sightseeing trip and commissioning of a temple to Olympian Zeus, there is no further record of his visit. After three days he moved on to Ephesos.[7] Diodoros (17. 21. 7) adds nothing to this bare narrative, merely noting the takeover of the treasury. Sardis is briefly mentioned as a campaign post a few months later, during Alexander's march through Karia towards Lykia in winter 334/3: sent off to establish a Makedonian presence in Phrygia Parmenion halts in the city, perhaps to muster some of the troops stationed with Asandros and Pausanias.[8]

The next scrap of information on the new regime is a passing reference to the despatch of Menandros, an Hetairos like Pausanias and previously commander of a mercenary force, to take charge of the satrapy.[9] No reason is given for this

change, as early as 331, although an Asandros is found during winter 329/8 with Nearchos bringing Greek reinforcements from the west to Baktria.[10] Hence the first Makedonian satrap might either have been transferred to recruitment work or simply have died. He is not listed as falling from grace; a link with Parmenion's family, ruined in autumn 330, is mooted by Lane Fox, plausibly enough, by virtue of his father's name Philotas, but this is chronologically irrelevant to the question of the Lydian satrapy.[11] Conversely, there is no extant suggestion that Nikias and Pausanias did not hold untroubled office, Persian resistance having collapsed after the Granikos defeat; there was to be no second Lydian revolt, and the country plays no further part in the narrative of Alexander's campaigns.

To sum up: all that can be concluded at this stage is that the smooth Makedonian takeover in Asia Minor brought about no drastic alteration to the administrative organization of the Achaemenid era, nor any immediate change in the population's composition. The exigencies of war and the subsequent jockeying for position among the Diadochoi left little time for any such activity, so Alexander's ad hoc arrangements became the accepted Hellenistic norm until they were displaced by civic forms, whose development they had evidently fostered at least to the extent of making room for subordinate municipal organization.

PART FOUR - HELLENIZATION - (b) THE CONSEQUENCES OF SURRENDER TO ALEXANDER

1. I.Sardis 4, a decree in honour of the neokoros of Sardian Artemis Timarchos Menedemou, dated ca. 155, has been cited by Pedley (Ancient Literary Sources p. 68 and note to no. 235) to prove that at least under the Attalids the city was self-governing, but by itself does nothing of the sort : Timarchos' current position and previous one as treasury-official in Pergamon were both held by royal appointment; his popularity and crowning by boule, demos, and strategoi mitigated in practice the reality of royal supervision. As Buckler and Robinson pointed out, the strategoi of Pergamon itself were nominated by the Attalids, and it is not unreasonable to assume that this applied also to the important city of Sardis. This is not to deny that it may have been left in peace much of the time to conduct its own affairs, the king being occupied elsewhere or simply well-disposed. See further Allen, The Attalid Kingdom pp. 96-7.
2. Hdt. 1 153. 3, 156. 2-157. 3 for Kyros.
3. Examples of Alexander's (and his successors') coins in Sardis can be found in Buttrey et al., Greek, Roman and Islamic Coins from Sardis pp. 16-17 nos 7-21, esp. nos. 7, 9, 10; pp. 17-18 nos. 22-4 belong to the early third century and same 'dynastic' source.
4. Anab. 1 17 1: same taxes to be paid as to Dareios.
5. Anab. 1 17 7-8
6. Anab. 1 12. 8: Spithridates was satrap of Lydia and Ionia. Grants: Anab. l. 17. 10 (Ephesos, democracy), l. 18. 2 ('everywhere', democracies, own laws); Tod, GHI 185 (Priene: freedom, autonomy) and 186 (Prienian democracy honours its benefactor Antigonos with hereditary proxenia, citizenship, etc.); cf. Antigonos in 311 - Diod. 19 61. 3 ('all Greeks': freedom, no garrisons, autonomy) and Welles, Royal Correspondence no. 1. 53-61 ('all Greeks', freedom and autonomy to be preserved by oaths - copy to Skepsis).
7. There are no recognized traces of this temple; if it was ever built - as a complement to that shared by Artemis' partner - it cannot have been on the site of Kroisos' palace as this was turned into a 'gerousia' according to Pliny (N.H. 35. 172) and Vitruvius (2. 8 10). No such structures have anyway been securely identified yet.
8. Anab. l. 24. 3; Diod. 17. 27. 6.
9. Anab. 3. 6. 7-8.
10. Anab. 4. 7. 2. This is presumably the man assigned Karia by the conferences at Babylon and Triparadeisos, whereas Menandros was confirmed in his post at the former, supplanted by Kleitos at the latter, according to Arrian's Diadochian narrative (FGrH 156 frr. 1. 6, 9. 37).
11. Alexander the Great pp. 128, 290-1.

(c) Hellenistic Sardis

Crucial as this period was in bringing the culmination of the ancient process of Hellenization, the best efforts of two archaeological expeditions have not laid bare the material form of the capital during this period, for good reason: one man-made and one natural destruction, followed by thorough rebuilding over the remains of the Hellenistic city to suit changing Roman and Byzantine needs, succeeded in turn by its gradual abandonment, geological activity including landslides, and the conversion of much of the site to agriculture by the Turks. We do however have sufficient evidence, gleaned from the excavations, to supplement the literary and epigraphic record and give an outline description at least of the city's development.[1]

In 214-13 Antiochos III having recaptured Sardis from the rebel Seleukid general Achaios after a lengthy siege meted out widescale destruction and disruption of the city.[2] Evidently sacking of the city began as unplanned vandalism by the troops at the conclusion of the siege and only later turned into punishment for the citizens' allegiance to the rebel.[3] Traces of burning attest to the scale of the damage, as the levelling of the old residential quarter in the west around PN and HoB and blocking up of the wells there attest to a wholesale shifting of the city to the east, away from the Paktolos and its seasonal floods. The old industrial/commercial zone of activity beside the river also fell into disuse and was taken over by cemeteries and kilns.[4] A synoikismos was then carried out on the king's orders: this is the only visible effect left by Antiochos upon institutional patterns, and there is some doubt as to what 'synoecism' denotes here. As Robert commented, repopulation may well be all that is at issue, this being a thoroughly unsettled period in the region.

Thereafter the great earthquake of AD 17, which wrought damage sufficiently substantial, in and beyond Sardis, to elicit financial aid from Tiberius, as the prelude to a major programme of building and expansion, has itself rendered most of Hellenistic Sardis, in its pre-213 form and its subsequent one (Figures 4 and 5), all but invisible.[5] Indeed the excavations have made clear that the Lydian town suffered substantial encroachment in this process: the current head of the archaeological team, Greenewalt, has commented on the appearance of a 'radical juxtaposition' of Lydian and Roman structures, with intrusion of Roman-period buildings among the Archaic Lydian sites.[6]

Comparison of the known layout of the city at the three periods with which we are concerned might be valuable in this context. Figure 3, the hypothetical sketch plan of the Lydian city, shows it sprawling between the Acropolis and necropolis hills, closely following the line of the river down towards the plain, and lying across an ancient trade route; industrial and commercial activities are in evidence, as are religious structures in honour of Kybele and Artemis, while the fortifications stand out as affording substantial protection to a wide area. Its hypothetical successor, in Figure 4, covers a little more ground but seems less densely populated: less of the Acropolis is in occupational use, and the line of fortifications is not so extensive, nor is activity beside the Paktolos so obvious; on the other hand, it has spread farther to the east and into the plain, still straddles the old trade route and now boasts within the city wall a stadium and theatre, near a so-called Persian Gate (all of which feature in Polybios' account of Antiochos' siege, at 7. 15 ff.). In place of the archaic altars, the Artemision now marks one boundary of the city. (In passing, one might query the shifting of the agora away from the Paktolos at this stage: this is not a requirement of Polybios' narrative, and its hypothetical transfer closer to the theatre and stadium surely makes more sense as a part of the reconstruction after Antiochos' victory.) Lastly, the position of the city once Antiochos had finished with it, and before the fresh rebuilding necessitated

by the earthquake in 17 AD, is depicted at Figure 5: here, increased signs of industrial activity near the Paktolos are noticeable, but the surface area of the city has shrunk, as well as being shifted away from the old western quarters, with the result that much of the Lydian city area falls into disuse and becomes wasteland. There is no sign of renewal on the Acropolis, nor are fortifications any longer a prominent part of the whole design; on the other hand, the Hellenizing structures, the stadium and theatre, continue in use.

An attempt to draw any large conclusions from such a comparison is unwarranted while the excavated areas comprise a relatively small part of the whole (under the modern conditions obtaining in the vicinity, not least the intensive arable farming now carried out by the Turks). It should however facilitate an understanding of the evidence for urban development currently at our disposal.

Antiochos' destruction, with the attendant change in land use, is the occasion of the earliest literary evidence of Greek influence on civic structures, in Polybios' narrative. The inference might be drawn from this that it was the pivotal event for the process of Hellenization. However, there are clear indications that this is not the case, and that certain key components of that process were already well-entrenched, in earlier third-century Sardis, in that a substantial complex of Greek cultural and political institutions is attested as being in place before Antiochos' siege. These are embodied in a theatre, stadium and gymnasium, and in a boule and demos.

A measure of explanatory periodization is possible. Between 323 and 281 the Diadochoi, most successfully Lysimachos, had nominal control of the country, then from 281, with territories in Asia Minor secured at the battle of Koroupedion, the Seleukids exercised effective control and began an urban restructuring,

accompanied and demonstrated as this was by the commencement of the great Artemision in wholly Greek style.

The upper terminus for the introduction of these buildings and institutions can only be put tentatively in the Seleukid period, i.e. after 281, with the establishment under Seleukos and his successors of strong civic authority, especially in the absence of detailed excavation of even the theatre, and the dearth of information as to the size and length of residence of Alexander's garrison, for example. (Butler, indeed, went so far as to describe the theatre, stadium and gymnasium as Roman structures.[7])

Polybios (7. 16. 6) gives the first extant reference to the theatre's existence, in a military context: a gate in the city wall led directly into it, affording a good site for attacks on both the acropolis and the lower city. This was duly exploited to Achaios' disadvantage. As for the gymnasium, Antiochos himself testifies to its existence, again without hinting at its date of origin, when he authorizes its reopening, as a mark of normality restored to the citizens' lives; this comes in a letter of March or June 213, inscribed on one of the old Metroon's columns which survived by being reused in the synagogue. Further, the king removes the obligation to pay punitive taxes (indicating restoration of friendly relations, the Sardians' straitened economic circumstances or both), and authorizes use of timber from his own woods - the first-known royal estate since Achaemenid days - for the building programme.[8]

Concurrently the boule and demos appear fully-fledged, the boule paying tribute to the citizen Heliodoros Diodorou and combining with the demos and with the new governor Zeuxis Kunagou to honour an unnamed benefactor, who receives an entirely conventional Greek distinction: invitation to public sacrifices and a privileged portion, geras, at them, the right to attend the prytaneion and to occupy a front seat at the city's festivals, the award of a bronze statue and a gold crown in the ekklesia - all in accordance with Zeuxis' express wish. The funds are to be derived (by the tamias Athenaios) from any source except the revenues set

aside for ceremonies in honour of the kings and queen.[9] This final qualification, of course, is the means of dating the inscription between 209 and 193, the years in which Antiochos III ruled jointly with his homonymous elder son.[10] Again, the deferential inclusion of Zeuxis' agreement[11] is reminiscent of the terms of the relationship between royal officials and popular assemblies employed at Pergamon. We have no information as to the identity of the civic agones mentioned[12]. Clearly, to judge from the wording (ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι πᾶσιν) they were numerous, but the only Hellenistic ones known are the Panathenaia and Eumeneia: the latter surely replaced a comparable Seleukid festival, for which these revenues were laid aside.

On current thinking the Artemision's Hellenic form dates back to the early Seleukid period, with perhaps modification of the design in the Attalid.[13] Testimony to its pre-existing municipal importance is offered by a votive gift made by Stratonike, daughter of Demetrios and granddaughter of Antigonos, a marble ball, one of five found near the temple. Stratonike was to become wife successively of Seleukos I and Antiochos I, but as the editors supposed this gift may well date back to before the battle of Ipsos, during Antigonos' period of supremacy based in Phrygia.[14] Figure 7 illustrates the temple and precinct, with its surviving Lydian monuments as well as the developments under Greek influence.

The stadium is known only in physical outline; the Princeton expedition noted its presence, the 'southern' side built into the hillside directly in front of the theatre, but no excavation has yet been carried out, although it has been measured by the Harvard/Cornell team; they considered that in its current form it dates to the 1st century AD.[15] The existence of the gymnasium - now extant, to the northwest of the theatre and stadium, in its grand Roman form as part of the bath complex - after all presupposes that of a stadium within a polis.[16]

In some relation to Antiochos' transfer of Jewish military cleruchs to Lydia and Phrygia to quell troublesome agitation in the province ca. 205[17] stands a

problematic inscription, found near Sart, but of highly uncertain provenance. Discussions of it have so far proved inconclusive: the original editor, Buckler,[18] suggested that it was a 'royal rescript' from Eumenes II after the treaty of Apameia, whereas Bickerman, followed by Robert,[19] attributed it to a town council or assembly at some time between 209 and 193; secondly its provenance is given respectively as an unknown town and as Sardis itself: an incomplete solution anyway as clearly two separate towns are at issue in the text. No further progress can be made until its precise character is established; the value of dealing with it at this point is that it does shed some light on internal Lydian affairs at a widely troubled period. In its current fragmentary state the inscription opens with an indistinct reference to 'the kings', including Antiochos, then proceeds to record a variety of concessions granted by royal officials in order to restore some stable prosperity to communities ravaged in a war that has just ended; the concessions amount to restoration of local autonomy in one case, and in the other remission of debts, a resettlement with new 'colonists', freedom from taxation for seven years and thereafter levying of twenty mnai annually, freedom from garrisoning, 'as in the past', from the obligation to perform liturgies (ἀλιτου[ρ]γήτους) and from outside interference (ἀν[ενοχλή]τους): whatever the latter meant in practice. The second town's name begins with a 'T': there is agreement that this represents either Temnos or Tmolos; topographically perhaps the latter is more plausible. Certainly its residents had suffered severely; the town had been burnt down and most people had lost their lives or property, to an extent which merited assisted repopulation. Different officials seem responsible for these towns, ---archos bestowing the grant of autonomy and ---doros agreeing to the fiscal and other concessions, no doubt however on the same monarch's behalf (the royal treasury is expressly mentioned). Nor is there a visible dividing line between their 'areas of competence'. As for that monarch's identity, Eumenes does seem the obvious candidate, whether the kings mentioned at the start are Antiochos III and his son or Antiochos and his ally Philip V, in view of the disparaging phrase

following that mention, 'the rule which they (the petitioning townsmen) endured' - hence the inscription might be the remnant of a summary of such grants duly set up at Sardis in honour of the new dynasty; in fact, rather the equivalent of a foundation charter.

The victory won by Eumenes I over Antiochos I near Sardis in 263 or 262 does not appear to have brought him any influence across the Lydian border[20]. His successor Attalos (whom Allen sees as improving on Eumenes' position by building up a regular Pergamene army in place of mercenaries[21]) had to contend early in his reign both with the Galatians, who by the middle of the century were able to hold much of western Asia Minor to payment of 'Danegeld', and with their ally or employer Antiochos Hierax, governor of Sardis. It is a measure of the weakening of central control exacerbated by Hierax's lengthy war with his brother, the legitimate ruler Seleukos II, that Attalos was apparently the first dynast to reject Galatian demands from a position of strength, and that his decisive victory, ca. 238-235, earned him the right to assume the royal title - and to keep it.[22] Hierax asserted his authority successfully against his brother near Ankyra, unsuccessfully against. Attalos near Pergamon.[23] As far as Attalos and his citizens were concerned, a series of three further defeats was inflicted on him, respectively at Koloe - again near Sardis itself - in 229/8, in Karia in 228/7 and in Hellespontine Phrygia in 227. This final battle will have followed Hierax's Mesopotamian failure against Seleukos and preceded his death in Thrake.[24] Seleukos III's obedient subordinates evidently had no greater success, during what was left of his reign, in re-establishing either peace or Seleukid hegemony. Within this same period, indeed, Antigonos Doson felt free to mount an expedition into Karia, for the purpose of self-aggrandizement, and established friendly relations with Mylasa.[25]

Yet Attalos had no opportunity, whatever his ambitions, to stake a claim as administrative ruler of Lydia. Allen is rightly at pains, despite Polybios' assertion (4.48.7: Ἄτταλον πᾶσαν ἤδη τὴν ἐπὶ τάδε τοῦ Ταύρου δυναστείαν ὑφ' αὑτὸν

πεποιῆσθαι) to stress that his military activities gained him no identifiable political hegemony outside his ancestral territory.[26] His enhanced prestige did however warrant a full-scale expedition, mounted in 224/3 and led by Seleukos III in person.[27] On the latter's assassination in the course of the campaign Achaios, one of his generals, was deputed by Antiochos III to redress the balance. Given forces sufficient to lend him regal status, Achaios was so successful that he had driven Attalos back within Pergamon and restored Seleukid authority by 220. Accordingly he followed Attalos' example in taking the title of king for himself, the second Seleukid viceroy to rebel in the space of some two decades. The satrapal model was, so it would seem, still potent in Asia Minor.[28]

There is no information as to events within Sardis itself. Achaios was engaged elsewhere between 220 and 218, attacking Pisidia and Pamphylia and posing a threat to Prusias of Bithynia as well. Aiolis and Mysia were however lost during the campaign of 218, Attalos conducting a successful raid in his absence and strengthening his own position again. As we have seen, Achaios was at any rate secure enough to issue coinage.[29]

At the conclusion of hostilities with Egypt after the battle of Raphia Antiochos turned westward to deal with the rebel, coming to an agreement with Attalos - which will have recognized his claim to independent kingship - in order to have a free hand in Asia Minor then besieging Sardis for nearly two years before Achaios' downfall. The chronology and sequence of events are rather uncertain, but the city was in the king's hands by the middle of 213 and a loyal governor installed, as already noted.[30]

Zeuxis was to be the last of his kind. Antiochos' war with Rome, ending in defeat at Scipio's hands at the battle of Magnesia ad Sipylum in 189, brought down the old order.[31] The treaty ratified at Apameia in 188 marked a dual terminus for Lydia and for Asia Minor in general: after a century of Seleukid sovereignty the established structure of government was transferred wholesale to Attalid control, in reward for Eumenes II's opportunistically dutiful support of the Roman side,

while real hegemony passed, as Eumenes himself would soon discover, irrevocably to the Senate.[32] Sardis, having served as Antiochos' headquarters, prudently surrendered without delay to the consul - in fidem consulis dicionemque populi Romani - but was placed under Eumenes' authority as one of the tribute-paying cities (Asiae urbes stipendiariae).[33] The crucial difference between this and previous dynastic changes lies in the circumstance that conditions within Sardis were now those of a Greek polis: hence it is inappropriate to view the next fifty-five years as a period of discontinuity with the Seleukid merely on the grounds that there are changes of official terminology or of coin-types.[34] The absence of a governor is primarily indicative not of any Attalid innovation but of the city's degree of Hellenization. Although internal evidence is scanty it makes more sense to put the emphasis here.

Both the general social momentum and the particular relationship with Pergamon are illustrated by the institution of Panathenaic and Eumeneian agones ca. 166. As a mark of their desired status Delphic sanction was sought and secured, by the envoys Sostratos Sostratou and Apollonides Asklepiadou. Honorific play was made with the ancestral relations between Sardis and Delphi, which did of course date back to the Mermnads, while the Attalid ambience was present in both festivals, Athene being patron of Pergamon and Eumenes II heir to most of the Seleukids' domains west of Mount Tauros since the ratification of the treaty of Apameia in 188.[35] Musical and gymnastic contests were established, to be held every four years and ranking in terms of the prize-giving alongside the Pythian. A reference to the occasion for the festivals' establishment, the rescue of Sardis from great danger, has been interpreted as affording a context in Eumenes' defeat of the Galatians, who had been troublesome at the close of the 3rd Makedonian War. This cannot be accepted in quite this form as there is no sign of any separate victory on Eumenes' part; certainly the renewed Galatian danger was real enough, and a settlement was in fact imposed by a Roman force under P. Licinius Crassus, during the years of Eumenes' unpopularity in the Senate.[36] A

better formulation (on the assumption that the inscription concerned does belong in these years[37]) would be that the Sardians were registering their continued loyalty to the Attalid king, in a familiar Hellenistic fashion. It might be remarked that although 'Seleukeia' are currently unknown in Sardis, discovery of their presence would be far from surprising. A few years later a second embassy (by Epikouros Epikourou and Dionysios Kleandrou) secured recognition of a third element in these festivals, an equestrian event, hippikos agon, with Olympic status; Eumenes is mentioned here, alongside the Pergamene patron Athene Nikephoros, as 'Soter', a title borne since defeat of Prusias and Galatians in 184.[38] As Daux said, if the new festivals had been celebrated once only before the horse-race was added then the embassy would be dated to ca. 162.[39] These festivals are known, by virtue of an inscription in honour of a gymnasiarch and priest of Rome, to have continued into the middle of the first century.[40]

As for relations between Sardis and Delphi, there is some interesting testimony to be found in another inscription recording a Sardian embassy: Metrophanes Menekrateos (bearing a sound Hellenistic Lydian name) as theopropos and presbeutas applied for renewal of the good relations previously existing between the two cities, in connection with a civic bid to consult the oracle. As Sardis had not done so for some considerable time its rights had lapsed, and it was necessary for Metrophanes to request the appointment of a proxenos before he could offer the due sacrifice as prelude to consulting the oracle (on an unfortunately undisclosed matter). In response the Delphians decided to appoint themselves collectively the proxenoi of the Sardians, an unprecedented measure. Metrophanes and his descendants were duly honoured in turn, with grants of individual proxenia, promanteia, proedria, prodikia, asylia, ateleia and theorodokia at the Pythia and Soteria. The editors suggested a late third-century date; however other inscriptions found in the same archaeological context belong to the first quarter of the second century, and there seems no reason to make an exception in this case. Certainly it was a sufficiently disturbed period to make an appeal to Apollo's judgement

feasible.[41] The transfer of sovereignty from the Seleukids to the Attalids may now look misleadingly smooth.

At all events the link with Delphi once re-established was clearly maintained, with Attalid support, and a theorodokos, Dexikrates Mnasitheos, was elected for the first Panathenaic embassy. How far these two festivals were genuinely new is debatable, but the historical significance of the Panathenaia and Eumeneia lies in their impressively Greek setting, befitting the cultural ambitions of politai, and in the tight dynastic connexion they evince. The Lydians had become used to foreigners holding authority over them.

These Attalid festivals can be seen in operation a few years later, in an inscription dated by its editors to ca. 150: in the year of Chondros' stephanephorate the demos honoured Dionysios Xanthios, son of Menas, the boys' gymnasiarch, in return for his lavish performance of the Mysteries on behalf of Hermes and Herakles the palaestra-gods and his donation of a statue of Athene Nikephoros and of gilded images for the goddess' festivals. This presumably refers to the Panathenaia. Uncertainty as to the number of gymnasia in Sardis centres on the mention in this inscription of a gymnasiarch of the boys, but surely this wording does not require the existence of a separate building.[42]

A century later the Panathenaia and Eumeneia were still being held, as the decree in honour of one of the city's leading men, Iollas Iollou, reveals.[43] It records a remarkable collection of tokens of distinction bestowed on Iollas: the right to display two gilded wreaths, one gilded portrait effigy, one 'colossal' gilded portrait effigy, one gilded equestrian efffigy, four bronze effigies, three marble images and four painted portraits. He had served as ambassador, legal patron (ekdikos), strategos, gymnasiarch, agonothetes for the Panathenaia and Eumeneia and Priest of Rome - the replacement as eponymous magistrate for the Attalid stephanephoros. The strategoi[44] seem to have become essentially municipal magistrates, their functions including probouleusis as demonstrated by the account of the honours paid to Timarchos Menedemou, neokoros of Artemis.[45] A proposal

made by the strategoi was taken up by the boule and demos which jointly decreed that Timarchos be crowned in the theatre at the Dionysia. This is the first reference to a Dionysiac festival, and has been augmented by two attesting the existence of a tribe Dionysias, namely, a first-century funerary inscription for one of its members and a record of building work by the tribe carried out ca. 150 A.D.[46] Timarchos had previously been Treasurer in Pergamon, appointed by the late king, Eumenes II. Subsequently, again by royal appointment, he became warden of the Artemision in Sardis, an important and prestigious post in which he apparently earned considerable esteem. In the absence of a wider range of documentation such as other Attalid municipal texts, it is impossible to estimate either the degree or the broader implications of royal involvement in the city's affairs.[47]

The gerousia, housed by the first century A.D. in Kroisos' old palace, may be attested for the Attalid period: one fragmentary stele simply displays 'the gerousia' and 'the demos', with wreaths, obviously in honorific (and perhaps in funerary) context. Unfortunately this can only be dated to the period between 150 and 50.[48]

The Artemision reappears in another context, concerned with ordinary temple-staff as partially enumerated: a cook, his lyre-playing sister, wife, son and daughter are named. This probably dates to the first half of the second century.[49] It is pleasing to find, at this humble social level, that Hellenization of names, apparently general among leading citizens, is still only partial: an Anatolian flavour is more noticeable, in that Ephesos the cook has called his children Attalos and Artemis while both the women of his generation, as the Greek script faithfully records, bear Lydian names, Seddis and Ninis - a thoroughly tantalising reminder that our texts may well distort the picture by suggesting that functional and intimate Hellenization was truly representative of the population.

The interrelationship between adoption of a Greek constitution and use, whether or not exclusive, of the Greek language will have been close and no doubt continuously fruitful; it can be noted but not charted. Needless to say, estimates of literacy rates (in either language) are even farther beyond our reach. The only

impressionistic guidance is to be sought in the social distinction apparent between customers for Greek and Hellenizing works of art and those for 'popular' native ones. Yet even this is of limited value, confirming our pre-existing expectations but allowing, for further insight, only recourse to speculation. It is at least safe to say that knowledge of Greek became increasingly necessary for participation in political life, and that correspondingly as a medium for writing Lydian was dying out during the early Seleukid period: Koroupedion was a turning point in more ways than one.[50]

Attalos III's bequest of his kingdom to Rome created another turning point, and added in the long run to Lydia's cultural heterogeneity.[51] Establishment of the province of Asia was initially delayed by Aristonikos' revolt and widespread civil disturbances. A formula to be derived from Strabo's brief formulation (14. 1. 38/646) is that the poleis were opposed, the poorer members of communities in the interior attracted to Aristonikos:-

εἰς δὲ τὴν μεσόγαιαν ἀνιὼν ἠθροίσε διὰ ταχέων πλῆθος ἀπόρων τε ἀνθρώπων καὶ δούλων ἐπ' ἐλευθερίᾳ κατακεκλημένων. It does not clarify our picture of Asia Minor's social patterning blithely to equate these 'lower-class' people with non-Greeks and leave it at that; villages were the characteristic Anatolian communities, and villagers were no doubt generally at a different economic level than townsmen, the possibilities of commercial enrichment being somewhat greater for the latter, but it should be noted that Strabo does not say that either 'villagers' or βάρβαροι composed Aristonikos' following.[52] In view of the fact that his ambitions were dynastic, as coins bearing the signature of 'King Eumenes' demonstrate, this is perhaps hardly surprising. The towns minting such coins are Stratonikeia, Thyateira and Apollonis[53]; the last two (garrison-towns with Lydian and Mysian neighbours), captured by Aristonikos early in his campaigning, to an extent supported him.[54]

Sardis' attitude to the impending Roman dispensation, as to Aristonikos, can only be inferred. It afterwards managed to secure autonomy and a position as a provincial centre for itself: there may well have been a perception that it had too much to lose by failing to identify its interests with those of the coastal poleis. Such identification is neatly exemplified a few decades later, at the beginning of the first century, when after a preliminary judgment given by arbitrators from Erythrai a dispute between Miletos and Priene over commercial access to the Latmian Gulf was referred to a court at Sardis: an incident the potency of which as a sign of how far Sardis had adapted to Greek traditions, and made itself acceptable to its Ionian neighbours, is not lessened by the ensuing appeals to the Roman governor L. Lucilius and the Senate, which ratified the judgment first made in Priene's favour. [55]

M.' Aquilius and his commission, at work between 129 and 126, organized diversion of tribute-payments towards Rome, had roads built or repaired to encourage trade, and provided for the annual sequence of magistrates, the propraetor, quaestor, legates. The governors' most significant role was that of circuit-judges, visiting each conventus centre in regular progression to hear local lawsuits and resolve administrative issues in conjunction with the city officials. This was a mode of government new to the territory, one which tended to underline the importance of municipal institutions for everyday matters.[56]

Q. Mucius Scaevola, proconsul in 94/3, set provincial administration on a coherent basis for the future by issuing an edict setting out his code of practice. His contribution to an agreement negotiated between Sardis and Ephesos over lawsuits brought by each other's citizens may be reminiscent of Hellenistic kings' letters of approval and advice to cities but also falls into line with the spirit of this edict.

The provincial organization eventually bearing the title 'Koinon of Greeks in Asia', and as such transcending national boundaries and, to some extent, identities as well, makes its first appearance in this context. It is then attested in 9 BC, as

extending beyond the major cities to embrace small communities such as the newer polis of Maionia in order to give the widest circulation to a proconsular edict, by Paulus Fabius Maximus, that the provincial calendar be reformed in honour of Augustus.[57]

Leading membership of the Koinon by Lydia's ancient capital, some five centuries after Kroisos' death, is an ironically fitting epitaph.[58]

PART FOUR - HELLENIZATION - (c) HELLENISTIC SARDIS

1 The modern excavation reports currently comprise numerous articles and monographs, and two more comprehensive books, the 1975 Survey ofSardis (edited by Hanfmann & Waldbaum) and the 1983 Sardis from Prehistoric to Roman times (edited by Hanfmann & Mierse), and since the latter date Greenewalt has been contributing to Mellink's Newsletters in the American Journal of Archaeology, her summaries generally recording the findings of two seasons earlier. A full-scale publication of the inscriptions found was frustrated by Robert's death.

2 Polyb. 7. 15-18; BASOR 162 (1961) pp. 37-9 and figs. 21, 22 for a Hellenistic marble tower on the acropolis linked to an older, probably Persian sandstone wall - it is sensibly suggested that this represents strengthening of the fortifications by Antiochos after the siege, in view of the discovery of one of his and one of Achaios' coins in the immediate area. In the same vein, three coins found recently in the Pactolus North/House of Bronzes area testify to the destruction carried out in 213: no. 81 (on p. 25) is an Ephesian coin from the hearth of one of the many houses razed to the ground, while wells were systematically blocked up in the neighbourhood; no. 367 (on p. 65) is one of Antiochos II from below the destruction fill in Pactolus North, no. 381 (on p. 68) one of Antiochos III from above it.

3 Polyb. l. 18. 9-10; Achaios issued his own coins as king: Buttrey, op. cit. p. 67 nos. 379-80, and see preceding note.

4 Survey pp. 29-30, 109; BASOR 174 (1964) pp. 25, 34; 177 (1965) p. 4; 182 (1966) pp. 24-5; 191 (1968) pp. 13-14. Several rooms still bear traces of ash and other debris, as does Building L on the south side of the Artemis Precinct; see also Sardis pp. 117 f.

5 Sardis erected a statue in Tiberius' honour: AJA 84 (1980) pp. 513-14, Hierakome adopted the new name Hierokaisareia, used on its Imperial coins: BMC Lydia 103 nos. 5-8, and for its successful application in 22 AD for confirmation of a grant of asylia to the sanctuary of the Persian goddess: Tacitus, Annals 3. 62, whereas Pliny (N.H. 5. 126) knows it as Hierakome, in the Pergamene conventus.

6 AJA 87 (1983) p. 440.

7 Sardis I p. 31.

8 BASOR 174 (1964) p. 34 - IN 63. 118/120 - either one or two letters, of related context.

9. Op. cit. - IN. 63. 119; Robert, Nouvelles Inscriptions de Sardes no. 1 (pp. 9-21, 58). Another of the inscriptions from the Metroon (still unpublished), IN. 63. 121 is a municipal order to inscribe a letter from Antiochos' wife Laodike: cf. her well-received benefactions to Teos in 204/3 - Herrmann, Anadolu 9 (1965) pp. 34-6, lines 37 ff. The Metroon evidently served as an important repository of public documents. This was presumably the building visited by Themistokles: Plut., Them. 31: and housing a statue dedicated by him.

10 Robert, op. cit. pp. 18-19.

11 Loc. cit. lines 8-9; Zeuxis is variously described as (here) ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων, ὁ Ἀντίοχου στρατηγός (Josephus, AJ 12. 147), ὁ (πρότερον) ὑπάρχων Λυδίας σατράπης (Polyb. 31. 16. 4), and praefectus Lydiae (Livy 37. 45. 5). Welles comments that 'satrap was used colloquially of Seleukid governors by Greek writers' (Royal Correspondence p. 362); Bengtson's

discussion of the strategia's development accurately pictures Zeuxis as effectively co-regent, based at one of the Seleukid centres of power - see note 44, below. For a city's decree from Hellespontine Phrygia, of Seleukid or Attalid date, honouring the strategos Korrhagos for many benefactions including a request to the king that (relative) autonomy and the ancestral constitution be granted, as well as temporary freedom from taxation, see SEG 2. 663 and Holleaux, BCH 48 (1924) pp. 1-57. Korrhagos is to be honoured with the conventional gold wreath; his strategia looks like the latter-day equivalent of an Achaemenid local dynast's position, beneficially intermediate between the satrap (as king's representative) and subordinate communities. (= Etudes ii pp. 73-125)

12 Robert, loc. cit. line 4.

13 Survey pp. 74 ff., esp. 75-6.

14 I.Sardis 86.

15 Sardis I p. 31; Survey fig. 1. 25; Sardis p. 116

16 Survey fig. 1. 1.

17 Josephus, AJ 12. 147-153.

18 I.Sardis 2.

19 REJ 100 (1953) 2 p. 34 and Nouvelles Inscriptions pp. 19-21.

20 Strabo 13. 4. 2/624; Allen, The Attalid Kingdom pp. 20-1.

21 Op. cit. pp. 32-3; IvP 13 (OGIS 266)

22 SIG III 410 (Erythrai); Allen, op. cit. p. 29 and notes 4-5. Seleukids' war and Attalos' success: Pompeius Trogus, Prologue to Book 27/Justin 27. 3: interea rex Bithyniae Eumenes (*sic*) sparsis consumptisque fratribus bello intestinae discordiae quasi vacantem Asiae possessionem invasurus victorem Antiochum Gallosque adgreditur; Livy 38. 16. 14: primus Asiam incolentium abnuit Attalus; IvP 20 (OGIS 269) and 24 (276); against Tolistoagians near the source of the River Kaikos; for the chronology see Allen, op.cit. pp. 195-9; Royal title: Polyb. 18. 41. 7; Strabo 13. 4. 2/624

23 Justin, loc. cit.; IvP 23 (OGIS 275).

24 IvP 27 (OGIS 278) - Koloe; 28 (279) - Karia; 22 (274) - Hellespontine Phrygia. Hierax: Polyainos 4. 17. 1; Polyb. 5. 74. 4. In general, for a narrative of 'la guerre fratricide' see e. g. Bouché-Leclercq, Histoire des Seleucides pp. 106-19.

25 Seleukos: IvP 25/26 (OGIS 277). Antigonos Doson: Polyb. 20. 5. 11; Walbank, Commentary on Polybius III pp. 70-1, lists theories as to the expedition's purpose, and Philip V, the successor in Makedon, makes reference to it (Crampa, Labraunda III. 1 no. 7, lines 12-13) in the course of a letter to Olympichos, a local dynast and former general of Seleukos II's: by virtue of the good relationship established between Antigonos and Mylasa Philip instructs Olympichos to restore control of the shrine of Zeus Labraundeus (and its estate) to the city, after hearing submissions from an embassy. Antigonos' previous settlement of this longstanding dispute had transferred control of the shrine to the League of the Chrysaoreis. Mylasa was one of the most prominent Karian towns, granted freedom by Seleukos II and later to be a Roman conventus-centre; there is no comparable information about Lydian towns. See further for the general setting Crampa, op. cit. pp. 1-2.

26 The Attalid Kingdom pp. 38-9.

27 Polyb. 4. 48. 6-8.

28 Polyb. 4. 48. 2, 3 and 11-12

29 Polyb. 5. 72 ff., 77-8. Allen provides a summary of the raid, op. cit. pp. 40-1.

30 Polyb. 5. 107. 4 (koinopragia), 7. 15. 1-18. 10, 8. 15. 1-21. 11

31 Polyb. 21. 16. 1; Livy 37. 37-44. Lydians served in the royal cavalry, according to Livy 37. 40: Syri plerique erant Phrygibus et Lydis immixti: an ancestrally appropriate place.

32 Polyb. 21. 17. 3: δεῖν (γάρ) αὐτοὺς ἐκ τε τῆς Εὐρώπης ἐκχωρεῖν καὶ <τῆς Ἀσίας> τῆς ἐπὶ τάδε τοῦ Ταύρου πάσης. . .
and Livy 37. 45: Europa abstinete; Asia omni quae cis Taurum montem est decedite (after the battle). The former territories were divided up as follows: free towns which had paid tribute to Antiochos but taken the Roman side were made exempt; towns tributary to Attalos were to remain so to Eumenes, paying the same amounts; towns supporting Antiochos were to pay Eumenes the same rate of tribute. Notion, Kyme, and Mylasa were freed from tribute, Klazomenai gained the nearby island of Drymoussa and Miletos some of its old sacred land; Chios, Erythrai, Smyrna and Phokaia were similarly favoured. The Rhodians were given Lykia and Karia south of the Maeander, except for Telmessos which went to Eumenes. He also received Magnesia ad Sipylum, the Chersonese, Lysimacheia and Antiochos' forts and territory in that area, as well as Hellespontine Phrygia, Mysia, Lykaonia, Milyas, Lydia, Tralles, Ephesos and Phrygia - Polyb. 21. 42-5, Livy 37. 56. 3, 38. 38-39; Appian, Syr. 39; Diod. 29. 10.

33 Livy 37. 45. 3; 34. 57. 10.

34 Allen, op. cit. pp. 87, 97, 107, 110-11; Sardis XI pp. 13-14, nos. 139-63.

35 FD iii (3) 241 (OGIS 305); Robert, REG 42 (1929) p. 430 no. vii; and see note 32, above.

36 Polyb. 29. 22, 30. 1, 3, 19. 12-13 (167/6), 28 (166/5); Livy 45.19-20.

37 FD iii (3) 241 (OGIS 305).

38 Allen, op. cit., pp. 211-12 no. 7, lines 1, 6.

39 Melanges Glotz I pp. 289-97.

40 I.Sardis 27; cf. 21, of a hundred years earlier. Cf. for 2nd-3rd century AD Thyateira Hadrianic and Augustan games: TAM V. 2. 1022.

41 FD iii (3) 242. The situation described in I.Sardis 2 seems directly comparable.

42 I.Sardis 21.

43 I.Sardis 27.

44 I.Sardis 4; op. cit. 89, a marble votive shrine to the "heros epiphanes", 'the (deceased) hero returned to us', set up by Timarchos the temple warden; this man was identified with the Timarchos Menedemou of no. 4 by the editors and the occasion referred to the episode in 172 when Eumenes (patron of the latter Timarchos) was for a short time reported dead: a fanciful but tempting theory. Bengtson, Strategie in der hellenistischen Zeit II pp. 90-115 and ff., has a good summary of the officer's prior development as representative of the king in succession to the satrap, with civil concerns overtaking military as the rule of law came further into play. It may be added that the spread of the polis-model in Asia Minor was a related process.

45 Op.cit. 126.

46 Op. cit. 12.

47 For Attalid kings' orders, communicated to cities tributary to them, see e.g. Welles, Royal Correspondence no. 53 to the Artists of Dionysos in settlement of disputes with Teos, or no. 54, giving a reduction in tribute-payments to and releasing the king's hostages from Amlada in return for good behaviour. The relationship might in general be summed up as friendly but firm.

48 I.Sardis 30.

49. Op. cit. 3.

50 The appendix on linguistic change provides a catalogue of evidence. There are stray prosopographical survivals in the Roman Imperial period, such as Tatarion - TAM V. 2. 1130 (a Thyateiran ossuarium), for which see Zgusta,

Kleinasiatische Personennamen pp. 505-6 no. 1517-34, although he records it as common to Mysia, Karia and Phrygia too. By way of comparison, the Karian language, similarly supplanted by Greek over roughly the same period, is regarded as a minor, vernacular one - Hornblower, Mausolus, q.v.: that its different character and sphere of use evidently made no difference to the historical process of its apparent abandonment might be seen as indicative of the pervasive intensity of Hellenic forms, above all when backed-up by the authority of the Hellenistic dynasts. I would agree that motives, reasons, pace of development are alike a matter of conjecture, and no doubt subject to national and other variations. Intermarriage will have been one of the more significant stimuli.

51 Strabo 13. 4. 2/624; Livy, Per. lib. 58-9 (heredem autem populum Romanum reliquerat Attalus); Pliny, N.H. 33. 148-9; Appian, Mith. 62, B.C. 5. 4/17; Plut., Tib. Gracchus 14; other derivative references in Magie, Roman Rule in Asia Minor II pp. 780-1 note 93. IvP 246 (OGIS 338/IGR IV 289), the city's decree in response to the will, says that Attalos left his kingdom, including, presumably, Lydia, free:

[μεθισ]τάμενος ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀπολέλοιπεν
τὴ[ν] πατρί[δ]α ἡμῶν ἐλευθέραν.

52 Vogt, Ancient Slavery p. 71: "The people who wanted to join the Pergamene prince must have been of very diverse national origins; but because his state [Heliopolis] only lasted for such a short time, we are not told how Phrygians and Mysians, Lydians and Carians got on together."

53 Robinson, Num. Chron. 14 (1954) pp. 1-7; Robert, Villes d'Asie Mineure (ed. 2) pp. 252-60.

54 Strabo 14. 1. 38/646.

55 I.Priene 111. 143 ff. and 120. 15 ff.; ca. 90/89; Lucilius is titled strategos: praetor in Roman terms, civil governor in Greek. Hiller von Gaertringen's editorial interpretation (with Sardis as ekkletos polis) is textually more satisfactory than Magie's, op.cit. I p. 167, which envisages Erythraian and Sardian arbitrators brought in by the contending cities: in time-honoured fashion, certainly. For the practice of appeal to the proconsul, cf. TAM V. 2. 858, in which Thyateira refers a dispute about sacred funds to P. Cornelius Scipio, ca. 16 BC.

56 Or Aquillius (RE s.v. Aquilius); Magie, op. cit., I pp. 153-8, II pp. 1045-9 notes 34, 36-41.

57 TAM V. 1. 516. Celebration of a 'Mucian' festival in honour of Scaevola's exemplary tenure is a possible but not strictly necessary original basis for the foundation of the koinon.

58 Diod. 37. 5. 1-6. 1; Valerius Maximus 8. 15. 6; Magie, op. cit., I p. 174, II pp. 1064-5 notes 47-8; I.Ephesos 7 (IvP 268/IGR IV 297/OGIS 437). For an example of the koinon at work, honouring the distinguished Sardian Menogenes Isidorou for his services to the province, most notably on embassies to Augustus and as chief priest and advocate, see I.Sardis 8.

(d) Seleukid and Attalid Military Foundations

Controversy continues over the practical distinction between military and civilian katoikiai. In Lydian terms, the important point is that none of the surviving evidence indicates the presence of unambiguously civilian settlements of Greek origin. As a generalising Hellenistic formula, the situation may be viewed in terms of 'Greek urbanism following the flag', and spreading out beyond Sardis to the rest of the country. The Seleukid and Attalid foundations were crucial to this process.

In 281 the battle of Koroupedion resulted in the transfer of sovereignty over western Asia Minor from Lysimachos to Seleukos, in the sense that it established the latter as commander of the only strong and unified army capable of operating within the region, but this victory was in strictly personal terms a very short-lived one as the king was assassinated some seven months later by Ptolemy Keraunos, in pursuance of a private grudge. However Antiochos I succeeded to his father's position and enjoyed undisputed control until Philetairos' more assertively confident successors in Pergamon began to contest the sovereignty of Asia Minor - a process lasting from ca. 261, with Eumenes' victory over Antiochos near Sardis, to 188, in the aftermath of the Roman triumph at Magnesia, with fortunes fluctuating on both sides.[1] The most significant element, around which a narrative of the period might usefully be set, was the planting of colonies by the Makedonian and Hellenized rulers.

There has been a considerable amount of work done on Hellenistic colonies; the Egyptian klerouchiai are of course much better documented than their counterparts in Asia Minor; but nonetheless lists and analyses have been successfully attempted, ranging from Oertel's encyclopaedic article on 'Katoikoi' [2] to Cohen's monograph.[3] A systematic description may be profitably undertaken, not least because both dynasties seem to have concentrated their attention chiefly on Lydian and Phrygian territory.

Thyateira ranks as the original such settlement in Lydia; indeed its establishment has been ascribed to the short period between Seleukos' victory and death in 281. An inscription[4] dedicated to King Seleukos by officers and men from among the Makedonians in Thyateira, alongside another[5] in early third-century script simply mentioning the Makedonians near Thyateira, suggests that the new community was composed jointly of garrison-troops and civilians, standing in obscure relation to each other:- could it not merely be that the civilians were in fact personal "aposkeue", families and friends of the garrison-troops, including some discharged veterans? Further, these two inscriptions tie up with Stephanos' otherwise fanciful entry for Thyateira, to the effect that it was founded by Seleukos I at the time of the Koroupedion campaign (and actually named Thugateira in honour of his newly-born daughter), while Strabo (at 13. 4. 4/625) tersely calls the town a katoikia of Makedonians. Stephanos and Pliny (N.H. 5. 115) claim that it had previously been called Pelopia, diverging to add the cognomina Semiramis and Euhippia respectively. As it happens, an inscription found in 1889 in Thyateira itself lists Semiramis, Pelopia and Thyateira, in that order, without going into any further detail: Herrmann shares Robert's suspicion of this, regarding it as likely to be an old Greek 'forgery' derived from Stephanos, and in the absence of details or context this does seem highly probable.[5a]

Clearly the onomastic tradition casts doubt on any suggestion that the Makedonian community was the first user of the site rather than an adjunct to a pre-existing native one. Although I have not seen it thus adduced, there is complementary evidence for precisely this conclusion which should be set alongside the above argument, an argument which is not particularly impressive in isolation: the local rider-god Tyrimnos, usually bearing the distinctively regional double-axe, was readily identified by the Greeks with Apollo, as tutelary propator of Thyateira, and also, in time, with Helios, but his own separate existence is indlsputable for the earlier period. No god of that name or type is known to be indigenous either to Makedon or to the Greek mainland. There is, moreover, the

complementary evidence of a tumulus burial found near Akhisar itself with Archaic Lydian jewelry and tableware as the funerary objects.[6]

Despite the negative impression afforded by Strabo's terminology as regards Thyateira's status,[7] it has been supposed that the town might have achieved recognition as a municipally organized polis at an early date: it has produced a few specimens of the Seleukid Apollo coin-type, probably dating to the latest period of Seleukid ascendancy before 190 according to Imhoof-Blumer, and then a series of second-century bronzes.[8] In addition, six cistophori, forming part of a group of eighteen minted in the adjacent towns of Stratonikeia, Apollonis and Thyateira during the second, third, and fourth regnal years of a Eumenes, and attributed with some plausibility to the context of Aristonikos' bid for the Attalid throne after 133 by Robinson, serve to underline Thyateira's strategic importance as one of the foci of power in the Kaikos valley.[9]

Apart from this, it had, in common with Apollonis, Magnesia and Sardis[10], acquired a gymnasium by the second century. A gymnasiarch is found officiating at monthly sacrifices of the royal cult[11]: at the very least this indicates stability and a measure of prosperity. As for the political institutions, there is apparently no reliable means of determining the period at which Thyateira adopted a boule and demos, with attendant archontes; certainly if Clerc's tentative attribution of a stone found in Selendi to Thyateira rather than to Hierokaisareia were to be accepted the end of the third century would become a secure terminus ante quem, as anticipated by the other evidence just reviewed: a boule and demos make a dedication in honour of King Philip, i.e. Philip V, during his campaign of 201-200, in the course of which he encamped near Thyateira and attacked the sanctuary of Persian Artemis at Hierakome; on balance the former seems rather more likely to have erected an inscription in his honour.[12]

Military affairs seem in the present state of documentation to have provided the chief events in Thyateira's history: Antiochos too pitched camp in the neighbourhood during his final campaign in Asia Minor,[13] and the town suffered a

raid by Eumenes II in the same period.[14] Conversely, another such settlement, Akrasos, apparently favoured the Attalid side, if Bikerman's dating of OGIS 290 to the time of Eumenes II is correct, as seems most likely.[15] Finally, at an individual level, testimony to the prevailing character of the citizen-body might perhaps be inferred from the stray appearance of a soldier of Thyateira, Hekataios, in the necropolis at Sidon, at an admittedly uncertain date but serving in the Lagid or Seleukid garrison; his name is not unusual enough to be of any help in determining his racial identity.[16]

It is worthy of note that OGIS 211 (TAM V. 2. 901), the dedication to Seleukos by Makedonian officers and troops, is so far the only explicit epigraphic witness to serving soldiers in a western Asia Minor colony founded by the Seleukids, as Bikerman pointed out;[17] the problem of determining the original identity of such settlements is therefore not capable of definite solution. Needless to say, there is no internal information of a kind that might throw light at least on the division of the community into military and civilian groups, nor on the perennially vexed question of land-distribution, except in the case of Magnesia. Akrasos, alluded to above as showing support, if not statutory subservience, to Eumenes II, is unattested during the third century. However the seemingly reasonable conclusion that it was an Attalid foundation is made dubious by virtue of the fact that its 'citizens' claimed to be Makedonians: the inscription in question is an honorific base accompanying a statue of an Attalid official Menogenes Menophantou, erected on the acropolis of Pergamon by 'the Makedonians near Akrasos'.[18] In other words this originally Seleukid border garrison (Makedonians being no longer available as 'first generation' subjects of Pergamon in any capacity) was rapidly taken over in consequence of the Attalid inheritance of Antiochos' cis-Tauric territories after the battle of Magnesia.[19] Agricultural activities may be presumed to have gone on alongside then increasingly in the place of military ones.

As for its neighbour Nakrasos, there were Makedonians in long-term residence

here too. Their descendants (sic) appear in a second-century AD inscription[20] carved on the base of a statue of Hadrian erected by the boule and demos; minting is first attested during Domitian's reign, some two decades previously:[21] presumably these chance survivals represent a reversal of the true relative chronology for the institutions' adoption. At all events this is surprisingly belated by comparison with Thyateira, and tends to stress the latter's civic success, whatever the reasons behind it. Nakrasos' latest coins (none of which, incidentally, conforms to the epigraphic formula by adding 'Makedonian') fall in the Antonine period; the town's prosperity, or self-confidence, was thus of decidedly short duration. Akrasos' , in turn, merely span the third century A.D.[22]

There is one possible trace of activity at Nakrasos in the Hellenistic period, conditional upon identification of the Turkish village of Bakir as occupying Nakrasos' former site: OGIS 268, dated in the first year of Attalos I (241/0), records civic honours paid to Apollonius Meleagrou, agonothetes for their first Royal Games and festival (πανήγυρις), and past strategos. The wording of this inscription is itself noteworthy: no name is given for the polis concerned, nor does a psephisma emanating from the boule or demos receive explicit mention; the only named civic buildings are the prytaneion and the archive office (archeion) along the side of a stoa, in which the honorific inscription will be mounted on a marble stele; the only other official involved is a treasurer. Perhaps most strikingly, Apollonios is characterized as 'epistates', without express qualification either as to timespan or as to area of competence, let alone the source of his authority - though no doubt this should be seen as an Attalid appointment, conferring general responsibility for the polis' stability and obedience and conversely authorising the assumption of a protectorate on the citizens' behalf. Apollonios is indeed praised as not only euergetes but, more to the point, patron of visiting theoroi and resident aliens (xenoi - Mysian and Lydian peasants). The elaboration of these virtuous activities rather suggests that more than the regular agonothetic duties is at issue. For the town in general, it is interesting to note the

omissions from its record of itself: certainly it calls itself a polis, yet no boule, demos, or magistrates except the strategos/epistates and the treasurer appear; there is an archeion for local record-keeping and of course a prytaneion - not that the latter can be regarded as anything more than a traditional and characteristic establishment for a 'Greek' community at any level of sophistication. A regional fair is associated with the agones held in honour of the royal house, but the scale can only be guessed-at. This sounds an interestingly individual community: whether we should be safe in regarding it as Nakrasos is a moot point. Buresch maps Bakir on its own account and fails to deal with Nakrasos at all;[23] Robert explains that the basis for the equation rests on the fact that the Hadrianic inscription which does name Nakrasos was also found at Bakir, in the eighteenth century;[24] and certainly it must have been somewhere in the neighbourhood of Thyateira, sharing as it does both the Artemis Boreitene coin type[25] and listing in Ptolemy's Geography (at 5. 2: "to the east of Thyateira"). Robert implies that at the time the inscription was copied Bakir was a comparatively important centre in the Kaikos plain, and notes that there is an ancient site nearby at Maltepe, as of course elsewhere in the Soma/Kirkagac region; hence no certain conclusion can be drawn at present as to Nakrasos' whereabouts or identity with whichever ancient community erected the monument to Apollonios Meleagrou, although I tend to feel that in view of the known clustering of towns in the Kaikos and Hyllos valleys the great interval between 241/0 B.C. and 81 A.D. prejudices against belief in Nakrasos in this context. The fact remains that no matter which town is responsible for Apollonios' inscription the state of civic affairs revealed is highly interesting, depicting a community (calling itself a polis) behaving as we might expect a katoikia to do; the absence of any reference to military details is in this context irrelevant. Clearly the town in its strategically favourable position warranted some degree of royal supervision.

