

Annick Payne and Jorit Wintjes

Lords of Asia Minor

An Introduction to the Lydians

PHILIPPIKA

Altertumswissenschaftliche Abhandlungen

Contributions to the Study of Ancient World Cultures 93

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Contents

Preface	vii
Abbreviations	ix
Introduction	1
1 Historical Overview	5
1.1 Introduction.....	5
1.2 Sources.....	7
1.3 The Geography of Ancient Lydia	16
1.4 Chronology	19
1.5 Lydian Prehistory.....	22
1.6 Early Lydian History – The Atiad Dynasty	24
1.7 Towards Historicity – The Heraclid Dynasty	27
1.8 Regional Hegemony – The Mermnad Dynasty.....	31
1.9 The End of the Lydian Kingdom.....	38
1.10 Lydia After the Lydians	44
2 Sardis and the Archaeology of Lydia.....	47
2.1 Introductory Remarks	47
2.2 Lydia Rediscovered.....	48
2.3 Sardis	55
2.4 Beyond Sardis – Central and Greater Lydia	59
3 The Lydian Language	63
3.1 Introductory Remarks	63
3.2 Phonology	65
3.2.1 Vowels	65
3.2.2 Consonants	65
3.2.3 Accent	67
3.2.4 Synchronic Variation.....	67
3.2.5 Phonotaxis.....	67
3.3 Morphology	68
3.3.1 Nominal Inflection.....	68
3.3.2 <i>i</i> -Mutation	68
3.3.3 Relational Adjective	68
3.3.4 Pronouns	69
3.3.5 Verbal Inflection	70
3.3.6 Preverbs	70
3.4 Syntax	71

4	Lydian Inscriptions	73
4.1	Decipherment and History of Scholarship	73
4.2	The Lydian Alphabet	79
4.3	Lydian Inscriptions	80
4.4	Sample Inscriptions	81
4.4.1	LW 20: Greco-Lydian Bilingual	82
4.4.2	LW 54: Lydian Grave Inscription	82
4.4.3	LW 1: Aramaic-Lydian Bilingual	84
4.4.4	Concluding Remarks	86
5	The Lydian Civilisation	87
5.1	Money Matters	88
5.1.1	Weight Standard and Type	89
5.1.2	Material and Technology	94
5.1.3	The Gold Refinery at Sardis	95
5.2	Religion	96
5.2.1	Artemis	97
5.2.2	Q̌dāns	101
5.2.3	Kufawa	102
5.2.4	Lews	103
5.2.5	Paki	105
5.2.6	Other Deities	106
5.2.7	Cultic Practices	106
5.3	Burial Customs	108
5.3.1	Tumulus Burial	109
5.3.2	Rock-Cut Cemeteries	112
5.3.3	Sarcophagi and Couches	112
5.3.4	Grave Goods	113
6	From Croesus to Scrooge McDuck	117
	Timeline	120
	Bibliography	123
	List of Illustrations	145

Preface

John Updike once claimed that, in modern times, one was past the age of heroes and hero kings, and that it was therefore up to the writer to make life interesting. With the current volume, we would like to invite you to rediscover an age of legendary kings, and we hope that it proves an interesting journey. Writing this book has been far from a solitary undertaking, and it is our pleasure to thank everyone who has contributed and thereby made this book what it is. The usual disclaimer applies, and all mistakes remain our own.

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Last but not least, we would like to thank our long-suffering families who have tolerated our leave of absence – in mind if not in body – and have supported us as only they could. This book is dedicated to the next generation: Alexander, Amelia, Charles and Leonidas.