The remaining material with a third-century setting, direct or indirect, concerns Magnesia and Palaimagnesia, Attaleia, 2000 Jewish families uprooted from

Mesopotamia and Babylonia, Mernouphyta and Nisyra. Attaleia has connexions with Eumenes I: along with Philetaireia-on-Ida it was a base for the mutinous soldiers with whom Eumenes concluded a sworn agreement as to rates of pay and conditions of service.[26] Keil and von Premerstein suggested, reasonably enough, that it originated as an Attalid fortress designed specifically as a counterweight to Seleukid Thyateira in the wake of Eumenes' success against Antiochos in 261.[27] We may see it as a mark or symptom of increased Attalid territorial pretensions, despite Eumenes' failure to style himself more regally than as Philetairos' (adoptive) son. On the other hand the very fact that the fortress, or garrison-camp, was already known as Attaleia seems to push the inscription and more particularly the proposed picture of Attalid fortunes down to a later period in Eumenes' reign (263-241); what is comparatively unproblematic is that apart from Paramonos there is no noticeable Makedonian element among the few officers' names given, such as might well lead one to suspect that the fortress or garrison-camp contained former Seleukid troops. Hence it is acceptable to posit a genuine Attalid foundation, growing in civic stature in tune with improving Attalid fortunes in Asia Minor. No coins are known for centuries, however, appearing first in Commodus' reign.[28] Thyateira's Artemis Boreitene and double-axe then show up on its neighbour's coins. Unfortunately there is no evidence for the town's Hellenistic development. The band of soldiers, whose numbers are beyond our reach, in what appears to have been semi-permanent camp in Attaleia - the lack of any hint of a pre-existing native community in the area, Mysian or Lydian, renders impossible an attempt to picture the territorial set-up as far as Greek katoikiai (or rather, as here, their precursors) are concerned - must have been slow to put down 'civic' roots, perhaps in consequence of the contemporary uncertainty as to the prospects for Pergamon.

Next, the well-known treaties between Smyrna and Magnesia and Palaimagnesia:- these are preserved as OGIS 229 and date to ca. 243 as the record of a local episode in the Seleukid struggle to maintain power and influence in Asia

Minor in the face of Ptolemaic pressure fostered by dynastic rivalry between Seleukos II and his brother Antiochos Hierax, the latter based around Sardis and aided by Galatian mercenaries.[29] This is a cardinal text for our understanding of the internal structure of a military katoikia, including the distribution of kleroi - not that all details are entirely straightforward. Cohen's description and discussion are exemplary[30]; the following remarks may suffice for present purposes. The newly reconstituted demos and strategoi of Smyrna record their decision to confer politeia, citizenship, upon certain categories of residents of the Magnesia region, in return for a solemnly sworn undertaking to join the Smyrnaians in (heavily stressed) lasting loyalty to Seleukos II and in symmachy and friendship. A second decree is then passed in consequence, to the effect that for reasons of security the territory known as Palaimagnesia (obviously marking the former community site) should pass into Smyrnaian custody and be guarded in the Seleukid interest, in return for which the Palaimagnesian katoikoi, augmented by some recruits from Magnesia itself, are similarly to receive Smyrnaian citizenship. In addition, land allotments are to be made and confirmed on their behalf. It is clear that a fortress already exists somewhere in this territory, as mention is twice made of keys to be handed over to a magistrate or officer sent out by the demos of Smyrna. Of most interest is the summary of provisions for secure allotments, as a means of backing up the oath-taking: the Palaimagnesians who already hold two kleroi, on the basis of concessions made by Antiochos and allegedly Alexander himself, are to keep them free of obligation to pay tithe-taxes to their new polis; further, if and when the land of the reinforcements who had been moved from Magnesia is 'made contiguous' with that of Smyrna, in other words made fully the responsibility of the demos and its magistrates, the three kleroi possessed by this group are to continue in their possession, in legal and financial immunity. No reason is given in the text for the distinction between some katoikoi of Palaimagnesia and others as regards numbers of kleroi, beyond the temporal difference in their arrival in the region; the earlier settlers hold two, the later three - no doubt it is feasible to view

this in terms of diminishing quality of distributable land.

Again, the locations of the various kleroi are imprecise: in the absence of any information as to the degree of development, architectural or institutional, of the Palaimagnesian katoikia - and to a lesser extent that of Magnesia - at this period the suggestion that more than one kleros was evidently allotted in all cases because labour would be divided between garrison-service of some kind and (at different times) cultivation of farmland at some distance from the stronghold is as plausible as any.

More to the point, Magnesia seems to be a somewhat more organized community, with a thoroughly mixed population; Smyrna's decree lists its members as follows - the katoikoi in Magnesia itself and, out in the field-camp, those serving as cavalry and infantry - there are separate officers/representatives for these two groupings, Potamon and Hierokles as opposed to Damon and Apolloniketes; no patronymics, ethnic, or titles are given for either pair, surely suggesting that they were all essentially soldiers owing allegiance to the troop rather than 'citizens' qua members of the local community. (At a more formal stage of the proceedings the community's formal representatives, the presbeutai, are at least given patronymics.) In the course of narrating the ensuing formal, contractual decree and oath-taking, on the authority of eponymous priest and stephanephoros of Smyrna, reference is made to 'those among the residents of Magnesia who are both free and Greek': a not insignificant formulation. Further on, division is made into resident cavalry and infantry in the town itself and those encamped in open territory nearby (ἐν τοῖς ὑπαίθροις τασσομένους), as well as the others settled in the area (καταχωριζομένους : a term deriving primarily from military usage). Later still, Smyrna's own treasurer is bracketed for supervision of the oath-taking with 'the treasurers whom the Magnesian plethos is to appoint': this certainly gives an impression of a relatively unstructured and flexible political system in operation. We learn that Magnesia boasts an altar to Dionysos in its agora, as well as statues of the kings (presumably Antiochos and

Alexander, to judge by the reference in the Palaimagnesia decree) while the local sanctuary is the native one of Panda, by whose Apollo, along with the Sipylene Mother, oaths are taken. (The Antiochos in question, it seems to me, could equally well be the first or second, *pace* Dittenberger,[31] in view of Antiochos II's activities on the coast of Asia Minor during the second Syrian War). One supplementary point:- there is some insight afforded into the mixture of population in this region by a passing reference in the Palaimagnesia document to Omanes and his contingent of Persian troops, to whom the demos assigns a share in garrisoning the territory; apparently they are included in the citizenship grant, unlike the luckless 'foreigners' living in Magnesia.

The transition from plethos to polis took a generation or two, to judge by second-century epigraphy: the boule and demos, in conjunction with the strategoi, passed a decree regulating details of a lawsuit, with the aid of envoys from elsewhere, and the demos honoured Lysanias, gymnasiarch and stephanephoros, with a gold wreath, to be bestowed in the theatre, in recognition of his performance of various liturgies including the constant supply of oil for the gymnasium out of his own money.[31a] In other words, by the middle of the second century Magnesia had surrounded its agora and the altar to Dionysos and the statues of the kings with the characteristic buildings of a polis, to house the boule, demos and gymnasium, and had endowed itself with a theatre. Not only that, but its citizens were participating in a network of relations with other such communities.

Turning to another group of immigrants, we have a letter from Antiochos III to Zeuxis, satrap or governor of Lydia, apparently preserved by Josephus (AJ 12. 147-153); it is there decreed that some 2000 Jewish families from the Seleukid provinces of Babylonia and Mesopotamia be transported westwards to settle in Lydia and Phrygia and maintain Seleukid interests in those countries, beset as they are by disorderly local protests against the royal status quo (πυνθανόμενος τοὺς ἐν Λυδίᾳ καὶ Φρυγίᾳ νεωτερίζοντας .)

The exact nature of the rebellious complaints and demands is unfortunately not described, no doubt because Antiochos is acting on information received from Zeuxis himself, but quite obviously the matter is considered serious enough to call for strong measures stopping short only of direct military intervention. Zeuxis will have had troops on the spot for local problems; in this case the situation cannot have seemed suitable for overt military bullying, whatever form the troubles were taking.The consensus of argument in favour of the letter's authenticity is quite strongly convincing.[32] On the other hand, it must be noted that of these 2000 colonists and their families, perhaps as many as ten thousand people, not a single independent trace has survived, unless the Sardian community of Jews first recorded (in a citation by Josephus), in the mid-first century BC, as having successfully petitioned a Roman official for confirmation of their existing privileges, was composed of their descendants. The third-century katoikia of Iouddenoi was indeed taken by Tcherikover to have originated with them, but as Robert, following Keil and von Premerstein, has pointed out, the form of the ethnic corresponds sufficiently with others known in the area such as Attoudda and Klannoudda to discredit the need for (but not the possibility of) such an equation.[33] (For what it is worth, one might add that the standard Greek word for 'Jew' is 'Ioudaios'.)

The letter's prescriptions as given by Josephus are in important respects detailed and comparatively precise: the word 'katoikoi' does not in fact appear, but neither does any other designation of the colonists, who are called watchmen of Antiochos' interests, zealously loyal and well-disposed, and are assigned plots of farming-land, including vineyards, along with ground for housebuilding; the only military reference comes in Antiochos' direction to Zeuxis to settle the 'households' in the fortresses and most critical places in Lydia and Phrygia. This is qualified by the instruction that they are to be spared taxes on the harvest for their first ten years; before the land starts bearing regular harvests they are to receive a grain subsidy for their servants; and in general terms Zeuxis' officials are

to ensure that their goodwill is kept by allowing them to use Jewish laws and customs, by generosity with material assistance to those undertaking work, and by preventing other people from pestering them - this last point reads somewhat oddly if a straightforward military-klerouchic interpretation is adopted.

One crux is the meaning of the term χρεῖαι in this context: a military connotation is certainly not impossible, denoting as it would varied garrison-service, from guard-duty to actual fighting; however it might instead refer to purely peaceful tasks carried out for the benefit of Antiochos and his local authorities, obviously here amounting to keeping the peace as a symbol of Seleukid power in the heart of the countryside. It may in fact be reasonable to put forward the supposition that what we have here represents a compromise of an intimate kind between military theory and civic practice, symbolic and practical aspects combining to compose a long-term rural settlement belonging to one major class of military katoikia.

Of indirect value are two inscriptions set up by the katoikiai of Nisyra and Mernouphyta, both in the late Imperial period but alluding to Hellenistic situations: a dedication to Zeus Seleukeios and the 'crop-bestowing Nymphs' in thanks for a satisfactory harvest was made by the katoikia of Nisyra in 228/9 A.D.;[34] this was found near Maionia, as was its companion,[35] a dedication to Apollo Nisyreites in return for health, which bears the double-axe in relief - as do those to Apollo Tarseus in the same area[36] - and from the style of script belongs to the second century A.D. Zeus Seleukeios is the only interesting feature of the first text; the rare epithet was taken by Keil and von Premerstein, among others, to refer to an old 'shining', solar god from Makedonia, and Robert later lent his authority to this view.[37] However as Fraser has pointed out[38] no such Makedonian god is known, the adjective does not correspond with the Makedonian verb 'to shine', and a dynastically-sanctioned cult of Zeus is well attested in Seleukeia-in-Pieria - hence worship of a Zeus merged, by whatever process and at whatever period, with a ruler of Asia Minor/founder of katoikiai is perfectly plausible. (Indeed, one might

consider the third argument strictly unnecessary.) This conclusion implies a creation of the Nisyran katoikia in the third century B.C. That it had not after some four and a half centuries attained any higher civic rank need not disturb such a dating in the least. Mernouphyta similarly is unrecorded until the second century A.D. when the katoikoi who belong to a cult-society of Herakles honour Glykon son of Neikander with a gold wreath[39]. That this man was a member of the society seems likely enough; certainly he is given no magisterial title. But the significance of the inscription, found at Akhisar/Thyateira, lies in their self-description as 'those settled in Mernouphyta by the kings Attalos and Eumenes'. This has been set in the context of the temporary Attalid success in dominating Asia Minor between Attalos I's defeat of Antiochos Hierax and the same king's defeat by Achaios, when he was restricted once more to 'ancestral territories'. If correct, this setting would neatly fit a third or early second-century origin for Mernouphyta, the more particularly as its location was in northwest Lydia, like that of Attaleia itself. The cult group appears from the wording to have spanned all of Mernouphyta's population - the likelihood of this having actually been the case is a matter for debate.[40]

Before descending into the second century I feel justified in alluding to the career of an individual Lydian as an anecdotal testimony to Seleukid relations with the communities of Asia Minor: Ardys was sufficiently distinguished to come to Polybios' attention, having commanded Antiochos' cavalry in battle against the rebel Molon (5. 53. 2). Then at the siege of Seleukeia-on-Orontes in 219 he helped to win the lower town (5. 60. 4-8). Finally in 197 he and a Persian noble, Mithridates, took a leading role in the campaign conducted in southern Asia Minor by Antiochos' two sons, according to Livy (33. 19. 9) - a distinguished career.

Bean has given a thorough account of the six defensive forts ringing Smyrna in the third and second centuries; although they cannot be attributed expressly to katoikiai (though cf. Palaimagnesia) their existence is interesting as an illustration of a facet of the relationship between poleis and those katoikiai. However we can

as yet say little about the internal details.[41]

Second-century activity centres around Attalid foundation, or rather mainly synoecism, of the dynastically-named Apollonis and Philadelphia. Apollonis was in existence as a polis quite soon after the beginning of the second century: Strabo's gloss at 13 4. 4/625, making Attalos I's Kyzicene wife its eponym, does not exclude a date in that king's reign, before 197, but fortunately there happens to be epigraphic testimony in his sons' favour. Found near Palamut by Keil and von Premerstein, the inscription records honour paid to one of Eumenes II's brothers - Attalos rather than Athenaios or Philetairos since he bears the title of king - in the course of his evidently well-received supervision of a synoecism carried out at his brother's wishes; attention had been paid to the new citizens' material needs, for example.[42] This affords a terminus of 160/59. Most unusually, we are in a position to 'flesh out' at least some of the framework of this Attalid synoecism which would probably otherwise be troublesomely ambiguous by virtue of the fact that Apollonis' Hellenistic coin-types include the distinctive Makedonian shield.[43]

That the polis was artificially created partially by drawing together occupants of several neighbouring settlements, in which the Makedonian ethnic element was or became predominant, is perfectly clear, in view of both epigraphic and onomastic evidence to this effect. Specifically, Doidye and ---espoura are known as katoikiai in the immediate neighbourhood with Makedonian residents; further, ephebe lists from the second (or first) century include names of the same ethnic origin, Prepelaos, Amyntas, and Arrhidaios.[44] In addition, the ephebe lists include a resident of Kamai, Onesimos Menodorou, and an Indipediatan, Protomachos Philoxenou.[44a]

Doidye has furnished a single inscription, from Palamut, dated to 161/0 near the close of Eumenes' long reign;[45] it employs a standard Makedonian calendar and is the work of the Makedonians ἐκ Δοιδύης- no doubt we may well see in this wording evidence that the latter occupied a garrison-cum-katoikia near a native village. Again, the Makedonians from ---espoura are to be found

honouring - again by the Makedonian calendar - their strategos, one Derdas son of Derkylidas, in 153/2 (during Attalos' reign), for virtue and valour displayed towards themselves and towards the king as well. This was found at Derekoy, near Palamut.[46] It only remains to say that the possibility of Seleukid involvement in the original establishment of these small colonies is certainly not lessened by anything in the documentation for the synoecism of Apollonis. On the contrary, the fact that they fail to undergo physical absorption into the new urban centre, ---espoura keeping its own official for contacts with the central authorities and for now obscure tasks in the community itself, Doidye retaining some measure of separate group-identity (whatever form this took in practice), and Kamai at all events remaining a distinct component of the polis (in the title "the demos of Apollonis at Kamai", in Antoninus Pius' reign[46a]) seems to me to suggest strongly that these communities were of long standing, considerably antedating Apollonis and Attalid supremacy, and behaving accordingly.

Like Apollonis, Philadelphia mints with the Makedonian shield-type;[47] however as its own name implies the Attalids were responsible for its civic establishment. Undoubtedly this formal establishment occurred later than 188, the earliest date at which Pergamon could lay claim to control of central Lydia. Attalos II, of course, bore the epithet 'Philadelphos' with reference to his generally cordial relations with Eumenes, his predecessor.[48] Direct connexion with Attalos should fix the period of Philadelphia's establishment - as polis, not as katoikia - between 159 and 138; but he may well have overseen the work during Eumenes' reign, as at Apollonis. At all events, although we do not have a similar synoecism inscription for Philadelphia, we do have evidence for its preliminary existence, in political terms, as a koinon, the evidence taking the form of an honorific dedication to Nikanor by the koinon of citizens and ephebes.[49] This has understandably been dated to around the mid-century. (The site of Philadelphia has long been reliably fixed at Alaşehir, in the Kogamos valley.[50])

There are two other settlements to be mentioned in this connexion, one having

straightforward dependence on Philadelphia, the other evidently in the polis' neighbourhood: Kastollos describes itself as a kome, village, of Philadelphia in the first or second century A.D.[51] The text recounts part of a transaction involving general distribution of some unclaimed land of poor quality in the village's own territory, by decision of the gerousia (the equivalent of the civic boule) and the rest of the villagers 'in assembly'. Xenophon (Anab. l. l. 2) knew of Kastollos, or Kastoloupedion, as chief mustering-ground for the Achaemenid satrap's troops in western Asia Minor, and Stephanos can call it in its own right a polis in Lydia; as Keil and von Premerstein point out, the best explanation of all this is that the settlement at Kastollos, whatever its size, origins or ethnic composition, later sank into insignificance in the face of Philadelphia's rise and remarkable civic success (paralleling that of Thyateira to the northeast). That Kastollos grew as a garrison-town from Persian times onward seems most likely in view of Xenophon's testimony.

Secondly, a katoikia is attested at the unknown site of Adrouta, from a short inscription[52] found near the site of Philadelphia and dated to 24 or 23 B.C.. Robert without stating his reasons asserts confidently that this was a Makedonian colony; there is nothing to contradict it.[53] Returning to Kastoloupedion, an expressly Makedonian settlement is known at Kobedyle, at or near Bebekli, which has produced an honorific text for one of its own citizens drafted in 163/2 under King Eumenes.[54] If we were to accept that the Attalid (civilian) foundation of Philadelphia replaced the older, semi-military Kastollos as dominant site in both the Kogamos and the 'Kastolan' plains - which is by no means impossible considering their proximity and the lack of any known rivals - then Kobedyle and Adrouta would also fit into the scheme neatly; nor would the probability of their origins lying in military settlement, under the aegis of either the Seleukids or the Attalids, be sensibly diminished, when the earlier character of the region is borne in mind.

A neighbouring community makes its mark during Eumenes' fortieth year,

159/8: in gratitude for their safe return (from campaign?) the five sons of Apollas dedicated a stele to no fewer than three native Apollos, Tillenos, Lauadenos and Pozenos.[55]

The area of the Hyrkanian plain next requires investigation. As already described its name commemorated Hyrkanian colonists brought wholesale to northwestern Lydia by the Persians, in numbers sufficient to ensure permanent adoption of a double ethnic by the second group of immigrants to the area. The earliest citation is contained in a decree by Amphissa dated to the first part of the second century, in honour of the doctor Menophantos Artemidorou, Μακεδὼν Ὑρκάνιος;[56] by the reign of Tiberius a polis had been constituted;[57] the latest citation is a dedication to Trebonianus and Volusian (ca. 250) by ἡ Μακεδόνων Ὑρκανῶν πόλις.[58] The strength of the Makedonian association is very well demonstrated by 'Hyrkania's' depiction on the Puteoli monument to the devastating earthquake of 17 A.D. and Tiberius' benefactions to its victims: she is portrayed in recognisably Makedonian garb.[59] The temporary use of Kaisareia as part of the town's name derives from Tiberius' assistance on that occasion. The coin-type of the Makedonian shield naturally shows up here also, not that any Hellenistic mintings are known so far.[60]

There are, moreover, two katoikic communities attested in its neighbourhood, neither laying explicit claim to dependence on the town of Hyrkanis yet both in its physical shadow, on present evidence. The Makedonians from Lechtheira, who pay tribute to their apparent colleague Seleukos Menekratous during the reign of Eumenes II, belong to the same residential framework as outlying settlements near Apollonis and Philadelphia, and may well have transferred allegiance to the ascendant Attalids in much the same way. Lasnedda's population, on the other hand, was evidently not dominated by Makedonians, whether veterans, rural garrison-troops, or (least probably) mere immigrants in search of new farming land. The first inscription[61] was found in the village of Papasli (Halitpaşaköy), where a coin of Hyrkanis was also procured, while the second belongs to the same

region of northwest Lydia.[62]

It takes the form of a brief dedication to Papias by the whole community. Papias seems to have east-Phrygian links, and to correspond in part to both Zeus and Herakles - in other words, a warrior type rather than a rustic.[63] The editors ascribed the dedication to 'the latest period of Attalid rule', to the mid-second century; thus it would be contemporary with the Lechtheira text. A second citation of Zeus Seleukeios has also been elicited from investigation of the Hyrkanian plain. Instead of the crop-bestowing Nymphs, he is here classed with the Meter Theou (sic) and shown as either a solar or a warrior-god; the relief bears two male figures, as well as the goddess, so certainty as to his character is impossible. The script suggests a late Imperial date.[64] Neither Lechtheira nor Lasnedda can be reliably classed as a kome or katoikia, of any specific kind, as neither gives a technical term for itself, but there seems little reasonable doubt that they should be fitted into the network of outlying communities of at least semi-military character around the polis of Hyrkanis - an area of strategic importance and of good agricultural land.

Over in eastern Lydia on the border with Phrygia, Blaundos acquired a substantial Makedonian population sometime during the early Hellenistic period: that a native community first occupied the site is proved by its thoroughly un-Greek name, which was originally Mlaundos according to its earliest coins. Another such proof can perhaps be seen in the fact that those coins include several specimens of the rider-god with the double axe familiar at Thyateira and also at Mostene, whose inhabitants boast of their Lydian ancestry, during the Imperial period.[65]

Finally, Pergamon furnishes some information, which we might interpret as having value by way of analogy, on the standing of certain 'katoikic' groups in relation to a polis in its decree putting into effect the terms of Attalos III's will in 133/2: this inscription,[66] discovered in the theatre, records the demos' grant of politeia to those on the official register of 'paroikoi', to those soldiers who lived

(as katoikoi) in the polis and its territory (chora), to (the) Makedonians and Mysians and those listed as serving in the fortress (phrourion) and the old town - which had started out as a stronghold for Lysimachos' gold[67] - again with katoikic status, also to the Masdyenoi, to another group, and to garrison-troops (paraphylakitai), and to any auxiliary/mercenary soldiers settled or holding property in the polis or its territory. Several points of interest emerge from this carefully-composed text: the paroikoi cannot be definitively characterised, nor hastily equated with the native Mysians in view of the separate mention of Mysian soldiers alongside Makedonians, garrison troops and Masdyenoi. Probably, however, some of these paroikoi were Hellenised Mysians who had continued to live in the fertile Kaikos valley. A remarkably diverse collection of soldiers was occupied in serving Pergamon, in one capacity or another - no doubt the city was still currently the most attractive employer in Asia Minor, quite apart from the general fertility of the territory. It may not be too fanciful to envisage some of the Makedonians as descendants of men settled in the Kaikos and Hyllos valleys by the Seleukids and later the Attalids themselves, drawn to Pergamon by now from such towns as Thyateira, Akrasos and Apollonis. As for the Masdyenoi, they are proved to be the residents of the village-settlement (topos, as Robert puts it) of Masdye by citation as such in Pergamene ephebe-lists; eligibility for the ephebeia presupposes a good measure of Hellenization in these Masdyenoi, at the very least an ability to speak passable Greek, and a desire to adopt a Greek lifestyle. Although the connexion has not, as far as I have seen, been attempted, the hypothesis that Masdye bears some relation to the old Lydian hero, Masdnes (after whom a Sardian tribe was to be named) would not be untenable.[69]

It is unclear just how far we should interpret the distinctions made in sentence-construction between various groups as reflecting real physical or legal differences - after what, by rights, should be an anticipatory summary of all the military 'katoikountes', as 'those soldiers settled in the polis and its territory', the Makedonians, Mysians and others are introduced with the adverb 'similarly', as

though they were separate; then it reads as if these Makedonians and Mysians had nothing to do with the various garrison-troops, nor with the Masdyenoi; a lacuna follows, then a further reference to garrison-troops (perhaps paraphylakitai were a reserve force) and eventually 'the other auxiliaries, or mercenaries (epikouroi), either settled in or owning property in the polis or its territory': presumably in fact the final designation is intended to cover most of the military katoikoi, whatever the other differences between them, such as racial origin, because some such provision of limited rights to own property, especially farming-land near the city, would have been a prerequisite of maintaining the services and allegiance of these men for an extended, perhaps indefinite, period of time. Full citizenship had until Attalos' revolutionary cession of formal authority to the Roman Senate at his death been considered unnecessary for members of small outlying communities such as those evidently harbouring Makedonians, Mysians, Masdyenoi and any others whose services were in actual or potential demand by the city's interests.

This text provides a small but welcome measure of insight, applicable to Lydia also, into the wider community within which the katoikoi fitted, bringing Greek social models to the heart of the countryside. The process of adoption, under Seleukid or Attalid influence, of those social models has been charted, so far as possible, in this chapter. To summarise, the constituent elements, such as Pausanias would have required and recognised (10.4.1), first appear in the epigraphic record during the third century and loom larger in the course of the second. The original Seleukid settlement of Thyateira has a boule and demos by the end of the third century, joined by a gymnasium in the second: in this case, it is more likely than not that the gymnasium and other elements of a polis were established at the same time as the boule and demos. Magnesia follows suit, with a theatre and gymnasium as well as the boule and demos, and a gymnasium and the boule and demos are attested for the middle of the second century in Philadelphia and Nakrasos respectively. Apollonis boasts a flourishing community of ephebes during the second and first centuries. Hermokapeleia, in turn, has a theatre before

the Imperial period, to judge from a new inscription mentioning an Apollodoros Pol---.[70]

Of this group, Thyateira, Apollonis and Philadelphia stand out as deliberate colonial creations, first by the Seleukid and then by the Attalid monarchs. Dependent as we are on chance survivals of epigraphic and other materials, we are not debarred from making the assumption that the constituents of a polis did not arrive piecemeal and in sequence but rather all at the same time; indeed, the historical logic of the situation presupposes full-scale creation at one particular time, as the occasion or opportunity arose. Whether it is feasible to assume that the same applies to other settlements established, or coming to attention, at this period is another matter. The intermingling of the populations and the fact that the Lydians had for centuries been receptive to and appreciative of Hellenic styles, as transmitted by Greeks living nearby, visiting, and trading with them, render the picture a complex one, with cultural, social and political influence taking material form rapidly in some areas, contexts and periods but more gradually in others. The dearth of relevant evidence does not permit a secure move beyond this level of generality. It is at all events reasonable to consider that the pace of change will have speeded up, and its ambit widened, in consequence of these foundations, the shift of power from the Achaemenid Empire to the Hellenistic dynasties being the precursor and precondition of this state of affairs.

The next chapter focusses on the internal details and development of the communities below the level of poleis, scattered throughout the Lydian countryside. There is no definite answer to the question of what native political forms took the place of or preceded the boule, demos and gerousia; one may take leave to doubt that young Lydian men had expected to see themselves as ephebes.

PART FOUR - HELLENIZATION - (d) SELEUKID AND ATTALID MILITARY FOUNDATIONS

1. The battle of Koroupedion can be set in February, as a Babylonian king-list published by Sachs and Wiseman (Iraq 16 (1954) pp. 202-11 puts Seleukos' murder in the 6th month of the 31st year of the era, i.e between August 25th and September 24th 281 - in the land of the Khani (on the European side of the Hellespont): p. 203 obv. 6-8, pp. 205-6.
2. RE s.v. katoikoi
3. G.M. Cohen, The Seleucid Colonies - studies in founding, administration and organization.
4. OGIS 211 = TAM V. 2. 901.
5. BCH 11 (1887) p. 466 no. 32.

5a. TAM V. 2. 1177 and note thereto.

6. Imhoof-Blumer, Lydische Stadtmunzen pp. 150-2; BMC Lydia p. 292 nos 1-7. Inscriptions: TAM V. 2. 882-3. Tumulus: AJA 95 (1991) p. 147.
7. Clerc, De Rebus Thyatirenorum gives a good survey of the Roman documentation, taken further now by Herrmann's work in TAM volume five.
8. Robert, Villes d'Asie Mineure (ed. 2) pp. 252-60.
9. Num. Chron. 14 (1954) pp. 1-7.
10. Clerc, op. cit., pp. 14-15 and note 1; Delorme, Gymnasion, pp. 168 (Apollonis), 170-1 (Magnesia), 195-7 (Sardis).
11. Delorme, op. cit., p. 197; Robert, Etudes Anatoliennes pp. 175-6. In addition, there is a second-century gravestone of Aristion Lysimachou, set up by the demos, the young men and the boys - TAM V. 2. 1065.
12. Polyb. 16 1. 7-8 with Walbank, Commentary on Polybius II pp. 501-3 (and fig. 16 on p. 498).
13. Livy 37. 37: Regia castra circa Thyatiram erant
14. Livy 37. 8: ex agro hostium qui circa Thyatiram esset
15. Robert, Villes pp. 75-6
16. Mendel, Catalogue des sculptures des musees imperiaux ottomans I pp. 263-4 no 104.
17. Institutions Seleucides p 82.
18. OGIS 290; Villes pp 75-6 /cf. Allen, The Attalid Kingdom p. 129 note 198. (Cf. the Thyateiran of the 3rd or 2nd century, Menedemos Neoptolemou Makedon - TAM V. 2. 1109.)
19. Polyb. 21 45; Livy 38 38, 39 7-17.
20. 1GR IV 1160:, Villes p. 72
21. Imhoof-Blumer, op. cit. pp. 105-6 nos. 1-6
22. Op.cit. pp 42-3 nos 1-4; BMC Lydia pp. 9-16 nos. 1-40
23. Aus Lydien, map at end
24. Villes pp. 71-4 esp. 72.
25. BMC Lydia pp. (292 nos 1-2), 295 nos. 19-22, 297 no. 30, 300 nos. 51-2, 321 nos 146-50; cf. Imhoof-Blumer, op. cit., pp. 45-6 no. 2 - Attaleia. Boreitene does not yet feature strongly in the epigraphic record: TAM V. 2. 884, a dedication of second-century AD date to her and the patris by Glykon son of Eurymedon, who also set up one to Apollo Tyrimnos and the patris - no. 882.

26. OGIS 266
27. Reisen II p. 60
28. Imhoof-Blumer, Zur griechischen und romischen Münzkunde p. 115.
29. See note 31 of previous section, Hellenistic Sardis.
30. The Seleucid Colonies pp. 60-3.
31. OGIS I p. 374 note 51

31a. TAM V. 2. 1342-3. Magnesia also acquired a gerousia at some unknown date: 1344, 1382-3, 1386

32. Tcherikover, Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews pp. 287-8; Rostovtzeff, Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World I p. 492; Bikerman, Mélanges I. Levy 1955, pp. 17 ff.; Schmitt, Antiochos p. 164 and note 3; Marcus in Appendix D III, Josephus Loeb vol. 7 pp. 764-6. Trebilco has made the valuable point (Jewish Communities, pp. 5-7) that these families were already Diaspora Jews, and hence proven 'colonial material', with the energy and resourcefulness to adapt to different settings. They also had a reputation as good soldiers, and as being loyal to Antiochos. I cannot agree with him that the 'fortresses and most critical places' in Lydia and Phrygia to which they were to be sent necessarily included Sardis. Moving on into the first century BC, there is a letter contained in Josephus, AJ 14. 235 as the response of L. Antonius, proquaestor and propraetor ca. 49, to the city's Jews confirming their right to maintain their ancestral meetings, conduct their own business, and have a place set aside in which to do so. The Sardian decree recounted a little later in the text, at 14. 259-61, which confirms and expands on the propraetor's communication by requiring the magistrates both to oversee the building of a base (topos) for the observance of the Jews' own rituals and sacrifices and conduct of their own affairs and also to ensure that the Jews receive suitable food, makes much of the long-established nature of the Jewish community. Lastly, at 16. 171 Josephus reports a putative Augustan decree addressed to the boule and demos of Sardis and forbidding interference with the collection of the taxes destined for the Temple in Jerusalem. In the absence of corroboration and of certainty as to the genuineness of these documents, I merely record them here, as possible testimony to an ancient Jewish community in Sardis itself (with no perceptible influence on the Lydians). What is not in dispute is that from the 3rd century AD the city boasted a magnificent, and prominently placed, synagogue, indeed the largest ancient synagogue known. For a description, see Trebilco, op. cit., pp. 40-43.

    For Zeuxis see Robert, Nouvelles Inscriptions de Sardes no. 1.

33. Reisen II p. 7; Villes pp 282-3 note.
34. TAM V 1 426 (Reisen II. 200)
35. TAM V 1 428 (Reisen II. 199)
36. TAM V 1. 460, 195, 196, 448 (Herrmann, Ergebnisse pp 24-5 no. 18, 40-2 nos 31-3); op. cit. p. 33; Welles, Royal Correspondence no. 47
37. Hellenica VI pp. 25-6.
38. CR 63 (1949), pp. 92-4.
39. Reisen II 51 = TAM V. 2. 959
40. Magie's remark that Thyateira 'seems to have owned the villages of Pityaia and Mernouphyta' (Roman Rule in Asia Minor II p. 1023 note 69) perhaps glosses over the lack of evidence for the form(s) the dependence of village on polis actually took.
41. Anadolu Araştirmalari I (1955) pp 43-55 (= Jahrb. für Kleinasiat. Forschung III 1); with Duyuran, JHS 67 (1947) pp. 128-134.
42. Reisen II. 113
43. Imhoof-Blumer, Lydische Stadtmünzen p. 26 and note 5
44. BCH 11 (1887) p. 86 no. 6. 14 (Areidaios); Reisen I 96 col. 1, lines 6 (Prepelaos) and 11 (Amyntas); Villes pp. 31-3; another fragment in

Herrmann, Neue Inschriften pp. 6-7 no. 3. These ephebe lists have now been collected together by Herrmann, as TAM V. 2. 1203-8; they are supplemented by a reference to the gymnasiarch in 1202. As in Magnesia, the supplying of oil for the gymnasium is a significant 'liturgy'.

44a. Kamai: TAM V. 2. 1203 col. III, l. 22 (Kamenos). Indipediatai (Indei--): 1204 col. I, l. 10 (INDI); this place was perhaps somewhat farther removed from the site of Apollonis, featuring as it does on coins of Stratonikeia and in Pergamene epigraphy - Robert, Villes pp. 46-70. These are the only (extant) toponyms listed, and tend to suggest a feeling of local loyalty.

45. OGIS 314.

46. Reisen I. 95.

46a. TAM V. 2. 1231; with commentary by Petzl and Pleket in ZPE 34 (1979) p. 285 no. 4.

47. Imhoof-Blumer, op. cit. pp. 114 no. 5., 115 no. 9; BMC Lydia p. 187 nos 1-4.

48. IvP 224. 17 (OGIS 323); Plut., Mor. 184 b, 480 c, 489 d-490 a; Strabo 14. l. 24/641; Lucian, Macrob. 12.

49. Keil and Gschnitzer, Neue Inschriften pp. 223-4 no. 4 (= SEG 17. 524)

50. Buresch, Aus Lydien pp. 104, 108, 217-18 and map

51. TAM V 1. 222/0GIS 488

52. Reisen III. 46.

53. Hellenica VI p. 23; Reisen III. 47.

54. TAM V 1. 221/Reisen II. 223. TAM V 1 486 b/Petzl, ZPE 30 (1978) pp. 263-4 no. 12: from Hamidiye, just south of the Hermos, between Maionia and Saittai.

55. TAM V. 1. 486 b/Petzl, ZPE 30 (1978) pp. 263-4 no. 12.

56. Hellenica VI p 16 and note 3; BCH 25 (1901) pp. 234-5.

57. Tacitus, Annales 2. 47.

58. Hellenica VI p. 17; IGR IV. 1487

59. CIL X 1624 (ILS 156); I.Sardis 9.

60. Imhoof-Blumer, op. cit., pp. 84-5 nos. 4-5; BMC Lydia p. 122 no. 1; Babelon, Coll. Waddington nos. 5035-40. As at Thyateira, there is some evidence for the Lydian population long antedating the foreign settlements, in the form of an Archaic chamber tomb: AJA 86 (1982) p. 570.

61. Hellenica VI p. 22 no. 3.

62. Testament des Epikrates pp 42-3 no. 5, and now also TAM V. 2. 1321 (reiterating the late-Attalid chronology). Herrmann has in this second publication suggested that Lasnedda and '---szeddia' (no. 1322) might be one and the same: there is certainly no contradictory evidence.

63. Buresch, Aus Lydien p. 130; MAMA V. 182 (near Nakoleia), VII. 303 (Orkistos); Herrmann and Polatkan, op. cit., pp. 42-5.

64. Hellenica VI. p. 24 no. 4.

65. Imhoof-Blumer, op.cit. pp 49-50 nos. 1-4; BMC Lydia pp. 53 no. 76, 55 no. 85, 56 no. 86, 57 nos. 91-2. Cf. Hermokapeleia (TAM V. 2. 1234), which as late as ca. 393-5 AD was still calling itself "Lydian".

66. IvP 249/OGIS 338

67. Strabo 13. 4. 1/623

68. Robert, REA 36 (1934) pp. 525-6; Villes pp. 52, 250-1 note 8:, Reisen I. 96, line 6 of col. 1 (BCH 11 (1887) p. 86 no. 6. 14)

69. Robert, Etudes Anatoliennes pp. 155-8.

70. TAM V. 2. 1237.

PART FIVE

Komai and Katoikiai

In the absence of a comprehensive field survey, the Lydian landscape has remained comparatively little-known, but this has begun to change in recent years. The cartographic and epigraphic surveys of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, brought up to date by Robert's and Herrmann's studies, have been supplemented by studies of Thyateira and the towns of the middle Hermos, especially Saittai, and by mapping of the numerous clusters of native burial mounds to form the basis of current knowledge.[1] Physical grouping of towns and villages being an exercise of limited value in these circumstances, material may more profitably be organized into a description of the actual functioning of the settlements - brabeutai, cultic organizations, councils, payment of honours, - and analysis of the degree of distinction to be drawn between the 'God-ruled', superstitious Maionian villages and the southern region bordering Ionia.

At the outset a statement of principle is to be made with regard to the use of inscriptions: the choice lies between employing exclusively those of Hellenistic date, for the sake of strict chronological purity, and including the far more plentiful Imperial ones. It is both practical and legitimate to do the latter wherever non-Greek toponyms - including those inferred from the names of local deities - witness to the presence of ancient settlements that have weathered Hellenization. Clearly they must be used with caution when administration is at issue; it is on the whole impossible to make secure predictions as to which elements will have survived unchanged, so any description will be a thoroughly partial one.

It is unnecessary to spend time on a search for any practical differentiation between 'kome' and 'katoikia', once the point is made that the latter is not specifically a military establishment; the terms are used as synonyms in the surviving material, to judge by such instances as the Almourenon (Phrygon) kome/katoikia, Tateikometon katoikia, Dareioukometon katoikia, Dorou

kome/Dorenon katoikia and οἱ κατοικοῦντες Μοσχακώμην [2]. At first glance a phrase such as ἔδοξε Ṇακοκωμητῶν τοῖς κατοῖκοις used in 28/7 does suggest two separate civic categories, whether or not ethnic ones, but the general currency of the verb 'katoikein' is such as to make this unnecessary.[3]

Oertel was able by 1922 to record some twenty-eight named settlements, all calling themselves katoikiai or inhabited by katoikoi/κατοικοῦντες, for which the evidence seemed to indicate a civilian character: his criterion was apparently the absence of references to Makedonians or to Graeco-Makedonian military officials (hence the inclusion of the Nisyreon katoikoi found honouring a Roman centurion in 11/12 A.D.).[4] A further eight katoikiai were listed without extant names; subsequent studies have added Dima (then allocated to Phrygia), Kerbia, Lyendos and Atetta.[5] Other settlements below polis-status are virtually all attested as komai. Of the few 'unattributed', it is noteworthy that Tarsi- and Koresa are both 'God-ruled' places, as late as the second century A.D., while the other two in this class, Dorou kome and Almoura, use both titles of themselves during the same century.[6] Conversely, there is the small but curious detail that out of many local cults known in the area only two, those of Meter Tazene and Apollo Nisyreites, both from the Maionian region, can be ascribed to eponymous katoikiai.[7] Chronological distinction between 'kome' and 'katoikia', even if it could definitely be proved, would be difficult to interpret; certainly 'katoikia' is attested rather more frequently by the third century A.D., the last three occurrences of 'kome' falling in the second, whereas the position is reversed during the Hellenistic period: no katoikiai on the estate mortgaged by Mnesimachos during the third century (although a Dioskometon katoikia appears in Phrygia in 246[8]), those of Atetta and Lyendos emerging in the course of the second, the term becoming commonplace to the disadvantage of 'kome' from the early first century A.D. onwards. The question of this pattern's significance itself forms part of the whole problem of culture-change: two <u>speculative</u> points might be introduced, although evidence is insufficient to resolve them: - (i) did 'katoikia' come to seem a more respectably neutral name

than 'kome' as far as community pride was concerned?; (ii) does its use reveal the presence of immigrant Greek settlers alongside and perhaps dominant over native Lydians? Of the various settlements' names only Larisa, Petra, Pityaia, Choria, Tetrapyrgia and Dideiphyta carry any strong suspicion of Greek onomastics.[9]

The ground thus prepared, description of the settlements' functioning may be attempted. The degree of political articulation will by definition be lower than that of a polis but traces do remain of the forms it took. One feature of the material is that the authority of individuals markedly takes precedence, at least in our sources, over primary organizations.

To take the latter category first:- in one instance the council of elders in conjunction with the other villagers meet to discuss arrangements for the disposal of some untilled land within their boundaries;[10] elsewhere the assembled villagers (as a koinon) pay tribute to a dead member;[11] in the Hyrkanian plain the kome (or katoikia) of Tyannollos (it uses both terms indiscriminately) erects an honorific stele, endows its benefactors with gold wreaths out of the communal revenues, and undertakes to make a public announcement in their honour every year ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις συνόδοις κωμητικαῖς πάσαις as well as at its sacrifices to Herakles and Aphrodite: the annual brabeutai are to oversee the making of the announcement, in perpetuum, while any offences will incur a fine of five hundred drachmai and some punishment or disability.[12] Several noteworthy details occur in this first-century A.D. inscription: within the wholesale imitation of polis forms, a communal treasury of relatively substantial size exists, overseen by village officers, while it is made clear that the community customarily holds numerous meetings throughout the year - no doubt of various kinds according to seasonal need; considering these synods as essentially religious, as Buresch, Keil and von Premerstein, and Herrmann do, is unproductively narrow.[13] (Despite evidence for a Trikomia to the east there is nothing to indicate that we should interpret κωμητικαὶ σύνοδοι here as involving more than one village.[14])

Communal funds are deployed also for setting up a statue and a surrounding market (makellon) by a kome near Hypaipa, to the south;[15] the katoikoi of Tabeira, near Thyateira, express themselves ambiguously in this context, honouring and erecting a statue ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων of their benefactor C. Iul. Iulianus Tatianus, an Asiarch - the clause recording that the honoured man himself foots the bill belongs after his name, so one may be justified in wondering whether in this case the grateful katoikoi have contributed severally.[16] One potential source of income was provided by fixed penalties for the violation of graves. The regularity of the formula proscribing interference with a family's gravesite should not prompt us to ignore its historical value: under current conditions this practice, alongside that of honouring benefactors, is a major source of information as to the settlements' activities. As it happens there is no extant record of subsequent exaction of the fine, although obviously the crime will have occurred from time to time; nonetheless the community as a whole was involved in the provision of secure burial, as much owing to a sense of corporate identity as to religious scruples. The fines turn out to be set at a scale not far below those stipulated by poleis; but this anomaly can readily be explained by the fact that all but two cases belong to the third century A.D., all but three to the Ephesian hinterland valley between the Cayster and the Mesogis, hence to communities of a virtually suburban character. To illustrate: early in the second century the amount current in the -alkeanon katoikia was five hundred denarii for itself and two thousand five hundred for the (Ephesian?) polis treasury, with a copy of the text in the archives at Hypaipa; [17] during the same century a similar penalty obtained in a kome in the Kilbian region.[18] In the next a neighbouring katoikia required at least one thousand for itself and at least two thousand for the sacred fiscus (presumably in Ephesos again), with a copy in the archives of the district's chief town, Neikaia; [19] on one occasion the Chorianon katoikia stipulated two thousand five hundred but on another - for a Christian burial - merely one thousand.[20] In a kome near Tire the rate is quoted as one thousand for the treasury and five hundred for itself, with a

copy to the archives,[21] while by way of comparison the Thyateiran rate is two thousand five hundred for the polis.[22] (Prices in the Caystrian region were rising sharply through the third century, if the increasing cost of the komarchia in Dideiphyta charted by Keil and von Premerstein can be taken as typical.[23])

The subordinate status of the villages - obliged to contribute substantially and in the first instance to the revenues of the nearest polis - is noticeable in these inscriptions. It is not certain who made the relevant decisions: whether the individuals concerned were able to name a price that would then be considered by the assembled villagers, those villagers laid down 'the going rate' in advance (on the analogy of their vote on the cost of the Dideiphytan komarchia) or civic officials were responsible for entire districts. At all events it is instructive, to say the least, to contrast the situation in Maionia and its vicinity: no monetary sanctions, but several references to divine wrath. The chronological range is wider in this case, from the late first century A.D. to the mid-third, with most of the dated ones falling in the second. Of ten inscriptions (six from the northeast, between Kula and Selendi, three from the northwest, between Thyateira and Iulia Gordos, and a comparable one from Magnesia) no fewer than six threaten the offender with the wrath of local deities while two allude to the heavenly and chthonic gods in unison; one of this pair, the specimen from Magnesia, uniquely goes so far as to combine both modes of sanction by imposing a fine of two thousand five hundred denarii for the polis' benefit and laying down a standard curse - rejection by earth and sea, childlessness, general ruin (ὠλη παυώλη), the anger of heavenly and chthonic gods - rather as if providing for the sensibilities of both cultural strains in its populace. One, dated to 149/50, simply threatens ὠλη παυώλη ; another uses the formula of prohibiting the offender from walking on land or sailing on water.[24] Further, two of the examples from the Kula region employ an image of peculiarly direct divine protection, namely the planting of the god's sceptre beside the tomb - this is in the area of Lydia in which at a similarly late date villages were being spoken of as 'ruled' by a god, usually

Men. Finally we may note that Anaitis, the Greek Artemis, is the most frequently invoked in this context, as indeed at Sardis; suggestion of the formula's antiquity comes in a text of 153 A.D. found at Selendi which invokes Anaitis ἡ ἀπὸ ἱεροῦ ὕδατος, in eloquent testimony to continuity over five hundred years for worship of Persian Anahita, the ancient goddess of mountain water.[25] None of these inscriptions names the settlement to which the owner belonged, strengthening the impression of localized community activity.

Turning to the cult-groups, the point could be made in passing that the evidence to hand is by no means detailed enough to render the conventional view of the speira, doumos, symbiosis and phratra as all synonymous anything more than a convenient assumption. Indeed, the fact that it was possible to belong to more than one at once suggests otherwise.[25a] The speira does appear to be exclusively Dionysiac: of the five Lydian examples, all from the second century A.D., two refer to the deceased member as ναρθηκοφόρος, one to the ἀρχιβούκολος. One, from 165/6, honours Stratoneikos,[26] another, from 198/9, Apollonios, who had also been πρωτοκωμήτης[27]. Oddly enough this is the only occurrence of the title - surely distinct from the magisterial κωμάρχης - but not perhaps an inappropriate one, in view of Dionysos' ancient connexions (cf. the fourth-century Nannaš Bakivalis).[28] Another example is more fragmentary, but certainly funeral honours are being paid to Philippos as member not only of a speira but also of a phratra;[29] no descriptive qualification was felt to be needed, suggesting that each of these groups was the only one of its (unspecified) kind in the neighbourhood; it is interesting to see that membership of more than one such group was possible, contributing no doubt to a community's social network.

As for that neighbourhood, these inscriptions, except for one from Sardis, come from a very restricted area in the north-west, for which either Thyateira or Iulia Gordos would be the nearest polis. (Thyateira itself, superimposed on a native site, has furnished a single relevant but ambiguous text, in which a dead

man's sons and φράτορες set up a stele in his honour:[30] Clerc interpreted these φράτορες as members of a φρατρία, of the developed social form familiar in mainland Greece but not in Asia Minor: the burden of proof would seem to rest with him.)

There are three references to a ἱερὸς δοῦμος from the second and early third century which may concern one and the same organization. Two indeed are dated to the same year, 172, and were found on Mount Toma in the Maionian region while the third, of 223/4, stems from Ayazviran a short distance to the south.[31] The doumos makes itself responsible for the erection of an altar with funds provided by the ναύκορος; in response to the god's command it makes an offering to Zeus Masphalatenos, Men Tiamou and Men Tyrannos, vowing to keep vigil for nine days; later it pays tribute to the priest of Artemis Anaitis the euergetes Aur. Glykon Dionysiou, a member of an old priestly family, for his good offices and his dutiful piety towards the gods. This last inscription is the most interesting, with its indication that several gods could be united as objects of the group's worship - presumably with several corresponding priests and a calendar of sacrificial/festival observances; it may also be that Glykon's euergesia embraced acts of good-fellowship as well as purely ritual virtues. The impression that such groups might be broadly focussed rather than composed simply of devotees of particular deities is strengthened by the dedication to Zeus Masphalatenos and his colleagues, while their position in the community would be enhanced by possession of shrines, altars and other buildings (as in the first instance).

Evidently funding was to some extent dependent on the resources of individual members. The general religious character of the symbiosis is borne out in the case of an early third-century donation of an altar to the συμβίωσις by Aur. Artemidoros, chief doctor and hierophant: no other institution is named, so we must assume that he served the symbiosis itself in at least the latter capacity.[32] This inscription was found at Kula. His medical role is unexpected; unless the

group was, unusually for Lydia,[33] worshipping Asklepios, Artemidoros must have been the employee of a major polis (Iulia Gordos, Thyateira, Sardis, Philadelphia) and perhaps owned property in this district. Another motif recurs in a funerary inscription of ca. 224 from Saittai.[34] Here the symbiosis pays its respects to Ioulianos, dead at twenty-five. There is no way of knowing whether such groups recognized an age-limit, in theory or in practice; one might add, speculatively, that Ioulianos' lack of a patronymic or ethnic tends to create an impression of small-scale and intimate activity on the group's part. We cannot take it for granted that low social status is involved. Finally the divine injunction (ἐπιταγή) as an impetus to group action also reappears, in yet another inscription of 172 from Mount Toma.[35] The cult of Zeus Masphalatenos and Men Tiamou was popular in the region: on this occasion a subsidiary group seems to be attached to the main one, as the phrase ἡ ἱερὰ συμβίωσις καὶ νεωτέρα is used; in imitation of polis-forms two epimeletai are listed, perhaps merely as an alternative to brabeutai.

The most southerly of these symbioseis is attested - without religious context - on the northern bank of the Kogamos (between Sardis and Maionia) at an Imperial date:[36] the inscription is in a frustratingly fragmentary state, but it does record the building of a stoa (?) and exedra, either for the symbiosis or for the association of ψιλαγυάφοι, with the symbiosis' funds. I should note in passing that Keil and von Premerstein's suggestion that ψιλαγυάφοι is the name of the settlement is picturesque but implausible. Instead of this, one might reasonably consider that the association of ψιλαγυάφοι actually comprised the symbiosis itself, in the first example of a secular group with this title.

As for the size of these groups, two indications survive, the first in the inscription mentioned above featuring the ἱερὰ συμβίωσις καὶ νεωτέρα. Eighteen members are listed; this may be compared with another testament, from nearby Borlu and dated to 96 A.D., in which Tryphon Horou is commemorated by the sixteen members of his symbiosis and then in turn by his kinsmen. This close

correspondence allows us to take eighteen to twenty as normal.[37] By way of comparison, two second-century phratrai in the Phrygian polis of Thiounta, interestingly designated as ἡ περὶ Θεόδοτον Διογενειανὸν καὶ Γλύκωνα Διοδώρου, and ἡ περὶ Διόδωρον Ἀθηναγόρου Κολοκυνθιανὸν καὶ [περὶ] Ἀθηναγόραν Διοδώρου Γοργίωνος, comprised twenty-four and twenty-three people including the principals.[38]

A different designation for a Maionian phratra (the earliest-known of these groups, setting up a statue in 28/9 A.D.[39]) marks it out as (nominally) different from the speirai, doumoi and symbioseis already reviewed: ἡ νεωτέρα φράτρα τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ τὴν Ὑγίην ἀνέθηκεν. This is the only such reference to a titular deity, and at the same time the only case of a group devoted to a single patron. The epithet νεωτέρα, as Herrmann observed, implies the prior existence of a phratra of which the present body is somehow a reconstituted version.[40] Not only that, but for once a Hellenistic establishment-date is reliably indicated.

Keil and von Premerstein wanted to refer Lamyana's Zeus Phratrios to the Lydian religious context, rather than to the Greek social one: had the inscription been found in the Caystrian valley this would be doubtful, since the process of Hellenization was clearly more advanced there, but fortunately it was found at Belen between the Gygaean Lake and Hyrkanis. It makes sense to see the dedication of an altar (and perhaps a statue?) of Zeus Phratrios for the Lamyaneitai, by and at the expense of Tib. Flavius Gaius, in terms of individual generosity to a village-shrine, with the local phratra, if there was one, composed of many of the villagers and no doubt effectively responsible for that shrine. The inscription dates to the late second or third century A.D.[41]

Discussion of the primary organizations of a religious character may be concluded by a review of private cult groups. Perhaps marginal to this category is the practice of making individual subscriptions in money, materials or both for

cultic purposes within the community, as demonstrated by a mid-second century A.D. list set up in the upper Cayster valley, on the opposite side of the mountain from Philadelphia:[42] here Ploution's large family makes partial provision for ritual worship of the local Zeus, apparently named Digindenos with reference to their katoikia. (Buresch read Διπυδηνῷ on the stone but (without knowledge of Kombdilipia and Tbalmoura in the Sardian plain[43]) found this consonant cluster incredible.) The more organized version involves action by designated cult-groups; no doubt, in fact, the distinction between these and the societies just discussed is not very significant, turning as it does on the thesis of a greater 'social' element in the latter; they do have in common, unfortunately, a failure to name the member's polis or kome, except in one case. The Herakleastai of Mernouphyta, probably in the second century A.D., honoured Glykon Neikandrou with a gold wreath for unspecified philotimia.[44] Direct imitation of polis-honours is once again striking, as is their self-description as οἱ ἀπὸ βασιλέων Ἀττάλου καὶ Εὐμένους κατοικοῦντες Μερνούφυτα Ἡρακλεασταί:

: it seems clear enough that the Greek settlement here originated as a garrison camp at the time when the Attalids were laying claim to north-western Lydia, during the period of Seleukid weakness (the inscription was found in Thyateira), and further, as Keil and von Premerstein supposed, that the majority of inhabitants belonged to this cult-group, which thus could act as representative of the community. Bearing in mind that whatever links existed between Mernouphyta and Thyateira are now invisible (Herakles' evident pre-eminence distinguishing the katoikia from the polis whose patron was Apollo Tyrimnos, for what this is worth), I would not like to accept completely the editors' concept of the cult-group as the representative organization. Instead one might regard it as having been the most appropriate body for paying tribute on this occasion, perhaps to its most distinguished or pious member, and as coexisting with a village assembly.

More interesting is a text of 161/2 from Gölde, between Maionia and Kula, in which some forty-four καταλουσικοὶ Μητρὸς . . . καὶ Μηνὸς Τιάμου καὶ Μηνὸς Πετραείτου proudly record their erection of a statue, not of one of their tutelary gods but of Dionysos.[45] The inference is no doubt inescapable that this is a mystery cult, despite the unfamiliar role thereby accorded to Men Tiamou and Men Petraeites; Men Axiottenos however also appears in context with καταλουστικοί[46]. What is more problematic in view of the sheer size of the group is its attribution to a community. Since its membership is twice the size of the 'katoikic' speirai and other groups we might confidently ascribe it to a polis, Maionia or Tabala perhaps; on the other hand in my opinion Men Tiamou and Men Petraeites, like Men Axiottenos, are definitely not urban gods. It is quite possible that these purified ('baptized') initiates were drawn from several neighbouring villages, with a central shrine common to all the villages and as yet undiscovered. The evidence seems however insufficient for a firm judgment either way.

Similarly ambiguous is the status of some Καισαριαστάι found roughly 10 km. to the west of Sardis.[47] They describe themselves as οἱ ἐν - - - - - Καισαριαστάι; the editors not unnaturally assumed that the name of the polis belonged in the lacuna, yet the word κοίνον below does seem reliably restored, as the focus for the κοινωφελὴς τειμή displayed by their nomophylax Menodotos Tuteides: he had given money to enable the (annual) brabeutai to provide ἀρτόκρεα, the prescribed bread and meats for the Augustan sacrifices. To assume (as the editors do) that only poleis would be concerned to hold Augustan sacrifices and form 'Caesarian' clubs of this kind would be unduly hasty in view of the independent testimony from a koinon katoikōn (or apoikōn) near Selendi[48], where it is ruled that fines for grave-violation, to the tune of one thousand and one denarii, will be put by the koinon - i.e. the assembled villagers -

towards the cost of the Augustan sacrifices. This dates to the third century; the inscription above is tentatively assigned to the first, which happens to be considerably earlier than the other occurrences of the unusual adjective κοινοφελής[49]: more to the point, those occurrences all have a universalising reference, whereas the natural reading of this earlier one in view of a koinon's presence as beneficiary involves behaviour directed towards the community. Such a shift in meaning is entirely to be expected.

Administration is here to some extent in the hands of brabeutai, officials characteristic of settlements outside poleis. The presence of a nomophylax need not contradict ascription of 'katoikic' status, considering how little we know of internal organization anyway; indeed, one would rather expect a polis to have a different institutional method of 'safeguarding the laws' of a formal and corporate nature. In any case Menodotos may well simply have been one of the 'Caesarian' officials. (His patronymic, Tuteides, was taken by Zgusta as at root Lydian.[50]) That both these allusions to Augustan sacrifices occur in context with a koinon tempts the speculation that the Imperial cult came to serve as one of the unifying factors in such settlements.

Finally the cult of the dead: brief discussion of this topic is in place here because two cases of its most organized form are known in Lydia, the first in the polis of Thyateira. Soon after the death of C. Iul. Apollonidou Zeno the demos ratified the sacred character of a Zenonian precinct centring on his grave and conferred the status of hero and benefactor on him, at the instigation and expense of the Iouliastai. Zeno sounds a suitable recipient of hero worship, having held distinguished office as chief priest of Augustus and Rome as well as 'conferring benefits' on the whole province of Asia - to such an extent that he became saviour, benefactor, founder and father of his homeland, in a word πρῶτος Ἑλλήνων.[51] 'Reading between the lines', it is very easy to surmise that Zeno had recently served on one or more successful embassies to the emperor. That the private cult-group devoted to him should call itself 'Julian' rather than 'Zenonian' no doubt

reflects the practical value of his Roman citizenship, and at the same time strengthens the impression of small-scale, localized activity. With no more than two examples from the country, both dating to the first century A.D., we are in no position to test Poland's judgment[52] that cults of this kind became more prominent as links with Rome strengthened; certainly the dozen Imperial occasions on which ἥρως is used as a euphemism for 'deceased', ἡρῷον as a synonym for μνημεῖον, contribute nothing, being of a different order of religious magnitude. All that can be said so far is that heroic cult groups do, in fact, look very much like a phenomenon peculiar to developed poleis - understandably so if one considers that they afforded rather more scope for the appropriate behaviour and career; hence discussion of them at this point would seem merely aberrant were it not that Keil and von Premerstein confidently attributed the other fully-fledged example to the known katoikia of Apateira, in the Cayster valley.[53] Yet quite apart from the occurrence of the phrase πολείτου τε καὶ ξένου the degree of sophistication evinced surely casts doubt: the community possesses a temple of Artemis and the Augusti, fines are set nominally at ten thousand denarii to the temple and another ten thousand to the πρεσβύτεροι, the ἡρῷον being established - for a living man, Peplos - is to be equipped with, amongst other things, two angular marble herms with bronze faces, two small marble lions, a clock, thirteen 'images' (pictures or statues) of Nonea Paula, marble basins, fourteen figurines of Aphrodite, an iron tripod, two lead 'darts' (ἀκοντιστῆρες μόλυβοι : not L.S.J.'s 'bullets'), nineteen gem-studded Alexandrian objects, and wooden benches. Obviously settlements below the level of 'polis' might muster some parts of this catalogue but the overall effect, alongside the reference to citizens, gives the opposite impression. To conclude, the speira, doumos, phratra and symbiosis should be seen as the main cultic organizations in the Hellenized Lydian communities.

This brings me to a second category, that of authority wielded by individuals. It seems fitting to begin with the komarchs, but the earliest officers attested are in

fact the brabeutai: our first glimpse of komai, provided by the cataloguing of Mnesimachos' third-century estate in the Sardian plain, is unhelpfully circumscribed by that catalogue, showing us only the individual dependent labourers living on the estate and listing the chiliarchies to which the komai belonged for fiscal purposes.[54] The brabeutai consistently behave as a settlement's executive officers, within a narrow range of competence: specifically, their chief task appears to have been the making of arrangements for a benefactor's crowning, in response to a communal decision. Beyond that they take responsibility for certain aspects of religious ceremony, and act as epimeletai, overseers, when public building in honour of local gods and the emperor is in progress. Not every village possessed brabeutai, while those that did appointed them for a year at a time: imprecise verbs are used in this context, ταχθέσθαι and ἀποδεικνύσθαι, but there is at least no sign of a liturgical fee, as there is for komarchs (and later logistai). Despite the 'received opinion' that they would be two in number, there is only one definite instance, in the northeastern Selindenon katoikia during Antoninus Pius' reign: two brabeutai had dealt with the building of a complex structure[55] dedicated by the katoikia to the ancestral gods and the emperor; no doubt the ergon was a temple precinct with accompanying monuments. It is worthy of note that the brabeutai are only named in this one instance, and also that this katoikia has a distinctly suburban character if, as seems most likely, the editors are right to interpret dating by stephanephoros as a reference to a dominant polis. Numbers are uncertain in the other cases, except for two of the first century B.C. from Maionia and neighbouring Kula, in which allusion is made to one brabeutes only, still per annum.[56]

Religious duties are to the fore in the Kula inscription, although the wider context is honorific: Lykinos and his family are by decree of the community to be accorded a γέρας, a choice portion of the sacrificial animal, at communal feasts. Two stelai are to be erected recording the honour, and a place will be reserved whenever they are in residence - καθ' ἑκάστην ἐπιδημίαν.

No ethnic is given, so one rather assumes Lykinos may have been a well-known travelling merchant. The brabeutes here takes general charge of the arrangements; award of a gold wreath is not included, but does appear in the other example of brabeutai with a religious role. As already described, some Καισαριαστα

near Sardis during the first or second century A.D. honoured Menodotos Tuteides, a nomophylax, partly for his gift of money to enable the brabeutai to provide ἀρτόκρεα for Augustan sacrifices every year. Two separate epimeletai are mentioned in connexion with his crowning, thus evidently restricting their colleagues' sphere of action.

This is in contrast with their primary function elsewhere - not that the sample at our disposal is large enough to allow for any judgment as to the significance of a geographical distinction here: the Caesarian inscription is the southernmost, all others stemming from the Hyrkanian plain and the Maionian region. Of these, the earliest can be dated to the first century B.C. and derives from a katoikia near Hierakome.[57] The annual brabeutai are to see to the crowning of an unnamed benefactor, the honour as usual being extended to his descendants: διὰ γένους.

In Hierokaisareia itself, during Augustus' lifetime and hence soon after the transition to polis and change of name, they again have charge of the wreath, bestowed this time on a prytanis and priest of Rome.[58] Their survival also stresses that the ancient kome had changed its official status in the recent past. (The first coinage, with the old name, dates to the first century B.C., while the new name postdates Agrippa's register, on Pliny's evidence, and probably commemorates Tiberius' assistance after the earthquake of 17 AD.[59])

Similar survival is noticeable over to the east in Maionia, where an early Imperial text[60] gives responsibility for a crowning to the logistes and the brabeutes. An honorary decree of 61/60 correspondingly witnesses to polis-status for Maionia;[61] again, the logistes is more familiar as a polis official, otherwise found only in the third century AD in the Cayster valley.

A final appearance is made in the Hyrkanian plain during the first or second century AD, where the kome/katoikia of Tyannollos, as previously remarked, erects a stele, endows its benefactors with wreaths from its own revenues and undertakes to make a public announcement in their honour ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις συνόδοις κωμητικαῖς ; the inscription must then be a record of the proceedings at one village synod[62]. Once again the brabeutai act as overseers, specifically for the public announcements. No further activities can be ascribed with confidence to the brabeutai, despite the limited nature of their known ones.

Under the Empire, if not before, the vacancy is to some extent filled by komarchs and euergetai. Unfortunately the evidence is no more detailed than for the brabeutai; it would appear that responsibility for public building-work lay with the komarchs - on some occasions, rather than as a general rule - and that their degree of participation in such work might vary: from contributing money, as liturgical fee, to be used in the construction of a new bath-house to directing an improvement in the water system, or indeed the building of a new stoa. Elsewhere komarchs see to the erection of important statues, once of a village's προστάτης

a man of Asiarch standing,[63] and once of Aphrodite, in honour of Hadrian, his wife, 'the new Hera' and the village itself.[64] The latter is so far the earliest appearance made by komarchs, the third century A.D. being their epigraphic heyday. As for the geographical spread, southern Lydia is moderately predominant. The Hadrianic text comes from the Tateikōmetōn katoikia, evidently in the vicinity of Kassaba west of Sardis, and names Apollonios Paramonou Strongylos and Apollonios Menandrou as <u>the</u> komarchs, acting as epimeletai for the statue of Aphrodite erected (i.e. paid for) by Cornelia Pulchra. No colleagues are mentioned, nor are the mode of election and the length of tenure made explicit. (It is interesting, in passing, to observe that members of a <u>village</u> settlement (if Cornelia Pulchra was in fact a local resident) should already be aware of a sophisticated politico-cultural event such as Sabina's adoption of a divine sobriquet. The settlement's proximity to Sardis might be a factor in this, of

course.) Half a century later, in 166/7, an unnamed katoikia near Philadelphia records honour paid to its komarch M. Caecilius Lucianus, presumably at the end of his term; reference is made to his direction of work on the double stoa and its vaulted roof (στοὰ διπλῆ, καμάρα) for the settlement.[65] It is impossible to tell whether Lucianus had contributed money to the project, although use of the verb ποιεῖν as well as the more regular ἐπιμέλεσθαι might hint at something of the kind. This settlement can be assumed to have existed since at least the first century B.C., an honorary decree dating to 12/11 having turned up at the same site.[66] Clearly it had become quite a prosperous town; yet suspicion might be voiced as to Lucianus' civic status, in view of the proximity of a major polis. It does become clear that third-century komarchs would be officials imposed by dominant poleis on surrounding villages, especially in the Cayster valley, serving as it did as the χώρα of both Ephesos and Hypaipa.

A series of inscriptions set up in Dideiphyta illustrates the situation neatly. In each case an individual's payment of the fixed liturgical fee is being recorded, so it is left unclear how many komarchs might hold office at any one time; on the other hand there is nothing to contradict the assumption that the actual term of office would be the standard magisterial year. The first in the series,[67] a text of 213/14, commemorates a payment of some two hundred and fifty denarii by an aspirant, this money to be put towards the cost of the katoikia's new bath-house. Twelve years later[68] (225/6) an Hypaipan citizen, Aur. Metrodoros Dionysiou, paid the higher sum of five hundred denarii in accordance with the katoikia's vote, during the komarchy of Aur. Menophantos, Aur. Apphianos and their colleagues. That several men are holding the komarchy at the same time perhaps tends to suggest that the post had become essentially honorific, amounting to recognition of their high social status for local landowners. But another citizen of Hypaipa is evidently more closely involved in his district's affairs, paying seven hundred and fifty denarii towards the cost of the bath-house.[69] The increased amount is attributed to a ψήφισμα passed by the settlement. This text is undated, but the temptation

is strong to put it third in the series, falling between 225/6 and 272/3, at which date the fee finally reached one thousand denarii. Unlike the preceding texts, the latter[70] represents a personal announcement by Aur. Marcus Publii, descendant of Athenagoras, who is also distinguished by Ephesian citizenship. Further, he makes the claim that he has paid the customary, not the decreed, amount. How far this new phrasing can be pressed is dubious, but the fact that Marcus rather than the community publicises his attainment of the komarchy gives an impression of reduced activity.

There are two other villages with known komarchs, one (of the third century) a few miles to the southeast of Thyateira,[71] the other (of either 175 or 229 depending on whether the Sullan or Aktian era was in use - the latter is here more likely) from Mylos, the Myleiton kome near Philadelphia.[72] The first names Aur. Ioulianos as one of the komarchs who had recently supervised extension of the village's water system and some building in the stoa, employing village funds for the purpose: hence. direct involvement again, as in the second village, where (on my reading) Melitianos, Tatia and A-- Marios as komarchs direct the setting-up of a statue of the settlement's high-ranking patron M. Aur. Nan-- Alexandros Hermippou, an Asiarch. If Tatia's name is correctly read her inclusion reinforces the impression of the post's honorific nature - without of course precluding participation in the community's affairs to at least the same extent as that expected of brabeutai.

However it remains true that the komarchy as evidently constituted cannot have satisfied a settlement's entire administrative needs. Nor, quite certainly, can the logisteia. Jones' firm statement[73] that the logistes eventually became 'the chief magistrate in the Lydian villages' is unfounded: to date three such logistai are known, all from one and the same area, and the evidence simply does not warrant belief in their primacy. The area concerned is again the Cayster valley, and an Ephesian citizen, if not an Hypaipan, duly appears. Although a polis forms the background throughout, two different formulae are used: in one case, a liturgical

fee is paid in accordance with the villagers' wishes, in the other two distinguished patrons mediate on their behalf. In 211/12 the katoikia of Apateira recorded the successful tenure of the logisteia by two sons of Pamphilos in - or beginning in - 206/7; they had dealt with the accounts (δόντες τὸν λόγον-11-12) expressly at the bidding of a Roman citizen, Titus Flavius Lucius (Lucii) Hierax, who is described merely as 'highly distinguished' (ἀξιολογώτατος), and in addition gave two hundred and fifty denarii to furnish the large bath-house of their own accord.[74] Patronage and individual initiative here play a significant part in the settlement's life. Over in nearby Teira at a comparable date - marked however in this case by prytany-year - Aur. Hermolaos Rusticus provided in his turn two hundred and fifty denarii for the privilege of holding the office, in compliance with a decision taken formally by the village-assembly - καθὼς ἔδοξε τοῖς κωμήταις . This money was destined for their common funds.[75]

A will drawn up for the villagers' benefit in the early first century A.D. has survived, with a footnote to the effect that a councillor from Hypaipa introduced a motion honouring its author, no doubt in the Teiran imitation of an ἐκκλησία ; this gives some insight into the patterning of such communities, valid at least for this particular region.[76] Lastly, a problematic text on the logistes which combines elements of both preceding ones - dating ἐπὶ πρυτανέως, an Ephesian citizen, direct action by the village's προεστώς: the latter is described as Θυαίριος, i e standing in some relation to the settlement called Thyaira independently known,[77] yet clearly holds high office in Ephesos itself, as βουλάρχος and ὑμνῳδός of Artemis. The new logistes in formal contrast can boast the title of Ephesian citizen, and has indeed served as ἀγορανόμος .[78] No doubt a solution can be found in the assumption that Thyaira's patron owned substantial inherited property in its neighbourhood. That logistai were not necessarily an alternative to komarchs is illustrated by the inscription found a few miles southeast of Thyateira in which Ioulianos and his colleagues supervise extension of the water system, making use

of village funds under the guidance of Tatianos : λογιστεύοντος .[79] The most that can safely be said is that their presence betokens a relatively high degree of sophistication (specialization of functions), with the neighbouring Greek poleis as obvious model. Hence it is not surprising to find them concentrated in the border-zone constituted by the Cayster valley, even as late as the third century AD. The striking dearth of information as to their predecessors (and, less importantly, their contemporary partners) should not be taken as a sign that they became chief magistrates for the villages. Rather, attention might profitably be focussed on the men whose leading position in the community was less formally expressed, the patrons and euergetai. (Transitional between these and magistrates are the ἄρχοντες τῆς κατοικίας attested for a kome in the Cayster valley, by one of whom dating is marked.[80])

Euergetai may be seen as natural successors of those noble families with graves at Bin Tepe and in mound-clusters elsewhere in the country, leadership of the Lydian contingents in Xerxes' army, and the capacity to retreat as Pythios did to Kelainai.[81] Certainly two comparable elements in later 'euergesia' can be isolated: that of an hereditary relationship and that of a widely-based career. The latter, more clearly than the former, also serves to mirror the gradual erosion of their status as autonomous communities suffered by some villages. As usual, there is no means of knowing how representative the existing sample is. One partial corrective, however, might be to contrast usage of the ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων

formula with that of communal spending; but this would still leave it unclear whether the material should be interpreted in terms of prosperity and attendant attraction for high-ranking patrons or, instead, in terms of economic dependence on larger civic units.

The earliest are found in the second century BC and to the north of the country. In the third year of an Attalid reign, either 157/6 or 136/5, the Sardian citizen Iollas Metrodorou is praised by the katoikoi of Atetta as their benefactor and saviour; he is awarded a wreath, as far as we can see from the settlement's own funds. Atetta however lay at some distance from his home town, being part of Maionia, and Iollas' activity there remains unexplained.[82] Certainly his family continued to be prominent in Sardis itself.[83] Farther to the east, somewhere near Bagis approaching the border with Phrygia, the people of Lyendos honour Demetrios Xenophilou for his goodwill towards them;[84] the specific title is not in fact conferred; nor is any continuing relationship expressly envisaged, any more than between Iollas and Atetta. Indeed, if it can be pressed so far, the title of σωτήρ would suggest assistance in a particular crisis; conversely Demetrios' display of goodwill (εὐνοια) is not described in specific terms, so its real or intended timespan cannot be judged. By way of comparison, a military foundation in 153/2 honoured its strategos, Derdas Derkylidou, for possessing suitable qualities amongst these Makedonians, ἀρετή, εὔδοξος ἀνδραγαθία toward both the king and themselves. This was at --espoura, near Apollonis; [85] as already mentioned, the fact that this community with its neighbour Doidye withstood Attalid synoecism to the extent of keeping its own official for contacts with the central authorities and for unspecified tasks within the community strongly suggests that it was of long standing, as a garrison beside a native village.

The first century in turn yields at least four specimens, again concentrated in the north except for one found near Philadelphia: this dates to 24/3 and unlike the others fails to suggest that the relationship was expected to endure over more than one generation, merely recording that the people of Adrouta honoured their benefactor Artemidoros Neoptolemou.[86] A few years previously (28/7) across in the region of Apollonis the hereditary priest of Zeus, Attalos Apolloniou (the names themselves tending to imply local provenance) was honoured in Nakokome as common saviour and benefactor of both the demos and the katoikoi; fittingly,

his piety receives special mention.[87] The demos concerned must be presumed to be that of Apollonis, and Nakokome a companion to the settlements of Doidye and --espoura. Only the priesthood of Zeus is explicitly described as διὰ γένους but this is in itself surely sufficient to stress Attalos' prominent standing in his community.

Sometime during this century an unnamed katoikia near Hierakome lavished praise on its benefactors, possibly but not certainly related, in return for their goodwill and exercise of their usefully honourable qualities on the settlement's behalf. Their services had constantly been unstinting and merited the community's gratitude, περιλοδοξηκότας διὰ παντὸς ἀνελλείπως , which was to be shown by the award of gold wreaths διὰ γένους , under the supervision of annual brabeutai.[88] We could wish to have these signal services described in greater detail, but it may not be unacceptable to surmise that these men might have been living up to expectations aroused simply by wealth. At all events their families are indirectly included in the mutually advantageous relationship here formalized, for future reference. Again, as described above, another katoikia administered by brabeutai near Kula granted a significant γέρας to Lykinos and his family during periods of residence, choice portions of the sacrifice on feast-days.[89] It is not clear whether future descendants of Lykinos will be able to claim the honour on the strength of his name, but the possibility does not seem to be excluded.

Finally, Mendechora, on the northern bank of the Kogamos near Philadelphia, has yielded a text of 12/11[90] in which a katoikia honours two senior members, Iollas Menekratous and Menandros Attalou, for satisfactory supervision of work on the water system (a perennial concern in these small settlements); reference to their venerable age - γενομένους γεραιοὺς - is odd as it stands, but possibly an analogy with Kastollos, now a kome of Philadelphia, with an active council of elders alongside the full village assembly, would be instructive, by suggesting that gerousiai, whether or not with designated buildings reserved for their use, were to

be found in villages as well as poleis. Although neither Iollas nor Menandros ranks as euergetes, they might merit inclusion here by virtue of the insight their example affords into another mode of serving the community to one's own profit.

Similarly it is worthwhile to draw attention to an Augustan will composed for the benefit of the Teirenon or Theirenon katoikia in the Cayster valley, since this actually shows us the euergetes in the making: καταλείπω τῇ τῶν [Τ]ειρηνῶν κατοικίᾳ χρῆσιν νομῆς καὶ καρπείας ἀγροῦ καλουμένου — —ης ἵνα οἱ κωμῆται χρῶνται καὶ καρπῶνται αὐτῷ.

This refers primarily to pasturage; land near the Cayster is also entrusted to the katoikia, and provision made for yearly celebration of Augustus' birthday on 23rd September[91]. In return an Hypaipan councillor 'introduces a motion' in the donor's favour, while Elpidephoros father and son are to erect the statue's base παρ' ἑαυτῶν . Two points here: the fact that the councillor, Tryphon Petroniou, is described as belonging to the city of Hypaipa casts doubt on an otherwise plausible idea that this text records activities within that city; instead the decree will have emanated from the village's own assembly. Secondly, the phrase παρ' ἑαυτῶν may well indicate that Elpidephoros senior was the will's author, rewarded with a statue towards whose cost he and his son duly contribute.

The Roman presence becomes marked during the first century A.D., two of three texts definitely assignable to it concerning resident Roman citizens. Nisyra pays tribute in 11/12 to a helpful centurion,[92] then a katoikia near Philadelphia formally recognizes the good offices of M. Antonius Dion and his family, on 23rd September 40, auspiciously enough.[93] The family's relationship with Philadelphia, if any, is invisible; the katoikia can at all events quote their euergesia on all necessary occasions - ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ , ll. 13-14 - as well as their wholehearted, generous support of Augustan sacrifices. The mother and daughter bear Roman names, Prima and Tertia, whereas the father and sons retain a Greek

element, as Dion, Glaukos and Troianos. It should be observed as a possible guide to the scale of this settlement's resources that Antonia Prima herself supervises and pays for their memorial, in exchange for the honorific title of euergetai.

It is refreshing, as a reminder of the country's traditional diversity, to find the people of Ka--mea honouring the priest of their Kornene goddess, by name Apollodoros Apollodorou Perses, for his good offices.[94] The wording might indeed lead one to infer that he was currently assisting them once again in some way: ἐν πολλοῖς εὐεργετηκότα τὴν κατοικίαν τεληότατα ἔτι δὲ χαριζάμενον αὐτοῖς.

. This episode dates to 42/3; the text breaks off before any mention has been made of a past or future relationship. Two other cases are datable to either the first or the second century, to the western region between Mostene and Troketta and some distance to the north in the Hyrkanian plain. The former is that of the honouring of Menodotos Tuteides, nomophylax, by some Kaisariastai;[95] the tribute extends to his wife, Zotike Hermogenous, and sons, of whom Hermogenes bears a name in the maternal line, and the service rendered is for once specified; money had been provided to enable the brabeutai to conduct the community's Augustan sacrifices adequately. In the Hyrkanian plain Tyannollos' euergetai M. Antonius Metrodoros, M. Antonius Glykon and Artemidoros' daughter, nicknamed Plangon, are recorded to have earned the settlers' gratitude by their benefactions.[96] (No doubt Artemidoros was father to all three.) This is the only occurrence of εὐχαριστία . In this particular case we can see the creation of a relationship for an indefinite period, involving an entire family on one side, the community as beneficiary on the other.

Three specimens are datable by lettering to the early Imperial period, hence to one of these two centuries: to the west of Hierokaisareia, on the Mysian side of the Hyllos, lay Moschakome, boasting an hereditary euergesia invested in the family of Apollodoros Apollodorou Apollonidou; this man has the non-Greek cognomen

M-baspos, retained as a tradition in his family, despite at least three generations bearing Greek names.[97] More to the point, he is explicitly described as ἐκ προγόνων τῆς κώμης εὐεργέτης . This formula is not directly repeated until the late second or third century. Meanwhile in Thyateira a monument to a distinguished former citizen, Tib. Klaudios Amphimachos, erected by the Arenoi and Nagdemoi, after suffering damage in an earthquake is restored at her own expense by his descendant (not his daughter) Iulia Severina Stratonike.[98] The Arenoi and Nagdemoi were members of villages whose interests Amphimachos despite his status had championed; in the context they both look very much like constituent parts of the polis of Thyateira. The lapse of time between the statue's erection and repair might be explained either as indicating that the earthquake had been a recent occurrence before which the statue and the continuing relationship it symbolized had been maintained, or as suggesting instead that its collapse like a decline in that relationship had occurred some time ago and that only now was his descendant in a position to set about the work of restoration. The status of the third in this group is more doubtful, as it is a matter of two villages having joined forces to congratulate Hermokrates Kratippou on two successful years as priest. Dima and Kerbia lay in northwestern Lydia, near Maionia.[99] It is worth including at this point to illustrate the kind of men who would be a focus for community attention. Hermokrates is praised for having conducted himself efficiently, honourably and cordially; the priesthood itself is not further specified.

Moving on into the late second and third centuries, we may regard the pattern as finally set. One katoikia near Hermokapeleia honours a man who had been acting with sufficient distinction to be a credit both to his family and to the katoikia; the cost of setting up the stele is however left to Attalos, whom we can hardly avoid seeing as the subject of the notice.[100] The first half of the inscription has not survived, so Attalos' status is obscure, yet the reference to standards expected of a representative of a certain family and of the village itself fits the role of euergetes quite amply. High social status is the main impression received of the Tabeirenoi's

euergetes, C. Iul. Iulianus Tatianus, Asiarch, agonothetes, chief priest for life and descendant of several Asiarchs.[101] Obviously Tatianus was a citizen of Thyateira and a very prominent figure in the province as a whole. Once more there is no recourse but to assume his interest in this settlement derived from ownership of land in the area; in view of his commitments elsewhere it may be doubted whether he was more than a patron, perhaps representing or advising villagers on civic business. It is not 'euergesia' that he has inherited, only liability for the Asiarchate. Oddly enough, the wording employed tends to suggest that for once the villagers themselves raised the money needed for the stele: ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων , certainly, but before mention of Tatianus. An Asiarch is also found in connexion with the village of Mylos, a few miles due east of Sardis, but here openly as patron, προστάτης , with the help of regular komarchs.[102]

Repeating a first-century (A.D.) motif, the sacred village of Larisa in the Cayster valley duly pays tribute to its Roman euergetes,[103] during the third century. Two other villages at quite uncertain dates record their good relationship with their euergetes. The Kareneitai from the vicinity of Thyateira could call upon another distinguished citizen, Iollas Menophantou, whose active career as agonothetes, gymnasiarch and holder of various magistracies and liturgies had earned him the epithet φιλόπατρις.[104] No details are given as to any services he had rendered the village, but evidently they were satisfied. Again, the Tyanolleitai, living near Hyrkanis, shared their euergetes Theogenes with the polis in which he was a prytanis and stephanephoros. Some reference to payment for his statue was inscribed but has not survived legibly. It only remains to comment that such men, whatever their personal virtues, could not have played an administratively active part in these smaller communities, yet the relationship was valued on both sides. Even so, adoption of distinguished politai can only have had the effect of accelerating economic and/or psychological dependence on the polis.[105]

The next stage is to examine the contrast between the nominally theocratic villages of the Katakekaumene and the southern communities bordering Ionia. The ground has been prepared by earlier discussion of the two different formulae, of divine and financial penalties, used for grave-violation. There is a sharp dividing-line between their respective areas of currency, financial penalties being regular in the Cayster valley and divine in the Katakekaumene. In each case one exception has been found: Thyateira imposed a fine of two thousand five hundred denarii,[106] Magnesia the same amount but also the threat of divine wrath.[107] But neither lies within the two territories concerned and they contribute nothing of real relevance.

Villages claiming some form of direct submission to divine powers are a distinctive feature of the Lydian landscape, few in number yet with a disproportionate value derived from possession into the second century A.D. of surviving elements of Anatolian culture. Of the six so far known all but one belong to the neighbourhood of Maionia while the other, from the Cayster valley, boasts the ethnic title φρυγῶν .[108] (In turn, Mostene and Hermokapeleia took care to preserve the title Λυδῶν .[109]) Further, Koresa shares with Thyateira, itself the home of a long-flourishing tutelary deity Tyrimnos προπάτωρ or ὁ πρὸ πόλεως , and with Akrasos, Mostene, Blaundos and Hypaipa the ancient cultic symbol of the double-axe, generally borne by a rider-god. The double-axe, known of course in Krete, is found in Hittite reliefs.[110] A notable feature held in common by the six villages under consideration is a lack of mediating priests; their deities may no doubt have been served by a regular priesthood elsewhere, but in the capacity of 'rulers' of particular communities seem to have had a more direct relationship with individuals. This aspect is highly congruent with the securely attested confessional character of Maionian religion: the gods, Men Axiottenos and Anaitis in particular, commonly punish a variety of offences by the infliction of illness or misfortune, until the victim makes public atonement. The evidence though scanty is welcome as a clue to local mentality and attitudes to the gods. As 'rulers' these same gods

behave no differently. Punishment of undisciplined conduct is one of their prerogatives, and verbs used to express their relationship with villagers are βασιλεύειν, προκαθήσθαι, κατέχειν, all connoting exercise of protective authority.[111] The divine sceptre guarding graves in one or more unnamed settlements near Kula reappears in a 'God-ruled' village for the benefit of the bath-house, elsewhere at the service of two beleaguered men who happened to enjoy divine favour. Again, the masters of such villages do not hesitate to drive the disobedient mad.[112]

That these aspects are found together in a certain group of villages, whether or not they all adopt the specific title, suggests strongly that we are dealing with a distinctively Maionian cultural strain. As for the mechanics of control, divine pronouncements on moral issues come, as far as we can tell, in dreams and from shrines acting as tribunals, although there is one intriguing instance of reception of a divine messenger, in the phrase ὁ θεὸς οὖν ἐκέλευσε δι' ἀγγέλου

(which cannot easily be read as referring to a priest) where the possibility that an 'angelic' vision is meant should not be excluded. Evidence is almost entirely lacking on the question of the connexion between divine and civil authorities, with their corresponding institutions, but appeals against supposed perjury naturally enough lay within the local shrine's competence. On the reasonable interpretation of the phrase ὑπὸ ἐξουσίας as referring to the civil authorities one instance of conflict is to be found in the punishment (an eye complaint) meted out to a man who had tried to force Trophimos, hierodoulos of Meter Hipta and Zeus Sabazios, away from his sacral duties - a case which neatly illustrates the interplay between the two spheres. Closer to Sardis and less dramatically, the assembled hierodouloi of Doarrene, a village of predominantly cultic character, had in 155/4 set up a stele to Artemis in honour of their hieronomos Menandros, the cult's administrator or leader, for his display of virtues religious or secular.[113]

Variant development can be traced for one tutelary deity, in the form of full Hellenization of Thyateira's propater Tyrimnos, a rider god bearing the double-axe

and soon syncretised with Apollo Pythios, eventually with Helios too.[114] The new Seleukid foundation rising to the level of a polis took the local deity over and integrated him into city life, with an eponymous festival celebrated on a grand scale.[115]

This line of development was not followed by the settlements on the other side of the country, mainly because they remained 'katoikiai', under less pressure to conform to the Greek model. Their usual formula suggests one chief deity to a village, but during the second century A.D. Doroukome lays claim to three separate gods, two avatars of Men and the Tazene Mother, while in the vicinity of Saittai Men Axiottenos held a position at the head of no fewer than twelve colleagues.[116] In 143/4 Ioulia Metra of Doroukome erected a stele in consequence of a sin, the details of which are lost, that had come to the gods' attention: ἐπιζητησάντων τῶν θεῶν ; the basileis of her kome were the Tazene Mother, Mis Labanas and Mis Artemidorou. (Mis, or Meis, is a variant of Men.) The Tazene Mother is a familiar figure. As for the character of 'Men Artemidorou', this has been explained as dependent on a shrine established by a certain Artemidoros, which is as plausible a conjecture as any: it gains strength from the occurrence of 'Men Artemidorou Axiottenos' and also 'Men Axiottenos ex Epikratou', more particularly of course the latter.[117]

At a comparable date Philippikos Tatianou followed his neighbour's example but with reference to Men Petraeites, 'ruler of the village', and to the Tazene Mother. His confession is couched in the first person, giving it somewhat more immediacy: after being punished, along with his son (?) for some offence [perjury would fit the available space] he set up a stele to witness to the gods' power, dynamis. It is reasonably clear that the context is that of a civil law suit and that Philippikos' opponents had successfully challenged his sworn statement: the relevant phrase is ἀπελεγχθεὶς [ὑπὸ τῶν ἀντιδίκων. This is all the information that can safely be derived from the inscription.[118] The pantheon elsewhere seems to have been less extensive than this, while the

opponents' appeal, in this case, can hardly be reconstructed in practical terms, as indeed Buckler found when editing a similar text from an unnamed village in the immediate neighbourhood.[119] This one must be viewed with caution, since the only indication of rulership by gods is to be taken from these extant letters:

---ων καὶ ᾗ δυ---. [μεγάλῃ μήτηρ
Ἄτιμις καὶ μέγας Μὴν Τιάμου τὴν] — [κώμην
βασιλεύ]ων καὶ ᾗ δύ[ναμις αὐτῶν μεγάλη]

could, so it appears, fit into the lacuna. At all events, a more complicated narrative is provided: a loan of copper to the value of ten thousand denarii by Apollonios was not repaid by Skollos, regardless of his oath. Accordingly Apollonios protested to the gods, named later on as Meter Atimis and Men Tiamou, who 'made enquiry' and exacted the death-penalty from the unfortunate Skollos. Once again a family is involved over two generations. His daughter Tatias took suitable oaths and being thus reconciled with the gods publicly praised Atimis and Men. Presumably the copper was returned at the same time. Her proclamation ends the body of the inscription, which rather suggests that the stele may have been required of her, to make amends on her father's behalf and to set the record straight in the eyes of their fellow-villagers. (One might otherwise have expected Apollonios himself to erect the stele.) The episode reached its conclusion in 118 A.D. Three years earlier this same pair of gods, in slightly different guise, had accepted the repentance of an offender in the village of Azita[119a]: the great Meter Anaeitis, Azita katechousa, and Meis Tiamou are lauded, along with their powers, dynameis: this renewed formula seems to me interestingly sophisticated, in conjunction with the evocation of the gods themselves as individuals, and might well have reference to the intimately physical and direct exercise of those powers in such cases as these.[119b]

One highly speculative question may be posed as to whether this culturally-accepted degree of superstition, verging as it does on the sphere of magic, might reasonably be interpreted as an index to the weakening caused by the Lydians'

general loss of ethnic traditions. It would after all be historically unrealistic to imagine that Achaemenid conquest and Greek acculturation had no national effect, and if this is a discernible trace of that effect then it should be taken very seriously.

Herrmann[120] has thrown his weight behind the theory that Ἄξιτα and the Ἄξιοττα of which Men Axiottenos was eponymous patron, as well, perhaps, as Atetta, were one and the same. That in this instance it is Anaeitis who is said κατέχειν τὴν κώμην, with Men as her partner, hardly affects this theory one way or the other in view of the diversity of ruling gods already noted at Doroukome; but in my view any such correspondence is of minor significance in contrast to the straightforward recognition that Men Axiottenos (quite regardless of the undiscoverable status of Axiotta amongst the Maionian villages) was sufficiently popular and authoritative to be acclaimed as master or simply worshipped throughout the entire area. Both Koresa and Tarsi-, for example, regarded him as their 'ruler': at the same time that Apollonios was quarrelling with Skollos' family, in 118/19, Trophime Artemidorou Kikinnados was busy some miles away placating the gods after punishment for showing reluctance to enter their service. Summoned by the god - κληθεῖσα ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ἰς ὑπηρεσίας χάριν μὴ βουληθοῦσα ταχέος προσελθεῖν - - - - ἐκολάσετο αὐτὴν καὶ μανῆναι ἐποίησεν!

she had delayed, and suffered the dire penalty (worthy of Yahweh) of being driven insane. 'The god' is described as sole actor up to this point, but her plea for a cure was addressed to the Tarsene Mother, Apollo Tarsios and Men Artemidorou Axiottenos, whom she calls 'lord of Koresa' (with κατέχειν - hence he is probably the god of the earlier exchanges. In this environment Apollo was definitely a junior partner.) In reply he ordered her to record the nemesis on a stele, for her neighbours' edification, and the service was duly entered. A show of piety would carry more weight if addressed to several gods; it would be valuable to know what form the ὑπηρεσία was to take, and its duration. No doubt she may loosely be described as a hierodoulos.[121] In passing I might note that there is no good reason for viewing Kikinnados as a tribal designation; it may just

as well have been an ancestral cognomen borne by Artemidoros.

Half a century later, the village from which the Tarsene Mother and Apollo Tarsios originated set up a fascinating record of some current events. Meis Axiottenos, Ταρσι – Βασιλεύως was invoked to solve what one would have supposed a thoroughly secular problem, during the years 164/5. Neither magistrates nor priests have any apparent part to play. A cloak was stolen from the bath-house, a building under the god's protection for just such occasions: ἐπεὶ ἐπεστάθη σκῆπτρον εἴ τις ἐκ βαλανείου τι κλέψι·

No outraged owner is mentioned, but nemesis befell the thief, who is himself, uniquely, unnamed, and after an interval the god caused the cloak to be brought to his shrine and due confession made. Next the order was given δι' ἀγγέλου

for its sale and for a public memorial to the divine power.

This is one of the most intriguing documents Lydia has produced and fleshes out the notion of 'God-ruled' villages to a greater extent than any of its companions. Two particular details: the familiar divinely-ordained process did not require an appeal by the victim, nor even, perhaps, publicity for the thief, and secondly as noted above priests and officials alike had no recognisable role in the proceedings.

Men Petraeites and Men Labanas reappear, in the Tazenon katoikia, ca. 200 A.D., this time as defenders of two men who for some unspecified reason enjoyed their favour.[122] The members of the katoikia were apparently unable to redress the wrong suffered by the orphaned sons of Philippikos, Metrophanes and Flavianos; the divine sceptre proved more effective. The god (sic) again 'made enquiry' and proceeded to bring ruin upon those who had plotted against them. Presumably the divine test, whatever form it had taken, showed up some dishonesty or unfairness on the part of Metrophanes' and Flavianos' adversaries.

Turning to the Cayster valley, the village of Almoura claimed Men's protection

in the mid-second century.[123] P. Aelius Menecrates contributed a silver-bordered standard for the procession marking the start of the mystery celebrations. The object was dedicated to Men προκαθήμενος τῆς πομπῆς, in the only occurrence of this formula; Demeter's cult and mysteries form the main focus of the text, but it does seem that Men is to share in those mysteries in his own right. The experience of Thyateira's own Tyrimnos would be a parallel one, this local Men having been supplied with authentically Greek rites yet continuing, with status thereby enhanced, as patron of the village as a whole. This is not however quite certain as we do not know whether there were indigenous mystery cults.

So in summary the honours are divided as follows:

Men Petraeites accompanies Men Labanas in Taza, Meter Tazene in the same area, Men Tiamou and the Mother of the Gods in a village near the modern Golde. The nearest attested Petra lies however in Mysia/Aiolis.[124] Men Labanas acts as one of the rulers of Dorou kome along with Meter Tazene and Men Artemidorou, and, effectively, of Taza with Men Petraeites.[125]

Men Axiottenos is declared master of two places, Koresa and Tarsi-: in Koresa Meter Tarsene and Apollo Tarsios accompany him. A village bearing his name but known variously as Axiotta and as Azita existed in Maionia.[126]

Men Tiamou holds authority with Meter Atimis/Anaitis, his regular partner - in a village near Ayazviran and with Men Petraeites and the Mother of the Gods near Golde: their purified initiates, καταδουστικοί, set up a statue of Dionysos. He also accompanies Anaitis, the nominal ruler, in Axiotta and Zeus Masphalatenos and Men Tyrannos as patrons of a Maionian doumos.[127]

Apollo Tarsios, in common with Meter Tarsene and Men (Artemidorou) Axiottenos is invoked in Koresa but only the third is expressly in authority. The partnership between a Mother and an Apollo of the known village of Tarsi- fits an Anatolian rather than a Hellenic religious context.[128]

Anaitis protects Axiotta and other villages with the help of Men Tiamou and

receives a dedication under the interestingly composite title of Meter Anaitis Axiottene. Normally her cult was less regionally delimited than that of Men.[129]

The Tarsene and Tazene Mothers hold authority in Koresa and Dorou kome, but not, expressly, in Tarsi- or Taza, their 'native' villages. It is likely however that they had shrines there.

The implications of multiple patronage are a matter for speculation; its practical effect is vividly demonstrated by a funerary formula in the depths of the Katakekaumene, threatening grave-robbers with the wrath of the gods in Iaza and Axiotta: τῶν ἐν Ἰαζοις καὶ τῶν ἐν Ἀξιοττοις θεῶν κεχολωμένων (τεύξεται).[130]

It may be observed that worship of a mother-goddess is very strong in the area, and must be stressed that this pattern remains quite incomplete, as part of a wider one. It has been sketched here, rather than in the chapter on religion, because of its relative value as a source of information as to the internal character of some Lydian villages.

To conclude this section, it may now be said that the example of Almoura with its strong Phrygian component does not significantly affect the pattern suggested at the outset, that of a sharp cultural distinction, in terms of differing degrees of Hellenization, between the villages of the Lydian heartland and those of the Cayster valley where dependence on the Greek poleis is more evident. Faint traces remain of land-tenure arrangements and related social structuring. The key primary text is that of Mnesimachos' estate, mortgaged to the Sardian Artemision during the third century B.C. (Its findspot, in the Artemis Precinct, is shown on Figure 7.)

Briant's work between 1971 and 1979 provides a key secondary commentary.[132] Allowing for disagreement over particular details, the main thrust of his argument is well-directed. Images drawn from mediaeval European 'feudalism' are properly condemned, as are assertions both of wholesale reduction

to private slavery and of a marked improvement in the villages' fortunes brought about by incorporation within poleis. Confining review of his work to Lydia, I would single out the emphasis put on the distinction between mainland Greek and Asiatic definitions of the village as highly valuable in theoretical terms, that put on collective subordination marked by payment of phoros as enlightening in practical terms.[133] Self-sufficiency, autarkeia, and fortifications alike serve to mark off a Greek polis from a dependent village; in Asia not only do villages appear as the characteristic social settlement but they are often either fortified or grouped around a stronghold in a way which blurs the difference between villages and towns. Self-sufficiency however is revealingly irrelevant: at no time after the Achaemenid conquest can we say that any Lydian villages are securely identifiable as independent of external institutions - satrapal and later chiliarchic administration from Sardis must dominate any view of the wider context within which villages operated. Evidence exists as to how far poleis shared in imposition of phoros for their own benefit, or in rights over villagers' labour, for the Cayster valley alone. Insistence on collective fiscal responsibility is surely right, at all events, although this in itself is insufficient as proof of collective land-ownership by each village: 'ager publicus' should be seen as the sum of all the family plots worked by villagers. Certainly in this sense villages possessed territory of which the limits were known and registered; the thesis of periodic rotation of plots within that territory among different families is however quite unsubstantiated, being based as will be shown on a misreading of one inscription.[134] Finally - in this brief preliminary comment - it is useful to have emphasis put on the military influence upon settlements, since, although this goes unnoticed in his general survey, the settlement pattern for the area of Philadelphia in particular is heavily dependent on such influence.[135]

And so to details: the Sardian plain between the fourth and second centuries was in social and administrative terms divided at three levels, those of chiliarchy, district, and village. The chiliarchs' regions are modelled on garrisoned rural

zones, considerations of defence and supply defining them, but in this context a purely civilian, financial role is central. We do not have enough information to decide to what extent the chiliarchs shared in the transformation which turned the strategoi into leaders of civil administration, but the line of development is likely to have run parallel. Certainly the two or three officials at issue appear to have been native men - Sagarios son of Koreis, Pytheos - rather than imposed Graeco-Makedonians. From the seven villages partly or wholly reckoned within Mnesimachos' property a total of one hundred and sixteen gold staters and seven gold obols was due annually to the chiliarchs' exchequer. The loan secured by surrender of this estate to the Artemision was approximately eleven times the stated phoros, but without guidance as to the nature of the financial hold exerted by Mnesimachos the exact significance, if any, escapes us.[136] The thirteen hundred and twenty-five staters may be interpreted as representing the estate's worth to Mnesimachos, over an unspecified period and before he fell into difficulties, as derived income in money and in kind. Loaned by the temple in exchange for transfer of tenure - short-term transfer unless Mnesimachos defaulted on his debt - this amount will have been a proportion of the estate's total produced value. After deduction of taxes a similarly unknown proportion remained at the villagers' disposal.

Hence an annual fixed rent was on the evidence of this text the sole visible advantage derived from either acceptance or purchase of royal land, and of itself leaves no room for creation of a vassal relationship. Translating one of the designations for subordinates, 'laoi', as 'serfs' is traditionally tempting yet unwarranted by the evidence to hand:[137] these laoi, along with neighbouring 'oiketai', clearly lived in villages grouped into geographical districts, not simply as residents but as members of those villages. Of the districts concerned only one is explicitly sited within the Sardian plain, that known as the Hill of Ilos, lying in the chiliarchy of Pytheos and made up of the villages of Tandos, Kinaroa, Kombdilipia and Tbalmoura - amongst, quite probably, others outside

Mnesimachos' holding - from which Pytheos extracted fifty-three gold staters per annum. Both Tandos and Kombdilipia were reckoned as part of the holding to the full extent of their territories, whereas a substantial farmstead in Tbalmoura's territory had been granted separately to Pytheos and Adrastos, and conversely only one kleros within Kinaroa 'belonged' to Mnesimachos.

At some unknown distance from the Hill of Ilos lay the Water (Pond?) of Morstas, within the scope of either one or two chiliarchies (those of Sagarios son of Koreis and of --arios) and effectively boasting just two villages, Nagrioa and Periasasostra. The possibility that <u>one</u> chiliarchy is concerned is strengthened by the absence of reference to two sets of phoros; instead Sagarios laid claim to the sixty staters derived from the Water of Morstas. Thirdly, a district known as Attoudda held the village of Ilos - and <u>apparently</u> no others, which does suggest that the estate had been composed piecemeal with its parts scattered over a wide area. The village of Ilos paid the sum of three staters and three obols to an unspecified chiliarchy. The estate was further composed of some gardens and vineyards; similarly the aule of Pytheos and Adrastos contained gardens and parks [138] at Tbalmoura, as well as another two gardens at Periasasostra. Amounts of seed required are painstakingly listed.