ANNICK PAYNE & JORIT WINTJES

Abbreviations

Ael. <i>NA</i>	Aelianus, <i>De Natura Animalium</i> .
Ael. <i>VH</i>	Aelianus, <i>Varia Historia</i>
Apollod.	Apollodorus Mythographus.
Ar. <i>Nu.</i>	Aristophanes, <i>Nubes</i> .
Aristot. <i>Rh.</i>	Aristoteles, <i>Rhetorica</i> .
Aristot. <i>Pol.</i>	Aristoteles, <i>Politica</i> .
Arr. <i>An.</i>	Arrianus, <i>Anabasis</i> .
Ath.	Athenaeus Grammaticus.
B.	Bacchylides.
Call. <i>Dian.</i>	Callimachus, <i>Hymnus in Dianam</i> .
Cyriac <i>ep.</i>	Cyriacus Anconitanus, <i>Epistulae</i> .
D.H.	Dionysius Halicarnassensis, <i>Antiquitates Romanae</i> .
D.H. <i>Th.</i>	Dionysius Halicarnassensis, <i>De Thucydide</i> .
D.L.	Diogenes Laertius.
D.S.	Diodorus Siculus.
FGrH	Fragmente Griechischer Historiker.
Hdt.	Herodotus.
Hellanic.	Hellanicus.
Heraclid.Lemb.	Heraclides Lembus.
Hier. <i>Chron.</i>	Hieronymus, <i>Chronicon</i> .
Hippon.	Hipponax.
Hom. <i>Il.</i>	Homerus, <i>Ilias</i> .
J. <i>AJ</i>	Flavius Josephus, <i>Antiquitates Judaicae</i> .
LW	Lydisches Wörterbuch [numbering of Lydian inscriptions, cf. ch. 4.1.]
Lyd. <i>Mens.</i>	Johannes Laurentius Lydus, <i>De Mensibus</i> .
LXX <i>Ge.</i>	Vetus Testamentum Graece redditum, <i>Genesis</i> .
Nic. Dam.	Nicolaus Damascenus.
Ov. <i>Met.</i>	Publius Ovidius Naso, <i>Metamorphoses</i> .

Palaeph.	Palaephatus.
Paus.	Pausanias.
Phot. <i>Bib.</i>	Photius, <i>Bibliotheca</i> .
Pl. <i>R.</i>	Plato, <i>Respublica</i> .
Plb.	Polybius.
Plin. <i>NH</i>	Plinius maior, <i>Naturalis Historia</i>
Plut. <i>Artax.</i>	Plutarchus, <i>Artaxerxes</i> .
Plut. <i>De Pyth.</i>	Plutarchus, <i>De Pythiae Oraculis</i> .
Plut. <i>Quaes. Gr.</i>	Plutarch, <i>Quaestiones Graecae</i> .
Plut. <i>Sol.</i>	Plutarchus, <i>Solon</i> .
Poll.	Pollux.
Polyaen.	Polyaenus.
Scholia in Il.	Scholia in Homeri Iliadem.
St.	Strabo.
St.Byz.	Stephanus Byzantius.
Suid.	Suidas.
Th.	Thucydides.
X. <i>An.</i>	Xenophon, <i>Anabasis</i> .
X. <i>Cyr.</i>	Xenophon, <i>Institutio Cyri</i> .
Xanth.	Xanthus.

Introduction

The Lydian Empire has lost none of its fascination in the two and a half millennia since its fall. There are many, and excellent publications on ancient Lydia. In particular the archaeological work – still on-going at Sardis and elsewhere – has produced highly instructive books and articles, and as of a more recent date, the Sardis Expedition project also hosts a very informative website. Yet while the archaeological record, and later eras of Lydian history such as the Achaemenid period, are well researched, in comparison, Empire Period Lydia has not been studied all too recently, at least not from a historical-philological perspective. Advances in related fields of study, especially in Luwian studies, further suggested that taking another look and re-evaluating the source material might be worthwhile. We hope that the present volume will be a complementary addition to current Lydian research.

Naturally, there are some restricting factors. How does one define a history of Ancient Lydia? Clearly, there are no exact demarcations. If, for instance, we focus on the history between two particular events, such as the rise to power of the first Lydian king and the fall of Sardis under the last, we can use these cut-off dates to define a historical period – but changing political structures do not necessarily equate to changes in culture. Furthermore, as much as one might be able to define the Lydian Empire period in both political and cultural terms *in theory*, one is still reliant on whatever source material is available. This is a particular issue for the history of Ancient Lydia, as historical information comes almost exclusively from texts written by non-Lydian speakers, often much later authors, removed from actual events in time and space, and by language barriers. They may be biased, or their writing may primarily serve needs other than providing an objective account of Lydian history. Furthermore, many texts are damaged or only preserved in fragments, and it often remains unclear where any particular information originated from. Another limitation concerns the size of the present volume and its intended audience: this book has been conceived as an introduction to the Lydians, and aims to strike a balance between offering the latest, reasonably extensive references while at the same time keeping the text readable for a general audience.

The current volume approaches ‘the Lydians’ in six chapters on history, archaeology, language, writing, civilization and reception history. Chapter one tells the story of Lydian history, as one can reconstruct it from the available sources. Ancient text sources are discussed in considerable detail so that the origin and level of certainty – or lack thereof – of the Lydian history offered here is made transparent. Some introductory remarks on geography and chronology set the scene for the historical account. The chapter mainly considers Lydian history from the period of the earliest Lydian kings to the ‘destruction of a mighty empire’ by Croesus. It also includes a short, summary description of prior history in the 2nd

millennium BC, and of Lydia ‘after the Lydians’, i.e. after the state changed hands from Lydian to foreign control.