In both cases resident and house-owning laoi <u>and</u> oiketai, with their tools and animals, are also catalogued as part of the estates. One odd detail can be found in the enumeration of the dues for whose continued payment the Artemision's wardens are taking over responsibility. There is a discrepancy between the sums levied on villages over which Mnesimachos had full claim and those levied on villages in which he had kleroi - namely, while Tandos, Tbalmoura and Kombdilipia pay fifty between them and Periasasostra fifty-seven, Kinaroa and Nagrioa pay three and three with four obols, respectively. This suggests strongly that Mnesimachos, succeeded by the wardens, bore nominal responsibility for the villagers' fulfilment of their obligations to the royal treasury, along the delimited lines of the estate. The village of Ilos admittedly also paid a mere three staters and

three obols, but this could reflect smallness of size or comparative barrenness - similarly, Periasasostra diverges in the other direction, paying more than three other villages jointly, but quite possibly because of unusual extent or fertility. Alternatively it might of course have comprised more than one settlement, in the manner of Trikomia and Tetrapyrgia,[139] not that this carries the implication that a garrison-camp controlled its neighbourhood. There is no evident basis for Briant's suggestion that Periasasostra had a military character. Topographic features surely lie behind the occurrence of some such multiple settlements, even if they are lost to us. At any rate it is clear enough that the principle of collective fiscal responsibility, with the village as fundamental agrarian and economic unit, is at work here. The laoi can be described as πανοικίοι , with the inference that they individually possessed homesteads, including for example vineyard equipment (ἀγγεῖα οἰνήρων). The oiketai too have houses, oikiai, a fact which sets them apart at once from normal bearers of the Greek title, domestic slaves[140]: six oiketai are expressly named as working the lands 'conceded to' Pytheos and Adrastos, as follows: Ephesos Adrastou, Kadoas Adrastou, Herakleides Beletrou, Tuios Maneos Kaikou, Kadoas Armanandrou and Adrastos Maneou. I do not feel entirely confident that the genitives do in this context refer to masters rather than to fathers, but certainly the thesis that these men were laoi, peasants, reduced to a form of hektemorage by the demands of tax-collection is an attractive one, not inconsistent with their continued possession of [i.e. occupational residence upon] landed property, nor with their continued residence alongside ordinary laoi. Their current status within the village, however, cannot be described in any detail at all, although it may reasonably be presumed that freedom of movement would be less than that enjoyed by, for example, some of Laodike's tenants in the mid-third century, laoi registered as members of Pannoukome between Zeleia and Kyzikos but living elsewhere.[141]

These two visible economic strata in the villages, then, were perhaps mainly created by general subordination to the fiscal demands of an external authority as

represented during the Hellenistic period by strategoi and chiliarchs. This was subordination of a quite different order from that experienced by such peoples as the Mariandynoi,[142] for compelling historical and topographic reasons lying in the Lydians' cultural and military strength at the time of Archaic Greek colonization as well as their greater distance from the coast. A different solution again was found in the region of Ephesos, where the Anatolian population including Lydians influenced cultural life throughout the first millennium.[143] Further, the 'laoi basilikoi' do not in my view pose a valuably provocative problem here. It is sufficient to see them in terms of common liability for payment of the royal phoros, whatever form this phoros might take.

As already described, villages had control of significant and registered amounts of territory, partly for private and partly for public use. These two categories were far from absolute, the distinction between them seeming to turn on whether or not individual claims to particular plots of land currently existed. Within this, a 'subsection' must be reserved for the breaching of village boundaries by private estates, in the sense of comparatively large-scale holdings made up of plots of various kinds scattered over several districts.

Not unnaturally, the state of land-ownership is most visible at moments of transition. A substantial stretch of field in the northern foot-hills of the Tmolos range was recognized as lying within the purview of Kastollos, a town serving the district in the days when the Achaemenid armies mustered there, but by the first/second century A.D. merely a village forming part of Philadelphia.[144] This field had evidently once belonged for practical purposes to an Agathon, retaining the name 'Agathon's meadows' but no link with any surviving descendants; hence despite its limited agricultural value the assembled villagers joined with their council of elders in deciding to transfer this communal land piecemeal to private ownership amongst themselves: διελέσθαι τὸν ὑπάρχοντα αὐτοῖς ἀγρὸν ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις ὅροις τοπῷ τῷ λεγομένῳ Ἀγαθωνος ὄντα ὁρινόν

Such a transfer represents no more than a reallocation, in the interests of profitable

efficiency. I can see no basis for inferring periodic rotation of plots of land among families in the village.

Change of status in the opposite direction is illustrated for us by the last will and testament of a resident of the Caystrian village of Teira (or Theira), during the reign of Augustus.[145] This unnamed man formally bequeathed two plots in his possession - a pasture and a field on the banks of the Cayster - to the katoikia itself, both for its residents' benefit (by means of a communal fund for the proceeds) and to provide annual celebrations of Augustus' birthday. It is to be assumed that the donor's family owned other stretches of territory, sufficient for continued livelihood, thus at a stroke affording a glimpse of the practical situation, with discrepancies in landed wealth existing between villagers, the possibility of scattered, 'internal' estates, and the social consequences of such discrepancies. The inscription is in no state to throw light on the detailed arrangements made by the grateful villagers for apportioning work on and responsibility for the donated land, but no doubt such arrangements will have been made. Although the vote of thanks was moved in the village-assembly by a councillor of Hypaipa there is no indication that the donor was other than a member of the village (katoikia) within whose accepted boundaries he held territory.

The situation of Mnesimachos' Sardian estate, some two or three hundred years previously, is in one respect revealingly similar, although diverging from the Teiran case (if that can be said to represent an orthodoxy) by clearly breaching village-boundaries. Apparent distinction between the man from Teira and Mnesimachos on the grounds that the former is an 'insider', the latter an 'outsider' in relation to communities whose presence broadly defined their territories has little practical value beside the limited yet important insight afforded by them both into the gradual absorption of autonomous villages into the χώρα and the political pattern of nearby towns, the poleis of Hypaipa and Sardis respectively. We may if we so choose rationalise this process of absorption as an adaptation of the old γῆς ἔγκτησις ; more straightforwardly, the process might be seen as allowing for

use of the formula 'growth of suburbs', by way of description. A well-developed form is illustrated by a third-century A.D. land-register drawn up by Hypaipa's officials, listing as it does numerous politai with farmsteads in the surrounding countryside.[146] The people concerned can be described as residents of certain villages, by means of the telling phrase οἰκῶν ἐν—

Finally, we may turn to another will, again of approximately Augustan date but from northwestern Lydia, as an example of some land undergoing minimal change in status. Epikrates of Nakrasos made elaborate provision for the survival of a family grave-site on his private land, then formally bequeathed other portions of that land to his wife. However he put most emphasis on the upkeep of the family tombs occupying those portions.[147] Like Mnesimachos he held land in different though neighbouring areas. The most interesting aspect of the inscription lies in its detailed definitions of these private lands, which rely exclusively on natural features of landscape: boundaries are set by olive-groves, water courses, vineyards, reference is made to small villages, Tibbe and Pataktibeai, in and around which Epikrates' own land lies, or alternatively to his land-owning neighbours (who include citizens of Thyateira too, emphasising the diversified civic pattern in the valleys), while the road between two villages can itself serve as a marker. Comprehensive description of the land's character and use is for once provided - whether lying fallow, used for growing grapes and olives, or turned to the industrial purpose of housing a brick factory. Phoros, at least for Epikrates' family, is owed merely to the polis of Nakrasos whereas his relationship with the villages named appears to be no more than that of proximity.

In conclusion, it must be emphasized that the patterns charted in this chapter cannot be, and are not, assumed to have been authentic for the whole period covered, as far as specific details are concerned. Yet the evidence currently available does allow us to build up a partial but coherent picture of the general principles at work in Lydian villages.

PART FIVE - KOMAI AND KATOIKIAI

1. Radet, 'Inscriptions de Lydie , BCH 11 (1887) pp. 445-84; La Lydie (1893); Clerc, De rebus Thyatirenorum (1893); Buresch, Aus Lydien (1893); Keil and von Premerstein, Reisen in Lydien I-III (1906-11); Ramsay, 'Hipponax on Lydian scenes and society', Asianic elements in Greek civilization pp. 140-81 (1927); Robert, Hellenica VI (1948), IX (1950); Gschnitzer and Keil, 'Neue Inschriften aus Lydien', Anz. Wien 1956 pp. 219-31 (1957); Robert, 'Inscriptions de Lydie', Anatolia 3 (1958) pp. 108-44; Herrmann, Neue Inschriften zur historischen Landeskunde von Lydien und angrenzenden Gebieten (1959), Ergebnisse einer Reise in Nordostlydien (1962); Robert, Villes de l'Asie Mineure (ed. 2, 1962); Herrmann and Polatkan, Das Testament des Epikrates und andere neue lnschriften aus dem Museum von Manisa (1969); A. and N. Ramage, 'The siting of Lydian burial mounds', Festschrift Hanfmann pp. 143-60 (1971); Petzl, 'Antike Zeugnisse aus der Umgebung von Thyateira', ZPE 23 (1976) pp. 243-50, 'Inschriften aus der Umgebung von Saittai I', ZPE 30 (1978) pp. 249-75, 'Vier Inschriften aus Lydien' , Feschrift Dőrner II pp. 745 61 (1978); Gibson, 'Grave Monuments from Northeast Lydia', ZPE 31 (1978) pp. 237-40; Petzl and Pleket, 'Inschriften aus Lydien', ZPE 34 (1979) pp. 281-95; Bakir-Barthel and Muller, 'Inschriften aus der Umgebung von Saittai II', ZPE 36 (1979) pp. 163-94; Naour, 'Inscriptions du Moyen Hermos', ZPE 44 (1981) pp. 11-44; Malay and Gűl, 'New Inscriptions from Lydia', ZPE 44 (1981) pp. 81-90; Herrmann, 'Tituli Lydiae (regio septentrionalis ad orientem vergens)' = TAM V. 1 (1981) and op. cit., "regio septentrionalis ad occidentem vergens" = TAM V. 2 (1989).
2. Robert, Hellenica 71 p. 65 no. 21.
3. Herrmann, 'Neue Inschriften' p. 9 no. 6.
4. RE s.v. Katoikoi; TAM V. 1 425.
5. Op. cit. 488, 1, 543
6. Op. cit. 461; I.Ephesos 3252 (with Reisen III 142 and Buresch, Aus Lydien p.135)
7. Keil, Festschrift Ramsay p. 258; TAM V. 1 441.
8. JHS 4 (1883) p. 415.
9. RE s.v. Katoikoi.
10. TAM V. 1 222.
11. BCH 10 (1886) p. 419 no. 28.
12. Buresch, op. cit. pp. 37-42 no. 23; TAM V. 2. 1316. Tyannollos is now known also from two other inscriptions, nos. 1317 and 1318, in the first of which the katoikoi honour Theogenes [Hermo]genes a prytanis and stephanephoros "both of the polis and of the katoikia"; in the second, they erect a statue to Trajan. The polis concerned will have been either Hierocaesarea or Hyrkanis.
13. Reisen I p. 56; Herrmann, Ergebnisse p. 9.
14. Trikomia of Melokometai, ---ariokometai and Kaibokometai in the central Hermos region: IGR IV 1367; Buresch, op. cit. p. 133; Magie, Roman Rule in Asia Minor II pp. 1022-26 note 69, esp. pp. 1024-231.
15. Reisen III p. 84 i.
16. Op. cit. I 52.
17. Op. cit. III 108.
18. III 69.

19. III 67.
20. I 117-18.
21. III 120.
22. II 108.
23. III 109-10 and p. 79.
24. (i) TAM V. l. 64, (ii) Buresch, Aus Lydien p. 118, (iii) TAM V. 1. 173, (iv) 213, (v) 172, (vi) 160; (a) Reisen II 91, (b) TAM V. 1 815, (c) TAM V. 2. 853; Robert, Hellenica VI pp. 13-14 no. 2.
25. TAM V. 1 64.

25a. See note 29, infra.

26. Op.cit. 825; Buresch, op. cit. pp. 11-13 no. 8
27. TAM V. 1 822.
28. Sardis VI. 1 pp. 38-9 no. 25 (L).
29. TAM V. 1 806.
30. Clerc, De Rebus Thyatirenorum p. 43/BCH 11 (1887) p. 453 no. 15. For the Sardian speira see Petzl and Pleket, ZPE 34 (1979) p. 289 no. 6.
31. TAM V. 1 536 with Sokolowski, Lois sacrées de l'Asie Mineure pp. 51-2; 179; 449. Two other allusions to a doumos, one associating it with a phratra but neither naming any gods, are known from Ayazviran: Petzl, Festschrift Dörner II pp. 746 no. 1, 753 no. 2.
32. Buresch, op. cit. p. 55.
33. TAM V. 1 203, 245, 336, 451; Robert, Hellenica VI pp. 85-6 no. 29, XI/XII p. 582. Asklepios is in fact considerably better attested in onomastics, being a popular element of Graeco-Roman names in Lydia, than in specifically religious context.
34. TAM V. 1 89.
35. CIG 3438; Buresch, op. cit. p. 59.
36. Reisen III 15; cf. Bakir-Barthel and Muller, ZPE 36 (1979) p. 167 no.27 from Saittai, in which the symbiosis honours its member Karpos Apolloniou, dead at 25 in 156/7 AD.

38. AJA 4 (1888) pp. 278-9.
39. TAM V. 1 451.
40. Ergebnisse p. 42.
41. Reisen II 8 = TAM V. 2. 1320.
42. Buresch, op. cit. pp. 128-9 no. 64; p. 125 no. 63 (Zeus Digindenos).
43. I.Sardis 1 col. l. 4, 6 (Tobalmoura), 14, 17 (Tbalmoura), 5 (Kombdilipia).
44. Reisen II 51 = TAM V. 2. 959.
45. TAM V. 1 351.
46. Op. cit. 490.
47. Buresch, op. cit. p. 7 no. 6.
48. BCH 10 (1886) pp. 419-20 no. 28.
49. Liddell and Scott, s.v.
50. Zgusta, Kleinasiatische Personennamen no. 1621.
51. Reisen II 74.
52. Geschichte des Griechischen Vereinswesen p. 510. For instance Menophantos, now deceased, is heroized: Reisen II 100 (first-century A.D. Thyateira).
53. Reisen III 117.
54. I.Sardis l.
55. Reisen I 20 (IGR IV 1497); the ergepistates is distinguished from the brabeutai.
56. TAM V. 1 234.
57. Reisen I 107.

58. Op. cit. 1-13 (IGR IV 1304).
59. BMC Lydia p. 102, no. 1; Magie, op. cit. II p. 1019 note 65; Pliny, N.H. 5. 126; Tacitus, Annales 2. 47. 4, 3. 62. 4; CIL X 1624 (ILS 156).
60. TAM V. 1 515; Ergebnisse pp. 8-10.
61. Op. cit. 514.
62. Buresch, op. cit. pp. 37-42 no. 23; the context is that of sacrifices to Herakles and Aphrodite, under the management of annual priests: Petzl, ZPE 23 (1976) p. 243 no. 1 and TAM V. 2. 1316.
64. Buresch, op. cit. p. 1 no. 1.
65. Robert, Hellenica IX p. 28-4 B.
66. Loc. cit. 4 A
67. Mouseion 1886 pp. 87 f.
68. Reisen III 109.
69. Op. cit. 110; similarly the demos of Tempsia got an improved watersupply in this way: Gschnitzer and Keil, Neue Inschriften p. 223 no. 3.
70. BCH 18 (1894) pp. 539-40.
71. SEG 26 no. 1321.
72. IGR IV 1635.
73. The Greek City from Alexander to Justinian p. 272.
74 Reisen III 116.
75. Op. cit. pp. 87-8.
76. IGR IV 1666.
77. op. cit. 1605.
78. Op. cit. 1665.
79. SEG 26 no. 1321.
80. Buresch, op. cit. p. 2
81. Pythios: Hdt. 7. 27-8, 38-9; Lydian officers: Hdt. 7. 81 (by inference); Bin Tepe: Survey p. 5; Hanfmann, Letters from Sardis, pp. 118-20; Mound-clusters: Survey p. 22-3; A. and N. Ramage, Festschrift Hanfmann pp. 143-60.
82. TAM V. 1 543.
83. I.Sardis 8 (esp. lines 20, 23); cf. Herrmann and Polatkan, Testament des Epikrates pp. 38-9.
84. TAM V. 1. 1.
85. Reisen I 95.
86. Op. cit. III 46.
87. Herrmann, Neue Inschriften p. 9 no. 6/TAM V. 2. 1229; reference also to the stephanephoros and priest of Rome, Apollonides son of Aischrion, from the nearby and dominant polis. There is also a previously-unpublished text, of uncertain date but emanating from the region of Apollonis, at TAM V. 2. 1194: the demos honoured Demetrios Demetriou Kallinikou Papias, saviour and euergetes.
88. Reisen I 107.
89. TAM V. 1 234.
90. Robert, Hellenica IX p. 28 no. 4 A.
91. IGR IV 1666.
92. TAM V. 1 425.
93 Reisen I 43.
94. Op. cit. III 54.
95 Buresch, op. cit. p. 7 no. 6.
96. Op. cit. pp. 37-42 no. 23 = TAM V. 2. 1316.
97 Robert, Hellenica VI p. 65 no. 21.
98. IGR IV 1237.

99. TAM V. 1 488.
100. Reisen I 119.
101. TAM V. 1 822.
102. IGR IV 1635.
103. Reisen III 129.
104. Herrmann, Neue Inschriften p. 10 no. 7 (SEG 19 no. 707). The epithet philopatris is now attested also in Apollonis, where the boule and demos honour Aur. Bakchios Tele[ph]oros - TAM V. 2. 1193.
105. BCH 9 (1885) pp. 396-7.
106. Reisen II 108.
107. Robert, Hellenica VI pp. 13-14 no. 2.
108. Reisen III 142.
109. Herrmann, Neue Inschriften p. 2 no. 1; Petzl and Pleket, ZPE 34 (1979) pp. 283-4 nos 1 b-c; plus TAM V. 2. 1233-4, respectively of Septimius Severus' reign (198-209) and ca. 393-5 AD (Hermokapeleia); Imhoof-Blumer, Lydische Stadtmünzen p. 100 no. 2; BMC Lydia p. 161 nos. 1-4, 162 no. 9, 163 nos. 11-13 (Mostene).
110. Bittel, Die Felsbilder von Yazilikaya plates XIII-XV (42-46).
111. Basileuein: TAM V. 1. 159, 461, 499; prokathesthai: I.Ephesos 3252; katechein: TAM V. 1. 317, 460.
112. Op. cit. 460.
113. Op. cit. 159, 459, 1253; cf. the other known hierodoulos, Trophimos son of Nikias, punished by Zeus Sabazios (like his colleague's adversary) - 593/Steinleitner, Die Beicht p. 43 no. 15. For Doarrene see Petzl and Pleket, ZPE 34 (1979) p. 290 no. 7 (and TAM V. 2. 1253). Debord has an interesting review of the evidence concerning hierodouloi in Actes du Colloque, Besancon 1971 (publ. 1972) pp. 135-50.
114. E.g. Reisen II 20, 40, 61, 115; Robert, Hellenica, VI pp 72-9 nos 24-5
115. Reisen II pp 33-4; Buckler, Rev. Phil. 37 (1913) p- 307 no. 7 and JHS 37 (1917) p. 108 no 21; Robert, Hellenica VI loc. cit.
116. TAM V 1 461, dating to 143/4 AD - Meter Tazene, Mis Labanas, Mis Artemidorou; Bakir-Barthel and Muller, ZPE 36 (1979) p 182 no. 36, 108/9 - cf. the twelve sceptres wielded in defence of Trophimos' grave in the vicinity, very probably with reference to the same divine agents: Petzl, ZPE 30 (1978) pp. 258-9 no. 4 (of 98/9 AD) = TAM V. 1. 167a. There is the last echo of an ancient Lydian pantheon here.
117. 'Men ek Diodotou' - TAM V. 1. 254; 'Men Axiottenos ex Epikratou' - 343-344, ?345; 'Men Axiottenos ex Apolloniou' - 253; 'Men Artemidorou' - 461; 'Men Artemidorou Axiottenos' - 342; 'Men/Mis Artemidorou Axiotta katechon' - 525-526; Keil, Festschrift Ramsay p. 256
118. TAM V 1 499
119. Op. cit. 440; BSA 21 (1914-16) pp. 175-80 no. 4. There is an interesting dedication, of uncertain date, from Thyateira, to the *dynamis* of Zeus Keraunios (a god so far known in only 2 citations) - TAM V. 2. 889-90.
119a. TAM V. 1. 317.
119b. TAM V. 1 525: Mis Artemidorou Axiotta katechon and his 'power'.
120. Herrmann and Polatkan, Testament des Epikrates pp. 39-41. For a useful collation of the material see Lane, CMRDM I nos. 31-89
121. TAM V 1 460; 159. Steinleitner's Die Beicht pp. 10-46, 47-61 offer a collection (made in 1913) of Lydian and Phrygian expiatory inscriptions.
122. TAM V 1 231
123. I.Ephesos 3252; (Reisen III 142; Buresch, op. cit. p. 135).
124 TAM V 1 231, 499, 351.
125. Op. cit. 461, 231

126. Op. cit. 460, 159
127. 440, 351, 317, 536-7
128. 460
129. 317; cf. e.g. 318-24; 325
130. Op. cit. 460-1; 468 a
131. I.Sardis 1; Atkinson, Historia 21 (1972) pp. 45-73.
132. Actes du Colloque, Besançon 1971 (publ. 1972) pp. 93-133; JESHO 18 (1975) pp. 165-88; Index (International Survey of Roman Law) 8 (1978-9) pp. 48-98.
133. Actes du Colloque pp. 105, 116-17; JESHO pp. 170-1; Index pp. 57 (chart), 85-6 (conclusions)
134. Actes du Colloque p. 105.
135. TAM V 1 222 (Kastollos), 230 (Tetrapyrgia), Reisen III p 26 (Mendechora); no. 38
136. I.Sardis 1 col. I 3, II 12, 14, 18, 19
137. E.g. Buckler and Robinson's translation of 'laoi' at col. II 11
138. Loc. cit. col. I 15; cf. Xen., Oecon. 4. 20-4; Diod. 14. 80. 2, Cic., De Senectute 59 for Kyros' and Tissaphernes' parks, Athen. 12. 515 d-f (from Klearchos) for Lydian parks.
139. Trikomia: IGR IV 1367; Buresch, op. cit. p. 133; Magie, op. cit. II p. 1024 note 69; Tetrapyrgia: TAM V 1 230.
140. Aesch., Choeph. 737; Hdt. 6. 137, 7. 170; Antiphon l. 30; Thuk. 2. 4; Aristotle, Pol. 1252 b 12 ff.
141. Welles, Royal Correspondence nos 18-20, esp. 18. 11-13.
142. Strabo 12 3- 2-5/541-2; Plato, Laws 776 D; Athen. 6. 263 d-e (from Poseidonios); cf. Hdt's refs. at l. 28, 3. 90, 7. 72.
143. Pre-existing population of Lydians and Karians and legend of peaceful coexistence: Strab 13. 3- 2/620-1, 14. l. 3/632, 14. 1 21/640. Priest-eunuch known as Megabyxos (a garbled account): Strabo 14. 1. 23/641. Melissai, Essenes, Kouretes: Paus. 7. 2. 7-9, 8. 13. 1, 10. 38. 6-7; Cook, Zeus I pp. 443-4 and notes 3-7. Ties with Lydia as in relationship between Kroisos and Pindaros:- Aelian, Var. Hist. 3. 26, Polyainos 6. 50.
144. Xen., Anab. l. 1. 2; TAM V. 1 222 (OGIS 488): mandrai are also known slightly to the east in Maionia, where Syros' past ownership had served as the nucleus for the community, Hermogenes and Apollonios claiming to come from Εὔρου Μάνδραι op. cit. 317. 4-5. Robert, (Villes p. 80) gives other examples of towns bearing this name.
145. IGR IV. 1666
146. I.Ephesos 3804-6
147. Herrmann and Polatkan, Testament des Epikrates pp.7-36 no.1.

PART SIX

RELIGION: NATIVE AND FOREIGN

(a) Epigraphy

Inspection of Lydia's religious complex over several centuries might be thought to offer the most promising view of the change in national culture as it occurred. It would be useful in particular to assess how far cultic elements of clearly Anatolian origin survived entanglement with Greek and foreign ones, and how far adoption of the latter kept pace with the general development in other spheres. Unfortunately the sources at our disposal leave a great deal to be desired both in quantity and diversity of content. The primary texts written in Lydian cover a narrow chronological span, and are almost without exception funerary in character - two biases built into the material which have given rise to a distortion the extent of which cannot be gauged in the absence of a greater range of evidence. In these circumstances even a catalogue of recognized local peculiarities would be a scholarly gain of sorts, allowing for a patterning of limited but still acceptable validity.

The earliest direct evidence falls during the last decades of the country's independence, coming as it does from a sherd found in an archaeological context whose termini have been set at ca. 600 and 575, in the cupellation area of Pactolus North in Sardis.[1] It reads ---s kuvaṿ---, which, as Gusmani claimed, can reasonably be seen as a reference to Kybele herself, the ancient goddess attested in second and first-millennium Asia Minor in the forms Kupapa and Kubaba. That the sherd was found near an altar adorned with lions, Kybele's heraldic beasts, strengthens this identification. A second probable sign of her presence was given by an inscription from a chamber tomb in the Sardian necropolis, threatening tomb-robbers and the like with the wrath of three gods - Šãntaš, Kufad- and Marivda-, precisely in the manner so amply attested in Maionia as late as the Roman period.[2] This has on general grounds been located like most of its parallels

in the fourth century; such a role is later confined to Artemis and to a lesser extent local Mothers. There is as yet no trace of the temple dedicated to the goddess described by Herodotos as the 'local' or 'native' Kybele (5. 102: ἱρὸν ἐπιχωρίης θεοῦ Κυβήβης) nor does it seem at all likely that it was located in either of the regions of Sardis in which these references were found. The earlier one was inscribed on a closed vase: it is idle to speculate as to any sacral purpose the vase may have had. At all events, the simple fact of Kybele's distinct identity from that of Artemis at this date is worth marshalling, for future reference.

Although there are some graffiti and fuller inscriptions in Lydian that can be dated between the seventh and early fourth centuries, none has any visible relevance to religious matters. When these do recognizably reappear it is within a provably mid-fourth century context: provable, because five of the texts bear regnal dating, and the others come from similar 'findspots' or display comparable lettering. As it happens the bilingual votive to Artemis set up by Nannaš Bakivalis/Dionysikleos[3] has also been ascribed to the second half of the fourth century, on obviously more reliable grounds, thus contributing to the uniformity of this group as products of satrapal (and very early Hellenistic) Lydia. Šãntaš and Marivda- do not recur; their position as protectors of the tomb was to be taken over most notably by Men. Unlike Šãntaš, Marivda- has not been securely identified with any known Anatolian god, although Littmann and Buckler blithely but unhelpfully suggested the Kassite Maruttas or the Assyrian Marduk.[4] But the first of the dated Achaemenid grave-stelai, from the necropolis, introduces the deity with a strong claim to be considered at the centre of the Lydian pantheon, and already diversified into two local patrons: the question of the original status of Artimuš Ibšimsis and Artimuš Kulumsis is insoluble on present evidence, but the alternatives are these - either to view the 'Ephesian' Artemis as representing the primary indigenous goddess to whom minor goddesses worshipped elsewhere were soon assimilated (by which I mean that this 'Koloenian', for example, was given the name and perhaps attributes of the greater deity while remaining the

focus of worship for villagers living near the lake, with differing levels of community prestige as the deciding factor) or to assume that they both represented one and the same original goddess, 'split up' as patron to a variety of communities - in other words, the choice lies between postulating a syncretising process and one of diffusion. This does not however seem a very important issue; in either case the original state lay in the distant past by the time of the satraps. This first grave inscription[5] records the ownership of the chamber-tomb and surrounding site as marked by the stele, which itself serves as property-marker, funeral monument (?) and token of the god's interest in the site's inviolability. Artimuš Ibšimsis and Artimuš Kulumsis here act as guarantors on behalf of Manes son of Kumli, during the tenth year - as an Aramaic version beneath puts it - of King Artaxerxes; in addition the month is given as 'Bakillis'. A comprehensive curse is directed against those infringing Manes' rights, couched in stronger language than tends to be usual in later Greek equivalents as reviewed in the final chapter, where statement may be made merely of the impending wrath. Here, and indeed throughout the Lydian corpus, a verb of destruction is used, sometimes with the addition of a formula stressing the physical completeness of that destruction.

According to Gusmani there is now general consensus that the Artaxerxes in question is the third, Ochos, who reigned from 358 to 338.[6] Leaving out of count the first, of 464-425/4, there do not in fact appear to be any compelling arguments against belief in the second, whose reign, from ca. 404 to 358, apart from preceding Ochos' without an interval spans a considerably more generous portion of the fourth century. If the claim of the second were accepted this inscription would date to ca. 394, if that of the third to ca. 348. The name of the month is also of interest, of course - on the analogy of Nannas' text (before drawing on the help of Sophokles and Euripides) we should reasonably suppose this to be a parallel with the Greek month of Dionysios. At such an early stage it would be foolish to prejudge the problem of the relationship between, and relative dating of, Baki and Dionysos; it is still worthy of note that the Lydians actually shared the

Greek custom of reckoning the season with reference of this kind to the gods.

Turning to the next Achaemenid text,[7] Artaxerxes' fifteenth year is mentioned as part of the description for Karos' tomb in the necropolis. His text differs in one significant respect from Manes' in that he appeals for protection not only to Artemis in her two guises but to the unknown entity 'sivraλmis' as well. On earlier readings this word was taken as being in apposition to Artimus and hence as signifying a third local epithet; it is now clear that this is impossible and that the phrase 'artimuv ibšimvav kulumvak sivraλmn' refers to two separate categories as objects of Karoš' appeal, the second perhaps recapitulating the first in human terms. This latter qualification is made possible by the occurrence of 'sivra λ mis' elsewhere in a slightly different syntactical context: an undated stele from the Artemision features Mlimnš, the priest of Baki and sivralmis of Artimuš; reference is made to a deity known as "aštrkoš šfardẽtiš " - i.e. of Sardis.[8] The noun "aštrko" has been translated as 'patron', on, it must be admitted, no very clear grounds beyond philological guesswork; it is applied also once to the god Saristros, in conjunction with Artimuš.[9] This convenient interpretation is strengthened by textual connection with Sardian Artemis, while Mlimnš' own status is further enhanced as minister of the goddess as well as priest of Baki - certainly Sivralmis must describe his position as privileged intermediary. Whether the editorial jump from such an assessment to translating sivraλmn 'Priesterkollegium' is entirely warranted is another matter. The attraction of this translation is readily apparent, but the most that can safely be said is that <u>some</u> hieratic allusion is being made. The chances seem as great that an unknown quality or attribute common to both goddesses is at issue as that their human representatives are. The possible dates for Karoš are 389 and 343.

The third text in which Achaemenid regnal dating has survived legibly is set in the sixteenth year, again of Artaxerxes: i.e. 388 or 342.[10] Another Aramaic version was appended, as befits a western satrapy. More interestingly, this stele was found outside Sardis, to the south in the Cayster valley. The character of this

particular inscription is uncertain; it does not however resemble other funerary texts in format. Erected by Bantakaš̌aš̌ son of Abrnaš̌, it takes the express form of a 'tac-': this word appears in a total of four Lydian inscriptions, none of which stems from Sardis; such is their fragmentary state that only one recognizably mentions the gods, but it can, I think, be said that none has a funerary purpose. It is clear that 'tac-' is a self-description of the stele, so that the current translation, 'votive tablet', is not at all unacceptable. (I should not wish to suggest that this proves the existence of ex-voto monuments as a regular feature of Lydian religion, but at least the possibility that such monuments were one of the means of communication with the gods, their erection one of the ways of claiming a relationship, is not ruled out.) Of more immediate concern is Bantakaš̌aš̌' use of the phrase vrandartimλ: the case-ending is recognized as dative/locatival, the first noun itself as having some connection with temples, hence the hypothesis that we are dealing with a dating-formula based on Artemis' feast-day or the like is surely a plausible one. The fact that the inscription comes from a site at some distance from Sardis is not necessarily significant; it is after all close to Ephesos, another centre of her cult and of Anatolian population.

Two Alexander-dates have also survived, the earlier from the necropolis at Sardis [11] and the later from the Cayster valley.[12] The fifth year of Alexander will be 330/29, reckoning from his conquest of Asia Minor; during it Atraš̌taš̌ son of Timleš̌ recorded his tenancy of a chamber-tomb with the customary divine sanctions, this time under the tutelage of Levš̌ (Sarẽtaš̌). (No doubt had Atraš̌taš̌ followed Nannaš̌' example and displayed some degree of bilinguality his name would be given also as Adrastos.) As for the identity of Levš̌, the temptation has not been resisted to call him the Lydian Zeus ('Deus'), partly on the analogy of the transfer implicit in the Lamẽtruš̌/Demeter equation, both Levš̌ (Lefš̌) and Lamẽtruš̌ being described as Greek loanwords - a description which rather begs the question, but perhaps unavoidably.[13] Levš̌ occurs twice, both times as it happens in connexion with an express Alexander-dating. His epithet 'sarẽtaš̌' has been

interpreted as indicating goodwill, benign intent towards men with a claim on his protection, as here - and conversely dire intent towards their enemies. This applies in both cases; the second dates to 323/2, Alexander's twelfth year, and takes the form of a tac- inscription as reviewed above.

None of the other seven relevant inscriptions can be ascribed an absolute date. All however have been assigned to the fourth century on various grounds. The plainest of these is the use of Artaxerxan dating, once again. The actual figures have not survived. Another Sardian stele, found in a field to the south-west of the city wall, duly bears traces of the Achaemenid calendar, and more importantly of the formulaic phrase 'serlis srmlis'.[14] This has now been translated as 'temple-authority or authorities' with reference to the members of a priestly group attached to and presumably administering the local temples. No detailed information can be derived from this stele, but the phrase occurs twice more, in the Sardian Artemision. The priest Mitridaštaš son of Mitrataš, whose Iranian lineage is obvious enough, set up two stelai in the temple precincts (in what is regarded as a fourth-century archaeological context) both dealing with temple business.[15] In one he explicitly names it the s(i)rmaš of Qldañš and Artimuš, the former characterized as 'tavsas', 'mighty', the latter as 'Ephesian'. Qldañš used to be tentatively identified with Apollo in the days when his initial letter was read as 'P'; it is more helpful to note that whenever he appears he is linked with Artemis, and in a Sardian context. His evident status as joint temple-patron, indeed, might lead us to propose an equivalent <u>rank</u> to that of Zeus (or alternatively Ahura-mazda in relation to Anahita) for him. Both gods are naturally invoked to preserve the sanctity of this central shrine.

It is particularly satisfactory to find the term 'kaveš' in currency at this period. Hipponax employs it as the Lydian word for a priest in the mid-sixth century,[16] then it emerges in feminine form in a series of memorials to priestesses of Sardian Artemis during the second century A.D., so its usage in the classical Lydian corpus provides a needed connecting link. Such continuity is highly impressive,

indicating that at least this major cult retained an air of hoary Anatolian antiquity to the end.[17]

Three distinct cults are attested to have been served by a kaveš, those of Lamẽtruš, Baki and Armaš, and Qldãnš and Artimuš of Sardis. One priest of Lamẽtruš is named; his stele (apparently not funerary) was set up at Mersindere, some three kilometres west of Sardis, probably therefore in a community dependent on the city. Its purpose is obscure, though no doubt votive considerations entered. Injury to the monument is to be punished not only by Lamẽtruš but by Artimuš 'Ašbluvaš' too: this new epithet is untranslatable at the moment. We cannot tell whether the fact that Lamẽtruš' priest had recourse to another god besides his nominal patron indicates some greater prestige for Artemis, or merely her conventional role as protectress/avenger buttressed in this instance by invocation of the nominal patron - the latter perhaps sounds more natural.[18]

Baki and Armaš apparently share a priest; the cultic and indeed hieratic implications are quite lost to us. It may anyway be recorded in passing that the stem of 'arma-' is philologically reminiscent of the Hittite and Luwian Moon-god. The later popularity of the 'Phrygian' Men in Lydia can be set alongside this detail for the time being; evidence for any possible connection between them is to the best of my knowledge quite lacking.[19]

As for Qldãnš and Artemis, although he does not explicitly say so we are entitled to see Mitradaštaš as their priest - evidently to some extent in the sense that he serves as warden of the temple dedicated to them. To the titles kaves and sivra𐤋- is should be added 'datrošis' which does seem to bear a connotation of serving the gods in some fashion, and perhaps also 'fentasẽna-' which appears in indirect relation to the gods and is once qualified by the adjective 'Sardian'. Whether optimistic rendering of this word as 'Priesterkollegium' is any more justified than before can hardly be decided with any certainty.[20]

Qldañš and Artemis reappear in a chamber-tomb's inscription in the necropolis at Sardis; they duly threaten destruction for its violators.[21] From the same tomb comes a slightly later inscription invoking instead the trinity already mentioned, Šāntaš, Kuvava and Marivda-. The 'testator' is the same man.[22]

Finally in this series Nannas' dedication may be looked at in more detail, in tandem with a Pergamene equivalent to Athene. The former, datable as stated to the second half of the fourth century, came from the Artemision (being found in situ, where it remains) and reads unambiguously 'Nannas Bakivalis Artimuλ- Νάννας Διονυσικλέος Ἀρτέμιδι '.[23] Whatever the true relationship of Dionysos to Baki the former's Bakchos-avatar was clearly perceived by the Greek neighbours of the Lydians as authentic and potent. A Lydian dedication in Athene's temple at Pergamon with similar Greek script reads 'esv tašĕv asvil bartaraš ṣatit - Παρταρας Ἀθηναίῃ ';[24] 'esv tašĕv' means 'this pillar' with reference to the column on which the text was carved (cf. '-is inl-' from a column of the 'Kroisan' temple of Artemis in Ephesos) while 'catit' is the regular present/future tense of a verb of dedication. Asvi- is thus the 'Lydian name for Athene', as Gusmani and others have observed[25], whatever the historical line of transmission involved. Athene is otherwise known only from a few imperial coins, minted by eleven regionally scattered poleis; her cult was evidently not a popular one, no doubt because other goddesses already possessed the varied attributes for which there was felt to be a civic or personal need. (One factor which might have militated against this would have been substantial immigration from a city, such as Athens, in which her cult was important - a condition effectively absent from Ionia.)

Such complementary information as we can garner from the rest of the Lydian inscriptions is severely limited in scope - to the extent indeed that all one can usefully say is that the concepts of sacrosanct territory and personal dedications to the gods were of central importance in Lydian religion. A priestly group of diverse character is well-attested, but not a priestly caste, nor are figures identifiable as

'hierodouloi' present. The temple of Qldans and Artemis is indeed the only named one, but other shrines certainly existed, as usage of the word 'bavafu-' alongside that of 'srma-' testifies; gravesites too are endowed with a measure of sanctity by virtue of laying claim to divine protection. The verb of 'dedication' (in the sense of marking out an object either as a tribute or for protection) occurs, with its cognates, frequently. Qualities invoked in the Lydian gods are, as far as we can tell, patronage, capacity for wrath, and benignity. Lastly, it would be of very great interest to have more structured information as to the characteristics of the priesthood in general; only Mitradaštaš goes into detail, and he appears to have been essentially a temple warden. It may of course be noted in passing that whatever links existed between the secular and religious sides of community life, including administration, fail to make themselves felt in the extant documentation: if anything, the impression would be that the two spheres were quite separate, at least as far as actual administration went; however on grounds of general probability we may safely assume that men holding priesthoods enjoyed respectable status in their community, and that each local cult of Artemis, for example, served as one focus amongst others for communal identities.

Next, the Greek inscriptions - emerging in force in the succeeding, third century during the Seleukid heyday. We are immediately in a familiar world: Dionysos in Magnesia ad Sipylum, Apollo there, in Maionia and in Thyateira. However the pattern is a more eclectic one: Anaitis, 'the Persian goddess', was already well-established in Hierakome, while the Meter Sipylene worshipped in Magnesia shows affinities with Kybele.

During the struggle between Antiochos Hierax and Seleukos II for ascendancy in Asia Minor, complicated as this was by resurgent Ptolemaic ambitions, a treaty of friendship and isopolity was signed ca. 246 B.C. by Smyrna and Magnesia in recognition of shared allegiance to the king.[26] In the course of it reference is made to an altar of Dionysos in the Magnesian agora, at which oaths are to be taken, in

particular by Apollo ἐν Πάνδοις and the Meter Sipylene: two thoroughly regional deities, seemingly representative of at least two racial groups. This is the only reference to Apollo of Panda, and indeed the only epigraphic notice of any form of Apolline cult in Magnesia; the Mother of the Gods, on the other hand, was evidently the region's major divinity, more notably as 'Plastene' than as 'Sipylene' but in all cases to be linked with the Hittite relief of a mother-goddess found carved on the mountainside near Magnesia (Manisa's so-called Taş Suret[27]). Highly relevant also in this context is the heterogeneous character of the area's population: Greek immigrants may have been responsible for the altar to Dionysos, but the treaty with Smyrna presents a clear picture of Lydian and perhaps other settlers alongside - certainly a Persian garrison, led by Omanes.

Apollo Nisyreites rapidly becomes the most prominent of his kind, outside Thyateira: the district of Maionia, in which the kome of Nisyra lay, has produced his earliest citation, dating probably to the third century.[28] A medley of cultic symbols is at once evident: he is represented by means of the mainland Greek laurel wreath and the old Anatolian double-axe, in a votive dedication. The double-axe was to become the most distinctive emblem of Apollo in Lydia, borne as it originally was by a rider god whose name has not survived, unless Tyrimnos himself was the prototype. It does not however feature in what is presumably Apollo's first appearance in the country: in September 275 a thank-offering was bestowed on Apollo Pityaenos in return for the rescue of Phanokritos Argeiou from the Gauls (Galatians), set up by his father Argeios Phanokritou and unnamed mother in or near Thyateira.[29] Pityaia stands in the same relation to Thyateira as Panda does to Magnesia - the process to be envisaged involves deferential acceptance of the numen of their Lydian neighbours' old village-based sanctuaries by incoming Greeks, the accommodation being effected primarily by use of a relevant Olympian name and only secondarily by an accompanying adoption of such names by Hellenized Lydians. The family concerned here does look as distinctively Greek as it is plausible to expect to show up some two generations

after Alexander's conquest and during the early stages of Seleukid control. The classical form of nomenclature - patrilineal in alternate generations - and the stele's concluding prayer that Apollo continue to be gracious to Argeios' family and descendants are neither of them characteristic of Hellenized Lydian practice.

Another trace of Graeco-Makedonian influence on Lydian religion can be detected in a letter written by a monarch confirming the right of asylum claimed by a community's Persian goddess: ἀσυλία τῆς παρ' ὑμεῖν Περσικῆ[ς θεᾶς] ἐπὶ τούτῳ βεβαιῶ ὑμεῖν<ν> ἐφ' ᾧ μ[ηδὲν] ἐν τῇ δωρεᾷ ταύτῃ ἀλλαγῆναι [τὴν] συνήθειαν ἣν ἔχετε . The majority opinion that the author was a second-century Attalid suits the textual allusion to former rulers and his own ancestors perfectly well, nor do there seem good grounds for disputing Welles' attribution to Attalos III.[30] The stone was found in the region of the Hyrkanian plain, settled involuntarily by Achaemenid colonists rather as Antiochos III later transported Jewish families to parts of Lydia and Phrygia, and no doubt belongs to Hierakome, a town well known as one of the centres (with Hypaipa and Philadelphia) of Iranian cult. Anahita, whose worship was reportedly fostered with especial zeal by Artaxerxes II, is the goddess in question. Berossos mentions that this king set up her cult-statue in Sardis, as well as in other important satrapal towns - Baktra, Ekbatana, Susa, Damascus, Persepolis, Babylon;[31] the statue has unfortunately not survived to leave us a genuine image of Anahita prior to her transformation into (Artemis) Anaitis, nor has she left any record of her presence in the capital except a single expiatory dedication, admittedly of Imperial date, in witness of the cult's tenacious popularity. Clearly the Seleukids and Attalids acted indirectly to encourage maintenance of this alien cult, according it asylia in due form for their subjects' benefit. Welles pointed out that the grant is here to the deity and not the physical shrine, commenting 'The Asiatic, non-Hellenic, character of the grant is reflected in the phraseology.'[32] Not that the distinction can be imagined to have made any practical difference, yet I am left with an impressionistic reminiscence of the native gods' jealous concern for territory

designated their own. Several parallel inscriptions may be adduced to shed further light on relations between the Hellenistic kings and local sanctuaries. Most directly relevant is a text complementary to the Attalid letter just described, if itself of uncertain date, namely a boundary-stone found in the immediate neighbourhood of Hierakome at the Turkish village of Beyoba, marking a frontier to Artemis' territory.[33] The delimitation as expressed appears independent of any action taken by secular institutions; evidently no 'urban' sanction or guarantee was deemed necessary, at least by the stage thus represented. Royal grants of ateleia or of confirmation of asylia would be solicited by members of the sanctuaries' surrounding and attendant communities of their own accord and for general prestige, to judge by a fragment of an Attalid letter dealing with the affairs of an Apolline hieron at Karian Hierakome.[34] The katoikoi had submitted a petition concerning some buildings belonging to Apollo, i.e. in long-continued use for the god's service; in response Attalos granted some privilege in conformity with the practice of previous kings who had paid honour to the god - to employ a probable restoration, some degree of ateleia for these Karian katoikoi - who surely must in that case have had a recognized functional relationship with the sanctuary (on whose territory they were living, for instance).

A Mysian parallel is available: dated precisely to February the sixth, 185 and penned by Attalos II in his early capacity as regent for his brother Eumenes II, it takes the form of a grant of exemption from the sheep-tax (or cattle-tax - ateleia probatōn) as requested by the priest of Apollo Tarsenos and his neighbouring katoikoi. The priest may have been archiereus, chief priest; unfortunately the state of the text prohibits any decision as to whether Apollo Tarsenos boasted a 'hierarchic' team of ministers in his temple. Again, the precise relationship between the privileged katoikoi and the local shrine is obscure, but clearly significant.[35]

Within the second century the only completely new deity to emerge (and then briefly) is Papias, accorded a simple votive monument by the people of the village

of Lasnedda. The editors, Herrmann and Polatkan, proposed the mid-century, 'the latest Attalid period', for the inscription and noted a Phrygian connexion.[36] To call Papias a form of Zeus really tells us nothing useful, however: it remains quite unclear what his attributes were, how his cult was organized, whether indeed his place in the Anatolian pantheon actually corresponds to that of Zeus in the Olympian - merely, one might say, another example of 'pigeonholing' for its own sake. This comment could be made about ascriptions of foreign origin too, but with less force as such origin (even if as here suspected) forms a small yet significant part of our information on cultural diffusion.

Other noteworthy gods are all distinctly local versions of the known types - Meter Akraia, Zeus Ariou, Meter Anatidos, with Apollo Nisyreites still the best-attested. At all periods it is particularly rare to find a cult of Apollo lacking a descriptive epithet of this sort; the consequences are inevitably obscure, but it does seem safe to suggest that it indicates a lesser, more diluted degree of Hellenic influence on the native religion. Meter Anatidos is an interesting case: apart from the peculiarity of this dialect-form at a comparatively early date, the designation of 'Mother' is not a regular addition as far as Anaitis is concerned, whatever connotation we suppose it to have had. The formula invoking her is familiar enough, that of a votive - εὐχήν.[37]

Elsewhere in Maionia a temenos of 'the Mother' existed, as a text of 147/6 makes clear:[38] certainly Kybebe/Kybele springs to mind rather than either Anahita or Artemis, on the analogy of classical Sardian cult as described by Herodotos (5. 102) and Plutarch (Them. 31). Again a stretch of sanctified territory is at stake on which the shrine and attendant buildings (including no doubt those devoted to the welfare of the goddess' priests) stood.

Apollo Nisyreites is the object of several Maionian votive offerings, from an area to the west of Kula, one of which is dated to the second year of Attalos, 158/7 or 137/6. The double-axe is again portrayed; the author describes himself as a priest, with the participle ἱερωτεύσας, although his text reads otherwise no

differently from the routine εὐχήν monuments. Evidently the stele was erected as a personal act of homage rather than as a specific priestly duty.[39] The same perhaps applies to a dedication of an altar and libanotris to Apollo Tyrimnos by his priest Epikrates Noumeniou (TAM V. 2. 883). Of the parallels, one was set up by a citizen of Sardis, a city in which the god is so far unknown.[40] Apollo Tarsios is a companion deity, to us effectively indistinguishable from Nisyreites: they share district, emblem and general relationship with devotees, especially as regards healing - and not as a rule punishment.[41]

Meter Akraia like Meter Oreia partly personifies the primitive spirit immanent in a geological feature of the countryside and later identified with the incoming Kybele, a deity at root hardly more sophisticated. Their regional counterparts, the Sipylene, Plastene, Kornene, Talimmene, Tazene, Silindene and perhaps Adiasspoulou (though this more closely resembles 'Men Tiamou', 'Men ex Epikratou', 'Zeus Ariou' and others in embodying a human element by retaining the name of the ancestral founder of the cult or of the alleged original owner of the sacred land) represent a related but differently developed phenomenon, and one centring on village life. Such deities are characteristic of Lydian religion from its earliest to its latest periods: Zeus Didymeites, the Zeus created from twin oak-trees (ἐκ διδύμων δρυῶν κατεκτισμένος), is the finest of his kind. The dividing line between the concepts of such 'Mothers' as these and the straightforward 'Mothers of the Gods' is now indistinct, and perhaps was then. Both the Plastene of Magnesia and Tazene of the Maionian neighbourhood can be described indifferently as either, at least in Roman times. Any blurring that has in fact taken place may be due to the lapse of centuries, to the absence of a perceived need to discriminate such as 'Hesiodic' or canonical elaboration would have created, or no doubt to both. Meter Akraia was invoked during 129 to legitimate the record of honours paid to the officer Hephaistion Alkaiou, of a prominent Sardian family, by the commander and soldiers of a garrison stationed in and around three or more Maionian villages including Tarsi-. Written in somewhat impure Greek, this text

combines honorary with votive formulae: as Herrmann suggests, Hephaistion is apparently to be put under divine protection in reward for his secular virtues. Another god must have been associated with Meter Akraia, but there is barely room for the name in the lacuna: only Zeus springs to mind, this being too early for Men in Lydia, and certainly Apollo Tarsios whom one should like to insert, in view of the list of villages involved, is out of the question.[42]

Finally, a word about Zeus Ariou: as recipient of another Maionian cult he is to be found contributing to the welfare of Hermogenes Metrodorou, during the second or first century.[43] Details of the form and occasion of soteria are lacking but what makes this case striking is the part played by a 'prophetis', Potta Menekratou, on the god's behalf. Her agency was sufficiently important for Hermogenes to characterise her, rather than her master, as his saviour. Use of this title obviously supports the view that an oracular shrine is concerned. Surprisingly rare for Lydia, evidence of an oracle's presence has been elicited from a Philadelphian episode in which a stele was erected to the Mother of the Gods in direct response to a question put to the deity; on the other hand this may well be the case more frequently than the normal wording of stelai in honour of particular gods lets us infer. It seems however strictly unnecessary, if not of course ruled out, as far as expiatory dedications in the 'God-ruled' Maionian villages are concerned; nor is the Lydian version of Apolline cult conducive to a view that oracular shrines were numerous or especially significant.[44]

Superficially Greek successors to the fourth-century Qldans and Artimus entered Sardis at the latest in the first century, and possibly much earlier. The structure now known as the Artemision can ca. 5-1 B.C. bear the title of Temple of Polieus Zeus and Artemis. The context is a formal civic endorsement of an honorary decree by the provincial council, the Koinon of Greeks in Asia.[45] Evidence of a kind and quality sufficient to enable us to describe Polieus Zeus as a direct 'translation' of Qldans - this being the more critical case - is quite lacking; we are left with speculative appeals to probability. Artimus/Artemis however is at

once a more interesting and a more complex equation: it has been justly remarked that we really cannot yet tell whether the line of transmission was from Asia to Greece or vice versa. The question immediately arises of the interrelation of the 'Hellenic' and Asiatic' epithets: in particular the primacy of the 'Ephesian' over the 'Sardian' Artemis is a problematic issue. It is now an article of philological faith that Ibsimsis and Sfardetis Artimus are the Lydian versions of Ephesian and Sardian Artemis, which is of course perfectly reasonable so long as it is confined to perception of the separate civic cult-practices. The decree authorising the execution of at least forty-five Lydian citizens by a religious court in Ephesos complicates the picture: dated to the second half of the fourth century - to just the time when Artimus and her companions were flourishing - it records that outrages were committed against the priests and theoroi escorting sacred garments to Artemis in Sardis, as they had done traditionally for many years (κατὰ τὸν νόμον τὸν πάτριον); the express claim is made that her temple there was an Ephesian foundation (ἱδρυμένον ὑπὸ Ἐφεσίων). One of the condemned men is listed as sacred herald, hierokeryx, of an unnamed god. With no Sardian parallel to complete the episode we have no way of knowing how far the Ephesians were in a position to exact this penalty; if the acquiescence of the Sardians could be taken for granted some support for the Ephesian claims to cultic predominance would tacitly be provided. But any triumph of Ibsimsis over Sfardetis must be called into question in the face of the strong possibility that these two are technically irrelevant, being already to some degree 'translations'.[46]

Tuğrul's collection of epithets borne by Artemis as known in 1958[47] produces some interesting oddities, lacking however a useful historical context: his chart was planned in such a way that its evidence does not have much independent value. It is noticeable that there is a striking disparity between the number of attestations of Artemis, both with and without epithet, from Ionia and the rest of Anatolia; Anaitis is found exclusively in Lydia, as, correspondingly, is 'Persike'; the goddess is described as 'Archegetis' only in Ionia and Lykia, as 'Proegetis'

(synonymously) only in Lykia, whereas 'Prokathegemon' appears in Ionia and Karia, the analogous 'katechousa' in Lydia alone. More broadly Tuğrul's findings can, I think, be grouped in three classes, those of attribute, locality and Greek myth. Conventional and indistinct divine titles are given as follows - leader, saviour, Mother, benefactress, 'holy', 'inviolate', 'manifest', 'unconquerable'. (Leadership seems rather more significant in the Ionian religious context, 'Motherhood' in the Lydian.) Regional epithets form the largest group: apart from 'Ephesian', 'Sardian' and 'in Asia' most belong to otherwise undistinguished places. Lydia, Phrygia, Mysia, Karia, Pamphylia, Lykia and Pisidia very much dominate this category, with 'Leukophryene' as sole significant Ionian example. As for elements derived from Greek myth, these include 'Delian', 'Kalliteknon', 'Lochia', 'Eilethyia', 'Koura (Dios)', 'Phosphoros', 'Elaphebolos' and (strictly belonging to her brother) 'Hyakinthotrophos' and 'Pythia'. Perhaps surprisingly, Ionia by no means has a monopoly of these: indeed not only is 'Pythia' the one purely Ionian member but the others are found as far afield as Mysia, Karia, Pisidia, Galatia, Pamphylia and Lydia - where her role in childbirth and her parentage are featured. ('Kalliteknon' is confined to Ionia, but the concept is not.) In sum, Tuğrul's article does allow us to deduce that although Artemis may have been worshipped more vigorously in Ionia her Lydian counterpart seems to have mingled comprehensively with Anahita and Kybele (the latter as Mother). No other relevant epithets have come to light since then.

The first centuries B.C. and A.D. bring in an Hypaipan hereditary priest of Artemis Anaitis as a recipient of Asiatic honours,[48] a simple dedication to Zeus Mamouzenos from the region of Troketta, halfway between Magnesia and Sardis,[49] a dedication to Isis in Thyateira and a private cultic club in Philadelphia.[50] Hypaipa's role in Lydo-Persian cult does not need repetition here; 'Mamouzenos' is a new epithet for Zeus, paralleled in Bithynia and Pisidia but quite possibly derived from a Lydian village of Mamouza rather than, as the editors assume, borrowed from one of those countries. The dedication by M. Cornelius

Rufus is currently the single reference to worship of Isis in Lydia, perhaps surprisingly in the light of the receptivity to female deities, but at a late date. The Philadelphian document is an interestingly idiosyncratic one, presenting a closer picture of unofficial religious practice than we are usually afforded. In response to a dream (κατ' ὄναρ) Dionysios established a separate organization under his own roof for the worship of a medley of divine powers: Aggdistis, rather than any more Hellenic goddess, was to act as patron or oikodespoina while after purificatory rites 'men and women, free men and slaves' were to join in the worship of Zeus, his paredros Hestia, the other saviour gods, Eudaimonia, Ploutos, Arete, Tyche Agatha, the Agathos Daimon, Mneme, the Charites and Nike. The ordinances, parangelmata, are given in detail and revolve around ritual purity, supplemented by generally beneficent behaviour on the part of the devotees. In reward they were to enjoy a sight of the mysteries. This is an extraordinarily eclectic document, the numerous personified abstractions having cooperative virtue in common. 'Zeus of Eumenes' is the initial description given to one of the deities involved: Philadelphia was an Attalid foundation, but the town's life was not dominated by this connexion even in the Hellenistic period, nor is the inscription complete at this point (ll. 6-7), so it is hardly possible to decide whether any reference to official dynastic cult is concealed here, though the coincidence is surprising. In passing we may note that no ministers are expressly designated or mentioned as controlling the private organization, suggesting a lack of 'hierarchy' in keeping with the abandonment of social barriers within the confines of membership.

The only other significant problem on which the epigraphical texts have a bearing is that of the introduction and spread of the worship of Men. Lane's study[51] revealed that this god was known appreciably earlier on the Greek mainland than in Asia Minor (on the assumption that extant inscriptions are a representative random sample) despite his conventional Phrygian provenance. Attika has produced dedications from the third and second centuries B.C.; Asia

Minor's parallels evidently all date to the Imperial period, from the first and more particularly the second and third centuries A.D. Fortunately Strabo redresses the balance to some considerable extent by alluding to temples of Men in contemporary Pisidian Antioch, Karian Attouda, Pontic Ameria and somewhere in Phrygia.[52] It is interesting that the earliest clear sign of Men-worship in his supposed Phrygian homeland dates to as late as 89 A.D. Strabo makes no mention of such temples in Lydia, but this is an unimportant omission since the inscriptions make clear that as Lane says there was an extremely active cult of Men, centring on the district of Maionia. What Strabo's silence might be thought to suggest is that the administrative character of the cult was somewhat different in Lydia than in the more eastern parts of Asia Minor, the formal temple-structure being of less importance than villagers' fervour. There is little of substance to add by way of qualification to Lane's description and analysis; inscriptions subsequently edited by Herrmann[53] corroborate the picture, and his conclusions are faithful to the texts - not that these can be very informative on the specific question of the cult's provenance (assuming of course that this is a genuinely significant matter) and dating. The most that can safely be said, it seems to me, from the onomastic and general evidence is that a terminus post quem lies in the mid-Hellenistic period, the second century B.C. One implication of this will be that decision between Anatolian and Greek transmission of the cult cannot be reliably made; even agreed 'Anatolian elements' of practice and perception should not, despite the temptation, be confidently regarded as proof of original provenance.

The earliest theophoric names attesting some degree of Men-worship appear in the second century and are then clustered comparatively heavily in the first. The random archaeological sample tends to suggest some concentration in and around Apollonis, as an ephebe-list containing between eighteen and twenty such names (depending on whether one or two fathers were the same individuals) out of one hundred and forty-seven surviving names has been found there.[54] The onomastic context for this ephebe-list is entirely Greek, apart from two Vettii and the dubious

Karion and Maon: the names concerned are the orthodox Menogenes (x 3-5), Menophantos (x 5-6), Menophilos (x 3), Menodoros (x 2: 1 from the outlying village of Kame), Menodotos (x 1), and Menophanes (x 2). Other sites as known at present are Sardis (Menogenes - at the end of the first century), Kastoloupedion (Menophanes - late Hellenistic), Thyateira and Apollonis (Menogenes - second or first century, Menodoros - beginning of first century A.D., and probably first century B.C.), Philadelphia (Menogenes - early Hellenistic: he would be the oldest were his ethnic status not imperilled by addition of 'Makedon' to his and his father's (?) names, suggesting recent mercenary immigration), the Katakekaumene (Menophanes - ca 8/9 A.D., Maionia; Menodoros - second/first century B.C., Silandos), Gordos (Menodoros - 46/5 B.C., Menophilos - probably first century B.C., Menas - 12/13 A.D.) and neighbouring Pergamon, one of whose citizens, Menas Aiantos, an artisan, was to be found in Magnesia in the second century. This distribution already covers a reasonable cross-section of the country; Maionia was not the only district in which the god was recognized, from the beginning.[55]

Dedications, so far as they are datable, belong very largely to the Imperial period, and to the second and third centuries in particular. The apparent chronological gap between general onomastic and cultic practice may be assumed to have been caused by simple deficiencies of evidence yet a presumption is created that the imported cult was slow to take firm root in Lydia; once established, however, like 'Artemis' before him, Men was adopted as local patron in numerous places, and with evident enthusiasm. Without much more native religious documentation than we currently possess it is quite pointless, unfortunately, to wonder whether the god eventually came to fill a vacancy left by the decline of original Lydian gods, as recognized by Hellenizing Lydians and incoming Greeks alike; such a decline will have been more gradual than the seemingly rapid disappearance of inscriptions written in Lydian could lead us to expect, at any rate. What is still striking is the degree to which Men did become a diversified local patron, answering a variety of needs, particularly in Maionia - a fact that does lend

some theoretical weight to the hypothesis just put forward. Thyateira's Apollo Tyrimnos surely represents the alternative fate.

As Lane found, Men is always distinguished by an epithet, falling into one of three groups, of which the first is of marginal significance when set against the popularity of the second and third. The 'self-explanatory' ones referring to orthodox divine attributes and status still comprise merely Τύραννος, Ὅσιος, Οὐράνιος and are heavily outnumbered by those 'in the form of an invariable genitive, probably indicating the real or reputed founder of a sanctuary' and those 'of unknown meaning, perhaps derived from the name of a locality'. The second is currently represented by Τιάμου, Ἀρτεμιδώρου, ἐξ Ἐπικράτου, ἐξ Ἀπολλωνίου, ἐκ Διοδότου, the third by Πετραείτης, Μοτυλείτης, Λαβάνας, Καμαρείτης and above all Ἀξιοττηνός- which is linked with the designation Ἀγία κατέχων current in the Maionian district, although Lane does not make this explicit. Closer inspection reveals some interesting qualifications; these two groups have a definite tendency to blend together: Ἀρτεμιδώρου, ἐξ Ἀπολλωνίου, ἐξ Ἐπικράτου, though not so far ἐκ Διοδότου, can be found in apposition with Ἀξιοττηνός, Ἀρτεμιδώρου separately as well; it seems most likely that cases in which Ἀξιοττηνός is lacking should be taken as implying its presence as the primary aspect of the divinity whose distinct, sanctuary-related forms are commemorated in epithets such as ἐκ Διοδότου and Ἀρτεμιδώρου. It is to be stressed that of such epithets only Τιάμου fails to be paired in this manner, and in my view the difference is more apparent than real because Men Tiamou is found in an 'Axiottan context' two or three times at least. Beside 'real or reputed founder of a sanctuary' I should like to put the possibility that (real or reputed) ownership of that sanctuary's land, in the present or past, is involved, and in addition to draw attention to such acts of individual initiative as that of the Philadelphian Dionysios

in establishing a private cult - this latter factor can be said to be spiritually consistent with the more material aspects of explanation, in these cases.[56]

Again, I would feel more confident than Lane that the third category does contain at least some epithets derived from the site of sanctuaries: the equation of 'Axiottenos' with the unlocated Maionian village of Azita (leaving aside unnecessary earlier argument as to the existence of the form 'Aziottenos') is now quite secure; this village's venerable status is no more in doubt than is its political unimportance. Interplay between the functionally distinct versions or avatars of Men worshipped in the villages - whatever the precise relationship between each village and its eponymous shrine, something on which the sources throw very little light - is visible in inscriptions where one 'God-ruled' village commemorates the power of gods belonging to another. The unifying factor lies in a common perception of the gods' chief immanent role, that of judgment of competing claims, the sceptre being set up to invoke and symbolize divine protection for the individual 'on the right side'; generalized patronage of the village would follow on naturally - or of course vice-versa. The other side of the coin, responsible for many votive inscriptions, is divine punishment, in the form of infliction of illness, madness or death (either of culprit or of a kinsman), in response to a wide variety of offences ranging from perjury in a formal context, through reluctance to take up a ritual charge to accidental breaking of a memorial-stone, in the examples to hand. Conversely, as previously observed, such divine wrath might serve as a substantial part of the normal explanatory framework within which daily events would be set. Hence the justice of the view espoused by Lane, following Buckler,[57] to the effect that Men and his colleagues are in no sense temporal rulers of a sort of theocratic state ought not to obscure the equally important point that expressions of divine authority such as βασιλεύων and κατέχουσα are not merely conventional pieties but reflections of profoundly-held belief, of wider application than modern secularization of thought makes it easy to perceive with full force. A phrase like

'merely an acknowledgement of divine control of the totality of human life', in reference to epithets such as 'Tyrannos', has the emphasis in the wrong place. As for those colleagues, it is noteworthy that Men moves in 'Anatolian' rather than strictly 'Hellenic' circles, being accompanied by local Mothers (Meter Tazene in particular), by Artemis Anaitis or by a localized Zeus such as Masphalatenos or Ogmenos; within this grouping Men himself comes in diverse forms, Petraeites alongside Labanas, Tyrannos alongside Tiamou, Petraeites alongside Tiamou, Labanas alongside Artemidorou, Ouranios alongside Axiottenos. Apollo Nisyreites and Tarsios inspired their measure of devotion in Maionia, but cannot really be said to belong to these dominant circles; Men on the other hand became an integral part of them. As far as we can tell, individual whim played its part in distribution of gods between villages as the occasion for judgment or confession arose.

It remains to add that the iconography for Men is by and large consistent. The crescent, as eponymous symbol, is the most regularly portrayed; it can represent him in the absence of a figurative relief. When pictured Men is dressed in a chiton and a Phrygian cap, holding an object conventionally supposed to be a pinecone; he is once found on horseback, at Sardis,[58] and once in 269/70 A.D. flanked by lions, at Kula (Maionia - Axiottenos[59]), and once as a child with the crescent, pinecone and a rooster, again at Kula.[60] Despite Lane's assertion that the rooster was one of his most frequent attributes it is otherwise unknown on Lydian territory; lions more usually attend the female goddesses, Artemis and Kybele, in this region; riding is also unusual, being distinctive to the localized forms of Apollo - the Bozene god in Roman Maionia and Tyrimnos in Thyateira, Akrasos, Mostene between the first century B.C. and third A.D.[61] One relief of Men Tiamou in company with Zeus Masphalatenos in Maionia imports the alien iconographic feature of the young god with his foot on a prostrate bull. Evidently at the date of this dedication made by the 'hiera symbiosis kai neotera' (172 A.D.) the motif of bull-slaying was detachable from the figure of Mithras and could be

used as a convenient emblem of Men's own power over nature.[62] Otherwise the crescent and Phrygian cap (the latter testifying to what was <u>believed</u> about Men's origins) are his standard accompaniments. Certainly he is never to be found with the Lydian double-axe, eclecticism not extending to quite such an amalgam. Nor is it now possible to differentiate between the various forms, as marked by epithet, on pictorial grounds, any more than between Apollo Tarsios and Nisyreites. He does at all events give the impression of having become the most successful divine immigrant into the country, after its loss of cultural autonomy.[63]

PART SIX - RELIGION - (a) EPIGRAPHY

1. Gusmani, Neue epichorische Schriftzeugnisse p. 28 no. A II 5.
2. Gusmani, Lydisches Wőrterbuch no. 4 a.
3. Op. cit. no. 20.
4. Sardis VI. [1/2] 4.
5. Gusmani, Lydisches Wőrterbuch no. l.
6. Op. cit. p. 18
7. Op. cit. no. 2
8. No. 22. The Artemis Precinct is illustrated in Figure 7.
9. No. 11
10. No. 41
11. No. 3
12. No. 50
13. Pp. 158, 160. Levš is now also attested (and seen as the Lydian Zeus) on the rim of a marble bowl - AJA 88 (1984) pp. 455 f.
14. Gusmani, Neue epichorische Schriftzeugnisse p. 6 no. A I 3.
15. Gusmani, Lydisches Wőrterbuch nos. 23-4.
16. Fr. 4 (Masson)
17. I.Sardis 50-55
18. Gusmani, Lydisches Wőrterbuch no. 26; Brandenstein, Caucasica 10 (1932) p. 68 (appeal to a non-existent ethnic, Asbolos)
19. Gusmani, op. cit p. 62 and no. 22
20. Op. cit p. 125 and no. 22
21. op. cit. no. 4 b.
22. No. 4 a.
23. No. 20.
24. No. 40.
25. Pp. 65-6.
26. IMagn.Sip. 1 (OGIS 229)
27. Bean, Aegean Turkey pp. 31-3, 39-40
28. TAM V 1 446.
29. Reisen II 19 = TAM V. 2. 881.
30. Welles, Royal Correspondence no. 68
31. FGrH 680 fr. 11; Wikander, Feuerpriester in Kleinasien pp. 65, 79, 84.
32. Welles, op. cit. p. 275.
33. Robert, Hellenica VI pp. 33-4 no. 5
34. Welles, op. cit. no. 69.
35. Op. cit. no. 47
36. Testament des Epikrates pp 42-5 no. 5.
37. TAM V. 1 575 (Meter Anatidos)
38. Op. cit . 530. A sanctuary of the Meter Phileis has now been found to the northeast of Philadelphia - AJA 91 (1987) p. 26.
39. Op. cit. 441 (Welles)
40. 429.
41. 195, 196, 240, 448

42. 528 (Meter Akraia); 179 a (Zeus ek didymon dryon), 179 b (Zeus ek didymon dryon, Didymeites).
43. 535.
44. A male prophet is known in Saittai (second/third century A.D.) assisting in the dedication of a stele to a god whose name is lost and to the Angelos Hosios Dikaios, for whom see Robert's commentary in Anatolia 3 (1958) pp. 120-3.
45. I.Sardis 8. 133.
46. I.Ephesos 2
47. Tűrk Arkeoloji Dergisi VIII. 2 (1958) pp. 45-60, with charts on pp. 46-8.
48. I.Ephesos 3825, 1-8 and ff.
49. Reisen I 21.
50. Isis: TAM V. 2. 892; 'cultic club': Reisen III. 18; Sokolowski, Lois sacrees de l'Asie Mineure pp. 53-8 no. 20. In the latter context, Trebilco has commented on the popularity during the Roman Empire of "vague, abstract and almost anonymous divine titles", as a facet of a trend towards monotheism, and he adduces the Theos Hypsistos as another such facet (rather than as a sign of Jewish influence) (Jewish Communities in Asia Minor, pp. 127-144). Certainly this inscription is a splendid example of such titles, and at a comparatively early Imperial period, as is the Angelos Hosios Dikaios of 2nd/3rd-century Saittai (note 44, above); I would put the gods' 'dynamis' into this framework as well (TAM V. 317, 440, 525, 889-90). The Theos Hypsistos, on the other hand, is less significant in Lydia than he suggests, there being so far only 4 citations, all from Thyateira (TAM V. 2. 897-900). Other evidence of the development of religion under the Roman Empire comes in an inscription from Thyateira (TAM V. 2. 962) erected by the hymnodoi and theologoi of the Mother of the Gods: Robert (in Rev. Phil. 1959, p. 214 note 8) sets these two religious groups within the context of the Romanization of the Greek East, by virtue of their associations with the Imperial cult (in particular), which he had discussed in Rev. Phil. 1943, pp. 184-6. In the earlier article the theologos is described as "une dignité rituelle, municipale ou provinciale", flourishing in Pergamon, Smyrna and Ephesos, alongside the hymnodos, both concerned to praise the deity in terms both of prose invocation (in the case of the theologos) and of sacred drama with the aid of singing and dancing (in that of the hymnodos). More recently, Pleket has contributed (Harvard Theological Review 58 (1965) pp. 331-347) by laying emphasis on the ambience within which theologoi and hymnodoi are found, that of mystery cult-practice, again particularly in the context of the cults of the Emperors but also those of Demeter (in Smyrna) and Dionysos (in Ephesos); he draws attention to the celebration of Dionysiac mysteries by private clubs: this surely provides an historically accurate setting, or chain of transmission, for the Philadelphian club founded by Dionysios, with the difference here that so far from monotheism or the Emperor being in question he and his fellows are worshipping a notable plethora, Anatolian and Olympian gods as well as personified abstractions and 'virtues'. The appearance of the dynastic Zeus of Eumenes might however be regarded as a partial echo of the later full-blown Imperial cult, and more generally this same document itself gives a salutary reminder of the sheer complexity of religious development, requiring as that development does the comprehension and analysis of diverse socio-economic and political factors, in detail and in nuance. It has to be said that we do not by any means have, at present, a sufficient range of evidence in the case of Lydia.
51. Lane, CMRDM I-IV.
52. Strabo 12. 3. 31/557, 12. 8. 14/577, 12. 8. 20/580; Athen. 2. 43 b.
53. TAM V. 1 253, 490, 524; Ergebnisse nos. 18, 21, 27, 38-44, 53, 55.
54. Reisen I 96.
55. See Lane, op. cit. I nos. 28-294, esp. 31-89.

56. See note 50 above.
57. Buckler, BSA 21 (1914-16) p. 179; Lane, Berytus 15 (1964) pp. 20-1 note 65.
58. I. Sardis 96 a and fig. 85 (in the Ashmolean Museum).
59. TAM V. 1 252.
60. Lane, op. cit. no. 64 and plate XXVI.
61. Apollo, Theos Bozenos - TAM V. 1 238 from Kula.
62. CIG 3438/Buresch, op. cit. p. 59.
63. Another divine immigrant was Isis, venerated along with Sarapis by Menippos' son ---nophilos near Magnesia ad Sipylum during the second century BC (TAM V. 2. 1348 lines 1-3) and by M. Cornelius Rufus of Thyateira during the first or second century AD (TAM V. 2. 892).

(b) Literary Sources

The earliest informant is the Ephesian poet Hipponax, his literary style precluding sustained narrative but offering informal, passing allusions. His career spanned the first generation under the satrapy, given a 'floruit' of ca. 540-530. Seven of the surviving iambic poems have a recognizable Lydian aspect but only three, frr. 3, 104 and 127, are sufficiently well-preserved, in consequence of the interest variously taken by Byzantine lexicographers, to merit close attention. The first of these, fr. 3, forms part of an address to Hermes, preserved by the twelfth-century scholar Tzetzes because of its use of several rare words:

ἔβωσε Μαίης παῖδα κυλλήνης πάλμυν·
Ἑρμῆ κυνάγχα μηονιστὶ καυδαῦλα
φωρῶν ἑταῖρε δεῦρό μοὶ σκαπαρδεῦσαι·

'Palmus', the Greek transcription of one of the Lydians' words for a ruler, need not detain us; its application to both human and divine sovereigns is surely unremarkable. The following two lines however are highly interesting and problematic, and are to be read in conjunction with a gloss given by Hesychios: καυδαύλας· Ἑρμῆς ἢ Ἡρακλῆς. Further, their interpretation has been valuably complicated by a set of archaeological finds in the course of excavation at the Sardian 'House of Bronzes' and Pactolus North sectors, occupation of which appears to have been both residential and commercial.[1] The meaning of the adjective κυνάγχης is not in doubt, except in so far as strangling dogs in person or alternatively causing them to choke may be in question; it is also clear that Kandaulas, whether or not a strictly ritual name, is directly identified with the Maionian version of the Greek god Hermes, whose titles in l. 1 are entirely orthodox ones. Then the description in l. 3, φωρῶν ἑταῖρε is equally faithful to his accepted character: and by implication to that of his counterpart Kandaulas, one might suppose, were it not that the Greek phrasing reads more naturally with the clause concerning him in apposition to κυνάγχης alone. Finally, the verb

σκαφδεῦσαι has an uncertain meaning, but as far as we are concerned it is enough to note that companionable help is being sought from the god. Hesychios' gloss, rather than endorsing this interpretation - despite the fact that Hipponax will have been one of his sources - amplifies by indicating that the known character or attributes of the Maionian Kandaulas had elements in common with those of both Hermes and Herakles, thus allowing for ambiguity. On the severely limited evidence available it is still clear, I think, that the unifying factor is responsibility for the death of dogs. Philological argument should be left aside as far as possible since there is some disagreement as to the validity of the conventional analysis - 'kan' as 'dog', 'daulas' from the Indo-European root 'dhau', 'to strangle'; excessive scepticism however is not called-for since there is a Byzantine (twelfth-century or even later) gloss of Καυδαύλης as σκυλλοπνίκτης, 'puppy-choker'.[2]

For both Hermes and Herakles a connection with dogs is ready to hand: the overcoming of those guarding Apollo's cattle,[3] removal of Kerberos from Hades.[4] Yet the lexicographical uncertainty over Kandaulas' identification unavoidably prompts a search for some tighter and more abstract ground of correspondence; picturesque folkloric coincidences would be insufficient although they might of course spring from such abstract bases. Fortunately the archaeologists have been able to provide one, in prescriptive appeal to the powers controlling the afterlife, as expressed by chthonic sacrifice. The immediate objection that neither Hermes nor Herakles is attested to have received dog-sacrifices at any time or place is a strong one, only partly countered by their well-known chthonic quality (Hermes Chthonios/Psychopompos, Herakles' exploits in the underworld) while their occasional lawlessness links them with each other but probably not with Kandaulas. Reference to shared tutelary aspects on the grounds that numerous burials of (sacrificed) puppies have been found near the walls of residential buildings is somewhat far-fetched as tutelary functions are part of the general divine repertoire. Nonetheless explanation of Hipponax's and Hesychios'

ambiguous information in terms of shared chthonic interests is still the best available theory.

Twenty-six uniform 'assemblage deposits' have been unearthed in Sardis. They were distinctive in that they all comprised the following items - a one-handled jug containing the remains of a puppy ('immature canid'), a small oinochoe, a skyphos, a shallow dish and an iron knife. As the editor, Greenewalt, states, "these assemblages undoubtedly are the residue of ritual meals".[5] Stratigraphic analysis allows for dating between ca. 575 and 525, in other words approximately contemporary with Hipponax's own lifetime. The intended recipient being a subject for speculation, both the Karian war-god Enyalios and Hekate[5a] spring to mind, amply documented on Greenewalt's pp. 42-45; he finds against them both on the grounds that their dog-sacrifices were traditionally bloody affairs, not tidy burial-deposits. Evidence is hardly plentiful enough even in Hekate's case for this to be a completely satisfactory line of argument; nor does either god appear in the extant fragments of Hipponax in any connection (for what this is worth). Sandon (equated with Herakles by Lydos, De Mag. 3. 4) or the heroes Tylos and Masdnes might be more promising candidates; currently 'non liquet' is required, but at least these puppy sacrifices bring us into the general religious sphere in which Kandaulas belonged. Fr. 104. 22-4 makes, in an insecure context, reference to Kroisos, Daskyleion, and Dionysos, all in some connexion with bakkaris, a luxurious Lydian perfume. I see no reason whatever to doubt that the Kroisos mentioned is the Mermnad king; cf. Archilochos' reference to Gyges (fr. 15); and Daskyleion had strong links with the earlier Mermnad kings in popular history. During Alyattes' reign Kroisos had acted as governor of Adramytteion and the plain of Thebe, to the southwest but within easy reach of Daskyleion.[6] The gods occurring in Kroisos' biography are Zeus Ammon, Apollo, Ephesian Artemis, the Epirote Zeus (with the oracular heroes Amphiaraus and Trophonios) but not Baki-Dionysos;[7] however this allusion made by Hipponax puts back the god's currency in Lydia by some two hundred years from the purely epigraphical record. (He was

sufficiently well-established by the end of the Archaic period to become a significant figure in fifth-century Athenian literature, as we shall see in due course.)

This fragment was found on papyrus; fr. 127, preserved for its variant spelling of Kybele's name, consists of one line of iambic tetrameter: καὶ Διὸς κούρη Κυβήβη καὶ Θρεϊκίη Βενδῖς . More noteworthy than the form of her name is the apparent equation with Artemis as Zeus' daughter: certainly the Mother of the Gods is envisaged as a separate figure here, more explicitly than in other sources. This may well stem from a variant folk-tradition in Lydia. Without more of the original literary context we have no way of knowing what connexion if any the poet saw between the two goddesses, Kybele and Thrakian Bendis. (The Athenian answer would have been their patronage of orgiastic rites.) At all events it is useful to learn that their cults were widespread enough by the mid-sixth century to merit such an allusion, assuming as it does some familiarity with both goddesses among literate or sophisticated Greeks. Herodotos felt it necessary to append a brief explanation (5. 102. 1) of Kybele's identity when narrating the Ionian burning of her temple in Sardis for the benefit of his mainland audience.

Fr. 4 valuably contains the Greek form of the Lydian noun kaves, otherwise attested as a title for priestesses of Sardian Artemis, as late as the second century AD: Κίκων ὁ παυσάλυτος ἄγγελος καύης. A scholion to Tzetzes' commentary records that Kikon was a mantis, seer: if correct and applicable to his title this would add another dimension to our understanding of the Lydian priesthood; currently all we can say is that the kaues and kaueis had ritual functions to perform in the service of the gods, and that they perhaps tended to come from the 'higher reaches' of society.[8]

Fr. 40, preserved by Tzetzes purely as a metrical exemplum, is in parlous condition; its interest for us lies in the possibility that the first word is the name of Lydian Athene. Hesychios supports the view that 'Malis' was a variant of this

goddess; as Masson points out a tradition is glimpsed in Hellanikos (fr. 1. 12) that Omphale had in her entourage a woman called Malis on whom Herakles fathered the hero Akeles, to which might be added an Aiolic fragment describing Malis as a spinner (clearly the editor had the tale of Athene and Ariadne in mind here), as well as a note made by Basil of Isauria to the effect that one of the towns of his homeland was believed to owe its name, Dalisandos, to associations with Malis and Sandon. The latter was popularly identified with Herakles. This 'schema' seems rather tenuous to me, particularly since the form Asvi is well-attested as matching Athene in a fourth-century bilingual dedication.[9] However the possibility cannot be overlooked that Hipponax has transmitted an alternative name for Athene, or even a second goddess for some reason identified with her. Athene is in general not strongly represented in Lydia, and then in a context which leads one to suspect that her cult was essentially an Attalid import.

Next, fr. 42 comprises the (justly famous?) lines giving directions to someone travelling through Lydia toward the Ionian coast. Its picturesque details as far as they are localizable refer to the royal tombs at Bin Tepe, and hence might well be regarded as evidence for nothing more than a touristic knowledge of the country on Hipponax's part. Similarly fr. 92 opens with an unnamed woman speaking one or two words of Lydian: as they are untranslated their value is minimal other than as a sign of nodding acquaintance with the language. The poetic point of inserting them is lost with their meaning - but are we to assume that his audience would share Hipponax's familiarity, these being words commonly used by, for instance, the Lydian merchants working in Ionia, or that they serve to impart some exotic colouring to the passage by their unfamiliarity? In view of the poet's easy use of colloquial language elsewhere I should prefer the first of these two theses.

Pindar's interest in Lydia revolves around its reputation as a centre for music and as the homeland of Pelops; his frequent allusions to Dionysos contain no discernible Lydian component (ὄργια βακχίᾳ is too general a phrase, without amplification), although a passing reference to the god as

paredros of Demeter in Isthmian 7. 3-5 could perhaps be taken as hinting at a surviving Anatolian element within the contemporary Greek tradition. Fr. 77 mentions Kybele as Mother of the Gods, but in a frustratingly broken context.

Aischylos was to be criticised by Strabo (12. 8. 21/578) for muddling Lydian and Trojan topography when talking of the reign of Tantalos: Mount Sipylos was set in the neighbourhood of Ida in the Niobe, detailing a legend firmly located in southern Lydia by Pausanias (8. 2. 7), a native of the region.[10] In the Persai (45, 49) mention is duly made, during the catalogue of Xerxes' forces, of Sardian gold from the Paktolos and of the holiness of Mt. Tmolos; both of these, however, are entirely conventional themes, part of the ethnographic repertoire of any educated Greek with an interest in foreign affairs, one might say. The 'holy Tmolos' is, like Pindar's 'Bacchic rites', too general, and already absorbed into the cultural mainstream, to be of practical value in current context.

The degree of interest shown varies for personal as well as literary reasons, needless to say: Sophokles' piety is more responsible than the demands of the plot for the evocation of the Mother of the Gods made by Philoctetes' chorus (391-402), an evocation worth quoting in full:

ὀρεστέρα παμβῶτι γᾶ
μᾶτερ αὐτοῦ Διός
ἃ τὸν μέγαν Πακτωλὸν εὔχρυσον νέμεις
σὲ κἀκεῖ μᾶτερ ποτνι' ἐπηυδώμαν
ὅτ' ἐς τόνδ' Ἀτρειδᾶν
ὕβρις πᾶσ' ἐχώρει
ὅτε τὰ πάτρια τεύχεα παρεδίδοσαν
ἰὼ μάκαιρα ταυρο-
κτόνων λεόντων ἔφε-
δρε τῷ Λαρτίου σέβας ὑπέρτατον.

The goddess is no more closely identified than as a dweller beside the Paktolos, attended by lions: features that fit what we know of Kybele rather than Sardian Artemis.

It becomes apparent from passages in two of Euripides' plays that a definite 'Lydian complex' formed part of the available intellectual repertoire, at least in fifth-century Athens. This complex was composed of Bakchos, the Mother of the Gods, and mountains. Dependence on outside witnesses may be more crucially unreliable in this case than in others, in view of the abundant possibilities for misunderstanding and conflation, yet the coincidence of imagery remains suggestive. It is fair to bear in mind the fact that knowledge of Sardis had been current in Greek circles since the time of Kroisos in particular; and so far there is no information contradicting the relevance of the complex to Lydian religion. The passages in question come from the Helen and Bacchae: the first strophe of Helen 1301 ff. hymns the Mountain Mother of the Gods, Oreia Mater Theon; krotala bromia, clattering castanets, accompany her ceremonies, over which she presides in a chariot drawn by wild animals. Certainly there is an Hellenic overlay to the scene, with the Mother being assimilated to Demeter and attended in the dance by Artemis, Gorgopis Athene, the Graces and Muses, and Kypris; even so the scene is an amalgam of genuine cultic elements. The Bacchae similarly devotes an entire chorus (64-169) to depiction of the new god in his own haunts. The maenads on first entry claim to have travelled in his service all the way from holy Tmolos in Asia; 'Bromios' and 'Bakcheus' are used interchangeably with 'Dionysos'; stress is laid upon the mountain location of his rites, as upon attendance at them by the Great Mother, Kybele; the poet does take some licence with precise details, introducing the Korybantes into the picture and treating the mountains of Phrygia and Lydia together in a cavalier manner, as well as using Rhea as a variant name for Kybele (a mistake we shall meet again) while at l. 154 it looks as though the Tmolos has been temporarily conflated with its goldbearing river, Paktolos; but on the whole the physical and religious landscapes are consistent.

Herodotos practically tells his readers himself (1. 94. 1) that he has little to say on the subject of Lydian religion, with the avowal that Λυδοὶ δὲ νόμοισι μὲν παραπλησίοισι χρέωνται καὶ Ἕλλησες

χωρὶς δὲ ἢ ὅτι τὰ θήλεα τέκνα καταπορνεύουσι·

Whereas the Babylonian version of the prostitution-motif sets it expressly in a religious context this Lydian one seems to be secular, and primarily concerned with the girls' marriage prospects; whether Herodotos had merely overlooked the structural element of service to a fertility-goddess on this occasion it is currently impossible to decide, however likely we may think it. Elsewhere (5. 102. 1) he notes that one of the chief temples of Sardis was that of 'Kybebe', a native goddess; as previously noted, it has not yet definitely been found by the excavators, and was certainly quite separate from that of Artemis. Unlike Euripides, he leaves out of count any Phrygian associations for this goddess. The main item of information he has to offer concerns Kroisos' idiosyncratic behaviour in consulting diverse oracles in preparation for the campaign against Kyros (1. 46. 2-3). What is noteworthy here is the eclectic nature of religious reference as evinced by an Anatolian king, appeals being made according to Herodotos to shrines throughout Ionian and Greek territory and in the Egyptian desert too, that of Zeus Ammon. Kroisos' social status may be a distinguishing factor in this, opportunities being open to him that were closed to his subjects, and in some ways the Persian conquest may have raised barriers between different countries such as to hinder - temporarily - further eclecticism spreading throughout Lydia. At all events we cannot tell how typical the king (with his forebears who had endowed Delphi themselves) was of his countrymen, nor whether his devotion to Ephesian Artemis was generally shared: the most that can, I feel, be usefully said is that the opportunity and climate of opinion favourable to such behaviour certainly existed. The religious views of Kroisos' and Herodotos' Lydian contemporaries fail, being irrelevant to the latter's theme, to get a hearing.

In the Anabasis Artemis' altar in Sardis receives brief mention, venerated and employed for the most solemn oaths by the Achaemenid hierarchy as well as their subjects. Kyros the Younger alludes to an agreement reached and sanctified there between himself and the rebel Orontas. For chronological reasons alone it would

be surprising to find that this altar had anything to do with the statue of Anahita erected by his brother Artaxerxes; a site is to hand in the contemporary structure of the central Artemision. Politic respect for local deities is thus implied.[11]

The comic poets and orators provide nothing substantial to add to this overall picture; the Athenian attitude to the wandering priests of gods indigenous to Asia Minor is pithily summed-up in the epithets Metragurtes and Menagurtes. Undisciplined begging was seen as their salient characteristic.

A lacuna of nearly three hundred years ensues, until the record is resumed by Diodoros in the mid-first century. At 3. 58-59 he has preserved a charming tale, a curious blend of picturesque folk-lore and syncretistic rationalization, as the Magna Mater's biography: the natives say that a king of Phrygia and Lydia by the name of Maion long ago married Dindyme, who bore him an unwanted female child; exposed on Mount Kybelon and taking her name from it, the child was reared by wild animals and in due course invented the syrinx and kettledrum, and taught the art of healing. Grateful peasants dubbed her Mother of the mountain. Later she fell in love with Attis - also known as Papas - but her father executed him; this drove her out in frenzy, and in her wanderings she met and influenced Dionysos, finally finding rest at Pessinos where Midas paid honour to her. One immediate comment is that the story is a masterpiece of its kind! However, as it stands the story is too much of a Euhemeristic fantasy to have discernible historical value. Fortunately the quality of Strabo's and Pausanias' information is rather better. At 10. 3/469 the former asserts that worship of 'Rhea' was common to the Phrygians and the Trojans, that orgiastic rites were an integral part, and that the goddess was variously known as Mother of the Gods, Agdistis, Magna Mater, and - from the locations - the Idaian, Dindymene, Sipylene, Pessinuntian; a further name was Kybele. In essence Strabo is reporting on the continuing Greek perception of the diverse Anatolian 'mother goddesses' as having a great deal in common. It is refreshing to note that cultural diffusion worked in both directions - each of these deities has palpably managed to retain a distinctive identity, instead of succumbing

to any significant degree of Hellenization. Kulumsis Artimus appears in her newer guise as Koloenian Artemis at 13. 4. 5/626 with a temple beside the Gygaean Lake; Strabo calls the temple a very holy one, no doubt in large measure because of its perceived antiquity.

Pausanias is a particularly valued source, as a learned native of the region. His information concerns the cult of the Lydian form of Anahita and shrines of Kybele/Meter Plastene and Aphrodite on and near Sipylos.[12] The ancient statue of Taurian Artemis, familiar from the story of Iphigeneia, was claimed as the property of several widely-scattered sanctuaries of the goddess beside the Lakonian, including, according to local report, that of Artemis Anaitis. No information is given as to the image's appearance; nor is it at all certain where this sanctuary will have been. The Hyrkanian plain is perhaps the likeliest region. It is interesting to find that by the second century A.D. worship of 'Artemis' had evidently become uniform enough for her image to seem interchangeable on both sides of the Aegean; no discrepancy was felt by Pausanias' contemporaries as between the mainland goddess and one with Persian roots as far as suitable statues were concerned. The host sanctuary, although Pausanias fails to make the equation explicit, was the same as or a companion to the one belonging to 'Persian Artemis' at which his countrymen dedicated a bronze statue of Adrastos after his death in the Lamian war, in which he had participated for undisclosed personal reasons. The suggestion by Levi and Pedley that <u>this</u> sanctuary may have been at Sardis seems quite without foundation[13]. Again, on the evidence available we are entitled to consider the sanctuaries in Hypaipa and Hierakome/Hierokaisareia at which Persian fire-ritual was carried on in Pausanias' day as also belonging to the transplanted Anahita; both towns were centres of her worship. A lively description of the ceremony is given in terms of eyewitness account. The writer believed that magic was at work: a priest wearing a crown (tiara) piled up dry wood on an altar and then chanted unintelligibly from some sacred book, whereupon the dry wood burst into flame of its own accord. The tenacity of ethnic and cultural identity

implied here is certainly impressive. (Its degree may of course be considerably lessened, but not reduced altogether, by the possibility that the revered sacred text might have been largely incomprehensible 'in everyday terms' to the congregation as well.) Elsewhere traces of more indigenous religious practice survive in Pausanias' narrative: he is the only literary source of information on Magnesia's cult of the Mother, information that has been usefully supplemented by modern study of the area's monuments. A framework of Hellenized myth had been imposed by his time, the careers of Tantalos and Pelops located there: a lake named after Tantalos, his grave, his son's throne on the mountain-top near the sanctuary of the Meter Plastene, and a myrtle-wood statue of Aphrodite at Temnos dedicated in the bid to win Hippodameia. As Bean comments, Meter Plastene and the Mother of the Gods, whose oldest statue the Magnesians claimed to possess on the rock of Koddinos as a legacy from its maker, Tantalos' other son Broteas, are probably one and the same - and the statue is in fact the Hittite relief of a woman, the Turks' Taş Suret. Her sanctuary is independently known from inscriptions found in the plain below Mt. Sipylos, while 'Pelops' throne' can be identified with a rock-cut structure above a ravine (Yarikkaya), bearing out the essence of Pausanias' account if not its framework. Her epithet is no longer explicable but will have had some meaning specific to the region of Magnesia.[14]

Returning to the first century, Plutarch and Pliny both offer small but welcome items. In the Life of Themistokles (31) Plutarch relates that while in Sardis during his flight to the Persian court after exile from Athens Themistokles came across a statue of a water-carrier that he had himself erected with the revenues derived from fines for offences against the water regulations. Looted by the Persian army, it had found its way to the Metroon. Again, this temple is independently known by means of an inscription carved in 214/13 on one of its columns.[15]

Plutarch's passing notice is the earliest testimony to the existence of such a temple in Sardis, a city in which the cult of Artemis had come to assume more importance. Secure evidence of worship of the Mother in Sardis is indeed

conspicuous by its rarity, a single coin bearing her image in Salonina's reign.[16] Pliny too alludes to the Tantalid connections of Mt. Sipylos, asserting that an old town, Sipylum, had formerly been called Tantalis and had suffered flooding. The popularity of this association no doubt represents in part Greek attempts to make sense of the traditional folk-lore passed on by natives, its origins lost in 'the Hittite past'.

Tacitus (Annales 4. 5) transmits a tale of the same general kind, recording the plea used by Sardian envoys in the contest of 26 A.D. in which the honour of building a temple to Tiberius was at stake between eleven Asian poleis. As 'runners-up' the Sardians had chosen to put forward their kinship with the Etruscans, the result of an ancient division of the nation in response to pressures of population: of King Atys' two sons Lydos had stayed behind and Tyrrhenos led the emigrants to Italy; Tantalid associations were brought into play as well, the envoys rehearsing their ancestors' power as shown by settlement in the Peloponnese. Tacitus is another witness to the continuing strength of the cult of Persian Artemis, again in the context of embassies to Tiberius but on this occasion, in 22, from Hierokaisareia (the recently adopted name for Hierakome) as well as (and with more justice than) Sardis (Annales 3. 6). During Tiberius' investigation of claims of asylia the Hierokaisareian defence of Persian Artemis' rights began with the shrine's foundation by none other than Kyros the Great, and ran through later grants including those made by Perpenna and Isauricus (ca. 130 and 78-75). The Ephesians in turn had drawn upon the distant past in support of their Artemision, on the grounds that Apollo and Artemis were actually born beside the river Kenchrios not on Delos, that the site's sanctity was recognized by Bakchos when he pardoned Amazons who had taken shelter there, and that finally Herakles while busy with the conquest of Lydia had ratified this sanctity for all time (a more ingenious plea than the Hierokaisareian).

In his extant entry under 'Mastaura' Stephanos of Byzantion noted that the Lydians called Rhea Ma: a neat example of the eclectic confusion into which this

area of scholarship had fallen by the fifth or sixth century A.D. Photios in the ninth century offers half a dozen entries in his Lexicon related more or less distantly to the old cult of Kybele. These are enlightening principally as to the reputation with which the goddess had ended up: Κυβηβᾶν· μαίνεσθαι, ἐνθουσιᾶν· Κύβηβος· ὁ κατεχόμενος τῇ μητρὶ τῶν θεῶν, θεοφόρητος

Charon of Lampsakos in book I said: τὴν Ἀφροδίτην ὑπὸ φρυγῶν καὶ Λυδῶν Κυβήβην λέγεσθαι. Κύβηβον: —; Kratinos in the Thrakian Women: τὸν θεοφόρητον· Ἴωνες δὲ τὸν μητραγύρτην καὶ γάλλον νῦν καλούμενον· οὕτως Σιμωνίδης. Κυβηλίσαι· πελεκίσαι· Κύβηλις γὰρ ὁ πέλεκυς. Κύβηλις· μάχαιρα ἢ τοὺς βοῦς τραχηλοκοπεῖ. Κύβηλις· ἀγγεῖον κεραμεοῦν.

Ecstatic possession is memorably portrayed as a feature of Kybele-worship by Catullus (63). The Ionian conception of her followers involves two alien features, those of castration and undisciplined begging. This seems not to have hindered her cult's diffusion and continued popularity unduly.[17]

In conjunction with the epigraphic evidence previously reviewed, and the numismatic evidence documented in Appendix d, below, this literary material gives a vivid picture of the country's increasing cultural diversity.

PART SIX - RELIGION - (b) LITERARY SOURCES

1. Greenewalt, Ritual dinners in early historic Sardis p. 1 note 2.
2. Tzetzes, Chiliades l. 144 Cramer; Greenewalt, op.cit. p. 45 and note 20.
3. Antonius Liberalis, Met. 23. 2; not in Homeric Hymn.
4. Aristophanes, Frogs 467, Birds 1575; Apollodoros, Bibliotheca 2. 5.12.
5. Op.cit. p. l.

5a. We are fortunate enough to have a new epigraphic reference to Hekate's canine associations, from the region of Maionia, published in TAM V. 1. 523: Ἑκάτῃ σκυλακαίνα·

6. Nik. Dam., FGrH 90 fr. 65.
7. Hdt. l. 26-7, 46, 92; 6. 125; Paus. 3. 10. 6; Aelian, Var. Hist. 3. 26; Polyainos 6. 50.
8. I.Sardis 50-55. This is not true of the social standing of certain other servants of the deities, such as the slavegirls vowed (as "sanctified bodies", somata hiera) to the goddess, during Tiberius' principate, by Hierokaisareians: TAM V. 2. 1252.
9. Gusmani, Lydisches Wőrterbuch no. 40.
10. Cf. Iliad 24. 603-17.
11. Xen., Anab. l. 6. 7.
12. Paus. 3. 16. 8; 7. 6. 4; 5 27. 5-6; 5. 13. 7.
13. Pausanias: Guide to Greece vol. 1 p. 246 note 39 (on 7. 6. 4); Pedley, Ancient literary sources on Sardis p. 74 no. 270.
14. Paus. 3. 22. 4; Bean, op. cit. pp. 31-3, 38-40.
15. BASOR 174 (1964) p. 34; Robert, Nouvelles Inscriptions de Sardes p. 58 (very brief note).
16. BMC Lydia p. 274 no. 210. No subsequent ones have been found for Buttrey's and Johnston's catalogue.
17. Vermaseren, Cybele and Attis pp. 13-16; 24-32.

(c) Summary of evidence

Apparent contradictions between the sources turn out to be essentially differences of emphasis, supplementary to each other: varying distribution of the testimonia for the patron goddesses of Sardis, or for Anaitis' cult in the Hyrkanian plain and elsewhere, is unlikely to have any significant implication. Coinage would tend to favour Kore's claim to be in some sense the chief deity of Sardis, epigraphy that of Artemis, literature that of Kybele; distinct versions of the blend between Anahita and Artemis were worshipped in Hypaipa, the Hyrkanian plain and Philadelphia: traditional preferences varying from place to place seem to provide as satisfactory an explanation as we are likely to get. On the whole the sources are purely complementary, as, strikingly, in the case of Magnesia's cult of the Mother, portrayed by Pausanias, inscriptions and the area's archaeology in combination.

Anatolian features may be summarized as follows: a wide currency for local versions of the Mother-goddess in particular, use of the double-axe as a potent religious emblem, in general a strong tendency to localize deities of whatever origin in a peculiarly intimate way - as village patrons with the capacity to evoke, in Maionia at least, religious guilt and attendant desire for expiation - and status assimilated to the divine for the heroes Tylos and Masdnes.

Iranian features introduced by the Achaemenids, directly or indirectly, are represented by Anahita's flourishing cult and ascription of deep value to the ceremonial use of fire (as by Pausanias' 'Magi').

Greek features, predictably dominant in the surviving picture, can be broadly summarized as wholesale adoption of the Olympians and (probably) the concept of a specifically civic priesthood. Mystery cult however does not seem to have taken a very firm hold in the country. Influence in the opposite direction might well be sought in the continuing tendency to endow old Lydian sites with a numinous quality expressed in terms of place-bound epithets and the Olympians' admission

into the circle of 'village-rulers'. (On the Iranian side, there is the salutary example of Mitradastas' service as a priestly temple warden for Qldans and Artimus, in demonstration of respect accorded to the indigenous gods.)

At closer quarters, mapping of separate districts by religious allegiance would divide Maionia from the Hyrkanian plain, the Cayster from the Kogamos valley, but only partially: forms of the same gods appear throughout the country, any real distinction between them obscured by the standardization imposed by the formal character of much of the evidence. To illustrate: 'village-rulers' and signs of the attendant mentality are heavily concentrated in the region of Maionia but also once found in the Cayster valley; in variant spellings and specifically as a Mother, Anaitis was of great importance as far afield as Maionia; the Olympians are found indiscriminately in the regions bordering Ionia and in those across the Tmolos range, Kore perhaps more visibly moving inland from the coast whereas the direction taken by Asklepios and Athene was most likely down from the area of Pergamon. Conversely one particular deity, Bakchos/Dionysos, on present evidence moved in the opposite direction, spreading out during the Classical period from the Sardian heartland. Some concentration of the worship of Apollo in the northwest, centring on Thyateira, might suggest that this god in fact took the same route as his son and Athene. Herakles and Hermes as the palaestra's gods and in the case of the former comparable with pre-existing divine or heroic figures (Sandon, Masdnes) pose no interesting questions; the opposite is of course true for Artemis.

As previously explained, it is strictly speaking imprudent to claim certainty for either possible route of diffusion; what is undisputed is the focal position of Ephesian cult, yet such provenance should not be seen as indicative of original ethnic purity - quite the reverse!

Zeus' status within the picture is not altogether clear: identification with the old Sardian Levs, or alternatively Qldans, is not proven, nor would proof entail firm conclusions as to the line of religious development, but we can at least be confident

that he took their place as a major civic deity; his popularity, above all in this capacity, was widespread under the Empire.

So it seems reasonable by now to conclude that the religious landscape as an illustration of Lydian Hellenization, although merely an outline in some places, conveys a strong impression that a successful compromise was reached, names and attributes of Greek gods being adopted with the language as recognizable versions of older ones or simply as novelties for their own sakes, and at the same time due space being left for tenacious and intimate elements of Anatolian belief. It remains open to us, despite the evident disappearance of the native language, to consider that the proportions of this amalgam vary correspondingly with proximity to Greek poleis.

CONCLUSION

On the eve of the earthquake of AD 17 Lydia presents the appearance of a world very different from that of seven hundred years before when the Mermnad dynasty first came to power. The monarchs have gone, and in their place are Roman governors, from a distant country with very different traditions, whose interest is in maintaining peaceful conditions for trading and commercial purposes and in enforcing the military and political dominance of Rome. There is no longer a common focus of Lydian secular loyalty, nor the means to exert collective influence, either by force or peacefully, on outsiders, and a Lydian identity is not so readily expressed. The gold has run out, and with it the capital's special status among and attraction to foreigners. Instead, there are many foreigners now resident alongside the natives, Persians, Greeks and Jews: brought in by successive conquerors, to serve their own purposes.

Those foreigners have occupied varying forms of settlement. During the sixth and fifth centuries Persians lived in Sardis and in garrison camps and fortified farmsteads in the countryside, in the third century they encamped near, or within, a village, and their gods will continue under the Empire to be worshipped in several parts of the country, in towns and villages owing their origins or expansion to military occupation under the Achaemenids and long retaining a distinctive sense of 'Persianness' as part of their corporate identity. Towards the end of the third century, two thousand Jewish families were resettled, not perhaps in existing towns but in fortresses and "the most expedient places", by Antiochos III, with the wherewithal to engage in small-scale farming; but since the time of the satraps many had come to live and work, with their polytheistic neighbours, in Sardis, which has the only synagogue known archaeologically in Lydia. Recently Augustus had formally confirmed their exclusive privileges. Greek poleis had for centuries occupied the territory adjoining Lydia, but the major physical incursions were the dispatching of Makedonian troops into numerous rural settlements and then the redevelopment of Sardis, by the Seleukids, and the creation of poleis from the

existing villages and military camps at the sites of Philadelphia and Apollonis, by the Attalids.

It is those Greek immigrants who have made the greatest impact. Their language and their characteristic form of settlement for communities beyond the level of the village have in conjunction come to replace those of the Lydians, in the sense that Greek is now the language of public, 'civic' declaration and of private commemoration and that much of the population is living in towns of Hellenic character, with authority and expressions of popular opinion vested in a boule and demos, possessing a theatre and gymnasium, the public cults those of Greek and Hellenized gods; many of the villages and other communities have now or will come to possess organization, or at least officials, of familiar Greek antecedents. Prominent residents are tending to use Greek names, to the exclusion of Lydian ones, and are politically active within the context and confines of the Roman provincia.