The second chapter gives an overview of the archaeology of Lydia. As this is a subject on which a wealth of current, in-depth studies is available, the focus of this volume lies on providing an introduction as well as narrating the story of how, initially by travellers, later by excavators, Lydia was rediscovered from the middle ages onwards. The chapter concludes with two essays, divided into the archaeology of Sardis, and of places outside of Sardis, with a particular focus on how the archaeological record connects to the historical one.

Chapter three considers the Lydian language. Lydian is a so-called small corpus language of which only a limited number of texts survive, offering enough material to approach the language but often leaving gaps through either lack of attestation or lack of understanding. However, as a member of the Anatolian branch of the Indo-European language family, Lydian can be viewed from the vantage point of related languages which keep offering new insights, and thereby help our understanding of Lydian. The chapter describes phonology, morphology and syntax with reference to pertinent literature.

Chapter four is dedicated to Lydian inscriptions. It begins with the history of decipherment, and tells the story of Lydian studies to date. Next, the alphabet and the corpus of inscriptions are introduced. The chapter concludes with three sample inscriptions, describing where they were found, offering a drawing of the inscription, followed by transliteration and translation. A short commentary on literary and linguistic features – aimed at a general audience but hopefully still of interest to philological colleagues – concludes each discussion of an inscription.

The penultimate chapter approaches Lydian civilization with the help of three, comparatively well-attested topics. Firstly, the Lydians’ role for the early history of coinage is discussed. At the time of writing, it is already clear that research currently under way will add exciting new contributions to this subject. It is hoped that the introduction given here will provide a solid basis on which to add the new information we all eagerly await. Secondly, the chapter considers Lydian religion as attested in the native inscriptions. Lydian religion is much more prominently attested in Greek inscriptions but as regards this particular topic, recent advances in Luwian studies add to our understanding of the epichoric tradition. Finally, the chapter introduces Lydian burial practices which form a nexus with the previous essay on religion; they are particularly amply illuminated by both textual and archaeological record.

The volume concludes with a short chapter on the reception of the Lydians from ancient to modern times. The famous Herodotean narrative on Lydia was already a great inspiration in classical antiquity, and still continues to be read by virtually everyone who starts out learning ancient Greek. But also outside of classical scholarship, stories of fabulous riches prove very long-lasting so that even out of context, Croesus is still a household name, as in ‘rich as’. In fact, this is where it all

started for the authors: sadly not with legendary riches but with a great interest in the Lydians and many questions. We hope that at least some will be answered in the following.

ANNICK PAYNE & JORIT WINTJES

1 Historical Overview

1.1 Introduction

*This Croesus was the first foreigner
known to us who subjugated some Greeks
and took tribute from them,
and won the friendship of others.*

HERODOTUS¹

Few ancient individuals surpass Croesus of Lydia in terms of enduring popularity. Ever since the Greek historiographer Herodotus of Halicarnassus, who wrote in the latter half of the 5th century BC, put an artfully composed narrative of the reign of Croesus at the beginning of his work, the Lydian king has occupied a front seat in historical memory. From a modern perspective, much of this is Herodotus' doing, yet he was far from the only ancient author fascinated by the Lydians. Even if most of the ancient works on Lydia are lost, Greek and Latin literature still abounds with episodes taken from Lydian history, testifying to an enduring interest in the history of this Anatolian kingdom. Yet despite this interest, most of Lydian history, namely the part that is not directly related to king Croesus, remains largely in the dark. One reason for this is that while ancient Greek and Roman authors showed great interest in Croesus and some of his predecessors, they were either ignorant of or not interested in the earlier history of Lydia. Moreover, anyone interested in taking a closer look at that history is faced with a fundamental problem – how does one define ‘ancient Lydia’?

For Herodotus and his contemporaries, the answer was easy: Lydia was a cultural and political entity with Sardis at its centre, an entity that successive Lydian kings had turned into the foremost power of Western Asia Minor. A history of Lydia would consequentially be a history of the Lydian kingdom, a history which came to a violent end when Cyrus the Great captured Sardis. Such is the understanding of the surviving Greek and Roman sources, yet once one looks beyond these texts, the picture changes slightly. Luckily, a number of Lydian inscriptions survive which yield fascinating insights into the Lydian language, although they are by and large of little historical value. However, they permit the identification of a distinct group of ‘Lydian-speakers’ in Western Asia Minor throughout a sizeable part of the first Millennium BC – the earliest dateable

1 Hdt. 1.6. Trsl. A. Payne.