Looking in detail at how and why this has happened, there is no easy answer. A thousand years of trading contacts and of fondness for Greek art forms will have prepared the ground, making them more receptive to Greek styles and ways of living than any other peoples of Asia Minor, and loss of national sovereignty may have contributed by depriving them of a clear and prestigious national identity, but this is not necessarily so: foreign conquest has often had the effect of making ethnic consciousness and pride in ancestral tradition (even if imperfectly transmitted) more intense, not less. In this case, however, we do not have the evidence to go beyond the argument that the absorption first into the Achaemenid Empire and then into the Hellenistic world did indeed render the Lydians peculiarly ready to adopt wholesale an alien but long-familiar culture. Its 'alienness' is in my view a complex matter and part of the explanation: whereas Hanfmann elected to describe native Lydian culture and society as "mixo-barbarous" (as though this were a specific ethnic designation, furnished by the social anthropologists), I would prefer to lay stress on the

symbiotic, mutually beneficial aspects of a relationship that was at the outset and for several centuries a partnership. In music and sculpture Lydian artists worked with, not in the shadow of, Greek ones, while in the minting of coins and the trappings of 'soft living' they were the tutors. Their land (as Hippokrates would have said, a prime determinant of their character) was more fertile and better endowed, their military skill as cavalrymen unrivalled. That they have left no literature may not be just a matter of temperament but also in part the result of historical accident.

Turning to the process of that absorption into the Hellenistic world, the third and second centuries, following the substitution of Makedonian-Greek rulers for the satraps in Asia Minor, were the time of gradual but considerable development. Outside the capital, Thyateira was founded by Seleukos I: there were already several native settlements in the area, perhaps of mixed Lydian and Mysian nature, united in worship of the Lydian rider-god Tyrimnos, bearer of the double-axe, and on these Seleukos superimposed a permanent garrison of his troops, who by then will have been the next generation after Alexander's own men but clearly continued to regard themselves as Makedonians. That new settlement had become a polis towards the end of the third century or by the mid-second, and in any event served as a rallying-point, or focus, for other 'Greek' settlements in the Kaikos valley during these centuries and later. Elsewhere, the ancient site of Magnesia ad Sipylum in the mid-third century had still been a relatively unstructured settlement, described indeed as a plēthos by the Smyrnaians when a treaty was made, conferring citizenship on "those of the residents of Magnesia who are both free and Greek", in other words living alongside free (non-slave) Lydians. Their joint community boasted at the time an altar to Dionysos - Baki - and statues of the (Seleukid) kings, as well as a sanctuary of the Apollo of Panda and the Sipylene Mother: features quite congruent, we might think, with the established characters of both ethnic groups and testifying to the centuries of harmonious coexistence, rather than being indicative of a cultural inequality. But by the second

century, perhaps under the influence of sympolity with Smyrna, there was a gymnasium and a local mint, and no separate trace of distinctively Lydian activity.

The issuing of coins might well be a useful index not specifically of "Hellenization" but of a growing status, self-consciousness and prosperity among certain communities. It is noticeable that after the widespread Archaic and classical coinages, there was a substantial hiatus, until such coinages resumed during the second century onwards. The places in question are Mostene, Tralles, Blaundos, Hierakome, Thyateira, Klannoudda, Hypaipa, "the Kaystrianoi". Representing as these do communities of Lydians, Phrygians, Mysians, Makedonians, Ionians and Persians, and initially having in common little more than occupation of Lydian territory, they are eventually bonded together by assimilation to the Hellenistic Greek urban pattern: it may be historically preferable to describe that urban pattern, or the world from which it sprang, as that of the oikumene preceding the spread of the Roman Empire into the East. At all events, some of those communities, not least Mostene and Hermokapeleia and even Thyateira, retained past their transformation into poleis folk memories of Lydian, and Makedonian, ancestry, and in turn Hyrkanis, for example, a polis in the first century AD, long continued to commemorate the Persian element in its origins.

What the Lydians themselves were doing in these towns and the neighbouring villages over this period, on the other hand, does remain a mystery. It is implausible to suppose that the volume of Greek colonization was so great that the Lydians simply fell silent, and retreated, so that only ethnic Greeks remain historically visible: this is not the course of development in the capital, and the maintenance of traditions in the form of Lydian titles, folktales, cult and coin-motifs in poleis as well as villages gainsays it. Varying degrees of Hellenization, as between the Cayster valley and the Katakekaumene, are evident during Imperial times, while the putative weakening of native self-confidence demonstrated by the tenacious currency of the 'God-ruled villages', and of belief in divine immanence, in the heartland also enables us to register the continued presence of Lydians in their own right.

It is the quality and intensity of that Greek colonization, not its volume, which influenced the development of Lydian society so profoundly. The intrinsic nature of that society is capable of being grasped merely in outline, with recourse to the impressions of Λυδοκαθία transmitted by their Greek contemporaries and by the remains of their material environment. Their reputation was based on sophistication and luxury, derived from the agricultural and mineral wealth of the country, wealth which has in turn given rise to the current descriptive model of the society as prototype of the transition between an agrarian barter economy and a commercial monetary one and as being of historical value for that very reason above all. This model may be counted an acceptable approximation in that it places emphasis on the Lydians' pioneering participation in the invention of coined money and more broadly on the political value of the 'gold strike' in contributing to the achievement of a dominant position under the Mermnads, although the precise role, if any, played by the kapeloi in the general development of Lydian society is speculative. They may have seemed at the time just one occupational group among many.

What is not a matter of speculation is the drastic cultural change effected during the four centuries between Apollo's judgment in favour of Gyges and Antiochos III's siege of Sardis, consolidated as this was in the ensuing two hundred years before the earthquake and the benefactions of the Roman Emperor. It may be summed up as follows:- despite the Achaemenid conquest and creation of the satrapy the influence of the Persians has proved negligible by comparison with that of the Greeks, to which first as partners then briefly as military overlords the Lydians have been exposed for a millennium; by the zenith of Hellenic cultural influence in Asia Minor and the Aegean, Lydian art had sunk into provinciality and the dominant political and social structures, dictated as these were by the monarchy and by the existence of local tribalism, into disuse and decline. Conquest by Kyros in the mid-sixth century might certainly be taken as a turning-point in the sense that the loss of that strategic and commercial centrality enjoyed under the Mermnads and the exclusion of the aristocratic families

from power, along with the increasing prestige among Lydian and other Anatolian peoples of things Greek contributed to a progressive 'failure of nerve' and an acquiescence in the imposition of Makedonian settlements on older ones. The cultural prestige embodied by those settlements in common with the flourishing ancient poleis of the coast, after Alexander's adventures, backed up and reinforced as this was by Seleukid and Attalid military supremacy, acts to fill the vacuum left by the loss of native sovereignty and produce thoroughgoing acceptance of both modes of Hellenization, both using but more particularly imitating Greeks. It may not be too great an exaggeration to say that the polis came to be regarded as the normal and unavoidable mode of urban life, in a country composed predominantly of rural villages which could not escape a measure of economic and cultural dependence on each nearby polis.

Absorption into the Roman conventus system, overriding as this did national boundaries as well as whatever pre-existing administrative and judicial arrangements there may have been, set the seal on Lydia's descent from an autonomous kingdom to a province.

Nonetheless, throughout this period life in the countryside will have gone on with some degree of continuity and maintenance of tradition, whether tribal, religious or social, and the date at which the language finally fell into disuse outside the towns can only be guessed at. Lydianness as displayed by the Dandy falls out of historiographical sight but his descendants lived on, and an attempt has been made in this thesis to give them due commemoration.

Appendix : the process of linguistic change

(A) Catalogue of Lydian texts

7th century

Middle : M3 B.I.5 - graffito - from 'Crepis Wall' of Karniyarik Tepe (Gyges' tomb)

M3 B.I.3 - graffito - limestone fragment from Pactolus North

M3 B.I.4 - graffito - limestone fragment from Pactolus North

Second half : LW 49 - graffito - sandstone fragment from Silsilis, Upper Egypt

End/Early 6th century : LW 52 - electrum coinmark - from the Sardian Artemision

M3 A.II.5 - ceramic - under cupellation floor, Pactolus North

M3 A.II.4 - ceramic - from House of Bronzes area

M3 B.I.6 - graffito - from an Acropolis wall

M3 B.II.8 - ceramic - from House of Bronzes area

M3 B.II.10 - ceramic - from House of Bronzes area

6th century

First half : M3 A.II.9/LW 58 - ceramic - from House of Bronzes area

M3 B.II.9 - ceramic - from House of Bronzes area

M3 A.II.14 - ceramic - from House of Bronzes area

LW 30 - ceramic - from chamber tomb, necropolis hill

LW 31 - ceramic - near chamber tomb, necropolis hill

LW 32 - ceramic - from tomb on necropolis hill

General : M3 A.II.16 - ceramic - from Pactolus North

M3 A.II.17 - ceramic - from Pactolus North

M3 A.II.18 - ceramic - from House of Bronzes area

M3 A.II.21 - ceramic - from House of Bronzes area

M3 A.II.3/LW 60 - ceramic - from Pactolus North

LW 48 - graffito - marble fragment from the Ephesian Artemision

Second half : M3 A.III.2 - ceramic - from House of Bronzes area

LW 55/Boardman no. 4 - seal - unknown provenance

LW 56/Boardman no. 6 - seal - unknown provenance

End/Early 5th century : M3 A.II.6 - ceramic - from the Sardian Artemision

M3 A.II.10 - ceramic - from Pactolus North

M3 A.II.13 - ceramic - from Pactolus North

M3 A.II.19 - ceramic - from House of Bronzes area

M3 A.II.12 - ceramic - from House of Bronzes area

M3 A.III.3 - ceramic - from House of Bronzes area

5th century

General : M3 A.II.2 - ceramic - from Pactolus North

M3 B.II.4 - ceramic - from Pactolus North

BM no. 115591/Boardman no. 1 - seal - unknown provenance

5th or 4th century : M3 A.II.8 - ceramic - from Pactolus North

M3 A.I.1/LW 59 - graffito - marble fragment from Synagogue area

M3 A.I.2 - stele - from Marble Court

M3 A.II.20 - ceramic - from House of Bronzes area

M3 B.II.6 - ceramic - from Palaestra South

LW 51/Boardman no. 2 - seal - unknown provenance

4th century

394 or 348 : LW 1 - stele - from necropolis hill

389 or 343 : LW 2 - stele - from necropolis hill

388 or 342 : LW 41 - stele - from Falaka in the Cayster valley

330/29 : LW 3 - stele - from chamber tomb, necropolis hill

323/2 : LW 50 - stele - from Tire in the Cayster valley

General : M3 A.I.3 - stele - to south of city wall, west of Southwest Gate

M3 A.I.4 - stele - in the Paktolos, near the Artemision

General : LW 16 - stele - from west side of acropolis

LW 20 - stele - from the Sardian Artemision

LW 21 - stele - from the Sardian Artemision

LW 23 - stele - from the Sardian Artemision

LW 24 - stele - from the Sardian Artemision

LW 42 - stele - from Emre (Maionia)

LW 43 - stele - from Eğriköy (Aiolis)

cf. LW D (pp. 115 ff.) - stele - from Synagogue area - in an unknown language

4th or 3rd century : M3 A.II.11 - ceramic - from Pactolus North

M3 A.II.1/LW 61 - ceramic - from Pactolus North

M3 B.II.3 - ceramic - from Pactolus North

M3 B.II.7 - ceramic - from Pactolus North

M3 B.II.5 - ceramic - between Gymnasium and Synagogue

Hellenistic

Pre-213 : M3 A.II.7 - ceramic - from House of Bronzes area

Second century? : M3 A.II.15 - ceramic - from Synagogue area

LW 40 - graffito - on column of Temple of Athene, Pergamon

Possibly Roman

M3 A.III.1 - stamped tile - from House of Bronzes area

(B) Non-Sardian texts

Cayster valley

Falaka, near Larisa : 388 or 342 - LW 41 - marble, dedicatory

Tire : undated - LW 47 - marble, context uncertain but possibly cultic

Tire : 323/2 - LW 50 - marble, dedicatory

Ephesos

Artemision : 7th/6th century - LW 52 - electrum coin, signature

Artemision : 6th century ('Kroisan') - LW 48 - dedicatory graffito

Lower Hermos valley

Çoban-Isa, near Magnesia : undated - LW 44 - marble, with theocratic tone

Hamidie, near Magnesia : undated - LW 46 - marble, with theocratic tone

Magnesia : undated - LW 54 - marble, funerary

Mersindere : undated - LW 26 - marble, funerary

Aiolis

Eğriköy : 4th century - LW 43 - limestone, dedicatory

Mysia

Temple of Athene, Pergamon : Hellenistic - LW 40 - dedicatory graffito

Kogamos valley

Arabli Haçili Mahallesi : undated - LW 45 - marble, dedicatory

Maionia

Emre : 4th century - LW 42 - marble, perhaps funerary

Upper Hermos valley

Jabaçi, near Borlu : undated - LW 53 - limestone, graffito/monogram

Upper Egypt

Silsilis : 2nd half of 6th century - LW 49 - sandstone, graffito/signature

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(C) Bilinguals

(i) LW 20

Marble statue base, still in situ in the Artemision's precinct - 4th century

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nannaš bakivalis artimuλ. Νάννας Διονυσικλέος Ἀρτέμιδι

(ii) LW 40

Column in Temple of Athene at Pergamon - Hellenistic

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esv tasev asvil bartaraš çatit. Παρταρας Ἀθηναίῃ

(iii) LW 1

Marble stele in wall on northern slope of acropolis hill - 394 or 348

(o)raλ islλ bakillλ est mrud essk (vanas) laqrisak qelak kudkit ist esλ van(aλ) bltarvod akad manelid kumlilid silukalid akit n(aqis) esλ mruλ buk esλ vanaλ buk esvav laqirisav bukit kud ist esλ vanaλ bltarvo(d) aktin naqs qelλk fensλifid fakmλ artimus ibsimsis artimuk kulumsis aaraλ biraλk kλidaλ kofuλk qiraλ qelλk bilλ vcbaqent. Aramaic version follows.

(iv) LW 41

Marble stele from Falaka in the Cayster valley - 388 or 342

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borlλ XIIIII arta(ksass-)a qaλmλuλ dav oraλ kanlalaλ karo-- trolλ vrauλ artimulλ esv tacn bantakasa(s) abrnalis kanak bil(is) -retk asav qalem. Fragmentary Aramaic version follows.

(D) Karian texts in Sardis

7th century

Second half : M3 C.I.4 - ceramic - from House of Bronzes area

M3 C.I.5 - ceramic - from House of Bronzes area

M3 C.I.6 - ceramic - from House of Bronzes area

End/Mid-6th century : M3 C.I.1 - ceramic - from House of Bronzes area

M3 C.I.2 - ceramic - from House of Bronzes area

M3 C.I.3 - ceramic - from House of Bronzes area

M3 C.II.2 b - ceramic - from House of Bronzes area

M3 C.II.3 - ceramic - from House of Bronzes area

6th century

General : M3 C.II.2 c - ceramic - from Pactolus North

4th or 3rd century

M3 C.II.2 a - ceramic - from Pactolus North

Hellenistic

M3 C.II.1 - ceramic - from House of Bronzes area

All the sherds appear to be local ware.

(E) Earliest traces of Greek

5th century

I.Sardis 102 - gravestone - pre-450? - to west of Paktolos -

Λεωμάνδρο εἰμί·

I.Sardis 103 - gravestone - on south slope of necropolis hill -

[μνῆμ'] Ὀξύλο ---(πρὸς τὴν (ὁδὸν) [Ἑτράτ]ηγος Ἴ[λου] (τῇδ') εὐαγὲς ... εἵ[σατο]·

4th century

LW 20 - marble statue base - in Sardian Artemision -

Νάννας Διονυσικλέος Ἀρτέμιδι·

I.Ephesos 2 - official stele - list of religious criminals, including Strombos (son of Manes son of Saplous), Mousatos son of Herakleides, (Paktyes son of Karous son of) Herakleides, Miletos (son of Karous), Pytheos (son of Karous), (Saplous son of) Pilos, Herakleides (son of Artumes son of Manes) and his brother Ilos, (Moxos son of) Oileus (son of Saplous), the brothers Moschion and Hermolaos, Pilos (son of Karous son of) Boukopos, (Artumes son of Spelmos (?) son of) Boukopos, Strombos (son of Karous son of Kondas (?)), Strombos (son of Paktyes son of Manes), Strombos son of Herakleides, (Saplous son of) Strombos, (Tamasis son of) Strombos, Strombos (son of Manes son of) Ephesos (?), (Tuios son of) Pytheos, (Artumes son of Manes son of) Kotylos, (Sisines son of) Eumanes from Hierakome, Pytheos son of Strombos, (Papes son of) Ephesos (?) (son of Karous), Strombos (son of Karous son of) Kotylos, Strombos (son of Karous), Pytheos son of Strombos (son of Kados son of Babas), (Moxos son of) Strombos son of Pytheos.

Note: LSAG pp. 339-41 lists the scanty 6th-century traces of Greek literacy in the area (at Ephesos, Kolophon, Teos, Klazomenai, Phokaia, Smyrna) - pp. 326-7 notes that Miletos at any rate knew the Eastern Ionic alphabet as early as the 8th, probably - the Lydians were by no means significantly less advanced than their neighbours in this respect .....

3rd century

I.Sardis 1 - record of mortgaged estate - ca. 250? - in Artemision -
Landowners are Mnesimachos, Pytheos, Adrastos (cf. Atrasta of 4th-century Lydian inscriptions); agricultural workers/oiketai are Ephesos Adrastou, Kadoas Adrastou, Herakleides Beletrou, Tuios Maneos Kaikou, Kadoas Armanandou, Adrastos Maneou.

I.Sardis 87 - stele - in Artemision -
[Εὔ]θυμος εὐχὴν Ἀρτέμιδι

I.Sardis 104 - gravestone - between Paktolos and Artemision -
of Elpis, wife of Apollonios Alexandrou

Reisen II 19 - stele - 275/4 - in Thyateira -
dedication to Apollo Pityaenos by Argeios Phanokritou and his wife in thanks for the rescue of their son Phanokritos from the Gauls

Robert, Noms p. 337 (& Sculpture no. 134, figs. 267-8) - gravestone -
ca. 250 - near Sardis' western road - of Matis of Kelainai, wife of Andromenes

Mendel, Catalogue I no. 104 - gravestone - in the necropolis of Sidon -
Ἑκατ[αῖ]ον Μηνογένου Θεκτειρην]ὸν οἱ ἑταῖροι·
Ἑκατ[αῖε χρ]ηστὲ χ[αῖρε].

OGIS 268 - stele - 241/0 - Nakrasos? -
in honour of Apollonios Meleagrou, epistates, agonothetes, euergetes and strategos

Second century

I.Sardis 3 - list of servants - in Artemision - including
Ἔφεσος μάγειρος, ἀδελφὴ Σεδδις καθαρίστρια, γυνὴ Ἐφέσου Νινις, υἱὸς Ἄτταλος, θυγάτηρ Ἀρτεμῖς.

I.Sardis 90 - record of gift - ca. 175-150 - in Artemision -
Δημοκρατία Δη[μή]τριον ἱέρεια —

TAM V.1 441 - stele - 158/7 or 138/7 - Karaoba -
— — — ἱερωτεύσας Βαλλίων Μενεκράτου Ἀπόλ[λωνι]
Νισυρίτῃ [εὐχήν].

I.Sardis 5 - stele - 'Koloe' - register, its purpose lost - including Menodoros, Menekrates, Poseidonios Artemidorou, Apollonios, Metrodoros Alexa- Pamphilou, Ploutas Kuamas, Metrodoros (Kontos (?)) Alexa-, Alexandros Menophilou, Chares, Diogenes, Hermogenes Apolloniou, Apollonios, Artemidoros, Tryphon (Dekmou), Hermippos Hermippou, Boron (?), Hermippos Damionos, Asklepiades, Apollonides Poseidoniou, Artemidoros, Thrason (Mokapoleos), Menodotos Alex-, Herakleides Menandrou, Menestheus Menekratou, Apollonios - Apolloniou, Konon (Kontou (?)), Ploution, Apollonides Apollonidou, Menophilos, Apollonios Meno-, Nikomedes Apolloniou, Didumas (Mithres); cf. the fully Roman name Dekmos Naseikou...

(F) Lydian survivals in Greek context

(a) 'in circulation'

4th century

LW 20 : bilingual dedication, in the Sardian Artemision - nannaš bakivalis artimuλ.

I.Ephesos 2 - official stele - list of religious criminals - including Tuios son of Manes son of Saplous, (Strombos son of) Manes son of Saplous, Paktyes son of Karous (son of Herakleides), Paktyes son of Karous, (Miletos son of) Karous, (Pytheos son of) Karous, Paktyes son of Atis, Saplous (son of Pilos), (Herakleides, bath-man, son of) Artumes son of Manes, (and his brother Ilos), Manes son of Atis son of Ariotes, Moxos son of Atas, Moxos (son of Oileus son of) Saplous, (Pilos son of) Karous (son of Boukopos), Artumes son of Spelmos (?) (son of Boukopos), (Strombos son of) Karous son of Kondas (?), (Strombos son of) Paktyes son of Manes, Saplous (son of Strombos), Tamasis (son of Strombos), Zakrores son of Kados son of Manes, (Strombos son of) Manes (son of Ephesos (?)), Artumes son of Daos, Tuios (son of Pytheos), Artumes son of Manes (son of Kotylos), Paktyes son of Atis, a priest,

Paktyes son of Manes, Karous, Papas (son of Ephesos (?) son of) Karous, (Mithradates son of) Tuios son of Manes, slave of Atis, (Strombos son of) Karous (son of Kotylos), (Strombos son of) Karous, (Pytheos son of Strombos son of) Kados son of Babas, Paktyes son of Manes (- Karians?) Moxos (son of Strombos son of Pytheos, Spelmos (?) son of Tuios (son of Bagates),hierokeryx, Rhatopapas son of Papas, Karous son of Manes son of Atàs from Ibidos kome, Atas son-in-law of Paktyes son of Atis, Samatikes son of Potas.

Delphinion no. 35 - official stele - pre-323 - Milesian dealings with Sardian envoys Potas Papeo, Artimes Pagktuo, Attis Pagtuo the priest of Dionysos.

3rd century

I.Sardis 1 - record of mortgaged estate - ca. 250? - in Artemision - Landowners are Mnesimachos, Pytheos, Adrastos (cf. Atrastaš of 4th-century Lydian inscriptions); agricultural workers/oiketai are Ephesos Adrastou, Kadoas Adrastou, Herakleides Beletrou, Tuios Maneos Kaikou, Kadoas Armanandou, Adrastos Maneou.

2nd century

I.Sardis 3 - list of servants - in Artemision - including Ephesos the cook, his sister Seddis, a lyre-player, wife Ninis and children Attalos and Artemis.

TAM V.1 790 - gravestone - between Thyateira and Iulia Gordos - of Nanas Midonos, brother or sister of Manias (?)

TAM V.1 447 - stele - from Ayazviran - dedication to Apollo Nisyreites and Asklepios - by Eutychos Mogetou

1st century

TAM V.1 775 - gravestone - 46/5 - between Iulia Gordos and Daldis - including Nanas, Doddous and an ἰανάτηρ : sister-in-law see section F b i, infra.

I.Ephesos 3243 - gravestone - Tire - including Nannion Diokleious

I.Sardis 108 note - inscription, probably from Sardis - mentioning Nathes, father of a stephanephoros (hence before ca. 94/3)

I.Sardis 125 - funerary vase - on the hill west of the Paktolos - of a member (Menodoros Menodotos) of the tribe Masdnis

I.Sardis 124 - funerary chest - near the Artemision - of a member (Moukios Orestou) of the tribe Mermnas (dated by a priest of Rome, hence after ca. 94/3)

I.Sardis 113 - funerary chest - on the hill west of the Paktolos - dated by the priest of Rome Kotobes

I.Sardis 127 - funerary vase - ca. 45-35 - on the hill west of the Paktolos - of a member (Tryphon Isidorou) of the tribe Alibalis

I.Sardis 8 XI.120, XII.132 - official stele, by the koinon of Greeks in Asia, demos, gerousia - 1 B.C. - in Artemision - including Mogetes, a strategos, and Chrysogonos β' Opinas, grammateus of the demos and antiarchon to the strategoi.

1st century A.D.

TAM V.1 152 - gravestone - 8/9 - Saittai - of Asklas, son of Apphus Dioskouridou

TAM V.1 701 - gravestone - 12/13 - Iulia Gordos - of Kleon, son and father of Apphias, brother-in-law of Ammias

TAM V.1 451 - stele - 28/9 - Ayazviran - dedication of a statue of Hygieia by a phratra of Asklepios: cf. brafra- of Lydian inscriptions.

Reisen I 18 - building inscription - 31/2 - Troketta - including Apollonios Milouros (or Milourou)

TAM V.1 705 - gravestone - 57/8 - Saittai - of Servilius, brother of Athes

TAM V.1 276 - gravestone - 70/1 - Kula -
of Tation Papiou, wife of Apphus Menogenou Antonios

TAM V.1 707 - gravestone - 70/1 - Iulia Gordos -
of Didas, Ammias' brother-in-law : δαήρ - see section F b i.

TAM V.1 548 - gravestone - 71/2 - Maionia -
of Demetrios Diophantou, brother of Apphias, δαήρ of
Melitine

ZPE 44 (1981) p. 82 no. 1 - gravestone - 82/3 - Saittai -
of Hermias Tyrannou, father-in-law of
Deskylos

Fest. Dörner II p. 753 no. 2 - gravestone - 96/7 - Ayazviran -
of Apollonios, son of Apphus Menandrou
and Melitine

Fest. Dörner II p. 746 no. 1 - gravestone - Ayazviran -
of Glykon Apolloniou Markos, δαήρ of
Apphias and Diodote

Fest. Dörner I p. 417 - stele - Saittai - dedication to Men Artemidorou
ruler of Axiotta by Deskylis Deskylou

TAM V.1 660 - gravestone - Daldis -
of Gaius, δαήρ of Moschion

I.Sardis 34 - stele in honour of Tiberius - from Acropolis -
by the tribe Tymolis

Herrmann, Neue Inschriften nos. 4-5 - gravestone - from Acropolis of
Sardis - of Apollophanes
Apollophanous, member of the tribe Asias
2nd century A.D.

TAM V.1 460 - gravestone - Ayazviran - 118/19 -
of Trophime Artemidorou Kikinnados (tribe?)

TAM V.1 782 - gravestone - 120/1 - between Iulia Gordos and Thyateira -
of Harmonia, ἑνάτηρ of Philete; her δαέρες are Thalamos,
Nikephoros and Antiochas.

I.Sardis 12 - building inscription - ca. 150 - near Artemision -
by the tribe Dionysias

Robert, La Carie II nos. 28, 30, 133, 135, 193, 196 - cultic stelai -
165/6-185/6 - Tabai - mentioning the prophet and
thespiode Τιβ. Κλ. Ἄρδυς τῶν ἀπὸ Ἄρδυος Ἡρακλειδῶν πατρογενίδης

Herrmann & Polatkan, Grab- und Votivstelen no. 3 - gravestone - 168/9 -
Saittai - of Deskylos Diophantou

TAM V.1 764 - gravestone - 171/2 - Iulia Gordos -
of Asklas, father-in-law (ὑκερός - see section F b i)
and brother-in-law (δαήρ) of Ammion

TAM V.1 81 - gravestone - 173/4 - Saittai -
of Nikephoros Deskylou, commemorated by the guild (plateia)
of leather-workers

TAM V.1 810 - gravestone - between Iulia Gordos and Thyateira -
of Ammias, daughter of Ammias, honoured by her δεῖρες

I.Ephesos 3753 - gravestone - near Dioshieron - including
Koalbusos, relative of Philadelphos and Markella etc.

Reisen III 113 - building inscription - Tire - for the Titeiphyteinon
kome - by Philippos Philippou Tarabous (? - cf. Τόρραβος)

Reisen I 142 - gravestone - Philadelphia -
of T. Ail. Glykon Papias Antonianos, son of T. Ail. Glykon
Papias

TAM V.1 7 - stele - Temenothyrai - dedication to (Theos) Hypsistos
by Tyranis Aphphiados

TAM V.1 535 - stele - Maionia - dedication to Zeus Ariou
by Hermogenes Metrodorou, praising the prophetess Potta
Menekratou

3rd century A.D.

TAM V.1 39 II - gravestone - Bagis - post-212 -
of woman commemorated by her mother-in-law (ὑκερά) Aurelia

TAM V.1 795 - funerary altar - 236/7 or 244/5 - between Iulia Gordos and Thyateira - of Aur. Tatiane, daughter-in-law (νυός - see section F b i) of Menophilos and Metrodora

TAM V.1 741 - funerary altar - 244/5 - Iulia Gordos - of Aur. Basos Tyrannou

SEG 17 528 - stele - 255 - Philadelphia - letter from Valerian and Gallienus re liturgical expenses - envoy was P. Ail. Pigres

I.Ephesos 3854 - stele - Hypaipa - mentioning komarch Aur. Kroisos Dionysiou

Reisen II 255 - gravestone - Uşak - of Tib. Kl. Ioulianos and family - tomb = γούντη (cf. Ramsay, Cities & Bishoprics II p. 654 no. 566, for το γουνάριον used in same area.)

TAM V.1 256 - stele - Kula - dedication to the Meter Adiasspoulou

TAM V.1 464 - stele - Ayazviran - expiation, involving stolen cattle - by the family of Hermogenes Apolloniou Baleriss (Balerios?) including Ammias and Ammion.

4th or 5th century A.D.

Reisen III 65 - gravestone - Alamşali, near Tripolis - of Glaukos, an elder, of the Knidalian clan

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(F) Lydian survivals in Greek context

(b) (i) Homeric usage of Anatolian kinship terms

εἰνάτηρ/ἰανάτηρ : wife of brother or of husband's brother, sister-in-law - Il. 6.378, 22.473, 24.769, not in Od.; cf. TAM V.1 703, 775, 782, Buresch, Aus Lydien pp. 139, 147, JŐAI 18 Beibl. 33 (Kilikia)-

γάλοως (Attic γάλως) : husband's sister or brother's wife, sister-in-law - Il. 3.122, 6.378, 22.473, 24.769, not in Od.; cf. TAM V.1 705,

765, Reisen I 166, ZPE 44 (1981) p. 21 no. 2, with Phrygian γέλαρος : ἀδέλφου γυνή (Hesychios).

ἔκυρά/ὔκερά : mother-in-law - Il. 22:451, 24.770, not in Od.; cf. TAM V.1 39 II, 765

ἔκυρός/ὔκερός : father-in-law - Il. 3.172, 24.770, not in Od.; cf. TAM V.1 695, 743, 764, ZPE 44 (1981) p. 29 no. 7

νυός : daughter-in-law - Il. 3.49, 22.65, Od. 3.451, Hymn to Aphrodite 136 - used in classical Greek for bride, wife - cf. TAM V.1 39 II, 822, 825

δαήρ : husband's brother, brother-in-law - Il. 3.180, 6.344, 24.769, not in Od. - also in Menander (Dyskolos, fr. 135) - cf. JHS 37 (1917) p. 105, TAM V.1 707, 764, 782, 810, 548, Buresch, Aus Lydien p. 116.

These examples extend into the Imperial period but not into Sardis. Two further kinship terms, not in Homer but confined to northern Lydia, are πενθερίδης, brother-in-law and κάνβειος(= κόμβος), grandson : TAM V.1 701 (e.g.) and ZPE 44 (1981) pp. 86-7 no. 12.

(b) (ii) Lexicography

In Lydisches Wörterbuch pp. 271-8 Gusmani has compiled a catalogue of the citations and glosses to be found in authors ranging from Hipponax (6th century B.C.) to Tzetzes (12th century A.D.), with Hesychios (ca. 5th century A.D.) predominating. This material can be divided into the following categories:

Food and drink

ζακυνθίδες : γογγυλίδες, κολοκύνται - pumpkins (etc.); κάνδυλος - cake of milk, cheese, honey and hare-meat (?); καρύκη - mixture of blood 'and other delicacies'; μῶλαξ: εἶδος οἴνου - a wine; τάργανον: ὄξος - vinegar; κασκάλη - millet; ἄλιβας - (acid) wine.

Status

βαθυμῦδαι: γένος - clan (?); βρίγα - Phrygian, barbarian or free man;

κοάλλδειν : βασιλέα - king; λαίλας : τύραννος - ruler; Ξυρισίταυροι or Κόδδαροι - troops; πάλμυς (= qalmluš) : βασιλεύς ὁ σύμπας - king; τεγοῦν : λῃστήν - thief.

Culture

ἀρφύτνον: δίσκος - discus; βάκκαρις: μύρον - scented ointment or perfume; μάγαδις : ὀργανόν ψαλτικόν - musical instrument; μαυλιστήριον: νόμισμα (cf. μαῦλις: ὁ μισθωτὸν ποιοῦσα— employer (?)) - currency; σάνδυξ - Lydian chiton; δοῦμος - association.

Religion

ἄγνεων - area set aside for sacral prostitution; Ζεῦσις : μηδινεύς - Zeus; Καυδαύλας - Hermes or Herakles; Κυβήβη - Lydian and Phrygian Kybele; Ἄδραμυς/Ἀδραμών - Hermes (?); βασάρα χιτών: διονυσιακὸς ποδήρης - long tunic worn in Bacchic ceremonies; λάβρυς : πέλεκυς - doubleaxe; μοῦσα : Νύμφη - Muse; παραμήνη : τῶν θεῶν μοῖρα (or μήρα?) - divine portion; καύης, καύεις (= kaveš) - priest, priestess; Attis from Lydian word for a goat (!).

Plants and animals

βαθύρρη : γαλῆ, ἰκτῖνος - hawk; 'herba quam balim nominat' - medicinal plant; ἴμμους : βοῦς - cattle; μέρμνης : τρίορχος - hawk.

Place-names and ethnics

ἀστραλίαν : τὸν Θρᾷκα - Thrakian; καστωλός : Δωριεύς — Dorian; Ξυάρις - Sardis; τύραννος - ruler, from name of the Lydian polis Tyrra (= city/town).

Vernacular

ἀκυλλόν : τὸ αἰδοῖον — genitals; βαστιζακρόλα/βάσκε πικρόλα : θᾶσον ἔρχου — hurry up; ἴωπι : δεῦρο - come here; ἰβύ : τίνες τὸ βοᾶν· οἱ δὲ τὸ πάλυ — shout, or a lot; νύχμα : ὄνειδος - reproach, etc.; μωύς : γῆ - earth; βασανίτης λίθος : Λυδικοῦ λίθου γένος - a type of stone; ἄτταλος : παῦσις - interval (etc.); σάρδις - τὸ ἐνιαυτόν - year.

APPENDIX

b: Maionia and the Heraklidai: Pre-Lydian Lydia

Realistic discussion of a country's development requires an underlying postulate of at least partial ethnic continuity: in the case of classical (mid-first millennium) Lydia, although some understanding of its past is essential we are not yet in a position to resolve even the two crucial issues of the main population's date of arrival and degree of homogeneity. The central problem lies in identification of the second dynastic element recognized by the literary tradition, that composed of the 'Heraklidai'.[1] Their precursors are the mythological family of Lydos[2], their successors the genuine family of Gyges from the Mermnad clan.[3] Both of these are secure in their Anatolian provenance, but the 'Heraklidai,' descendants of Agron in the fourth generation after Herakles, have confused the picture considerably because the given date of their assumption of power in the territory, ca. 1200 BC, correlates suggestively with the presence of Mycenaean wares in Sardis[5] and Philadelphia[6] and with the severe disruption caused by marauding tribes at the end of the Hittite Empire,[7] both belonging to the period from the later thirteenth to the mid-twelfth century. This general correlation has been taken by archaeologists as licensing talk of a seizure of power, and adoption of the local language, by Aegean warriors.[8]

Further complication is introduced by the currency of two evidently successive names for the population, 'Maionian' and 'Lydian'. Neither is attested in native Lydian inscriptions, so there is no independent check on the significance of the discrepancy between Homeric and Assyrian usage: in the Iliad (2. 864-6)[9] contemporary with the 'Heraklidai' the Maionians are precisely located in the region of Sardis, near the Gygaean Lake and beneath Mount Tmolos; in Assurbanipal's archives, from between 648 and 636 BC, his vassal Gyges is king of the Luddi.[10]

That these two terms coexisted for a time before the shrinking of Sardis

centring on the village of Menye[11] is indicated for the second half of the sixth century by Hipponax, who can speak of 'the land of the Lydians' (Fr. 42 Masson) but also uses the phrase Μηονιστὶ Καυδαύλᾳ (Fr. 3 Masson) for a god bearing the same name as Herodotos' last 'Heraklid' king.[12] But the temptingly straightforward equation of the Heraklidai with Maionians and Mermnads with Lydians, and the concomitant assumption that the latter dynasty represents a reassertion of native elements, the former an incursion of foreigners, may press the available evidence too far.[13] Ancient confusion on the subject, to which the joint currency indicated by Hipponax had probably contributed, when combined with the dearth of evidence of a major culture-change fitting either the Heraklid or the Mermnad assumption of power makes certainty impossible.

That there was confusion is clear enough. Strabo (13. 4. 5/625) observes that Homer and (unnamed) later writers described the Lydians as Maionians, and comments that some identified the two while others saw them as distinct.[14] In his own view, for which unfortunately he gives no reasons, it was better to regard them as one and the same people. Greek writers during and after the Mermnad period refer uniformly to 'Lydia': Sappho (16. 19, 39, 96. 6, 132 L-P), Alkaios (D 11. 1 (69) L-P),[15] Xenophanes (D-K 21 fr. 3) make no allusion to Maionia to parallel the one made by Hipponax, while Anakreon's coining (s.v. 136 Page) of the adjective λυδοπαθής as a synonym for ἡδυπαθής is a clear indication that the ethnic was conventionally established. Herodotos (1. 7. 4) in fact stands out as keeping the Maionian controversy alive, not however in 'Heraklid' context but by making the term antedate Lydos' reign: a peculiar, and, as things stand, necessarily isolated suggestion, picked up later by Dionysios of Halikarnassos (A.R. 1. 27. 1-2), and tending at any rate to imply that Herodotos' Lydian contemporaries thought of the term as a feature of the distant, not the recent (and relevant) past.

Our primary witness, Xanthos son of Kandaules of Sardis, correspondingly refers only to 'Lydians', whether dealing with Lydos' family or with the Heraklid

kings (not that this title actually makes an appearance in the thirty extant fragments).[16] Dionysios has preserved his most valuable fragment (FGrH 765 fr. 16 = A.R. l. 28. 2), in which an ethnic distinction is made, but between two groups of the same people and in terms of dialects: ἀπὸ Λυδοῦ μὲν γίνονται Λυδοὶ ἀπὸ Τορήβου δὲ Τόρηβοι· τούτων ἡ γλῶσσα ὀλίγου παραφέρει καὶ νῦν ἔτι σιλλοῦσιν ἀλλήλους ῥήματα οὐκ ὀλίγα ὥσπερ Ἴωνες καὶ Δωριεῖς. This is inserted into Dionysios' polemic against belief in the Tyrrhenian migration, Xanthos' Torebos, the mythologers' Tyrrhenos[17] and Herodotos' Tyrsenos[18] all being recognisably the same prince, son of Atys and brother of Lydos.[19] Nikolaos of Damascus (FGrH 90 frr. 17, 22) records the name's survival, in Xanthos' version, as late as the first century A.D. by claiming that a town of Torrhebos and lake of Torrhebia were to be found in Lydia.[20]

Xanthos' Toreboi should no doubt be seen as an (eventually subordinate) 'tribe' or ethnic subdivision, directly comparable to the Mokaddenoi who survived as a community on the border with Mysia Abbaitis as late as the Flavian period, and strongly enough for both Silandos and Temenothyrai to lay claim to the title of metropolis of the Mokaddenoi; Thermai Theseos during the second century A. D. could describe itself as one of their villages. (They retain the status of a demos in Ptolemy's Geography: παρὰ δὲ τὴν Βιθυνίαν at 5. 2. 27.)[21]

Another powerful clan alongside the Mermnads and Heraklidai with some claim to historicity is the Tylonidai, whose eponymous ancestor Tylon was a colourful native hero, revived after a fatal snakebite by means of a plant called balis according to Xanthos and Pliny (FGrH 765 fr. 3; Pliny, N.H. 25. 14; Nikolaos, FGrH 90 frr. 45, 47. 5 on the Tylonidai); he is probably to be identified with Dionysios' earthborn Tyllos (A.R. 1 27 1-2). More important, he was certainly identified by archaizing Lydians under the Roman Empire with Herakles, carrying a knotted club on coins of Severus Alexander's reign.[22]

Accordingly Alexander,[23] followed by Hanfmann[24] (whose expression 'die Tyloniden-Dynastie' is otherwise not entirely accurate) made the ingenious suggestion that the Heraklidai were simply Tylonidai with an alternative (Greek) name befitting their eponyms' perceived resemblance. These two scholars then part company over the implications, Alexander interpreting the Heraklidai as a purely native component but Hanfmann still preferring an Aegean provenance for them. However, the late occurrence of the explicit identification between the two heroes should prompt caution: the suggestion is highly tempting but may be anachronistic.

Dionysios follows Herodotos in dating the population's change of name to Lydos' reign, consistently describing the alleged Etruscan colonists as Maionians and implying that no memory remained of a substantial change in the population as a whole, rather than in its ruling families.[25] Their joint picture anyway makes the Maionians indigenous precursors of some kind to the Lydians as well as to the Heraklidai, going thereby beyond what the archaeological material can suggest.

The only safe deductions to be drawn from all this are that the main historically-recognised population gave an appearance of cultural uniformity and that although memory of any substantial and relatively recent immigration had been lost, records could not be traced back very far - hence Strabo's statement (13. 4. 5/625) that Sardis was not occupied until after the Trojan War, a statement in closer harmony with archaeologists' theories than with current archaeological facts.

Not that those facts are at all plentiful: the settlement pattern is fragmentarily visible in two third-millennium farmstead sites on the shores of the Gygaean Lake (Gölmarmara),[26] but not again until the late Bronze Age, from which a rough circular hut and a pithos containing a cremation burial are known in fifteenth/fourteenth century Sardis.[27] The same area, the so-called Lydian Trench in the commercial and industrial House of Bronzes sector, has given evidence of an unbroken sequence of importation (and imitation) of Greek pottery and other

wares, from Mycenaean to Protogeometric and beyond. The pattern of finds does not merit treatment as an index of major cultural change, indicating as it does simply continuous trading contact with the Greek settlements along the coast .[28]

A complementary Anatolian perspective is provided by the rock reliefs in the Karabel Pass leading to Smyrna and on Mount Sipylos, representing as they do the most westerly traces of Hittite cultural influence.[29]

A second and more broadly-based connexion with the known Anatolian peoples of the second millennium is to be found in the affinities of the Lydian language, which lie securely with the Hieroglyphic Hittite/Luwian group, although it looks like a rather isolated member of the family.[30] Phrygian, on the other hand, is not a secure member by any means; geographical proximity is at the root of ancient (and modern) linking of Lydians and Phrygians, as in Strabo's description (12. 8. 3/572) of the Mysians as a mixed Lydo-Phrygian race. There is no evidence of a joint immigration. Similarly, the novel use of burial customs resembling those of Phrygia, noticeable in Sardis by the middle of the seventh century and involving chambered burial mounds for the aristocratic families (with the royal cemetery at Bin Tepe as pre-eminent example) demonstrates Lydian emulation of the styles of their recently dominant neighbours.[31] Gyges' traditional family connexion with northeastern Phrygia, where his father Daskylos had spent most of his exile, fits neatly into this context,[32] but with no more or less social significance per se than his employment of Karian allies such as Arselis of Mylasa in his bid for the throne.[33]

Although certainty on the question of the 'Heraklidai' is unattainable, in my view the combination of a folk-memory of the raids and disruptions characterizing the end of the Bronze Age, as evinced in the cherished story of the famine motivating the Tyrrhenian migration,[34] with the strong and wide-ranging philhellenism of the Mermnad court would offer an adequate explanation of the situation with which the Greek historiographers present us. The Mermnads themselves saw a cultural value in claiming descent from the Greek hero, through

Agelaos rather than Alkaios, and writers favourably influenced by them will have been responsible for the eventual discrepancy whereby the Mermnads' ancestor became the son of Queen Omphale, wife of Tmolos, but the 'Heraklid' one the son of a slave-girl.[35]

Similarities between the two dynasties are almost as striking as the differences, largely created as these are by the vigorously expansionist character of Gyges' rule, not long before the advent of literacy and invention of coinage helped to speed up the process of creation of a distinctive Lydian image: the names Ardys, Alyattes, Sadyattes occur in both families.[36]

One belated testimony to the existence of a clan considering itself the descendant of the royal family as made famous by Herodotos comes in the lists of dedications to Apollo of Klaros, near Kolophon, a town indeed with ancient Lydian connexions. The Roman citizen Tiberius Claudius Ardys served as prophet of Apollo in 165/6 A.D.; reaching the rank of thespiode some years later (and serving from 177/8 to 185/6) he proudly styles himself full hereditary member in Ardys' line of the Heraklid clan: Τι(βέριος) Κλ(αύδιος) Ἄρδυς τῶν ἀπὸ Ἄρδυος Ἡρακλειδῶν πατρογενίδης.[37] There is no doubt that this version of their country's past found favour with nostalgic Lydians, long after most elements of their own culture had been abandoned; on the evidence available we cannot say that ethnic discontinuity played any significant part in that past, either in literary or in material terms.

APPENDIX B - MAIONIA AND THE HERAKLIDAI

1. Herodotos l. 7, l. 13; Nikolaos of Damascus, FGrH 90 frr. 46-7; Pliny, NH 35. 55.
2. Dionysios of Halikarnassos, AR l. 27. 1-2; l. 28. 2; Hdt. l. 94, 1.7.
3. Hdt. l. 7. 1; Nik. Dam., FGrH rrr. 447.
4. Hdt. l. 7. 4 (505 years before Gyges' accession, ca. 680).
5. Survey figs. 1, 4, 7, 9 with pp. 3-4, 5, 26; BASOR 154 (1959) pp. 29-30 fig. 13; 162 (1961) pp. 14-16 and fig. 5; 170 (1963) pp. 4-9; 196 (1967) pp. 31-7 and figs. 9-15; Mee, Anat. Stud. 28 (1978) pp. 144, 148. Taylour's dating is authoritative: see chart on p. 58 of The Mycenaeans. Also, BASOR 186 (1967) p. 36.
6. Boysal, Anadolu 11 (1967) pp. 46-7; Mee, Anat. Stud. 28 (1978) p. 128
7. ANET pp. 262-3; Barnett, Sea Peoples passim; Wainwright, JEA 46 (1960) pp. 24-28; Gurney, The Hittites p. 40.
8. Pedley, Sardis in the Age of Croesus pp. 27, 34; Hanfmann, Sardis and Lydia pp. 507-11; Hanfmann and Waldbaum, Festschrift Glueck p. 309; Survey pp. 16, 28.
9. Cf. Iliad 20. 384-392; 4. 394, 398; 3. 401; 4. 141-2; 10. 431; 18. 291; 5. 43-48.
10. Luckenbill II, pp. 297-8; 351-2.
11. TAM V. 1 - Maionia nos. 514-603 and pp. 164-7.
12. Hdt. l. 7 (-13).
13. Pedley, Sardis in the Age of Croesus p. 27. His argument from analogy between Madduwattas and Sadyattes [Alyattes, Adyattes] is weakened by the occurrence of the latter names in the 'Heraklid' and Tylonid lists too.
14. Virgil, Aeneid 10. 141-2 for the literary motif.
15. Page, Sappho and Alcaeus pp. 52-7, 87-96, 97-103, 226-34; cf. Diogenes Laertios, Pittakos l. 4. 74.
16. FGrH 765 frr. 8 (Heraklid), 16 (Lydos), 17 (Heraklid?), 18 (Heraklid), 19 (Heraklid); and see in general von Fritz, Die griechische Geschichtsschreibung vol. I (2) pp. 348-77; Drews, The Greek Accounts of Eastern History pp. 100-3.
17. A form found as the name of a Sardian of first/second century A.D. in Plutarch, Mor. 825 D.
18. Hdt. l. 94.
19. Dion. Hal., A.R. l. 30. 1, 3. 61.
20. Stephanos of Byzantion, s.v. Τόρρηβος ; Nik. Dam., FGrH 90 fr. 22; (s.v.) Τορρηβία λίμνη = fr. 17.
21. TAM V.1. p. 1 - 'Mocadeni' and nos. 42, 71, 525, of the 2nd to 3rd/4th centuries A.D.
22. Sardis - BMC Lydia pp. cxi, 268 no. 179; cf. Silandos - p. cxiii, Gordian III/ϛ̃ and Tylos (cf. Triptolemos) above in snake-biga.
23. Kings of Lydia pp. 38, 54-6.
24. Sardis und Lydien pp. 511-12.
25. A.R. l. 27. 1-2, l. 28. 2.
26. BASOR 186 (1967) pp. 40-43; 191 (1968) pp. 7-10; 199 (1970) pp. 12-16; French, Anat. Stud. 19 (1969) pp. 47-55, 75 -Yortan (3rd millennium) village at Gőlde, Yortan-type villages in Sardian plain (?); mounds (as remains of settlements) on alluvium or on flat open ground.
27. Survey pp. 5, 6, 22 ('ca. 1500-1300 B.C.').

28. See Appendix c.
29. Bean, Aegean Turkey pp. 31-35; Guterbock, Istanbuler Mitteilungen 17 (1967) pp. 63-71; Jewell, Archaeology, pp. 153-7, 166-9; and Hdt. 2. 106.
30. Lydian: Heubeck, Lydiaka pp. 78-82; Lydisch p. 419; Gusmani, Lydisches Wörterbuch pp. 25-27; Neue epichorische Schriftzeugnisse pp. 55-61.9.
31. Pedley, Sardis in the Age of Croesus pp. (37), 70; Haspels, Highlands of Phrygia vol. I pp. 112-126, 126-138, esp. 135 ('"floruit" of chamber tombs with "couches" during "Phrygian city" phase of Gordion, last third of eighth century'); Bin Tepe: Pedley, op. cit. pp. 58-70, esp. 64-5's plan of Karniyarik Tepe, 'Gyges' Tomb'; Bean, Aegean Turkey pp. 227-9; Survey pp. 5, 11-12, 95; BASOR 170 (1963) pp. 57-9 and figs. 41-2; 182 (1966) pp. 27-30 and fig. 26; cf. 206 (1972) pp. 11-15 and figs. 1-4.
32. Nik. Dam., FGrH 90 frr. 44. 11, 45-47 (including a move to Pontos; Phrygian grandmother for Gyges).
33. Plut. Mor. 302 A: Arselis took (Omphale's) labrys to adorn his Zeus Labraundeus.
34. Hdt. l. 94; motif of boys drawing lots on Hypaipan Imperial coins: BMC Lydia pp. 118 nos. 59-60, 119 no. 65, 120 no. 70.
35. Apollodoros, Bibliotheca 2. 7. 8; Hdt. 1. 7. 4 [Tmolos: Apollodoros, Bibliotheca 2. 6. 3].
36. Nik. Dam., FGrH 90 frr. 44: Heraklids Adyattes, Kadys, Ardys; 45: Tylonids Sadyattes and Kadys; 46: Heraklid Sadyattes; 47: Heraklids (S)adyattes, Ardys; Hdt. 1. 15-16: Mermnads Ardys, Sadyattes, Alyattes; (Nik. Dam. fr. 63: Sadyattes son and father of Alyattes); and see Alexander, Kings of Lydia pp. 39-40.
37. Robert, La Carie II, pp. 117 nos. 28, 30 (Tabai), 204 no. 133 (Heraklea Salbake), 205 no. 135, 381 no. 193 (Tabai), no. 196 (Heraklea Salbake) and p. 212; with Macridy in JOAI 15 (1912) pp. 46-7 nos. 2-3 (Lappa, Crete), 47 no. 5 (Chios), 47-8 no. 6 (Hierapytna, Crete), 48-9 nos. 7-10 (Phokaia), 49 no. 11 (Akmonia), 49-50 no. 12 (Laodikeia on the Lykos).

APPENDIX

c: Mycenaean Contacts

Sardis and Philadelphia have both produced evidence of involvement with Mycenaean trade. The scale of involvement appears to have been very small, yet at Sardis contact was faithfully maintained over a period of centuries. This can be said on the basis of the single sounding so far undertaken, at the 'Lydian Trench' in the commercial and industrial House of Bronzes sector.[1]

Approximately two hundred and fifty sherds have been found there, ranging in classification from LH III B or C through subMycenaean to Protogeometric and beyond in unbroken sequence. The chronological span is thus from the middle of the thirteenth century onwards; Lydian painted pottery makes its appearance ca. 1000 B.C. alongside the imports and imitations of Greek style, which however continued to be popular. The sample includes a curved knife thought to be subMycenaean and a Protogeometric seal and fibula.[2]

On the other side of the Tmolos range, precisely two sherds have been found, on the surface, at Gavurtepe, the precursor to Philadelphia. One is tentatively ascribed to LH III A 2, in other words the mid-fourteenth century.[3]

The excavators emphasized the fact than the Sardian material amounts at most to five per cent of the total, among the mass of Anatolian wares.[4] Hence it is clear enough that Mycenaean trade was far from being a major component of Lydian economics; at the same time, the lack of interruption to the sequence is itself important, indicating as it does small-scale but constant intermingling between the two ethnic communities. The fact that much of the pottery was of local manufacture, but reflects both 'Greek' styles and continuance of plain Lydian styles, does perhaps suggest a Mycenaean component to the Sardian population as well as more general appreciation of those Greek styles.

Within the vicinity of Lydia, Kolophon has produced an early Mycenaean tholos tomb and a blue glass paste bead, Larisa a single LH III C 1 sherd,

Klazomenai pottery ranging from LH III A 2 down to LH III C (i.e. ca. 1350-1200); at Bayrakli, Old Smyrna, there are sherds between LH III A 2 and LH III B only, whereas the later classical site at Izmir has, intriguingly enough, turned up a LH I sword. It is somewhat surprising to find that Ephesos can boast little more than a mid-fourteenth-century tomb, with accompanying pottery. Miletos, on the other hand, has a well-established 'Mycenaean' occupational element superimposed on a 'Minoan' one and continuing (with vicissitudes marked by traces of fires) from the later fifteenth century down to the end of the thirteenth.[5] Until further archaeological work has increased the bulk of this body of material it must be said to cut an unimpressive picture, by comparison with Attarissiyas and his hundred chariots.[6] As far as Sardis is concerned, in particular, talk of a possible take-over by Aegean warriors seems absolutely unwarranted.[7] The Anatolian flavour of the culture in the early Iron Age remains dominant.[8]

APPENDIX C - MYCENAEAN CONTACTS

1. Survey figs. l. 4, 7, 9 with pp. 3-4, 5, 26.
2. BASOR 154 (1959) pp. 29-30 fig. 13; 162 (1961) pp. 14-16 and fig.5; 170 (1963) pp. 4-9, 196 (1967) pp. 31-7 and figs. 9-15; AJA 66 (1962) p. 83; Festschrift Glueck pp. 308-10; Mee, Anat. Stud. 28 (1978) pp. 144, 148. Taylour's dating is being used here: chart on p. 58 of The Mycenaeans.
3. Boysal, Anadolu 11 (1967) pp. 46-7; Mee, Anat. Stud. 28 (1978) p. 128.
4. BASOR 186 (1967) p. 36.
5. Mee, Anat. Stud. 28 (1978) pp. 125-6, 127, 130-1, 132, 133-7, 142-3.
6. KUB XIV 1. 1-5, 84-90 and Mellink, AJA 87 (1983) p. 140.
7. Pedley, Sardis in the Age of Croesus pp. 27, 34; Hanfmann, Sardis und Lydien pp. 507-11; Hanfmann and Waldbaum, Festschrift Glueck p. 309; Survey pp. 16, 28.
8. Sardis pp. 24-5.

APPENDIX

d: Numismatic sources for religious history

Coins in the context of Lydian religion have a strictly limited iconographic value, limited, that is, by the following considerations: the material is chronologically unbalanced as the vast majority of extant coins date from the time of the Roman Empire, and in addition due recognition of genuine survivals is bedevilled by an apparently fashionable antiquarianism, while it is not certain that the depiction of divine images is per se a wholly reliable guide to a town's cults. Vermeule has argued that iconography developed only gradually during Imperial times, rendering the coins valueless as evidence of pre-existing cult; in recognition of this argument, the coins are here treated in isolation from the main text, in order to provide a glimpse of one important aspect of Lydia's cultural history in the aftermath of Hellenization. However, it may be suggested that the very fact of 'antiquarian revival', in mid-Imperial usage of folktales like those of Omphale and the royal twins, and the unbroken sequence of double axes at Mostene and Thyateira, deserves attention, as an index of tenacious Lydian tradition. Within these limits, it will still be interesting to catalogue the images presented, in terms of relative popularity.

Kybele first appears on coins of second century B.C. Magnesia, then on those of Apollonis and the Kaystrianoi during the first century; in these instances she is represented by a crowned ('turreted') head. Fully-fledged portrayal takes essentially the following form, known exclusively from the second and third centuries A.D. but then in some profusion - the goddess sits enthroned and crowned, holding a phiale and a tympanum, accompanied by a lion. The details vary slightly from place to place, but not to a significant extent. As far as the inference can be made from a random sample, it was Magnesia which minted most regularly with her image, and which alone among the Lydian towns put her temples on its coins. This latter detail when combined with the epigraphic and literary evidence already reviewed makes a strong case for Magnesia as a centre of

Kybele's worship. Only Brioula, on the other hand, identifies her explicitly with the Mother of the Gods by inscribing 'Meter theon' above the goddess, who stands wearing the kalathos and long chiton between two lions and lays her hands on their heads; this particular coin dates to the second century A.D. Both a distyle and a tetrastyle temple are shown on Magnesian coins of this century (under Crispina and Iulia Domna): the presumption here will be that two such temples actually existed in the town at this period.[1] One variant shows Kybele in a biga drawn by lions. This seems exclusive to Akrasos and Magnesia - during the reigns of Septimius Severus and Severus Alexander at Akrasos, of Commodus, Caracalla and Gordian III at Magnesia.[2] The impression that Kybele was considered in some sense patron of this town in particular, and as at least analogous to the local Mothers, Sipylene and Plastene, is no doubt finally confirmed by her appearance on alliance coins minted to celebrate civic agreement reached with the ancient neighbour, Smyrna, under Valerian; two Nemeseis serve as Smyrna's representatives. However on similar coins of Septimius Severus and Caracalla Philadelphia used the same goddess as its own emblem in partnership with Smyrna in token of more general popularity.[3] A form of Kybele had in fact appeared on Philadelphian coins since the time of Trajan, the earliest Imperial specimens yet produced.[4] Several other Lydian towns provide isolated examples: Tabala between Marcus Aurelius and Severus Alexander, Sala between Domitian, at the start of its minting career, and Antoninus Pius, Saittai between Marcus Aurelius and Gallienus, and Sardis - a coin of the first century B.C. has a bust identifiable as Kybele, followed only by one dating to Salonina's time and showing the clearest signs of syncretism with Leto by portraying a goddess in long chiton, peplos, crown and veil, carrying one child and standing beside another reaching up to her. Philadelphia's series spans the reigns of Trajan and Caracalla, some 119 years or so; Magnesia's spans a full four centuries, suggesting at the least that her cult had flourished there in particular throughout that time; conversely, coin evidence alone would give a false picture of her currency in

Sardis.[5] Again, the purity of the image's occurrence is compromised at Akrasos, for example, by depiction of Ephesian Artemis.[6] Numerous coins from various towns bear the picture of a lion alone; even if it were feasible to claim that this represented Kybele's circle, in the way that the claim might well be made for Tyrimnos and the double-axe, this would not serve as a secure indication that her cult flourished in the towns concerned; complementary evidence would be needed, in the form of literary reference or depiction either of a cult-image inside a temple or of the deity as civic symbol on alliance coins. All three conditions are fulfilled in the case of Magnesia. Maionia, conversely, can lay claim to no more than acquaintance on the strength of a single coin, under Faustina junior, showing Kybele enthroned in orthodox fashion - as obverse to Zeus Olympios, perhaps thus conceived as 'Queen of Heaven '.[7]

Artemis comes in several different guises on Lydian coins: Boreitene at Thyateira, Persike at Hierakome/Hierokaisareia, Anaitis at Hypaipa and Maionia, the huntress at Hyrkanis, Apollonia Tripolis, Nakrasos, Hypaipa, Hierokaisareia and Sardis, Ephesia at virtually every minting town - Akrasos, Aninetos, Nysa, Tmolos, the Kilbianoi, Daldis, Iulia Gordos, Maionia, Nakrasos, Philadelphia, Tabala, Thyateira, Stratonikeia and Tralles.[8] This profusion would indeed seem to suggest that 'Artemis' was worshipped throughout Lydia in a catholic and comprehensive manner; but her temples are depicted on the coins of Nakrasos (as huntress), Hypaipa (as Anaitis) and Hierokaisareia (as Persike) alone, while she represents only Philadelphia (briefly, as huntress under Gordian) and - as Anaitis again - Hypaipa, under Caracalla: in the first case as partner to Smyrna's two Nemeseis, in the second to the Sardian Kore.[9] Further, the frequency of the Ephesian cult-image, in towns at a considerable distance from the Cayster valley, can surely be taken as readily to indicate folkloric/iconographic popularity as the existence of 'Ephesian' cult in those towns. In passing it should be observed that so far no coins bearing the recognizable portrait of a Sardian Artemis are known, from any period. For what this is worth, the numismatic and epigraphic sources

are apparently in disagreement as far as the city-goddess is concerned; the randomness of those sources may of course be creating a false impression, however. Artemis Boreitene is chiefly attested on coins; her given image is that of a huntress, carrying a bow and quiver, with the title used between the Hadrianic and Severan periods and the type from as early as the Seleukid, spreading from its home in Thyateira to nearby Attaleia.[10] A votive inscription has also survived, as well as evidence for the celebration of mysteries attached to this goddess - if she can be identified with Thyateira's 'general' Artemis; the hunting motif is however insufficient ground on which to base a claim, as Clerc tried to do, that she was the same as Artemis Persike, whose home lay in the Hyrkanian plain.[11] As for her name, it is likely to derive from the native village shrine encountered by incoming Greeks and kept under cultivation by them and their Hellenised neighbours, on the pattern of the fate of Tyrimnos' cult, though Boreitene was evidently less important to the Thyateiran polis on the whole (symbolizing that polis on five separate specimens of a Severan alliance-coin with Smyrna, but otherwise considerably less well represented in our sources).[12]

Persike on the other hand is a comparatively well known figure. As depicted on coins of Hierakome/Hierokaisareia from the first century B.C. to the early part of the third A.D. (under Severus Alexander's wife Orbiana) she was envisaged as a huntress, often accompanied by one or more stags as well as carrying the bow and quiver. On the coins' evidence the town changed its name at the time of Nero. The epithet 'Persike' is a recurrent detail throughout the series' life; the original ethnic affiliation is interestingly affirmed also on a coin showing the head of a 'magus' complete with tiara (cf. Pausanias' account (5. 27. 5)), again from the first century B.C., to which at some distance may be added a Commodan coin on which Perseus joins her. Another feature held in common with a different form of Artemis, this time Anaitis herself, is the lighted altar shown on several Hierokaisareian and Hypaipan coins. Unlike Boreitene Persike served as the dominant image on her town's coins.[13]

Head's distinction between the figures of Persike and Anaitis is self-evidently correct: the former has nothing visibly in common with the statuesque female wearing a kalathos, long chiton and veil and holding both hands outstretched. She is often associated in Hypaipa with a kindled, conical altar, and represents the polis in alliance with Sardis during Caracalla's reign. If the coins' evidence can be taken at face-value, the polis (of which she served as favourite and unchanging image throughout a minting career lasting from the second/first century B.C. to the mid-third A.D.) boasted a tetrastyle and a hexastyle temple in her honour, during Imperial times at any rate.[14] Yet even here the rival image of the huntress, accompanied indeed by a stag like Hierakome's Persike, could find favour. A certain anomaly becomes apparent when one compares the kind and quantity of evidence for her cult in different parts of Lydia: unlike Persike and Boreitene, Anaitis is not specifically labelled as such on the coins of the town of which she was the presumed patron; and the majority of inscriptions in which she appears belong not to Hypaipa but to Philadelphia and the Maionian region, but so far this given image has been found on no coin of Philadelphia - where however there was a festival of Augustan Anaeiteia - and on one of Maionia (under Geta) with the impure addition of a stag.[15] This puzzling anomaly is in turn part of the wider problem as to the reason for Lydian division of the one original import into at least two cult-forms, those of Hierakome's 'Artemis Persike' and of Philadelphia's and Maionia's 'Artemis Anaitis/Meter Anaitis'; the Hyrkanian plain in general seems to have retained memory of her ancestry as the θεὰ περσικὴ, but we are currently unable satisfactorily to explain what practical difference existed between the cultic form in which she was assimilated to 'Artemis' and that in which she was assimilated to an Anatolian Mother. The Hypaipan deity is found on the coins of several other towns, in isolated cases, such as first-century B.C. Klannudda and Hypaipa's neighbours the Kaystrianoi. This cannot be pressed to indicate the practice of her cult in the towns concerned.[16]

The huntress was a very popular image; Nakrasos even goes so far as to portray a temple, of tetrastyle form and Antonine date, dedicated to Artemis in this guise. The relationship between the ordinary huntress and Persike must remain quite obscure, in view of the deficiencies of source-material. (Philadelphia used the huntress as its symbol on alliance-coins with Smyrna of Gordian III's time: it would be convenient to be able to conclude that no great discrepancy was felt (by then) between Artemis in her hunting guise and the old Persian, under whatever name.) As for the chronology, some index of the huntress' antiquity in the country is provided by Hellenistic but post-133 coins minted in Sardis and bearing her bust, armed with bow and quiver; cf. Nysa's similar image, ca. 112, and Thyateira's Seleukid Boreitene; perhaps Nakrasos' own huntress, especially, should be thought of as merely lacking explicit naming with a comparable local epithet, or even as sharing the same one as nearby Thyateira.[17]

Finally, Artemis Ephesia: found indiscriminately throughout Lydia under the Empire, but not before, nor on any non-Ephesian alliance coins (basic civic identity thus remaining secure), nor, similarly, as possessor of temples, she was clearly popular as a striking iconographic element for Lydian coins. Her 'currency' coincides reasonably well with Ephesos' enhanced importance during the period of Roman administration. It is interesting to find her once at Thyateira, admittedly as late as Gallienus' reign, despite the strength of Boreitene in the town's minting record; in this instance she accompanies Apollo Tyrimnaios with his double-axe, however, in an authentic Thyateiran setting.[18] Again, both Philadelphia and Maionia, seats of flourishing Artemis-cult, portray Ephesia on a few occasions, the former during the Severan period and the latter under Marcus Aurelius. Conspicuous by absence from the register is Sardis; in the context reference to the fourth-century B.C. incident in which a crowd of Sardians attacked a sacred procession bringing ritual objects for Artemis from her Ephesian 'homeland' is surely warranted as providing at least a suggestive historical juxtaposition.[19]

Problems arise when we try to recognize **Sardis' patron/s** from its coins. As previously stated, no distinct figure appears as Sardian Artemis, despite strong expectations to the contrary created by the epigraphic material, nor is there a figure with comparable status to Thyateira's Tyrimnos. But two deities do have central iconographic roles: how far this is an index to their cultic roles must remain a matter for dispute. Second-century B.C. coins (i.e. from the start of their Hellenic minting careers) of Sardis and Magnesia show a specific type of Zeus, dressed in a long chiton and himation and holding a sceptre and eagle; he bears no title but recurs regularly, on the Imperial coins of numerous other Lydian towns as well. Alongside these have been adduced five Sardian coins, one of the mid-second century A.D. ('Hadrian - Antonine'), the others of the early or mid-third ('Caracalla - Gordian') on which a head of Zeus is inscribed Ζεύς Λύδιος: on this basis Head christened the standing figure **Zeus Lydios**. Imhoof-Blumer had catalogued specimens of the same type, before discovery of the labelled coins, under the title 'Zeus Aetophoros' - a scrupulously functional decision. Certainly the temptation to make this neat and convenient connexion is a strong one - three alliance-coins minted by Sardis with Ephesos under Caracalla use Head's 'Zeus Lydios' beside Artemis Ephesia - yet caution is in order in view of the difference between the named and unnamed types.[20] The other towns concerned are as follows: Apollonos hieron, first/second century A.D.; Bagis, between Trajan and Valerian; Daldis, from the Flavian to Severan period; the upper Kilbianoi, under Nero and Trajan; Hypaipa, under Nero; Maionia, under Nero, Geta, Caracalla and Severus Alexander; Philadelphia, under Vespasian and then Herennius Etruscus; Saittai, during Caracalla's reign; Sala, between those of Trajan and Elagabalus; Silandos, probably in Domitian's time; Thyateira, under Marcus Aurelius. Apollonis and Germe have a variant in which Zeus is seated, Attalid in the first case and Imperial - Marcus Aurelius and Gordian III - in the second. As for Magnesia, no later examples survive to continue the series after that Hellenistic one. Sardis however kept the type in its repertoire for

four hundred years.[21]

The second deity with a significant presence on the capital's coins is apparently **Kore**: a goddess with ears of corn and stalks of poppy, and sometimes a long torch, as attributes. Unless both of them appear, as they do in a few cases, it is quite unclear whether Kore or her mother Demeter is being represented in this fashion; however it does seem most likely that the patron of Sardis' Chrysanthian festival was the younger goddess. She is explicitly named only on Imperial coins at Attaleia and the cult-centre, Nysa ('Commodus-Severus Alexander'/Domitian). This goddess is found on Hellenistic coins of Mostene, Magnesia, Nysa, Sardis and nowhere else; her popularity (whether as Demeter or Kore) was however great in the Roman period, during which she served as civic symbol for Sardis itself under Caracalla, more distinctively than 'Zeus Lydios', in alliance with Ephesian Artemis and Hypaipa's Artemis Anaitis. A distyle temple to Kore evidently existed at Sardis, during Elagabalus' time and presumably long before; oddly enough, no other town depicts any of her temples. Inscriptions fail to give any help in deciding whether this indicates that her cult was only, or most assiduously, practised in the capital.[22]

Antiquarianism can be seen to affect the choice of minting images among several Lydian towns between the first and third centuries. In this context I exclude images found on Hellenistic as well as Imperial coins, unbroken maintenance of tradition belonging in a separate category; the randomness of the evidence will prevent either category from being historically watertight. Literary transmission plays a large part, most notably in the case of **Omphale**, a Lydian queen to whom **Herakles** was enslaved as penalty for the murder of Iphitos.[23] There are currently ten coins depicting her, in each case as obverse to the hero himself, eight from Maionia and two from Sardis. The earliest is a Flavian coin, showing Omphale standing naked, with the club and lionskin borrowed from Herakles; she is similarly portrayed on the other Maionian coins and on Sardian specimens dating to the early or mid-third century.[24] The story had been current in Greece since at

least the fifth century, when Sophokles dealt with it in the Trachiniai (248-57, 269-80), and possibly even earlier; we have no way of knowing its ultimate origin, but some garbled version of a native legend may well underlie it. Whether the Maionians and Sardians were making use of a genuine survival belatedly reimported or not must hence remain undecided.

A second case is that of the twin boys shown drawing lots. For some reason the numismatists failed to connect this image with the tale of the division of Lydians into two groups under princes **Lydos** and **Torrhebos**, the latter group founding Etruria: again, this first surfaces in the fifth-century literature, through Xanthos.[25] There can be no reasonable doubt but that Lydos and Torrhebos are here depicted in the process of dividing their patrimony: the image is confined to Hypaipa and to the third-century reigns of Gordian III, Trajan Decius and Gallienus. All examples, interestingly enough, put the boys in front of Artemis Anaitis - it is hard to say exactly what claim is being implicitly made by this composition, although the motives of venerable antiquity and of cultural intermingling certainly form part. It is perhaps surprising not to find this picturesque tale represented before the third century, in view of its longstanding literary and indeed political currency. [26]

Depiction of the heroes **Tylos** and **Masdne**s introduces a more striking and culturally specific element, confined in this case to Sardis. Coins minted under Severus Alexander, Otacilia and Gordian III portray them in recognizable legendary settings: Tylos, wounded by a snake, is offered a healing plant by his companion Masdnes, or rides alone in a chariot drawn by two winged snakes above mother Earth.[44] The first of these episodes is independently known from an account given by Pliny (N.H. 25. 14), describing the plant's miraculous properties; Nikolaos (FGrH 90 frr. 45-7) has preserved a narrative, taken no doubt from Xanthos, reflecting part of the legend's secular application, in the form of dynastic pretensions on the part of the Tylonidai. Sadyattes, one of Tylon's descendants, acted faithfully as regent for the Heraklid Meles during his three-year

exile in Babylon in penance for the murder of Gyges' grandfather Daskylos by (an Heraklid) Adyattes; a later Tylonid, Lixos, however contested the throne after Gyges' assassination of the last Heraklid, Nikolaos' Adyattes/Sadyattes and Herodotos' Kandaules, and apparently won much public support for his rival claim until Delphi confirmed temporary Mermnad ascendancy. The two clans were subsequently reconciled. Masdnes, assimilated in the numismatists' opinion to Herakles by virtue of his club and lionskin (somewhat more plausible than equation of Tylos to Triptolemos as a son of Earth), is less well-attested in such terms; however his name may well be linked with that of a Hellenistic deme of Pergamon, Masdye, and certainly is with the Imperial Sardian tribe of Masduis.[27] Local knowledge of both heroes thus survived Hellenization even of the capital, and eventually became a focus for some degree of civic sentiment as expressed by tribal nomenclature and the mint.

Pelops too appears on late coins, in recognition of his legendary origins. Again, this appeal to quasi-nostalgic ancestral pride is confined to Sardis (dubbed Metropolis of Asia from Septimius Severus' time onwards); the hero is however missing from the coins of Magnesia. One or two coins of Marciana's time depict him at full gallop and brandishing a whip, the identification secured by addition of his name; an example from Severus Alexander's reign similarly names him, in virtually the same image; one from that of Geta on the other hand lacks a name, showing a man running alongside and grasping the head of a horse.[28] Literary transmission can be traced in this case as well, Pelops being a well-established figure in the classical period and sufficiently attached in the popular mind to Lydia to serve as a witness for a civic deputation to Tiberius.[29]

Retention of ethnic titles perhaps merits consideration here, although clearly not a case of numismatic antiquarianism of this type; Mostene continued to add 'Lydon' to its title, from its earliest - second/first century B.C. - to its mid-Imperial coins. Dropped apparently after Commodus, the ethnic claim disappeared in explicit terms for the final century of minting (until Gallienus) but in my view can

be traced in implicit terms in the retention of the ancient indigenous symbol of the double-axe. Mostene is only one of several towns in which the double-axe was current from the Hellenistic period; it has not however been found at Sardis in any context. Tralles puts 'Lydios' on some of its Imperial coins, but this is probably a token of historical sentiment like Sardis' belated labelling of 'Zeus Lydios'. It is noteworthy that 'Makedonon' lasted a comparatively long time: not found after the Hellenistic period in Hyrkanis except under the Flavians, Commodus, and then Philip, it was dominant in Blaundos, recurring frequently between Vespasian's and Trebonianus Gallus' reigns, a period of some two centuries. Evidently the inhabitants of these towns were continuously conscious of possessing a distinctive ethnic ancestry in a way that others failed to be.[30]

Turning back to divine images, the diffusion of those of **Men** is interesting. There are no examples from the Hellenistic mints, and recognizable portrayal of his temple at only one town, Nysa, where he apparently had a hexastyle shrine at least during the time of Marcus Aurelius.[31] An indistinct male god features on a Sardian coin from that of Elagabalus, amid a plethora of temples: in the foreground two octastyle ones with above them a hexastyle enclosing the statue of a god and a distyle enclosing that of Kore.[32] The iconography of the stelai is consistent with that of the coins. As far as they are concerned, further, Nysa and Bagis, on the Ionian and Phrygian borders, were centres of his cult. Bagis used the image of Men on alliance coins with Temenothyrai's Tyche under Gallienus (support for identifying the patrons this way round comes in Neronian minting with the god's standard image - Phrygian cap, crescent - at the former); Nysa provides the longest series, from Nero to Valerian, and during the latter's reign actually mints with the scene of the city-Tyche holding a statuette of Men.[33] Particular forms of his cult are attested on the coins of Sardis, Nysa and Saittai: late-Imperial Askenos, Kamareites under Marcus Aurelius, and Axiottenos in the first half of the third century respectively.[34] Saittai also employs a variant in which Men accompanies the town's river-gods, Hermos and Hyllos, in the second century A.D. and during

Caracalla's and then Gordian III's reign;[35] this format is found nowhere else, Men usually appearing alone, and with no correlated partner on reverse sides. Similarly, there is no clear significance in the fact that he is escorted by lions at Iulia Gordos alone (Commodus - Macrinus[36]); in general, variations would seem to be due as much to personal preference as to cultic differences between towns (and times), with the Phrygian cap and crescent as 'irreducible minimum' and the sceptre, pine-cone and bull's head as 'optional extras' in the repertoire. As for duration, Maionian specimens are so far confined to Nero's time, those of Iulia Gordos to Commodus' and Macrinus', Saittai's to the period between Marcus Aurelius and Gordian III, Bagis' to that between (and only represented by) Nero and Gallienus; Sardian examples are almost uniformly late, being attested during the reigns of Nero, Iulia Maesa and Tranquillina and ascribed to the period between those of Caracalla and Gordian. Silandos in turn depicts Men once under Domitian and then once under Septimius Severus. This listing is notable in particular in that it points up the sheer randomness of coin-finds: there is no likelihood whatever that it represents the pattern of either introduction or zenith of the cult. As far as geographic spread is concerned, with the signal exception of Nysa the centre and north of the country predominate in numismatic devotion to Men.[37]

Dionysos' temples are better attested across the country; his image is one of those dating back to the Hellenistic mints, in a variety of guises; Lydian alliance-coins however do not include him, unless he rather than Herakles is Bagis' representative in union with Temenothyrai.[38] A tetrastyle temple appears on Apollonis' coins under Caracalla, a hexastyle on Sardian under Faustina the elder and perhaps on those of Nysa under the elder Philip.[39] The god is to be recognized by addition of such orthodox emblems as thyrsos, kantharos, grapes, an escort of panthers, and the troupe led by Silenos and maenads.

The Hellenistic coins offer an opportunity to see the composition of Dionysos' cultic imagery at a relatively early stage in the process of culture-change undergone

by the country, in which Dionysos represents a developed version of an old indigenous deity: the depictions found on them are stylistically unremarkable and not dissimilar to those found on succeeding Imperial ones, ivy, the thyrsos and bunches of grapes serving to identify him as, in general, a god of fertility and, in particular, of the vintage; as he already has these characteristics when first encountered in literary texts it is simply impossible to assess whether they accurately reflect his original Lydian guise, although the presumption will certainly be that they do, reasons for distortion being unknown.[40] The towns involved during the second and first centuries are Tralles, Nysa, Mlaundos (the later Blaundos), Sardis, Philadelphia and the Kaystrianoi.[41] (It is worth mentioning that Sardis was also using an ancient image of a horned panther holding or breaking a spear between its teeth - any connexion with Dionysos' beast is now unfortunately lost, though the possibility <u>is</u> intriguing.) [42]

Under the Empire Dionysos spans a very extensive part of the country, appearing in no fewer than twenty-seven poleis.[43] He was obviously a popular god, in iconographic terms at least; were it not easily attributable to the finds' randomness it would be interesting that Mostene is not on the list. The chronological span in its turn covers all three centuries of Imperial minting, more particularly the late second and the third. Over this period the repertoire becomes extensive and rich - satyrs at Tralles and Germe, Pan at Akrasos, Bagis and among the lower Kilbianoi, centaurs at Maionia, the god riding on a panther at Silandos and Tralles, in a chariot drawn by panthers at Germe and Maionia, in a chariot drawn by a panther and goat accompanied by Apollo and Silenos at Tralles, with a maenad at Maionia (as part of one of the chariot-scenes), merely seated in front of Hephaistos(?) at Sardis and accompanying Herakles at the same town. The directly religious relevance of this profusion of images, however, is far from certain. Widespread <u>knowledge</u> of Dionysos, at all events, is safely to be deduced from these coins.

Asklepios is in numismatic terms a late arrival. Despite the proximity of a

major shrine, the earliest Lydian coins bearing his image date to the beginning of the second century A.D., the most plentiful to the third. He was indeed probably seen as specifically Pergamene: alliance between that city and Thyateira in Trajan's time is marked by union of Asklepios with Apollo Tyrimnos; he is nowhere represented on other Lydian alliance coins, or as occupant of any temples - two facts of greater prescriptive value as far as cultic standing is concerned when set together.[44] There is in his case, if not in those of his occasional companions, no problem of recognition: the god is invariably shown holding his snake-entwined staff. On several coins from diverse places he is joined by one or two colleagues, interpretation of whom has varied between Imhoof-Blumer's Hygieia and Telesphoros and Head's Apollo and Artemis; needless to say, either pair would seem orthodox partners, although as his similarly-endowed daughter Hygieia might appear to us the more consistent female choice. The long list of his minting towns is remarkable for geographic spread - central and northern Lydia mainly, with some concentration near the Phrygian border - rather than for actual quantity, as most of the specimens are single and isolated.[45] Turning to related epigraphic material, I can only echo the point made by Keil and von Premerstein and endorsed by Robert, that Asklepios is better-attested on coins than in dedicatory inscriptions (this applies also, in my opinion, to the onomastic record - reference to him was popular when names were being bestowed);[46] Herrmann's researches have subsequently produced only a couple of additional examples, one however of interest as being one of the earliest clearly-dated ones, mentioning a 'younger' or new symbiosis of Asklepios at Ayazviran in 28/9 A.D., during the erection of a statue of Hygieia.[47] This same district had a cult of Asklepios allied with **Apollo Nisyreites** (or at least devotees of these gods) as early as the second century B.C. Thyateira, on the edge of the Kaikos valley, celebrated Asklepian games under the Empire; it has been thought that Philadelphia followed suit, but the evidence is certainly inadequate - 'Anaeiteia' is a much more plausible restoration on the coin in question (minted under Severus Alexander).[48] At any rate, with the

evidence available it is hardly possible to say that Asklepios was one of the chief deities worshipped in Lydia at any period.

The general value of coins in illustrating the shift in cultural patterns is particularly evident in the special case of two images - those of **Tyche** and **Roma**. Both goddesses are aliens in the sense that their origin is to be sought in relation to needs created by and reflecting developments in what we should normally regard as purely Greek culture (broadly, in the first case) and Greek politics (narrowly, in the second). They do not correspond to authentic elements of either Greek or indigenous Lydian religion as currently known except in one important but isolated respect, that of personified civic patronage. The fact that, as we shall see, Tyche and a separately-conceived 'city-goddess' can be found shading into each other only complicates matters further, and anyway forms part of the wider problem of divine patronage in general (as does Roma's currency, even with the overt political dimension taken into consideration).

Iconography as the only unequivocal guide to this process is comparatively rich in the course of some five centuries. Two distinct images are used by numerous towns, a goddess wearing a turreted crown and often named as embodying the town and a goddess accompanied by a rudder and cornucopiae whose headdress is the kalathos. Hellenistic (second-century) coins from Tralles on numerous occasions show a single or double cornucopiae, on one of which - dating before 133 B.C. - an accompanying but unidentifiable figure is present with outstretched hands while on another a goddess strongly resembling Hypaipa's Anaitis is shown: with or without personal escort the emblem is a recognized reference to the hope of fertility. Tralles also depicts 'Tyche', bearer of the rudder as well, in the same period. No wearers of the turreted crown turn up before the Augustan period however. Elsewhere, Tyche seems unknown until the Empire, which perhaps hints at her direction of diffusion, but a turreted 'city-goddess' does appear in second-century Sardis - this is no doubt in keeping with the capital's early and intensive development into a polis.[49] It is not until the third century that

Tyche is expressly named, on a coin of Germe, as Τύχη πολέως;[50] however personification of minting towns is traceable from 116/17 A.D. and flourishes in the third century. Deities of this peculiar kind are as follows: Gordos, Hypaipa, (Hiera) Germe, Nikaia, Hierokaisareia, Sardis, Philadelphia, Maionia, Magnesia (Sipylou), Hyrkanis, Silandos, Stratonikeia, Thyateira, Mostene. Common to all is the turreted crown.[51] But in a very few cases conflation with Tyche, or breach of the conventions separating their images, is noticeable. The towns in question are Germe[52] and Hyrkanis[53] : under Gordian III and Plautilla respectively they struck coins on which a wearer of the turreted crown is accompanied by the cornucopiae. (There are other goddesses with such a crown, namely Kybele and Athene/Roma, but they are irrelevant here). This seems to me inadequate reason for the numismatists' indiscriminate labelling of both goddesses passim as Tyche, failing as the label does to reflect the coins' conventions accurately. No doubt the error arose out of the reasonable assumption that Tyche and the 'city-goddess' answer to the same civic sentiments, from the later Hellenistic period and with fashionable regularity under the Empire. Without literary guidance it is hardly possible to draw a useful dividing line between the two goddesses in practical terms; hence there is no real obstacle to a perception of them as two aspects of the one divine force, as understood by their townspeople.

The relationship between Tyche and various favoured local gods is neatly expressed by showing her as standing with, sacrificing to, or being carried in a stag-biga by Artemis Ephesia at Akrasos, holding Apollo (in effigy) at Germe, standing with Anaitis at Hypaipa, holding statuettes of Men and Nike at Nysa and Philadelphia respectively; she apparently possessed her own temples at Hypaipa and Magnesia, both tetrastyle, under Etruscilla and Gallienus but is not attested as representative on any alliance coins unless she rather than Men acts for Bagis in union with Temenothyrai during Gallienus' time.[54] One of the 'city-goddesses', conversely, achieves her finest hour in thematic terms much earlier - Sardis is shown kneeling and offering ears of corn to the city's benefactor Tiberius. She

also later embodies civic pride in the most blatant guise, sometime during the earlier third century, when the mint adopted the designation 'First Metropolis of Asia, Lydia, and Greece', adorning her accordingly with laurel wreath and veil as well as crown.[55] It is worth noting that the newcomer Tyche is readily accommodated alongside the basileuontes of the Lydian villages, Anaitis and Men, in keeping with Lydian catholicism.

On the subject of divine relations with the towns, it remains to say that the coinage tends to appear as the expression of culturally distinct variations on the general theme of protective overlordship. Head's label, 'quasi-autonomous', may well be mentioned out of its chronological context as equally telling in reference to the popularity of eponymous city-goddesses, emptied as these must seem to us of genuine religious devotion and hollow as symbols of political aspiration. Tyche's popularity might instead be taken to symbolize the considerable measure of success achieved by 'Hellenization' in bringing Lydia into intimate relation with mainstream Greek cultural development.

Roma could in Lydian terms be described as a goddess sui generis, marking in extreme form the religious dimension of gradual national accommodation to political realities. She is absent until the reign of Trajan, prominent and widespread in and after it, and regularly named as θεὰ Ῥώμη. In numerical terms the Senate is more commonplace on Lydian Imperial coins, with addition of the adjectives 'hiera' and (to a lesser extent) 'theos' to 'Synkletos' and pictured as an (unremarkable) bust; yet this strikes me as not quite in the same category as the goddess Roma, because the latter represents a slightly higher level of abstraction whereas depiction of the Senate like that of the succession of Imperial families might reasonably be classed as essentially a display of civic politesse. This may however have been as much a matter for personal taste as anything else. In either case, whether or not Roma is bracketed with 'Synkletos' , the general point remains valid that use of these images highlights part of the cultural sequel to foreign military and political domination of the area.[56]

Variations on the theme of that military and political position are apparent in the choice of images: the title is also given to a wearer either of the turreted crown or a helmet. A secondary group minted by some of the ten towns concerned, and others, is somewhat ambiguously composed, as titles are lacking and conflation of Roma with Athene has been suspected. In particular the goddess in a crested helmet wielding the aegis could be seen as Roma rather than Athene; again, a figure shown armed, holding Nike or seated (as iconographic forerunner to the modern 'Britannia') with a shield on a pile of weapons lacks secure identification. In its absence it would be more prudent to suspend judgment than to risk prejudging the developed nature of the younger goddess.[57]

Finally, the most distinctive figure in the Lydian repertoire - the male bearer of the double-axe, usually on horseback but also found simply standing, and at Thyateira christened **Tyrimnos**, a precursor of the Sardians Tylos and Masdnes in the sense that his affiliations lie within Lydian religious folklore. Whether the three of them should be regarded as gods or as heroes is far from clear, and probably too Hellenocentric a question anyway. In turn the double-axe can, like the cornucopiae, be depicted separately, in Thyateira and 'Lydian' Mostene, making a readily recognized allusion. Other towns in which Tyrimnos or his colleagues are found are Tabala, Apollonia Tripolis, Blaundos, Mastaura, Tomaris, Hypaipa and several Phrygian sites too, in witness to widespread appeal; the Karian Zeus Labraundeus carries the same axe. In passing, it is exceptionally interesting to notice that the rider with double-axe turns up as far afield as Kibyra - the very district singled out by Strabo as last bastion of the Lydian language, extinct in its homeland by his day. Coincidence of such an image does nothing to weaken an impression of Kibyra as the site of a tenacious emigré community.[58]

The double-axe and its bearer are consistently present on Lydian coins between the second century B.C. and third century A.D. The only visible dilution, or contamination (whichever metaphor is preferred), is increasing syncretism of Tyrimnos, first with **Apollo**, eventually with **Helios**: his final title in Thyateira is

'the propator theos Helios Pythios Apollo Tyrimnaios',[59] but the last two compose his normal Imperial title: the festival was familiarly known as the Tyrimneia. No other town, unfortunately, happens to give a name to this character; hence it is not quite certain whether the Mostenian, Tabalan and fellows <u>are</u> Tyrimnos in any significant sense, nor whether the addition of a radiate crown by Mostene, Tabala and Thyateira from the reign of Marcus Aurelius onwards should be taken to indicate that identification with Helios was cause or consequence of the wearing of such a crown. However, in terms of religious history conducted at this necessarily general level it may well be sufficient to record their similarity as denoting one basic type.[60]

Mostene and Apollonia Tripolis both show a horseman with double-axe on their Hellenistic coins; the latter has a distinct image of Apollo as well, as does Thyateira, where until the Empire the double-axe occurs without accompaniment. From Nero's time the designation Apollo Tyrimnos was in force, yet consciousness of their own equation of two gods, the newcomer alongside the old 'propator' with his position, shrine or both πρὸ πολέως remained in Thyateiran minds, as evinced by the addition of a laurel branch to the image.[61]

Unlike the old image of a horned panther apparently breaking a spear between its teeth,[62] an image whose cultural context and popularity did not survive the transformation of Sardis into a Roman provincial centre, the horseman and his double-axe, presumably by virtue of stronger and more specifically cultic appeal, remained in the minting repertoire for centuries. The pattern of distribution tallies with the epigraphy as far as Tyrimnos' Thyateiran base is concerned, with Mostene, due south across the Hyrkanian plain, giving indication of comparably tenacious veneration. Otherwise the geographical spread is eclectically wide, from the northeastern Katakekaumene to the Cayster valley; again, it might be thought that the omissions are more significant, in this case the absence of Maionia, as putative heartland, from the list; frustratingly, we simply cannot follow this perception through. Evidence of worship is to be found in Commodan Tabala,

where Marcus boasts of his priesthood on a coin depicting the horseman with radiate crown as well as double-axe and dressed in a chlamys; this does not prove that he was the horseman's own priest, particularly if this is the same Marcus who was a priest of the Tabalans under Crispina in association with the image of Kybele: at the most it allows certainty as to the current existence of both cults in Tabala, given the minter's hieratic emphasis. Evidence pointing away from active worship, on the other hand, might be derived from the complete absence of portrayals of temples to the bearer of the double-axe on Lydian coins. He does serve as civic symbol at Thyateira, at any rate, in alliance with Pergamon under Trajan and Septimius Severus, and with Smyrna under Gordian III, but nowhere else.

Mention of Smyrna leads into one concluding point: there are very occasional instances of female association with the double-axe, exemplified by depiction of Smyrna as an Amazon carrying it. This seems an unambiguous case, and not inconsistent with free-floating ideas in Asia Minor about the Amazons' antiquity and local character; at present we are left with no more than surface indications of this current of popular thought. (Of course, it is open to us to see 'Smyrna's' possession of the double-axe as stemming ultimately from the traditions of the town's Lydian population and neighbours - but I think this would be unduly optimistic, without much more evidence to go on.[63])

More interesting are those coins interpreted by numismatists as showing so-called **Amazons** with the double-axe in the heart of Lydia as direct female counterparts of Tyrimnos. Difficulty with worn specimens is particularly apparent here; Imhoof-Blumer's plates - IV. 18 and 21, VI. 20 - do show females with the double-axe, certainly, at Thyateira, Mostene and Nysa, but as he himself notes we can only dub the Thyateiran examples Amazons and there is evidence of influence from Smyrna in these cases. Under Gordian alliance between Thyateira and Smyrna is marked on coins by juxtaposition of two female images - once a goddess wearing a turreted crown and carrying a sceptre, presumably 'Thyateira',

stands beside a kindled altar with 'Smyrna' who wears a short chiton as well as a turreted crown and carries a shield and double-axe; alternatively, once a bust of 'Smyrna' is shown in similar guise, apparently capable of representing Thyateira too by means of the attribute normally associated with the patron Tyrimnos. Another coin, from the time of Trajan, again shows an Amazon type, in a short chiton, armed with a spear and double-axe and lacking any accompanying reference to 'homonoia'; however there exists an identical type at Smyrna itself during Domitian's reign, so assumption of an equivalent connection is perfectly legitimate. At Mostene on the other hand the reference is more agricultural: a goddess of Demeter's type stands wearing the kalathos and holding ears of corn as well as the double-axe, in the earlier part of the second century A.D. Farther south, as late as Maximinus' reign Nysa minted with a female figure whose outlines are now highly indistinct, viewed by Imhoof-Blumer as holding a snake in one hand, the double-axe in the other: the latter is somewhat clearer than the snake. This composite figure corresponds to no single known Lydian deity, but its composite nature may of course at such a date be the most significant thing about it - recourse may in this instance be had to the convention of syncretism, in the sense that the goddess represents an iconographic merger between two separate divine aspects.[64]

In sum, we obviously cannot say that female possession of the double-axe is in religious terms illegitimate; it is however uncharacteristic, and lacks the cultic associations that could be claimed for male possession.

APPENDIX D - NUMISMATIC SOURCES

1. BMC Lydia pp. 137 nos. 3-5 (Magnesia); 19 no. 2 (Apollonis); 60 no. 5 (Kaystrianoi); 58 no. 1 (Brioula); 147 nos. 61-3 (Magnesian temples) ; Imhoof-Blumer, Lydische Stadtmünzen pp. 53 no. 2 (Brioula), 90 no. 7, 91 no. 9 (Magnesia).
2. BMC Lydia pp. 12 no. 18; 15, no. 35; Imhoof-Blumer, op. cit. p. 42 no. 1 (Akrasos); BMC Lydia pp. 147 no. 60 (cf. no. 61), 148 no 65, 150 no. 74 (Magnesia).
3. Op. cit. p. 155 no. 98 (Magnesia); pp. 208-9 nos. 112-117 (Philadelphia).
4. Op. cit. p. 198 no. 67.
5. Op. cit. pp. 288 no. 4, 289 nos. 6-8; 290, nos. 10-11, 291 no. 16 (Tabala); 228 nos. 8-12, 229 nos. 14, 18-19, 230 nos. 21-2, 231 nos. 28-9, 232 nos. 33-4 (Sala); 213 nos. 9-10, 215 nos. 19-21, 216 no. 22, 224 no. 59 (Saittai); Imhoof-Blumer, op. cit. p. 134 no. 1; BMC Lydia p. 274 no. 211 (Sardis).
6. Op. cit. pp. 11 no 15, 12 nos. 19-20, 14 nos. 27-9, 31, 16 no. 38; Imhoof-Blumer, op. cit. p. 43 no. 4.
7. Op. cit. p. 94 no. 9.
8. BMC Lydia pp. 292 nos. 1-2, 295 nos. 19-22, 297 no. 30, 300 nos. 51-2, 321 nos. 146-50 (Boreitene); 102-3 nos. 1-10, 105 no. 20, 106 nos. 22-5, 107 nos. 27-8 (Persike); 111 nos. 21-3, 112-13 nos. 26-30, 114 nos. 33-6, 38-9, 115 nos. 41-2, 116 nos. 46, 48, 117 nos. 52-4, 118-20 nos. 59-66, 68-70, 121 nos. 71-2; 135 no. 51 (Anaitis); Imhoof-Blumer, op. cit. p. 84 no. 3; BMC Lydia pp. 364 no. 9; 369 no. 37; 370-1 nos. 42-6; 373-4 nos. 56-9; 167 no. 16, 169 no. 26; 115 no. 40; 102 nos. 3-4, 104 nos. 12, 15-16, 107 no. 18; 242-3 nos. 53-9 (huntress); 11 no. 15, 12 nos. 19-20, 14 nos. 27-9, 31; 16 no. 38; 62 nos. 1-2, 64 no. 3, 65 no. 9, 67 no. 17; 69 no. 1, 70 no. 4; 91 nos. 10-14, 93 nos. 20-1; 128-9 nos. 12-14, 132 no. 39; 165 nos. 1-5, 168 nos. 20-2, 190 no. 27, 201 no. 84, 206 nos. 103-4; 288 nos. 2-3, 289 no. 5; 319 no. 141; 286 no. 11; 340 nos. 91-2, 346 no. 136, 357 no. 182; Imhoof-Blumer, op. cit. pp. 24 no. 10 - Aninetos; 110 no. 15 - Nysa; 164 no. 4 - Tmolos (Ephesia).
9. BMC Lydia pp. 167 no. 16, 169 no. 26 (Nakrasos); 111 no. 22, 113 no. 30, 114 nos. 36-9. 116 nos. 46, 48; 119 no. 61, 120 no. 68 (Hypaipa); 107 no. 27 (Hierokaisareia); 210 no. 119 (Philadelphia): 277 no. 218 (Sardis).
10. Imhoof-Blumer, op. cit. pp. 45-6 no. 2.
11. De Rebus Thyatirenorum p. 78.
12. BMC Lydia p. 321 nos. 146-50.
13. Imhoof-Blumer, op. cit. pp. 6 no. 2; 18-19 nos. 39-40 and note 1; 17 no. 3l; 81 nos. 13-14.
14. BMC Lydia pp. 277 no. 218 (alliance-coin); 111 no. 22, 113 no. 30; 114, nos. 36, 38-9; 116 no. 46, 119 no. 61, 120 no. 68 (temples).
15. Imhoof-Blumer, op. cit. p. 126 no. 41; BMC Lydia p. 135 no. 51.
16. Imhoof-Blumer, op.cit. p. 59 no. 1 (Klannoudda), p. 54 note (Kaystrianoi).
17. BMC Lydia pp. 169 no. 26 (Nakrasos); 210 no. 119 (Philadelphia); 242-3 nos. 53-9 with Sardis XI. l. nos. 263-4 (Sardis); Imhoof-Blumer, op. cit. p. 107 no. 5 (Nysa).
18. BMC Lydia p. 319 no. 141.
19. Op. cit. pp. 190 no. 27, 201 no. 84, 206 no. 103 (Gordian); 128-9 nos. 12-14. See also Imhoof-Blumer, op. cit. pp. 123 no. 32, 126 no. 42, 93

no. 3: I.Ephesos 2.

It was commonplace in Lydia for her image to be accompanied by 2 stags.

20. BMC Lydia pp. 137 nos. 4-5 (Magnesia) , 237 no. 7 and note, 242 nos. 49-52 (Sardis); 246 no. 77, 248 nos. 85-8 (Zeus Lydios). Imhoof-Blumer, op. cit. pp. 55-6 nos. 1-2 (upper Kilbianoi), 62 no. 2 (Daldis), 78 no. 4 (Hypaipa), 93 no. 4 (Maionia), 129 no. 9 (Saittai), 132 no. 2, 133-4 no. 7 (Laodikenos - Sala), 134 no. 1, 140 no. 15 (Sardis), 143 no. 1 (Silandos), 152 no. 16, 153 no. 18 (Thyateira) and with the god seated 26 no. 1 (Apollonis), 70 no. 5 (Germe). The alliance-coins: BMC Lydia p. 276 nos. 214-16.

21. Op. cit. pp. 23 nos. 1-3 (Apollonos hieron), 31 no. 5, 34 nos. 20-1, 36 nos. 26-7, 37 no. 35, 38 nos. 37-40, 40 no. 52 (Bagis), 69 no. 2, 70 nos. 6-7, 9, 72 no. 17 (Daldis), 197 nos. 60-1, 207-8 nos. 109-10 (Philadelphia), 221 nos. 47-8 (Saittai), 227 nos. 4-6, 231 nos. 31-2, 232-3 nos. 39-45, 234 nos. 48-9, 235 no. 51 (Sala), 305 no. 78 (Thyateira), 19 no. 2 (Apollonis), 83 nos. 20-1, 85 no. 29 (Germe); Imhoof-Blumer, op. cit. pp. 55-6 nos. 1-2 (upper Kilbianoi), 79 no. 8 (Hypaipa), 93 no. 4 (Maionia), 143 no. 1 (Silandos).

22. BMC Lydia pp. 26 nos. 1-2 (Attaleia), 175 no. 30 (Nysa); 161 nos. 3-4 (Mostene), 139 nos. 12, 16; 141 no. 27 (Magnesia), 170 nos. 1-2, 171 nos. 4-7, 172 nos. 13-15 (rape - no. 15, p. 173 no. 16) (Nysa), 243 nos. 60-1 (Sardis). Alliance-coins: pp. 276 nos. 215-16, 277 no. 218. Temple: p. 265 no. 171. See also Imhoof-Blumer, op. cit. pp. 62-3 nos. 6-7 (Daldis), 144 nos. 7-8 (Silandos), 164 no. 3 (Tmolos), 107 no. 6, 108 nos. 8-9 (Hellenistic, rape) (Nysa), 23 no. 6 (Aninetos), 139 no. 11 (Sardis).

23. Soph., Trachiniai ll. 248-57, 269-80; Athen. 12. 515 f - 516 a, 15. 690 b - Ion wrote a play on the subject; Seneca, Hercules ll. 371-3.

24. BMC Lydia pp. 129-30 nos. 17-23 with Imhoof-Blumer op. cit p. 92 no. 1 (Flavian) - Maionia; BMC Lydia p. 247 nos. 79-80.

25. Hdt. l. 94; cf. Dion. Hal., A.R. 1 27. 1-2, 28. 2, 30. l.

26. BMC Lydia pp. 118 nos. 59-60, 119 no. 65, 120 no. 70; Imhoof-Blumer, op. cit. p. 83 no. 21; Tacitus, Annales 4. 55: the Sardians cited their Etruscan link, through the emigrating Tyrrhenus, in support of their bid for a Tiberian temple; cf. Silius Italicus, Pun. V. 9-11: 'Lydius huic genitor, Tmoli decus, aequore longo / Maeoniam quondam in Latias advexerat oras / Tyrrhenus pubem dederatque vocabula terris'

27. BMC Lydia pp. cxi-xiii, 268 no. 179, plate XXVII. 12; cf. Imhoof-Blumer's Herakles and Telephos, in Severan Germe: p. 72 nos. 11-12.

28. OGIS 338; Robert, REA 1934 p. 525, Villes pp. 52, 250-1 note 8, Etudes Anatoliennes pp. 155-8.

29. BMC Lydia pp. 256 nos. 132-3, 264 no. 168, 266 no. 175.

30. Pindar, Olymp. I 36-96; Eur., Orestes 4-16; Tacitus, Annales 4. 55: Pelops had emigrated and given his name to the Peloponnese.

31. BMC Lydia pp. 161 nos. 1-4, 162 no. 9, 163 nos. 11-13 (Mostene); 122 nos. 1-3, 124 no. 17, 125 no. 22 (Hyrkanis); 47-8 nos. 45-8, 49-50 nos. 55-8, 61-2; 51-2 nos. 69-72, 74; 53 no. 75, 54 nos. 79-82, 55-6 nos. 84-6, 88-9; 57 nos. 90, 92-3 (Blaundos). It is noteworthy that Mlaundos and Makedonon do not coexist - p. cxlvi for Tralles. See also Imhoof-Blumer, op. cit., pp. 98 no. 1, 100 nos. 1-2 (latter with Λυδ. Καισαρεια), 102 nos. 8-9 (Mostene); 51 nos.7-10 (Blaundos); 83 no. 1, 85 no. 5 (Hyrkanis).

32. BMC Lydia p. 177 no. 39.

33. Op. cit. p. 265 no. 171.

34. Op. cit. pp. 41 nos. 54-6, 30 no. 1 (Bagis), 175 no. 29, 177 nos. 36, 39, 178 no. 42, 180 no. 51, 181 no. 58, 184 no. 67 (Nysa).

35. Pp. 250 no. 95 (Sardis), 177 no. 36 (Nysa), 214 nos. 15-16 (Saittai).
36. Pp. 216 nos. 23-4, 220 no. 46; 223, no. 58 with plate XXIII. 12.
37. Pp. 95 nos. 31-2, 97 no. 41.
38. Pp. 131-2 nos. 35-6 (Maionia), 90 no. 5, 95 nos. 31-2, 97 no. 41 (Iulia Gordos), 212 nos. 4-5, 214-15 nos. 15-17, 216 nos. 23-4, 219 no. 42, 220 no. 46, 223 nos. 57-8 (Saittai), 30 no. 1, 41 nos. 54-6 (Bagis), 248 no. 84, 250 nos. 95-6, 266 no. 174, 271 nos. 194-5 (Sardis) 281 no. 17 (Domitia), Imhoof-Blumer, op. cit. p. 145 no. 10 (Sept. Severus) See also pp. 46 no. 1 (Bagis), 127-8 nos. 1-3 (Saittai), 138 no. 9 (Sardis).
39. BMC Lydia p. 41 nos. 57-8.
40. Op. cit. p. 22 no. 22 (Apollonis), 258 no. 139 (Sardis); Imhoof-Blumer, op. cit. p. 110 no. 17 (Nysa).
41. BMC Lydia's Plate IX. 4 from Severan Germe is a fine specimen of a complex Dionysian scene.
42. Op. cit. pp. 331 no. 37, 332-3 nos. 44-9 (Tralles); 171-2 nos.9-11, 173 nos. 16-18 (Nysa); 42 no. 4, 43 nos. 11-13 (Mlaundos); 241 nos. 40-4, 47-8, 243 nos. 60-1 (Sardis); 189 nos. 16-18 (Philadelphia); 61 nos. 6-9 (Kaystrianoi).
43. Op. cit. pp. 238 nos. 8-9, 241 nos. 40-4.
44. Pp. 10 no. 4, 12, no. 17, 16 nos. 37, 39 (Akrasos); Imhoof-Blumer, op. cit. pp. 24 no. 11, 181 no. 13 (Aninetos); BMC Lydia pp. 20 no. 8, 22 nos. 22-3 (Apollonis); 23 no. 5 (Apollonos hieron); 33 no. 18, 35 nos. 23-4, 36 no. 28, 38 no. 36, 41 nos. 57-8 (Bagis); 47 nos. 42-3, 48 no. 48, 50 no. 58, 52 nos. 70-1 (Blaundos); 58 no. 3, 59 no. 6 (Brioula); 64 no. 4 (lower Kilbianoi); 71 no. 10 (Daldis); 83 no. 23, 87 no. 35, 89 no. 42 (Germe); 91 nos. 6-9, 92 no. 17 (Iulia Gordos); 109 nos. 9-10 (Hypaipa); 124 no. 14, 126 no. 23 (Hyrkanis); 159 no. 17 (Mastaura); 176 no. 33, 180 no.53, 183 no. 64, 184 no. 68, 185-6 nos. 76-7 (Nysa); 192 no. 33, 198 no. 66, 205 no. 97 (Philadelphia); 214 nos. 15-16, 217 no. 28 (Saittai); 244 nos. 65-6, 246 nos. 75-6, 247 no. 78, 253 nos. 116-19, 255 no. 128, 257 no. 137, 264 no. 167, 272 no. 199, 275 no. 212 (Sardis); 279 nos. 6-7, 282 no. 22 (Silandos); 227 nos. 1-3 (Sala); 129 no. 16, 130 no. 25, 133 no. 43, 136 no. 53 (Maionia); 26 nos. 3-5 (Attaleia); 297 no. 29, 299 nos. 44-6, 305 no. 81, 313 no. 117 (Thyateira); 341 no. 100, 348 no. 140, 349 nos. 144-5, 356 no. 175, 360 nos. 197-8, 362 no. 205 (Tralles); 364 no. 8, 370 nos. 40-1 (Apollonia Tripolis); Imhoof-Blumer, op. cit. pp. 163-4 no. 1 (Tmolos), 35 no. 14 (Stratonikeia/ Hadrianopolis).
45. Pp. 13 nos. 22-3, 16 no. 36 (Akrasos - once with Hygieia); 29 nos. 21-2 (Attaleia); 33 no. 15, 36 no. 29, 37 nos. 31-2, 39 nos. 47-8 (Bagis - with Hygieia and Telesphoros); 71 no. 12 (Daldis - with Hygieia); 74 nos. 2-3, 76 no. 12, 77 no. 20; cf. p. 78 no. 21 - Hygieia (Dioshieron - with Hygieia); 108 nos. 3-5, 118 no. 58 (Hypaipa - once with Hygieia); 122 nos. 4-5, 123 no. 10, 124 nos. 15-16, 125 no. 20 (Hyrkanis); 86 nos. 32-3 (Germe - once with Hygieia, once with Apollo and Artemis); 90 no. 1 (Iulia Gordos); 101 no. 18 (Hermokapeleia); 67 no. 19 (lower Kilbianoi- with Hygieia); 141-2 nos. 28-9 (Magnesia); 169 no. 27 (Nakrasos); 194 no. 50 (Philadelphia); 214 no. 13, 220 no. 45, 222 nos. 52-3 and Imhoof-Blumer, op. cit. p. 129 no. 8 (Saittai - with Hygieia and Telesphoros); 287 no. 15 (Stratonikeia - with Homonoia); 308 no. 92, 309 no. 95, 320 no. 145 and Imhoof-Blumer, op. cit. p. 153 no. 19 (Thyateira - with Apollo Tyrimnaios, in Pergamene context) 347 no. 137 and Imhoof-Blumer, op. cit. p. 180 no. 44 (Tralles - with Hygieia and Telesphoros) ; 366 no 18 (Apollonia Tripolis) ; Imhoof-Blumer, op. cit. pp. 132 no. 4 (Alia), 133 no. 5 (Sala - with Hygieia and Telesphoros).
46. Reisen II p. 203, Robert, Hellenica VI p. 86 and note 1; Keil, Festschrift Ramsay pp. 252-3.
47. TAM V. 1. 451/Ergebnisse pp. 42-3 no. 35. There is a possible instance of

an altar to Asklepios, the inscription retaining only the word Soter, in Attaleia: TAM V. 2. 827.

48. Reisen II 203 note; contra, Imhoof-Blumer, op. cit. p. 126 no. 41.
49. BMC Lydia pp. 327-8 nos. 18-20, 329-31 nos. 29-40, with plates XLIII. 9, XLIV. 8 and Imhoof-Blumer, op. cit. p. 171 no. 9 (Tralles); BMC Lydia p. 242 nos. 49-52 (Sardis).
50. BMC Lydia p. 81 no. 11.
51. Op. cit. pp. 90 no. 1, 91-2 nos. 10-16 (Γορδος).109 nos. 11-12 (Ὑπαιπα), 81 nos. 12-13 (Γερμη), 64-5 nos. 4-5 (Νεικαια of the lower Kilbianoi), 105 nos. 19 (of 116/17 A.D.: T. Iul. Ferox procos.), 21 (Ἱεροκαισαρεια); 249 nos. 89 (Ἀσιας· Λυδιας· Ἑλλαδος· α'. μητροπολις Σαρδις) + 90-3 (Σαρδις), 191-2 nos. 31-3, 194 no. 5 (φιλαδελφια),131 no. 30 (Μαιονια), 142-4 nos. 33-43 (Μαγνησια [ἐπι Μαιανδρου]), 123 nos. 11-13 (Ὑρκανις), 280 no. 14 (Σιλανδος), 285 nos. 3-4 (Στρατονικεια) 301 nos. 54-6, 303 nos.68-9 (Θυατειρα); Imhoof-Blumer, op. cit. p. 100 no. 2 (Μοστηνη).
52. BMC Lydia p. 88 no. 39.
53. Op. cit. p. 125 no. 21.
54. Op. cit. pp. 14 no. 31 (Akrasos), 88 no. 39 (Germe) 115 no. 41 (Hypaipa), 184 nos. 69-70 (Nysa), 203 no. 88 (Philadelphia). Temples: 120 no. 67; 140 no. 17. Alliance-coins: 41 nos. 54-6. See further Imhoof-Blumer, op. cit. pp. 52 no. 12 (Blaundos), 56-7 nos. 3-4 (upper Kilbianoi), 66 no. 11 (Dioshieron), 77 no. 1 (Hermokapeleia), 94 no. 7, 95 no. 12 (Maionia), 143 no. 4, 145 no. 11 (Silandos), 158 nos. 26-7 (Thyateira), 165 no. 2 (Tomaris), 130 no. 13 (Saittai), 180 no. 45 (Tralles).
55. BMC Lydia pp. 250-1 nos. 98-101; 249 no. 89.
56. Op. cit. pp. 31 no. 6 (Bagis), 90 nos. 2-4 (Iulia Gordos), 99-100 nos. 1-11 (Hermokapeleia), 161 no. 5 (Mostene), 166 nos. 11-12 (Nakrasos), 247 no. 77, 249 no. 94 (Sardis), 278 no. 1, 279 no. 5 (Silandos), 284 no. 2 (Indei-Stratonikeia), 364 no. 8, 367 no. 25, 373 no. 54 (Apollonia Tripolis).
57. Op. cit. pp. 9 no. 1, 10-11 nos. 13-14 (Akrasos), 20 nos. 12-14 (Apollonis), 23 nos. 1-3 (Apollonos hieron), 27 nos. 6-13 (Attaleia), 70 no. 4 (Daldis), 123 nos. 7-8 (Hyrkanis), 127 nos. 1-2 (Maionia), 228 nos. 8-12, 229 nos. 14, 18-19, 230 nos. 21-2 (Sala), 244-5 nos. 67-9 (Sardis), 279 nos. 8-9, 280 no. 11 (Silandos) 297-8 nos. 31-9 (Thyateira), 365 nos. 10-11, 366-7 nos. 19-24, 373 no. 55 (Apollonia Tripolis). See also Imhoof-Blumer, op. cit. p. 126 no. 42 (Philadelphia). The Aitolian 'Soteria' coinage is a more immediate parallel.
58. BMC Lydia pp. 292-3 nos. 4-10, 302 nos. 58-64, 303 no. 68; 162 no. 10 (double-axe); 289 no. 9, 291 no. 15 (Tabala), 363 nos. 4-5, 372 nos. 50-1 (Apollonia Tripolis), 53 no. 76, 55-6 nos. 85-6, 57 nos. 91-2 (Blaundos), 156 no. 1, 157 nos. 5-6, 158 no. 10 (Mastaura); Imhoof-Blumer, op. cit. , pp. 165 no. 1 (Tomaris); BMC Lydia pp. 110 nos. 15-19 (Hypaipa), 294 nos. 14-15, 303 no. 72, 308 no. 89, 309 nos. 94-5, 312 nos. 110, 112; 314 no. 119, 315 no. 122, 318 no. 137, 319 no. 141, 320 no. 145, 321 no. 151 (Thyateira); Imhoof-Blumer, op. cit. pp. 100 no. 1, 101-2 nos. 4-6, 8 (Mostene) - Lydian hero; Strabo 13. 4. 17/631 on Kibyra.
59. Reisen II 115.
60. Op. cit. 63. On coins minted to commemorate the games Apollo's influence, not unnaturally, predominates, in that the title is abbreviated to [Augustan] Pythia: BMC Lydia pp. 298 no. 38, 312 no. 112, Imhoof-Blumer, op. cit. pp. 158-9 and note 1.
61. BMC Lydia pp. 161 nos. 1-2 (?) (Mostene), 363 nos. 4-5 (?); 363 nos. 1-3 (Apollonia Tripolis), 292 nos. 1-7.
62. Op. cit. pp. 238 nos. 8-9, 241 nos. 40-4. Imhoof-Blumer has two

Philadelphian panthers in a more Dionysiac context, carrying the thyrsos, during Augustus' and Caligula's reigns: pp. 115 no. 8, 119 no. 23. Head's examples date to 114, 112 and probably pre-133 B.C. respectively, so knowledge of the motif might be thought to have survived long enough to be borrowed and adapted: if indeed it did not anyway belong to Baki/Dionysos.

63. BMC Lydia pp. 289-90 nos. 9-10 (Tabala); 320 no. 145 and Imhoof-Blumer, op. cit. p. 153 note; 321 no. 151 and Imhoof-Blumer, op. cit. pp. 160-1 nos. 33-4 (Thyateira).

64. Op. cit. pp. 160-1 nos. 33-4 both give Smyrna the double-axe; cf. p. 162 no. 36 ('Amazone'). Mostene: p. 101 nos. 3, 4 a ('Demeter (?)'). Nysa: p. 110 no. 16 ('weibliche Figur').

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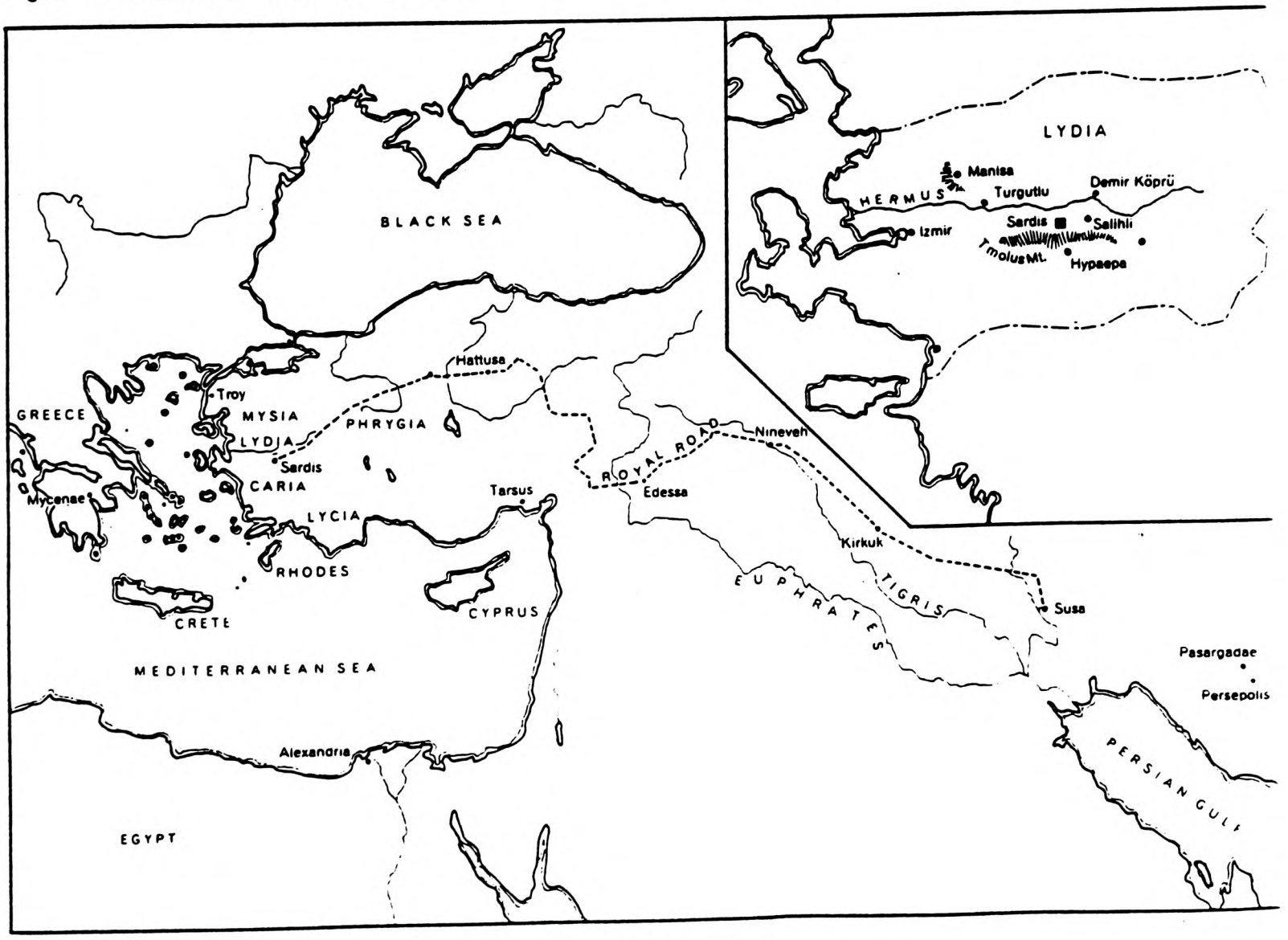
(1)

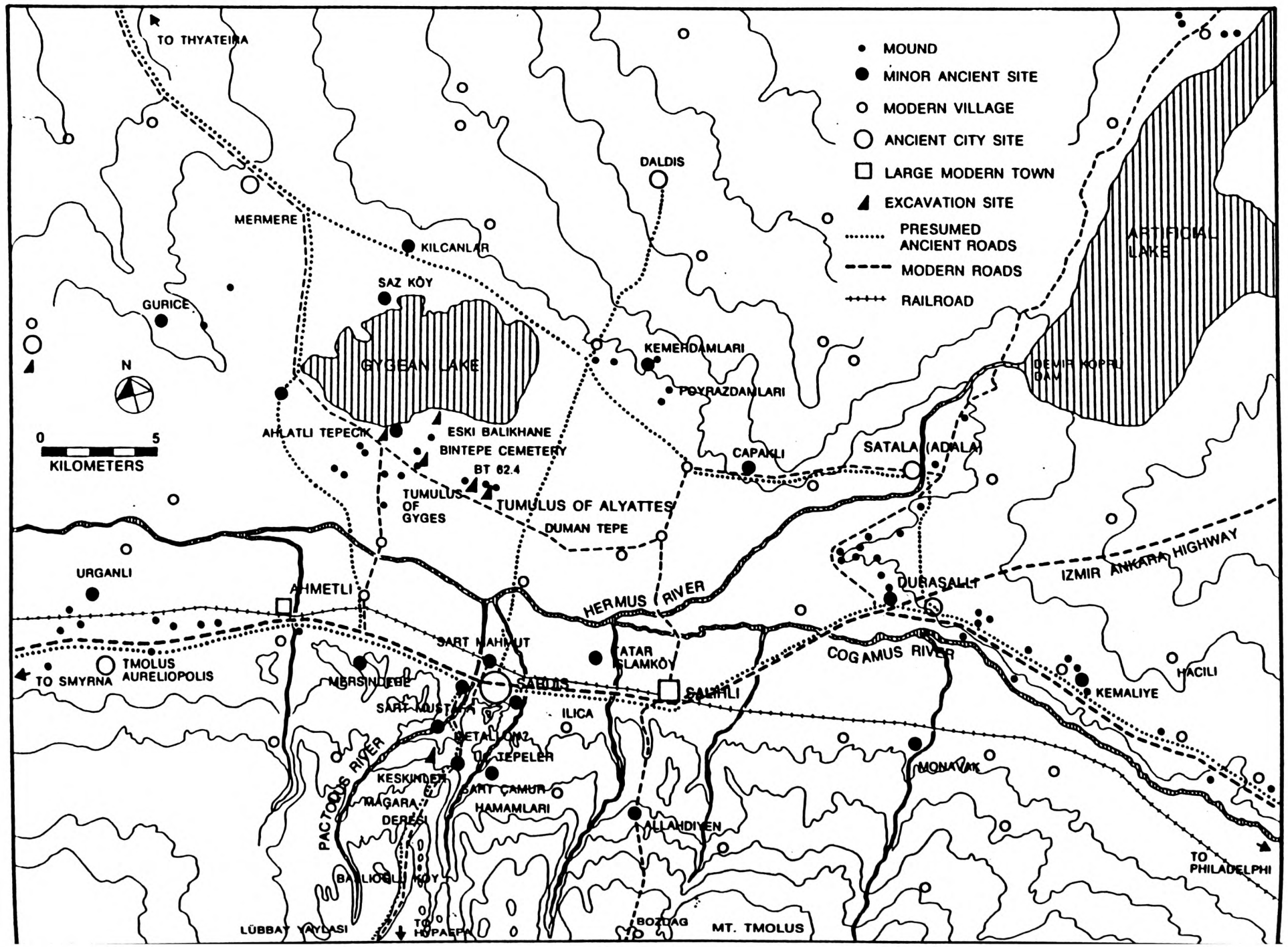
Fig. 1 Location of Sardis and the Royal Road.



FROM SARDIS : HANFMANN AND MIERSE, 1983

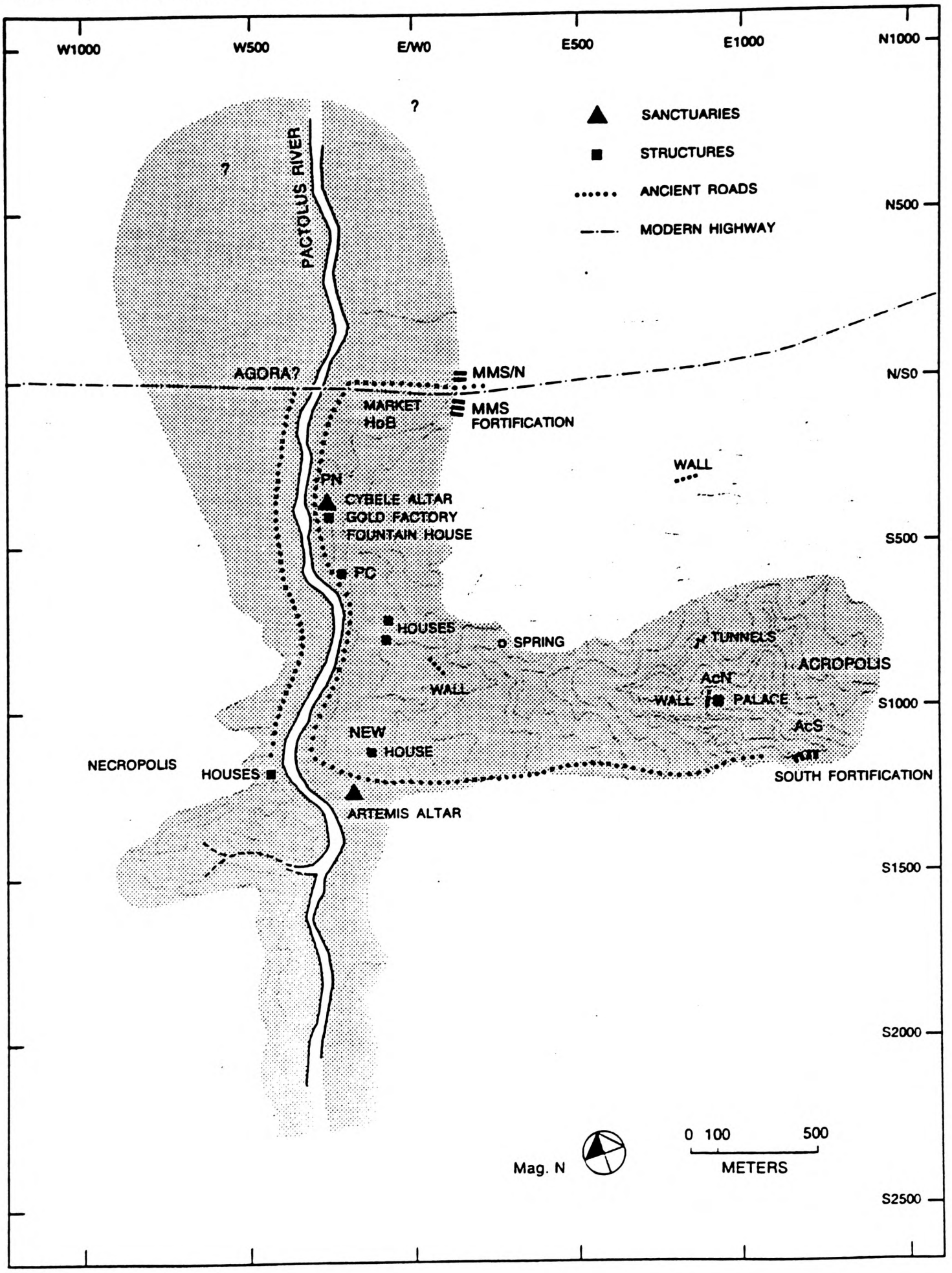
(2)

Fig. 2 Sardis and vicinity.



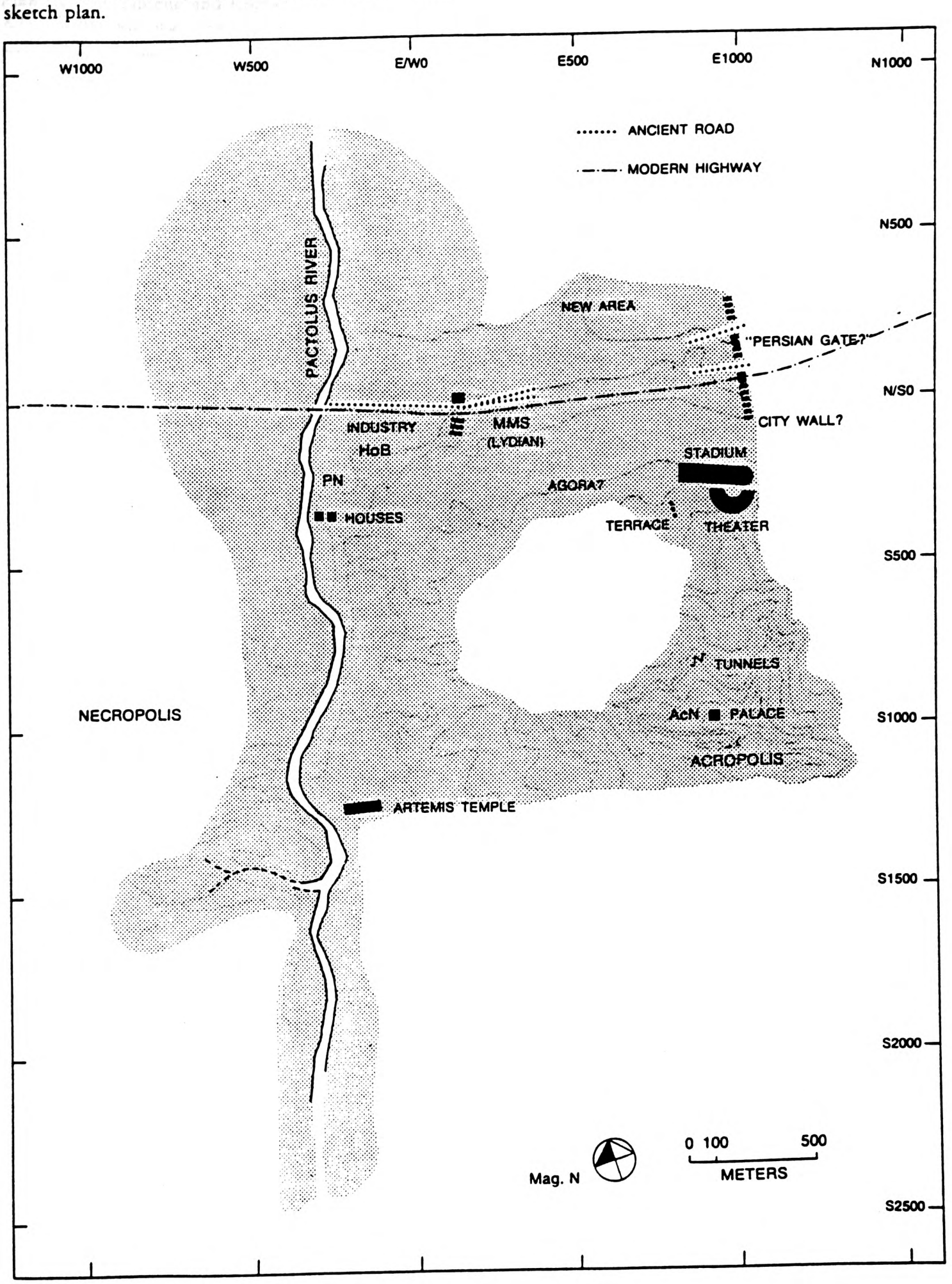
(3)

Plan 1 Lydian city: hypothetical sketch plan.



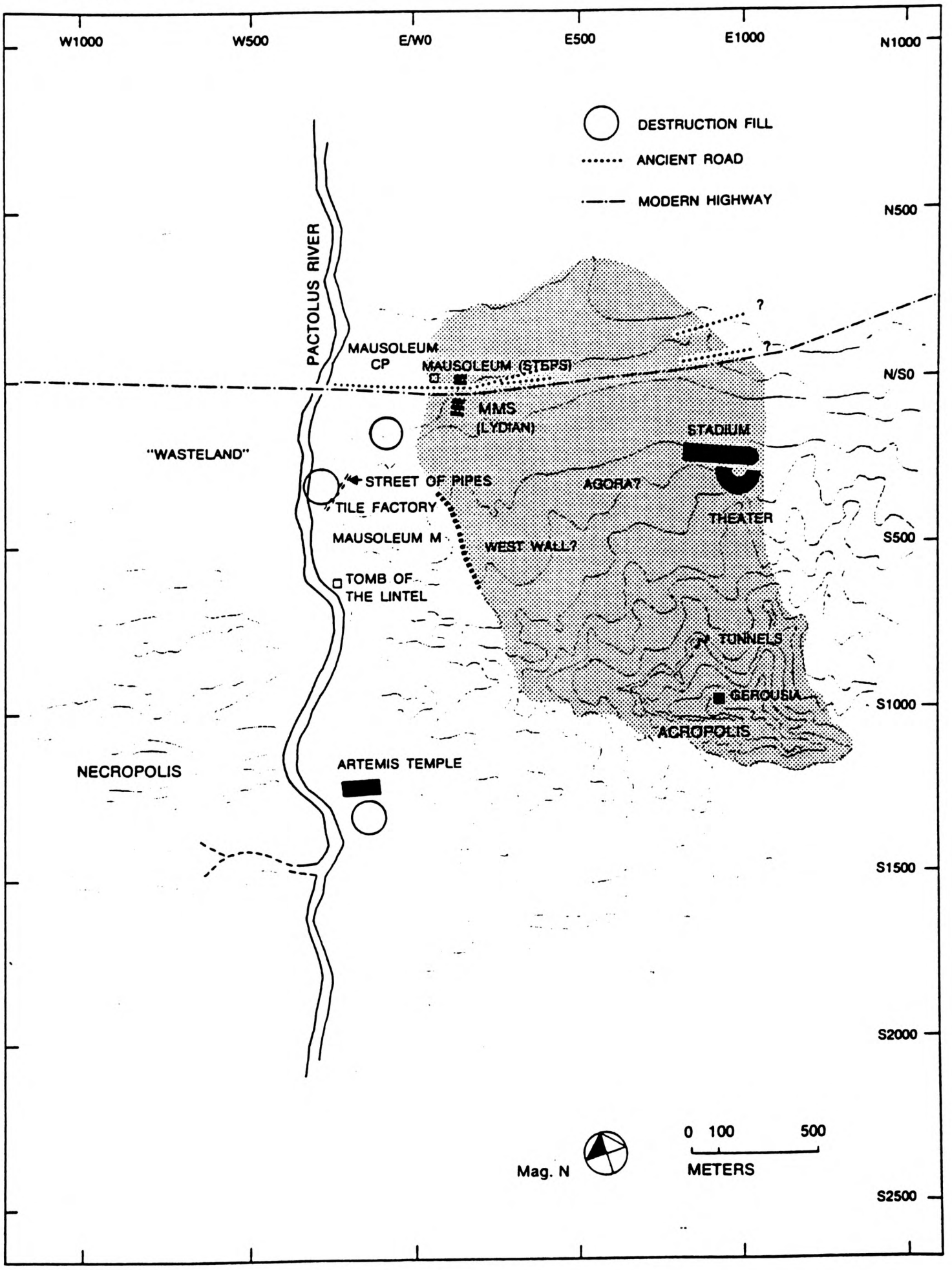
(4)

Plan II Seleucid city before 213 B.C.: hypothetical sketch plan.



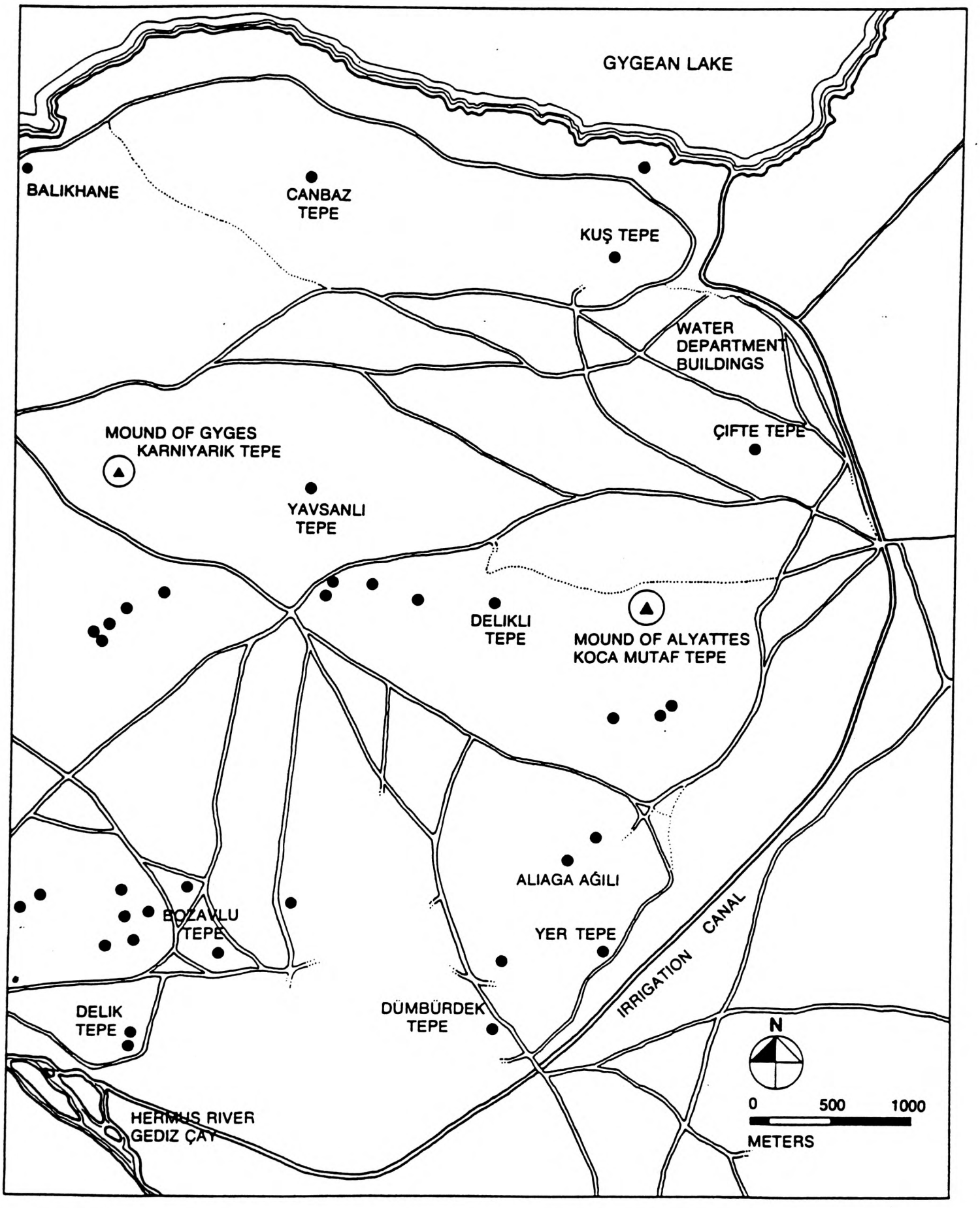
(5)

Plan III Pergamene and Roman city, 213 B.C. to A.D. 17: hypothetical sketch plan.



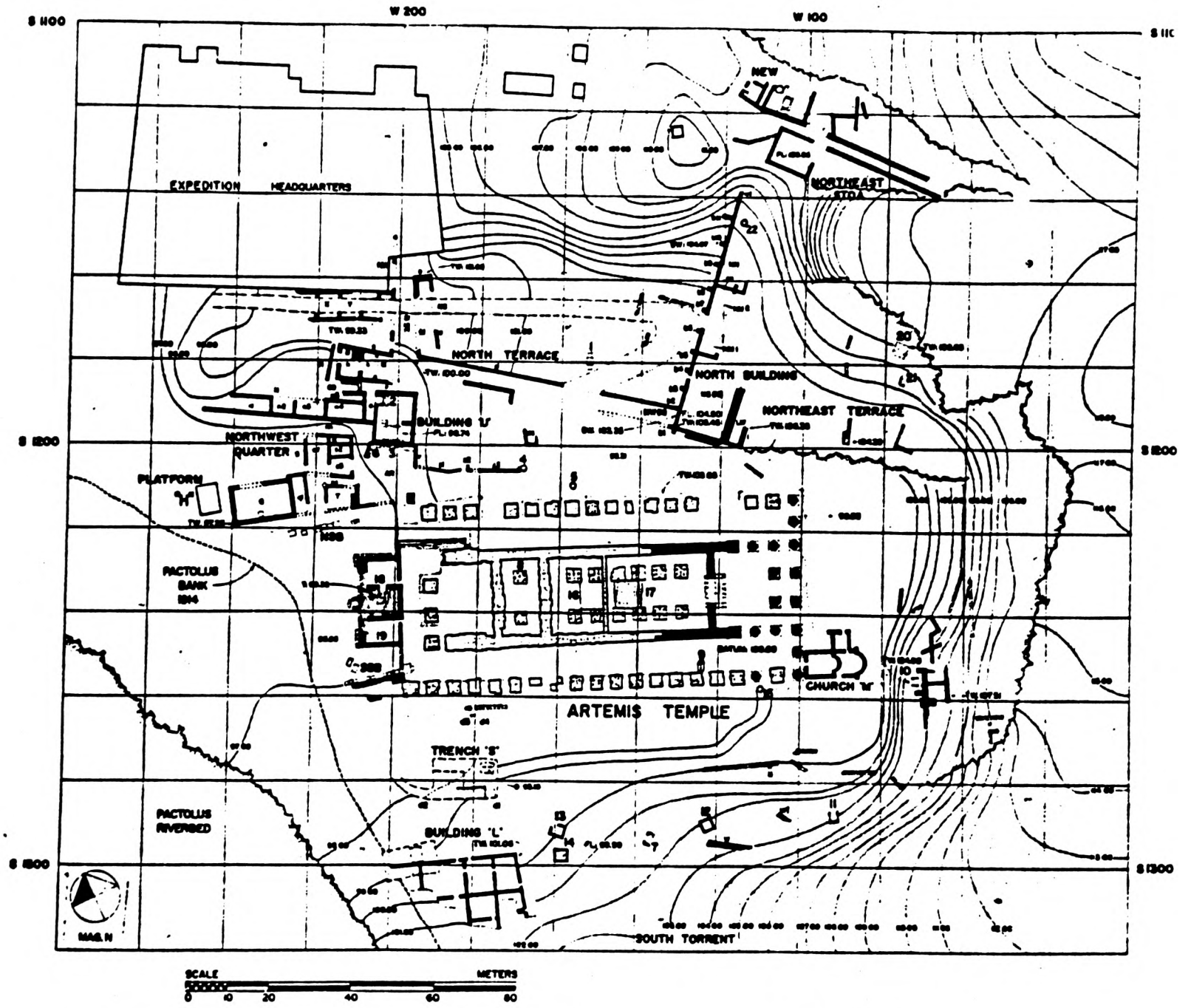
(6)

Fig. 96 Sketch plan of Bin Tepe, central and eastern part.



(7)

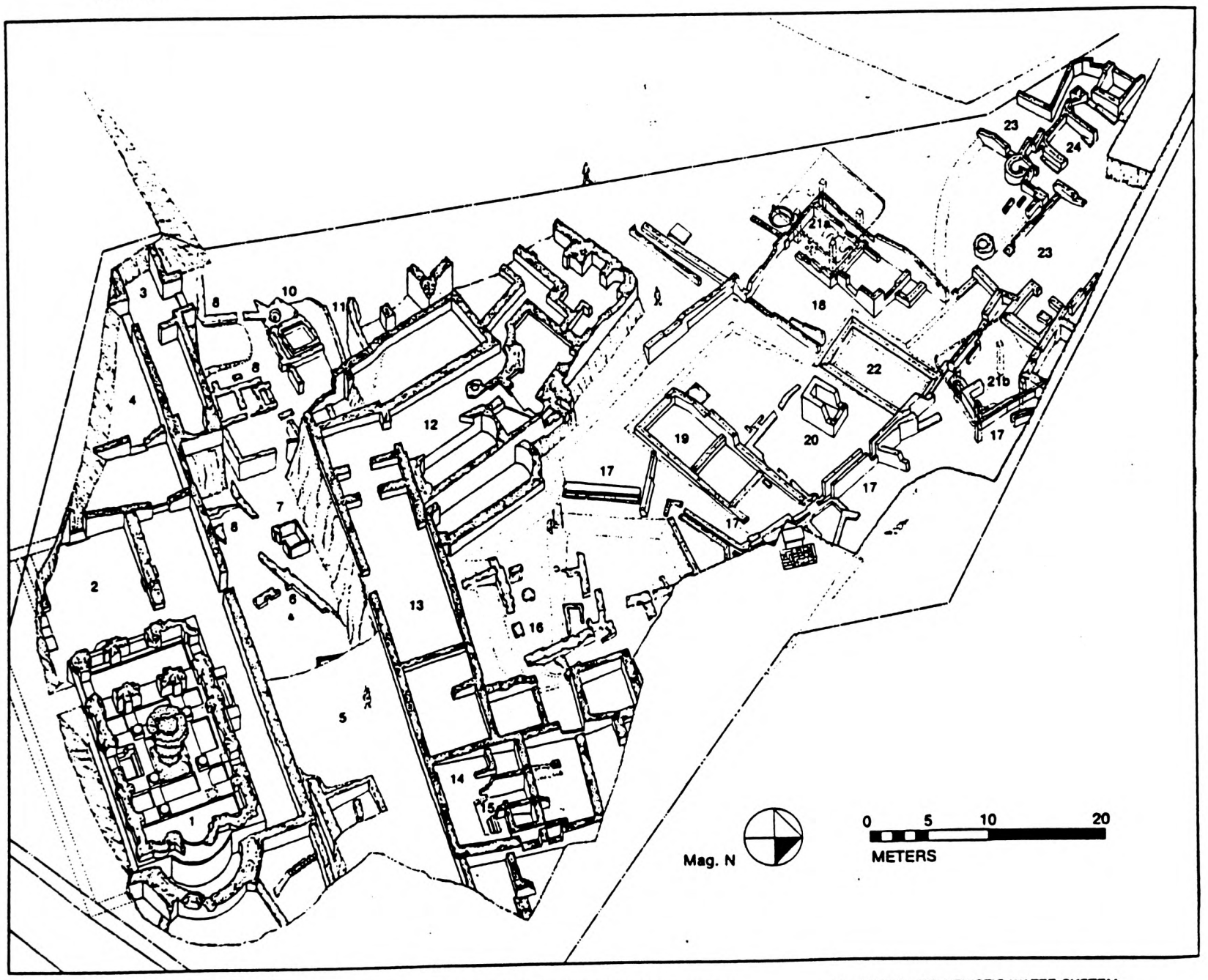
Fig. 88 Plan of Artemis Temple and Precinct.



1. Lydian Lion-Eagle monument
2. Vaulted tomb
3. Marble steps, Building U
4, 5. Terracotta wells
6. Stelai
7. Sarcophagus
8. Mortgage inscription on wall
9. Two small columns
10. Exedra monument
11-14. Vaulted tombs
15. Terracotta well
16. Concrete base
17. Sandstone base
18. Building LA, Lydian Altar
19. Perimeter structure
20, 21. Bases
22. Well

(8)

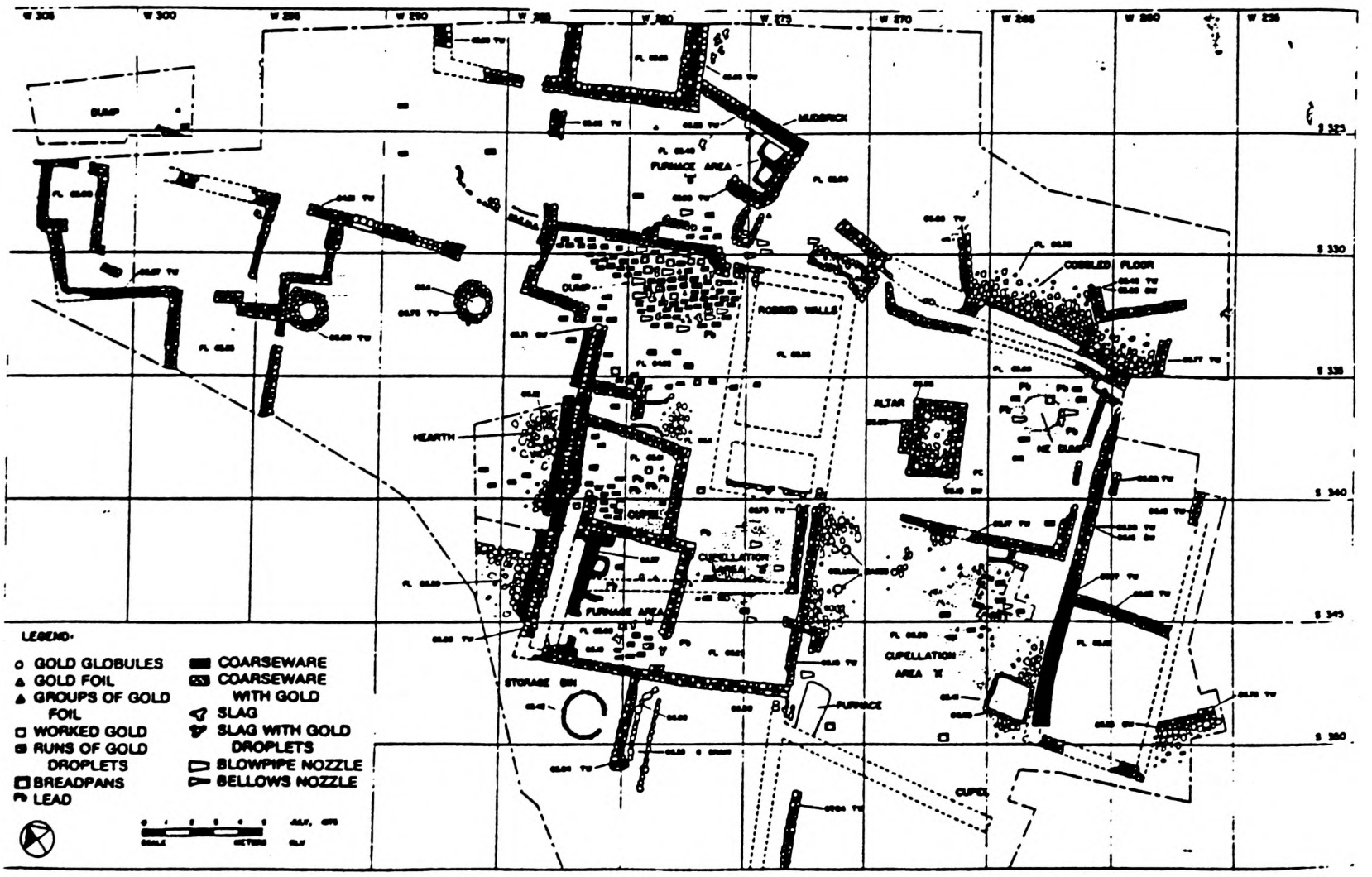
Fig. 43 PN, axonometric drawing of all periods (1973).

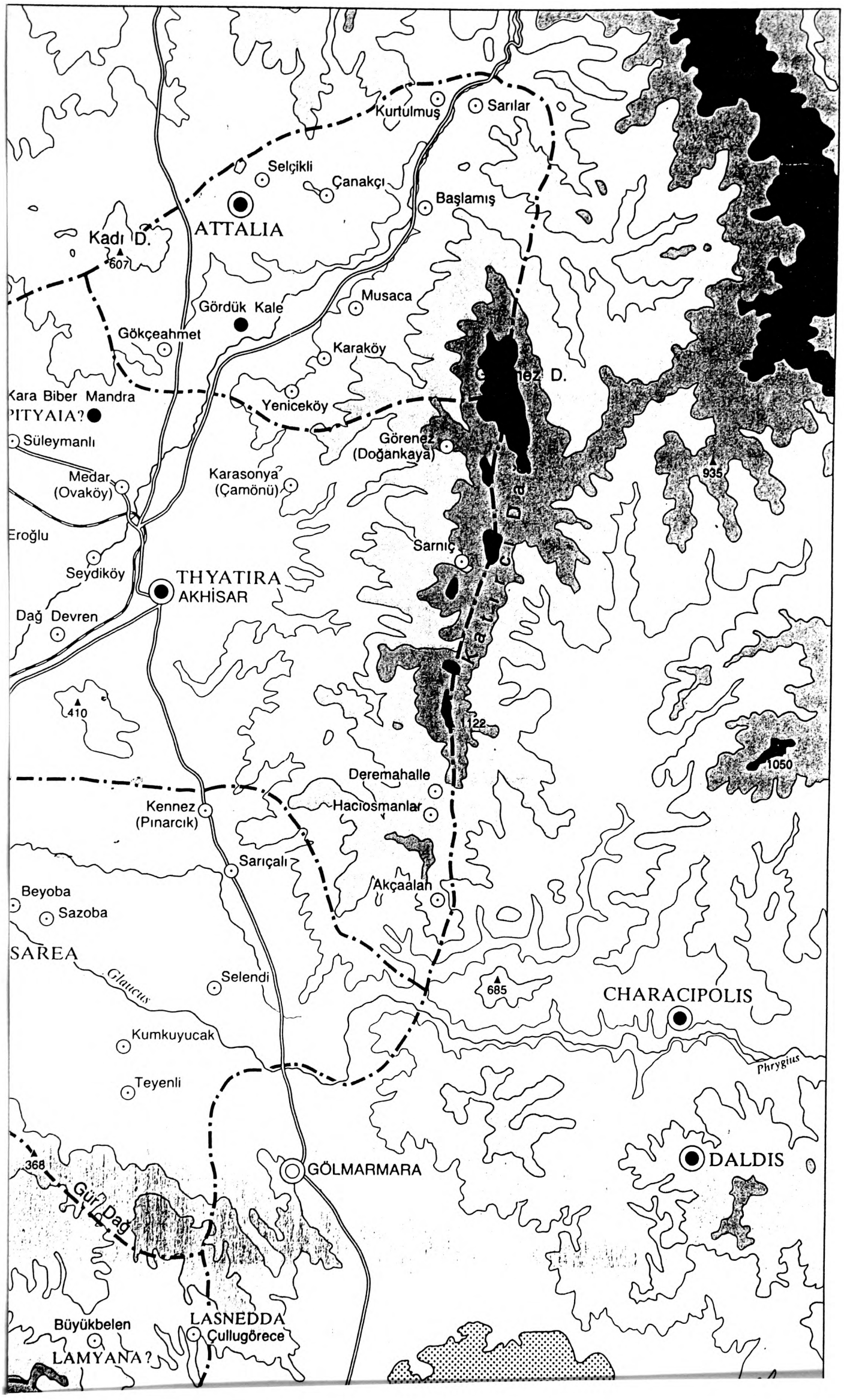


1 CHURCH 'E' (13TH CENTURY)
2 CHURCH 'EA' (4TH CENTURY)
3 NORTH CHAPEL (6TH CENTURY)
4 ISLAMIC VILLAGE HOUSE (17TH CENTURY)
5 ROMAN STREET (4TH CENTURY)
6 PERSIAN WALLS (5TH–4TH CENTURY B.C.)
7 LYDIAN BASEMENT (7TH–6TH CENTURY B.C.)
8 LYDIAN HOUSES (7TH–6TH CENTURY B.C.)
9 PERSIAN WELL (5TH–4TH CENTURY B.C.)
10 PERSIAN FOUNTAIN HOUSES (5TH–4TH CENTURY B.C.)
11 LANE
12 LATE ROMAN BATH (4TH–5TH CENTURY)
13 MOSAIC SUITE
14 ROMAN FUNERARY PRECINCT (1ST–3RD CENTURY)
15 HELLENISTIC MONUMENT (BEFORE 17 A.D.)
16 LYDIAN AND PERSIAN HOUSES (6TH–5TH CENTURY B.C.)
17 LYDIAN–HELLENISTIC WATER SYSTEM
18 LYDIAN GOLD-PROCESSING WORKSHOPS
19 HOUSE OF THE PRIEST
20 ALTAR OF CYBELE ca. 570 B.C.
21a,b LYDIAN FURNACE AND CUPELS
22 RECTANGULAR LYDIAN ROOM
23 LYDIAN AND PERSIAN HOUSES (6TH–5TH CENTURY B.C.)
24 HELLENISTIC ROOMS DESTROYED IN 213 B.C.

(9)

Fig. 58 PN, plan showing concentrations of gold finds.




Kurtulmuş
Sarılar
Selçikli
Çanakçı
Başlamış
ATTALIA
Kadı D.
607
Musaca
Gördük Kale
Gökçeahmet
Karaköy
Yeniceköy
Kara Biber Mandra
PITYAIA?
Süleymanlı
Görenez
(Doğankaya)
Karasonya
(Çamönü)
Medar
(Ovaköy)
935
Eroğlu
Sarnıç
Seydiköy
THYATIRA
AKHİSAR
Dağ Devren
410
122
1050
Deremahalle
Kennez
(Pınarcık)
Hacıosmanlar
Sarıçalı
Akçaalan
Beyoba
Sazoba
SAREA
Glaucus
Selendi
685
CHARACIPOLIS
Kumkuyucak
Phrygius
Teyenli
368
GÖLMARMARA
DALDIS
Büyükbelen
LASNEDDA
Çullugörece
LAMYANA?